



FAIS

Published by:
Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies
Bayero University, Kano

July 2013

© 2013 Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies, Bayero University,
Kano-Nigeria

All rights reserved. No portion of this journal may be reproduced by any process or technique, without the formal consent of the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies (FAIS) Copies of articles may be made for personal or internal use on condition that the user acknowledges the Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies as the copyright holder. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying, such as for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale.

ISSN: 0795-2996

Published by:
Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies
Bayero University, Kano

Printed in Nigeria by:
Akinsville B.P. Ltd
08034536596



Chapter Six

SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS IN HAUSALAND: A CULTURAL POISON AND AN ISLAMIC ANTIDOTE

Ahmad Murtala

0-1 Introduction

Superstition, as acquired culture, is an age-long belief that had been widely held in many ancient societies. References abound in the Glorious Qur'an that describe how the old societies used superstitious beliefs to regulate their social behaviour or explain certain natural phenomena around them. However, these beliefs often have no religious or scientific explanations. In this paper, we shall examine some common superstitions in Hausaland and their cultural origins, while exploring their standing in the orthodox teachings of Islam in accordance to the Qur'an and the Sunnah.

The Qur'an relates the story of the people of Prophet Saleh (PBUH), who disbelieved in his mission and eventually portrayed his advent as a bad omen: "They said, 'We consider you a bad omen, you and those with you'. He (Saleh) said, 'Your omen (fate) is with Allah. Rather you are a people being tested (Q27:47). A similar incident had also happened with the three apostles who were sent to guide the people of one great city in antiquity. But the people showed their disagreement and hatred to the apostles. "They said, 'Indeed, we consider you a bad omen. If you do not desist, we will surely stone you, and there will surely touch you, from us, a painful punishment. They (Apostles) said,

'Your omen (fate) is with yourselves. Is it because you are reminded? Rather, you are a transgressing people" (Q36:18. Prophet Musa (Moses) also had suffered a lot from superstitious Pharaoh and his people. They viewed themselves the only rightful people, so "when good (provision) came to them they said, This is ours (by right)'. And if a bad (condition) struck them, they saw an evil in Moses and those with him. Unquestionably, their fortune was with Allah, but most of them do not know" (Q7:131).

In folklore studies, scholars have often concluded that, indeed "superstition is part of human nature"¹. This is not quite correct because Allah, The Creator, does not instill superstitions in the nature of human beings; rather, it is men themselves who acquire such beliefs, ^{and} motivated by the devil, who has sworn to devise means in order to make them go astray, as narrated in the Quran "...I will mislead them, and I will arouse in them (sinful) desires, and I will command them so they will slit the ears of cattle, and I will command them so they will change the creation of Allah. And whoever takes Satan as an ally instead of Allah has certainly sustained a velar loss" (Q4: 119).

Superstitions are only acquired by tradition and developed according to the care they gain from the prevailing customs. If it been part of human nature, all humankind would have shared a large body of it, like hunger, fun, crying, etc. But it is always a partial belief recognized only by some people, and at the same time it might have the opposite status in other different cultures. What is regarded as lucky and being highly appreciable in one culture may turn out to be unlucky and a source of grief in other cultures. Therefore, it is not like thirst or curiosity for knowledge which are realistically part and parcel of human nature naturally shared by every human being on the same footing.

The Hausa people are not an exception from this generality. The Hausa culture, like any other progressing cultures in the world, is rich in proverbs, tales, folklore, mysteries and superstitions². Telling superstitions in relevant times has been common among all the genres of the Hausa people, likewise believing in them and acting in accordance to their dicta. Hausa people, on one hand, have ever since been excellently religious. And, on the other, the position of Islam towards believing in superstition is emphatically critical. But a simple question may pose itself: what makes some Hausa people believe in superstitions so deeply to the extent that they cannot do without their consolation?

This is the main synthesis that forced the present study to search for a proper solution. It is actually an attempt to make a sharp contrast between various superstitions being believed among the Hausa people and religious teaching, which uncovers the irrationality and ambiguities that cluster around the superstitions. The issue of superstition has been discussed often enough in some books and articles. But majority of it is from the cultural point of view. Tremearne, in his 'Hausa Superstition and Customs: An Introduction to the Folk-lore and the Folk', was the first to deeply touch upon the topic. Madauchi and Daura have also written a valuable book, 'Hausa Customs', in which they listed quite a number of superstitions without defining superstition, its types, cultural significance and other relevant areas. Muhammad Balarabe Umar also published a significant study on the topic entitled 'Camfe-Camfen Hausawa 360'. It is a quite unique and somewhat comprehensive monograph, though it doesn't touch upon the Islamic view point at length. Awaisu Ibrahim has presented a well-researched B.A. dissertation to Nigerian Languages, UDUS titled "*Camfe-Camfen Hausawa*", in which he analysed a great deal of them.

The present study hopes to fill those voids. Superstition in general is the focal point of the present paper, unlike the paper written by Dr. Aliyu Mu'azu of the Department of Nigerian Language titled "Camfi A Tsakanin Matan Hausawa", whose focus is on the contribution of women in promoting certain superstitions. Ruqayya Usman Abubakar has touched upon some areas of superstition and charms in her B.A. dissertation titled "Camfi D Surkullen Masu Bayar Da Magunguna A Kasar Hausa". Her focus is on the contribution of traditional medical practitioners and does not touch on the Islamic point of view, although she refers to the influence of Islam in Hausaland, albeit not in great detail. As a paradigm of this study, some popular superstitions which none of the aforementioned efforts has considered, have been deeply analysed, contrasting the Islamic point of view with the other perspectives from the Hausa society.

1-0 The Concept of Superstition

It is true that superstition is a global phenomenon. Different cultural scholars have attempted severally to coin definitions in order to cater for its precise concept. But due to the convergence of almost all the global cultures in terms of its essence, it still seems quite right here to select some comprehensive ones that can concisely reflect the actual Hausa peoples' perception of the term "*camfi*".

There are numerous definitions suggested by scholars, some of which are given here. It is rightly defined as "a belief or practice resulting from ignorance, fear of the unknown, trust in magic or chance, or a false conception of causation". In other words it is: "an irrational belief in or notion of the ominous significance of a particular thing, circumstance, and occurrence". In another definition it is "an irrational belief that an object, action, or circumstance not logically related to a course of events influences its outcome"³.

According to M.B. Umar, superstition “is a concocted explanation about something that has to be done, or that will happen in future and inclusively contains its negative or positive consequences”⁴. Thus, it is a combination of three components, namely the expression, the blind belief of its content and the fervent consequence or the exaggerated reward it suggests⁵. He then analyzed the definition by an example that “if one eats cola nut till it develops a strong faith in his heart, he will enter paradise”. The expression is clear, while it has to be believed that cola nut has the said power and the result in the end is paradise.

It is clear from the above definitions that belief in superstitions distracts the psyche of the superstitious persons, and if care is not taken it would gradually affect their activities. Superstition can better be described as an illness that causes a great damage to human reasoning and stagnates its good understanding, more especially in shaping one's mode of life towards success. This is true about the effect of two intriguing things surrounding every superstition, namely, unreality and ignorance.

Most superstitious people, it is observed, are illiterate and living in the darkness of ignorance, and for being untaught about the actualities of the true religion and how things are divinely fated. They naively concoct self-centered conceptions about the relations between things. Their worldview wholly differs, as is clear, from that of most educated and religious people. This is not suggestive to deny the existence of some people who are outwardly assumed as religious, but, surprisingly, in another angle, are deeply superstitious. Some of the so-called religious *Malams* or precisely *Bokaye* are, undoubtedly, the focal point for diffusing the majority of superstitions⁶.

Believing in superstition also contradicts the realities that happen in daily life. The occurrences that go contrary to the superstitious beliefs are multiple in number than those that are similar to them.

But unfortunately, superstitious people do not totally bother to observe such contradictions so as to take heed of that! Rather they actually choose to deter their faculty of reasoning from realizing the facts and realities that drift before them.

The Prophet (pbuh) had taught the Muslim Ummah to consider the physical realities, more especially in the negation of superstitions. It was forbidden for one, according to the Arabs, to have intercourse with his breastfeeding wife. It was widespread speculation to the extent that the Prophet talked about it. He said: "I was thinking of forbidding intercourse with a breastfeeding woman, until it occurred to me that the Romans and Persians do that and it does not harm their children"⁷. A wise person wherever he is, no doubt, would not tolerate an iota of superstitions. It was reported that even some rational people in the *Jahiliyya* period, before the advent of the Prophet, had shun away from all sorts of omens and other aspects of superstition, for the simple reason that they contradict pure reasoning⁸!

2-0 TYPES OF SUPERSTITIONS

As far as mankind is living on this planet, superstition will continue also to exist because figuring out the immediate connection between cause and effect is, obviously, the natural function of the human mind. But when it fails to uncover the actual cause, the mind would not overlook such arising matter unresolved; it would definitely try other ways. That is why some people since the olden days have resorted to illusionary explanations, which exactly are superstitious, while scientific-minded people may, at least, leave it puzzling as it was until the emergence of further discovery, if not rejecting it outright. But religious and research-minded people would always try, in the light of their perception, to interpret the corpus of superstitions as the factor that deludes the naturalness of the human mind and defies, in one way or the other, the purity of the religion.

Despite all those divergent perceptions, some types of superstition, I may argue, have a positive cultural calibration. For this reason, it is quite fair to carefully make a content-analysis in order to classify superstitions into types and then make a slight explanatory comment on each.

2-1 RELIGIOUS AND PAGANIC SUPERSTITION

If looked from the Hausaland histo-cultural setup, many superstitions had been invented and pronounced during the paganism period before the advent of Islam or its spread in this land, while many other superstitions are obviously coined during the Islamic period⁹. Take as an example of the latter: “the 'Salam' (peace be on you) must be loudly said and answered before you can enter another person's room. This is to warn the jinn standing by the doorway to move out of the way. Otherwise you may step over them and bring about your death”¹⁰.— Saying Salam before entering houses and rooms is, no doubt, recommended in Islam (Q24:27-29), but there is no trace of such surreptitious beliefs in the Qur'an and Hadith.

It is pertinent also to cite another example in the same vein. “The person who finds money by the wayside must give half of it as alms to the poor, or else he will lose a lot more money than he originally found”¹¹. This, of course, is superstitious for claiming that not giving out half to the poor may otherwise cause a great loss. True Islamic teaching is explained clearly in the following hadith, which Yazid Maula Al-Munba'ith heard from Zaid bin Khalid al-Juham, saying: “The Prophet (pbuh) was asked about lost property (*Luquta*). He said: “Remember the description of its container and the string it is tied with,

reporter, commented: "If nobody claims, then the person who has found it can spend it, and it is regarded as a trust entrusted to him". And Zaid further said: "The Prophet was asked, 'What about a lost sheep?' The Prophet said, 'Take it, for it is for you or for your brother (i.e. its owner) or for the wolf". -Yazid, the reporter commented that: "It should also be announced publicly". -The man then asked the Prophet about a lost camel. The Prophet said: 'Leave it, as it has its feet, water container (reservoir), and it will reach a place of water and eat trees till its owner finds it'"¹².

On the other hand, the following can be cited as a typical example of the superstitions that originated in the pre-Islamic era: "If you should have sexual intercourse with a mad woman, undetected, you will become a rich man"¹³. This, no doubt, is very a ferocious superstition, which only the sensualist-minded could even think of carrying out! Allah, the Provider, would not warrant wealth for the purpose of such an evil act. Rather it is destined by His ultimate will as He said: "Allah extends provision for whom He will and restricts it. And they rejoice in the worldly life, while the worldly life is not, compared to the Hereafter, except brief enjoyment" (Q 13:26).

Fortunately enough, most of such heart-rending superstitions are minimal in Hausa society. Instead, there are some superstitions which serve as good-character instructions, and, on the other hand, those which serve as bad-character promoters. As for the first type, there are a number of examples which can be culturally considered as a Hausa moral upholder. This includes: "If you eat as you walk, you are in fact eating with the Devil". Eating while walking is not prohibited in Islam, for it was practiced

during the Prophet's time. Abdullahi bn 'Umar (R.A) said: "We used to eat in the time of the Prophet (pbuh) and we were walking, and drink while we were standing"¹⁴. The hadith shows the permissibility of the act, hence it is not totally forbidden. Thus, that Hausa moral standard could only be considered as mere culture suggesting social uprightness. The Devil, in fact, has no business whatsoever with it.

In ancient times, though the occurrence of earthquakes was not known in Hausaland, they were reported to have superstitiously given another purpose of earthquakes that: "the wife who utters the name of her mother-in-law will bring about an earthquake"¹⁵. It is, of course, morally good to respect in-laws by certain considerable cultural means. But nothing, Islamically speaking, would happen if one thousand women, for instance, utter the names of their in-laws at one time, though it is good to keep up such a tradition for its ethical purposes.

One may wish to know, indeed, what made the olden day Hausa people hate some days and declared taking part in any activities in certain hours as prohibited. Monday, for example, is not suitable for shaving and washing clothes. While Tuesday is also not designated for washing clothes, women are specifically forbidden to wash their clothes on Wednesday and men are not to shave on the same day, lest all would be struck by poverty and death¹⁶. There have been numerous tales revolving on the negativity of Saturday, such as "If you shave your head on Saturday, you will be perpetually in debt", "The child born on Saturday will be accident-prone"¹⁷, "He who fishes on Saturday will be turned into a monkey". This last was the

doctrine prescribed on the Jews as the Qur'an explains (Q 16:124), and it has been in practice in their communities. But in Hausaland, the idea stems and spreads from 'Gardawa', senior Allo-school students. I knew this when we were at the Allo-school. Our elders were errantly holding this view as if it is meant for Muslims, simply because they read that Jews were forbidden to do many things on Saturday.

2-2 HYGEINIC SUPERSTITION

It can also be observed that some superstitions are fabricated just for hygienic purposes and meant to call for neatness in one's body and surroundings. This includes: "Leaving much hair on the head brings about headaches". "Groundnut shells must not be left lying around the house; if they are, they will attract scorpions to the house"¹⁸. It has been also superstitiously circulated that among the factors that bring about poverty are leaving spider's webs in the bedrooms and blowing a puff air to put out a candle¹⁹. Such superstitions show the importance of environmental sanitation and keeping extra-care with all that can cause serious injuries. But, as for Islamic teaching, doing both has no power of blocking prosperity for anyone!

It is noticed that salt, among the spices, and the dog, among the animals, are more prone to have superstitions ascribed to them. Obviously, Hausa people like any others drew some superstitions against what frightened them most. For this reason, they have provided numerous sayings against the night more than the morning and evening. To take examples of each: "If salt is split anywhere in the house, unless water is sprinkled on it, there will be a row between the household head and his wife"; "If you step across a dog, you will suffer from a

severe stomach-ache”; “Sweeping at night is taboo, because the sweeper may sweep over the home of some jinn”; “He who stitches his torn trousers during the night will become blind”. These are nonsensical superstitions, despite the fact that spilling the salt is also regarded as a source of bad luck in many other cultures. In Europe, they believe that “if you spilled any salt, you must immediately throw it over your left shoulder to strike the nasty spirit in the eyes, thus preventing sickness”²⁰.

The other sorts of baseless superstitions can be seen in the following examples: “If someone is swept by a broom, he will never get married”. And “If a girl took bath with '*ruwan kanzo*' she will be loved by all”. “Never leave shoes upside-down, for it implies bad gossip towards God”. It is also believed that “Sitting on a gadget will cause bad luck”.

3-0 ISLAM AGAINST SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEFS

Islam, in uncountable ways, has waged strong attacks against superstitions and blocked any possible ways to pessimism. The most effective way is by urging people to acquire useful knowledge and have thorough understanding of the essence of '*Tawakkul*' (Reliance upon Allah's Will). '*Tawakkul*', of course, will save people from the riddle of idleness and make them work hard towards their humanitarian perfection. Allah says: “Whoever relies upon Allah – then He is sufficient for him” (Q65:3), and the Prophet (pbuh) had said: “Work diligently, for everyone will find easy for them what they were created for”²¹. And he clearly condemned all sorts of superstitions by saying: “There is no '*Adwa* (contagious disease being conveyed without Allah's permission) nor is there any bad omen, nor is there any

Hamah, nor is there any bad omen in the month of Safar, and one should run away from the leper as one runs away from a lion"²².

Believing in superstitions contradicts believing in predestination, which is one of the essentials of the Islamic faith. The Prophet (pbuh) had enrolled it in the articles of *Iman*: "To believe in divine destiny (qadr), both the good and the evil of it"²³. Obviously, the core of the *Qadr* is to submit to Allah's Will as the Creator, the Omnipotent, the Omniscient and the Sustainer. It is He who designed everything and fore-ordained it, at least, according to the reasons at hand, five times before its occurrence and taking effects on the earth. "It is He Who created all things, and ordained them in due proportion" (Q25:2). The five designations are²⁴:

- 1- Determination of eventualities for everything before its creation. The narration of 'Abdullahi bn 'Amr assures that the Prophet (pbuh) said: "Allah ordained the measures of created things fifty thousand years before he created the heavens and the earth, and His throne was on the waters"²⁵.
- 2- Reaffirmation the fate of everything in the day that Allah gathered the spirits of all human beings and made them testify His greatness and being worthy of worship. The Qur'an stated this event as saying: "Mention when Your Lord took from the children of Adam-from their loins-their descendants and made them testify of themselves, saying to them, Am I not your Lord?' They said, 'Yes, we have testified..." (Q7:172).
- 3- Re-confirmation in the Night of Decree (Lailat al Qadr) that passes in the odd nights of the last ten days of each Ramadhan. It is clearly mentioned in the Qur'an that Allah re-perfects the fate of everything. He said: "Therein (on

A th
seve
esca
How
the I
para
doo
besi
The
the
con
abs
me
Pr
in

that night) is made distinct every precise matter. Every matter proceeding from Us..." (Q44:4-5).

- 4- When people were at the embryo stage before birth, Allah sent special Angels, according to a prophetic hadith, to reassert the prior arrangements of the entire eventualities of one's life. The Angels "blow the soul into him and is commanded with four matters: to write down his rizq (sustenance), his life span, his actions and whether he will be happy or unhappy (i.e. whether or not he will enter Paradise)²⁶.
- 5- And in every minute, as it is known, Allah is determining and managing the creations. This is shown in the Qur'an as: "Every day He is in (bringing about) a matter" (Q55:29).

A thing that has been carefully set up, determined and tried several times by an experienced specialist person is hardly to escape his skills or overpower him when putting it on the ground. How about if that thing was divinely willed and destined by Allah, the Ultimate Creator? Understanding this and believing in it goes parallel with believing in superstitions. For it usually opens a door to make people rely upon their own tactics or other things besides Allah.

The revelation, no doubt, is the ultimate knowledge inspired to the Prophets, and it stands, from whatsoever sound channels conveyed to the people, as an infallible source of knowledge and absolute truth far away from any superstition that all Muslims must abide by. The Qur'an, indeed, clarified the position of our Prophet (pbuh) that: "He does not speak from his own inclination" (Q53:3).

The early prophets, of course, had encountered numerous problems from superstitious people. They even ascribed every misfortune and test that befell them in their affairs to the prophets. During his mission, Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) also was described as a bad-luck bringer, just because the people he summoned to truth started reaping the consequences of their bad refusal!

The Prophet (pbuh), for instance, told us in a number of authentic narrations that "Allah likes sneezing and dislikes yawning, so if someone sneezes and then praises Allah, then it is obligatory on every Muslim who heard him to say: May Allah be merciful to you. But as regards yawning, it is from Satan, so one must try one's best to stop it, if one says 'Ha' when yawning, Satan will laugh at him²⁷". Some cultures, which do not possess such divine instructions, may consider covering the mouth and yawning itself as superstitions²⁸. Covering the mouth, according to them, is not only for politeness or avoiding satanic laughter, rather it is for the fear of the exhalation of one's soul by evil-eyed people²⁹. But actually it is for the fear of Satan, who for his effectiveness, according to some authentic traditions, can run inside the human body just like blood running in the veins³⁰.

It was also authentically reported that: "When you hear the crowing of cocks, ask for Allah's Blessings for (their crowing indicates that) they have seen an angel. And when you hear the braying of donkeys, seek refuge with Allah from Satan for their braying indicates that they have seen Satan"³¹. He (pbuh) also said: "Whoever kills a gecko/salamander with one blow will have the reward of such and such good deeds; whoever kills it with the second blow will have the reward of such and such good deeds, less than the first; and whoever kills it with three blows will have the reward of such and such good deeds – less than the second"³².

At this juncture, it would be good to draw the attention of

researchers to the fact that they have to be careful in handling the prophetic narrations. It is true that not all that has been narrated is considered authentic hadith. But before turning away from a narration, one has to crosscheck about its authenticity and seek the proper meaning of its content. The least is to dismiss it while it is sound, or otherwise. It is a pity to see a hadith recorded by both Imams Bukhari and Muslim in their two authentic books, but some half learned people in the hadith field, if not ignorant, would ignorantly falsify it as irrational or superstitious narration. For example, the hadith narrated by Abu Huraira (R.A) that: "The Angel of Death was sent to Moses (peace be upon him) to inform him of his Lord's summons. When he came, he (Moses) boxed him and his eye was knocked out. He (the Angel of Death) came back to the Lord and said: 'You sent me to a servant, who doesn't want to die?' Allah restored his eye to its proper place (and revived his eyesight), and then said: 'Go back to him and tell him that if he wants life he must place his hand on the back of an ox, and he would be granted as many years of life as the number of hair covered by his hand. He (Moses) said: 'My Lord, what would happen?' Then He said: Then you must court death. He said: Let it be now'. And he supplicated Allah to bring him close to the sacred land. Thereupon Allah's Messenger (pbuh) said: If I were there, I would have shown you his grave beside the road at the red mound"³³.

Some researchers had wrongfully considered this hadith among superstitious beliefs, which is wrong. Maybe they failed to understand it well³⁴. Prophet Moses had acted out of anger. This is similar to what the Qur'an told us that Moses "struck him (the man unintentionally) and killed him" (Q 28:15). It shows that Moses was extremely strong, he killed by one blow, how could he not knocked out an eye by a blow? More especially, the Angel appeared before Moses as a man! We have just to believe in it.

Generally, all the aforementioned narrations and many others are

authentic and true, for emanating from the divine source. Hence believing in them, if thoroughly contained, doesn't, in whatsoever means, contradict human conscience. Rather it would stimulate human being's curiosity of learning and pave the way for further scientific enquiries, unlike superstitions which are undoubtedly the identical twins of ignorance. Sigmund Freud is absolutely right here for saying: "Ignorance is ignorance; no right to believe anything can be driven from it"³⁵.

It is true that we think with the same words we use to speak. That is the reason why our behavior will not be drastically changed until we change our thought; for the right action follows the right thinking, and vice versa. This can typically be analyzed with regards to superstition, which in essence, can be broadly classified into two; the negative and the positive. Positive superstitions are those words which are uttered to express happiness or denote uprightness and even bring about beneficial consequences, while the negative are those words associated with unlucky utterances and harmful consequences. But, for sure, the classification we adopt has not any connection with the conjectural connotation attached to the words of being beneficial or harmful. Rather it is based on a prophetic hadith, which stated both divisions. The Prophet (pbuh) said: "No omens! And the best of it is *al-fa'l!*" The companions asked: "What is *al-fa'l*, O Messenger of Allah?" He replied: "A good word which one of you hears"³⁶. The positivity and negativity here are simply drawn from the people's perception about the matter whether it is good or not! The hadith suggests spreading noble words among the society as part of the 'omen', though its name is changed to '*al fa'l*'. Change of the name, as it is clear, will curtail the advancement of the superstitious belief and make people forget its influences. It is, of course, an established tradition in Islam to discard using words with implications of bad connotations and exchange them with the ones carrying good content. This excellent tradition has been perfectly in use and makes a drastic behavioral reformation

in the psyche of individuals and the society.

By the word '*Al fa'l*', the Prophet (pbuh) enjoined Muslims to appreciate each other and say words of encouragement that would promote love and tranquility among the society. It is a sort of Fa'l to tell your friends that you are delighted whenever you see them, or tell one of your wives and neighbors that you feel comfortable being with them. You can even tell your colleagues that your work with them has delightfully make you energetic, etc. Misleading words and bad-mouthed utterances are always discouraging; hence advisedly they should be completely shut down. The Prophet gave the real antidote when such superstitious expressions are mistakenly uttered. 'Urwa bn 'Amir heard the Prophet (pbuh) saying: "Omens were mentioned to Allah's Messenger (pbuh) and he said, 'The best of it is al-fa'l. And let it never turn a Muslim back. Whenever any of you sees something he hates, let him say, 'O Allah, good cannot come except from You and evil cannot be repelled except by You and there is no change nor any power except by Allah'"³⁷.

Various communities and varying groups of people, as we have pointed earlier, have different beliefs about superstitions and continue to hand them down from generation to another. But in all, there are certain groups of people who are more superstitious than others. A thorough investigation revealed that those who resort most to superstitions are athletes; wrestlers (*'yankokowa*), boxers (*'yan dambe*)³⁸, gamblers (*'yan caca*), footballers, sailors, soldiers, miners, handcraft men, financial investors and college and university students. Of all these groups, women are generally more inclined to believe in superstition with alacrity than men. And, children, of course, are more superstitious. These differences portray the outlook of those varieties of people in both transcendental and temporal affairs. I should consider our society in citing examples, most of which are remnants of the old decayed beliefs that existed before the advent of Islam in this land, and had

been fought against by our great learned ancestors, more especially the Jihadists and their cohorts.

From the above clarification it is clear that the stand of Islamic studies' student would differ deeply with a culturist's on one issue. Superstitions are viewed as innovative customs and keeping them would violate the Islamic stream, while the culturist/folklorist may wish such customs be kept for being an area of study and wish to survive for long³⁹. One example can be given here for clarity's sake. The facial mark is a desirable culture in the sight of its advocates. But in Islam it is forbidden in strong terms. Allah narrated to us what the Satan promised Him that: "And I will mislead them, and I will arouse in them sinful desires, and I will command them so they will slit the ears of cattle, and I will command them so they will change the creation of Allah" (Q 4:119). Therefore, not all the traditions and cultures deserve adopting.

3-1 Ignorance as the Foundation for Superstitious

It is time now to revisit the definitions of superstition we mentioned earlier. They consist, in the main, the integral parts of the classifications and causes of superstitions in our societies. This consists of ignorance, fear of the unknown and trust in magic and the false conception of the actual causation of things. A brief comment of each will be made.

As for ignorance, no doubt, it is the major driver towards fabricating much of superstitions. Most ignoramus are permissive, viewing things from their negative sides throughout their life. Hence, they have a peculiar mindset, which dictates to them new trends for interpreting connections between things and the causes of their occurrences. In most cases, people of such mentality boast of having a rightful perception of the cause and effect of almost all incidences, which, in turn, they slavishly anchor

with some mysterious basis and superstitious explanations. This erroneous assumption/belief would, of course, insinuate people of such beliefs to misinterpret things, which happened by mere chance. If a leper, for example, became the first person to be met by a traveler or a tradersman, the day, in whatever means, would, it is believed, end up disastrously for him, to the extent that he could be totally ruined. While if a blind man was the first to be encountered, the day would be bright and prosperous. All have no concrete reasons other than misinterpreting the incidences and generalizing the instances. Maybe it accidentally happened once or twice for some people with some specific blind person or a leper according to a designed predestination. But people generalized in linking it with all lepers and the blind. Hence, the superstition pushes forwards like a divinely proved cause and effect.

Take another example. Black cats are commonly described, in most of the cultures worldwide, as having influences on effecting bad luck⁴⁰. But that is contrary to the teaching of Islam; cats are not by any means evil or bad luck bringers. The following hadith asserts the nullification of such a superstition. Kabsha bnt Ibn Malik, the wife of the son of Abu Qatada al-Ansari, told that once Abu Qatada was visiting her and she poured out some water for him to do ablution with. Just then a cat came to drink from it, so he tilted the vessel towards it to let it drink. Kabsha continued, "He saw me looking at him and said, 'Are you surprised?' I said, 'Yes'. He replied that the Prophet said: 'Cats are not impure because they intermingle with you'⁴¹. And it was reported from Ibn Abbas that: "Cats are among the household, and those who intermingle with and servants"⁴².

Salt is another worldwide superstitious object. According

to Hausa tradition as earlier cited "If salt is split anywhere in the House, unless water is sprinkled on it, there will be a row between the householder and his wife"⁴³. It is quite right to ask how come? How could a mere drop of salt turn a family up-side-down? The only thing that can make us believe in this is divine proof, if not; it is, for sure, plain nonsense caused by ignorance and belief by ignorant people.

A false conception of causation is one of major factors that promote superstitious myths in the societies. For example, three things, namely woman, house and horse, are among things which people often blame for attracting bad luck. Such beliefs were even in circulation during the Prophet's time and he eventually addressed Muslims about the conjectural problems attached to them. 'Abdullah bn 'Umar (R.A) heard the Prophet (pbuh) saying: 'Bad omens are in a woman, a house and a horse". In another version: "Mention of bad omens was made in the presence of the Prophet (pbuh), and he said: 'If bad omens are to be found in anything, it is in a house, a woman and a horse"⁴⁴.

Imam Al Bukhari mentions these two versions consecutively, for the second one explains the first. The Prophet (pbuh) had not clearly attributed superstitious effects to any of the three, but restricted most of the occurrences of omens in them and all are but trivial. Abdullah bn Mas'ud has rightly said: "All of us sometimes feel superstitious, but Allah causes it to disappear when we put our trust in Him". Putting trust in Allah is the best cure against superstitious fear, including all the troubles that may arise from the aforesaid three.

Some people surely may need to be treated the other way

round. Physical treatment would be often among the better solutions that may work in order to detach people from holding such superstitious notions from the conjectural effects of the omens. This also happened during the lifetime of the Prophet (pbuh). Anas bn Malik narrated that: "A man said: 'O Messenger of Allah, we were in a house and our numbers and wealth were great, then we moved to another house where our, numbers and wealth decreased'! The Prophet (pbuh) said, Leave it, it is bad"⁴⁵. The tension, of course, was extremely high. Some people, of course, need a special tender touching treatment that brings tranquility and rest in their hearts. So, advisedly, the only way out, perhaps, was to make them evacuate from the house of this hadith and the like, scholars have different interpretations, but Sheikh Ibn Qayyim had given an all-round comment, which would be enough here not to mention the other details. He said: 'This is not the kind of superstition that is forbidden. Rather he told them to leave it when they started to think along these lines, in order to let them fulfill their aims and gain some benefits. More importantly, it was so that they would leave a place that they disliked and felt scared in, so that they might find relief from the panic, grief and depression that assailed them there. It is because Allah has made it man's nature to hate that which causes him harm even though it is not the fault of that particular thing, and to love that which brings him happiness, even though the thing itself has not been intended to do good. So this protected them from two serious things, namely committing shirk and protecting them from something bad happening to them because of their superstition, which usually affects those who believe in it'⁴⁶.

Unfortunately still, it has been erroneously believed, since olden day, Hausa people till now, that women are of two kinds. One is characterized as “*Mai Farar Kafa*” and the other “*Mai Bakar kafa*”. When marrying, one should try to get the former for progress and prosperity that would accompany her, while the latter demolishes the husband's future and makes him pitiable! This notion is still held by some Hausa people, especially those who have a strong affiliation with astrologists and sorcerers, forgetting that richness or poverty are destined by Allah alone.

3-2 The Efficay of Ruqya

The Hausa people are very quick in setting blame on the Jinn! This appears to emanate from the widespread belief in the influence of *Bori* on the society since primitive times. The functions of *Al Jinn* were known clearly to *Husawa* before the advent of Islam in their land, but in the name of *Iskoki*, *Kwankamai*, *Mutane Boye*, etc⁴⁷. Thus, it would be scientifically fallacious to discard the existence of *Iskoki* as hallucination or mere change of name⁴⁸.

There are still traces of the effects of the belief in *Bori* among *Hausawa*. An example can be cited still in relation to women. For long, housewives and singles alike are told not to uncover their hair when entering toilets, because black devils are at the door waiting to permanently accompany hair-exposers. This, undoubtedly, has no reality or evidence in the whole true Islamic teachings. Why women only and men not inclusive? In Islam, women are only urged to cover their bodies including hair in presence of people other than their parents and close siblings. Otherwise they are free inside homes to expose

their "hair", more especially before their husbands.

The so-called Islamic medical practitioners, better known as *Malaman Ruqya/Rukiyya* (Islamic exorcism practitioners), who claim to heal with the Hadith and Qur'anic supplications, have promoted such kinds of notions in the Muslim society and made it a popular gateway that devils often use exposing hair to enter human beings' bodies. The efficacy of legal *Rukiyya* and its esteemed position in Islam are not deniable. But at the same time, people actually need to understand what to really do with *Rukiyya* and what not⁴⁹!

Evidently enough, the cure of all the types of illness can be divided into two⁵⁰; one which can be cured with the aid of various supplications available in the Qur'an and prophetic traditions. This sort of supplication is abundantly enough, and is made with different versions even in specific illnesses like the psycho-spiritual. Such supplications are, of course, available; self-recital and splendidly in simple language that everybody can singlehandedly make use of.

As for the other type, which is the only one apparently in need of the traditional or the western-type of medical doctors' attentions would be still good enough if supplemented by some Qur'anic and Prophetic invocations. This includes the illness that can be cured only through, for instance, surgery and other physical treatments⁵¹.

Ruqya by definition is words said or written in a form of supplication or remembrance of Allah for the purpose of cure or protection. It is sometimes accompanied with other

actions such as blowing or wiping over the thing to which it is applied⁵². The Prophet (pbuh) had applied such actions for both cure and protection⁵³. And assuredly there is a cure for every illness, as the Prophet (pbuh) asserted.

But the current type of Ruqya healing being conducted is not apparently on the right path. Most of the ways which *Malaman Rukiyya* treat their innocent clients have strong contempt for the Sharia. Some of its most problematic areas include their claim that every single illness is caused by a devil! Even thunder-style reading into the ear of the patient has not any vivid and sound legal evidence for it⁵⁴. And it is simple, at the moment of *Rukiyya*, to count for a client a number of various devil siblings drifting around his/her body. Furthermore, people nowadays are familiar of such lies: there is a huge number of strong devil teenagers that have settled over one's body, their persistent women shifting, nephews, grandsons and big brothers, all together taking turns while still accompanying the body! This was based on the myth that spirits are multiple in number; they are even more than human beings⁵⁵. So, no wonder if thousands of them accompany one person!

Of course, all these and much more are frightening speeches that eventually such malams give the depressed clients, so as to cast in their minds an impression of having control over the situation. Hence, some of them embark on praising themselves and at same time asserting the ineptness of western-type medical doctors in treating such illnesses; which are not, assumedly, the hospital-kind. Only *Malaman Rukiyya*, the all-knowing genuine doctors, as they may boast, are eligible to tackle such illnesses! In the end, as is well known in the society, a huge amount and

delicious meals are their absolute goal!

In fact, not all the sicknesses need the current type of Rukiyya. A balance must be struck between the two types of illnesses mentioned. Medical doctors need to be consulted and even the case referred to them.

With regard to their participation in spreading superstitions, it is typically pertinent to discuss briefly the issues of the so-called 'Rauhani' and the 'Yan Bori' here. Most Hausa people in the past used to visit traditional astrologists to ensure the fortune or otherwise of their business, marriage, travel and general affairs. These astrologists, known as *Malamai* (formally, *Malaman Tsibbu* or *Malaman Duba*), based their explanations on the assumed division of the whole creations into four categories, namely Angels, human beings, jinns and spirits, holding the existence of the latter as a unique category in itself. The 'Rauhani', according to the *Malaman Tsibbu* definition, is "from the Angels' genre, living on the earth with the human beings"⁵⁶. This, of course, makes some people blindly believe in what such *malams* tell them for the assumption that those talks are being sourced from the spirits! But in reality, the main creations are only three, as mentioned in an authentic hadith that: "The Angels were created from light, the jinn were created from a smokeless flame of fire and Adam was created, from what has been described to you-by Allah in the Quran"⁵⁷.

The word '*Rauhani*' is known to the Islamic scholars but in its true sense the word in Arabic is derived from '*al*

Ruhu'al Ruhani (Hausanized to *Rauhani* (singular) /*Rauhanai-plural* or *Rafani/Rafanai* - meaning spirit, which includes all that is not seen). Beginning from the human soul, jinns and even angels can be called by it⁵⁸. While the word *Iska/Iskoki*, which we talked about earlier, suggests being translated from Al Ruh.

On the categories of jinns and their functions, Imam Ibn Abdul Barr (R) has made an excellent explanation. He says: "The jinn, according to the scholars of the language, are of different types; if one is mentioning the jinn purely of themselves, they are called jinni. If one is mentioning the jinn that live among mankind, they are called 'Amir, whose plural is 'Umar. If one is mentioning the ones that antagonize the young, they are called arwah. If one is mentioning the evil ones that antagonize humans they are called shaitan for the singular, and shayateen for plural. If they cause even more harm and become strong, they are called Ifreet"⁵⁹. -This quotation makes it clear that *Rauhanai* are but part and parcel of jinn, neither among the Angels nor other creatures themselves! Separating *Rauhanai* is mere superstition!

In many times up till now, magic and *Bori* are trusted and gaining acceptance in some parts of Hausaland, especially in rural areas where people approve such socially psychological aberrations. *Bori* is not confined to Hausaland, as there have been such people who simply become mediators between the human being and the *Rauhani* in many societies⁶⁰. But it is true in many societies that women exactly were predominantly the practitioners of *Bori* and are also notably more inclined to believe in the effect of magic and witchcraft. And for such reasons they highly admire the consultation of *Bokaye, Yan Bori* and

other so-called *Malams*.

If observed scrupulously, there are, of course, some similarities and dissimilarities between false *Rukiyya* and Bori. *Rukiyya* is meant for expelling the devils, and Bori, possessing the *Iskoki*. And the former is claimed to supposedly be based on Qur'anic and prophetic supplications, while the latter is not. Both share the process of drawing the attention of the spirit. In *Rukiyya*, a reciter reads repeatedly with unusual sounds some specific powerful portions of the Qur'an into the ear of the client until the spirit appears⁶¹. Therefore, the Malam starts dialogue with them, asking them the actual causes of being with the client. Later, he normally seeks them to permanently leave the client. If they comply, it will be all right to them, while by their refusal they can end up by being assumedly burnt altogether with stronger verses!

Objectively, both are sources of spreading superstitions amongst the society⁶². Like Yan Bori, who are known by their lies, cheating, and breaking promises, it has turned out to be clearer nowadays that *Rukiyya* practitioners themselves have been treating their clients in the same way⁶³. That claim of burning spirits is a new superstition introduced to the society. It is a mere baseless assumption without any Qur'anic or prophetic support.

3-3 THE EFFECTS OF THE EVIL-EYE (MAYU)

Islam is neither a subtle religion nor chaotic. It is an organized religion. As such, any things produced within the Islamic context have to be tackled according to its nature and the specified Shari'a legal value attached to it. The evil-eye, which is termed in Hausaland as *Maita*, is a

other so-called *Malams*.

If observed scrupulously, there are, of course, some similarities and dissimilarities between false *Rukiyya* and Bori. *Rukiyya* is meant for expelling the devils, and Bori, possessing the *Iskoki*. And the former is claimed to supposedly be based on Qur'anic and prophetic supplications, while the latter is not. Both share the process of drawing the attention of the spirit. In *Rukiyya*, a reciter reads repeatedly with unusual sounds some specific powerful portions of the Qur'an into the ear of the client until the spirit appears⁶¹. Therefore, the Malam starts dialogue with them, asking them the actual causes of being with the client. Later, he normally seeks them to permanently leave the client. If they comply, it will be all right to them, while by their refusal they can end up by being assumedly burnt altogether with stronger verses!

Objectively, both are sources of spreading superstitions amongst the society⁶². Like Yan Bori, who are known by their lies, cheating, and breaking promises, it has turned out to be clearer nowadays that *Rukiyya* practitioners themselves have been treating their clients in the same way⁶³. That claim of burning spirits is a new superstition introduced to the society. It is a mere baseless assumption without any Qur'anic or prophetic support.

3-3 THE EFFECTS OF THE EVIL-EYE (MAYU)

Islam is neither a subtle religion nor chaotic. It is an organized religion. As such, any things produced within the Islamic context have to be tackled according to its nature and the specified Shari'a legal value attached to it. The evil-eye, which is termed in Hausaland as *Maita*, is a

harmful nature carried by some people, popularly known 'Mayu' (plural), and *Maye/Mayya* (male and female singular).

There have been, undoubtedly, some superstitious influences which were erroneously attached to these soul-eaters! And such wrongful beliefs have been promoted everywhere in Hausaland by even those who claim to be *Mayu* themselves. Majority of *Mayu* are of the opinion that an eligible *Maye* must possess *Kankarar Maita*, a substance that enables him to do *Maita* and he/she can vomit and swallow it again whenever they wish. They also believed that they are initially created to be medical practitioners and bestowed with healing powers in order to help other people in the first place. But, according to their claim, they deviate from the right course; instead of helping others they turn to be spiritually harmful. They were given the ability, according to their claim, by a glance to thoroughly scan of the outer and the inner parts of a person. That is why they often have pride of catching someone's soul (*Kurwa*), which may eventually fall under their custody, with the victim suffering from severe affliction and scourge⁶⁴.

People, of course, do fear the menace of *Mayu* to the last degree. Much of physical illness, as believed by the Hausa, is caused by *Mayu*. If someone falls sick, the first thought of the causer usually would be a *Maye*. That is why majority of people resort to *Mayu* sites seeking their medical assistance. Presumably, a prescription of good medicine, largely traditional herbs, as part of *Mayu*

positive social services, comes immediately after they have diagnosed the nature of the illness their way.

It seems, on the other hand, that some people inconceivably degrade Allah's ultimate power over everything. This, I suppose, would be a closer and fair excuse or interpretation of this creepy misconception of the actual causations that brought such events. It also makes some people, though driven by ignorance, to generalize the capacity of the effects caused by those evil-eye people.

Anyway, that anecdotal notion was widely accepted. Though it starts nowadays to lose its popularity and people denounce the presumed effectiveness of *Mayu* for the moral vacuity discovered from their activities, the modern generation, by the grace of knowledge, are becoming aware of the fact that *Mayu* have no such wide-spread medicinal or harmful influences over the peoples' souls and bodies. Despite that and albeit the claim it still continues in the remote villages and rural areas, where some of those claimers have been terribly harming in terms of making money anyhow, rather than helping their clients in the right way. Making money or earning a living, indeed, is the crux of the whole *Mayu* claims in Hausaland!

There is still the need, as a matter of fact, to understand the concept and circumstances that bring about the evil-eye syndrome (*Maita*). The Prophet (pbuh) ascertained its existence in a popular hadith that: "The evil eye is real"⁶⁵. And the effects of the evil-eye is explained by the eminent Islamic scholars. Some people, according to the

definition, possess strong harmful souls, to the extent that the negativity of their disruptive wishful thinking and venom against others can manifest vividly on their bodies or activities. Therefore, the attitude of *Mayu*, in essence, is more of selfishness and destructiveness.

The Hausa people, in general, perceive *Maita* as a familial syndrome, descending from forefathers to their endless extending grandchildren. Catching a person inflicting others through *Maita* exposes believably the entire family's hidden secret and eventually they become a target to be banished for being harmful. But this notion is realistically proved fallacious. If *Maita* is to do negatively with any moral problem, I argue, it would have not been totally traced among the Prophets' companions. But it was traced and the Prophet (pbuh) explained the better way for tackling it.

Sahl bn Haneef narrated that he and some companions accompanied the Prophet (pbuh) on a journey to Mecca until they rested at a mountain. There, Sahl bn Haneef, who was a handsome, white-skinned man, took bath. By then, 'Amir ibn Rabi'ah, one of Banu 'Adiyy bn Ka'b's clan, unexpectedly looked at Sahl whilst he was taking the bath and exclaimed: 'I have never seen such beautiful skin as this, not even the skin of a virgin'. Sahl, consequently, fell to the ground. Some of the companions went to the Prophet (pbuh) and asked him: 'Can anything be done for Sahl, because by Allah he cannot raise even his head!' The Prophet (pbuh) said: 'Do you accuse anyone with regard to him?' They said: 'Amir bn Rabi'ah looked at him'. So the Prophet (pbuh) called 'Amir and rebuked him strongly. He said: 'Why would one of you kill his brother? If you see

something that you like, then pray for a blessing for it. Then he said to him: 'Wash yourself for him! So he washed his face, hands, forearms, knees and the sides of his feet, and inside his lower garment in the vessel. Then that water was poured over Sahl, and a man poured it over his head and back from behind. After that, Sahl immediately got up and joined the people and there was nothing wrong with him'⁶⁶. - This hadith, though a bit lengthy, is quoted to falsify the notion that the *Maita* drips, by nature, to the other siblings and follows the whole progeny. Had it been of such nature, the Prophet (pbuh) would have accused the entire Rabi'ah's clan or family!

In Islam, if a person with a strong envious soul frequently harms his or her society he should be detained in solitary confinement in order to curtail his problems. This is the view of the majority of jurists. Ibn Qayyim said: "Our companions (of the Hanbalite School of Law) and other jurists said: 'If someone is known for being of the evil-eye, he should be detained by the Muslim leader, who should spend on him and provide for him until he dies'. He finally remarked that: "This idea is absolutely correct"⁶⁷.

The hadith of Sahl describes the effective antidote to the *Maita*-poison. There are also so many other assertive narrations to this effect. In some of it, the Prophet (pbuh) said: "The evil eye is real and if anything were to overtake the divine decree, it would be the evil eye. When you are asked to take a bath (to provide a cure) from the influence of the evil eye, you should take a bath"⁶⁸. 'A'ishah (R.A.) also was reported to have said: "The person who had put the evil eye on another would be ordered to perform

ablution, and then the person who had been afflicted would wash himself with that water”⁶⁹.

The above narrations are also a clear indication that those evil-eyed people, who pride themselves for causing the death of about ninety-nine persons by *Maita*, and for that purpose they become Super-Mayu or '*Kardangi*' or '*Sarkin Mayu*', as termed in Hausa, are all a sham. It is, of course, quite a Hausaland-made prerequisite for coming to such an imaginably elevated position! It is actually fantasizing; something apparently to do with the business and tactics of gaining more customers. Yet, Mayu view these tactics as the only way that could protect their social dignity. The *Sarkin Mayu* in Hausaland is not, of course, an ordinary man, but holds an exalted position, more especially in the olden Hausa society, for the belief that a person who reaches such a level is divinely endowed with a higher healing capacity. And it is an undeniable fact that some of the *Sarakunan Mayu* are traditional medical practitioners, a thing that helps them to protect their dignity and professionalism. But they are, in essence, no more than that!

Generally, the evil eye is a universal phenomenon⁷⁰ and much has been written on it. If its nature is carefully observed, it consists of seven features, which, in essence, are supported by legal evidences and physical realities. Thus⁷¹:

- 1- Its power emanates from the eye or mouth or both and strikes some objects or persons.

- 2- The stricken object is of value, and its destruction or injury is sudden.
- 3- The one casting the evil eye may not know he has the power.
- 4- The one affected may not be able to identify the source of the power.
- 5- The evil eye can be deflected or its effects modified or cured by particular rituals, devices and symbols.
- 6- The belief helps to explain or rationalize sickness, misfortune or the loss of possessions, such as animals or crops.
- 7- And in at least some functioning of the belief everywhere, envy is a factor.

The cure and protection from *Mayu* is prescribed by the Prophet (pbuh) in his saying: "Whoever among you sees something in himself or in his possessions or in his brother that he likes, let him pray for a blessing for it, because the evil eye is real"⁷².

3-4 THE FEAR OF UNKNOWN IDEATIONS

Superstitions are generally a mindset without an iota of actuality neither on the ground nor in conformity with any Islamic scriptural injunctions. Thus, they are not, by any means, the truth, because the truth is defined as: "What corresponds in the mind to what is outside"⁷³. Superstitious people rely on false created certainty, which is, according to Dr. Stuart Vyse, "better than no certainty at all, and that is what much of research suggests"⁷⁴. And Muslims should not, by true Islamic orientation, incline to

- 2- The stricken object is of value, and its destruction or injury is sudden.
- 3- The one casting the evil eye may not know he has the power.
- 4- The one affected may not be able to identify the source of the power.
- 5- The evil eye can be deflected or its effects modified or cured by particular rituals, devices and symbols.
- 6- The belief helps to explain or rationalize sickness, misfortune or the loss of possessions, such as animals or crops.
- 7- And in at least some functioning of the belief everywhere, envy is a factor.

The cure and protection from *Mayu* is prescribed by the Prophet (pbuh) in his saying: "Whoever among you sees something in himself or in his possessions or in his brother that he likes, let him pray for a blessing for it, because the evil eye is real"⁷².

3-4 THE FEAR OF UNKNOWN IDEATIONS

Superstitions are generally a mindset without an iota of actuality neither on the ground nor in conformity with any Islamic scriptural injunctions. Thus, they are not, by any means, the truth, because the truth is defined as: "What corresponds in the mind to what is outside"⁷³. Superstitious people rely on false created certainty, which is, according to Dr. Stuart Vyse, "better than no certainty at all, and that is what much of research suggests"⁷⁴. And Muslims should not, by true Islamic orientation, incline to

somewhat glib assertions. All Muslims are taught not to fear anything other than Allah. But apparently, however, most of the superstitions originate from the fear of something unknown. This is because most people submit recklessly to the humbug; their faculty of critical reasoning remains stained, more especially if it comes to the issue of spells, talismans, mythical monsters and their paranatural impact on the individual and society.

Clear examples should be given here. The *Dodo/Dodanniya*, which has no identity, still plays a negative role in the life of some Hausas people. The dodo-ideation initially emanates from the magician culture of worshiping demons⁷⁵. This culture has no connection whatsoever with the Islamic belief. Dodo is an 'imaginary' personality, described as an ugly giant spirit assuming a human body⁷⁶ and appears only at nights so as to hunt from among mankind what he is going to eat as dinner or breakfast. Hausa folktales are full of narratives of such a destructive volatile creature⁷⁷, and children are more often being scared by his existence. Eventually after adolescence, they naturally come to understand that it was a 'fictional creature' meant only to inspire fear!

Another example is of '*Fatalwa*', as called in Hausa, or ghost in English. It is also a paranatural being, very frightening and extra-ordinarily tall and seen often at cemeteries. It is, believably, the ghost of the dead lingering at his house, and appears to his relatives and friends. The appearance occurs and for certain reasons may be so clear to those who see the ghost; it also may be, on the other hand, completely unknown to them⁷⁸. The widow at the

moment of mourning is advised to hide a hidden knife inside her wrapper; for the purpose of self-defense against the goblin of her dead husband! And there are many more superstitions concocted with regards to this issue. But a minute's observation of the nature of *Fatalwa* will reveal that it is a type of devil which takes residence at a cemetery and shows up occasionally. But, despite the popularity of such a monster, it has no mention at all in the entire Qur'an and Sunnah.

Similarly, the other typical example is the so-called *Danruwa*, which is also a monster that appears usually in human shape at the bank of rivers and lakes. It is no doubt the sort of Jinn living there and what has been said on the *Fatalwa* can be repeated here. Although divers (*Masunta*) have claimed the certainty of the existence of such a creature, in reality they are part of Jinns. In the same vein, *Mai Kilabo* would be viewed. He was an *Iska* used to appear at *Kwarin Gogau* of Kano city and a lot of superstitions had been fabricated about him⁷⁹.

Yar Madabo' is another legendary personality, assuming conceivably the form of a pretty young girl who appears in the midst of women more especially during their gatherings. The Bush-baby resembles *'Yar Madabo*. It is also a short animal assuming human beings form, coming out at night to steal babies, or if that is not available, it would be enough for her to harmfully touch a woman. Both like the *Fatalwa* and *Danruwa*, all have no clear indication to it, not in the Qur'an nor in the Sunnah. But, undeniably they can be part of Jinns!

Our focus here is not on the reality of magic, for the Qur'an has asserted the reality of it and enumerated even some of its bad effects, such as afflicting sickness, putting someone to love other, causing hatred and delusions and lethargy, etc. All and much more could be done by affecting the psyche, the body and the general affairs of human beings, despite the fact that magic has the power of physically hurting others. However, Islam has strictly forbidden not even performing the magic but consulting the magic performers, such as sorcerers, fortune-tellers, soothsayers and witchcraft, etc. 'Aisha narrated that: "Some people asked the Prophet (pbuh) about the fortune-tellers. He answered that: 'They^f are nothing!' The Companions also asked: 'O Prophet! Sometimes they tell us of a thing which turns out to be true. The Prophet answered: 'A Jinn snatches that true word and pours it into the ear of his friend -the fortune-teller-. The fortune-teller then mixes it with that word one hundred lies"⁸⁰. In another hadith, 'Imran bn Husain (R.A) reported that: "The Messenger of Allah (pbuh) said: He does not belong to us who observes bird omens or has that done for him, or who seeks divination or who has that done for him, or who practices witchcraft or has that done for him. Whoever goes to a soothsayer and believes what he says has disbelieved in that which was revealed to Muhammad (pbuh)"⁸¹.

3-5 THE MENACE OF *LARABGANA*

Larabgana is one of the legendary nights the Hausa people believed strongly in its actuality. It passes, according to them, in the last Wednesday of Safar, the second month in the lunar calendar. It is believed that in

such a night there are endless trauma and anxieties that descend on the earth and befall any unfortunate person or his property. A black evil bird supposedly passes by villages and towns, dispensing a large quantity of disasters on any open hole and uncovered container. But all these disgraces are preventable, provided full dosages of specific water mixed with certain prepared supplications are drunk.

This custom has been in use for a quite long time in Hausaland, especially in the remote areas. Presumably, if people are lucky enough they would escape that pitiful night and then survive the troubles of the on-going year peacefully. But if not, they will await the befalling of tremendous disaster and non-stop year-round bad luck.

Obviously enough, the main reasons for creating such a night and the like, on the sight of such Malams, as we have previously said, were partly making it as a source of huge gain during the seasons. And above all, on the other part, it earns them high reverence in the society as the masters of curing. But in reality, there is no sound reason in Islamic literature that specifies a night of trauma, nor do the available Shari'a texts ascertain a dreadful bird of such nature!

All that is being narrated closest to this matter is the hadith in which the Prophet gave what could be considered as a principal description of the simplistic way of observing general hygiene for improving neatness and making it constant in the houses and the general environment. He said: "Cover the utensils used for eating and drinking,

because there will be a night during the year during which an epidemic will fall. Whenever such an epidemic will pass by an uncovered eating or drinking utensil, it shall infect it”⁸². The hadith is clearly meant for the items left uncovered under the skies, not inside the living rooms, stores or refrigerators, etc. and it doesn't at all specify the night, for the context of the hadith is general. It is true that the infection has no specific time for its effectiveness; it takes place once in any time during the year. That is why the hadith draws attention to carefully safeguard the containers from any infectious elements that may be dangerous to the health throughout the year.

The month of Safar is held since by even the Arabs as a source of bad luck, while, in the correct belief, all the twelve months are among the creations of Allah and do not consisted of any harm to human beings. Rather it is for their benefits (Q 9:36, 2: 189). For these reasons and many others, the Prophet (pbuh) was very specific in dispersing the notion of attributing any harmful nature from any month, especially the second month itself. He said: “There is not any bad omen in the month of Safar”⁸³.

We have said earlier that the *Malaman Duba* or *Malaman Tsubbu* are behind the spread of such false beliefs. For example, based on some astrological calculations, they forbade certain dates as propitious and certain numbers as pitiful. From here, Hausa people say '*Na shiga uku*', meaning 'I fall in the number three domain!' - denoting that they found themselves in a disastrous position. But what is wrong with the number three in the Islamic perspective! This resembles the problem that number 13 has among the

Americans and Europeans. Everything with the number 13 is deserted or conjecturally a bad luck bringer!

1-6

THE TROUBLE OF BELI-CHOKE OFF

Beli or '*Hakin Wuya*' in Hausa, the 'Uvula' in English, is, according to Hausa barbers (*Wanzamai*), a small pendant fleshy lobe at the back of the soft palate in the throat, often removed from a new baby's throat on the seventh day of its birth⁸⁴. Mutilating the *Beli* is medically known as 'Uvulectomy'. Hausa people believe that it has to be mutilated by traditional surgical practices. It is believably a curative practice, for if the *beli* is not cut, it will sooner or later cause sore throat, severe headache and eventually prevent one from talking, eating and other uses involving the throat. Newborn infants, especially males, are largely the target of this gory custom!

Backing such Hausa custom, by any sense, is very difficult for a number of reasons. Most importantly, it has not any legal support from within the available corpus of Islamic literature. The Sharia stated the required obligations upon each new born baby that "Every child is in pledge for its Aqiqah, which is sacrificed for it on its seventh day, and it is named on it, and its head is shaved" - said the Prophet⁸⁵. No mutilating of *Beli* is ever mentioned. It is, in fact, a fully Hausa custom. And as is clear from the Islamic legal point of view, not all the traditions and customs are worth accepting for their inconformity, many times, with the spirit of the Shari'a. From the medical viewpoint, it has been also confirmed that "Uvulectomy is an unnecessary and potentially dangerous mutilation as it results in various complications"⁸⁶.

MYTHOLOGICAL FIGURES

One of the mythological figures is *tagwaye*'. It is believed among the Hausas that twins (*tagwaye*) possess a mysterious character, which the other babies have not. Begetting twins at one time or within a short interval is, of course, a great blessing. However, the Hausa link with it a belief that: "the woman who delivers several sets of twins is bound to be rich in this world or the next"⁸⁷. This without doubt is a baseless claim. How many women who had begotten sets of twins lived long and died in desperate need?

Fatima (R.A), the Prophet's daughter, is wrongly believed in Hausa to have begotten twins) Hasan and Husain (R.A.). People believed that those Prophet's grandsons had supernatural powers, which, in turn, passed over to every *tagwaye*. This is wrong, because Hasan and Husain are not twins. Hasan was about nine to ten month older than al Husain⁸⁸.

The tagwaye miraculous nature is believably confined to childhood and would start diminishing whenever they become teenagers. The charisma can also be broken; it is said, by giving them a gift from behind doors without knowing the identity of the giver. Though it has been held by Hausa people that *tagwaye* usually exercise '*KOFT*', a secretly spelt profanity word for punishment or inflicting destruction on their accuser, to prevent, for example, preparing food at night, whenever one of them or both are made angry. That is why some of the ignoramus mothers of twins make the *tagwaye* a money generating resource. They go from house to house, begging people with the

3 is deserted or conjecturally a bad luck bringer!

THE TROUBLE OF BELI-CHOKE OFF

Beli or '*Hakin Wuya*' in Hausa, the 'Uvula' in English, is, according to Hausa barbers (*Wanzamai*), a small pendant fleshy lobe at the back of the soft palate in the throat, often removed from a new baby's throat on the seventh day of its birth⁸⁴. Mutilating the *Beli* is medically known as 'Uvulectomy'. Hausa people believe that it has to be mutilated by traditional surgical practices. It is believably a curative practice, for if the *beli* is not cut, it will sooner or later cause sore throat, severe headache and eventually prevent one from talking, eating and other uses involving the throat. Newborn infants, especially males, are largely the target of this gory custom!

Backing such Hausa custom, by any sense, is very difficult for a number of reasons. Most importantly, it has not any legal support from within the available corpus of Islamic literature. The Sharia stated the required obligations upon each new born baby that "Every child is in pledge for its Aqiqah, which is sacrificed for it on its seventh day, and it is named on it, and its head is shaved" - said the Prophet⁸⁵. No mutilating of *Beli* is ever mentioned. It is, in fact, a fully Hausa custom. And as is clear from the Islamic legal point of view, not all the traditions and customs are worth accepting for their inconformity, many times, with the spirit of the Shari'a. From the medical viewpoint, it has been also confirmed that "Uvulectomy is an unnecessary and potentially dangerous mutilation as it results in various complications"⁸⁶.

Some examples can be cited here for approbation. A typical example believed by the Hausa people throughout is *Inna*. It is believed to be a powerful female spirit-*aljana*, which sucks the blood from a child's limb as punishment for having been offended and eventually cripples him. The sickness is called *Shan-Inna*. But it is discovered scientifically that *Shanna-Inna* is nothing other than polio- a disease (is) caused by a known virus from which children can be prevented totally from being affected⁸⁹.

Jijiga', medically known as 'Eclampsia' or 'Toxemia', is a condition that happens to a pregnant woman mostly during delivery of the firstborn. It, consequently, develops body vibrations, shakings and mental retardation, which may eventually cause seizure, convulsions and coma. *Jijiga* has no definite purpose, according to the Hausa, except being caused by *Iskokai* (Jinns). This view originated from what is shallowly spread in Hausaland that the actual cause of eclampsia is not well understood. While medically there are a number of causes among which hypertension during pregnancy is on the top. The eclamptic condition is described as life-threatening for both the developing baby and the mother⁹⁰. In the end, after delivery or abortion everything usually comes under control.

In the same vein, it has been a firm belief among some Hausa people to attribute having skin diseases on the baby to the improper disposal of what is known in Hausa as '*Mahaifa/Mabiyiya*', 'placenta' or 'umbilical cord' in English. After cutting this cord, according to the Hausa, it should be properly washed three times with clean water.

Ignoring such ritual, it is said, may cause severe pimples and scabies on the baby's skin throughout his lifetime.

The burial of the placenta is, of course, desirable in Islam. It has to be disposed properly like other parts of human beings, e.g. hair, nails and the like. But the most surprising thing is the issue of getting it washed. This undoubtedly is baseless in Islamic teaching⁹¹. If that cord is something of paramount importance, it would have been indicated in the Shari'a so as to guide Muslims. It is just a Hausa-made superstition, for it is not taken as scared by other tribes as the Hausa people culturally do. I severally saw it being thrown on the waste heap and eaten by dogs, but nothing would happen to the baby or the mother!⁹²

In addition to the issue of the placenta, there is another well-spread superstition in Hausaland concerning '*Zabiya*', a child born as an albino. To the Hausa people, begetting a *zabiya* is a pitiful outcome of one of two things. One, the husband has more than one wife and he cheated on the one he is supposed to be with and slept in her room, but had intercourse with the other. Two, the husband had intercourse with right woman in the right place, but it occurred during her menstrual period. The white-skinned baby is the result of the above mentioned secret affair!

This is a mere assumption for the simple reason that none of the two causes could bring about such sorts of children. It is medically known that during the menstrual period, the sperm would not totally be able to penetrate into womb⁹³.

So in which way does the baby become white? While taking one of the wives' times is of course a moral infringement, but no specific punishment, indeed, is prescribed for it in Islamic law⁹⁴. Scientific research has asserted that such people (*Zabiya*) only suffer from a lack of skin pigmentation called "melanin". For this reason, such people have white hair, darting eyes and their skin turn very pale⁹⁵.

Let us take another example. It is also believed in Hausaland that whenever a fierce whirlwind blows and a part of it is immediately covered by a calabash, thereupon a live jinn baby will be seen inside the calabash⁹⁶. It is amazing to know that one of our friends went hurriedly to such a whirlwind and put a container on it and opened it after a while expecting a baby. But nothing was there! This is 'creeping ignorance and a total mumbo-jumbo idea!' - he exclaimed. He was absolutely right. Whose baby is that and for what? It would be foolhardy to believe in such superstition. In some parts of the world like the Essex Centre, Vermont in America, people would come out to enter through the blowing tornado and nothing evil happens to them, though there are certain ecological causes that cause such a whirlwind, which, of course, has no connection whatsoever with black spirit or demons!

Conclusion

In this paper, the Hausa perception and understanding of the *Zabiya* is duly highlighted, while in contrast, the Islamic

point of view is given to redress the balance on the issue. Superstitions are a cultural allusion, of course, created to bring about an explanation of uncertain conditions and to give some presumable reasons for occurrences, which the human psyche could not totally submit to without tangible reasons. It is true, indeed, that most of the superstitions are unscientific, and one would be mistaken rationally and religiously if he is guided by omens and superstitions. The pitiful thing is to see that wise and educated people are affected by superstitious delirium; believing deeply in its impact on individuals and the society. Bertrand Russell undoubtedly is apt in saying: "The whole problem with *the* world is that fools and fanatics are always so certain of themselves and wiser people so full of doubts".

Some people act according to the dictum of superstitions, even though they have not primarily believed in its effects. "Somebody once asked Niels Bohr why he had a horseshoe hanging above the front door of his house. Surely you, a world famous physicist, can't really believe that hanging a horseshoe above your door brings you luck?' 'Of course not', Bohr replied, but I have been reliably informed that it will bring me luck whether I believe in it or not!"⁹⁷.

Tackling an issue with such avoidance behavior is not helpful in dissolving the frequency of superstitions in the society. Launching an educational campaign over the media and frequent awareness stressing on the matter in the light of true Islamic teaching are strongly needed, more especially in the remote areas. Time has passed when every illness was viewed ignorantly as a result of black demoniac magic. A view of this sort nowadays has died out. People must open their eyes for the glamour of knowledge by the grace of Allah.

Endnotes and References

- 1- Sanguinarius, *Origins of Popular Superstitions*, [http://sangi.sanguinarius.org/creative/Origins Of PopularSuperstitions.pdf](http://sangi.sanguinarius.org/creative/Origins%20Of%20PopularSuperstitions.pdf), 18th December, 2011
- 2- Dangambo, Abdulkadir, *Rabe Raben Adabin Hausa (Sabon Tsari)*, Zaria: Amana Publishers, 2008, p 10.
- 3- Ibrahim Yaro Yahya da sauransu, *Darussan Hausa Don Makarantun Sakandare 2*, Ibadan: University Press Plc, 2001, p. 18; Bichi, Abdu Yahya, *Mene ne Camfi?*, Harsunan Najeriya ta xv, Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, BUK, 1990/91, p.36; <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/superstition>
- 4- Muhammad Balarabe Umar, *Camfe-Camfen Hausawa 360*, Zaria, 1977, pp.14-16.
- 5- Ruqayya Usman Abubakar, *Camfi Da Surkullen Masu Bayar Da Magunguna A Kasar Hausa*, B.A. dissertation submitted to Department of Nigerian Languages, BUK, 2006, p.35
- 6 - See Muhammad Bello bn Sheikh Usman Dan Fodiyo, *Tanbeeh Ahl al-Fuhum 'Ala Wijub Ijtinabi ahl Sha'abadha Wa al-Nujum*, ed. Alh. Ja'afar bn Hasan Alkammawa, Sokoto, pp.28-30
- 7- Muslim, *Al Sahih*, (10/16- Nawawi)
- 8- Ibn Hajr, Ahmad bn Ali, *Fat'hul Bari Sharh Sahih Al Bukhari*, ed. By Ibn Baz and Abdu Al Baq Beirut: Dar Al Fikr, N.D., (10/213)
- 9- Ibrahim, Awaisu, *Camfe-Camfen Hausawa*, B.A. dissertation, UDUS, 1983, pp. 9-16
- 10- Ibrahim Madauci and others, *Hausa Customs*, Zaria NNPC, 1968, p. 87

- 11- Ibrahim Madauci, Hausa Customs, p.91
- 12- Bukhari (4/83/2424-Fat'hu)
- 13- Ibrahim Madauci, Hausa Customs, p.86
- 14- Tirmidh, *Al Sunan*, Beirut: Dar Al Fikr, 1983, (4/300/1880)
- 15- Ibrahim Madauci, Hausa Customs, p.90
- 16- Tremearne, Major A. J. N., *The Ban of the Bori: Demons and Demon-Dancing in West and North Africa*, Heath, Cranton & Ouseley LTD., Fleet Lane, London, E.G., 1914, pp. 218-220
- 17- Ibrahim Madauci, Hausa Customs, pp. 89,90, 85
- 18- Ibrahim Madauci, Hausa Customs, pp.87, 90
- 19- Zarnujy, Ta'lim al Muta'alim
- 20- <http://www.islandnet.com/~luree/silly.html>
- 21- Bukhari, Al Sahih, (12/521/7551- Fat'hu)
- 22- Bukhari, Al Sahih: (10/158/5707); Muslim, Sahih: (7/372-Nawawi)
- 23- Bukhari, Al Sahih: (1/114/50-Fat'hu) and Muslim (1/158-Nawawi)
- 24- Ibn Qayyim, *Shifa' al Ghalil Fi al Hikmat Wa al Ta'lil*, Beirut: Dar AL Ma'rifah, 1978, pp.6-24.
- 25- Muslim, Al Sahih: (16/203- Nawawi)
- 26- Muslim, Al Sahih: (16/190-Nawawi)
- 27- Bukhari, Al Sahih: (6/338/3289-Fathu) and Muslim, Al Sahih: (18/123-Fat'hu)
- 28- <http://superstitions.biz/Superstitions/Superstition-COVERING-A-YAWN-good-luck-funniest.htm>
- 29- <http://www.unicornlady.net/superstitions/superstitions.html>
- 30- Bukhari, Al Sahih: (4/279/8-Fat'hu); Muslim, Al Sahih: (14/156-Nawawi)
- 31- Bukhari, Al Sahih: (6/350/3303-fat'hu); Muslim, Al Sahih: (17/46-Nawawi)

- 32- Muslim, *Al Sahih*: (14/236-Nawawi)
- 33- Bukhari, *Al Sahih*: (6/440/3407-Fat'hu); Muslim, *Sahih*: (15/127-Nawawi)
- 34- Umar, M.B., *Camfe-Camfen Hausawa 360*, p.18
- 35- Stumpf and Abel, *Element of Philosophy: Introduction*, McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 4th ed., 2002, p 143
- 36- Bukhari, *Al Sahih*: (10/214/5755-Fat'hu); Muslim, *Sahih*: (14/218-Nawawi)
- 37- Abu Dawud, *Al Sunan*, Beirut: Dar al Fikr, (2/411/3916)
- 38- Hausa Customs, pp.72-3; Van Lang, Paul A.M. *Psychological Benefits of Superstitious Rituals. Top Sport*, ERIM Report Series Reference No. ERS-2005-071-ORG, Erasmus University Rotterdam (EUR), Free University of Amsterdam, November 29, 2005. On <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm>
- 39- Babalola, Adeboye, *Documentation and Protection of Nigerian Folklore*, Journal of Nigerian Folklore National Council for Arts and Culture, 1980 pp.11-13
- 40- Glanda Moore, *Folklore, Superstitions and Proverbs*, @: <http://user.xmission.com/~emailbox/folklore.htm#afterlife>
- 41- Malik bn Anas, *Muwatta*, Egypt; Matba'at Mustapha Albaby, 1349 A.H., (1/36-Tanwir).
- 42- Abdurrazaq, *Al Musannaf*, Beirut: Dar Al Fikr, N.D., (1/45)
- 43- Maduci, Hausa Customs, p.87
- 44- Bukhari, *Al Sahih*: (9/137/5093-Fat'hu); Muslim, *Al Sahih*: (14/220-Nawawi)
- 45- Abu Dawood, *Al Sunan*: (2/413/3924)
- 46- Ibn Qayyim, *Miftah Dar Al Sa'adah Wa Manshur Wilayat*

al Ilm Wa al Iradah, Beirut: Dar Kutoob al Ilmiyyah, N.D., (2/266)

- 47- Faulkingham, Ralph Harold, *Spirit belief in Tudu*, (1975). Research Report 15: The spirits and their cousins: Some aspects of belief, ritual, and social organization in a rural Hausa village in Niger, University of Massachusetts– Amherst, pp.14 @: http://scholarworks.umass.edu/anthro_res_rpt15/4, on 27th December, 2011.
- 48- In a sudden discussion with Professor Maikudi Karaye, at his office, the Centre for the Nigerian Languages, BUK on 4th April, 2012, he is of the opinion that *Aljanu* are not Iskoki and the two belong to two different systems. He agrees with the existence of Jinn and views Iskoki as non-existent beings. He advocated the same in his paper: *Hausa Traditional Religion and World View: An Emic Perspective*, in *Studies in Hausa Language, Literature and Culture*, The Fifth Hausa International Conference, Edited by Prof Yahya Bichi and others, Kano: Benchmark Publishers Ltd, 2002, pp.333-352.
- 49 - Dan Fodiyo, Usman bn Muhammad, *Ihya'u al-Sunnah Wa Ikhmadu al-Bidi'ah*, pp,236-238
- 50- They are three according to Ibn Qayyim. The above mentioned two and the last one is the cure with the medicinal treatment alone. See Ibn Qayyim, *Zad Al-Ma'ad*, vol. 4 p.22
- 51- Ibn Qayyim, *Healing with the Medicine of the Prophet*, ed. Abd El-Qader son of Abd El- Azeez, Egypt: Dar Al Ghadd al Gadeed, 2003, pp.15-27
- 52 - Ibn Hajr, *Fat'hu al Bari*, (10/209-210)
It is good to draw the attention here to a false

statement, which needs to be corrected. Prof. A.M. Bunza (Bunza, A.M., *Magana Da Iskoki Ta Bakin Dokinsu*, in *Studies in Hausa Language, Literature and Culture*, the Sixth Hausa International Conference, Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, BUK, 2011, p.455) claimed that *Ruqya* is a medical treatment (*Magani*), which, in essence, is considered among human relation aspects of Islam (*Mu'amalat*) only. So, according to him, it has no connection with beliefs and ritual worshiping. Hence, the door is open, as the Shari'a allows people to handle such *Mu'amalat* according to their understanding. This, undoubtedly, is a false idea. *Ruqya* is not like, for example, and transaction (*al-Buyu'*); because *Ruqya* is a bond between human beings and Allah who is being supplicated to cure and bestow health upon the patient. *Mu'amalat* is a bond between man and his fellow human beings according to the regulations of the Shari'a. Other medicines like the traditional and the western-type can be held among *Mu'amalat*; for it simply includes using some raw materials like drugs, ointments, medicinal plants, etc, despite the patient eventually, seeking for a cure from Allah, but it doesn't include proper supplications. See: Ibn Rushd, *Al Bayan Wa At-Tahseel*, vol.18, p.600

- 53- See them in the Book of Medicine in both Sahih Al Bukhari and Muslim.
- 54- There is a fabricated hadith which becomes the focal evidence in the hands of Malaman Rukiyya. The Hadith narrated that Ibn Mas'ud had recited the Qur'an 23:115 into the ear of a person. Imam

Ahmad bn Hambal had declared the hadith as fabricated. See Al 'Uqaily, *Al Du'afa' al Kabir*, (2/163); Ibn Al Jauzy, *Al Maudu'at*, (1/255).

- 55- Adamu, Jibril Shu'aibu, *Hikayar Mafara A Kasar Hausa*, M.A. dissertation submitted to the Department of Nigerian Languages, BUK, 2011, p.79
- 56- Adam, Muhammad Tahir, *Asalin Tsibbu, Yaduwarisa Da Tasirinsa Ga Al'umar Hausawa*, 1983, p96
- 57- Muslim, Al Sahih:(8/226), Musnad Ahmad (6/153)
- 58- Ibn Manzoor, *Lisan Al Arab*, Beirut: Dar Sader Publishers, 1st ed., 2000, (6/257)
- 59- Ashqar, Sulaiman, *The World of Jinn and Devils*, trans. by Zarabozo, Al-Basheer Company for Publications and Translations, Suite Boulder, CO, U.S.A., 1998, p 13
- 60- Calvin Wells, *Man in His World*, London: John Baker Publishers Ltd, 1971, p.124
- 61- This claim has been backed by a weak hadith that the Prophet (pbuh) had cured with the following verses; Q 2:163, 255, 284-286; Q 3:18; Q 7:54; Q 23:117; Q 72:3; Q 37:1-10; Q.59:22-24 and Q 112. They called them Ayat al-Shifa. But the narration is extremely weak. It was described by Imam Az-Zahabi as 'Munkar' in his book *Talkhis Al Mustadrak* (4/312). The correct belief is that any portion of the Qur'an can be recited. It is important to note that in an issue of such importance like this, good and sound narrations should be provided, not mere reliance on the sayings of scholars and their deeds.
- 62- O'Brien, Susan M., *Spirit Discipline: Gender, Islam, and Hierarchies of Treatment in Post-colonial*

- Northern Nigeria, interventions* Vol. 3(2),
2001, Taylor & Francis Ltd, p.232
- 63- See Al-Habeeb, Tariq bn Ali, *Al-'Ilaj al-Nafsi Wa al-Ilaj Bi Al-Qur'an*, Saudiyya: King Fahd Library, 1424.
He treated this matter very well. 16-
- 64- Faulkingham, *Spirit belief in Tudor*, pp.18-20
- 65- Bukhari, *Al Sahih*: (10/203/5640-Fat'hu); Muslim, *Al Sahih*: (14/171-Nawawi) 17-
- 66- Ahmad, *Al Musnad*: (15550), Malik, *Al Muwatta*: (2/228-Tanwir)
- 67- Ibn Qayyim, *Zad al Ma'ad Fi Hadyi Khair al Ibad*, ed. Shu'aib al Arna'ut and Abdulqadir, Beirut: Mu'assat al Risalah, 1987, (4/149) 18-
- 68- Muslim, *Al Sahih*: (14/171-Nawawi)
- 69- Abu Dawud, *Al Sunan*: (2/401/3880) 19-
- 70- Nili Wazana, *A Case of the Evil Eye: Qohelet 4:4-8*, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 126, No. 4 (Winter, 2007), pp. 685; 80-
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evil_eye, on 7th May, 2012 81- 82-
- 71- Clarence Maloney, *The Evil Eye*, New York: Columbian University Press, 1976, pp.vii-viii
- 72- Hakim, *Al Mustadrak* (4/216) and is authentic hadith.
- 73- Osman Amin, *Influence of Muslim Philosophy on the West*, *Renaissance, monthly journal*, 2007, 17 (11), @ <http://www.monthly-renaissance.com/issue/content.aspx?id=25>, 6th April, 2012. 83- 84-
- 74- Vyse, Stuart A., *Believing in Magic: The Psychology of Superstitions*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 85- 86- 87-
- 75- Ibrahim, Muhammad Sani. *Danƙantakar Al'ada Da*

Hausawa Ta Gargajiya, M.A. dissertation submitted to Department of Nigerian Languages, BUK, 1982, p.30

- 76- Tremearne, A. J. N., *Hausa Superstition and Customs: An Introduction to the Folk-lore and the Folk*, London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., Oxford House, 1913, p.124
- 77- Chaibou E. Oumarou, *Symbols of leadership and conceptions of power in Hausa Literature: An intertextual reading of a Dodo folktale and a popular song*, *Tydskrif Vir Letterjunde*, 42 (2), 2005, p 40
- 78- Ibrahim Yaro Yahya da sauransu, *Darussan Hausa Don Makarantun Sakandare 3*, Ibadan: University Press Plc, 2001, p. 91
- 79- Muslim, Al-Jami' al Sahih, Hadith No. 2222
- 80- Karaye, *Hausa Traditional Religion and World View: An Emic Perspective*, pp. 345,347 & 349
- 81- Bukhari, Al Sahih: (10/216/5762-Fat'hu); Muslim, Al Sahih: (14/224)
- 82- Bazzar, Abubakar Ahmad bn 'Amru, *Al Musnad Al Bazzar*, ed. Mahfuz al Rahman, Al Madinah: Mu'assast 'uloom Al Qur'an, 1409 AH, (9/52/3578), Tabarani, Al Mu'jam al Kabir, (16/162/355)
- 83- Muslim, Al Sahih: (13/186-Nawawi)
- 84- Bukhari, Al Sahih: (10/171/5717-Fat'hu); Muslim, Al Sahih: (14/213)
- 85- Ibrahim Madauci, Hausa Customs, p.8
- 86- Abu Dawud, Al Sunan: (2/117/2838)
- 87- A. Chukuezi FRCS; DLO; FWACS; Department of Otolaryngology, Imo State University Teaching Hospital, *Cavernous Sinus Thrombosis*

Complicating Traditional Uvulectomy: Case Report, The Internet Journal of Head and Neck Surgery, 2008, vol 2, No. 2. @ www.ispub.com, 4th December, 2011

- 88- Ibrahim Madauci, Hausa Customs, p.90
- 89 - Ibn Hajr, *Al 'Isabah Fi Tamyiz Al Sahabah*, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, N.D., pp.328 & 332
- 90 - Maryam Yahya, *Polio Vaccines – Difficult to Swallow. The Story of a Controversy in Northern Nigeria*. IDS Working Paper 261
UK: The Institute of Development Studies, 2006, p.20
- 91- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pre-eclampsia>, 4th January, 2012
- 92- About such superstitions on Mahaifa, see Sheikh Abdullah bn Fodiyo, *Masalih al-Insan al Muta'alliqah bi al Adyan*, pp.8-9
- 93- <http://www.islamweb.net/emainpage/index.php?page=showfatwa&Option=FatwaId&Id=103101>
- 94- Cleveland, *The Female Reproductive System*, @ http://my.clevelandclinic.org/anatomy/female_reproductive_system/hic_the_female_reproductive_system.aspx, 7th April, 2012
- 95- Ibn Qudamah, *Al Mugni*, (8/244); Al Dimyati, Sayyid Al Bakri, *I'anat al Talibiyyin Sharh Fat'hi al Mu'im*. Beirut: Dar al Fikr, 1997, (3/424); Mirdawi, *Al Insaf*, (8/366)
- 96- Andrew Chukwuma Ugwu, *Sweat: more than just perspiration*, Inaugural Lecture Series 90, August 16, 2007, University of Benin, 2007, p.8
- 97- Ibrahim Madauci, Hausa Customs, p.85
- 98- Arthur Koestler, *The Act of Creation*, (1964), quoted from Encarta Book of Quotations (1999)