

EXORCISM (*RUQYAH*) IN ISLAMIC MEDICINE: A STUDY OF SOME *TIBBU* PRACTITIONERS IN KEBBI AND SOKOTO STATES

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Abstract

Islamic Medicine (*Tibb al-Islam*) is one of the branches of Islamic Sciences. It is a way of seeking medication ranging from spiritual and physical diseases. One of these aspects of Medication in Islam is *Ruqyah* (exorcism). *Ruqyah* means a charm, spell or incantation used as a means of seeking a cure for any illness by reciting Qur'an and making supplication to Allah. The Prophet (SAW-Sallallāhu Alayhi Wasallam) has provided detailed guidelines on when and how *Ruqyah* should be conducted. It is, however, evident that many exorcists (*Ruqyah* practitioners) emerge in our contemporary time. In view of the above, this paper seeks to examine how these practitioners conduct *Ruqyah* to patients and the level of conformity of their practice to the actual teachings of Islam on Exorcism. This is because in reality, seeking for medication is strongly connected with the belief (*Iman*). One's belief, therefore, can be affected if right channels have not been followed in seeking medication and thus can even lead to *shirk* (Associating partners with Allah). This helps in educating the *Ummah* to understand the type of *Ruqyah* accepted by Islam and the one which is rejected.

Introduction

Seeking for medication and healing in Islam is permitted in as much as the means employed in the process go in line with the teachings of Islam on medication. One of these aspects of healing and medication in Islam is *Ruqya* (Exorcism). It is employed in healing and treatment from spiritual and physical ailments such as patients afflicted by Jinns, headache, body pain, snake and scorpion bites, and lunacy, among others. It is expected that individuals and persons who exercise *Ruqya* to patients should abide by the ethics and etiquettes of exorcism as taught by the Prophet (SAW). It is in line with this background, which many exorcist practitioners in our contemporary period evolved in different parts of the country, employing some charms and incantations that are not recognized in Islam. Others

employ means that are either prohibited or not in conformity with the norms and values of Islamic culture. In the light of the above, this paper seeks to examine *Ruqya* as a branch of Islamic medicine and the current practice by some *Tibbu* practitioners in Kebbi and Sokoto states. This is aimed at educating the *Ummah* on the acceptability of *Ruqya* and how it should be practised according to the teachings of the Prophet (SAW).

Definition of Concepts:

Exorcism (*Ruqyah*)

The word *exorcism* comes from the Greek word *exorkizein*, meaning to drive out by solemn command or oath.¹ As a religious ritual, exorcism, generally, is the expulsion of a demonic spirit or other evil influence by the use of classic principles of magic and/or the assistance of a more powerful spirit. Rituals of exorcism are, probably, universal to the world's religions. The reality of the evil influence remains in the realm of cultural belief, but exorcism actually benefits believers through the same principles as psychotherapy.²

The equivalent word for exorcism in Arabic is *Ruqyah*.³ The word *Ruqyah* is derived from *raqa*, *yarqi* which means to charm someone by invoking Allah. It is a charm or spell, either uttered or written, by which a person having an evil affection such as fever, epilepsy, among others is charmed.⁴ The words *Ruqyah*, *Tamimah* and *ta'awidhah* are often interchangeably used. These terms later refer to a kind of amulet or charm bearing an inscription which is hung upon a man or a woman, child, horse, among others to charm the wearer against the evil eye, fright, and diabolical possession.⁵

In Islam, *Ruqyah* is a process by which those who are ill due to spirit possession, snake or scorpion bites and the likes are treated by invoking the Names of Allah, His speech or the sayings of the Prophet (SAW).⁶ It is important, therefore, to note that *Ruqyah* in Islam does not include other incantations, charm or amulets used for curing a sick, possessed or lunatic person.

Islamic Medicine

Two words are combined, Islam and medicine. Literally, Islam means *istaslama* which denotes surrender, give up, give in, succumb, capitulate or submit. Technically, Islam denotes total submission, obedience and surrendering oneself to the will and commandments of Allah (SWA) ⁷,

the Creator of the Universe.⁸ Medicine on the other hands means the act of healing, treatment, medication, cure, to mention a few.⁹ Islamic Medicine, therefore, refers to all forms of medication and healing that are performed in line with the teachings of the Qur'an and Sunnah.

***Tibb* Practitioners**

The word *Tibbu* simply implies medicine while practitioners denote those who practise. In this context, *Tibbu* practitioners refer to the practitioners of Islamic medicine.

Legal Ruling of *Ruqyah* in Islam

According to the manner and methods of conducting *Ruqyah*, it can be classified into four:

- *Ruqyah* which contains words of *shirk* or taking it to be a thing that can bring harm or benefit. This is disbelief and a form of *shirk*.
- *Ruqyah* which contains words that have no clear meanings in *Shari'ah*. This leads to *shirk* and is prohibited. This is the opinion upheld by Ibn Rushd al-Maliki, Ibn Abdul-Salam al-Shafi'i and some of the disciples of Abu Hanifah and the likes.
- *Ruqyah* which contains names other than the Names of Allah such as names of Angels, or Prophets. This is analogous to swearing by other than Allah.
- *Ruqyah* which contains Names of Allah, His speech or the sayings of His Messenger (SAW). This type of *Ruqyah* is legal and acceptable by Islam.¹⁰

From the above classifications of *Ruqyah*, one will be left with an independent mind that only the last category is allowed in Islam. This shows that *Ruqyah* in Islam must fulfill certain conditions and guidelines as outlined by the *Shari'ah*

Generally, however, *Ruqyah* can be divided into two: permissible and prohibited. Prohibited types of *Ruqyah* are those which include statements or acts which are contrary to Islamic law. Permissible ones are those which conform to the guidelines found in the sources of Islamic Jurisprudence.¹¹

According to Ibn Taymiyyah, idolaters use talismans and chant formulas containing glorification and worship of jinn, and most of the

incomprehensible incantations, talismans, and charms in use among the Muslim masses contain *shirk* by way of jinn. As a result, Muslim scholars have prohibited the use of incantations, whose meanings are not understandable; because there is the possibility of *shirk* being involved even if it is not so in reality.¹² It has been reported on the authority of Awf ibn Malik al-ashja'i who enunciates:-

We used to make incantations during the times of ignorance, so we said, O Messenger of Allah, what is your opinion on this matter? He replied, Let me hear your incantations, for incantations which do not have *shirk* in them are fine.¹³

Ruqyah is generally valid in as much as it conforms to the guidelines of Islam. *Ruqyah* which violates any of the conditions and guidelines outlined by *Shari'ah* is considered invalid. Such forms of *Ruqyah* may either lead to prohibition, *shirk* or disbelief. It is considered as a method of treatment for the ill and for helping the needy. It is, therefore, required of all Muslims who are capable of treating those afflicted. The scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah have quoted some Ahadith of the Prophet (SAW) in support of the validity and permissibility of *Ruqyah*. They contend that in *Ruqyah*, there is alleviation of the oppressed person's grief and suffering¹⁴ and helping the oppressed¹⁵. So, in this regard, conducting *Ruqyah* is considered as a duty on those who are capable to the afflicted persons.

Conditions of *Ruqyah* in Islam

In Islam, *Ruqyah* is governed by certain conditions. Muslim scholars have outlined some conditions on the part of the practitioner but not limited to:-

1. The sincerity of intention in learning and doing it for the sake of Allah alone.
2. Knowledge: This comprises Islamic knowledge and worldly knowledge. Islamic knowledge includes knowledge of *Tawhid* and knowledge of *Halal* and *Haram* while worldly knowledge includes knowledge of people and their natures, among others.
3. Experience: The practitioner should have the knowledge of the jinn and devils and their ways; knowledge of how to deal with the patient and how close he is to Allah.
4. Awareness and piety,
5. Confidentiality and,

6. Knowledge of mental illness.¹⁶

According to Ibn al-Qayyim (RA), treatment of fits due to spirit possession requires two factors on the part of the possessed and on the part of the healer. On the part of the possessed, it requires personal strength and turning to the Creator of these spirits truthfully and correct method of seeking refuge wherein the heart and tongue will be in harmony. The requirement on the part of the exorcist is that he also possess both of the factors mentioned above.¹⁷

Permissible *Ruqyah* needs certain conditions to be satisfied that were summarized by Ibn Hajar al-Athqalani as:

- a. to be with Allah's words or His names and attributes;
- b. to be in Arabic or of an intelligible meaning; and
- c. to believe that they do not have effect by themselves but by Allah.¹⁸

***Ruqyah* in Islamic Medicine**

In Islam, *Ruqyah* is considered part of Islamic medicine (*Tibb al-Islam*). The Prophet (SAW) has taught us how *Ruqyah* should be conducted. This includes the type of incantations to be said, the conditions governing it and such other guidelines depending on the nature of the illness or associated problems that call for the conduct of the *Ruqyah*. Relatively, to keep away from it due to strong belief and reliance on Allah is also an act praised by *Shari'ah*. The evidence that *Ruqyah* is allowed in Islam is in the following Hadith of the Prophet (SAW). Husain bin Abdur-Rahman narrated:

Once when I was with Sa'id bin Jubair (RA), he asked, "Who among you did see the shooting star last night?" I answered, "I had seen it," and then explained that I was not at the prayer at the time because I had been stung by a poisonous scorpion. He said, "What did you then do?" I replied, "I used *Ruqyah* to cure it!" He said, "What compelled you to do that?" I said, "A *Hadith* I heard from Ash-Sha'bi." He asked, "Which *Hadith* Sha'bi narrated?" I replied, "He reported from Buraidah bin Al-Husaib, who said that *Ruqyah* is not allowed except for the treatment of 'evil eye' (*'Ain*) and (poisonous) sting." He (Sa'id bin Jubair) said, "He has done well by stopping on what he has heard (i.e. to act according to the knowledge as opposed to ignorance).¹⁹

Ibn Abbas, however, recounted that the Prophet (SAW) said:

'All the nations were made to pass before me, and I saw a Prophet with a small group with him, and a Prophet with two or three people and a Prophet with none. Then there appeared a large group of people which I took to be my nation (*Ummah*). But I was told that those were of Musa and his people. Later, a larger group appeared and I was told that those were my people. Among them were seventy thousand who would enter Paradise without reckoning or punishment.' The Prophet (SAW) then got up and went to his house, and the people went into the discussion as to who they might be. Some said, 'Perhaps they are the Companions of the Messenger of Allah.' Others said, 'Maybe they belong to those who were born in Islam and therefore had never ascribed anyone partner with Allah.' And while they were exchanging their views like this, the Prophet (SAW) Came out and was informed about the news. He said, 'they are those who do not treat themselves with *Ruqyah*, nor do they believe in bad or good omen (from birds etc.), nor do they get themselves branded (cauterized), but they put their trust (only) in their Lord.' On that 'Ukashah bin Mihsan got up and said (to Prophet (SAW)) 'Invoke Allah to make me one of them.' He (SAW) said, 'You are one of them.' Then another man got up and said, 'Invoke Allah to make me one of them.' He (SAW) said, 'Ukashah has preceded you.'²⁰

The *Ahadith* above shows that keeping away from *Ruqyah* is the fullest purification of *Tawhid*. Possessing these characteristics (traits) is *Tawakkul* (trust in Allah alone). The *Hadith* indicates the permission of using *Ruqyah* to treat effects of evil eye and poisonous sting and it is also known that the first *Hadith* does not contradict the second. This is actually a strong pronouncement of its allowance in these cases. It is confirmed in the authentic *Sirah* that the Prophet (SAW) himself allowed *Ruqyah* in other instances, but he (SAW) admonished against a person doing so for other than himself. *Ar-Ruqa* or *Al-Aza'im* is the act of reciting incantations and charm. Those are allowed in which there is no trace of *Shirk* (polytheism), Prophet Muhammad (SAW) has permitted it in case of being bitten by poisonous insects or disturbed under the effect of an evil eye.²¹

Reciting an incantation (*Ruqyah*), using words of Allah, for seeking protection from evil eye or scorpion bite is not like *Shirk*. ²²*Ulamā* have

different opinions about using the amulets containing the *Ayat* of Qur'an. Another aspect of exorcism is seeking a cure from magical spells. Allah's Messenger (SAW) was asked about *An-Nushrah* (the act of seeking cure from magical spells/incantation), he (SAW) harps that:- “It is one of the deeds of Satan”.²³

Ibn Al-Qaiyim (RA)²⁴ wrote that *An-Nushrah* is removing the effects of sorcery/spell from the affected one, and it is of two types:

- i) The use of magic (sorcery) to remove the effects of another magic and it is an act of Satan to which the comment of Imam Al-Hasan Al-Basri (RA) applies that the one who performs sorcery and the patient, both get closer to Satan by that which he loves. Satan then removes the effects of magic from the afflicted;
- ii) The effects of magic can be removed by making recitation of Qur'anic *Ayat*; by offering legitimate prayers (*Ruqyah*) as well as using pharmaceutical preparations. This type of *Nushrah* is permissible.²⁵

Methodology of Conducting *Ruqyah* in Islam

This section explains the accepted procedure and manner of conducting *Ruqyah* in Islam as taught by the Prophet (SAW) and his Sahaba (RA). The following ways are suggested in the treatment of magic, possession, and the likes.

- **Removing the Charm**

This is the method of removing the charm in cases which involve magic. Removing the charm and neutralizing it is the most effective treatment. Once the charm has been removed and dismantled, the spell will be broken and the Jinn connected with a person will leave him. This was the kind of method used by the Prophet (SAW) on the occasion of his own bewitchment. A *Hadith* of the Prophet (SAW) further reveals:-

A Jew by the name of Labid bin A'sam (from the Zuraq clan), cast a spell on the Prophet (SAW). When he began to suffer from it, Jibril came to him and revealed the two *Suwar* for seeking refuge and then said to him, “surely it was a Jew who cast this spell on you, and the magical charm is in a certain well.” The Prophet (SAW) sent Ali bin Abi Talib (RA) to go and fetch the charm. When he returned with it, the Prophet (SW) told him to untie the knots, one by one, and to recite an *Ayah* from the two

Suwar with the undoing of each knot. When he did so, the Prophet (SAW) got up as if he had been released from being tied up.²⁶

It is to be noted here that, breaking the spell of magic through this method is only possible if the actual place is discovered or the person who made it confesses. It is, however, considered the most effective.

- **Commanding the Jinn to leave in case of demonic possession**

This method involves addressing the jinn to leave peacefully by advising and good admonishing depending on the reason for the possession. It was the practice of the Prophet (SAW) to address and command the Jinn to leave the possessed person.²⁷ The Jinn should, therefore, be informed about the true teachings of Islam on the issue and be reminded about what he knows regarding the rulings of the *Shari'ah*. Unless the Jinn refuses, the next method should be employed.

- **Cursing the Jinn**

This method is employed in a situation whereby the Jinn refuses to leave the patient. A harsh language and Allah's curse may be invoked against the Jinn. It requires threatening, scolding, and cursing.²⁸ This method is recommended for the Jinn that appears to be so arrogant and disobedient.

- **Recitations**

In Islam, it is accepted to recite some *Ayat* or certain *Suwar* of the Qur'an upon a sick person. There are some *Ayat* of the Qur'an in support of the above.²⁹ This was the practice of the Companions of the Prophet (SAW). One of these *Suwar* as authentically reported in the Hadith of the Prophet (SAW), is *Surat al-Fatihah* (the opening *Surah* of the Qur'an). It was reported that a Companion of the Prophet (SAW) recited *Surah al-Fatihah* over a lunatic man and he got well.³⁰ Another Companion also recited *Surah al-Fatihah* over a chief of certain tribe who was stung by a scorpion and the chief got relieved.³¹ Other accepted incantations include; *Ayah al-Kursiyy*. Abu Hurayrah (RA) was taught, in an authentic Hadith, to recite the *Ayah* as protection against Jinn and their spells.³² Concerning *Surah al Baqarah*, the Prophet (SAW) exhorts: "Do not make your houses

like graveyards. Verily, the devil flees from a house in which Surah al-*Baqarah* is read”.³³

Saying *Bismillah* (meaning, in the Name of Allah) is another recommended saying for *ruqyah*. The Prophet (SAW) was reported to have said to his Companion who complained of the pain in his body. He said to him:

Place your hand at the place where you feel the pain in your body and say; In the name of Allah three times, then say seven times, “I seek refuge in Allah and His power from the evil that I find and from the evil that I fear.”³⁴

Others include *Al-Isti’adha*³⁵, *Mu’awwithatan*³⁶, *Adhan*, and *Iqamah*³⁷. The Prophet (SAW) has also taught a number of prayers for expelling the Jinn and curing of illnesses.³⁸

- **Medicine**

- i. Dates: The Prophet (SAW) explains that:-
“Whoever takes seven Madinite *ajwa* dates in the morning neither magic nor poison will hurt him that day”.³⁹
- ii. Truffles: The Prophet (SAW) remarks:
“Truffles are a form of manna (*mann*) and their water is a cure for the eye (*al-Ayn*)”.⁴⁰
- iii. Bath: Taking bath used by the possessor of the evil eye,⁴¹ to mention a few.

The Practice of *Ruqya* among Some *Tibbu* Practitioners in Kebbi and Sokoto States

In Sokoto and Kebbi states, there existed some Islamic medical centers and individuals that procure Islamic medicines to patients in form of herbs and carry out exorcism depending on the circumstances and problems of their clients (patients). In this regard, this section examines how *ruqyah* is being conducted by some *Tibbu* practitioners in the aforementioned states. Some Islamic medical centers and individual practitioners in these states were selected. These are *Rahmaniyya* Islamic Medical Center in Kebbi State

with its various branches, *Al-Huda* Islamic Medical Center in Sokoto and some individuals. These Centers and individuals receive different patients on daily basis having different problems associated with Jinn, magic and other related problems. The question here is, what is the methodology employed by these practitioners in conducting *Ruqyah* to patients? Does it conform to the accepted forms of *Ruqyah* in Islam?

***Rahmaniyyah* Islamic Medicine and Research Center**

Rahmaniyyah Islamic Medicine and Research Centre is one of the centers in Kebbi State that conducts *Ruqyah* to patients infected by Jinn or bewitchment. The centre is located behind *filin Sukuwa* in Birnin Kebbi, the State capital. When this researcher visited the centre for an interview with the stakeholders, they refused to cooperate having understood the nature of this research. Subsequently, this researcher decided to follow a patient in order to observe the actual practice and methodology being employed in the centre. A person is required to purchase a card similar to that of a hospital before he/she can see a Doctor.⁴² The patient will then be directed to meet the Doctor in the consulting room. This researcher was asked to go along with his patient (a female) in the room. On presenting the card, preliminary questions were asked to determine the type of illness and possible causes. If the Doctor expects the sickness to be a Jinn infection or the likes, recitation of some *Ayat* of *Ruqya* from the Qur'an will be played on a voice recorder or a microphone through the phone.⁴³ They also give out some herbs and prescribe to the patient on how to use them.⁴⁴

***Al-Huda Nasara* Islamic Herbal Center**

This center is located in both Sokoto and Kebbi. Its office is located behind Oando new market along Kangiwa, Kamba Road, Kebbi State and Arkilla area opposite Police Station in Sokoto town, Sokoto State. Almost the same procedure of treating a patient is being observed as in *Rahmaniyyah*. However, they used something to be smelled by the patient with a view to revealing whether there is a Jinn or not. They also give herbs of different prescriptions.⁴⁵

Individual *Ruqyah* Practitioners

According to Malam Lauwali Gidan Jodi, he receives different patients from in and outside the country and his *Ruqya* is not the normal one. If a patient is brought, particularly infected by Jinn, witchcraft or

certain charms, he recites whatever comes to him in mind through his Jinn (*Rauhani*). Sometimes he recites *Diwani*, *Ishriniyyah*, names of the Prophet (SAW), among others. The name of his Jinn is Malam Alhaji who used to prescribe what he gives out to the patients.⁴⁶ Mal. Yahaya is a well known *Raqi* (exorcist) in Sokoto. He receives different patients hours daily at his house. This researcher was present when a patient was brought to him for *Ruqyah*. According to the practitioner, he decided to take the profession in order to assist patients to treat their illnesses in line with the provision of Shari'ah and prevent them from consulting magicians and soothsayers.⁴⁷

Ibn Sina is another individual *Raqi* (exorcist) in Sokoto who opposed some of the practices observed by some practitioners such as giving patients some chemicals to sneeze which may likely damage their brain. He possessed a centre named Ibn Sina Islamic Medical Centre, Sokoto. Apart from *Ruqyah*, he specialized in herbs of different diseases.⁴⁸ Malam Shehu, a *Raqi* disclosed to this researcher that sometime, a possessed patient used to reveal the envier, the infection and the place of infection through the Jinn. They have been following the information and found out what was said to be true, while in most cases it is not. In the course of his *Ruqyah*, he met female Jinn named Bara'atu who used to give him some herbs which he uses to give to his patients.⁴⁹

Some Observed Mal-practices Among Some Contemporary *Ruqyah* Practitioners

i. Touching Some Parts of Woman's body

This is common among some practitioners of *Ruqyah* with the excuse of pressuring and tightening on the Jinn inside her. The person who treats with *Ruqyah* is not allowed to touch the woman's body at all because of the seduction; instead, he should read on her without touching. *Ruqyah* as his work is -reading and spitting- it does not depend on touching.⁵⁰

ii. Using something to be smelled by the Patient

The usage of something to be smelled by the patient in order to know whether there is Jinn or not is not allowed, because it is a type of magic and bad belief and their claim that the Jinn scares from the smell have no base.⁵¹ According to some practitioners, the substances being used differ from one practitioner to another. Some use chemicals that can even damage the brain of the inhaler⁵² while others use herbs that are sound and good for the health of the body like *Qust al-Hindi* tree and it harms the Jinn.⁵³

iii. **Imagination for the Envier through Reading**

The patient's imagination for the envier during reading on him, and the reader's order to the patient to do that is diabolic and not permissible; because it is a resort to the *Shayatin* (devils), who incarnate to him in the shape of the human envier. It also causes enmity between people and the spread of fear and panic among the people. Allah had clearly spelled out in the following Qur'anic *Ayat*: "And there were men from mankind who sought refuge in men from the jinn, so they [only] increased them in burden".⁵⁴

iv. **Using the Jinn to Know the Envier or Magic**

Some of the mankind glorified the Jinn, surrender to them and got help from them, and Jinn served them according to their desires and brought to them what they ordered. For example telling them the type of disease and its cause.⁵⁵ Using the Jinn in determining the kind, place of infection and its cure is not allowed, because having aid from Jinn is disbelief.⁵⁶ It is, however, possible without seeking the aid of the Jinn that such Jinn will reveal such information through reading on the patient.⁵⁷

v. **Playing *Ayat* of the Qur'an and Other Supplications on a Voice Recorder**

Playing some *Ayat* of the Qur'an and supplications on a voice recorder is not a substitute for *Ruqyah*; because *Ruqyah* is a work that needs faith and intention while doing it, and interaction in order to spit on the patient, and the recorder cannot do that.⁵⁸ According to a practitioner, using voice recorder to play *Ayat* of *Ruqyah* is a weakness on the part of the *Raqi* (exorcist). Some of them are not well trained and could not even read the Qur'an correctly. He harps that one practitioner from Tangaza⁵⁹ was brought to him having been infected by Jinn. It was because of his incapacity, lack of knowledge, satisfying the conditions of *Ruqyah* and his greed and insincerity that the Jinn infected him.⁶⁰ Some practitioners also use microphone through the phone with a long distance. *Ruqyah*, however, must be on the patient directly, and cannot be performed by using a microphone or through the phone, because this violates what the Prophet (SAW), his companions (RA) and their good followers had done. Anything according to the *Hadith* of the Prophet (SAW)) introduced into the religion of Islam which does not belong to it, will be rejected.⁶¹

Conclusion

Ruqyah is generally allowed in Islam. It must, however, be in line with the teachings of the *Shari'ah*. This is because there are two forms of *Ruqyah*, the permissible and the prohibited. In order to make *Ruqyah* valid and work effectively, one must avoid *shirk* and seeking help from magicians and soothsayers. *Ruqyah* that involves *shirk*, amulets and *tiwala* are all acts of *shirk* and must be avoided. The Prophet (SAW) has prohibited all magical *Ruqyah* and allowed the one that does not involve *shirk*. It is better for one to treat himself by *Ruqyah* and if one cannot do it, one can contact a *Ruqyah* practitioner. It is also good to know that not all the exorcists practice *Ruqyah* accepted by *Shari'ah*. Some of them are magicians, sorcerers, and false acclaimed *Ruqyah* practitioners.

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 25. Bn Abdul-Wahab, *Kitab al-Tauhid*, p.69
 26. M. K. Ibrahim Amin, *The Jinn and Human sickness: Remedies in the light of Qur'an and Sunnah*, Abdul Ahad (ed), (Dar al-Salam, Riyadh, nd).
 27. Zad al-Ma'ad as quoted in A. B. Philips, *The Exorcist tradition in Islam*, p.115
 28. Philips, p.119
 29. See Qur'an 17:82 and 10:57
 30. See A. S. I. Abu Dawud, *Sunan Abi dawud*, vol.3, Hadith No.3892
 31. See M. I. A-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, vol.6, Hadith No.5736.
 32. The *Ayah* is Qur'an 2:255, See M. I. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, ibid, vol.9, Hadith No.530
 33. *Surah* 2 of the Glorious Qur'an, See Muslim bn Hajjaj al-Naysabury, *Sahih Muslim*, vol.1, Hadith No.1707
 34. Muslim bn Hajjaj al-Naysabury, *Sahih Muslim*, ibid, Hadith No. vol.3
 35. Saying "*A'udhu bi Allahi min al-Shaytan al-Rajim*" (meaning: I seek refuge in Allah from Satan, the cursed) and the likes of them. See Qur'an 41:36, 23:97, A. S. I. Abu Dawud, *Sunan Abu Dawud*, vol.1, Hadith No. 763
 36. Qur'an 113 and 114 which are the last two *Suwar* of the Glorious Qur'an. They were specifically revealed to break the magical spell which had been placed upon the Prophet (SAW).
 37. *Adhan* means call to prayer and *Iqamah* means proclaiming the commencement of the prayer. Both the two calls to prayer drive away the devil. See M. I. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, vol.1, Hadith No. 582 and vol.4, No.506, Muslim bn Hajjaj al-Naysabury, *Sahih Muslim*, vol.1, Hadith No.756
 38. See Muslim bn Hajjaj al-Naysabury, *Sahih Muslim*, vol.3, No.5425, and M. I. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, ibid, vol.4, No.590, Muslim, vol.4, Hadith No.5432
 39. M. I. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, vol.7, Hadith No.664, Muslim, vol.3, Hadith No.5081
 40. M. I. Al-Bukhari, *Sahih al-Bukhari*, vol.7, Hadith No.609
 41. See Muslim bn Hajjaj al-Naysabury, *Sahih Muslim*, vol.3, Hadith No.5427 and A. S. I. Abu Dawud, *Sunan Abu Dawud*, op.cit, vol.3, Hadith No.3871
 42. A clerk was employed for the task. N200 is paid for a card which carries the logo and tag of the centre and other provisions.
 43. In most cases, they use recitations from the Qur'an on a voice recorder near a patient as a substitute for *Ruqya* which is a mistake in real sense.

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44. This researcher's patient was given herbs at the cost of N4500 with some prescriptions.
 45. This researcher was asked to pay N8000 for the herbs to be given to his patient. He however pleaded unable to pay the amount.
 46. Malam Lauwali Gidan Jodi, (45yrs), *Ruqya* Practitioner, interviewed at his house in Gidan Jodi, Augie L/G, Kebbi State on 11th April, 2015
 47. Malam Yahaya Usman Gidadawa, (45yrs), *Ruqyah* practitioner, interviewed at his house, Gidadawa Area, Sokoto on 30th November, 2015
 48. Malam Isyah Ibn Sina, (35yrs), *Ruqyah* practitioner, interviewed at Sokoto on 29th November, 2015
 49. Mal. Shehu Abdullahi, (34yrs), *Raqi* (exorcist), interviewed at his office, Government Technical College, Runjin Sambo, Sokoto, on 30th November, 2015
 50. This Researcher was at Malam Lauwali Gidan Jodi's *Ruqyah* room. He used to touch the forehead of a patient including female while conducting *Ruqyah* and sometimes, squeezes the ear
 51. A. A. bn Baz and others, *Violations in performing Ruqyah*, standing Committee for Scientific Research and Issuing *Fatwas*, 27 jumada al-thani, 1429/7th January, 2008
 52. Malam Isyah Ibn Sina, (35yrs), *Ruqyah* practitioner, interviewed at Sokoto on 29th November, 2015
 53. Gidadawa...
 54. Qur'an 72:6
 55. Malam Lauwali Gidan Jodi, confirmed to this Reseacher that he is being aided by Malam Alhaji (his Jinn) in understanding the envy, the cause of the illness and the place of infection
 56. See Qur'an 72: 6
 57. Malam Yahaya Usman Gidadawa, (45yrs), *Ruqyah* practitioner, interviewed at his house, Gidadawa Area, Sokoto on 30th November, 2015
 58. Bn Baz...
 59. A Local Government in Sokoto state
 60. Gidadawa...
 61. M. I. Al-Bukhari, Sahih al-Bukhari, Hadith NO.2697