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THE NATURE OF THE ARAB *ĠINNA*, ILLUSTRATED BY THE PRESENT BELIEFS OF THE PEOPLE OF MOROCCO.

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THE Arab *ġinn* hold a prominent place in the young Science of Religion in connection with a theory now much in vogue. They have been represented as survivals of ancient Semitic religion,—survivals which indicate that the Semites passed through a stage of totemism before they arrived at their conceptions of transcendental gods. This hypothesis, which has gained much adherence, seems to me to require reconsideration. Before proceeding to discuss the origin of the belief in *ġinn*, however, I shall give a detailed account of the belief itself, and this account I shall base upon the present superstitions of the people of Morocco among whom I have spent nearly a year, and to whom I shall soon return, with a view of examining the traces of Pre-Muhammedan belief still existing among them.¹

The belief in *ġnān*² forms a very important part of the actual creed of the Muhammedan population of Morocco, Arab and Berber alike. It pervades all classes, and though some of the more enlightened Moors are inclined to represent it as a superstition of the ignorant, I doubt whether there is anyone who does not practically adhere to it. The common people speak of the *ġnān* as unreservedly as of men and women, and do not hesitate to claim a personal acquaintance with them. In consequence, it is comparatively easy to acquire an accurate knowledge of their belief.

The *ġnān* form a special race of beings, created before Adam. In various respects, however, they are like men. They eat and drink, they propagate their species, they are subject to death, and some of them, the Muhammedan *ġnān*, go to heaven after death. They even form sexual connections with men. In the village Ebni Hlu, in the Anġera district, I was told that a villager once married a *ġinnāla*, or female *ġinn*. She gave birth to two sons, one of whom became a *ṭalīb*, or scribe, and is still alive. In a village near Tetuan, a similar case occurred. A man married a *ġinnāla*, and lived with her in a mill. When they were alone she had the appearance of a woman, but, as soon as anybody else entered the mill, she

¹ I have obtained valuable assistance from Sherif 'Abd s-Salām l-Baġāli, a resident of Tangier, who has accompanied me on all my journeys in Morocco.

² *Ġnān* (جنان) is the Moorish plural of *ġinn*, or *ġen* (جن).

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 taken her revenge in this way, whilst he was asleep. As a rule, however, she was kind to him. He had always money, he was well dressed, and possessed many guns,—which could only be accounted for by his having a *ġinnīa* for his wife. This was, after all, an unusually happy instance, for connections with *ġnūn* generally result in madness.

Ġnūn may be met with anywhere, but certain places are especially haunted, *meskūnin* (مسكونين). At Tangier they have their favourite abode on the sea-shore; at Fez in an old fort; at Marrakesh their sultans assemble in the big well called *l-bīr l-haddād*, at Tetuan in the spring *l-knd l-kbīr*. They inhabit rivers, woods, the sea, ruins, houses, and particularly springs, and drains, and caves, and other underground places. Their native country is below the surface of the earth. There they have villages and towns, and live in tribes or nations, each of which has its sultan. But they are not tied down to any particular spot, and sometimes they travel great distances. They are constantly coming forth to the upper world, more especially when it is dark. Hence, a Moor's fear of the *ġnūn* practically commences with the twilight. There are streets in which he will not venture to walk at night, and houses which are uninhabited because nobody dares to sleep in them. In Marrakesh I heard of a man who moved out from his house regularly every night. Most Moors are afraid of sleeping alone in a room, especially if the door be left open, and to sleep in a stairway is regarded as particularly dangerous. It would require still greater courage to pay a nocturnal visit to a place where cattle are slaughtered, as the *ġnūn* have a special predilection for places where there is blood. As soon as it gets dark, too, a Moor will carefully abstain from pouring out hot water on the ground.

The *ġnūn* have no fixed forms, but may assume almost any shape they like. They appear now as men, and now as goats, cats, dogs, donkeys, tortoises, snakes, or other animals,—now as monsters with the body of a man and the legs of a donkey, now in other shapes,—sometimes, for instance, with seven heads. A man told me that once in his youth he met a little baby which suddenly changed into a giant. The monster, which was, of course, a *ġinn*, gave him a blow which made him lame for three years. One evening my servant, L-'Arbi, saw a *ġinn* in the offices attached to a mosque. The *ġinn* was white, had long hair, and was scratching its head. L-'Arbi, who was frightened, called the night-watch, and the *ġinn* then ran away in the shape of a red dog. L-'Arbi asserted that he was out of his mind for a month afterwards, and then a magician cured him by writing him a charm. In my house at Marrakesh 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. It would be easy to fill a volume with *ġinn* stories from Morocco.

A *ġinn* often indicates its presence by producing something strange or

unexpected. The columns of sand or dust which often travel across the plains of Morocco are caused by *ġnūn*. In some places such a miniature cyclone is called *l-ammarīa del-ġnūn* (العمرى دالجنون), "the bridal box of the *ġnūn*," in other places, *ʿairūd* (عيرود), this being the name of an *ʿāfrīt(s)*, or strong *ġinn*. *Ignis faturus* is a fire kindled by *ġnūn*. A falling star is a dart thrown by the angels at a *ġinn* who tries to get up to heaven. The big stones in the walls of Mequinez were carried there by *ġnūn*, being too heavy for any man to lift. Dear times are caused by many *ġnūn* being in the town and eating up the food. When a man stumbles in the dark, some people say that he trod on a *ġinn*. The most usual way in which the *ġnūn* make their presence felt is by causing sudden disturbances of the health, such as convulsions, epileptic and paralytic fits, rheumatic and neuralgic pains, fits of madness, and certain epidemics which are rare and violent, like the cholera. In these cases the *ġinn* works its will by striking its victim, and by entering his body, or sometimes, in cases of epidemics, by shooting an arrow at him. When the cholera was in Morocco some years ago, the people believed that an army of *ġnūn* had overrun the country. Where the epidemic was very violent, the *ġnūn* 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 great number of people, and that for the following reason:—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, and, therefore, the bigger the crowd, the less the individual risk. Jackson, in his account of the plague which raged in Morocco a century ago, also states that those who were attacked by the plague were supposed to have been shot by "genii" armed with arrows.¹ It should, however, be noticed that by no means all kinds of illnesses are attributed to the tricks of the *ġnūn*, but only sudden and unusual ones. Fever, typhoid, small-pox, etc., are sent by God; and there are many people who assert that all diseases are punishments inflicted upon mankind by God, and that the *ġnūn*, when attacking men, only do so by His command.

A man seized with sudden fear is peculiarly liable to the attacks of the *ġnūn*. If he then fall a victim to them he is said to have *shāʿta* (شعط). If, for instance, anyone falls ill after being frightened by a cat or a dog in a dark place, the animal is held to have been a *ġinn*, and the man's illness is explained by saying that the *ġinn* entered into him and gave him *shāʿta*. Again, suppose a boy, whilst eating with his father, misbehaves in some way. If, when his father punishes him, he begins to weep, the *ġnūn*, which are always near people who are eating, easily seize him and give him *shāʿta*. It is bad to awaken a man out of sleep too suddenly. He should be aroused slowly, as otherwise he may be frightened and get *shāʿta*. It is also considered bad for a man to look at himself

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

in a looking-glass in the evening, and some people say that, if he does so, a *jinn* goes into his eyes and makes them sore. There is held to be something mysterious about the reflected image in the glass.

There are good *ġnūn* and bad *ġnūn*, but the latter hold a much more prominent place in the popular creed. They are *shidātan* (شياطين) devils, and the worst of them is called Iblis, the devil, who is also termed *shītan*. The plural *ibālīs* (إيبلس), however, is sometimes used for bad *ġnūn* generally. Iblis has seven hairs on his chin, and a bad scar over one of his eyes. He it is who incites men to fight. If a man is pugnacious, and his friends say, *allā jinnā'l sh-shītan* (الله ينعل الشيطان), i.e., "May God curse the devil," Iblis is frightened away, and the man at once becomes quiet. Iblis tempts brothers to have illicit intercourse with their sisters. When a man is about to give alms to the poor, Iblis restrains him. Iblis finds pleasure in seeing men do what is hateful to God. If anybody pollutes a mosque, or uses unclean liquid for his ablutions, or treats the Koran disrespectfully, he may be sure of gaining Iblis's favour. Iblis rejoices when a man dies unmarried, and weeps when a young man takes to himself a wife. He gives people bad dreams, and when a man yawns, he dirties his mouth.

The bad *ġnūn* being always ready to attack human beings, various means are used for keeping them at a distance. The *ġnūn* are afraid of salt and steel. Some Moors put salt in their pillows, or take salt in their hands when they go out at night, and if a man be frightened, it is advisable for him to eat salt. There are also people who put a knife near their pillow before they go to bed. A boy who was left alone in a house was attacked by *ġnūn*. They shut the door and blew out the light, but by rubbing a knife against the wall the boy succeeded in driving them out. The best, and, from a religious point of view, the correct preventive against the attacks of the *ġnūn* is the recital of passages of the Koran. A man who passes haunted places in the dark will feel safer if he repeat the *ājatu l-kursī*. When a man pours hot water on the ground, he generally says, *bism illā*, "In the name of God." The same words are uttered before every meal: he who neglects to say them will have *ġnūn* as table-companions. During the holy month of Ramadan the *ġnūn* are confined in prison until the twenty-seventh night of that month. They are especially afraid of everything connected with the religion of the Prophet, and, hence, they have a great respect for his descendants, the *shurfa*.

When the Moors build a house or dig a well, they always take precautions against *ġnūn*. The Anġera people put some salt and wheat and an egg in the ground, and kill a goat on the threshold of the new house; otherwise, they say, the children of the house would be stillborn or would soon die. In various parts of Morocco some animal—a goat, or a sheep, or a cock, sometimes a bullock—is killed both when the foundation of a house is laid, and when the house is ready, or nearly ready for occupation. In the latter case the sacrifice takes place on the threshold, and afterwards the slaughtered animal is eaten by the proprietor, his family, and invited guests. When a well is dug, a goat or a sheep is also killed, especially if

there be no signs of water. In Anġera I saw a well of which the lining brickwork was broken, and my native friends told me that it had cracked immediately after it had been built up, because no animal had been sacrificed to "the owners of the place." Every place has its *ġnūn*, its owners, *muwālīn l-mkān* (مولين المكان). When travelling, the Moor asks for the protection of the spirits and the saints of the place in which he is going to pitch his tent. Every house, too, has its *ġinn*, good or bad. If the *ġinn* be good, the inhabitants will prosper; if bad, they will have misfortunes or soon die. When a Moor strikes a light in a dark room, he says, *msa-l-ħāir 'alibcum jā muwālīn l-mkān* (مسلىخير عليكم يا مولين المكان), "Good evening to you, oh ye owners of the place." The spirit of the house is frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

When a *ġinn* has got hold of a man, various means are employed for driving him out. At Laraiche there is a spring near Sidi Boḵnādel's *hamma* (الحمم), or offering-place, into which people possessed with *ġnūn* throw loaves of saltless bread. Some tortoises will probably appear and eat the bread, and the man who has thrown it in, after sprinkling his body with water from the spring, believes that 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, as he said, his body was shivering with cold and burning with heat at the same time. I was informed at Marrakesh that a similar cure is practised near Glawi, in the Great Atlas. The patient throws a saltless loaf into the spring attached to Lalla Takerkut's sainthouse. Then he takes a bath in the spring, and the tortoises which eat the bread will rid him of the *ġnūn* by biting him. Related to this means of expelling *ġnūn* is the so-called *dīafa* (الضياف), which is subject to many variations in detail. The following account shows one of the ways in which it is practised. A dish of fish or meat is prepared, without salt. Part of it, together with some saltless bread, is eaten by the patient, and another part is put on a plate and taken by a black woman to some place haunted by *ġnūn*. She also takes with her, in her basket, a piece of a looking-glass, a miniature flag in seven colours, some sort of clumsy doll, and a copper coin, together with some burning charcoal and incense. Besides the patient, the other members of his family may also partake of the dish, but, if they partake, they ought to salt what they eat. The woman who carries the basket must not speak to anybody she happens to meet, for otherwise the *ġnūn* may go into her. Generally some hungry dogs eat the food after the black woman has gone away. In Ebni Hlu, again, the practice is to kill a cock, boil it, and to put its boiled flesh into a dish of *suksu*. The dish, when thus filled, is surmounted by the feathers of the dead cock, care being taken that none fall off. After the patient has tasted the dish, an old woman carries the rest to some spring which is haunted by *ġnūn*, and on the following morning, if the food has disappeared, the feathers are brought back to the house, and burnt, and the patient inhales the smoke. If, on the other hand, the food is left untouched, there is no hope of his recovery. I have also heard that, in some places, a cock is killed

over the sick man's head, without the orthodox ritual of turning it towards the East, and without any invocation of God. The cock, which should have the colour of the *ǧinn* that is troubling the patient, is then carried to a place haunted by *ǧnūn*. But this is called *l-ʿār* (العَر), not *d-dīāfa*, which always involves the idea of a meal with *ǧnūn* as guests. Two or three different ideas seem to underlie these practices. Not only have we the idea of a sacrifice, but we have, also, the idea of enticing the *ǧinn* to leave the body of the patient, and, yet further, the idea of transferring the disease into some other body. The killing of the cock is a sacrifice, and the *dīāfa*-meal has the character of a sacrificial meal. At the same time, there seems to be some hope that the *ǧnūn*, being very greedy, will not be able to resist the temptation of the saltless delicacy. In the haunted place where the *dīāfa*-food is deposited, they assume the shapes of the tortoises or dogs, which are seen to eat the food brought there in the patient's behalf. The idea of transference, again, is indicated by the biting of the patient by the tortoises, by the doll which is put in the basket together with the food, by the fact that the woman who carries the *dīāfa*-food must not open her mouth, and by the belief, expressly held by some people, that the dogs which eat the *dīāfa*-food are not *ǧnūn*, but real dogs, and that, after eating, they will be possessed by the *ǧnūn* that troubled the patient.

The *ǧnūn* are divided into tribes, and each tribe has its special day for attacking human beings, as, also, its special colour. By ascertaining the day when a *ǧinn* has entered a man, the magician can decide the colour of the *ǧinn*, and can take his measures accordingly. The so-called Gnawa, who stand in an especially intimate relation to the *ǧnūn*, and who are frequently called on to expel them from people who are ill, are said to dress both themselves and the patient in the colour of the *ǧinn* that is believed to be the cause of the patient's illness, but this I have not seen for myself. All the seven colours of the rainbow are used for magical purposes when the tribes of all the days of the week are concerned, and, also, when, as sometimes happens, the particular tribe immediately concerned cannot be found out. But a good magician, I am told, does not make frequent use of the seven colours. The colour of an animal which is offered to the *ǧnūn* generally is black.

The performance by means of which the Gnawa endeavour to expel the *ǧnūn* is often very complicated, and may last for days. They sing and dance; walk round the patient, and make wry faces close to him; take him on their necks and carry him about, etc., etc. On Saturdays they eat dirt, because Saturday is the day of the Jewish *ǧnūn*, which are fond of dirt. I saw some of these practices performed in Marrakesh, when one of my servants feigned sickness, and the *mḥaddam*, or chief, of the Gnawa, together with an assistant, tried to cure him. I also called in a magician from Sūs. He pressed my servant's thumb, pinched his ear, and whispered into it passages from the Koran. He assured me that it was sometimes necessary to continue such whispered recitations for hours before the evil spirit would take flight. Passages of the Koran are also written upon a piece of paper,—which is often black, or coloured in accordance with the colour of

the *ġinn*, and the paper is then hung round the patient's neck or burnt before his nose. In the latter case it is the smoke from the burning paper that is supposed to expel the *ġinn*.

In cases of disease recourse is frequently had to beings who are sometimes called sultans, and sometimes saints of the *ġnān*. To this class belong Sidi Ĥammu and his son Sidi Ĥammūda, Sidi Mäimūn, Lalla Mäimūna, Lalla Mīra, Lalla Rķeja, Sidi Mūsa, Sidi Busāĥba, Shum Hārush and his son, *sultān l-kķal*, Sidi Boķnādel, etc. All these have their *ħammat(s)*, or offering places, which are often nothing more than big stones near or in the sea. Opinions vary, however, about the nature of these beings. Some of them are said by certain people to be ordinary human saints, and their master is Mulai 'Abd l-Kāder, the sultan of all the saints. To the *ġinn*-sultans offerings are made by patients or their families, to enlist their assistance in driving away the molesting *ġinn*. Very frequently cocks are carried to the *ħammat(s)* of these saints, 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 *ħamma* of Sidi Mūsa. They kissed the stone, placed on it some candles and incense, and had a bath on the other side of it.

A regular *ġinn*-cult is practised by the Gnawa, of whom we have already spoken. They are usually, but not always, blacks from the Sudan, and they form a regularly-constituted secret society. They live on more or less amicable terms with the *ġnān*, and, as I have already said, are experts in exorcism. The Gnawa celebrate an annual feast at which they make sacrifices to the *ġnān*. I was at Tetuan this year when the feast took place. The Gnawa went in procession, with noisy music, to a spring called '*ain ṣ-sāwar*', 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 danced, burnt incense, and lighted candles. The bullock was then killed, and the man who slaughtered it sucked blood from its throat. The other animals 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. When provisions are dear, the Gnawa go to the *ħamma* of some *ġinn*-sultan,—Sidi Ĥammu being a special favourite,—or to the place where the *ġinn*-sultans generally reside.

The Gnawa pretend not only to expel *ġnān*, but, also, to attract them at their will. By inhaling the smoke of a certain incense and by dancing, they induce the *ġnān* to enter their bodies, and, when thus possessed, they are able to tell future events. I have twice been present at a *séance* in the Moorish fashion. The magician, a black man from Sūs, wrote some mystic signs on a sheet of paper which he fastened to the wall. Having thus written a letter to the spirits, he blew out the light, and demanded absolute silence. After a few minutes a tremendous noise was heard: the *ġinn* came down along the wall, and ran to the magician. A dialogue between the *ġinn* and the magician ensued, after which the *ġinn* went away over the roof. Nothing else could be seen in the dark but the vague outline of a moving body. The *ġinn* 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.

The *ǧnūn* are, generally speaking, lacking in individuality. Their characteristics are those of the species and of the tribe. Each tribe has not only its special colour, but also its special religion. There are Muhammedan, Jewish, Christian, and pagan *ǧnūn*. Moreover, the different tribes attack men under different conditions. According to a manuscript which was given to me by a magician belonging to the tribe Ební 'Arís, the Sunday *ǧnūn* will attack a man if he wash himself whilst perspiring; the Monday *ǧnūn*, if he walk on ashes at night; the Tuesday *ǧnūn*, if he walk on blood; the Wednesday *ǧnūn*, if he walk in a watery place; the Thursday *ǧnūn*, if he tread upon them in the dark; the Friday *ǧnūn*, if he walk in dirt; the Saturday *ǧnūn*, if he go out at night in a state of perspiration. At the same time, there are, as we have seen, among the *ǧnūn*, saints and sultans who, at any rate, possess proper names, and there is one *ǧinnīn* who has a very distinct individuality, viz., 'Aisha Ǧandīsha. She lives in rivers, or wells, or in the sea. She appears in various shapes, now as a child, now as a grown-up woman, with long hair and a beautiful face, but with the legs of a goat or an ass. She knows the name of every man, but when she calls anybody he should not answer her, for she is very dangerous. Not only does she kill men, she is, also, sometimes said to eat them. She will, however, disappear at once if a knife, or even a needle, be shown to her, for, like all *ǧnūn*, she is afraid of steel. She seems to be known everywhere in Morocco. The people of Tetuan say that she lives in the river, outside the town, at a place where there is a ruined bridge. She seizes and kills people who bathe there; and every year three or four men are said to fall victims to her in this way. In the summer, when it is very warm, she is sometimes seen sitting on the shore. At other places, she is said to dwell in the sea. A Moorish friend of mine tells me that, in his childhood, his mother used to warn him against 'Aisha Ǧandīsha when he was going to bathe. She has a husband called Ḥammu Ǧaiu, who is not much spoken of. But in the neighbourhood of Mequinez a man told me that he had once seen him in a river.

The 'afārit, (عفریت) sing. 'āfrit (عفريت)¹ form a special class of *ǧnūn* remarkable for great strength and ferocity, and, consequently, much dreaded. The Moors also believe in the existence of beings named *ǧuāl* (الغوال) sing. *ǧōl* (الغول), who have black faces and eyes like flaming fire, and are fond of human flesh. There are, however, no *ǧuāl* in Morocco. They live only in the Sudan, and in Morocco one hears of them chiefly from mothers who want to frighten their children. I have heard some people say that the *ǧuāl* are not *ǧnūn*, but form a species by themselves, whereas others are of opinion that they belong to the *ǧinn*-kind.

These are, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the main features of the belief in *ǧinn* as it exists among the people of Morocco at the present day. My

¹ In the North of Morocco pronounced 'afārits sing. 'āfrits.

next object will be to show that this belief, in all its essentials, and in a great many of its details, is identical with that of the Eastern Arabs, and may be said, in the main, to represent part of the old Arab religion, in spite of the great mixture of race which has taken place on African soil.

It is related in histories that, in ancient times before the creation of man, a race of *ġinn* "inhabited the earth and covered it, the land and the sea, and the plains and the mountains."¹ Human or animal characteristics are universally attributed to them. Of the belief in marriages between men and female *ġinn*, there are instances recorded both in Arabic literature,² and in Doughty's description of his recent travels in the Arabian desert.³ According to a tradition from the Prophet, the *ġinn* inhabit the land, the sea, and the air.⁴ They are stated to live not only in uninhabited places, such as deserts, marshes, dense forests, and inaccessible mountains, but also in the dwellings of men.⁵ In Mecca houses haunted by *ġinn* are said to be *meskūn*.⁶ The modern Egyptians believe that the *ġinn* "inhabit rivers, ruined houses, wells, baths, ovens, and even the latrina."⁷ But in the East, as well as in Morocco, their chief abode seems to be the under-world. In his *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Doughty states, "They inhabit seven stages, which (as the seven heavens above) is the building of the under-world."⁸ They are frequently supposed to be guardians of hidden treasures.⁹ In Egypt, says Lane, it is a 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 The fact that the chief abode of the *ġinn* is the under-world is, in fact, a corollary from the belief that they live in the dark and disappear at daybreak.¹¹ Everywhere the *ġinn* are feared chiefly in the dark. Thus, in Upper Egypt, according to Klunzinger, nobody ventures to live in a house alone, to go out alone late at night, or to remain alone in a room at night. According to the same authority it is not considered permissible to sweep out a house at night, because some *ġinn* might be struck and injured by the broom, and, for similar reasons, people do not care to have anything to do with cats, as these may be *ġinn* in disguise.¹²

In the East, as in Morocco, the shapes which the *ġinn* assume vary indefinitely. They appear to mankind not only in the shapes of serpents, scorpions, dogs, cats, wolves, jackals, lions, and other animals, but also as human

¹ Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, pp. 29 sq.

² von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, vol. ii, p. 259; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidenthums* (1897), p. 154.

³ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, vol. ii, pp. 191 sqq.

⁴ von Kremer, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 257.

⁵ Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 149 sqq.; von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte* part ii, p. 26.

⁶ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol. ii, p. 128.

⁷ Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1896), p. 232.

⁸ Doughty, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 259.

⁹ von Kremer, *Studien*, part ii, pp. 30 sqq.

¹⁰ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 232.

¹¹ *The Koran*, sur. cxiii, v. 3.

¹² Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, pp. 389 sq.

beings, in which latter case they are sometimes of the stature of men, and sometimes of a size enormously gigantic.¹ 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."² 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 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 it became a buffalo.

The Oriental *jinn* indicate their presence in very much the same way as their Moorish brethren. Lane says that it is the general belief of the Arabs of Egypt that the whirlwind which raises the sand in the form of a pillar is caused by the flight of one of these beings.³ It seems quite probable that the idea expressed in the Koran⁴ that the *jinn* were created of smokeless fire was derived from the strange phenomenon of *ignis fatuus*, which the present-day Arabs,⁵ like the Moors, believe to be lighted by *jinn*. The superstition with regard to a falling star finds support in some texts of the Koran, according to which 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.⁶ Many Arabs ascribe the erection of the Pyramids, and all the most stupendous remains of antiquity in Egypt, to Ġann Ibn-Ġann and his servants, the *jinn*, "conceiving it impossible that they could have been raised by human hands."⁷ The Eastern *jinn* as well as the Western *ġnūn* are also disease-spirits. They cause asphyxia, lumbago, epilepsy, epidemics, madness, etc.⁸ "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 'bejinned,' *mejnūn*, demoniacs."⁹ They also think that a man who is asleep ought not to be awakened; but the reason Doughty gives for this opinion differs from that assigned by the Moors. The sleeping man, he observes, "is as it were in trance with God."¹⁰

Iblis is, of course, known to all the Muhammedan peoples. In the Koran his name always appears without the article, as a proper name, whereas the Moors, as

¹ Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 35; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 257; Wellhausen *loc. cit.*, p. 156.

² Doughty, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 189 sq.

³ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 232; cf. Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, p. 151; von Kremer, *Studien* part ii, p. 29, note 3.

⁴ *The Koran*, sur. xv, v. 27; sur. lv, v. 14.

⁵ Burton, in his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, vol. i, p. 398, note 3.

⁶ *The Koran*, sur. lxxii, v. 9; cf. *ibid.*, sur. lxxvii, v. 5.

⁷ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 236.

⁸ Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 155 sq.; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, vol. ii, pp. 257 sqq.

⁹ Doughty, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 258 sq.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 249 sq.; cf. Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, p. 163.

already said, also have the plural *ibālis*, though it is rarely used. Al-Buchāry says that yawning comes from Iblis,¹ and the Egyptian fellah believes that "there is always a devil ready to leap down his throat in case he should happen to gape."²

The Eastern *ġinn* are afraid of iron and salt, as also of sacred words.³ Baron von Kremer suggests that their fear of iron is owing to their fear of a loud rattling noise, such as that produced by metal, but this view is hardly correct.⁴ Professor Tylor's explanation seems to me much more satisfactory. The *ġinn*, he observes, are essentially creatures belonging to the ancient Stone Age, and the new metal is hateful and hurtful to them.⁵ It should be remembered that they are not afraid of any metal but iron or steel, and that they have the same dread of salt, which produces no noise, but which is also an innovation to the Arabs. There are Beduin tribes who, up to the present time, know nothing of salt, and find the use of it ridiculous.⁶ It will perhaps be suggested that the *ġinn* fear salt because salt is sacred.⁷ But bread is held in equal veneration by all Arabic peoples, and is nevertheless much liked by the *ġinn*; and iron is the very reverse of being sacred. In Morocco, at least, it is regarded as sinful to cleave bread with a knife. Again, the fear in which the *ġinn* stand of passages of the Koran is easily explicable from the fact that Muhammedanism was the successful rival religion, which, though recognising the existence of *ġinn*, attributed to them a very inferior position in the spirit-world. The Arabs of Egypt, according to Lane, believe that, during the month of Ramaḍan, the *ġinn* are confined in prison.⁸ In Morocco, as we have already seen, the imprisonment is thought to last only until the twenty-seventh night of that month, and the same belief seems to prevail in Algeria.⁹

The Beduins of the Arabian Desert sprinkle blood upon newly-broken fallow, upon the foundation of a new building, and, also, when they open new wells or enlarge old ones.¹⁰ In Al-Heġr, says Doughty, husbandmen "use to 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."¹¹ It was the opinion of the early Arabs, as it is of the present Moors, that particular *ġinn* preside over particular places. It is said in the Koran, "And there are persons amongst men who seek for refuge with persons amongst the

¹ Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, p. 163.

² St. John, *Village Life in Egypt*, vol. i, p. 262.

³ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 232, 235; von Kremer, *Studien*, part ii, pp. 36 sq.; Doughty *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 2 sq.

⁴ von Kremer, *Studien*, part ii, pp. 36 sq.

⁵ Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (1891), vol. i, p. 140.

⁶ A. von Wrede's *Reise in Hadhramaut*, edited by von Maltzan, p. 94.

⁷ Cf. D'Arvieux, *Voyage dans la Palestine* (1717), p. 167; Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah* (1898), vol. ii, p. 112.

⁸ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 235.

⁹ Certeux and Carnoy, *L'Algérie traditionnelle*, p. 83. The *ġinn* are there said to be confined in prison "dans les vingt-sept premiers jours du mois de Ramadan."

¹⁰ Doughty, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 452.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 136

ġinn.”¹ In the commentary of Al-Ġalālān we find the following note upon this passage:—“When they halted, on their journey, in a place of fear, each man said, ‘I seek refuge with the Lord of this place, from the mischief of his foolish ones.’” The modern Arabs have the same belief in the local lordship of the *ġinn*.² The Egyptian fellahs hold that “every place, every part of a house, is inhabited by its peculiar genius;”³ and in Cairo, according to Lane, each quarter of the city is supposed to have its guardian-spirit, which has the form of a serpent.⁴

As for the expulsion of *ġinn*, Doughty observes 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.⁵ According to Snouck Hurgronje, transference of disease is practised in Mecca. When a child is ill, its mother puts seven loaves of bread under its pillow, and then, after the child has slept on them for a night, gives them to the dogs to eat.⁶ In the literature on the Eastern Arabs I have found no exact counterpart to the Moorish *ḡiāfa*, but a very similar custom is reported to exist in Timbuctoo. When a man is sick, we are told, some saint is asked what animal must be sacrificed for the recovery of the patient, whether 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 remote spot, where they are covered and marked as 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 meat and 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.”⁷ No idea of a transference of the disease is involved in this practice. Those parts of the animal which are not eaten by the patient and his friends are expressly said to be covered, which is certainly not the case in Morocco, where an observant eye can frequently detect remains of the *ḡiāfa*-food on the roadside. Considering the important part the Gnawa play as exorcists in Morocco, it seems more than probable that many practices connected with the expulsion of *ġinn* have a Sudanese origin.

The Eastern *ġinn* display no more individuality than the Moorish ones; rather less. The Moorish belief in *ġinn*-sultans is evidently local. The *ġinn*-society is made up after human fashion, and, as the ancient Arabs were democrats, there can be no doubt that their *ġinn* were so too. Even Iblis is of foreign extraction.⁸ On the other hand, as Morocco is a monarchy, it is only natural that its *ġinn* also should be monarchists. Exactly the same is the case in India. From Jaffur Shurreef’s interesting account of the customs of the

¹ *The Koran*, sur. lxxii, v. 6.

² Lane, *Arabian Society*, pp. 38 sq.

³ St. John, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 262.

⁴ Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, pp. 235 sq.

⁵ Doughty, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 259.

⁶ Snouck Hurgronje, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 121.

⁷ Jackson, *An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa* . . . by el Hage Abd Salam Shabeeny, p. 33.

⁸ von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, vol. ii, p. 255; Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, p. 157.

Muhammedans of that country, it appears that their various tribes of *ġinn* have each their king.¹ There is, however, in the East, also, one member of the *ġinn*-species which possesses a distinctly marked individuality. Doughty speaks of a monstrous creature believed in by some desert Arabs, who call it Sa'lewwah. "This salewwa is like a woman, only she has hoof-feet as the ass." A desert 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."² Von Kremer identifies this being with Ġule, a female demon often mentioned in Arabian tales. Ġule passes a solitary existence in the deserts, and 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 resembles both a woman and a brute. She has long pendant breasts, and the feet of an ass. Moreover, she is a man-eater.³ This description of Sa'lewwah-Ġule recalls all the chief characteristics of the Moorish 'Aisha Kāndisha, except that the latter is intimately connected with the water, whereas the former is a desert demon. But this distinction is hardly important, considering that the Moorish *ġnūn* generally have their favourite abodes in watery places. I believe then that 'Aisha Kāndisha is Sa'lewwah-Ġule, somewhat modified; and just as 'Aisha Kāndisha is married to Ḥammu Kaïu, so Ġule has a male pendant called Kuṭrub.⁴ The Moorish *ġuḍl*, on the other hand, have retained their Eastern character of residing in the desert, where they keep up their traditional reputation for feeding on human flesh.⁵ The 'afârit(s), too, have their home in the East.⁶

Having thus analysed the belief in *ġinn* as it is known from direct observation and written records, we shall now turn to the question of its origin. The most famous explanation has been attempted by Professor Robertson Smith. He maintains that it requires a very exaggerated scepticism to doubt that the *ġinn* are, mainly, nothing else than more or less modernised representatives of animal kinds, or totem animals. "In the old legends," he says, "the individual *ġinnī* 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 *ġinn* 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

¹ Jaffur Shurreef, *Customs of the Mussulmans of India*, p. 217.

² Doughty, *loc. cit.*, vol. i, p. 54.

³ von Kremer, *Studien*, part ii, p. 54; Lane, *Arabian Society*, pp. 42 sq.

⁴ Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 43.

⁵ *Idem*, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 237.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 236; Burton, in his translation of the *Arabian Nights*, vol. i, p. 10, note 2.

practice of blood revenge." 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: they occasionally enter into friendly relations or even into marriages with men, but animals do the same in the legends of savages: finally, a madman is possessed by the *jinn*, but there are a hundred examples of the soul of a beast being held to pass into a man. 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 savage and deserted places far from the wonted tread of men, their special haunts being just those which wild beasts most frequent. Ultimately, however, the only animals directly and constantly identified with the *jinn* are snakes and other noxious creeping things, which continue to haunt and molest men's habitations after wild beasts have been driven out in the desert.¹

We shall see whether these statements are correct, and, if so, whether they 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 or a 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, for savage men. They form tribes or clans, and the members of each group are "united together by bonds of kinship and by the practice of the blood feud," whilst the members of the group are hardly taken into account at all as individuals. It is from this organization 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 Sidna Sulejman's days. They also say that the horse prays to God when he stretches out his leg, and that the donkey which falls down asks God that the same should happen to its master. 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? How closely the *jinn* imitate men, is shown by the fact that in countries where there are sultans or kings, as in Morocco and India, each nation of *jinn* also has its sultan or king.

Professor 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,—

¹ Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (1894), pp. 120, 126 *sqq.*

although he underrates 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 all Arab countries. The Moors say that the monkey was once a man whom God changed into his present shape because he performed his ablutions with milk, and that the stork was a *ḥaḍī*, or judge, who was made a stork because he passed unjust sentences upon his fellow-creatures. But such stories are not to the point. Professor Robertson Smith gives no instance of an animal assuming the shape of a man. Moreover, the *ġinn* are also disease spirits. They are believed, both in Morocco and in Arabia, to cause disease by actually entering into the man who is taken ill, a belief which manifests itself very plainly in the practices of the exorcists, and I see no reason for not regarding this belief as equally ancient and genuine as the rest. 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 be borne in mind that the *ġinn* only incidentally, never 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 *ġinn*, when appearing in the shape of an animal, does so only individually. There is absolutely no connection known between certain tribes of *ġinn* and certain species of animals, nor is the whole animal species looked upon as *ġinn*, although these at times assume the form of individual members of it. Every dog, every cat, every tortoise is not supposed to be a spirit in disguise. Professor Robertson Smith maintains, indeed, that some animal species, especially the lion, were objects of actual worship among the Arabs,² but Baron von Kremer, the learned Arabic scholar, has shown that this assertion has no foundation.³ The Moors avoid killing certain species. He who kills, and especially he who eats, a crow, they say, turns mad. They account it a sin to kill a stork, since the stork was once a judge. They maintain that he who kills a toad will get fever, or die, and they are afraid of destroying tortoises. They do not like to kill white spiders, because a white spider had once woven its web across the mouth of the cave where Muhammed was concealing himself from his enemies. These, when they came to the cave in their search, and saw the web, thought that no one could have recently entered it, and so passed it by without examining it, and the Prophet escaped. Many Moors do not eat white chickens, because they are the birds of Mulai 'Abd l-Ḳāder, the great saint. Near the

¹ Cf. Frazer, *Totemism*, pp. 16 sqq.

² Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 192 sqq.

³ von Kremer, *Studien*, part ii, pp. 20 sq.

village Ební Ūmras, belonging to the tribe Ební 'Arūs, dogs and goats are often seen in the neighbourhood of a haunted spring, and he who beats them is said to go mad. In the same district, within the precincts of Sidi Heddi's sainthouse, there are certain fish which are fed by the clients of the saint, and never eaten, being regarded as sacred. There may thus be various reasons for abstaining from killing certain kinds of animals, and one reason is undoubtedly the belief that the animal might be a *ǧinn*, which could avenge the injury inflicted on it; but this does not indicate previous totemism. It is significant, and it seems almost strange, that no closer connection exists between the *ǧinn* and particular animal species than what is actually the case. So far as we know, there is only one kind of animal which, according to ancient Arab beliefs, permanently possesses a demoniacal nature, viz., the snake. "In every snake," says Wellhausen, "there is a spirit embodied, now a malevolent, now a benevolent."¹ Muhammed, whilst commanding his followers to kill the obnoxious snakes, expressly forbid them to hurt those innocuous ones which they found in their houses.² In modern Arabia, according to Niebuhr, harmless snakes "take their refuge in the walls of houses, and are esteemed agreeable guests by the inhabitants."³ There are also traces of veneration for household snakes in Morocco, where a snake which is seen in a house is frequently taken for a good *ǧinn*, the guardian-spirit of the house.⁴ The fact that the ancient Arabs regarded snakes as *ǧinn*, however, does not involve that the snakes were totem animals. Animal worship is not the same as totemism. Moreover, according to Nöldeke, no trace of actual worship of snakes is to be found in ancient Arabia.⁵

The statement that the special haunts of *ǧinn* are the places most frequented by wild beasts, is certainly not in accordance with facts. We have seen that men are surrounded by *ǧinn*, that the *ǧinn* haunt places where no wild beasts ever go, even human habitations, that every place has its owners, its *ǧinn*, and that their principal abode is the under-world. Finally, a totem is not only a class of objects which are regarded with superstitious respect, but one to which man believes himself to stand in an intimate and friendly relation. The *ǧinn*, on the contrary, habitually appear as man's enemies. Professor Robertson Smith is aware of this difficulty, but tries to reconcile it with his theory. The general answer to it, he says, "is that totems, or friendly demoniac beings, rapidly develop into gods when men rise above pure savagery. . . . It is natural that the belief in hostile demons of plant or animal kinds have given way to individual

¹ Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, p. 153.

² Nöldeke, *Die Schlange nach arabischem Volksglauben*, in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, vol. i (1880), pp. 415 *sq.*

³ Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia* (1792), vol. ii, p. 278.

⁴ Veneration for household snakes seems to be more prevalent among the Berbers than among the North African Arabs; see Dr. Brown's note in his edition of Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (1896), vol. ii, pp. 655-657.

⁵ Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, p. 416.

gods, whose original totem associations are in great measure obliterated.”¹ Whatever else may be said against this reasoning, it is enough here to point out that Professor Tylor has recently argued, with his usual force, against premature conjectures as to the origin of deities from totem animals, justly protesting against “the manner in which totems have been placed almost at the foundation of religion.”²

It seems to me, then, that the application of the totem theory to the Arabic *ġinn* involves a radical misunderstanding of their nature. Writers on the history of religion often mould the religious phenomena into too narrow forms, whether the form is headed ancestor-worship or totemism. The conception of *ġinn* implies a generalization on a much larger scale. The *ġinn* are beings invented to explain what seems to fall outside the ordinary pale of nature, the wonderful and unexpected, the superstitious imaginations of men who fear. They dwell under the earth, not, I think, because they have been driven there by a new triumphant religion, but because men fear most in the dark. They so frequently assume the shape of animals, not because there is any intrinsic connection between animals and *ġinn*, but because the *ġinn* represent active forces, and, among living things, the animals are the most mysterious. Within the region of wonder, they act as disease-spirits, as nature-spirits, as guardian-spirits, as animal-spirits, even as human spirits. But they do not cover the whole field of the supernatural. There are spirits that have risen to a higher level, that have become objects of divine worship, gods, and that work miracles either directly or through some medium, for instance, a saint. The ancient Arabs, so far as we know them, divided the world of the supernatural between gods and *ġinn*, also, as it seems, giving some share of it to the ghosts of dead men. With this restriction the *ġinn* are what their name indicates. *Ġinn* originally means “the secret,” “the hidden,”³ in fact, the mysterious.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. CROOKE gladly recognised the value of Dr. Westermarck's contribution to the knowledge of a very obscure chapter of demonology. He regarded this refutation of Dr. Robertson Smith's theory of the connection of the *Ġinn* with totemism as conclusive. On the other hand, there appears much to be said for the theory that the *Ġinn* originally represented the wilder and hence unaccounted for forces of Nature—the spirits of the desert and waste places which are naturally regarded as the home of mystery. In this view, their identification with animals seems to be sufficiently accounted for. They are, in fact, survivals of the early indigenous animistic beliefs, which were at a later date absorbed and developed under the influence of Islām.

¹ Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 443 sq.

² Tylor, “Remarks on Totemism,” in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, Aug.-Nov., 1898, p. 144.

³ Nöldeke, in *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, vol. i, p. 413, note ***; Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 152.

Professor TYLOR, in expressing the sense of the meeting as to Professor Westermarck's study of the Ġinn in Morocco, remarked that the first sentence of the paper showed the line along which he had approached the problem. The late Professor Robertson Smith, by his work on the *Religion of the Semites*, vastly improved the method and enlarged the horizon, of current theology by the introduction of anthropological evidence. But through the influence of his friend J. F. McLennan's *Primitive Marriage*, he was led to introduce too confidently the doctrine of Totemism as a leading factor on the religious side of ancient society, and he put forward the idea that the Arab beliefs as to the Ġinn were evidence of an early stage of Totemism among the Semitic race. This view appearing to Dr. Westermarck questionable, he collected during his residence and travel in North Africa the particulars as to the beliefs as to the Ġinn prevailing there, which are generalised in his paper read to-night. The result tells strongly against the identification of the ġinn-belief with the totem-belief. The collection of the analogies alleged between the doctrine of ġinn-animals with the doctrine of totem-animals shows, indeed, resemblances in the ideas of Arabs and other peoples, as to the relation of animals to men, but the word totem indicates the importation of an extraneous element into the discussion, which would no doubt be better conducted under the heading of animal worship.

Independently of the question of totemism, the mass of beliefs connected with the Ġinn make us hope that Dr. Westermarck will use his opportunities to continue his researches in Morocco, and to follow up a line of research of which he as yet only indicates the need; namely, that of separating the other native ideas of Morocco from the imported Moslem beliefs which extend from the Straits of Malacca to the Straits of Gibraltar. When he points out that the Ġinn are afraid of salt as well as of iron, this is apparently to carry Arab tradition back to a saltless as well as an ironless antiquity. How they have retained old prejudices while attaching new meanings to them, seems to come into view, when it is noticed that they object to waking a sleeper, but not for the usual reason, and that they object to looking at themselves in a mirror, but seemingly have forgotten the ancient reason they doubtless had. When Dr. Westermarck resumes his inquiries in North Africa, he may be able more or less to clear up the interesting question which he has doubtless had often before him, how to distinguish and delimit the two ways in which men or demons can appear and behave as beasts. Is transformation of Ġinn into cats or tortoises or snakes something related to transmigration of souls, or is it considered to take place by quite a different process?