

**EVIL FORCES AND *SHIRK* AMONG THE YORUBA MUSLIMS
IN NIGERIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ILORIN CITY**

BY

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to **Almighty ALLAH** for His constant mercy on me.

And to my dear Mother

Munirat Durotola Oloruntele

For missing her dear son so much throughout the period of my study in the United Kingdom.

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Abstract

The bedrock of Islam is the belief in the absolute unity of Allah, to declare it orally and back it up with deeds and practices. Any other belief, saying or action which negates the oneness of Allah is termed as *shirk*, associating partners with Allah. As important as this belief is in Islam, various occurrences and reasons have, all along, prompted Muslims of various communities and races into *shirk* of various kinds. One of the reasons by which the Yoruba Muslims of Nigeria commit one form of *shirk* or the other is their belief in the supernatural world. It is believed that some humans who have interactions with the unseen world use the opportunity to cause different harms and troubles to fellow human beings. In an attempt to shield oneself or family from such problems, different forms of *shirk* are committed either by the victims or their exorcists. It is against this background that this research work intends to explain the interactions between humankind and the unseen world as part of the major rationale behind the Yoruba Muslims' engagements in various categories of *shirk*. It is believed that this research work will enlighten the Yoruba Muslims, especially the English speaking population, on the true influence of the supernatural world in their lives. The suggestions, recommendations and solutions proffered are expected to reduce their fears and discourage them from engaging in various forms of *shirk*.

Introduction

The Problem

From time immemorial, humankind has been witnessing both positive and negative impacts of the supernatural world. This is due to the long age of interactions of humans with the unseen world of the *jinn* and Angels. The few wicked among humans who have direct access to the wicked among the *jinn* have been using such interactions against other fellow human beings, while some wicked evil spirits, through possession, independently punish humankind for unjust reasons. Human beings have, all along, been searching for one solution or the other either to prevent the problem or solve the existing ones.

Such diabolical possessions and other related problems are being witnessed, for ages, throughout the world. Thus, various races and religions have been solving the problems according to the means available to them. Unfortunately, for a long time, Muslim scholars throughout the world had abandoned islamically approved exorcism, leaving scholars of each race and ethnic group to solve the problem based on their environmental and cultural influences. In recent times, the frequent occurrences in various Muslim worlds have become so alarming that scholars are now researching and bringing out the long time abandoned islamically approved methods of exorcism. Yet, the existing researchers and authors are unfamiliar with the magnitude effects of the evil forces in black Africa in general and Yoruba land as an integral part of African society.

It is deliberate to choose Ilorin as the locale for this research out of numerous other Yoruba cities, due to some reasons. Firstly, the conglomeration of many races, tribes and ethnic groups that form the indigenes in the heart of Yoruba land really favour this research. Secondly, Ilorin remains as the first Muslim city and the first center of Islamic learning where Islam and its knowledge were spread to many other parts of Yoruba land.

Despite all the above peculiarities of the city, it is amazing that, based on the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, it is rare to find published works of academic repute on the supernatural world, diabolical possession and exorcism that are truly rampant in Yoruba land. Instead, the traditional beliefs about supernatural world and the methods of exorcism of the first generation of Yoruba Muslims are still being promoted.

The only effort from modern scholars consists of harsh criticisms of the present methods without any alternative.

The Rationale

Some do not believe in the existence of the occult, possession and supernatural harm, even though various occurrences are proving all these beyond reasonable doubt. Some of those who believe still go in extreme, making them engage in solutions that finally lead them to either major or minor *shirk*. Many traditional scholars who take up the challenge of exorcism do so with the obvious danger of syncretism. This allows the modern scholars to condemn them as nominal Muslims, hypocrites or heretics.

The modern Yoruba scholars who cannot deny the existence of these unseen powers have no solution at hand to cure whoever is affected with such harm. The resultant effects include various superstitions and unnecessary fears being rampant among many Yoruba Muslims. This, therefore, necessitates a research of academic caliber, at least, to minimize the problems and to instigate other researchers to boldly research into this long time abandoned problems.

Objectives

Few scholars across the world have published useful works on this subject. But none of them is familiar with the peculiarities and magnitude of diabolical possessions in Yoruba land. This researcher, therefore, aims to:

(a) explore the widespread of beliefs in evil spirits and diabolical possessions in Yoruba land. (b) explain the interaction between humankind and other intelligent beings as the main source of the supernatural power of human beings. (c) enlighten the traditional scholars on how to tackle same problems without necessarily engaging in any form of *shirk* practices. (d) encourage the contemporary scholars to make further research and engage in Islamically approved exorcism as to make them graduate from mere criticisms to real actions. (e) minimize the unnecessary fears of the evil forces by reproducing some Islamic supplications either as defense or solution to diabolical possessions and other related problems.

Literature Review

Despite the silence of Islamic scholars for ages throughout the world on this issue, recent undeniable occurrences in various cultures among different races have prompted some modern scholars to stand up to the challenge.

One of such scholars is Abu Ameena Bilal Philips who published a highly academic work titled: *The Exorcist Traditions in Islam*, U.A.E. :Dar Al- Fatah , 1997. This was originally his Ph.D. Thesis at the University of Wales, United Kingdom. He explains who the Angels and *jinn* are and their interactions with humankind. He discusses various aspects of *jinn*'s life and how the wicked among them can harm humans. He sheds more light on magic and evil –eyes with evidences from Islamic sources. He conducted field work on how Muslims in different races and cultures practise exorcism and compiled their biographies. He briefly discusses possession and exorcism in Christianity. He goes further to discuss how some lower animals can make some actions and noises when they see the *Jinn*. He also discusses about exorcism and how some exorcists engage in *shirk* in the processes of their healings. The book is very relevant especially in relation to his highly academic discussions on various aspects of the Angels, *jinn*, humankind and *shirk* aspects of the exorcists

Abul –Mundhir Khaleel ibn Ibraheem Ameen also authored a book titled :*The Jinn and Human Sickness: Remedies in the light of the Qur'an and Sunnah* .Riyadh, etc : Darussalam, 2005. Abul–Mundhir also explains who the *jinn* are, their various aspects of life and how they cause harm to humans. He also explicitly discusses the existence of witches, evil-eyes and sorcery, with proofs from the Qur'an, Sunnah and comments of the early scholars. He explains calamities caused by these supernatural forces and remedies in the light of the Qur'an and Sunnah. The book is essential due to the author's detailed explanations on various forms of diseases, harms and disasters caused by the *jinn*. He also makes some recommendations on how to tackle the problems from Islamic point of views.

Wahid Abdus-Salam Bāli, titled his work as: *Wiqāyah al-insān min al- jinn wa ash- Shaytān*. Cairo: Dar al-Bashir,1989. He answers most of the questions on various aspects of *Jinn* and Satan. He devotes different chapters to their interactions with human beings, how they corrupt humans, what makes them over power humans and how humankind can also over power them. Not only this, Bāli also comprehensively discusses various aspects of possessions, how *jinn* can cause various illnesses and unimaginable calamities, how wicked ones among humankind can use their interactions with wicked *jinn* to harm fellow humans. He extensively discusses black magic, sorcery and other diabolic

possessions. He also provides numerous evidences from the Qur'an, Hadith, and early scholars' verdicts combined with personal encounters and experiences with various *jinn* in Arabia. He researched into various prayers /supplications from the Qur'an and Sunnah, and how to use them against the evil forces. This book is significant because: One, it is a tool for researching into various aspects of *jinn*'s life and activities. Two, the author claims to have direct contacts with *jinn* with many of his conversations with them recorded on audio tape recorder. Three, he makes some recommended Qur'an verses and prophetic prayers which he claims to have been using constantly to solve the problems of possessions.

Non-Muslim authors include: Juan B Cortes and Florence M. Gatti who co-authored: *The Case against Possessions and Exorcisms*. New York, etc: Vantage Press, 1975. The authors trace the history of demonology and witchcrafts, abnormal behaviours and the diseases of the possessed and explain various diseases that could be attributed to demons. The book differentiates between possession and obsession, it gives biblical and exegetical explanations of evil forces. It also discusses how Jesus exorcised. This book is relevant to shed light on how other revealed Religion also deals with evil forces and exorcism.

Jalal Abual Rub also translates Imam Ibn Qayyim Al-Jauziyah's *At-Tibb an-Nabawi*. He titles the translation as *Healing with Medicine of the Prophet*, Riyadh, etc : Darussalam, 2003. Imam Al-Jauziyah first explains various types of physical diseases that attack man's physical body with curative measures according to Islamic sources. He discusses in detail the three forms of remedies to diseases by the Prophet which are natural, divine, and the combination of both. He cites examples of exorcism of Sheikh Ibn Taymiyyah whenever the possessed ones were brought to him. He also compiles some *Aḥādith* on how the Prophet used to exorcise and some supplications of the Prophet against evil afflictions and possessions. This book is important in the present research as it provides various evidences of diabolical possessions and relevant supplications either as defense or remedy to evil forces.

Abu Ammaar Yasir Qadhi authored: *A critical study of shirk* as a translation and explanation on the work of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab's *Sharh kashf ash-Shubhāt*. The translation is published in Birmingham by Al-Hidaayah Publishing and Distribution, 2003. The book gives a comprehensive definition of *shirk* and how *tawhīd* should be adhered to instead of *shirk*. It gives explanations on the danger of *shirk*, importance of recognizing anything *shirk* and categories of *shirk* in Islam with evidences of each from the Qur'an and Sunnah. The book is important especially on *shirk* aspects of

exorcism among the Yoruba Muslims. The categorization of *shirk* into major and minor will be of great assistance in determining the gravity of each *shirk* practices in the course of exorcising by the Yoruba Muslims.

One of the important publications on Yoruba race is the work of Rev. Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yoruba*, Lagos: CMS (Nigeria) Bookshop, 1957. The book was first published in 1921. Various aspects of life of the Yoruba are discussed there in - historical, linguistic, anthropological, sociological, economic, commercial and religious aspects. This book is useful, to know or trace the track of events of *shirk* and other customary practices of the Yoruba and their beliefs. It is also useful for historical description of this race.

Besides, J. Omosade Awolalu also published a work titled: *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*, London: Longman Group Limited, 1979. The book deals with various beliefs and religious practices across sub-ethnic groups of the Yoruba race. It first deals with the Yoruba beliefs in *Olodumare* (supreme God) and all His attributes, beliefs in other divinities and spirits, in ancestors and mysterious powers. The author also discusses the Yoruba medicines, magic, incantations and witchcraft, sacred places and shrines. The book further treats various types of sacrificial rites. The author has academically presented the beliefs in evil spirits, magic and sorcery among the Yoruba in such a way that will be directly relevant to my research. Her discussion on witchcraft, magic, medicine and incantations will serve as good references to buttress personal findings during the field work and will show the negative impacts of the early Yoruba polytheistic culture on the modern Muslims.

L.A.K. Jimoh authored a work on Ilorin titled: *Ilorin : The Journey So Far* , Atoto Press Ltd , 1994 . like Samuel Johnson on Yoruba, Jimoh also deals with various aspects of the life of Ilorin people .He discusses the history of the Yoruba, the founding of Ilorin people, the arrival and rise of Afonja, arrival of Shehu Alimi, emergence of Shehu Alimi's dynasty, ethnic pluralism of the city, various wars, colonial rules and impacts, Islamic and Western education, creation of districts e.t.c. The book also deals with the agricultural, anthropological, sociological, economic, commercial as well as religious lives of the people. The fact that the area of focus in Yoruba land is Ilorin makes this book be of great relevance. It will be useful as a reference to the beliefs and practices of the Ilorin people either in the past or present.

Another work of reference is the compilation of H.B. Hermon-Hodge's *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1929. The compiler was among the British Administrators in charge of Ilorin province during the colonial era in Nigeria. He compiled the history of Ilorin, its description, agriculture, education, commerce, trade, population and religious practices. The book is an important reference in some aspects of Ilorin in this research. This is because the book was compiled at a time when events were not commonly recorded with dates by the indigenes.

Methodology

This research is carried out with theoretical approach of consulting the available relevant works. This is combined with the field work which covers interviews with various parties involved in either possession or exorcism. The data collected include interviews with some people who, at one time or the other, suffered from diabolical or evil spirit possession, the traditional Islamic scholars' exorcists and two personalities who claim to be members of witchcraft.

As a Yoruba man (born and brought up in Yoruba land) my personal experiences, all along, with those various parties have some roles to play here. In addition, as Imam in various capacities and at various stages of life, my personal exposure to the problems of many Muslims is also of great assistance.

Therefore, descriptive as well as analytical methods are employed here, by consulting all the available sources and explaining them in relation to the focus of this research. Historical as well as anthropological approaches also have their relevance especially when describing who are the Yoruba and Ilorin, and to use their customs or cultures to buttress some points where necessary.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one discusses the unseen world of the angels, *jinn* and human spirit. It explains the origin of these intelligent beings and concentrates on the forms or appearance of both the angels and the *jinn* due to their invisible nature to humankind. The chapter also highlights their various modes of existence and their endowment of free-will just like humankind.

Chapter two focuses on the evil ones among the intelligent beings, especially the *jinn* and humankind. Evidences from Islamic sources are provided to explain the existence of the evil spirits, evil eyes, magic and witchcraft.

Chapter three describes the people known as the Yoruba in Nigeria and Ilorin as the first Yoruba centre of Islamic scholarship. The chapter then explains the belief of Africans generally in witchcraft and specifically in Yoruba land with Ilorin as the locale of the study. It further discusses the practice of magic among the Yoruba Muslims and the effects of both magic and witchcraft in the society.

Chapter four comprises of the explanations on the fieldwork, sampling techniques, problem faced and solutions, together with discussions on various categories of exorcists in Yoruba land.

In chapter five, efforts are made to present the Islamic views on the concept of *shirk* and its implications on the believers, especially in the Hereafter. The chapter is concluded with some humble observations, suggestions and recommendations. It is followed by a list of appendices.

CHAPTER ONE

The Unseen World

From time immemorial, humankind has cultivated the attitude of disbelieving in whatever cannot be physically seen or perceived. This continues, up till date, even in a superlative degree, especially in this age of science and technology. In fact, God, the Creator of humankind and the universe around him is rejected by many as a non-existing Being, due to His hidden nature. However, one of the fundamental beliefs in Islam is to believe in the unseen. The second chapter of the Qur'an declares thus:

Alif, Lām ,Mīm. This is the Book (the Qur'an); in it is guidance, sure
Without doubt, to those who fear God: Who believe in the unseen...?¹

The unseen here includes the three intelligent beings: the angels, *jinn* and human spirits. These beings, in Islamic terminology, are known as *thawul-'uqūl* (intelligent beings).² They are probably called rational beings because only these beings combine life, reasons and intelligible speech. These beings have interactions with one another in various forms. The angels and *jinn* can see humankind because his spirit dwell in the material world, while only few selected humans can see either the *Jinn* or angels or both. Imam Al- Ghazzali asserts that, “the devil (*jinn*) or angels have figures which cannot be seen by humankind except with the light of Prophethood. The Prophet only saw Jibril (Gabriel) twice in his original form.”³ This chapter, therefore, examines the reality of their existence and possibility of their interactions with one another.

1.1 The Angels

The word angel in English, is equivalent to the Greek word *angelo*, meaning messenger.⁴ Angel is defined by Imam Ibn Majah as simple beings created of light, endowed with life, speech and reason, sanctified from carnal desire and disturbances of anger. They do not disobey God in whatever command given to them.⁵ Angel is also defined as a being, having life, rational speech and immortal;

¹ Q 2 : 1-3

² Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips , *The Exorcist Tradition in Islam*, (Sharjah U A. E.: Dār al –Fatah , 1997), 24

³ Al –Haj Maulana Fazal –ul – Karim , Trans. , *Imam Ghazzali's Ihyā' 'Ulūm –ud- Din (The Revival of Religious Learning)* , Book 3 , (Lahore: Kazi Publications, n.d), 48

⁴ Peter Lamborn Wilson, “Angel” in Richard C. Martin , ed. , *Encyclopaedia of Islam and the Muslim World* , vol.1, (U.S.A. : Macmillan Reference , 2004) , 49

⁵ Thomas Patrick Hughes , *Dictionary of Islam* , (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers , 1999) , 15

an intermediary between the Creator and the earthly bodies.⁶ From their definitions and descriptions above, angels are messengers or instruments of Allah's will who may have either few or numerous errands entrusted to them.⁷ The Qur'an attests to this:

Allah chooses Messengers from Angels and Men, for Allah
Is He Who hears and sees (all things)⁸

The Arabic word for angel is *malak* from either *mal'ak* or *malak*.⁹ The two words are also derivatives of *'alūk*, meaning a "message".¹⁰ The singular is always *malak* and the plural as *malā'ikah*. Both forms are used interchangeably to mean "Angel".¹¹ The name occurs in the Qur'an twice in its dual form, *malakain*:

They followed what the Satan recited over Solomon's kingdom. Solomon did not disbelieve, but Satan disbelieved, teaching men magic, and such things as came down at Babylon to the two angels (*malakain*), Hārūt and Mārūt¹²

Also, when Satan was trying to deceive both Adam and his wife, the same dual form was used:

Then began Satan to whisper suggestion to them, in order to
Reveal to them their shame that was hidden from them. He said
Your Lord only forbade you this tree, lest you should (both)
Become angels (*malakain*), or such beings as live for ever.¹³

The plural form appears constantly more than seventy times¹⁴ in the Qur'an, while the singular only occurs thirteen times¹⁵, twice in Qur'an 6:8.

⁶ Kiki Kennedy-Day, *Book of Definition in Islamic Philosophy; The Limits of Words*, (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 108

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Q 22:75

⁹ Hughes, 15

¹⁰ Muhammad Ibn Mukarram Ibn Manthūr, *Lisān al-Arab al-Muhīt*, vol. 10 (Beirut: Dar Lisān al-Arab, n.d.), 496. See also, Philips, op.cit, 22

¹¹ Hughes, 15

¹² Q 2: 102

¹³ Q 7:20

¹⁴ Muhammad Fuwād Abdul Bāqī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahris li al-Fāz al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, 2002), 882-884

¹⁵ Ibid 885

1.1.1 Origin and status

The fact that angels belong to the unseen world makes discussion on them difficult due to lack of detailed information about certain aspects of their lives, for instance, their origin, nature, gender, the period of their creation and their ways of life. The reality of their existence was known to humankind right from Adam. The confusion surrounding their existence made pagans of every generation believe them to have been the sons and daughters of the Almighty God. The same applied to Arabs before Islam, which made the Qur'an be emphatic in clarifying the wrong beliefs and notions thus:

And they falsely, having no knowledge, attribute to Him
Sons and daughters, praise and glory be to Him (for He is)
Above what they attribute to Him. Wonderful Originator
Of the heavens and the earth: How can He have a son when
He has no consort? He created all things, and He has
Full knowledge of all things¹⁶

And they assign daughters for Allah! Glory is to Him!
And for themselves what they desire¹⁷

And they made into females the Angels who are themselves servants
Of the most Merciful. Did they witness their creation? ¹⁸

Furthermore, even with the above refutation of the Angels being either the sons or daughters of God, there is no categorical statement in the Qur'an as to their origin. However, Aisha, wife of the Prophet, reported that Allah's messenger said:

The angels were born (created) out of light and *jinn* were
Born (created) out of the spark of fire and Adam was born
(Created) as he has been defined (in the Qur'an) for you (that is
He is fashioned out of clay) ¹⁹

¹⁶ Q 6:100-101

¹⁷ Q 16:57

¹⁸ Q 43:19

¹⁹ 'Abdul Hamid Siddiqi, Trans., *Sahih Muslim*, vol.4 (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1992), 1540, no 7134

Apart from the above, no further explanations on their origin and type of the light from which angels were created. According to Bilal Philips, further explanations on their origin and type of the light is nothing but individual speculation which majority of scholars rejected. He gives examples of a saying falsely attributed to Abdullah b. ‘Amr (a companion) that “Allah created the angels from the light of His forearms and His chest.” A similar saying was falsely attributed to a *tābi‘ī*, Ikrimah.²⁰

However, two facts about them can be deduced from the Qur’an: Firstly, that angels were created before humankind. This fact is derivable from Allah’s statement, informing the angels of His intention to create a *khalīfāh* (vicegerent) on earth. “Behold, your Lord said to the angels: I will create a vicegerent on earth”...²¹ Secondly, even though the angels are more spiritually perfect than humans, and created before them, they are yet not superior to human beings based on the following reasons (a) After the creation of Adam, Allah instructed them to name names of things which Adam did and they could not.²²

And He (Allah) taught Adam the names of all things: then He placed Them before the Angels and said: tell Me the names of these if you are right. They said: glory to You, of knowledge we have none, Except what You have taught us. In truth it is You Who are perfect In knowledge and wisdom. He said: O Adam, tell them their names When he had told them their names, Allah said did I not tell you that I know the secrets of heaven and the earth, and I know what you Reveal and what you conceal.²³

(b) Allah commanded all the angels to bow down to Adam which they did except *Iblis*. This seems to be an acceptance of Adam’s superiority over them. In fact, for *Iblis* to have bluntly rejected such command made him incurred an everlasting wrath of Allah.

And behold, We said to the Angels: Bow down to Adam, and they Bowed down, not so *Iblis*, he refused and was haughty, he was one Of those who reject faith.²⁴

²⁰ Philips , *The Exorcist Tradition* , 24

²¹ Q 21:30

²² H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* , (Leiden :E.J.Brill ,1974) , 320

²³ Q 2:31-33

²⁴ Q 2:34, 38:72-78

(c) In various versions of the Prophet's *mi'rāj* or Night of ascension into heaven, even the greatest angel, Jibril, could not accompany Muhammad to the "Lote Tree of the farthest Limit"(that is , the beatific vision of the theophany). This, as concluded by Lamborn Wilson, "...symbolises the theological premise that angels, thought more perfectly spiritual than humans, are in fact ontologically less central".²⁵

(d) While human race is not, in any way, in the service of the angels, most of them, including Jibril (Gabriel) are directly or indirectly in the service of humans. This will be evidently clear under discussion about their functions and interactions with human beings.

(e) The Qur'an also buttresses and summarises the confirmation of human superiority that:

We have honoured the sons of Adam; provided them with transport
On land and sea; given them for sustenance things good and pure;
And conferred on them special favours, above great part of Our creation.²⁶

1.1.2 Form and Appearance

The fact that humankind was originally created from clay does not make his physical composition look exactly as clay. The same applies to the angels. Though, they are created from light, they do not appear exactly as light, as there is no evidence from the Qur'an and Hadith to support such opinion. Of course, they have their natural form, which is not visible to humans except few selected Prophets. But they are capable of appearing in any beautiful form only to the person targeted and conceal themselves from others. According to a Hadith as narrated by Abū Salamah:

Aisha said: once Allah's Messenger said (to me), O' Aisha! This is Gabriel greeting you.
I said peace and Allah's Mercy and Blessing be on him, you see what I don't see.²⁷

Their exact nature, forms or appearance are not explained either in the Qur'an or Hadith, but both affirm their being creatures with wings. The Qur'an says:

Praise be to God the Originator of the heavens and the earth, Who made the Angels
Messengers with wings- two, or three, or four (pairs). He adds to creation as He pleases: for
Allah has power over all things²⁸

²⁵ Peter Lamborn Wilson , 49

²⁶ Q 17: 70

²⁷ Muhammad Muhsin Khan , Trans. , *Sahih Al- Bukhari: Arabic – English* vol. 5 , (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan , 1987) , 75 no 112

²⁸ Q 35:1

In addition, the Prophet is reported to have seen Jibril in his original form with six hundred wings.²⁹ However, angels could appear in human form. This is evident in the story of Maryam(Mary) in the Qur'an.

She placed a screen (to screen herself) from them. Then We sent
Our Angel and he appeared before her as a man in all respects³⁰

In a long narration, 'Umar Al-Khattab narrated how Jibril came to the prophet one day, dressed in pure white garment in human form asking the prophet to inform him about Islam generally³¹

1.1.3 Functions and Interactions with Human kind

Many angels, by virtue of their functions, have interactions with various categories of humans in different ways. Some of them are named by Allah or by the prophet, while others are named based on their functions

Jibril (Gabriel) is mentioned three times³² in the Qur'an in relation to various functions with different honourable titles. He is called a "faithful spirit", *ar-Rūh al-Amīn*,³³ who brought down revelations to the Prophet from the Lord of the world. He is also referred to as "our spirit", *Rūhanā*,³⁴ when sent to Maryam and "Holy spirit", *Rūh al-Qudus*³⁵ sent to 'Isah to assist him.

Mikā'il or Mikāl is mentioned once.³⁶ He is believed to have been responsible for rain. Mālik is mentioned as the angel of Hell Fire.³⁷ Munkar and Nakīr are mentioned by the Prophet as Angels who question a dead man,³⁸ Hārūt and Mārūt are two angels mentioned once in the Qur'an.³⁹ as the teachers of magic to humankind and *jinn*. These are the only angels whose interactions with human beings have negative impacts on their lives.⁴⁰ Others are mentioned through their specific functions without being categorical about their names. Neither the Qur'an nor the Prophet talks about Isrāfil

²⁹ Ismail Ibn Kathīr , *Al- Bidāya wa an- Nihāyah* , vol. 1, 3rd ed. ,(Beirut :Maktaba al-Ma'ārif , 1979) , 47

³⁰ Q 19:17

³¹ Abdul Hammeed Siddiqui , Trans. , *Mishkāt –ul- Masābih* , vol. 1, 3rd ed. , (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan , 1990) , 4 – 5 , no 2

³² Q 2: 97 , 98 and 66:4

³³ Q 26:193 -3

³⁴ Q 19 :17

³⁵ Q 16: 102

³⁶ Q 2 : 98

³⁷ Q 43 :77

³⁸ Siddiqui , *Mishkāt Masābih*, vol. 1, Chapter 5

³⁹ Q 2:102

⁴⁰ See: explanations on the two angels under the section on sorcery

specifically as the name of holder of the trumpet. Other Angels known only by their functions include those assigned to humankind in the womb till birth “to record four things: his livelihood, life span, deeds, whether wretched or happy”.⁴¹ Both the Qur’an⁴² and Hadith⁴³ mention angels as companions of every individual till death, advising him to embark on good deeds. There are other two mentioned in the Qur’an⁴⁴ for each person to record all deeds. These angels have ability to read human thoughts.⁴⁵ An Angel is also assigned to finally take the soul of humankind at an appointed period of every individual. The angel is mentioned by his function in the Qur’an⁴⁶ without any specific name.

1.2 The Jinn

Jinn are “a category of created being believed to possess power for evil and good”.⁴⁷ An ethereal being, speaking and transparent mass which assumes different shapes.⁴⁸ According to Al-Baidāwī, *jinn* are airy or fiery bodies composed of vapour or flame, intelligent, imperceptible to our senses, capable of appearing under different forms and carrying out heavy labours.⁴⁹ Ibn Taymīyah describes them as independent, living, intelligent beings, possessing a will and subject to commands and prohibitions.⁵⁰ The Presidency of Islamic Researches defines *jinn* as a definite species of living beings, created out of fire and like humans, may believe and disbelieve, accept or reject guidance. They are not merely a hidden force or spirit but personalized beings who enjoy certain amount of free will and be called to account.⁵¹

⁴¹ Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, vol.8, 387, no 593. See also: Jamaal al-Din M. Zarabozo, *Commentary on the Fourty Hadith of al-Nawawi*. Vol. 1,(Boulder, USA: Al-Basheer Company for Publication and Translation, 1999),388

⁴² “For each (person) there are (angels) in succession , before and behind him ;they guard him by the command of Allah” (Q13 :11)

⁴³ “Everyone of you has been assigned a companion from among the jinn and a companion from among the angels” see *Sahih Muslim* , vol.4 , no 6758 and *The Exorcist Tradition* , 36

⁴⁴ Q 50 : 17 – 18 and Q 82 :10 -11

⁴⁵ Siddiqi , *Sahih Muslim* , vol.1 ,.75 , no 235

⁴⁶ Q 6: 61 and 32 :11

⁴⁷ Jacqueline Chabbi ,‘Jinn’ in Jane Dammen McAuliffe , ed. , *Encyclopaedia of the Qur’an* , vol.3 , (Leiden : Brill , 2003) , 43

⁴⁸ Kennedy – Day , *Book of Definition*, 109

⁴⁹ Gibb and Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 90

⁵⁰ Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips, Trans., *Ibn Taymīyah’s Essay on the Jinn (Demons)* , (Riyadh : International Islamic Publishing House, 2007) , 20

⁵¹ The Presidency of Islamic Researches , IFTA , Call and Guidance , *The Holy Qur’an :English Translation of the Meaning and Commentary* see commentary of Q6: 100 , no 929

In Arabic, the word *jinn* is from *junna*, *yujannu*, which is “to be covered or hidden”, while *janna*, *yajunnu*, in the active voice is “to cover, hide, or conceal.”⁵² Thus, *jannahu al-Layl*, means the night covered him. Anything concealed from you is *junna ‘anka*.⁵³ The heart concealed in the chest is *janān* while the embryo concealed in the womb is *janīn*.⁵⁴ Both *jinn* and *jān* are interchangeably used to mean the same creatures, whether the good or bad ones. However, the weakest among them is called *hinn*, the wicked among them is termed *shaytān* i.e. the evil genius; a more powerful evil genius is called *mārid*, demon; while the evil genius in a superlative degree is known as *ifrīt*.⁵⁵ The word *jaan* is used seven times in the Qur’an and *jinn* twenty-two times.⁵⁶ This proves the reality of their existence beyond any reasonable doubt. The Qur’an declares thus:

O you assembly of *Jinn* and Men! If you can pass beyond the zones .
Of the heaven and the earth, pass you! Not without authority shall
You be able to pass⁵⁷

Throughout the world, every race has one form of belief or the other in the world of *jinn* according to the dictate of each culture. These beliefs, in most cases, are always attached to some elements of fear or anxiety. The next section, therefore, deals briefly with the reality of the *jinn* and some aspects of their existence.

1.2.1 Origin and Reality of their existence

Although, the *jinn* belong to the unseen world, their existence is known to almost all races, as various cultures accommodate their realities. In the Qur’an, Allah clearly states the same reason for the creation of both humankind and *jinn* thus:

“I have only created *Jinn* and Men that they may serve me”⁵⁸

It means that both were created to serve God in various capacities. However, the *jinn* were created from smokeless fire, as the Qur’an says: “And He created *Jinn* from fire free of smoke”.⁵⁹ Their being

⁵² A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur’an: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1975), 319. Commentary on Qur’an 6:100, no 929

⁵³ Abu’l – Mundhir Khaleel Ibn Ibraheem Ameen, *The Jinn and Human Sickness : Remedies in the Light of the Qur’an and Sunnah*, (Riyadh, etc : Darussalam, 2005), 31

⁵⁴ Philips, *The Exorcist Tradition*, 41

⁵⁵ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 134 and Ameen, *Jinn and Human Sickness*, 32

⁵⁶ Abdul Bāqī, *al - Mu’jam al – Mufahris*, 409

⁵⁷ Q 55:33

⁵⁸ Q 51: 56

free of smoke implies that they are free from grossness, for smoke is the grosser accompaniment of fire.⁶⁰ In addition, the Qur'an further clarifies the part of fire from which they were created.

And the *Jinn* race, We had created before, from the fire of a
Scorching wind.⁶¹

Two facts emerge from the above verse. Firstly, their origin is from both wind and fire. Secondly, they were created before humankind. Another verse attests to the two facts:

We created Man from sounding clay, from mud moulded into
Shapes, and the *Jinn*, We had created before (i.e. before Mankind)...⁶²

The Prophet also buttresses the point on their origin that:

The angels were born out of light and *jinn* were born out of the
Spark of fire...⁶³

Therefore, both angels and the *jinn* were created from very light substance. The former from light while the latter from fire. The relationship of fire and light is undoubtedly clear as fire can also produce light. Probably this is the more reason why both have some things in common. Both can appear and disappear from humankind at wish though not in their original form; both have abilities to travel in an amazing speed, and both have irregular shapes, to change to, apart from their natural forms.

However, there has not been any discussion on the original father of the angels because they are naturally created without any sexual urge or lustful desire. Thus, they were created individually from light. In contrast to this, due to the fact that *Jinn* procreate and have lustful desire, scholars differ on whether their progenitor was *Iblīs* (Satan) or not as Adam is to humankind. Their arguments are based on the following verse:

Behold! We said to the Angels: prostrate to Adam: they prostrated
Except *Iblīs*. He was one of the *jinn*, and he broke the command of
His Lord. Will you then take him and his progeny as protector rather
than Me ?⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Q 55: 15

⁶⁰ The Presidency of Islamic Researches , 1662

⁶¹ Q 15: 27

⁶² Q 15:26 -27

⁶³ Siddiqui, *Sahih Muslim*, vol. 4 , 1540, no 7134

⁶⁴ Q 18: 50

The phrase “he was one of the *jinn*” prompts scholars like Hasan al- Basrī to conclude that *Iblīs* was the ancestral father of the *jinn* as Adam is to humankind.⁶⁵ This opinion is probably held because no other *jinn* has ever been mentioned before him and the same verse also says:

“Will you then take him (*Iblīs*) and his progeny (children) as protectors”. It seems that all other *jinn* are his progeny. Contrarily, other scholars hold that the verse mentions *Iblīs* as “one of the *jinn*” and not the ancestral father. He only becomes famous due to his disobedience to God and his becoming an accursed and wretched.⁶⁶

Besides, *Shaytān*, to some scholars could not have been the *Jinn*’s progenitor because he was originally of the angels. Their evidence is based on the following verses:

It is We Who created you (humankind), and gave you shape:

Then We bade the Angels prostrate to Adam , and they prostrated

Not so *Iblīs*; he refused to be of those who prostrated⁶⁷

According to Al- Qurtubi, such is the opinion of many scholars like Ibn ‘Abbās , Ibn Mas‘ūd , Ibn Jurayj , Ibn al- Musayyib , Ibn Qudāmah , Qatādah and Abul Hasan al-Ash‘ari .⁶⁸ They supported the above verse with another one, that God calls all of them as Angels, including *Iblīs*

So, the Angels prostrated themselves all together, not so *Iblīs* he was

Haughty, and became one of those who reject faith⁶⁹

Furthermore, the antagonists of this view argue that, for God to mention “Satan and his children” nullifies the possibility of his being angel because angels do not procreate. The stories of *Shaytān* being among the most honourable group of the angels and as guardian of paradise or in charge of the lower heaven are all from Jewish records (*Isrā’īliyyāt*).⁷⁰ However, if *Iblīs* was an angel, he could not have been singled out of others as having children. Why is progeny not arrogated to Jibril and other arch-angels? It is evident from the Qur’an that *Iblīs* was a *jinn* but made to live among the angels. That was why the command of prostration included him. The Qur’an says: “Behold .We said to the angels, prostrate to Adam: they prostrated except *Iblīs*. He was one of the *jinn*”.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Muhammad Ibn Jarīr at – Ṭabarī , *Jāmi‘ al-Bayān ‘an Ta‘wīl al-Qur‘ān*, vol.1, (Cairo: Dār al- Ma‘arif, n.d.), 226

⁶⁶ Ahmad al – Bayānūnī , *al-Īmān bi al – Malāikah* , (Syria : Maktabah al-Hudā , 1974) , 109

⁶⁷ Q 7: 11

⁶⁸ See: Philips , *The Exorcist Tradition* , 49

⁶⁹ Q 38: 73 – 74 .See also: Q 2: 30-39

⁷⁰ Philips , *The Exorcist Tradition* , 53

⁷¹ Q 2: 34

Therefore, the foregoing is a pointer to some facts: Firstly, the existence of *jinn* is a reality. Secondly, as origin of humankind is from clay, their origin is from fire of a scorching wind. Thirdly, out of the three intelligent beings, they are of the same specie with *Iblīs* (Satan), whether the good or the bad ones among them.

1.2.2 Mode of Existence

Despite being created from fire, the *jinn* still have some modes of existence similar to those of humankind. According to the Prophet,

There are three forms of *jinn*: one flies in the air...,
Others live as snakes and dogs, and another earthbound
Lives in a particular place or wanders all about⁷²

The category of those who fly in the air suggests that not all *jinn* have the capability of flying. It means all of them live on the earth because those who fly come back to relate whatever they witnessed in the lower heaven to some humans, especially the fortune tellers. The Qur'an says:

And we (the *jinn*) pried into the (secrets of) heaven; but we found
It filled with stern guards and flaming fires.⁷³

And We have guarded them (the heavens) from every accursed Satan
(Among the *jinn*) except the one who is able to steal a hearing.⁷⁴

The foregoing explains that the airy devilish ones among the *jinn* are capable of flying even to the lower heaven. The Qur'an says they are pursued by fiery fire to descend to the earth. It means all of them live on the earth but not all fly in the air. Besides, further explanation of the Prophet shows that the *jinn* living as animals may be found as snakes, even in the house:

Surely, there is a group of *jinn* in Madina who have accepted Islam,
So, anyone who sees snakes (i.e. at home) should request them to leave
Three times. Whichever one that appears after, should be killed, for
It is a devil (among the *jinn*).⁷⁵

⁷² Muhammad al-Khatīb at-Tabrīzī, *Mishkāt al-Masābih*, vol. 2 (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1979), 883

⁷³ Q 72:8

⁷⁴ Q 15 : 17 -18

⁷⁵ Siddiqui, *Sahih Muslim*, vol. 4, 1213, no 5557. To buttress the possibility and reality of this Hadith, in *Ākām al-Marjān fī gharāib al-Jān*, Badr ad-Dīn ash-Shiblī, as quoted by Wahid Bālī, Says: Sa'd Ibn Abi Waqās (a Prophet's

The earthbound among them dwell in places like graveyards, caves, holes, desert area, open field, and abandoned buildings. Others dwell in dirty places like toilets, water closet, garbage-dumps e.t.c.⁷⁶ The prophet says:

There is presence of the devils (among the *jinn*) in these privies.

So, whoever goes there should say: I seek refuge in Allah ,

From male and female devils⁷⁷

In addition, the Prophet also prohibited urinating in the holes and cave. When a companion, Qatāda was questioned about the reason, his response was “...it is said that the (holes and caves) are the homes of *Jinn*”⁷⁸. But these filthy places are occupied by the disbelievers among them. The Muslims among them live in other places. This can be deduced from the following: firstly, the Prophet says: “Purity is part of *Īmān*”⁷⁹ It means that God will not accept impurity from humankind and *jinn*. Secondly, in a long narration, Ibn Mas‘ūd reported that they were in the company of the Prophet one night but did not see him. They searched for him in the valleys and hills but without success. When the Prophet returned, he said: “A delegate of *jinn* came to me and I went with him and recited the Qur’an to them...”⁸⁰ The conclusion here is that, the Prophet could not have gone to a refuge or filthy place to recite the Qur’an for them. So the Muslims among them live in those mentioned places apart from the dirty areas.

Besides, it is believed that no one can see the *jinn* in their natural forms, except Prophets. This belief is based on the following verses:

He (Satan) and his tribe (other *jinn*) see you

From a position where you cannot see them...⁸¹

Companion) said: “once , while I was in a place far from my house, a messenger came to me from my wife to say that she requested me to come home. I was displeased by her request, but I went and said : what is it? She said: ‘ it is this snake (and she pointed to it); I used to see it in the countryside when I was alone there. But I have not seen it for a while, untill now. It is the same snake: I recognise it by its eyes’. So sa‘d made a speech in which after praising Allah, he said: ‘ You have harmed me, and I swear by Allah that if I see you again, I will kill you’. There upon, the snake slipped under the door and went out” See : Wahid Abdussalam Baly, *How to protect yourself from Jinn and Shaytaan*. Trans., Abdullah Elaceci , (London: Al- Firdous, 2005), 39-40

⁷⁶ Philips , *Ibn Taymiya’s Essay on Jinn* , 45

⁷⁷ Muhammad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Mājāh , “Sunan Ibn Majah ” , in Salih Ibn Abdul – Azīz Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim ash – Shaykh , comp. , *Al – Kutub as – Sittah* (Riyadh : Darussalam , 1999) , 2495, no 296

⁷⁸ Ahmad Ibn Shu‘ayb Ibn ‘Ali an – Nasāi , “Sunan an – Nasāi ” in Salih Ibn Abdul – Azīz Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim ash – Shaykh , comp. , *Al Kutub as – Sittah* (Riyadh : Darussalam , 1999) , 2088 , no 34

⁷⁹ Muslim Ibn al Hajjāh Ibn Muslim , “Sahih Muslim ” in Salih Ibn Abdul – Azīz Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ash – Shaykh , comp. *Al – Kutub as – Sittah* (Riyadh : Darussalam , 1999) , 718 , no 534

⁸⁰ *Ibid* 749 , no 450

⁸¹ Q 7: 27

This verse, to some scholars like ash-Shāfi‘i, Ibn Hazm and Al-Ghazzali, implies that *jinn* are not visible to any humankind in their original form except the Prophets. Al –Ghazzali says:

The devils and the angels have got figures which. cannot be seen
by men except with the light of prophet hood. The Prophet
saw Jibril(Gabriel) twice in his original form⁸²

However, the Prophet confirms that some animals can see the *jinn*.

If you hear dogs barking or donkeys braying at night, seek
refuge in Allah (from Satan) for they see what you see not⁸³

The *jinn* can only be visible to humankind when they transform themselves into shapes, either as animals or humans. The Hadith quoted above on the *jinn* changing to snakes is evidence.

Apart from appearing to some people in human form, *jinn* can also talk to some humans as some fortune tellers interact with them to predict about future occurrences. This may be deduced from the following:

He (Satan) and his tribe (*jinn*) see you from a position where you
Cannot see them: We made the satans friends to those without faith⁸⁴

Will you then take him (Satan) and his children as
Protectors besides Me? And they are enemies to you⁸⁵

In addition, a former fortune teller who embraced Islam was questioned by Umar Al-Khaṭṭab that: “Tell me the strangest thing which your female *jinni* told you”.⁸⁶ All these are confirmations of *jinn* appearing to some humans in various forms.

Furthermore, the *jinn*, like humankind, also eat and drink, although, there is no authentic record to clarify how the *jinn* eat, whether they chew or swallow or sniff their food or not. In fact, it is confirmed by the Prophet that they consume some of the human food and drinks. The Muslim *jinn* have once asked the Prophets to specify their (lawful) food for them and he said:

You may have as meat every bone on which Allah’s name has been mentioned
Which fall into your hands...The Prophets then said (to the companions), so,
Do not clean yourselves (*istinjā*) with them (i.e. bones), for they are provisions

⁸² Fazal –ul – Karim , *Imam Gazali’s Ihyā’ ‘Ulum-ud-Din*, 48

⁸³ Abu Dāūd Sulaimān Ibn al -Ash‘ath Ibn Is-hāq as – Sijistānī, “Sunan Abi Dāūd ” in Salih Ibn Abdul – Aziz Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim ash- Shaykh , comp. , *Al – Kutub as-Sittah* (Riyadh :Darussalam , 1999) , 1597 , no 5103

⁸⁴ Q 7:27

⁸⁵ Q 18:50

⁸⁶ Khan , *Sahih Al – Bukhari* , vol. 5 , 131 – 132 , no 206

For your brothers (i.e. the Muslim *jinn*)⁸⁷

In addition, due to the existence of both sexes among the *jinn*, most of the scholars agree that they also engage in sexual intercourse and procreate like humankind. Evidences are derived from the following:

True, there were men among humans who sought refuge from men

Among the *jinn*, but they only increase them in folly⁸⁸

Mentioning men among the *jinn* means that they have both sexes. Furthermore, in teaching Muslims manners of toileting, the Prophet used to say:

O Allah, surely, I seek refuge in you from the evil male and female *jinn*⁸⁹

Both the Qur'an and Hadith above confirm the existence of both sexes, while the Qur'an also confirms their ability to procreate. "Will you then take him (Satan) and his progeny as protectors besides Me"⁹⁰ All these are pointers to the fact that the *jinn* also have sexual relations among themselves.

1.2.3 Volition (Free will)

Like humankind, *jinn* are also endowed with an ability to be righteous and religious or immoral and disbelieving. Some of them are unforgiving and harmful, while others are complete opposite. It means that they are accountable to God in their deeds and be punished or rewarded accordingly. The Qur'an testifies to all these. Reporting the conversations of the Muslim *jinn* to the Prophet; the Qur'an says:

They said "O our people! We have heard a Book
Revealed after Moses confirming what came before it: it guides
To the truth and to a straight path. O our people! Hearken to the one
Who invites (you) to Allah and believe in him: He (Allah) will
Forgive you your faults, and deliver you from grievous chastisement"⁹¹

There are among us some that are righteous, and some the contrary we follow
Divergent paths...Among us are Muslims (who submit their will to Allah)
And some that swerve from justice, and whoever submits (by accepting Islam)
Has sought out (the path) of right conduct. But those who swerve, they are fuel for

⁸⁷ Siddiqui, *Sahih Muslim*, vol. 4, 1471, no 6757

⁸⁸ Q 72 : 11, 14 – 15

⁸⁹ Bukhari, in *Al-Kuttub as-Sittah*, 15, no 142; Nasai, 2088, no 19. See also: Philips, *The Exorcist Tradition*, 64

⁹⁰ Q 18 : 50

⁹¹ Q 46 : 30 – 31

Hell-fire⁹²

In addition, all the verses quoted earlier on *Iblis* defying the command of Allah are pointers to the exercise of his freedom. According to Ibn Taymīyah, “their situation is quite similar to that of humans except that human beings are generally more intelligent, truthful, just and trustworthy while the *jinn* tend to be ignorant, untruthful, oppressive and treacherous”⁹³

All the foregoing explains the Islamic confirmation of *jinn*s’ existence which some Muslims deny as mere superstitious belief, just because they do not see them physically; where as they believe in many other unseen things like the soul in humankind or current in electricity. Ibn Taymīyah concludes “Those who deny the *jinn*’s existence do not have evidence to support their denial. They merely have a lack of knowledge because the beliefs and experimental knowledge of their profession contain nothing which confirms the *jinn*’s existence”⁹⁴. Therefore, the unseen nature of the *jinn* does not confirm their lack of existence for God emphasises that “He has created other things of which you (humankind) have no knowledge”⁹⁵

1.3 The Human Spirit

The totality of human personality comprises of two integral entities, body and soul (otherwise called human spirits). The Islamic terminologies, *rūh* and *nafs*, used to denote human spirit are so allegorical with too many meanings that scholars are left with as many opinions as possible. According to the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, *nafs* is used reflexively in early Arabic poetry as either self or person, while *rūh* means breath and/or wind.⁹⁶ In addition, the Qur’an uses *nafs* as human soul and *rūh* as special angel. Both *nafs* and *rūh* were later used interchangeably for human spirit, angel and *jinn*.⁹⁷ An example of *rūh* as human spirit is found in the following verses:

When I (Allah) have fashioned him (Adam) and breathed
Into him of My Spirit (*rūhī*)...⁹⁸

⁹² Q 72 : 11 , 14 – 15. In line with those verses, Wahid Bali concludes that, the *Jinn* also have Muslims, Christians and Jews. He says even among their Muslims, there are various sects like Ahl as-Sunnah, Qadariyyah, Shi‘ah and others. See: Wahīd Abdus-Salām Bālī, *Wiqāyah al-Insān min al-Jinn wa ash-Shaytān* (Cairo:Dār al-Bashīr, 1409 AH),34

⁹³ Philips , *Ibn Taymiyah’s, Essay on Jinn* , 55

⁹⁴ Ibid , 30

⁹⁵ Q 16 : 8

⁹⁶ Gibb and Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 433

⁹⁷ Ibid ,

⁹⁸ Q 38: 72

But He fashioned him in due proportion, and breathed into
Him of His Spirit (*rūhihi*)⁹⁹

Rūh is also used for Jibrīl as an arch-angel to distinguish him out of all others:

The Day that *ar-Rūh* and the (other) angels will stand forth in ranks ¹⁰⁰

There in (in the Night of power) come down the angels and *ar-Rūh*,
The Spirit (Jibril) by Allah's permission on every errand ¹⁰¹

Talking about the last Day, the Qur'an applies the term *nafs* with its plurals, *nufūs* and *anfus* for both humankind and *jinn* to mean either self or person:

They (*jinn* and Men) will say: We bear witness
Against ourselves (*anfusina*). It was the life of
This world that deceived them. So, against
Themselves (*anfusihim*) will they bear
Witness that they reject faith? ¹⁰²

Furthermore, an evidence is glaring in the Qur'an that *nafs* is also used as a synonym of *rūh*, when it refers specifically to human soul.

In the flood of confusion at death – the Angels stretch forth their
Hands (saying) “yield up your souls (*akhrijū anfusakum*)” ¹⁰³

And there will come forth every soul (*kullu nafsin*) with each will
Be an (angel) to drive and an (angel) to bear witness ¹⁰⁴

And spend in charity for the benefit of your own souls (*anfusikum*)¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Q 32 : 9

¹⁰⁰ Q 78 :39

¹⁰¹ Q 97 :4

¹⁰² Q 6 : 130

¹⁰³ Q 6 : 93

¹⁰⁴ Q 50 : 21

¹⁰⁵ Q 64 :167

Therefore, with all the above, there is no dispute in the existence of soul or spirit in human body. Despite the certainty, scholars are so divided in their explanations and views on human soul or spirit that they express divergent contradictory opinions.

Ibn al-Asīr defines soul as a vaporous substance, which is the principle of vitality, sensation and voluntary motion.¹⁰⁶ It is the source of the hollow of the corporeal heart, which diffuses itself into all other parts of the body by means of the pulsing veins and arteries.¹⁰⁷

Kennedy-Day views the soul as an un-embodied substance which is the perfection of a body, having motion by choice according to a rational principle, which is an intellect in actuality or potentiality.¹⁰⁸

To Al-Ghazzali, the soul is the material substance within the heart which vibrates the whole body, like the current of electricity; the soul runs through the veins. It has power of touch, hearing, sight, smell and power of other limbs of the body. To him, this is termed as life in man.¹⁰⁹

1.3.1 Origin and Status

As the opinions defer on its definition, so it is on its origin as some believe it to be of divine, uncreated origin while others affirm its creation. The *sūfīs*(mystics), theologians and philosophers, all have their divergent views expressed on the soul:

In his view, al-Hākim Tirmidhi, a *sūfī* scholar, says that the human spirit is of celestial nature and origin (*samāwī, malakūtī*). This celestial gentle breeze is also a light (*nūr*). The spirit has its centre in the head i.e. in the brain, which is diffused throughout the whole body and exercises its effects at every part. It is only through this spirit that man actually becomes a human distinguished from other living creatures. It is also through it that humankind feels pain and plays an essential role in the acts of perception, especially act of sight.¹¹⁰

Imam Ghazzali champions the opinion of the soul being a divine uncreated origin. As quoted by Ibn Arabi, al-Ghazzali says the master of all things is the soul, which is not created. It is directly from the

¹⁰⁶ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 546

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Kennedy –Day, *Book of Definition*, 104 – 5

¹⁰⁹ Abu Hāmid Ibn Muhammad al-Ghazzālī, *Iḥyā al- ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn*, vol.3,(Beirut :Dār al –Ma‘ārifah, n.d.), 3

¹¹⁰ Al -Hakim Al – Tirmidhī, *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism*, Trans. Bernd Radtke and John O’Kane (Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 1996), 138 - 9

realm of God's command ¹¹¹ Ibn Arabi also expresses some *sufi* opinions that the human soul is under the orders of God. It is within God's knowledge. Thus, he believes that the origin of the soul is divine and it receives order directly from God. This soul is surrounded by the microcosm which is called human being. ¹¹²

Another, mystic scholar, Abul Qāsim al-Qushayri who differs from soul being divine concludes that, those of the Prophet's Sunna hold various opinions as regards human Spirit. Some say it is life, others call it the essence of life in the human body. Al-Qushayri says man is a combination of both spirit and body because God has subjugated parts of this whole to another. Therefore, this soul is created and whoever insists that souls are eternal commit a grave mistake. ¹¹³

In his *tafsīr* of the verse: “(when I have) breathed of My spirit into him”¹¹⁴, Abul A‘lā Maududi says it means “when I have cast a reflection of My divine characteristics on him”. He says, this shows that the soul of Humans implies “life, knowledge, power, will, discretion and other human characteristics in the aggregate” He maintains that, it is this divine reflection on the human body which elevates him to the high position of being Allah's vicegerent before whom the Angels and other earthly creatures should bow. ¹¹⁵ In addition, Sayyid Qutb also agrees that this breath of God's Spirit elevates man from humble organic entity to the noble human stage, which distinguished him as a creature worthy of being the God's vicegerent on earth. ¹¹⁶

It is the same soul that Muqātil ibn Sulaymān believes to be three different substances. To him, humankind possesses *nafs* which is the soul, *rūh*, spirit and *hayāh*, life. During his sleep, it is *nafs* that engages in dreams which he remembers and understands when he wakes up. This *nafs* is like a rope released to extend to various places without being cut off from its original source. While this (soul) travels, *rūh* and *hayāh* remain and allow the man to remain alive and turn as he likes while still asleep. ¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi, *Divine Governance of the Human Kingdom (at Tadbirat al – Ilāhiyyah fi Iṣlāh al –Mamlakah al-Insāniyyah)* Interp. , Shaykh Tosun Bayrak al – Jerrahi al – Halveti , (Louisville , U.S.A. : Fons Vitae , 1997) , 24

¹¹² *Ibid* , 24 – 26

¹¹³ Abu’l Qāsim al – Qushayri , *Al – Qushayri’s Epistle on Sufism (al – Risāla al – Qushayriyya fi ‘ilm al – Tasawwuf)* , Trans. , Alexander D. Knysh (Reading , U.K.: Ganet Publishing Limited, 2007) , 110

¹¹⁴ Q 15 : 29

¹¹⁵ S . Abul A‘lā Maududi , *The Meaning of the Qur’an* , vol.4 , Trans. , Muhammad Akbar(Lahore : Islamic Publications , 1991) , 38 - 39

¹¹⁶ Sayyid Qutb , *In the Shade of the Qur’an* , vol.x , Trans. , Adil Salahi , (Leicestershire : The Islamic Foundation , 2004) , 330

¹¹⁷ Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn al – Qayyim , *Ar- Rūh* (Cairo : Maktabah ‘Ibādūr – Rahmān , n.d.) , 327

In matters of purification and spiritual development, the same soul is explained by some *Sūfīs* and philosophers as having three main different stages. For instance, Abu Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī says there are:

(1) *an-nafs al-amārah bi as-sū*'. The soul which habitually orders evil-doing, just to always satisfy its egoistic desires. The Qur'an attests to each one thus:

‘Verily, the soul persistently commands evil’¹¹⁸

(2) *an-nafs allawwāmah*, the soul which constantly blames itself for every action. The Qur'an says:

‘And I swear by the self-recriminating soul’¹¹⁹

(3) *an-nafs al-muṭmainnah*. A soul at peace, which is in complete tranquillity.

‘O peaceful soul, return to your Lord’.¹²⁰

Therefore, as-Sulamī agrees with many other scholars that there is only one soul in this case with various stages of spiritual growth and purification.¹²¹ From the foregoing, the whole discussions in this chapter are pointers to some facts: Firstly, out of the three rational beings, both *jinn* and humankind have many things in common. Humankind is composed of both spirit and body, and cannot exist without his spirit or soul. While humans can exist somewhere else in soul, the body can not exist anywhere without the soul. It means, the real nature and existence of human race is based on the spirit or soul.

Secondly, the soul which is the real individual was created from God's breath, that is, breeze or wind. The *jinn* were also created from scorching wind. So, both have different forms of wind or breeze as their origins. That of humankind is housed in a temporary body and lives in a physical world, while the *jinn's* lives in spirit in a hidden world.

Thirdly, both of them share other things which are practically absent in the angelic world. For instance, both eat, drink, sleep, have males and females, engage in marriages, cohabitation and procreation. In addition, both have free will, righteous and wicked. All these have great influences and impacts on the interaction of both with each other as we shall see in the next chapter.

¹¹⁸ Q 12 : 53

¹¹⁹ Q 75 : 2

¹²⁰ Q 89 : 27

¹²¹ Abū ‘Abd al – Rahman al – Sulamī , *Jawāmi‘ Ādāb al – Sufiyyah wa ‘Uyūb al – Nafs wa Mudāwātuha* , ed. ,Etan Kohiberg (Jerusalem : Institute of Asian and African Studies , the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976) , 70 - 72

CHAPTER TWO

Evil Forces

2.1 Evil Spirit

From the last chapter, it is evident that the *jinn* follow divergent paths according to their volitions. There are cruel harmful ones as well as righteous. The harmful unrighteous ones among them are termed here as evil spirits, who are believed to cause various unquantifiable calamities to human beings and their properties. Their interaction with humankind is destructive and woeful. It is believed that they cause various diseases, confusions, deceits, and misguidance. All these are possible through diabolic possession of human bodies or other animals and inanimate objects. These, therefore, lead to the issue of evil spirit or diabolical possession of humankind and their wicked interactions with him.

Spirit possession is defined as “...the presence of demons and evil spirits who maltreat the human host”.¹ It is the hostile actions of the Devil, or evil spirits, besetting a person from within. The possessed person has the demon, or the evil spirit, within his body, directing many of his actions and much of his behaviour”.² It is an “unusual state of behaviour that is indigenously understood in terms of the influence of an alien spirit, demon, or deity. The possessed acts as though another personality – a spirit or soul – has entered their body and taken control. Dramatic changes in their physiognomy, voice, and manner usually occur. Their behaviours thus become blasphemous”.³

In Arabic, spirit possession is known as *talabus*. But the word *şara‘* is adapted and frequently used especially among the Yoruba Muslim clerics in Nigeria. *Şara‘* is from the root *şara‘a* meaning ‘to throw down on ground’, while its passive form is *şuri‘a*, that is, to be caught by epilepsy or diabolical possession or madness.⁴ According to Ibn Taymīyah, the *jinn* possession of humankind may be as a result of lustful desire of the *jinn* for humans, or they are annoyed through the human wrong deeds to

¹ Jonathan Z. Smith, et al, eds., *Harpercollins Dictionary of Religion*, (New York : Haper San Francisco, 1995), 850

² Juan B. Cortés and Florence M. Gatti, *The Case Against Possessions and Exorcisms*, (New York, et al : Vantage Press, 1975), 1

³ Vincent Crapanzano, “Spirit Possession :An Overview” in Lindsay Jones, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, (New York, et al : Thomas Gale, 2005), 8687

⁴ Edward William Lane, *Arabic – English Lexicon*, vol. 2, (Cambridge : Islamic Texts Society, 1984), 1678

them, either by urinating or pouring hot water on them or other harms. They think such acts are committed intentionally and they try to punish such persons according to their wish.⁵

2.1.1 Evidence from the Qur'an

Those who devour usury (*riba*) will not stand except as stands
One whom the Satan by his touch has driven to madness.⁶

Some Islamic Scholars use the technical meaning of the above verse to explain the reality of Satan and other *jinn* touching human beings or possessing them. Among those who favour such interpretation are aṭ-Ṭabarī and Al- Qurtubī. Al- Qurtubī says: “In this verse, there is a pointer to refutation of those who deny diabolic possession through *Jinn*, affirming such (possession) to be natural, and those who assert that Satan can not penetrate human body or touch him”, while aṭ-Ṭabarī maintains that the verse implies that “ Shaytān beats him even in this world causing him insanity from such beating”.⁷ From the foregoing, it means, if Satan can not drive any one to madness by his touch or possession in this world, Allah would not have given such example. But the fact that such example of Satan’s touch will be practically witnessed in this world, has been given to imagine and realise how the usury devourer will be raised up in the next world. In other words, the way a diabolic possessed one behaves abnormally in this world is the same way a usury devourer will be raised up after his death. Ibn Kathīr says, the usury devourer will be raised up on the Day of judgement as a lunatic seized by a fit of madness.⁸

However, some scholars still refute any spirit possession as mere fiction and unrealistic assertion. They mostly rely on the following verse:

And Satan will say when the matter is decided: it was Allah Who gave you a
Promise of Truth: I too promised, but I failed in my promise to you. I had no
Authority over you except to call you, but you listen to me...⁹

⁵ Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips, *Ibn Taymiyah's Essay on Jinn (Demon)*, (Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House, 2007), 43-44

⁶ Q 2 : 275

⁷ Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al- Anṣārī al- Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li ahkām al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3-4 (n.p.: Dār al- Kitāb al- 'Arabī, 1957), 355 and Abu Ja'far Muhammad Ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, (Cairo: Maṭ ba'ah Mustafā al-Bābī al-Halbi,1954),101.

⁸ Safiur Rahman Al- Mubarakpuri, and a group of Scholars, abridged, *Al – Miṣbāh al-Munīr fi tahdhīb Tafṣīr Ibn Kathīr* (Riyadh :Darussalam, 2000), 69

⁹ Q14: 22

The phrase: “ I have no authority over you ” is the evidence mostly relied upon by the antagonists of possession. The most frequently quoted scholar is Aj-Jubā’ī, a leading Mu‘tazilite scholar. He says if Satan has a dense body, how could he penetrate into human body? If he is in form of a fine body, like air, then, he cannot be as powerful as to kill human kind. If it is possible for him to kill, it means he is capable of performing miracles specially endowed to all Prophets. The epileptic fits which people attribute to the Satan’s touch on the possessed is not true because the verse above states that he has no power to possess or kill any one.¹⁰ In addition, Muhammad Rashīd Ridā argues that either epilepsy or any mental sickness, they are all problems of the nervous system¹¹

Sayyid Qutb’s view rather repudiates Aj-Jubā’ī’s opinion that so long as Satan shares some characteristics with the fire of scorching wind, it means that he can affect the element constituting mud and clay once he is from fire. He can also cause harm and is not slow to do that once his origin is not only from fire but also from scorching aspect of it.¹² Ibn Taymīyah also supports the technical interpretation of the verse and refutation of the antagonists: “ Some Mu‘tazilites like Aj-Jubā’ī, Abu Bakr ar-Rāzī and others deny *jinn* entering bodies of the possessed but they deny not the existence of *jinn*.. Therefore, Al-Ash‘arī mentioned it as part of the sayings of the *Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah* that *jinn* enter the bodies of the possessed”.¹³

2.1.2 Evidence from the Sunnah

‘From Ya‘lā ibn Murrah who said: I saw from the Prophet three things that none before or after me saw .I went on a journey with him. On our way, we passed by a woman sitting with a young boy. She said: O Messenger of Allah, this boy is afflicted with a trouble; from him we have also been afflicted. I do not know how many times he is caught by seizure in a day. He said: bring him to me, and she handed him to the Prophet. He, therefore, placed the boy between himself and his mount. He opened his mouth and blew into it three times, saying: *‘bismillāh* (in the Name of Allah) I am a servant of Allah. Get out, enemy of Allah!’ He then handed him back to her and said: Meet us here on our way back, and inform us of his condition. We went away and

¹⁰ Fakhr ad-Dīn Muhammad Ibn ‘Umar ar-Rāzī , *at-Tafsīr al- Kabīr* , vol.7 (Beirut : Dār al- Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah , 1980) , 88-89

¹¹ Muhammad Rashīd Ridā , *Tafsīr al-Manār* , vol.3 , (Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah , n.d.) , 96

¹² Sayyid Qutb , *In the Shade of the Qur’an* , vol.10 , Adil Salahi , Trans. , (Leicestershire : The Islamic Foundation, 2004) , 330

¹³ Ahmad Ibn Tamymiyah , *Majmū‘Fatāwāh* , vol. 19, Abdur-Rahman Ibn Muhammad Qāsim , comp. , (Madinah : Wizārah ash-Shu‘ūn al- Islamiyyah wa al- awqāf wa ad- Da‘wah wa al- Irshād , 2004) , 12

returned, then met her in the same place with three sheep. The Prophet said: what did your boy do? She answered: By He Who sent you with the Truth; we have not discovered anything (abnormal) from him up till now'.¹⁴

‘Wakī’ also reported that a woman came to the Prophet with an afflicted young boy. The Prophet then said: “*Ukhruj ‘aduwallāh, ana Rasūlullāh*” (i.e. Get out enemy of Allah; I am The Messenger of Allah). Then, the boy was cured. The woman presented to him two sheep, butter and cheese. The Prophet said (to one of his companions): Take the butter, cheese and a sheep and return the rest to her’.¹⁵ Commenting on this, Bilal Philips says:

If there was nothing really possessing this boy, it would mean that the Prophet was involved in folly and deception. Since he knew that his actions would be imitated by his followers, he would not engage in such deviation. The idea of him being deceitful is totally inconsistent with the Islamic concept of prophethood...Consequently, the vast majority of orthodox Muslim Scholars conclude that such narrations confirm the concept of diabolic possession of humans.¹⁶

2.1.3 Evidence from other Sources

According to Abdullah, the son of Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, “ I said to my father: There is some one who claims that *jinn* cannot enter human bodies. He said: O my son, he is lying; the *jinn* is speaking through him¹⁷

Shaykh Muhammad Al- Haamid is quoted by Ibraheem Ameen that:

Because the *jinn* have light bodies, there is no rational reason why they should not enter the bodies of the sons of Adam, and there is no text which contradicts this idea for that which is light may run through that which is dense, like air which can enter our bodies, or fire which runs through coals, or electricity which runs through wires¹⁸

¹⁴ Ahmad Ibn Hambal , *Musnad* , vol.4 ,(Beirut : Dār al- Kutub al-Islamiyyah , 1st ed. , 1993) , 210, no 17561
The Hadith is authenticated by al-Hakim and adh-Dhahabi.

¹⁵ Ahmad Ibn Hambal , *Musnad* , Riyadh : International Ideas Home for Publishing and Distribution , 2002) , 1248-9 ,no 17691 . The Hadith is confirmed as authentic by al- Haythami in *Majma ‘az- Zawā’id* .

¹⁶ Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips , *The Exorcist Traditions in Islam*, (Sharjah , U.A.E.: Dār al- Fatah , 1997), 82

¹⁷ Ahmad Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmū‘ fatāwah* , 12

¹⁸ Abu’l –Mundhir Khaleel Ibn Ibraheem Ameen , *The Jinn and Human Sickness: Remedies in the Light of the Qur’an and Sunnah*, (Riyadh , etc: Darussalam , 2005) , 51

A one time Psychiatric Adviser to the Hong Kong Government, P. M. Yap writes in an introduction to his article:

The Phenomena of ‘spirit – communication’ in mediumistic trance, of spirit-possession, and of demonopathy, are closely related, and known to both east and west... These conditions do present themselves in many countries and it is misconceived to think that they are to be found only in outlandish cultures... This paper examines the possession syndromes as it is manifested in patients coming to the Mental Hospital in Hong Kong and compares the findings with those described in the literature of the French Catholic patients¹⁹

William James, as quoted by Richards, also comments that:

The refusal of the modern ‘enlightenment’ to treat possession as a hypothesis to be spoken of as even possible, in spite of the mass of human tradition based on concrete experience in its favour, has always seemed to me to be a curious example of the power of fashion in anything scientific... One has to be ‘scientific’ indeed to be blind and ignorant enough to suspect no such possibility²⁰

2.1.4 Possession of Animate and Inanimate Objects

It has been explained that *Jinn* can enter human bodies due to their nature and origin. That is, “they were created from the fire of a scorching wind”.²¹ With such a very light nature, they also possess animals and other objects, make movements and speak through them. Such animate possession is evident in the Qur’an:

In his absence, the people of Moses (Musa) took to the worship of an effigy of a calf made of their ornaments, which gave a lowing sound.²²

¹⁹ P.M. Yap, “The Possession Syndrome”, *The Journal of Mental Science*, 106, no. 442(1960), quoted from: John Richards, *But Deliver Us From Evil: An Introduction to the Demonic Dimension in Pastoral Care*, (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1978), 92-93

²⁰ Ibid., 96

²¹ Q 15 : 27

²² Q7 : 148

In his *tafsīr*, Sayyid Qutb comments that, the Israelites were left to themselves by Musa just for a while, they saw a body of a calf made of gold by the Sāmīrī which produced a lowing sound, and they were convinced that it was their god.²³ Ibn Kathīr says the gold used was that of the Copts of Egypt and were able to produce such amazing calf which mooed because they were able to get a handful of dust from the traces of a horse rode by arch-Angel Jibrīl²⁴

The above is an evidence of an animate and inanimate possession by evil spirit. The calf was an effigy, but mooed because, with the magic of Sāmīrī, a *jinn* had quickly possessed the image and mooed. This will be understood better under magic. Therefore, the illustrations of Ibn Taymiyyah with his practical experiences and encounter of animate and inanimate spirit possessions explain better:

I know people whom the plants greet and inform them of their beneficial ingredients; it is in fact Satan who has entered the plants and spoken to them. I also know of others to whom stones and trees speak, saying, ‘congratulations, O saint of Allah and when people recite *kursiy*, it stops. I am also acquitted with yet others who have gone bird hunting and the sparrow addressed them, saying, ‘take me so the poor may eat me’. Such are the cases of evil *jinn* possessing birds in the same way that they possess humans and talk through them.²⁵

He continues further:

When some devotees call upon their spiritual masters for help, saying, ‘O my lord So and So’, the *jinn* will address them in the voice of their master... It also occurs to heretical Muslims who call upon the dead or those not present, and the devils take the form of the one called upon without realizing it.

I know of many cases where this has occurred... The people called upon have told me that they were not aware of this. More than one person has told me that they called upon me in time of distress, each telling a story about how I responded. When I told them that I never answered any of them, nor did I know that they were calling upon me, some said that it must have been an angel... some times, a devil is trying to further misguide them.²⁶

²³ Sayyid Qutb, *Fī Zilāl al- Qur’an*, vol. 9, (Beirut and Cairo: Dār ash – Shurūq, 1982), 1373

²⁴ ‘Imād ad-Dīn Abil-Fadā’ Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al- Qur’ān al- Azīm*, vol. 3. (Beirut: Dār al – Andalus, 1996), 222

²⁵ Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips, *Ibn Taymiyyah’s Essay on Jinn*, 64

²⁶ Ibid., 56-58

All the above were usually endowed to any of the Prophets, especially Sulaiman, as part of their *Mu'jizāt* (miracles). But one of the differences between a miracle and deceit of the Jinn is that the latter (*jinn*s' deceits or magic) may be thwarted by a more powerful *Jinn* or through supplication to Allah, while miracle can not be foiled. In fact, Ibn Taymiyah further adds to the above illustrations that whenever *Āyat al - kursi* is recited repeatedly, the so-called *karamāt* through the *jinn* will stop.

2.2 The Evil Eye

The belief that mere looking at some one or something to cause harm on the one cast sight upon , is rampant in many parts of the world. To some other parts, it is nothing than an ordinary superstition. But to Clarence Maloney, "...one person's superstition or occult idea is another person's belief or religion".²⁷ The belief is so rampant that it exists almost in all parts of the world and under every universalistic religion (Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Zoroastrianism)²⁸ .

In India, it is termed as *drishti*, which has the same connotation with the Urdu among the Indo-Pakistan as *nazar*, meaning 'sight'²⁹ In Iran, it is called *cašm-e šur* , 'the salty eye'³⁰ ,or *cashm zakhm*, 'the wounding eye'³¹ while in Germany, it is known as *Böseblick*, 'angry eye'.³² The Jews term the same as *anyin ha ra*, 'evil eye'³³ which is the same in Italy as *mal'occhio* or *jettatura*.³⁴ The concept among the Amhara in Ethiopia is very similar to that of the Arabs. In Ethiopia, 'evil eye' is known as '*ayn og* or sometimes *kifu* '*ayn* which designates the power to curse and destroy',³⁵ while the Arabs simply called it *al-'ayn*, 'the eye'³⁶. Other terminologies includes: 'eye-strike', 'bad-eye', and 'the look'.³⁷

²⁷ Clarence Maloney , ed. , *The Evil Eye* , (New York : Columbia University Press , 1976) , V

²⁸ Brian Spooner , 'The Evil Eye in the Middle East', in Clarence Maloney , ed. , *The Evil Eye* , New York : Columbia University Press , 1976) , 77

²⁹ A. Stewart Woodburn , 'The Evil Eye in South India Folklore' in Alan Dundes , ed. , *The Evil Eye : A case Book* , (Wisconsin : The University of Wisconsin Press , 1992) , 57

³⁰ Brian Spooner , *The Evil Eye in the Middle East* , 77

³¹ Bess Allen Donaldson , 'The Evil Eye in Iran' in Alan Dundes, ed. , *The Evil Eye : A case Book* , (Wisconsin : The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992) , 66

³² Leonard W. Moss and Stephen C. Cappannari , "Mal' occhio , Ayin ha ra ,Oculus fascinus , Judenblick : The Evil Eye Hovers Above" in Clarence Maloney , ed. , *The Evil Eye* , (New York : Columbia University Press, 1976) , 4

³³ Ibid. , 5

³⁴ Willa Appel , 'The Myth of the Jettatura' in Clarence Maloney , ed. , *The Evil Eye* , (New York : Columbia University Press , 1976) , 87

³⁵ Ronald A. Reminick , 'The Evil Eye Belief among the Amhara' in Clarence Maloney , ed. , *The Evil Eye* , (New York : Columbia University Press , 1976) , 87

³⁶ Brian Spooner , *The Evil Eye in the Middle East* , 77

³⁷ Ibid. ,

According to Ibn Ḥajar, *al-‘ayn*, ‘the evil eye’ is to cast a look (at some one or something) admired with envious look which results in to harm due to the nature of the envious one.³⁸ Ibn al Qayyim says, there is no doubt that God creates in human bodies and souls different powers and natures. It is, therefore, not fitting for any intelligent person to deny the effects of the souls on the bodies³⁹

2.2.1 Evidence from the Qur’an

And the unbelievers would almost trip you up
With their eyes when they hear the Message.⁴⁰

Commenting on the above, Yusuf Ali says “...the eyes of evil men look at a good man as if they would eat him up, or strip him up, or disturb him from his position of stability or firmness”.⁴¹ In addition, Ibn Abbas and Mujāhid’s understanding of the phrase “trip you up with their eyes” is that, they would cast their evil eyes on you.⁴²

2.2.2 Evidence from the Sunnah

Aisha quoted the Prophet saying :

Seek refuge in Allah from the evil eye (*al-‘ayn*), surely, the evil eye is real⁴³

Abu Huraira also reported the Prophet saying:

The effect of an evil eye is a fact.⁴⁴

Ibn Abbas again reported the Prophet that:

The evil eye is a fact and if anything were to
overtake destiny, it would have been the evil eye⁴⁵

³⁸ Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Hajar, *Fath al-Bārī*, vol.10, (Cairo: Dār ar- Rayān li at- Turāth, 1987), 210

³⁹ Shams ad- Dīn Muhammad Ibn al- Qayyim al- Jawziyyah, *Zād al- Ma ‘ad*, vol. 4, (Beirut : Maktaba al- Manār al- Islamiyyah, 1987), 166

⁴⁰ Q 68 : 51

⁴¹ A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur’an: Text, Translation and Commentary*. (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1975), 1594, no. 5633. See also: The Presidency of Islamic Researches, IFTA, Call and Guidance, *The Holy Qur’an : English Translation of the Meaning and Commentary*, (Saudi – Arabia : The Custodian of the two Holy Mosques, King Fahd Complex, n.d.), 1802 n. 5633

⁴² Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al- Qur’ān al- Azīm*, vol. 4, 408

⁴³ Muhammad Ibn Yazīd Ibn Majah, “Sunan Ibn Majah ” in Ṣaliḥ Ibn Abdul Azīz Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim ash – Shaykh, comp., *al- Kutub as Sittah*, (Riyadh : Darussalam, 1999) 379, no 3508

⁴⁴ Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *Translation of the Meaning of Ṣaḥīḥ Al- Bukhari (Arabic-English)*, 5th ed., (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1987, 427, no. 636.

⁴⁵ Abdul Ḥamīd Siddīqi, Trans., *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 3, Lahore : Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, reprint., 1992, 1192, no.5427

The Prophet also shows his emphasis on it saying

Yes, if anything were to overtake destiny it would have been the evil eye.⁴⁶

It is obvious from all the fore going that the evil eye is neither a fiction nor superstition but part of hidden reality of nature. Confirmation of hidden reality is part of the divine miracles of the Prophet as a conviction of his Prophet hood. Summarising all the Islamic evidences on evil eye, Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah explains further that some people reject the evil eye as causing harm, claiming this is superstition and untrue belief. They are far away from acquiring the knowledge of the soul and heart and the effects of both on this physical world. He says, the best and knowledgeable ones in each nation do not deny such a reality, but differ only on its causes and extent of its effects. According to him, some say when the evil thought emanates from their hearts, their eyes transform the evil thoughts into harmful rays which affect the intended ones. Others believe that an invisible power emits from the person which enters the body of the targeted one and causes harm. Therefore, evil eye is actually the effect exerted from the soul on the victim, because human souls vary in their essence, power, characteristics and qualities. He concludes that the effects could be by physical contact or ordinary sight or even the soul directing its power to the victim through imagination, evil omens or other means. In fact, the evil person may be blind, yet when something is described to him; his envious soul releases its power to the person or objects and create harm.⁴⁷

2.2.3 Evidence from other Sources

According to Clarence Maloney, some people might think of this belief as a superstition, but it is so real that in different countries, different kinds of victims are the targets. In Mexico and the Philippines, it mainly strikes babies or children, while in the Mediterranean; it attacks people of any age, especially women and the weak. In most regions of the world, the wealthy and the handsome ones are considered susceptible because they are the object of envy. The Italian-Americans so much fear the evil eye that many wield charms to them selves if they want to be successful. Among the Ethiopians, it is regarded as causing various illnesses while among the Guatemale in the Philippines; it may cause diseases even in fruits or vegetables. In Europe, the near East and South Asia, the belief is that the evil eye affects domestic animals, crops, houses, or inflicts sudden destruction or harm. In Tunisia, it does not strike

⁴⁶ Muhammad Ibn 'Isah at-Tirmidhī , *Sunan at-Tirmidhī* , (Beirut : Dār al-Kutub al- 'Ilmiyyah , 2000) , 143 , no 2059

⁴⁷ Shams ad- Dīn Muhammad Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah , *Healing with the Medicine of the Prophet* , Jalal Abual Rub , Trans. , Riyadh, et al : Darussalam , 2003) 147-148

the inanimate objects unless they belong to some one whereas in India, it does not matter whether or not the inanimate belong to any one⁴⁸

Among the Arabs and Iranians, research shows that the possessor of an evil eye may or may not know that he has it. He may have been born with it unknowingly and it exists in various degrees of power in various people.⁴⁹ In fact, in Saudi Arabia, one of the questions posed to Sheikh Ibn Baz is :

I have seen some people (among women) placing knife on their small children and saying: This is so the *jinn* do not come to them.⁵⁰

The belief is that the *jinn* carry out all the commands and wishes of the evil –eye possessors, sorcerers or magicians.

However, the findings of researchers on the evil eye across the world seem to limit the common features of the evil eye to the following: (a) power emanates from the eye (or mouth) and strikes some objects or person; (b) the stricken object is of value and its destruction is sudden; (c) the one casting the evil eye may or may not know that he has the power ; (d) the one affected may not identify the source of the power or harm ; (e) the evil eye can be deflected or its effects modified or cured by specific means or devices like rituals and symbols ; (f) the belief helps to explain or rationalize sickness , misfortune, or loss of possessions such as animals, crops and other valuable things ; and (g) in at least some functioning of belief every where, envy is always a factor.⁵¹

The last point above definitely prompts an explanation on envy as all researchers into various world cultures agree that envy is an important factor. Envy in Arabic is *hasad* which means resenting the blessing or favour of God endowed to the one being envied, and wishing that such blessing be taken away.⁵² The evil eye possessor who is also envier cast his evil eye on his victim for destruction or harm. Because God recognises envy as the main factor, probably that is why He instructs Muslims to seek refuge in Him from the enviers and their evils which emanate from their envy:

⁴⁸ Clarence Maloney , *The Evil Eye* , vi-vii

⁴⁹ Brian Spooner , ‘The Evil Eye in the Middle East’ , 77

⁵⁰ Sheikh Ibn Bāz said : “This is an objectionable act and there is no sound source for it. It is not allowed to do such a thing. What is really sanctioned is to seek refuge from them by Allah’s complete words from every devil and poisonous pest, as has been confirmed from the Prophet. He used to seek protection by those words for his grandsons al-Hasan and al-Hussain Ibn Ali. It is also sanctioned to say *dua* for them by asking Allah to protect them from every evil. As for putting knife or something similar of iron, wood or other substances, with the belief that such will protect them from the Jinn, it is evil practice that is not allowed...” See: Muhammad Ibn Abdul –Azīz Al Musnad , comp. , *Islamic Fatawa Regarding Women* , Jamal ad-Din Zarabozo , Trans., (Saudi –Arabia, etc : Darussalam , 1996) , 39.

⁵¹ Clarence Maloney , *The Evil eye* , vii

⁵² Abu’l Mundhir Ibraheem Ameen, *The Jinn and Human Sickness* , 259

Say: I seek refuge with the Lord of the dawn. From the
Evil of the created things... And from the evil of the
Envious one as he practises (his) envy⁵³

It is pertinent here to quote William Thomas that, "...if men believe that something is real and act according to such belief, the consequences of their actions are always real".⁵⁴ The Prophet also says "...yes, for if anything were to overtake destiny, it would have definitely been the evil eye"⁵⁵

2.3 Magic

According to Maxwell- Stuart, Magic is defined as the manipulation of the natural and supernatural worlds, with a view to achieving ones own gratification, such as curing illness, diving the future or destroying one's enemies, with a belief that such could not have been attainable by any other means. According to him, the existence of spirits, good and bad, and the ability of both spirits and magicians, to manipulate the forces of nature accounts for the production of the effects, which to an ordinary man, appears miraculous or at least, extraordinary⁵⁶

In Arabic, magic is termed as *sihr* which is anything caused by hidden or subtle forces. Thus, the nocturnal meal taken by Muslims before fasting is known as *sahūr* or *suhūr* because it is taken when it is still dark.⁵⁷ According to Ibn Qudāmah, *sihr* is any contract, incantation, utterances, spoken or written, or deed carried out in a manner that affects the targeted body, or his heart or his mind without any direct contact with him. He affirms that, it is so real that some of them can kill or cause illness or prevent a man from (sexual intercourse with) his wife. Some other ones can separate a couple or make them hate or love themselves⁵⁸

2.3.1 Origin and Reality of Magic

They followed what the Satan used to recite over Sulaimān (Solomon's) kingdom,
Solomon did not disbelieve But Satan disbelieved, teaching men magic, and such things
as came down at Babylon to the (two) Angels Hārūt and Mārūt, but neither of these
taught anyone (such thing) without saying: We are only a temptation (*fitnah*), so do not

⁵³ Q 113 : 1-5

⁵⁴ William I. Thomas , *The Child in America* , (New York : Alfred A. Knopf , 1928) , 572

⁵⁵ Muhammad Ibn 'Isah at-Tirmidhī , *Sunan at-Tirmidhi* , 143 , no 2059

⁵⁶ P.G. Maxwell – Stuart , *Witchcraft in Europe and the New World , 1400 -1800* , (New York : Palgrave Publishers, 2001) , 1-2

⁵⁷ Edward Willam Lane , *Arabic – English Lexicon* , vol.1 , Cambrigde : Islamic Text Society , 1984) , 1316-1317

⁵⁸ Muwwafaq ad-Dīn 'Abdullāh Ibn Ahmad Ibn Qudāmah and Shams ad –Dīn 'Abdur – Raḥmān Ibn Ahmad Ibn Qudāmah , *Al Mughnī wa ash Sharḥ al –Kabīr* , vol. 10 , (Beirut: Dār al – kutub al – 'Ilmiyyah , n. d.) , 113

disbelieve. They learned from them (the two Angels) the means to sow discord between man and his wife. But they could not harm by it anyone except by Allah's permission. And they learned what harmed them and do not profit them. And they knew that the buyers (of magic) would have no share in the happiness of the Hereafter. And vile was the price for which they did sell their souls, if they but knew ⁵⁹

The above verse is full of various facts; participation of the three intelligent beings in the teaching and learning of magic, the period and kingdom of the Prophet it took place, the particular place, the efficacy and reality of magic, the power of whom it works and the position of its patronisers in the hereafter. D. S. Margoliouth observes that, it is probable that the Hebrew word *shahar* used by Isaiah (47:9) in Hebrew Bible for 'conjure away or sorcery' is similar to the Arabic word *sihr*, 'to produce illusion'. "Isaiah connects the *shahar* with Babylon, which according to classical writers also was the headquarters of magic".⁶⁰ It means, therefore, that both the Qur'an and Bible seem to agree on Babylon as the headquarters of magic in antiquity. In addition, that verse mentions satans (among the *jinn*) as those teaching and spreading the knowledge of sorcery because the Qur'an says "Solomon did not disbelieve but satans disbelieve, teaching men magic". Scholars like Zamakhsharī, aṭ-Ṭabari and Fakhrud-Dīn ar-Rāzī agree on this view that the *jinn* used to listen at the walls of the heaven, added lies to what they heard and brought this information to the *Kāhin* (magician) and made books out of it.⁶¹

Therefore, it means that Hārūt and Mārūt had first taught humankind and *jinn* magic before the *jinn* started to spread the knowledge widely, after all, Solomon controlled and ruled over both humans and *jinn* as members of his kingdom.

In fact, despite the confirmation of magic by the above verse, Islamic Scholars are still divided as to the reality of magic or sorcery. Few scholars, past and present consider magic as mere illusion. Among those championing this view is Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī. He says magic is nothing than just deception of human senses. To him, it is just deception to the mind because the reality of anything charmed still

⁵⁹ Q 2 : 102

⁶⁰ D. S. Margoliouth, 'Magic (Arabian and Muslim)' in James Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol 8, (Edinburgh : T and T Clark and New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 3rd impr., 1953), 252

⁶¹ H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1974), 546

remains intact. What the magician does is to influence the minds and feelings of people to perceive things as he wishes.⁶²

However, various reports from the Prophet also confirm the reality of magic. In a long narration, Aisha reported that a man called Labīd bin al A‘ṣam “cast spell upon Allah’s messenger... until one day or during one night Allah’s Messenger made supplication (to dispel its effects)...⁶³ Similar long narration with the same contents is also reported by Al-Bukhari.⁶⁴ Ibn al-Qayyim asserts that :

. as long as it is possible for the magician to use his magic and change the
. feelings, senses and perceptions of as numerous people as possible at the
. same time to see things different from their natural form, so that stationary
. things are seen as moving, the connected as disjointed and dead as still living,
. what then prevents a change in characteristics so that a beloved one turns to a
. hateful person and the hated turns to be a beloved”⁶⁵

However, some questions could be raised here. (a) If magic is not real, what were the satans teaching and what were the people learning?⁶⁶ (b) What were such things from the two angels? They were never mentioned in any revealed Book as regards any other message or divine assignment except sorcery. As angels, they could not have taught anything illusionary. (c) Could separation between a couple be an illusion when truly the love vanishes and they finally separate. (d) Allah says the harm can not happen except with His permission. Can anything receiving a divine approval be real or mere fiction? (e) The Qur’an also commands the Prophet and all Muslims to “seek refuge...from the evil of those who blow on knots”.⁶⁷ Why should Almighty Himself command seeking refuge in fiction or illusion?

Besides, out of all angels, these two were the only ones whose interactions with humans remain, up till date, as *fitnah* (trouble, trial and temptation) to humankind. The verse also attests to this that ‘neither of these (two angels) taught anyone (such things) without saying: we are but *fitnah*.’ It means part of the calamities befalling mankind, up to date, from the unseen world is not only from the *jinn*.

⁶² Fakhr ad -Dīn Muhammad Ibn Umar ar -Rāzī , at - *Tafsīr al - Kabīr*, vol.3, (Beirut : Dār al -Kutub al- ‘Ilmiyyah ,1980) , 105

⁶³ Abdul Hamid Siddiqui, Trans., *Sahīh Muslim*, vol.3, (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf , Repr. , 1992) , 1192-3 no 5428

⁶⁴ Muhammad Muhsin Khan , *Translation of the Meaning of Sahīh Al - Bukhari (Arabic - English)* , vol.7, (New Delhi : Kitab Bhavan , 5th ed. , 1987) , 443 , no 660

⁶⁵ An - Nadwī Muhammad Uways , at - *Tafsīr al - Qayyim* , (Beirut: Dār al - Kutub al - ‘Ilmiyyah , 1978) , 571

⁶⁶ Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips , *The Exorcist Traditions* , 100

⁶⁷ Q113: 4

Evil spirit possession is mainly from the *jinn*, while the original teachers of magic were from the Angelic world. Whether magic is an illusion or reality, as long as is confirmed as *fitnah* by the original teachers, the issue of fiction and illusion is practically irrelevant. Al Qarāfī, as quoted by Bilal Philips concludes that, since opinion differed on the reality of magic after the consensus of the companions, these later differences after them is of no consequence⁶⁸

2.4 Witchcraft: An Offshoot of Evil-Eye and Magic

In many parts of the world, especially Africa and Asia, people believe that it is possible for some human beings to cause harm to their fellows by the exercise of power not possessed by ordinary fellow humans; power which operates in a manner which cannot be ordinarily detected, except when the damage comes to light. The persons believed to possess such power are commonly called witches, and the powers, whatever they are supposed to be, are called in various ways as ‘magical’, ‘esoteric’, ‘supernatural’, or ‘mystical’.⁶⁹ The modern people in our enlightened centuries tend to concentrate on the absurdity of such beliefs and ask why the beliefs have been taken seriously for so long, even up to this age of science and technology.

It is an incomprehensible belief to some, in fact, a serious ‘headache’ to others, to believe that there are people known as witches. But the reality of evil-eye and magic has been proven in the previous pages. The people termed as witches in this chapter are not ghosts or *jinn*, but they are people with whom we live together, who based their secret cult or religion on powers of the *jinn*, evil-eye and magic. Their secret cult is called a religion because the activities in the craft consist of worship, rituals and spiritual development. More so, the witches themselves called it a religion or paganism which “embraces ecology, witchcraft and Celts”.⁷⁰ The relevance of their discussion is on the fact that they have the most frequent interactions with the various forms of evil spirits discussed earlier, and possess the power of the evil-eye and magic, all of which they use more extensively than other groups of human beings. The possibility or reality of this group of humans will be discussed in the next chapter as this is an integral part of African culture as well as the Yoruba beliefs even up to this age of science and technology.

⁶⁸ Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips, *The Exorcist Traditions*, 100

⁶⁹ Lucy Mair, *Witchcraft*, (London: World University Library, 1973), 7

⁷⁰ Janet and Stewart Farrar, *The Life and Time of a Modern Witch*, (London: Judy Piatkus Publishers, 1987), 9. See also: Adrian Lee, “The secret world of pagan Britain”, *Daily Express*, 18 July, 2009

CHAPTER THREE

Diabolical Possessions among the Yoruba

3.1 The Yoruba People

Nigeria is a country with over three hundred and fifty ethnic groups.¹ The predominant ones are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. The Yoruba people, the third largest ethnic group in Africa² occupy the whole of the South Western region below the confluence of the River Niger. “It is roughly speaking between latitude 6° and 9° north and longitude 2° 30' and 6° 30' east”³

This ethnic group has many other sub-groups with various dialects⁴ like: Akoko, Egba, Ekiti, Eko, Ibolu, Igbomina, Ijebu, Ijesha, Ilorin, kabba, Ondo and Oyo. This race occupies seven out of the thirty-six states in Nigeria, namely: Ekiti, Kwara, Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo. Few others are found in part of Kogi state

The chief produce of the Yoruba were: red palm oil, oil made from the kernel, shear butter from nuts of the shear trees, ground nuts, beniseed and cotton.⁵ Their major occupations include: farming, fishing, black smiting, iron smelting, cotton weaving, wood carving, brass work and some other valuable handicrafts. However, with modern civilization, the Yoruba are the most educated race in Nigeria in terms of Western education. This has enabled them to engage in white-collar jobs nationally and internationally.

These people were formerly pagans before they had contacts with both Islam and Christianity. They truly believed in the Supreme God called Olorun⁶ or Olodumare,⁷ Who is so supreme that He cannot

¹ John N. Paden, ‘Nigeria’ in John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Modern Islamic World*, vol.3, (New York and Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1995), 248

² Robert Smith, *Kingdom of the Yoruba*, 3rd ed. (London : James Currey, 1988), 7. See also: Toyin Falola and G.O. Oguntomisin, *Yoruba Warlords of the 19th Century*, (Trenton, etc: African World Press, 2001), 1

³ Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yoruba* (Lagos : CMS Nigeria Book Shops, 1957), xix

⁴ T.G.O. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam among the Yoruba 1814 – 1908*, (London : Longman Group, 1978), 1

⁵ Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yoruba*, xx

⁶ Olorun, literally means the Owner or Possessor of the sky. According to McClelland, “He is called the sky God, Who has existed since the beginning of all things. He is Eternal, All- Important and knows all things”. See: E. M. McClelland, *The cult of Ifa Among the Yoruba, vol. 1 : Folk Practice and the Art*, (London : Ethnographical, 1982), 9. In addition, according to Bolaji Idowu, the name: Olorun “is composed of the prefix Ol (oni) and Orun – “heaven”. The name thus means “The owner of Heaven”, . It may also be shortened form of Olu - Orun – “The Chief or Ruler of Heaven”

be worshipped directly except through various deities.⁸ This prompted them to take different natural and supernatural creatures as gods. According to Lucas, “Their religion is mainly animistic. The mysterious, the uncanny, the unfamiliar as well as the great forces of nature, are regarded as being indwelt by spirit through whose agency they possess the peculiar forms or supernatural powers which mark them out as object of veneration”.⁹

Moreover, the belief in various forms of evil spirits is still rampant till now especially the witchcraft and sorcery. As Awolalu puts it, “This belief in mysterious and mystical powers... which can alter the course of nature is very real and prevalent among the Yoruba”.¹⁰ Despite their long age contact with Islam since the early seventeen century,¹¹ it is still believed, up till now, that these evil spirits can harm or save whoever they want within the society. These beliefs and practices have prompted many Yoruba Muslims to rely on charms, amulets and other black magic (together known as *Oogun or Nakali*), while some Muslims also have contacts or interactions with various spirits either to save themselves, or as a means of livelihood or both.

According to Ajayi and Espie as quoted by Fabunmi, “the origin of the Yoruba, like the earliest history of another non-literate people, is still a bickering ground for the erudite. Many speculations and scholarly theories abound with no definite knowledge established”.¹² Samuel Johnson also agrees that the origin of the Yoruba is involved in obscurity. He then asserts that the ancestral father of the Yoruba, Oduduwa, migrated from Mecca to Ile-Ife.¹³ After considering the similarities of the Yoruba

or a contraction of Olofin - Orun. Which may have dropped the Suffix - fin in Olofin and so become contracted to Olorun”. See : E . Bolaji Idowu, *Olodumare God in Yoruba Belief* (New York : WAZOBIA , 1994) , 37

⁷ *Odu* means ‘a chief’, an exalted personage. *Olodu* is its intensive form indicating completeness. *Ma-re* means ‘ I shall go or I must go’. *Olodumare*, therefore, means, ‘The Chief or Exalted One to Whom I must go or return’. See: Olumide Lucas, *The Religion of the Yoruba*, (Brooklyn, U.S.A.: Athelia Henrietta Press, 1996), 41. After detailed explanations on various meanings and usages of the word Odu in Yoruba, Bolaji Idowu concludes thus: “ Odu taken together with the prefix in either case is, therefore, Olódù and means that the name indicates either some one who is a Supreme head, one who possesses the sceptre or authority; or one who ‘contains’ the fullness of excellent attributes, one who is superlative and perfect in greatness, size, quality and worth”. *Màrè* also in imperative form “ means ‘ Do not go, Do not proceed’. The phrase may also be a descriptive adjective meaning ‘ that does not go’, ‘that does not move or wander’ ‘ that remains’, that continues. If it combines both senses in *Olódù-màrè*, the implication is that, Olodumare, the Deity Who possesses superlative qualities has also the added attribute of remaining stable, unchanging, constant, permanent, reliable”. See : E . Bolaji Idowu., *Olodumare: God In Yoruba Belief*, 34-35

⁸ These deities are divided into two : First, the *Orisa* which include: *Obatala, Orunmila, Oduduwa, Ela, Esu, Aginju, Yemoja, Sango, Ogun, Orisa -oko, Sopoṣo, Osun, Osanyin, Ibeji*(twin) e. t. c. Second, spirit of the ancestors, like : *Oro, Eluku, Agemo, Egungun, Geḷede, Adimu-orisa, Abiku*, e. t. c. See: The contents of : *Yoruba Religion and Medicine in Ibadan*

⁹ Olumide Lucas, *The Religion of the Yoruba*, 33

¹⁰ J. Omosade Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*, (London : Longman Group, 1979), 69

¹¹ Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in Nigeria* (Zaria : Gaskiya Corporation, 1984), 109

¹² M. A. Fabunmi, *Ife : The Genesis of Yoruba Race* (Lagos : Johnwest Publications, 1985), 3

¹³ Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yoruba*, 3

beliefs, customs and language with the ancient Egyptians’, Dr. Lucas concludes that the Yoruba migrated from Egypt to Sudan and finally to their present home land.¹⁴ In his book, *Infāq al – Maysūr*, Sultan Muhammad Bello (1779-1837), the son of Shehu Uthman Dan Fodio, mentions Yoruba as descendants of Bani Kan‘ān and the kindred of Nimrud. He says Ya‘rub Ibn Qahtān drove them away out of Iraq. They then travelled from Iraq to Egypt, Ethiopia and to their present home land.¹⁵

It is also not known when this race adopted the name Yoruba. But the fact that Sultan Bello mentions them as Ya‘raba and an earlier scholar, Ahmad Baba of Timbuktu (d.1627) calls them same, is an evidence that the name had been adopted long before the periods suggested by many authors.¹⁶ Therefore, scholars agree that the Yoruba migrated from the Middle East and “...nearly all traditions agree on the primacy of Ile – Ife ... and Oduduwa as the common ancestor of the Yoruba.”¹⁷

3.1.1 The Ilorin People

Historically, Ilorin is a city of *Yorubanisation* of many races, tribes and ethnic groups.¹⁸ The city was founded by various Yoruba pagan personalities¹⁹ around 17th century. In fact, Ilorin remained a pagan city till the beginning of the 19th century.²⁰ Thus, like other Yoruba cities, Ilorin also had *Egungun* and *Igunnu* masquerades, worshippers of Asa river and Sobi hill dieties, *Ogun*(god of iron) worshippers especially the hunters and worshippers of the spirits of twins and triplets²¹

The presence of the two later founders of the city, Afonja²² and Alimi²³ greatly and rapidly increased the population of the city within a short period, especially due to the fact that the duos were great

¹⁴ Olumide Lucas , *The Religion of the Yoruba* , 353

¹⁵ Abdurrahman I. Doi , *Islam in Nigeria* , 108

¹⁶ Ibid. , 109

¹⁷ Falola and Oguntomisin , *Yoruba Warlords* , 2

¹⁸ The conglomeration of the indigenes include : the Yoruba , Fulani , Hausa , Nupe , Kanuri , Dendi , Soughays and Arabs . See: R. D. Abubakr , “The leading Roles of Ilorin in Arabic Scholarship in Nigeria” in S.A. Jimoh , ed. , *Ilorin : Centre of Learning* (Ilorin : Jimson Publishers , 2006) , 99

¹⁹ A Baruba man is claimed to have been the first settler for a while at the present Baruba compound. Ojo Isekuse came after him from Gambe, near Oyo – Ile, after which Emila also came. These people were itinerant hunters who settled near a rock on which they sharpened their hunting implements. The settlement was named *Ilo–Irin*, meaning a place where irons were being sharpened . Another record claims that the settlement was called *Ilu – Erin*, meaning the town of Elephants , where a man known as Ayinla (probably the same Ojo Isekuse) used to hunt for Elephant . See: Hassan A. Salihu and Ibrahim A. Jawondo ‘Ilorin Emirate : Its people and politics’ in S. A. Jimoh, ed., *Ilorin: Centre of Learning (Ilorin: Jimson Publishers,2006)*, 1 .

²⁰ Ibid., 5

²¹ Ibid., 5-6

²² Out of the whole early founders of, or settlers at Ilorin (The Baruba man , Ojo – Isekuse , or Emila) , Afonja’s great grandfather, Laderin was the first recorded Baale (chief) of Ilorin under Oyo Empire. His son, Pasin succeeded him. The son of Passin, Alagbin also became Baale who later passed it to his son Afonja. But Afonja later became the Aare-ona kankanfo (i.e. commander- in – chief) of the whole Oyo Army, during the reign of Alaafin Abiodun Adegolu (d.1789).

warriors. The former was a pagan while the latter was an erudite Islamic scholar. Through them, there emerged two communities in the same city. The pagans headed by Afonja and the Muslims headed by Alimi.

After the death of Alimi, his eldest son, Abdus –Salami, occupied this position. A religious conflict later broke out between the two groups which led them to wage war against each other. Afonja was consumed by that war and Abdus- Salami became the Amīr (Emir or leader) of the whole city and the emirate system started.²⁴ Thus, Ilorin became the first Muslim city in Yoruba land. With this, *islamisation* of the city extensively continued during the reign of every successive leader (Emir). For instance, in 1860, during the reign of Zubair, the son of Abdus – Salami, “he burnt down all the juju houses, collected idols and charms and burnt them in market place. Not satisfied with this, he swore to put to death all pagans who refused to join the religion of Islam”²⁵

With the establishment of an emirate, Islam and Islamic education spread to many parts of Yoruba land, and the emirate was incorporated into the Sokoto Caliphate around 1828.²⁶ Despite these achievements, the old beliefs and practices of magic or sorcery by the early African Muslim clerics still retain themselves intact in Ilorin and Yoruba land; while belief in witchcraft is as strong as the early period of Islam in Africa.

3.2 African Beliefs in Witchcraft

Is witchcraft a reality in Africa or an ordinary fiction? The question remains a hot argument up till today. To many Western writers like C. K. Meek and Evans – Pritchard, the craft is nothing than an

This turned the city to Afonja’s city as Ilorin- Afonja, because a lot of people especially Yoruba from various towns migrated there. See: Samuel Johnson , *The History of the Yoruba* , (Lagos : CMS Nigeria Book shops , 1957), 199-200

²³ Shehu Alimi , a Toronkawa Fulani , was born around 1740 in Tankara in Niger Republic. His name was Salih Jata , both Shehu and Alimi were appellations given to him due to his religiosity and scholasticism. His grand father, Janata, migrated from Mali to Gobiri in Northern Nigeria. He received his Islamic education, as a class mate of Uthman Dan Fodio, from Jibril bin Umar. He later became an itinerant preacher. He arrived at Yoruba land (Old Oyo Empire) at the end of the 18th century. He was very popular due to his scholastic ability and spiritual prowess. He preached against offering sacrifices to Yoruba gods and affirmed the benefits of worshipping the Almighty God. He travelled round Oyo , Iseyin , Ogbomoso and Kuwo , for some times and gathered large followership , called the *Jama ‘ah*. Afonja heard of his spiritual power and invited Alimi to Ilorin to assist him (Afonja) in getting autonomy from Oyo Empire especially with Alimi’s *Jama ‘ah* and his spiritual power. Thus, Ilorin became autonomous of Oyo through Alimi and Afonja. The city is named after the duo as either Ilorin–Afonja or Ilorin–Gerin- Alimi. See: L.A.K. Jimoh, *Ilorin: The Journey So Far*, (Ilorin: Atoto press, 1994) , 35and 53

²⁴ Hakeem Olumide Akanni Danmole, “The Frontier Emirate : A History of Islam in Ilorin” , Ph.D. Thesis , School of African Studies , University of Birmingham , 1980, 241

²⁵ J.A. Burdon , *Northern Nigeria : Historical Notes on Certain Emirates and Tribes* (London : Gregg International Publishers, 1972) , 15

Also see: H.B. Hermon-Hodge, *Gazetteer of Ilorin Province* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1929), 70

²⁶ L.A.K. Jimoh , *Ilorin: The Journey So Far* , 1

ordinary illusion. In fact, Evans – Pritchard bluntly dismisses the idea as something which “clearly, cannot exist”.²⁷ To Parrinder, the idea was “passionately believed in and causing terrible persecutions from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, rejected as illusion in the last century, the subject fascinates modern men with... the mysterious exercises on the mind”.²⁸

However, according to Jonathan Smith, “any area of the world where there is competition for resources, witchcraft is apt to be present and active”.²⁹ This probably prompted Parrinder to argue further that, it is in Africa that witchcraft is now most spread. Witch – hunters are common there while witch – doctors are important members of the society.³⁰

A professor of Medicine, Micheal Gelfand also agrees that Africans believe that there is a continual threat from those endowed with evil, especially the witches. Each one runs the risk of being harmed. The most fortunate are those who armed themselves with protective medicine. He renews the measures so that witches do not trouble him or any of his family.³¹ Similar observations were made by a white clergyman who lived among the Shona people of Africa that suspicion of invisible forces especially of witchcraft is on the increase.³² In fact, a student of witchcraft in Ghana, Margaret Field, as reported by Awolalu, confesses that “it was after four years of intensive study that she came to realise that witchcraft is a reality to the Africans”.³³

Therefore, the Yoruba, as an integral part of the African people hold tenaciously to this belief, whether educated or uneducated, Muslims, Christians or pagans. According to Doi, the belief and practice in witchcraft, magic and divination persist not only among the uneducated Yoruba Muslims but include the educated ones. Doi says “every year, towards the end of the academic session, I conduct a survey in my *Islam in Africa* class... almost 95% students believed in the existence of witchcraft and sorcery”.³⁴

All the above attests to the fact that the beliefs and practices of witchcraft engulf the Muslims, including Ilorin which has been discussed earlier as a predominantly Muslim city. In fact, it may be amazing to note that Ilorin is mentioned as one of the centres of witchcraft in Yoruba land by some

²⁷ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1976), 18

²⁸ Geoffrey Parrinder, *Witchcraft*, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, U.K: Penguin Books, 1958), 7

²⁹ Jonathan Z. Smith, ed., *The Harpercollins Dictionary of Religion* (New York : Haper San Francisco, 1995), 1134

³⁰ Geoffrey Parrinder, *Witchcraft*, 7

³¹ Micheal Gelfand, *The African Witch*, (Edinburgh and London : E & S. Living Stone, 1967), 51

³² Huber Bucher, *Spirit and Power: An Analysis of Shona Cosmology* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1980), 113

³³ J. Omosade Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*, (London : Longman Group, 1979), 81.

³⁴ Abdurrahman I. Doi, *Islam in Nigeria*, (Zaria : Gaskiya Corporation, 1984), 242

witchcraft Researchers and informants. For instance, George Simpson mentions some of their centres in Yoruba land as: Ota, Abeokuta, Ife and Ilorin.³⁵ This is also confirmed by a member of the non – wicked witchcraft consulted.³⁶

3.2.1 *Ajẹ* or Witchcraft in Ilorin and Yoruba land

Generally speaking, the Yoruba belief in witchcraft is both positive and negative. Just like the Akan people in Ghana believe that *bayie* is often used for evil, but can also be used for good purposes,³⁷ the Yoruba also agrees that *ajẹ* is meant for both. The word *ajẹ* is used for both the craft and the members. Due to Yoruba belief, like Akan in Ghana, that a witch possesses an extra ordinary power and ability, the word *ajẹ*(witch) is, at times, used for any one who proves to be a genius in any profession. For instance, a medical doctor who performs brilliantly in his profession may earn the title of *ajẹ* among others. The same word is used for witchcraft, while their coven is known as *ẹgbẹ ajẹ*, meaning ‘association of witches’, or *ẹgbẹ ẹleyẹ*, ‘association of bird possessors’, because they believe that witches fly in the night and each has her own familiar bird, especially the owl (*Owiwi*).³⁸ The fact that Ilorin is a Muslim city, the Muslim clerics have specific slang from Arabic for a witch as *tayr-us-sūi*, meaning ‘evil bird’. The craft may be acquired in various ways. One may be born with it, while others may inherit it from their dying parents. Yet, others may acquire it unknowingly through edible food from a witch and yet some others may receive it under coercion³⁹ or directly

³⁵ George E. Simpson , *Yoruba Religion and Medicine in Ibadan* , (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press , 1980), 78

³⁶ Ayuba Ajadi Lawal , of Asipa compound, Akerebiata , Ilorin, an acclaimed member of the non-wicked witches. Interviewed on 4th April, 2008 at Abeya Village , a Village under Ilorin Emirate where he lives.

³⁷ Opoku Onyinah , ‘Akan Witchcraft and the Concept of Exorcism in the Church of Pentecost’ , Ph.D. Thesis , School of Historical Studies, University of Birmingham , 2002 .

³⁸ Ayuba Ajadi Lawal , Interview, 4th April , 2008

³⁹ On questioning Ayuba Ajadi Lawal on what prompted him to join the non-wicked (white) witchcraft, he said he had no option than to join. According to him, without any specific cause known to him, he fell down at the back of his house in 1949 which led to his becoming lame. He was crippled for six years before he was cured by the wife of his uncle called Mariama. But before curing him, she gave him a condition to be her masquerade man. That is, he would be dancing in masquerade from one village to another, performing some acrobatic displays and liberating anyone under spiritual bondage (of sorcery or witchcraft). Whatever gift earned from such, either in cash or kind would be remitted to her. He agreed and was cured. He, therefore, became the personal masquerade of Mariama in 1955. Before going out to display, she would describe all he would encounter in the targeted village ahead of time and how to handle the situations. Later, instead of prediction , he would get to the display arena before hearing the voice of Mariama to act as commanded.

Ayuba said he later decided to convert to Islam secretly, by determining to travel to a far away village to do that. But without revealing his intention to anyone, he fell sick again. Mariama told him after the sixth day that she had known his intention to convert. He was relieved of his burden after promising not to leave her. He was permitted to convert three years later, though, still under the service of Mariama. Four months to the death of Mariama in 1971, she informed Ayuba of her final departure and her intention to hand over her power to him. Four days to her death, Ayuba Ajadi was initiated as a full member of witchcraft in 1971. According to him , “...as long as I have never used my power to harm any one since then , except to save humanity , I am very happy and proud to be a member of the *Ajẹ funfun*(white witch or non-wicked witch)...” Interview conducted at Ile-ode , Abeya village , on 4th April , 2008.

from *jinn*.⁴⁰ Like their counter parts in Europe, witches in Ilorin and Yoruba land generally have three main factions: The black, red and white witches. It is believed that both red and black are evil, and red more violent and stubborn, while the white remain adamant on saving and defending the masses from all forms of witchcraft or diabolical possessions and magical evils.⁴¹

Generally, all of them attend their various sectarian meetings called *ajọ*, and always in the dead of the night. The practice of witchcraft is a complete secret affair, they hate people seeing them or identifying them except the non-wicked ones (*Ajẹ funfun*) who may not hide their membership but also not ready to expose some facts. It is claimed that when travelling to their meetings, some turn into Owls and fly, some turn upside down moving with their legs in the air, others somersault to hasten their speed, and yet others travel on various animals like cats, dogs, inferior demons (*jinn*), some others rub themselves with a particular ointment and fly naked in the air to the meetings. All these are general across the world.⁴²

According to S. F. Nadel “everything connected with witchcraft takes place in a fantasy realm which is, almost *ex-hypothesis* intangible and beyond empirical verification... only the ‘shadow souls’ of witches which roam about while their bodies remain asleep at home, thus deceiving any ordinary attempts at proving or disproving these mystic activities”.⁴³ Debrunner describes their travelling to meetings as a snake leaves its slough, the body is just the case, lying in bed, like a football, the case is there but the bladder may not be in the case.⁴⁴ The meetings take place in various places like the top of mountain, or big tree or at river bank. The meetings are also attended at local, regional and national levels. At international level, only the Alamojuto *Aiye* ‘general overseer’ can attend such meetings and

⁴⁰ One of the most popular tribes for witchcraft and witch hunting in Africa is Nupe. Although, Joseph Yisa is not from Ilorin but a Christian Nupe man. In order to confirm some facts about what Ayuba Ajadi told me of witchcraft, I had an interview with Joseph Yisa who claims to have received his initiation into non-wicked witchcraft from the *Jinn*. According to him, he was taken away by the *Jinn* and lived with them for fifteen days, taking any food or drink given to him. He was trained on sorcery, initiated into the midst of other powerful non-wicked witches and a *Jinni* has, since then, been attached to him for any further consultation, especially fortune telling and other secret matters. I asked: Is the *Jinn* with you now? He said: “yes, is even looking at you. His father has been working with me for the past seven years now. But he has handed over his son to me for consultation. This one looking at you is a Muslim like you...” interviewed on 5th April, 2008 at Bokunji village, Kwara State, Nigeria

⁴¹ Ayuba Ajadi Lawal, Interview, 4th April, 2008 and Joseph Yisa, 5th April, 2008

⁴² Sirdar Ikbali Shah, *Black and White Magic: Theory and Practice*, (London: The Octagon Press), 99. See also: Omosade Awolalu, *Yoruba Beliefs*, 85, also Ajadi Ayuba and Joseph Yisa, Interviews.

⁴³ S.F. Nadel, ‘Witchcraft in Four African Societies’ in Max Marwick, ed., *Witchcraft and Sorcery*, (Harmondsworth: Peignin Modern Sociological Readings, 1970), 264

⁴⁴ H. Debrunner, *Witchcraft in Ghana*, (Kumasi: Presbyterian Book Depot, 1959), 20

bring back the reports to others.⁴⁵ But whoever travels physically to any other part of the world may attend meetings with co-witches of that country.⁴⁶

Either in Ilorin or Yoruba land as a whole, women are predominantly witches. Only very few men called *Oso*, wizard, are always members. But generally, they must have those few men because the chief assassin in the coven must be a man called *oḷoḃe*, “possessor of knife”. In the non-wicked craft, *oḷoḃe* must use his knife to save constantly, except when in confrontation with other powerful evil-doers who refuse to abide by their terms of agreement to release an innocent person being punished unjustly.⁴⁷ It is ambiguous to specify a reason why women always outnumber men in almost every region. But Akin Omoyajowo quotes Parrinder that women are generally regarded as inferior to men especially in Africa, “and for that their part, they try to remove this social stigma by identifying themselves with witchcraft associations”. He further suggests that, the fact that men are always witch hunters shows their attempts to bring women back to their usual natural position.⁴⁸ Contrarily, according to Janet and Stewart (who are members and founders of a witchcraft denomination), “since we founded our own first coven with Bill and John in 1970, we have initiated altogether 59 people as witches; 30 women and 29 men. More women than men in England, more men than women in Ireland, to which we move in 1976”.⁴⁹

In their meetings, they deliberate over any complaint brought by members against any of their family or the general public. They agree upon which type of punishment to give and to what extent. They also receive the contributions from those who are due to pay. This is not in cash, but rather in form of human victims. According to Awolalu, the more a witch is able to contribute, the faster her promotion.

⁴⁵ Ayuba Ajadi and Joseph Yisa , interviews

⁴⁶ Ayuba Ajadi Lawal claimed that when he went to Mecca for Hajj operation in 2005, he attended a meeting with other non-wicked (white) witches. On being questioned as to their agenda in the meeting , he said members usually brought cases of their businesses not growing well , or some wanted more prosperity for their children and some others complained of prolong illness of their husbands e. t. c. He said the meeting was a confirmation that they have no much work to do there like other counterparts in *Ile Adulawo*, (black Africa), where “...we have to fight constantly with the black and red witches who punish a lot of people here unjustly”. I further questioned him: “ Do you have a coded general language throughout the world or how did you understand what the Arabs were discussing in your meeting?” Ayuba said, there is no general language. He was just fortunate to have met a Yoruba man who has been there for long. He served as an interpreter to him. I questioned: “How did you know that members are there in Mecca and how did you find your way to the meeting?” Ayuba : “I knew already at home that we exist every where including London , from where you come. We (non-wicked witch) are the majority in the whole world. It is only in *Ile Adulawo* (black Africa) and India where black ones are more trouble some. As to how I found myself to the meeting in Mecca, I came out of my room one night and found the moon very bright. I said to myself: Yes, ‘I will find my way to the meeting this night’”. How did you find your way? I questioned. Ayuba: “You are not a member, why do you want to know everything. I have explained to you how we fly in various forms to the meeting, that’s all.” (Interviewed on 7th April 2008)

⁴⁷ Ayuba Ajadi claims to be the *Oḷoḃe* , “knife possessor” of the white witches of Ilorin province.

⁴⁸ J. Akin Omoyajowo , “What is Witchcraft” in E. A. Ade Adegbola , *Traditional Religion in West Africa* , (Accra , Ghana : Asempa Publishers , 1983) , 318. (317-336).

⁴⁹ Janet and Stewart Farrar , *The Life and Time of Modern Witch* (London : Judy Piatkus Publishers , 1987) , 26

The type of contribution also matters. In order to quickly attain eminent position in the coven, they contribute anyone very dear to each of them among their family members, like sons, daughters, fathers, mothers, or from extended family members already in enviable positions.⁵⁰

It is, therefore, pertinent to mention here that both Ayuba Ajadi and Joseph Yisa (members) confirmed that some misfortunes befalling some people are from the black and red witches. These include sicknesses, at times, sudden death, barrenness, impotency e.t.c.⁵¹ All these have created anxiety and other negative effects in the lives of many Muslims in Ilorin and Yoruba land as a whole.

3.3 *Oogun or Nakali : Magic*

It has been said earlier that the practice of witchcraft is purely based on the natural endowment of evil-eye, psychic ability and magic/ sorcery. It means, according to Jonathan Smith, "...the lines separating witchcraft from sorcery are not clear from society to the next or from one observer to the next".⁵² He goes further to define both magic and witchcraft as "the magical manipulation of the environment by an individual through supernatural forces".⁵³ According to Dopamu, magic is defined as: "The art of influencing course of events by means of supernatural communications and manifestation of power, or by means of occult control of nature and invocation of particular spirit aids".⁵⁴

In Yoruba land, *Oogun* (magic) is being practised widely and at times, independent of witchcraft. Therefore, a lot of magicians, *Oloogun*, abound in Yoruba land with no relationship to any witchcraft. This is because, as Yoruba believe widely in witchcraft, so they also believe so much in magic. Dopamu continues: "Anyone who is familiar with the Yoruba needs no persuasion to admit that the practice of magic is not on the wane despite the grip of modern science and technology on all people. In the main, magic, medicine, religion and science have continued to co-exist",⁵⁵

⁵⁰ J. Omosade Awolalu , Yoruba Beliefs , 85

⁵¹ Ayuba Ajadi Lawal and Joseph Yisa , interviews

⁵² Jonathan Z. Smith , *Harpercollins Dictionary* , 1132

⁵³ Ibid. 1133

⁵⁴ Adelumo Peter Dopamu , *In the Service of Humanity (Farewell Lecture)* (Ilorin: Library and Publications Committee, University of Ilorin , 2009) , 30

⁵⁵ Ibid. 29

In Yoruba land generally, the practice of magic covers almost all aspects of life. There is magic against sorcery, witches and diseases, magic of human social activities, agriculture and hunting.⁵⁶ Due to the wide spread anxiety of various evil forces in Yoruba land, some seek recourse to the use of the following or similar *oogun* as observed by George Simpson: “Alligator pepper, white and red kola-nuts, the blood of a cock are all put inside a piece of cotton wool and buried for seven days. The charm is then taken to a leather worker who uses the skin an animal to wrap and sew it up. Such charms (and other similar ones) are either tied up on the door, or buried in the ground”,⁵⁷ or suspended in a pot over a door.

However, within Muslim clerics in Ilorin and Yoruba land, *oogun* is termed as *Nakali* which may be combination of Yoruba magical practices with other specially created ones among Muslim clerics. The Muslim *Nakali* connotes the use of the Qur’anic verses or prayer formulas in Arabic. The prayer, at times, may be invocation of Allah or some powerful *jinn* or the angels, especially the arch-angels termed as (Qurūbiyyūn - Cherubium) believed to be nearer to the seat of Almighty. *Nakali* may also consist of the use of amulet called *Tira*. The same was witnessed, many years ago by various travellers and researchers into African cultures. For instance, Mungo Park observed similar thing among the Mandike and called it *saphies*. According to him, “These *saphies* are prayers, or rather sentences from the Koran, which the Muhammedan priests writes on scraps of paper and sell to the simple natives,... enclosed in a snake’s or alligator’s skin, and tied around the ankle”.⁵⁸

In addition, Lamin Sanneh also describes that the Muslim cleric amulet ‘is usually surrounded on the four corners by the arch angels: Gabriel, Michael, Ezrael, and Ezrafael. Many have the names of the Prophets and God written at the centre, surrounded by the Qur’anic verses’.⁵⁹ The rationale behind all these practices is nothing than the fear of evils believed to have come from the super-natural forces or the unseen world, especially *jinn* possession and witchcraft.

3.4 Negative Effect on the Society

In Africa as a whole and Ilorin as an African city, the witches are yet to be burnt down *en masse* like those of Europe and thus making beliefs in their negative effects still remaining intact. Due to limited

⁵⁶ Ibid. 30

⁵⁷ George E. Simpson , *Yoruba Religion and Medicine in Ibadan* , 85

⁵⁸ Mungo Park , *Travels in Africa: 1795-1797* (London: Everyman’s Library 1965) , 28

⁵⁹ Lamin Sanneh , *The Crown and the Turban : Muslim and West African Pluralism* (Colorado & Oxford : Westview Press, 1997) , 43

space, few examples are given below through personal findings either directly from victims or indirectly from their exorcists:

3.4.1 Sickness: A young man⁶⁰ of 28 years, Bayo, told me that his trouble started in March 2006 when a man hit him with his shoulder in the market and quickly said sorry. “I immediately felt a kind of unusual pain throughout my body but I did not count such to be anything. Unfortunately, within ten minutes, I became so heavy that I was just dragging my legs to walk back home. When I told my father, he quickly went to a diviner friend who told him that the man was not even a man but a woman and a witch”. He said due to Bayo’s quick progress and achievements in life, there was an envier, a witch in Bayo’s compound who felt unhappy with such progress. So, this is the result. The diviner also told his father that they should not take this with levity as the trouble would last for years before he could overcome it but would not die. Bayo said, “I have been going from one exorcist to the other but now, I am feeling better after two years”. He also said right from the day of the incident, he discharged sperm anyhow and this aggravated the pain and rendered his genital organ unerected. “Previously, it got to a worst stage that anytime I woke up in the midnight to visit toilet, I usually see a corpse already wrapped in white garment leaning to the wall by door sides, and would immediately disappear”.

3.4.2 Envy: It has been said earlier that various researchers on evil-eye agree that envy is a major factor.⁶¹ This envy is rampant in Africa generally and in Ilorin specifically due to some practices. Firstly, it has been said previously that anywhere there is general competition for limited resources (like that of Africa), envy is apt to be present. Secondly, the practice of polygamy which had long been part of African cultures and widely practised by Muslims is another factor for envy, especially among wives of the same husband and their children. This is because, as observed by Lemu, “there are Muslims who believe that unless you cut your first wife to size by giving her a rival, she might start regarding herself to you as equal”.⁶² Ilorin as a Muslim, as well as an African city, retains these two factors, thus fuelling the fire of envy among members of the same extended family or same compound. Therefore, patronising various *Oloogun*(sorcerers), Muslim clerics for *nakali*(sorcery) and bewitching one another have become part of people’s lives. It was uncovered through findings that cases like

⁶⁰ A young but very haggard man from Ilorin met me with Joseph Yisa (a non-wicked witch , as well as an exorcist). The witch instructed him to tell me about his problem. Because he wanted his identity concealed, he refused to tell me his full name and address in Ilorin, but simply said: ‘I am Bayo.(Interview, at Bokunji Village (Nupe land) , Kwara State , Nigeria, on 5th April , 2008).

⁶¹ Clarence Maloney , ed. , *The Evil Eye* (New York : Columbia University Press , 1976) , vii

⁶² Aisha B. Lemu , *A Degree Above Them* (Minna , Nigeria: Islamic Education Trust , n. d.) , 13. See also : Abdul Ganiy O. Oloruntele, *Family Planning and Polygamy in Islam* (Ilorin : Princess Printing Press, 2002) , 59

mother-in-law bewitching daughter-in-law or wives of the same husband, are frequently brought to my informants who gave various examples⁶³ of such cases in Ilorin.

3.4.3 Death: This is one of the most difficult things to verify. But various researchers also agree that witches can kill. The fact that all the three evil forces (*jinn* possession, evil-eye and magic/sorcery) are present in witchcraft is an evidence that causing death is not impossible. According to Simpson, witches have abilities to see the internal organs of the human body, the foetus in the uterus, make a woman be infertile or barren, cause miscarriage, frightening dreams, sleeplessness, loss of weight, suck human blood or kill such a victim⁶⁴

Both Ajadi Ayuba and Joseph Yisa claimed that witches kill. Ayuba said that, at the beginning of every year, both the black and red witches budget for the number of gallons or barrels of human blood needed for the year. It is then left for every member to contribute towards the pool of blood, especially the red witches. The red consumes blood greatly while the black consumes flesh. According to him, the white witches (to which he belongs) only make use of animal blood and flesh because “we are destined to save or liberate, not to create harm to humanity”.⁶⁵ Joseph Yisa said “it is pathetic, at times, that some were brought to us when it was already late to save them. They were already reduced to empty body with some organs taken away or eaten up. Doctors would diagnose some people and truly find the diseases worrying the patients. But not all of them came naturally. The black and red witches truly cause a lot of problems in our society which people like you may not believe in, because you do not see these things physically”.⁶⁶

⁶³ A lady was shown to me among the clients of Ajadi Ayuba during the course of my interview. According to Ayuba, her problem was that the husband had driven her out of her matrimonial home with no genuine reason. Anytime people tried to negotiate the matter, the husband became more furious. “When she came to me the first time, I told her to come back the second day as to enquire about her case. I discovered that the senior wife of the same husband is the evil behind this. I consulted her during their meeting at night, she filed allegation of rudeness against the lady and that she dominates in their matrimonial home. She, therefore, named things to collect from this lady which I will tell her after attending to you”. I asked of how chief Ajadi Ayuba knew that some one was behind such hatred when the lady first came. He said “there is still a mark on her forehead now which is invisible to you, except people like me can see that. The implication is that as long as the mark remains, even if she wants to re-marry another man, she will not, as men will continue to hate her because she automatically becomes unattractive to men”. I also questioned further to know those requests of the witch. Ayuba said: “I can’t tell you everything. I will only name them to her and warn her to be good and humble to people generally like the mother-in-law, father-in-law, other co-wives and every one in the compound. That is all”. (7th April, 2008)

⁶⁴ George E. Simpson, *Yoruba Religion*, 76

⁶⁵ Ayuba Ajadi Lawal, Interview, 7th April, 2008

⁶⁶ Joseph Yisa, Interview, 5th April, 2008

However, in the days of witches in the European world, among the most popular witch hunters were Sprenger and Kraemer,⁶⁷ who declared that witches have six ways of injuring humanity: (a) to induce an evil love in a man for a woman and vice versa; (b) plant hatred or jealousy in their victims; (c) bewitch them so that a man or woman will not be able to perform sexual act or procure an abortion; (d) cause some diseases in any of the human organs; (e) deprive them reason; (f) take away life.⁶⁸

Not only this, “in its days in England” says Christina Hole, “it (witchcraft) affected the lives of thousands of people... witches may still be found in certain districts and various forms of magic continue to be practised more or less secretly in towns as well as villages but the wide spread of fear which they once inspired is a thing of the past”.⁶⁹ Therefore, it is that wide spread of fear of witches which is a thing of the past in the Western world that remains intact in Africa and Yoruba land of today partly due to their general competition for limited resources which makes envy very active, and partly due to no general revolts against them like those of the Europe in those days.

3.4.4 Positive Effect

We can not close our eyes to the positive effect of magic and witchcraft, especially the non-wicked ones. These people established themselves as exorcists, traditional doctors as well as witch hunters. Through all these, a lot of people have been liberated from various diseases and evil forces. For instance, Joseph Yisa said the *jinn* working with him is always sent to search for the source of any

⁶⁷ Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kraemer were both Germans and leaders of the Movement for the Extermination of Witches. They first published their book in 1486 titled: *Malleus Maleficarum* and was later translated as *The Witches Hammer* by M. Summers. For many years in Europe and other parts of the Christendom, the book remained as the Biblical authority in fighting the witches. See: *The Case Against Possession*, 33

⁶⁸ Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kraemer, *The Witches Hammer*, Trans. , S. Summer , (New York : Benjamin Blom , 1970) , 115

⁶⁹ Christina Hole, *Witchcraft in England* (New York : Collier Books and London : Collier MacMillan , 1966) , 7

magic against any of his clients and destroy it. Once the magic is destroyed, the victim feels relieved.⁷⁰ The same with Ayuba Ajadi who claims to have saved numerous victims since 1971, when he fully joined the non-wicked witches.⁷¹ In addition, the Muslim cleric, Saadu Hadi, also said: “ we cure diseases and save a lot of people with what we know. Whoever condemns our practices should save the victims with any alternative therapy. All we need is to achieve safety of our people from these evil forces”.⁷²

⁷⁰ He said if his *Jinn* can not do it alone he invites other powerful righteous ones to assist him. Likewise, any one possessed by *Jinn*, he sends other *Jinn* to expel him out of the victim. He said at times, if he does not know a cure for a particular illness, physical or spiritual, he consults his *Jinn* who either teach him how to prepare the charm or medicine or give him an already prepared one. (Joseph Yisa, Interviewed on 5th April, 2008).

⁷¹ Ayuba Ajadi Lawal said “we do all these without charging any money. Whatever any one gives us in cash or kind, we do not throw it away but accept it. We are destined to assist with the power, not to make money with it.” (Interviewed on 7th April, 2008.)

⁷² Interview, 14th April, 2008.

CHAPTER FOUR

Exorcism among the Yoruba Muslims (Ilorin)

4.1 Fieldwork / Methodology

Although, this work is largely based on literature consultations, an interdisciplinary approach was employed. That is, anthropological and sociological studies available on this topic were used, especially on Yoruba beliefs in witchcraft, magic and other supernatural forces. The same studies in other parts of the world are brought into focus to buttress the fact of universality of such beliefs. In order to show how the past Yoruba beliefs have bearings on the present, historical studies were also employed, while theologically, Islamic sources (Qur'an, Hadith and arguments of the past scholars) served as authoritative evidences for or against each assertion.

To investigate and assess the extent of the beliefs in Ilorin, qualitative method was largely used through purposive sampling, by interviewing various personalities involved in witchcraft or exorcism and leaders of various Muslim groups according to their divergent opinions. In addition, the interviews were conducted in Yoruba even with those who speak English. This was because they needed to drive home their point in certain local expressions. They were all translated into English by the researcher. Through random sampling, 100 questionnaires were distributed to the general masses especially in the four major markets in Ilorin (Oba, Baaboko, Ago and Ipata markets). That is, 20 questionnaires in each markets. Each question was read out and interpreted to each person, and the answer corresponding to his/her response was ticked immediately. The remaining 20 were distributed among the undergraduates of the University of Ilorin. This is to investigate, in percentage, the extent of the wide spread beliefs in these supernatural phenomena.

4.2 Sampling

It is impossible to get the opinion of each person in the entire population on this subject. Therefore, for the interviews carried out, purposive samplings were relied upon, by selecting five personalities to represent various interest groups.

Therefore, a renowned traditional Islamic scholar as well as an exorcist, Alhaji Saadu Hadi, was selected to explain the views, experiences and encounters of the traditional Muslim clerics. His selection was based on his status as one of the popular Muslim clerics for healing and exorcism.

Dr. Abdul Hameed Aminullah Olohunoyin was chosen to represent the modern scholars' opinions. The criterion for choosing him was on the premise that for many years, he influenced the minds of many youths through a popular programme called *Fatwah* on the State Radio station in Ilorin .

The chief Imam of Ilorin is a traditional Islamic scholar and not an exorcist, hence, the deputy chief Imam, Sheikh Abdullah Abdul-Hameed , was chosen , for he is well educated in both Islamic and Western types of education and a lecturer in the State College of Education , Ilorin. He, therefore, represents people of the middle course between traditional as well as modern opinions.

Chief Ayuba Ajadi Lawal, a renowned exorcist, was consulted to listen to the opinion of the witches. Although, he claims to be a non- wicked witch popularly called *Aje funfun* (white witches); he spoke for both wicked and non wicked witches because he, at times, attends meetings of the wicked ones especially to save some of his clients. I, therefore, had a two day interview with him.

The fact that explanations about witchcraft are of the supernatural world, invisible to ordinary eyes, made me seek for another witch to confirm the claims of Ajadi Ayuba. But no wicked witch was ready to confess his/her membership. I, therefore, found another non-wicked witch, Joseph Yisa, a Christian, though not from Ilorin but a Village under Ilorin and from the ethnic community, Nupe, very popular for witchcraft and witch-hunting. Some of the victims of witchcraft or diabolical possessions who were clients or patronisers of these exorcists were also interviewed.

4.3 Consent of the Respondents

Every respondent was contacted for an appointment on phone ahead of our meetings. Each of them was informed of the purpose of this research and its documentation, either as a thesis or published work. None of them objected to giving his particulars and responses. All of them rather responded freely and happily out of their volition. Likewise, the respondents for the questionnaires. Those who were not interested or busy with their businesses showed their lack of interest by refusing to respond. Only the interested ones responded without any force or coercion.

4.4 Problem faced and solutions

A research of this nature cannot be problem free. Therefore, few problems were encountered and immediate solutions were proffered.

Firstly, any attempt to interview the wicked witches (known as black and red witches) failed as no one was ready to disclose his/her membership. The solution here was to seek for the third faction, non-wicked witches (the white witches) who claim to know what happens in other factions because they, at times, hold meetings together. Secondly, some victims of witchcraft and diabolical possessions were shy to disclose their problems, while to some others; their past experiences have become trauma and phobia for them, thinking of the return of their sicknesses if they discuss such with me. I, therefore, promised them of complete confidentiality and that revealing their past to me especially in the presence of their exorcist will not bring a repeat of such. Thirdly, the questionnaire designed to sample the opinions of the market people were written in English, incomprehensible to almost all of them. I, then had to translate each question to each person into Yoruba language and tick the appropriate responses. This consumed four days to cover the four major markets. Fourthly, despite being contacted for an appointment ahead of our meeting, keeping such appointment was not easy as each of them is an eminent personality, always busy with various programmes and visitors. I needed to understand their status and endure changes in our scheduled period.

4.5 Exorcists among the Yoruba Muslims (Ilorin)

As beliefs in the supernatural forces are widely held in many parts of the globe, efforts to combat the problems are also universalistic according to prevailing culture of each race.¹ The fact that the

¹ There are many ways in India for instance, to combat the evil eye especially of witches. One of them is to mix cooked rice, beans, peas with curd and milk in an earthen ware pot and take it to a junction where four roads meet after making some marks on the pot with red clay. See: A. Stewart Woodburne, "The evil eye in South India Folklore" in Alan Dundes, ed. , *The Evil eye : A case Book* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1992) , 61

In Iran, some use a kind of incense made of the seeds of wild rue, mixed with leaves of both myrtle and frankincense, burned at sunset. While the smoke is curling around the victims head; they continue to repeat some incantations thus:

Isfand , kí kásht ?..... Muhammad
kí chid ?.....Ali
kí dúd kard ?.....Fatima
az baraya kí ?az baraya Hasan was Husain
wild rue, who planted it ?.....Muhammad
who gathered it ?.....Ali
who burned it ?.....Fatima
for whom ?.....for Hasan and Husain

See: Bess Allen Donaldson, "The Evil Eye in Iran" in Alan Dundes, ed. , *The Evil eye : A Case Book* (Wisconsin : The

beliefs are old make the means of combating them be old. These old methods still retain themselves in many parts of Africa especially Ilorin and Yoruba land as a whole. In Ilorin, there are very few Muslim exorcists who embark upon pure Yoruba forms of exorcism, while few others who claim to be members of the non-wicked witches also exorcise. The commonest are the Muslim clerics who, at times, combine both the Yoruba as well as the peculiar 'Islamic' method of exorcisms. The three methods are interconnected with some similarities and dissimilarities.

4.5.1 Oloogun, Muslim Exorcists: As said earlier, these people are few in Ilorin. They are called *Oloogun* or *Onisegun*. Like their counterparts in Yoruba land, they combat the problems of their clients through three means: (a) the use of natural things like: herbs, roots, plants, animal parts, animate and inanimate objects, (b) incantations², and (c) rituals. The *Onisegun* is always a native healer of the ordinary common diseases as well as exorcist of the mysterious problem. In combating the evil of the witches for instance, various natural ingredients like roots of trees, leaves and some parts of animals may be grinded into powdered form, and make some small incision or cuts (*gberẹ*) on the victim's head or other parts of the body and apply the powder in order to dissolve into his blood.³ This, to them, will make the blood or flesh of such victim be forbidden to any witch. At times, such powder may be mixed with black traditional soap and instruct the victim to bath regularly with it. Another example is to take: alligator peppers, white kola-nuts, red kola-nuts and the blood of a cock, put them in a piece of cotton wool and bury for seven days. Then, it is then taken to leather workers who sews it up with a recommended skin of an animal and hang it by the door side, or bury it by the main entrance door.⁴ Another way is to make offerings called *ẹbẹ agba* (literally, appeal to the elders i.e. witches). This is done by cutting small portions from ten various parts of a she-goat including organs in the belly, a big rat and little palm oil in a broken clay pot and taken to a prescribed destination like a stream or river side, cross roads, market place, main road e.t.c. in the night.⁵ The last method is the use of incantation in addition to any of the above. George Simpson records from a Muslim exorcist:

University Press, 1992), 74. In addition, Harfouche says, in actual practice, almost every baby in each of the observed ethnic groups in Lebanon was seen with a set of charms either pinned over the shoulder or hung on a golden chain around the neck or wrist. See: Jamal Karam Harfouche, 'The Evil Eye and Infant Health in Lebanon' in Alan Dundes, ed., *The Evil Eye :A Case Book* (Wiscosin : The University of Wiscosin Press, 1992) , 95

² Adelumo Peter Dopamu, *In the service of Humanity (Farewell Lecture)* (Ilorin : Library and publications Committee , University of Ilorin, 2009) 29

³ George Simpson , *Yoruba Religion and Medicine in Ibadan* (Ibadan : Ibadan University Press , 1980) , 84

⁴ Ibid. , 85

⁵ Ibid. , 84

Grind alligator pepper bark, a leaf called *inabiri* , a root from the *esinsin* plant and hair from private part together. Then, one prints on this powder what is called *aji ogbe* and recites the incantation:

- (a) Ina kii roro tewetewe; eewo ni
- (b) Oso ile ema binu mi
- (c) Esinsin kii roro ko de'gbo, eewo ni
- (d) Aje ile ema binu mi
- (e) Ataare kii binu k iota eepo ara re, eewo ni
- (f) Oso ile ema binu mi
- (g) Aje kii gboju koje irun obo, eewo ni

Meaning

- (a) The *ina* plant is wicked but not its leaf; it is forbidden.
- (b) Wizards, do not be annoyed with me.
- (c) The *esinsin* plant is wicked but not its roots; it is forbidden.
- (d) Witches, do not get annoyed with me.
- (e) Alligator pepper does not produce an irritating effect on its own bark; it is forbidden.
- (f) Wizards, do not be annoyed with me.
- (g) No matter how bold a witch is, she does not eat hair from the private part, it is forbidden.⁶

In all forms of Yoruba exorcism, incantations play significant roles. “The Yoruba incantation is used in almost every sphere of human activity be it social, political, economic and medical”.⁷

4.5.2 Aje funfun, Non-wicked Witches: As one finds Muslims among the wicked witches and magicians or sorcerers, there are some who are also members of the non-wicked witches. They usually stand as exorcists, healers and antagonists of the wicked. They follow the same pattern as the Yoruba Muslim exorcists discussed above, except that they claim to have the capacity to fly and attend meetings with any faction of other witches to request the release of any victim among their clients. On questioning Ajadi Ayuba as to how they always save their clients, he said once they know where a client comes from, they go directly to the meeting of the witches in the night as to enquire about the one responsible for the trouble of such client. He said definitely she will confess and be asked to

⁶ Ibid. , 84

⁷ Adelumo Peter Dopamu , *In the Service of Humanity* , 32

release the victim. At times, she may mention what to collect as ransom and some other time; she may release the victim freely. But if the wicked witch insists on not releasing the victim, and it is not too late to save him forcefully, the case will be tendered in their meetings where such victim will be saved forcefully. How does this happen? He explained further that once they are all witches, the difference is just that it is forbidden in the non-wicked coven to use their power for evil intentionally, so, they know what to do to save such victim forcefully. For example ‘we may give the victim some charms to save him, either to eat, or swallow or bath with it or rub his body, which we know, using it makes his blood or flesh forbidden to any witch to consume. Another way is that, if they request for an exorbitant amount of money which they know the victim cannot afford or human blood which they know we do not deal with, then, what we do is to target a particular period of the night when we know their rituals are under tense condition, whatever we present at that particular period⁸ will be accepted unconditionally. Once, it has been accepted, it is forbidden to tamper with such client. So, we just present any affordable amount from the client and present red oil instead of blood requested for’.⁹

Aside from the above, the witches may mention what to give as remedy to such victim either by prescribing certain leaves or roots or certain rituals or prescribe nothing and the victim is relieved of his burden.¹⁰

4.5.3 Alfa, Muslim Clerics: The Muslim clerics also engage in both acts of healing ordinary diseases and exorcism of any one under supernatural bondage. Their methods connote the combination of Islamic as well as Yoruba practices of exorcism. The clerics organise congregational supplications for their clients, reciting or repeating some chapters or verses of the Qur’an, or prophetic prayers in various forms, in order to liberate the client from the evil forces. At times, killing of domestic animals may follow the supplications. Part of the meat may be distributed to children, beggars or be used to prepare any food and taken to the mosque for general consumption by the poor. In addition, *sadaqah*, alms-giving, in cash or kind may be recommended. According to Alhaji Saadu Hadi,¹¹ all these are performed to liberate anyone in trouble with witches, sorcerers or other diabolic possession in lieu of

⁸ I questioned Ajadi Ayuba further as to why the wicked witches always accept anything presented at that period ;accepting offers not pleasing to them. He said : “ You know we do not go to these meetings physically , so, in most cases , the behaviours there are always like those under intoxication. Again, you know intoxicating effect affects individuals at various degrees, so, that is the similitude of what happens there. We are not always present in the meetings with complete physical senses because it is a spiritual world entirely. We seize this opportunity whenever they want to reject our offers or mention anything unaffordable” (Ajadi Ayuba, on 7th April , 2008)

⁹ Ayuba Ajadi Lawal , Interview , conducted at Abeya Village , On 7th April , 2008

¹⁰ George Simpson , *Yoruba Religion and Medicine* , 84 and Ayuba Ajadi , Interview

¹¹ Alhaji Saadu Hadi of Idi aayan compound, Oke-Apomu , Ilorin is a Muslim cleric who claims to have been practising healing and exorcism for the past twenty-five years. Different clients were also witnessed coming to him for various reasons.

the former Yoruba methods. Besides, the use of *Hantu*¹² is also frequent. *Hantu* is, at times, given for drinking, rubbing the body, mixing it with water and bathing with it or sprinkling it on traditional (black) soap (*ose dudu*) and bathing with such, every day at a prescribed time. Such may also be written on any edible thing like boiled egg and be consumed at once¹³

The same or other similar supplications may be written on papers with the name of the client, the intention behind such writings and prayers, all entered in any of the Arabic alphabets which has rounded shape. The paper is neatly folded and rounded up with thread of any recommended colour(s). This becomes an amulet called *tira* which may be kept in the pocket or tied to any part of the body. In fact, this was the same practice witnessed by Paul Marty among other African Muslim clerics several decades ago. In one of the Muslim amulets, *tira*, he found the following, written at the centre: “A very efficacious charm against any harm either by sword, sabre, knife, rock, wood, (or from any) Muslim or non-Muslim, chief or chiefs, male or female with no exception... No harm of this world shall touch him by God’s permission”.¹⁴

Similar amulet was observed by Richard Jobson among the Senegambian Muslim clerics which he calls *Gregories*. He describes it that:

They are made of leather of several fashions,
wondrous neatly. They are hollow and within
them is placed, and sowed up close, certain
writings or spells which they receive from their
Mary-buckles (Muslim clerics)... they do confidently
believe no hurt can betide them while these
Gregories are about them¹⁵

It is pertinent to mention here that almost all these writers file allegation of paganism against these Muslim clerics, especially on the issue of amulet. For instance, Trimingham observes that the amulet-use bears more of the characteristics of pagan culture than Muslim. To him, what distinguishes Muslim amulets from the pagan’s, apart from the sacred Arabic language is mainly the procedural elements

¹² *Hantu* is writing any portion of the Qur’an or prophetic supplications on a black tablet, washing it and giving to the client to drink or rub his body with it.

¹³ Alhaji Saadu Hadi , Interview,

¹⁴ Paul Marty, *L’Islam en Guinée : Fouta Diallon* (Paris: E. Leroux , 1921), 484. Quoted from: Lamin Sanneh, *The Crown and the Turban : Muslim and West African Pluralism*, (Colorado, USA, Oxford: Westview Press, 1997), 43

¹⁵ Richard Jobson , *The Golden Trade; or a Discovery of River Gambia* (London : Dawsons of Pall Mall , 1968), 64

employed to decide whether the means, not the end, are lawful (*halal*) or unlawful (*haram*).¹⁶This, therefore, prompts a discussion on *Shirk* (i.e. paganism or polytheism).

¹⁶ J. Spencer Trimingham , *A History of Islam in West Africa* (London : Oxford University Press , 1962) , 42

CHAPTER FIVE: *Shirk* : An Effect of Evil Forces on Muslim Beliefs

5.1 Meaning of *Shirk*

The bedrock of Islam is the complete affirmation of the phrase: *Lā ilāh illa Allah*. That is, no other, or no any other deserves to be object of worship except Allah. This affirmation implies that God is absolutely One and Unique in all respects. This is termed as *tawhīd*. Any belief, utterance or deed which negates this *tawhīd* is known as *shirk* in Islam.

Ibn Fāris as quoted by Qadhi, defines *shirk* as "...to add or append, that is, not being single or one".¹ According to Maulana Ali, *Shirk* signifies associating gods with God, either to His person or attributes or works or with respect to obedience which is due only to Him.² Yasir Qadhi explains further that *shirk* connotes the belief in partnership with Allah either in His lordship (*rubūbiyyah*), worship (*ulūhiyyah*) or His attributes (*asmā' wa sifāt*). He says, *shirk* involves giving Allah's right to other than Him.³ It means, *shirk* is sharing or assigning the prerogative of God with or to any other than Him. In order to eradicate *shirk*, Islam takes notice of even the imperceptible forms of polytheism, paganism or idolatry because it degrades mankind to a level which is incompatible with his dignity⁴ The offence is uniquely heinous in Islam that it remains as the only unforgivable sin. God declares thus:

God forgives not that partners should be
Set up with Him; but He forgives anything else,
To whom He pleases: to set up partners
With God is to devise a sin most heinous indeed.⁵

Commenting on the above verse, Mawdūdi says the verse does not instruct anyone to commit other sins, but to show that *shirk* constitutes the most serious offence in God's sight⁶

¹ Abu Ammar Yasir Qadhi, *An Explanation of Muhammad ibn 'Adb al- Wahnāb's Kashf al- Shubuhāt: A Critical Study of Shirk* (Birmingham : Al- Hidaayah Publishing and Distribution, 2004) , 14

² Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Religion of Islam* , (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishā'at Islam , 1978) , 121-122

³ Abu Ammar Yasir Qadhi , *A Critical Study of Shirk* , 15

⁴ Mustafā Aḥmad al-Zarqā , ' The Islamic Concept of Worship' in Khurshid Ahmad , ed. , *Islam- Its Meaning and Message* (London: Islamic Council of Europe , 1976) , 110

⁵ Q 4 : 48

⁶ Sayyid Abul A'ālā Mawdūdi , *Towards Understanding the Qur'an* , vol.2 , Trans. , Zafar Ishaq Ansari (Leicester : Islamic Foundation , 1992) , 46

5.2 Categories of *shirk*

Various scholars have attempted to categorise *shirk* in different forms; all pointing to the same absolute oneness of God. Maolana Ali categorises it into four according to the Qur'an 3: 64 and 25: 43.⁷ He says the first, which is the most heinous *shirk* is to worship anything besides God, such as animate and inanimate objects, or heavenly bodies, forces of nature, or human beings. The second is to believe that other beings possess the same attributes of the Divine Being. For instance, the belief of the witches in male and female god or goddess like Dianna, goddess of the moon, or god of evil separate from god of righteousness. The third is to follow the command, principle or behest of great men blindly. The last is to follow one's own whims and caprices⁸ against the command of God.

Furthermore, the *Wahhābīs* divide *shirk* into five: (a) *shirk al- 'ilm*: Belief that anyone shares hidden knowledge with God. Be it Prophet or Saint. They know only what God reveals to them. Yoruba belief in *Orunmila* as a knower of the secret of nature is another example here. (b) *shirk at- taṣarruf*: the assumption that anyone has power, especially to intercede with God or as an intermediary between man and God, like Yoruba beliefs in their deities like *Sango*, *Ogun*, *Oya*, *Oduduwa* e.t.c. (c) *shirk al- 'ibādah*: either direct worship or revering of any created being, like praying at the grave of anyone, or pilgrimage to such tomb, or circumambulation of it e.t.c. This relates to the worship of Yoruba ancestors in various forms especially *egungun*. (d) *shirk al- 'ādah*: beliefs in superstitions like omens, good or bad days or advice from soothsayers. This is also relevant to the method of exorcism in Yoruba land. (e) *shirk fi'l adab*: swearing in the name of any one including the Prophet. This is also frequent on the lips of some people as *Sango ngbọ!*(god of thunder hears !), *Ogun ngbọ!* (god of iron hears!)⁹

Yasir Qadhi also explains apparent and hidden *shirk* as other forms of division. Apparent ones are the *shirk* committed openly which people may witness like the Yoruba sacrifice of an animal for the spirit of their ancestor or for witches or worship of various deities. Hidden *shirk* deals with the individual mind, intention or desire. For instance, some Yoruba victims of witchcraft put their complete belief and trust in their exorcists as their liberators from their spiritual problems, besides God.¹⁰

⁷ “Say: ‘O people of the Book! Come to common terms as between us and you : that we worship none but God ; that we associate no partners with Him ; that we erect not from among ourselves , Lords and patrons other than God ... (Q 3: 64). Also “Have you seen him who takes for his god his own passion (or impulse) ? (Q25 : 43)

⁸ Maulana Muhammad Ali , *The Religion of Islam* , 123-124

⁹ H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1974) , 543. The Yoruba examples are my own additions

¹⁰ Abu Ammar Yasir Qadhi , *A Critical Study of Shirk* , 42

According to Yasir Qadhi, there are some acts, deeds, intentions which fall under minor *shirk*. It means, all *shirk* practices are not of the same degree. He then highlights the following as part of the differences between the two:

- (a) Major *shirk* takes one out of Islam; minor does not
- (b) God vows not to forgive major *shirk* while minor can be forgiven
- (c) It means any major *mushrik* will remain in hell fire perpetually, while minor *shirk* committer may be punished temporarily.
- (d) It also means that the whole good deeds of the one in major *shirk* are null and void, while the minor *mushrik* can regain all his good deeds.¹¹

5.3 Effect of Evil Forces on Muslim Beliefs

The belief in the negative effects of supernatural world is so rampant among the Yoruba generally and Ilorin in particular that through random sampling (of 100 questionnaires), 93% believe in witchcraft while 90% favour magic and sorcery. Almost every one, 98%, believe in the existence of *jinn* which some University students termed as ghost. Out of all these people only 18% disbelieve in visiting any exorcist, non-wicked-witches or Muslim clerics. They believe in supplicating to God directly for spiritual safety. The rest 82% believe in visiting those mentioned exorcists.(See appendix 1).

Out of the eminent personalities interviewed, only Dr. Abdul Hameed Aminullah Olohunoyin disbelieves in witchcraft and sorcery but believes in the existence of *Jinn* because the Qur'an is elaborate on that. He shares the views that magic, witchcraft and other diabolic possessions are ordinary fictions.¹²

Imam Abdullah Abdul-Hameed confirmed the effects of all these supernatural forces on the masses, except that he sharply condemned *shirk* associated with their methods of exorcism. To him, supplications to, and complete trust in God are the best. He also shares the view of Imam Ibn Taymīyah¹³ on *hantu*. That is, victims who cannot recite the Qur'an and other supplications may be

¹¹ Ibid. , 41

¹² Interview in his house at Ode-Alahusa , Ilorin on 12th April , 2008. Dr. Olohunoyin , born on 1st January , 1950 , is the present Deputy Provost , Kwara State College of Arabic and Islamic Legal Studies , Ilorin , Nigeria.

¹³ According to Imam Ibn Taymīyah , It is permissible to write something from the Book of Allah (the Qur'an) with ink made from allowable substances for the afflicted or sick and the writing may also be washed and drunk, as stated by Imam Ahmad and others. 'Abdullah Ibn Ahmad quoted a narration from his father whose authority rests on Ibn Abbas that if a (pregnant) woman finds it difficult to give birth, write for her: *Bismillāh, lā ilāh illā Allah, Al- Halīm Al- Karīm. Subhānallāh Rabb al-Arsh al- Azīm. Alhamdulillāh Rabb al- 'Alamīn.* i.e. In the name of Allah, there is no god but Allah, the Gentle, the Generous. Glory be to Allah, Lord of the mighty throne. All praise is due to Allah, Lord of the worlds... In

assisted by writing relevant Quran verses on tablets, washing it and giving it to him for drinking, but on condition that the Muslim clerics will not go beyond that¹⁴

Alhaji Saadu Hādī, a Muslim cleric, also believes strongly in the evil effects of these forces. In addition to prayers and animals sacrifices only to God, he believes extensively in the use of *hantu* and relevant leafs and roots of some trees to treat his clients¹⁵

Chief Ayuba Ajadi Lawal, a non-wicked witch, believes that as long as he embarks on saving humanity from the tyranny of the evil forces, the allegation of engaging in *shirk* is of no relevance. To him, God created these problems of the evil eye, witchcraft, magic and diabolical possessions and provided solutions. He said there is no difference between exorcism and healing of other diseases which no one termed as *shirk*. In both cases, natural things like components of trees, animate and inanimate objects are used and God is recognised as the final Healer. He questioned, “Why can’t you rely purely on supplications instead of going to the hospital in other diseases?”¹⁶ These are some of the conflicting beliefs caused by the effects of the unseen world on Yoruba way of life.

another narration as reported by Abdullah from his father Ibn Abbas says: “write it in a clean vessel and drink it”. Ibn Abbas adds in another one that; “Give it to her to drink and sprinkle on her body below the navel”. Abdullah said, “I saw my father (Ahmad ibn Hanbal) do writings for women in a bowl or something clean” [Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips, *Ibn Taymiyah’s Essay on Jinn(Demons)* (Riyadh: International Islamic Publishing House, 2007,) 105-106. See also: [Ahmad Ibn Taymiyah, *Majmū’ Fatāwā* vol. 19, Abdur-Rahman ibn Muhammad Ibn Qāsim, comp. , (Medina: Wizārah ash- Shu’ūn al- Islāmiyyah wa al- Awqāf wa ad-Da‘wah wa al- Irshād, 2004) , 64-65].

Bilal Philips, therefore, comments that all the above narrations are through Muhammad Ibn Abdur Rahman who has been described by Ibn Hajar as possessing weak memory and consider the reports as weak (Da‘if). But others like al- Qādhī and ‘Ayyād support writing Qur’an verses and washing them for drinking.(Bilal Philips, 106).

However, if Muhammad Ibn Abdur-Rahman had weak memory, but has never been described by any one as a liar, his weak memory implies that, the reports are not fabricated but rather, there may still be additional information to all the above which he might have forgotten due to his weak memory. Probably that is why reputable scholars like; Imams Ahmad Hanbal, Ibn Taymiyah, al-Qādhī, Ayyād and others have also supported this view.

¹⁴ Interviewed in his house at Faagba , on 14th April 2008 , Imam Abdullah Abdul Hameed , born in 1951, is the deputy Chief Imam of Ilorin and a Chief Lecturer in Islamic Studies at the Kwara State College of Education , Ilorin.

¹⁵ Interviewed also on 14th April, 2008 in his house at Idi-Ayan , Oke Apomu , Ilorin. Alhaji Saadu Hādī , born 1940, is a Muslim cleric.

¹⁶ Ayuba Ajadi said further that “there are well learned Islamists who come to us (non-wicked witches) regularly after engaging in extensive prayers and their problems still persist. But once we know the root of the trouble and go there straight, the long term persistent problems will be solved within a very short period. So, everything in this world is based on technical-know-how. Besides, do you know that there is a section of humanity naturally endowed with immunity against all these evil forces? There is no evil force that can over power them. They may not know they have it. Why can’t everyone have same immunity? Therefore, the way you use your power or knowledge positively or negatively depends on rewards and punishments”.(Interviewed on 4th and 7th April, 2008 in his residence at Ile-Ode, Abeya Village. Chief Ayuba Ajadi Lawal , born around 1920s at Alapata compound , Akerebiata , Ilorin. He is a traditional exorcist as well as a non wicked witch (*Aje funfun*).

5.4 Observations and Suggestions

However, judging by the foregoing, especially discussions on *shirk*, one realises that many Yoruba Muslims really engage in one form of *shirk* or the other. Of course, these supernatural problems are spiritual in nature; it can be better tackled spiritually without engaging in all forms of *shirk* practices.

1) It is noteworthy that not all cases ascribed to evil forces are truly evil, but to deny completely that such do not occur, is an attempt to display ignorance of one's environments. At the same time, for Muslims to engage in witchcraft, as long as they call on other creatures besides God, e.g. mother earth, Satan, moon, stars, whichever one) is *shirk*. More so, all heinous sins against humanity are committed without seeing anything bad in such: consuming human blood; flesh; creating artificial pain, trouble, diseases, to fellow humans and their properties. These are pure major *shirk* and crimes which definitely erase all good deeds of any Muslim and has no forgiveness in the sight of Allah.

2) Reliance on magic or sorcery means reliance on the power of another creature because those components or ingredients of charms can never do anything without the assistance of *jinn*. It means, such Muslims' trusts are placed in *jinn* rather than God. More so, the original teachers of sorcery have declared that they were *fitnah* (trouble, problem) due to their magic. Therefore, the sorcerers (students of Hārūt and Mārūt) are undoubtedly *fitnah* to people in Yoruba land and else where in the African sub-content.

3) Those that directly interact negatively with *jinn* also fall into the same category. Sending another intelligent being (*jinn*) to commit crimes, create harms, trouble and problems in the lives of others; commanding what is wrong and forbidding what is right, whereas God emphasises the command of good and forbidding of any evil.¹⁷ Instead of such people to preach Islam to these *jinn*, they are being more misled by Muslims who profess to follow a revealed Religion.

4) The fear of these wicked beings has truly made some Muslims join other pagan secret societies like the *Ogboni* cult because they believe being members will save them and their immediate family from the wickedness of sorcerers and witches. Undoubtedly speaking, *Ogboni* is a complete pagan cult. That is why as powerful and influential as their members are, they hate to be identified

¹⁷ Q 9: 67

as members because most of them are Christians and Muslims, who know the magnitude of the sins committed in such a secret society.

5) In an attempt to regain health, rest of mind or property, some Muslims under the trouble of supernatural forces engage in various forms of *shirk*, making offerings (animals, food, or other things) to witches, *jinn* or other creatures. This is a flagrant slap in the face of the *shari'ah*, caused by some Muslims to fellow Muslims.

6) The *jinn* should not be feared by Muslims as they are inferior to humans. In some cases, they rely on human beings. For instance, they eat human remnant food and meats; they live, at times, in human abandoned houses. They have also not achieved what humans have done. That is, no well organised towns or cities, or human achievements in education, transportation and health system. These are pointers to their low intelligence when compared with humans'. It is, therefore, not fitting for human kind to downgrade his honourable status as Allah's *khalifah* (representative) on earth. More so, the Creator (Allah) even confirms human superiority over most of His creatures.¹⁸

7) In their traditional methods of exorcisms, consideration may be given to the *Oloogun*(Muslim Exorcists) and *Aje funfun* (non-wicked Muslim witches) because they are not Islamic scholars, though, this is not an excuse in Islam to engage in *shirk* At the same time, some Muslim clerics who are Islamic scholars also engage in the use of magic and amulets to save themselves and their clients from the effects of the spiritual bondage. Major and/or minor *shirk* may be committed in such practices, which may negate one's knowledge of Islam and render one's worship null and void. Of course, these problems are real and persistent, but "nevertheless" says Tirmingham, "this exercise does not change the aims or goals for which amulets might be intended, and what the Muslim clerics offer in its making is a regularized procedure rather than a complete different substitute"¹⁹

8) Instead of destructive criticism and condemnation of the Muslim clerics to Hell fire for tackling the problems with only the solutions known to them, modern Islamic scholars should engage, and train others in Islamically approved exorcism as an alternative to the present one. Definitely, without such alternative, victims in serious pain will seek for any available and readily accessible exorcism.

¹⁸ Q 17 : 70

¹⁹ J. Spencer Trimmingham , *A History of Islam in West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) , 112-113

Therefore, as Muslims, the substitute provided by Islam is the total submission to God and complete trust in Him as the Omnipotent and Omniscient in all respects, taking morality, religiosity and supplications²⁰ very seriously and constant recitation of the Qur'an are a summary of the whole spiritual weapons against all forms of evil forces, because none of these things can harm anyone except with God's permission.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

The existence of angels is universally acknowledged and they are accepted as sinless creatures, which rather protect humankind than harm him. Despite all these, as long as Hārūt and Mārūt remain as the original teachers of magic or sorcery, it is undeniable that magic as a serious *fitnah* to humanity is from the angelic world. Magic is, therefore, a reality. Neither God nor the angels who first taught it to both humankind and *jinn* ever call it an illusion. The efficacy only depends on God's permission. Whichever that receives God's permission cannot be imagined to be ordinary fiction or illusion.

In addition, the existence of the *jinn* is undoubtedly proven in the Qur'an, Hadith and practical experiences and encounters of people. They are evidently proven with capabilities to possess humans, animate as well as inanimate objects. Imam Ibn Taymīyah who had some interactions with them convincingly proved their possession of humans and other creatures. The recent encounter of Lois Wright of the U.K. with a friendly ghost is a recent practical evidence of the existence of righteous as well as evil spirits.²¹

The reality of the evil eye is a worldwide phenomenon. Researchers into various cultures across the world have also proven its reality. In additions to the *Aḥādīth* quoted, the Prophet still emphasises in various other sayings that "evil eye is a reality"²²

As long as the reality of those three phenomena above are undeniable, it is unreasonable to deny the existence of witchcraft, that is an association of people who come together to maximize the opportunity of the endowments of the above three phenomena (*jinn*, magic and evil eye) to their fullest

²⁰ See appendix 6 for the Prophets supplications against evil forces.

²¹ Louise Wright, "Ghost Saved My Life and Found me Love" *Metro*, 1 June , 2009, 11. See appendix 7.

²² Muhammad Muhsin Khan, *Translation of the Meaning of Sahih Al-Bukhari: Arabic English*, vol.7, (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan , 5th ed. , 1987) , 427, no 636

negative capabilities. Akin Omoyajowo who argues against witchcraft's existence also admits, through personal encounter in his village, the reality of people who directly work with evil forces.²³

Those who deny the reality of all these phenomena refuse to probe into the matter. Their denial is based on the incomprehensibility of such things by their brains or due to their fanatical beliefs in anything scientific. That is, whatever cannot be proven scientifically is automatically condemned as non-existent. Unfortunately, science confirms the existence of the soul in every individual, which is an integral component of human existence including scientists. But how does every foetus receive life in the womb? From where comes the soul? Where exactly is the location of the soul in the human body? How does it leave the body finally and where is its final destination? All these are, presently, scientifically unrealistic. What of dreams? Do scientists deny their personal engagements in dreams? What explanation has science offered as regards this? Many questions abound. William James, as quoted by Richards, concludes that this disbelief is "...a curious example of the power of fashion in anything scientific... one has to be scientific indeed to be blind and ignorant enough to suspect no such possibility".²⁴

However, despite the frequent occurrence of such possibility, especially in black African societies, it is still impossible for many Muslims to have the opportunity of engaging in Islamic daily supplications as recommended by scholars. Definitely, other unlawful alternatives will be exposed to them. Instead of allowing this to happen, can such Muslims be assisted with *oogun* or *nakali* prepared from lawful ingredients or be left to face the consequences of the evil forces? This needs to be deeply researched into as a suggestion for further studies.

²³ After trying to disprove everything about witchcraft, he then writes: "I am not denying the existence of evil forces and mysteriously mischievous beings or power- whatever they are. To do that would mean being unrealistic as an African". He then gave a narration of how he was frightened together with his mother one night, while they were returning from another village to theirs. But on his way to school the following morning, a boy of his age warned him seriously to stop travelling in the night, despite the fact that both of them did not reveal the incident to anyone. The boy said to him, "But for me, you and your mother would be dead by now. You remember what you felt when you reach a spot (he describes the spot)." See: J. Akin Omoyajowo, "Witchcraft" in E. A. Ade Adegbola, *Traditional Religion in West Africa*, (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1983), 330. How can this author, who gives various reasons against witchcraft, refuse to defend his encounter with spirit and how his age mate knew about it?

²⁴ John Richard, *But Deliver Us From Evil: An Introduction to the Demonic Dimension in Pastoral Care* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1978), 96

Appendix 1

Percentage Responses in Evil Forces Beliefs

Appendix 2

List of Interviewees

Name	Year	Position	Date of interview
Abdul Hameed, Abdullah	1951	Deputy Chief Imam	14 th April, 2008
Hadi , Saadu	1940	Muslim Cleric	14 th April, 2008
Lawal , Ayuba Ajadi	1920s	A Witch	4 th and 7 th April, 2008
Olohunoyin, Abdul-Hameed	1950	Lecturer	12 th April, 2008
Yisa , Joseph	1954	A Witch	5 th April, 2008

Appendix 3

Questionnaire on *shirk* and the Yoruba Muslims in Nigeria with reference to the City of Ilorin

Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom.

This questionnaire intends to find out your candid beliefs/ opinions on issues relating to the supernatural forces and their forms of exorcism in Yoruba land, especially in Ilorin. Your frank opinions and responses will be treated as strictly confidential as possible, as the findings will only be used for research purposes. The questions are categorised into three main sections. You are required to answer all questions by putting a ring/ circle around each appropriate answer matching your opinion.

SECTION 1

In this section: B= Belief; SB = Strongly Belief; D = Disbelief and SD = Strongly Disbelief. Therefore, put a ring around the appropriate answer.

- 1 What is your opinion about the existence of *jinn*?
B SB D SD
- 2 Do you believe that Jinn can cause harms?
B SB D SD
- 3 What is your view about magic or *nakali* ?
B SB D SD
- 4 To what extent is your belief in witchcraft?
B SB D SD
- 5 Do you believe that the use of magic or *nakali* is *shirk*?
B SB D SD

SECTION 2

In this section, circle either Yes or No as your answer.

- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| Have you been possessed by a <i>jinn</i> ? | Yes | No |
| Have you ever been a victim of magic or <i>nakali</i> ? | Yes | No |
| Have you ever been a victim of witchcraft? | Yes | No |
| Have you been a victim of evil eye? | Yes | No |
| Have you ever consulted any exorcist? | Yes | No |

SECTION 3

You can circle more than one answer where necessary, in this section.

- 1 Through which mediums did you discover that your problem was spiritual?
(a) Hospital (b) Diviner (c) Exorcist (d) Personal Opinion
- 2 Which exorcist do you patronize?
(a) Traditional exorcist (b) Muslim clerics (c) Non-wicked witch (d) Anyone
- 3 What type of exorcism do you believe in, as the most reliable?
(a) Magic (b) *Nakali* (c) Supplication (d) All of the above
- 4 Do you consider your belief in, and visit to these exorcists as *shirk*?
(a) Agree (b) Strongly disagree (c) Disagree (d) Strongly disagree

Appendix 4

Questions directed to the non-wicked witches

- 1 What is the name of your cult or craft?
- 2 When did you join this cult?
- 3 What prompted you to join it?
- 4 Can witchcraft be in born?
- 5 What is the relationship of witches to *jinn*?
- 6 How many factions of witches are there?
- 7 What do you know about black and red witches?
- 8 How do the red and black witches harm anyone?
- 9 What are your places and times of meeting?
- 10 How do you travel to the meetings?
- 11 Is the craft related to a particular sex/age?
- 12 How do you identify the cause of your client's problem?
- 13 How do you save anyone harmed?
- 14 Do you believe in the supremacy of God in your craft?
- 15 Is *Shaytān* your god or the Creator of Shaytan and other creatures?
- 16 How do you relate to God – worship, ritual or prayer?
- 17 How do you know about future events – informed by *jinn* or how?
- 18 What challenges have you been facing?

Appendix 5

Questions directed to the Muslim Clerics and other Islamic Scholars:

- 1 Do you believe in the existence of *jinn*?
- 2 Do you believe they can harm human beings?
- 3 What is your opinion about witchcraft and sorcery?
- 4a Have you personally experienced any harm from the *jinn* / witches or sorcerers?
- 4b If your answer is yes, how did you combat the harm?
- 5a Do you believe in *nakali*, *hantu* or other forms of charms?
- 5b If your answer is no, how do you combat the harms of witches& sorcerers?
- 5c If your answer is yes, do you have any evidence to support the use of *nakali*?
- 6a Do you accept that the practice of these things is *shirk*?
- 6b If yes, why then did you engage in them?
- 6c If no, what evidence have you to support your view?

Appendix 6

Some of the Prophet's recommended supplications against evil forces.

Source: Imam Ibn Qayyim Al-Jauziyah. *Healing with the Medicine of the Prophet*. Trans., Jalal Abual Rub.(Riyadh,etc: Darussalam,2003),148- 153.

Appendix 7

News Papers on Witchcraft and Ghost.

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