

This compilation © Phoenix E-Books UK

ACTA ACADEMIAE ABOENSIS
HUMANIORA

ACTA
ACADEMIAE ABOENSIS
HUMANIORA

I

ÅBO AKADEMI
ÅBO 1920

ACTA ACADEMIAE ABOENSIS
HUMANIORA I:1

THE BELIEF IN SPIRITS IN MOROCCO

BY
EDWARD WESTERMARCK, PH. D., LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT THE ACADEMY OF ÅBO (FINLAND)
MARTIN WHITE PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

ÅBO AKADEMI
ÅBO

HELSINGFORS 1920
Printed by The Finnish Literary Society

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
INTRODUCTORY	1
I. THE NATURE AND DOINGS OF THE <i>JNŪN</i>	6
II. PROPHYLACTIC MEASURES AGAINST THE <i>JNŪN</i>	49
III. REMEDIES FOR TROUBLES CAUSED BY <i>JNŪN</i>	75
IV. THE <i>JNŪN</i> IN THE SERVICE OF MEN AND SAINTS	107
V. INDIVIDUAL SPIRITS	120
VI. THE ORIGIN OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATING TO THE <i>JNŪN</i>	136
VII. THE ORIGIN OF THE ARAB BELIEF IN THE <i>JINN</i>	158

THE BELIEF IN SPIRITS IN MOROCCO

INTRODUCTORY

The natives of Morocco are chiefly of Berber race, although the Berber language, which before the arrival of the Arabs undoubtedly was spread over the whole country, is nowadays mostly restricted to mountain districts. The Berber-speaking tribes, to whom alone the term «Berbers» is popularly applied, may be divided into several groups. There are the Berbers of the Rif, called *Ruāfa*, whose country extends along the Mediterranean coast from the neighbourhood of Tetuan to the Algerian frontier; the *Brāber*, who inhabit the mountain regions of Central Morocco and the eastern portion of the Great Atlas range; the *Shlōh*, who inhabit the western part of the Great Atlas and the province of *Sūs*, situated to the south of it — a territory the eastern frontier of which may be roughly indicated by a line drawn from Demnat in a south-easterly direction, and the northern frontier by a slightly curved line uniting Demnat with Mogador on the Atlantic coast and following the foot of the mountains, or, in some places, intercepting a strip of the plain; and the *Drāwa*, who inhabit the valley of the Wad *Drā* in the extreme south of Morocco. As a fifth group must, from a linguistic point of view, be counted

various tribes living in the neighbourhood of Ujda, in the north-east of the country (Aṭ Buzéggu, Aṭ Zihri, Aṭ 'Āmār, Aṭ Shbēl, Aṭ Lmēdi, Aṭ Yiznāsēn, Aṭ Yá'la, and Aṭ Ubáḥṭi).

The Arabic-speaking people of Morocco consist of the 'Arab (Arabs), who inhabit most of the plains; the Jbāla, who inhabit the mountains of Northern Morocco, north-west, west, and south-west of the Rif, towards the neighbourhood of Fez — a group of tribes in whose veins, in spite of their language, there can hardly be a drop of Arab blood; and the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the towns, who are often referred to as Moors, although this name may be more conveniently applied to the Muhammadan population of Morocco in general.

I have, during my sixteen journeys to Morocco, been anxious to study the customs and beliefs of these various groups of people, and for this reason chosen representatives for all of them, with the exception of the Dráwa, as regards whom I have been unable to procure any reliable information. In the present essay the following tribes, districts, towns, and other large places are mentioned:

Aglu, a large place in Sūs, close to the Atlantic Ocean.

Ait Bu'āmran, Shlōḥ in Sūs.

Ait Waráin, Brâber.

Ait Wáuzgūt, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.

Ait Ng̃er, Brâber.

Ait Sáddēn, Brâber.

Ait Wāryāgāl, Ruáfa.

Ait Yúsi, Brâber.

Amemús, small town in the district of the Igdmīn.

Andjra, tribal district among the Jbāla.

Aṭ Ubáḥṭi, Berbers in the neighbourhood of Ujda.

Beni Āḥsen, Arab tribe in the neighbourhood of Salli.

Bni 'Āroṣ, Jbāla.

Bni Mṣáwar, Jbāla.

Demnat, town in the Great Atlas.

Dukkála, large district in the neighbourhood of Mazagan, inhabited by «Arabs».

Fahs, tribal district outside Tangier.

Fez, the chief city of Morocco.

Glawi, tribal district in the Great Atlas.

Ġarbīya, tribal district with Arabic-speaking population in Northern Morocco.

Hāḥa, district in the Great Atlas region, inhabited by Shlōḥ.

Hiána, «Arab» tribe near Fez.

Iḡmiün, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.

Iḡlwa, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.

Iḡigain, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.

Imstwan, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.

Ināknāfen, Shlōḥ in Hāḥa.

Iurikēn, Shlōḥ in the Great Atlas.

Jbel lā-Hbāb, Jbāla.

Laraiche, town on the Atlantic coast.

Marráksh, the southern capital of Morocco.

Mazagan, town on the Atlantic coast.

Mequinez, town in the interior.

Mogador, town on the Atlantic coast.

Rabat, town on the Atlantic coast.

Salli, town on the Atlantic coast.

Šəfru, small town in the interior, in the district of the Ai. Yūsi.

Shawīa, «Arab» district in the neighbourhood of Casablanca.

Shiādma, district north of Hāḥa, inhabited by «Arabs».

Tangier, town on the northern coast.

Tetuan, town near the Mediterranean coast.

Ulād Bu'āziz, «Arabs» in Dukkála.

Zārḥūn, sacred town in the interior.

In rendering Arabic and Berber words and phrases used in Morocco I shall always endeavour to represent them as they are pronounced by the natives, independently of the written Arabic. As the same word is often pronounced differently in different places, the reader must not accuse me of inconsistency if he finds it spelt sometimes in one way and sometimes in another.

My system of transliterating the Arabic consonants is as follows:

B represents ب; *d* د, or ذ when pronounced as the English *d*; *ḏ* ذ when pronounced as *th* in *this*; *ḏ* ض, or ط when pronounced as ض; *ḏ* ظ when not pronounced as ض; *f* ف, in Morocco written ف; *g* ج or ق, in Morocco written ف, when these letters are pronounced as *g* in *grand*, a sound for which the Moors also use a ك with three dots above it; *g* غ; *h* ه; *ḥ* ح; *ḥ* خ; *j* ج when pronounced as the French *j*, *j* representing the same letter when pronounced as the English *j*; *k* ك; *l* ل; *m* م; *n* ن; *q* ق (Moorish ف); *r* ر; *s* س; *ṣ* ص; *ṣ* ش (a letter which is also represented by *sh* in names of common occurrence); *t* ت, or ث when pronounced as the English *t*; *t* ث when pronounced as *th* in *thing*; *t* ط; *t* ت or ث, when these letters are pronounced as *ts*; *w* و, when pronounced as *w* in *will*; *y* ي when pronounced as *y* in *yoke*; *z* ز; *ʿ* ع.

The vowels are, at least approximately, to be pronounced as follows:

A as in Italian; *a* between *a* and *o*; *ā* between *a* and *ā*; *ā* as *a* in *fat*; *e* as in *met*; *e* between *e* and *i*; *i* as in *this*; *o* as in *not*; *o* as in German; *u* as in *put*; *ū* between *u* and *o*; *ū* between *i* and the French *u*.

The sign ⁻ over a vowel indicates that it is long; [˘] that it is long and accentuated; [˙] that it is very short; ^ˆ that it is accentuated.

The vowel sounds of the words are subject to great variations, not only in different localities, but even in the same locality. The length of the vowel, in particular, is a very difficult matter, both because it is so changeable and because it allows of so many different degrees; and it is equally difficult in many cases to distinguish between the presence or absence of a vowel sound before a consonant or between two consonants. I have made use of the signs $\bar{}$, $\hat{}$, and $\sim$ only in cases when I have distinctly heard the sound pronounced either long or very short, but the omission of any such sign does not *eo ipso* imply that it might not have been used. Vowels which in the written language are marked as long have a tendency to be pronounced short in syllables which are not accentuated. The accent is also very changeable both in Arabic and Berber words, and the $\acute{}$ or $\hat{}$ over a vowel only indicates that I have heard the syllable in which it occurs accentuated, not that it invariably is so.

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND DOINGS OF THE *JNŪN*

The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called *jinn* or *jānn*, in Morocco generally *jnūn* or *ʿjnūn*, the singulars of which are *jenn* and *ʿjenn*. A female spirit of this class is called *jennīya* or *ʿjennīya*. When the definite article precedes these words it is in ordinary speech assimilated with the initial consonant, *l-jenn* and *l-jnūn* becoming *j-jenn* and *j-jnūn*, or *ʿ-jenn* and *ʿ-jnūn*; but scribes speak of *l-jānn* or *l-ʿjann* and *l-jūnūn* or *l-ʿjūnūn*. In Shelḥa, where the article preceding a noun borrowed from Arabic has lost its significance and become part of the noun itself, the corresponding name for a *jenn* is *ljenn*, and for *jnūn* *ljnūn*. The Ruāfa of the Ait Wāryāgāl use the words *jjenn* and *jjnūn*, the Ait Ubāḥṭi *ddjenn* and *ddjnūn*. A *jennīya* is in the last-mentioned tribe called *tajjennīht*, and among the Ait Yūsi *tājennīht*.

Various other names are given to these spirits. A common name is *roḥanīyin* (*roḥanīyin*; in Shelḥa *rroḥanīyin*) or *rwāḥan*, sing. *roḥāni* (*roḥāni*). I have heard it said that this is the name of those *jnūn* only that live between the earth and the sky, but generally it is applied to all *jnūn* indiscriminately. A general term for the *jnūn* is also *lḥ-mlūk* (*l-mlūk*), 'the kings.'

which is used particularly, though not exclusively, by persons who have direct communication with them. They are invariably called so by the Gnāwa, who also have special names for the children of the *jnūn* — *dhāša*, sing. *daḥš*, for the boys, and *daḥṣat*, sing. *daḥša*, for the girls. Other names given to the *jnūn* are *sāddātna* or *siāḍna*, «our lords»; *rijāl l-ḥaḥfiya* or *rijāl l-maḥfiya*, «the men of the hidden»; *lé-jwād (l-jwād)*, «the bountiful»; *l-mṣlmin*, «the Moslemin»; *mudālin l-arḍ*, «the masters of the ground»; *duk n-nūs di l'aḥt l-arḍ*, «those people who are below the ground» (Fez). Many Berbers regularly call them *insēlmen*, *insēlmēn* (Aīṭ Yūsi, Aīṭ Sāddēn) or *imselmen* (Aṭ Ubāḥti), «Moslemin.» The Aīṭ Yūsi also call them *aīṭ rābbi*, «the people of God.» The Shlōḥ make use of such circumlocutions as *wīd-iāḡnin* «those others,» *wīd-tūll-tisnt* or *wīlli-tūll-tisnt*, «those who shun salt»; *wīd-ur-ḡhērnin*, «those unseen.» This great variety of names is explained by the fear of mentioning the *jnūn* by their proper name, especially after the 'aṣar prayer in the afternoon, when they come to the surface of the earth from their subterranean haunts. To pronounce their name would be to summon them; and I was also told that they do not like being called *jnūn*, which they take for a curse, and therefore come to punish the offender. As I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ the uncanny feeling experienced when a supernatural being is mentioned, or the notion of impending danger, readily leads to the belief that he feels offended if his name is pronounced.

Special names are further given to certain kinds of *jnūn*. Evil ones are often called *ṣayāḡin* or *ṣiāḡan*, «devils,» plur. of *ṣiāḡan*; or *ibāḡes*, plur. of *iblis*.² As disease spirits the *jnūn* are called *lé-ryāḡ* or *lā-ryāḡ* (in Shelḡa *āryāḡ*), plur. of *reḡ*, «wind.» If a person is troubled by only one of them it is said of him *fiḡ reḡ*, and if he falls down struck by such a spirit it is said of

¹ *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (London, 1908), ii. 642.

² See *infra*, in the chapter on Individual Spirits.

him *lah be r-reh* or *qârbu reh*. A special class of *jnûn* are the '*afârît*' (the form '*afârit*' is only used by scribes), sing. '*afrit*'; a *jennîya* of this class is called '*afrit'a*', plur. '*afrit'ât*'. These spirits form the aristocracy of the *jnûn*. They are remarkable for great strength, and are said to have seven heads. When a person gets possessed with an '*afrit*' he becomes a maniac, strong and brave. It was '*afârît*' that brought to Mequinez those marble blocks which are too heavy for men or animals to move. It is '*afârît*' that help persons who possess that wonderful ring called *hât'em l-hêlcma* to perform miracles.

The *jnûn* resemble human beings in various respects. Scribes tell us that they have no bodies, that they are like light, that they may enter a room even though the door be closed. According to others, they have a head but neither trunk nor extremities. Nevertheless, many corporeal functions are ascribed to them. They eat and drink, though not quite the same things as men do: they eat no salt food nor do they drink water, and they are very fond of blood. They propagate their species, though not exactly in human fashion: the male only rubs his thigh against the thigh of the female, and the latter afterwards brings forth many young ones at the same time, which explains why there are so many more *jnûn* than there are men. They speak, though their language differs from that of men: when a *jenn* speaks through the mouth of a human being he calls money *qâsur* instead of *flus*, and excrements he calls *jâfû*; and his voice is very thin. The *jnûn* have villages and towns, and live in tribes or nations, each with its own sultan. They have different religions as men have: there are Muhammadan *jnûn*, called *mûminîn* or *mûmnîn* (sing. *mûmen*, fem. *mûmna*), 'believers,' and sometimes *rijâl allâh*, 'the men of God,' or *âhlu llâh*, 'the people of God'; Jewish *jnûn*, called *jnûn sebtîyin* (sing. *jenn sebtî*), 'Saturday *jnûn*'; Christian *jnûn*, called *jnûn kofâra* (sing. *jenn kâfer*), 'infidel *jnûn*'; and pagan *jnûn*. The different tribes of *jnûn*, like the different nations of men, have

their special colours. Thus the colour of the most wicked of all *jnūn*, the Ulād bel lā-Hmār, is red, the colour of the Jewish and Christian *jnūn* is black, and the colours of the Muhammadan *jnūn* are white, green, and yellow.

The native country of the *jnūn* is, properly speaking, under the ground, although some of them are said to live in the air, between the earth and the sky, or at least to rise there from their subterranean dwellings. They are not tied down to any special place; sometimes they travel great distances and travel very fast. They are particularly fond of visiting the surface of the earth, and there they constantly come into contact with mankind.

They have no fixed forms, but show themselves to mankind in various shapes. They often look like men. Among the people at a market, for instance, there are many *jnūn* disguised as human beings. There are also *jenn* scribes associating with human scribes and reciting the Koran with them. In a village in the tribe Bni Mṣāwar a *jenn* was studying in the mosque without arousing the slightest suspicion about his real nature. At last he told one of the lads, with whom he was living, that he was a *jenn*. The lad got astonished and frightened and said, «You have now been studying with me for twelve years, and never before did you tell me that.» The *jenn* answered, «No, I wanted first to finish my study of the Koran; but now I am going away, and you must come with me to my parents, who will give you a fine present.» The lad made objections, but when the *jenn* gave a sacred promise to take him to his place and back in safety he agreed to go with him. They first went to a certain spring, where they made ablutions and prayed. Then the *jenn* told his friend to close his eyes, which he did. When he again opened them, he found himself in a district where he had never been before. The *jenn* took him to his house, and introduced him to his parents and brothers and sisters as a friend and schoolfellow. They received

him kindly and entertained him hospitably for three days; and on the fourth, before he left, they gave him gold and silver and fine clothes. The *jenn* then asked him to close his eyes, and when he opened them he again found himself at the spring, and he had all the presents with him. He told the other scribes of his adventure, but said nothing about the gold and silver for fear of being killed by them.

A scribe from the Rîf told me that he once saw a *jenn* in the shape of a black man, who, when he passed him, only laughed showing his white teeth; the *jenn* did not attack him, because he was carrying a gun and the *jenn* are afraid of powder. This happened on a moonlight night on the bank of a river, and the scribe was certain that the individual he met was a *jenn* as there are no black people in his tribe. Another man informed me that once in his youth he met a little baby who suddenly changed into a giant. The monster gave him a blow which made him lame for three years; it was of course a *jenn*.

There are numerous instances of marriage or sexual intercourse between a man and a *jenniya* in the disguise of a woman. During my stay in Mazagan I heard of a man who was said to be married to a *jenniya*, in consequence of which his human wife refused to sleep with him. In the village Bné Hlu, in Andjra, I was told of a similar marriage, which resulted in the birth of two sons, one of whom became a scribe, who is still alive. In a village near Tetuan there was a man who lived with a *jenn* wife in a mill. When they were alone she had the appearance of a woman, but as soon as anybody else entered the place she assumed the shape of a frog. The people knew of her from her doings. One morning her husband was found in his bed with his legs tied up; he had quarrelled with his wife, and she had revenged herself in this way while he was asleep. But as a rule she was kind to him; he had always money, was well dressed, and possessed many guns — which could only be accounted for by his having a *jenniya* for wife.

This, however, was an unusually happy case; the spirit wife, who is generally seen by nobody else than her husband, may supply him with money, but sooner or later she is likely to kill him or to drive him mad.

In Dukkāla I heard the following story. A lad met a girl whom he had seen before, just when he came out from the mosque where he had been studying the Koran. He suggested that they should have intercourse together, and she consented; and they then agreed to meet again. Once she asked him to go with her to the town where she lived. When they had been walking for a while she told him to close his eyes, and so he did; but when he opened them he found to his surprise that he was at a certain place called j-Jūrf lē-šfar, 'the yellow rock.' He was once more told to shut his eyes; and when he again opened them he was in a large town. The girl took him to her father's house, and there they lived together for eleven years. But she was all the time treating him very badly, tyrannising over him and flogging him; and he gradually discovered that she was no ordinary woman but a *jennīya*. By advice of her own mother and brother, who took pity on the poor man, he at last accused her to the judge, who ordered her to take him back to his native place. While she accompanied him she was maltreating him all the way; and in a mosque in Dukkāla, where he was entertained by the scribes, she attacked him so furiously that he fell down and his mouth got wry. A saint appeared to him in a dream and advised him to visit the shrine of Sidi Bbārak mūla l-kārma to get cured. Although the *jennīya* did her best to keep him back, he at last reached the shrine, and told the saint about his sufferings. The end of the story was that the saint shot the *jennīya* dead in the night, and that the man in the morning woke up relieved of all his ailments. He went back to his village, where he was still living during my stay in Dukkāla and used to entertain people by relating to them his strange adventures. —

Among the Shlōh, also, instances are reported of men being married to spirits. A scribe from Glawi told me that a man once got rid of such a wife on a journey, when they were sleeping out-of-doors and a jackal came and ate her. Jackals are fond of eating *jnūn*.

Sometimes the *jnūn* appear as monsters with the body of a man and the legs of a donkey. Very frequently they show themselves in the disguise of an animal — a goat, sheep, bullock, donkey, horse, camel, cat, dog, jackal, tortoise, frog, snake, black cock or hen, and so forth. At Fez I was told that whilst *mūmnīn* often walk about in the daytime in the shape of men, *ṣayāṣīn* appear as dogs, cats, snakes, or other animals. Among the Iglīwa a man who went at night to water his garden found there a sheep, which he caught and tried to carry to his house. As he walked along, the sheep began to grow and became finally so heavy that he had to throw it on the ground; but in the same moment the man himself fell down dead. In a house which I inhabited at Marrāksh my sleep was disturbed by the noise of a cat. When I told my servants to drive the creature away, they answered me that no Moor would ever dare to hit a cat in the dark, since it is very doubtful what sort of being it really is.

For a similar reason it is also considered dangerous to beat or throw a stone at a dog in the dark or at a market, especially before sunrise, when many *jnūn* are known to be there in the shape of dogs. One evening a servant of mine, by name l-'Arbi, saw a *jenn* in the offices attached to a mosque. It was white, had long hair, and was scratching its head. L-'Arbi, who was frightened, called the night-watch, and the *jenn* then ran away in the shape of a red dog. But l-'Arbi was out of his mind for a month afterwards, till a magician cured him by writing a charm. The people of Aglu were once infested with a multitude of big rats, some black and others red, which were eating their crops. One night the scribes tried to expel

them from the fields by recitations from the Koran, and then hundreds of black dogs were seen in the neighbouring mountains; and the general belief was that both the rats and the dogs were *jnūn*. It is a common belief that a black dog the ears of which are not cut is a *jenn*.

In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a *jenn*. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, *Ana bē llāh u bē š-šra' m'āk*, 'I am protected against you by God and the religious law,' so as to drive it away if it is a *jenn* or a saint, or to prevent the *jenn* from hurting him if he shoots the animal and it is a *jenn* (Hiaina, Ait Sāddēn, Ait Wāryāgāl).

Frogs and toads are commonly taken for *jnūn*. Hence it is believed that anybody who hurts or kills one of these creatures will have fever or die in consequence; and if a frog is found in a house or tent, it is politely asked to go away or is gently removed with a shoe. Among the Ait Warāin a person who sees a frog shuts his mouth and covers it with his hand so as to prevent his teeth from getting bad or falling out. At Fez, if a person sees a green frog (*jrāna*) or a black frog (*dā/da'*) sitting and looking at him, he spits towards it and says, *A'māt'ek qbel š'a'mīni*, 'I made you blind before you made me blind.' He thinks that it is a *jenn*. The people of Fez are also afraid of water tortoises, which are frequently regarded as *jnūn*, and of a certain yellow fish which they call *rohāni* or *jenn*. If they find a snake in their house, they do not kill it at once but say to it three times, *Ana bē llāh u š-šra' m'āk*; if it is a *jenn* it goes away, whereas if it is only a snake it remains and is killed. The same or some very similar custom prevails elsewhere (Dukkāla, Aglu). At Salli I was told that many persons have died because they have killed snakes found in their houses. The Ulād Bu'āziz maintain that a snake which appears at the place where people are pitching a tent may be 'the master of

the places (*māl lē-mkân*). The Shlōh of Aglu call a snake found in a granary *bāb lmākân*, the Ruāfa of the Ait Wāryāgāl *bāb umhân*, meaning the same. I was told of a scribe who every evening when he was reciting the Koran saw a snake in the roof of his room. Once when he wanted to kill it, the snake suddenly changed into a man, who said to him that he was listening to his recitation because he, too, was a scribe. He was of course a *jenn*.

In many cases a *jenn* can be seen by certain individuals only. Persons who are ill may see *jnūn* that are not visible to others, and animals sometimes see *jnūn* that are not seen by men. There are also methods of making *jnūn* visible. A scribe from Glawi told me that if a person wants to see *jnūn* he simply goes to a slaughtering place, dips his finger in the blood of the animal which is first killed, and smears the blood on his forehead above the nose. I heard of the same practice at Tangier, but was told there that the animal in question must be a black bullock. In Andjra the person who wants to see *jnūn* goes to the market early in the morning, gathers some blood of the animal which is first slaughtered there in a new bowl (*elāfa*), buys a fish from those which are first brought to the market, dips the fish into the blood in the bowl, and eats it whole. He will then see the *jnūn* which are at the market and will have a conversation with them, and they will not hurt him but, on the contrary, be very pleased with him. But it is necessary that the blood which he gathers in the bowl should not have previously touched the ground, and the fish must not be salt.

In various instances the *jnūn* can be heard though they cannot be seen, or their presence is indicated by something strange, unusual, uncanny. The columns of sand or dust which often travel across the plains of Morocco are said to be caused by *jnūn*. In some places such a miniature cyclone is called *l'am-māriya dē d-jnūn*, 'the bridal box of the *jnūn*'; in other places it is called *'āirūd*, which is the name of an *'afrit*', according to

some statements even the sultan of the 'afārēt. When the bellows make the fire sparkle, it is said to be *l-ōrs dē d-jnūn*, «the wedding of the *jnūn*.» *Ignus fatuus* is sometimes believed to be fire kindled by *jnūn*, sometimes to be the shine of a saint. A falling star is a dart thrown by angels at *šayāfīn* who are listening to their conversation and thereby rob them of what they hear (*kāišārq° s-sēm'a*), so as to be able to help wicked people in practising witchcraft. Some people say that when there is much talk and humming at a market, many *jnūn* are present, whereas others maintain that it prognosticates a good year. It is a common belief that when victuals are dear many *jnūn* are in the market buying provisions; in Andjra I heard that Šēmhārūs, the sultan of the *jnūn*, is then there with his army, but that this happens only on hot days and when there is a large assembly of people.

If a person stumbles in the dark, the reason for it may be that he has trod on a *jenn*; hence he wards off the danger by the usual phrase, *Bismillāh r-rāhmān r-rāhīm*. «In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate.» When a person yawns it is *jnūn* and the devil that make him do so, or the devil blows into his ear. Whistling is the talk of the *jnūn* or the devil. A person who grinds his teeth during sleep is haunted by *jnūn*. Bad dreams are sent by evil spirits. When dogs are howling at night they see Death or *jnūn*, or, according to another statement, angels in the sky, and somebody in the village will soon die; and if a donkey makes noise at night some people say that *jnūn* are riding its tail. It is a common belief that if a person eats much without getting satisfied, there are *jnūn* in his body sharing the food with him; and the *jnūn* are said to be there because he has been cursed by his parents. Irregular appearance of blood in women is attributed to the same spirits, and so is infertility in women and animals and miscarriage.

The most usual way in which the *jnūn* make their presence

felt is by causing disturbances of the health, especially sudden ones like convulsions, epileptic and paralytic fits, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, and fits of madness, or epidemics like cholera and measles, the latter of which, called *buhāmrun*, is caused by *jnūn* belonging to the *Ulād bel lā-Hmār*. In these cases the *jenn* works its will by striking its victim or by entering his body or sometimes, in cases of epidemics, by shooting an arrow at him. When the cholera was in Morocco in 1895, the people believed that an army of *jnūn* had overrun the country. Where the epidemic was very violent, they were supposed to have pitched their tents inside the town-wall; whereas the occurrence of a few cases only indicated that they were camping outside the town, and now and then making a hit with their poisoned arrows. I was told at Tetuan that those who died were followed to the grave by an unusually large number of people because, when a dead man was buried, the enemy at once looked out for another victim and let his arrow fly among the crowd at the grave — hence the bigger the crowd, the less the individual risk. At Fez the authorities are afraid that if boys play with bows and arrows *būglīb* will come, that is, there will be a cholera epidemic, and the boys are therefore strictly prohibited by the authorities from doing so.¹ Jackson, in his account of the plague which raged in Morocco in 1799, also states that those who were attacked by the plague were supposed to have been shot by «genii» armed with arrows.² Sciatia (*būš-illum*) is described as a *jenn*, and whooping-cough (*šar-rāha* or *šahhāqa*), small-pox (*jédri*), and fever (*hōmma*) as *jennīyat*. The religious view is that all illnesses are sent by God as punishments for sins, and that the *jnūn* attack men only by

¹ There is a saying, *Hānzaq bē nzaq dārbū l-hail yēlsaq*, which means, «Bow with arrow hits the wall [and the arrow] sticks [there].»

² Jackson, *An Account of the Empire of Morocco* (London 1814), p. 176 sq. note.

his command. A grave illness, it is said, relieves a person from his sins.

Whilst there are certain events which indicate the presence of *jnūn*, there are others, of an improper or uncanny character, which cause their sudden and unwelcome appearance. If a person omits saying *bismillāh* before eating, *jnūn* or the devil will eat with him. If a person eats or drinks standing, or eats with his left hand, *jnūn* are eating or drinking with him. If anybody, in eating meat or fowl or fish, for the second time puts into his mouth and gnaws at a bone which he has previously laid aside, he will be struck by *jnūn*, who consider the bone and anything left on it to be theirs (Tangier, Andjra). A person who drinks alcohol, a boy who prostitutes himself, and a grown-up man who practises passive pederasty, will always, both in this world and the next, wash his face with the urine of Jewish *jnūn* (Andjra). If anybody keeps his slippers underneath his head while sleeping, *jnūn* will come to him, because the slippers are unclean. If anybody omits folding his clothes when he takes them off in the evening, *jnūn* will dress themselves with them during the night. If a person puts out the hand through one of the arm-holes slit in the upper corners of his *jellāb* (cloak) or through the small opening in its front, evil spirits will enter through the hole (Andjra). If a person when he is praying does not bow down so deep that his head touches the ground, evil spirits or the devil will pass through the space between; and if several persons are praying together without standing shoulder to shoulder, *jnūn* or the devil will likewise pass between them (Andjra, Ait Wāryāgāl). In Andjra, when the bridegroom enters the room where the bride is waiting for him, he must take care not to turn his head back, as otherwise evil spirits may enter with him. It is considered bad for a person to look at himself in a looking-glass at night; some people say that if he does so a *jenn* will go into his eyes and make them sore, or that he will become squint-eyed or wry-mouthed or

foolish. Little children are not allowed to look at themselves in a looking-glass even by day, nor should this be done by anybody whose eyes are not well. But I was told that women are not afraid of looking-glasses, being themselves haunted by *jnūn*.

A person who gets angry or frightened is particularly liable to be struck by *jnūn*, or, as it is called, to become *meš'ōf*. A Moorish friend of mine told me that if a certain woman of his family quarrels with anybody, a *jenn* enters into her and makes her fall into convulsions, during which she for half an hour or more recites portions of the Koran, although she never studied it; the *jenn*, who is a scribe, is speaking through her. If a person during a meal gets angry with those with whom he is eating, he will become *meš'ōf*. To get angry while carrying raw meat is dangerous to an extreme. A person who is travelling at night and is frightened by some strange object becomes *meš'ōf* in consequence. If anybody falls ill after he has been frightened by a cat or a dog in a dark place, the animal is held to have been a *jenn* that hurt him. Again, suppose a boy who is eating with his father misbehaves and is punished by him; when he begins to weep, *jnūn*, who are always near people while they are eating, easily seize him and make him *meš'ōf*. It is bad to wake a sleeping person too suddenly; it should be done slowly and gently, by touching his little finger or touching him with the palm of one's hand, and with the phrase *subhān allāh*, 'God be praised,' since otherwise he may be frightened and become *meš'ōf*. If a woman who is with child is waked up, the child will become blind or deaf or lame. It is Jewish *jnūn* that attack people who are afraid.

There are certain classes of people that are particularly exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*. This is the case with religious people. The faithful is remembered by God — *l-mūmen hūwa li ifākru rabbī*; therefore he is visited with disease or misfor-

tune, which removes sin — *l-mūmēn mūqāb*. Irreligious people, on the other hand, are like pigs, which are never struck by *jnūn*. Little children are more than grown-up people liable to be hurt by these spirits; in their presence the word *jnūn* must never be mentioned. Newborn infants, in particular, as also child-bed women, are in great danger; the people say that there are *jnūn* wherever there is blood. For forty days after its birth a child must not be left alone, especially in the dark, lest some *jenn* should come and exchange it for its own or somebody else's child. The Ait Yūsi believe that there is a certain *tūjēnnit* that is a great danger to newborn babes; she comes in the shape of a bird, though she has breasts like those of a goat which are filled with blood, and if the child sucks her breast it will die at once. I heard no name for her, but she is probably the much feared Ūmm ṣ-ṣūbyān, to be mentioned subsequently, who causes the death of children in their early infancy.

Brides and bridegrooms are in constant danger of being attacked by *jnūn*, and many of the ceremonies at a wedding are intended to protect them against this danger.¹ Brides may even be carried away by a special *jenn*, called *hāṭṭaf lā-'ráis* (or *l-'ārāyis*). The following is said to have happened among the Bni-'Āros. A bride had been brought to the bridegroom's house and put down on his bed. When he, shortly after, entered the room he found nobody there. He mentioned it to the bride's father, who consulted a scribe from Sūs on the matter. The *fqi* comforted him, and asked him to come back in a week. So he did. In the evening the *fqi* wrote something on a paper, which he kept for himself, and also wrote some words on the man's forehead and on the palms of his hands, and told him to go to a certain river and sit down on its bank, without being afraid. At midnight he would see an

¹ See my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, *passim*.

army of *jnūn* dressed in black, and shortly afterwards another army of *jnūn* dressed in yellow; but he should not say anything to either of them. Then there would come a third army of *jnūn* dressed in white, and when they were close to him he should get up and say to their sultan, *L-ār 'ala llah u 'alik, 'Ar* upon God and upon you, and accuse him of having carried away his daughter. The man did what the *fqi* told him to do, and saw everything which had been predicted. The *jenn* sultan told his vizier of the accusation, and asked him if he knew who was the guilty one. The vizier answered that nobody else but a *jenn* belonging to the *Ulād bel lā-Ḥmār* could have committed such an outrage. He called for these *jnūn*, who were then in the sultan's army, and one of them confessed that the kidnapped girl was just riding behind him on his horse. The vizier commanded him to give her back to her father, and the sultan told the vizier to punish the *jenn*. In the morning the father returned home with his daughter, who was still unconscious. The *fqi* wrote a charm for her and told the father to take her to *Mūlāi 'Abdsslam's* shrine to get cured. This story was told me by a scribe who had heard it from the *fqi* himself, so there can be doubt about its accuracy.

Dead people have to be protected against *jnūn* before they are buried. At Tangier there are many *jnūn* in the street called *s-sānqa t-twaīla*, in which is situated the *bit l-gnéyis*, or the room where the bodies of strangers who have died in Tangier are washed. Some people maintain that cemeteries, especially old ones, are haunted by *jnūn*. But at Fez I was expressly told that the fear which many persons have of visiting a cemetery at night is not due to any belief that there are *jnūn* in it.

In ordinary circumstances the *jnūn* only attack persons who hurt them or their children, by touching, beating, or treading upon them. The *mūminīn*, or Muhammadan *jnūn*, are of course the least dangerous. I heard at Fez that they are to be feared only by those who tread upon them or who pour hot water or

throw fire into the *qādūs*, or water-pipe, where the *múminin* perform their ablutions, or who make water in it. They may, moreover, act as ministers of justice by punishing persons who transgress the religious law. But they can easily be induced to leave their victims by some passages from the Koran written by a *fqi*, or by a visit to a saintly shrine. There are, however, many rascals among the *jnūn*, who give trouble without provocation. These are found among the *ṣayāṭin*, the worst of whom are the *Ulād bel lā-Hmār* (*Ulād bēl l-Hāmar*, *Ulād bēn l-Hāmār*), especially the young ones.

Each tribe of the *jnūn* have a special day of the week when they attack human beings. The *Ulād bel lā-Hmār* attack them on Tuesdays, the Muhammadan *jnūn* especially on Fridays, the Jewish ones on Saturdays, and the Christian ones on Sundays. The different tribes also attack men under different conditions. According to a manuscript which was given me by a magician belonging to the Bni 'Āroṣ, the Sunday *jnūn* hurt those who wash themselves while perspiring, the Monday *jnūn* those who walk on ashes at night, the Tuesday *jnūn* those who walk on blood, the Wednesday *jnūn* those who walk in a watery place, the Thursday *jnūn* those who tread upon them in the dark, the Friday *jnūn* those who walk in dirt, the Saturday *jnūn* those who go out at night in a state of perspiration. In another manuscript, which I saw at Fez, however, the circumstances in which the *jnūn* attack men on different days of the week were stated quite differently.

A *jenn* attacks a person by entering into him. He who is suddenly attacked by a *jenn* or by *jnūn* is said to be *meš'ōt* or *mahlō*, or to get *š-šā'fa* or *l-hāl'a*. But *jnūn* may also take up their abode in a person for a longer period, in which case they of course are a danger to him, though not necessarily causing harm, and also make him dangerous to others. A person who is thus haunted or possessed by *jnūn* is said to be *mejnūn*, *meskūn*, *māryāh* (*merjāh*) or *memlūk*. The same terms are

also applied to haunted animals, and the two first ones to places and objects as well. This, at all events, is the case in Northern Morocco, whereas at Fez I was told that *mojnūn* is used of persons only and *meskūn* of places and animals, and that *memlik* means «slave» and nothing else.

Certain classes of people are frequently or regularly haunted by *jnūn*. This is the case with homicides. In Andjra it is said of a person who has shed human blood that poison oozes out from underneath his nails; hence anybody who drinks the water in which he has washed his hands will fall dangerously ill. The meat of an animal which he has killed is difficult to digest, and so is any food eaten in his company. And if he comes to a place where people are digging a well, the water will at once run away. In the Hīāina, I was told, he is not allowed to go into a vegetable garden or an orchard, nor to tread on a treshing-floor or enter a granary, nor to go among the sheep. It is a common, although not universal, rule that he must not perform the sacrifice at the Great Feast with his own hands; and in some tribes, mostly Berber-speaking ones, there is a similar prohibition with reference to a person who has killed a dog. So also a butcher is *meskūn*, especially in the moment when he is slaughtering an animal. There is a close connection between *jnūn* and negroes; they are «like brothers.» At Salli a scribe told me that his sister had a black slave girl, whose presence in the house led to all sorts of uncanny events: stones fell down there, furniture and clothes caught fire, plates were broken, mattresses were moved from one place to another, and all this happened without any apparent cause. The house was haunted by *jnūn* on account of the black girl; this was proved by the fact that when she was sold, those strange things ceased to occur. Witches, or *sāḥḥārat*, are haunted. I was told in Dukkāla that a *sāḥḥāra* does not give birth to children, and that blood oozes out of her face, just as if she were a homicide. It is also said that

women in general are possessed with *jnūn*, who help them to practise witchcraft. When Šēmharūš, the sultan of the *jnūn*, died, he left behind a daughter who is still alive and assists her own sex in doing evil; hence women are even better versed in magic than scribes.

Animals may, like men, be attacked or possessed by *jnūn*. A man from the Hīāina told me that this is sometimes the case with sheep; the affected animal then moves its head and shows obvious signs of giddiness, and it is slaughtered so that the other sheep shall not become *mejnūnin* too.¹ There are, moreover, whole species that are haunted by *jnūn*; some people even say that this is the case with all wild animals. The Ait Warāin and Ait Sāddén maintain that the domestic animals of the *jnūn*, the so-called *lmāl l-jnūn*, consist of the gazelle, mutton, porcupine, hedgehog, hare, cat, and partridge, the gazelles being their goats, the muttons their cattle, the cats their horses, and the partridges their fowls. All of them are *meskūnin*.

Nothing is more haunted by *jnūn* than blood. A person who comes into contact with blood is liable to be attacked by the ferocious Ulād bel lā-Hmār, whose favourite colour is red; they live in a red place under the ground, rise to the red sky, and are extremely fond of blood. It is the blood shed by homicides and butchers that makes these persons haunted by *jnūn*, and it also makes the places where it is shed *meskūnin*. Everywhere in Morocco it is the custom to pile a small cairn of stones upon the spot where a man is found murdered, and many a wanderer throws a stone on this cairn — known under the name of *kārkōr l-māgdōr* — as he passes by. As to the meaning of these practices I have heard different opinions

¹ In Algeria, says Villot (*Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie* [Alger, 1888], p. 209), «il y a des démons qui ne s'attaquent qu'aux animaux; mais ils s'en acquittent en maîtres. Parfois un troupeau tout entier devient leur victime».

expressed by the natives. Some people maintain that the object of the cairn is merely to warn travellers to be on their guard against robbers. According to others, the stones are meant to confer blessings upon the murdered person; when a stone is thrown upon the cairn, it is accompanied by the phrase *Alláh iráhmak*, «May God be merciful to you.» But I have also been told by natives from different parts of the country that the wanderer throws a stone to keep back *l-bas*, or «the evil,» and thus prevents it from affecting him. This explanation is supported by the facts that the stones are in the first instance laid so as to cover up the blood, and that the place is regarded as *maskún*. It is not, however, nearly so much haunted as a slaughtering-place, to which the regular killing of animals attracts large numbers of *jnūn*. When a person is approaching such a place he should walk slowly and carefully, so as not to tread on a *jenn*, and repeat the formula, *Ana bē lláh u š-šra'*, *háidu uládkum*, «I am under the protection of God and the religious law, take away your children» (Andjra). It is also on account of the presence of great quantities of blood and meat that market-places are favourite haunts of the *jnūn*.

Raw meat, as also meat boiled without salt, is considered haunted. No meat must be returned to the butcher (Shawia, Andjra, Ait Waryágāl, etc.). If a person in a village slaughters an animal or brings home meat from the market, so that his neighbours know of it, he must give a little of the meat to each of them, since otherwise they will be hurt by *jnūn*. If women or little children come to a place where a person who has slaughtered an animal is cutting up its meat, he must for the same reason give a little of it to each woman or child (Hiána, Ait Sádđen). If a pregnant woman asks a butcher, or somebody else who has meat, to give her a piece of it, he must do what she asks. Should he refuse, her husband would accuse him to his governor, and he would be compelled to give, or at least to sell, the meat which was asked for; for if the woman does not get

it, the fetus, or the mother as well, will die (Ulād Bu'āziz). If a person comes home with meat which he has bought and a strange woman spends the night in his house, he must give her some of it for supper; and on the following morning, before she leaves, he must give her a small piece of raw meat (Hīāina). A person should not enter another person's house or tent carrying raw meat (Ait Sāddēn); or if he does so, he must necessarily, before leaving, let some of the inhabitants cut a little piece of it lest somebody in the house should die (Fez). If a person eats meat in the presence of somebody else, he must let him have a share of it; for *l-ḥam 'āuwaḡ l-ḥānāḡ*, 'meat distorts the jaws [of him who does not get it], he will be made ill by *jnūn* (Dukkāla, Andjra, Ait Sāddēn, Ait Wāryāḡāl). In explanation of these practices and beliefs it is said that a person who sees meat and is not allowed to taste it gets angry and is therefore attacked by the *jnūn* haunting the meat — just as a person becomes *meš'ōḡ* if he gets angry with raw meat in his hand. Moreover, the *jnūn* haunting the person may hurt him because they do not get the meat they are longing for. Both explanations well agree with the fact that some of the customs in question have particular reference to women and children, who are more than others exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*. It should be added that if the person who is offered meat does not accept it, the one who offered it will become ill or die in consequence; hence it is only an enemy that can refuse such an offer. When I asked how it is that the *jnūn* inside a person do not get angry if he deprives them of a repast which would have cost him nothing, the answer was that it is just the *jnūn* that in this case make him refuse, because, for some reason or other, they do not care for the meat. But I have also been told that in the case of a refusal both parties will have to suffer.

Various other customs are rooted in the belief that blood or meat is haunted by *jnūn*. When the throat of an animal

has been cut and all the blood has flown out, the wound is carefully washed with water or, if no water is available, rubbed with seven stones. The knife with which an animal has been slaughtered must not be cleaned on the skin of the animal, lest the meat should be tough (Ḥiāina, Ait Sāddēn). A person who is carrying raw meat must not converse with anybody on the road, because, if he says anything more than the usual greeting *s-salāmu 'alikum*, the person spoken to will be hurt by *jnūn* (Ḥiāina). If a person who is starting for a journey in the morning meets, outside his house, anybody carrying raw meat, it is considered a bad omen, and he should not proceed on his way (Ḥiāina). If a person buys a domestic animal, he must not take meat with him when he brings it home (Ulād Bu'āziz). A scribe from the Ḥiāina told me that if meat is brought to the field at the ploughing- or reaping-time, the crops will suffer by it; that the shepherd must not take meat with him when he goes out with the animals; and that neither raw meat nor grease must be carried on a horse which has on it a riding-saddle.

Excrements of men and any animals which are not used for food are extremely haunted. The belief in evil spirits has also, no doubt, something to do with the extraordinary indecency attached to breaking wind, however involuntarily, in the presence of other people. In many cases a small cairn, called *kārkor l-hazzāq* (or, among the Ait Ubāḥti, *ākorkūr n-buisse/āqēn*), is made on the spot where the accident happened, and passers-by throw a stone on the cairn or spit at it three times; or a stick with a small flag is thrust into the ground as an announcement of the offence. Even a small boy is disgraced if guilty of such a violation of decorum, and a grown-up man may have to leave his tribe for ever. In Berber tribes I have even heard of cases of suicide committed in consequence of an act of this kind. Similar views prevail in Arabia¹; but in Morocco they

¹ d'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desert* (London, 1718), p. 147. Niebuhr,

are found among «Arabs» and Berbers alike. The inhabitants of Fez, however, make a notorious exception: they do not consider it shameful to break wind even in the company of women. If a person does so, those who are present say to him, *B ṣāḥt'ak á ssi* (instead of *a sidi*), «Your health, O my lord»; or, if he has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, *B ṣāḥt'ak a 'ámmi l-ḥajj*, «Your health, O my uncle the ḥajj»; and the person thus addressed replies with a pleased look, *Alláh*. They argue that it is unwholesome to struggle against nature. It is said that anybody who breaks wind in a mosque kills the angels in it or makes them blind, and will also himself become ill. Water closets and drains are favourite abodes of the *jnūn*.

Certain trees are haunted by *jnūn*. In the tribes of the Imsfiwan (Mesfiwa) and Iurikēn (Urika), in the Great Atlas range, there are two trees the leaves of which have a most wonderful quality: if they are dried and pulverised and then thrown on red-hot iron the latter becomes silver, and if an animal eats of the leaves its teeth are transformed into the same metal. The trees are haunted by '*afārēr*', or powerful *jnūn*, and are considered so dangerous that only scribes possessed of special knowledge dare to approach them. The one in the Iurikēn is particularly well-known; it grows on the top of a hill and shines like a lantern at night. A person who cuts down a fruit-bearing tree is liable to become ill or even die, being hurt by the tree, which is said to be *maskūn*; indeed, the cutting down of any large tree is attended with danger. Fruit-bearing date-palms and olive-trees, however, have *baraka*; and some people maintain that the same is the case with fig-trees, but this is denied by others, who say that the fig-tree is *mejnūn*. You will get ill if you sleep underneath it, unless you first knock its trunk with a stone or, better still, make some cuts in its bark, saying, *Jráḥt'āk qbel t'ājrāḥni*, «I wounded you be-

Travels through Arabia, ii. (Edinburgh, 1792), p. 252. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys* (London, 1830), p. 108.

fore you are wounding me,* or, *Jrah s-séjra qbel lā l'ejārāk*, «Wound the tree before it wounds you.» If you burn the wood of a fig-tree, the smoke will easily make you blind (*Igliwa*); and if you make water in the shade of a fig-tree, *jnūn* will strike you (*Hiāina*). Corn is much exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*; hence granaries and mills are haunted by these spirits.

At Amzmūz I was told that '*afāret*' are living among the snow of the Great Atlas, and that in the district of the Ait Mizan, belonging to the tribe Igigain, there is a cave which is the shrine of Sidi Šemhārūš, the sultan of the *jnūn*. Every year the tribes of the neighbourhood make there sacrifices of black cattle, which induce the '*afāret*' to come out of the cave and drink the blood and dance and predict what is going to happen during the year; and the people are listening to what they are saying. At the foot of the highest mountain in the district of the Ait Waráin, Búiblān, there is a cave called Wígžēn, which is also the name of a '*l'afrit*', who is the master of the cave. The place is visited by men and women who suffer from *uāba't*, causing childlessness or the death of their children shortly after birth. If the visitor is a man he leaves there his sword or his gun, if a woman she leaves there her belt. The thing which is left there is carried away by the '*l'afrit*'; nobody else would dare to take it, for fear of catching the *uāb'at*. But the visitor must not look behind when he or she goes away, since otherwise the visit would be of no avail; and anybody who shows another person the way to the cave will die in consequence. From this cave three narrow openings in the rock, only wide enough to allow a person to pass through, lead to a country in the interior of the mountain where a river is flowing and there are vines and fig-trees and bees and honey. So large is this place that if anybody tried to penetrate it, he would have to burn hundreds of candles to see his way through. But people are afraid of going there; only a band of huntsmen would venture on such an expedition.

Many caves are well-known abodes of *jnūn*. At Fez there is, close to the slaughtering-place outside Bāb l-Hāmīs, a place called l-Māqṭa' with a large cave which contains springs dedicated to the *jenn* saints Sīdī Mūsa, Sīdī Ḥammū, Mūlāi Brāhim, and Lālla Mira l-'Arbiya. These, as well as other *jenn* saints, assemble in this cave, which is haunted only by *mūmnīn*, that is, Muhammadan *jnūn*. Šēmḥārūš had his government there while alive, but now that he is dead a *jennīya*, by name Nėjma, rules over the spirits in the cave. The place is visited by persons who are troubled by *jnūn*. The visitor kisses the ground or the wall of the cave, burns white and black benzoin, lights an oil-lamp (*mnāra*) at the margin of one of the springs, and gives to the *mquddem*, or care-taker, of the place some wax-candles and a black he-goat or a cock having the colour of the *jenn* or *jnūn* troubling the patient, or a *farrūj sēb'ā luān*, «a cock of seven colours.» It is killed by the *mquddem* «in the name of God,» and eaten by him, although it is 'ār on the *jnūn*. He is there every Monday and Thursday, the market-days of Fez, from the early morning till *ghir* (about 1.20 p.m.) to receive visitors. I once went to the Māqṭa' on a Friday morning, but was told that it was dangerous to go there then, as there were many *jnūn*; only black people, who need not be afraid of them, would dare to spend the night between Thursday and Friday at this place. I found in the cave only one spring, the others being dried up, four cairns, and some small bowls which had served as lamps.

On my journey to the mountains of the Inīknāfēn, in Ḥāha, I visited the interesting Imi n-Taqqāndut, «the mouth of Taqqāndut.» It consists of two huge caves in the rock on the western side of the valley which leads up to Timsurtyin. The caves are separated from each other by a thin partition-wall of rock, but there is communication between them through an opening in the wall. The place is a famous abode of Muhammadan *jnūn*, and is especially visited by people troubled with

lāryah. Both outside and inside the caves there are innumerable small piles of stones, made by visitors, who rub the stones against the affected part of the body before they pile them up; should anybody happen to overthrow one of these piles, he would catch the disease of its maker. In the cave to the right I found several twigs of oleander with which patients had been beaten for curative purposes. In the cave to the left fowls and sometimes sheep are sacrificed to the spirits, who are supposed to drink the blood, but not to eat the rest of the victim, unless it be a black cock. Here also Sidi 'Abdrrāḥman, their spokesman, gives his prescriptions — in the *jenn* language of course, — which are interpreted into Shelha or Arabic by their *mḡāddem*, who thus acts the part of a spiritualistic medium. When a man of my party declared his intention of offering up a sacrifice, the *mḡāddem* turned his face towards one of the narrow passages which lead from the spacious cave to the interior of the mountain, and called for Sidi 'Abdrrāḥman. A whistling sound was heard at once, and the *mḡāddem* informed the spirit of the proposed sacrifice. Another whistling followed, indicating the spot in the cave where the fowl was to be killed. Then Sidi 'Abdrrāḥman spoke for the third time, telling the *mḡāddem* that the wish of the petitioner was going to be fulfilled, but that he was unwilling to say anything more because there were Christians¹ in the neighbourhood. That the whistling was not merely imaginary is certain — it was heard by Shereef 'Abdsslam, on whose accuracy I can perfectly rely; the *mḡāddem* might have been a ventriloquist, or there might have been some communication between the cave and his house, which was situated on the top of the rock. Afterwards both the Shereef and myself had interviews with him. The interior of the mountain, he said, contains a large country with

¹) I was accompanied on my excursion by Mr. R. L. N. Johnston, of Mogador, who has also, in a brochure entitled *Morocco* (London, 1902), given a description of our visit to Imi n-Taqqāndut (p. 98 *seqq.*).

towns inhabited by *jnūn* more numerous than the stars in the sky, who at night are heard working in the mountain. In former days, when the human beings were better than they are now, the *jnūn* often used to come out to eat, with their children and animals, but at present they leave their towns only at night. They are on friendly terms both with saints and men. Their spokesman, Sidi 'Abdrrāḥman, often sends the patients who consult him to complete their cure at the shrine of some reputed saint, or commands them to pass between two stones at Sidi Mḥāmmēd u Slīman's sanctuary near by, which are supposed to shut in persons who have been cursed by their parents. To this saint the *jnūn* of Imi n-Taqqāndut stand in a particularly close relationship. He is their */qi*, who teaches them the Koran, and the meat of the sacrifices offered to them is mostly given to the scribes of his *lëndārst*, or college. Their governor, however, is l-Ḥajj Knuz, who lives somewhere else, and their sovereign is Sidi Ḥāmād u Mḥāmmēd ben Nāṣār, whose grave is in the valley of the Wad Drā in the extreme south of Morocco; to the latter the *jnūn* bring food, barley, straw, wood, and so forth. The *mḡāddem* told us that a patient who has been struck down by *lāryaḥ* has to be rubbed for two months and twenty days with oil mixed with various medicines, and to be beaten with oleander twigs on either side of the body. He must give presents to the *mḡāddem*, including eggs; and while sleeping he must keep one egg underneath his head and another egg underneath his feet. Every Wednesday during four weeks successively the *mḡāddem* fills one of the egg-shells with oil, which he sprinkles into the passages leading to the interior of the mountain. The *mḡādden* must be at the place on Mondays, Tuesdays, and particularly on Wednesdays; if he fails to be there then, the *jnūn* will punish him by making his neck wry and one of his feet dead. But the *jnūn* not only help to cure sick persons troubled with *lāryaḥ*: like the patron saint of a tribe they also take an active part in the battles of

the people in whose midst they reside. By their aid the governor of the Iniknâfën once, when attacked by a neighbouring tribe, repulsed with fifty men many hundreds of the enemy, but then he had, wisely enough, first sacrificed to them a black bullock. To us the cave-spirits were much less amiable. When we visited the place, my horse happened to stumble on the way back to my camp, and fell upon one of my servants who was carrying a gun. The gun was broken and the man became lame for some days; and I was told that the accident was caused by the *jnūn*. When on the following day I again passed the caves with my little caravan, a heavy rain began to fall. And now the rain was attributed to the ill-temper of the spirits.

In the district of the tribe Ait Bu'āmran in Sūs there is a certain cave, haunted by *jnūn*, which is visited by persons who desire to become good singers or farmers, or who want money or wheat, or have any other unfulfilled wish. At the entrance of the cave they kill a black animal, saying, *Ingbiun n-rābbi ay āit lmākān*, «[We are] guests of God, O folk of the place; but they must not mention their wish. The petitioner should stay at the cave till the *'aša*, or evening, prayer is over. Then he will hear much noise, and he will see stones falling down and snakes and horses and other animals coming out from the cave. But he must not be frightened by what he sees and hears, lest the *jnūn* should strike him. They take him into the cave and treat him hospitably and offer him various things — gold, silver, and so forth. But he should not accept anything else but that which he wished for, since otherwise he will at last find that he has got nothing at all. I was told all this by a man from Aglu, who had not been to the cave himself but only knew it by hearsay.

At the river Asif Ūdūdu in Aglu there is a cave called Agūlzi, which is likewise haunted by *jnūn*. It also contains a large number of pigeons. Once when a lad went there and

caught some of the young birds, he found that he could not open his hand again, and at the same time he lost his power of speech. His father called in scribes to read over him, and also sacrificed a sheep at the cave; but all his efforts to cure the lad were in vain, until he made a sacrifice of a bullock. Every year a feast is held at this cave, when a bullock or two are killed outside it by the people of the neighbouring village, and the meat, together with *sèksu*, is eaten on the spot. When I asked if the pigeons in the cave were saints or *jnūn*, the answer was, «Who can tell?» Close by there is buried a holy man who, while alive, used to sit at the cave without saying a word. Nobody knew from where he had come, and when he died there was much lightning all day long; but my informant, who had himself seen him, said that the cave had been haunted long before his arrival there.

At Dār l-Hjar in Andjra there is a cave, called Ġer Fātṭa, where sick people burn benzoin and spend the night, but as to the ultimate cause of their recovery the natives disagree: some of them say that the patients are cured by the *jnūn* haunting the cave, whereas others maintain that it has *baraka* because a saint, whose name is not known, has been inside it. The cave called *l-kāf-dyāl 'ain Daud* in the Ġarbiya is haunted by *jnūn*, who make light and sing there at night. On the Atlantic shore near Cape Spartel there is a cave from which millstones are taken. When the person who has ordered a stone comes to fetch it, he kills a sheep or a goat inside the cave as a sacrifice to the *jnūn* haunting the place. They are *mūminin*.

In the neighbourhood of the shrine of the Dukkāla saint Mūlāi 'Abdīlah, on the Atlantic shore, there is, on the sea-shore, a rock called *j-jūrf lē-sfar*, «the yellow rock», with two deep holes, which nobody dares to enter for fear of the *jnūn* haunting the place. And under the ground there are great treasures which are so carefully guarded by the spirits that all attempts to get hold of them made by scribes have been in vain.

Buried treasures are always haunted by *jnūn*. At Amzmūz a Berber told me that he, together with another Berber from Sūs and an Arab from Dukkāla, once went to dig for treasures at the ruins of Gerando, near the caravan road which leads from Dukkāla to Marrāksh. The two Berbers were reading incantations while the Arab was digging. A big snake came out of the ground and opened its mouth, but, without taking any notice of it, the Arab continued his work, and the snake went away. After further digging he found two boxes, which were fastened together with rings. A black girl came out and put her foot on the boxes and said to the digger, «You are not ashamed of taking our money; if you do not go away I shall throw you from here.» The digger answered, «O sister, I am going away.» Then the two Berbers were flung, one — my informant — not very far, but the other one to the shrine of Mūlāi ‘Abdīlah, and he died in consequence. The digger himself was left intact, but the hole he had dug was closed up.

In Dukkāla and the north of Morocco I heard very similar stories. A magician from Sūs who had come to the Bni ‘Āroṣ found there, by means of a charm, a place where money was buried. He asked two men to come and dig for it, promising them one-half of the treasure, and told them not to get frightened by anything they saw, nor to say a word. When they had digged a little, a camel came out of the ground and opened its mouth, as though it wanted to bite them; but they were not afraid and the camel disappeared. Subsequently a pig came out, wishing to bite them; but now again they showed no signs of fear. They found a box containing money, and a snake came out; but they took no notice of it, and the snake went away. Then the *jnūn* turned night into day, and people from the neighbouring village came to the place with their animals. When the diggers saw them, they said to the magician, «Now it is day, let us go home.» But the *jnūn* turned the day into night again, and pushed off the men who had spoken to the

people, and hurled the magician to so distant a place that he was never found again. It is a universal rule that anybody who is digging for treasures should refrain from speaking, so as not to be hurt by the *jnūn* that are guarding them. That buried money is supposed to be haunted by *jnūn* is of course connected with the idea that these spirits live under the ground. But copper-coins are also otherwise haunted; and I have heard the same about gold.

Water and places containing water are haunted by *jnūn*. People are afraid of sleeping near water, and it is bad to take water over a person who is asleep. So also water must not be sprinkled on a person when he is unaware of it; he may get a fright, and therefore be struck by *jnūn*. Before drinking water from a vessel or before filling a bottle with water, many persons pour out a little of it on the ground. People avoid shooting over a river or pond; if they do, they will miss their aim or may be hurt by *jnūn*. In Fez, when the bride is taken to her new home, the crossing of any open bridge from which water can be seen is carefully avoided. At Tangier children under a year are not allowed to drink water lest they should be hurt by *jnūn*. And it is no doubt for the same reason that no water is allowed to touch a newborn infant; among the Ait Sâddën a child is never washed until it begins to walk or even much later.

Many springs or other places containing water are particularly reputed to be haunted. Almost in the heart of the Great Atlas, in the tribe Igdmîon, I visited the miracle-working spring Imî n-Tâla, which is haunted by *jnūn*. To wash one's feet or face with its water prevents their getting diseased. When the mountaineers have a quarrel with the people of the plain, they raise up a storm by throwing a stone into the spring, and the wind does not abate until they offer at its margin a dish of porridge prepared without salt, as the *jnūn* like to have it; I was told that on the following morning nothing of the porridge is

left. When a heavy gale is blowing for several days, a black bullock is sacrificed there. A great falling-off in the amount of the water indicates that some misfortune has happened to the Sultan, and a sacrifice is again necessary to restore it to its usual abundance. The spring is situated in a very wild and gloomy gorge between high perpendicular rocks, from one of which the water issues with great force. When we approached it, one of my men exclaimed, «Where would the *jnūn* live if not here?»

In the village Ait Nâṣār in the tribe Ait Sâddēn, not far from Fez, there is a haunted spring, called Tagbālut l-Ljnūn, where women on Thursday nights burn benzoin as a cure for illness or barrenness. At Dār Fēllaq, in the tribe Jbel lā-Ḥbīb, there was formerly a haunted spring the water of which used to change its colour — sometimes it was red, sometimes green, and so forth. The people never drank of it, and at last they filled up the spring; in this condition it was when I saw it. In the same tribe I passed a luxuriant palmetto with knots made on most of the leaves, and a walled spring close by. If a person suffers from fever, he makes seven knots on the palmetto and drinks seven times from the spring, in both cases using his left hand; and passers-by often do the same with a view to keeping well. I was told that there is *baraka* both in the palmetto and in the spring; but the place must be much haunted by *jnūn*, as a man assured me and my servants that spirits would come and punish us in the night for having broken some of the leaves. At Laraiche there is a spring associated with the *jenn* saint Sidi Boqnâdel, into which people possessed with *jnūn* throw loaves of saltless bread; some tortoises — *jnūn* in disguise — will probably appear and eat the bread, and the person who threw it there, after he has in addition sprinkled his body with water from the spring, thinks he has got rid of his complaint. Someone who had tried the cure told me that he threw

into the water two loaves, one cold and the other hot, because his body was shivering with cold and burning with heat.

Healing springs are very frequently connected with shrines; but in many of these cases the curative effect of the water is partly attributed to the activity of friendly *jnūn* that inhabit the spring and not to the *baraka* of the saint alone. A famous spring is attached to «the tombs of the Seven Men,» *seb'ātu r'ijāl*, at Imzuġ, in the tribe Ait Wáuzgit, on the northern slopes of the Great Atlas, a place which is also known under the name of Lālla Tākērkust, who is said to have been their attendant. The spring or pond is crowded with tortoises, which are regarded as the spirits or «masters of the place» (*idbāb lmākān*), and act as curers of disease. If a person is suspected of being troubled with *lāryah*, he makes a sacrifice at the spring, flays the victim, and throws it to the tortoises; he then smears his hand or foot with yeast, and dips it into the water; and if the suspicion as to the nature of his disease was correct, the tortoises will now come and eat the yeast and at the same time relieve him of his complaint. In the Híaina, underneath the hill on which Sidi Buzrāzar has his shrine, there is a holy spring, 'Ain j-Jdam, with warm and salt water, likewise containing many *jnūn* in the shape of tortoises, which are said to be the servants of the saint. It is visited by persons suffering from syphilis or skin-diseases. The patient throws bread to the tortoises, washes himself with the water of the spring, and then goes to the shrine, where he lays down some candles or money, or makes a sacrifice, and rubs his body with the earth of the *styid*; this is done on three successive Saturdays. Outside Šēfru, below the shrine of its patron saint Sidi Būšārgin, there is a brook with a *haus*, or small enclosure, which is said to mark the grave of a female *jenn* saint, Lālla Rqēya bent^e Bēl l-Hāmar. A very old tree grows inside the *haus* and another close by; and when I visited the place I found many rags, strings, tufts of hair, and amulets, tied to their branches. Patients and other supplicants who

intend to visit the shrine on the hill above must first go to this place and wash themselves with its water, since their offerings to the saint would otherwise be of no avail. At the sulphurous springs of Mûlâi Ya'qob, in the hills above Fez, which are visited by crowds of syphilitic patients, two *jnûn*, one deaf and the other blind, are said to act as the saint's assistants. The deaf one boils some of the water, and the blind one cools it by pouring cold water into it; but to avoid extremes of temperature the patients must keep repeating, «Cold and hot, O my lord Ya'qob.»¹ In a river near Demnat, the so-called Asif n-Sîdi Nâşâr u Mhâşâr, there is a little rapid with holy water in which sick people bathe to get cured, married women to become mothers, and unmarried girls to be married soon. The saint from whom the river has its name is said to be buried underneath some stones in the middle of the rapid, or to have been sitting on them; but at the same time the river is said to be haunted by *jnûn*. Outside the same town I also saw a holy spring, which is called Lâlla T'abakiut* because a female saint of that name has been bathing there. Nothing else is known of her, and in spite of its holiness the spring is a meeting-place of the *jnûn*.

In Dukkâla I was told that certain wells are haunted by evil spirits, whereas others contain Muhammadan *jnûn* who give *baraka* to them. If anybody falls into a well of the latter description, he will not die, provided that there are people who help him up; but if he falls into a well which is haunted by evil spirits, he will die at once. If the water in such a well is scarce, it suddenly becomes plentiful when a person or an animal falls into it; and it will remain so for a couple of days. If the water in a well is turning red, it is a sign that the well «wants to kill,» and the water does not get back its natural colour until some living creature falls into it. Then nobody dares

¹ Cf. Budgett Meakin, *The Moors* (London, 1902), p. 348.

to go near the well; but if no person falls into it, some animal must do so if the *jnūn* are craving for a victim. My informant mentioned cases when persons of his family had died in wells with red water which afterwards increased in quantity.

The sea is haunted by *jnūn*, although it is also said to contain forty saints or is itself personified as a saint named Sidi Mūḥammed (or Mḥammed) l-Bḥar, 'the Sea.' I have even been told that there are more *jnūn* in the sea than on land, in spite of its water being salt. In the sea or on the sea-shore at Tangier there are big stones, with or without cairns, which are associated with the *jenn* saints Sidi Ḥammū, Sidi Méimūn, Sidi Faṭ Méimūn (of the same family as the previous one), Sidi Mūsa, Lālla Rqiya, Lālla Mira, Lālla Jmila, and Lālla 'Aīša; and Sidi Boqnādel has there even a *hawš*. In Dukkāla I was informed that Sidi Mūsa rules over the *jnūn* in the sea.

Every public bath (*ḥammam*) is haunted by *ṣayātīn*. Hence a person who visits such a place must, before he enters the hot room, remove any charm he is wearing, lest it should lose its *baraka*. For the same reason sexual intercourse is strictly prohibited there. Ali Bey, who travelled in Morocco in 1803, tells us that the first time he went to a public bath in Fez, he observed that pails full of hot water were placed with symmetry in the corners of every room and cabinet. I asked the reason of this? he adds. 'Do not touch them, sir,' answered all the people belonging to the bath: 'do not touch them!' Why not? 'These pails are for the people below.' Who are they? 'The demons who come here to bathe themselves at night.'¹

Jnūn are haunting the fire and the fire-place (in Arabic *l-kānūn*, in Shelḥa *tākāt* or *tākkāt*, in the Berber of the Ait Sād-dēn *ālmssi* and in that of the Ait Warāin *tāḥfurt n-tāsssi*). If a person sleeps with his head near the fire-place, he is very liable

¹ Ali Bey, *Travels in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, between the Years 1803 and 1807*, i. (London, 1816) p. 73 sq.

to be struck by them; some people say that he will never get well again, whilst according to others he will have a headache or be troubled with bad dreams. Nor must anybody sleep with a stone from the fire-place (in Arabic *mānṣba*, plur. *mnāṣēb*; in Shelḥa *inki*, plur. *ankan*; in the Berber of the Ait Sāddēn *inyi*, plur. *inyān*) underneath his head, nor wash his hands or feet over such a stone so that water falls on it;² and it is particularly dangerous for a woman who washes after she has had connection with another man than her husband, and for a man who does so after he has had connection with another woman than his wife, to let any drop of the water touch the fire-place (Ulād Bu'āziz). *Lāzēmna ngēslu rējlēk á'la l-mānṣba*, 'We must wash your foot over the stone of the fire-place,' is jokingly said to a visiting friend as a mild reproach for not having come before. Many a woman has been struck by *jnūn* because she has spilt water into the fire when cooking; and purposely to throw water on fire is very dangerous. The people of Fez say that he who extinguishes the fire with water extinguishes thereby his own prosperity. To throw out a brand from the fire-place when it is raining makes the angels blind (Hīāina); indeed, fire ought never to be thrown out of the house but should be extinguished indoors (Ait Wāryāgāl).

If a woman has given birth to a child, no fire must be given from her tent to another tent for seven days after the birth of the child, lest the baby should die (Ait Warāin) or its eyes become diseased (Ulād Bu'āziz). If a mare has foaled, no fire must be given out from the house or tent of its owner for three days (Ait Sāddēn). If a cow has calved, any fire given from the tent of its owner to another tent must be taken from the side of the fire-place, and not from its centre; this rule should be observed as long as the cow gives milk, and if it is trans-

² In the Hīāina, however, an unmarried woman, in order to get a husband, washes her right foot three times with hot water over the *mnā-ṣēb*, each time putting the foot into the shoe after washing it.

gressed the cow will have a diseased udder (Ulād Bu'āziz). Among various Berber tribes (Ait Ngēr, Ait Warāin, Ait Ubāhṭi), on the first day when the tents of a village have been pitched at a new place, a big fire is made in the centre of the village, and from this each household takes its fire; but no fire must be given from one tent to another on that day. Among the Ait Warāin, if a person asks another to lend to him fire from his tent, he does not use the ordinary word for fire, *tṡmssi*, but calls it *l'āfẓēt* — a berberised form of the Arabic *'āfia*, which is itself a euphemism, meaning «comfort.»

When a person strikes a light in a dark room he says, *Msa l-hāir 'ālikum a mwālin lē-mkān*, «Good evening to you, O ye masters of the place.» A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shāwia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Wāryāgāl). In another place I have pointed out that fire is in many cases held to be destructive to *baraka*.¹ If milk boils over into the fire, the cow will have a diseased udder, or it will give no milk, or its milk will be poor in cream; and if biestings happen to fall into the fire, the cow or the calf will probably die. There are very many *jnūn* in ashes, ready to strike those who step or walk over them or pour water or make water on them.

Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give *bās* (evil) to the house. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Amzmūz, Iglīwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegroom's house, her relatives carefully observe that «she shall

¹ *The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka) (Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten's Föreläsningar. Bd. LVIII. 1915—1916. Afd. B. N:o 1), p. 144 sq.*

not touch the threshold of the door.»¹ The «masters of the house» are walking out and in over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its *jenn*-owners: *kull māḥāl bē mwāḥlīh*. These spirits are called «the masters of the place,» in Arabic *mwāḥlīn lē-mkān* (*mwāḥlīn l-mkān*), in Berber *áyitḥab umḥan* (Ait Wāryāgāl) or *igbāb w-wānsa* (Ait Sāddēn); or «the men» or «people of the place,» in Arabic *rijāl lē-mkān*, in Berber *ayāit lmakān* or *ayāit udgār* (Igliwa); or «the masters of the house,» in Arabic *mwāḥlīn d-dār*, in Berber *lēmluk n-igimmi* (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These *jnūn* are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

Certain houses are haunted to such a degree that nobody dares to live in them. At Fez large numbers of *jnūn* come together in an old fort. These spirits are generally very fond of ruins. Outside Tangier there is a Portuguese ruin called Dār l-ḥāmra, which is haunted by Muhammadan *jnūn*. It is said to participate of the *baraka* of Sīdi Meṣmūdi, whose sanctuary is close by, and women even make the ruin itself a saint by calling it Lālla Dār l-ḥāmra. I once saw a mother taking her little child to this place and leaving it there alone for a while, till the child began to cry; this was meant as a cure for some illness caused by *jnūn*. Saintly shrines, *záwīat*,² and mosques — particularly their minarets — are much haunted by Muhammadan *jnūn*, who strike those who enter the place in a state of uncleanness or drunkenness. But in mosques where no reading is done, and at shrines by night, there are also said to be *ṣayāḥīn*, who are less scrupulous in their doings. People are therefore afraid of visiting *sāddāt* at night, especially such as are situated in lonely places; and if a sick person goes

¹ Chenier, *The Present State of the Empire of Morocco*, i. (London, 1788) p. 277.

² For the meaning of the word *záwīa* see *The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, p. 36 sq.

to spend a night at a shrine, he is usually accompanied by some friends, who remain with him.

On the surface of the earth the *jnūn* are most plentiful and active after the 'āṣar, or midafternoon, prayer; this time of the day is their morning, when they get up. After sunset they are not so bad, but during the middle part of the night they are again very numerous and dangerous. Some people maintain that they are so also between daybreak and sunrise, whereas others are of opinion that they run away at daybreak. There are, however, also said to be *jnūn* — Jewish ones — that are in the habit of doing mischief when the sun is shining and the heat is very great.

A variety of actions must be refrained from or require special precautions after 'āṣar, or when it is dark. I was repeatedly obliged to interrupt my conversation about the *jnūn* at 'āṣar. Once when I went on discussing the subject a little too late with a scribe from Dukkāla, he became very uneasy and remained so until my servant happened to break his empty teaglass, which, as he said, removed his *bas*, or misfortune. We have already noticed that people are afraid of mentioning the *jnūn* by their proper name after 'āṣar. They abstain from sleeping between 'āṣar and sunset, and should anybody happen to be asleep at 'āṣar he is immediately waked up. People refrain from sweeping the floors of their houses or tents in the evening or already after 'āṣar. Once a scribe from the Ḥiāina refused to call upon one of my servants who was ill after 'āṣar, saying that it would be bad for the patient if he did so; but there is no harm in calling on a sick person after sunset. Some people say that it is bad to die between 'āṣar and sunset.

At Marráksh I heard of a man who moved out from his house regularly every night for fear of *jnūn*. Very many Moors are afraid of sleeping alone in a room, especially if the door is left open; and to sleep on a staircase is regarded as particularly dangerous. If anybody knocks at your door when it is

dark, you should not open it for him but tell him to come back the next day; for otherwise *ḡayāḡīn* would enter with him, or the individual who knocked may himself be a *jenn* even though he mentioned his name (Andjra, Tangier). Or if a person knocks at your door at night and cries out, «O so-and-so,» you should not answer, *N'ām*, «Yes,» since the *jenn* who is knocking would in such a case say to you, *T'amrād 'ām*, «You will be ill for a year» (*Ḥiāina*). Indeed, if anybody calls you at night, you ought not to answer at all until he has called you three times, as it otherwise may be a *jenn*. In Andjra I was told that it is dangerous to go out at night and make water, unless some salt is strewn on the ground as a precaution — but everybody is not so cautious as that. In the *Ḥiāina* it is said that if a person gets up naked in the night, *jnūn* will strike him.

Substances and places which are reputed to be haunted are particularly so after '*āṣar* or in the dark. Bloodletting must not take place after '*āṣar*, and in Fez it is not practised after *ḡhōr*. People must not tread on blood or visit the slaughtering-place at the market between '*āṣar* and sunrise. Nor do they go to a place where there is a carcass at night. And at old cemeteries the *mawālin l-arḡ*, «the masters of the ground,» are ready to strike the nightly intruder. Yet there are persons who go to cemeteries at night and unbury dead bodies which have been buried the same day, in order to steal the grave-clothes; they are themselves haunted by *jnūn*, and have therefore nothing to fear.¹ Dung of horses, mules, or donkeys must not be removed after '*āṣar*; and if anybody happens to tread on such dung after '*āṣar*, he should ward off the *jnūn* with the usual phrase *bismillāh r-raḥmān r-raḥīm*.

In Andjra it is considered bad to accept copper coins in the evening; if anybody then comes back from the market with change, the acceptance of it is deferred to the following mor-

¹ Such a grave-robber is called *nebbāṣ l-qbōr*.

ning. And if a person lends or changes money at night, it is believed that something bad will happen to him. Among the Ait Wāryāgāl, if anybody receives money in the later afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after 'āṣar.

Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbour, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after 'āṣar or between 'āṣar and sunset.¹ It is said that grinding between 'āṣar and sunset would cause destruction among the animals which then return to the village from the pasture (Ait Waráin), or to cause death or give *bas* not only to domestic animals but to persons of the household as well.

People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, *jnūn* may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent *jnūn* from eating of it (Hiāina, Ait Wāryāgāl). In Andjra I was told that you should not leave till the next morning food of which you have partaken, but what you do not eat you should put away in a clean place or give to some poor person or to dogs, because *jnūn* will eat of such food during the night; but there is no danger in eating food prepared on the day before, if nobody then partook of it. A man from Aglu, on the other hand, said that if you want to leave a loaf of bread for the following morning, you should first eat a little piece of it, with the usual phrase *bismillā*. Otherwise a *jenniya* will in the night send for it, give birth to a baby on it, and then return it; and the person who eats it will be struck by a *jenn*.

Among the Ait Waráin children are not allowed to drink water in the dark; if they are complaining of thirst, some older person makes light and pours out water from the skin bottle

¹ See *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (*Öfversigt af Finska Vetenskaps-Societets Föreläsningar*. Bd. LIV. 1911–1912. Afd. B. N:o 1), pp. 47, 48, 52 sq.

in which it is kept, saying *bismillāh*, and the same phrase is repeated by the child who drinks it. The custom of pouring out water from a vessel before drinking from it is particularly observed at night and in the morning also, as *jnūn* may have drunk from it during the night; a man from the Ait Sāddēn told me that two of his relatives had got a wry mouth because they had drunk from a *ṭaberrātt*, or water-bottle, in the evening without taking the said precaution. In the Hīaina neither the large earthenware vessel with two ears, called *l-būš*, in which water is kept, nor the *berrāda*, or water-bottle from which the people drink, must be left without water over night, lest *jnūn* should enter into it and dirty it by making water in it and thus cause sickness to those who afterwards drink from it; and in Andjra the mouth of the water-bottle is, besides, stopped or covered up in the evening, or somebody puts his hand over the opening and says *bismillāh*, which also restrains *jnūn* from entering. The Ait Wāryāgāl maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent *jnūn* from drinking of it.

People refrain from washing themselves with such water, since there may be *jnūn* in it or *jnūn* may have made water in it (Ait Wāryāgāl, Andjra); and bathing after 'āṣar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night — indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, *Men ḥājāma ba'd l-'āṣri au 'āma au nāma qalīl s-salāma*, 'From bloodletting or bathing or sleep after 'āṣar comes little peace.' A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after *dhōr*, *jnūn* will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (*būtāllis* or *būḍāddis*); and if he has his head shaved after 'āṣar, he will have a headache. Shaving after 'āṣar, or at least between 'āṣar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river

at night to recite the 112th *sūrah* of the Koran before crossing. In Dukkāla I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground after 'āṣar is dangerous, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of a *bismillāh*.

To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is particularly dangerous after 'āṣar. To carry ashes after 'āṣar is also avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Wāryāgāl) the carrying of fire from one house to another. The Ūlād Bu'āziz do not extinguish the fire at night for fear of *jnūn*, but cover it up with the three *mnāṣṣeb*. It is universally considered bad to play with fire at night; the common belief is that he who does so, especially if it is a child, will make water in the bed. But the Ait Warāin maintain that if boys play with fire in the evening, there will be fighting.

In Tangier and Shiādma I was informed that an animal on which the saddle is left over night will be ridden by *jnūn*. But I have also been assured that a horse can never be exposed to such a danger, owing to its *baraka*.

At Fez I heard that the *jnūn* are particularly numerous on Thursday night and Friday forenoon till the mid-day prayer is over, as also on Sunday night. On these nights the people, before going to bed, light a wick in a little bowl filled with oil — a so-called *mnāra* — close to the water of the house and leave it there to burn; and when this is done they must go to bed at once, because *jnūn* would strike them if they stayed up any longer. On Fridays the inhabitants of Fez avoid to scrub their houses and to wash their clothes, lest they should be hurt by *jnūn* when pouring the dirty water into the drain (*qādūs*); and for fear of these spirits they also take care to avoid all quarrels on a Friday. This day is called 'id l-mūmnin, 'the feast of the faithful *jnūn*.' To sleep in the afternoon after 'āṣar is particularly bad on Wednesdays. In Andjra I was told that the *jnūn* are most dangerous on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, and

that on Wednesdays they become very dangerous even some half an hour before 'aṣar.

The *jnūn* are said to stay at home, in their subterranean dwellings, when an easterly wind is blowing, because this wind would make them blind or lame or even kill them (Andjra, Híáina). During the month of Ramaḍān they are confined in prison so as to become incapable of attacking the people, who then move about and take their meals at night; but I have also been told that this is the case with the *ṣayāṭīn* only. For the Muhammadan *jnūn*, at least, the imprisonment only lasts till the twenty-seventh night of the month, when they are set free to be able to celebrate that holy night in their own regions; and many people believe that all *jnūn* are then released.

CHAPTER II

PROPHYLACTIC MEASURES AGAINST THE *JNŪN*

It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the *jnūn* generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The *jnūn* are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from child-bed women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms,¹ and from dead persons before they are buried.

The *jnūn* abhor salt, especially rock salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by *jnūn*, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents in the twenty-seventh night of Ramaḍān, when the *jnūn* are released from their imprisonment. Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent *jnūn* from spoiling their efficacy.

¹ See my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco* (London, 1914), Index, s. v. Candles.

The Ait Wäryägäl strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after 'āṣar, though not otherwise. The same is done by the Ulād Bu'āziz even when a fowl is killed, and it is considered necessary that the blood should actually come in contact with the salt on the ground. The Ait Sāddēn throw salt on the blood on the ground after an animal or fowl has been killed. At Fez, when an animal is killed at home, not at the public slaughtering place, salt is put into the gaping wound as soon as the throat has been cut; and the same was said to be done in Andjra by those who know the proper method of slaughtering animals, the salt preventing *jnūn* from drinking the blood and, by doing so, making the meat bad. At the 'id kbir, or «Great Feast,» salt is thrown on the spot where the sacrificial animal is going to be slaughtered, or pushed into its mouth just before it is killed, or put into the gaping wound and thrown on the blood which has fallen on the ground.¹ When a piece of raw meat is brought into the house or tent, some salt is put on it in order to keep away the *jnūn* (Hīāina, Ulād Bu'āziz). At Fez, when a person has been bitten by a scorpion, he ties up the part of the body which has been bitten, so as to prevent the poison from spreading, and then an 'Aisāwi sucks the blood from the wound and spits it out. But the 'Aisāwi first puts salt into his mouth — not as a protection against the poison, which he is proof against, but on account of the blood.

Among the Ait Yūsi, when a child is born, the navel-string (*timett*) is thrown into a river or buried underneath the pole supporting the roof, together with the after-birth (*timāttin*), seven grains of barley, a piece of rock salt, and a little henna; and the knife with which the navel-string was cut is put underneath the head of the child, together with some salt, as a protection

¹ See my article 'The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. (1911) p. 142 sq.

against *jnūn* — particularly against the *jennia* which threatens the lives of new-born babies. Some salt, harmel, dry gum-sandarach, and a piece of charcoal, are tied up in a little bag and, together with a silver coin, a shell (*tagūlett*), and a red coral (*aḥōrri*), are fastened with a blue string to the right ankle of the mother as charms against *jnūn*; there they are left for forty days, after which period the mother goes to a river and removes them, not with her hands but with her left foot. And charms of the same kind as are tied round her ankle are also tied round the wrist of the child's right hand, and are likewise allowed to remain there for forty days. The Ait Waráin protect a new-born babe against *jnūn* and the evil eye by fastening to the string with which the swaddles are tied up, over the chest, a piece of rock salt, a silver coin, some harmel, a piece of rue (*iúrmi*), a shell (*taudé'dt*), and a coral. In the Híáina rock salt and harmel, are tied both to the swaddling-cloth of the child and to the belt of the mother, as charms against *jnūn*. In the same tribe and Andjra salt is put at the place where a boy is circumcised. Very frequently salt is used as a prophylactic at weddings,¹ and sometimes in ceremonies following upon weddings.²

The farmer hangs a piece of salt on the animal with which he is ploughing.³ He uses salt to keep away the *jnūn* from the corn on the threshing-floor⁴ and in the granary.⁵ And some salt is put in the hole of the handmill to prevent their coming to steal flour.⁶ In the Híáina food which is kept inside the house over night is not only covered up, but a small piece of

¹ *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 89, 90, 103-105, 123, 147, 150, 162, 166, 187, 251, 256, 258, 306, 322.

² *Ibid.* pp. 296, 306.

³ *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc.* p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 27, 31 sq.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 45.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 47.

salt is besides put into it in the evening, at least in the case of *ta'âm* (*sěksu*) and meat.

When people bury money in the ground, they put some salt with it to prevent *jnūn* from stealing it (Fez, *Hiaina*, At *Ubāḥṭi*). When they are digging a well, they put a large piece of rock salt in the pit, after which they continue the digging (*Hiaina*). In Andjra, when water is for the first time fetched from a spring which has just been made ready for use, or from a new well, some salt is not infrequently thrown into it to drive away the *jnūn* which have «their bed» in the water. At Mazagan the builder who makes the floor of a public bath, puts salt all over the place where he is going to make it. In the *Hiaina* it is the custom to keep some salt covered with earth in the small room which is used for bathing (*mūda-l-ūḡā*). Among the Ait Wāryāḡāl a person who goes to wash himself at the *dāmāṭṭharṭ* in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, he throws some salt on the ground. So also in Andjra a person strews salt at the place in the house where he is going to wash himself with hot water in the evening, and he says to the *jnūn* haunting it, *Hāiḡū ulāḡkum*, «Take away your sons.» The Ulād Bu'āziz put salt into the water if they take a bath after 'āṣar.

In Andjra a water-bucket and a kettle are three times rinsed with salt before they are used, because both water and the fire-place are haunted by *jnūn*. In the *Hiaina* a new-bought earthenware kettle (*ḡēdra* or *bārma*) must not be used before it has been subject to a certain ceremony calculated to prevent *jnūn* from entering it: some salt, flour, and water are put into it and allowed to boil, after which both its inside and outside are scrubbed with the mixture. In Andjra, before a new lamp is used, some salt is put into it and a little boy has to make water in it, and both the salt and the urine are kept there for three days to prevent its becoming *meskūn*; the urine serves as a charm on account of the *baraka* attributed to the little boy.

For the same purpose the Ait Wāryāgāl keep salt on their lamps; and in some tribes, when a candle is lighted at night, salt is put at the side of the wick in order to prevent *jnūn* from entering the room (Andjra, Ulād Bu'āziz). In Andjra, before a person extinguishes the fire with water in the evening, he throws some salt in it, lest the smoke rising from the fire-place when he pours the water should make him ill. When he throws the salt and pours the water he says, *Ana bē ūāh u š-šra', hāidū ulādkum*.

On the other hand, salt is avoided on certain occasions when the presence of *jnūn* is held desirable. In many places the bread which is sold in the market contains no salt, or very little of it, because among the customers there are many *jnūn* in human disguise, and they, of course, would not care for bread made with salt (Dukkāla, Marrāksh, Glawi, and other parts of Southern Morocco). For a similar reason meat sold in the market is never salted, unless the person who buys it expressly asks the seller to strew some salt on it. And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no *jnūn* would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulād Bu'āziz, Andjra, Ait Wāryāgāl).

The *jnūn* are afraid of iron and steel, and especially weapons of steel. Many people in Fez wear a steel ring made in the month of Moharram round the little finger of the right hand as a protection against *jnūn*. For the same purpose the Ait Nder hang on themselves a horse-nail. A very effective method of driving away the *jnūn* from a desert place at night is to strike a piece of steel against a flint (Hīāina). An article of steel is sometimes put together with the money which is buried in the ground (Ulād Bu'āziz). So also an object of steel, such as a sickle, plough-point, or dagger, is often used to keep away the *jnūn* from the corn on the treshing-floor.¹ There are persons who put

¹ *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc.* pp. 27, 31 sq.

a dagger or a knife close to their pillow before they go to bed. A boy who was left alone in a house was attacked by *jnūn*; they shut the door and blew out the light, but by rubbing a knife against the wall the boy succeeded in driving them out. Daggers,¹ swords,² and needles,³ are in frequent use at weddings as safeguards against *jnūn*. At Fez and in Andjra, if the body of a dead person remains in the house over night, a dagger is often put on the top of it. Once when I began to talk about the *jnūn* with a scribe from the Ulād Bu'āziz, he took hold of my penknife, and kept it in his hand during the conversation.

The *jnūn* are also afraid of silver and brass, or at least of certain objects made of these metals. Among the Iglīwa and the Shlōh of Aglu a person who takes a bath after 'āṣar protects himself from the *jnūn* by putting into the water a silver coin or a silver ring. In the Ḥiāina a perforated silver coin sent by the bridegroom is tied round the wrist of the bride's right hand as a charm against these spirits,⁴ and for the same purpose a silver ring is commonly worn there by men round the little finger of their left hand; indeed I knew a Ḥiāina man who had two such rings on the said finger, one against *mū-minin* and the other against *ṣayāṭin*. Among the Ulād Bu'āziz a ring of silver or brass is likewise worn round the same finger with a view to keeping off the *jnūn*, but 'Aisāwa and female singers and prostitutes also wear such a ring round the ring-finger of the left hand. In Andjra a silver or brass ring is worn round the little or ring-finger of the left hand as a protection both against *jnūn* and the evil eye; whereas among the

¹ *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 89, 123, 152, 163, 197, 211, 221, 250, 256, 322, 356.

² *Ibid.* pp. 97 note, 99, 102, 104, 106-109, 111, 112, 123, 149, 155, 162, 235, 237, 239, 242, 244, 251, 255, 256, 282, 290, 322, 356.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 150, 162, 237, 256, 290, 322.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 147, 162 sq.

Ait Wāryāgāl similar rings are for the same purposes worn by men round the middle finger of the right hand (one ring only) and by women round the middle, ring-, and little finger of the right hand and round the ring- and little finger of the left, sometimes several rings on the same finger. I have heard it said that a ring is a charm against the *jnūn*, whether it be made of one metal or another (U'lād Bu'āziz); but on the other hand I have also been told that a ring of gold is useless in this respect (Andjra). Sometimes the ring which is worn against the *jnūn* has a *hāmsa* and *hmīsa* on it.¹

The *jnūn* shun the smell of pitch (*qāṭran*, euphemistically called *biaḍ*, «white»). Among the Iglīwa there are persons who smear some part of their body with it to keep away these spirits. In Andjra people put pitch into their nostrils to prevent *jnūn* from entering, and they also put pitch at the entrance of the house and in its four corners. The Ait Wāryāgāl put pitch on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against *jnūn* and snakes; and for the same purpose the Arabs of the Hīāina make some spots of pitch on the walls of their rooms. In the Shāwia, when a child is born, the midwife paints with pitch five vertical lines on two of the walls of the room which are opposite one another, and between these figures she draws with the same material a horizontal line along the walls round the place where the mother has her bed. The two figures consisting of five lines each are meant as charms against the evil eye, whilst the pitch serves as a protection against *jnūn*. Pitch is also used to protect the corn on the threshing-floor² and in the granary³ from these spirits. It is a wide-spread custom to smear the mouth of a

¹ For these charms see my article 'The Magic Origin of Moorish Designs,' in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, xxxiv. (1904) pp. 213, 214, 218.

² *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc.* pp. 27, 31 sq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 45.

new water-bottle with pitch to make it safe for people to drink from. Pitch is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent *jnūn* from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Wāryāgāl). Contrary to the general belief, however, I was told in Fez that the *jnūn* are not afraid of pitch, but that a certain *jenn* called *j-jémmāl* is actually fond of it.

The Ait Yūsi bury a piece of charcoal with their money if they have no pitch, and the Ait Ubāḥṭi regularly put a small piece of charcoal with the money they bury in the ground to protect it from *jnūn*. The latter also, for a similar reason, throw a piece of charcoal as well as salt on the spot where the sacrificial animal is going to be slaughtered at the Great Feast, and put a piece of charcoal and salt into its mouth immediately before it is killed. In the Ḥiāina some soot from an earthenware kettle is painted between the eyes of a new-born baby when there is a thunder-storm, to prevent *jnūn* from injuring it in case it gets a fright.

The *jnūn* are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Wāryāgāl say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted. The *jnūn*'s fear of powder largely explains the profuse powder-play which forms such a conspicuous feature of a Moorish country wedding.¹ Among the Ait Ubāḥṭi the bridegroom carries a pistol, which he puts underneath the pillow before he has intercourse with the bride.

The *jnūn* are kept off or driven away by alum (*šūb* or *šib*), harmel (*ḥārmel*; *Peganum Harmala*), rue (*fījel* or *rūṭa*, Berb. *iūrmi* or *aūrmi*), rosemary (Berb. *āzir*), coriander (*qāṣbūr*), agal-wood (*ūd qmāri*), gum-ammoniac (*fāsoḥ*), gum-lemon (*ḥṣānbān* or *ḥṣā-nabel*), and benzoin (*jāwi*). At Tangier the *jnūn* are put to flight by the smoke of alum. Among the Ulād Bu'āziz, for forty days

¹ See *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 112, 122 sq.

after the birth of a child, when it is in great danger of being hurt by *jnūn*, alum, harmel, and coriander are in the afternoon or evening burned in the tent, and the child is held over the smoke; and the same is also done after the end of this period, when the child is crying. In Fez people protect themselves against *jnūn* and the evil eye by wearing alum and harmel wrapped up in silk underneath their *bed'āia* (waistcoat) or *qāftān*. The *jnūn*'s dislike of harmel is proverbial, the enmity of persons towards one another being compared with a *jenn*'s love of harmel: — *Kat'hebbni mḥābbāt 'a-jjenn fē l-hārmel* (Tangier), or, *Mḥābbēt j-jenn m'ū l-hārmel* (Ulād Bu'āziz). Harmel is used as a charm against *jnūn* on threshing-floors and in granaries.¹ It is for a similar purpose attached to written charms (*Aṭ Ubāḥṭi*) or to money which is buried in the ground (*Ḥiāina*). Pounded and mixed with water, it is taken by persons who are afraid of being struck by evil spirits. Sometimes it is, together with gum-ammoniac and other charms against *jnūn*, carried by the bridegroom throughout the wedding week.² And in other cases it is burned to drive away *jnūn* with the smoke (Tangier, *Ḥiāina*).³ The *Aṭ Ubāḥṭi* fumigate their tents with harmel and benzoin in the 27th night of Ramaḍān. In Aglu, after the usual sacrifice has been performed on the day when a child is named, some harmel, gum-ammoniac, and agal-wood are burned on the threshold of the room in which the mother is with the baby; and she has to walk over it with the child in her arms in order to expel evil spirits. Elsewhere, also, gum-ammoniac is burned for similar purposes (Tangier, *Ḥiāina*), and so is rue (*Ḥiāina*, *Shlōḥ*). The latter is besides used to keep off *jnūn* from the corn both on the threshing-floor⁴ and in the granary,⁵

¹ *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture*, pp. 27, 32, 45.

² *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 104, 105, 290.

³ See *ibid.* p. 305.

⁴ *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture*, pp. 27, 32.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 45.

or it is put inside written charms (Aṭ Ubāḥṭi), or is carried by women round their neck and by men at the string of camel-hair (*l-hait*) which they have wound round the head (Hīāina).

In the Hīāina people fumigate themselves with coriander; in Fez coriander is called *t'effah l-jinn*, «the apples of the *jnūn*.» In the same town gum-lemon is burned inside the house at night, when its inhabitants are afraid of *jnūn*; and the room in which a dead body is lying is fumigated with it so as to prevent *ṣayāṭīn* from entering or to drive away those that are there before. Among the Aṭ Sāddēn the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, in Andjra with benzoin, and among the Aṭ Wāryāgāl with agal-wood, which is said to be shunned by the *jnūn* but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there. On Thursday nights the people of the Hīāina burn in their rooms gum-lemon, agal-wood, and white and black benzoin (the former called *jāwi mekkāwi*, the latter *jāwi sūdāni* or *jāwi khal*) in order to drive away all *ṣayāṭīn* and please the angels. In Tangier also the smoke of agal-wood is supposed to put the *jnūn* to flight, whereas they are said to be fond of both kinds of benzoin and even use them as incense at their own weddings. In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the *jnūn* delight in black benzoin (Dukkāla, Shāwia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Aṭ Wāryāgāl), or that it is liked by certain *jnūn* but disliked by others, which is shown by the fact that the smoke of it makes a person who is possessed with *jnūn* weep (Andjra). In Tangier it is believed that the smoke of musk (*méska*) drives away *jnūn*; but in Fez I heard that a well-known *jennīya*, Lālla Mira, is very fond of eating both musk and sugar.

Henna (*hānna*), the well-known colouring matter produced from the leaves of the Egyptian privet (*Lawsonia inermis*), is

not merely a favourite cosmetic among the women but is also frequently used as a means of protection against evil influences; and the same is the case with walnut root or bark (*swak*), with which women paint their lips and teeth brownish, and antimony (*khōl*), with which they paint their eyes black. But though chiefly used by the women, all these paints are also on special occasions used by men,¹ and henna and antimony are applied to new-born babes as well. In some instances, especially such as refer to child-bed women and infants, I have been expressly told that the paints in question are meant to serve as a protection against *jnūn*.

Among the Ait Sāddēn the bride has a broad line painted with saffron on the *ḥzār* round the top of her head, and so much importance is attached to this custom that it is practised even in the case of a widow bride, although she is not painted with henna. The reason for it was not stated, but considering that charms for persons who are troubled with *insēlmēn* (*jnūn*) are frequently written with saffron, it seems probable that the custom just mentioned was originally intended to protect the bride against these spirits.

A scribe from Glawi said that it is known among scribes that *jnūn* do not come near a person who carries a stick cut from a bitter-almond tree or has on his body a charm made of its wood. And a scribe from Mequinez told me that they keep away from a person who has in his hand an olive stick.

There can be little doubt that many or most of these substances and fumes are supposed to be shunned by the *jnūn* on account of their strong taste or smell; but the more or less supernatural character attributed to some of them has also had something to do with the belief in question. Salt has not only a strong taste, which has justly been regarded as a cause of its

¹ 'The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. p. 132 *sqq.* *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, passim* (see Index, s. v. antimony, henna, walnut root or bark).

use as a charm against evil spirits,¹ but is also a somewhat mysterious substance owing to its power of checking decay.² It must be handled with a certain caution: in many parts of Morocco it must not be given out from the house in the evening. As regards the fear which the *jnūn*, like many other spirits,³ have of iron, there seems to be good reason for accepting Tylor's explanation that the *jinn* are essentially creatures belonging to the ancient Stone Age, and that the new metal is therefore hateful and hurtful to them.⁴ Henna, walnut root and bark, and antimony have *baraka*; and the same is the case with the olive.

Baraka is in many other cases considered to keep off the *jnūn*, and is therefore utilised as a safeguard against them. In Dukkāla water which has been brought home on the morning of 'āšūra, 10th Moharram, is put into the vessel where money is laid when it is buried in the ground, to serve as a charm against the earth-spirits, and such water is also poured on the threshing-floor; it is regarded as a charm on account of the *baraka* which water, or at least springwater, is supposed to possess on this particular morning. Among the Ait Sāddēn, on the evening of the seventh day after the birth of a child (*ass n-sstbā'*) when the child is named, the house or tent, and also the mother and child, are fumigated with various kinds of incense bought on the day of 'āšūra, which is looked upon as particularly effective against *jnūn*. The hair on the head and feet of the animal sacrificed at the Great Feast is singed off as quickly as possible, because the smoke is supposed to drive away evil spirits,⁵ and

¹ Cf. Schurtz, *Urgeschichte der Kultur* (Leipzig & Wien, 1900), p. 599; Samter *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* (Leipzig & Berlin, 1911), p. 161.

² Cf. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. (Westminster, 1896) p. 23.

³ Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul* (London, 1911), p. 232 *sqq.*

⁴ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, i. (London, 1891) p. 140.

⁵ See 'The Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. 145.

the blood of the animal is in various ways used for a similar purpose.¹

Of all preventives against *jnūn* none are considered more efficacious than holy words or passages of the Koran; there are *jnūn* that are afraid of neither salt nor steel, but all of them are afraid of the sacred words, except, I am told, their scribes, who are pious and good *jnūn* never thinking of doing harm to anybody. At Fez, if a little child is left alone in a room, a copy of the Koran is put close to its head to prevent *jnūn* from exchanging it for another child. The following portions of the Koran are commonly used against *jnūn*: — 1) Verse 256 of the 2nd *sūrah* (*sūratu 'l-baqarah*), the famous *āyatu 'l-kursi*, «the verse of the throne.» It is related that 'Alī heard Muḥammad say in the pulpit, that if a person repeats this verse after every prayer «nothing prevents him entering into Paradise but life; and whoever says it when he goes to his bed-chamber, God will keep him in safety, together with his house and the house of his neighbour.»² 2) *Sūrah* LXXII, *sūratu 'l-jinn*, «the chapter of the *jinn*.» 3) *Sūrah* CXII, *sūratu 'l-ihlās*, «the chapter of the unity.» 4) *Sūrah* CXIII, *sūratu 'l-falaq*, «the chapter of the daybreak,» in which the Prophet seeks refuge in God from evil influences.

The following formulas are also used: — *Bismillāh r-raḥmān r-rāḥim men jamé mā ḥalāqa llāh*; or, *Bismillāh r-raḥmān r-rāḥim men jamé mā naḥāfu minhum*. But much more common are the simple phrases *bismillāh r-raḥmān r-rāḥim* (or, in the case of scribes, *bismillāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥēmi*), or only *bismillāh*. They are constantly used on occasions when people are afraid of being struck by *jnūn*, for example, when they pass a haunted place, cross a river, go out in the dark, go to bed, extinguish a light, blow at the fire, pour water on the fire or on ashes, tread on ashes or blood, or pour hot water on the ground. Before a person begins to eat he says *bismillāh*, which prevents *jnūn* or Šītan

¹ *Ibid.* p. 148 sq.

² *Mishkāt*, iv. 19. 3 (Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam* [London, 1896], p. 27).

from eating with him. I was told of a scribe who once saw two *jnūn*, one of whom was very fat and the other very thin. When he asked them whence this difference, he got the answer that the fat one was always eating with people who omitted saying *bismillāh* before their meals, whereas the thin one was living with people who never omitted doing so, in consequence of which he had nothing to eat. The *jnūn*, however, are more afraid of the formula *bismillāh r-raḥmān r-raḥīm* than of the simple *bismillāh*. If a butcher says the former when he slaughters an animal, the meat will not be sold very soon because the *jnūn* at the market will refrain from buying it, whereas the *bismillāh* will not prevent their doing so (Andjra).

Another instance of the *jnūn*'s fear of the religion of the Prophet is that they are afraid of corn after the alms called *lā-šōr* have been given out of it. For this reason a grain of barley is sometimes put into a written charm to prevent its being spoilt by *jnūn*; and flour is put with money which is buried in the ground, to prevent their stealing it.¹ At the same time grain and flour are often said to be haunted or stolen by *jnūn*. In their relations to *baraka* there are indeed many inconsistencies. *Šayāṭīn*, if not Muhammadan *jnūn*, are said to avoid a place where there is a horse or a greyhound on account of the *baraka* possessed by these animals (Tangier, Ait Wāryāgāl); the neighing of a horse puts them to flight (Hīāina). On the other hand, as we have seen, they are ever ready to attack bride and bridegroom, who also have *baraka*, they have no respect for shereefs, and they haunt saintly shrines at night.

It is also curious that water, which is so commonly considered to be haunted by *jnūn*, is nevertheless in some cases used as a means of keeping them at a distance — an idea which is probably connected with the purifying effects ascribed to water. In Fez it is the custom for a person who is compelled to sleep alone in a room to put there a vessel filled with water

¹ *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture*, p. 50.

as a protection against *jnūn*; for «there is safety in water,» *l-mā āmān*.¹ In the same town I was told that no water must be seen at the performance of a band of *Ḥamādša*, followers of Sidi 'Ali ben *Ḥamdāš*; if they, in their state of frenzy, see a vessel with water they will break it, because they are then haunted by *jnūn* and therefore dislike water.² Among the Ait Yūsi a vessel with water is during the first week after the birth of a child put close to its head every night in order to keep at a distance the *jennia* which is a danger to new-born babes; they believe that this *jennia*, and other *jnūn* as well, are afraid of water. The water which is used in Moorish marriage ceremonies seems, sometimes at least, to be meant not only as a means of purification removing the impersonal force of evil, *l-bās*, but as a means of keeping away evil spirits.³

So also fire, although haunted by *jnūn*, is on the other hand sometimes used as a safeguard against them. At Fez, in the twenty-seventh night of *Ramaḍān*, fires are made of straw or paper or any rubbish at hand on the roofs of houses to burn the *ṣayāṭin*, as the people say. While the fire is burning the women on the roof are playing and singing, *Bāita bāita lli mā ḥmāha yéq'a' yéddū*, «Fire fire, he who does not make it hot will cut his hand.» And the fires made on the eve of *'āšūra* are said by the people of Fez to serve a similar purpose. The use of charcoal and soot as charms against *jnūn*, which has been mentioned above, is presumably connected with the idea of fire as a means of destruction or purification.

The *jnūn* are kept off or put to flight by strong sounds. The constant firing of guns, the loud music, and the *zgārit*⁴ of women at Moorish country weddings, partly at least serve the

¹ In *Shelha aman* means water.

² See also *infra*, pp. 98, 104.

³ See, *e. g.*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 121, 122, 231, 232, 255.

⁴ As regards this noise see *ibid.* p. 22 n. 2.

purpose of frightening away evil spirits by the noise.¹ But on the other hand, silence is also looked upon as a protection against *jnūn*. It is considered not only improper but also dangerous for bride² and bridegroom³ to speak or to speak aloud at the wedding, and the danger threatening them is not always impersonal in character: I was told that among the Ait Warāin, while the bridegroom is burning white benzoin before he has intercourse with the bride, the couple refrain from speaking for fear of the spirits that are then supposed to be about.⁴ When a person is digging up buried money, as already said, he must not speak lest *jnūn* should attack him.

One of the most common methods of warding off *jnūn* is to do so by means of a sacrifice. Frequent instances of this are found in the ceremonies connected with house-building, which, besides, contain many other practices performed for the same purpose.

In Fez a buck-goat or a ram is slaughtered when the walls of the house are ready and it is just going to be roofed; this is 'ār on the *mwālin lē-mkān*, and it is believed that the roof would fall down should the sacrifice be omitted. The sacrificed animal is eaten, not by the owner of the house, but by the workmen. At Tangier a sheep or goat or cock is killed before the building commences and another one when the house is ready. These sacrifices were said to be *hdīyat*, or 'presents,' to 'the masters of the house,' the omission of which would cause sickness or death among its human inhabitants; whereas an 'ār-sacrifice consisting of a black goat or a black cock is made in case a wall falls down when the house is building.

In Andjra a sheep, goat, or cock is killed on the spot where the house will have its entrance, to prevent its being haunted.

¹ Cf *ibid.* pp. 89, 122, 136.

² *Ibid.* pp. 203, 207, 212, 221, 244, 253, 295, 323.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 129, 323.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 244.

When the threshold has been made, some salt is buried underneath it. And when the house is ready, salt is strewn in each corner of it, and behind the lintel of the entrance door is put some earth from Mûlâi 'Abdsslam's shrine to give *baraka* to the house, as also a paper with a *'jédwil* containing some writing from the Koran as a protection against theft (the master of the *'jédwil* being a Muhammadan *jenn*, called *'-jénwil*, who will strike any thief attempting to enter the house). According to another account which was given me in Andjra, some salt and wheat and an egg are put in the ground where the house is to be built, and a goat is afterwards killed on its threshold, lest the children in the house should be stillborn or soon die.

At Briš, in the Ġarbiya, when the walls of the house are building, a goat or a sheep is slaughtered at the door so that its blood touches the threshold; and when the house is ready, another goat or sheep or only a cock is killed, likewise over the threshold. The Ulâd Bu'áziz strew a mixture of salt, tar, yeast, and coriander, at the place where they are going to build the new house. They kill a sheep or a fowl and wet with its blood the ground where the walls will stand. When the entrance is ready, they kill another sheep or fowl over the threshold; and in either case the sacrificed animal is eaten by the builders. When the house is ready a third sacrifice is made, a sheep being killed over the threshold, and its meat is served at the so-called *'ärs d-dâr*, «the wedding of the house,» to which the men and women of the village are invited. These various sacrifices are regarded as *'är* upon the *mmiŵālin lē-mkân*, who would cause poverty or sickness or death among the inhabitants of the house should they be omitted. Yet even though all these ceremonies are observed the house may nevertheless become haunted. If this is the case, its owner kills a fowl or a sheep in the haunted room, saying, *Āhna mēn dūfān llah u dūfānkum a mmiŵālin lē-mkân* «We are guests of God and your guests, O masters of the place.» Scribes are invited to come

and recite the Koran in the room, and incense is burned. This is done by townspeople in Mazāgan, whereas country-folk, instead of trying to appease the *jnūn*, drive them away by putting tar, harmel, and salt in the haunted room, and hanging coriander in its roof.

In the *Hiāina* salt is strewn all along the trench (*l-lsās*) in which the foundation stones of a new house are to be laid. When it is ready and the people come to live in it, they kill a sheep or a goat or, if they are very poor, a fowl at the threshold, as '*ār* upon 'the masters of the place.' Of a portion of the liver or the meat and fat of the animal they make *kābāb* (elsewhere called *bul'āf*), that is, they thread it on a skewer and broil it over a slow fire, so as to produce a dense smoke which smells very sweet to the *jnūn*. All the inhabitants of the village assemble in the new house, those who can afford it bringing with them some foodstuff; and a supper consisting of *ṭā'ām* (*sēksu*) and meat of the sacrificed animal is offered them. When they go away they say, *D-dār mabrūka*, 'May the house be blessed.' The sacrifice is said to take away the *bas* and please 'the masters of the house,' whereas its omission would result in the death of some of the inhabitants or their domestic animals. Later in the evening the house is fumigated with gum-lemon and agal-wood.

We meet with similar practices among Berber-speaking tribes. The *Ait Wāryāgāl* put some tar at the place where the house is to have its entrance, and then make the threshold over it. When the walls have reached about the half of the height of the door-place, a sheep or goat or fowl is sacrificed over the threshold, and the meat is eaten by the owner of the house and the workmen. Sacrifices are also in some cases made before the building commences and after it is finished; but these sacrifices are not so important as the former one, the omission of which would result in the illness or death of the owner.

The *Shlōh* of Aglu throw a mixture of flour and oil in the

trench made for the walls, as a food-offering to «the masters of the house,» and then strew some salt in the trench to protect the future inhabitants of the house from the attacks of these spirits. A perfectly white sheep is slaughtered at the entrance place, and its bleeding body is taken along the trench three times from left to right. The man who slaughters the animal says some words like these: — *Bismillā afilláunnǵārs a lēmluk n-igimmīad adaǵuriǵārrum ula nǵārrakūn ákkēmfillagig rábbi taumbárkit*, «In the name of God, we kill for you, O masters of this house, may you not hurt us as we did not hurt you, may God make you (i. e., this house) blessed for us.» The meat of the slaughtered animal is then eaten by the workmen. When the house is ready, a sheep or a calf is killed inside it, and some of the blood of the victim is sprinkled on the lintel; whilst its meat is served at the feast which the owner gives for his friends and the scribes who come there to recite the whole of the Koran in the course of the night. Among the Iǵlwa a cock is killed at the place where the house is going to be built, and when the lintel has been put over the door-place a sheep is slaughtered on the threshold and the lintel sprinkled with its blood. Both the cock and the sheep are eaten by the builders.

Among the Ait Sāddēn, when the ditch (*lssās*) for the walls has been dug, a sheep, a goat, or a fowl is sacrificed at the place where the house is to have its entrance; and when the building is ready, another sacrifice is made over the threshold, and the door-posts are smeared with the blood of the victim. If the owner has nothing to kill, he buys meat from the market and sprinkles the inside of the house with the gravy of the meat before any salt has been added to it. Some elderly men and scribes, if there are any in the village, are invited to a feast in the new building, *fāṭha* is made, the scribes recite portions of the Koran, the house is fumigated with incense of any kind the owner has got, and fresh milk is sprinkled in the rooms.

Among the Ait Yūsi, when a new village (*ǵgrēm*, or, if small,

tigrēmt) is going to be built, a cairn is made at the place, every man bringing a stone which he dedicates to Sidi So-and-so, mentioning by name some saint of the district or some other, great saint, like Mūlāi Dris or Mūlāi 'Abdlqāder. A sacrifice intended for the *insēlmēn* (*jnūn*) is then made on the cairn. When the village wall (*lhēḡ*) is ready, a sheep or a goat is slaughtered at the gate (*lbāb āmqqōran*) or, if there are more than one gate, at each of them, by the residents of the neighbourhood, and the blood of the animal is smeared on the gate. When the room (*lbiṭ*) or rooms (*lbiūt*) of a household are ready, its members perform 'the slaughter of the threshold' (*tāmgrāst l-l-āṭebt*) as a safeguard against *jnūn*, burn gum-benjamin and other incense whatever they have, and sprinkle the rooms with fresh milk, saying, *Agāwiṭ lhāqqēnnum akūnidthqu rābbi gēfnāg*. 'Take your share, may God make you forbearing to us.'

Like the building of a house so also the pitching of a new tent, or the pitching of tents at a new place, is accompanied by a sacrifice. The Bēni Āhsen and Ulād Bu'āziz slaughter a sheep, or at least a fowl, at the entrance or in front of a new tent when it has been pitched for the first time, as 'ār on 'the masters of the place'; the blood of the animal is left on the ground, whereas the meat is eaten by the owner and his family. When they have moved their tent to a new place, on the other hand, they make no sacrifice, but only address the spirits as follows: — *Āhna mēn dyāfīn llah u dyafīnkum a mmwālin lē-mkān. la tgairūna ma ngairōkum tarrāhlu u nhalliūkum*, 'We belong to the guests of God and your guests, O masters of the place, do not displease us, we shall not displease you, go away with all what you have and we shall leave you alone'; and before the inhabitants of the tents go to sleep the first night, they strew some salt on the floor.

Among the Ait Ngēr sacrifices are sometimes made when a village consisting of tents has been moved from one place to another. When the reaping of the corn is over and the tents are pitched at the place called *āmazir l-lhrif*, where the village

has its fruit-trees, vegetable gardens, and threshing-floors, a cairn is often made outside the tent and the owner kills over it a sheep or a goat, saying some words like these: — «We are in God's 'ār and your 'ār, O men of the country (meaning the saints of the district); we are the guests of God and your guests, O people of the place (*aiṣ wānsa*, meaning the *jnūn* of the place); do not hurt us, we shall not hurt you; we are in God's 'ār and your 'ār, O Mulāi 'Abdlqāder; in the name of God the most great.» The cairn in question is called *āṣur n-mulāi 'Abdlqāder*, «the cairn of Mulāi 'Abdlqāder,» who is the ruler over both saints and *jnūn*. But the sacrifice on this occasion may also take place without the making of a cairn, inside the tent; this is the case if only a fowl is killed. If the victim is a sheep, several families generally join in the sacrifice, and the animal is then eaten by them in the evening.

One or more sacrifices are commonly made in connection with the digging of a well.¹ At Tangier it is the custom for the owner of a newly dug well to kill a sheep on its side, when the water first appears in it. This is *hdiya* for «the masters of the place,» and the meat is eaten by the workmen; but the custom is not always observed. Again, if water fails to appear though the digging has proceeded to a considerable depth, the owner kills at the same place a black goat or a black cock, saying, *L-'ār 'āla llāh u 'ālikum ya rijāl l-mkān*, «The 'ār on God and on you, O men of the place!» He then sprinkles into the well some of the blood, as also some milk, of which the *jnūn* are fond, and burns inside it black benzoin. I was told that the sprinkling of blood is 'ār on the spirits but the sprinkling of milk and the burning of incense a kind of *hdiya*, or present, to them. In this case also the meat of the sacrifice is eaten by the workmen.

In Andjra a sacrifice is made before the digging commences and another when the well is ready. My native friends once

¹ I was told, however, that this is not the case in Fez.

drew my attention to a well the lining brickwork of which had cracked immediately after it was made because the usual sacrifice had been omitted. At Brîš, in the Ġarbiya, I was told that an animal is slaughtered on the third day after the commencement of the digging and another when the water first appears. In the Hîaina, after the digging has made some progress, a large piece of rock salt is put into the pit; and shortly before the water is expected, a sheep or a goat is slaughtered so close to the well that the blood runs into it. This is 'ār on «the masters of the place,» who drink the blood, whilst the workmen, but not the owner of the well, eat the flesh of the animal.

Among the Bēni Āhsen a sheep is sacrificed as 'ār at the commencement of the digging, another when the blood first appears, and a third when the well is ready; and the meat is eaten by the diggers of the well, but by nobody else. Among the Ulād Bu'aziz a ram is slaughtered on the day when the digging is commenced, as 'ār upon the *mmūwālin l-arḍ*, «the masters of the ground.» The sheep should be white or black according as the owner of the well *itts'ād bē l-biāḍ* or *bē l-kḥal*, that is, according as white or black is a lucky colour for him. The meat is eaten on the spot by the owner, his friends, and the workmen, whilst the blood is partaken of by the *jnūn*. When the water appears, another animal of the same kind is sacrificed, and its blood runs down into the well. Some three or four days after the work is finished the owner celebrates 'ārs *l-bir*, «the wedding of the well.» A dish of *sēksu* is prepared at the well, and a sheep or a bullock is slaughtered there in such a manner as to make its blood mingle with the water below. In each case the person who kills the animal repeats the phrase, *Hād dbeḥtkum a mmūwālin lē-mkân a'tṭainākum d-dbēḥa itūma ta'tāuna l-mā*, «This is your sacrifice, O masters of the place, we have given you a sacrifice, may you give us water.» The skins of the sacrificed animals are given to him or to those who dug the well.

Among the Ait Wāryāgāl a goat or a fowl is killed at the place where the well is going to be dug; and when the water appears, another sacrifice is made, but this time the victim must be either a goat or a sheep. These sacrifices are 'ār upon the *áyitbab umḥan*, made, I was told, in order to prevent them from striking the workmen. The Shlōḥ of Aglu slaughter a black he-goat at the place before they commence the work, saying some words like these: — *Ngārs fillaun a lēmluk wamanad afīllagīārḥum nārḥo fīllaun adagort'ārḏēm krān tgausa nafīllag īsqan*, «We killed for you, O masters of this water, may you make it easy for us, we shall make it easy for you, may you not cause us any difficulty.» When the person who is digging in the bottom of the well sees the water coming, he must not speak about it as long as he remains there; if he did, the water would turn back at once. The first persons to drink of the water should be an unmarried youth and a maiden, both well-to-do; these lucky people are asked to drink, so as to give good luck to the new well. After this a sheep is slaughtered at the well, though the blood is not allowed to run into it; and there is a feast called *tāmgra wamānad*, «the feast of this water,» where the people are entertained with *sēksu* and meat of the sacrificed animal, and the girls make *zgārit* (*taugrit*). The skin of the animal is given to the man who dug the well.

In Andjra, when the people are going to make a new water-mill, they kill a black goat and throw it into the stream on the spot where the millstone is to be placed. I have previously mentioned the sacrifices offered up to the *jnūn* at the spring Imi n-Tāla, in the Great Atlas. And in another work I have dealt with sacrifices at the threshing-floor intended for «the masters of the ground» (*mwālin l-ard*) or «the masters of the threshing-floor» (in Shelḥa *lmluk unrār*).¹

The sacrifices which we have now considered are mostly regarded as 'ār on the *jnūn*; and 'ār is a means of compulsion

¹ *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture*, p. 34 sqq.

which intrinsically implies the transference of a conditional curse.¹ But some of these sacrifices were represented to me as *hdiyat*, or 'presents', that is, food-offerings to the spirits, and this is in principle something very different from *l-'ār*. In practice, however, the difference may be much less radical, or may almost disappear. The *jnūn* are very fond of blood, and even when the sacrifice is represented as *'ār* it is said that they drink the blood of the sacrificed animal, which seems to imply that the sacrifice is meant to please them as well as to constrain them. Among the other ceremonies connected with house-building, tent-pitching, or well-digging, there are, as we have seen, some which are intended not to frighten the *jnūn* but to appease them; and the instances of prophylactics of the latter type may easily be multiplied.

Thus in Fez, when people move into a house, whether new or old, they sprinkle the thresholds and corners of the rooms with fresh milk and burn white and black benzoin and agalwood, of which the *jnūn* are fond, saying, *Hāna mēn dyaf llah u dyāfkum qāblu 'ālīna*, 'We are guests of God and your guests, receive us'; and on Thursday and Sunday nights it is in the same town the custom for the inhabitants of a house to fumigate it with both kinds of benzoin before they go to bed. In Tangier also white benzoin is burned on the same nights to appease 'the masters of the house'; and it is believed that if this fumigation is omitted, the spirits will in the middle of the night knock at the door where the owner of the house sleeps with his wife. Among the Ait Warāin the bridegroom, before he has intercourse with the bride, burns some white benzoin 'to please the spirits of the place.' In the Hīāina, when a person comes to live in a house or stay there even for a shorter time, he puts on the third night a dish of *lā'ām* (*sēksu*), either with

¹ See my essay 'L-'ār, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), p. 361 sqq.; and *The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, p. 90 sqq.

milk or meat but prepared without salt, outside the house as a food-offering or «hospitality» (*dyāfēt*) to «the masters of the place.» Sometimes it happens that the *jnūn* return this kindness: I heard of a woman who made an offering and some five days afterwards found her churn full of butter without any buttermilk, a few minutes after she had filled it with milk and before she had begun to churn; and there could be no doubt that it was «the masters of the place» that had done this favour to her.

In Andjra I was told that when a man for the first time enters a town or a market-place, he must either give a feast to his companions or make the noise of a donkey, and if he refuses to do so they tie his hands behind his back. The meal is an offering to the *mwālin l-mkān*, the noise is intended to put them to flight, and the tying-up of the man is 'ār upon them; and if nothing of all this is done they will strike the people who enter the place. Instead of frightening away the *jnūn* by throwing salt into the well or spring from which water is fetched for the first time, the people of Andjra also throw into it seven pieces of bread for the purpose of appeasing «the masters of the place.» In the same tribe the bride, on the evening of *n-nhār s-sāba' qel-'ārāš u qel-'ārāša*, «the seventh day of the bridegroom and bride,» takes one of the loaves of bread which she had on her head or back when she was girdled the same day, and goes to the spring which supplies the household with water. She drops some pieces of the loaf on her way, puts some round the spring, and throws others into the water, saying, *Ana mēq dyāf llah u mēq dyāfkum, a mwālin l-blād*, «I am [one] of the guests of God and of your guests, O owners of the land.» Being a stranger, she thus places herself under the protection of the spirits and saints of the district. Among the Ait Waráin, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's place, the mule on which she is riding is led seven times from right to left round the little mosque outside the village. This was said to be a salutation

to the *áitmort* (contraction of *ait tmort*), that is, the spiritual masters of the place, including both saints and *jnūn*; although there is reason to believe that it was originally meant as a rite of purification, preventing the bride from carrying evil with her to her new home.¹

¹ *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 208, 215.

CHAPTER III

REMEDIES FOR TROUBLES CAUSED BY JA'UN

When a *jenn* or *jnūn* have actually got hold of a person, attempts are of course made to drive the enemy out; and the means used for this purpose are largely very similar to the prophylactic practices described above.

A favourite cure consists in the use of pitch. In the Hīāina, if a person is troubled with *lé-ryäh* — for example, if a woman has been struck by *jnūn* because she saw a piece of meat which was not given to her, or because her husband made her angry — pitch is put into the patient's nostrils; and if a horse suffers from jaundice (*būšäffer*, which is a Jewish *jenn*), pitch is smeared on its mouth and spots of it are painted on the lower side of its body. The Ait Wäryägäl put pitch on the top of the head, into the nostrils, and the joints of the arms and legs of a person who suffers from an illness supposed to be caused by *jnūn*, and burn pitch and white benzoin so as to make the smoke pass underneath his clothes and be inhaled by him as it comes through. In Andjra pitch, black benzoin, and rue are burned in a similar manner. As soon as the *jenn* inside the patient feels the smell of the smoke, it begins to cry, in the person of the latter, and says to him, *Ana bē lläh u š-šra', nēmši fhāli*, «I am under the protection of God and the religious law, I am going away.» The patient then, on his own behalf, asks

the *jenn* where he is going, and the *jenn* answers that he is going home to his own country. The patient asks what country it is, and the *jenn* answers that it is the country of the Christians. The patient says, «You may go to your country, but you must come back again, because you have robbed me of my health, and I am still afraid of you.» The *jenn* insists on going away for good, but the patient replies that if he wants to go he must first enter the fire; the patient believes that he cannot otherwise regain his health. The *jenn* then goes into the fire, and is burned to death. Another method of expelling troublesome *jnūn* is to burn powder and harmel together and inhale the smoke after it has passed underneath one's clothes; and in this case the patient also eats a little powder. In the same tribe, if a person has *š-šā'fa*, some salt is thrown into a fire and the patient in a crouching position extends his cloak over it.

In Dukkāla salt, pitch, and a dagger are placed underneath a sick man's pillow, and pitch is put into his nostrils; or a paper smeared with pitch is burned and the smoke inhaled by him; or an iron-chain is moved in front of his face so as to make a rattling noise, after pitch has been put into his nostrils. So also the Shlōḥ cure persons who have been struck by *jnūn* with pitch or by burning rue in the room. In Fez a small piece of alum, salt, or harmel, is often worn together with a written charm by persons who are ill. In the Hīāina harmel, pounded and mixed with water, is taken as a medicine by people who have been struck by *jnūn*. In the same tribe a married woman who cannot get a child has her vulva fumigated with gum-ammoniac on seven consecutive mornings before breakfast. In Andjra irregular appearance of blood in a woman is cured by her eating some charcoal made of lentisk (*ḡrō*). The Ait Wā-ryāgāl rub pounded bitter almonds (*ddaue māzag*) mixed with oil and salt on the affected part of the body of a person who is troubled with *lāryah*.

Silver coins are used, not only as a means of protection against *jnūn*, but sometimes as a remedy for illnesses caused by them. In Fez the family of a person who is troubled with *lé-ryāh* are advised by a *tālla' l-mlūk*, or exorcist, to put a dollar or half-a-dollar piece underneath the patient's pillow, after washing it with water and fumigating it with white and black benzoin. If the patient begins to recover, a company of *Gnāwa* or a band of *ḥaḍḍārat* are called in to make their usual performance,¹ and the coin is given to them. It is called '*ārbūn*, or money paid in advance.

Blood is sometimes used as a cure for illness caused by *jnūn*. In the *Hiāina* a person who is troubled with *lé-ryāh* goes to a slaughtering-place, burns there some benzoin, and takes home with him a little blood, which he envelops in a piece of cotton and wears as a charm. Among the *Aiṭ Sāddēn*, again, such a person procures from a scribe a charm written with the blood of a black hen or a white cock or a white pigeon. At Rabat a child suffering from whooping-cough — which is regarded as a *jēnniya* — is taken by its parents to the chief of the butchers, *l-īmām dā l-gūrna*, together with an ox, a sheep, or a goat, which is killed by the chief before any other animal on that day; and as soon as he has cut its throat, he touches the throat of the child with the bloody knife. In *Dukkāla* this is done either by a butcher or a homicide, before sunrise. So also in *Andjra* whooping-cough is cured by a homicide feigning to cut the throat of the patient; and if a person is confined to his bed, a homicide may be called in to act as doctor by pretending to stab him all over his body. The explanation given of this practice was that the *jnūn* are afraid of steel, but it should also be remembered that the homicide is himself *meskūn*. In the *Hiāina*, if a woman has been struck by *jnūn*, her husband takes to her a homicide to cure her by stepping three times over her body.

¹ See *infra*, p. 100 *sqq.*

In the same tribe, if a person is troubled with *lé-ryāh*, some earth is brought from the grave of a person who has been secretly murdered; this earth is mixed with pounded coriander and water, and the mixture is drunk by the patient on three consecutive days after sunset. In Andjra earth from a similar grave mixed with water is sprinkled on the joints of a person who is *meš'ōl*. Among the Ulād Bu'āziz, if a person has fever, a vessel with water is carried to a *kārkōr l-māḡḡōr* underneath which the murdered man is buried, and is left there over night; and on the following morning the patient is washed with the water. It is also the custom among them to take a child suffering from whooping-cough to such a place, in the morning before sunrise, and to touch its throat with a knife pretending to slaughter it. He who holds the knife says to the whooping-cough, *Qūl-nak ki lēqtēl hād l-māḡḡōr*, 'We killed you as this murdered one was killed.' A *kārkōr l-māḡḡōr*, as we have seen, is also regarded as *meskūn*.

Water is used, not only as a preventive against *jnūn*, but to cure illnesses and infertility caused by them. I was once called out to look at a man who had fallen down struck by a *jenn*; one of my friends sprinkled water on his face and feet, and assured me that within a few minutes the *jenn* would leave him alone. In Andjra it is the custom for a young wife to go to the sea-shore on the fortieth day after her arrival at her new home and let seven waves go over her body. She says to the sea: - *A 'āmmi l-bḥār, āna meryāḥa, a'tēni l-āulad u s-sāḥḥa*, 'O my uncle the Sea, I am troubled with spirits, give me children and health!' Nor is it only in the case of women that water is supposed to influence fecundity: in Andjra animals are taken to the sea and bathed on Midsummer Day in order to become fertile, and if a hen does not lay eggs, it is hung up in a tree while it is raining and a strong wind is blowing. The infertile woman or animal is *meryāḥa*, or troubled with evil spirits, which however are driven away by the water.

Holy water is a particularly effective remedy. At Fez, if a person is affected by *lé-ryāh*, his white *farrajiya*, which is worn over the *qāffān*, is taken to the great mosque of the Qarwiyn and put underneath one of the fountains — the one which gets its water from a spring, not from the river, as is the case with the two other fountains, which are not used for the purpose in question; it is put there at a place where people who make their ablutions have to stand on it. All this is done on a Friday morning, and the *farrajiya* is then left there till the *ḥóṭba*, or sermon, has been read; but before then, when the *múdden* makes the *lúli* or «first» cry for midday prayers, about twenty minutes after noon, all the women who have taken *farrajiyat* there on that day — there are several of them every Friday — walk seven times round the fountain from right to left. After the sermon the water is wrung out of the *farrajiya*, and it is taken back home; and when it has dried, the patient is dressed in it. The water of saintly springs is used as a medicine for various illnesses caused by *jnūn*; in some cases the sick person drinks it, and in others he is washed with it. In Ulād Rāfa in Dukkāla, if somebody suffers from fever, a bottle filled with water is about sunset taken to Sīdi Mḥamməd š-Šnhāji's sanctuary and left there over night to get *baraka* from the *styīd*; and in the morning it is carried back to the sick man's tent, where he is washed with the water. The *baraka* of saints is in various ways used as a remedy for troubles caused by *jnūn*. A small bag containing earth from a *styīd* is tied round the neck of a mare or a she-ass to make it fertile. Outside the *qóbbā* of Sīdi 'Abdlḥalq bēn Yāsin, west of Marráksh, there is a cairn on which sick persons who are troubled with *jnūn* rest their head to get rid of their complaint.

The recitation or writing of sacred words is an often-used method of expelling troublesome *jnūn*. When a house is much haunted, a large number of scribes may be called in to read there the whole of the Koran, even as many as six or seven

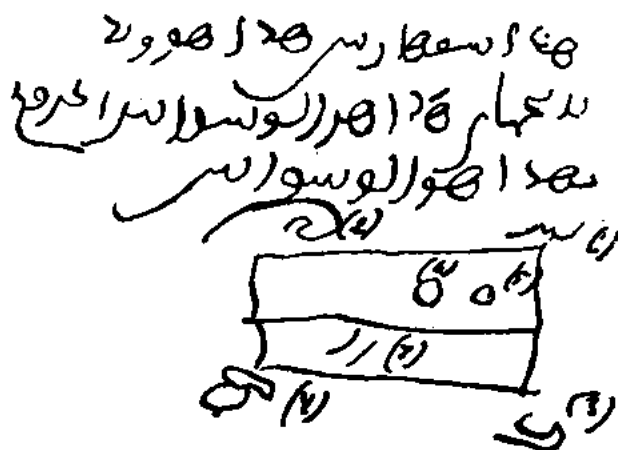
times successively (Sūs). In Mazagan and Dukkāla, if there is a haunted room in a house, the Koran is read in it by scribes. benzoin and other incense is burned, and pitch, harmel, and coriander are hung in the roof. The recitation of sacred words is a frequent cure for illnesses, the doctor touching the patient's forehead or the affected part of his body with his right hand while reading the incantation.

Written charms are also very frequently used for a similar purpose. In Fez, if a person is affected by *lé-ryāh*, a scribe writes something from the Koran on a paper which has the colour of the spirits troubling him, after which the paper is burned and the smoke inhaled by the patient. In the same town, when a person is ill, words from the Koran are written in a china bowl of European make, the inside of which must be perfectly white without any design; and as soon as the charm has been written, the bowl must be turned upside-down lest the writing should lose its *baraka*. Water is subsequently poured into the bowl and the water, mixed with the writing, is partly drunk by the patient and partly applied to his head, hands, and body. Or a charm is written on a hard-boiled egg, the shell of which has been removed, after which the egg is eaten by the patient.

Among the Ait Wāryāgāl, also, something from the Koran is written in a bowl or on a paper as a cure for illness; but the writing must not be exposed to the sun, and when the scribe takes it to the patient he keeps it hidden under his cloak. Water is then poured over the writing, and the patient drinks the water or his body is washed with it. In the same tribe, if a person suffers from an illness caused by *jnūn*, a scribe writes a charm for him on a loaf of bread or on a paper, which is then put in the open in a place where no animal can get at it; it is left there over night so that the stars shall shine on it, and on the next day the patient eats the loaf or hangs the paper round his neck. Among the Ait Sāddēn and Ait Warāin the water with which a charm written on a paper has been washed

away or which has been poured over a charm written inside a bowl, is likewise left out-of-doors on a starlight night and then on three consecutive mornings drunk by the patient on an empty stomach and rubbed on his body.

In Andjra illness caused by *jnūn* is cured by means of a written charm called *n-nšāri gē l-tēbbāz*, «the charm of fumigation.» A paper is divided into three parts, on each of which is written as follows (the scribe who wrote it for me was a poor hand-writer): — This should be read thus: *Hāda Šēmhārūš hāda*



hūa wāldādi bel lā-hmar hāda hūa l-wēsuwas ahrūj ya hāda hūa l-wēsuwas, «This is Šēmhārūš, this is the Ulād bel lā-Hmar, this is the devil who is going away, oh this is the devil.» The letters must be written without dots, lest the *jnūn* should strike the scribe who writes them; «for the dots are the children of the *jnūn*.» Each of the signs inside or at the corners of the *jédwil* which is drawn underneath the writing is a charm against an illness which, at the time when the charm is written, has lasted so and so many days. Thus (1) is a charm against an illness which has lasted three days, (2) against one which has lasted five days, (3) against one which has lasted four days, (4) against one which has lasted seven days, (5) against one which has lasted nine days, (6) against one which has lasted ten days,

(7) against one which has lasted twelve days. If the illness has lasted more than twelve days the whole amulet is useless, and the patient must visit a *ṣayīd* to be cured. One part of the *nṣāri* is burned in the evening, another part on the following morning, and the third part on the evening of the same day. Each part is burned together with a leaf of a so-called «sultan of the oleanders» (*sūltān d-dfel*) — that is, an oleander the branches of which have clusters of four leaves instead of the usual three — with the name of a *jenn* written on it, as also some rue, harmel, pitch, and salt. When this is burned the patient inhales the smoke. The *nṣāri* should be written at a time when no prayer is said and when the sun is not shining; and it is used as a cure for illnesses caused by *jnūn* either on a Tuesday or a Wednesday, in the former case by Šemhārūš and in the latter case by the Ulād bel lā-Ḥmar. Very similar to the *n-ṣāri dē tēbhēr* is another charm called *n-ṣāri dē š-šurb*, «the charm of drinking.» But as the latter contains writing from the Koran, the three divisions of it must not be burned, but are put in water, which is then drunk by the patient.

It should be added that when a scribe or a shereef or somebody else who is possessed of *baraka*, tries to cure a sick person by reading an incantation over him, the patient must give him a small sum of money, at least a *dérham*, or, if he has no money, something white, like wool, eggs, buttermilk, salt, or sugar, or some grain, since the illness otherwise will affect the doctor. So also, when a scribe writes a charm against an illness, the sick person must give him a little money, or if he has none, some salt. A person who writes a charm without knowing how to do it properly, will be struck by *jnūn*. It is said, *‘Ilm r-rābuz u ‘ilm l-ḥrūs t’erkhum t’fūz*. «The art of the bellows (that is, of forging coin) and the art of writing charms you should give up to be successful» (Fez).

Words in the *jnūn*'s own language are also used for curative purposes. A man from the Hāina told me that if a person

has hurt a *jenn* or its offspring, by treading on them in ashes or making water in ashes or washing himself with water from a haunted spring, and the *jenn* in retaliation has made one of his eyes diseased, there is only one cure for it: — A scribe who understands how to deal with cases of this sort writes something in the *jenn* language on three sooty pieces of an earthenware pan (*fārrah*) which has been used for the baking of bread; one of the pieces is then heated in a fire and put into a bowl of water, which is kept underneath the affected eye so that the vapour enters into it; and the same is on the two following evenings done with the other pieces of the pan.

The practices by which *jnūn* are expelled from persons troubled with them very frequently include sacrifices and offerings. I shall first describe the so-called *dyāfa*, «hospitality», of the Arabic-speaking people in Northern Morocco, which is subject to many variations in detail. Minute accounts of this practice were given me by my friend Shereef Abdsslam's mother, an old shereefa born in the mountain district of the Bni Mšāwar but resident in Tangier, who enjoys a great reputation for her skill in curing diseases. She told me as follows: —

Suppose that a person has *š-šā'fa* caused by «the masters of the ground» (*muwālin l-'arḍ*), that he is very weak and feverish, feels pain in his knees and his head, talks to himself and imagines that he sees persons who are not there at all, then his family, in order to cure him, ask three married women who when they married were brides for the first time and whose names are respectively 'Aīša, Rāḥma, and Fāṭma (these are all names of *jennīyat*) to give them a double handful of flour each. This flour is mixed together and put into a clean white kerchief or piece of cotton stuff, which is then fumigated with white benzoin and put underneath the patient's head over night. In the morning a woman who is past the age of child-bearing takes three handfuls of the flour and makes of it a small loaf without the addition of salt, whilst the rest of the flour is mixed with

other flour and dough is made of it with salt but without yeast. On the top of the saltless loaf she puts seven grains of barley, and then all the loaves are taken to a public oven to be baked. Now fishes of five different kinds — one of each kind — are cooked with fresh butter, onions, and pepper-corns, but without salt; and it is necessary that the kettle in which this is done should be new. A small piece of each fish with some gravy is given to the patient to eat, another portion of the gravy is rubbed on his wrists, elbows, knees, ankles, and forehead, and a third portion is sprinkled on the ground underneath his bed and in each corner of the room where he is living. The woman puts into a basket the saltless loaf, the kettle containing the remainder of the fish and gravy, the entrails of the five fishes as also of other fishes which were bought at the same time for the use of the family, four small flags of different colours — black, white, red, and yellow — fastened to sticks, and three dolls called *l-ārāis* representing a man and his wife and their little daughter. She also puts into the kettle a small silver coin, saying, «Oh pardon us if we have forgotten any thing which you like, here is the money with which you may buy whatever you want; and another silver coin she puts into her mouth to prevent the *jinn* from striking her. She now takes the basket with its contents to some haunted place which is not frequented by many people, by preference to the sea-shore if it is near. On her way thither and back she must not speak to anybody nor look behind. At the haunted place she leaves everything contained in the basket, but the basket itself she may take back with her. When she returns she picks up seven stones from the road, and these she throws one after the other at the door of the sick person's house so that the people there shall let her in; for she is not allowed to knock at the door. It once happened that the woman who had taken the *dyāfa* to the haunted place instead of throwing stones at the door knocked at it, and her hand got paralysed in consequence. She must also keep

the silver coin in her mouth till she has entered the house, and then she does not give it back to its owner but retains it herself; many a woman has become dumb because she omitted to put the coin into her mouth. The bread and fish which were prepared with salt are eaten by the other members of the patient's family and friends who come to the house, and if any of them is feeling unwell he may be cured by partaking of this food although it is salt. But if the patient is a child, the salted food must not be eaten by anybody else but members of the child's own family and other children.

The saltless food was represented partly as a gift-offering to the *jnūn* but partly also as 'ār, by which they are compelled to leave the sick man in peace. They are supposed to accompany the food which is taken to the haunted place, and the dogs which devour it there are *jnūn* in disguise. Should any person eat that food he would die in consequence, because it is haunted. The flags are meant for the governors of the *jnūn*: the white flag for the great saint Mūlāi 'Abdlqāder, the black one for Sidi Mūsa (a *jenn* saint), the red one for Sidi Ḥammū (another *jenn* saint), and the yellow one for Lālla Rqiya (a saintly *jennīya*). The dolls are given to the *jnūn* as 'presents,' so that they shall have what they want and no longer molest the person whom they made ill; they are evidently regarded as substitutes for him.

The following is another *dyāfa* custom, which is resorted to when all sorts of medicine have been tried in vain: — The family of the sick person buy pieces of seven internal parts — the liver, lungs, heart, etc. — of a bullock or sheep which has been slaughtered by a butcher as the first animal in the morning. They are all cooked together in a new kettle with fresh butter, onions, and pepper, but without salt. Some of the gravy is rubbed on the patient's body, as in the former case. His family procure some flour from seven married women, three of whom have the names 'Aīša, Rāḥma, and Fāṭma, but this should be

given them gratuitously and not for money. Some of it is kept over the smoke of white benzoin and then put underneath the sick person's head, as in the other case, whilst the remainder is mixed with flour belonging to his own family. *Kěksu* is made of it, partly without any addition of salt, and the boiled pieces of the bullock or sheep are put into the *kěksu*. The sick man eats as much as he can of the unsalted portion of this dish, and what remains of it is then, together with flags and dolls, as said before, taken to a haunted place. An hour or two afterwards the salted portion of the *kěksu* is eaten by the patient's family and friends who have been specially invited for this occasion, but the latter must all be grown-up people, since no other children but those of the household are allowed to partake of this meal. Neither the sick man, who eats the unsalted food, nor the others, who eat the salted *dyāfa* (the name *dyāfa* is given to both kinds of food) say the usual *bis-millāh* before they begin. This refers to the previous case as well; and in both cases all persons present must be clean, as any unclean individual among them would be affected by the patient's sickness. Both he and they must eat the *dyāfa* without spoons, because «the masters of the ground» never use spoons and would look upon it as an insult if the others did so; and when they have finished eating, they must not wash their hands but wipe them clean on the clothes worn by the sick man.

The shereefa also informed me of the following cure: — An old woman brings a yellow hen. A scribe kills it over a bowl or plate which is held upon the patient's head, and rubs his forehead and the joints of his arms and legs with the blood. The old woman boils the hen without salt in a new kettle, fumigates it with white benzoin, and gives it to the patient to eat of. After he has eaten she puts any thing which is left of the hen, even its entrails and feathers, as also the kettle, into a basket, which she carries away to a haunted place. On her way there and back she has a silver coin in her mouth, and

must neither speak to anybody nor look behind until she has re-entered the sick man's house.

An old man from Andjra told me that when a person is troubled with *lé-ryāh* a fowl is killed and boiled without salt. The sick man does not eat of it, but it is taken, whole as it is, to a place which nobody visits, and the old woman who carries it thither must neither turn round nor speak to anybody on her way, even though a stone were thrown at her. As soon as the fowl is boiled the *jnūn* begin to eat of it, and while eating they are carried away with it; but if anybody walks over it at the place where it is thrown, the *jnūn* will enter into him. In the village Bné Hlu in the same tribe I was told that a cock is killed and boiled and put into a dish of *kěsksu* with all its feathers on the top, care being taken that none fall off. It is then carried by an old woman to a spring which is haunted by *jnūn*. If on the following morning it is found that *jnūn* have eaten of the food, the feathers are taken back to the house and burned and the sick person inhales the smoke; but if the food is found untouched, there is no hope of his recovery.

At the market of *l-hamīs* in Andjra there is a place called *l-hamma*, consisting of a little cave with a spring close by, which is the *hālwa* of Sidi 'Ali ben Mess'ūd, a saint buried in Tetuan, who is the patron saint of *l-hamīs*. While alive he ruled over the *jnūn* of that place and kept them in prison, but he does not do so now that he is dead. If a person is *maskūn* he goes there on a Saturday or Wednesday night, lies down naked over the hole in the ground, and in this position rubs the various parts of his body three times. He then goes to the spring and takes from it water, which he mixes with earth from the hole, and paints with the mixture a ring round each of his joints. When he goes to the spring he approaches it with his back turned towards it so as to avoid seeing the *jnūn*, and when he leaves it he has his face turned towards it as a respectful salutation. After he has painted his joints with the mixture of

earth and water he either goes home directly or, if he is not too afraid to do so, spends the night at the *hâmma* with his body stretched over the hole, in order to leave there his sickness. When he returns from the *hâmma* he must not speak to anybody on the road, lest he should get worse, and should anybody speak to him that person would get his illness whilst he himself would get rid of it. If the *jnūn* appear to him during his sleep, either at the *hâmma* or in his own house, he has to follow their directions; and if they do not appear at all, he has to renew his visit to the *hâmma* till he sees them or, otherwise, till he is cured. The *jnūn* will tell him what sort of a fowl he should kill at the spring — whether it should be a cock or a hen and what colour it should have, — as also the day and hour when he should perform the sacrifice. He kills the fowl over an earthenware vessel, without the usual *bismillāh*; should its blood touch the ground, it would lose its efficacy. He then throws the knife on the margin of the spring and leaves it there; it would be dangerous to take it home and make further use of it, whereas by throwing away the knife he at the same time throws away his *bas*, or evil. When no more blood comes out from the fowl he flings it into the spring; when I visited the place I saw there a dead fowl. He breaks a loaf of bread made without salt, which he has brought with him, into seven pieces, dips them into the blood of the sacrificed fowl, and throws them in different directions in the immediate vicinity of the spring. He also dips into the blood seven pieces of his clothing; and for seven nights afterwards he burns one of them each night before he goes to bed, and inhales the smoke. Sometimes, when a very bad *jenn* has entered the patient's body, he drinks some of the blood of the fowl on the spot. From the spring he goes to the little cave, taking with him the vessel over which the fowl was killed, and there he paints with its blood rings round his joints, using one of its feathers as a pencil. When he goes away he leaves at

the cave the vessel and whatever blood remains in it, but takes with him some earth and also some water from the neighbouring spring or, if it happens to be dry, from another haunted spring at the market; and when he is back in his house, he paints rings round his joints with the earth and water. When he leaves the *hamma* he addresses it in the following words: — *Yā 'amt'i l-hamma, ana hallū lek ṣ-ṣāḥḥa u ʿnt'a t'a'ʿtēni r-rāḥḥa*, 'O my aunt the *hamma*, I left to you health and may you give me rest, meaning that he left there his illness and got health instead; my informant made the remark that when a *jenn* has entered a person's body it takes away his health and gives him its own health in return. When the patient has recovered, he goes back to the little cave and puts there a few copper coins, saying, *Yā 'amt'i l-hamma, ana hallū lek n-nḥas u ʿnt'a t'a'ʿtēni n-nōgra*, 'O my aunt the *hamma*, I left to you copper, may you give me silver — meaning that he left there his illness and will get back his health. He also leaves there some dolls which he has made, one for each joint of his body, saying, *Yā amt'i l-hamma, ana hdtū lek l-ārūṣ u l-ārūṣa u l-ābīyid u l-ābīyda*, 'O my aunt the *hamma*, I presented to you bridegroom and bride and the little male slave and the little female slave — meaning that he left there his illness, the *jnūn* who troubled him going away from him with the dolls. If a person is too ill to be able himself to perform the ceremonies described above, another member of his family takes his clothes to the *hamma*, puts them over the hole in the ground, rubs them as the sick man would have rubbed his body, and, with the clothes in his hands, acts in the same manner as the sick man would have done if he had himself visited the place.

When I was staying in the village Dār Féllaq in the mountain tribe Jbel lā-Hbib, I was told that if a person is troubled with *lā-ryah*, a black cock is killed over his head. It is cooked without having its feathers removed, and a little of it is given to the sick man to eat. Some courageous person then takes it

to a haunted place; he goes there one way and returns another way, and must not look back, lest he should become ill himself and the sick man should get worse. If anybody the next morning sees the cock at the haunted place, the sickness will go into him. In the same village I also heard the following story. One evening a man went to another village to invite some guests with their dancing boy. On the road he found a bullock resting close to a spring. He told it to get up, since otherwise somebody might come and catch it. But the bullock began to run after the man, who protected himself by drawing his sword and invoking Mûlâi 'Abdsslam, the great saint of the Jbâla. The bullock was a *jenn*, and the man also saw other *jnûn* coming, and he turned mad. Attracted by the noise, people from the neighbourhood came to the place, tied the man, and took him to a scribe, who ordered *kṣksu* to be made without salt and to be carried to a certain place which was haunted by *jnûn*. He also told the patient's brother, who offered to take the food to the haunted place, not to look behind if he heard any noise on his way back. The brother did as he was told; he heard camels and horses coming after him and his name mentioned behind him, but he did not look back. And when he came home, he found his brother all right in his mind.

At Briš in the Ġarbiya, if a person is troubled with *lā-ryah*, a scribe or a black man who is familiar with the ways of the *jnûn* is asked what ought to be done. A common advice is that a black cock shall be killed over the sick man's head so that the blood falls on it, but the usual phrase *bismillāh* must not be used on this occasion. When its feathers have been removed, the cock is cooked without salt and the patient's body is rubbed with the gravy all over. A woman then takes the cock to a place indicated by the scribe or the black man, generally a spring or pond, and, here also, she is not allowed to speak to anybody on her way. When she puts down the fowl at the haunted place she says, 'This is hospitality for you,

O masters of the place. If it is still found there on the following morning, it is an indication that the *jnūn* do not care for it, and some other cure is tried. I heard of a similar practice among the Beni Āḥsen. The *fqi*, or schoolmaster, of the village, who is consulted on the matter, orders a fowl to be killed over the sick man's head, care being taken that its blood does not touch the ground. In many cases the fowl is then cooked, without salt, and the patient drinks the gravy, whilst its meat, with the addition of salt, may be eaten by other members of the family. But I was also told, in the same tribe, that a black goat is killed at a place where a person has been struck by *jnūn*. The word *dyāfa* is not used by them in the sense mentioned above, nor, so far as I know, by any tribe farther south, nor in Fez and its neighbourhood.

In Dukkāla I was told that if a man has had a bath in the afternoon and become ill in consequence, a *fqi* who knows how to treat illnesses caused by *jnūn* is asked to cure him. He writes a charm, but if the patient does not get better he comes himself, and finds out, from the name of the patient and that of his mother, the tribe of the *jnūn* that struck him. The *fqi* orders a cock which has the colour of that tribe to be taken to the place where the sick man had his bath and to be killed there, but in doing so the sacrificer must neither say *bismillāh* nor have his face turned to the East. The cock is then taken back again and cooked without salt, and some of the gravy is smeared on the patient's body or is drunk by him, or he eats the liver or heart or some other part of the cock, just as the *fqi* prescribes. The remainder of it is thrown at a haunted place indicated by the *fqi*, where it is eaten by *jnūn* in the disguise of dogs. I was also told that if a child is ill, its mother makes three small loaves of bread without salt, hangs them in the roof of the tent to remain there for three days, and then throws them at a haunted place.

In the Hīāina, if a person is troubled with *lā-ryah*, a black or

white cock or hen is killed over his head so that the blood falls down on it. The fowl is then boiled without salt, and the sick man drinks the gravy and eats the meat. The feathers only are taken to a haunted place, where the *jnūn*, attracted by the smell of blood, have a fight about them between themselves, with the result that the patient will be left in peace and recover from his illness. This practice is known under the name of *n-nāšra*; but there is also another cure, called *šadaqt' j-jnūn*, which consists in a dish of *tā'am* (*sēksu*) with meat but without salt being put over night at a haunted place near the house. It is believed that the *jnūn* go away from the patient together with the *tā'am*, not to come back again.

Among the Tsūl a scribe gives the advice that a cock of a certain colour shall be killed over a bowl which is held close to the sick man's head, when he is lying, so that a little of the blood touches the head. The cock is then boiled without salt, some of the gravy is given to the patient to drink, and his body is rubbed with the rest. Nobody eats of the boiled fowl, which, together with the feathers and entrails, is taken by a woman to the place where the man was struck by *jnūn*. The woman must not speak on her way there, nor after she has left the place, until she is at some distance from it.

At Fez, as we have seen, a person who is troubled with *jnūn* goes to l-Māqta', close to the slaughtering-place outside Bāb l-Hāmis, burns there benzoin, lights a *mnāra*, or oil-lamp, and gives to the *mqāddem*, or care-taker, of the place some wax-candles and a black he-goat or a cock having the colour of the *jenn* or *jnūn* troubling him or a cock of seven colours, which is killed by the *mqāddem*. But if a person is ill, it also happens that a woman of his family takes a *mnāra* to a slaughtering-place (*gūrna*) inside the town and lights it there as an offering to the *rijāl l-gūrna*. Or a woman who is *māryāha*, haunted, a so-called *imm jnūn*, pounds some roasted wheat, roasted sesame (*senjlān*), white and black benzoin, musk, agal-wood, and sugar,

and mixes it with oil. She does this in her own house, and takes then the mixture to the place where the patient was struck by *jnūn*. She sprinkles it round this place, lights there a *mnāra*, burns some benzoin of both kinds, agal-wood, and musk, and puts an egg in each corner of the place as food for the *jnūn*. This cure is called *bsāsa*.

An Arab from the neighbourhood of Marrāksh told me that when a person is ill he consults a scribe, who lets him know when and where he was struck by a *jenn*. Some semolina mixed with oil is then taken to that place, or a cock is killed there.

At Demnat a cock is likewise killed on the spot where the sick man was hurt by *jnūn*. It is plumed there, but is then, together with the feathers, taken to his house, where it is cooked without salt. The sick man drinks the gravy, whereas the other members of the family eat the meat — I presume with the addition of salt; should he eat of the meat, he would not get cured. The head, feathers, feet, and intestines of the cock, as also some barley and wheat and an egg, are laid in a vessel which is put near the patient to remain there over night. The following morning it is carried with its contents to the spot where he was struck by *jnūn*. The person who takes it there is not forbidden to speak in going but must not do so in coming back, lest the whole performance should be of no avail. I also heard of another cure which had been practised in the same little town. A cock was killed over the sick man's head so that some of the blood fell on it, whilst the rest was gathered in a bowl without being allowed to touch the ground. The head, feathers, and entrails of the cock, together with a raw egg and some barley and maize, were also put into the bowl, which was then kept near the patient over night but in the morning carried to the spring called Lālla T'abakiyut*, the most haunted place in the neighbourhood. The egg was thrown into the spring, but the other things were left on its margin close to the water. The food was eaten by tortoises, which of course

were *jnūn* in disguise. We have previously spoken of the offerings made to tortoises in the large pond or spring of Lālla Tākörkust and some other springs.

Among the Ait Bu'āmran in Sūs a person who is possessed with *jnūn* makes a dish of bread and butter but without salt, and puts it on the roof of the house, saying some words like these, «O God I complain of my illness to this bread.» It is left there uncovered till the following morning, so that the spirits shall partake of it. The man then buries it somewhere in the ground with ceremonies similar to those observed at an ordinary burial, or also simply gives it to dogs to eat. Among other Shlōḥ in Sūs a cock or an animal having the colour indicated by the scribe who is consulted on the matter is killed on the spot where the patient was struck by *jnūn*, or some food prepared without salt is deposited there. Among some Berbers of the Rif a cock is killed and taken to a haunted place, or some *sāḥsū* (*sēksu*) made without salt, together with two dolls representing a man and a woman, are put there. My best informant from the Rif, however, could tell me no more of these things, because, as he said, it is only the women that know much about them.

The main ideas underlying these practices are clear. The sacrifice, and, sometimes at least, the food offering also, are regarded as 'ār, implying a conditional curse, which is meant to compel the *jnūn* to leave the patient alone. As is generally the case with 'ār-sacrifices, the victim is killed without the usual phrase *bismillāh*; an exception to this rule mentioned above is explained by the fact that the animal or fowl is given to the human care-taker of the haunted place, who by killing it «in the name of God» makes it suitable for food. Sometimes the sacrifice is made at the place where the person was struck by *jnūn* or at some famous haunt of theirs, just as 'ār upon a man is made by killing an animal at his dwelling. In other instances the victim is killed over the patient's head so that some of the

blood falls down on it; in this case contact is established between the sacrifice and the *jnūn* in his body. A similar contact is also brought about in other ways: parts of the patient's body are rubbed or smeared with the blood or with the gravy of the fowl after it is cooked, or he drinks of the blood or the gravy, or eats of the meat, or inhales the smoke of the burned feathers or blood. Some of these practices are also obviously intended to wet the *jnūn*'s appetite and thus induce them to leave the sick man and go with the fowl when it is carried away to the haunted place. It is cooked without salt because otherwise the *jnūn* would not care for it; and the same is the case with the other food-offerings, of which in many cases the patient also partakes or with the gravy of which his body is rubbed before they are carried away. But the *jnūn* may easily come back to him or attack the person who carries the offering, unless the latter takes certain precautions — refrains from speaking and looking back, keeps a silver coin in the mouth, and so forth; and both the patient and anybody else who eats of the *dyāfa* must avoid certain practices which are always observed when ordinary food is partaken of. Very dangerous it is to eat of the offering after it has been taken to the haunted place, or even to walk over it or to see it. A man from Andjra said that in his tribe the *dyāfa* is done at night so that nobody else shall get the sick man's complaint, whereas at Tangier it is done in the daytime because the people there do not care a bit about their neighbours but on the contrary are pleased if their relative's illness is transferred to some other person. He told me that he once, outside Tangier, met a dog with a loaf of bread in its mouth; he threw a stone at it and it dropped the loaf; he ate a little of the bread, and when he came home he was taken ill and suffered from fever for two years. The dog was a *jenn* and the bread which it had in its mouth was *dyāfa*. The idea of transference is conspicuous in some of the practices

mentioned, and, as already said, the dolls are no doubt meant as substitutes for the patient.

The *jnūn* that are troubling people are frequently expelled by the active aid of persons who stand in an especially intimate relation to these spirits. In Andjra, if attempts have been made in vain to cure a sick person with the assistance of saints and scribes, a so-called *nēddār* (masc.) or *nēddāra* (fem.) is called to the house; they are generally, though not always, black people, but in any case they are believed to be haunted by *jnūn*. Suppose that a *nēddāra* is sent for. She comes at night with a band of musicians playing on tambourines (*bnāder*). She puts her left hand on the patient's forehead and mutters an incantation (*'aēāma*). She asks for incense (*bhōr*) of various kinds, which she burns, and both she and the patient inhale the smoke. The inhalation makes her dance, and the musicians begin to play. While dancing she ejects through her mouth little pieces of white benzoin, which she likewise throws into the fire. If the patient also begins to dance, she will order him to have a so-called *lāmma* next day, that is, 'Āisāwa are to be invited to the house to dance there. If, on the other hand, he does not dance, she orders *dyāfa* to be made. When she was dancing herself, she told his family that a cock of a certain colour should be killed at a certain place, and she is now reminded of what she said in her frenzy. A cock of the colour indicated is given to her, and she takes it to a haunted place, which is supposed to be the very place where the patient was struck by *jnūn*; when she was dancing she was able to say where it happened. She goes there alone and secretly, and speaks to nobody on her way there and back. At the haunted place she kills the cock without saying *bismillāh*; its blood is not allowed to fall on the ground but flows into a vessel which she brought with her. She then takes the cock and the vessel with its blood back to the house, and carries it three times round the fireplace. She gives the blood to the patient to drink of, and also

smears some of it on his temples and joints; the blood which he drinks is drunk by the *jenn* inside him. She dips the heads of some fishes into the blood which remains and puts them underneath the fire-place, and she also buries there the feathers, entrails, head, and feet of the cock, which are left there for ever. She boils the cock and makes with it a dish of *kēksu*, without the addition of salt. This dish, of which nobody in the house eats, she takes to a haunted place where there is water — not to the place where she killed the cock, but to another one which was specially indicated by her when dancing. Should anybody eat of this food, he would have the illness of the patient. On the following night, at the hour when the cock was killed the night before, she takes the heads of the fishes which were hidden underneath the fire-place to a watery place which is haunted by *jnūn*, but not the same as the one mentioned before. They had to remain hidden all day long because the sun must not shine on them. When the patient gets better, the *nēddāra* takes him to another haunted place where there is water, with which she rubs his body. Neither he nor she is allowed to speak on their way. This, too, is done at night, and, like the earlier ceremonies, must not be done at the hour of prayer.

There are other cases in which the *nēddāra* (or *nēddar*) kills a cock over the head of the sick man so that all the blood falls down on it. She then buries the cock in the same manner as if it were a human being, with the face turned towards Mecca; by doing so she buries the *bas*, or misfortune, of the patient. All this is done at night. The next morning she goes to the slaughtering-place at the market, and asks the butcher to allow her to fill a bottle with blood from a slaughtered animal as it gushes out from the wound. With the bottle in her hand she goes three times round the market, without speaking to anybody, and then returns to the sick man's house. She makes some dolls, called *l-'ārāis*, which she dresses with pieces of the

sick man's clothes of different colours, and ties them together two and two, each couple representing a bride and a bridegroom. She tears from the patient's white clothing as many rags as she made dolls, and dips them into the blood which she brought from the market. She carries the dolls and rags to a place where there is water, takes them three times round this place, lays down the dolls on the margin, and burns one rag close to each couple. When she has thus burned all the rags she says in an inaudible voice, or rather thinks, as she must not speak, *A 'ammi r-raūhāni hallit lek s-sāhha u ddit l-mard*, 'O my uncle *roḥāni*, I left to you the health and took away the sickness.' She means of course the reverse.

At Salli, when a person is troubled with *jnūn*, an expert in expelling them, a so-called *ṭālla'* (masc.) or *ṭālla't* (fem.) *l-mlūk*, is called in to cure him. The doctor dresses himself in a costume of a certain colour, covers his face with a cloth of the same colour, and inhales underneath it the smoke of black benzoin. The king of the tribe of *jnūn* whose colour he wears then enters into him and speaks to him. He tells the *ṭālla' l-mlūk* if it was a member of his own tribe or of some other tribe that struck the sick man, and, in the former case, informs him about the day and hour when it happened, as also what ought to be done. In the latter case, again, the *ṭālla' l-mlūk* dresses himself in the colour of the tribe indicated by the king; but before doing so he keeps himself covered for a while so as to let the *jenn*-king go away. When he is dressing, no water is allowed to be in the room, as the kings of the *jnūn* do not like that there should be any. I was told that a judge in Salli once prohibited these ceremonies; but the result was that one side of his body was paralysed, and he recovered only when he again allowed them.

Among the Ulād Bu'āziz the *jnūn* are expelled from sick people by persons called *ṣuāfa* (masc.) or *ṣuāfa't* (fem.), sing. *ṣuāfa* or *ṣuāfa*, who themselves have plenty of *jnūn* inside them. They never eat food which is very salt, and while they are curing

patients they refrain from eating salted food altogether. The *šúáf* (or *šúáfa*) tells the sick man to bring him (or her) clothes of a certain colour — that of the *jnūn* who struck him, — a cock or hen of the same colour, and some incense of the kind which is particularly liked by the king who rules over the *jnūn* in question. If they belong to the tribe Ulād bēn l-Hāmār, red clothes and a red cock are required; when they strike a person blood gushes out from his nose or mouth or other parts of his body. Sidi Mūsa l-Bāhri, the king of another tribe, requires blue clothes and a cock which has some blue feathers in its plumage; he resides in the blue sea. Sidi Meīmun, another *jenn* sultan, requires black clothes and a black cock; and Lālla Mira, sister of the Ulād bēn l-Hāmār, requires yellow clothes and a yellow cock or hen — being herself a female, she also accepts the sacrifice of a hen. The *šúáf* dresses himself in the clothes brought by the patient, and kills the fowl, without saying *bismillāh*, over a vessel which is kept over his head. The blood, however, must not touch the head, nor is it allowed to fall down on the ground, because that would make it haunted; it is poured off at a place where nobody goes and is covered up with earth. The fowl is boiled and eaten on the same evening by the *šúáf*, the patient, and those of the *šúáf's* *hoddam* or followers (consisting of late patients who have been cured by him) who are present; it is eaten with its gravy and some sugar put into it, but without bread or anything else. This dish is called *lā-hlu*, «the sweets», or *l-mëssūs*, «the saltless.» The *šúáf* has also, at the expense of the patient, called in a company of Gnāwa, who make their usual *dérdba* — dance and play and sing, and in their songs invoke the various *jenn* saints. They are entertained with *sëksu* and meat, prepared with salt; and the *hoddam* of the *šúáf* also partake in the meal, but not the *šúáf* himself nor the patient. The ceremonies and feasts of this evening are called '*ärs lë-jwād*. If the patient suffers from a serious illness, he remains with the *šúáf* for seven days and seven nights, during

which time they only eat unsalted food. While the treatment lasts, the *šúáf* remains dressed in the clothes of the same colour. He is addressed *sídi*, «my lord.» The common people regard him as a saint, but the scribes say he is a *sāhhār*, or wizard. At Mazagan a *šúáf* has no communication with the *jnūn* on Saturdays.

At Fez, when a person is ill, an *imm jnūn*, or haunted woman, is asked to cure him. She goes about in the town with a dagger in her mouth, begging of the shopkeepers *l-fedyā hilleh*, «ransom for the sake of God.» They give her various things, such as sugar, candles, wheat, butter, money, and so forth; and she buys a black he-goat and some fowls, including a cock «of seven colours,» a black and a white cock, and a yellow hen. She paints her hands and feet with henna, and arranges in the evening a performance of the *Gnáwa* in her own house, with her *haddāmāt*, or believers, as invited guests. But before the *Gnáwa* begin their music and dancing she sits down on a chair, dressed in her ordinary white costume. The black he-goat is brought there and is killed by the *mqáddem* of the *Gnáwa*, and she drinks its blood as it is gushing out from the wound till the throat of the animal gets bloodless and pale. Her mouth is then wiped with a silk handkerchief. The white cock is put on a *tās* on her head; it turns itself upside down and makes *fāt'ha*, as it were, after which it is allowed to fly away. Now the *mqáddem* of the *Gnáwa* kills the cock of seven colours on the *tās* over her head, without letting the blood fall on the head, and then the black cock and the yellow hen. She gets up and begins to dance, driven to it by the *jnūn*, and *Gnáwa* and *haddāmāt* and other women present do the same. While she is dancing she says what *jenn* it was that struck the patient, and when she has finished she is dressed up in clothes of the colour of the *jenn*. She eats of the three fowls which were killed and afterwards boiled by the *mqáddem*, together with some white and black benzoin, musk, and gum-lemon, but without salt;

and the remainder of this dish, which is called *méssūs*, is sent to the sick man, who eats of it till it is finished, in the course of a few days. The bones of the fowls are taken to the slaughtering-place inside the town called *l-gúrna bin ló-mdūn*, and are thrown away on this haunted spot. The goat which was killed is given to the *mqáddem*, who takes it with him to his house, when he, accompanied by the other Gnáwa, leaves in the morning. The *umm jnūn*, on the other hand, remains inside her house for seven days, like a bride, continuing her treatment of the absent patient. On the second evening so-called *ḥaḍḍárat'*, or female musicians, come there, and the *umm jnūn*, again dressed in clothes of the colour of the *jenn*, dances as on the night before, and so do the *ḥaddāmāt'*; and they all eat fish. In the morning the musicians go away, but on the next evening another band of *ḥaḍḍárat'* come; and the same is the case on the fourth day. On the fifth day the new *ḥaḍḍárat'* come already in the daytime and the usual dancing takes place; and on the following morning not only the *ḥaḍḍárat'* but the *ḥaddāmāt'* also leave the house. In the afternoon, about 'áṣar, the *umm jnūn* sends to each of the latter, as also to those of her *ḥaddāmāt'* who have not been present, a *jūbbána*, or small vessel with a pointed cover, filled with milk, together with some *ḍáḡnu*, that is, a mixture of pounded rice, sugar, sesame, white and black benzoin, musk, agal-wood, clarified salt butter, and some other substances. The *umm jnūn* eats herself of this mixture and drinks some milk, and the *ḥaddāmāt'* are expected to do the same. When the milk-vessels are returned, some silver money is sent with each of them, and every *ḥbiyaq*, or small palmetto tray, on which *ḍáḡnu* was sent, is returned with some sugar, sesame, and musk on it. It should be added that the milk had been bought by the *umm jnūn* already on the first day and, in the evening, poured into *jūbbánat'* painted in different colours; these were then put in a specially cleaned division of the room behind a curtain, or in a separate room, fumigated with incense,

and were left there till the sixth day. The *ḥaḍḍārat*¹ who have hitherto been playing in the house of the *umm jnūn* have all been white women, but in the evening of the sixth day black women belonging to the Gnāwa, so-called *nānāmmiwi*, are called in to make *ḥādra* by playing on various instruments — *āḡwal* (a short clay cylinder with skin), *bēndir* (a tambourine), *gānga* (the Gnāwi name for *gēnbri*, a diminutive two-stringed guitar), etc.¹ The *umm jnūn* and her *ḥaddāmāt* dance, and while dancing she removes all her clothes with the exception of her drawers (*sārwaḷ*). On the morning of the following day, the seventh, the musicians and the *ḥaddāmāt* go away, and the whole thing is finished.

It is also the custom both in Fez and elsewhere to call a company of Gnāwa, both men and women, to the patient's own house, or if the latter be a woman, to call there a band of *ḥaḍḍārat*. The following description refers to a performance of Gnāwa at Tangier. They come to the patient's house in the dark, after sunset, playing on two large drums of the kind called *t-tābel de gnāwa*, and many iron castanets (*ṣaḡṣāqa*, or, as the Gnāwa themselves call them, *ṣaḡṣāqa*). In the central court of the house most of the male Gnāwa form a circle round one of their companions and move slowly from right to left, playing on their castanets and singing repeatedly, *Ṣāla yā nābīna ā mūlāi Muḥammed*, «Pray O our Prophet, O our lord Muhammed»; while the man in the centre is turning himself round, and two other Gnāwa standing outside the circle are playing on the drums. When this ceremony, which is called *dérāba*, has come to an end, the family of the patient give them milk and dried fruit (*fākya*); this is *l-baraka de styidna Būlel*, «the *baraka* of our lord Būlel,» the patron saint of the Gnāwa, who was a black slave and the Prophet's *mūdden*. The *m'allem*, or chief, of the Gnāwa

¹ The black *ḥaḍḍārat* play the *āḡwal* and *bēndir* in a particular manner, putting the former between their legs and the latter in front of them. The *gānga* is played by them only, not by the white *ḥaḍḍārat*.

— who, generally, does not take part in the *dérdba* — sits down, with a large guitar in his hand, and playing on it sings a welcome song to the various saints of the *jnūn*, whom he mentions by their names; while the other Gnáwa, seated round him, repeat his words to the accompaniment of their castanets. Meanwhile the female Gnáwa, or *hādem* (sing. *hādem*), who are sitting in the roofed rooms of the house, become one after another possessed by *jnūn*. When a *jenn* enters one of them she falls down in the room where she is sitting or rushes out into the court and falls down there; this is at all events the case with many of them, say eight or twelve. When a *hādem* falls down she is attended by two male Gnáwa, who are standing there without playing. They fumigate her face, hands, and feet with black benzoin if the *jenn* who entered her belongs to the tribe whose colour is black, otherwise with white benzoin — they know the colours of the various *jnūn* by whom the *hādem* are possessed. They also fumigate the clothes in which they are now going to dress the *hādem*; these they take from a sack filled with clothes of different colours belonging to the *m'állem*, which was brought to the house on a large palmetto tray called *t-ḥbéqa del-mlūk*, 'the tray of the owners.' They lift the *hādem* into a standing position, and the *jenn* inside her makes her dance up and down. The *hādem* may thus dance (*kait'háiru*) for hours or even the whole night, the *m'állem* playing his guitar and the other Gnáwa making noise with their castanets. Some of the dancing women beat their necks with cords, which were among the clothes, or with sticks, or knock a dagger into the stomach or lacerates their thighs with it, and many of them eat fire. One of them enters the room where the patient is lying, lifts him on her shoulders, carries him into the centre of the house, dances with him in front of the *ḥbéqa* close to the *m'állem*, and then sets him down on the ground. She addresses herself to the *m'állem* telling him that the person is ill, and asks God, time after time in different phrases, for his recovery, while the *m'állem* and the

Gnáwa who have castanets make *fātḥa* and say *amēn a sīdī* after each sentence. When this is finished both they and the *ḥādem* wipe their faces with both hands, saying, *L-ḥamdū lillāh rabbī l-‘ālamīn*, «Praise be to God the lord of the worlds». The *ḥādem* lifts again the patient on her shoulders, and asks the *m’ālem* to order them to leave, which is done by a resumption of the music by him and the other Gnáwa; she now carries him back to his bed. While the patient is seated on the shoulders of the *ḥādem*, the behaviour of the latter prognosticates the turn his illness will take; if she covers her eyes with her hands he will die, but if she shows signs of joy he will recover. The ceremony now described is not repeated by the other dancing women, who simply enter the patient’s room and touch various parts of his body, saying, *La bās a’l ‘ēd-dāḥš dyānna*, «Good health to our foal» (meaning the patient, though *dāḥš*, fem. *dāḥša*, is otherwise used to denote the foal of a donkey). It should be added that during the whole of this performance there must be no water in the centre of the house, and if the Gnáwa want to drink water they have to go into one of the side-rooms or on the roof and drink without being seen by those who are dancing. If there is any intoxicated person in the house or on the roof, the persons who are dancing cry out, *Ḥāna bēllāh u š-šra’*, «We are under the protection of God and the religious law.» The Gnáwa are not allowed to smoke or snuff on this occasion, and when they first enter the house they have to remove their slippers. Although the persons who dance are mostly women, some of the male Gnáwa (*l-‘ābīd*) may also be among them.

When a company of Gnáwa are thus called in, the expression for it is to «make Gnáwa» or to «make» or «bring to the house the slaves of the ground (*l-‘ābīd dēr-rāḥba*)» — a name given to the Gnáwa on account of their close relations to the *jnūn*, who are masters of the ground; or to «make *l-lāmma*» or «*l-wālimas*» or «*l-krāmas*». The last three expressions are also applied to the ceremonies which for similar purposes are performed by com-

panies consisting of 'Āisāwa or Jilāla. In these companies there are no women. The chief, who is called *d-dēkhar*, plays on two small drums (*tābūl*), whilst the other men, who are called *l-fógra*, play on tambourines (*agūlan*, sing. *ágwal*, in Fez and Marráksh also called *t'aārj*, sing. *t'a'rēja*), consisting of a clay cylinder on one side covered with goatskin, which the musician taps with his fingers. In all other respects the curative performances of the 'Āisāwa and Jilāla are exactly similar to those of the Gnāwa.

In Fez, when a *hādem* falls down, those who help her up salute the *jenn* inside her and ask who he is. The *hādem* answers, 'I am so-and-so.' Then they dress her in clothes having the colour which is liked by the *jenn* — blue if the *jenn* speaking through her is Sidi Mūsa, red if it is Sidi Hāmmū, yellow if it is Lālla Mtra, green if it is Sidi Buhāli, black if it is Sidi Blāl (Sidi Būlel), white if it is Sidi j-Jilāli. The chief, or *mqāddem*, of the Gnāwa kills a black he-goat or cock over a tray which is held above the patient's head, when he is sitting on a chair. This sacrifice is called *dbēha kbira* if the victim is a goat, and *dbēha ṣgéra* if it is a cock; and in either case it is taken away by the Gnāwa, nothing of it being eaten in the patient's house. Here also ceremonies similar to those of the Gnāwa are performed for curative purposes by 'Āisāwa, but their instruments differ; the Gnāwa have their castanets, here called *qārqa*, their guitar called *gānga*, and their large drums or *ḥbāl*, which are not used by the 'Āisāwa¹. Performances of the kind described above are likewise arranged with *ḥaddārat* on behalf of persons troubled with *jnūn*.

In cases of illness caused by *jnūn*, visits with sacrifices or offerings are frequently made to the sanctuaries of saints who are regarded as rulers over those spirits. To take an instance. A Moorish friend of mine in Tangier told me that his wife every year suffers from an irregular appearance of blood (*dem*

¹ They also have drums, but of a smaller size.

l-fāsād), which is attributed to the *Ulād bel lā-Hmār*. In order to cure it she pays a reverent visit to *Sidi l-Meşmûdi*'s sanctuary outside the town, lights there a candle, burns some white benzoin reciting passages from the 'Koran, and makes an offering of a cock — red, black, or many-coloured, but not white, — which is killed by the *mquddem* of the place. She then takes a portion of its blood to *Dar l-ḥāmra*, a haunted ruin mentioned above, burning benzoin all the way. She smears the joints of her arms, her knees, and her throat-pit with the blood, but washes it off soon after at the pool outside *Dar l-ḥāmra*, where she also washes her face and extremities; if there happens to be no water in it, she goes back to *Sidi l-Meşmûdi* and performs the ablutions in his spring on the road-side. She then enters *Dar l-ḥāmra*, burns incense there, lights a candle, and sprinkles some milk, which she brought with her, on the inner side of the wall, and when this is done she goes away. It should be added that instead of *Sidi l-Meşmûdi* some other saint who rules over the *jnûn* may be visited for the same purpose. Of such saints there is a large number in Morocco. But there are also other saints, of the *jenn* kind, to whom offerings are made by patients or their families, to enlist their assistance in driving away the molesting *jenn*. Very frequently cocks are carried to their *ḥammal*, and are either slaughtered there or left there alive. One morning at Tangier I saw several women walk to a large stone in the sea, the *ḥamma* of *Sidi Mûsa*. They kissed the stone, put on it some candles and incense, and had a bath on the other side of it.

CHAPTER IV

THE *JNŪN* IN THE SERVICE OF MEN AND SAINTS

The relations between men and *jnūn*, however, are not always of an unpleasant kind, and the practices which have reference to the latter are not exclusively such as are intended to keep them at a distance or put them to flight. In many cases they may be summoned by men, who then make use of them for their own purposes.

Thus *Siyidna Suleimān* had a wonderful ring, the so-called *ḥāt'em siyidna Suleimān* or *ḥāt'em l-ḥékma*, by means of which he ruled over the *jnūn*, as well as over all animals and birds in the world and the winds; it had been given him by Allah himself. Once, however, he lost this ring. A certain '*afrit*' sent her servant, an '*afrit*', to watch for an opportunity to deprive him of it and throw it into the sea; and so the '*afrit*' did one day when *Siyidna Suleimān* had gone to the hot bath and there removed the ring from his finger. It was eaten by a fish of the kind called *ṣatra*, which still has a mark of it on its back. *Siyidna Suleimān*, who knew that the '*afrit*' had taken his ring and thrown it into the sea, went every day down to the sea-shore to look for it in the sand and among the seaweed. Once when he came there a fisherman just caught a fish, which he bought from him. When he prepared it for eating, he found his ring inside it. He put the ring on his fin-

ger, turned it round, and in the same moment some 'afârēt appeared. He told them to bring there the 'afrit' who had stolen the ring. The 'afrit' informed him about the 'afrit'a by whose command he had acted, and was then burned. The 'afrit'a was sent for; and when she admitted that she had done what was imputed to her, Siyidna Suleimān had a large *qamqom* made and ordered her to be put inside it, after which it was closed and thrown into the depth of the sea; and there the 'afrit'a still remains alive. Thus Siyidna Suleimān was again in possession of his ring; but shortly before his death Allah told him to part with it and throw it into Zemzem, the sacred well within the precincts of the mosque at Mecca. There it is to this very day, and anybody who says he possesses it is a liar; nor has anybody else ever had such a ring. Yet I was told at Fez that Mûlāi Ismā'il, who was sultan of Morocco between 1672 and 1727, had a *hât'em l-hékma*, by means of which he ruled over the *jnūn*. When he turned it round, 'afârēt came to carry out his orders; and in this way the marble pillars in the sultan's palace were brought to Mequinez. Si Jilālī r-Rôgi, who in 1862 rebelled against Sidi Muḥammed XVIII., is said to have had a similar ring to which he owed his success in the beginning of his career; all his soldiers and horses were *jnūn* in disguise. But he lost the ring at Zārḥūn, and was killed in consequence; for it was the ring that had protected his life. I heard in Dukkāla that there are persons still living who have such rings, which make the *jnūn* their obedient servants; they are worn on the little finger of the left hand, and look quite like ordinary rings. In 1901, when I was staying in Dukkāla, the governor of Mazagan was said to possess such a ring.

There are scribes, especially in Sūs, who are able to summon *jnūn*, in order to get their assistance, by making use of a name of God in accordance with prescriptions laid down in their books; but it is only Muhammadan *jnūn* that may be summoned in this way. The scribe writes the name on a paper

or writing-board, and repeats it then a certain number of times every morning and evening after prayer for a certain number of days. On the last evening, when he is sitting alone in his room — not even a cat is allowed to be there on this occasion — burning white benzoin in the fire-pot (*méjmar*) in front of him, a *jenn* appears in the moment he finishes his recitation. It is the *jenn* of the name of God which he has been repeating; for every name of God has its special *jenn*, called *l-ḥādim de l-ism*, «the servant of the name.» The *jenn* says to him, *Āmar ya sīdī*, «Command O my lord.» But the scribe, who is looking down at the fire-pot continuing the burning of incense, gives no answer. The *jenn* repeats the phrase another time or several times, without receiving a reply, and at last cuts off a tuft of hair from his head and puts it in front of the scribe, telling him to burn one hair every time he wants the *jenn* to come and execute his command; after which the *jenn* goes away. The scribe who does this must be a thoroughly good and pious man, who says his prayers regularly, observes his fast in Ramaḍān, refrains from all alcoholic drinks, is faithful to his wife, and never lies or steals or commits any other wrong. Should he ever misbehave, the *jenn* would strike him; one of my informants knew two old scribes who in this way lost their lives. At Fez I was told that only childless persons dare to summon *jnūn* in the said manner, since the *jenn* may hurt the children even of a pious scribe. In the same town it is the custom for a scribe who is summoning a *jenn* to become his *ḥādim* to partake of nothing but bread made of barley without salt and oil, until the *jenn* appears.

In Fez I also heard of a method of summoning *jnūn* for the purpose of finding out the perpetrator of a theft. The *fqī* who summons them *ʿāiṭālla' mḥālla*, «raises an army», as it is called. He is taken to the place where the theft was committed and calls somebody who knows the people that have been there. He washes that person's right hand, keeps it then over a fire-

pot in which he is burning white and black benzoin, pours into the centre of it some Moorish ink (*šmag*),¹ touches his forehead with his own right hand, tells him to fix his eyes on the ink, and recites something from the Koran as an incantation (*t'ei'azzem*). The *fqi* asks him if he sees anything, and if he says «No,» goes on with his incantation until the other person says that he sees something. «What do you see?» asks the *fqi*. «I am seeing people,» answers the other one. The *fqi* tells him to say to them, *Hárrju mħalla*, «Make an army come out.» So he does, and now a troop of men riding on horses appear in the ink. The *fqi* instructs him to ask them to bring there the person who committed the theft, and they do what he asks them. If he now recognises the thief whom he sees in the ink, he mentions his name to the *fqi*; the latter tells him to pour the ink from his hand back into the inkstand, and when this is done the *fqi* licks up any ink which remains in the hand. If, on the other hand, the person in question does not recognise the thief who appears in the ink, the *fqi* asks him to describe his looks (which however must not be done aloud), and then communicates to the owner of the stolen property what is told him.¹ If the owner now recognises the thief from the descrip-

¹ A similar practice is thus described by Emily, Shareefa of Wazan (*My Life Story* [London, 1911], p. 207), who is living in Tangier: — «There is also a certain kind of magic, named the M'hallah (army or camp). People wishing to know of absent friends will employ a scribe capable of calling up the M'hallah. This performance takes place generally on a huge terrace of a house. A boy of about ten years old is required for the purpose. The scribe draws on his palm a camp, which is represented by a square. This is subdivided, leaving the centre larger than the rest, into which a large blotch of ink is placed. Then some numbers are placed in the smaller spaces, outside of which has been written a verse from the Koran. All the time these preparations are going on, incense is freely burnt on live charcoal. The first question asked is if the boy can perceive his own face in the large blotch. If he replies in the affirmative, the scribe demands of the inquirer or inquirers what is wished to be known.»

tion given of him, the performance comes to an end; otherwise the *fqi* writes for him a *ḥōrz* consisting of something from the Koran together with a few words in the *jenn* language, and tells him to put it underneath some heavy thing, like a box or a stone. The *fqi* thus *it'qqaf* the stolen object, making it remain where it is. The owner pays to the *fqi* its value, and the latter instructs him to go to a certain market-place the next time a market is held there. There he will find his stolen property or part of it offered for sale, and this will lead to the discovery of the thief. It is the *fqi* that has caused the stolen thing to be offered for sale at the market on that day by writing another *ḥōrz* to «open the *t'qāf*» (*iḥōll t'qāf*, or *ibṭṭāl t'qāf*) and induce some *jenn* to visit the thief and advise him to take the thing to the market.

A scribe from the Hīāina gave me the following description of the practice of «raising an army»: — A *fqi* draws a *jédwīl* on the right palm of a boy, and writes inside it the names of some *jnūn* and outside it the names of the four archangels, after which the hand of the boy is fumigated with coriander. He now sees the army of the *jnūn*, and answers the questions put to him by the *fqi*, telling him all what he sees.

Among the Ulād Bu'āziz a person who has been robbed of something goes to a *ṣuāf* or *ṣuāfa*, puts a coin close to his lips, and whispers, «I have lost this or that, tell me who has taken it or where it is.» He gives the coin to the *ṣuāf*, who moves it with his hand over a coal-fire containing burning incense. The *ṣuāf* then snuffs at the coin and tells the man about the thief or the place where he may recover his property. The same is done if information is wanted about something else — for instance, if a father is anxious to know whether his absent son is alive, or if a person wants to ascertain if he will be lucky in some undertaking. At Fez, also, a person who desires to know something about his future consults a *ṣūwāfa* or a *ṣūwaf*, who tells people's fortunes by the aid of shells. Among the

Ait Wāryāgāl there are women called *dīzuhrīyin* (sing. *dāzuhrī*) who are likewise able to tell people about secret things and future events owing to the information they derive from *jnūn*.

Shereef 'Abdsslam's mother initiated me in the following method of getting news about absent members of the family. At ten o'clock in the morning, or thereabout, two elderly and respectable women go to a public oven to invite the *jnūn* that are haunting it. On their way there they are not allowed to speak to anybody they happen to meet. When they arrive at the door of the place, they address the *jnūn* in the following words: — *Zinu 'alīna a muwālīn l-mkān, hād l-līla l-fāl dyālkum*, «Favour us O masters of the place, this evening is your [time for] prognostication.» They then ask the *jnūn* to bring with them all their people, strong and weak, seeing and blind. When they say this, they must keep very serious; if they laugh, they will have their features distorted. They then go to the place at the market where corn is sold, to the place where animals are slaughtered, to the sea-shore, to a well which is dried up, and to a ruined and deserted house. At each of these places they repeat the same invitation. The women who thus invite the *jnūn* must put on their *ḥāyēk* with the left hand and while walking about hold it up with the same hand, contrary to the ordinary custom of women; and they paint their left eye with antimony. They also call upon seven different women who have married only once in their life (whether they be married now or not) and whose husbands also have married only once, and ask of them some money, some fat of a goat sacrificed at the Great Feast, and some hair of the same goat; it must be the fat and hair of a goat and not of a sheep, since goats are animals especially liked by *jnūn* and therefore haunted by them. With the money the two women buy some white benzoin, which they mix with the fat and hair of the goat, and of this paste they make as many small balls as there are women who want information about absent friends — this kind of magic is al-

ays practised on behalf of several persons at the same time, as also three balls for the Sultan, Dar ǧ-ǧmāna (the Wazzan shereefs), and *l-máhzen* (the government). In the middle of the night, when nobody is walking about in the streets, these women, together with the two who invited the *jnūn* and made the balls, mount the roof of a house which is uninhabited or in which, any rate, there is no man or boy on that night. They take with them the balls and a fire-pot, without saying *bismillāh*, and must neither speak nor laugh; if they do, they will be struck by *jnūn*. (This is altogether a very dangerous ceremony, said the old Shereefa; she was quite afraid of telling it to me because it might affect my health even to hear of it). On the roof they put the balls into the fire-pots, first those made for the Sultan, Dar ǧ-ǧmāna, and *l-máhzen*, and then one ball each on behalf of the absent relative. They blow the fire with bellows, and when the smoke of the ball is rising they hear or see the *fāl*, both their own *fāl* and that of the others. If the absent friend is dead, they hear crying or lamentations or a funeral song. If he is well, they hear his voice telling them so. If he is on his way home, they see him coming like a shadow and hear his talk. If he is going to marry, they hear music and sounds as from toy-guns. All the sounds and visions they experience are very faint or dim. — When Shereef 'Abdsslam was away with me in Mazagan and his mother was told that he was ill, she took herself part in a ceremony of this kind. She heard him say, «O my mother!» She heard him talk with her in an European language, heard the noise of mules and of unloading them, and saw her son and me and mules, not distinctly but only as shadowy appearances. This *fāl*, however, was made not only to get information about absent friends but also to ascertain what will happen to people at home, to the woman herself or to somebody else, for example a member of the family who is ill. If he is going to die, crying is heard by those who take part in the ceremony; but if he will re-

cover, they hear him saying so. The shereefa finished her account by adding that if the *jnūn* have been invited and the ceremony has nevertheless not been carried out, they will get angry and throw stones at the women who invited them. «Here we are,» they say, «you must hurry on to make yourselves ready.»

A similar sort of magic, called *ḍrēb l-fāl*, is practised by the women of Fez. The woman who wants to get news about an absent member of the family, or to find out whether a sick person at home will recover, makes *sēksu* and gives it as charity to poor people. She then visits various fountains and the slaughtering-place called *l-gūrna bin lé-mdūn*, inside the town, and the cave of *l-Māqṭa'* outside *Bāb l-Hāmis*, burns white and black benzoin at all these places, and lights a *mnāra*, or oil-lamp, at the slaughtering-place and in the cave. At each place visited by her she addresses the *jnūn* with the words, *Ana t'anā'rd 'ālikum*, «I am inviting you.» In the night she ascends the roof of her house together with one or two other women, taking with her a *méjmar*, or fire-pot, with burning coal. The women throw benzoin in the fire, and ask the *jnūn* to give them the information wanted. They may then hear crying or the sounds of a funeral song, which means that the absent friend is dead; or the *zḡārīt* of women, which means that he is happy; or the noise of people who are quarrelling, which means that he is in trouble. Again, if the information refers to a person who is ill, *zḡārīt* indicates that he will soon recover, whilst weeping indicates that he will die.

Magicians (*hokāma*) from Sūs are said to find buried treasures by writing the name of some *jenn* on a paper, putting the paper on the palm of the left hand, reading an incantation over it, and making it fly by blowing at it. At the place where it falls down there is money buried. It may be that when the magician digs for the treasure, he finds that the *jenn* guarding it has transformed the money into charcoal, but if he is a

good *hakim* he can, by writing a charm, change the charcoal into money again. Sometimes *jnūn* help people to find hidden treasures in the following way. When two *jnūn* quarrel with each other one of them may, in order to deprive the other one of his money, write on a paper in what place the money is to be found, at what time the owner of it will be absent, and what should be done to find the money. The person who wants to get hold of it may, for instance, have to kill a he-goat, a ram, a fowl, a snake, or a man who has a straight line across the palm of his hand, or to wound such a man (who is called *zūhri* and is regarded as a lucky person) so that his blood comes in contact with the place where the money is buried. The *jenn* then throws the paper in the way of some scribe who is walking in a desert place, or puts it inside the book which a scribe makes use of in writing charms. If the scribe does what is written on the paper he will find the treasure. When he goes to seek for it, however, he is accompanied by two or three other scribes; and while one or two of them are digging, one is reading the *sūrah* of the Koran which is indicated in the letter of the *jenn* and another one is burning incense. To find the place where the treasure is buried, the scribe may be ordered to blow at the paper and let it fly and dig wherever it falls down.

There are also scribes who can open closed doors without a key: they write something on a paper and burn it, with the result that '*afārēt*' will come and open the door.

Evil *jnūn* help people to practise witchcraft (*shōr* or *shōr*). A person who for this purpose wants to summon a Jewish *jenn* does all sorts of disgusting or forbidden things. He eats his own excrements, and dirties his clothes with them; drinks his own urine if thirsty, and sprinkles his clothes with it; puts his right slipper on his left foot and his left slipper on his right foot, and wears all his clothes with the inside out; makes an ablution with his urine and rays with his face turned in a wrong

direction, that is, not towards Mecca. He writes on a paper the name of the *jenn* whom he wants so summon inside a *jédwīl*, in accordance with the instructions he gets from a book on the subject; burns the paper together with coriander seed, and in burning it recites the name of the *jenn* and some passages from the Koran with the word Allah and other holy words exchanged for *šītan*; and continues this recitation until the *jenn* comes.

If a person wants to make the people living in an enemy's house quarrel between themselves, he may resort to the following practice. A black hen is killed, its head is shaved with a razor, and a charm containing names of *jnūn* is written on the head of the hen with its own blood. Then the head is thrown into the enemy's house, with the result that the *jnūn* will make the inhabitants quarrel and the house will become empty within three days. This should be done about sunset (*Ḥiāina*).

If a man wants to be loved by a certain woman, a scribe writes for him a charm containing words in the *jenn* language, as also the names of the man and his mother and of the woman and her mother. The man goes to the neighbourhood of the woman's house, puts the charm between the forefinger and middle finger of his right hand, and moves the fingers with the charm three times in the direction of the house, at the same time whispering the woman's name. Then he burns the charm between his fingers and goes away; and she will love him. Or when the charm has been written, it may also be rolled up and tied to a tree near the woman's dwelling with a hair from her head; and when the wind moves the charm to and fro, she will love the man very much (*Ait Wāryāgāl*). If a man wants to increase his own sexual capacity, he can do so by writing the word *sāltā'in* — the name of a *jenn* — with Moorish ink (*smag*) on the palm of his right hand and then licking it up with his tongue (*Fez*).

In order to become a successful juggler (*saḥb l-hanqatéra*) a

person makes *r-riâda*, as it is called, that is, he fasts for three or seven days, recites every day some incantation in solitude, and eats in the night nothing but bread made of barley (without salt) and oil and containing red raisins. The *jenn* who is going to help him — his *hdim*, who is a *jenn šilâni* — then comes and tells him what to do and not to do: to abstain from salted food, to neglect his prayers altogether, to make water in the mosque or in the hot bath or on a copy of the Koran, or to eat human excrements. He will then be able to do wonderful tricks. He takes, for instance, in his hand an empty glass, and all of a sudden it is filled with water. He closes his empty hand, and when he opens it there is money in it. He puts a date into somebody's mouth, and it becomes cowdung; or he puts there cowdung and it becomes a date. He places a tambourine (*béndir*) with the skin upwards on an empty spot, taps a little on it, and when he lifts it up there is a snake underneath. All this is *hanqašêra kbîra*, «great jugglery», as distinguished from *hanqašêra š'êra*, or little tricks.

There are magicians who make money by summoning *jnûn* merely to amuse people. I have twice been present at such a seance. The magician, a black man from Sûs — the country of magicians — wrote some mystic signs on a sheet of paper, which he fastened to the wall; it was a letter to some *jenn*. He then blew out the light, and demanded absolute silence. After a few minutes a tremendous noise was heard: the *jenn* came down along the wall, and ran to the magician. They had a dialogue together, and the *jenn* went away over the roof. Nothing else could be seen in the dark but the vague outline of a moving body. The *jenn* once shook hands with me, and the hand was that of a man. The magician had no assistant. He was undoubtedly a good ventriloquist and endowed with exceptional powers of seeing in the dark.

On the threshing-floor sacrifices are made to the *jnûn* not only in order to prevent their stealing from the corn but to

induce them to help the workmen and, especially, to give *baraka* to the grain. In Aglu, for example, on the day when the grain is going to be removed from the threshing-floor, the farmer slaughters a sheep to increase its *baraka*. It is sacrificed to the *lmluk unrär*, or «masters of the threshing-floor,» who are addressed thus: — *Lmluk unrär, häyyagg ngrärs fällaun*, «Masters of the threshing-floor, look here, we killed for you.» Here, as elsewhere, the spirits are supposed to take the blood of the victim, whilst the meat is eaten in the farmer's house by himself, his family, and the workmen, after the grain has been carried away from the *anrär*. Yet the *baraka* in the grain may become too strong, and thereby become a danger to the farmer and his family — there may be *qazqûza* in the heap.¹ I have found this curious belief prevalent in various Berber tribes. The Ait Waráin say that the *qazqûza* shows itself in the rising of the cloth with which the heap is covered. It is then necessary for the farmer to make a sacrifice at the threshing-floor lest he or his wife or some of his children should die; and should anybody speak there while the heap is swelling, he would likewise die or be paralysed, being struck by *jnün*. It is *imúmnən*, Muhammadan *jnün*, that make the heap grow, owing to the sacrifice performed when the threshing began, but their kindness may go to far — the *baraka* they bestow on it may become excessive. The Ait Yüsi, also, if there is *qazqûza* in the heap, make a sacrifice to the *jnün* in order to induce them, through the blood, to stop its growing; otherwise, they believe, the children of the farmer would die. At Demnat I was told that a sheep is killed on the threshing-floor if the heap of grain is growing at night and the person who is guarding it hears the noise, and that, if this sacrifice were omitted, those who ate of the corn would die in consequence. The same custom prevails among the Igliwa, who also kill an animal when the new-

¹ Dozy (*Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes*. ii. 343) mentions the verb *qazqaz*, which means «to crackle.»

pressed olive-oil is increasing, this too being a sacrifice to the spirit-owners of the place.¹

In Fez I was told that if the *jnūn* cause the water-supply in the house to cease at night, there is a splendid opportunity for anybody who notices it to enrich himself: he gets up and puts into the basin (which is called *sqqāya* if it is oblong, and *má'da* if it is round) an object of silver or gold, with the result that the water there is transformed into the same metal. Many persons have made a fortune in this way through the kindness of the *jnūn*.

The *jnūn* act as the servants of dead saints, as well as of living men. Very many saints are known to rule over the *jnūn* and are therefore appealed to by people troubled with *lé-ryāḥ*. In Dukkāla, for example, Sidi 'Abd'l'azīz ben Yéffu, Sidi Ms'ōud ben Ḥāsēin, Sidi Mḥammed ben Ḥāmed, Sidi 'Abdlmālōk, Sidi 'Abd'llah ben Yūsfi, and the great saint Mūlāi 'Abd'llah, are all rulers over the *jnūn*. A famous saint of this class in the Rif is Sidi Māleḥ, whose grave on the border between the Ibaqqūyēn and the Ait Wāryāgāl is visited by people from all parts of the Rif. Certain saints rule over the *jnūn* of some definite locality, which may even be at a considerable distance from the grave of the saint; thus, as we have seen, Sidi Ḥamād u Mḥamméd ben Nāsār, who is buried in the valley of the Wad Drā, is the sovereign of the *jnūn* of Imi n-Taqqāndut. Every saint, in fact, has Muhammadan *jnūn* who are subject to him, execute his orders, and assist him in performing his miracles. For example, when Sidi Qāsēm, in the Faḥs, wants to wreck a steamer passing his tomb on the Atlantic shore, he sends his *jnūn* to do it.

¹ See *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, etc.* p. 38 sq.; *The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, p. 147.

CHAPTER V

INDIVIDUAL SPIRITS

The *jnūn* are generally lacking in individuality. Their characteristics are mostly those of the species and the tribe. Different tribes of them, as we have seen, may have different religions, different dispositions of mind, and different colours, and attack people under different circumstances and on different days. There are, however, certain *jnūn* that have individual names, such as the *jenn* saints, some disease spirits, and a few others mentioned above. In Fez there was an '*afrīt*' by name 'Allū, who lived in a spring still known under the name 'Ain Allū, but he was killed by Mūlāi Idrīs; the spring is situated in the vicinity of Mūlāi Idrīs' sanctuary. Magicians read in their books about *sēb'ā del mūlūk*, 'the seven kings' of the *jnūn*, whose names are stated somewhat differently in different books. According to one version they are Mudhhib (◀gilder◀), Merra, el-Aḥmar (◀the red◀), Borqān (◀gleaming◀), Šemhūreš, el-Abyāḍ (◀the white◀), and Mīmūn (◀lucky◀).¹ Of these personages Mīmūn is popularly known as a *jenn* saint by name Sīdi Mīmūn or Méimūn, and Šemhūreš is also much spoken of, under the name of Šēmhar°š. He had a son called *s-sultān l-kḥal*, 'the black sultan'; and when he died he, besides, left behind a daughter, who — as was said

¹ Cf. Douglé, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger, 1909), pp. 121, 160 sq.

before — is still alive and assists her own sex in practising witchcraft. But all these individuals are very shadowy beings without any distinct personality.

The case is somewhat different with certain other spirits with individual names that are generally included among the *jinn* but present definite characteristics of their own. The Arabic-speaking people of Northern Morocco believe in a *jenniya* called 'Aīša Qandiša. She appears as a grown-up woman with a beautiful face, but she has also been seen with the legs of a goat or an ass, or with the legs of a woman and the body of a she-goat with long pendant breasts. She is very libidinous and tries to seduce handsome young men. I was told of a man in Tangier who once in the middle of the night met her in the street, although he took her for a woman. She said to him, 'O man, O man, come!' He did not answer but proceeded to his room in another street, shut the door, went to bed, and extinguished the light. When he put his hand on the pillow he, to his amazement, touched the breast of a woman. Now he understood that the individual he had met was a *jenniya* and that it was she who was in his bed. He got a fright, rushed up from his bed and out from the room, and went to his parents' house, where he knocked at the door. His mother and brother came out, and when he told them his adventure they accompanied him to his room; but they found nobody there. On the next day he spoke about it to an old man, who said that 'Aīša Qandiša every night at a certain hour appears in the shape of a woman in the place where he met her, trying to induce men to go with her; and that he who does so will be maddened by her.

She has her home, however, in the sea or in a river or spring. A Moorish friend of mine in Tangier told me that in his childhood his mother used to warn him against 'Aīša Qandiša when he was going to bathe in the sea. A woman from the Tsnl said that she lives in a spring. According to the people

of Tetuan, she resides in the river outside that town, at a place where there is a ruined bridge; she seizes and kills persons who bathe there — indeed, every year three or four men fall victims to her in this way. But in the summer when it is very warm she is sometimes seen sitting on the shore. In Fez she comes out from Wād Āgzām ben Zékkūm, the drain, in the section Gzām ben Zékkūm, in the shape of an ugly old woman with pendant breasts. Among the Beni Āhsen I heard that she lives in the river Sbū, although she has the vicious habit of approaching married men in the shape of their wives and then taking their lives. A woman told me that once, when her son was bathing in that river, 'Aīša Qandiša came and rode on his back, and he got rid of her only when he cried out to the persons present, 'Give me a dagger'; for 'Aīša Qandiša, like other *jnūn*, are afraid of things of steel, even needles. In the same tribe it is the custom for those who on Midsummer Day take a swim in the river, first to throw into it burning straw with *sēksu* as an offering to 'Aīša Qandiša and her husband Hāmmū Qāyyū. The latter was described as a very tall individual, who lives with her in the river. I also heard about him in other tribes of Northern Morocco — in the neighbourhood of Mequinez a man told me that he had once seen him in a river; but he is much less spoken of than his wife. I have not met with the belief in 'Aīša Qandiša farther south. In Dukkāla the people told me that they had heard of her only from Ḥamādša, who, when they are dancing and invoking *jnūn* before they begin to chop their heads with axes, sing, 'Aīša Qandiša gā'da rḥānni, 'Aīša Qandiša is sitting and smears herself with henna.' She does not seem to be known in the Rif.

The people of Dukkāla speak of another *jennīya* who is also known to be very libidinous and to madden or kill people by frightening them. She is called Ḥārāja or (with the definite article) lā-Ḥrāja, a name derived from the verb *ḥarāj*, because she 'comes out' from some watery or other haunted place. She

assumes different forms on different occasions. A youth from the Shāwia told me that she is black and her head, including the face, covered with long hair. In Dukkāla I heard that she was once seen on a road in the shape of a he-goat, tied up. The man who found the goat took it with him, but while he was carrying it, he suddenly heard it speak, asking him, 'Am I heavy?' He got frightened, of course, and threw away the mysterious animal. A scribe from the same province said that he on a certain occasion saw Hārāja like a red dog with a big human head; she was clapping her hands, but when he recited some passages from the Koran she ran away, and when he looked back he saw her no more. Another Dukkāla scribe told me that a friend of his once made an appointment to meet at a desert place a certain woman whose husband was absent from home. While he was waiting for her, he fell asleep. He was awaked, however, by a woman resembling the one he intended to meet, who wanted to rob him of his gun. He made resistance and ran away; but he was ill for a whole month afterwards, and the part of his body against which she had pressed her elbow turned black. He was convinced that the woman was lā-Hrāja; for when he woke up from his sleep, he heard a great number of owls howling on the neighbouring rocks. There is, moreover, not only a *jennīya* named lā-Hrāja, but a whole class of *jnūn* called lā-hrājīj, who appear in the shape of animals or men. They are seen by bad people only; if two persons are sitting together, one of them may see a spirit of this kind though the other one sees none. If anybody comes to a place haunted by lā-hrājīj the hair will rise on his head, even though he cannot see them, and if a dog comes to such a place it runs away at once. Hārāja seems on the whole to be a southerly variant of 'Aīša Qandīša. Two men from Sūs told me of a *jennīya* who sometimes appears as a pretty woman but at other times with the feet of an ass or a mare and who

is of a very libidinous nature, offering herself up to men. The name 'Aīša Qandiša was not known to them.

A *jennīya* whose name is widely known in Morocco is l-Ġōla. She is said to be very big and have the appearance of a woman, although she has also been seen with her extremities looking like the feet of a goat and with very much hair all over the body and the face. She speaks gently to people and thus allures them to come to her, but at the same time she is very dangerous: when she has got hold of a person she kills and eats him. I have heard of people, both in the Rif and the Ġarbiya, who have seen l-Ġōla; and of a certain shereef in Tangier, Sidi t-Tāyyib, it is said that whenever he went out, he was followed by her. Formerly she was seen at noon on the tower (*sóm'a*) of the *zāwiya* of Sidi Ĥmed ben Nāṣar in the same town, and even now nobody but the *múdden* would like to go up there at that hour or in the dark. Long ago there also was a Ġōla in the Kutubīya mosque at Marráksh, who sometimes ate people visiting the place. Once, however, when Sidi 'Ali ben Qāsem went there to pray, he imprisoned her in a room in the tower of the mosque and closed the door so that nobody could enter it. She may be there still or she may be dead — who knows? Anyhow the room, which is called *bit' l-ġōla*, is considered to be haunted. At Fez there is, outside Bāb l-Gīsa, an old dome-shaped building which is named *ḥammām l-ġōla*, «the hot bath of the Ġōla,» from which people have seen a *jennīya* come out in the shape of a black woman with her right breast thrown back over the left shoulder and her left breast over the right shoulder and with long projecting canine teeth. Among the Ait Sāddēn, again, there is a cave called *kāf l-ġōla* at the village Aid Dris.

L-Ġōla has a husband, by name l-Ġōl, who resembles her both in appearance and character. In Tangier a man who has long hair hanging down from his head, a luxuriant beard, hairy hands and feet, and long nails, is said to be «like l-Ġōl;» and

in Andjra mothers frighten their children by telling them that l-Ġōl will come and eat them. In the Faḥṣ, near the village z-Zinat^s, there is a rock called l-ḥājār *del-ġōl*.

Ġōl has the plural *ġwāl* and *ġōla* the plural *ġōlat^s*; they are thus used not only, with the definite article l, as individual names, but also to denote a male or female member of a special class of beings. The *ġwāl* are said to live in the Sudan or Sahara or in a thick wood from which they come out in the shape of animals, or who knows where? They have black faces and eyes like flaming fire and are fond of human flesh. Some people maintain that the *ġwāl* are not *jnūn* but a species by themselves or a kind of men or wild animals, whereas others, who seem to be particularly well informed, are of opinion that they are of the *jenn* kind.

Two Berbers belonging to the Aṭ Ubāḥṭi told me that in their tribe l-Ġōla is called *Tāmza*. She has very long and pendant breasts. She lives in a desolate place. If a person carries a gun or is accompanied by a dog, she is afraid of him and runs away, but otherwise she makes a sign to him and calls him by name; for she knows the name of everybody. And if she gets hold of him she strangles him. Her husband is called *Lġōl*.

A *jennīya* of the same type is *Šbūha*, mentioned to me by a scribe from the Rif. She appears sometimes as a woman and at other times as a she-animal — a mule or donkey or bitch — or in any shape she pleases. Her breasts and lower lip are very long and pendant. She lives in some desert place, from which she comes and frightens people; and those who see her turn mad.

Among the Shlōḥ of Southern Morocco, on both sides of the Great Atlas, there is the belief in a female being called *Taġznt* or *Tāġaznt*, who is seen at night and eats people, and is expressly said to be the same individual as l-Ġōla. An old man from the Ḥiāina, again, spoke to me about *jennīyat^s* called

ḥadmānāt, who correspond to *gōlat*: they appear as black women with long projecting canine teeth and pendant breasts, the right one thrown back over the left shoulder and the left over the right shoulder, they attack people, and if they get hold of anybody they eat him.

The same man mentioned to me a certain *jenn* who haunts a desert place where somebody has been murdered, even though it be long ago; but this *jenn* may also come out from of a grave in the wilderness. Sometimes he appears in the shape of a he-goat, sometimes as a horse or donkey or dog or cat or hare. If the person who passes him knocks a knife against a stone, he will run away. My informant emphasised that this being is not the spirit of the dead man but a *jenn*.

Among the Berbers there is the belief in a female demon that lives in cemeteries. The Ait Wāryāgāl maintain that every cemetery has a *dūjenniṭ*, or *jenniya*, who appears in the evening in the shape of a mule and therefore is called *Dāsārdund*, «Mule.» She is very seldom seen, but several persons have heard her voice, which is like that of an ordinary mule, and the rattling noise of something made of silver or iron which she carries round her neck. It is a bad omen to see or hear her: it means illness or madness or death. The Shlōḥ of the Iglīwa believe that in old cemeteries there is a mysterious female mule which walks about at night; they call her *taserdunt n-tsmḍal*, «the mule of the graveyards.» If anybody sees her and mounts her to ride, she takes him to the cemetery, where she digs his grave with her feet. There was once a man who owned some pasture-ground near a graveyard. In the morning when he went there, he regularly found that some animal had been feeding on the grass. He therefore decided to spend a night at the place to watch what would happen. He then saw a very fat mule coming there to graze. He mounted the mule, which ran away with him to the cemetery and began to dig in the ground; but he went off and climbed a tree, where he remained till the hour

for the morning prayer when the evil spirits disappear from the surface of the earth. My informant added that, although many persons have been taken to the cemetery by this mule, she has not, latterly at least, been successful in her evil attempts. The belief in her, which is said to be very ancient, seems to be fading away. The Shlōh of Aglu, in Sūs, speak not of a mule but of a mare, called *tagmart tsmdal*, «the mare of the graveyards»,¹ which at night is heard making noise with an iron-chain in the cemetery. It is only bad people, however, that hear this noise; and some of them get so frightened that they die in consequence.

In Fez I heard of a *jenniya* who is called *bgilt l-lil*, «the little female mule of the night», because she appears at night in the shape of a female mule. She is covered with golden things, which gives her a radiant appearance. If anybody sees her and attacks her in order to get the gold, she knocks him down, unless he has with him a book containing some writing from the Koran or a dagger or a knife. If he then puts on her the book, or draws the dagger or the knife, she gets frightened and lets him have the things she is carrying.

A very dangerous *jenniya* is the T'āb'a, «she who accompanies», also named Ūmm ṣ-Ṣūbyān, «the mother of children.»² She attacks both women and men, and either makes them sterile or causes the death of their children in early infancy.³ A woman who is a victim to her is said to be *met'bó'a*, a man *met'bó'ò*. The T'āb'a may be killed by a charm written by a *fqi*, but if the charm is not sufficiently strong her children will avenge her death by killing the *fqi*. Among the Tsul a woman who is *met'bó'a* procures a charm from a shereef of Wazzan. In Fez, if the T'āb'a causes the death of a woman's second

¹ Cf. Stumme, *Märchen der Schluf von Tázerwalt* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 55, 56, 173 sqq.; Idem. *Handbuch des Schilhsichen von Tazerwalt* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 227.

² On this *jenniya* cf. Doutté, *Merrâkech* (Paris, 1905), p. 347.

³ Cf. *supra*, pp. 51, 63.

child, the mother buys the head of a sheep, cooks it, and puts it into the *késkās*, or steamer used for the making of *séksu*, and then asks the first-born child to eat of it. The part of the head which the child first touches with its fingers — the tongue or eye or ear or any other part — is at once taken away from it, and never after is the child allowed to eat that part of a sheep; in this way its life is saved. Nay even this person's own children and descendants must in the future abstain from the same part of a sheep; one of my informants said that none of his family ever eats the eyes of this animal for fear lest the T'áb'a should come back. Again, if a man is *met'bó'ö* and his children die in consequence, his wife throws a sieve (*gárbāl*) at him from behind, without his knowing it, and then touches with fire that part of his body which is hit, because it is supposed to be the seat of the T'áb'a. There is the risk that he may die from this treatment; but if he does not, his children will also remain alive — in other words, he is relieved of the T'áb'a.

A scribe from the Híáina spoke to me of a *jenniya* by name *lā-Hkima 'Óqla*, who rules over 366 tribes of evil-minded *jnūn*, her son 'Airūd, and her sister 'Aqēša. They live in the river Būzemlan between the Híáina and the Ait Waráin, and are very dangerous, always ready to strike people. He knew nothing more about them.

An Arab from Cape Juby (Ras Buibiša), right opposite to the Canaries, whom I met at Marráksh, told me about two *jenniyat*, Faṭma and Ndaháwa, who rob cows of their milk and deprive uncharitable people of half of their property. They are sisters and always appear together; but they can be seen only by people who have *baraka*.

The most famous of all *jnūn* is Šīṭan (š-Šīṭan, š-Šīṭan, š-Šīṭan, š-Šēiṭan; I shall in the following use the form Šīṭan, without the definite article, as I heard the name being used in Fez) or Iblis (Iblīs. Yēblīs), that is, Satan or the Devil, who is regarded as the chief of the evil *jnūn* — the *šayāṭin* or *ibḍiles*.

Šiṭan is everywhere, except in mosques. He may assume all sorts of shapes,¹ hence he has got the epithet *ʿibrībāʿ*, or «vari-coloured.» But at the same time a few definite bodily characteristics are given to him. He has seven hairs on his chin, and is blind in the right eye. It was put out by Sīyidna Idrīs, the prophet,² who was a tailor. Šiṭan once came to him with an egg in his hand and told him that God had shaped the world like the egg. Sīyidna Idrīs was enraged by this blasphemous talk and answered, «No, God made the world like the eye of this needle, look here.» When Šiṭan looked at the needle the prophet thrust it into his eye. An old scribe told me that Šiṭan has a penis on the inner side of his right thigh and a vulva on the inner side of his left; to produce offspring he needs therefore only to close his thighs, and this he does all day long, which explains why there are so many *šayāṭin* in the world. But from other scribes I hear that Šiṭan has a wife by name Šiṭānah (š-Šiṭāna, š-Šeiṭāna) or Sa'dāna.

Šiṭan is the great tempter. He induces people to refrain from praying, from reciting the Koran, from fasting in Ramaḍān, from giving alms, and from fulfilling other duties prescribed by God. He makes men and women indulge in lustfulness, tempts brothers to have illicit intercourse with their sisters, causes quarrels between husbands and wives, incites men to fight and curse and kill each other. He finds pleasure in seeing people do what is hateful to God. He rejoices when a man dies unmarried and weeps when a young man takes to himself a wife; a grown-up man who dies a bachelor will not find the road to Paradise, but will arise again with the devil: — *Ilā māṭ had ʿazri, inḥšār m'a š-šīṭan*. If anybody pollutes a mosque

¹ Jabir Maḡrabi (quoted by Sell, *The Faith of Islām* [London, 1896], p. 202). says, «Ibīs, though able to assume all other forms, is not permitted to appear in the semblance of the Deity, or any of his angels or prophets.»

² This prophet is mentioned in the *Koran*, xix. 57 and xxi. 85. He is generally identified with Enoch.

or uses unclean liquid for his ablutions, or treats the Koran disrespectfully, he may be sure to gain Iblis' favour. Šītan is anxious to enter into the bodies of men through their mouth or nostrils or ears or eyes, to induce them to do wrong.¹ If a person behaves badly, it is said that he has Šītan in him, *fiḥ š-Šītan*, or that he is himself Šītan; and bad people are called *šayāṭīn*. *Š-Šītan min j-jenn ūla š-Šītan min mnādem (bnādem)*, 'Šītan may be either a *jenn* or a human being.'

Šītan makes himself unpleasant to men in many ways. He inflames them with anger and inspires them with fear. He deceives them with false dreams. If a person omits saying his evening prayer, his dreams will not be trustworthy, because they are sent by Šītan (Fez). In the first ploughing season dreams are not to be trusted, because Šītan is then particularly active out of envy to mankind, whom he wants not to prosper but to starve. If a man has a nightly pollution it is caused by the devil, who makes him believe that the woman in the dream is a real woman; it is said that *Šītan dārba*, 'the devil struck him,' or *Šītan r'ḥṭāh*, 'the devil made him err.' Or the woman is *š-Šītāna*, and if it is a boy who appears in the dream, he is Šītan; and in such cases it is very dangerous for the man to mention his dream to anybody (Andjra, Tangier). If a person has lost a thing or put it away so that he cannot find it, it is Šītan that hides it or is sitting upon it. When he is seeking for it he says, *Ā š-Šītan a'tēni dyāli ūla nbāl a'lik*, 'O Satan give me my thing or I'll make water upon you' (Hīāina); or he ties a string round a fold of his clothes, or makes a knot in them, and ties thereby 'the navel-string of Yēblis' (as it is called), who will be left thus tied up until the lost thing is found (Fez). If a woman cannot find a thing which she has dropped, she puts a needle to stand in the ground, saying three times, *Ā*

¹ Cf. *Mishkāt*, i 3: — 'Verily, the devil enters into man as the blood into his body' (Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 84).

l-yfbra jīb li l-hāja dyāli au ndóqqek fi l-'ainīna d-Yēblis, «O needle, bring me my thing or I'll thrust you into the devil's eyes» (Andjra). If a person breaks a thing, it is Šītan that is the cause of it. At Fez I was told that if anybody drops a thing which he is carrying, Šītan has given him a blow on the head; and that if he stumbles, Šītan has knocked his foot. In Hāḥa if a wild-boar hunt proves unsuccessful, the hunters bury a stone representing the devil and beat the earth over it with a stick; whilst among the Ait Wāryāgāl, if a party are in vain hunting for hares and rabbits, they all, in the same moment, throw their sticks on the ground, saying, *Allāh in'āl ššītan lḥā-rāmi*, «God damn Satan the villain,» and spit, thus flogging the devil and spitting at him so as to drive him away. He is evidently looked upon as the cause of their ill-luck.

Various improper or unusual acts or omissions are either ascribed to Šītan or make him appear at once. If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, it is said that the devil has tied him (Andjra, Iglīwa, Aglu). To crack one's bones is the breaking wind of the devil (Andjra). Whistling is sometimes said to be the talk of the devil (Andjra). When a person yawns, it is the devil or *jnūn* that make him do so (Ulād Bu'āziz), or the devil blows into his ear (Fez). He should cover his mouth with the palm of his right hand or, if it is engaged, with the upper side of his left hand; otherwise the devil will make water in his mouth (Fez). If a donkey makes noise, Šītan is the cause of it by riding on its tail or blowing into its ear; or it makes its noise when it sees the devil in order to drive him away by cursing him, as it were. If certain ceremonies which regularly precede the first meeting of bride and bridegroom are not carefully observed, Yēblis will cause domestic quarrels (Andjra).¹ If a person, when he goes to bed at night, does not fold his clothes but leaves them as he has thrown

¹ *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 127.

them off, Šīṭan or *jnūn* will put them on (Fez). When anybody enters a mosque and takes off his slippers in the *qauṣ*, he should put one over the other so that the soles touch each other, otherwise Šīṭan will also enter the place. If a person starts for a journey and anybody calls him back, it is Šīṭan that does it (Andjra). If anybody sits down on the threshold of the house. Šīṭan will sit down by his side. If anybody makes water in a standing posture, Šīṭan passes between his legs, or the angels weep and Šīṭan laughs. If anybody allows his nails to grow long, Šīṭan will go underneath them. If you omit saying the usual *bismillāh* before a meal, it was Šīṭan that induced you to omit it, or he will eat with you. If a man omits the same phrase before he has intercourse with his wife, the devil enters the woman and makes the child a villain.¹ If you take a thing from its place without saying *bismillāh*, Šīṭan may strike you.

Besides the simple *bismillāh*, the phrase *bismillāh r-raḥmān r-raḥīm* (or, in the case of scribes, *bismillāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥēmi*). «In the name of God the merciful and compassionate,» is often used against Šīṭan. Another formula is, *A'ūdu billāh(i) men š-Šīṭan ar-raḥīm* (or, *A'ūdu billāhi mina š-Šīṭāni ar-raḥīmi*), «I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned one; or, . . . *men š-Šīṭan l-mārid*, « . . . from Satan the rebel.» Šīṭan is likewise kept away by prayer, as appears from an instance mentioned above, and also by any of those passages of the Koran which are used against *jnūn* in general. But the most common of all weapons directed against him is the curse. Few phrases are more often heard than *Allāh yen'āl š-Šīṭan*, «God damn Satan,» to which is not infrequently

¹ Cf. El-Buhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxvii. 66, French translation by Houdas and Marçais, vol. iii. (Paris, 1908) p. 578 :— «D'après Ibn-'Abbās, le Prophète a dit : «Eh bien ! si l'un de vous, voulant avoir commerce avec sa femme, disait : 'Au nom de Dieu. Ô mon Dieu, écarte de moi le démon ; écarte le démon du fruit de notre union,' et qu'ensuite le Destin ou la Prédestination fit naître un enfant de ces relations, le démon ne pourrait jamais nuire à cet enfant.»

added *l-hārāmī*, 'the villain.' Instead of *yen'āl*, *yel'án* (the word of the written language) is used by scribes, who consider it more effective. Another curse, addressed directly to the devil is, *Alláh yená'lek u yāḥrik ā Yēblis*, 'May God damn you and cause your ruin, O devil.' These phrases are used in all sorts of cases where Šīṭan is supposed to be active: by persons who want to calm an angry friend, by the ploughman when he begins his work¹ or if his bullock is obstinate and lies down,² by a person who takes grain from the granary,³ by the bridegroom's bachelor friends when his hands are painted with henna,⁴ by a person who cannot find a thing which he has lost or mislaid, or who puts money into his bag, or who is yawning, or whose donkey is making a noise. If a man wants to protect himself against a nightly pollution, he writes with his finger, as it were, the word *Jibrīl* (the name of an archangel) on his right leg at the groin, and the word *Mikā'il* (the name of another archangel) on his left; or he writes in the former place the letter *kāf* (ك) and in the latter place the letter *nūn* (ن). These letters are regarded as charms on account of their connection with certain chapters of the Koran, which are popularly called *kaffāya* and *nūn*. Another method adopted for the same purpose is to write with Moorish ink a *nūn* with *ruf'a* (*damma*) over it (نْ) on the right leg at the groin.

In Andjra, on the day when the bride is taken to her new home, the bridegroom's procession goes to the *rāuḍa*, or cairn, dedicated to the great mountain saint Mūlāi 'Abdsslam, if there is such a cairn in the village, or, otherwise, to some other saintly place. Each member of the procession then pelts the *rāuḍa* with stones in order to drive away or kill Yēblis, who may

¹ *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture*, pp. 8, 10, 16.

² *Ibid.* p. 17.

³ *Ibid.* p. 46.

⁴ *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 98.

easily accompany them on their way.¹ This manner of dealing with the devil is probably an imitation of the ceremony of «pelting the devil» which is performed by the assembled pilgrims at Minā, in memory, it is said, of Abraham's having driven Iblis away with stones when tempted by him to disobey God and refuse to sacrifice Isaac. Anyhow it is a treatment which well suits the *raġim*, or «stoned one.»² Another epithet given to Šiṭan is *l-la'in* or *n-na'il*, that is, «the cursed one.» For fear of mentioning him by his proper name he is also, euphemistically, called '*āmmi r-rauḥāni*, «my uncle *rauḥāni*,» or '*āmmi l-buḥālī*, «my uncle the foolish one» (*buḥālī* being a harmless fool, who is looked upon as a saint). Generally, however, people are not much afraid of speaking of Šiṭan; one of my scribes from Dukkāla, who was utterly unwilling to converse about the *ġnūn* after '*āṣar*, had no objection at all to talking about Šiṭan after that hour. The reason for this is that Šiṭan himself is not very much feared. He is, no doubt, as the Koran puts it, «unto man an open foe,»³ who «only desires to place enmity and hatred» between the faithful, and to turn them «from the remembrance of God and from prayer,»⁴ who bids them «sin and do wrong,»⁵ and «promises them naught but deceit.»⁶ But apart from this, he is rather fond of playing tricks on the human beings than anxious to inflict upon them greater evils; when he enters into a person he does not do it to make him ill or to take his life. Moreover, Šiṭan is easily driven away. Though other charms which are generally used against *ġnūn* — such as steel, salt, tar,

¹ *Ibid.* p. 129.

² As to the meaning of this expression see van Vloten, 'De uitdrukking as-sġaitān ar-raġim, en het steenen werpen bij Mina,' in *Festbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje* (Leiden, 1891), p. 35 *sqq.*

³ *Koran*, xvii. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 93.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxiv. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.* xvii. 66.

and so forth — have no power over him, he is exceptionally sensitive to sacred formulas. They are the natural weapons against him, and no others are needed. For he is essentially *l-mârid*, a rebel against the Merciful.

Properly speaking, he is no *jenn* at all; according to the Koran Iblis or Šaiṭān was originally an angel who fell from Paradise on account of his proudly refusing to adore Adam.¹ In Morocco, also, I have heard people emphatically deny that he is a *jenn*. Some maintain that Yēblis had two sons, Šiṭān and Jinn, both of whom had children, those of the former being the *šayāṭīn* and those of the latter the *jnūn* — a view which has some support in one of the traditions.² The most common belief, however, in Morocco as in Egypt,³ is the one mentioned above, that Šiṭān or Iblis is a *jenn* and the chief of the evil *jnūn*, whether he was so from the beginning or, as some people argue, was originally an angel who, owing to his fault, was transformed by God into a *jenn* — an opinion which is also met with in the Arabic literature on the subject.⁴ Yet his chieftainship is more honorary or theoretical than real; hence he inspires less dread than his subjects. He is mainly a Koranic figure, who lacks that deep foundation in popular beliefs which can be claimed by the *jnūn*.

¹ *Koran*, ii. 32, vii. 10, xvii. 60-65, xviii. 45-50, xx. 115-120, xxxviii. 74 *sqq.*

² Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 134.

³ Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1896), pp. 79, 231 *sq.*

⁴ Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 135.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATING TO THE JNŪN.

The Moorish belief in *jnūn* has fundamentally an Eastern origin. The *jnūn* are descendants of the *jinn* or *jūnn* of the ancient Arabs and are thus closely related to similar spirits of other Muhamṁadan peoples. They resemble in all essentials and many details the *jinn* of the East.

According to al-Qazwīnī it is related in histories that a race of *jinn* in ancient times, before the creation of Adam, «inhabited the earth, and covered it, the land and the sea, and the plains and the mountains.»¹ In their general properties they are an intermediate class of beings between angels and men, but inferior in dignity to both, created of fire. «They eat and drink, propagate their species (like, or in conjunction with, human beings), and are subject to death, though they generally live many centuries.»² Of the belief in marriages between men and female *jinn* there are instances recorded both in Arabic literature³

¹ Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 134.

² Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 231. Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897), p. 149.

³ von Kremer, *Culturgegeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, ii. (Wien, 1877) p. 258. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 154. van Vloten, 'Dämonen, Geister und Zauber bei den alten Arabern,' in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. (1893) p. 245, viii. (1894) p. 64 sq. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i. (Leiden, 1896) p. 109.

and in descriptions of modern Arabs.¹ There are among them kingdoms and rulers;² it is commonly believed that the pre-adamite *jinn* were governed by forty, or, according to some, seventy-two kings.³ There are believers and infidels and every sect among them, as among men.⁴ Muhammad believed that he was sent as an apostle to both men and *jinn*; and the 72nd *sūrah* of the Koran contains an allusion to a vision in which he beheld a multitude of the *jinn* bowing in adoration and listening to the message which man had disdainfully refused. A tribe of them were converted to Islam by his preaching on his return from Tā'if.⁵

The *jinn* are usually invisible, but they are capable of assuming various shapes.⁶ They may appear in the shape of human beings, sometimes of the stature of men and sometimes of a size enormously gigantic.⁷ An Arab told Doughty that 'for a while he could perceive nearly a half part of all who bear the form of mankind to be jins.'⁸ In the *Arabian Nights* they are often represented as appearing, first of all, in a monstrous undefined shape, like an enormous pillar, and as only gradually assuming a human shape and less gigantic size. The

¹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, ii. (Cambridge, 1888) p. 191 *seq.* Baldensperger, *The Immovable East* (London, 1913), p. 84 *seq.* (Palestine).

² Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt* (London, 1878), p. 382.

³ Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages* (London, 1883), p. 29.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁵ See Palmer, in the Introduction to his translation of *The Qur'ān* i. (Oxford, 1880) pp. xiv, lxx.

⁶ Nöldeke, 'Arabs (Ancient),' in Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, i. (Edinburgh, 1908) p. 669. Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 34 *seq.* Robinson Lees, *The Witness of the Wilderness* (London, 1909), p. 195. Baldensperger *op. cit.* p. 85.

⁷ Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 35. von Kremer, *op. cit.* ii. 257. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 156. Tallqvist, *På helig och ohelig mark* (Helsingfors, 1918), p. 112 (Libanon).

⁸ Doughty, *op. cit.* ii. 189 *seq.*

extreme changeability of the appearance of the *jinn* is well illustrated in the twenty-second *Night*, where we read of an *'ifrīt* who came out of a water-tank in the semblance of a mouse; it grew and grew, until it became, first a coal-black cat, then a dog, then an ass-colt, and finally a buffalo. Very frequently they appear to mankind in the shape of snakes, scorpions, lizards, wolves, lions, jackals, dogs, cats, or other animals.¹ According to a tradition from the Prophet the *jinn* are of three kinds: one have wings and fly, another are snakes and dogs, and the third move about from place to place like men.² In Upper Egypt people do not care to have anything to do with cats at night, as these may be *jinn* in disguise.³ The *jinn* are also fond of riding upon all sorts of animals, except hares, hyenas, and monkeys; and if a hunter misses the mark, it is because a *jenn* is sitting on the neck of the animal aimed at and turns off the arrow.⁴ Wild beasts were supposed to be the cattle of the *jinn*.⁵

The *jinn* may not only be seen but heard. They utter a peculiar dull sound (*'azif*) which is heard in desert places at night, but, like the demons in Shakespeare's *'Tempest*,⁶ they produce a *'diversity of sounds*.⁶ Their presence is also indicated by unusual or uncanny phenomena or events. The

¹ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 151 *sqq.* Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), pp. 120, 129. von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, iii-iv. (Wien, 1890) pp. 26-28, 35. van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 240. Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 198 *sq.* Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 609.

² Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 34.

³ Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 390. For the belief that the *jinn* appear as cats see also Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 199. Damiri (ii. 212, quoted by Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 129, note) says that a *gūl* appears in the form of a thieving cat.

⁴ von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 258. van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 172. Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 116, 207 *sqq.*

⁵ Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 129 n. 2.

⁶ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 150. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670. Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 210 *sqq.* Jaussen, *Contumes des arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1903), p. 320.

mediaeval Arabs associated a definite class of demons with sand-whirlwinds and applied the name *zawābi* indifferently to these phenomena and to the *jinn* that accompanied or caused them.¹ So also it is the general belief of the Arabs of Egypt that the whirlwind which raises the sand or dust in the form of a pillar of prodigious height is caused by the flight of one of these beings, or that the *jinn* rides in the whirlwind;² whilst in Palestine the tall smoke-pillars of the whirlwind are said to be the bodies of evil spirits.³

The presence of *jinn* may be indicated by peculiar phenomena of light.⁴ It seems quite probable that the idea expressed in the Koran⁵ that the *jinn* were created of smokeless fire was derived from the strange phenomenon of *ignis fatuus*, which in the East,⁶ as in Morocco, is believed to be lighted by *jinn*. The Moorish superstition with regard to a falling star finds support in the Koran, where it is said that the *jinn* listen at the gate of heaven for scraps of the knowledge of futurity, and, when detected by the angels, are driven off and pelted with shooting stars.⁷ Many Arabs ascribe the erection of the Pyramids and all the most stupendous remains of antiquity in Egypt to Jann Ibn-Jann and his servants, 'the *jinn*, conceiving it impossible that they could have been raised by human hands.'⁸

In Palestine it is believed that the *jinn* may take the shape of a stone over which a man might stumble or of any of article that would cause an injury; indeed, every accident is ascribed

¹ Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 134. van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 180. Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 204.

² Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 232.

³ Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 312.

⁴ Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 198, 205 *sq.*

⁵ *Koran*, xv. 27, lv. 14.

⁶ Burton, in his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, i. (London, 1894) p. 398 n. 3.

⁷ *Koran*, lxxii. 9. Cf. *ibid.* lxxii. 5.

⁸ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 236.

to these spirits.¹ If an Egyptian peasant «stumble over a clod, he must take care to invoke the name of God in a set form, otherwise he is safe to be possessed; and there is always a devil ready to leap down his throat in case he should happen to gape.»² In Arabia whistling «would he taken for one's whistling to the jan»;³ and in Upper Egypt «a Moslim is never heard whistling a tune or anything else, especially at night, since the spirits are attracted by whistling.»⁴ In Syria it is believed that a thing which is lost has been stolen⁵ or, if it is found again, borrowed by the *jinn*.⁶

The Eastern *jinn*, like the Moorish *jnūn*, are also disease-spirits. They cause asphyxia, epilepsy, lumbago, fever, epidemics, and, especially, madness.⁷ «Mankind after the Arabs' opinion,» says Doughty, may be vexed in their bodies and minds by possession of the jan. . . . Strange maladies and lunatic affections are ascribed to their influence; scorned and bewildered persons are said to be 'be-jinned,' *mejnūn*, demoniacs.»⁸ He who looks at himself in a looking-glass in the dark runs the risk of going out of his mind (Syria).⁹ In Palestine «every fright is considered to be produced by the spirits, and fright is regarded as the cause of most illnesses.»¹⁰ Impotence in men

¹ Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 195. Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 319.

² St. John, *Village Life in Egypt*, i. (London, 1852) p. 262.

³ Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 556. Cf. *ibid.* ii. 118, 119, 335.

⁴ Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 390.

⁵ Tallqvist, *op. cit.* p. 113.

⁶ Abela, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien,' in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vii. (1884) p. 84.

⁷ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 155 sq. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii. 257 sqq. van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 233 sqq. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (London, 1906), p. 53 sq.

⁸ Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 258 sq.

⁹ Abela, *loc. cit.* p. 96.

¹⁰ Einszler, 'Der Name Gottes und die bösen Geister im Aberglauben der Araber Palästina's,' in *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Palaestina-Vereins*, x. (1887) p. 178.

and infertility in women are attributed to the machinations of the *jinn*.¹

At the consummation of a marriage precautions must be taken against the *jinn*.² Infants are much exposed to being injured by them;³ or a human babe may be exchanged for a *jenn* child (Syria).⁴ When a pious man leaves the mosque, evil spirits lie in wait for him.⁵ But although certain people are particularly liable to be attacked by the *jinn*, everybody has to be on his guard against them.⁶ «The demons,» says Nöldeke, «are always, in the main, objects of fear, crafty, mischievous, or even destructive beings. The notion that the Jinn were regarded by the heathen Arabs as partly benevolent seems to have arisen under the influence of Islām, which teaches that at least some of the Jinn are true believers, though it cannot be denied that, even in the pre-Islāmic age, certain friendly acts may occasionally have been ascribed to them.»⁷

In the East, as well as in Morocco, the principal abode of the *jinn* seems to be the under-world.⁸ In his *Travels in Arabia Deserta* Doughty says, «They inhabit seven stages, which (as the seven heavens above) is the building of the under-world.»⁹ In Egypt, according to Lane, it is the custom «on pouring water, etc., on the ground, to exclaim or mutter, 'Destoor' — that is, to ask the permission or crave the pardon of any ginnee that may chance to be there.»¹⁰ And in the East, also, the *jinn* are

¹ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 155.

² *Ibid.* p. 155 n. 4. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. (Haag, 1889) pp. 123, 209.

³ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 34.

⁴ Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 84.

⁵ Damiri, quoted by Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 199.

⁶ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 149. Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 209. Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 193. Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 319.

⁷ Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 669.

⁸ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 151. Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 170. Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 193.

⁹ Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 259.

¹⁰ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 232. See also Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 390.

frequently supposed to be the guardians of hidden treasures.¹ But they are no more than the Moorish *jnūn* tied down to any particular place. «Earth, air, and water in the East, are filled with spirits.»² The chief abode of the *jinn* is said to be in the mountains of Qāf, which are supposed to encompass the whole of our earth; but they are also believed to pervade both the solid matter of the earth and the firmament, and to inhabit rivers, ruined houses, wells, baths, ovens, and the latrina.³ A Bedawi dervish in Palestine said to Baldensperger, «Wherever Nature has been most wonderful the Jān will certainly be found. Springs of water, waterfalls, rivers, wells, deserts and curious rocks, cliffs and seas, caverns and mountain tops are all Mas-koon (inhabited by Jān).»⁴

In Palestine every spring is said to have its spirit or spirits, which no peasant woman omits addressing before she lets down her bucket, saying, «Permission, you owner of the ground; we are under your protection, in the name of God.»⁵ So also in Egypt, where, according to St. John, «the well is almost always haunted by a beautiful female spirit, who floats in the water, or hovers over its surface,» no bucket is ever let down without a previous «by your leave.»⁶ In the same country, when a person is about to enter a bath, he should offer up an ejaculatory prayer for protection against evil spirits, and should place his left foot first over the threshold.⁷ In Palestine, too, various precautions are taken by people visiting a bath;⁸ and

¹ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 30 *sqq.* Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 170 (Palestine).

² St. John, *op. cit.* i. 262.

³ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 231 *sq.*

⁴ Baldensperger, *op. cit.* p. 85. See also Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 170; and for haunted caves in Palestine, Wilson *op. cit.* p. 53.

⁵ Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 180.

⁶ St. John, *op. cit.* i. 262.

⁷ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 350.

⁸ Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 176 *sq.* See also *ibid.* p. 172 *sqq.*

in Syria a person who comes from a hot bath is not allowed to call upon anybody who is ill, since such a call might make the illness worse.¹

In the Libyan desert «spirits and devils dwell in forsaken spots in the desert and wherever ancient ruins of any extent are found.»² So also in Moab «le *jinn* aime les endroits solitaires, les ruines abandonnées.»³ But also ordinary houses are supposed to be haunted by *jinn*.⁴ Wilson says that in Palestine evil spirits are supposed specially to haunt corners of houses, as appears from the proverb, «No corner but has its demon.»⁵ According to the Bedawi dervish quoted by Baldensperger, again, the *jinn*, when living in human habitations, «prefer the hearth and the threshold; therefore humans never step on the threshold on entering a room, and never pour water on the hearth, which would be followed by immediate punishment, as the Jân will not suffer their dwelling-place to be soiled. They have always lived there.»⁶ The idea that the threshold is haunted by *jinn* has led to various taboos and precautionary practices;⁷ in Syria, for example, nobody must beat a little child upon the threshold lest it should be possessed by an evil spirit.⁸ But every part of a house, and indeed every place, is inhabited by its peculiar genius.⁹ That particular *jinn* presided over particular places, was also the opinion of the pagan Arabs. When they found themselves in a lonely place, such as they supposed the *jinn* to haunt, they used to say, «I take refuge in

¹ Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 89.

² Falls, *Three Years in the Libyan Desert* (London, 1913), p. 295 sq.

³ Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 320.

⁴ Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 128 (Mecca).

⁵ Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 53.

⁶ Baldensperger, *op. cit.* p. 85.

⁷ Einszler, *loc. cit.* p. 170 sqq. Conder, *Heth and Moab* (London, 1885), p. 302.

⁸ Abēla, *loc. cit.* p. 88.

⁹ St. John, *op. cit.* i. 262. Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 319.

the Lord of this valley from the foolish among his people.¹ Hence it is said in the Koran, «There are persons amongst men who seek for refuge with persons amongst the *jinn*.»² Certain trees are also considered to be haunted by *jinn*.³ In Ḥadramaut it is said to be dangerous to touch the sensitive Mimosa, because the spirit that resides in it will avenge the injury.⁴ In Palestine the carob-tree is particularly noticeable among the haunted trees.⁵ «The shade of the fig-tree is considered unhealthy by the Syrians.»⁶

The *jinn* are particularly fearful at night,⁷ but disappear at daybreak.⁸ In Syria it is prohibited or considered dangerous to pour out hot water in a kitchen at night,⁹ to make noise in a bath in the dark,¹⁰ and to lend fire or yeast or a sieve to a neighbour after sunset.¹¹ In Egypt nobody ventures to go out alone at night or to remain alone in a room at night; and it is not considered permissible to sweep out a house at night since a *jinni* may be struck and injured and so induced to revenge himself.¹² On Friday the *jinn* are particularly fond of stationing themselves on the thresholds of doors and gates, and nobody will then venture to remain at such spots.¹³ During the month of Ramaḍān they are confined in prison.¹⁴

¹ Palmer's note to the passage just referred to, in his translation of the *The Qur'ān*, ii. (Oxford, 1880) p. 305.

² *Koran*, lxxii. 6.

³ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 151.

⁴ von Wrede, *Reise in Hadhramaut* (Braunschweig, 1870), p. 131.

⁵ Einzler, *loc. cit.* p. 180 *sq.*

⁶ Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine* (London, 1885), p. 331.

⁷ *Koran*, cxlii. 3. Einzler, *loc. cit.* p. 171 *sq.* Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 193. Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 320.

⁸ *Koran*, cxlii. 3.

⁹ Abela, *loc. cit.* p. 83.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 85.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 98. Cf. *ibid.* pp. 81, 87, 112.

¹² Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 389 *sq.*

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 389 *sq.*

¹⁴ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 235.

The Eastern *jinn* are afraid of salt and iron.¹ On the eve of the festival which follows the month of Ramaḍān some of the women of Egypt, with the view of preventing such spirits from entering their houses, sprinkle salt upon the floors of the apartments, saying as they do it, «In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.»² It is also the custom in Egypt to induce a child to lick salt if it suffers from an illness which is supposed to be caused by a *jinni*, and to bury a written charm and some salt underneath the threshold of a house where there is a woman whom a *jinni* has made infertile.³ When an Egyptian sees a whirlwind raising a pillar of sand or dust approaching him, he exclaims, «Iron, thou unlucky!» — «as genii are supposed to have a great dread of that metal»; or he endeavours to drive away the monster by exclaiming, «God is most great!»⁴ In Syria, if a child is subject to a fit which is supposed to be produced by the *jinn*, a sword or a knife is held over its head; and this cure is practised not only by Muhammadans but by Jews,⁵ who since ancient times have believed that spirits are afraid of iron.⁶

The *jinn* are frightened away by strong smells and sounds.⁷ In Arabia houses are fumigated with harmel.⁸ Water is used as a protection against disease demons or as a cure for illnesses caused by them;⁹ and according to a tradition of the Shī'ahs the Prophet, before he gave his daughter in marriage

¹ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 37. Goldziher, 'Eisen als Schutz gegen Dämonen,' in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, x. (1907) p. 42 sqq.

² Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 235.

³ von Kremer, *Studien*, i.-ii. (Wien, 1889) p. 25.

⁴ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 232.

⁵ Abela, *loc. cit.* p. 106.

⁶ Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Strassburg i. E., 1898), p. 159.

⁷ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 36 sq.

⁸ Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 143 note.

⁹ Goldziher, 'Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel,' in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xiii. (1910) p. 34 sqq.

to 'Alī, commanded her to fetch water and then sprinkled both her and 'Alī with it, invoking God to protect them and their offspring against the devil.¹

The *jinn* are scared away with incantations and sacred words. Doughty says that there are exorcists in Arabia who make people believe that, by reading powerful spells out of the Koran, they can terrify and expel the possessing demons.² Pieces of paper inscribed with passages from the Koran are frequently used as charms against the *jinn*; and a much approved mode of charming away sickness is to write such passages on the inner surface of an earthenware cup or bowl and to wash off the writing with water, which is then drunk by the patient.³ The expression *bismillāh* is an extremely frequent means of defence against the *jinn*. «If a man feels that he has provoked their resentment, he may drive them away by uttering the *bismillāh*. Similarly, in order to render his goods proof against the *jinn*, he uses the phrase as a charm when he shuts the door, or stores articles of food in their appropriate receptacles, or lays down his clothes at night.»⁴ In fact, all sorts of actions are inaugurated by the ejaculation of a *bismillāh*.⁵

The Arabs of Palestine make propitiatory offerings to the *jinn*.⁶ Before entering the water of a hot spring, many of them sacrifice a fowl.⁷ In Moab, «chaque fois qu'ils dressent une tente en une nouvelle place, ils doivent apaiser le *gin* par un sacrifice ou par un repas.»⁸ The Bedouins of the Arabian De-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 31 *sq.*

² Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 259.

³ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 161. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 257, 263. von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 36.

⁴ Goldziher, 'Bismillāh,' in Hastings, *op. cit.* ii. (Edinburgh, 1909) p. 668

⁵ See Einzler, *loc. cit.* p. 160 *sqq.*

⁶ Robinson Lees, *op. cit.* p. 181.

⁷ Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 53.

⁸ Jaussen, *op. cit.* p. 319.

sert sprinkle blood upon newly-broken fallow, upon the foundation of a new building, and also when they open new wells or enlarge old ones.¹ In Al-Hejr, says Doughty, husbandmen «sprinkle new break-land with the blood of a peace-offering: the like, when they build, they sprinkle upon the stones, lest by any evil accidents the workmen's lives should be endangered.»² Among the early Arabs also, at the building of a house, it was thought prudent to conciliate the *jinn* with some offering, since otherwise they might frustrate the work.³

The belief in Styidna Suleimān's ring which gave him power over the *jnūn* is of Eastern origin. Sulaimān ibn Dā'ud (Solomon, the son of David) had a sealing ring upon which was engraved «the most great name» of God. It was partly composed of brass and partly of iron; with the brass he stamped his written commands to the good *jinn*, and with the iron those to the evil ones. Over both orders he had unlimited power, as well as over the birds and the winds, and, as is generally said, the wild beasts.⁴

The Eastern *jinn* display no more individuality than the Moorish *jnūn*. But they fall into various classes, and certain of these are sometimes mentioned as particularly harmful. This is the case with the *aḡwāl* or *ḡilān*.⁵ In Egypt, says Lane, «these beings are generally believed to be a class of evil ginnées, and are said to appear in the forms of various animals and in many monstrous shapes, to haunt burial-grounds and other sequestered spots, to feed upon dead bodies, and to kill and devour every human creature who has the misfortune to fall in their way.»⁶ The singular *ḡūl* or *ḡūle* is used in old

¹ Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 452.

² *Ibid.* i. 136.

³ Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670.

⁴ Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 39 sq.

⁵ Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670.

⁶ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 236 sq. For similar beliefs in Palestine see Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, p. 313; Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 53 sq.; Jaussen,

Arabic literature as name for a female demon of a most dangerous disposition, who is fond of eating men; the word comes from a root signifying «to destroy,» perhaps originally «to assault.» She passes a solitary existence in the deserts, or lies in wait at some place where men are destined to perish; she thus appears to persons travelling alone in the night, and being supposed by them to be herself a traveller, lures them out of their way. She not only converses with the travellers, but sometimes prostitutes herself to them. She has the power of changing her shape. She may appear in the rôle of a young wife who gives a sleeping-draught to her husband, or as a girl weeping on the road-side. But usually she is described as an ugly woman with long pendant breasts, which she sometimes throws back over her shoulders, or as a hideous monster with the feet of an ass or with hairy skin resembling that of a dog.¹

The resemblance between the Moorish *gwal* and the Eastern *ajwal* and between the *Gôla* and the *Gûl* or *Gûle* is thus by no means restricted to the names. Von Kremer identifies the *Gûle* with the female demon Sa'lewwah, believed in by some desert Arabs described by Doughty. «This salewwa,» says the latter, «is like a woman, only she has hoof-feet as the ass.» A desert

op. cit. p. 321 sq.; Baldensperger, *op. cit.* p. 86: — «Away from high roads and human habitations, on sandy wastes and rocky regions there is the Ghûl, which, as its name indicates, is insatiable and often devours women and children. Most of them have names of animals.» According to Persian beliefs, «the *ghûls* . . . usually endeavour to entice the traveller away from the caravan to his destruction by assuming the form or voice of a friend or relative. Crying out piteously for help, and entreating the unwary traveller to come to their assistance, they induce him to follow them to some lonely spot, where, suddenly assuming the hideous form proper to them, they rend him in pieces and devour him» (Browne. *A Year amongst the Persians* [London, 1893], p. 165).

¹ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 54 sq. Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 42 sq. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670 van Vloten, in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, vii. 179. Spitta, *Contes arabes modernes* (Leide & Paris), pp. 16, 17, 130, 142 sqq.

man told him that «she entices passengers, calling to them over the waste by their names, so that they think it is their own mother's or their sister's voice.»¹ Etymologically the Sa'lewwa is the same being as the old Arabic Si'lāt or Si'la', a demoniacal creature, by most authors described as of the *jinn*, for which it is said that it is mostly found in forests, and that when it captures a man, it makes him dance and plays with him as the cat plays with the mouse.² Von Kremer further identifies the Gūle with the Syrian Šūbeh,³ who shows herself in the shape of a fabulous animal or as a woman with coarse hair on her head, immense eyes, and long pendant breasts.⁴ This *jennīya* has her counterpart in Morocco also so far as the name is concerned, Šbūha evidently being the same as Šūbeh.

Another female spirit that is found in the East is the Ūmm eṣ-Šūbyān. Under the name of Omm al-Šibyān or Umm eṣ-Šibyān she is known both in Egypt and Mecca, and is mentioned by Damiri.⁵ The same name is given to an owl;⁶ and this reminds us both of the Berber belief mentioned above that a *jennīya* comes to newborn babes in the shape of a bird and easily causes their death, and also of Ovid's statement that owls suck the blood of newborn infants.⁷ Doutté asserts that in Northern Africa the name t-Tabī'a is more widely spread than Umm eṣ-Šibyān.⁸

Šiṭan and Iblis are the Koranic Šaiṭān and Iblīs; the former expression occurs in the Koran fifty-two times, and the latter

¹ Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 53 sq.

² Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 43.

³ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 54.

⁴ Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, etc.* i. (Berlin, 1854) p. 273 sq.

⁵ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 34 sq. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 123 sq.

⁶ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 35.

⁷ Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 131 sqq.

⁸ Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 116 sq.

only nine.¹ Nöldeke observes that, although it seems tolerably certain that the word *šaiṭān* was known to the Arabs before the days of Muhammad and it actually occurs as the name of human individuals, its form agrees so closely with that of the Ethiopic *šaiṭān*, which is derived from the Hebrew *sāṭān*, that we are forced to consider it a loan-word.² Whilst the Ġūl and Sa'lew-wah are decidedly pre-Muhammadan, *Šaiṭān* is essentially a Koranic personage. *Iblis* is the Christian *diabolus*.³

The beliefs and practices relating to the *jinn* which prevail in Muhammadan countries may be divided into different strata: many of them have been preserved from the old Arabic paganism, others were introduced by the new religion, and others were added from earlier beliefs and practices prevalent in the countries to which it spread. The ancient Arabic belief in the *jinn* was on the whole maintained by Islam; the assemblage of these beings was in fact extended by the Prophet, who also recognised the existence of the heathen gods, but classed them among the demons.⁴ Some of the *jinn*, as we have seen, were converted to Islam, but the others, headed by *Iblis*, were regarded as the enemies of Allāh; hence their fear of the Koran and the *bismillāh*. Jewish and Christian elements were also infused into the demonology of Islam.⁵ For example, the *jinn* who at the gate of heaven listen to the conversation of the angels respecting things decreed by God, are the *angeli desertores* or *proditores* who, according to a Jewish idea often met with in early Chri-

¹ Hughes, *op. cit.* p. 84.

² Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670. From the Hebrew and the Aramaic several religious expressions passed into the Ethiopic language at an early period, through the influence of Jewish or Christian missionaries. Wellhausen says (*op. cit.* p. 157 n. 2), „Dass Schaitan schon altarabisch sei, ist innerlich sehr unwahrscheinlich.“

³ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii-iv. 40.

⁴ *Koran*, xxxvii. 158. Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 120. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 157. Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 111 *sqq.* Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 670.

⁵ Goldziher, *op. cit.* i. 110.

stian writings, stealthily got hold of the divine truth and imparted it to mankind.¹

Among the *jnūn* of Morocco there is one that deserves attention in the present connection, namely, 'Aiša Qandiša. I have not found her mentioned in the descriptions of other Muhammadan countries, but her name is nevertheless distinctly of Eastern origin. Qədēša was the name for a temple harlot in the Canaanitish cults. A prominent trait of 'Aiša Qandiša's character is her libidinousness, and in this respect she differs from all other *jnūn* that have a more or less distinct personality. Both her name and her character thus seem to connect her with the cult of 'Aštart, and so does her homestead. She lives in rivers, springs, or the sea; and 'Aštart has likewise been associated with water, the cause of fertility. Her name has been connected with a root meaning «to be watered», and has been interpreted as the numen of a spring; and it has been suggested that «many nymphs of fountains and streams in Phoenician settlements may be only variant forms of 'Ashtart.»² This suggestion is certainly supported by the Moorish belief in 'Aiša Qandiša. 'Aštart was worshipped not only by the Canaanites, Hebrews, and Phoenicians, but also in Phoenician colonies, and prostitution is widely attested as a religious rite in her service; thus we hear of women «of the congregation of the people of Astarte» at Carthage.³ Carthaginian colonies are known to have existed in Morocco. There is every reason, then, to believe that 'Aiša Qandiša is the old goddess of love degraded to a Moorish *jennīya* of a most disreputable character.

There can be no doubt that the present demonology of Morocco has also been to some extent influenced by early Berber beliefs. The Berbers regarded mountains, rocks, caves, and

¹ von Kremer, *Studien*, iii.-iv. 39 sq.

² Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins* (New York, 1902), pp. 86, 104 sqq. Paton, 'Ashtart (Ashtoreth), Astarte,' in Hastings, *op. cit.* ii. 117.

³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, i. (Parisii, 1881) no. 263, p. 340.

sources as seats of supernatural beings,¹ and we may assume that after their conversion to Islam these sorts of beings were included among the *jinn*. In the Berber districts of Morocco, as we have seen, there are haunted springs, caves, and mountains. The Tuareg believe that *alchinen* (or *alkinen*, as the word is also spelt by French writers) inhabit the mountains, camping on them and leading a life very much like that of the Tuareg themselves. They have their own quarrels and wars and make raids on each other. But they are endowed with the power of becoming invisible, and they come unseen to take and to drink the milk of the cows belonging to the Tuareg. «Beware,» say the Tuareg, «when you are out at night that you do not run against an *alchin* (the singular of *alchinen*). You will see nothing at the time, but the next morning when you wake you will find that your foot is sore and you cannot walk. You have trodden on the foot of a demon.»² The Tuareg also believe that ashes and certain trees are haunted,³ and they ascribe all sorts of unusual events to the activity of demons. «Chez les Touareg,» says Duveyrier, «cette croyance est tellement puissante qu'ils ne veulent jamais passer la nuit sous un toit, dans la crainte de s'y trouver emprisonné par les alhinen: aussi, mettre un targui en prison est presque le condamner à mourir de peur. Toute maladie nerveuse: épilepsie, catalepsie, convulsion, etc., est réputée prise de possession par les génies; pour les conjurer d'évacuer la place, on a recours aux exorcismes les plus étrangers.»⁴

We have no reason to suppose that all these superstitions

¹ Basset, 'Berbers and N. Africa,' in Hastings, *op. cit.* ii. 506 *sqq.*

² Hourst, *Sur le Niger et au pays des Touaregs* (Paris, 1898), p. 227. For haunted mountains among the Tuareg see also Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara* (Paris, 1864), p. 416; Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar* (Alger, 1908), p. 59 *sq.*

³ Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 59 *sq.*

⁴ Duveyrier, *op. cit.* p. 418.

are due to Muhammadan influence. So also in Morocco, where the superstitious beliefs and practices of the Berbers are mostly very similar to those of the Arabic-speaking population, the similarity is probably in many cases due to earlier spontaneous similarities between Arab and Berber beliefs. Sometimes it may also owe its origin to the survival of ancient Berber superstitions and their adoption by the Arab invaders or their descendants. But to decide in detail what elements in the demonology of Morocco are indigenous is mostly impossible, owing to our very defective knowledge of the early Berbers. We may, however, assume that the idea that butchers and slaughtering-places are haunted has a deep foundation in Berber beliefs when we read of the superstitious dread which the aborigines of Gran Canaria had of butchers¹ and the present Tuareg have of slaughtering-places;² but similar ideas may of course also have prevailed among the Arab invaders. The female demon that lives in cemeteries and appears at night in the shape of a mule and «the mare of the graveyards» seem to be genuine Berber creations; neither of them is known to Arabic-speaking people, whilst the former is found among Berbers who live so far from each other as the Ruāfa and the Shlōh. «The little female mule of the night,» spoken of at Fez, may possibly be a corrupt variant of «the mule of the graveyards» but deprived of its chief characteristic, its connection with the cemetery. *Tāmza* and *Tagznt* or *Tāgūznt* are Berber names; the former is derived from the root *mz*, «seize,» «take.»³ But the demons bearing these names resemble the *Ġōla* very closely and are by the natives

¹ Abreu de Galindo, 'The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands,' in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. xvi. (London, 1814) p. 820.

² Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 60.

³ See Stumme, *op. cit.* p. 165; Basset, *loc. cit.* p. 513. «Among the Rif of Morocco and the K'sār at Wargla, we find *amza*; among the Beni-Menacer *amza*, with feminine *thamzat* or *tamzat*» (Basset, p. 513).

themselves identified with her; hence they may be Berber ogres in name only.

The occult «science» which enables the magician to call up *jinn* and make them do his bidding by invoking them by name and by writing down mysteriously arranged letters, figures, words, and numbers, is wide-spread in the East; but in Egypt at least «the Moghrehins or Moors and the Fellatah of Soudan are reputed the most learned and skilful in it.»¹ Lane speaks of a celebrated magician who by means of a magic mirror of ink, similar to that described above, found out a person who had committed a theft, and performed other feats of a most wonderful character; and this magician was a Moghrebin.² Klunzinger observes that the names of the *jinn* summoned «generally sound unlike Arabic, and may afford the philologist not uninteresting hints regarding the origin of this 'science'.»³ In Morocco some names of *jnūn* are expressly said to be Sudanese, and the words of the «*ejenn* language» used in magic are neither Arabic nor Berber. It is notable that the chief magicians, who practise their art by the instrumentality of the *jnūn*, come from Sas, the southernmost part of Morocco, where the negro influence is considerable.

There can be no doubt that various practices connected with the belief in *jnūn* have a Sudanese origin.⁴ We have seen that there are intimate relations between the *jnūn* and negroes, and that the so-called Gnáwa, that is, «people from Guinea,» are experts in expelling *jnūn* from persons who are troubled with them. The performances of the Gnáwa described above are very similar to the Egyptian *zār*, which, though its name is Abyssinian, seems to have been introduced by black slaves

¹ Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 383 sq.

² Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 276 sqq.

³ Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 383 n. 1.

⁴ Cf. Andrews, *Les Fontaines des Génies (Seba Aïoun) Croyances soudanaises à Alger* (Alger, 1903), *passim*.

from the negro tribes of Tropical Africa;¹ and they also resemble to some extent the rites of the Masubori in Hausaland.²

But the Gnáwa are not only exorcists, they are actual *jenn*-worshippers. In the middle of Ša'bān they celebrate an annual feast at which they make sacrifices to the *jnūn*.³ Once I was at Tetuan when the feast took place. The Gnáwa went in procession with noisy music to a spring called 'Ain ṣ-Šáwar, near the Moorish cemetery outside the town. They took with them a black bullock, a black goat, and a black donkey carrying several chickens of various colours. When they came near the spring, they began to dance, burned incense, and lighted candles. The bullock was then killed, and the man who slaughtered it sucked blood from its throat. The goat and the fowls shared the same fate. Unfortunately I did not arrive at the spot until the proceedings were just over, but I am speaking from credible hearsay. At Salli I was told that in Ša'bān the *ǧálḷa' l-mlūk* makes a feast, which lasts one day and one night, to take leave of the *jnūn*, who are going to spend the following month in a state of imprisonment. The feast is attended by the Gnáwa of the town as invited guests, and they are playing as usual. In the night the *ǧálḷa' l-mlūk* dresses himself up in all his dresses, one after another, and performs all his dances; each tribe of the *jnūn* has its own dance. And while he is dressed in red a goat is slaughtered, and he drinks its blood from the wound.

¹ See Brenda Z. Seligman, 'On the Origin of the Egyptian Zar,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxv. (1914) p. 300 sqq.

² See Tremearne, *The Tailed Headhunters of Nigeria* (London, 1912), p. 254 sqq.; *Idem*, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs* (London, 1913), p. 145 sqq.; *Idem*, *The Ban of the Bori* (London, s. a.), p. 280 sqq.

³ Speaking of the negro women in Egypt who claim powers of dealing with spirits, Niya Salima (*Harems et Musulmanes d'Egypte*, p. 263, quoted by Mrs. Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 302) says, 'Before Ramadan these women solemnly celebrate their annual *moulid* (fair or fête).'

In Fez, on the 15th of Šā'bān, the Gnāwa of the town — both men (*lā-bīd*) and women (*l-ḥdem*) — go in procession to a place outside Bāb Ft'ōḥ called Šāhrij Gnāwa, where there is a haunted spring. There they make their usual performance — playing, dancing, and dressing themselves in various colours; and their *mqāddem* kills a black he-goat. Those of them who are dancing drink the blood from the wound, holding their hands on their backs. During the same month the Gnāwa of Fez spend every night in one or another of the public baths in the town, so that when the month comes to an end each bath (*ḥammam*) has had a company of Gnāwa one night; there are about forty public baths in Fez. They dance and play and dress themselves up, and the owner of the bath gives them a black goat, which is killed by their *mqāddem*, the dancers drinking the blood as at the feast in the middle of the month. One day the *ṭalla' l-mlūk* of each *ṭāifa*, or congregation, of the Gnāwa in Fez — there are some three or four congregations — buys a large quantity of milk, pours it into earthenware bowls with covers (*jābbēn*, sing. *jābbāna*), painted in different colours, and throws pounded benzoin into the milk. He does this in the evening, and places the bowls in a room of his house where nobody sleeps that night and which has previously been washed and fumigated with benzoin. On the same night the Gnāwa of his *ṭāifa* come to his house as invited guests, are entertained by the *ṭalla' l-mlūk*, and dance and play and dress themselves up; but they are not allowed to go into the room where the milk is kept. In the morning the *ṭalla' l-mlūk* gives some of the milk to the Gnāwa to drink, and sends the rest to his *ḥōddam* — that is, the persons who regularly employ him — one bowl to each, which is returned with some money in it. It is believed that during the night Sidi Mūsa and the other *jenn* saints visit the room and impart *baraka* to the milk by dipping a finger into it. This feast is called *t'ēbyit*. It is easy to understand that the black slaves who came to Morocco found the Moorish be-

lief in *jnūn* particularly congenial to their own native superstitions and entered into close relations to these spirits by means of practices which were more or less similar to those in vogue among their own people.

It also seems to me probable that the custom of *dyāfa*, or at least the sacrifice which is so often implied in it, has come from the Sudan. In the literature on the Eastern Arabs I have found no exact counterpart to it; the custom, practised in Mecca, of putting seven loaves of bread under the pillow of a sick child and then, after the child has slept on them, giving them to the dogs to eat,¹ is probably only a form of disease transference. On the other hand, a custom very similar to the Moorish *dyāfa*-sacrifice is reported from Timbuctoo. When a person is ill, music is employed to excite ecstasy in some saint, who, when in a state of inspiration, tells (on the authority of some departed saint, generally of Seedy Muhamed Seef,) what animal must be sacrificed for the recovery of the patient: a white cock, a red cock, a hen, an ostrich, an antelope, or a goat. The animal is then killed in the presence of the sick, and dressed; the blood, feathers, and bones are preserved in a shell and carried to some retired spot, where they are covered and marked as a sacrifice. No salt or seasoning is used in the meat, but incense is used previous to its preparation. The sick man eats as much as he can of the meat, and all present partake; the rice, or what else is dressed with it, must be the produce of charitable contributions from others, not of the house or family; and every contributor prays for the patient.*²

¹ Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 121.

² Jackson, *An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa . . . By el Hage Abd Salam Shabeeny* (London, 1820), p. 33.

CHAPTER VII

THE ORIGIN OF THE ARAB BELIEF IN THE *JINN*

Considering that the belief in the *jinn* in Muhammadan countries is made up of a variety of elements, it can, of course, only with due caution be used to illustrate the ideas of the ancient Arabs. But on the other hand, our knowledge of these Arabs does not contain anything which justifies the conclusion that their conception of the *jinn* was essentially different from that of a later age. This must be borne in mind by anybody who ventures to speculate on the origin of the Arab belief in the *jinn*.

Robertson Smith tried to show that this belief was a survival of totemism. He argues that it requires a very exaggerated scepticism to doubt that the *jinn* are mainly nothing else than more or less modernised representatives of animal kinds, clothed with the supernatural attributes inseparable from the savage conception of animate nature. «In the old legends,» he says, «the individual *jinni* who may happen to appear to a man has no more a distinct personality than a beast. He is only one of a group of beings which to man are indistinguishable from one another, and which are regarded as making up a nation or clan of superhuman beings, inhabiting a particular locality, and united together by bonds of kinship and by the practice of the blood-feud, so that the whole clan acts together in defending its

haunts from intrusion or in avenging on men any injury done to one of its members. This conception of the communities of the *jinn* is precisely identical with the savage conception of the animal creation. Each kind of animal is regarded as an organised kindred, held together by the ties of blood and the practice of blood revenge.¹ The *jinn* usually appear to men in animal form, though they can also take the shape of men. This last feature, however, cannot be regarded as constituting a fundamental distinction between them and ordinary animals in the mind of the Arabs, who believed that there were whole tribes of men who had the power of assuming animal form. The supernatural powers of the *jinn* do not differ from those which savages in the totem stage ascribe to wild beasts. They appear and disappear mysteriously, and are connected with supernatural voices and warnings, with unexplained sickness or death, just as totem animals are. A madman is possessed with the *jinn*; and there are a hundred examples of the soul of a beast being held to pass into a man. They occasionally enter into friendly relations or even into marriages with men, and animals do the same in the legends of savages. Yet, like the wild beasts, the *jinn* have for the most part no friendly or stated relations with men, but are outside the pale of man's society; they frequent waste and desert places far from the wonted tread of men, and their special haunts are just those where wild beasts gather most thickly. Ultimately, however, the only animals directly and constantly identified with the *jinn* were snakes and other noxious creeping things, which continued to haunt and molest men's habitations after wild beasts had been driven out into the desert.¹

We shall see whether these statements, if correct, have any bearing on totemism. It is true that among the *jinn* the individual has no distinct personality and is only one of a group

¹ Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 120, 126 *sqq.*

or clan. It is also true that each kind of animal is often regarded by savages as analogous to a more or less organised community, in which the individual is lost sight of. But the same holds good, to a great extent, of savage men. They form tribes and clans, and the members of each group are united together by bonds of kinship and by the practice of the blood feud, whereas the members of the group are hardly taken into account at all as individuals. It is from this organisation of human society that the idea of animal tribes is derived. Man has a tendency to anthropomorphism. He models nature after the fashion of his own nature. The Moors believe that all animals had a language in Siyidna Suleimān's days. They say that the horse prays from morning till *ḡhōr* or 'āṣar on behalf of its master, and during the rest of the day on behalf of itself. When it nods its head, it calls down prosperity on its master; when it stamps on the ground, it is making a granary for him; when it makes a hole in the ground with its hoof, it is digging his grave. When the donkey is braying, it is cursing itself and its master (Rif). The cat makes ablutions and says prayers every day. Now, as is well known, man also attributes human qualities to the supernatural beings in whose existence he believes. He does so to gods and he does so to demons. Why, then, should we believe that the similarity between the *jinn* clans and the several species of animals is due to identity, instead of regarding it as the natural result of an analogous derivation from the common root-idea of human society?

Robertson Smith attaches much importance to the fact that the *jinn* most frequently appear to men in animal form. He does not deny that, according to Arab beliefs, they also may appear in the shape of human beings — although he seems to underrate the frequency of such cases — but he thinks that he solves the difficulty by a reference to the tales of men who were transformed into animals. Such tales are met with in Morocco also. The stork was once a judge who married, and after the

consummation of the marriage made his ablution with butter-milk; and he committed another sin also. He smeared the threshold of his office with soap, so that the people who entered it slipped and fell down. He only laughed and laughed; but an angel of God said to him, «O stork, why did you do wrong to Moslems?» At the same moment he was transformed into a stork; and he has still a black cloak and a white cloak, he has the henna of the bridegroom on his feet, his eyes are black with antimony, and he is going on laughing as before. According to another account, the stork was once an *agürram*, or Berber saint, who was changed into a stork because he had sexual intercourse with his daughter. The wildboar was originally a schoolmaster. Once when somebody brought *sêksu* to the school the boys began to throw it at each other, and the schoolmaster, instead of correcting them, only laughed. An angel was then heard saying, «O wildboar, tell your monkeys to leave the *sêksu* alone»; and the schoolmaster was suddenly transformed into a wildboar and the boys into monkeys. But it is also said that the monkey was a man who was made a monkey because he committed incest with his sister, or because he had sexual intercourse in the daytime in Ramaḍān. The lion and lioness were once a man and his wife, who had promised a dead saint to give him a sheep and a silver bracelet if he helped them to get a child, but were induced by Šīṭān not to fulfil their promise. Such stories certainly show that there are no unsurmountable barriers between man and the lower animals; but they are hardly to the point. Though men are transformed into animals, Robertson Smith gives no instance of an animal assuming the shape of a man. As to the statement that the *jinn*, like totem animals, are connected with sickness and death, it should be noticed that they are supposed to cause sickness by actually entering into the person who is ill. A totem animal, it is true, may also cause disease in a similar way, but, so far

as I know, only if it is eaten.¹ Savages know nothing of microbe totems.

It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the *jinn* only incidentally, not permanently or necessarily, have the shape of certain animals. One of their chief characteristics is their extreme changeability. They make themselves visible or invisible just as they like, change rapidly from one form into another, and, at their pleasure, take up their abode wherever they please. The totem, on the other hand, is a class of material objects, and a totem animal is essentially an animal, though assumed to be endowed with some mysterious power. Further, the animal totem is an animal species, and every member of it is a representative of the totem; whereas the *jinn*, when appearing in the shape of animals, do so only individually. There is absolutely no connection known to exist between certain tribes of *jinn* and certain species of animals; nor is the whole animal species looked upon as *jinn*, although individual members of it are at times supposed to be spirits in disguise. So far as we know, there was only one animal that, according to ancient Arab beliefs, more permanently possessed a demoniacal nature, namely the snake.² But this, of course, does not mean that it was regarded as a totem animal. Totemism is an intimate relation, generally speaking a relation of friendship and kinship, which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of objects on the other side;³ and no such relation has ever been known to exist in ancient Arabia between men and snakes. Altogether, the relations between men and *jinn* are utterly different from the relation in which a man stands to his totem. Robertson Smith is aware

¹ Cf. Frazer, *Totemism* (Edinburgh, 1887), p. 16 *sqq.*

² Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 152 *sq.* Nöldeke, *loc. cit.* p. 669. *Idem*, 'Die Schlange nach arabischem Volksglauben,' in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, i. (1860) p. 413. van Vloten, in *Festbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje*, p. 37 *sqq.*

³ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. (London, 1910) p. 3 *sq.*

of this; he expressly points out that in Arabia all demons or demoniac animals habitually appear as man's enemies. But he argues that «totems, or friendly demoniac beings, rapidly develop into gods when men rise above pure savagery,» and that «it is natural that the belief in hostile demons of plant or animal kinds should survive long after the friendly kinds have given way to individual gods, whose original totem associations are in great measure obliterated.»¹ Whatever else may be said against this reasoning, it is enough here to repeat Tylor's protest against premature conjectures as to the origin of deities from totem animals and against «the manner in which totems have been placed almost at the foundation of religion.»²

The supposition has also been made that the *jinn* were originally the spirits of dead people. No evidence, however, has been produced in support of this suggestion. The *jinn* haunt burial-grounds, like so many other places,³ but they are not known to do it in any conspicuous degree. In Morocco many people are afraid of visiting a cemetery at night; and, especially among Berbers, I have met with the idea that the dead may get up from their graves, and that there also may be *jnūn* in the cemetery. But this is denied by others; and, generally, the Moors are no believers in ghosts. In his *Travels in Arabia Deserta* Doughty defines *afrit* as an «evil *genius loci*, a word spoken of the spirits of wicked men departed, which as flies to the dunghill haunt eternally about their places of burial.»⁴ In Egypt, according to Lane, «the term 'efreet is commonly applied rather to an evil ginnee than any other being, but the ghosts of dead persons are also called by this name; and many absurd stories are related of them, and great are the fears which

¹ Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 443 sq.

² Tylor, 'Remarks on Totemism,' in *Jour. Anthropol. Institute*, xxviii. (1898) p. 144.

³ Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 150.

⁴ Doughty, *op. cit.* i. 170.

they inspire,¹ although there are some persons who hold them in no degree of dread.¹ But 'Ifrit is a name introduced by the Koran,² and is there an epithet of somewhat doubtful meaning, applied to a demon, not to a particular class of demons. «The belief current in later times,» says Nöldeke, «that the 'Ifrits or 'Afrits are demons of a specially dangerous kind, is due to a misunderstanding of this passage.»³ With reference to the ancient Arabs the same writer observes that «the belief which exists among many primitive races, that the dead are malevolent, and seek to injure the living, is one of which no traces are to be found among the Arabs.»⁴

Writers on the history of religion have often moulded the religious phenomena into too narrow forms, whether the form be headed totemism or ancestor-worship. The conception of the *jinn* evidently implies a generalisation on a much larger scale. These spirits seem to have been invented to explain strange and mysterious phenomena which suggest a volitional cause, especially such as inspire men with fear. Robertson Smith's statement that their special haunts are the places most frequented by wild beasts is certainly not in accordance with facts. We have seen that their principal abode is the under-world, but that they haunt all sorts of places and objects which have a striking appearance or otherwise excite feelings of wonder or fear, that men are surrounded by them, and that uncanny events of every description are attributed to their activity. They frequently assume the shape of animals, I presume, not because there is any intrinsic connection between animals and *jinn*, but because the *jinn* represent active forces, and among living things the animals are the most mysterious; it is significant that the

¹ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 236.

² *Koran*, xxvii. 39. Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 149.

³ Nöldeke, in Hastings, *op. cit.* i. 670 n. *

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 673. Cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i. (Halle a. S. 1889) p. 255.

uncanniest of all creatures, the snake and other creeping things, most frequently are *jinn* in disguise. The belief that brides and bridegrooms are much exposed to the attacks of these spirits seems to be due partly to the new state of life into which they are about to enter and partly to the particular character of the act by which marriage is consummated; sexual intercourse is looked upon as defiling and under certain circumstances as a mysterious cause of evil.¹ The threshold is considered haunted by *jnūn* presumably on account of that uncanny feeling which superstitious people are apt to experience when they first enter a dwelling.² And so forth. The feeling of uncanniness seems always to be at the bottom of the belief in the presence of *jinn*.

For this reason the *jinn* are closely connected with other mysterious forces. It is often impossible to distinguish between misfortunes attributed to *jnūn* and those attributed to the impersonal force of evil, what the Moors call *l-bas*; I have even heard it said that *l-bas* is the *jnūn*. The belief in *jnūn* is also closely bound up with the dread of the 'evil eye.' The evils caused by them are largely the same, and so are the classes of persons particularly exposed to them and the charms used against them; at Fez, for example, the same passages of the Koran as are supposed to drive away *jnūn* are also used as a protection against the evil eye. A Shawi scribe in the Aurès in Algeria informed Mr. Hilton-Simpson 'that among his people the belief is held that when the admiring glance leaves the eye it is joined by a *jinn*, who accompanies the glance to the object admired, and causes the harm which is popularly supposed to befall the person or thing upon whom the 'evil eye' has been cast.'³

¹ See *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 328 *sqq.* In Egypt celibacy is in some cases 'the essential condition in a compact with a genie' (Klunzinger, *op. cit.* p. 384).

² See *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 219 *sq.*

³ Hilton-Simpson, 'Some Algerian Superstitions noted among the Sha-

So too, there is an intimate connection between *jinn* and *baraka*, or holiness. As we have seen, saints rule over *jnūn*, and *jnūn* assist saints in performing their miracles. Pious people are much exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*, and so are little children, child-bed women, and bride and bridegroom, who are also possessed of *baraka*.¹ Maniacs are regarded as *mejnūn*, whilst harmless lunatics are venerated as saints.² There are species of animals that have *baraka*³ as well as animals that are haunted by *jnūn* or are *jnūn* in disguise. There is *baraka* in cats, although *jnūn* often appear as cats. The frog is sometimes said to be a *fqēra*, or female saint, although it is more commonly considered to be haunted by *jnūn* or to be itself a *jenn*. A snake which is found in a house or tent may be either a *jenn* or a saint, and a snake at a *siyīd* is taken to be the dead saint himself. Whilst excrements of men and any animals which are not used for food are extremely haunted, the dung of cattle, sheep, goats, and camels, is regarded as possessed of *baraka*. The same is the case with certain trees⁴ and, especially, with corn,⁵ although corn is much exposed to the attacks of *jnūn*. The same sorts of places, or even the very same places — rocks, caves, springs, the sea — as are haunted by *jnūn* are also associated with saints.⁶ Shrines are haunted at night, and sometimes the people are not quite sure whether a certain place is connected with a dead saint or merely haunted by *jnūn*. In the *jenn* saints the border-line between *jnūn* and saints is almost entirely obliterated; both kinds of saints are ruled over by Mūlāi 'Abdlqāder.

wia Berbers of the Aurès Mountains and their Nomad Neighbours,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxvi. (1915) p. 228.

¹ *The Moorish Conception of Holiness (Baraka)*, pp. 16, 18.

Ibid. p. 19 sq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 60 sqq.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 64 sq.

⁵ *Ceremonies connected with Agriculture, etc. passim.*

⁶ *The Moorish Conception of Holiness*, pp. 21, 38, 40-46, 51 sqq.

Like the *bas*, the evil eye, and the *baraka*, the *jnūn* thus belong to the world of mystery. They are personifications of what is uncanny in nature, or the imagined causes of all sorts of uncanny events. The same is the case with their kindred among other Muhammadan peoples; and there is every reason to believe that in this respect the *jinn* of the ancient Arabs did not differ from their modern descendants. This is suggested by their very name. *Jinn* probably means «covert» or «darkness.»¹

¹ Nöldeke, in Hastings, *op. cit.* i. 689. *Idem*, in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, i. 413 n. ***. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* p. 148.

