

Spirit Possession and Sacred Genealogy among Jordanian Bedouins:
From Tribal Tradition to the Cyberspace

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Abstract

The thesis aims to find the relationship between oral traditions and sacred genealogy in a religious context. The thesis discusses the oral traditions associated with spirits and exorcism which are transmitted from one generation to another. These traditions, which are often confused with Islamic beliefs, are integrated to produce new Islamic representations and norms. The thesis discusses how the new Islamic reform, which was born in the last one hundred years according to the key story, the Children of a Madwoman, used the oral traditions that are parallel to orthodox Islamic beliefs to control Muslims, in general, and Muslim scholars, in particular. The thesis concludes that oral traditions could be as strong as religion if they were re-contextualized in a parallel religious context of orthodox religion. In some cases, they may even overcome the religious texts.

The thesis refers to certain video clips circulating in the public sphere, online, and official programs. These video clips were chosen according to the number of the viewers or the contribution of the scholar in interpreting the religious texts. These videos intersect with an oral tradition that refers to sacred genealogy—humans married to spirits. Both the sender and receivers, via the medium of the Internet, to this story are aware of the sacred genealogy. The thesis also includes some interviews conducted in 2016 in Safawi, a bedouin village in north Jordan, to demonstrate the effect of oral traditions of jinn that are used by the new Islamic reform on the peripheral villages. The thesis will present the oral tradition of spirits associated with the sacred genealogy in a religious context and its importance to the new Islamic reform to control the public sphere.

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Preface

I lived in a place where oral traditions were nothing more than stories told for children to teach them manners and faith. These traditions were always about the angels who perform miracles for good Muslims and jinn who hurt people and ate their food. These stories were nothing more than a part of an old memory connected to that old lady who used to visit us at home. We used to spend hours listening to these stories again and again and never got bored. They were full of wonders and magic until she died and the stories stopped.

These stories, which reflect the needs, fears, and faith of the laity, were used by the new Islamic reform to sustain its existence. These stories were their history, past, dreams, fears, and hopes. As I grew up, these stories were nothing more than shadows appearing from time to time whenever I remembered that old lady. When I started writing this paper, I remembered her stories and her faith in them. This faith, which she would die to defend, was strong and honest in her voice. She would act it with all her heart and jump like a child just to take us to her world; a world, which was full of ancestors, jinn, angels, miracles, and foolish people.

These stories, which were narrated to give hope, are used to control the laity. The oral traditions, which have changed from time to time to adopt new forms, are part of our life cycle as we die and give birth to others. These oral traditions die and give birth to other stories, yet, the surviving stories, which we leave after we die, can either give hope or annihilate a whole generation.

Note on Transliteration

The transliteration of Arabic used in this paper follows the guide provided by the International Journal of Middle East Studies. When available, I use the Arabic terms in the form indicated in the journal's word list. Following is a short list of transliterations and the forms used in this paper. This list is not exhaustive as it includes only the terms recurrently used in my research.

‘Āḥadith ḍa‘yfa: unsupported hadiths

‘Āḥadīth Musnada: supported hadiths

‘Āriyāt al-Ras: naked head

Asyads: lords

Athar: trace
Aya (singular) / ayas (plural): a verse of the Quran

Basmala: a sentence Muslims say before they commence anything

Fajr (m. singular) / fajra (f. singular) fuqarā (plural): saint

Fakhḍ: the smallest group of a tribe connected by the fifth grandfather

Fatwa (singular) / fatwas (plural): legal opinion

Fuqur: sainthood

Hadith: the collection of traditions and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad that help shape
Islamic doctrine and law

ḥanash: a type of snake

ḥaya: a type of snake

Iblis: Satan

‘iqāl: a circlelet of rope used to fasten the headdress usually worn by Arab men
Jinn (plural) /

jinn (plural) / jinni (singular) / jinni (adjective): spirits

khaṭīb: preacher

khaura: trance

Kufār (plural): disbelievers

Lijām: rein

Mass: possession

Ministry of Awqaf Islamic Affairs and Holy Places: A Jordanian government ministry that supports mosques and religious institutions, awqaf funds, Islamic qualities in a Muslim's life, spread of Islamic culture, and preservation of Islamic heritage.

Mu'aḍen: a Muslim call to prayer

Mufti: an authorized person who answers religious questions

Mujāhid: struggler and warrior

Musha'awḍ: conjurer

Prophet Muhammad: the Prophet of Muslims who was born in the seventh century

Quran: the holy book of Muslims

Rāqī or legal rāqī: a person who recites Islamic incantations to treat the jinn, magic, and the evil eye

Ruqia or ruqia shar'īya: Islamic incantation for treating the jinn, magic, and the evil eye

Sāḥir: sorcerer

Shayṭān (m. singular) / shayāṭīn (plural): devil

Sheikh (m. singular) / shekiha (f. singular) / skeikhs (plural): a religious person

Shemāḡ: headdress made from a piece of fabric

Sunna: Islamic customs and traditions based on Muhammad's words and actions

Sura (singular) / suras (plural): a chapter in the Quran

Ṭariqa: path

walī (m. singular) walīa (f. singular) 'Awliya' (plural): saint Ulama: Authorized Muslim scholars whose opinion about Islamic regulations and laws are endorsed

Table of Contents

Statement of Copyright.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Preface	v
Note on Transliteration.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter One: New Islamic Reform	17
1.1 Islamic View of Jinn.....	19
1.1.1 Muhammad Metwalli Sharāwy 1911-1998.....	20
1.1.2 Omar AbdelKafy b. 1952-	23
1.1.3 Zaghloul al-Najjar b. 1933-	26
1.1.4 Muhammad Hassan	27
1.2 New Sheikh.....	31
1.2.1 The Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention at Riyadh ...	31
1.2.2 Sheikh Mahmoud al-Ḥarby.....	33
1.3 Jinn between Romance and Reality.....	35
Chapter Two: Jinn Besides the Scene	47
2.1 ‘The Children of a Madwoman’ vs. ‘The Children of a Female Jinni’.....	48
2.1.1 The Tale of The Children of a Madwoman’.....	48
2.1.2 The Tale of The Children of a Female Jinni’.....	48
2.2 Bu Zaid	49
2.3 The Cyber Generation	54
2.4 The “Children of a Female Jinni”.....	59
Chapter Three: The Last Generation of Fuqarā at Safawī	68
3.1 The Fuqarā	69
3.2 The Fajīra Salmā	72
3.3 The “Children of a Madwoman”.....	74
3.4 Al-Jūmlanī.....	76
3.5 The Retirement of Abu Minwer	78
3.6 The Dagger of Izḥīma	82
3.7 The Silver Cup of Umm Khalid.....	84

3.8 I Am a Descendant of a Jinni	88
3.8.1 My Great-Grandmother is a Madwoman	88
3.8.2 I will Tell You the Truth of My Ancestors	90
3.8.3 I Am a Muslim Fajr	91
Conclusion	92
Bibliography	94

Introduction

Oral traditions are unwritten sources that are “couched in a form suitable for oral transmission” which continue as long as the power of memory is strong.¹ Bedouins are people with unwritten history. Therefore, the oral tradition is their main source of information for reconstructing their past. The Bedouins, or nomads, believe in the existence of jinn (spirits) some of whom are evil spirits. The jinn, according to Bedouin beliefs, travel from one place to another and can shift into different forms, such as humans, animals, or objects.² The story of the “Children of a Madwoman”, which refers to the relationship between the Bedouins and jinn, is one of the folktales that has been passed down for generations by the Bedouin living in Safawi in Jordan. The story represents a continuous interaction between Bedouins and jinn. It demonstrates the two-fold Bedouin life; the Bedouins fear them and always offer them animals.³ This thesis will explore the different presentations of jinn in Jordan, particularly, in a Bedouin society.

Bedouins believe that their lives are threatened by the jinn who would hurt them without a reason. Therefore, Bedouins slaughter animals because the smell of blood abates the jinn⁴. The relationship between the Bedouin and jinn is complicated because the jinn can appear in different shapes like a beautiful female Bedouin who then turns into smoke. At other times, a jinni may appear as a giant jinn or a wild animal.⁵ All these experiences and more are shared through the oral tradition.

¹ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology*, trans. H. Wright (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1965), 1.

² Salman Boulos, *Five Years in Transjordan* (Amman, Jordan: Al Dar Alahlia), 1989, 144.

³ Ibid., 142.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

The Jordanian Bedouins, who are nomads, roamed Syria, Iraq, Jordan, and Hijaz, “a region in Saudi Arabia bordering on the Red Sea,” created their own identity through oral tradition to survive a hard life.⁶ The Bedouins, in written records, appeared in the second millennium BC.⁷ They have maintained their world through an oral tradition which functions as “a series of historical documents even if they are verbal ones.”⁸ The Bedouin used the oral tradition to “offer sight, sound, and touch” of their beliefs which stems of their thoughts.⁹ The oral tradition is produced by traditions which “absorbs newness” and reproduced to adapt to modernity. This modernity is “a sharp break from previous traditional social order.”¹⁰ The story of the “Children of a Madwoman” is part of one of the oral traditions which “absorbs newness” when its name was changed to the “Children of a Female Jinni.”¹¹

Modernity, which is associated with the capitalist incorporation as part of the Western domination, has offered myriad material, spiritual, and intellectual gratifications. On the other hand, “it demolishes the narrow horizons of community, of kinship and hierarchical authority by providing means of critical knowledge of the working of social and political organizations.”¹² This created an urgent need for the new Islamic reform to recontextualize the oral traditions according to the recent norms in which modern Islam, Islamism, attempt to integrate religious authority into culture and society.¹³ Because Islamism is “a powerful instance of the global phenomenon of religious fundamentalism.”¹⁴ This modernity is associated with different aspects in Muslims’ lives. It manifested in the appearances and practices of Muslims and Muslim scholars.

⁶ "Hijaz," The Free Dictionary, accessed July 16, 2017, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Hijaz>.

⁷ Najd Mazahreh, "The Nomadic Societies in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age (1550-1200 B.C)" (master's thesis, Mutah University, 2008), 105.

⁸ Steven Loyal, *The Sociology of Anthony Giddens*. (London: Pluto Press, 2003), 115.

⁹ Flora Devatine, "Written Tradition, Oral Tradition, Oral Literature, *Fiuriture*," *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* 3, no. 2 (2009): 11.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Sami Zubaida, "Religious Authority and Public Life," *ISIM Newsletter* 11, no.2 (2002): 19.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Bassam Tibi, *Islamism and Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 1.

The story of the “Children of a Madwoman” is one of the folktales that is still in circulation because its historical basis has adapted to modern times.¹⁵ The story is quite an interesting example of how oral traditional can be reshaped to cope with a new period in time but in new presentations and norms. The story of the “Children of a Madwoman” is about the descendants of a female jinni who married a human. The descendants who inherited supernatural powers of their mother are able to kill the jinn who possess humans. Nowadays, this story circulates via the Internet under a new name, “Children of a Female Jinni.”

This thesis discusses two important topics, fajr and jinn, through a story that did not vanish but rather circulated with new presentations and norms correlating with Islamic norms. These norms changed from humans fighting the jinn using a sword to shed the blood of a jinn to simply invoking the name of God to kill them. The jinn are invisible spirits that form into hideous shapes and frighten Bedouins. Therefore, they do not dare to call them ‘shaytān’ but instead recite al-Basmala “In the Name of Allah, The Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful” to protect them from jinn.¹⁶ The Muslims’ fear of jinn was used by the new Islamic reform to sustain its existence as it will be illustrated.

New Islamic reform in the last century helped spread Islam based on oral tradition rather than orthodox Islam. Political parties used religion and oral tradition to further their political objectives. They were then able to control both public and private spheres to build their legacies based upon the historical truth of jinn. This historical truth is either derived from generally accepted truth or Islamic beliefs. In other words, “it is an idea which influences traditions because they must be true.”¹⁷ This idea “is accepted by the majority as worth of belief” because jinn were part of Arab history before Islam appeared.¹⁸ It is hard to talk about

¹⁵ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 1.

¹⁶ Boulos, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 144.

¹⁷ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 102.

¹⁸ Ibid.

when the reform started and when it ends unless I am referring to a certain reform. It is a wide phenomenon which is not connected to a certain reform or place. This thesis does not refer to the exact time of the emergence of the reform because, as the thesis shows, the confusion between traditions and the orthodox Islam is very profound that some Muslims scholars could not differentiate between traditions and orthodox Islam. I was able to trace the change and influence of the new Islamic reform by referring to some travelers' stories in the twentieth century. These stories give glimpse on the lives of Muslims at that time, at the same time, the prevailing traditions about the jinn. If we could understand how the Muslims, at the time of the travelers, received jinn, we could understand its importance to the new Islamic reform to prevail.

This study highlights the importance of the oral traditions that are used by religious reforms to assure continuity by misinterpreting religious texts which enhanced the need of Islamic regulations to create social cohesion. This social cohesion, based on the fear of jinn, is a strong weapon in the hands of the new Islamic reform because it can easily increase the need of religion by increasing the existence of jinn in the lives of Muslims.

According to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* jinn are beings created from vapor or flame that take different forms. Islam considered jinn, like humans, will be judged on Judgment Day. They will either enter Paradise or be cast into Hell. The relationship between Arabs, Bedouins, and jinn goes back to pre-Islam. The jinn "were the nymphs and satyrs of the desert" who had a different role during the Prophet Muhammad's time; they were presented as idols.¹⁹ Arabs at that time considered them as mediators between God and people. Islam, however, did not deny the existence of jinn. The book *Tazyīn al-aswāk* by Dāwūd al-anṭākī contained short stories of marriages between jinn and humans. This relationship did not

¹⁹ Duncan Macdonald, "Djinn", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, C. Pellat, and J. Schacht. vol. II C-G (Brill: Leiden, 1983) 548.

exclude sainthood.²⁰ There are many stories about saints and jinn who were also part of the oral tradition that were modified to cope with the norm of the new Islamic reform.

The aim of this thesis is to understand the importance of oral traditions to religions since their representations may or not conform to the historical reality of religious stories or events. The new Islamic reform legitimized its existence through the general acceptance of the presentations of jinn before Islam. It used these presentations of jinn which contradict orthodox Islam to strengthen its existence. This existence is derived from the constant need of God to protect Muslims from the jinn, invisible spirits. This strong relationship between God, Muslim, and jinn was used by the new Islamic reform to exist.

This thesis aims to provide an understanding of how folktales associated with tribal history, which is found among illiterate people, can be used by religious authority to produce confused beliefs and concepts. Oral history “can be easily distorted for the public interest” yet they “still give a general survey of the past history of the people concern” because “without some...general survey, it is difficult to fit the various local narratives into a general framework.”²¹ These general tales of jinn are used by the new Islamic reform to organize the narratives of Muslims in a general framework of the Quran and the Sunna (Islamic norms). Grasping the framework of the key story contributes to understanding the importance of the oral tradition to religions since both of them, oral tradition and religion, are full of stories about supernatural powers and mysticism which can be easily manipulated and recontextualized to correspond with the present norms of religion.

The folkloric narratives present a different narrative from the official religious narrative which stresses that jinn learn from humans; the folkloric narratives present a different relationship. For example, the Quran mentions that “evil jinn were at the Prophet Solomon’s

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 155.

service.”²² The stories of the medieval folk, however, present jinn as masters who enslave humans and force them to work, especially the *Nights*. Nonetheless, humans were able to escape servitude because they were more clever than the jinn.²³

These stories showing the exaggerated power of jinn to overcome humans conflict with the official belief of orthodox Islam. This prevailing belief was used by the new Islamic reform to produce Islamic beliefs based on oral tradition and not orthodox Islam because orthodox Islam is full of supernatural events and stories that some of these stories correspond with old oral traditions. For example, in folkloric medieval stories the jinn made themselves visible by appearing in a smoky form.²⁴ The smoky appearance of jinn corresponds with orthodox Islam because God stated that jinn are created from the vapor of fire.²⁵

The Quran describes the jinn as tribes, either sedentary or nomadic, just like humans. There is no general consensus on the number of tribes among Muslim scholars. Some of the jinn roam by night while others travel by day. Since the Quran and hadith state that jinn and humans are responsible for their deeds, many scholars believed the Prophet Muhammad was a messenger for both humankind and jinn. Al-Razi added that jinn, like humans, have free will to believe and disbelieve in God. He also argued that jinn live among humans: “They listen to what we say and understand it.”²⁶ Islam also stressed that jinn are like humans they gather into neighborhoods and kinships. Therefore, they “belong to different sects and different cults.”²⁷ All these manifestations about the jinn, which are manipulated by the new Islamic reform, are accepted by Muslims. The new Islamic reform is aware of the vulnerability of Islam when it comes to the stories of old times where supernatural events and stories were allowed and

²² Amira El-Zein, *Islam, Arabs, and the Intelligent World of the Jinn*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 27.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ El-Zein, *Islam, Arabs, and the Intelligent World of the Jinn*, 23-4.

²⁵ Macdonald, “*Djinn*”, 547.

²⁶ Ibid., 15

²⁷ Ibid., 14-17.

accepted, yet, the new Islamic reform rejuvenated these stories of supernatural powers in the present time.

The Bishop Bolous, who visited Jordan in the 1920s, described the relationship between the Bedouin and jinn in *Five Years in Transjordan*. Bolous dedicated a whole chapter called “Spirits”. He started the chapter with an interesting story of a Bedouin cavalryman who ran frantically towards Bolous and his Bedouin friends. He was shouting, shivering, and mumbling when the Bedouins gathered around him. When the Bedouins asked the man what happened he said that a jinni appeared to him and tried to kill him until the Bedouin cavalryman promised to offer a votive animal—a white ewe.²⁸

Since Bedouins regard the jinn as their constant enemies, there should be a defender who can always protect Bedouins from the unseen world of the jinn. A fajr is regarded by Bedouins as the Perfect Bedouin and is someone who performs exorcisms. Therefore, each tribe should have a fajr who is a pious person.²⁹ This fajr used to perform exorcism in different ways that do not correspond with the new Islamic norms that recently prevailed. Consequently, the fajr lives a dangerous life because the old religious norms are replaced by new norms that are full of Islamic motifs that control the public sphere. Because these new norms were based on orthodox Islam and oral traditions, they produced confused presentations and norms. Both the fajr and the story of the “Children of a Madwoman” have absorbed modernity and adapted new presentations which will be clarified in chapter three. The fajr, who was once a respectful person wandering the land without fear, is threatened with exile if s/he does not follow the path of orthodox Islam. This reform seemed to influence the public and private spheres as well as public spaces which will also be clarified in the first chapter.

²⁸ Boulous, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 142.

²⁹ Ibid., 138.

The key story, “Children of a Madwoman,” is no more than a gauge of the influence of the new Islamic reform. The events of the key story stress the conflict of humans with the jinn. While the new presentations of the key story that correspond with orthodox Islam shows that man is incapable of fighting Jinn alone; he needs God. The constant need for God to fight the invisible beings is the key answer to the new Islamic reform to exist because orthodox Islam deny the conflict between jinn and Muslims. I am a Muslim who is proud of my identity as an Arab Muslim but I do not like the way people are manipulated. Through this need, the new Islamic reform started to enhance wrong concepts and beliefs because the new Islamic reform claimed that it has saved people from jinn. People follow the reform blindly.

In his book about the tribes in Jordan, Bishop Bolous described the Bedouins in general. He described their lifestyle, mentality, subsistence, and religion. In his book, Bolous defined the fajīr as the Perfect Bedouin and noted that while each tribe should have a Perfect Bedouin not anyone can claim this right.³⁰ A fajīr should be the offshoot of a sacred genealogy; this will be clarified in the third chapter. Traditional authority which is partly derived from sacred genealogy was undermined by the new Islamic reform yet the key story, the “Children of a Madwoman”, which was narrated by Bedouins, is still in the public sphere and space. *Five Years in Transjordan* by Bolous is one of the pillars of this study since it describes the real context of fajīr and jinn in the Jordanian tribes. This book describes the life of Bedouins in Jordan which helps to assess the emergence and influence of the new norms of Islam based on orthodox Islam and oral tradition.

In the 1930s, Thomas, a British financial minister in Oman, visited the Empty Quarter³¹ and described the Bedouin lifestyle. He also referred to two important things in his study. First, the penetration of Islamic norms that were not found within the Jordanian Bedouins. Second,

³⁰ Boulos, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 142.

³¹ The Empty Quarter is the world’s largest sand sea located in the Arabian Peninsula.

the presentations of jinn embedded in a historical figure called Bu Zaid, the descendant of a jinni, whose presentation as a savior is significant and affective.

The journalist, Aref al-Aref, lived with the Beersheba Bedouins for two years in the 1920s and the 1930s.³² In his book, *Jurisprudence among the Bedouin*, al-Aref described Bedouin beliefs and traditions. Bedouins, who are proud of their genealogy, used it to talk about their past history to determine present relationships. In the last section of his book, “Bedouin Tenets”, he described the two-fold world of jinn and Bedouins. His study helps to shed light on how Bedouins applied Islam in their lives which was also far from the Islam that is applied nowadays. Al-Aref provides an interesting example related to the Quran. In his time, Bedouins used to recite the *Fatiḥa* only as three verses “*Fatiḥa* that annihilates you.”³³ *Fatiḥa* that brings upon you a disaster. *Fatiḥa* that prevents you from Heavens.”³⁴ Other Bedouins recited it as ‘*al-Fatiḥa* for opulence, and his friends and the Prophet, and his beloveds.’³⁵ This started to change in the early 1950s; the Bedouins started to consider memorizing the Quran as an important event.³⁶ It is a very important step for the new Islamic reform to nourish its existence. This change in the religious aspect did not go hand in hand with other aspects of Bedouin life as Haraheesh’s study illustrated.

In 2000, Sana Al-Harashseh finished a master’s thesis about the Bedouin in North Badia in Jordan. Her unpublished thesis quantitatively examined physical and nonphysical changes of Bedouin families in North Badia. She selected 170 random samples to assess the structural change of Jordanian Bedouin families correlated with social and economic variables. The study showed that all aspects of the society had changed. It demonstrated that the

³² Huna al Turabin, "Reading in the Book Jurisprudence among the Bedouin for the Palestinian Historian Aref al-Aref," *Trabeenayyat* (blog), June 3, 2017, <http://trabeenayyat.blogspot.hu/2015/12/blog-post.html>.

³³ Al-Fatiḥa is a surah of seven verses which each Muslim should know.

³⁴ Aref Al-Aref, *Jurisprudence among the Bedouin* (Jerusalem: Beit al-Maqdes Press, 1933), 253

³⁵ Ibid., 253.

³⁶ Mohammad al-Fares, "The Sedentarization of Bedouin and its Implications: A Sociological Study (al-Ghab Area)" (master's thesis, Damascus University, 2007).

relationships of families changed due to age, education, and income. She also documented that almost all the families have cable services, such as TVs and radios. Bedouin lifestyle had changed dramatically when measured to other changes, such as masculine hegemony concerning decision-making in family matters.³⁷

The change in lifestyle from nomadic to sedentary as well as their livelihoods, like cultivating land, joining the army, and seeking government posts, affected the economic situation of Bedouins.³⁸ The economic situation also affected the family structure; changing from extended families to a nuclear one. According to Harahsheh, although the life of Bedouins witnessed physical and mental changes in their lifestyle the intensity varied. The dramatic changes in the physical aspect of the Bedouin lifestyle were in receiving new accommodations, furniture, and technology.³⁹ The mental aspect, however, is still governed by the masculine hegemony. It is very important to note that the masculine hegemony is still part of the Bedouin lifestyle, which was the outcome of a harsh life, had its own norms.

The recent Islamic norms that were not part of their lifestyle, as the books of Bolous and Al-Aref showed that they were integrated in the lifestyle of Bedouins as it will be demonstrated through the works of scholars and interviews. The norms of the new Islamic reform were more strongly integrated into the Bedouin mentality than other norms, like gender. For example, Islam states women have the right to choose their husband yet there are many families that do not consult their daughters in marriage,⁴⁰ as noted in Harahsheh's study which focused mainly on family issues.

As mentioned, the key story did not cease it rather changed its manifestations to correspond with the new Islamic norms. At the same time, the *fajr* was replaced by an Islamic figure, the

³⁷ Sana Al-Harahsheh, "The Bedouin Jordanian Family: Continuity and Change, An Anthropological Study at the Northern Badia Province" (master's thesis, The University of Jordan, 2000).

³⁸ Ibid., 42.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ "Jinn Possession," *Islam Question and Answer* accessed June 7, 2017. <https://islamqa.info/en/73412>.

sheikh, a man respected for his piety or religious learning which the upcoming chapters will illustrate.⁴¹ The key story, “Children of a Madwoman”, took a new name, “Children of a Female Jinni”, with new concepts and actors. While the key actors in the original story were between Bedouins and jinn, the new story is about Islam and jinn. Unlike the old story, which was associated with the social life of the Bedouins without any embedded Islamic norms, the new story “Children of a Female Jinni” is integrated with Islamic motifs.

The story “Children of a Female Jinni”, which circulated via the Internet, was reshaped by communities that met through the medium of the Internet. These communities created their own public spaces to use the symbolic language of Islam for “fragmenting and contesting political and religious authority.”⁴² The comments on “Children of a Female Jinni” do not represent all Bedouins in the Middle East, in general, and in Jordan, in particular.

The aim is to trace how oral traditions through genealogy, associated with political and social relationships, are used to vindicate political and social rights, as this paper shows.⁴³ Genealogy also provides information about the history of religions and ideas.⁴⁴ Therefore, Bedouin tribes memorize their genealogy.⁴⁵ The smallest cluster of Bedouin, the fakhḍ (thigh), is composed of families that belong to the fifth generation of a family. In this kind of relationship the duties which are owed to other members of the family are stronger and more critical. They live next to each other.⁴⁶ Accordingly, these families claim political rights and ranks.⁴⁷ Some of the tribes associated themselves to the follower of the Prophet Muhammad

⁴¹ "Sheikh," *The Free Dictionary*, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/sheikh>.

⁴² Dale Eickelman and Jon Anderson, “Redefining Muslim Publics,” *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, ed. Joe Anderson and Dale F. Eickelman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 1.

⁴³ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 153.

⁴⁴ Harahsheh, *The Bedouin Jordanian Family*, 154.

⁴⁵ al-Aref, *Jurisprudence among the Bedouin*, 39.

⁴⁶ Al-Harahsheh, *The Bedouin Jordanian Family*, 45-6.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21.

as Peake mentioned in his book, *A History of Jordan and Its Tribes*.⁴⁸ It should not be forgotten that Arab countries gained their independence after the Second World War.⁴⁹ In other words, the roots of the fifth generation are not totally obliterated. Accordingly, many tribes still fight to gain their rights through genealogy. At the same time, the tribes are scattered across the Arab world; the powerful tribes which heavily depend on alliances to gain its sovereignty are divided.

The public space has fragmented the authority of the genealogy and the Islamic regulations since Muslims are allowed to interpret the regulations “according to class interest...on behalf of tribal or family networks and from all the diverse motives that characterize human endeavor.”⁵⁰ I will also refer to the same story in its new form; a form that is full of Islamic motifs. The new version of the same folktale demonstrates how the new Islamic reform used the old presentations of jinn which are associated with superiority and fear, Bishop Bolous illustrated in his book, as part of orthodox Islam to support its existence.

The thesis question is how the new Islamic reform was able to reach the public sphere for Muslims in the Middle East through oral traditions by contextualizing the old tradition in a parallel religious context.

Methodology of Field Research

I visited al-Safawi, located in the north-east of Badia in Jordan, four times from March to August 2016. The population of Safawi is approximately 2,700 people, approximately 400 families, who came from Mountain Druze in Syria to settle in the north-east of Badia at

⁴⁸ Frederick Peake, *A History of Jordan and Its Tribes* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1958), 149-55.

⁴⁹ "Martin Kramer on the Middle East," *Martin Kramer on the Middle East RSS*, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://martinkramer.org/sandbox/reader/archives/arab-nationalism-mistaken-identity/>.

⁴⁸ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslim Publics*, 1.

Safawi. The extended families are mostly Iḍāmat and Masāʿīd.⁵¹ During these visits, I conducted several interviews to study the habit of visiting the tombs of saints and not the genealogy of the saints. Some details were neglected because I was ignorant of their importance at that time. In other instances, they were not part of my study. For this thesis, I used the qualitative method by referring to interviews I conducted that are correlated with fuqarā (saints) and the harassment they are subjected to. Although the key story is no more than a story narrated by my informant, Abu Bashir, Salem ʿUqla al-ʿIḍāmāt, it is quite significant because it assesses the influence of the new Islamic reform by illustrating the new Islamic norms that are embedded in the story. I used unstructured interviews because of the lack of information I had about this area. My guide on my first visit, female informant Khulūd ʿĀyid Muhammad al-ʿIḍāmāt, advised me to meet Abu Bashir because of his knowledge of countless stories. I met Abu Bashir that day around 6:00 p.m. but I was not allowed to see Abu Bashir because he had a male guest, and had to wait in the woman's room with all of his female relatives. There were around 25 women and their children. One of the most important people is Rabiya who is still in contact with me. Rabiya Qāsim Muhammad al-ʿIḍāmāt is in her late twenties with a degree in elementary education and is well-versed in Arabic literature. Although I asked about the habit of visiting the tombs of saints they did not offer much information and said to wait for Abu Bashir because he knows more.

As I do not have any tribal ties to the tribes living in the north-east of Badia, they considered me only as someone interested in documenting oral traditions. I introduced myself as someone interested in oral tradition because the majority of my generation, at least in Amman the capital, is unaware of oral traditions. Although Abu Bashir is illiterate, he is extremely proud of his identity as a Bedouin and the fuqarā as part of his identity. He saw me as a way to contextualize the fuqarā whom he highly venerated yet were disregarded. Abu Bashir

⁵¹ Abdel al-Qadir al-Housan, *Al-Mafraq Through the Ages Field Studies and Archaeological surveys in Mafraq Governorate and its Surrounding* (Jordan: Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, 1999), 437.

differentiated between two types of saints: fajīr and sheikh. The former is part of his identity. Therefore, he contextualized his oral tradition by choosing reliable sources from his identity, the offshoots of fuqarā, since “genealogical thought” is rooted in “sacred historiograph” because pedigrees are not “ordinary historical fact” because they represent “the Truth of the sacred historiography.”⁵²

This thesis will focus on two periods. The first period will be in the first half of the twentieth century when Bedouins were still nomadic and Islam as a religion was not fully understood by them.⁵³ The second period will refer to the beginning of the twenty-first century when people became more exposed to the Internet and Islam.⁵⁴ This study looks at two sample groups: the Safawi Bedouins and the virtual community created via the Internet. I will use visual programs, officials, and non-officials to evaluate the influence of the new Islamic reform on the Safawi Bedouins, in particular, and the Bedouins, in general. The only way for the illiterate or semi-literate to learn about Islamic norms is through educated people with access to the Internet, satellite broadcast, or visual programs. These groups will demonstrate the impact of the new Islamic reform over people living in peripheral villages. Simultaneously, this study will help to trace any impact on the Internet-using generation—a space where authority is fragmented. Therefore, the loudest and strongest authority will reflect its rules. The video clips were chosen according to the number of viewers which reflects the concerns of people or the prominence of a scholar in the Arab Islamic world.

Since this thesis focuses on three important elements, it is divided into three chapters to reflect these elements—the new Islamic reform, jinn, and fajīr—to understand the importance of general presentations of jinn which the new Islamic reform used to prevail.

⁵² Andrew Shryock, *Nationalism and Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 21-22.

⁵³ Boulos, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 127.

⁵⁴ Abdulkafi Albirini, "The Internet in Developing Countries: A Medium of Economic, Cultural and Political Domination," *International Journal of Education and Development using ICT* 4, no. 1 (2008): 49.

The first chapter, “New Islamic Reform,” discusses three topics. The first is the Islamic view of jinn by referring to three prominent Islamic figures who stress that jinn *do* exist but do not have any impact on Muslims. Their arguments are necessary to demonstrate that although this type of oral tradition should be reduced if not suppressed, it still exists to the extent that some scholars eschew discussing this topic to avoid criticism. The second topic refers to the new teachings required for those who perform exorcisms, as mentioned before the fajīr was replaced by the sheikh. Sheikhs are sometimes confused for sorcerers, followers of the shayṭān (devil). This confusion is another way the new Islamic reform legitimized its existence by demolishing the traditional authority of fajīr, which will be further clarified in that chapter. The first chapter presents a debate showing how the new Islamic reform legitimizes its existence through source materials, which will be further explained and clarified in the second chapter.

The second chapter, “Jinn Besides the Scene,” is also divided into four sections. The first section tells the traditional stories of the sacred genealogy and the presentations of jinn. The second section presents Bedouin stories of Bu Zaid, a descendant of a female jinni, in the 1930s. The genealogy of Bu Zaid, as well as his tales, assesses the influence of the new Islamic reform since the stories of Bu Zaid does not circulate anymore. During Bu Zaid’s time, Islamic norms were also integrated in some of the stories about Bu Zaid which were also told by Bedouin storytellers living in the Empty Quarter. The presentations of jinn and norms of Bedouin life which these stories introduced have been totally distorted by recent generations for different reasons. The Internet-generation produced presentations and memories that carries Islamic norms through different presentations for the same scene as the commenters in the last section of the chapter shows. This section shows that the story, “Children of a Female Jinn,” is not “a fixed text” with identical words and order of events,

but instead “a free text” with variant versions for the same story.⁵⁵ These free texts, which are created according to personal preference,⁵⁶ could assess the influence of the new Islamic reform through the religious symbols used by the Internet-generation in oral tradition.

The last chapter, “The Last Generation of Fuqarā at Safawi”, is about the fuqarā. The summarized interviews conducted in 2016 will focus on the main argument of this thesis: oral tradition of the jinn and Islamic norms integrated 100 years ago are not currently recognized by Jordanian Bedouins. The chapter presents a story which occurred in the 1920s to highlight traditional and Islamic norms that are different from current day. This story refers to a mark, correlated with exorcism, the fuqarā used to be proud. This mark vanished totally from the public sphere until it became a disgrace as the stories will clarify. People living in peripheral villages also submitted to the Islamic norms. These stories are clear evidence of harassment by the new Islamic reform which is practiced by producing confusing presentation of sheikh. This presentations is a coined presentation with a sorcerer. This presentation hunted all those who performed exorcisms. Therefore, many fuqarā changed their names to sheikh or sheikha (f.), appearances, and their practices to be part of the new Islamic reform while others abandoned the ṭarīqa of their ancestors.

In the light of this, the aim of this study is to understand how Islamic reform uses oral tradition, based on the superiority and fear of jinn, to control public and private spheres and legitimize its existence through presentations it created from Islamic sources by co-opting oral tradition. The argument revolves around how the new Islamic reform used traditions accepted by the majority of people to enhance its existence in the public and private spheres as well as public spaces. These traditions were used by the new Islamic reform as a

⁵⁵ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 156.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

framework for the narratives of Muslims by embedding its own norms, based on oral traditions, which are confused with orthodox Islam.

Chapter One: New Islamic Reform

The new Islamic reform is the result of Islamism, the emergence of a political order that is based on “religionized politics” because Islam “implies certain political values but does not presuppose a particular order of government.”⁵⁷ In other words, it is “the promotion of a political order that is believed to emanate from the will of Allah and is not based on popular sovereignty.”⁵⁸ Islamism is the interpretation of Islam but in a reimagined form; “it calls for a return of Islamic history and glory” based on an invented Islamic tradition.⁵⁹

The new Islamic reform assumed that its right to lead Muslims began with the rise of Islam in the seventh century. Islamic reform which then appeared derived their rights from the Quran and the Sunna (Islamic norms) using the life of the Prophet Muhammad as a model for Muslims.⁶⁰ This reform claimed that the Quran and Sunna gave them the right to govern Muslims since these Islamic sources stated that in each century a reform will be born to guide Muslims according to Islamic reform.⁶¹

In Anderson’s “*The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters*,” these interpretations trace Islamism through the medium of the Internet and satellite broadcast since they are considered tools that fragmented authority while simultaneously created a virtual community to share ideas and thoughts. These virtual communities are created by the bourgeois class of “clerks, teachers and new urbanites” because the expanded education system enabled access to interpret Islamic text “outside the traditional frameworks” of religious institutions which

⁵⁷ Tibi, *Islamism and Islam*, 1.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ “Sunnah,” *The Free Dictionary*, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Sunnah>. Charles Kurzman, “Islamic Reform-Bibliography,” *Religious, Movements, Kurzman, and Texts - JRank Articles*, accessed June 3, 2017, <http://science.jrank.org/pages/8030/Islamic-Reform.html>.

⁶¹ Kurzman, *Islamic Reform*.

contributed in fragmenting the traditional authority of religion.⁶² The fragmenting of the religious authority depended mainly on the increase “open contests over the authoritative use of the symbolic language of Islam.”⁶³ It is important to notice that from the middle of the ninth century, there was a general consensus that only the scholars of the past had the right to give their opinion about the Islamic laws and legislations; this kind of religious authority is fragmented via the Internet.⁶⁴ The Internet allowed Muslims to produce Islamic norms for public space.⁶⁵ The chosen video clips will demonstrate some claiming the right to interpret the video clips of a pioneer scholar in a wrong context to gain legitimacy. This makes the Internet “an arena for alternative expressions of Islam both to popular and to traditional elite view.”⁶⁶

Since this thesis discusses how oral tradition based on folk stories and beliefs present jinn as mischievous spirits are accepted by the majority of people, in general, and the Bedouins, in particular, I will present my argument by highlighting several pioneer Islamic figures who have either explicitly or implicitly stated that jinn, one of the historical traditions of Islam, do exist but do not have any impact on Muslims with a debate on the use public space as an arena to bring Islamic issues “into a wider, already public sphere...in others carving out a new one that encompasses or repackages existing ones.”⁶⁷ The argument starts from a public space in which the topic is broadly discussed among Islamic scholars to end with a debate discussing the impact of jinn to highlight the methods, religious texts, and oral tradition, which the new Islamic reform uses to legitimize its existence. This chapter does not discuss the Bedouin case specifically but rather the Islamic debates on a large scale which will be

⁶² Jon Anderson, “The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters,” *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, ed. Joe Anderson and Dale F. Eickelman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003) 53.

⁶³ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslim publics*, 1.

⁶⁴ Petrus Voorhoeve, “Djinn,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. B. Lewis, C. Pellat, and J. Schacht. Vol. II (C-G). Brill: Leiden, 1983. 546-50.

⁶⁵ Anderson, *The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters*, 53.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 53.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 53.

narrowed in the third chapter to see how the Islamic norms presented in this chapter may or may not reflect the Bedouins in a peripheral village. This will also help to understand how the recent presentations of Bedouin fajīr adapted to survive since the fajīr was once part of the historical truth that is replaced with a different historical truth, the sheikh.

1.1 Islamic View of Jinn

The fear of jinn was shared via new media. Although Bedouin stories of Bolous illustrated their fear of jinn, the fear presented on the Internet had a different form. It was an undeniable concern that the public space could not ignore or neglect. New media created communities and networks that dissolved the barriers of space and distance to open a new space for interaction and recognition.⁶⁸ There were three pioneer figures of this new space in the new media who recontextualized the Islamic doctrine and practices with vernacular terms. On one hand, these scholars assisted in disseminating Islamic doctrines and practices by associating Islamic doctrines and practices with reason and arguments. Therefore, Islam is a system in a world of intellectual systems that is debated on a border scale.⁶⁹ On the other hand, new sheikhs without an electronic profile⁷⁰, such as Muhammad al-Hassan, participated and interacted in the public space provided by new media. Al-Hassan, whose video clip was viewed by 2,022,344 viewers, has won public space by killing the jinn with a glass of water. Muhammad al-Hassan is a good example of demonstrating the fragmentary character of religious authority that new media created.⁷¹ It also recaptures the practical lessons of new interpretation.⁷²

Since it is important to evaluate the influence of the new Islamic reform by using the oral tradition of jinn as Islamic beliefs, it is important to highlight that jinn do not have an impact

⁶⁸ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Publics*, 3.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 12.

⁷⁰ Although a Google search for the name of Mohammad al-Hassan did not produce any profile, his video clips were found on different sites.

⁷¹ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Publics*, 3.

⁷² Anderson, *The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters*, 52.

on the lives of Muslims according to pioneer Muslim scholars who support their arguments using the Quran and Sunna to stress this fact while other scholars deny this idea. Although jinn are part of Islamic beliefs, it is a controversial topic. The general belief in the harmful impact on Muslims for no reasons, urged many scholars to try to control this unreasonable fears. Some Muslim scholars do not deny the existence of jinn but they deny the exaggeration of jinn in the lives of Muslims. On the other hand, many scholar Muslims say the jinn are uncontrolled spirits that continually chase Muslims without a reason. I chose a few video clips reflecting the concerns of viewers based either on the contribution of the Muslim scholar in interpreting the religious texts or the number of viewers.

1.1.1 Muhammad Metwalli Sharāwy 1911–1998⁷³

Al- Sharāwy, born in Egypt in 1911, was one of the pioneers who “spread the real concept of Islam.”⁷⁴ Some people called him the “lead of preachers.”⁷⁵ Al-Sharāwy memorized the Quran at the age of eleven. He pursued his religious studies at the religious school Zakazik. He also joined the college of Luḡah Arabia in 1937 after finishing secondary education. In 1942, he obtained a PhD in teaching. He worked as a professor at the faculty of law at King Abdul-Aziz University in Mecca.

In 1961, he was appointed as a director in the Ministry of *Awqaf* (governmental entity). A year later, al-Sharāwy worked in Azhar University as an inspector of the Arab Science. One of the contributions of sheikh al-Sharāwy is the interpretation of the Quran. Al-Sharāwy, who received an honorary doctorate in literature from the University of Mansoura and Menoufia, “possessed hundreds of audio and video recordings.”⁷⁶ Al-Sharāwy, confined to traditional education, used the media of his time to produce the interpretation of Islamic texts to the

⁷³ "Muhammad Metwally Al Shaarawy," *Assabile*, Accessed June 3, 2017.

<http://www.assabile.com/muhammad-metwally-al-shaarawy-340/muhammad-metwally-al-shaarawy.htm>

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

laity.⁷⁷ Later, the public space created by the new media created a place for wider competition of intellectual authority to annihilate the authority of exclusiveness.⁷⁸

Al-Sharāwy's program was broadcasted via cable service, satellite, and Internet. Although Al-Sharāwy's lectures circulated the Arab world, in general, and Jordan, in particular, it has been neglected by recent generations with access to Islamic text since many of Muslims started to give their opinions about Islamic legislations. Therefore, recent generations re-interpreted Islam based on personal opinion of the religious sources, as this chapter will explain, to the extent that they used some of Sharāwy's work as a religious authority in the wrong context to support their opinion about the jinn.

A video clip concerning jinn, *Al-Sharāwy Resolves the Issue of Jinn Possessing Humans*, was uploaded on December 21, 2014 by Ahmed Hāshim.⁷⁹ According to the comments there were 115,692 Arab Muslim viewers from different countries with 900 viewers who liked the video clip while 41 viewers disliked the video clip. Both the presenter and Sharāwy sat on chairs with the camera occasionally zooming out to show the open Quran. Al-Sharāwy is wearing the traditional clothes of a Mufti—a grey gown with a scarf, a white hat, and colored eyeglasses.

The presenter questioned Sharāwy about the jinn and their impact on the lives of humans since the masses, especially the poor and illiterate, are preoccupied with this matter. He referred to a case in which a man claimed to control hundreds of jinn and used them to help people. Al-Sharāwy first stated this was fraud used to exploit desperate people. Jinn cannot harm humans; they can only whisper evil. Al-Sharāwy used a Quranic verse to support his argument. The time is the Judgment Day and the two disputed parties, humans and devils, are

⁷⁷ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Publics*, 11.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ahmed Hashim (2014), "Al-Sharāwy Resolves the Issue of Jinn Possessing Humans," YouTube video, 10:08 posted on 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ybkfpF0GNYs&t=1s>.

presented. Devils will insist they never forced humans to commit sins, the actual sinners are humans who willingly followed them. Therefore, human should always praise and invoke God to defeat the evil whispers of the devils.

In Al-Sharāwy's argument, he discussed the Days of Creation. God, angels, Iblis (Satan), and Adam were present when the first dispute between human and Iblis started. Iblis was livid for being cast out because of Adam. Iblis, full of jealousy and resentment, challenged God and said he would deceive Adam and his descendants. Iblis explains how he will deceive humans, he would approach humans from all directions whispering evil except when they pray to God by raising their hands or in prostration.

The presenter insisted that people claimed they suffered from the jinn. In response, Al-Sharāwy said most of those who claimed possession were women and related an incident that happened to him. When a woman fainted as al-Sharāwy entered a mosque, her worried husband asked al-Sharāwy for help who told the husband that he should not approach his wife as part of the cure. A week later the woman visited al-Sharāwy and declared that she was totally cured. Al-Sharāwy insisted that jinn were no more than people's illusions who used them as an excuse to achieve their goals.

Al-Sharāwy quoted a Quranic verse in answer to the presenter's question if humans and jinn cooperated with each other: "And there were men from mankind who sought refuge in men from the jinn, so they [only] increased them in burden."⁸⁰ Al-Sharāwy classified two types of jinn: submitting jinn and non-submitting jinn. He stressed there are people who deal with the jinn yet this cooperation comes at a dreadful cost. These people as well as their children suffer from either mental or physical defects.

⁸⁰. Quran Chapter [72:6].

The whole interview stressed that jinn *do* exist but they do not have an impact on people's lives. In other words, they do not possess people; jinn cannot occupy a human vessel. This does not mean, however, that some people do not cooperate with the jinn to achieve their goals. Al-Sharāwy, who died in the 1990s, was quite familiar with this issue since he used to encounter tens of such cases.

On February 2, 2012, the program called al-Nās hosted three guests to discuss the impact of jinn on people. Two insisted that jinn can possess human bodies while the third disagreed. One of the two sheikhs referred to Al-Sharāwy's seminars to prove that Al-Sharāwy himself admitted that a jinni could possess a human.⁸¹ This public space created by new media enabled many authorities and communities to claim a connection to the past, like Islamic traditional events and the seminars of Al-Sharāwy's.⁸²

1.1.2 Omar AbdelKafy b. 1952

Omar Abdelkafy, who was born in 1952 in Egypt, is known as Sheikh of Moderation because of his moderate views on Islamic tenets that can be easily carried on. Abdelkafy, who memorized the Quran at the age of ten, was fascinated by religious sciences and had a strong interest in Arabic literature and language. He obtained his bachelor and PhD degrees in agriculture and science with merit, then started preaching in mosques and assemblies. His programs, TV and radio programs, have one of the highest scores of viewers and listeners. Abdelkafy has currently delivered 1,200 speeches, recorded more than 3,000 audio-video lectures, and written dozens of books which have become references for students and researchers in the Islamic and Arab Worlds.⁸³

⁸¹ loveOtaxi, "A debate about *Jinn* Entering Human Bodies," YouTube video, 55:21, posted on 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jGFTwJ9O8ds>.

⁸² Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Public*, 2.

⁸³ "Omar AbdelKafy: Biography of Omar AbdelKafy," *Assabile*, accessed June 2, 2017, <http://www.assabile.com/omar-abdelkafy-146/omar-abdelkafy.htm>.

Abdelkafy, a bearded modern scholar often wearing a suit on his show, has presented more than one episode about jinn and seemed to be upset about the possession of the jinn.⁸⁴ In the episode entitled, *The Truth of Jinn, Magic, and Afreet* (goblin or powerful spirit), Abdelkafy opened the episode by explaining the origin of jinn. He announced annoyingly that many channels were dedicated to disseminating this kind of propoganda. He built his argument gradually starting with the universal message of the Prophet Muhammad; God established Islam as a comprehensive religion permeating all aspects of human life. Unlike al-Sharāwy, Abdelkafy gave explicit examples of how people associated jinn in their lives. The examples showed people's dissatisfaction with their daily lives, such as disputes among family members, or a husband who does not care for his wife. For Muslims, jinn are not only associated with physical possession, but also penetrate families and cause destruction, unwedded people, divorce, etc.

In an interview lasting seven minutes and twenty-seven seconds, Abdelkafy referred to six Quranic verses and a Hadith to support his argument negating the ability of jinn to possess people. Unlike al-Sharāwy's interview when he used six Quranic verses in ten minutes and seven seconds to argue the mechanisms of the jinn. Abdelkafy and al-Sharāwy illustrate the rapid change in the thinking of Muslim scholars regarding jinn's connection to the human world initially as weak to actuality.

The presenter in Abdelkafy's video continually alluded to different Quranic verses that people used to prove the possession of jinn, which provoked Abdelkafy to change topics. When questioned by the presenter about changing the topic, Abdelkafy said within hours numerous Internet trolls would attack him as someone who denied the jinn. In other words, he would be portrayed as a denier of Islamic beliefs. This statement is quite significant;

⁸⁴ Abu Zarr. (2014), "The fact of the *Jinn*, magic, and goblins," YouTube video, 10:27 posted on January 18, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0GQsFpRDOCc&t=532s>, accessed June 1, 2017.

people have unleashed power to act as the moral police. As mass modern education increased, especially higher education, people felt that granted them to act as the moral police, “the sense of the right to interpret religious text.”⁸⁵ In other words, the interpretation of religious texts were no longer in the hands of traditional religious authority. The laity could now directly access religious texts and provide their own interpretations. Muslim scholars no longer had an exclusive religious authority. This shows the right to interpret religious texts is no longer in the hands of the state, the religious authority, but is now within other private religious schools and individuals.⁸⁶

Abdelkafy insisted throughout that episode he had used the Quran and the ‘Āḥadīth Musnada (supported Hadiths) to support his argument. “The media was used to craft certain models of civility because it directed the consciousness of people to their community.”⁸⁷ This consciousness of the community was framed in a religious context, which urged people to watch their neighbors and friends and ensure they stayed on the right track, hence creating a moral police who try to enforce a code of Islamic conducts. At minute seven, sheikh Zaghloul al-Najjar appeared, cutting off the conversation with Abdelkafy. The last three minutes were given over to al-Najjar to discuss how people can cure magic and evil eyes unassociated with jinn.

Both interviews of Sharāwy and AbdelKafy showed how people used the jinn to explain their failure or to achieve their goals. The example of Sharāway shows how a woman tried to deceive her husband for some reasons of her own or the AbdelKafy example of constant fight among the members of the family as part of the jinni possession. All these examples and more manifest how the new Islamic reform defined the daily problems as part of the possession of jinn which were accepted by Muslims. At the same time, the new Islamic

⁸⁵ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Publics*, 10.

⁸⁶ Ibid..

⁸⁷ Ibid., 2.

reform stresses on the weakness of humans in fighting the jinn unlike the Quran which explicitly shows that jinn have no impact on the lives of Muslims according to the verses Sharāwy and AbdelKafy used. Therefore, there is no actual fight between jinn and Muslims.

1.1.3. Zaghoul al-Najjar b. 1933

Zaghoul al-Najjar, who was born in 1933 in Egypt, is a geologist. At the age of nine he had memorized the Quran and mastered Arabic. Although he had a PhD in geology he had published forty-five books about science in the Quran in Arabic, English, French, and German: “his philosophy of science is blended with religion.”⁸⁸ He was imprisoned by the Egyptian government and accused of joining the Brotherhood Muslim.⁸⁹ He is one of the members who contributed in founding the World Body of Scientific Notions in Quran and Sunna.⁹⁰

In the same episode with Abdelkafy, a bearded Najjar and wearing a suit described al-Ruqia al-Shar‘iya (Islamic incantation). It is believed it was a treatment the Prophet Muhammad used to remove jinn, magic, and the evil eye.⁹¹ The presenter insisted the evil eye and magic can be removed by al-Ruqia al-Shar‘iya, Najjar explained the process of al-Ruqia al-Shar‘iya: a man should open his hands and bring them close to his mouth, recite the Quranic verses and suras (chapters of the Quran), then to rub his body once he has finished. At the end of his talk, Najjar insisted that God is Omnipresent and what befalls upon human happens by God’s Will which the presenter happily supported. The presenter then referred to a program presented by a Muslim scholar. The late Muslim scholar, Ali Dakarr, challenged all the

⁸⁸ “Zaghoul El-Najjar,” *Assabile*, accessed June 2, 2017, <http://www.assabile.com/zaghoul-el-najjar-316/zaghoul-el-najjar.htm>

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ “Dr Zaghoul Al Najjar,” *Peace TV English: The Solution for Humanity*, accessed May 29, 2017, <http://www.peacetv.tv/en-gb/speakers/Zaghoul-Al-Najjar>.

⁹¹ “Determining if One is Afflicted by Evil Eye or Possessed,” *Islam Question and Answer*, accessed June 7, 2017, <https://islamqa.info/en/125543>.

sorcerers, conjurers, jinn, and the evil eye to harm him. Dakarr ended his episode that with God's Will he will show no harm was done in the next episode. All this was done to prove to his audience that magic and jinn do not have impact on humans.

The episode ended with Najjar explaining that it is natural that most of those seeking a conjurer or sorcerer are women because women are emotionally vulnerable. Therefore, they should not be left alone without a man's protection which is derived from religious hegemony based on an interpretation of verses and Hadiths showing women's vulnerability and constant need for men's protection. Al-Najjar, however, did not address the issue of the jinn's possession of humans. Najjar's avoidance of this topic indicates he was fully aware of the severe criticism he might have received. On the other hand, it also showed that the prevalence of the new Islamic reform's influence since the oral traditions were now a part of orthodox Islam. As Abdelkafy showed earlier, Muslim scholars are subjected to harassment by certain unmentioned groups. Although this new public space increased discussions about Islamic norms and practices, females do not have a leading role.⁹² Harahe's study indicates that traditional authority concerning gender issues still exists. Women are one of the vehicles for oral traditions and because of their vulnerability they are suppressed. In other words, sheikhs, like sellers who need customers, suppressed women. Najjar tried to invalidate the existence of jinn by associating it with women who are vulnerable and weak. In other words, they are easily fooled.

Najjar deviating from the topic manifests the controversiality of the topic. It also shows that the new Islamic reform succeeded in integrating traditions in the orthodox Islam to the extent that Muslims refused the invalidation of Quran and Sunna to the impact of jinn on Muslims' lives. Muslims now regard the deniers of the impact of jinn as disbelievers. This constant need of God to protect the Muslims of the jinn is used by the new Islamic reform to sustain

⁹² Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Publics*, 11.

its existence. At the same time, it restricted the influence of the religious authority of prominent scholar Muslims.

1.1.4. Muhammad Hassan⁹³

To continue from al-Najjar's discussion of the al-Ruqia al-Shar'īya I will conclude this section with an overview of the Saudi Muhammad Hassan, an interesting figure without an Internet profile. It is important to note that al-Najjar never argued about the impact of jinn on humans, he only referred to the al-Ruqia al-Shar'īya which was mentioned in the Sunna. Therefore, al-Najjar moderated his position—he neither supports or denies the jinn's impact on humans.

Muhammad Hassan is a controversial figure with his own YouTube channel with 141,626 subscribers as of July 14, 2017. In one episode, during the prayer scrolled the words: "This is a very effective prayer that discovers the hidden jinn inside you. It also helps to expel the jinni by God's Will."⁹⁴ This is followed with a link to set an appointment. He then introduces himself as the legal *rāqī*, Muhammad Hassan. He is a preacher in a mosque in Jidda.⁹⁵ He obtained his bachelor's degree from King Abdulaziz University in Islamic Laws and Studies. Recently, he studied the science of the Hadith at Umm al-Qura University. Although he has been working as a legal *rāqī* by using the Quran, he recently stopped because he is occupied with studying.

The aim of this channel is to (rescue your life) teach you how to continue your life with God's Will. I cure people (only) by using Quran and the Sunna of the Prophet (PBUH) which are tested and not against the Shari'a. We don't need a Muslim or infidel jinn (Is not God enough?) [Quran 39: 36]. Finally (your

⁹³ Mohammad Hassan, "Your Way to Know if You are under a Charm or Possessed by a Jinni [with a glass of water] only/ the ṭarīqa of Muḥammad Hassan," YouTube video, 05:55, posted on 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mItD9_X9SWA&t=9s.

⁹⁴ Official Channel to Sheikh Mohammad Hassan for legal ruq'ia. YouTube video 1:48:53, posted on 2017, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCs72vdaiUDUES2_gFtR0MIQ.

⁹⁵ The word legal *rāqī* means the person who follows the ṭarīqa (path) of the Prophet as the chapter will explain. A legal *raqi* also means sheikh.

happiness) and (your healing) and (be near to God) are the deeds which God most loves. These deeds may be the reason for me to enter Heaven.⁹⁶

Hassan has uploaded 254 videos starting one year ago and discusses many topics, such as interpretation of the Quran, Islamic morals, leadership, jinn, magic, and the evil eye with the most viewers watching the last three topics. I chose the most viewed video to demonstrate the issue of the fear of jinn which occupies the minds of Muslims. This fear upon which the new Islamic reform existed and maintained. It is quite indicative and informative about the hallucinations and fears of contemporary Muslims. What is noteworthy about this channel is the disabled comments section leaving the viewer only with the ability to either like or dislike the video. Hassan is quite familiar with the problems that comments could bring to his channel. Although Hassan is fully aware of the importance of the public space to grant him authority. He knows his authority is fragile because anyone can attack him and accuse him of heresy since he stated that his treatment is based on personal opinion and not the Islamic legislations. Therefore, he avoids such problems by disabling the comments option.

This video, *YourWway to Know if You are under a Charm or Possessed by a Jinni [with a glass of water] Only*, was uploaded on February 9, 2017, and lasts five minutes and fifty seconds. Out of 2,436,323 viewers, 38,651 liked it and 3,307 disliked it.

The video opens with an image of the earth followed with a Quranic verse referring to the limited knowledge of humans endowed by God. The next sentences to appear are, “The channel of Sheikh Mohammad Hassan for legislative ruqia and moral lessons. Your way to God. ‘God does not like perpetrators [Quran 1:187].’”⁹⁷ At the start, an image of a moving fireball appears and disappears but the crackling sound of fire remains still clear and strong.

⁹⁶ Official Channel to Sheikh Mohammad Hassan for legal ruqīa, YouTube video, accessed 25 June 2017, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCs72vdaiUDUES2_gFtR0MIQ.

⁹⁷ Official Channel to Sheikh Mohammad Hassan for legal ruqīa, YouTube video, accessed 25 June 2017, https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCs72vdaiUDUES2_gFtR0MIQ.

The fire is an explicit symbolism of the jinn since they are made from fire as stated in the Quran.

Hassan, who wears a white gown and shemāg (headdress) has a long beard with no mustache. After saying the basmala,⁹⁸ he stated he will teach viewers how to tell if they are possessed by a jinni, under magic, or the evil eye. He raised a glass of water and put it close to his mouth—speaking as if he were addressing a child—Hassan told viewers to recite two ayas (Quranic verses), *Ayat al-Kūrsy* (Quran 1:255), “God will nullify it” seven times; and sura *al-Falaq* (Quran 10: 81) which refers to the first light from the sunrise splitting the night’s darkness of the night.⁹⁹ After reciting the ayas, the viewer should drink the glass of water. If the viewer goes to the lavatory quickly, the viewer had been spiritually ill but is now healed. Hassan determined it needs around one to three hours to go to the lavatory. According to Hassan, if the color of the urine is yellowish, the person is not possessed. It should be clear and should equal the *exact* amount of water drunk. This kind of medicine appealed to 38,651 viewers. This video demonstrates an interaction in the public space. Hassan is an example of a contributor who is not confined to traditional authority based on religious text since he stated that the ṭariqa (path) he used is based on his own opinion.¹⁰⁰ He explicitly stated that he invented this treatment upon his observations of his patients. The treatment by a glass of water, which is liked by 38,651 viewers, is attributed to Hassan, at the same time, accepted as an Islamic treatment since Hassan is wearing traditional Islamic clothes and obtained a diploma in religious studies as the number of the viewers suggests.

It is important to notice that the scholars not only legitimized their opinion on the religious texts but also appearances. Both Sharāwy and Hassan were wearing Islamic traditional

⁹⁸ *Basmala* means “In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful” and is the opening sentence of each sura of the Quran except for the ninth sura, or at the commencement of any action to receive God’s blessing.

⁹⁹ “Definition and Meaning of Falaq in the dictionary,” *Almaany.com*, accessed June 7, 2017, <http://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D9%81%D9%84%D9%82/>.

¹⁰⁰ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Public*, 2.

clothes while AbdelKafy and Najjar were wearing suits. At the same time, all of them had beards. Each scholar chose to appear to his audience in an Islamic image either a modern one as AbdelKafy and Najjar or an old one as Hassan and Sharāwy. The scholars were totally aware of the impact of their appearances on the audience as well as the influence of the religious texts.

1.2 New Sheikh

1.2.1. The Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice at Riyadh¹⁰¹

Since visual programs are accessible by all people, illiterate and educated a search on YouTube to find any official program discussing legal *rāqī*¹⁰² revealed a surprising lack of interest in the topic. The only video on this topic was uploaded on October 31, 2008 lasting five minutes and four seconds with 372,961 viewers. It was posted under a pseudonym—Emmasolan. The video begins with the question, “How do you know the sorcerer?” This is followed by an introduction of the presenter: “The Sheikh Adel al-Meqbel, The Head of Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice at Riyadh, who is in charge of pursuing the *sāhir* (sorcerer) and *musha‘awḍ* (conjurer).” Al-Meqbel and another man are standing before a table with different types of charms. Al-Meqbel is wearing a *shemāg* and white gown with a beard and moustache. The latter is wearing a white headdress and white gown and has a beard and moustache. Down to the right corner of the screen, there is a deaf presenter.

¹⁰¹ Emmasolan, *How Do You Know a Sorcerer?* YouTube video, XX, posted on 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=doj8rU5HTbc&t=183s>.

¹⁰² According to sunna, a *rāqī* is a person who perform exorcisms as Ḥarby will demonstrate.

As the head of the committee, al-Meqbel, stressed the importance of differentiating between a sorcerer and legal *rāqī*: “A sorcerer asks for your name or your mother’s name.” A sorcerer asks for the mother’s name because he cooperated with a jinni. He tells viewers to immediately leave if a conjurer or sorcerer asks you for such information and report him to the nearest police station or to the committee. The conjurer or sorcerer may ask for a piece of clothing, underwear, hair, nails, shoe or dirt that a person has stepped on. In other words, he will ask for anything that belongs to the person; *athar* (trace) things that is only used and belonged to that person like clothes, hair, etc. At several points in the video information is provided on reporting a sorcerer or conjurer by telephoning 0555211040.

Al-Meqbel gave an example of a historical truth based on the Sunna to stress the fact that impact of magic is real and admitted by Islam. Labiyd ibn al-‘Aṣam cast a knot spell on the Prophet Muhammad to stress the existence of magic. He provided another example of a request from a conjurer or a sorcerer. The latter may ask for a black rooster, a black dog, a blind monkey, and an orphaned mouse. These bizarre requests are simply to deceive and take your money. The conjurer or sorcerer will ask for large amounts of money for frankincense and other things for a treatment. In some cases, he may slaughter an animal to use its blood to make a talisman or to throw it in a desolate area or ruins.

Al-Meqbel showed some of these talismans to the audience which have Quranic verses in reverse. One gift given to a woman was a wooden clock with Quranic verses on the front yet on the back there is a talisman. The woman had complained constantly of continuous problems. The video ends with the same information on where to call to report a sorcerer or a conjurer. Emmasolan used the public space to interact with the public. The video’s bad resolution indicated that Emmasolan used a cell-phone or a camera to record it. The average person is no longer a passive actor, s/he has the capability to share thoughts and ideas.

Anyone at anytime can participate in the public space.¹⁰³ The practice of face-to-face confrontation in the public sphere is no longer needed as virtual communities arise and enable anyone to share their ideas and thoughts.¹⁰⁴

The video showed how conjurers and sorcerers used the Quran to make magic and harm people. It is very important to notice that such kinds of videos contribute in creating solidarity and social cohesion among Muslims. First, al-Meqbel showed some charms with written versed Quranic verses to show how magicians abuse and insult Quran. Second, the more the Quran is missued the more Muslims adhere to it. Third, this creates a kind of committment toward the Quran which with time turns into total obedience and reliability to the Quran and its different exegesis since there are tens of books that interpret the Quran. Once this happens the new Islamic reform will dissminate its wrong and misinterpreted texts based on religious texts, Quran and Sunna. It is through this process the new Islamic reform prevails. However, these kinds of videos are not widely disseminated. They are not meant to enlight Muslims against the conjurer but to alert Muslims of their enemies and not to depict them. The most important question is why a conjurer uses written versed Quranic verses if s/he knows the dangerous use of this? Would it not be wise to use anything except the Quran?

1.2. 2 Maḥmoud al-Ḥarby¹⁰⁵

Maḥmoud al-Ḥarby has a YouTube channel with 200 videos available for 40,888 subscribers and 4,325,928 viewers. The most viewed video is a five-year-ago episode about the Free Masons with 642,184 viewers. The chosen video, *The Five Signs to Distinguish the Sorcerer from a Legal Rāqī*, opens with an interesting backdrop of probably a church with white transparent ghosts sitting on benches.

¹⁰³ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Publics*, 15.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 15-6.

¹⁰⁵ Mamdouh al-Harby, "The Five Signs to Distinguish the Sorcerer from a Legal Rāqī/ the Rāqī Mamdouh al-Harby," YouTube video, 13:44, posted on 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pci25RQKS9I>.

Al-Ḥarbyy is wearing white gown and shemāḡ and has a beard without a mustache. He opens the program by praising God and the Prophet Muhammad while the words, “The school of magic and sorcerer.” He begins with a list of the five signs of a sorcerer to differentiate him from the legal rāqī. In other words, he will teach Muslims how to differentiate between those who follow the path of shayṭān (devil) or the path of the Prophet Muhammad.

Al-Ḥarby defined the sorcerer as a knave who cooperates with jinn and shayāṭīn. Unlike the rāqī who follows the path of the Prophet Muhammad, a sorcerer always asks for the mother’s name. He also asks for the ‘athar of a person, anything containing a person’s sweat. The conjurer speaks in a strange language and uses talismans although he recites the Quran to fool his visitor. He also makes amulets by using numbers and letters, which cannot be understood. These amulets will have the names of jinn and shayāṭīn. The sorcerer tricks people by mixing the names of the jinn with Quranic verses. Some talismans may contain a drawing of scorpions or snakes. These are called the seven oaths of Solomon according to Al-Ḥarbyy.

The sorcerer will mumble in a strange language and spit into a small container. He will speak in the same strange language to make knot spells. The sorcerer usually burns frankincense which has a strange or unpleasant smell to summon the devils or jinn. In some cases, there are strange sounds. The sorcerer and his house are always dirty with a peculiar odor. The sorcerer sits in a corner where the light is dim to talk with the jinn. He asks the visitor to slaughter a votive black animal. He exploits visitors by asking for large amounts of money.

Nonetheless, Al-Ḥarby does not object when a rāqī takes money for curing people. Al-Ḥarby continually stresses that the sorcerer uses the Quran to hide his real identity. These ideas created by Al-Ḥarby are based on thoughts and ideas that appealed to a group of people. The new media has helped create hundreds of leaders and authorities that not only undermine traditional authority but create disputes among the newly-born leaders and authorities.

Regarding *rāqī*, Al-Ḥarby declares they should only use the Sunna without changing it. Al-Ḥarby gave an interesting example of a bad practice when a *rāqī* used the head of a wolf to perform an exorcism. Al-Ḥarby warns the *rāqī* from using novel methods or tools; “Never use something that does not exist in the Sunna.”¹⁰⁶ Although a *rāqī* can request a nominal fee, he should not exploit people in need by asking for too much. In the example, al-Ḥarby indicates that a legal *rāqī* is no more than a *fajīr* masking his ancestors’ tradition under Islamic norms. It shows how the chain of transmission is broken by introducing new norms to replace the old ones.

Al-Ḥarby draws a comparison between the solitary sorcerer and women and *rāqīs* who should never be alone, though in some cases they do. A woman should always have a male companion or be in a group of women but never alone. The *rāqī* should never touch a woman even if she was covered with a sheet. Isolation is another trait of a sorcerer. A sorcerer will make unusual requests of a visitor. He will ask the visitor to withdraw from his social life, refrain from bathing for forty days, bury things, burn pieces of paper and incense, or soak pieces of paper in water then drink it. As for the sorcerer’s physical appearance, he wears a loose gown and has a hideously long mustache. As for his Islamic practices, he hardly performs any let alone praying on time. In concluding the video, al-Ḥarby stresses the differences between a *rāqī* and a sorcerer—a *rāqī* follows the Sunna unlike the sorcerer who is a follower of *shayṭān*.

Al-Ḥarby promises to discuss different types of magic in upcoming videos and ends the video as he began by praising God and his Prophet. As the image of Al-Ḥarby disappears an advertisement appears for his services: “For appointments and consultations. 0532232800. Medina al-Mūnawara.” The presentation fades dramatically as if the ghosts have vanished.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Ḥarby, *The Five Signs to Distinguish the Sorcerer from a Legal Rāqī*.

1.3 Jinn between Reality and Romance

A study of jinn is too broad a topic for this thesis. This thesis aims only to trace the public debate about the power of jinn; to evaluate Islamic doctrines in the new Islamic reform and how it applies to historical truth. Finally, the last program, *Wasatīyya*, is included to compare between those who believe in the jinn impact and those who deny it. It also shows how the new public space, in which local disputes occur, has a “transnational dimension.”¹⁰⁷ Since jinn are a shared Islamic belief and are part of the “Muslim public sphere” the new media has fostered the emergence of contributors to religious debate who all have different roles.¹⁰⁸ They could foster awareness of the Islamic doctrines or change them.¹⁰⁹ There are two sides in this argument: those who refuse the impact of the jinn on humans, and those who admit this impact of jinn. In order to have a comprehensive view of the two sides, I chose a debate that occurred in Jordan on the *Al-Wasatīyya* show between supporters and opponents of this argument.

Ṭareq Al-Suwaidan is the Kuwaiti presenter on *Al-Wasatīyya*. He has a PhD in petroleum engineering from the University of Tulsa. On his program, he usually discusses the problems Muslims face in their daily lives. At the beginning of this particular episode, “The Impact of Magic and Jinn between Denying and Proving,” he said something quite significant, “The magic, jinn, and evil eyes spread in our Arab World like it never happened before.”¹¹⁰

Al-Wasatīyya has hosted five panelists to debate the impact of jinn on Muslims. These five panelists has obtained different degrees in Islamic studies, yet each of them is specialized in a particular aspect of Islamic studies. Al-Suwaidan, who believes that jinn have no impact on the lives of Muslims, addressed the jinn from different aspects. He hosted a sheikh who

¹⁰⁷ Eickelman and Anderson, *Redefining Muslims Publics*, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 2.

¹¹⁰ Islamic Golden Age, “The Impact of Magic and Jinn between Denying and Proving/Al-Suwaidan,” YouTube video, XX, posted on 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p6qoh4en4kI&t=1197s>.

performs exorcism for more than twenty years to show how sheikhs advertise the existence of jinn and the post of sheikh to replace the fajr. He also hosted two scholars, who also believed in the impact of jinn, contributed in understanding the world of jinn from Islamic point of view. On the other hand, he hosted a psychiatrist, who had a degree in Islamic studies, to compare between people who are mentally disturbed and those who claim being possessed by jinn. The last panelist is a Muslim scholar, does not believe in the jinn's impact, who is well-versed in Quran, Sunna, and Shari'ya. The episode wanted to stress that jinn do not have an impact on Muslims according to the Quran and Sunna to convince Muslims that their fears are baseless.

Al-Suwaïdan stresses that while this is a marginal topic it occupies the thoughts of thousands of Muslims.¹¹¹ The highest selling books are those on magic and jinn which followed with the emergence of legal rāqī and the sheikhs. Al-Suwaïdan maintains that the argument should only be based on Islamic laws. He also stressed that magic and jinn do exist because Islam has declared their existence and there is nothing to debate. This the main argument of this episode, "Do jinn and magic have impact on our lives?" Al-Suwaïdan noted that there are only a few exceptions, jinn, for his program to present the same topic in multiple episodes.

The debate of the panel episode, "The Impact of Magic and Jinn between Denying and Proving" comprised of five guests: three in favor and two in opposition to this opinion. Al-Suwaïdan asked the audience whether jinn and magic have an impact on our lives; 68 percent said jinn and magic have an impact while 32 percent disagreed. This very question was also asked for each panelist before the debate started.

Ismā'yl Abu al-Ula, who is a rāqī, was the first whom Suwaïdan asked. Abu al-Ula, was wearing white gown with beige cloak a shemāg and 'qāl (rope) a rope used to fasten the

¹¹¹ Ibid.

headdress, is a legal *rāqī* with over 20 years of experience, who obtained a PhD in Islamic legislation, insisted that magic has an impact on a person's body and spirit. He argued that jinn do exist and possess people. Abu al-Ula considered possession to be a disease like any other even though the media has exaggerated the depth of the problem. He also explained there were two reasons a jinni possesses a human: if a human unintentionally hurts a jinni or the jinni simply likes to hurt humans. In response, Al-Suwaidan said this evidence is based on 'Āḥadith ḍa'yfa (unsupported hadiths) and fails to meet all of the conditions for an acceptable hadith, or it is based on his personal opinion which does not correspond with Islamic laws.¹¹² When asked about the number of daily visitors, Abu al-Ula reluctantly answered he received approximately 10 people, however, he noted that some *rāqīs* might have 65 visitors in one day. He gave an example of a legal *rāqī* in an Arab country who cures approximately 100 people in one session.

Al-Suwaidan then posed the same question to another panelist, Dr. Abu-Danoun, a psychiatrist, who meets approximately 30 patients daily. Dr. Abu-Danoun stated that those who resort to a legal *rāqī* are mentally disturbed and they composed approximately 20 percent of society.

Al-Suwaidan returned to Abu al-Ula to inquire about his beginnings as a legal *rāqī*. In response, he said there are two types of *ruqia*. There is the average one which every person can do and the expert one which needs cleverness and a knowledge of Islamic legislations. He was a self-taught legal *rāqī* with the help of his sheikhs. Abu al-Ula justified self-teaching because at that time there was a lack of legal *rāqīs* and sorcerers and conjurers were everywhere. He compared a legal *rāqī* to a *mujāhid* (struggler and warrior) because he fights

¹¹² Asqfish, "What Is Weak (Dai'f) Hadith?," *Siraat-e-Mustaqeem*, September 13, 2015, accessed June 4, 2017, <https://asqfish.wordpress.com/2015/09/13/what-is-weak-daiif-hadith/>.

an invisible enemy.¹¹³ Abu al-Ula explicitly stated that the sheikh or legal rāqī is a new type of position. He stressed that the conflict in its current incarnation originating in the public sphere occurred because he did not find a sheikh to teach him. He, as well as the sheikhs, probably performed exorcisms because there is no incident showing that the Prophet Muhammad performed an exorcism. The only mention is in a weak and unsupported hadith, however, there are Quranic verses to remove magic.

Al-Suwaidan summarized the characteristics of a legal rāqī according to Abu al-Ula. A legal rāqī is no more than an average person with a knowledge of Islam and a desire to fight the unseen world. Abu al-Ula added that a legal rāqī should always recite the ruqia loudly so the patient would hear it. He also said people from all social classes visit him, educated people, illiterates, rich, poor, locals, and foreigners. He proudly noted both Muslims and non-Muslims visit him, even foreigners from Europe, like Germany. Al-Suwaidan suggested that most visitors, approximately 70 percent, are women; Abu al-Ula agreed but suggested it was 60 percent not 70 percent. Their underlying implication is that women are more mentally disturbed than men and governed by their emotions.

The belief that women are more possessed than men could be attributed to the mystical behavior which sheikhs diagnose as possession. This behavior is based on “‘cultural identity’ or shared beliefs and traditions ‘based on the performance of the individual and the evaluation of the audience.’”¹¹⁴ An example of this mystical behavior is the story by Abu-Lughod of Rashid and his bride who ran away and sought refuge in a saintly tribe. People associated her action to magic cause by Rashid’s first wife.¹¹⁵ The tribe of ‘Awlad Ali evaluated the action of the second wife of Rashid as a possession of a jinni because brides

¹¹³ "Definition and Meaning of Mujāhid in the Inclusive Dictionary." *Almaany.com*, accessed June 6, 2017, <http://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%AF/>.

¹¹⁴ Janine Peterson, “Review of Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages by Nancy Caciola”, *Mystics Quarterly* 31 (2005): 128.

¹¹⁵ Lila Abu-Lughod. *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 95-7.

usually do not run away from the houses of their husbands. At the same time, ‘Awlad Ali believed his first wife was behind the escape of his second wife because she was jealous. Abu Lughod showed how the bride herself acted as a possessed person to protect herself because possessed people are irresponsible for their deeds, a generally accepted truth by ‘Awlad Ali. It was the only way to get away from punishment. This is the same point which Sharāwī’s example highlighted. The existence of jinn is not only beneficial to the new Islamic reform but also to Muslims who seek to find a escape from a hard situation.

Abu al-Ula said magic is a trade and noted France held a conference on magic three years ago to further legitimize his post and position. Abu al-Ula wanted to contradict Al-Suwaidan that Western countries do not suffer from possession by highlighting his European clients he did not say if they had Muslim parents. One of Al-Suwaidan’s American visitors who claimed to be possessed was an American Muslim; this illustrates the oral traditions of jinn are still circulating among Muslims wherever they are located. By highlighting the conference in France, Abu al-Ula seemed to implicitly recognize himself as part of a world trade since Al-Suwaidan wanted to stress that Muslims are deluded by the illusion of jinn. On the other hand, Abu al-Ula shows that magic and jinn are a world-wide concern and not associated with Muslims as Al-Suwaidan implicitly stated.

The next two guests were Dr. Muhammad al-Khaṭīb, who has a PhD in Islamic Legislation with a specialization in Islamic doctrine, and Abd al-Karīm Abidāt who wrote *The World of Jinn According to the Quran and Sunna* for his master’s thesis and studied the reason in Islamic legislations for his PhD is stressed by Al-Suwaidan to assure that al-Khaṭīb’s opinion should be based on religion and reason and not his personal opinion. Al-Suwaidan asked them the same question and asked them to debate each other.

Both agreed that there is a direct impact of jinn on Muslims. Abidāt reasoned it was because the jinn are created from an immaterial substance and that Muslims are irreligious. While al-Khaṭīb referred to the hadith, Abidāt did not respond to Al-Suwaidan's question if the West should have similar problems, since they are kufār, disbelievers of God, and not pious. Al-Suwaidan interrupted both guests to say they were using the hadith in the wrong context because it is not related to jinni possession. They disagreed and insisted it was their right to interpret the hadith in that way even if no one had before them.

Al-Suwaidan then asked if magic is real, illusion or science, and if it is science is learning it allowed. 'Abidāt confirmed that magic exists but it affects the human body in a way that is not understood. Although he explained magic by referring to the story of the Prophet Muhammad who was hurt by a knot spell, Al-Suwaidan disagreed with this argument. Although 'Abidāt believes in the existence and influence of magic, he does not understand its mechanism from a religious point of view unlike al-Sharāwy, Abdelkafy, and Abu Hassan who based their argument on religious texts. Abidāt defined two types of magic: real and illusionary magic. While Al-Suwaidan stressed that 'Abidāt's argument is unsound, Al-khaṭīb stressed that while magic is not real the outcome is real. In other words, the jinn clouds people's sight so they only see illusions.

At this point, Al-Suwaidan asked the audience to share if they learned about magic and jinn from traditional stories or Islamic scholars resulting in 85 people learning from traditional stories and 15 from Islamic scholars. Al-Suwaidan was happy with the result because he was afraid that Muslim scholars are part of the problem. If Muslim scholars are not disseminating these traditions who is disseminating this information? This shows that popular religion works in a religious context. Therefore, people are confused between the Islamic view of jinn and the popular religious view. This confusion does not exclude some Muslim scholars who are now overtly fighting the existence of jinn and their impact on Muslims' lives. It also

shows that the oral traditions were never suppressed or denied, they were meant to continue circulating. This also shows that the existence of jinn is a vital key for the new Islamic reform to exist because its existence is based on the fear of the jinn which fears God.

Al-Suwaidan introduced the two remaining guests. Dr. Jamal Abu-Hassan was a specialist in Quranic exegesis, Quran sciences, Islamic legislation, and Islamic jurisprudence and judgments. Dr. Maḥmoud Abu-Danoun was a psychiatrist who also studied Islamic legislation and was the director of the Islamic Hospital. Abu-Hassan refuted the impact of jinn on Muslims except through evil whispers and based his argument on Quranic verses and hadiths saying how Muslim scholars misinterpreted them. He explicitly stated there are no verses saying jinn can possess people. In response, Al-Suwaidan quoted a famous Quranic verse which all Muslim scholars use to prove jinn can possess people: “Those who consume interest cannot stand [on the Day of Resurrection] except as one stands who is being beaten by Satan into insanity” (Quran, 1:275).

Abu-Hassan argued that Quranic verse refers to a Muslim’s inner conflict when committing a sin by explaining the semantic meaning of Quran. He also argued that all the hadiths used by recent scholars are weak and unsupported. Al-Suwaidan asked Abu-Hassan about the word *mass* (possessed), which most sheikhs use to prove that the jinn can possess a human, was mentioned in the Quran and also referred to the Prophet Aiyoub. He explained that the word *mass* does not mean possessed according to dictionaries. At this point in the episode, both Al-Suwaidan and Abu-Hassan had proved that all the Islamic evidence sheikhs use to confirm possessions were incorrect. Dr. Abu-Hassan also referred to a supported but unused and unreference hadith which says that jinn and devils cannot possess people except for evil whisperings.

Imam Ahmad recorded that Ibn Abbas said, “A man came to the Prophet and said, “O Messenger of Allah! Sometimes I say things to myself that I would

rather fall from the sky than say [aloud openly]." The Prophet said, Allah is Most Great! Allah is Most Great! All praise is due to Allah Who sent his [Shaytan's] plot back as only a whisper." Abu Dawud and An-Nasa'i also recorded this Hadith.¹¹⁶

Then he referred to the same Quranic verse Sharāwy used in his argument which also shows that devils cannot possess people.

Finally, Al-Suwaïdan asked Abu-Danoun if there were medical cases with similar symptoms as a possession. Using Quranic verses, the latter strongly affirmed that jinn are beings with limited powers unlike the fantastic presentations people attach to them. Al-Suwaïdan asked Dr. Abu-Danoun if his patients had the same symptoms as those of possessed people, which Dr. Abu-Danoun confirmed to be the case. He also said those who were not cured by his medicine then turned to sheikhs who believe he has cured a disturbed person when medicine could not cure. He further states that the fact is otherwise, the sheikh does not have a medical record to follow up his patient. Therefore, their assumptions of curing are not based on solid ground. He then referred to many cases in which the patients suffered a setback who will resort to another sheikh. In other words, the sheikh assumes they cure people but they do not know because there is no follow up. Although these sheikhs may gain fame for their treatment the cures may not work.

The video of Hassan is a good example. He introduced his cure as part of his cleverness, however, some people did not like his cure. There are many sheikhs who are subjected to harassment if the cure does not work yet there are others who are clever enough to profess their cure as part of God's will. A sheikh's fame depends heavily on how he introduces himself and his cure. The other point is that possession is a disease just like any disease which can affect a person multiple as long as the person is irreligious.¹¹⁷ This point is also

¹¹⁶ "Mina aljinnati wa alnnasm," 114vs6 | *Dawahnigeria Qur'an Project*, accessed July 18, 2017, <http://quranopedia.com/quran/114vs6>.

¹¹⁷ "Jinn Possession," *Islam Question and Answer*, accessed June 7, 2017, <https://islamqa.info/en/73412>.

highlighted by Abidāt. On the other hand, Al- Suwaidan was very careful to state some of the Islamic beliefs are based on unsupported hadith such as the devil eats with a Muslim if s/he does not say the basmala. In other words, there are some widely-accepted Islamic beliefs based on unsupported hadiths to enhance the exaggerated fear of jinn.

It is not within the scope of this study to delve into Islamic evidence about the impact of jinn other than to prove that the new Islamic reform uses unsupported hadiths and reinterprets the Quran inaccurately to prevail. This is clear in Abu-Hassan's argument who showed how 'Abidāt, Khaṭīb, and Abu al-Ula misinterpreted the Quranic verses and used unsupported hadiths. Therefore, I will not refer to the second episode in-depth except for Al-Suwaidan's initial question, "Do Jinn and magic have impact our lives?" in the beginning of the second episode when 61 percent said they believed in the impact of jinn. One of the audience members said, "I am really confused. Could someone help me with this."¹¹⁸ I want an answer." Al-Suwaidan was surprised that even after all the evidence he provided from the Quran and hadith, people were still convinced that jinn have an impact on their lives.

The opposing sides in this argument are best summarized by a scene in a Sandra Bullock movie, *Our Brand is Crisis*. In the movie, Bullock's heroine, who is managing a presidential campaign, attaches the image of a well-known Nazi figure onto the image of her opponent to which her assistants rejected insisting "that no one will buy this." Her answer was "I know...I just wanna hear him denying it." The fighting among Muslims furthers the goal of the new Islamic reform because no one can get out of the rules of the fight to use Quran and Sunna to legitimize his argument which ends by legitimizing the existence of the new Islamic reform. The whole chapter is no more than a key answer on how the new Islamic reform used oral traditions in Islamic context to enhance and sustain its existence.

¹¹⁸ Islamic Golden Age, *The Impact of Magic and Jinn between Denying and Proving*.

The program *Wassaṭiyya* helps to understand how the presentations of jinn and sacred genealogy were modified to correspond with Islamic motifs and norms. Both parties, the opponents and supporters of jinn impacting on the lives of Muslims presented their arguments. Muslims do not need sacred genealogy to perform exorcism since the opponents refused the possession of jinn and the supporters explicitly stated that any one can perform exorcism as long as he confines it to the Quran and Sunna. Both of them stated that God is the Omnipresent, the opponents stated that God created jinn and according to their argument jinn are confined to their world and cannot penetrate the world of humans. The supporters stated that God created jinn and only the Words of God, the Quran, can defeat jinn. Therefore, Muslims kill jinn by using the Words of God. In other words, there is no blood or physical appearances to witness the death of jinn it is the belief in God which achieves this. Both the opponents and supporters agreed that jinn are invisible beings that harm humans who should protect themselves by reciting the Quran. The opponents restricted the harm of jinn to evil whispers while the supporters to possession. All these arguments, which sometimes meet and others do not, integrated with Islamic motifs and concepts. A very important point should not escape this argument is the invisibility of jinn needs strong faith and an inner obligation toward Islam.

This chapter provides only a general view of the conflict, the impact of jinn on Muslims' lives, which currently occupies Muslims in the Arab countries if not the entire Muslim world. The part of this conflict that played out in the public space is a regional conflict because Muslims from different Arab countries are convinced of the impact of jinn. As the debate with Abu al-Ula has shown; Muslims from different countries, Arab and European, seek his help. A conflict that people participate in without meeting. A conflict that fragments authority until it is hard to control. Nonetheless, they are all conducted within a religious framework given that all the guests have a specialty in Islamic studies. Otherwise, the public sphere and

space would dismiss the whole argument by attributing different names and claims to those who argue without Quranic or Sunna evidence, as evidenced in the Abdalkafi video.

In the next chapter, the historical truth of the jinn existence based on oral tradition will also assess the influence of the new Islamic reform because in the next chapter there are different testimonies for the same story which shows the personal preferences of storytellers. These preferences are full of historical Islamic norms, which are forced into the public sphere as the question Al-Suwaidan asked the audience in *Wasaṭiyya*. People learned about jinn through oral traditions and not through Islamic scholars, yet there are Islamic scholars in the same assembly who support the jinn's existence. It seemed that Islamic scholars also mixed between oral tradition and Islamic beliefs. This shows how dangerous and effective oral traditions are for religion. Oral traditions concerning the jinn have achieved their role in associating the presentation of jinn. The majority of Muslims believe in them as inseparable to Islamic norms. This does not, however, depict the jinn's actual manifestations according to Islam as this chapter illustrated according to Islamic texts.

To continue the debate of the jinn a question should also emerge: Why are jinn the main concern of the public sphere? Why do magic and the evil eye not have the same impact on Muslims though the Quran and Sunna explicitly state their impact and harm. This harm, which needs religiosity and God to remove, is not the main concern of Muslims. The *Wassaṭiyya* program mentioned magic as part of the problem but it is not the main problem which has caused Muslims to live in fear as jinn do. Why jinn?

Chapter Two: Jinn Besides the Scene

The assertion of contemporary Muslim scholars presented in the previous chapter primarily stressed jinn do exist, but they do not have an impact on humans according to Islamic beliefs. The Muslim scholars who said otherwise, in my view, either used Quranic verses in the wrong context or unsupported hadiths as *Wassaṭiyya* illustrated. The increase of deviant Islamic interpretation goes hand in hand with the spread of the Internet, which is part of the public space.¹¹⁹ A public space which admits both the sender and receiver to enable a virtual community to exist. The new Islamic reform not only exploited existing public spaces but also carved out “a new one that encompasses or repackages existing ones.”¹²⁰ The story “Children of a Madwoman,” which has different names, was also used by the new Islamic reform. The same story that was a part of the Bedouin oral tradition is now part of the Islamic belief. As sheikh Abu al-‘Ula stated when he was a guest on *al-Wasaṭiyya*, media exaggerated in producing the presentation of jinn. The traditional story circulated via the Internet is clear evidence of this exaggeration.

Since the aim of this study is to assess the influence of the new Islamic reform from the large-scale to the small-scale, this thesis will focus on Safawi, a peripheral village in Jordan. The next step will be to depict the presentation of jinn that are produced through oral traditions and religious beliefs. The perception of jinn seemed to transmit without change as a concept yet the presentations of jinn are unclear to new generations. Therefore, there are endless presentations and free texts of jinn, unlike the time of Bu Zaid, which only had fixed texts. The shift from fixed text to free text also indicates the fall of the sacred genealogy; part of the Bedouin history. This sacred genealogy, like religious texts, can be changed and interpreted by anyone because it is allowed to be told by anyone.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, *The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters*, 53.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

2.1 “Children of a Madwoman” vs. “Children of a Female Jinni”

Before narrowing the arguments to reach the Bedouins in Jordan, both stories “Children of a Madwoman,” a story narrated by the Bedouins at Safawi, and “Children of a Female jinni”, a story narrated by the generations which use the Internet, should be narrated before I start my argument.

2.1.1 The Tale of “Children of a Madwoman”¹²¹

The story started in an unknown time when a young Bedouin met a female jinni. The Bedouin asked her hand in marriage and she accepted him with one condition; he would never exhibit rage towards her. After a few years, the female jinni gave birth to an infant who was thrown into the fire. She later birthed two boys and a girl all with the same fate. Still, the Bedouin did not show any rage towards her. Another day, she threw weevil wheat and water on the ground which also did not appeal to the Bedouin. Finally, their marriage ended when she laughed during his brother’s funeral and he was no long able to endure her attitude and glared at her with angry eyes. The jinni disappeared and returned to her family. A few days later, the Bedouin headed towards the jinni’s family to try to reconcile with her. She refused since he had broken his word to her. The story ended when she justified her demeanor and returned his lost children whom he lost except for one child—the great-grandfather of the children of a Madwoman.

2.1.2 The Tale of “Children of a Female Jinn”¹²²

The online writer started her story with a picture of a man who wore worn-out clothes looking to the sky for help. Next to him are his dead camels while in the far horizon there are

¹²¹ This story was narrated by Abu Bashir on March 24, 2016.

¹²² Lover of Nightmare, "Children of a Female Jinni," *Myths and Legends*, last modified on June 9, 2015, <http://www.kabbos.com/index.php?darck=1037>.

two charming eyes that are looking at him. Unlike the story of Abu Bashir, the climax is associated with the jinni herself. The story starts with an epidemic that strikes the herd of a young man called Ali Murra. The man was so sad that he left the herd to die alone because he could not see them dying before his eyes which is atypical behavior for a Bedouin.

While he was wandering, he saw a female chased by a wolf. Immediately, Ali killed the wolf and saved the young woman who thanked him and wanted to repay him. Ali forgot his sorrow and loss and asked her to marry him. The jinni did not object, on the contrary, she accepted his offer but warned him that she is a jinni. She took him to her family's house who approved the marriage. They had, however, one condition. He was never to say the prohibited sentence, "In the name of God" but instead say, "In the name of jinn."

The writer divided the story into two scenes: the meeting and the disappearing of the jinni. Ali seemed to forget the jinni's condition and one day after entering the tent he said, "In the name of God," when he saw her "naked head" ('Āriyt al-Rā's). The sentence was sufficient not only to destroy the jinni but to annihilate her world; everything associated with her existence. On the other hand, Ali and his daughter were saved because Ali invoked the name of God. Ali raised his child, who later became the great-grandmother of the Murra tribe.

2.2 Bu Zaid

This study aims to trace how oral narratives are used by the new Islamic reform to enhance and maintain its existence. I will present old stories documented by Thomas, a British financial minister in Oman, about Bu Zaid, in the 1930s, to trace the acceptance of the jinns' existence in the public sphere.¹²³ This illustrates how the chain of transmission is broken by adapting new traditions that were derived from old ones; belief in evil spirits is reaffirmed by modern Islam. Jinn stories were folktales in which Bedouin traditions were accommodated

¹²³ "About the Expedition," *Crossing the Empty Quarter*, accessed May 27, 2017, <http://www.crossingtheemptyquarter.com/about/>.

with Islamic modernity. Transformation of their meaning will be studied through websites and interviews.

Bu Zaid, son of a female jinni, is the hero of Bani Hillal one of the clans of the Murra tribe. Although Bedouin stories include heroic figures, such as Dhiyab bin Ghanim who is a member of the Hallil tribe nothing is mentioned about him being a descendant of a jinni.¹²⁴ During his final days, Bu Zaid killed Dhiyab bin Ghanim whose son avenged him by killing Bu Zaid.¹²⁵

Bu Zaid, which means “the possessor of excellence,” is a pseudonym. Bu Zaid was an orphan raised by his uncle, Husain bin Sirhan. His supernatural powers appeared at an early age,¹²⁶ starting when Bu Zaid sought to buy a “large and heavy [sword] that no ordinary mortal could wield it.”¹²⁷ The vendors mocked his arrogance and dared him to carry the sword which he did. Bu Zaid was dissatisfied with the sword so he tested it by killing a bull and a camel together in one strike.¹²⁸ Although Bu Zaid is a heroic figure in Bedouin stories he does not have a real name which is quite peculiar; all important figures have names except Bu Zaid. This pseudonym changed to Ali, a real name, when the present generation narrated the story of the descendant of a female jinni. The traces of the story, which are associated with certain memories associated with jinn, were transformed and re-injected into orality. This gives each generation the right to embed the “footprints and new landmark” of the contemporary generation.¹²⁹ Simultaneously, a key to the history of religion since the cyber story, the “Children of a Female Jinni”, is based on a generally accepted truth about the jinn.

¹²⁴ Bertram Thomas, *Arabia Felix: Across the Empty Quarter of Arabia*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), 208-9.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 121.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 213-4.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 213

¹²⁸ Ibid., 214.

¹²⁹ Devatine, *Written Tradition, Oral Tradition, Oral Literature*, 11.

There is another interesting story about Bu Zaid and his adulterous wife. Bu Zaid knew that not all of his sons were legitimate, and decided to test his three sons to find his actual son. Two of his sons failed because they were not generous unlike, 'Aziz, Bu Zaid's real son who proved to be generous and reliable. Bu Zaid, however, did not punish his wife whom he later betrayed with another woman, 'Aliya. Bu Zaid fell in love with 'Aliya and decided to travel with his son, 'Aziz, to meet his beloved, 'Aliya, before she married another man. 'Aziz, the loyal son, who disguised himself in Aliya's clothing for two nights, paid with his life for this. Bu Zaid bade farewell to 'Aliya after he enjoyed her company for two nights.¹³⁰ These two stories which refer to the treacherousness of spouses are quite informative since some of the comments seemed to refer to the wife's treachery and the ability of the Murra tribe to discover it. The treachery of Bu Zaid and his wife was not denied, it was part of the Bedouin history. The Bedouins of that era did not mind that their hero, Bu Zaid, was treacherous unlike now whose descendants are pious people and confined to Islamic norms.

One of the most interesting stories of Bu Zaid involves the serpent jinni whom locals offered a girl, a ram, and a dish of rice. This interesting story refers to three heroic figures yet it was only Bu Zaid, the descendant of a jinni, who killed the serpent. The brothers of Bu Zaid, Yuosef and Baraiga, were able to injure the jinni but not kill him. The only invincible man who could kill the serpent was Bu Zaid. Even the serpent's death was dramatic: "The stream of the jinn's red blood, and the bloody mark of a man's hand on the fort walls high above the door way."¹³¹ The governor rewarded Bu Zaid by nominating him as the new governor, the savior of the people. Although Bu Zaid was not interested in the new post and politely declined the offer, he accepted the treasure and horses.¹³² Descendants of a female jinni

¹³⁰ Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, 239-42.

¹³¹ Ibid., 248.

¹³² Ibid., 248-51.

would not generally follow Bu Zaid's example in rejecting the governor's post, but would find it their right as the comments in the following pages will show.

The story is quite significant since it legitimized the slayer of the jinn as possibly the governor. The slayer of jinni will be modified to legal *rāqī* who performs exorcism according to the new Islamic reform as the al-Ḥarby video by referring to a legal *rāqī* uses the head of wolf to perform exorcism since Bedouins believe that wolves kill the jinn, according to Umm Khalid, or the interview of Abu Minwer in the third chapter will show. It also illustrates there are different types of slayers yet it is the descendant of a jinni who has the highest rank.

In another story Thomas narrated, Dhiyab, who possessed a special power, killed a jinni.¹³³ Bu Zaid, however, had the upper hand because he killed Dhiyab. These stories, which are associated with the jinn and the heroic figure of Bu Zaid, were spread at a time where Islamic concepts like praying, fasting, and ablution were recognized and practiced as Thomas mentioned in his book unlike Bolous who explicitly stated that Bedouins did not know how to pray.¹³⁴ Even one of the men in Thomas' companies was a *mū'adn* who called for prayer.¹³⁵ The stories of Bu Zaid emphasized the existence of the jinn in the public sphere in the 1930s. The stories with Bu Zaid seemed to be more connected with the harsh environment of the Bedouins of that time. There are no lights, cracking earth or swallowing holes; the story of Bu Zaid describes, the jinni's blood was like the blood of a man. It is quite an interesting and realistic story in which the human hero defeated the unbeatable jinni. There is no exaggeration of the jinn's power. There are rules for both human and jinn, for example one strike kills the jinni but two resurrects it.¹³⁶

¹³³ Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, 277-80.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 157-8.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 194.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 279-213.

The stories about Bu Zaid never mentions anything about his mother only the name of his uncle was mentioned even without any association to a specific adventure. This serves to stress the patriarchal role, the traditional authority in society. It is very important to stress that Bu Zaid, the slayer of jinn, was once an infidel who gave up all his supernatural powers to die as an average Muslim by the hand of his kinsmen.

Finally, Hamad, a member of the Murra tribe and one of Thomas' companion spoke about his ancestors as the descendant of an infidel, a jinni. Reaction to Hamad's recognition of his ancestors as a descendant of an infidel is quite informative. The members of his tribe did not like this association. Islam had started to be a part of the identity of the Murra tribe. The figure of Bu Zaid, as a descendant of jinni, is based on an accepted historical truth since his uncle's genealogy was already recognized by the Bedouins.¹³⁷

The stories of Bu Zaid are part of the oral traditions that "are invented at a given moment in the past, and have remained unchanged from the moment it was invented until the present."¹³⁸ The fact that jinn and the sacred genealogy are still circulated till the present shows that the new Islamic reform used deeply rooted beliefs to sustain its existence. These stories of Bu Zaid, invented in the unknown past continued until at least Thomas' time in the 1930s. The character of Bu Zaid is not needed unlike the story "Children of a Female Jinni"; it is still part of Muslim memory though it was modified. This story will be compared with "Children of a Madwoman" which will be discussed in the last chapter. The presentations of Bu Zaid failed to gain resonance with the current generation because his presentations, as a jinn slayer, are considered heresy, contrary to orthodox religion by the present generation who still accepts the concept of descendant of a female Jinni. This genealogy, descendant of a jinni, is still circulating which means the current generation still believes in the sacred genealogy, but in a

¹³⁷ Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, 269.

¹³⁸ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 104.

negative way.¹³⁹ This genealogy, which is part of their tradition, was used to vindicate rights in a social structure and provide an explanation to supernatural powers.¹⁴⁰ Because this study aims to show the influence of new Islamic reform on the Muslims. I named the generation which uses the internet as the cyber generation, with no preference to a certain age, since the internet is an important public space where authority is fragmented. The cyber generation, used this genealogical right based on oral tradition to control the fragmented authority through Islam.

2.3 The Cyber Generation ¹⁴¹

Larry Clinton regards the Internet as “a broad-based infrastructure with different owners and systems...deliberately manipulated at micro and macro levels for widely divergent purposes.”¹⁴² It seemed that storytelling via the Internet “offers tremendous potential for teaching contemporary visual culture” to contemporary generations.¹⁴³ Chung’s study shows that “digital storytelling is a meaningful and powerful way to promote visual culture art education” which includes “the practice of incorporating digital text, imagery, video, and audio.”¹⁴⁴ Therefore, in this study the cyber generation will include anyone who can access the Internet since the Internet is comprised of all types of storytelling. The cyber story, which is a vernacular story, was meant to engage a wider public.¹⁴⁵ New media was the method for the cyber story based on historical truth to prevail.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 102.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 153.

¹⁴¹ Lover of Nightmare, "Children of a Female Jinni," *Myths and Legends*. June 09, 2015. Accessed May 16, 2017, <http://www.kabbos.com/index.php?darck=1037>.

¹⁴² Larry Clinton, "Cyber Security Social Contract," *Conflict and Cooperation in the Global Commons: A Comprehensive Approach for International Security*, ed. Scott Jasper (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2012), 185-98.

Sheng Kuan Chung, "Art Education Technology: Digital Storytelling," *Art Education* 60, no. 2 (March 2007): 17-22.
<http://www1.udel.edu/present/aaron/digitalstory/Readings/Art%20Ed%20Tech%20digital%20storytelling.pdf>.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 17-22.

¹⁴⁵ Anderson, *The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters*, 47.

The key story was circulated via the Internet. There are tens of sites that refer to different tribes as the legitimate son of a jinni; a son with supernatural powers. The frequency of uncontrolled narrations of the same oral tradition leads to a rapid distortion of a tradition.¹⁴⁶

This distortion helped to replace old beliefs with new ones to legitimize the same history of genealogy, descendants of jinni, which is also associated with the social structure. Simultaneously, it destroys the right based on genealogical fact. As the story of Bu Zaid showed, he was entitled to be the governor of the city because he slayed the jinni.

The story is still in the memory of the people and the cyber generation because there are many comments show that young people used to hear such a story from the elders. The mere mention of the story among the different generations shows that this kind of stories is accepted and circulated. Browsing the Internet will uncover people wondering about the existence of the children of a jinni. It should be noted there are many stories about the children of a jinni which are presented in different ways yet have the same theme—a female jinni and her descendants. The comments, which will be discussed in the following pages, are quite indicative and significant if we considered the following facts about the site. The site *Kabbos* (nightmare) is dedicated for all kinds of eerie, mysterious, supernatural, and abnormal things and beings. The writer, who seemed unsatisfied with the classification of the story as a myth or legend, is familiar with the members of the Murra tribe.

I chose this particular story for two reasons: the writer of the online story refers to the Murra tribe which is already mentioned by Thomas who crossed the Empty Quarter. Simultaneously, the story shows that both the Bedouin and the new Islamic reform seemed to legitimize their authority from the oral tradition accepted by the majority of the people yet undermined old beliefs like the stories about Bu Zaid in the name of heresy to prevail. The story of the “Children of a Female Jinni” produced a controversial scene on the *Kabbos*

¹⁴⁶ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 43.

website in which many commenters disagreed about its value. The commenters who started to explain the scene borrowed beliefs from other traditions to create a comprehensive oral tradition based on contemporary historical truth to the norms of their times, like a jinni wearing a hijab. The chain of transmission of the oral tradition, the story “Children of a Female Jinni,” overlooked all the norms of the old tradition since the story of the female jinni has new norms and memories that no longer have to cope with the old ones.¹⁴⁷ The story “Children of a Female Jinni” does not lose its historical truth but rather created confusion in the perception of the cyber generation which shows how the old presentations were full of heresy according to the new Islamic values. The second reason is the comments, which are another way to trace how people receive and produce the presentation of the unseen world as part of the Islamic beliefs, since the produced “free texts” are no more than an indication of personal preference.¹⁴⁸

Kabbos has created its own virtual community by channeling its own messages.¹⁴⁹ Although cyber space has a fragmentized authority because it is less monitored,¹⁵⁰ it can also foster historical truth but in a new package; carving out a new one that encompasses or repackages existing ones.¹⁵¹ The story “Children of a Female Jinni” is one of the traditional stories still in circulation which legitimizes historical truth. It does not legitimize Islamic belief, unlike Bu Zaid, Ali, who is a Muslim, spontaneously invoked the name of God when he was scared in “Children of a Female Jinni”. The author of the online story named the hero, Ali, to use genealogy as way to legitimize historical truth associated with religion.¹⁵² The author wanted to stress the authority of the Murra tribe by naming the hero, she wanted to emphasize the story’s reliability.

¹⁴⁷ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 29.

¹⁴⁸ Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 156.

¹⁴⁹ Anderson, *The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters*, 48-52.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 53.

¹⁵² Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 154.

The writer whose pseudonym is *‘Āshiqat Mawq’ Kābūs*, the lover of the Nightmare, is a female from Saudi Arabia. She started the story by giving a brief history of the supernatural power of the Murra tribe. She even legitimizes their existence by quoting a sentence that King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz of Saudi Arabia said, “The telegram ruled the sky and Murri ruled the ground.”¹⁵³ The theme of the site is quite informative; it is about nightmares which is one of the symptoms of being possessed by a jinni.¹⁵⁴ The jinn, the unseen world, are the nightmare of the Muslims who invade their spaces without permission.

Unlike the stories of Bu Zaid and his family, the story “Children of a Female Jinn” overlooked the theme of brotherhood which is the essence of the Bedouin life.¹⁵⁵ The jinni overtly admitted their impotence when the name of God is invoked.¹⁵⁶ The Muslims, in general, and the Bedouins, in particular, who were in a constant fight with jinn starting from Bu Zaid’s time to recent times. The presentations of the Bedouin and jinn did not stop but gained new norms that correspond with the contemporary times of the story. Bu Zaid did not need to invoke God to win his fight as the story of the fuqarā will show in the next chapter unlike the new generations which need to invoke the name of God to be protected them from the jinn.

The writer presents the Murra tribe as the helpers of people to correlate them with an infidel jinni who disappeared when the name of God is invoked. Therefore, the presentation of a disappearing jinni, when the name of God is invoked, contradicts the presentation of the descendants of the jinni, the helpers of mankind, because the helper should always be Muslim. In the story of Bu Zaid, this differentiation was clarified, he is a mortal Muslim who slayed the jinn. The online writer produced a distorted presentation of Islam unlike the

¹⁵³ The Saudi government used telegrams to find out what was happening outside Saudi Arabia and used the members of the Murra tribe to find out everything happening inside Saudi Arabia.

¹⁵⁴ Sohail, *Signs of Jinn Possession*.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Harabsheh, *The Bedouin Jordanian Family*, 60.

¹⁵⁶ "What are Jinn?" Ruqya Support. March 24, 2012. Accessed June 04, 2017.
<http://www.ruqyasupport.com/what-are-Jinn/>.

Bedouin generation of Abu Bashir. The online writer produced the presentation of two worlds, jinn and Islam, by highlighting two words in the same scene: jinni and God.

The online writer uses the subject pronoun “we.” She said, “as we all know jinn have supernatural power that exceed Man’s.”¹⁵⁷ The writer seemed to take it for granted that the jinn have supernatural powers. After stressing the existence of the tribe of al-Mura, she narrated a personal story to validate the supernatural power of the Murra tribe. One of her relatives sought the help of a member of the Murra tribe to find the thief who stole his house. Later on, her relatives turned out to be her neighbor; the writer changes her statement in another comment to stress the supernatural power of the Murra tribe. She even ended the introduction with a peculiar fact; the members of the Murra serve people for free just like Bu Zaid. This free service is considered the mark of a good Muslim as some of the comments on the *Kabbos* website in this chapter as well as the next chapter will illustrate.

The conflict in the scene of the “naked head” is quite significant, his identity as a Muslim overcame his love for the jinni just like the story of Bu Zaid who preferred to be a mortal Muslim instead of an invincible Bedouin.¹⁵⁸ His spontaneous response to the grotesque scene emphasizes his identity as Muslim. Another important detail in the same scene is the vanishing presentation. The word of God is so efficacious that the sky brightened, the earth cracked, and a hole swallowed everything except Ali and his daughter. The writer did not forget to stress that the daughter of the jinni grew up and become the great-grandmother of the Murra tribe, unlike the story of Abu Bashir, the legitimate child is a daughter. The story, which was used by the Bedouins at Safawi and the cyber-generation, does not lose its significance though the presentations of jinn, human, and God have changed. At the same time, the present generation still recognizes and admits the sacred genealogy of a female

¹⁵⁷ Lover of Nightmare, “Children of a Female Jinni,” *Myths and Legends*, last modified on June 9, 2015, <http://www.kabbos.com/index.php?darck=1037>.

¹⁵⁸ Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, 209.

jinni. This means that Muslims endorse the impact of jinn on their lives. On the other hand, the sacred genealogy of a female jinni lost its power and authority.

The new Islamic reform enhanced the existence of jinn in the lives of Muslims and decreased the traditional authority of the tribes that are associated with jinn because jinn are now the ultimate enemy of Muslims as well as the sacred genealogy if they do not adhere to the Islamic laws and regulations. Therefore, the descendants of a female jinni will either submit to Islam or disown their genealogy. In both cases the social ranks of the sacred genealogy of a female jinni is destroyed. It is very important to notice once the descendants of a female jinni submits to Islam, they spontaneously destroy their genealogy for three reasons. First, they will disown the practices of their grandfathers, this will enhance the existence of the new Islamic reform since the descendants themselves admit that their grandfathers were wrong. Second, the followers of the sacred genealogy will commit to the Islamic law and regulations since the descendants themselves did. Third, this will increase the reliability of the new Islamic reform, which leads to a blind obedience, because it protected Muslims from the hidden enemies; the jinn and their descendants.

2.4 The Children of a Female Jinni

The *Kabbos* site contained different themes all related to myriad unseen worlds. The jinn had its own section titled “The World of the Jinn.” Nonetheless, the story was listed as a myth and a legend, which does not appeal to the author, according to comment no. 18. It seemed the readers were probably aware of the political reason, derived from the genealogical right, behind this story was based on historical truth. Therefore, the readers accepted it as a real story. There were 15,608 viewers as of May, 2017 with 66 comments, which demonstrate that the topic is quite interesting with the most viewed story having 176, 249 viewers and 632 comments.

The comments are divided into three periods: June 9, 2015¹⁵⁹ to December 26, 2015; February 10, 2016 to November 15, 2016; and January 12, 2017 to March 4, 2017. This means the topic is still circulating in the public space. The first comment appeared the same day the story was uploaded. The commenter did not seem to mind the whole story of the existence of the jinn, but instead asked about the scene which scared Ali. The comment is associated with a term the writer used “naked head” (‘Āriyt al-Ras) which is part of the Islamic presentations in the public sphere of wearing hijab.

The online story was followed by 66 comments. The author of this online story had eight comments. Only three commenters rejected the ability of the Murra tribe and not the existence of jinn since they referred only to the supernatural power of the Murra tribe. The most repeated theme is the grotesque presentation, naked head, when Ali lost his wife. Consequently, the majority of the comments acknowledged the existence of jinn and their ability to marry people. I will choose only a few samples to trace the cyber generation’s perception of the jinn, taking into consideration this sample only represents a portion of the whole cyber generation.

The author of the online story in comment no. 18, known by commenters as ‘Ula, is goaded to give an explanation of the grotesque presentation since most of the commenters were puzzled about the grotesque event. She tried to explain the reason behind Ali’s reaction by invoking the name of God. His wife wore a hijab all the time, until the day he entered their tent without warning to see that his wife had the ears of a horse. It is important to stress that the author expressed the explanation as common knowledge. Twelve comments asked about the presentation of the “naked head”, which is associated with confused explanations. Unlike the generations of Bu Zaid and Abu Bashir who circulated the same presentations. This

¹⁵⁹ June 9, 2015 is when the story was first uploaded.

shows how the chain of transmission at certain points adopted new norms while skipping others.

The different explanations for one scene demonstrate the unclear presentation of the jinn, which presented the jinni as invincible. The different presentations of the jinni, such as placing her head in her lap to comb it, having the ears of a horse, or a shapeshifting jinni, etc. are quite mythical. All these presentations render the jinn with unlimited power, yet she simply vanished when the name of God was invoked. This presentation shows Islamic norms that were introduced to the story. Unlike Bu Zaid who used the sword to fight the jinn and not the name of God. Simultaneously, the jinn were confined to certain conditions. In the story of Bu Zaid, the jinn were killed with a sword while in the online story the jinn disappeared when the invocation of God's name. This change in the way to fight the jinn is quite important. People during Bu Zaid's time did not need God to kill jinn, perhaps they needed another man, a *fajīr* or sacred genealogist, while in the modern era they needed God and not men to defeat jinn.

Commenter no. 34 noticed a contradiction between the jinni wearing hijab and the impact of invoking the name of God. The commenter found the ambivalent situation peculiar, and asked the author to provide more examples to clarify any misunderstandings. Comment no. 35 who only self-identified as a member of the Murra tribe endorsed the story as part of the Murra's history. The commenter depicted the scene differently; the jinni is instead a shapeshifter with limited abilities that contradicts the abilities of her descendants according to the supernatural powers the author attributed to the members of the Murra tribe in her introduction. Naif.9001, in comment no. 51, wrote he had verified the story by comparing it to his grandfather's version of the story and had asked a sheikh from al-Murra tribe to validate it; the whole story is *exactly* the same as the online story which shows the strong

influence of Islamism. He also emphasized the story existed long before King Saud's government existed and it is based on historical truth.

Comment no. 58 from another member of the Murra tribe was displeased with the online story associating the Murra tribe with a jinni. He preferred to attribute different characteristics to the tribe, such as chivalry. Comment no. 52 from another member of al-Murra tribe who also used his full name used the story to legitimize the superiority of one clan of the Murra tribe over the other clans. He also stressed this clan's religiosity.

There is one very important comment in relation to this study. In comment no. 42, Spiritual Expert, is familiar with the jinn world. His comments began with an uncited reference to a hadith in which the Prophet stressed there are people before the Murra tribe who married jinn to stress that the Murra tribe is not the only tribe whose members married jinn. A search provided no clues to this hadith. He also explained that this supernatural power almost disappeared with the ninth or tenth generation unless one of the members rejuvenated the ability by marrying a jinni. Marriage between two different worlds determines the abilities of any offspring. If the parents of the child, man and jinni, are Muslims, he would have a propensity to utilize his power for the welfare of mankind. If his parents are not Muslims, like Albert Einstein, the child would be a genius and have a propensity for the sciences. Spiritual Expert shared his spiritual abilities which resembled the ability of the Murra tribe even though he is not a descendant of a jinni. For example, he can diagnose physical and spiritual diseases, help single females get married after reciting Quranic verses, remove spells, and locate lost and stolen things. He even healed a member of the Murra tribe. He said, "You will never believe me if I told you that one of the patients was from Murra tribe who was under a spell. He was healed by God's Will and my help. We also became friends."¹⁶⁰ His comment

¹⁶⁰ Lover of Nightmare, "Children of a Female Jinni," *Myths and Legends*, last modified on June 09, 2015, <http://www.kabbos.com/index.php?darck=1037>.

also concluded a complaint that people use and harass him until he is almost broken. Therefore, he does not provide help in a few cases. In other words, the Spiritual Expert does not heal people or uncover his supernatural abilities, as he used to do, except in a few cases.

The stories of both Abu Bashir and Bu Zaid do not have ambivalent presentations or scenes as Thomas noted that “every Badu has something to tell of its legendary heroes, often in the simple rhymes of his beloved tongue, and when I have heard one story from different lips, I have noticed that the version hardly differs by one word.”¹⁶¹ The chain of transmission was stable in oral tradition until the 1930s as far as Thomas was aware. The norms and memories of oral tradition have changed since the historical truth of Bu Zaid are full of hersey. At this point, the influence of Islamic beliefs is introduced through “free texts”, which the commenters have produced through the grotesque scene, shed light on the current personal preference—the Islamic norms.¹⁶²

The comment of no. 42 summarizes the whole situation starting from the religious interpretations and ending in harassment will be elaborated in the next chapter. Spiritual Expert is a pseudonym for a male using the public space to present his own interpretations based on his knowledge of religious text and his own religiosity. He started with a peculiar hadith that overtly admits marriage between humans and jinn. Unlike the pioneer scholars in the previous chapter who stressed that such a thing is impossible. Spiritual Expert takes liberty in interpreting religious texts freely without submitting his interpretation to the Islamic religious authorities that are the reference of the Muslims.

Spiritual Expert goes even further to explain this relation, marriage of jinn and human, using genealogical knowledge, physical appearances, and mental abilities without any references to his sources. Vansine showed that royal families and sacred genealogy would maintain a

¹⁶¹ Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, 208.

¹⁶² Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 156.

record of their families to the ninth generation. These descendants, the descendants of a jinni, were also perhaps considered part of the royal families that lost their ability with the ninth generation. The new Islamic reform used royal families and their followers to enhance its existence. Once these royal families, descendants of a female jinni, declared their submission to the regulations and interpretation of the new Islamic reform they shorten the time and lessen the effort to control the Muslims in general. If the chieftain submitted to the regulations of the new Islamic form, would their followers refuse to be part of that current?

These presentations and norms that are the result of such marriages were also associated with Muslims and infidels. The Muslim child whose parents are Muslims, jinni and human, will be dedicated for the welfare of Mankind. This is the same statement made by the author of “Children of a Female Jinni” at the beginning of her introduction. This was also mentioned in the al-Ḥarby video who said that a legal *rāqī* should assign a nominal price for any healing sessions. The next chapter will also explain why Umm Khalid and the *Jūmlanī* do not ask for any money for their services, instead leaving it to the visitor to determine the price.

Finally, Spiritual Expert ends his comment with two statements. The first comment states his special abilities even though he is not a descendant of a jinni. This shows that the historical norm of the supernatural power of jinni started to fade and replaced with Islamic ones, a norm reflecting people’s need for God to defeat the jinn rather than another man, taking into consideration that the jinn do not harm humans according to Islam. A good Muslim can defeat the jinn as well as a *jinnī* descendant as long as the person is a Muslim. The peculiarity about this statement illustrates the importance of jinn in a Muslim’s life. Although the jinn were appreciated before the emergence of Islamic norms, Muslims still regard their relationship with the jinn as an advantage. Further clarity will be provided in the interview with Abu Minwer. The second statement is the harassment Spiritual Expert faced when he treated people. People used and abused him as his online comment showed. At the same time,

the interview of Abu Minwer in the next chapter will also stress the same point. The question is why some people who offer their services are subjected to harassment.

The last two chapters presented an overview of the public sphere among Arab Muslims in which religious debate and narrative traditions circulated. Oral tradition of sacred genealogy is a part of the Middle East, however, it is not only the concern of Bedouins in Jordan to narrow down the argument of the oral traditions that are associated with jinn that helped Islamism to continue because jinn cannot be defeated unless Muslims invoke the Name of God unlike Bu Zaid.

The first and second chapters show how the controversial and continuous debate about the jinn contributed to enhance the concepts and presentations which the new Islamic reform need to sustain its existence. The stories of Bu Zaid showed certain presentations about the Bedouins and jinn in the 1930s. These presentations of Bu Zaid, first, he was a descendant of a female jinni. Second, he used the sword to fight the jinn. Third, he was a man who not only betrayed his wife but caused the death of his son. The presentations of jinn, first as powerful beings that hunt Bedouins on a regular base. Second, the Bedouins offer them food and human sacrifices. Third, the jinn had blood and they can die by the hand of a strong human. Fourth, those who kill jinn are heroes and descendants of strong tribes such as Murra tribe. Fifth, the jinn are bound with certain rules and conditions such as one blow will kill a jinni while two blows resurrect it.

All these presentations about the unseen world and sacred genealogy were quite indicative because they show how the new Islamic reform used them to produce confused Islamic beliefs. First, the unseen world is quite vicious which harms Muslims for no reason, therefore, Muslims should commit to religion to protect themselves from jinn. Second, the more Muslims believe in the unseen world the more they will adhere to the Quran because

there are Quranic verses to protect Muslims from jinn according to the misleading interpretations the new Islamic reform disseminated; the relation between jinn and Quran is positive. Third, Muslims are quite busy in the unseen world that they do not have time to see the faults of the new Islamic reform. Fourth, secular opinions are not included in the religious debate. This ensures that the threat of secularism is reduced to the maximum. Fifth, Muslims are afraid to break this chain because their minds are full of Islamic beliefs and concepts which means they will be easily lost between reason and religion full of misinterpreted concept by the new Islamic reform as one of the audience in *al-Wassaṭiyya* stated, “I am really confused. Could someone help me with this. I want an answer.”¹⁶³ Sixth, the constant repetition of Islamic concepts through the jinn topic is no more than brainwash to the mentality of Muslims who with time will submit to the concepts and definition of the new Islamic reform since the topic of jinn is a controversial one and does not stop. Seventh, the Muslims find the existence of jinn a good excuse for unsuccessful life, which means Muslims will commit to religiosity later or sooner, since hardships are part of human’s lives.

The first chapter introduced the view of orthodox Islam about the jinn. In other words, the impact of jinn on modern Islamic consciousness should be reduced, yet, it apparently increased as shown in chapter one. This indicates that oral traditions based on generic historical truth produced in a religious context can have a strong effect on the laity. Although the public space fragments the religious authority by reinterpreting the religious contexts, the new Islamic reform can still influence these fragmented authorities.

The presentation of sheikh, with further detail in chapter three, was based on personal opinion as illustrated in the Ḥarrby video which were not based on Quranic verse or a hadith. This opened the door for harassment for those who performed exorcisms. The question is why there is no presentation for the sheikh? Why is the door open for all to participate in depicting

¹⁶³ Islamic Golden Age, *The Impact of Magic and Jinn between Denying and Proving* (2011).

the image of Sheikh? The answer is constant criticisms of sheikh urge him to present himself as a ‘Perfect Sheikh’, at least in appearance and performance. This will guarantee the circulation of the best qualities of the new Islamic norms since censorship by the moral police is everywhere. The moral police will ensure no sheikh will divert anything that does not comply with Islamic norms. Simultaneously, however, this will reduce his power and followers. The new Islamic reform is fully aware of the importance of oral tradition to break the chain of transmission, as shown in chapter two, and integrate the new presentation which is freely circulated in the Arab Muslim world.

A debate between two parties, opponents and supporters on the impact of jinn, gathered under one roof in Jordan to discuss Islamic norms and interpretations. Although people heard the whole debate, the generic view of jinn did not change—jinn do have an impact on Muslims. All these arguments will be reflected in the examples provided in the next chapter. In the next chapter, Abu Minwer was subjected to harassment like many fuqarā and Umm Khalid who masked her identity under an approved Islamic discourse. These examples were also part of the traditions that were modified to correspond with the new Islamic norms. The last chapter will gather the threads of arguments by showing how oral tradition did not die and the descendants of these traditions along with the story “Children of a Madwoman” were the missing links in the oral transmission. The transmission chain will break to adapt new norms which the new Islamic reform are fully aware of and, therefore, use to enhance its existence.

Chapter Three: The Last Generation of Fuqarā at Safawi

Safawi comprises 35.7 percent of the 72,600 km² of the total area of al-Badia,¹⁶⁴ located to the east of al-Mafraq, with a population of approximately 2,700 people, an estimated 400 families, as of the 1990s. The municipality was established at the beginning of the 1980s. Most of the extended families are descendants of the Bedouins from Mountain Druze, primarily from al-Masā'īd and al-ʿIdamāt tribes.¹⁶⁵ These families or tribes used to wander the desert for centuries until the establishment of the Jordanian government when it encouraged them to settle in the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁶⁶

North Badia, where Safawi is located, started to change and develop in the mid-1960s due to economic, political, social, and technological factors. In North Badia, the Jordanian government constructed or provided artesian wells, factories, police stations, electricity, and a water system. It also appointed representatives in the local municipal and village.¹⁶⁷ According to the official records of the Jordanian Ministry of Education as of 2010-11 there were 118 schools in North Badia.¹⁶⁸ The main livelihoods for the Bedouins in general in Jordan is cultivation, government posts, and herding.¹⁶⁹

Before the Bedouin tribes settled, the relationships among the Bedouin tribes were based on competitions and fights. In some cases, they would join in an alliance with the strongest tribe protecting weaker ones in return for a tribute.¹⁷⁰ The loose gowns worn by Bedouins were made of camel hair and sheep wool. They also lived in tents made from camel hair and used

¹⁶⁴ Azm Al-Homoud, Robert Allison, Basam Sunna, and K.H. White, "Geology, Geomorphology, Hydrology, Groundwater and Physical Resource of the Desertified Badia Environment in Jordan", *The Muslim World* 37, 1 (1995): 51

¹⁶⁵ Al-Housan, *Al-Mafraq Through the Ages*, 437.

¹⁶⁶ Al-Harabsheh, *The Bedouin Jordanian Family*, 27.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

¹⁶⁸ "Report and Statistics," Ministry of Education Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, accessed June 4, 2017, <http://www.moe.gov.jo/MenuDetails.aspx?MenuID=29>.

¹⁶⁹ Al-Harabsheh, *The Bedouin Jordanian Family*, 2.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

wooden utensils.¹⁷¹ The main livelihood of the Bedouin was in trading. They used to barter within and outside their tribes. They used to protect caravans for either money or goods. In some cases, the tribes were the brokers, or transporters and traders. In other instances, they would raid and loot other tribes. Although the Bedouins cultivated the lands during their annual move it was only a minor source of income for them.¹⁷²

3.1 The Fuqarā

The key story, “Children of a Madwoman”, which circulated among the Bedouins stresses the legitimacy of al-Fajīr and the existence of the jinn. The word fajīr according to the dictionary of al-Jāme “means destitute and needy.”¹⁷³ I will refer to other works to define the presentation of the fajīr, wali, and sheikh, since they are the defenders of Muslims from jinn, perform exorcism, to show the change and transmission of the oral tradition. In 1927, Tawfiq Canaan, a physician, wrote a book about the cult of the saint in which he used the word walī or sheikh instead of fajīr. The word walī or sheikh means the helper, physician, and comforter of men as well as the intermediary between the people and God.¹⁷⁴ The word walī is used for the mediator who helps people through the Divine power.¹⁷⁵ According to Canaan, they are the “blessed men of God.”¹⁷⁶ Although Canaan referred to the cult of the Bedouin saint in Palestine, he never referred to a saint as fajīr but rather as a walī or sheikh.¹⁷⁷ The journalist Aref al-Aref who conducted research about the Beersheba Bedouin also used walī instead of the word fajīr.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ Al-Harashseh, *The Bedouin Jordanian Family*, 31-2.

¹⁷² Ibid., 35-6.

¹⁷³ "Definition and Meaning of Poor in the Inclusive Dictionary," *Almaany.com*, accessed May 15, 2017, <http://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D9%81%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%B1/>.

¹⁷⁴ Tawfiq Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (London: Luzac & Co, 1927), 263.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 8.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 7.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 9.

¹⁷⁸ al-Aref, *Jurisprudence among the Bedouin*, 256.

Miettunen, an anthropologist who studied the Bedouin saints in southern Jordan, did not use the word *fajīr*. The scholar preferred to use the word *walī* instead. In his study, Miettunen refers to *fūqarā* (singular of *fajīr*) as a term used to describe “a group of pious and religious people.”¹⁷⁹ Peake, a lieutenant-colonel in the British Army, only stressed the fact that one of the offshoots of the Balawna tribe is Beni Hamida who is also known as *Fūqarā* but he did not provide further explanations.¹⁸⁰ He also referred to a tribe called al-*Fūqarā* that dwelt in al-Museifra village in the Hauran without providing any specific details about them.¹⁸¹ Bishop Boulus Numān also wrote a book about the initial five years of the Jordanian government under the reign of King Abdul I, in which he talked about *fajīr* as the perfect Bedouin and that each tribe should have a *fajīr* who is a pious person.¹⁸² The previous presentations of sainthood showed that the *fajīr*, who does not exist anymore, is regarded by the people as a mediator. The word *sheikh*, which has a different job description, replaced the *fajīr* in performing exorcisms as this chapter will show.

“Children of a Madwoman” is a story that refers to the marriage between two different worlds: Man and jinn. These two different worlds interact with each other in different ways. Although they are in a constant fight¹⁸³, the Bedouins considered them as part of their life span. The Bedouins endorsed the existence of the unseen world, jinn¹⁸⁴, by marriage which is the strongest bonds.¹⁸⁵

The presentations of marriages between jinn and humans did not cease, it instead enhanced, circulated in the public sphere. They produced different solutions to fight the jinn such as

¹⁷⁹ Päivi Miettunen, "Our Ancestors Were Bedouin: Memory, Identity and Change: The Case of Holy Sites in Southern Jordan," (PhD diss., University of Helsinki, 2013),

102. https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/42071/Miettunen_Dissertation.pdf?sequence=1.

¹⁸⁰ Frederick Peake, *A History of Jordan and Its Tribes* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1958), 146.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 179.

¹⁸² Boulus, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 138.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 164.

¹⁸⁴ al-Aref, *Jurisprudence among the Bedouin*, 252.

¹⁸⁵ Mazahreh, *The Nomadic Societies in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age (1550-1200 BC)*, 25-26.

Quranic verses, Prophet's medicine, and ruqia shar'iyah.¹⁸⁶ Although it is hard to provide a definite number of websites and programs that discuss the jinn, official or unofficial, as there are probably hundreds—if not in thousands—of websites and programs. Public space allows Muslims to share thoughts and interpretations of Islamic laws which were once the exclusive attributes of traditional institutions.¹⁸⁷ The story “Children of a Madwoman”, which is still in circulation among the Bedouins of Safawi, has already changed as the previous chapter has shown through Islamic norms and presentations “Children of a Female Jinni.”

Abu al-Ula clarified that anyone can be a sheikh in Islam as long as he adheres to Islamic norms. This is further manifested by substituting the words *fajr* and *wali* that are associated with sainthood with the word *sheikh* which indicates righteousness and religiosity according to the dictionary of al-Jame'¹⁸⁸. The Quran stresses the existence of the jinn; they are present in the daily Quranic verses. It represents the parallel worlds, jinn and Man, as inseparable worlds that interact with each other. As the new Islamic reform emerged, it promoted certain strong beliefs while suppressing others. Since these oral traditions concerning jinn are still in circulation in the public sphere this contradicts the interpretations in a religious context as discussed in chapter one in the argument between the three pioneer scholars.

The new Islamic reform prohibited many practices associated with the *fuqarā* or 'Awliya' to reduce their followers, who were confined and restricted to the new Islamic regulations. They had no choice in following either the general flow or to withdraw from the public sphere. The war now shifted to the public sphere where the average Muslim engages, whether it was intentional or unintentional.

3.2 The Fajira Salmā

¹⁸⁶Tawfiq Al-Abad, "The relationship between the world of the *Jinn* and the Salafi world." Egypt City. September 26, 2011. Accessed May 14, 2017. <http://www.civicegypt.org/?p=12282>.

¹⁸⁷ Anderson, *The Internet and Islam's New Interpreters*, 54.

¹⁸⁸ "Definition and Meaning of Sheikh in the Inclusive Dictionary," *Almaany.com*, accessed May 15, 2017, <http://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D8%B4%D9%8A%D8%AE/>

Since the aim of the study is to trace the break in transmitting the traditional authority as well as the oral tradition in religious context concerning sainthood, I will refer to Bolous who lived in Jordan for five years under the reign of King Abdullah I in the 1920s.¹⁸⁹ In his book, Bolous writes about Bedouin beliefs and the fuqarā. This chapter will trace the modifications of these rituals to comply with the regulations of the new Islamic reform.

Before introducing the story of Salmā, an overview of the Bedouins' religious life during Bolous' time is needed to help to understand Bedouins' perception of Islam. Although Bedouins recognized God and Islam, their perception of them was different from now. The khaṭīb, an Islamic teacher, taught the Bedouins that God created four beings from different substances: angels from light, jinn from fire, animals from water, and man from clay.¹⁹⁰ Although the Bedouins repeated what the khaṭīb said, they often ignored him. Bolous narrated an incident about the Bedouins who asked the khaṭīb to leave since his discourse about Islam was monotonous.¹⁹¹

Bedouins, who knew very little about Islam, rarely performed prayers. Each Bedouin performed the prayers in a different way.¹⁹² Bolous wrote about the Yazaīyda tribe who were known as thieves, yet its sheikh performed the five prayers prescribed by Islam.¹⁹³ Bedouins would perform a pagan rain ritual during drought years. They held cross-like-dolls which the female Bedouins dressed as a woman with all her accessories, Umm al-Ġīth. Singing, women would follow a venerable woman who would be holding Umm al-Ġīth, the doll. The Bedouins believed that the throne of God shakes when these women beseech Him.¹⁹⁴ As for the jinn, Bedouins believed they dwelt in ruins, desolated lands, streams, high trees, caves,

¹⁸⁹ "Five Years in Transjordan for Bolous Salman," *Sahafi. Jo*, posted on December 29, 2009, <http://sahafi.jo/files/91849d0ff5db6b2f21a7ce77c26780a9440ee8e6.html>.

¹⁹⁰ Boulous, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 128.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 134.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 137-8.

and meadows. Bedouins also believed there were sacred stones which were part of their prayers, and offered votive animals.¹⁹⁵

The Bedouins considered the fuqarā as the perfect Bedouin. Each tribe should have a fajīr. Bolous narrated an incident he witnessed about a fajīra called Salmā al-Shrāriya who was a very old woman. Bolous happened to see Salmā groaning and invoking God when he hurried to help her. Her face was covered with dirt, she wore a red silk headscarf. She was holding a small stick, which she moved up and down and swinging it north and south. Her eyes were glazed with saliva dripping down her chest when she started to welcome God, Prophet, al-‘Ajam, Sulāyman, and Faṭima the daughter of the Prophet. She was completely unaware of her surroundings. Her husband explained to Bolous that his wife sees Heaven. Then, the husband calmly burnt frankincense to calm his wife. When she woke up she threw her head near the fire and stayed there for a few minutes. She was praying and kissing the ground until she regained her senses. Some of the children laughed at her during her praying. Nonetheless, she did not care. The locals were familiar with the Khaura (trance), a temporal loss of consciousness, like the experience of Salmā and her husband attitude towards her during her khaura. Some people told Bolous that she might have become as stiff as a board.¹⁹⁶

Bolous’ book shows that Bedouins were unfamiliar with Islamic concepts and norms in the 1920s, which will be shown in the upcoming stories. The fuqarā, who were part of Bedouin society, were considered mediators between people and God as demonstrated when Salmā overtly stated that she saw God Himself, the Prophet, and the angels. This characteristic granted them special social status. They were highly respected and accepted in society as the Jūmlanī story will show. Knowing the dangers of such an effect on the public sphere the traditional authority of sainthood should be reshaped and confined to a certain religious

¹⁹⁵ Boulos, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 160.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 138-139.

framework to diminish such tremendous power to dreams and visions. Umm Khalid, who had a dream that was full of Islamic symbols, requested permission from official religious bodies in order to survive.

3.3 “Children of a Madwoman”

“Children of a Madwoman” is a story circulated among the Bedouin in Safawi. This story which passed from one generation to another changed as the previous chapter has shown. Although the indigenous in Safawi are familiar with the story, the elders were the narrators of the story which means that the chain of transmission is broken in Safawi because the younger generation does not care for a story full of heresy. However, it is the opposite for the cyber story, which the cyber-generation narrated to refer to their grandparents. The new narrative of this story shows how the chain of transmission broke then joined again with new presentations correspond with the present time.

On March 24, 2016, I interviewed Abu Bashir, Salem ‘ūqla ‘Zāmāt (b.1957). He was a lorry driver who used to help Bedouins in the transhumance process in exchange for money. He has since retired and owns a small herd of sheep. I had a female informant, Khulūd, who was my first informant. Since Khulūd is in her twenties and unmarried, she is dependent because she always referred to the elders about different topics before she answers my questions. Khulūd is an educated woman with a bachelor’s degree, unlike most of her sisters she seemed to be treated differently. Her father, Abū Armān, seemed proud of his daughter. Nonetheless, she was reluctant to give her own explanation or answer without referring to the elders which stresses the masculine hegemony. Khulūd advised me to meet Abu Bashir because he knows many stories who I met around 6:00 pm. Initially, he was a little intimidated because I was a stranger and a woman who wanted to listen to his old stories which the new generation refused to hear. When I entered the room, he had in front of him some Bedouin tools. He

explained that he made these tools because his children are no long familiar with them, and he wanted to teach his children about his life as a nomad. He is nostalgic for those old days when he used to graze the herds. The chain of the old oral tradition is lost, just like the Bedouin life. Although some young women wondered about the veracity of “Children of a Madwoman”, they seemed familiar with the story.

Abu Bashir started the story with a comment about the fuqarā whom he regards as corrupted people; they are no long the pious fuqarā because they either stopped performing exorcisms or covered their practices with Islamic ones to gain more money. Abu Bashir explicitly differentiated between fajr and sheikh by stating that the latter always had a beard. The official symbol of religiosity since the Sunna encourages men to have beards.¹⁹⁷ Abu Bashir also expressed his disappointment with the sheikhs who exploit patients by asking for too much money. Unlike the fajr who never asks for money the patient gave what s/he found convenient. For Abu Bashir the fuqarā are no more the innocent and simple people who cares for the members of their tribes. Abu Bashir, just like Abu al-Ula, overtly stated exorcism is a trade sheikhs use to gain more money.

Abu Bashir criticized the descendants of the jinni, who was supposed to carry their obligation toward the members of their tribe, because many of them abandoned their identity as a fajr. The immunity, which the children of a Madwoman had, disappeared. Abu Bashir, who seemed unsatisfied with the fuqarā in general and “Children of a Madwoman” in particular, still memorized the story as part of his Bedouin identity. Since each tribe should have a fajr the story did not name the great-grandfather, instead generalized the existence of fuqarā and the craziness which stands for trance.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Muhammed, "The Beard in Islam," *Islam.tc*, accessed July 16, 2017, <http://www.islam.tc/beard/>.

¹⁹⁸ Bolous, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 138.

The comparison of the changed presentations will be quite interesting between the cyber story and the Bedouin story. In the cyber story the jinn disappeared by invoking the name of God even if it was unintentional, as what happened with Ali in “Children of a Female Jinni”. In the Bedouin story, the jinni disappeared because the Bedouin had broken his word. The first story shows the fight is between Islam and jinn while the second story shows the fight is between human and jinn. The Bedouin did not need God to help him; he needed another man, like Bu Zaid. Unlike the cyber story, Muslims are weak without protecting themselves from the jinn, the imaginary enemy, by Quran.

3.4 Jūmlanī¹⁹⁹

The following story, which was also witnessed and narrated by Abu Bashir, demonstrates how the fuqarā abandoned many of their old practices to survive the fierce war the new Islamic reform started. This story took place in al-Safawi in 1967. The story is about a fajīr, who was wandering the desert, searching for his camel when he saw the father of Abu Bashir. The Jūmalnī, who stayed at the house of Abu Bashir, had a frantic reaction, trance, when he smelled the frankincense. He ran out of the house without aim until Abu Bashir's father was able to pull him back to the house and tie him down. The frankincense not only agitated the Jūmalnī but also rendered him the power to define a possessed person in the house of his host. The Jūmalnī could not abate until he smelled his burnt hair. The people of the house accepted his diagnosis and let him heal the sick man.

This story demonstrates the supernatural power held by the fuqarā. It also stresses the existence of sainthood in al-Badia, which was part of their daily life. A Bedouin can meet a fajīr at any time. They used to cross the borders without fear of harassment or shame to

¹⁹⁹ The word Jūmlanī is not a person's proper name. It is the name of a tribe lives in Syria. Abu Bashir chose to this name the fajīr after his tribe.

declare their identity. The fuqarā have now totally disappeared. This story, which was once circulated to legitimize the fuqarā, has ceased. The chain of fuqarā gave way to the sheikh.

The mezhar, an instrument that is associated with a ritual of exorcism, is another rite associated with the form and context which did not transmit to the next generation.²⁰⁰ It was part of the forgotten stories that the elders still keep as part of their identity which will pass into oblivion once they die.²⁰¹ Since “the traditions are regarded as a series of historical documents” which are no longer a part of the public sphere, these historical documents either are not recognized or lost their presentations.²⁰² Either way this shows that the transmission chain is broken. Although I was unable to witness such a cult, I heard many stories about the mezhar. The fajīr can step into the fire if s/he plays a mezhar. The fire, which is used for cooking, protection, and warming, is also part of the cure. It could simultaneously be a cause for the Bedouins—death—since jinn are made of fire.²⁰³

Those who witnessed this kind of cult also say the fire turns green when the fuqarā call their ancestors to help them in healing the sick. The information on hand is insufficient to depict a whole presentation of such a cult yet perhaps the cult of zar can give a clue to such practices. Natvig explains how a group of women play al-ṭar, an instrument resembling the mezhar, to summon the spirits, which are called asyads (lords).²⁰⁴ Thomas, who witnessed the zar, described it as a cult of exorcism which included fire in its practices.²⁰⁵ The possessed, Hamad, a member of the Murra tribe, covered his head with a shawl and started moving with increasing frenzy around the fire while others chanted. From time to time, the possessed inhaled a cup of fire as if it were incense. This continued until the voice of the possessed

²⁰⁰ Devatine, *Written Tradition, Oral Tradition, Oral Literature*, 11.

²⁰¹ It is like a tabor which the fuqarā use in healing their patients.

²⁰² Vansina, *Oral Tradition*, 21.

²⁰³ Boulos, *Five Years in Transjordan*, 128.

²⁰⁴ Richard J. Natvig, "Zār in Upper Egypt: Hans Alexander Winkler's Field Notes From 1932," *Islamic Africa* 1, no. 1 (2010): 17, doi:10.5192/215409910791297347.

²⁰⁵ Zar resembles a Mezhar

changed and the possessed spirit inside him started to speak.²⁰⁶ In the case of the Jumlanī, there was no mention of voices changing, however, the Jumlanī still acted as a possessed person.

The story of Abu Bashir referred to the mark of craziness, which caused the trance of fajīr. The three stories referred to the mark of the fajīr, however, this is no longer part of the transmitted tradition. In the first story, the trance started when Salmā invoked God and saw the heavens and pious figures. She even saw God, the Prophet, and his daughter, and her grandfathers when she experienced the trance. This is unlike the story of Hamad who was a vessel of the “evil spirit.”

Though the khaura had different causes, the three causes are strong evidence of importance of trance to the fajīr. It could be caused by invoking God, as with Salmā. In some cases, it can be caused by burning frankincense, as in the story of the Jūmlanī. Finally, it could be caused by inducing it, as with the zar in Hamad’s story. In case of Salmā, she saw God and the heavens while the Jūmalnī was able to define the sick person. As for Hamad, he looked to expel the evil spirit. It seemed that the craziness, trance, was the key for connecting the fajīr with the unseen world whether to see angels, cure the sick, or fight evil spirits. It is also important to note that the three stories do not refer to profanity. The surroundings of the Bedouins were suitable for this sort of rite unlike Abu Minwer who differentiated between profanity and sacredness. Religion began to taking on a political shape.²⁰⁷ The profanity is restricted to Islamic laws and regulations. Bedouins, in general, and the fajīr, in particular, at the Safawi are obliged Muslims who also considered Islam as part of their identity. Therefore, Bedouins are obliged to defend Islam along with the tribal ties to protect their

²⁰⁶ Thomas, *Arabia Felix*, 194-6.

²⁰⁷ Tibi, *Islamism and Islam*, 2.

existence. The tribal ties are not sufficient any more since the fajīr, Perfect Bedouin, has changed his practices to Islamic ones. Abu Minwer further attacked the old practices.

3.5 The Retirement of Abu Minwer

In 2016, I visited Abu Minwer's house with Abu Bashir on May 26, 2016. He was the last interviewee. After I finished the tour I went to the house of Rabiya and narrated everything. The family was kind to mention some people who are not fuqarā but had inherited special prayers.

When I asked Abu Minwer if he intended to pass his ṭariqa (path) to any of his children, he simply replied he did not think of it. Abu Minwer explained that his ancestors, al-'Iwajī, do not experience trance while the al-Warūr clan does. This is because paternal uncles inherit this ability from their maternal uncles. Abu Minwer recognized the descendants by ending the recitation of his lineage with a stress on the mother's side. In other words, the descendants of the female jinni, the value of the female jinni, ceased to be part of the public sphere and became a disgrace. He also said there are two types of fuqarā: some inherited the ṭariqa from their great-grandfather Khalid Ibn al-Wālīd, while others did not.

Peake also referred to some tribes that associate themselves with the followers of the Prophet, such as Al-Hussein Ibn Ali, Omar ibn al-Khaṭāb, Ibn al-Wālīd, or prominent sheikhs, such as Abd al-Qāder al-Jylānī. The tribes fully recognized the advantage these prominent names can bestow upon them.²⁰⁸ He also explained al-Khaura (the trance) as a temporary loss of consciousness. Once the fuqarā temporally lose their consciousness they start to praise God and declare that God is the only One. The attendants should remove all footwear and slippers so the angels can enter the house. Although in Abu Bashir's story the fajīr mumbled strange words, abu Minwer overlooked that to protect the presentation of the fuqarā. This was also

²⁰⁸ Peake, *A History of Jordan and Its Tribes*, 149-55.

stressed by Ḥarby in chapter one which identified a sorcerer as a person who speaks a strange language.

Abu Minwer legitimized the ṭariqa of his ancestor through a personal experience which he told me. Abu Minwer decided to quit the ṭariqa of his ancestors since all the fatawās (legal opinions) attacked his ṭariqa, and he was constantly subjected to harassment. One day a stranger knocked on Abu Minwer's door asking for Abu Minwer's father who had already passed away. The stranger asked for Abu Minwer's help because his mother was sick. Although Abu Minwer saw the mother's sallow leg, a sign of a jinni possession, he refused to heal her. The next day, Abu Minwer found he had a paralyzed seventh nerve. He immediately knew it was a message from his ancestors not to quit their ṭariqa. He realized his decision was wrong and promised God—but not his ancestors—that he would never quit his ṭariqa again or reject any patient. After forty days Abu Minwer was healed. He healed himself because he felt strongly about the legitimacy to his ṭariqa.

The story of Abu Minwer is a good example of the the fuqarā who want to keep the profession of their grandfather by modifying many of their ṭariqa to become part of the new Islamic reform. One of the modified practices of Abu Minwer is the almond stick. He still uses the almond stick, yet, he purifies it by reciting different Quranic verses on it to make it more effective. The mark of the craziness of a trance is not part of the Bedouin sainthood's identity. The profanity, which was not part of the rite, was integrated by Abu Minwer which modified his memory of the story. The last memory of the rite was modified to maintain the dignity of the memory of the old saints. The strong impact of the new Islamic reform cannot be denied, even the values in the old memories were modified to correspond with the new norms. The new generation maintains a faded memory of their ancestors which would not oppose the new Islamic reform. Abu Minwer denies that his ancestors used khaura yet he connected the presentation of khaura with profanity and angels. The new presentation he

reproduced is where the chain of traditional transmission breaks. The presentation is connected with new Islamic norms and since it is no longer circulated or part of the new Bedouin identity it will soon be part of a bygone history.

It is very important to note that the presentation which Abu Minwer produced is a modified presentation. Although it contains new norms, it is not in circulation. The presentation Abu Minwer narrated about angels and shoes do not corresponds with the khaura. In many research interviews, the shoes were part of the healing process because the fajr will use them to hit the possessed person. On the other hand, the person, who experiences the khaura, is possessed by a spirit and not angels, as the stories of Hamad and Nativg have shown. Angels were not invited into the scene right from the beginning. Abu Minwer, however, totally overlooked this fact about his ancestor and connected profanity with shoes which in Islam are not considered profane.²⁰⁹ It is also another indication of “a return of the sacred” a concept that means “religion assumes a political shape” because Abu Minwer gave his opinion about the profane to protect his identity as a Muslim.²¹⁰ This identity renders him a respectful social rank. The example of Abu Minwer about the invented profanity, since shoes are not considered in Islam profane, is strong evidence that Islam has a strong influence which Muslims used to achieve political, social, and economic benefits.

At the same time, stresses that Islamic regulations govern Muslims’ lives. Abu Minwer, who incorrectly interpreted Islamic regulations, felt obligated to commemorate this rite in a respectful manner to comply with the new presentations of this time. He produced a “modified presentation.” People intend to produce a modified presentation, contradicting the old value, to gain part of a lost value by associating it with new accepted norms.

²⁰⁹ "Original Purity Unless Making Sure Impurity," *Islamweb*, last modified on April 3, 2012, <http://fatwa.islamweb.net/fatwa/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=176963>.

²¹⁰ Tibi, *Islamism and Islam*, 2.

Abu Minwer, who fights for his identity as a fajīr, resisted harassment by criticizing the new Islamic reform and insisted in succeeding his ancestors. Nonetheless, there are many cases in which fuqarā have abandoned their social life because they were not recognized by the new Islamic reform. Al-Ḥaja Ni‘ma is a good example of such harassment. She withdrew from her social life because she refused to submit to the new Islamic reform. Al-Ḥaja Ni‘ma was well-known with a street was named after her. It was called the street of al-Ḥaja Ni‘ma who was harshly treated and exiled by her neighbors. She left her house after her husband’s death to live in one room. Nonetheless, Abu Minwer was not encouraged to pass his ṭariqa to his children since he did not nominate any of them. In other words, the immunity which used to protect the fuqarā from criticism and harassment is gone because the traditional authority of religious figures is fragmented.

The interview with Abu Minwer also referred to the khaura, which seemed to materialize; the angels could not enter the house while the shoes and slippers were at the threshold. Abu Minwer, who is a Bedouin, seemed to modify some of the rituals of zar to reflect his identity as a Muslim. Not far from the Bedouin life, Abu Minwer produced a very important presentation, which shows his rejection of the fuqarā. The fuqarā of Warūr clan still experiences the khaura because the fuqur (sainthood) was inherited from their maternal uncles. Abu Minwer detached his family members from this mark because it is no longer recognized by the new Islamic reform. The descendants of jinn and fuqarā must modify their rituals to be a part of the public sphere. Although Abu Minwer, fajīr, complied with the new Islamic reform, he is still proud of being a fajīr when he refused to seek the help of another fajīr to cure the seventh nerve. He insisted on curing himself and for forty days he used an Islamic cure. Abu Minwer again validates the norms of the new Islamic reform since he was healed by an Islamic cure and not using the cure of his ancestors. The new Islamic reform forced the saints, who lived in the periphery, to abandon their norms and adopt the norms of

the new Islamic reform. Abu Minwer, like other fuqarā, did not question the validity of the Islamic cure since they are invented ones as the first chapter explained through the video of Hassan. There is no room for the fajīr to doubt the invented Islamic cures. On the other hand, Abu Minwer unintentionally legitimized the new Islamic reform by producing modified presentations of his ancestors full of Islamic norms to heal an imaginary enemy.

3.6 The Dagger of Izḥema

Although Izḥema is not a fajīra, her case is quite interesting and should be mentioned. Izḥema is an old poor lady who inherited a charm from her mother. People fought with Izḥema over her charm until they convinced her it was against Islamic regulations. She even decided to die with her secret. Izḥema's relatives justified their assault by describing the prayer as "a Christian prayer" as her daughter illustrates.

Izḥema's charm is a prayer called Lijām, rein. This prayer has different uses but it is mostly used to prevent wolves from eating the herds. It does not work unless a man gives it to a woman or a woman gave it to a man. The charm, a prayer, is recited while a dagger is unfolded to be folded at the end of the prayer. Some people may use a piece of fabric which has the same effect. Both the knot or dagger should be locked or knotted until the herd is safe. This illiterate and poor woman was not spared the harsh treatment of her neighbors who were also her own relatives. Her daughter complained of such a loss which seemed to her as unrecoverable damage because Izḥema is the only person in Şafawi who knows the prayer. Nonetheless, no one can blame the old woman because it was either give up her secret or abandon her relatives; she chose the first solution.

The charm of Izḥema was defined as "a Christian prayer" because she did not ask help from God but rather asked help from jinn, so, she considered it "a Christian prayer." Christianity seemed for the Bedouins to be connected with prohibition and profanity. Izḥema correlated

her prayer with Christianity. This was also clear in Abu Bashir who judged a Druze as an infidel in a story he narrated to me. Abu Bashir, however, does not regard them likewise so he corrected himself by saying, “They say that the Druze is infidel.” It seemed that someone or something correlated other religions with profanity and sacredness to create social cohesion against other religion based on profanity and sacredness.

The charm was accepted among the Bedouins because it was passed onto successive generations. The strong influence of the new Islamic reform is so effective that Izḥema abandoned the secret of her ancestors. This is probably because the Bedouins started to lose part of their identity to the identity of the new Islamic reform. Again, the chain of the Bedouin tradition is replaced with Islamic norms.

3.7 The Silver Cup of Umm Khalid

The last interview conducted was with Umm Khalid, an illiterate widow in her forties living in a one-room house with a small kitchen and bathroom without any other source of income except for her cup of coffee. When Abu Bashir and I entered the house, the TV was on with Mecca on the screen and a recitation of the Quran playing.

The story of Umm Khalid starts with her ancestors, whom Abu Bashir recognized. She is a descendant of al-Shwemeh and a fajīra and is able to cure different spiritual diseases without the need of going into a trance, like the fuqarā of old. Her story started twenty years ago during Ramaḍān. It was on a Friday night during Ramaḍān, perhaps the Night of Destiny (laylat al-Qader), when after she prayed and slept an old sheikh of average height appeared to her. He was coming from al-qibla. His face and hands were shining. He approached Umm Khalid and gave her a silver cup of coffee with Quranic verses written on it. After handing her the cup of coffee, he told her that she should help people. This dream repeated for ten years. Every Ramadan the man appeared to Umm Khalid and told her she should help people.

She was afraid. She did not want to commit any prohibitions. Therefore, she asked someone to write a letter for her explaining about the dream to the Mufti of Mecca.²¹¹ The Mufti granted her permission as long as she was not committing any prohibitions or following the path of al-shayṭān.

She also expressed her desire to quit her ṭarīqa but people's insistence that she should help them prevented her from quitting. Though Umm Khalid explicitly stated her desire to quit her ṭarīqa, she did not seem intend to do it. She probably expressed her desire to stress her religiosity and that she was not anxious about mundane matters. In other words, she was not using her ṭarīqa for money.

Umm Khalid was able to heal a young woman who asked for her help because she could not conceive. Umm Khalid recited a few Quranic verses into a piece of wolf leather and asked the woman to keep it. A year later the young woman was pregnant. Umm Khalid explained the problem was because of tābi'a, a demon follower, and could be cured either by visiting the children of a Madwoman, who are the descendants of a female jinni, or use a piece of wolf leather. She requests no specific remuneration but leaves that to the visitor to decide. She stressed she does not exploit any visitors as would a sorcerer.

Umm Khalid legitimized her power through two things: a dream and her ancestors. She inherited from her mother the ability to expel the evil eye which she does not usually mention. She deludes people with her angelic dream to legitimize the practice of her ancestor. Abu Bashir, himself, was surprised when he heard she had inherited the power to expel the evil eye from her mother probably because Umm Khalid only recounts the dream since dreams are considered one of the forty-six steps towards prophet-hood.²¹² Umm Khalid is

²¹¹ A mufti is a jurist who interprets Islamic law.

²¹² "Dreams and Dream Interpretation," *Islam Question and Answer*, last modified on November 29, 1999, <https://islamqa.info/en/6537>.

fully aware of the dangerous and hazardous life she leads. Therefore, she sought to have official permission from the Mufti of Mecca to grant her the right to practice her ṭarīqa. Umm Khalid was able to provide a defense for herself by asking the mufti for guidance since his position is an official one,²¹³ his responses are authorized. In other words, the mufti authorized the ṭarīqa of Umm Khalid. The Fuqarā are under censorship and the only way to protect themselves is to obtain permission from an official Islamic body. This constant censorship limited the followers of fuqarā and frightened them.

The dream of Umm Khalid deserves more elaboration. The messenger to Umm Khalid seemed to have the physical appearance of the Prophet.²¹⁴ The messenger was wearing a white gown. His face and hands were shining. He came towards her from the qibla. The messenger did not appear except during Ramadan on the Night of Destiny, the holiest day for Muslims. Since there are many fatwas (legal opinions) that prohibit using a cup for fortunetelling, Umm Khalid's cup was different. It was silver cup on which were Quranic verses written. The messenger defined the job for Umm Khalid as helping people which means she will not follow the path of the Shayṭān.

Umm Khalid gave up her ancestors' legacy and resorted to Islamic symbols and norms. God Himself through his Prophet delivered the message to Umm Khalid yet this angelic dream would not have been sufficient because the new Islamic reform had a harsh punishment—exile. She had sent a letter to a mufti at Mecca to grant her permission to legally continue her practice without the threat of exile. While helping people, Umm Khalid would recite a few Quranic verses loudly, as Abu al-ʿUla stressed in the first chapter, to provide legitimacy to

²¹³ "Definition and Meaning of the Mufti in the Comprehensive Lexicon of Meanings," *Almaany.com*, <http://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%81%D8%AA%D9%8A/>.

²¹⁴ "Prophet's Appearance, Character, Physique and Some Miracles." *Al-Islam.org*, accessed June 4, 2017, <https://www.al-islam.org/hayat-al-qulub-vol-2-allamah-muhammad-baqir-al-majlisi/prophet-s-appearance-character-physique>.

her *ṭariqa*. However, she would mumble once she started to recite other prayers that did not comply with the regulations of the new Islamic reform.

It is also important to note that Umm Khalid correlated all the Islamic imagery in her dream with her real world to legitimize her *ṭarīqa*: it was a Friday night during Ramadan, she had finished her *Ishā* prayers, then she slept. All this was narrated while the TV was on and the Quran was being recited. This was unlike Salma who did not need these details to prove her sainthood. She even saw God Himself and the Prophet in the middle of the day. Again, Umm Khalid is another *fajīra* who unintentionally enhanced the legitimacy of the new Islamic reform because she cures people while loudly reciting Quranic verses. Even illiterate, Umm Khalid was even able to recognize Quranic verses in her dream without being told. What more could the new Islamic reform need to legitimize its existence?

Umm Khalid and Abu Minwer seemed to submit to the new Islamic reform by losing the mark of the old *fuqarā*. They both conformed to the Islamic norms. They used Islamic treatments such as Quranic verses, oil and black cumin to cure spiritual diseases—the evil eye, the demon follower (*al-ṭābi‘a*), and eaten charms (*ṭu‘um*).²¹⁵ Both of them complied with Islamic regulations yet they both insisted on maintaining their ancestors’ *ṭariqa*. Abu Minwer still uses the stick of almond to perform exorcisms. He repeated the old saying of the almond stick, “Protect me from the fire, I will protect you from jinn.”

The story of the “Children of a Madwoman” has now vanished just like any tradition that does not correspond with the norms of the present. The *fuqarā* have also vanished, just like the story, and adopted new forms. The religious and social norms changed. Starting with the key story, the “Children of a Madwoman” demonstrates that social and religious norms were embedded in the story “Children of a Female Jinni”. Oral traditions, modified to correspond

²¹⁵ Eaten charm is a kind of magic that is given to a victim who falls sick to the extent of death when it is eaten.

with the present norms, continued on because they are contextualized in a religious context. Nonetheless, these traditions should always be masked with contemporary norms. Salma the fajīra had vanished to become Umm Kahlid the sheikha. The Jūmlanī the fajīr have changed into Abu Minwer the sheikh. The story of the “Children of a Madwoman” is now called the Children of a Female Jinni”. The sacred genealogy of fuqarā has no value and considered heresy; they have become sheikhs.

3.8 I Am a Descendant of a Jinni

Although Abu Hussein, a descendant of a Madwoman or a female jinni, granted permission to write about the interview conducted with him in 2016, he asked for anonymity regarding his full name or location since he is subjected to continuous harassment by official religious men.

Abu Hussein Zawāhra²¹⁶ is a Syrian refugee who provides gratuitous healing for people. His reputation had preceded him prior to his arrival in Jordan. People immediately recognized him as the descendant of a Madwoman and sought his help. Although the interview lasted an hour and a half, I will only mention the most important aspects related to this thesis with a retelling of “Children of a Madwoman,” his genealogy, and the harassment he is subjected to in Jordan. I introduced Abu Hussein’s version of the story serves only to provide supporting evidence since this is not the version circulating in Safawi. Since Abu Hussein is a Syrian refugee this story is probably one circulating among the Bedouins of Syria and not Jordan. His version of the story documents how descendants narrated the story of their great-grandmother, jinni.

3.8.1 My Great-Grandmother is a Madwoman

²¹⁶ Zawāhra is the name of a clan.

The story begins with Sheikh Slemān Sabsābī²¹⁷ walking in the desert and sees two snakes, ḥanash and ḥaiya, chasing each other. Slemān hits the big snake, ḥanash, with his almond stick which turns into a black man. Immediately, the second snake turns into a beautiful lady who thanks him and asks him if there is something she could do to him to repay him for saving her life. Sheikh Slemān asks to marry her. She consents but tells him she is Basma the daughter of the king of Red Jinn. He should come Friday to the same place where he had saved the jinni and ask for her hand. Sheikh Slemān asks her about the way to descend to the lower world, the world of jinn. She says that once he reaches the spot he should say “you blessed move”²¹⁸ and the earth will open onto the world of jinn. Sheikh Slemān does what Basma said to do. Basma’s family welcomes Sheikh Slemān and tells him never to upset Basma. They also tell him that she will not be able to talk like others, however, she could read minds. Sheikh Slemān takes his wife home on horseback. Eventually Basma gives birth to a boy whom she buries in the fire-pot after forty days. She repeats the same action when her daughter is born. One day, she slaughters a sheep and after cooking it she throws it on the ground along with some wheat and water.

One day, his brother dies in a raid. He goes to avenge his brother but the iron key to his horse has disappeared. He does not like this but never says a word until she laughs during his brother’s funeral then he chides her in his mind. She replies that everything is over and explains to him why she laughed and why she hid the iron key of the horse. She laughed because his sister-in-law is planning to marry another man and she hid the iron key because he would be killed if he sought to avenge his brother.

She asks him to meet her like the first time to end their marriage. Sheikh Slemān meets Basma and her family as she directed him. Basma’s family gives the two children to Sheikh

²¹⁷ Sabsābī is the name of a clan.

²¹⁸ The phrase “you blessed move” probably refers to a hidden door in the ground.

Slemān. They warn him that Basma would follow him to try and take back the children and he should never look back or turn left or right. He places the boy before him and the girl behind him on the horse and gallops off. When Basma starts to shout and cry asking Sheikh Slemān not to leave her, he believes her and looks backward and she takes her daughter back. Sheikh Slemān realizes his jinni wife has deceived him. He appears in the upper world with only one child. Although the story continues the following events are not relevant to this thesis.

Although the story was narrated by Abu Hussein, a descendant of a Madwoman, the story contains Islamic and non-Islamic symbols. The meaning of Sheikh in the story does not equate to the contemporary meaning of sheikh, instead it means the head of a tribe. As Abu Hussein said that Sheikh Sulaymān is the head of his tribe, *Ẓawāhira*. As this thesis demonstrates, some descendants of a jinni were nominated as the head of the tribes as the stories of Bu Zaid suggested or were the head of their tribe as the story of Sheikh Sulaymān showed so controlling them means controlling the whole tribe. The name Slemān is slang for Sulaymān, or Solomon, the prophet who controlled the jinn in the Quran. In a prayer Abu Bashir recited to me he referred to Slemān the governor of jinn as Prophet Sulaymān. Oral tradition along with certain orthodox beliefs were part of the Bedouins' oral traditions. Abu Hussein presented the jinn as two snakes who were killed by an almond stick. Although this story is quite interesting and analyzing it will contribute to understanding the embedded traditions of the story it is beyond the scope of this thesis. The main significance of this story is that it serves to comprehend the importance of the descendants of the jinni to the new Islamic reform.

3.8.2 I Will Tell You the Truth of My Ancestors

Although Abu Hussein recited his paternal genealogy back five generations his lineage will be kept confidential because of the sensitivity of his situation. I assume it will be safer to talk about the origin of his great-grandmother, Basma. Basma, his great-grandmother, is the daughter of the king of Red Jinn who lived in Karbala in Iraq. According to Abu Hussein, Basma birthed two children, a boy named Jamil and a girl named Jamila. The girl is still alive and living with her mother in Karbala while the boy Jamil, who is the great grandfather of the sacred genealogy, is dead. Abu Hussein did not also overlook the importance of the line of the Prophet. He insisted that his great grandfather is Zain al-‘Ābidyn. He showed me a photo of a grave of his ancestor where the tombstone said his ancestors are the descendants of Hashemī though it is hard to prove the veracity of the claim. This also stress that the descendants of jinni were highly respected and accepted as part of the Prophet’s line. It illustrates how the new Islamic reform used religiously venerated families to enhance its existence.

Abu Hussein stressed that he is telling the truth by referring to an incident of a fuqarā from another tribe who acknowledged the superiority of Abu Hussein Ṣawāhira who still uses the ṭariqā of his ancestors with Quranic verses.²¹⁹ Abu Hussein insists he is a Muslim who conforms to all Islamic regulations and laws. The descendants of jinni are still recognized by other fuqarā as well as other Bedouins. The new Islamic reform knew that and used the privilege of the sacred genealogy to enhance its existence by forcing the descendants of jinn to admit the new Islam norms as part of their identity.

3.8.3 I Am Muslim Fajr

²¹⁹ Abu Hussein told of more than one incident in which people immediately recognized him as a descendant of a well-respected tribe that knows how to fight jinn.

Abu Hussein recognizes himself as a Muslim who is subjected to harassment, accused of being a sorcerer, because other sheikhs who heal for money find Abu Hussein a problem for them because he gratuitously treats people. A visitor chooses to pay him in the way s/he likes. Abu Hussein, along with his family, had stones thrown at them and called a sorcerer. This forced him to leave his house for nine months. He and his family lived in a tent far from the village until the harassment stopped for reasons he did not share.

Abu Hussein treats possessed people by reciting Quran on some oil and water. Then he asks the possessed to use them according to his instruction. He also uses an almond stick. The new Islamic reform has won Abu Hussein to its side. Abu Hussein recognizes the new Islamic reform as the leader of Muslims because he performs exorcisms as the new Islamic reform dictates. Nonetheless, he still follows the path of his ancestors by using the almond stick. After all, there is no actual fight between Muslims and jinn. Abu Hussein, a descendant of sacred genealogy, submitted to the new Islamic reform and lost his political, social, and economic rights to the new Islamic reform to become a regular Abu Hussein whose only concern is to survive the harsh punishment of the new Islamic reform.

Conclusion

The question asked at the end of chapter one of this thesis sums up the whole argument: Why Jinn?

According to the arguments presented in this thesis, jinn exist in a completely independent world that does not adhere to cause and effect. Jinn are invisible beings with free will just like humans yet they can cause harm for no reason, as Abu al-‘Ula stressed. Unlike magic and the evil eye that are initiated by cause and effect, the jinn are bound with imagination, which can cause sickness and even death, and is easily manipulated. The only way to defeat these imaginary enemies is to be a committed Muslim.

Since Islam explicitly stated that jinn live in a totally separated world that does not harm humans, as illustrated by the scholars in chapter one, the key then to access this world was through oral traditions, general accepted truth, and the fuqarā, the sacred genealogy. These two elements, oral traditions and fuqarā, should be reformed and contextualized to create a space for the new Islamic reform. Therefore, the chain of transmission was broken to adhere to another chain, which is full of Islamic beliefs based on misinterpreted Islamic regulations since the jinn do not threat or harm Muslim according to Islam.

As this thesis has shown these two elements are quite dangerous if they are not placed in a framework in which the narratives of Muslims are restricted. This is because the unseen world, which is not bound to cause and effect, can destroy the existence of the new Islamic reform. On the other hand, the fuqarā, unlike Jinn, are bound to cause and effect and have gained the love and respect of the people because they perform exorcisms. This will certainly gather followers and blind obedience; providing an invincible immunity. Therefore, the traditional authority of the saint based on genealogy was destroyed. The public sphere, where framed debates occurred, is full of disputes to guarantee eternity and perpetuity based on the

broken chain of transmission. In the end, choosing a controversial topic that cannot be easily resolved will prolong the lifespan of the new Islamic reform because all the argument revolve around the jinn topic are based on Islamic symbols and beliefs.

The bottom line is the new Islamic reform needs the circulations of Islamic beliefs to insert the religious concepts it needs to sustain its existence as part of the orthodox Islam. These misinterpreted religious texts are the vehicle to create a new identity for Muslims to serve its political agenda. At the same time, Muslims are unaware of this agenda because they are in constant fight with the imaginary enemy. In other words, the fear of jinn is one of the factors that makes Muslims adhere the regulations of the new Islamic reform because Islam explicitly states that jinn do not harm humans. Therefore, Muslims will follow the rules of their savior, no matter what they are. This fear contributed in creating a strong social cohesion that is willing to scarify its being and welfare to protect its savior.

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