

anthropos

Zeitschrift für Medizinethnologie • Journal of Medical Anthropology

hrsg. von/edited by: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ethnomedizin e.V. – AGEM

Good Deaths/Bad Deaths: Dilemmas of Death in Comparative Perspective



To the title: "Good Deaths/Bad Deaths: Dilemmas of Death in Comparative Perspective". Crosses were built up in many parts of Central Europe during the pest epidemics, when the challenge passed away, here Mount Witthoh by Emmingen near the Lake of Constance, today a point to start excursions into the nature. // **Zum Titelbild:** „Guter Tod/Schlimmer Tod: Dilemmas des Sterbens aus vergleichender Perspektive“. Pestkreuze wurden früher in weiten Teilen Mitteleuropas aufgestellt, wenn die Bedrohungen durch die Pestepidemie überstanden wurden, hier auf dem Berg Witthoh bei Emmingen in der Nähe des Bodensees, heute Ausgangspunkt für Wanderungen in die Natur. // **Foto** © E. SCHRÖDER, 1990

nächstes Heft // next issue:

Curare 31 (2008) 2: Die fremden Sprachen, die fremden Kranken: Dolmetschen im medizinischen Kontext // Foreign Languages, Foreign Patients: Interpreting in a Medical Context

ALEXANDER BISCHOFF, Basel & BERND MEYER, Hamburg (Gasteditoren // Guest editors)

letzte Ausgabe // past issue:

Curare: 30 (2007) 2+3: Medizinethnologie "on the Move": Lebenswelten unter neuen medizinanthropologischen Perspektiven // German Medical Anthropology "on the Move"—New Perspectives on Lifeworlds

KRISTINA TIEDJE, Lyon & EKKEHARD SCHRÖDER, Potsdam (Editoren)

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ethnomedizin – AGEM, Herausgeber der

Curare, Zeitschrift für Ethnomedizin und transkulturelle Psychiatrie, gegründet 1978

ab 2008 neuer Untertitel: *Curare, Zeitschrift für Medizinethnologie • Curare, Journal of Medical Anthropology*

Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ethnomedizin (AGEM) hat als rechtsfähiger Verein ihren Sitz in Hamburg und ist eine Vereinigung von Wissenschaftlern und die Wissenschaft fördernden Personen und Einrichtungen, die ausschließlich und unmittelbar gemeinnützige Zwecke verfolgt. Sie bezweckt die Förderung der interdisziplinären Zusammenarbeit zwischen der Medizin einschließlich der Medizinhistorie, der Humanbiologie, Pharmakologie und Botanik und angrenzender Naturwissenschaften einerseits und den Kultur- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften andererseits, insbesondere der Ethnologie, Kulturanthropologie, Soziologie, Psychologie und Volkskunde mit dem Ziel, das Studium der Volksmedizin, aber auch der Humanökologie und Medizin-Soziologie zu intensivieren. Insbesondere soll sie als Herausgeber einer ethnomedizinischen Zeitschrift dieses Ziel fördern, sowie durch regelmäßige Fachtagungen und durch die Sammlung themenbezogenen Schrifttums die wissenschaftliche Diskussionsebene verbreitern. (Auszug der Satzung von 1970)



**Zeitschrift für Medizinethnologie
Journal of Medical Anthropology**



Herausgegeben im Auftrag der / Edited on behalf of:

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ethnomedizin e.V. – AGEM
von Ekkehard Schröder, auch verantwortlich im Sinne des Presse-
rechtes V.i.S.d.P. / Editor-in-chief

Geschäftsadresse / office AGEM: AGEM-Curare
c/o E. Schröder, Spindelstr. 3, 14482 Potsdam, Germany
e-mail: ee.schroeder@t-online.de, Fax: +49-[0]331-704 46 82
www.agem-ethnomedizin.de

Herausgeberteam /Editorial Board Vol. 28(2005) - 30(2007):

Hans-Jörg Assion (Bochum) Hans-Joerg.Assion@wkp-lwl.org
// Michael Heinrich (London) michael.heinrich@ulsop.ac.uk //
Ruth Kutalek (Wien) ruth.kutalek@meduniwien.ac.at // Bettina
E. Schmidt (Oxford) b.schmidt@bangor.ac.uk // Kristina Tiedje
(Lyon) kristina@tiedje.com // Anita Zahlten-Hingurange (Heidel-
berg) anita-zahlten-h@nct-heidelberg.de

Beirat /Advisory Board: John R. Baker (Moorpark, CA, USA) //
Mihály Hoppál (Budapest) // Annette Leibing (Montreal, CAN) //
Armin Prinz (Wien) // Hannes Stubbe (Köln)

Begründet von / Founding Editors: Beatrix Pfeleiderer (Ham-
burg) – Gerhard Rudnitzki (Heidelberg) – Wulf Schiefenhövel
(Andechs) – Ekkehard Schröder (Potsdam)

Ehrenbeirat / Honorary Editors: Hans-Jochen Diesfeld (Starn-
berg) – Horst H. Figge (Freiburg) – Dieter H. Frießem (Stuttgart)
– Wolfgang G. Jilek (Vancouver) – Guy Mazars (Strasbourg)

IMPRESSUM 31(2008)1

Verlag und Vertrieb / Publishing House:

VWB – Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, Amand Aglaster
Postfach 11 03 68 • 10833 Berlin, Germany
Tel. +49-[0]30-251 04 15 • Fax: +49-[0]30-251 11 36
e-mail: info@vwb-verlag.com
http://www.vwb-verlag.com

Bezug / Supply:

Der Bezug der *Curare* ist im Mitgliedsbeitrag der Arbeitsgemein-
schaft Ethnomedizin (AGEM) enthalten. Einzelne Hefte können
beim VWB-Verlag bezogen werden // *Curare* is included in a
regular membership of AGEM. Single copies can be ordered at
VWB-Verlag.

Abonnementspreis / Subscription Rate:

Die jeweils gültigen Abonnementspreise finden Sie im Internet
unter // Valid subscription rates you can find at the internet under:
www.vwb-verlag.com/reihen/Periodika/curare.html

Copyright:

© VWB – Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, Berlin 2008

ISSN 0344-8622

ISBN 978-3-86135-754-4

Die Artikel dieser Zeitschrift wurden einem Gutachterverfahren
unterzogen // This journal is peer reviewed.



Inhalt / Contents
Vol. 31 (2008) 1
Einzelheft / Single Issue

**Good Deaths/Bad Deaths:
Dilemmas of Death in Comparative Perspective
Guter Tod/Schlimmer Tod:
Dilemmas des Sterbens aus vergleichender Perspektive**

Guest-editors / Gasteditoren:
GABRIELE ALEX & SUZETTE HEALD

SUZETTE HEALD: Introduction	3
The authors of this special theme	7
ANNE HAMBRO ALNÆS: Organ Donation Deaths: Good or Bad? Some “Good” in “Bad” Deaths	8
IKUMI OKAMOTO: Dying a Good Death at a Palliative Care Unit in Japan	21
MAUREEN BLOOM: Dementia, Disability and Dignity: The Case for Autonomy	29
FRED KLAITS: Care for the Dying, Care by the Dying: “Giving up” in a Church of the Spirit in Botswana	37
SANTIAGO ALVAREZ: Burying Patriarchs, Heroes, Suicides and Traitors: Solidarity and Ostracism in the Funeral Rites of a Peasant Community of the Colombian Andes	51
GABRIELE ALEX: “When you are feeling of no use anymore.” Explaining Suicide in Rural Tamil Nadu	63
ERNST HALBMAYER: Meanings of Suicide and Conceptions of Death among the Yukpa and other Amerindians of Lowland South America	72
IAIN EDGAR: Overtures of Paradise: Night Dreams and Islamic Jihadist Militancy	87

MAGEM 30/2008 (Mitteilungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ethnomedizin)	99
Kultur, Medizin und Psychologie im Dialog – Bilanzen im interdisziplinären Arbeitsfeld Ethnologie & Medizin. REMSCHEID 05. - 07. Dezember 2008. 21ste Fachtagung Ethnomedizin der AGEM in der Akademie Remscheid	102
Dokumentationen	
„Ethnomedizin“ und “Medical Anthropology”. Ein Überblick zu Entwicklungen in den deutschsprachigen Ländern im Jahr 1978 (Reprint als Übersetzung aus: SCHRÖDER EKKEHARD. 1978. Ethnomedicine and Medical Anthropology. A Survey of Developments in Germany. <i>Reviews in Anthropology</i> 5,4(Fall)1978: 478-485.	103
Charta der „Rechte des Kindes“ vor, während und nach der Geburt.	112
30 Jahre <i>Curare</i> : Dokumentation Ausgewählte Titelseiten II (Afrika) [Der „Fetischzauberer“ Ali Mamane aus Niamey, <i>Curare</i> 3(1980)1 // Der Azande-Heilpraktiker (<i>binza</i>) Bagu hier mit Federhut (<i>kangu</i>) während einer Heilséance (<i>avule</i>), <i>Curare</i> 6(1983)1 // Albert Atcho – Heiler in Bregbo, Elfenbeinküste, <i>Curare</i> 6(1983)3 // Dr. Okopedi zeigt eine Kräutermischung in seinem Büro (Calabar Province, Nigeria), <i>Curare</i> 8(1985)1]	113
Résumés des articles de <i>Curare</i> 31(2008)1	117
Zum Titelbild	U2
Impressum	U2
Hinweise für Autoren / Instructions for Authors	U3
Collage zu 30 Jahre <i>Curare</i>	U4

Overtures of Paradise: Night Dreams and Islamic Jihadist Militancy¹

IAIN EDGAR

Abstract This article will analyse the relationship between night dreams and militant Jihadist martyrdom offering several case studies of how night dreams appear to have inspired, legitimated and confirmed the path of “glorious” martyrdom. In the Abrahamic Prophetic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, this world of everyday reality is but a way station on the journey to other worlds. In Islam this material world is not our final destination, but rather a series of lessons and tests and a preparation for the hereafter and the time of judgment at death. The more real world of the hereafter does, however, occasionally intersect with this material world through night dreams, and, more rarely, through waking visions. Such hyperlucid experiences can motivate actions and events in this world.

My research into the night dreams of Islamic militant Jihadist leaders, such as Osama bin Laden and Mullah Omar, Taliban leader, has shown that the night dream is a powerful inspirational and divinatory trope for the motivation and justification of militant Jihadism today. The true dream tradition is a powerful component of Islamic metaphysics and theology and I describe several dreams of Jihadist Martyrs in which dreams of Paradise appear to represent the promise of future glory, and particularly dreams in which dead martyrs communicate with living Jihadists.

Overall the article will analyse both the paradox of suicide being outlawed, *haram*, in Islam yet martyrdom in the service of Jihad apparently constituting a glorious death, and the problematic and contemporary role of the true dream, *al-ruya*², in legitimating such self-destruction.

Wege zum Paradies: nächtliche Träume und islamistische jihadistische Militanz

Zusammenfassung Dieser Artikel analysiert die Beziehung zwischen nächtlichen Träumen und militantem jihadistischem Märtyrertum mithilfe von verschiedenen Fallstudien, die zeigen, wie nächtliche Träume den Weg des glorreichen Märtyrertums inspiriert, legitimiert und bestätigt haben. In den von Abraham ausgehenden prophetischen Religionen Judentum, Christentum und Islam ist diese Welt, die der alltäglichen Realität, nur eine Station auf dem Weg zu anderen Welten. Im Islam ist diese materielle Welt nicht unsere letzte Station, sondern sie konstituiert eine Reihe von Lektionen und Prüfungen und eine Vorbereitung für das Leben danach und den Antritt zum Jüngsten Gericht. Die eigentliche Welt des Lebens danach überschneidet sich jedoch mit der materiellen Welt hier, und zwar meistens in nächtlichen Träumen, und seltener durch Visionen im Wachzustand. Solche erhellenden Erfahrungen können die Taten und Ereignisse in dieser Welt beeinflussen.

Meine Forschung zu den nächtlichen Träumen von militanten islamistischen Jihadführern wie Osama bin Laden oder dem Talibanführer Mullah Omar hat gezeigt, dass der nächtliche Traum eine starke inspirierende und heilige Trope für die Motivation und Legitimation des militanten Jihadkampfes heutzutage darstellt. Die Tradition der „wahren Träume“ ist eine wichtige Komponente der islamischen Metaphysik und Theologie. Es werden verschiedene Träume von jihadistischen Märtyrern beschrieben, in denen Träume vom Paradies zukünftigen Ruhm und Ehre zu repräsentieren scheinen, insbesondere solche Träume, in denen die toten Märtyrer mit den lebenden Jihadisten kommunizieren.

Dieser Artikel analysiert weiterhin das Paradox, das sich dadurch stellt, dass Selbstmord im Islam zwar geächtet ist, *haram*, dass aber Märtyrertum im Dienste des Jihad offensichtlich einen glorreichen Tod darstellt und ebenso die problematische zeitgenössische Rolle des „Wahrtraumes“, *al-ruya*², der solche Selbstzerstörung legitimiert.

Keywords (Schlagwörter) dream (Traum) – al-ruya – Islamic militancy (islamistische Militanz) – martyr (Märtyrer) – jihad (Dschihad / Djihad) – paradise (Paradies) – Osama bin Laden

*And they who were foremost on earth—the
 foremost still.
 These are they who shall be brought nigh to God,
 In gardens of delight;
 A crowd of the former
 And few of the latter generations;
 On inwrought couches
 Reclining on them face to face:
 Aye-blooming youths go round about to them
 With goblets and ewers and a cup of flowing wine;
 Their brows ache not from it, nor fails the senses:
 And with such fruits, as shall please them best,
 And with the flesh of such birds, as they shall
 long for:
 And theirs shall be the Houris, with large dark
 eyes, like pearls hidden in their shells,
 In recompense of their labours past.
 (Koran 1977: 66; Sura LVI, the Inevitable
 verses 10-25)*

This is one of several passages from the Koran which depicts the Paradise that awaits the righteous and the God-fearing: Paradise is distinguished by beauty, that of both people and nature, tranquillity and an absence of pain.

This article will analyse the relationship between night dreams and militant Jihadist martyrdom offering several case studies of how night dreams appear to have inspired, legitimated and confirmed the path of “glorious” martyrdom. In the Abrahamic Prophetic religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, this world of everyday reality is but a way station on the journey to other worlds. In Islam this material world is not our final destination, but rather a series of lessons and tests and a preparation for the hereafter and the time of judgment at death. The more real world of the hereafter does, however, occasionally intersect with this material world through night dreams, and, more rarely, through waking visions. Such hyperlucid experiences can motivate actions and events in this world.

My research into the night dreams of Islamic militant Jihadist leaders, such as Osama bin Laden (EDGAR 2006: 263-272; 2007: 59-76) and Mullah Omar, Taliban leader, has shown that the night dream is a powerful inspirational and divinatory trope for the motivation and justification of militant Jihadism today. Moreover such an epistemological view of night dreams, as being potentially a core way of understanding the will of Allah (God) is congruent

with the example of the Prophet Mohammed who is understood to have “received” parts of the Koran (1/46th) in night dreams and who regularly experienced true dreams during and before his revelation. The true dream tradition is a powerful component of Islamic metaphysics and theology and I describe several dreams of Jihadist Martyrs in which dreams of Paradise appear to represent the promise of future glory, and particularly dreams in which dead martyrs communicate with living Jihadists.

Overall the article will analyse both the paradox of suicide being outlawed, *haram*, in Islam yet martyrdom in the service of Jihad apparently constituting a glorious death, and the problematic and contemporary role of the true dream, *al-ruya*, in legitimating such self-destruction.

Dreams as perceived metaphysical and divinatory knowledge in Islam

Islam was both born in, and gave birth to, spiritual dreamtime. The Prophet Mohammed is said to have received *ruan* (the plural of *ruya*) or “true dreams” from God for six months before the beginning of the revelation of the Quran. Bukhari (BUKHARI 1979: 91) compiler of the best-known *hadith* (sayings and actions of the Prophet Mohammed) reports the words of Mohammed’s wife, Aisha, that the “commencement of the divine inspiration was in the form of good righteous [true] dreams in his sleep. He never had a dream but that it came true like bright day of light.”

Sara Sviri (SVIRI 1999: 252) sets out the consequences of this for the role of dreaming in medieval Islam: “While prophecy has ceased, Mohammed being the seal of the Prophets, messages of divine origin can still be communicated through dreams, albeit on a smaller scale than prophecy.” The same point is made in a *hadith* included in Bukhari: “Nothing is left of prophetism except *Al-Mubashshirat*,” which the Prophet explained as being “the true good dreams that convey glad tidings.” (BUKHARI 1979: 99). In mainstream Islam, then, there is no future revelation to come other than through the oneirotic vehicle of true dreams. This gives such dreams a special charisma, power and authority, and means that—for all Muslims, and particularly for those followers of Islam with a mystical facility—the dream is a potential pathway to the divine. In sleep or in

deep contemplation, the mystically attuned have access to the noumenal, not just the surreal.

The Islamic philosopher Ibn Ishaq al-Kindi (d. ca 866 in his *Epistle on the Nature of Sleep and Dreams*, (see SVIRI 1999: 253) argues that whilst asleep the psyche is liberated from the senses and the sensible (*al-hissiyya*), and has direct access to “the form-creating faculty” (*al-quwwa al-musawwira*). In general, the Truth (*al-Haq*) can only be discerned by the pure heart once the many veils covering it have been removed by spiritual and religious practice. In dreams, however, the liberated soul has potential access to the truth as the material world with its many desires is dormant.

Three kinds of dreams are recognized, first by the Prophet and then by later dream writers such as Ibn Sirin, the eighth-century dream interpreter from Basra whose book *Dreams and their Interpretation* remains the most popular dream interpretation manual (BIN SIRIN 2000) in many Islamic countries today. First come true spiritual dreams, *ruan* inspired by God; second come dreams inspired by the devil; third are largely meaningless dreams from the *Nafs* (Ego, or the lower self as described in Islamic psychology). This third kind of dream could be caused by what had been eaten and by what was desired by the dreamer, so producing “a medley of dreams, muddled, jumbled dreams, mere hallucinations, and nightmares” (GOUDA 1991: 4).

The appearance of the Prophet Mohammed in a dream is of particular importance. The *hadiths* say that if the Prophet appears in a dream, then it is a true dream (i.e. BUKHARI 1979: 104). Many people I spoke to confirmed this. For non-Muslims, the conviction that to dream of the Prophet is to have received a true guidance from God could be seen as opening a Pandora’s Box, but there are safeguards. The Prophet must be complete in his shape (BUKHARI 1979: 104), and no true dream can advocate behavior contrary to the teachings of the Quran and the *hadiths*. An Imam in Peshawar gave two examples of this from his own experience. The first involved a lawyer who went to him for help in interpreting a dream of the Prophet rolled up in a carpet. The Imam responded by saying “you are a corrupt lawyer,” presumably as the body and energy of the Prophet were circumscribed. The second example was of a man who had a dream in which the Prophet had said he could drink alcohol. The Imam asked him if he was a drinker and the man said “yes,” to

which the Imam replied that it was not the Prophet he had seen, but a self-justification for his drinking alcohol.

Anyone, then, may have a true dream, though it is more likely to be experienced by a pious person, or by one who is perhaps going to become more pious on account of the dream. In this sense, Islamic dream theory and practice enshrines the possibility of every believer having true dreams, and indeed in Islamic eschatology all believers will receive true dreams prior to the end time.

The sometimes lack of certainty as to whether a dream or a waking vision is being described (*ruya* can refer to either a true dream or vision) is in part due to the Sufi tradition within Islam (CORBIN 1966: 406) in which the concept of the “imaginal world” is developed to define a discernible world outside that of sensibility and intelligibility, called *Alam al-mithal*. This “imaginal world” is defined as “a world of autonomous forms and images” (CORBIN 1966: 407) which is apprehended directly by the imaginative consciousness, through vision and dream particularly, and was held to validate suprasensible perception. This “imaginal” world should not be confused with “imaginary”, which refers to something unreal.

The status of perceived sacred images in dreams is also problematical. For example, an epistemological classification and understanding of a dream image involved in medieval Islam, for example, an applied understanding of hieroggnosis (CORBIN 1966: 406). Hieroggnosis refers to the hierarchical classification of the different orders of visionary knowledge displayed both in dreams and waking realities. Therefore dreams would be interpreted by reference to the status of religious imagery appearing in any dream. The appearance and message from the dream of the Angel Gabriel would have a higher potential truth value than a message received from the dream image of a local Saint. Dream interpretation involved particularly the assessment of whether the dream image and its apparent meaning emanated from angels or demons (MEIER 1966: 422); demons being able, in dreams, to manifest themselves as angels. The assessment of the dream image hinged on the context of the dream and particularly on whether the dream advocated moral or immoral choices as we have already noted, as angels would be unable to advocate “evil” as the concept of “evil” was understood in Islam.

True dreams are most likely to be experienced by the pious and the righteous, those who have already stripped away some of the veils of materialism from their hearts. However, from West Africa to the Philippines, the tri-partite schematization of dreams explained above is part of the worldview of the majority of Muslims, not just the especially pious. Mohammed Amanullah studied a dozen staff in the religious studies department of a Malaysian university: the majority reported true dreams, and 50% believed that they had seen the Prophet in a dream (AMANULLAH 2005).

A Muslim academic colleague confided in me at the end of a meal that because I was a dream researcher she would tell me dreams that she had told no-one but her family. Then she told me how at very difficult periods of her life she had dreamt of the Prophet Mohammed and Angels and these images had sustained her. For example in this *first dream*,

The Prophet was very beautiful and dressed in black; she was looking down at him and was very upset at the time; the implicit message was “do not be afraid, you will succeed”. His body language made her feel this way.

Her second dream that she told me came after her father had just died; She did Istikhaara (Islamic dream incubation) and saw golden Angels on white clouds and they gave her prayer to her father and she felt it was answered;

her third dream was at a time when she was stressed and depressed and she saw grown golden Angels on white clouds; they threw her a lifejacket and gave her a golden triangular necklace.

This dream narrative shows her dream narrative being manifestly received in heaven where it was made known to her father; here the dream world is believed, or indeed experienced as intersecting with the heavenly realms of the hereafter; there is a continuity of perceived existence between daytime reality, some dream realities and heaven (*janna*).

Sufis, particularly, seemed to inhabit an alternative mystical universe, co-existing with our understanding of this reality, in which very significant and often precognitive dream experiences of and by Sheiks/Pirs and their followers were commonplace. When I visited Sheikh Nazim and his community in Lefte, Northern Cyprus, I waited three days for a ten minute interview with the Sheikh. There were nearly 200 of his followers, called Mureeds, from

many countries, including the UK, there also. To his Mureeds, Sheikh Nazim is literally in constant contact with Allah. I had never seen such devotion and love expressed to any person; he was 84 years old and becoming frail; he walked with support from two Mureeds and all the time other Mureeds would throng around him, just to touch him and kiss his feet and hands, to receive his (Allah's) Baraka (blessing). In my interview with the Sheikh I asked him about the many accounts I had heard in the UK and in his Turkish Cypriot community of his “sending” his followers dreams; he replied that when he sent his “power” to his Mureeds he sometimes would do so in dreams, “when necessary”. I ventured to ask how and he replied that it “was all a matter of spiritual knowledge as there were hundreds and thousands of inner worlds” and the Sufis had ways to access these. A spiritual technology apparently available only to those who had moved away from immersion in material existence.

Dream Interpretation in Islam

Dream interpretation in Islam, even given the apparently simple tri-partite classificatory system, is extremely sophisticated, and takes into account factors that include the piety and spiritual rank of the dreamer, their social position, the time of night of the dream, and the time of year. Islamic dream dictionaries, unlike their Western counterparts, may contain many interpretations for the same symbol (LAMOREUX 2002). For example, if a poor person dreams of honey, this can be a sign of illness as only then will poor people buy honey, whereas for a rich person to dream of honey is a favorable sign. I was told by religious scholars that only a Prophet can definitively distinguish a true from a false dream; even spiritual leaders such as sheikhs may disagree about interpretations.

An example from Gouda (GOUDA 1991: 16) makes the point well about the multiple meanings of a dream symbol, in this case pomegranate, depending on the social status of the dreamer:

The interpreter should bear in mind the dream's compatibility with the status and vistas of the subject. For instance, a pomegranate would have different interpretations for a ruler, a merchant, a learned man, a hermit, a single man, and a pregnant woman. For the Sultan it could mean

a dominion or a city to be added to his realm or area of influence. Its peels are the walls or fences of that city, its pips the inhabitants. For the merchant it would refer to his home, where his family dwells, his bathroom, his hotel, his ship full of merchandise and money plying the sea, his shop with plenty of clients, or his purse full of money. For the learned man or hermit it would refer to his book or Quran; its peels would be its pages and its pips the books scriptures, which advocate reform and perfection. For the bachelor it could mean a wife with all her beauty and wealth or a maiden or a slave girl whom he would deflower, tasting all the pleasures of this delight, to borrow the expression of the ancient Arabs. For the pregnant women the pomegranate could represent a girl in her womb.

A core difference I have found between Islamic and western dream theories, particularly those of gestalt and the dreamwork movement, is in the tension between authoritative and facilitative interpretation. Islamic dream interpreters tend to tell the believer what the dream means based on their understanding of the Koran and the Hadiths, which are perceived to contain all that humans need to know to live well, whilst certain western dream interpretative traditions are much more facilitative;

Continuities in Jihadist Dream Interpretation

Militant Islamic Jihadists also seem to relate to their night dreams in the Prophetic Islamic tradition. Certain patterns inform Jihadist dream interpretive narratives. First, Jihadists are reported to receive divine inspiration, guidance and divinatory “news” of future events in this world and the world of hereafter. Secondly, dream narratives in part legitimate Jihadist actions for the dreamers themselves, for their followers, and for the Islamic nation, the Umma. Thirdly, dream visions connect the dreamers with the mythically real past of the Prophet Mohammed and his companions, the golden age of Islam. As well as this, dreams actually introduce this glorious past into the present: the visionary and revelatory world of Islam is reborn today, as dreamers base their inspired Jihad upon the “glad tiding” that Mohammed said would come through true dreams. Fourthly, there is often a marked reliance on the manifest content of the dream symbolism: sacred

figures from the visionary history of Islam (particularly the Prophet, his companions, and Hasan and Hussein) communicate, usually through the spoken word, directly to the dreamer as in a revelation, announcing and instructing the dreamer. Dreams of heavenly spaces and the glorious reception of the martyrs are reported; dead friends appear with metaphysical information.

Dreams of the hereafter

The first dream that I present, taken from Yosri Fouda’s book, involves Osama bin Laden interpreting a dream about 9/11 and the “glorious martyrdom” that that involved for the militant Jihadists of Al-Qaeda. Yosri Fouda was the *Al-Jazeera* journalist who in 2002 interviewed in Karachi, Pakistan, two of the Al-Qaeda planners for the 9/11 attack, Ramzi bin al-Shibh and Khalid Sheikh Mohammed. He (FOUDA 2003: 109) wrote about the role of dreaming for the 9/11 attackers:

Dreams and visions and their interpretations are also an integral part of these spiritual beliefs. They mean that the Mujahideen are close to the Prophet, for whatever the Prophet dreams will come true. In a videotape recorded shortly after 11 September, al-Qaeda spokesman Sulaiman Abu Ghaith is seen and heard speaking in the company of bin Laden, who was playing host to a visitor from Mecca: “I saw in my dreams that I was sitting in a room with the Sheikh [Bin Laden], and all of a sudden there was breaking news on TV. It showed an Egyptian family going about its business and a rotating strap that said: ‘In revenge for the sons of Al-Aqsa [that is, the Palestinians], Osama bin Laden executes strikes against the Americans.’” That was before the event.

Bin Laden then interprets: “The Egyptian family symbolises Mohammed Atta, may Allah have mercy on his soul. He was in charge of the group.”

Ramzi Binalshibh would later tell Fouda long stories about the many dreams and visions of the “brothers” in the run-up to 11 September. He would speak of the Prophet and his close companions as if he had actually met them ... Atta ... also told Ramzi a little anecdote about “brother” Marwan (al-Shehdi)³ that he knew would please

him. “Mohammed (Atta) told me that Marwan had a beautiful dream that he was [physically] flying high in the sky surrounded by green birds not from our world, and that he was crashing into things, and that he felt so happy.”

“What things?” Fouda asked.

“Just things,” answered Ramzi.

Green birds are often given significance in these dreams.

Whilst Ramzi is shy about explaining this dream, it would be likely that the “green birds not from our world” would be interpreted as a heavenly symbol: green is a spiritual color in Islam, and flying birds are a common symbol of heaven. Marwan reporting that he was flying high in a symbolically constituted heavenly realm and also crashing into things could easily be interpreted as another “good” omen for the 9/11 Jihadists. Whilst the rotating strap that speaks is surreal, its message is plain: that the basic political cause fuelling the Jihad is the continual oppression of the Palestinian people by Israel, the USA and its allies. Revenge is indeed in the air, and success against the Americans is foretold through the medium of the television, a medium that later presented the 9/11 attack so graphically.

By defining the meaning of the dream in relating the Egyptian family image to the person of Atta, Bin Laden is taking on part of the traditional spiritually authoritative role of a Sheikh, a spiritual master, as an interpreter of dreams. Binalshibh speaks of the Prophet and his companions as if he had actually met them in his visions and dreams, thereby showing his apparent familiarity with, and connection to, the first days of Islam. His mindset is tuned into an eternally enduring hyper-reality, in which linear temporality is confounded and the glorious Islamist past is evoked in an ongoing intimacy and immediacy⁴. The days of revelation are indeed present today.

Jihadists’ inspirational dreams of the hereafter can be found on websites. One website (Global Terrorist Alert, April 2006) carries Islamic martyrs’ biographies. The following extracts concerning two Saudi Arabian martyrs refer to dream narratives as significant. The first is that of Abu Bakr al-Qasimi, from the city of Al-Haboob in the Qassem region, who was killed in Iraq. This dream refers to the idea that holy warriors will be welcomed and attended in heaven by beautiful maidens:

Abu Bakr would stay up at night for prayer ... the martyr, may God have mercy on his soul, saw the beautiful black-eyed women in paradise [in dreams] more than once [in fact three times], and he became increasingly passionate about meeting blessed God.⁵

The dream imagery is understood as referring to an actual paradisaical “other” world and Abu Bakr is increasingly drawn to this envisioned world and its consummate promise. The Islamic *Houri* narrative is one that possesses considerable influence among many Moslems and is obviously open to Western psychoanalytical analysis for a differential analysis of psychological causation. Bonney, in his recent exhaustive analysis of the meaning of the concept of Jihad and its use across Islamic times, argues that this tradition of the 72 black-eyed virgins that await in paradise for the martyr who dies in the cause and name of Allah, holds little, if any, theological veracity; rather it is an “isolated hadith” (41) and it is not found in the strongest hadiths, such as that of Bukhari or Muslim, neither is this idea present in the Koran (BONNEY 1977: 66 & 75); nonetheless it is an idea apparently regularly propagated by militant Jihadist recruiters in regions where poverty makes it extremely difficult for young Arabic men to afford to marry. Moreover, whilst the Koran does not appear to promise such a number of Houris to the holy martyrs, it does describe the presence of beautiful retiring and virginal maidens, as in the quote at the beginning of this paper.

The second such example from the same website (April 2006) is that of Abu Uthman al-Yamani, from Yemen, who appeared, following his martyrdom in Iraq, in one of the dreams of Ab’ul-Harith al-Dusari:

One of Abu Uthman’s brothers saw him in his dream. He dreamt that someone called out to him and told him that Abu Uthman had managed to secure a place in one of the best gardens of paradise—a dream that I interpret as a sign that he indeed became a martyr, though only God knows. One of his brothers from the peninsula of blessed Mohammed [Saudi Arabia] made him swear that he would appear in his dreams if God allowed him to join the ranks of martyrs. And, indeed, this is exactly what happened, and Abu Uthman appeared in his dreams urging him to come and join him in paradise. Farewell, Abu Uthman, and may God have mercy upon your soul.

The interpretation is explicit to the dreamer, a sign to be read just as it is, a message from another more—and differently—real world. The dream communication beckons the dreamer to follow him to paradise. There is no phantasmagoric or surreal incomprehensibility to unravel. The dream is its own interpretation⁶.

Zacarias Moussaoui

Zacarias Moussaoui has often been described as the 20th member of the 9/11 New York attacks. He is a French Citizen of Moroccan origins. He was an Al-Qaeda member who had given allegiance to his Sheikh, Osama bin Laden, and had attended flight training school in the USA before 9/11. He was tried in the USA in 2006 and was found guilty of conspiring to kill Americans in the 9/11 New York attack. He is currently serving a life sentence in the USA. The death sentence was also considered as a verdict. Moussaoui's reported night dream of flying a plane into a tall building was a significant issue in his trial in the USA. There was debate in the trial as to whether such a dream was evidence of schizophrenia or was an aspect of his fundamentalist Islamic belief. Prosecutors argue that "Moussaoui's fervent belief in his dream is consistent with religious beliefs of Muslims—especially fundamentalist Muslims—and is no more crazy than Christians believing in the resurrection" (USA Today, April 2006).

In his trial Moussaoui's night dreams appear to have led him to make his mind up to become a *Shahid*, a martyr. Donahue, an Anthropology Professor who has written a book about Moussaoui, his life and trial, quotes from the trial transcript with Moussaoui saying,

Basically, I had, I had a dream, and I had more later, but I had a dream, and I went to see Sheikh Usama Bin Laden, and I told him about my dream. He told me, "God." Maybe, I don't know, a few days later, I have another dream. So I went again, I saw him, and I told him about this. This was after I had declined, I was asked before. Then I had this dream. Then maybe a week, a short time, Sheikh Abu Hafs [Mohammed Atef] came to the guesthouse and asked me again if I wanted to be part of the suicide operation, me and Richard Reid, and this time I said yes (DONAHUE 2007: 80-81).

Later on the same day of the trial, Donahue recounts Moussaoui apparently seeing in one of his dreams a map with the target of the White House on it:

He went on to describe his reason for wanting to fly a 747:

...but if want to say the original reason, okay, what I believe, okay, it is I thought I had a dream where I was into the runway of an airport and I actually took a map out, okay, and I open it and it was the White House with a circle with a cross, like when you do when you do target.

And next to me, okay, in front of there was the four brother, I couldn't recognize. And next to me there was a 747, the very distinct, you know, like the cockpit, was very distant (tr. March 27, 2006, page 2402, lines 18-250).

Later still the same day, Donahue (DONAHUE 2007: 80-81) reports how Moussaoui understood dream interpretation in Islam, which was congruent with Islam's traditional teaching on dream interpretation. He says:

So I refer to Sheikh Usama Bin laden and some other Sheikh there to explain to me the reality, but the dream about the white House, it was very clear to me (tr. March 27, 2006, page 2403, line 24).

In these trial narratives we see how night dreams were experienced by Moussaoui as decisive in his motivation to become a martyr and, moreover, he reports an accurate dream of an intended target, the White House. Moussaoui is reported as saying, "crazy about those 72 virgins" (DONAHUE 2007: 99), whether ironically or not, we don't know.

Pakistani martyrdom dreams

Dreaming also plays a role in the process of becoming a Jihadist in the Pakistani-based movement against the Indian occupation of a large part of Kashmir. Before a young man can go on martyrdom operation in Indian held Kashmir, he has to obtain parental permission, which may finally be given following a dream by a mother or maternal uncle:

In many cases, a few days before the boy "drinks the cup of martyrdom" [*jam-e shahadat nush karna*] mothers and often maternal uncles see him in Paradise, wearing beautiful white clothes,

smiling, surrounded by trees and flowers and drinking milk (ZAHAB forthcoming).

Here, paradisiacal imagery from the Quran justifies martyrdom. The mythical world of Islam is seen, recognized, made present and manifest.

Such dreams are also to be found among radical Muslims in Europe, as in the case of Amir Cheema (BBC News) a 28-year-old Pakistani textile-engineering student who died in 2006 in a German prison while awaiting trial for entering the offices of the German newspaper *Die Welt* with a large knife, intending to kill the editor for reprinting the Danish cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed. 50,000 people later attended his funeral in Pakistan. The following dream narrative by Cheema's father was published in the Urdu press and then reprinted in English in the weekly *Friday Times* (June 30th-6th July) in Pakistan:

Fountains of light (noor) had burst forth in all directions as the sacred gathering became visible. It was announced that the companions (of the Prophet) had arrived. Then it was declared that the Prophet PBUH himself was seated in the vicinity but his face could not be seen. Then the voice of the Prophet PBUH was heard saying Amir Cheema is coming! (Amir aa raha hai). The companions stood up in respect and started looking in one direction. Then the voice of the Prophet PBUH said: "Hasan and Husain, look who I am sending to you, look after him".

Hasan and Hussein were the sons of Ali and Fatima, and so the grandsons of the Prophet Mohammed. The dream announces the elevated spiritual status of Amir Cheema through the word of the Prophet Mohammed, attended by his companions. We again find the themes of sacred light, and of the clear communication of the spiritually elevated status of the martyr. The manifest content is again the message of the dream and no further interpretation is needed or expected.

A dream of a dead Mujahadeen

Jihadist ideology considers that its fallen holy warriors, *Shuhada*, will go to Paradise once they die in this world. Glory awaits them. Abdul Rahman Jabarah's family came originally from Iraq and he was brought up first in Kuwait, and then as a teenager in Ontario, Canada; he became an al-Qaeda member

and part of the cell that bombed Western housing complexes in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia in 2003. His brother, Mohammed Mansour Jabarah, is in prison in the USA for plotting a terrorist attack against the US and Israeli embassies in Singapore in 2001. Abdul Rahman Jabarah was killed by Saudi Arabian security forces in that country in July 2003.

The journalist, Bell, wrote a book seeking to explain how a Canadian educated young man became a militant Islamic Jihadist. Bell's book is focussed on the story of Mohammed Mansour Jabarah; however, he also writes about his brother, Abdul Rahman Jabarah. Here is an example of a dream narrative (BELL 2005: 196) that Bell reports which refers to Abdul Rahman Jabarah.

Those who knew Abdul Rahman and fought Jihad with him penned an overwrought eulogy describing his life and martyrdom. One of them told me about a dream he had about his dead friend.

"We were sitting and Abdul Rahman was in front of us. I asked him: 'Weren't you killed?' and Abdul Rahman answered: 'No, I wasn't killed'.

'Rejoice, for God, may he be glorified and exalted, said in his Koran' 'Do not consider those who died for God's sake dead – but alive.'"

Abdul Rahman was "among those whom God used in the Jihad. He was raised on the Jihad and became a martyr on its course," the eulogy said.

"We will never forget you, O guiding martyr. Nor will the families [to] whom you gave their grants. The brothers who lived with you and whom you taught will never forget you. May you receive award and compensation, with God's help."

"Farewell, martyr."

Such dreams of the departed are considered in many spiritual traditions as possibly being forms of direct communication with the dead who are alive in the hereafter. Islamic metaphysics asserts the existence of both heaven and hell in the afterlife. Holy martyrs seem to be guaranteed a heavenly time. This belief in an almost guaranteed place in paradise for "holy martyrs", *Shuhada*, is also evident, as described earlier, in Fouda's interview with Ramzi Binalshibh, one of the two core planners of 9/11, in Karachi in 2002. Ramzi tells Fouda (FOUDA 2003: 109).

Mohammed (Atta) used to assure me that we shall meet, God willing, in Paradise, and that our meeting shall be soon.... I asked him if he were to see the Prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him, and reach the highest place in heaven, he should convey our *salaam* (greetings) to him as well as to Abu Bakr, Omar and the rest of the companions, followers and Mujahideen'.

Dreams and visions are to the Islamic militant jihadists a core way of confirming their ideological worldview and their path to becoming a holy martyr.

As to the vexed question as to whether there can be a clear distinction between the glorious martyrdom of the *Shuhada* and the forbidden, *haram*, action of the suicide, there is considerable debate. Bonney (BONNEY 2004: 315-16) quotes Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood whom vehemently argues against the view that 'Martyrdom operations' be seen as suicide:

These operations are the supreme form of *Jihad* for the sake of Allah, a type of terrorism that is allowed by *Shariah*...the term "suicide operations" is an incorrect and misleading term, because these are heroic operations of martyrdom and have nothing to do with suicide. The mentality of those who carry them out has nothing to do with the mentality of someone who commits suicide...he who commits suicide kills himself for his own benefit, while he who commits martyrdom sacrifices himself for the sake of his religion and his nation. While someone who commits suicide has lost hope for himself and with the spirit of Allah, the *mujahid* is full of hope with regard to Allah's spirit and mercy.

The essence of the argument is clearly expressed: the martyr is a Moslem believer who gives his life for the glory of God/Allah, and not one who acts for personal ends.

The true dream across cultures and through history

Anthropologists and dream researchers can and have studied the meaning, use and occurrence of dreams that are considered revelatory in indigenous societies, especially in shamanic societies (ELIADE 1964; KRIPPNER 1987). In shamanic societies the dream is often seen as a profound resource for divi-

nation, healing and hunting and all aspects of life both for the individual and the group; indeed there are shamans (MOSS 1996) who believe that nothing happens in waking reality before it has been performed first in the dreamspace. KRIPPNER & THOMPSON (1996: 71-96) found that among the Northern Iroquois and the Yuma North American Indians, "Dreaming life was considered to be more 'real' and/or more important than waking life". The Hindu Upanishad's "value dreaming above reality" (TEDLOCK 1987: 3) and the Dream Yoga of Tibetan Buddhism (EVANS-WETZ 1958; TULKU 1999: 271-283) offers a little known way of enlightenment that seeks to illuminate its practitioners through developing an uninterrupted consciousness throughout both daytime reality and the dream state. In world history the night dream has a potentially elevated status as a uniquely authentic but often problematic realm of experience.

Dreaming is highly significant then in many of the main world religions. Indeed, Taylor (TAYLOR 1996) writes of the "startling agreement" amongst the "sacred/mythic narratives of the world" as to the "direct access to the divine" to be had through dreams. The importance of the dream within both Judaism and Christianity is frequently evident in both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testaments. "God" is said to communicate with the Prophets through the medium of the dream and likewise speaks to men and women, such as Mary and Joseph, in the New Testament. Knafo and Glick (KNAFO & GLICK 2000: 19-30) write, "from Abraham to Joseph, dreams became another main channel of divine communication." Truth claims about dreams are not then confined to Islamic cultures.

Dream interpretive theories are often developments of proceeding societies' theories, as is the case in Islamic dream theory, which has strong roots in, particularly, the dream theory of the ancient Greeks, notably contained in the *Oneiocritica* by Artemidorus (ARTEMIDORUS 1992)⁸, as well as from the dream traditions of Ancient Egypt and Assyria, and from Judiac and Christian theories of dreaming. For example, Macrobius (KRUGER 1992: 24)⁹, a late antique dream theorist, presents five different and hierarchically ordered categories of dreams ranging from the true and the revelatory (*oraculum and visio*) to the false and mundane (*visum and insomnium*). Yet mediating this opposition of true and false dreams, Macrobius suggests a middle type of dream

(*somnium*) in which truth is represented in fictional, allegorical and metaphorical form. The Islamic theory of “true” and “false” dreams is congruent with, and possibly derived from, earlier dream interpretative theories. Arguably then, what is most distinctive about Islamic dream theory and practice is the Prophetic example, and its historical and cultural location in the Islamic worldview, and not because of its tripartite classification of dream imagery.

Conclusion: the paradisaical dream as motivation to Jihad

For Islamic militant Jihadists, in al-Qaeda or not, dreams and visions are a core way of confirming and legitimating to others their ideological worldview and the path to becoming a *shahid*, a holy martyr. Whatever the veracity of individual dream narratives reported in this study, there is a pattern of reliance on divinatory dreams for inspiration and guidance, within the Islamic dreaming tradition begun by the Prophet Mohammed. The true dream experience is consistently utilized as a powerful inspirational trope within the context of the Islamic theological exegesis of the potential, if very occasional, noumenal power and authority of the night dream. This paper has focused on examples of paradisaical dreams in which sacred figures from the Islamic holy imaginary, or the imaginal, offer authoritative guidance and inspiration; I have shown how the controversial night imagery of the *Houris* can be experienced in dreams as calling the future martyr; likewise dead martyrs communicate with the living Jihadists; such “calling” or vocational dreams are a widespread phenomena across the globe, particularly in shamanic societies and even today in African Christian churches. However for such vocational dream imagery to have resonance with the dreamer there needs to be an accepted worldview which contains a significant belief in “other worlds” such as the heavenly realms of Islam.

Social scientists can, through studies of Islamic dreaming, show how particular dream motifs (such as the Prophet and his companions) are part of a shared visionary world which can connect present day believers with the mythically real past, and especially with the imagined early glorious days of Islam, the time of the Prophet himself. Moreover, such true dreams appear to facilitate the re-enact-

ment of this past in the present. This re-enactment of the past is though one part of the perceived revelatory power of the true dream in Islam. The true dream is also, sometimes, an augury of the future and an intimation of a future station and place in paradise after the martyr has acted to fulfill the will of Allah, as we have seen in the case of the dream of Amir Cheema’s father, and as is believed by the families of Kashmiri Jihadists. The future can beckon from the night dream and the gardens of paradise smelt therein.

The example given by Fouda concerning Binalshibh shows the merging of mythical dreamt reality and mundane reality, where Binalshibh, “speaks of the Prophet and his close companions as if he had actually met them.” The dreamworld is experienced as more real than this world, and reality becomes more dreamlike, a veil over the sublime glory of hidden, and possibly future, paradisaical worlds. Dreams can be tastes, divinations, of possible welcome futures. Sacred figures are to be emulated and even identified with, and certainly their words are perceived as divine instruction. We see Bin Laden clearly interpreting dreams as a spiritual leader.

I argue that militant Jihadism can apparently be directly authorized and inspired by dream content. The classical Freudian distinction between the manifest and latent meanings of a dream is changed. The clearer the manifest communication, the closer to God the dreamer is, as we have seen in some of the dream narratives reported in this article. Bin Laden is said to have “executed” 9/11 to avenge the Palestinians; Abu Cheema is welcomed into paradise and the Prophet is heard speaking clearly.

These dream narratives clearly show that Jihadists understand their dreams within the context of the Islamic world view. Dreamt sacred figures, for example, are not unreal projections of the unconscious or deeply encoded manifestations of earlier dysfunctional familial experiences, but figures that inhabit the supernaturally real world of Islam, and reassert the eternal truths of the Quran and the *hadiths*. There is a world of difference in the motivation and apparent otherworldly outcome between the suicide and the *Shadadah*.

Notes

- 1 An earlier draft of some of the examples and analysis contained in this paper was published in: *The Inspirational Night*

- Dream in the Motivation and Justification of Jihad. *Nova Religio* 11(2): 59-76 (University of California Press).
- 2 *Ruya* in Arabic can refer to either day vision or true night dreams from God. All my references to *ruya* refer to what are considered to be such true night dreams.
 - 3 Marwan (al-Shehdi) was one of the nineteen 9/11 suicide bombers.
 - 4 I am very grateful to my friend and colleague Marc Applebaum, doctoral student of cultural psychology at Saybrook Graduate School, San Francisco, for his help in developing this idea.

References

- ARTEMIDORUS 1992. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. (trans. from classic Greek by Robert White). Isle of Arran, Scotland: The Banton Press.
- BELL S. 2005. *The Martyr's Oath: the apprenticeship of a home grown terrorist*. Canada Mississauga, Ontario: Wiley.
- BONNEY R. 2004. *Jihad: From Qur'an to bin Laden*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave, Macmillan.
- BUKHARI 1979. *The Translations of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari*, trans., M.M. Khan. Lahore, Pakistan: Kazi Publications, vol.9.
- CORBIN, H. 1966. "The Visionary Dream in Islamic Spirituality". In GRUNEBaum G. VON & CALLOIS R. (eds). *The Dream in Human Societies*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- DONAHUE K. 2007. *Slave of Allah: Zacarias Moussaoui vs. The USA*. London: Pluto Press.
- EDGAR I. 2006. The "true dream" in contemporary Islamic/Jihadist dreamwork: a case study of the dreams of Taliban leader Mullah Omar. *Contemporary South Asia* 15,3: 263-272.
- 2007. The Inspirational Night Dream in the Motivation and Justification of Jihad. *Nova Religio* 11,2: 59-76.
- ELIADE M. 1964. *Shamanism: An Archaic Technique of Ecstasy*. New York: Pantheon.
- EVANS-WENTZ E. 1958. *Tibetan Yoga and the Secret Doctrines*. London: Oxford University Press.
- FOUDA Y. 2003 *Masterminds of Terror: The Truth Behind the Most Devastating Terrorist Attack the World Has Ever Seen*. London: Mainstream Publishing.
- GOUDA Y. 1991. *Dreams and their Meanings in the Old Arab Tradition*. New York: Vantage Press.
- KNAFO, A. & GLICK, T. 2000. Genesis Dreams: Using a Private, Psychological Event as a Cultural, Political Declaration, *Dreaming*, 10, vol.1:19-30.
- KRIPPNER, S. 1987. Dreams and Shamanism, in (ed.) S. NICHOLSON *Shamanism*. Wheaton: Theosophical Publishing House.
- KRIPPNER, S. & THOMPSON A. 1996. A 10-Facet Model of Dreaming Applied to Dream Practices of Sixteen Native American Cultural Group. *Dreaming* 6, 2: 71-96.
- KRUGER S. 1992. *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- LAMOREUX J. 2002. *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- THE KORAN 1977. Trans. J.M. Rodwell. London: Dent.
- MEIER F. 1966. Some Aspects of Inspiration by Demons in Islam. In CORBIN H. & CALLOIS R. (eds.). *The Dream and Human Societies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- MOSS R. 1996. *Conscious Dreaming*. New York: Crown Trade Paperbacks.
- SIREEN BIN A. H. 2000. *Dreams and Interpretations*. Karachi: Darul-Ishaat Urdu Bazar.
- SVIRI S. 1999. Dreaming analysed and recorded: Dreams in the World of Medieval Islam. In SHULMAN D. & STROUMSA G. (eds). *Dream Culture*. London: Routledge.
- TAYLOR J. 1996. Traversing the Living Labyrinth: Dreams and Dream-work in the Psychospiritual Dilemma of the Postmodern World. In BULKELEY K. (ed). *Among All Those dreamers: Essays on Dreaming and Modern Society*. New York: SUNY.
- TEDLOCK B. 1987. Dreaming and Dream Research. In TEDLOCK B. (ed). *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations*. (pp 1-38) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- TULKU T. 1999. Lucid Dreaming: Exerting the Creativity of the Unconscious. In WATSON G., BATCHELOR S., & CLAYTON G. (eds.). *The Psychology of Awakening*. London: Rider: 271-283.
- ZAHAB M. ABOU, forthcoming. "I shall be waiting for you at the door of Paradise": the Pakistani martyrs of the Lashkar-e-Taiba (Army of the Pure). In RAO A., BÖCK M. & BOLLIG M. (eds). *The Practice of War: The Production, Reproduction and Communication of Armed Violence*. Oxford: Bergahn Books.

Websites and newspapers

- Global Terrorist Alert, April 2006. <http://www.globalterroralert.com/archive0406.html> (accessed August 11, 2006).
- USA Today, http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-04-20-moussaoui_x. last visited on 11.8.2006.
- "Amir Cheema in Heaven," in "Nuggets from the Urdu Press," *Friday Times*, June 30-July 6, 2006.
- BBC News, 'Huge Crowds at Pakistani Funeral' http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/4768615.stm

article received: November 2007
 article accepted: February 2008



Dr **Iain R. Edgar** is a social anthropologist and Senior Lecturer at the University of Durham, UK. He is the author of *Dreamwork, Anthropology and the Caring Professions: A Cultural Approach to Dreamwork*, Avebury, 1995, and *Guide to Imagework: Imagination-based Research Methods*, Routledge 2004, as well as many other papers on the subject of dreaming and imagework, and their relation to culture, politics, education and identity.

Department of Anthropology, University of Durham,
 43, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HN, UK
 e-mail: I.R.Edgar@Durham.ac.uk