

and hence sin was to be treated as “apparent reality.” In the third edition of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, Eddy entitled an early chapter “Demonology,” which was later retitled “Animal Magnetism” since its contents denounced occultism, necromancy, mesmerism, animal magnetism (hypothetical magnetic fields around the body), and hypnotism.

A number of new Christian groups have emerged through synthesizing biblical ideas with other religions or worldviews. One cluster of groups have become known as UFO-religions, which often combine UFOlogy with biblical exegesis, holding that God or the gods are races of extraterrestrial beings. Examples are Heaven’s Gate, whose members committed collective suicide in San Diego in 1997, and the Raëlians, who hold that the world was created by extraterrestrial physical beings known as the Elohim. Both groups have taught that these gods are opposed by Luciferians or satanic extraterrestrials.

The so-called New Age tends to exist apart from Christianity, although some “channelled” writings refer to Jesus. Many New Age ideas attract disapproval from Christians, particularly Protestant evangelicals. It is unclear, for example, what kinds of supernatural force are believed to be at work in devices such as horoscopes, Tarot cards, and ouija boards: critics refer variously to spirits, ghosts, and evil forces, which are not clearly distinguished. Nonetheless, they are frequently regarded as doorways for Satan, and their supernatural potency is seldom disputed. The story of Paul’s encounter with the slave girl who possesses oracular gifts (Acts 16:16–18) is often cited in this regard: her powers were real enough but were the work of an evil spirit, requiring exorcism.

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George D. Chrystides

VII. Islam

Arab-Islamic demonology received significant attention in 19th-century scholarship. Due to the general popularity of evolutionary theories of religious development, the concept of the *jinn* in particular, still a conspicuous feature of Bedouin culture at that time, was presumed to be a vestige of genuinely ancient Semitic spirit belief. Further, as with other elements of “primitive” Arabian culture, in the view of major scholars such as Robertson Smith, the *jinn* could potentially be linked to as-

pects of ancient Israelite thought canonized in the Bible – especially insofar as the conception of *jinn* as tutelary and protective spirits in the autochthonous traditions of Arabia might be thought to parallel the origins of the God of Israel as a tribal patron deity of the Hebrews. More contemporary scholarship has tended to focus instead on the significant place demons and the demonic have held in scholarly discourse, popular religiosity, and the artistic imagination throughout the Muslim world. This is due not only to the numerous references to *jinn*, *shayāṭīn* and other supernatural beings in foundational religious texts such as the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth, but also to Islam’s capacity to assimilate, adapt, and foster the continuing growth of the rich mythologies and folklore of pre-Islamic cultures.

1. Qurʾānic Foundations. The cosmology of the Qurʾān accommodates numerous varieties of supernatural or quasi-supernatural beings: the angels (*malāʾika*), sometimes divided into various subclasses and also including named archangels; the demons proper (*shayāṭīn*); and the *jinn* (sing. or coll.; rarely also *jānn* in the singular and *jinnā* in the plural; later literature commonly uses the singular form *jinnī*). The distinction between *jinn*, *shayāṭīn*, and other classes of spiritual beings is at times blurry, epitomized by the fact that the main diabolical figure of the Qurʾān, Iblis/Shayṭān, seems to belong to multiple categories simultaneously. He is only explicitly termed “one of the *jinn*” once (S 18:50), whereas elsewhere he is assumed to be an angel, but he clearly must be linked to the generic class of “satans,” *shayāṭīn*, as well. These latter beings may be construed either as similar to the *jinn* or else as fallen angels.

The complexity of Qurʾānic demonology is no doubt due to its diverse sources. At its foundation lies the indigenous Arabian conception of the *jinn*, which older scholarship saw as a vestige of an ancient animism widespread throughout the region. According to this school of thought, the *jinn* may possibly be related to the *šēʿīrim*, spirits of the desert and wasteland mentioned in the HB (often mistranslated as “satyrs”; cf., e.g., Lev 17:7), of whom Azazel (see Lev 16) is possibly the best-known. In some respects, the depiction of the *jinn* retains features that may in fact stem from animistic origins; they are sometimes portrayed as threatening and dangerous, but only in the way in which wild animals might be considered such, while at other times, they are regarded more neutrally, as beings to be respected, propitiated, and perhaps best avoided. The most interesting role that was supposedly attributed to the *jinn* in pre-Islamic times is that of poetic inspiration: thus, the Qurʾān takes considerable care to emphasize its own legitimacy as genuine divine revelation (*kitāb, tanzīl*), rejecting accusations that Muḥammad was a mere poet (*shāʿir*) and therefore *majnūn*, under the tute-

lage of a possessing spirit (cf., e.g., S 15:6), which would obviously tend to relegate the Qurʾān to a status considerably beneath that of authentic scripture.

The Qurʾān and Islamic religious literature drew on ancient conceptions of the *jinn* yet clearly portray the *jinn* as subordinates within a rigorously monotheistic framework. Thus, they may be depicted as unambiguously demonic and malevolent; or, more intriguingly, they may be shown to be a species of intelligently created beings who are obligated to show gratitude and reverence to their Creator, and are fully accountable for their actions. In this, they are naturally viewed as similar to humans and the Qurʾān frequently makes use of the pairing “people and *jinn*” (*al-ins wa’l-jinn* or variants) in emphasizing the creaturely status of both. Unlike humans, whose physical substance consists of clay, the *jinn* are made of fire, which bestows upon them their particular abilities (cf. S 15: 26–27; 55: 14–15). Nevertheless, the *jinn* must recognize their limits, like humans, for both species of rational beings are subject to divine authority and may be condemned for their sins and consigned to hell when the Day of Judgment comes (cf., e.g., S 55: 33–39).

The Qurʾānic “satans” or *shayāṭīn* are similar in this regard. On one level, they may appear as a variety of vaguely capricious and potentially harmful spirits, like the *jinn*. But on another level, they are more equivalent to demons proper, being interpreted as consciously malevolent supernatural beings in the service of an arch-malefactor, Iblīs or al-Shayṭān (*shayṭān* can indicate a generic term for a demon when indefinite, while signifying the devil himself when used in the definite). Like the *jinn*, they will be punished if they do not heed the limits imposed on them, such as not approaching the heavenly realms and eavesdropping on God and His angels (cf. S 15: 16–18, 37: 6–10; the same hubris is attributed to the *jinn* in 72: 8–9, implying some equation between the two species of beings; it is this heavenly eavesdropping that is sometimes held to have allowed them to provide poets and soothsayers with extraordinary knowledge of the future and so forth). In this, one can clearly see that older elements from the polytheistic Arabian milieu have been fused with a more developed and theologically nuanced mythology exhibiting obvious points of contact with Jewish and Christian demonology (cf., e.g., the depiction of al-Shayṭān and the *shayāṭīn* as fallen angels). In the shift from a more neutral to a more negative portrayal, this transition mirrors the development of the Greco-Roman conception of δαίμονες from spirits to “demons” in early Jewish and Christian lore.

2. Demons in Classical Islamic Sources. The *jinn* and *shayāṭīn* appear prominently in the Ḥadīth literature. Given the material’s focus on religious praxis, it is unsurprising that the specific emphasis

is often on apotropaic procedures that the believer may use to ward off pernicious demonic influences. Due to the widespread appearance of malevolent spirits in both the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth, the subject of demonology has been worthy of serious discussion by ‘*ulamā*’ working in the exegetical, legal, and theological disciplines throughout Islamic history. Strange though it may seem, because the Qurʾān testifies to the existence of *jinn* and other spirits, the jurists had to take into account the possible legal repercussions of relations between these beings and humans; as recently as 1984, a case was heard in court in Egypt in which a wife demanded a divorce on the grounds that her husband had secretly wedded a *jinn*. In *tafsīr* (Qurʾān commentary), on the other hand, the prevailing concern has often been to bring coherence to the numerous and scattered references to spiritual beings in scripture, as well as to resolve seeming contradictions in the Qurʾānic depiction of Satan (for example, determining whether he is an angel or a *jinn*, etc.)

Jewish and especially Christian demonology has frequently been motivated by the desire to reduce foreign, “idolatrous” gods to the status of demons. This is much less often the case in Muslim discourse, in which false gods are perhaps more often understood as apotheosized angels, or simply condemned as imaginary. (False gods can, however, on rare occasions be depicted as demonic, as in the well-known case of the manifestation of the goddess al-‘Uzza as a horrible hag when the general Khālīd ibn al-Walīd was sent to destroy her sacred grove at the oasis of Nakhla.) *Jinn* are more often understood as a presence in the material world that bridges the natural and supernatural realms, a part of the cosmic order that, like everything else, falls under the absolute dominion of the divine will. Seldom have Muslims understood the world of the spirits and demons as a malevolent opposite to God and His faithful angels (as is commonly the case in Christian imagination), presumably due to the overarching emphasis on divine sovereignty in the tradition.

The portrayal of demonic beings in the Qurʾān has inspired richly imaginative narrative expansions of this material in classical Islamic literature, and these portrayals often incorporate legendary and exegetical material from other traditions. For example, the stories of fallen angels in the Qurʾān, whether Iblīs or the mysterious pair Hārūt and Mārūt (S 2: 101–2, seemingly an appropriation of the Zoroastrian archangels Haurvatāt and Ameretat), are the subject of many creative elaborations in *tafsīr* and other genres. These expansions often display multiple points of contact with Jewish and Christian traditions, such as the Enochic literature. (The Qurʾān’s claim that Hārūt and Mārūt taught people magic, *sihr*, is itself an important element in the older Enochic sources’ elaboration of the my-

thology of the fallen angels.) The classical sources often inject striking notes of verisimilitude into their accounts of demonic presences in the world; for example, in the Ḥadīth literature a woman is portrayed as seeking relief from the Prophet for the sin of learning witchcraft from Hārūt and Mārūt; in a later generation, the Successor Saʿīd ibn Jubayr, a prominent exegete, is said to have met them in Babylon. Another locus classicus for Islamic demonological lore is the qurʾānic tradition about Solomon's mastery of the demons (cf., e.g., S34: 12–14). The long narrative of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba in S37 (in which his demonic servant is termed an *ʿifrīt* in verse 39, a *hapax legomenon* with a long afterlife in Islamic lore) inspired detailed commentary in the *tafsīr*, as well as numerous expansions in a variety of literary and popular genres. Here, too, Muslim elaborations on the story drew on older themes and motifs also preserved in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, midrash, et al.

3. Demons in Belles-lettres, Cosmography, and the Visual Arts. Some mention must be made here of the colorful and varied representation of *jinn* and other demons in works outside the religious sciences proper. The *jinn* are, of course, most familiar to western audiences from the numerous stories that feature them in *A Thousand and One Nights*, a fluid corpus of tales that straddle the line between high and popular literature. But the *jinn* are also frequently featured in other genres. For example, due to the conventional identification of demonic (or daemonic) possession as the source of both poetic inspiration and romantic obsession, the figure of the *majnūn* (literally “*jinn*-possessed”) has long enjoyed popularity as a stock type in the poetic arts. We must also acknowledge the interest in demons in classical works in the natural sciences and especially in cosmographies, the *ʿajāʾib al-makhlūqāt* (“wonders of creation”) literature. The lavishly illustrated editions of the undisputed classic of the *ʿajāʾib* genre, that of al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), feature many depictions of both diabolical and angelic beings, as do many works from other genres that were frequently produced in such editions, for example the *Shāh-Nāmeḥ* of Ferdōwī (d. 1020) in which the fabled Persian kings and heroes of old often battled ferocious *dīvs* and other monsters. Illustrating scenes from these works granted artists of the great courts and ateliers of the medieval Persianate world ample opportunity to exercise their imagination, technical proficiency, and sense of whimsy. The realm of the visual arts is yet another context in which Muslim depictions of demons reflect a fusion of cultural elements; the most dramatic case would be the intriguing and grotesque demons depicted by the so-called Siyah Qalem or “Black Pen” painter or school in the album designated Hazine 2153 in the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul. The closest parallel to these figures seems to be found in the work of

a Yuan Dynasty-era Chinese painter, pointing to a shared prototype in Central Asia during the pre-Mongol period; as with so many other aspects of visual culture in the period, this demonstrates the permeability of cultural and social boundaries along the eastern frontier of the Islamic world and the continuing fruitful exchanges that occurred there throughout the Middle Ages.

4. Demonic Possession and Healing. The blurring of the boundaries between scholarly discourse and “folk” belief – which likely proves the vacuousness of the distinction itself – in Islamic tradition is starkly demonstrated by the subjects of spirit healing, demonic possession, and exorcism. As already mentioned, apotropaic defenses against demons and cures for the effects of their malevolent influence are a recurring theme in the Ḥadīth, and scholars have only recently come to appreciate the significant role the Prophet and his Companions played as exorcists in accounts of Islam's formative period, obviously paralleling (and competing with) Jesus, prophets, saints, and wonderworking rabbis of old in this regard. There has been, and continues to be, considerable ethnographic research done on the indigenous healing traditions of various Islamic societies. The great diversity of these traditions demonstrates once again the marked tendency for demonological lore to serve as a significant ground on which normative and classical ideas, concepts, and definitions blend with and are assimilated to the numerous cultures of the Islamic world. However, we should keep in mind that these “classical” conceptions of demons and the means believers may adopt to deal with them were themselves the product of a highly diverse and multicultural milieu; a sophisticated demonological *koiné* was already present in many of the major cultures of Late Antiquity, such as those of Iraq and Egypt, that became important centers of the early Islamic empire, as reflected in the Greek Magical Papyri or the Babylonian Talmud. The emergence of Islam brought additional ingredients to this vibrant, heterogeneous mix of elements, as have the countless cultures assimilated into the *Dār al-Islām* with the continuing spread of the faith over subsequent centuries.

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Michael E. Pregill

VIII. Other Religions

Demonic figures and evil spirits that are hostile to humanity appear in most religions. In both Hinduism and Buddhism, evil is personified in Māra, who leads people away from the spiritual path of self-restraint. Both religions also have orders of beings who need to be propitiated if their evil intent is to be diverted: e.g., the *rākṣasa* of Hinduism, and the male *yakṣa* and female *yakṣiṇīs* of Buddhism. As Buddhism spread from India, it encountered and incorporated local shamanistic practices directed towards the control and exorcism of evil spirits.

Reception of biblical images of the demonic by Hindus and Buddhists began during the era of European imperialism when they were at the receiving end of Christian missionary accusations that they were in league with the devil and worshipped devils. Exorcism in Sri Lankan Buddhist society, for instance, was labelled “devil dancing,” and the *devalē* system of deity-worship was judged a form of demonology.

19th-century revivalist Buddhists reacted to this by subverting the image of the demon in Christianity, projecting the demonic into the heart of Christianity and the West (Harris 2006). The Anagarika Dharmapāla, lamenting the effects of British imperialism, wrote that the “village peasantry” had “now fallen into the destructive net of alcoholism introduced by the sensual demons of the West” (Guruge: 57). In his writings, the God of Christianity becomes demonic, linked to a history of violence and bestialism (Guruge: 424–25). The incompatibility of human suffering with the Christian claim that God is good prompted Ananda Metteyya (Allan Bennett, 1872–1923), an early Western convert to Buddhism, to claim that the person who awakes to the First Noble Truth must clearly see that any being, “who could have devised a Universe wherein was all this wanton war, this piteous mass of pain

coterminous with life, must have been a Demon, not a God” (Harris 1998: 25).

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Elizabeth J. Harris

IX. Literature

The NT equates the Greek concept of the demon with evil spirits (Matt 9:32; Mark 7:26; Luke 4:44) or as something in opposition to God (1 Cor 10:21). This marks a shift in the semantic field of δαίμων (or *daemon*), which in ancient Greek discourse had a more ambivalent meaning, and lays the foundation for the Christian discourse on demons and evil (Martin: x–xi). The cosmic aspect of demons as opposition to God is depicted in works such as Spenser’s *The Faerie Queene* (1596) and Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1821). Milton especially wrote with ease and detail on devils and hell, causing William Blake to remark that he “was a true Poet and of the Devil’s party without knowing it.” (Blake 1975: xvii).

In early Christianity, demons were associated with black skin. This tradition began with the *Life of Anthony* (4th cent.) and carried on, among others, in Didymus the Blind’s commentary on Zechariah (4th cent.) and the *Coptic Life of Moses* (6th cent.) (Brakke: 160–68). The connection between demons and blackness is also found in Francesco Maria Guazzo’s *Compendium maleficarum* from 1608, which, apart from a number of references to blackness, also cites Theodoret as mentioning a black demon in his *Ecclesiastical History* 5.21.

Emily Brontë’s *Wuthering Heights* plays with the racial aspects of demons in the characterization of Heathcliff, who is presented as “dark as if it came from the devil” (p. 28), but also exhibits behaviour, which causes Hindley Earnshaw to call him “imp of Satan” (p. 31). Nelly, the servant, and one of the narrators, regards him as a manifestation of evil (Auerbach: 101). This ghoulish trait of Heathcliff is connected to his gypsy background, namely his racial otherness, but also his social status, which threatens or disturbs the order of the household.

The demon as a figure of social unrest is also a feature of Fyodor Dostoevsky’s novel *Demons* (1872). The novel presents various clashing ideologies in 19th-century Russia, and it is Stepan, one of the leading characters, who through the story of the demon-possessed man and the herd of swine comes to