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COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ISLAMIC EXORCISM AND FETISH-*BORI* IN THE LIGHT OF ISLAM: A STUDY OF BORNO STATE

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Dedication

This Dissertation is dedicated to my late Grandfather Kaka Bukar Kanembu, and my beloved parents, brothers and sisters.

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Glossary

Badri; A kind of traditional drum used by mori tribe to heal an ailment

Bala; A kanuri song

Bollo; A mixture of grinded millet with sugar used to be given as alms

Dandal; A very wide field in front of a house used for the purpose of assembly

Darni, a spiritual medicine used for different social life

Dunu; A devilish Kanuri song

Gau; A herbalist who uses to prepare herbs

Goigoi, Kolidam, Ngauram, Mairam Kuruwu i.e Mairam the tall; Names of different Spirits

Karuwai; Hausa word means prostitutes

Karwa Yokta; The act of enchanting spirit from one's body

Kaskima; The one who practices soothsaying

Kazallawa; Military rank means captain

Kuka; Baobab tree

Mahram; Letter of privilege given by a king to scholars who serve for humanity

Qibla; The Ka'abah direction

Safima/Duwo duwoma; The one who practices magic

Sayinna, Malum; Islamic Scholar

Shatan; Is a name given to spirits

Taida, Moduwa and Alangoro; Terms used for seeking an intervention from Allah by Kanuri people of Borno State.

Taska; A chicken with coiled hair on the whole body

Tembal; A Kanuri song

Yan Daudu; A male who pretend to be a female in all his activities.

Yerwa; interchangeable term used to refer to Maidugturi Town, means benevolent

Zarma; Military rank means Regimental commander

Abstract

This research work is centered on a Comparative Study of Islamic Exorcism (Qur'anic Healing) and Bori-fetish in the light of Islam, with particular reference to Borno State. In this regard the roles played by the populace in interaction with either of the two methods were examined. To this matter, the researcher used interviews and questionnaire methods as instrument for data collection. So also Textbooks, Journals, Dissertations, Seminar papers were also included. The research found out that there are many kinds of traditional possession remedies in Borno according to different geo-political zones. The remedies are either conflicting or in concomitance with that of Bori-fetish. It is interesting to note that all the remedies are having similar beliefs in regards to supernatural forces. Bwali and Badri healing are terms used to refer a healing rituals centered on the belief in the existence of the power of Jinn which possess their victims in various ways and forms. Therefore, the research found out that the rural dwellers are patronizing the aforementioned traditional remedies for the belief that all the practices involved are aimed at cure and healing. As such some of the fetishism practitioners have also regarded it as a means of entertainment and gain of worldly benefits. So also, the efficacy of Qur'anic healing was also brought into light to the extent that many use to describe it as Taida and Hijab. This is because the effect of Qur'anic healing is considered to be very powerful healing sources available to those who believe in its efficacy. It is recommended that all sorts of healing methods should be considered provided they do not contravene to the teachings of Islam and if it may not harm or endanger the life of the people. To attain this it is recommended that whoever wants to engage in any permissible healing technique one must seek a deep knowledge in the field so as not to endanger the life of his clients.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, Most Merciful. He instituted a path, the straight path, which when followed revolutionizes the whole of life. The Creator has not left us without guidance for the conduct of our lives. Ever since the beginning of creation He has sent down Prophets who have conveyed His message to humanity. This research work focuses on *Ruqya* and *Bori*-fetish under the Islamic principle of Tauhid. Therefore, it is imperative to highlight the terminologies in the topic. Tauhid literally means 'Unification'[1] i.e. making something one. While technically, it means realizing and maintaining Allah's unity in all of man's actions and rule out all intermediary causes.[2] *Ruqya* (plural: *Ruqaa*) derives from the *masdar* of verb *Raqaa* which literally means to enchant, to charm.[3] The technical meaning of Ruqya is a combination of words that are said or recited, then blown onto someone in the form of *Du'a* or *Dhikr* for the purpose of protection or cure.[4] *Bori* fetish is a set of beliefs in supernatural spirits that have power of cure and bringing luck, and also the ability to communicate with Jinn in terms of good or evil will.[5]

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[1]R. Ba'alabaki, '*Al-Maurid Al-Arabi: A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary',* Dar El-Ilm Lilmalayin: Beirut Lebanon.7th Edition. 1995, P388.
[2] I. Ghazali, *'Ihya Ulum-Din'* Yassar publishers and perfumers, Translated by Al-haj Maulana Fazul-Karim 2001, p,46.
[3] Bilingual Research and Studies Centre. *'The Bilingual Dictionary Arabic-English, English-Arabic'*. Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyah Beirut: Lebanon, 2006, P358
[4] A. Walker. *'Gayatul Murid' The destination of the seeker of truth: the interpretation of Kitab At-tauhid'* Darussalam Riyadh , 2003, P59 .
[5]M. Sinikangas. 'A Study of Transgendering Men in Hausa land West Africa'. Master thesis in Cultural Anthropology, Department of Cultural Anthropology and Ethnology Uppsala University. Sweden, 2004, P11. (Unpublished)

1.1 Background to the Study

Borno state was part and parcel of ancient *Kanem-Borno* Empire. *Kanem-Borno* was a centre of political, educational and economic activities. A.M Sifawa observed that Kanem Borno was one of the earliest states in Bilad Al-Sudan that have early contact with Islam. The kingdom therefore played a tremendous role in the social, religious, political and intellectual development of the area most especially in the area of dissemination of knowledge through production of literary works. These historical events were recorded through granting Mahrams to scholars and establishing centres of learning. As a result a very serious impact on the socio-economic well-being of the people in the area was recorded. After the collapse of the *sayfawa* dynasty, *El-kanemi* continued to exert the same impact.[6] Therefore, Borno is one of the two recognised and prominent seats of learning in Northern region of Nigeria; the other pair is *Sokoto* caliphate that was established by *Shaikh Uthmanu Ibn Fodiyo* in the nineteenth century.[7] So also the state capital Maiduguri was founded and adopted in 1907 by the British colonialists. It came into being as one of the Mega cities of Northern Nigeria.[8] Historically, the state is said to have been economically good because the early settlers engaged in different types of economic activities. These include farming of millet, corn, sorghum, groundnuts and other crops due to its huge fertile land for the production of farm produce. They also engaged in cattle rearing and hunting but hunting is of minor significance but more importantly fishing is an important resource to villages along the Lake Chad shores[9]. The people of Borno state also engaged in dyeing, weaving and other lucrative trade

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[6] A. M. Sifawa, 'The Role of Kanem Borno Ulama in the Intellectual Development of the Bilad Al-Sudan' A paper presented at a conference organized by the centre for Transaharan studies University of Maiduguri.1991, P P 132-134.

[7]Ibid, P, 17.

[8] A. G Tijjani,.'Malamih Anil Ulama'I fi Borno Abari Usuriha Al-Tarikhiyyah' Al-Arabiyyah *Journal of Arabic Culture,* NALV, Vol2, 2008, P50.

[9]H. Usman, etal, 'Contributions of seasonal migrants fishermen towards fishing activities in Baga, Kukawa Local Government of Borno State' *Journal of Environmental issues and Agriculture in Developing Countries.* vol.3 no2, 2011,p103

activities.[10] It is also known to be a multi cultural and multi lingual state. There are many ethnic groups and immigrants who came to settle in Borno state. *Kanuri* is the dominant ethnic group occupying many of the respective twenty seven local Government Areas of the state. The Local Government Areas of the state are divided into three senatorial districts namely: Borno central which comprises *Dikwa, Bama, Ngala, Kala-balge, Konduga, Mafa, Jere* and *Maiduguri* Metropolis. *Borno* north comprises *Abadam, Mobar, Gubio, Guzamala, Kukawa, Nganzai, Monguno, Marte, Kaga* and *Magumeri.* Southern *Borno* comprises *Askira-Uba, Biu, Bayo, Chibok, Damboa, Gwoza, Hawul, Kwaya Kusar* and *Shani* Local Government Areas.[11].

The *Kanuri* are the dominant ethnic group of Borno who had a long history dating back to the medieval period. *Borno* on the other hand is one of the earliest empires in West Africa that had contacts with the Muslim world. Due to this early contact, the empire's large population accepted Islam and it was made a state religion since the reign of *Sayfawa* ruler *Mai Hume Jilme* who ruled from 1088-1097AD.

Therefore, the state, culture and society of *Kanuri* people of *Borno* cannot be separated from Islam. However, the state had witnessed numerous changes in its cultural and other aspects in the post colonial period. This was due to interactions with other people's cultures such as *Hausa, Fulani, Gamargu Marghi, Papir,* and others. These interactions led to the emergence of cult practice in healing of the sick. To the best of the researcher's knowledge there is no any cult or idol worshiping traced in the history of Borno after the advent of Islam. This was because Borno had a long history of contact with Islam and *Sharia* had been the guiding law of the land. The only semblance of cult in the history of

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[10] A. Tijjani, 'Tradition and Modernity The Gamergu (Malgwa) of Northern-Eastern Nigeria' PhD Thesis in anthropology at the University of London, 2005, P 18.
[11] www.unllib.unl.edu/lpp. Retrieved on 9/3/2015.

Bornu was *mune,* which other scholars and historians referred to as an object considered sacred by the people even though they did not know it.[12] It was something wrapped-up and concealed. None of the king's descendants from *Sayf b. Ziyazan* would open it due to its ambiguity. While other historians and scholars like *Imam Ibn Furtua* considered it as Qur'anic Constitution, however, due to this ambiguity *Mai Dunoma Dibalemi* disregarded the commandments concealed in the *Mune* as nothing rather than an extraction from the prophetic commandments. The following were the *Mune's* content.

1- To worship Allah only, Him alone who has no associate.
2- To rule with justice as Allah and His Messenger gave judgement by the Book and *Sunnah.*
3- Not to oppress any of the servants of Allah.
4- Not to betray Allah or his Messenger or the faithful.
5- Not to cheat except in war, for war is deceit.
6- To support the religion and the Jihad in the way of Allah, but not from caprice.
7- Not to desert the line of march in war.
8- To hold fast to the rope of Allah all together, and not to be afraid or disunited.
9- To call people of Allah by means of wisdom and Allah's advice.
10- To do our utmost to be righteous both outwardly and inwardly.[13]

Indeed *Mune* was a living document which historical assessment had condemned without reason. It was always being carried in front of the armies on a battle ground in order to create a high morale among the troops.[14]

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[12]L. Dierk. 'Ethnogeneses from within Chadic State some Thoughts on the History of Kanem Borno'. Presented at International Conference of Historical Sciences, Madrid, 1990, P266. (Unpublished).
[13]K. Tijjani. '*The Mune in Pre-colonial Borno'*. Berichte des Sonderforchungs Bereichs 28, Bd.2 Frankfurt, 1993, P241.
[14] Ibid, p230.

However, it was stated that *Mai Dunoma* was warned by the people not to open the *Mune* since it had been handed down from the early rulers of *Kanem* as device to assure the victory of the *sayfawa* against their enemies.[15] However, not all aspects of Borno culture have been transformed by social changes and global urbanization due to occupation of Northern Nigeria by the British. Therefore, it remains strongly a traditional settlement with traditional culture of cure and healing as the practice of *(Qur'ánic healing, Darni, Gau,(Herbalist), Safima* (Magician)*,Kaskima* (Soothsayer), *Ngozoma* (Traditional birth attendant).[16]

Therefore, this research tends to examine and analyse the *Bori* and *Qur'ánic* ways of healing from the Islamic theological perspective.

1.2 Scope and Limitation

This research is on Islamic Exorcism *(Ruqya)* and the *Bori*-Fetish from theological perspective with reference to Borno State. The scope of the study is limited to the Muslims residing within the aforementioned Local Governments of *Borno* state. The study is concerned with the *Bori*-Fetish practitioners and their priest (*Bokaye*), as well as, *Qur'ánic* healing practitioners. In addition to this, the period under study will cover twenty four years (1990-2014).

1.3 Significance of the Study

Many researches have been conducted by different researchers on culture, Bori-Fetish, traditional medicine and others, but little attention was given to the Islamic theological aspects in terms of *Shirk* and innovations involved in some of these practices.

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[15] Ibid, p266.
[16]E. Kaka. 'An Auto-Ethnographical Study of Integration of Kanuri Traditional Health Practices into the Borno State Health Care System' PhD thesis, Durham University.2009, P,100, (Unpublished)

1. The study is of value to Muslims, most especially those who indulge in *Bokanci* and those who patronize them.

2. The study will show that Islam and *Tauhid* are intertwined because there is no Islam without *Tauhid*. So committing *shirk* and innovations are not allowed, be it minor or major *shirk.*

3. The study will serve as a source of reference for interested researchers as it contributes to the existing body of literature.

In this regard the evil nature of priests *(Bokaye)* and Jinn worshiping include: using the Glorious Qur'an as footwear to visit the toilet, writing some portions of the Qur'anic verses using menses discharge, writing it under feet to be trodden, observing prayers without ablution, staying in a state of impurity, sacrificing animals to Jinn without saying basmalah, speaking to stars and prostrating to them, committing incest with close relatives etc.[17] These means are adopted by the priest of *(Yan bori)* to come closer to the Jinn. Thus, some people forget the assurance of the creator who says

''And when I am ill, it is He who cures me[18]''

According to Prophetic Traditions, the companions of the Prophet and saints offered prayers for the ill, and witnessed the recovery of those they prayed for. The Prophet was reported to have permitted the members of a certain family of the *Ansar* to recite incantation in (asking for) cure from (the effect of) poison.[19] Healing practices involved prayer to Almighty Allah, use of *Zamzam* (holy water), honey etc. Some healers use other methods such as herbs and visiting a doctor. Therefore, Islam encourages a sick to seek

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[17]A. Wahid. *'Sword Against Black Magic and Evil Magicians'* Al-firdous Ltd: London, 2004. P 14
[18] Qur'an' 26:80
[19] Sahih Ibn Khuzaimah, H,2193, p56.

for a treatment, but he should be guided by the teachings of Islam throughout the process. Similarly the study could serve as document.

1.4 Statement of the Research Problem

It was claimed that interest should be the first priority that one should consider in stating a research problem. The relevance should also be made apparent as a second priority.[20] *Maiduguri* Metropolis is a city with different kinds of traditional healers besides the conventional medical practitioners, such as spiritual medicine practitioners *(Darni)* and native doctors *(Bokaye),* Islamic exorcists, the *Gau* (Magician) and the Bori-fetish which was brought into being by assimilation of non indigenous cultures. The concepts of all these practices are aimed at cure and healing. In order to clear the doubt towards the various syncretic beliefs and practices those have hitherto clung onto by some of the members of the society on both the side of the healers and their clients. Some might not know the implication involved in their method of medication. The kind of shirk involved, include seeking cure and healing from magicians and soothsayers, using unintelligible words or phrases as supplication and relying on the power of someone other than Allah are also going to be assessed. Allah says:

> And they learn that which harms them and profits them not. And indeed they knew that the buyers of it (magic) would have no share in the hereafter.[21]

In addition to this, many people are mistakenly relating some ailments that have to do with feverish condition, to spirit possession and witchcraft. It is well known that some ailments require a long duration under treatment and some patients are impatiently looking for fast recovery, as a result of which people might resort to shirk and innovations. Eventually this attitude sometimes leads to death or unnecessary spending.

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[20] R. Kumar. *''Research Methodology: A Step by step Guide for beginners''* 2005,p.43.
[21] Qur'an 2:102.

Many have forgotten that Islam teaches many things that avail in the processes of cure and healing; a person should bear in mind that Allah alone has the power of cure and healing. Therefore, there is the need to investigate the theological aspects on healing of a possessed. Similarly the research provides the missing link of the Islamic theological aspects through answering the following questions.

1- Is fetishism being practiced in Borno state?
2- In what situationdoes a possessed and his healer commits shirk and innovation in medication?
3- Is Qur'ánic healing/Ruqyah practised in all the three senatorial districts of Borno state?
4- Why is it that the priests *(Bokaye)* continue to operate despite the availability of Islamic way of treatment?
5- What are the ways and manners of conducting Ruqya treatment in Borno state?
6- What are the ways and manners of conducting fetishism in Borno state?

1.5 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to identify the areas of similarities and differences between *Ruqya* and *Bori.*

Its specific objectives are to:

1. Identify how the populace simultaneously use Ruqya or Bori.
2. Outline the kinds of shirk and innovations involved in *Ruqya* and *Bori* fetish.
3. Explore the effect of Bori-Fetish or *Badri* healing
4. Explore the effect of *Qur'ánic* healing

1.6 Methodology

As the name implies, this section connotes the description of the procedure by which the researcher would gather information and utilize it. A number of ways were adopted for the proper conduct of this research. For the purpose of achieving the objectives of this research work, two methods were adopted by the researcher to collect data. The first was survey research method which involved field work by administering three hundred structured questionnaires to targeted population in the three senatorial zones namely: Borno North, two local Government areas namely Kukawa and Gubio are selected. Borno central, Kala Balge and Maiduguri local Government areas were selected, and Borno south, Biu and Chibok local Government areas were selected. The respondents include adult Muslims, priest *(Bori)* healers, Muslim exorcists, as well as clients of *yan bori* and *yan ruqya* who are living in the targeted local Governments under the internally displaced person's camps which are clustered in Maiduguri metropolis. In this regard a chain referral sampling is applied. This method of sampling enables the researcher to select the required unit by contacting the first unit to be considered as part of the sample. Thereafter, the first unit met will be used as informant to get the subsequent units from the population of interest. Then the data collected were analyzed by descriptive statistics using tables and simple percentages. The second method was interviewing the practitioners to meet the targeted objectives.

1.7 Literature Review

It was revealed with much concern that no major research has been conducted on *Bori* fetish from the theological perspective particularly in Maiduguri town. Therefore, the researcher consulted the following literature for his review.

One of the most important works in this direction is that of Fatima. A. (1975) written in Arabic language titled: *(Dirasa nafsiyya Tahliliya antropologiyya).* This work attempted

to highlight a number of issues related to *Zar*. The book observed the historical background of *Zar* cult, the origin, meaning and concept of *zar* cult. The word *Zar* is derived from the Arabic word *(Zarani)* meaning he visited me. Technically, the word refers to a paying of a visit by a spirit to human being. According to the author the primary concepts of the *zar* cult are cure and healing. It also brought into light the types of sickness that could be healed and cured through *Zar*. These types of sickness are: continuous headache, arthritis, laziness, and many other ailments pertaining to women. Thus, the author has described the anniversary celebration and the processes involved in the ceremony such as cooking, drumming, singing, dancing and preparation of concoctions.[22] The work is relevant to this research in terms of the concept of *Zar* and *Bori* fetish are the same though; the author did not discuss the theological aspects but shed more light on the physical diabolic acts.

Yet, another relevant paper is the work of Bugaje. U. (1980) titled: *A study of the Origin, Development and fruition of Jihad of Uthman b. Foduye* (1754-1817) presented at an International Islamic Conference held at *Bayero* University *Kano- Nigeria.* The author gave a historical background of the ward where *Bori*-Fetish is being practiced. Historically, the dominant religion in *Hausa* land before the appearance of Islam in the early part of the fourteenth century was African Traditional Religion. *Ubangiji* was the *Hausa* high God while spirits *(Iskoki)* can maintain a good or a bad relationship with the latter, which form the object of the rituals. Thus, the communication with these spirits would take place through sacrificial guidelines or possession. According to the author the possession of a human being by any of the *Iskoki* is called *Bori*. However, the author insists that the *Bori*-Fetish still exists among the few non-Muslim Hausas today. Lastly, the author opined that this type of belief system gave birth to what is called priests

[22] F. Al-Misri. '*Dirasatun Tahliliyatun Anthropologiyya*' Al-Hay'a Al-Misriyya Al-ammah. Cairo 1975.

(Bokaye) skilled in the mysteries of the *Iskoki.*[23] Thus, the relevance of this work to this research is not direct but it touched on the relation between the spirit and mankind which is a very important aspect to this research.

Abubakar Al-Jaza'iri (1989) authored a book titled: *Wiqayat al-Insan Min al-Jinni Wa al-Shaytan.(Protection of Human beings against the evil of Jinn and Shaytan).* The book is worth reviewing because of its importance to the researcher's work in elaborating the accepted form of Islamic healing. He discussed *Zar* way of healing as well as the Islamic ruling on it. The author went further to discuss the existence and activities of *Jinn.* These include their origin, life style, physical structure, ability, gender, religion and creed. So also the author shed more light on the Islamic ruling against sacrifices of animals to the *Jinn.* He also mentioned how some animals can make some actions when they see the *Jinn.* Thus, he explored the way of bringing out the *Jinn* from ones body and how to chase him out of the house. The definition of epilepsy and the manner of healing the epileptic were elaborated, as well as the characteristics of a good and perfect healer. Lastly, the author cited some episodes, as examples to show his practical conversation with Jinn during the healing processes.[24] This research is very relevant to this work because it explored what Islam approves for Muslims to use in medication but the author did not discuss the Theological aspects directly.

Constantinides. P.(1989) in his article titled: *The History of Zar in the Sudan*: *Theories of Origin, Recorded Observation and Oral Tradition in the International Africa seminars,* new series number 5 discussed Women's medicine, the *Zar* Bori cult in Africa and beyond. The article extensively discussed the historical origin of *Zar* in Sudan. However,

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[23]U. Bugaje. *'The Sakkwato Model: A Study of the Origin, Development and Fruition of the Jihad of Uthman b. Fodye , (1754-1817)'* A paper presented at an International Islamic Conference held at Bayero University Kano Nigeria. Nizamiyya Islamiyya School: Sakkwato. 1980.
[24] W. B. *'Abdul-salam, Wiqayatul-Insani Minal Jinni Wal-Shaytan'*. Darul Bashir: Al-Qahira, 1989.

the article has no direct relevance to this study except for the history of penetration and spread of *Bori*-cult into other parts of Africa elaborated. Various definitions of *Zar* were cited by the author. Other related issues discussed in the article include the types of *Zar (Bori*-cult), which are *Zar bori* and *Zar tambura.*[25] The work is unique because it examined the features of both *Zar bori* and *Zar tambura*. Similarly, *Zar* during the British period in *Sudan* was discussed.

The book of Ibn al-Qayyim Al-Jauziyyah (1990) titled: *Al-Tib Al-Nabawi* is relevant to this research because the author described various forms of human diseases with their relevant remedies according to Islamic ways of healing. The author compiles some Traditions of the Prophet on the way and manner he exorcised and supplicated against evil afflictions during his life time.[26] This book has relevance to this work because it serves as a guide in following the footsteps of the Prophet (SAW).

Another important work which is relevant to this work is a book written in Arabic language by Yusuf. S. (1999) titled *Bida al-Mualijina bi al-Qur'an.* The author discussed the innovative practices being practiced by the Islamic exorcist *(Raqi).* The work is relevant to this research because the theological aspects and innovations in healing techniques were thoroughly discussed, for example, use of some incantation and applying it in a prohibited or strange situations. Moreover, the author skilfully enumerated the guidelines and repercussions of Islamic Exorcism. These include following what is

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[25] P. Constantinides, *'The History of Zar in the Sudan: theories of Origin, recorded observation and oral tradition'.* International African Seminars New Series, No. 5 Women's Medicine The Zar-Bori Cult in Africa and Beyond. (Ed). Edinburgh University Press. 1989.
[26]A. Ibnul-Qayyim. A, '*Altib Al-Nabawi'*.Darul-Kitab Al-Arabi: Beirut Lebanon.

reported by the Prophet and that the *Raqi* should be well versed and experienced.[27] This work is relevant for it discussed the innovations involved in *Ruqya.*

The article of O'Brien, S. (2001) Titled: *Spirit Discipline Gender, Islam Hierarchies of Treatment in Post Colonial Northern Nigeria* is relevant to this work because the article examined the episode which occurred in 1995 of mass school girls' possession at a secondary school in Kano city. The episode was related to *''Sumbuka''* which was said to have been caused by mockery dancing and singing, then suddenly an old woman appeared who solicited the girls to reduce their dancing and singing so that they may have a rest with her family. However, the author observed that *Kano* was known in the practice of *Bori* and other traditional cults before the Jihad of *Shaikh Usmanu bn Fodiyo.* According to the author, this episode of the school girls led to the re-emergence of *Bori* practitioners to play their role freely. Moreover, the Islamic perspective in the treatment of a possessed was also elaborated. The activities of spiritual and mystical aspects of Islam were featured in the article also. The author displayed some views of those who established Islamic healing clinics in *Kano.* He analysed the conversation that took place between the healers and their clients.[28] The study is very important to this research because the same clinics in the study area are patronized.

The thesis of Yakubu *Gobir* (2002) M.A Dissertation titled: *Iskoki a Idon Yan Bori da Masu Ruqya* submitted to the Department of Nigerian Languages Usmanu Dan Fodio University Sokoto. He discussed thoroughly *Bori* and *Ruqyah* practices and practitioners. The author extensively discussed the perception of spirits by both healers. According to him there are however certain characteristics of spirits which are in conformity with those

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[27] S,Yusuf . (1999) titled '*Bida'ul Mualijina Bi A l-Qur'an Wakaifa Tu'aliju Nafsaka Biduni Mu'ali'j.* Darul-Fajr: Al-Qahira, 1990.
[28] O'Brien. S, *'Spirit Discipline, Gender, Islam and Hierarchies of Treatment in Post Colonial Northern Nigeria'.* Taylor and Francis Ltd: Pennsylvania State University, 2001.

of mankind. These include the races, names and genders of Jinn. Thus, the author explained the kind of spirits with particular reference to Islamic exorcists as well as the *Bori* healers. Not only this, the time of contacts and interactions between the Jinn and the Mankind were also explained. More importantly, he cited various scholarly views on the legitimacy and illegality of the *Ruqyah* way of healing. Furthermore, the conversations and discussions which usually take place in between the healer and the clients as well as flogging the spirit in order to drag him out of sickness were discussed. Lastly, he shed more light on *Girka* and its know-how through mentioning the steps involved in its preparation.[29]

Another important work regarding the traditional healing is the dissertation of Afaf, G. (2003) titled: *Tendency of Patients Towards Medical Treatment and Traditional Healing in Sudan.* This work brought to light an important aspect of traditional healing. The author pointed out the history of traditional treatment established for so many years in the history of mankind. According to the author, the specialists are scattered throughout the African continent and beyond with different names, functions and curing abilities. These include diviners, *Dhkir* and *Zar*. However, after the advent of Islam the treatment was changed to Islamic ways of healing. Thus, the author cited the wrong notion of considering diseases as coming from spirits and devils due to patient's qualities or errors. Perhaps, the most famous traditional system of healing is the spirit healing which is very common up till now. Furthermore, the traditional system of medicine has a common goal of providing health and health care despite the different cultures and settings. Likewise, the author discussed the system of Islamic medicine which is based on the teachings of

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[29] Y. Gobir, 'Iskoki a Idon 'Yan Bori da Masu Rukiyya'. A Master dissertation, Usmanu Dan Fodiyo University, Sokoto, Nigeria. 2002.

Prophet Muhammad *Al-Tib Al-Nabawi (Prophetic medicine).* Similarly, the author explained the stand of Islam in promoting health and health care.[30] This work is relevant to this research because the physical activities involved in the traditional treatment and prophetic medicine were discussed.

The work of Arvi H. 2004 is titled: *Invasion of Spirits, Epidemiological Spirit Possession among the Maasai of Tanzania* was also reviewed. The author discussed the origin of spirit possession in different parts of the African continent with particular reference to East and North Africa. However, the most widely known cult in this continent according to him are *Bori* and *Zar* cults. Furthermore, the author explored the similarities and features of *Bori* and *Zar,* though the names are different. The conceptualisation of the idea of *Bori* and *Zar* cult were discussed. Therefore, it is believed that *Bori* and *Zar* are non-Islamic pagan phenomena. It was also revealed in the article that spirits are useful companions for man because they can protect man from evil. Thus, many rural healers maintained that one cannot live without certain types of spirits. Lastly, the author narrated some episodes of spirit possession in his field work to show the symptoms of spirit possession, identification of spirit infliction, dancing in healing rituals with drum beating, terrifying dreams and excessive power.[31]

Another work authored by Ma'arit, S. (2004), titled: *A study of Transgendering Men in Hausa-land, West Africa,* is a Masters Thesis in cultural anthropology and ethnology, submitted to *Uppsala* University. The thesis is very important to this work because it traced the history and origin of *Bori*-Fetish. According to the author, anthropologists have had different views with regard to its origin. However, the author viewed it as a dynamic

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[30]A. Gadh, 'Tendency of Patients toward Medical Treatment and Traditional Healing in Sudan'. PhD Dissertation, Department of Psychology Oldenburg University, 2003.
[31]A. Hurskainen, 'Invitation of Spirits Epidemiological Spirit Possession among the Maasai of Tanzania'. *Journal of African Studies, Special Issue.* University of Helsinki Finland., 2004.

set of beliefs which are being practiced by some people as a way of life for its healing tradition and benefit. Thus, the author emphasised the complexity of *Bori*-Fetish and its functions. The most important of them depend on the time and place. The thesis is very interesting because it mentioned those who participate in *Bori* such like *yan-daudu* and *karuwai.* According to the author *Bori*-fetish has given *yan-daudu* and *karuwai* the environment where they work, live, organise open *Bori* ceremonies where they dance and prepare food to enjoy themselves. Consequently, the author discussed how the *Bori*-fetish has survived the pressure of Islam together with the Islamic ruling on it. *Bori*-fetish for the Muslims represents paganism against Muslim conventions. However, it was revealed that upon arrival of Islam to *Hausa*-land new Muslim spirits were created and attached to the spirit pantheon. These spirits behave the way Muslims behave, dress as a Muslim does, eat the Muslim food and do not perform acts prohibited for Muslims. Thus, according to the author these indicate how the spirits have been adjusted to the new political and religious realities.[32]

Aliyu Bunza (2006) published an academic work written in Hausa language titled: *'Gadon Fede Al'ada'* which means culture on operation bed. The work is highly significant to this research as the book touched different aspects of Hausa culture. He explained who the *Jinn* are, their various aspects of life style, which include their physical structure of dynamism, their types and kinds, their cities and dwellings, their food, names and time of their strolling etc. He also stated that Jinn can cause various illnesses and horrific calamities. Thus, he explicitly discussed *Bori*-Fetish with detailed explanation of it's know how. He further explained the concept of *Bori* and its types, more importantly the author described the facilities involved in the initiation and

[32] M. Sinikangas, Op cit.

preparation of *Bori*-Fetish. *Bunza* also discussed the various kinds of Magic and Magicians i.e. the black and white Magic, Sorcery, and other diabolic possessions.[33]

J. A, Ibrahim. *et.al.* (2007) in their article titled: *Ethno-Medicinal Plants and Methods Used by Gwandara Tribe of Sabo Wuse in Niger State, to Treat Mental illness,* Published in African .Journal of Traditional, Complementary and Alternative Medicine. The work appears to be important to this research work for its dealing with indigenous knowledge of local traditional medicine that was inherited from one generation to another. These include music, incantations and medicinal plants of various formulation- decoction powders, infusions which are administered through various ways like bathing, steaming, drinking, inhalation and fumigation. Moreover, the author attempted to link mental illness with spirits which he emphasized as *(Mutanen Boye)* the hidden ones or the hidden people. The writer argues that it is still very difficult to determine how the methods of *Bori, Girka* and Incantation work. The fact still remains that most of the patients get relief.[34]

Another work reviewed is the article of *Nuruddeen* (2008) Titled: *Healing through Ruqyah (incantation) with Special Focus on the Perception of Malay Muslim Society in Kalentan and Terrenganu, Ruqya as an Alternative Way of Healing in Malaysia.* Journal of International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine. The paper attempted to discuss the effective nature of healing with *Ruqya* in *Malaysia.* The write-up is essential due to the author's further explanation on the ways and manners involved in healing through *Ruqya*. However, the author cited many verses in the Glorious *Qur'an* and Prophetic Traditions to be used as a prevention and treatment of diseases. Lastly, the

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[33]A. Bunza, *'Gadon Fede Al'ada'*. Jerin Littattafan Cibiyar Nazarin Al'adun Hausawa, (npp)2006.
[34]A. Ibrahim. et al. 'Ethno-Medicinal Plants and Method used by Gwandara Tribe of Sabo Wuse in Niger State, Nigeria, to treat Mental Illness'. *African Journal, Traditional Complementary and Alternative Medicine,* 2007.

author discussed the issue of *Tauhid* and stressed that there is no doubt if a person recites the verses sincerely with full concentration and clear instructions given by the prophet, such a prayer can be considered as a means for protection and prevention from evil.[35]

Another thesis for PhD submitted by Abdulganiy, (2009) to University of Birmingham, School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion. Titled: *Evil Forces and Shirk among the Yoruba Muslims in Nigeria With Special Reference to Ilorin City,* the writer discussed the unseen world *(Ghaib)* which includes the three intelligent beings namely: the Angels, *Jinn* and Human. These beings have interactions with one another in different occasions. Apart from this, the author surveyed the origin of *Jinn* and their abilities which are of great importance to this research work. Many Glorious *Qur'ánic* verses were quoted for proof. The author explained how a possessed one would be identified. Some scholars refute any spirit possession as only fiction and unreal. Another relevant issue on the origin and reality of Magic was explained in the thesis. The author discussed the views of some scholars in the past and present on Magic as nothing but deception of human senses. The author narrated the forms of evil spirits that are rampant up till now most especially sorcery and witchcraft among *Yoruba Muslims*. It is explored in the thesis that this prompted to the use of charms, amulets and black Magic as a remedy to this kind of super natural problems. Exorcists used to combat the problems of their clients through the use of natural things, incantations and rituals, while the Muslim clerics engage in both acts of healing i.e. *Ruqya,* as well as, the *Yoruba* practices. The thesis is of relevance to this work because the author discussed the shirk practices which drag the doer out of the

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[35]N. Deuraseh. et-el, 'Healing through Ruqya (Incantation) with special focus on the Perception of Malay-Muslim Society in Kelanta and Terengganu on Ruqya as an alternative way of healing'. *Journal of the International Society for the History of Islamic Medicine.* 2008.

Islamic faith. Therefore, the author opined that it will be better to tackle problems without engaging into any form of *Shirk* practices.[36]

The book of *Dahiru* 2010 titled *Qur'anic Studies in Borno: Development in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*. The book is very important and has certain relevance to this research. It indirectly touches some significant issues related to this research. The author stated clearly the use of Glorious *Qur'an* as medicine for cure and protection since the early introduction of Islam. Allah the Lawgiver has created everything on the earth including diseases and likewise provided medicine for its cure. Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) was reported to have said; There is a medicine for every disease; and if the medicine is given (as treatment) for the disease, it would be cured with the permission of Allah[37]. Other similar *Qur'ánic* verses, authentic Prophetic Traditions and juristic opinions were highlighted. Furthermore, the author relatively traced the use of *Qur'ánic* verses in protection against evil and for treatment of bodily diseases. Consequently, the practice of *Qur'ánic* medicine in *Borno* custom known as (*Darni)* was brought to light. The word (Darni) is a derivation from the Arabic word (Zarani) meaning he visited me. Technically the word refers to a visitation to a learned for the purpose of seeking efficacy of prayers against evil, and other issues were also elaborated.[38]

Nursi 2010 authored a book titled: *Prayer and Healing in Islam with Addendum of 25 Remedies For the Sick.* He explained the practice of prayer for purposes of health and a means for recovery from sickness, not only for theological reasons. The author quoted some relevant *Qur'ánic* verses which supported the healing power of prayers. Thus, the

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[36]O. Abdulganiy, *'Evil Forces and Shirk among the Yoruba Muslims in Nigeria with special reference to Ilorin City'*. A thesis for PhD submitted to School of Philosophy, Theology and Religion University of Birmingham, 2009.
[37] Sahih Ibn Khuzimah, Op cit, H,2204, p64.
[38]U. Dahiru, *'Qur'anic Studies in Borno: Development in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries'*. Linform Services: Maiduguri, 1986.

author narrated the history of some past Prophets who offered supplications during distress and illness. Not only this, the author discussed extensively on the criteria for the healing prayer and guidelines for making supplication (*Du'a*). He went further to mention numerous Islamic physicians who were well-known in medicine and were often quoted by other scholars. However, the author compared views of some scholars and opined to use the three types of remedies for curing various kinds of sickness as done by the Prophet (pbuh). These include natural, Divine and the combination of the Divine and natural.[39]

Lewu 2011 had a very important work titled: *Cultural Similarities in World History: A Study of Spirit Possession in Nigeria and Pacific Asia,* being a paper presented at the Conference of the Association of World History, London School of Economics and Political Science. The author has tried to bring out the concept of spirit possession among African women as an avenue to express their feelings. This is through casting out of spirits that permanently or temporarily take over sick women, especially those with psychological problems in order to obtain relief. According to the paper, the spirit possession is not something new but it has been known since the primitive times for it occurred in most parts of the world. However, the author discussed the spirit possession as important aspect of Cultural Development in Africa. Similarly, the author enlisted some methods involved in the process e.g. the use of hallucinating herbs, hypnotism, drumming and animal sacrifice. Lastly, the author looked at how the *Bori*-Fetish was

[39]S. Nursi, *'Prayer and Healing in Islam, with Addendum of 25 Remedies for the Sick'*. Tughra Books New Jersey: USA, 2010.

suppressed by the reformers and the British. And with all these, the rituals survived in some rural parts of *Nigeria*.[40]

Another relevant work to this research work is the dissertation of Maysoon 2012 titled: *Spirituality Care of the Hospitalized Patients Following Admission to the Cardiac Care Units, Policy Implications.* Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Akron, for Doctor of philosophy. The thesis covered to some extent the concept of spirituality in Islam. That concept of spirituality is built upon *'Tauhid'* which means believing that there is no God but Allah. This is the first difference of western view and the Islamic view of spirituality. So also, the thesis attempted to explore the relationship between medicine and spirituality because the healers were the same persons as the religious leaders or the priests. The healers used to take care of the body and the spirit of the sick person in order to treat their sickness. Thus, the spiritual care is very vital for all people especially those who suffer with chronic or incurable diseases. In a nutshell, Islam takes care of the soul and giving them a considerable attention. Therefore, the thesis has made mention of some Islamic remedies e.g. Ask Allah for forgiveness and wellbeing, prayers, fasting and *Ruqya*. Such a belief allows Muslims to live in genuine spiritual peace.[41]

Another important work worthy of mention as a reference is Zakiya Muhammad's thesis, submitted to the Department of Psychology, University of Witwatersrand titled: *An Exploration of South African Muslim General Practitioners Perceptions of Mental Illness within Len Asia, a Suburb of Johannesburg.* The author elaborated the care given by Islam to any kind of sickness be it epidemic or endemic. However, Muslims believe that

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[40]L. A. Mary, *'Cultural Similarities in World History: A Study of Spirit Possession in Nigeria and Pacific Asia'*. A paper presented at the conference of the Association of World History and International Studies, held at London school of Economics and Political Science, 2011.

[41] K. A. Mysoon, 'Spiritual Care of the Hospitalized Patients following Admission to the Cardiac Care units: Policy Implications'. A Dissertation for Doctor of Philosophy presented to the Graduate Faculty University of Akron, 2012.

any type of ailment is an atonement of one's sin, but treatment is encouraged. Thus, the author mentioned some verses to prove his stand. The author did not keep silent on issues regarding *Tauhid,* that all the good and the bad are ordained by Allah the Almighty. The thesis discussed on witchcraft, sorcery, black magic and *Sihr*. When one is affected by the *Sihr* or witchcraft some symptoms will be experienced such as lethargy, illness, bad dreams, hearing of unnecessary voices, separating of marriages, infertility, miscarriages, weight gain or loss of weight.[42] Therefore, the above mentioned literature works were reviewed for their relevance to this research work.

[42]Z. Mohammed, 'An Exploration of South African Muslim, General Practitioners Perceptions of Mental Illness within Len Asia, a Suburb of Johannesburg'. Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology, University of Witwatersrand. (nd). (Unpublished).

CHAPTER TWO
BACKGROUND OF THE AREA OF STUDY: BORNO STATE

Borno state is one of the thirty six states in Nigeria. It is located in North Eastern part of the country. It has almost the longest recorded history in the Nigerian historiography. It is against this background that different cultures of the world represented by the Chadic language speakers, which comprises Shuwa and Kanembu-Kanuri which brought about the predominant religion of Islam since the seventh century AD. Indeed, the significant development was the advent of Islam through Kawar Oases in C.667 AD when Uqbah bn Nafi led a military expansion to the area. Later on Kanem-Borno became a centre of political, educational and economic growth. The kingdom was named after a hero and a founder of the *Sayfawa* ruler known as *Sayf bin Dhi Yazan* around 9th century C.E. [43] The historical events that followed the arrival of *Sayfawa* dynasty were the massive conquests and spread of Islam. As a result of the rising, falling, expanding and shrinking of some empires in Africa these impacted on the socio-economic well-being of the people. After the collapse of the *Sayfawa* dynasty, *El-kanemi* continued to exert the same impact.[44] Borno is one of the two recognised and prominent kingdoms that existed in Northern Nigeria; the other is Sokoto Caliphate that was established by *Shaikh Uthman Ibn Foduye* in the nineteenth century.[45]

The policy of state creation in the country started in 1963 when the mid-western region came into being. The period was characterized with pressing demands of creating more states. Four years later, twelve states were created out of the former regions. The Northern region was split into six states among which were the defunct North Eastern state. Later on, on 3rd Feb 1976, the then Head of State, General *Murtala Ramat*

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[43] M. Nur Alkali *et al*. *'Nigeria Research Network NRN'* Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University, 2012, P 4.
[44] A. Tijjani, Op cit, P 19.
[45] Ibid, P 18.

Mohammed created additional seven states in the country making the total number nineteen. In this division, the North eastern part was divided into *Borno, Bauchi* and *Gongola* states now *Adamawa* state. Furthermore, more states were created on 27th August 1991. A considerable portion of old Borno state was carved out to create *Yobe* state by the then military Head of State *Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida.*[46] However, *Borno* state referred to as ''Home of peace'' as its slogan and later become volatile state due to aggression of the insurgents who repeatedly engaged in kidnapping, looting, burning and destruction of lives and properties.[47] Maiduguri is the state capital and popularly known as *Yerwa* for its well-being and goodness. Maiduguri (*Yerwa)* was founded and adopted in 1907 by the British colonialists. It came into being as one of the Mega cities of Northern Nigeria.[48] The city is well protected from rays and beams of the sunlight by Neem trees planted on the main roads and the various streets in order to protect the environment from drought and desertification.[49]

2.1 Geographical Location of Borno State

Due to the geographical location and ecological features of the state, the area has a short rainy season. The peasant farmers plant and harvest their crops from June to September.[50] Consequently, the state has a hot and dry weather for a greater portion of the year, but the southern part of the state is partially mild. Excess heat of about 40 to 42^0 C, is recorded, often the rising of temperature causes discomfort to the people and make agricultural produce like water melon and cucumber to grow worse in quality. Borno is located within the latitude 10N and 14N and longitude 11 30E and 14 45E, with the area of 61,435sq.[51] Presently, the state is bordered by three Countries. It is bordered to the north by Niger

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[46]Borno state Government, '*Borno state Handbook'* Dadin-kowa ventures Jos Nigeria, 1993. P24.
[47] www.cometonigeria.com , Retrieved on 11/04/2015, 11:30am
[48] A. G. Tijjani, Op cit, P50
[49] I. Mayomi and J. A. Mohammed, A Decade Assessments of Maiduguri Urban Expansion (2002-2012): Vol 14, *Global Journals Inc*. (USA), 2014,P2.
[50]R. Cohen '*The Kanuri of Bornu'* Winston Inc, New York 1967,P77.
[51] www.onlinenigeria.com Retrieved on 11/4/2015.

Republic; to the east by Chad Republic and Cameroon Republic to the South East.[52] And internally it shared borders with Adamawa, Gombe and Yobe states.[53]

2.2 People and their Occupation

Borno state is quite heterogeneous with different kinds of people living in rural and urban areas of the state. It has an estimated population of about 4,151,193 as indicated in the 2006 census.[54] Borno is known to be a multi lingual town. There are many ethnic groups and immigrants who came to settle in the state. The dominant ethnic group occupying three quarters of the population of the state are *Kanuri* who have a long and rich history. They mainly reside in the following local Government Areas: Abadam, Mobar, Gubio, Guzamala, Kukawa, Nganzai, Monguno, Marte, Ngala, Kala-balge, Dikwa, Bama, Konduga, Mafa, Kaga, Magumeri, Damboa , Jere and Maiduguri Metropolis. Shuwa are also a dominant ethnic group who mostly reside together with the *Kanuri* ethnic group.[55] Other ethnic groups are Fulani, Hausa, Guduf, Gamargu, Mandara, Babur-Bura, Marghi, Gwoza, Matakam-Wula , Kanakuru, Chibok and other smaller ethnic groups living in almost all the local Government Areas of the state. The Gamargu ethnic group are found in Dikwa, Bama, Konduga and others.[56] Babur-bura are inhabitants of Biu and Hawul Local Government Areas as well as the Marghi ethnic groups are in Askira and Damboa as well as Gwoza who are known for their diverse cultural heritage. The above mentioned tribes are considered to be indigenous languages (tribes) of the state.[57] For example, the Gamargu and Matakam *(wula)* ethnic groups have been exposed to gradual acculturation from the *kanuri* ethnic group. Nevertheless, despite their incorporation they were still regarded to some extent by their *kanuri* neighbours as pagans even though they profess

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[52] A. Tijjani, Op cit, P17.
[53] A. G. Tijjani, Op cit, P50.
[54] H. Usman. etal ,Op cit, P24.
[55] Ibid.
[56] A. Tijjani, Op cit, P18.
[57] M. Adam, *'Dikwa History of Afrrican City*' Fine Print Ltd, Lagos (2000) , P14.

Islam.[58] Though, the ethnic fusion has made the *Kanuri* and other ethnic groups to tolerate each others culture. More so, this had led to inter-ethnic marriages between the *Kanuri* and other ethnic groups in the state.[59]

Historically, the state is said to have been economically good because the early settlers engaged in different types of economic activities. Majority of the people in the state are farmers and herdsmen. They believe that farming is one of the most important aspects of human development. It is the means of providing livelihood to the people in any society. They engage in farming of millet, corn, sorghum, cotton, fruits, guinea-corn, gum Arabic, beans, groundnuts and other crops due to the large fertile land conducive for the production of varieties of crops in the state. This is evident in the establishment of Chad Basin Development Authority, Lake Chad Research Institute, Borno State Agricultural Development Programme and other similar agencies. The amount of farming varies from one village to another. However, some of the urban dwellers have resorted to buying and selling for daily earnings in the available markets in the state capital and other villages.[60] They also engage in rearing of cattle, goats, sheep, horses, donkeys, camels and others. Also some inhabitants of the state are civil servants working in various ministries and parastatals. Other important facets of the economy in Borno are the petty and foreign trades in different types of goods imported and exported due to its unique strategic geographical settings coupled with the historical involvement of its people in the ancient Trans Saharan trade. [61] Other important occupations are hand crafts such as blacksmithing, goldsmithing, artistic designs and other hand works that are organized under headmen in different settlements. This reflects the fact that children tend to remain

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[58] A. Tijjan, Op cit, P32.
[59] Ibid, P 12.
[60] R. Cohen, Op cit, P78.
[61]B. Kachalla '*Papers on the History of Borno under the El-kanemi Dynasty'* First class printing works Maiduguri Borno state, 2010, P82.

under their parents as apprentice especially when learning certain occupations like blacksmithing, tailoring, mechanic, traditional medicine healing and others. More so, those with physical challenges played a great role in craft work. For example the blind that lived together in the same area used to make ropes and local carpets for sale.[62] Hunting is another profession which is of minor significance for some people. Fishing is a major source of income to the villages along the Lake Chad shores. A large percentage of smoked fish is transported to the southern parts of the country and even abroad by the inhabitants. The people also engaged in dyeing, weaving and other lucrative activities. The state is agriculturally rich with a high proportion of sand and clay soil for planting different kinds of agricultural crops. There are different species of big trees like neem, baobab and tamarind in the region.[63]

2.3 Socio-Cultural Background

Socio-Cultural setting of people is a way of life with regards to their behaviour, belief system, attitudes, knowledge, life style and others. The aforementioned values distinguished the members of one social group from another. It is interesting to note that the *Jinn* are creatures of Allah like any other creatures. This is frequently mentioned in the Glorious Qur'an and the Prophetic Traditions of the Prophet (pbuh). Traditionally, Borno people believe in the existence of a number of spirits like *Goigoi* spirit. It is short in its physical structure and usually lives in forest, but comes to a nearby town or village to take away children. They also believe in *Kolidam* spirit which is very tall and not often seen, lives in a bush to call people's names in order to cause possessions. So also, the belief in *Mairam kuruwu* (tall) spirit is widely circulated within the people. This spirit is very tall in structure, mostly lives in caves, hallows and deserted buildings. It walks

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[62] R. Cohen, Op cit, P81.
[63] Ibid, P18.

during the midnight to harm its victims. They also believe in *Ngauram* spirit which looks like an animal most especially ram or at times fish with human head. This kind of spirit usually lives in wells and rivers sometimes it harms people. There exists also the belief in witchcraft, those who have power and ability to afflict their victims by striking them.[64] This brings about what is called *Duwo-duwo* (Magic) in Borno and the practitioner is *Duwo-duwoma* (Magician). It is believed to be in form of imaginary mysterious powers that make people see actually something that is not real to be like real. For example, you can see somebody cutting some part of his body with a sharp blade with no effect.

It is believed in some instances that the power of charms, talisman, and amulets can give maximum protection from being harmed.[65] Though, their magic formulation depends on the nature of protection required. For example amulet is worn around the body or neck for protection against a host of afflictions. Charm is used to seek protection against health related issues and talisman is believed to have magical powers for bringing good.[66] This belief in magical power prevailed to the extent that some people cannot do without putting on some superstitious objects for the fear of calamities and to feel protected.[67]

2.4 Qur'ánic Healing tradition

Healing with the Glorious Qur'án was as old as the coming of Islam in the history of Borno. In most cases patients used to consult the *sayinna* (Qur'ánic Scholar) in order to diagnose his problem for effective solution.[68] These are done through writing the Qur'ánic verses on a slate and wash it to drink or write the verses on a paper and close it

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[64]Borno State Ministry of Education '*kanuri curriculum'* With Collaboration of Kicoe Maiduguri 1995, P59.
[65] E. Kaka, Op cit, P116.
[66]N.W.Khalid, '*The Preservation of Arabic 'Spiritual Medicine' in Hausa Society*' Arabic/Ajami manuscripts: Resource for the Development of New Knowledge in Nigeria. Arewa House, Centre for Historical Documentation and Research A.B.U Zaria Kaduna, 2010, P290.
[67] U. Dahiru, Op cit, P209.
[68] E. Kaka, Op cit, P125.

for amulets. According to *Dahiru* it is a tradition in Borno for any one who has a problem pertaining protection against bodily diseases like affliction of *Jinn*, harm and social problems to visit a Qur'anic scholar for intervention. The method of assisting individuals with the aid of the verses of Glorious Qur'an is known as *Darni.* Some call it *Taida, Moduwa* or *Alangoro* certainly these terms signify the act of prayers. The way and manner of praying is by spitting on one's body.[69] Furthermore, (Susan) asserted in his work that any sickness that cannot be healed by the Glorious Qur'an can not be healed. The Glorious Qur'an provides solutions to all problems such as, psychological as well as physical body sicknesses.[70]

Allah says

> And We send down of the Qur'an that which is a healing and mercy to those who believe in Islamic Monotheism and act on it, and it increases the polytheists and wrong doers nothing but loss.[71]

So also, the *Bornoans* encouraged polygamy and extended family because of their interest in having many children which they consider a gift from Allah. Although in the modern day Borno charms are sought by the couples to promote pregnancy for those who are barren or to prevent pregnancy if they encounter problems during delivery.[72] It is also within the cultural context of Borno, most especially the *Kanuri* ethnic group; whenever a parent is blessed with twins that particular parent is respected. More so, it is believed that if a comment is uttered in the scene of delivering a twins by saying oh! Or there is another one coming out! Then as a result the other pair would return back and get delayed

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[69] U. Dahiru, Op cit, P203.
[70] O'Brien.S, Op cit p229
[71] Qur'an 17:82
[72] R.Cohen Op cit, P53.

for sometimes.[73] It is also believed by some ignorant local people that twins are born three or seven times for they choose their parents by conducting various tests for the parents before accepting them as parents. These tests however cause damage to the woman's belongings, especially breakable items like calabashes, dishes, plates, water pots or displacing the sets of room decorations without any physical contact. This is done to see the mother's reaction to that particular damage. This is to measure her level of patience. Furthermore, snakes or scorpions can appear to the parents to test whether the animals would be killed.[74] Based on the personal experience and observation of the researcher there are other superstitious beliefs that are practiced in the rural areas, these include meeting a leper first in the morning, this is interpreted as sign of bad omen. Sweeping in the night brings about poverty, crying of a crow in the night is an indication of someone's death.

Similarly, Borno is known for its festive durbar by horse men who are well known for their outstanding performance. In fact horsemen are invited to stage the durbar and entertain visiting dignitaries. The event is characterized by the display of horsemanship, armoury, war weapons and traditional military officers like the *Kazallawa* (military captains), *Zarma* (regimental commander). The durbar of Borno was inherited from the *Sayfawa* dynasty and was further modified with the introduction of a new military institution.[75] The state is blessed with distinct and cherished cultural heritage like Singing and drumming. For example *Tembal* and *Bala* performances are considered to be good *kanuri* songs likewise a drumming like *Dunu* performance from *Kaga* is considered devilish. *Jentu* is also a song mostly sung for the purposes of entertainment, enjoyment or to contribute to the happiness of events like weddings and naming ceremonies. *Shila* from

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[73]K. Rudiger '*Advances in Kanuri scholarship'* Verlag, Koln,1997, P243.
[74] Ibid, P243.
[75] B. Kachalla Op cit, P142.

Kala and *Ganga-kura* Music are also beaten and blown for general entertainment. The performer of such drumming and singing is called *Duwu*. [76] Some of the performances are classified according to ethnic groups and their locations, *Boka Amina* is a ritual and social dance, *Bonsuwe* from *Biu* town being performed during ceremonies, *Dumsa Sigal* loved by the *Kanuri* and *Shuwa Arab, Dzagwa-Dzagwa* is a multipurpose dance from *Uba*, Garda from *Guduf* of *Gwoza* Area, *Gunda* a *Kanuri* dance, *Gurva* from *Hambagda, Koro-koro* a social acrobatic dance by *Shuwa* Arab youths, *Shagalga* from *Ngoshe, Maliki* Dance from Maiduguri, *Alhatowo* from *Limankara, Amaya* which is purposeful for birth celebration.[77] Based on the personal observation of the researcher Borno diets include a great quantity of rice, millet with vegetable as soup which contains meat, groundnut oil, salt and red peppers are poured, but the soup content depends on the socio-economic category of the family. Goats, Sheep, Cow and Camel are slaughtered for religious ceremonies and other activities.

Thus, many social activities in Borno have their base from Islam, some of social manners include discipline, greeting, clothing, business interaction respect such like small to big. Son must be completely loyal to his father and work for him in whatever way his father wants as well as to obey his seniors. When the father dies, the eldest son or any senior will replace the father as head of the family.[78]

Apart from the traditional culture, Borno is not left behind in tourism based on its natural and manmade resources. The state is blessed with mountainous landscape in the south and historical monuments from the ancient *Kanem Bornu* Empire in the north. The aforementioned description, endowed with lots of tourists centres[79] like the *Shehu's*

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[76] K. Rudiger Op cit, P118.
[77] Borno State Government, Op cit, P28.
[78] R. Cohen, Op cit, P46.
[79] A. Bunza Op cit, P28.

Palace located prominently in the centre of the Metropolis with reflection of Grandeur prestigious relics and modified Architectural design of Egyptian Arab civilisation, the historic *Kukawa* Town where the *El-kanemi* dynasty started, Lake *Chad* which extends from *Kala-Balge, Ngala, Marte, Kukawa, Mobbar* and *Abadam* Local Government Areas of the state, Lake *Alau* located off *Maiduguri* some 14 km away, the *Gwoza* Hills which is of about 1,300 metres high, Lake Tilla some 7 km away south west of Biu in Hawul Local Government, Rabih's Fort in Dikwa as his headquarters after successful invasion of Borno Empire, Jaffy Falls in Kwaya-Kusar it is unique for its pleasant environment most especially Excursion Tours, Sambisa Game Reserve which harbours a sizeable population of wildlife, Tombs of the first four Shehus of Borno at Kukawa, the Marama Mountain which form the shape of letter 'M' from a distance,[80] Kyarimi park, Family Recreation and amusement park, Open Air Theatre in Maiduguri.

2.5 Religious Background

Islam is a divine religion that was sent by Allah to mankind through Prophet Muhammad peace and benediction of Allah be upon him. He started propagating Islam when he was forty. Until after the demise of the Prophet the propagation activities continued by the efforts made by the Companions and those after them. From this point Islam spread to other areas within and outside the Arabian peninsula up to North Africa, West Africa, Spain, Portugal and many other countries. Therefore, Kanem Borno was in contact with Islam through Merchants, itinerant Scholars, Sufi orders and the Muslim preachers.[81]Considering the above, the exact date of penetration of Islam into Kanem Borno is not certain. Though, the Borno *Mahram* (letter of privilege) asserted that Islam was introduced into Kanem Borno by a prominent scholar Muhammad Ibn Mani in the

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[80]*Borno state Diary* Government printing press Maiduguri 2012 pp 3-5

[81] E. O. Babalola *'The advent and Growth of Islam in West Africa' Publicat*ions International, Ibadan, 1973, P25.

11th century during the reign of Mai Umme Jilmi. It was also asserted that the Islamization of the area must have taken place prior to the arrival of Ibn Mani for there were kings who read the Glorious Qur'an[82]. Therefore, Islam is the major religion of the people. Their values and cultures are mostly in line with the tenets of Islam. The chief judge *(Qadi Al-qudat)* and the *Ulamá* of early Borno were given the title of *Talba* and *Shettima* for they were steeped in the knowledge of the Glorious Qur'án and Islamic Jurisprudence. These title holders were regarded as second to the king or the next in authority to the king himself.[83] Usually, Borno was known to be followers of *Maliki* tradition of Islamic practice from North Africa. The *Ulama* of *Borno* played a vital role in the spread of Islam to the villages, Local Governments and even beyond.

The socio-cultural life of the people of Borno in relation to social activities such as marriage, gestation, birth, naming ceremony, infancy, childhood, puberty, adolescence, maturity, old age and death are guided by Islamic principles.[84]

CHAPTER THREE
THE CONCEPTS OF BORI-FETISH AND QUR'ÁNIC HEALING

Islamic religion has the same origin as Judaism and Christianity. The major tenet of Muslim faith is based upon declaration of the unity of Allah which stands for, 'there is no god but Allah and Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, is the Messenger of Allah:

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[82] U. Dahiu Op cit, P23.
[83]R. Cohen Op cit, P22.
[84]Darman. A et-al *'The History of Kanuri people and their cultural heritage in Maiduguri Borno State'* Being a seminar paper presented at the Kashim Ibrahim College Of Education Maiduguri, 2013, P7.

This particular monotheistic phrase clearly differentiate between the Muslims and non-Muslims.

3.1 The Origin of Bori-Fetish

As a matter of fact, it is necessary to define the term Bori. The word *Bori* is from the word *(Bore)* a Hausa word, which means to protest out of grievances or take revenge. In other version, the word Bori is rooted from *(Boren ruwa)* which means boiling of water or any liquid substance. For example when a liquid reaches its boiling point, then the water starts *Bori* to the extent that the lid of the container would tilt or the water would gush out of it.[85] The technical meaning of *Bori* is the traditional animist religion which involves spirit possession.[86] Possession in the sense of interference of the physical and non physical harm to the brain of a person to cause negative changes in all what he does.[87] This is why the *Bori*-Fetish is attributed to be a highly traditional psychological therapy which brings about a patient/ healer relationship, as well as, social interaction through vigorous drumming, psycho dramatic expression for observing ritualistic behaviour, which at the end; the spirit will propitiate to withdraw his affliction.[88] In another view, *Bori* is not certain to be for a specific or to a particular group of people.[89] The current type of *Bori* is extracted in a relic of ancient animistic religion that existed a long time ago.[90] It is interesting to note that in all parts of the world, every race has one form of belief system according to its culture. Therefore, the origin of *Bori*-Fetish is much speculated, for the fact that it was primitive; there is no unanimously agreed date of its start. Historical documents show that *Bori*-Fetish is pre Islamic magic that had been utilized by *Maguzawa* as a medium of traditional religion for attainment of certain

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[85]A. Bunza, Op cit, P21.
[86] L. A Marry, Op cit, P3.
[87] M. A. Al-Mubayyad *'Al-massu Al-shaytani Wa turqul Ilaaj'* Al-mukhtar Foundation Cairo 2008, P42.
[88]A. Gadh Op cit, P45.
[89] S. Hurreiz et-al, *'Women's Medicine, the Zar-Bori cult in Africa and beyond'* International African seminar, Edinburgh University Press,P56.
[90] M. Sinikangas, Op cit , P12.

objectives.[91] In this regard gods and goddesses were worshiped through their ancestors. As such spirit possession and *Bori*-Fetish were practiced as a remedy for any social calamity and possession. Thus *Bori*-Fetish would not survive without spirit possession. Women were the main actors of *Bori* possession and some regarded it as women's medicine. This tradition persisted to the extent that many visit traditional occultists when any calamity befalls them.[92] In this synchronic picture in mind, the Hausa people called spirits *'Mutanen Boye'* that is the hidden people. According to them, they are creatures that are capable to change to any shape they want in order to pose great fear among the people. It is also believed that the spirits are of two kinds namely, the wicked ones that can cause harm to humans, indeed its management tends to be tough for it involves a number of processes such as music, fumigations, incantations, inhaling of some prepared stuff,[93] blood sacrifice, use of power objects, plant derived medicine for the purposes of divination and protection against misfortune, and the good ones do not harm.[94] Certainly, manner and morals play a role in forming the relations among *Jinn,* as well as their relations with human beings. For example one gets afflicted by *Jinn* when the *Jinn* falls in love with his victim, just as it happens between one human being and another. Sometimes it may be a reprisal affliction as a result of harming them mistakenly or unknowingly by urinating on them, pouring hot water on them or killing them mistakenly. Like human beings, there are ignorant and wrong doers among them as well.[95] Some authors see *Bori*-Fetish as a new development of nineteenth century in the

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[91] Y. Gobir, Op cit, P14.
[92] M. U. Bunza and A. M. Ashafa 'Religion and the New Roles of youth in Sub-saharan Africa:The Hausa and Ebira Muslim Communities in Northern Nigeria, 1930s-1980s' *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies,* vol.9, no 27, 2010, P306.
[93] A. Ibrahim, Op cit, P213.
[94] B. F. Soares, *'Religious Pluralism and Conflict in Contemporary Mali'* West African Research Association, the Wenner-Green Foundation and North-western University, 1995, P231.
[95] A. M. *'Bunza, Boruqiyya: Tazarar Bori da Ruqiyya a Idon Manazarta'* Takardar da aka Gabatar a Taron Karawa juna Sani, Cibiyar Nazarin Harsunan Nigeria Jami'ar Bayero Kano, 19 March 2005, P4. (Unpublished)

aftermath of the *(Jihad)* wars that led to the overthrow of *Hausa* rulers. This crisis led to a stressful situation and favoured the formation of a 'refuge cult'. Along these lines, the practitioners of *Bori*-Fetish see it in various ways; the practitioners like *Maguzawa* perceive it as a form of religion and for the Muslim practitioners for whom *Bori*-Fetish is a means of curing sickness. The other group are mostly prostitutes and criminals for whom *Bori*-Fetish is only a form of entertainment and personal interest.[96] When discussing about the origin of *Bori*-Fetish or Islamic Exorcism spirit possession must be inclusive. Opinions are commonly divided in different ways on the spirit possession. However, there are those who claimed it to be of Islamic origin and those who relate it to be of pagan origin or traditional religion.[97] Those who claimed it to be of Islamic origin might relate it to the frequent mentioning of Demons *(Jinn)* in the Glorious Qur'án. In this regard, it was stated that the Jinn who remained out of control of Prophet Suleiman (A.S) who is believed to have all the Jinn under his sway, all of a sudden, one hide in the seventh sky and thus the *Jinn* stayed away from the Prophet's sway. Then the Jinn descended from where he was when Prophet Suleiman was saying his prayers. On seeing the Jinn the Prophet queried him on who and what he is? The *Jinn* responded. I am a Merry Jinn who would appear at the end of time and seduce humans! Then the Jinn disappeared.[98] It was also stated Prophet Suleiman asked the *Jinn* to descend to the earth, but they refused. They would only be pleased to come down by the smell of incense and sound of drums. These Demons *(Jinn)* are the ones causing troubles to people and who possess them at any time.[99] It might be these spirits that are referred to as a 'wind' *iska* in

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[96] A. Hurskainen, Op cit, P29.
[97] M. Sinikangas, Op cit, P 12.

[98] A. Gadh, Op cit, P 44.
[99] Ibid, P 44.

Hausa reeh in Arabic although the influence of Islam had caused it to be named as *Jinn* (spirits) and *Shayṭan* (devils)[100]

3.2 The Origin of Qur'ánic Healing (*Ruqyah*)

Accepted *Ruqyah* is totally different from any other polytheistic healing, this is because legal *Ruqyah* is believed to be a method of healing with the verses of the Glorious Qur'án and the supplications of the Prophet (pbuh) that deals intensively on medicine and cure. The practice of *Ruqyah* originated before the coming of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula and it was later refined by the Prophet (pbuh) through the divine guidance. *Aisha* (R.A) the beloved wife of the Prophet was reported to have said;

> 'Allah's Messenger (S.A.W) came into her house and saw with her a Jewish woman who was treating her with Ruqyah. He told her: 'treat her with Allah's book'[101]

In this regard *Ruqyah* is being practiced prior to the coming of Islam and it was purified. The crucial point as it was viewed by *Imám Al-Ghazáli* that the study of medicine and religion-based healing is a collective obligation *(Fard Kifayah)*. The Qur'an is a book of guidance, as well as a means of powerful healing source available to human beings.[102] The Prophet's Hadith has it thus:

> 'Some companions of the prophet came across a tribe amongst the tribes of the Arabs, and that the tribe did not entertain them. While they were in that state, the chief of that tribe was bitten by a snake (or stung by a scorpion). They said to the companions of the prophet, have you got any medicine with you or any body who can treat with Ruqyah? The prophet's companions said, 'you refuse to entertain us, so we will not treat your chief unless you pay us for it. So they agreed to pay them a flock of sheep. One of the prophet's Companions started reciting *Surat al-fatiha*

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[100] S. Hurreiz, Op cit, P88.
[101] M. I. Hibban, *'Sahih Ibn Hibban'* Al-risala Foundation, Beirut Lebanon, 1993, P464.
[102] M. M Al-Ghazali *'Ihya'u Ulumiddeen'* Darul Ma'arifa Beirut Lebanon, nd, P16.

> and gathering his saliva and spitting it at the snake bite. The patient got cured and his people presented a sheep to them, but they said, 'we will not take it unless we ask the prophet whether it is lawful'. When they asked him , he smiled and said , 'how do you know that S*urat al- fatiha* is *Ruqyah*? Take it and assign a share for me.[103]

It was revealed in this Hadith that *Ruqyah* is meant to seek a cure and healing for illness by reciting the Glorious Qur'an and should be in accordance with the teachings of Islam.[104] Thus, modern researches have categorically stated that prayer by itself is a powerful tool to cure diseases as it increases the healing power of medicine.[105] There is a special book meant for Islamic medication known as *(Al-tibb Al-nabawy)* the Prophetic medicine. The book was described as:

> 'a compilation and systemization of an aspect of the Legacy of the Prophet in domain of diet, health and illness complementing the legal, intellectual and spiritual dimensions of the legacy he left to the Islamic community through his *Sunnah*.'[106]

It is interesting to note that the Prophet (SAW) not only encouraged the sick to search for treatment, but also invited expert physicians from far for healing the sick.[107] *Ruqyah* is used as a means of taking preventive measures against sicknesses, affliction, evil eye and magic. Therefore, the spiritual approaches to the management of diseases and a person suffering from disease is the use of Divine supplications. This is evident in the Divine revelation. Aisha the beloved wife of the Prophet (May Allah be pleased with her) was reported to have said;

> 'Whenever Allah's Apostle went to bed he used to recite *Surah Al-ikhlas, surat Al-falaq* and *Surah Al-nass* and then blow on his palms and pass them over his face and those

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[103] M. B. Isma'il *'Al-jami Al-sahih'* Darul Shu'aib Cairo, 1987, P121.
[104] S. Nursi, Op cit, P19.
[105] K. A. Mysoon, Op cit, P58.
[106] S. Johnstone, *'Medicine of the Prophet'* Cambridge England Islamic text society, 1998, P14.
[107] A. Ibnul-Qayyim, Op cit, P123.

> parts of his body that his hands could reach for three times'.[108]

Ayat Al-kursiyyi is also recited for *Ruqyah,* as it addresses the fundamental principle of *Tauhid* which states that nothing in the universe can occur without the prior notice of Allah.[109] It is also stated that whenever the Messenger of Allah paid a visit to a sick or a sick was brought to him, he used to invoke Allah saying:

> Take away the disease, or Lord of people! Cure him as You are the One Who cures. There is no cure but Yours, a cure that leaves no Disease'[110]

In addition to earlier discussion on traditional medicine both the healer and his client must believe that the ultimate healer and protector is Allah alone, and that *Ruqyah* and other medications are means that Allah created for the purpose of recovery. Therefore, the healer must be a strong believer who is not committing *Shirk;* the healer must also believe that he does not have any effect, but the effect of Allah. Consequently, Ruqyah must be in Allah's words based on his names and attributes, as well as, to be in Arabic language.[111] The healer must be capable enough of handling ethical and confidential issues on the sick and the sickness for it is unethical to expose it to others.[112]

3.3 Types of *Bori*-fetish

Both *Hausa* Muslims and *Maguzawa*, (non Muslims) recognize One Supreme omnipresent being: Allah. Though they vary, however, in the extent to which they believe in the happenings of the world. The non Muslims on the other hand believe that the

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[108] S. B. Ash'ath *'Sunan Abi- Dawud'* Daru Al-kitab Al-arabi Beirut Lebanon, 1346A.H, P473.
[109] C. M. York, 'The effects of Ruqyah on a Non-Muslim: A Multiple Case Study Exploration' A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology, Institute of Transpersonal Psychology Palo, Alto, California, 2011, P20. (Unpublished).
[110] I. Ma'rouf, *'Tahzeebu Dalilu Al-faliheen, Sharh Riyadh Al-salihin The Meadows of the righteous'* Dar-Al-manara El-Mansoura Egypt 2003, P636.
[111] M. H Muhammad, *'Al-Ruqyah Al-Shar'iyyah'* 2009 2nd Ed Daru Al-kutub Al-ilmiyyah, Beirut, 2004, P196.
[112] Y. Gobir, Op cit, P103.

affairs of men have been taken by the *Bori* spirits. All the misfortunes are believed to be caused by these forces, which are divided into different categories.[113] This interpretation further divided the *Bori*-cult into four classes in regards to its concepts.

1- *Borin-fage,* this type of Bori is mostly organized for the purposes of entertainments like marriage ceremony, naming ceremony and coronation. It is named after *fage* for it takes place in open places centred in a market, outskirts of people's settlements and even nearby bushes. This will enable the practitioners to show their expertise in the field of *Bori*.
2- *Borin-Magani* i.e. the *Bori* of healing. Before the advent of Islam people sought the helping hands of *Bori* practitioners for healing purposes which has to do with protection against evil, great fortune and good luck for what ever event.
3- *Borin-Giri* (The *Bori* of lie) as the name implies, this *Bori* is practiced by someone who wants to free himself from certain bondage of calamity such as theft, quarrel most especially between two wives. Then the victim tends to fall in *Borin-Giri.* This will enable him to express his grievances, to mention instantly the names those who are after the cause of the calamity. This type of *Bori* is mostly patronized by women.
4- *Borin Girka*. This type of *Bori* is the head among the categories of *Bori* for its great role in dispelling out a spirit. In this, the spirit would be appeased or domiciled on the victim. Thereby a mutual relationship would take place between the victim and the spirit to the extent that the spirit would not harm him. This is a significant reflection on the side of the victim to be a professional *Boka,* who interacts with the spirit pantheon. Thereby, he can heal different ailments.[114]

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[113] S. Hurreiz, Op cit, P43.
[114] A. Bunza, Op cit, P 27.

3.4 Types of Qur'ánic Healing *Ruqyah*

Ruqyah simply means a formula which consists of supplications that include light spitting to be done to someone who is struck by various diseases or *Jinn* possession.[115] The *Ruqyah* is divided into two categories namely the legal *Ruqyah* and the polytheistic *Ruqyah* which is totally condemned by the Islamic law. This is because the performance of polytheistic Ruqyah is not free from Shirk, as well as, the actions are not in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Allah (SWT) says:

> Say (O Muhammad) ''I am only a man like you. It has been revealed to me that your Ilah is One Ilah (Allah). So whoever hopes for the meeting with his Lord, let him work righteous and associate none as a partner in the worship of his Lord.''[116]

Therefore, any act that is not from Allah and his Messenger, and neither has it been accepted upon by the companions or by the consensual agreement of the earlier generation is consequently rejected. In this regard Ruqyah is categorised into the following:

1- Al-ruqyah al-amma: This type of Ruqyah is done for general purposes. In it Surat al-fatiha, Falaq, Nass and other verses are recited for the protection against any calamity.
2- Ruqyah for treating Sihr: Ruqyah fakku Al-sihr. This type of Ruqyah is done for anything that its causes are unknown and ambiguous. [117]
3- Ruqyah for treating evil eye. The effect of evil eye is mostly caused by person's admiration. This derives its strength from looking at a target. Some may even

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[115] S. M. Al-jazari *'Al'nihaya fi Gharibi Al-hadith wa Al-athar'* Al-maktabat Al-ilmiyyah Beirut, 1399A.H, P621.
[116] Qur'an, 18:110.
[117] A. Wahid, Op cit, P13.

effect themselves with evil eye against their will. In this regard the verses of seeking refuge with Allah from evil eye are recited.[118]

3.5 The Physical Practice of *Bori*-Fetish

Historical records stated that the status of spirit possession is an important aspect in Africa to promote cultural activities. Thus, the well known form of spirit possession in Hausa land is *Bori*-fetish which is known as *Zar* in other countries to. It is believed that the spiritual forces reside within the physical things that exist around us like animals, land, rivers and other objects that may likely cause trouble. But this belief system differs from one community to the other.[119] The highest authority in the practice of *Bori*-fetish is *Sarkin Bori*. His tasks and authority vary from general to specific. The second in the hierarchy is the position of *Magajiyar Bori* who is a woman and subordinate to *Sarkin Bori.* The Bori practitioners believed in direct communication with *Jinn* (Demons) when the need arises. They communicate as friends and trustees. However, the guaranteed personalities who have the quality to communicate are the traditional healers *(Bokaye)* who inherited healing methods from their fore parents, fishermen, hunters, blacksmiths, local barbers and others. The communications take place when the *Boka* wants to prove a cause of calamity done by someone, such as Genocide, theft or witchcraft. Thus, the identification of the Spirit to be white with harmless and helpful feature, as well as the black with dangerous attributes is diagnosed through *Bori*-Fetish.[120] Interestingly, the authorities are never possessed by spirits, but participate in the conduct of the ritual.[121] Historically, people who get afflicted or get sick usually look for medical advice through various means like friends, relatives, neighbours and other related professionals and referred to the authorities. This signifies that people in those days patronized a healing

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[118] M. A. Al-mubayyad, Op cit, P225.
[119] L. A. Marry, Op cit, P3.
[120] A. M. Bunza, 'Magana Da Iskoki Ta Bakin Dokinsu' A paper presented at the Department of Nigerian Languages, B.U.K, old Campus 2004, P10. (Unpublished)
[121] M. Sinikangas, Op cit, P11.

method known as *Bori.* The idea of *Bori* is casting out of spirits through which the sick or the one who has psychological unrest will recover.[122] As they perceive, the sicknesses are categorized into two different categories namely: the one attributed to Spirits and the one attributed to nature like weather conditions or contaminated food. Though, these sicknesses caused by Spirits are many in number and complicated in regards to treatment and management. Among the symptoms which are attributed to such an affliction might be Hunchbacked, Madness, Epilepsy, Stroke, Infertility, Bigheaded, Cancer, Baldhead, Regular forgetfulness, Sickness ceased to be treated by traditional healers and other healers.[123] Others are psychological disturbance, depression, agitation, feeling of persecution and migraines. Meanwhile, the physical symptoms might be bleeding, miscarriages and fevers.[124]

The belief of typical *Maguzawa* was brought in harmony in the manner that the past was reshaped to suit the present in order to resolve the conflict within the society; thereby enough Islamic symbols are adopted to be able to stand up firmly from the serious opposition from pious Muslims.[125] By and large most of the *Bori* healers maintained the essence of the ritual, as to appease the spirit or to enchant it completely from the victims through a process known as *Girka.* The patients tend to be not formally themselves, but speaking instead with the voice of others. While in some instances they might assert interpretations which are queried by those with more immediate authority.[126] By the time when the victim is domiciled the spirit will remain in the state of appeasement for the rest of the life of the victim without troubling him. The initiation would be performed through

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[122] S. Hurreiz, Op cit, P42.
[123] A. Wahid, Op cit, P7.
[124] A. Gadh, Op cit, P42.
[125] S. Hurreiz, Op cit, P44.
[126] Ibid, P51.

providing some demands like animals for sacrifice and gifts;[127] therefore the *Bori* of *Girka* is done in specific places like room, special apartment or shade. Consequently, among the items needed to start the *Bori* of *Girka* are mats, two new pots, plate for covering the pots, veil, black caps, new cloth, kola nuts, two black and white chickens, different varieties of food, calabash with full load of oil, ninety different roots and barks of different medicinal plants for medicinal concoction, red potash, pepper, musical instruments like *Kalangu, Garaya* drums, aromatic sticks for making fragrance fume, then the invitees and the audience will attend.[128] On the initiation day the chickens would be sacrificed and the blood is poured on where the possessed is to sit for smooth running of the initiation process.[129]

The *Gamargu* and *Mori* ethnic groups in Borno state use *Shila* music because it is more attractive to the Jinn.[130] For the ritual performance to start the initiators would sit the patient in the centre of the procession facing towards the East, the whole body is covered. Thus, the drumming and singing will stimulate the victim and make him to dance and scream up and down. The drum beating session is part of the diagnosing process. It is assumed that the Jinn who possessed the patient would appear when hearing its favourite rhythm. By the time the patient shows any strange behaviour like laughing, crying, speaking unintelligibly then lastly the patient throws his arms up and down about to fall. This means the patient is in a trance thereby the spirit would be identified through the utterance of words that are well understood by the spirits concerned. As a result the victim will become calm and quite or even asleep.[131] The treatment of those afflicted by

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[127] A. Gadh, Op cit, P175.
[128] A. Bunza, Op cit, PP27-28.
[129] Y.Gobir, Op cit, P92.
[130] S. Bosoma 'Structure and function of Boli Music of Gamargu' 2nd African German Symposium, Borno Museum Society Newsletter no 25, P19. (Unpublished)
[131] Y. Gobir, Op cit, P91.

spirits will take place within three to seven consecutive days.[132] This process is naturally supported by a class of priests who are skilled in the mysteries of the spirits who play a significant role in the society. When the patient is initiated, a mutual relationship will take place between the patient and the Jinn, as well as, sharing supportive and economic ties. Therefore, one will qualify to be a traditional medicine practitioner or *Boka*. By implication, women are prevented from staying in their matrimonial homes, bearing children; and they are provided with an independent economic base of *Bokanci*.[133] This shows that there is a powerful tie between the *Bori*-Fetish practitioners and *Bokaye*.

According to Bunza *Bokanci* is a branch of knowledge of treating the sick from various diseases like spirit possession and other ailments. *Boka* is a person that gives traditional medicine to treat various human sicknesses.[134]

3.6 The Physical Practice of Qur'ánic Healing (Ruqyah)

In contrast to *Bori*-Fetish, the method used in exorcising a possessed in Qur'ánic healing is by intimidation and sound dialogue by reciting the Glorious Qur'án. Sometimes they might attempt to persuade unbeliever Jinn to convert him into Islam and then leave the victim in peace.[135]

Quite a number of patients are troubled by many kinds of pains for sometimes before a conclusion is drawn that the cause of the pain is either a general possession or a partial one. The easiest way to differentiate the two is that the general possession will interfere with all the parts of the body including the brain. The partial possession will afflict one

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[132] S. Hurreiz, Op cit, P119.
[133] O'Briean.S, Op cit, P231.
[134] A. M. Bunza 'Nazarin Siddabaru da Sihirin Hausawa' M.A Hausa, Submitted to the Department of Nigerian Languages Bayero University Kano, 1989, P147. (Unpublished)
[135] A. Gadh, Op cit, P232.

part of the body e.g. the tongue, hand, vision and even causes impotence among men.[136] Therefore, the process of conducting *Ruqyah* is totally different from the manner of conducting *Bori*-Fetish. But the two methods of healing are of the same concept of seeking of cure on the matters related to spirits as it goes contrary to the Islamic faith.[137] Any legal *Ruqyah* should be done according to the way or manner the Prophet (pbuh) did. Therefore, any *Ruqyah* that did not meet the following conditions is regarded as polytheistic. *Ruqyah* must be with Allah's words or by his names and attributes, as well as, the supplications made by the Prophet (pbuh). It must also be in Arabic language or any other language. The patient must believe that *Ruqyah* itself cannot heal but the effectiveness comes from Allah alone, as it should be done in the state of purity. [138] While some are of the view that it must be in Arabic language only.[139] To perform *Ruqyah* the healer puts his right hand at the side of the pain or the problem then he starts to recite some verses of the Glorious Qur'an. This was originated from the Prophet (pbuh) when he went to visit a sick person. The Prophet (pbuh) recommended the following prayer to *Anas bin Malik.*

> 'O Allah! The Lord of the people and remover of trouble (please) cure (this patient), for you are the healer. None brings about healing but You, a healing that will leave behind no ailment'[140]

In addition to this, the Prophet peace be upon him made supplications for both mental and spiritual ailments for the belief in the Power of Allah as the absolute healer of all sorts of diseases and psychological disturbances.[141] It is advisable that a healer must be in a state of purity facing toward the *Qibla,* the possessed too would be in the same manner as he

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[136] M. M. Al-Mubayyad, Op cit, P301.
[137] A. M. Bunza, Op cit, P 13.
[138] A. Al-Tayyar *'Fathu Al-haq Al-mubin fi Ilaji Al-sar'i'* 2nd Ed, Dar Al-watan, Al-riyadh, 1415A.H. P79.
[139] M. H. Muhammad, Op cit, P196.
[140] I. Ma'arouf, Op cit, P636.
[141] A.Hurskainen, Op cit, P27.

faces the healer. Thus, in the process of reciting the verses of the Glorious Qur'án, the Jinn would be ejected from the victim with ease or otherwise. At times a very long conversation would take place between the healers and the spirits.[142] Mostly, the healers recite some portions of the *Surahs* of the Glorious Qur'an as narrated by *Ubayyu Bin Ka'ab* that he had a harvest of dates. He noticed that it shrunk everyday, and decided to watch it at night. He did and noticed a beast that looked like a boy who attained puberty. He gave him *salam* and it responded to him with *salam.* He asked it 'are you Human or *Jinn*?' It replied, 'Jinn'. He told it, 'show me your hand! It showed him his hand, and he saw that it looked like a dog's with fur like that of a dog covering it. He exclaimed, 'is it how *Jinn* are like!?' It then told him, 'all Jinns know that there is no one among them stronger than me. He asked it, 'What brought you here? It replied, 'We have been informed that you like to give charity, so we came to get some of your food.' He asked it, 'What would protect us from you? It replied, 'This *Ayah* from *surat Al-Baqara*' i.e *Ayatul Kursiy*. Who ever says it in the evening will be protected from us until the morning, and whoever says it in the morning will be protected from us until the evening.' In the morning *Ubayyu* came to Allah's Messenger (peace and blessing upon him) and told him of that incident. He told him;

'The evil one has said the truth!'[143]

Or to recite a complete *Surah* of the Glorious Qur'an. *Ibn Al-Qayyim Al-Jauziyyah* mentioned his own experience on *Ruqyah*. There was a time when he got sick and could not find any physician to treat him so he treated himself with *Surat Al-Fatiha*. He took

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[142] A. M. Bunza, Op cit, P15.
[143] A. Abdul-Rahman. H10730 Vol. 9, *'Al-sunan Al-kubra Al-nisa'*e' Npp, 303 A.H, P352.

drops of water from the *Zam-zam* then he recited *Surat Al-fatiha* and spat on to the water several times then he drank. Upon doing this he was completely healed.[144]

3.7 Islamic Ruling on *Bori*-fetish and Qur'ánic Healing

Many Islamic scholars are of the view that Jinn can possess his victim and afflict him. However, some scholars disagree and assert that *Jinn* can only influence mankind but it cannot take any part or physical space within a human body. To them, what has been said about it was only imaginary and illusions.[145] One of the first accounts in this regard is the tradition narrated by Muslim which described the seventy thousand people who will enter paradise without being punished.

> 'They are those who did not recite *Ruqyah* or ask for Ruqyah to be done, and they do not recite *Ruqyah*'.[146]

It was said that the phrase (recite Ruqyah) was from the narrator not the Prophet. Hence *Al-Bukhari* narrated the Hadith he did not mention this particular statement. *Shaykh Ibn Taymiyyah* said: These people are praised because they did not ask any one for *Ruqyah* i.e. they do not ask someone to pray for them. He stressed that the phrase is a mistake from the narrator for the fact that performing *Ruqyah* is encouraged by the Prophet because it is a lawful deed. Therefore, observing the *Ruqyah* for oneself and others was like making a supplication for himself and others.[147] This shows the permissibility of the *Ruqyah* in case of affliction and related ailments. Wide spread superstitious beliefs developed for long in human societies. This had found its roots in animal totems (emblem made by a living creature to represent an object) which evolved over years to more complex beliefs. For example, charm, amulet, and magic were practiced among the Arabs

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[144] F. Chiaka. *'Comparative Studies of the Medicine of Sunna and Uganga'* Bulletin of Islamic Area Studies. Kyoto University. Journal of School of Postgraduate Studies, 2011, P159.
[145] S. Dein and A. Illaiee, *'Jinn and Mental Health: Looking at Jinn Possession in Modern Psychiatric Practice'* University College London, The Psychiatric Bulletin NHS Foundation Trust, 2013, P291.
[146] B. H. Muslim H546, Vol 1, *'Sahih Muslim'* Daru Al-jil, Beirut, 1374A.H, P 137
[147] T. I. Taymiyyah *'Al-Mustadrik Ala Majmu'i Fatawa'* Vol 1, NPP First edition 1418 A.H P27.

during the Prophet's era. It could also be found in different parts of the world in different kinds and forms. In fact if they are not clearly addressed Muslims could easily commit shirk, for example if someone is afflicted by a sickness he might resort to magic and other unlawful remedies. By implication magical power relies on the power of Jinn. The contrived method for averting misfortune mostly used magic. Consequently, there are a number of Prophetic Traditions which strictly forbade such practices. The Prophet (pbuh) was reported to have said:-

> 'Whoever goes to a soothsayer or fortune teller and believes in what he says has indeed rejected that which has been revealed to Muhammad'.[148]

In other Hadith the Prophet (pbuh) was reported to have said:-

> 'The prayer of whoever approaches a fortune- teller and asks him about anything his prayer will not be accepted for forty days and nights'.[149]

However, there is no distinction between Magic and its branches like sorcery, witchcraft, divination and necromancy.[150] As far as this is known, *Sihr* is defined in Arabic as magic, charm witchcraft, wizardry.[151] The technical meaning of *sihr* is an art which stipulates that the magician commits impossible tricks or polytheistic acts with the help of Jinn.[152] Consequently, Islam rejects the impact of charm and amulet in regard to cure from possession, evil and attraction of good fortune. But it recognizes that some aspects of magic are true. This is evident in the Tradition of Prophet Muhammad where he himself suffered from the effect of magic.

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[148] A. B. Ash'ath, Op cit, P15,H989.
[149] M. B. Isma'il, Op cit, , H5540.
[150] A. B. Philip, *'The Fundamentals of Tauheed'* Al-hidaya U.K 1989, P44.
[151] R. Ba'alabaki, Op cit, P626.
[152] A. Ahmad *'Jinn Magic or Mental illness(in the Light of Holy Qur'an and Hadith)'* Anjum Quadri, Jaisinghpura University Gate Aurangabal 2009, P10.

> Zaid bin Arqam reported that a Jew by the name of Labeeb Ibn A'sam casted a magical spell on the Prophet and when he began to suffer from it Angel Jibreel came to him and revealed the Mu'awwadhatani and 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 sent Ali bin Abi Talib to go and fetch the charm. When he returned with it, the Prophet told him to untie the knots in it, one by one, and recite a verse from the surah with it. When he did so the prophet got up as if he had been released from being tied up'.[153]

The aforementioned Hadith proves that some magic are real since the existence of *Jinn* is real. But most of the magic being practiced nowadays is clearly full of illusions designed to deceive audiences. Thus, there exist around the world some magicians that practice real magic resulting from their contacts with the *Jinn*. Allah (SWT) says:-

> 'They followed what the *Shayatin* (devils) gave out (falsely of the magic) in the lifetime of *Sulaiman. Sulaiman* did not disbelieve, but the *Shayatin* (devils) disbelieved, teaching men magic'.[154]

Therefore, any form of magic done for a good or bad purpose is considered unlawful in Islam since it is repugnant to Tauhid. Islam provides solution to all problems of life, more particularly the treatment and cure of diseases. Allah (SWT) says:-

> 'And We send down of the Qur'an that which is a healing and a Mercy to those who believe (in monotheism and act on it), and it increases the polytheists and wrongdoers nothing but loss'.[155]

This verse clearly indicates the existence of healing as a mercy and bounty from Allah, the Exalted. Therefore, if any body gets sick he must resort to a lawful treatment. No any medical treatment against any disease is discouraged but also curative measure is

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[153] I. Ma'arouf Op cit, P251.
[154] Qur'an 2:102.
[155] Qur'an 17:82.

encouraged.[156] The Glorious Qur'an emphasizes on taking precaution in life; as to take a preventive measure against hellfire by following the stipulated commandments. So also obeying fire regulations can prevent fire disaster. Such is the case when a preventive measure is taken against diseases. In this regard disease could be prevented by lawful means.

It is unanimously agreed that *Bori*-fetish is connected with *Jinn* as it is a folk healing method. The main concept as well as the main cause of *Bori* performance is healing a sick person who is afflicted by *Jinn*. Thus, the victims of possession are afflicted without their will rather it is predestined by Allah. Spirits are kinds of creatures not visible to humans. Allah (SWT) says:-

> 'O children of *Adam*! Let not *Shaitan* deceive you, as he got your parents *(Adam* and *Hauwa)* out of paradise, stripping them of their raiments, to show them their private parts. Verily, he and his soldiers from the Jinns or his tribes see you from where you cannot see them. Verily, We made the *Shayatin* protectors and helpers for those who believe not'.[157]

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[156] R. W.Sediq. *'The Delusion by the Satan'* Ibn Al-Jauzi, Dar Almanar, Egypt, 2010, P395.
[157] Qur'an, 7:27.

Consequently, *Jinn* are capable of appearing in different shapes such as human or animal. Besides that Jinn are capable of harming mankind, if not for the Angels that Allah ordered to protect humans from the aggression of Jinn. Nobody can defend himself from being afflicted. This is because *Jinn*'s body is soft in such a way that it is beyond human vision.[158] Allah (SWT) says:-

> 'No calamity befalls, but by the leave of Allah, and whoever believes in Allah, He guides his heart to the true faith with certainty and Allah is the All-knower of everything'[159]

Therefore, Islamic religion has categorically calls for total submission to Allah's will, regardless of ones race, culture and any other affiliations. In this regard Muslims should shun the footsteps of the devil.[160] The Muslim scholars unanimously agreed that any sacrifice meant to be delivered to *Jinn* is prohibited and it is shirk (Polytheism). Indeed the sacrificed meat should not be consumed by a Muslim.[161] Mostly, such practitioners claimed to have powers of healing. So also they prescribe certain animals to be sacrificed, as well as, smear the blood on the body of the possessed. Categorically, this act is considered to be *shirk* even if the name of Jinn is not mentioned in the process.[162] Therefore, prayers as *Ruqyah* are very significant in the Islamic tradition. Almost all Muslims are engaged in some form of prayers. There are supplications that are recommended to be offered during the times of affliction and calamity. This is evident in the supplications made by the Prophets in distress and illness. Prophet Ibrahim (A.S) invoked Allah to cure his affliction. The answering and acceptance of these prayers is

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[158] M. H. Muhammad, Op cit, P 29.
[159] Qur'an, 64:11.
[160] M. A. Balogun, 'Syncretic Beliefs and Practices amongst Muslims in Lagos State, with Special Reference to Yoruba Speaking People of Epe' A thesis Submitted to the University of Birmingham school of Philosophy for PhD. 2011, P256. (Unpublished)
[161] M. H. Muhammad, Op cit, P21.
[162] Ibid, P23.

Allah's will, not within human or *Jinn* power. It is the responsibility of the humans to say their supplications during, after and even before the needs. Supplications serve as weapon to a believer. They are admonished to invoke Allah's name in both times of adversity, distress and ease. This should be done with utmost sincerity and confidence in Allah (SWT).

CHAPTER FOUR
THEORY AND PRACTISE OF FETISHISM HEALING AND QUR'ANIC HEALING IN BORNO STATE

Health and ill conditions are from Allah and to seek for medication and get recovered is desired. Possession is said to be culturally oriented phenomenon found through out the human settings or the universe in general. Thus, various races and religions have been solving that problem either through traditionally oriented remedy, modern technological remedy or exorcism or any other means available to them. The healing of a possessed is a popular practice among the urban and the rural settlers. In the case of severe illnesses Allah's help is invoked by both the healer and the possessed. To this end, verses and chapters of the Glorious Qur'an are considered to be the absolute cure for all diseases. This might be connected with the verse that says.

> 'And We send down of the Qur'an that which is a healing and mercy to those who believe in Islamic monotheism and act on it, and it increases the polytheists and wrong doers nothing but loss'.[163]

Generally speaking human beings are fragile creatures that have no ability to give maximum protection for themselves. Therefore, the system of healing a possessed in Borno is a popular practice in rural and urban areas.[164] However, previous researchers have seldom addressed the processes involved in the system.

4.1Belief System in Healing a Possessed in Borno South with Particular Reference to Biu and Chibok Local Government Areas.

Biu Emirate in Borno South is pluralistic in ethnic composition with rich cultural heritage. It consists of five (5) Local Government Areas namely Biu, Kwaya/Kusar, Hawul, Shani and Bayo. Biu Local Government Area being the seat of the Emirate is situated in the North Eastern part of Nigeria, in Southern part of Borno State. The

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[163] Qur'an, 17:82.
[164] Isa Aliyu, (47years), Farmer, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 17/8/2015.

inhabitants are *Babur, Bura, Marghi, Kanakuru, Kimba, Fulani, Hausa* and others. Oral traditions have it that spirit possession is a cultural bound idea which is closely related to the culture, beliefs, customs and attitudes of a particular group of people in which the possession occurs.[165] Many parts of *Biu* Area were pagans despite the fact that Islam was brought to them through the *Kanuris* from Northern Borno.

So neither Islam nor Christianity has significant impact on the Biu people. People of the area had a supreme deity called *'Hyel'* Therefore, there were no Christians in the area rather there were only 0.6% Muslims as of 1921.[166] As time went on, the people of the area started to convert into Islam in a rapid form. With this Islamization, the Muslims in the area did not give up many of their pagan customs. Muslim and Pagan festivals were both celebrated, Mosques and Shrines where *Tsafi* (witchcraft) is conducted were seen side by side.[167] For example *Mambula* festival was carried out near shrines which were replaced later by the Muslim *Sallah* festival. Likewise, *Kanakuru* people of the area also had an ancestral cult. Most of their families had their own shrines representing their ancestors called *'piri longuda'*. Their ritual pots were filled with wine and sprinkled with fowl's blood to placate the ancestors for the fear of calamity and various diseases.[168] Consequently, *dodo* cult which had a large initiation ceremony was taking place in every seventh year with beating of drums and dancing. To them, Spirits and deities were ever present in all human activities. However, these spirits roam about on the earth to harm whoever they come across. These spirits would be enchanted through different means according to the belief and culture of the people. Sometimes, the priests (boka) were in position to mediate through sacrifices of goats, chickens or larger animals. In case of more important issues, the use of charms, wine and cotton were common sacrifices which

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[165] Modu Gogwa, (51years), Civil servant, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 3/9/2015.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Baba Ibrahim Biu, (80 years), Retired Military man, Jere Area. Interviewed on 31/8/2015.
[168] Ibid 6.

were seen in many occasions near the shrines.[169] Some people in the area believed that there is a special spirit of affliction who used to cause various illnesses. In each year, bundles of corn being lighted for purging himself, members of his family, neighbours and other members of the community with the smoke. This ceremony is called by the Babur people of Biu Local Government Area as *'al-lukwa hinara'* meaning let it go to some where else. There were different kinds of occultist activities that had *'Tsafi'* significance, which gave birth to *Bokanci* in the area. The priests mostly used to command their clients to tie up charm called *'haptu'* to keep away bad spirits.

Nonetheless, after thorough Islamization of the area almost all the occultists' activities were given up. However, the patronage of the *Bokaye* by some locals still exists. Some claimed that the remedy is effective, while others are of the view that there are Islamic symbols in the process of the healing. As such, the symbols are of Arabic letters. Some practitioners are called *Malams* because they are Muslims . There are alms giving in the process, as well as, the use of Qur'anic verses.

Chibok Local Government Area is dominantly inhabited by the ethnic group known as *'Kibaku'*. They are found in *Askira/Uba, Mandaragirau* in *Biu* Local Government as well as in *Hawul* Local Government Area. The *Kibaku* people developed a distinct culture which they cherished for centuries. It is a fertile land with tamarind, Shea nut, baobab and hills which made the area to be attractive to hunters and farmers. Furthermore, the area has numerous streams, ponds and rivers. The inhabitants believe in the existence of Supreme Being known as *'Hyal'* as God. They used to worship the God through ancestors. It was believed that whenever there was a calamity, trouble or illness the Supreme Being would be communicated through mediators. Indeed, there were shrines for every clan, and chickens, goats, cotton, wine; cows were sacrificed to *'Hyal'*. The

[169]Modu Gogwa, Op cit.

blood of the sacrificed animals was sprinkled on the shrines to please the spirits. They also use charms which were made-up of herbs. However, the influence of Islam has reduced the practice of idol worshiping.[170]

Thus, on the event of madness the *kibaku* attribute it to *Bwali. Bwali* simply means a belief system that has to do with mentally retarded convulsion, which is associated with madness that causes abnormality in behaviour and at times make the victim to be naked as a result of being possessed.[171] The victims of *Bwali* possession are struck on weekly basis or monthly basis as they are being treated by *Bokaye*. In most cases, the victims of possession do not like crowd as in social gatherings like wedding ceremony, naming ceremony and drumming sessions.[172] In addition, they believe in *'Thang'* a madness that causes abnormality and psycho effect to the victim. This would be cured if it is not caused by curse of parents. This is attributed to the belief that parents who curse and anybody who does so the Supreme Being will punish him through the calamity of possession.[173] Therefore, they are of the belief that all spirits are more or less explicitly acknowledged by the inhabitants of the area, that spirit can protect just like they can punish. The protection comes by giving medicines with the aid of the priests.[174]

4.2 Belief in Healing a Possessed in Borno Central with Particular Reference to Maiduguri and Kala Balge Local Government Areas

The majority of the inhabitants of Kala-Balge are Mori, *Kanuri* and *Shuwa.* The vicinity of *Kala* which include *Ndufu, Sigal* and *Rann* the Headquarters; *Ngala* and *Dikwa* were referred to as the first sites of *Sa'u*[175] kings. It is worth recalling at this point that, the area

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[170] Zainab Alama, Widower,IDP Camp Maiduguri 9/6/2015.
[171] Joel.K.Madu,Civil Servant (59years), Kashim Ibrahim College of Education Maiduguri.18/6/2015.
[172] Pali Blau, 9/6/2015, House wife, IDP Camp, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 9/6/2015.
[173]Wadai Mallum, Ndirmbita, (60years), Civil Servant, Kashim Ibrahim College of Education Maiduguri Interviewed on 18/6/2015.
[174] Ibid.
[175]The Kanuri People referred Sa'u to Chadic speaking People who are today identified as Kotoko,

was Islamized since arrival of Islam in Kanem Borno. In Islamic faith, every Muslim is mandated to believe in the unseen, which will directly or indirectly lead to the belief in 'Jinn' and other unseen creatures. The belief is that Jinn have the power to take different forms and shapes. There seems to be the influence of Islam on the inhabitants of the area. Notwithstanding, the people there stick to *Badri* healing as an effective remedy for Jinn's possession and other bodily diseases. *Badri* performance was not only tolerated as a form of possession remedy, but the organizers were respected and patronized.[176] This might be as a result of geographical location of the area. The area is dominated by huge trees of baobab, tamarind, eucalyptus which are believed to contain spirits.[177] Others are of the view that such superstitious beliefs were due to the fact that there were no conventional hospitals or psychiatric hospitals in the area.[178]

Concerning the belief of people on the healing of a possessed in Maiduguri Metropolitan Council in Borno Central, it is almost the same with many Local Government areas of the state. This is because the inhabitants of Maiduguri come from the various Local Government areas of the state. Maiduguri is among the cities of the historic *Kanem Bornu* Empire. It was also called Yerwa. The inhabitants of the area have a strong belief that the Glorious Qur'án is the basic element of treatment used by those who know it. The belief in healing a possessed gave birth to what is known by Kanuri people in the area as *alangoro, taida, karwa yakta, modua,* and others. It is difficult to put them under one terminology because of different activities and practices involved. It is against this background that the belief in healing of a possessed is an integral part that represents the

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Ngizim, Bade and Mandara.

[176]Lawan Mai Sigalma, (55years) Chief priest, IDP Camp Maiduguri. Interviewed on 26/7/2015.

[177] L Bukar Rann (45years) Chief Priest, IDP Camp Maiduguri. Interviewed on 26/7/2015.

[178] Umar Abiso (43years), Lawan of Rann, IDP Camp Maiduguri. Interviewed on 26/7/2015

culture, attitudes and beliefs of the people of the area. Currently, there are many cases of possession in places of social gatherings such as schools *and* market places.[179]

4.3 Belief in Healing a Possessed in Northern Borno with Particular Reference to Kukawa and Magumeri Local Government Areas

Kukawa was founded in 1814 C.E as the capital city of Kanem Bornu Empire by a renowned scholar and Shehu, Muhammad Al-Amin El-Kanemi popularly called Shehu Laminu. The name Kukawa was found when Shehu Laminu was travelling in the cause of looking for a site for the new capital. He was reciting the Glorious Qur'an as he rode. Having recited the last portion of the *Surah* he reached the spot of a big *Kuwa* 'baobab tree. He then ordered the building of the capital where the *kuka* was located. So the town was named after the *Kuwa.*[180]

The problem of possession is very common in the environs of Kukawa because the area is forested with baobab trees which are believed to be houses of Jinn. The Glorious Qur'án is read and written as a source of supplication to treat people with different kinds of afflictions. They also heal a possessed through supplications made by the Prophet as they practice in what is called *'Taida* and *Modua'*. For them what is not healed with the power of the Glorious Qur'án cannot be healed forever, because the Qur'án provides cure to all kinds of physical and emotional illnesses that are beyond the human capability.[181]

Magumeri Local Government Area was carved out of Kaga Local Government Area in 1991. The area is made up of different ethnic groups among which are Kanuri, Bodowi, Shuwa Arab, Kwayam, Hausa and other small ethnic groups.[182] The inhabitants of the area believed in possession and its remedy. They believe in amulets written with the

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[179] Goni Usman Makinta (55Years) Trader Gomboru Ward Maiduguri. 29/7/2015
[180] Umar Kachalla (48years), Civil Servant, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 6/7/2015.
[181] Goni Usman Makinta, Op cit.
[182]Kaka Lewa Zarami , (82 years), Widower. Interviewed on 18/6/2015.

verses of the Glorious Qur'án as a source of healing and protection from evil powers that cause harm. Some people resort to prayers and supplications as a preventive remedy rather than seeking a cure.[183]

4.4 Symptoms of Spirit Possession in Southern Borno with Particular Reference to Biu and Chibok Local Government Areas

The existence of spirits is unanimously agreed by people in Biu area. The people in the area grouped the spirits into two categories; the good spirits and the bad spirits. The one who is afflicted with the good spirits would be bestowed with a special power of healing and the one who is afflicted with bad spirit would be feared greatly for he will become wicked. Therefore, wickedness is a mother of the symptoms. They also believe that anybody who dies mysteriously dies as a result of bad spirits. Nonetheless, it is believed that thunder and lightening strike only on those with bad spirits, those that live wickedly and those trees and animals which harbour the spirits.[184]

All interviewed healers believed that possession is the interference in the mental, emotional or physical well-being of a possessed. Therefore, cure or healing is the process of removing such interferences. There are many healing modalities which may be needed to overcome the effects of such afflictions.

Most common symptoms which are attached to spirit possession in *Biu* area are changes in behaviour. Some may become aggressive while others show total changes in their likes and dislikes. Sometimes, inexplicable sicknesses afflict the victims to the state of unconsciousness and sudden death.[185] In addition to this, infertility and impotency are

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[183] Malum Fannami Mamuri, (60 years), Farmer IDP Camp Maiduguri Interviewed on 4/6/2015.
[184] Pali Blau, Op cit.
[185] Merry Abbas, (40years), Business Woman, IDP Camp Maiduguri. Interviewed on 16/6/2015.

also believed to be caused by spirit inflictions.[186] Therefore, one or two of these indicators may be a sign of spirit possession.

There is yet another form of belief in symptoms of spirit possession in *Chibok* area of Borno South. Usually, if someone looses his mind and becomes unaware of himself and his surroundings it means it is an indication of being possessed. This would take place through a number of factors which include accident, curse by a father or mother, through genetic inheritance, divination and more particularly through the spirits.[187] In addition, there are a number of symptoms of possession such as dizziness, continuous headache, continuous menstrual bleeding, weight loss, infertility, itching, impotence and general weakness of body and quick anger.[188]

The Qur'ánic healers are known in the area as '*Malamai'* or at times '*Masu Ruqiyya*. People in *Maiduguri* Metropolitan area view the symptoms of spirit possession as talking to one's self as if conversing with another party, at times the victim may tend to scream or shout as if he is being caned severely. Another belief attributed to the symptoms of spirit possession is great loss in business activities.[189]

4.5 Symptoms of Spirit Possession in Borno Central with Particular Reference to Maiduguri and Kala Balge Local Government Area

The symptoms of Spirit possession in Kala-Balge area are similar when compared to many places. The Jinn are classified into two; the Muslim Jinn and the *Káfir Jinn* who used to possess their victims at any time. A number of patients are troubled by either of the two. This might be identified through observing certain behaviours.[190] Thus, if the victim is engaged in doing good deeds, the interpretation is given that he is possessed by

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[186] Ibid.
[187] Joel K. Madu, Op cit.
[188] Wadai Mallum Ndirmbita, Op cit.
[189] Malam Ahmadu Isa (38years), Farmer, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 19/10/2015.
[190] Umar Abiso, Op cit.

Muslim Jinn. However, if the patient engages in worldly affairs such as abusing or ceased to act piously the interpretation then is given as he is possessed by *Káfir Jinn*. Other symptoms of possession include paralyses, protracted illness, weight loss; over stayed wound.[191]

Furthermore, in the area of Maiduguri the manifestations of possession are divided into two types. These are physical and psychological disorders. The physical disorders mostly affect one side of one's body, be it the left or the right side, insanity, bad health conditions, over stayed wound (cancer), loss of weight or overweight, isolation at all times and others. The psychological aspect is related to depression, irritability, nervousness and lack of memory. These symptoms are addressed with the Qur'anic healing.[192] Furthermore, a possessed person experiences bad dreams that frighten him/her in the night, severe headache, hooking of legs or arms and stoppage of one from moving from one place to another. Others include continuous menstrual discharge; continuous quarrel without reason(s) between married couples which at the end will lead to divorce and remaining unmarried.[193]

4.6 Symptoms of Spirit Possession in Borno North with Particular Reference to Kukawa and Magumeri Local Government Areas

Perhaps the belief that Jinn are unseen creatures that are created for a purpose led to the belief in the symptoms of possession. To the people of Kukawa and its environs Jinn can afflict for many purposes as taking revenge or one would be possessed when he was destined to be afflicted. For them nightmares as a result of witchcraft is a sign of possession. To have a dream with wild animals like tiger and lion is also considered as a

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[191] Lawan Mai Sigalma, Op cit.
[192] Ba Goni Modu, (67 years), Farmer, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 3/6/2015.
[193] Malum Usmanu Kurunma, (47years), Business Man. IDP Camp Maiduguri. Interviewed on 5/6/2015.

possession sign.[194] It is believed that some Jinn can take pleasure by causing 'wet dream' to a person. Disliking good smell and aroma as well as smelling things, others around cannot smell is another sign of possession. Interestingly, not every sign means a symptom of possession. Some people resort of being possessed when certain signs are exhibited but they are not actually possessed.[195]

The sign of Jinn possession in Magumeri area is similar to Kukawa Local Government area. To them the Jinn are classified into two; the Muslim Jinn and the Kafir Jinn. Victims of possession are troubled by either of the two. Thus, some victims might be troubled with one or two signs of possession, while others may be troubled with many signs. Among the symptoms are; appearing untidy, barren condition (infertility) by both male and female, feeling sleepy in time of a serious activities (sleeping sickness), continuous headache, phobia to reading and much quarrel. But thorough diagnosis is needed before concluding that a person is possessed.[196]

4.7 The Physical Practices of *Bwali*-Fetish in Borno South

The Fetishism in Borno South conserved pre-Islamic and pre-Christian features, which are highly syncretised. Its diffusion over the area gave birth to different practices such as *Bokanci.* Previous researchers have seldom addressed the processes involved in physical practices of the cult. Since the belief in spirit possession is a well known phenomenon that is why it has many kinds of practices involved traditionally. First and foremost whenever a calamity of possession, shortage in rainfall, natural disaster or the like occurred, it is ascribed to supernatural cause. To them, there is possible cause to that effect. This might be caused naturally, by spirits *'Shaitan'* or attributed to dead ancestors and living people like wizards. Therefore, any moment the cause of a particular ailment is

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[194] Malum Fannami Mamuri, Op cit.
[195]Umar Kachalla, Op cit.
[196] Ali Kukawa, (46years), Business Man Maiduguri. Interviewed on 16/7/2015.

identified, the priests *'Bokaye'* would be consulted to placate the spirits. The methods of placation vary from locality to locality. For example, in *Biu* if one is afflicted, his relatives will consult the diviner to identify the spirit through his deltoid muscle in his arm. Different names of spirits like *Shatan* and *Shangur* would be called until the spirit involved responds to a certain name. At this point, chicken or any desired animal is sacrificed to the ancestor concerned and the blood would be sprinkled on the body of the victim. Thereby, the muscle can tell which pond one should drink from for the purpose of his recovery. It also tells the exact cause of the sickness. At times it can tell that the calamity disappears on its own.[197]

These practitioners could be identified easily as they are seen freely roaming within the community while some are indoors practicing the profession as a business, but when the rainy season sets in they engage in farming. Those roaming usually carry homemade skin bag filled with amulets, charms, precious stones believed to have magical powers. In addition, they carry eggs of ducks which are rubbed over a person's body to get him relieved from pains. Many inanimate objects like horn, tanned skins of wild animals and their bones are believed to have potency against evil spirits.[198] This particular ritual is done in other areas like *Askira* in Borno South. Hunters assemble at the end of rainy season to beat *'gagra'/ garaya* to entertain and enjoy as appreciation of having good farm produce. Upon hearing the drum beat the females in the nearby villages will gather at the scene of the music. All of a sudden, they will get possessed and they would be left in this state without being touched. At the moment, the drum is beaten severely they would be awaken by themselves as if nothing had afflicted them. Then, they would return home

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[197] Fatima Haruna, (35years) House Wife, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 26/6/2015.
[198]Ishiyaku Wakawa (41years), Chief Tailor, IDP Camp Maiduguri. Interviewed on 18/6/2015.

safely. The interviewee sees this as an entertainment because no herbs/medicine, no sacrifice or initiation is involved.[199]

The people of *Chibok* use to heal their possessed through a traditional healing method known as *gargajiya* healing. The victim of *bwali* possession would be brought to the practitioners mostly known as *'Ndar kuzugur gargajiya'. Masu gargajiya* or *bokaye* perform in specific places like their residences, top of a hill, or secluded spots in a bush. This is so because they are known far beyond the boundaries of their own compounds or villages. These priests do not advertise, but the effectiveness of their intervention makes their clients satisfied and that makes them popular in their societies and beyond. Presently, these kinds of practitioners operate in secrecy.[200]

The victim is seated in front of the practitioner who could be a Muslim, Christian or a Pagan. The practitioner will diagnose the client through a questioning session. Thus, the practitioner would demand some certain items to be bought. These include red or black goat depending on the situation at hand, chicken, kola nuts and specific amount of money. The practitioner gives different kind of herbs, barks, and charms of concoction to burn, drink or eat. The sacrificed animal's blood, the concocted items and other things bought, like kola nut or sweet would be poured on ants' hill in the absence of human beings or at midnight to appease the spirits. The healing would be effective if nobody sees the scenario of pouring the concoction. It is strongly believed that any body who consumes the poured food items would be possessed immediately.[201] Some practitioners use cane for flogging the possessed with the belief that the effect of the flogging would be directly on the spirit but not the physical body of the possessed. After that, some herbs

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[199] Ibrahim Askira, (55 years), Civil Servant, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 11/06/2015.
[200] Pali Blau, Op cit.
[201] Hajja Fati Umoru, House wife, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 9/6/2015.

are burnt to fumigate the patient for two or three consecutive days. After this process, some practitioners may demand a black cat for sacrifice.[202] Lastly, if the patient recovers, he would have to visit and thank the healer by making some offerings. If the case is complicated some practitioners refer their patients to other healers. Furthermore, giving incentives by the patients in cash or kind were not only common in the past but are found among the contemporary priests.[203]

4.8 The Physical Practices of *Badri*-Fetish in Borno central

Despite the fact that the people of central Borno are predominantly Muslims, the method adopted by some of the people in healing a possessed especially in Kala Balge and Ngala seem to have been established on fetishism. When someone is afflicted with an ailment the only remedy is to invite the performers of *Badri* 'a healing fetish similar to Bori-Fetish' to undergo the first stage medication. The performance will start by the arrival of *Badri* leaders and their assistants together with musicians of *shila. Shila* is a *kanuri* word meaning flute. It is believed that Jinns used to gather at the scene of this kind of procession to listen and enjoy the *Shila* music. The musical performance has different tracks that represent names of *Jinn*. These names are *Jindi Musa, Jindi Maimuna, Jindi Isa, Nana Mairam* while the *gamargu* of *Dikwa* named the spirits as *Sarkin Samari* i.e. Hausa spirits, *Aisami, Wainare, Jagargara* who lives in river, *Kashantamaka* who lives in tamarind tree.[204] The leader of the performance could be a male or female titled *badrima*. The role of these specialists is twofold: preparation of herbs and enchanting spirits. The chief priest will order the members of the family to prepare *Bollo* 'a mixture of masticated millet with water and sugar made into a small ball shape' then he starts

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[202] Joel K. Madu, Op cit.
[203] Wadai Mallum Ndirmbita, Op cit.
[204] L Bukar Rann, Op cit.

rubbing it over the body of the patient for three to four days. If progress is recorded then the patient is healed, but if the rubbing remains in vain, *Badri* must be beaten.

Badri refers to the kind of treatment that is being practiced in *Kala-Balge* and *Ngala* axis as well as *Gamargu* tribe who are scattered in *Dikwa, Konduga* and *Bama* Local Government Areas. Likewise, *Badri* means 'drum' in *Mori* language. Therefore, the technical meaning is a treatment of a possessed through the use of songs and drum beating in order to calm the inflicted and to gain recovery. It is believed that spirits love music and entertainment that is why the drum is beaten so that the spirit will reveal itself while listening to its favourite rhythm. Some believe it as a treatment of sickness that fails to respond to medical treatment or any sickness associated with Spirits. The participants are males and females though the females out number the males. Thus, the performance of *Badri* ceremony could last for two to three consecutive days. The third day is called *Kurugma* 'i.e. beating the drums with hands but the first and second day beating of drums is with sticks. The occasion attracts almost all the community from far and near to attend the ceremony. It is interesting to note that the great gathering is not done by invitation rather the people will gather the moment they hear the sound of the drum and the blowing of the flute. Almost all the people gathered had either the experience of being possessed or have witnessed another being possessed by Jinn.[205] Each and everyone of the audience contribute according to his wherewithal. When donating, the cash should be seen by every body in the *'Dandal'* where the ceremony is taking place. Then the patients will be attended to being accompanied by their relatives or family members. In a situation whereby the patient is severely ill he would be brought to the place to undergo the opening day ritual. There is a special cloth to be worn on the day, a white hat would be put on the patient's head then he is decorated in white gown

[205] Lawan Mai SIgalma, Op cit.

handling a sword in his hand. Then, the drum is beaten continuously and the *Shila* flute is blown near the patient mentioning the names of the Jinn. The spirit will reveal itself the moment it hears its name in the favourite rhythm. Thus, it was believed that the *Shila* musical instrument itself is used to cure a possessed by drinking the water that passed through the instrument. Those that drank the water can stay safe during any performance.[206]

The patient starts to dance to the drumming and possibly sing unknown songs, laughing aloud or crying. At the end the patient will show strange behaviour like speaking unintelligently in different languages. In some circumstances, they might assert interpretations that are queried. This shows that the patient is in a trance. Lastly, the patient falls down flat in the centre of the *Dandal*. Then, the slaughtered animal is revolved over the patient. When the Jinn tend to be stubborn the practitioners start to flog the patient.[207] The secret behind the flogging is a threat to the Jinn in order to leave the victim. Interestingly, the flogging is applied under specific guide i.e. with a limited number of lashes and the condition of the possessed must be considered before the application of the lashes. Witnessing the utterances by the victim in an unknown language made them to believe in the power of the supernatural.[208]

Sacrifice of animals such as chicken, cocks, goat or cow is encouraged, because the blood of the sacrificed animal would be used in the session for sprinkling on the ground. In the process of slaughtering the animal they tilt the animal to face the direction of Ka'abah. Lastly, the healers ask the patient to stay in doors for at least three days to relax after the events. Thereby, the physical and psychological problems will disappear. Nowadays, the

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[206] Ali Bukar Kala, (59 years), Farmer, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 20/6/2015.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Zarma Makinta, (55 years), Tailor, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 21/6/2015

idea of practising Badri has considerably reduced because it is not holding in unison as it was practiced before. The assembly for *Badri* is done some how in a hidden location without being noticed by a larger population.[209]

4.9 The Physical Practices of Fetishism in Borno North

It should be noted here that most of the interviewees in Borno North focussed their explanation on making amulets with the *Qur'ánic* verses alone wrapped as a remedy for spirit possession, but very little attention was given to other categories who used the verses of the Glorious *Qur'án* in other ways. It was stated that when a sick is brought, the healer diagnoses him by asking some Questions on the sufferings of the patient. The healer then identifies the cause of the sickness and even calls the name of particular *Jinn* but without any conversation session like *Ruqyah*. He will then give an amulet covered with leather enclosed with currency notes of *Naira, Musk, Kohl,* cloves and before that some selected verses and chapters of the Glorious *Qur'án* like *Surat Al'falaq, nass,Jinn* and *Ayatul kursiyyi.* This amulet would be with the patient all the time in his pocket, bag, purse or the like. These types of healers encourage sacrifice to be done for the sake of Allah. Therefore, the client will bring two red chickens called *taska* 'a chicken with coiled hair on the whole body'. The syncretism is done on Wednesdays and Thursdays of any week. Lastly, the meat of the chicken would be given to five children that are not matured. With this, it is believed that the Jinn will stop troubling its victim. It was further revealed that the knowledge and skills in these practices are passed down to them through their parents and great grand parents. This method is known as *hijab* or *hijawu*

[209] Ali Bukar Kala, Op cit.

'protection against all evil'. Mostly they are not being paid a complete payment unless after recovery.[210]

4.10 The Physical Practices of Qur'ánic Healing in Borno

People in Borno are paying more attention to their health through patronizing the Islamic scholars or personalities like *Sayinna, Goni* and *Malum*. These personalities are the Qur'ánic experts in the society, they are highly respected in the society based on the belief that the divine book is their guide in almost all of their practices. They do not demand a fixed remuneration; they accept whatever is given to them as *Ṣadaqah*. The protection against harm, evil spirit, evil eye and other social calamities are sought through those elements. Amulets made of Qur'ánic verses and prayers, herbs and incenses are very common in the area. In any case of illness the protection and support of Allah are invoked; for the Muslims the Qur'án is considered the most powerful healing source available to mankind.[211]

When someone is afflicted, the *Malum* writes the verses of the Glorious Qur'án with an ink called *'adaa'* on a slate. Then, the written verses are washed with water thereby the entire mixture is drank by the sick, rubbed on his body or as instructed by the *Malum.* However, the *Malams* themselves used the solution to cure various sicknesses and protection and patients got recovered.[212] In some cases, the verses of the Glorious Qur'an are read and spat on a palm in order to rub the whole body for protection against evil spirits.[213]

In *Kukawa* and Magumeri Local Government Areas amulets and charms that contain verses from the Glorious Qur'an are used to hang on the neck or tied to the body for

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[210] Bamai Karmina Traditional Healer, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 9/5/2015.
[211] Goni Usman Makinta, Op cit.
[212]Ibid.
[213] Ibid.

protection against spirits. Furthermore, many people rely on this when their health status is poor or when they are mentally ill. This practice is known as *'Hijab'*. Though, the practitioners and their practices vary a great deal according to their exposures or experiences to the fact that they are using Qur'ánic verses.[214]

Another method of exorcism known as *'Taida'* is being practiced within the metropolis of *Maiduguri, Jere, Kukawa* and *Magumeri* by inviting the client or the Malams to where the afflicted is to undergo congregational supplications. The *Malams* first perform ablution with the intention of the prayer (du'a). In many circumstances they recite the Glorious Qur'án verse by verse to spit over the afflicted several times. In some occasions they may read *Surat Yasin* and spit over the body of the afflicted several times or to read the whole Qur'án eleven, thirteen or twenty one times most especially when the person did not respond to different treatments to liberate the client from being possessed. At the end animals like chicken, ram or cow are slaughtered as sacrifice. Furthermore, some *Malams* read the verses of the Glorious Qur'án onto *Zamzam* water or rain water to be drank by their clients.[215] Another similar practice includes preparing of amulets using selected verses of the Glorious Qur'án in the book called *'mu'azzalat fi Al-Qur'án'* (selected verses from the Qur'án according to the meaning of the text). For example, the following verse is written Twenty one times on a slate for the one who was possessed.

اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْحَيُّ الْقَيُّومُ لَا تَأْخُذُهُ
سِنَةٌ وَلَا نَوْمٌ لَهُ مَا فِي السَّمَاوَاتِ وَمَا فِي
الْأَرْضِ مَنْ ذَا الَّذِي يَشْفَعُ عِنْدَهُ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِهِ يَعْلَمُ
مَا بَيْنَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَمَا خَلْفَهُمْ وَلَا يُحِيطُونَ بِشَيْءٍ

[214] Modu Aji, (52years), Tailor, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 18/8/2015.
[215] Malam Hamman Musa, (40 years), Trader, Maiduguri. Interviewed on 16/7/2015.

مِنْ عِلْمِهِ إِلَّا بِمَا شَاءَ وَسِعَ كُرْسِيُّهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا يَئُودُهُ حِفْظُهُمَا وَهُوَ الْعَلِيُّ الْعَظِيمُ [216]

> Allah none has the right to be worshiped but He, the Ever living, The One who sustains and protects all that exists. Neither slumber nor sleep overtakes Him. To Him belongs whatever is in the heavens and whatever is on the earth. Who is he that can intercede with him except with His permission? He knows what happens to them (His creatures) in this world, and what will happen to them in the Hereafter. And they will never compass anything of His knowledge except that which He wills. His Kursi extends over the heavens and the earth, and He is the Most High, the Most Great.

Likewise, the following verses are also written 41times on a sheet of paper and folded in form of amulet.

وَإِنْ يَكَادُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَيُزْلِقُونَكَ بِأَبْصَارِهِمْ لَمَّا سَمِعُوا الذِّكْرَ وَيَقُولُونَ إِنَّهُ لَمَجْنُونٌ[217]

> And verily, those who disbelieve would almost make you Slip with their eyes (through hatred) when they hear the Reminder (the Qur'an), and they say: Verily, he Muhammad Is a mad.

And

فَلَمَّا أَلْقَوْا قَالَ مُوسَى مَا جِئْتُمْ بِهِ السِّحْرُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَيُبْطِلُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُصْلِحُ عَمَلَ الْمُفْسِدِينَ[218]

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[216] Qur'an 2:255
[217] Qur'an 68:51
[218] Qur'an 10:81

> Then when they had cast down, Musa said 'what you have brought is sorcery; Allah will surely make it of no effect. Verily, Allah does not set right the evil doers, corrupters.

Many more *Ayats* and *Suras* are used for these purposes and others. Recitation of *Surat Al-Fatiha* by a sick is the most common invocation used for healing as it is recommended for a person who does not know the correct supplication for a particular illness.[219] Furthermore, the researcher went through some books of Qur'ánic secrets pertaining supplications against calamities like '*Al'rih al'ahmar, Khazanatu Al'asrar* and *Ummu Mus*e are mostly consulted for these purposes. Interestingly, it is stressed that no specific amount of money is collected for the service rather the *Malam* can see what is given to him as a gift. Other Malams would collect huge amount of money for the healing.[220]

Another method of precaution against any form of affliction in almost all where the Muslims reside is writing of the verses or some chapters of the Glorious *Qur'an* being washed into the drinking pot in the household to be drank by all members of the family.[221] Many still depend on the aforementioned remedy for maintaining their health more than the modern day Ruqyah.[222] Interestingly, *Taida* or *Alangoro* method of healing a possessed and general health issue seems to be the same in concept and basic idea with *Ruqyah*. The terms refer to seeking of a helping hand from Allah through His book in relation to any social matter. Both have been developed especially to perform healing of possessed and other inflictions.[223]

However, the only contradiction is the conversation session between the healer and the Jinn involved through the tongue of the possessed which will create a room of communication with the class of Jinn through a lengthy conversation. At times the Raqi

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[219] Malam Hamman Musa, Op cit.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Goni Ali Bama, (62years), Driver, IDP Camp Maiduguri. Interviewed on 7/9/2015.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Malam Hamman Musa, Op cit.

would identify the faith of the Jinn; at the end the Raqi might even convert the Jinn into the fold of Islam. This method was introduced to the environs of Borno by one known as *Ahmad Abdul-qadir* and *Malam Saidu* from *Kano* state in 1996. As time went by the method was disseminated to the nooks and crannies of the state. The young *Raqis* started implementing the method based on instructive text of Arabic inscription in pamphlets and *Ruqyah* books.[224]

It was reported that the healers experiment the method in their residences or shops to address possession problems to the extent that some cases in conventional hospitals are referred to *Ruqyah* healers. Many among the *Raqis* have institutionalized the Ruqyah practice into a clinical format in terms of documenting and enterprising. [225] The *Raqis* who were visited by the researcher have waiting rooms to receive patients labelled with doctor's room. Some herbs and tree barks concoctions were seen under the *Raqi's* tables, together with stethoscope and blood pressure apparatus that are also used. The clients queue to see them one after the other for diagnosis and Ruqyah. Some did not have these facilities so they are invited to where the patient is residing to undergo the *Ruqyah* session. Yet, others are performing the healing in shops where Islamic medicine (herbs) and books are sold.

The symptoms of spirit possession cannot be effectively assessed unless if the healer develops sound interviewing skills to allow the healer know more about the affliction.[226] He may know more about the patient by meeting the afflicted person face to face or to ask the relatives in case of severe cases. [227] The way and manner of the diagnosis differ from one *Raqi* to the other. Some Qur'ánic healers diagnose through one of the following;

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[224]M Ali Mustapha, (37years), Qur'anic Healer, Imam Malik Islamic Centre Maiduguri. Interviewed on 15/7/2015.
[225] Mustapha Umar, (40years), Qur'anic Healer, Maiduguri Interviewed on 2/7/2015.
[226]Malam Idriss Muhammad, (50years), Qur'anic Healer, Maiduguri 2/7/2015.
[227] Ibid.

reciting the *Basmalah,* looking at the eyes and the palm of the possessed. First and foremost, ablution is performed by both the healer and his client if the client is conscious. Consequently, these are done in the presence of the relatives who witness the session and give a helping hand where necessary. Furthermore, if the client is a female, she must put on a veil and trouser to cover up her body.[228]

Identification of *Jinn* through the eyes is done by asking the client to close his right eye with his right hand and invoke Allah while the *Raqi* is seeing the left eye, reciting the verse of *kursi* three times. When the client is really possessed, symptoms such as dizziness, feverish condition, difficulty in breathing, unconsciousness and above all the client feels scared and see the *Raqi* as his attacker.[229] When the *Jinn* involved is identified, the *Raqi* is to hold loosely the fore head of the client then he reads *Surat Al-fatiha* for it is an opener of the book as well as summary to the entire Glorious Qur'án. So also, Surat Al- *Falaq, Nas* are chapters that were recited to untie the knot of *Sihr* 'Magic' done to the Prophet himself, and *Ayat Al-kursiy* addresses the fundamental principles of Islamic belief that nothing in the entire creation can harm or benefit without the Creator's permission. All these are recited in all types of Ruqyah.

The same or other similar verses and chapters of the Glorious Qur'án are read according to the case involved. The intention behind such recitation is to treat each *Jinn* according to his/her action. For example, if the possessed is afflicted by the Jinn of *Sihr* he would be subjected to the verses of opening the knots of *Sihr.*[230] Then, the *Jinn* will finally reveal itself through the mouth of its victim. After many struggles the Jinn may tend to leave.[231] In some cases Jinn used to implicate others by confession from the mouth of the Jinn

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[228] Mustapha Umar, Op cit.
[229] Malanm Ali Mustapha Op cit.
[230] Malam Idriss Muhammad, Op cit.
[231] Ibid.

through the possessed which at last would create a dispute and allegation in the sense that one party will accuse the other as a mastermind of the affliction.[232]

In a case whereby the Jinn refuse to leave, the recitation is continued until when the verses have saturated the victim then the Jinn narrates why he possessed the victim. Having done this, invocations that were used by the Prophet are recited in *Zaitun* 'olive oil' or *Zamzam* water to enable the patient rubs the oil all over his body for several days. Lastly, the *Raqi* will counsel the victim with a sound counselling as to recite the daily *Adhkar,* read the Glorious Qur'án put on the complete Islamic veil in the case of female. [233] While some are of the view that the recitation of the verses of the Glorious Qur'án should be read with *Tajweed,*[234] slaughtering of an animal is not allowed. But if one wants to give *Sadaqa,* he is at liberty to give it out for quick recovery.[235] Some of the Qur'ánic healers collect a huge amount of money in such a way that the client must deposit fifty percent of the agreed amount of money before starting the process.[236] It is generally believed that healing method using the Glorious Qur'án and invocations made by the Prophet (pbuh) is effective in reducing stress, tension, anxiety, depression, magic, evil eye and above all it creates hope in recovery.

4.11 Episodes of Treating a Possessed through Various means of Healing in Borno State

There are different forms of traditional healing of the possessed in Africa many of which are contrary to the modern conventional healing methods. Yet, the traditional method of healing is patronized by some individuals. To this effect, there are a few clear cut-links to possession related episodes.

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[232] M. H. Muhammad, Op cit.
[233] Malam Ali Mustapha, Op cit.
[234] Mustapha Umar, Op cit.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Malam Idriss Muhammad, Op cit,.

When the researcher was interviewing a *Raqi,* the *Raqi* was called by a client. After the conversation on the phone ended, the Raqi started to explain what the phone call was all about. He stated that a patient called to thank him for the *Ruqyah* he performed a couple of weeks ago for he was regularly being frightened by wild animals when asleep. The Raqi gave the client some invocations together with invoked *Zaitun* 'olive oil' to be used for rubbing all over his body, which he did. Thereafter, he recovered totally from the said dreams.[237]

Another episode worth mentioning was when a team of *Raqis* were collectively healing a possessed the healing lasted for months before its completion. This was because the Jinn belongs to a royal family and of a higher status among the Jinn pantheon. When conversing with the healer he puts himself among the grand children of *Iblis* the cursed one. He insisted his stay within the woman he loves. All of a sudden the Jinn invited all his helpers to come to his aid. The Jinn appeared again after several recitations. We asked who is that? She answered repeatedly, *Shiba, Shiba, Shiba!* She tried to touch our body, and the more she touched our body she gained more power to pull us apart as well as to increase her desire. Then, we folded and tied her to a nearby pillar reciting over her *Surat Al-tauba*. Lastly, she became weaker and we followed the recitation with *Surat Yasin.* Fortunately, she lifted her vision to the sky; we continued the recitation until we reached;

> 'And We sent not against his people after him a host from the heaven, nor was it needful for Us to send such a thing' [238]

Thereafter, the victim gained her consciousness and we asked her about her sufferings. She answered that the Jinn was dead.[239] In another episode, when the Jinn entered another

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[237] Malam Ali Mustapha, Op cit.
[238] Qur'an, 36:28.
[239] Malam Ali Mustapha, Op cit.

victim, the Qur'ánic healer asked the ethnic group he belongs to, for the fact that he uttered a strange language. He answered *'Hakutuk'* then the Jinn tried to escape and leave the victim in a state of possession. The *raqis* recited the verses normally used for confinement and stopped him from escaping. Lastly, they engaged him with recitation until he left the victim in peace. At the time of his departure, he told them that his tribe is *'Ngultum'* they dragged him back again to know the meaning. He told them the meaning as 'until we meet in another mischievous act'.

Furthermore, a scenario was narrated on the case of incompetent healers who thought that it is not permissible to combine hospital drugs with the *Ruqyah.* Therefore, he stopped his client from taking the medicine given to him in the hospital as a diabetic patient. He received a huge amount of money as part payment for the treatment. The client died as a result of not taking the diabetes drugs.[240]

Similarly, a victim was said to have been kidnapped and taken to an unknown place where they raped her and victimized her with magic spell. Later, she was rescued and underwent treatment in hospital but unfortunately the treatment was not effective because she was possessed. The husband did not believe in possession caused by *Jinn*. At last the husband was persuaded to take her to those who conduct Qur'ánic healing, who affirmed that she was possessed by *Jinn.* At the end she was treated fully and the husband now really believed in possession.[241]

Nonetheless, the only *Ruqyah* that was known was *Taida, Alangoro* and *Hijáb.* All these symbolize the healing with the aid of the Glorious *Qur'an.* Some even believe that the western type of medicine does not cure physically, because it only suppresses the

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[240] Ibid.
[241] Mustapha Umar, Op cit.

sickness to a low level. In any sickness there are psychological injuries which can only be cured through the means of the Glorious Qur'án.[242] Thus, the *Ruqyah* is not known in the form of making a verbal communication on the tongue of the victim. Therefore, the scenario in this respect has to do with its healing impact.

There was a time when a primary school teacher was transferred to the area of *Kala Balge.* One day he suddenly saw a python on his way to the gate of the primary school. Unfortunately, he stoned it not knowing that they were untouchables. According to tradition the pythons were royal pythons from the kingdom of Jinn. They were harmless unless you harm them. Upon stoning the python the stone bounced back and hit the teacher's eye. The stoned eye got afflicted for more than three months. Lastly, he used *Alangoro* to recover. The *Malum* spat the following verse into a container with small water in it.

لَقَدْ كُنْتَ فِي غَفْلَةٍ مِنْ هَذَا فَكَشَفْنَا عَنْكَ غِطَاءَكَ
فَبَصَرُكَ الْيَوْمَ حَدِيد[243]

> (It will be said to the sinners): 'Indeed, you were heedless of this. Now We have removed from you your covering, and sharp is your sight this Day!'

Thereafter, he ordered the victim to wash his eyes on daily basis. He recovered after trying this method.[244]

Similarly, an interview was conducted with a priest of *Bori* healers who said they used to practice *Bori*-Fetish as a healing method before the 1990s in Maiduguri, *Gwange* ward,

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[242] Ba Goni Modu, Op cit.
[243] Qur'an, 50:22
[244] Muhammad Adam, Peace FM Maiduguri, (Gargam Nde), 14/9/2015. 4:00PM-5:00PM.

layin Bori. Presently, there is no single place where Bori is being practiced in Maiduguri. He further said that *Bori* fetish is now replaced entirely with *Maganin Gargajiya* (Traditional medicine). This is because there was ambiguity attached to the practice of *Bori* which is seen as un Islamic. They now resorted to the sell of concocted herbs for the cure of possession and other ailments. Our traditional or local medicinal herbs are effective which were inherited from our forebears that were ardent of the *Bori* practice.[245]

A wonderful episode was also reported during *Badri* performance in *Ndufu* town of *Kala-Balge* local Government Area. The report says, it was one fateful evening when people gathered to witness a performance of a possessed woman who was dressed up in white cloths fully veiled in Islamic dress holding a spear and shaking it. She started shivering and missed a step which caused her death. At that point in time people believed that the wicked spirits had killed her.[246] Therefore, the practitioners of *Badri* used to give medicines of different sicknesses outside the possession rituals. This confirms the fact that the possessed are attended to in various locations and in some cases healings are received through varied means as reported.

4.12 DISCUSSION

The findings revealed that the treatment methods employed by *Badri* method and the Bori-Fetish are considerably similar in terms of physical practice and leadership. Thus, they are ascribed to health and healing within an encompassing socio-cultural context.

It was noted that the Musical instruments used in *Badri* method of healing are *Shila* flute for blowing, Horn and Drum referred to as *Badri*. Thus, the name *Badri* is derived from the name given to the drum. It was also revealed that this method is used to heal

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[245] Habu Mai Maganin Gargajiya, (65years), Traditional Healer, Custom Area Maiduguri. Interviewed on 12/8/2015

[246]Balama Balge, (81years), Farmer, IDP Camp Maiduguri. Interviewed on 1/6/2015

possession, paralysis, barren condition, high fever and others. The method used in healing is to praise and compliment the spirit involved by calling names of the Jinn as *Jindi Maimuna, Jindi Isa* and other Jinns. This will lead the Jinn to appear when it hears its favourite name. The victim in trance is agitating and shivering until when they are pinned down by the members of the gathering present. Sometimes some of the attendants are implicated to become victims of possession. To this end *Bollo* (a mixture of grinded millet with sugar) is used to rub over the body of the victim as concoction of medicinal herbs are very important in the healing process. Sacrifice of animals like chicken or goat is encouraged in the process of healing as the healed members used to contribute money to the priests.

Therefore, the aforementioned practices are similar to that of Bori-Fetish, rather it has no initiation *(Girka)* of the victim to become *Boka*. Though, the only condition in *Badri* is to order the Jinn to leave the victim in peace and to avoid further attack.

CHAPTER FIVE
DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter focuses on the data analysis on the views of respondents from the six sampled Local Government Areas of Borno state. In this regard the interaction of the people in the study area with either the Bori-Fetish or Qur'ánic healing is studied together with the responses of patients' in relation to falling into shirks (polytheism) and innovations. Nonetheless, the responses of the Qur'ánic healers and the Bori healers in regards to the effect of their healing are analyzed.

Table 5.1.1 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses towards the belief that Possession has a Remedy

		YES		NO	
LGA		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	65	95.6%	3	4.4%
KALA/BALGE		15	88.24%	2	11.76%
KUKAWA	Borno North	18	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		16	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	30	100%	0	0%
CHIBOK		16	94.12%	1	5.88%

Source: Field Survey 2015

It can be seen from the above table, Kukawa, Magumeri and Kala/Balge Local Government Areas had 100% respondents who affirmatively answered that spirit possession has a remedy. However, the remaining three Local Government Areas were slightly different. This suggests that only 6% of the respondents disagree with the remedy of possession. This might be ascribed to the fact that many were cured through different remedies.

Table 5.1.2 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses on Presence of Fetishism practitioners in their locality

L G A		YES		NO	
		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	30	44.1%	38	55.9%
KALA/BALGE		10	58.82%	7	41.18%
KUKAWA	Borno	5	27.78%	13	72.22%
MAGUMERI	North	2	12.5%	14	87.5%
BIU	Borno	24	80%	6	20%
CHIBOK	South	16	94.12%	1	5.88%

Source: Field Survey 2015

This table revealed that Chibok had the highest number of 94.12% of respondents who strongly agreed on the presence of fetish practices in their immediate locality. This is due to the fact that people of Chibok believe in Bwali healing. This notion is contrary to the respondents of Magumeri who had the least score of 12.5%, this may be related to the fact that Magumeri is an area of Qur'ánic scholars.

Table 5.1.3 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses on How Frequent the Fetishists Practise their Healing Methods

Local Government Area		YES		NO	
		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	13	19.1%	55	80.9%
KALA/BALGE		10	58.82%	7	41.18%
KUKAWA	Borno	0	0%	18	100%
MAGUMERI	North	0	0%	16	100%
BIU	Borno	9	30%	21	70%
CHIBOK	South	10	58.82%	7	41.18%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above table shows that more than 58% of the respondents in Chibok and Kala-Balge area indicated that such practitioners are being patronised by some of the locals. This is because Kibaku people are known with the Bwali practice of enchanting Spirits as well as, the people of Kala are used to the practice of Badri healing of enchanting or appeasing spirits. However, the locals in Magumeri and Kukawa are not a party to such practices.

Table 5.1.4 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses on whether the Fetishists are Patronized by the Immediate Locality

L.G.A		YES		NO	
		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	56	82.4%	12	17.6%
KALA-BALGE		11	64.71%	6	35.29%
KUKAWA	Borno North	1	5.55%	17	94.49%
MAGUMERI		1	6.25%	15	93.75%
BIU	Borno South	21	70%	9	30%
CHIBOK		14	82.35%	3	17.65%

Source: Field Survey 2015

Item5.4 of the above table shows 82.35% of the respondents in Chibok Local Government Area of Borno South indicated that Bokaye are being patronised. This is contrary to Kukawa and Magumeri Local Government of Borno North that scored 93% who opposed to the patronages with Bokaye. This is because traditional barbers are dominants in the area giving herbs for possession problems.

Table 5.1.5 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses on whether the Populace know the Qur'ánic Healing is referred to as Ruqyah

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	56	82.4%	12	17.6%
KALA/BALGE		3	17.65%	14	82.35%
KUKAWA	Borno North	3	16.67%	15	83.33%
MAGUMERI		6	37.5%	10	62.5%
BIU	Borno South	18	60%	12	40%
CHIBOK		8	47.06%	9	52.94%

Source: Field Survey 2015

It was revealed in the above table that 82.4% of the respondents in Maiduguri Knew that the Qur'ánic healing is also referred to as Ruqyah, while, only 17.65% of the respondents in Kala-balge know that Qur'ánic healing is referred to as Ruqyah. This is because even the Metropolis itself did not refer Qur'ánic healing as Ruqyah until in 2006 when the Izalah Movement started referring it as Ruqyah.

Table 5.1.6 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses on whether the Qur'ánic Healers are being Patronized by the Populace

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	63	92.6%	5	7.4%
KALA/BALGE		14	82.35%	0	0%
KUKAWA	Borno North	18	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		14	87.5%	2	12.5%
BIU	Borno South	28	93.3%	2	6.7%
CHIBOK		16	94.12%	1	5.88%

Source: Field Survey 2015

In was revealed in the above table that Kukawa had the highest score of 100% respondents who affirmatively agreed that Qur'ánic healers are being patronised. However, all the remaining five sampled Local Government Areas are reasonably patronising the Qur'ánic healers. This is not surprising, because many have believed that the Qur'án treats psychological and physical problems.

Table 5.1.7 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses on Whether the Qur'ánic Healers have taken the Healing with the Qur'án as their Profession and used to take huge amount of money from their clients

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	48	70.6%	20	29.4%
KALA/BALGE		15	88.24%	2	11.76%
KUKAWA	Borno	13	72.22%	5	27.78%
MAGUMERI	North	7	43.75%	10	62.5%
BIU	Borno	21	70%	9	30%
CHIBOK	South	12	70.59%	5	29.41%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above table revealed that Kala-Balge had the highest score of 88.24% of those who agreed that the Qur'ánic healers collect huge amount of money from their clients, while Magumeri had the least score of 43.75% of those who agree that the Qur'ánic healers used to collect a huge amount of money.

Table 5.1.8 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses on Whether Badri Healing Method is being practiced by the Locals in their Area

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	3	4.4%	65	95.6%
KALA/BALGE		16	94.11%	1	5.88%
KUKAWA	Borno	0	0%	18	100%
MAGUMERI	North	1	6.25%	15	93.75%
BIU	Borno	0	0%	30	100%
CHIBOK	South	1	5.88%	16	94.12%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above table reveals that 94.11% of the respondents in Kala Balge, Borno Central know about a healing skill referred to as Badri, while all of the remaining 5 sampled Local Government Areas are not much aware pertaining to Badri healing. This is because the skill of Badri is not part of their tradition. In another thesis, it is stated that Spirit possession is widely used as a therapy across Africa. Therefore, the name referred to it in Egypt is not the name referred to it to other countries like Niger, Burkina-Faso and others.

Table 5.1.9 Percentage Distributions of General Public Responses on whether there are healers who practice under the guise of Qur'anic healers

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	52	76.5%	16	23.5%
KALA/BALGE		10	58.82%	7	41.18%
KUKAWA	Borno North	13	72.22%	5	27.78%
MAGUMERI		13	81.25%	3	18.75%
BIU	Borno South	21	70%	9	30%
CHIBOK		13	76.47%	4	23.53%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The table above reveals that Magumeri had the highest percentage of 81.25% who agreed that there are healers who practice their skills under the guise of Qur'ánic healers for monetary gains. However, it is indicated that almost all the five out of the six sampled Local Government Areas have a reasonable number of respondents who affirm that there are healers who practice their skills under the guise of Qur'ánic healers. This might be because these healers are eager to boost up their financial positions.

Table 5.2:1 Percentage Distributions of Patients Responses on the Belief that Jinn can harm human beings

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	19	100%	0	0%
KALA/BALGE		7	100%	0	0%
KUKAWA	Borno North	6	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		5	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	6	100%	0	0%
CHIBOK		4	100%	4	0%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The results of the above table reveals that all the sampled respondents in the three geo-political zones had the score of 100% which shows that none of the Local Government Areas had a contrary view on the proportion that Jinn can harm human beings.

Table 5.2:2 Percentage Distributions of Patients Responses toward the Belief that there are Healers who enchant Jinn

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	19	100%	0	0%
KALA/BALGE		7	100%	0	0%
KUKAWA	Borno North	6	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		5	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	6	100%	0	0%
CHIBOK		4	100%	0	0%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The results of the above table reveals that all the sampled respondents in the six sampled Local Government Areas had the same score of 100% each that responded affirmatively that there are healers who enchant Jinn. This may be ascribed to the belief that Jinn is around where ever human being is living. This opinion is relevant to the view that the belief in Jinn is a popular phenomenon as they are invisible spirits that could penetrate the bodies of human beings thereby causing illness.[247]

[247] B. Silvia ''The Role of Muslim Mentors in Eritrea'' npp, 2012, P4.

Table 5.2:3 Percentage Distributions of patients Responses on the attitude of Collecting Huge amount of Money from the Clients

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	6	31.58%	13	68.42%
KALA/BALGE		2	28.57%	5	71.43%
KUKAWA	Borno North	5	16.67%	1	33.83%
MAGUMERI		1	20%	4	80%
BIU	Borno South	4	66.67%	2	33.33%
CHIBOK		3	75%	1	25%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above item shows whether the Qur'ánic healers collect a huge amount of Money from their clients for the services rendered. Chibok Local Government area had the highest percentage of respondents of 75% who are of the know that the Qur'ánic healers collect huge amount of money from the victims. Meanwhile, Kukawa had the least score of 16.67% who agreed that the Qur'ánic healers used to collect huge money. Those that are not doing it for profit making consider it as alms giving.

Table 5.2:4 Percentage Distributions of Patients' Responses on when Qur'anic healing method is not physically effective patients resort to traditional fetish methods

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	9	47.37%	10	52.63%
KALA/BALGE		4	57.14%	3	42.86%
KUKAWA	Borno North	0	0%	6	100%
MAGUMERI		0	0%	5	100%
BIU	Borno South	2	50%	2	50%
CHIBOK		2	50%	2	50%

Source: Field Survey 2015

Item 5.2.6 deals with responses on resorting to fetishism when the treatment with the Glorious Qur'án ceased to heal physically. Kala-Balge in Borno Central had the highest score of 57.14% that they used to switch to traditional priests. Magumeri and Kukawa in Borno North are totally opposed to switch to traditional priests. This is not surprising because the people in Kala Balge have their own indigenous healing method believed to be effective.

Table 5.2:5 Percentage Distributions of Patients' Responses on the efficay of Bwali- and Badri-Fetishes in curing patients ailment

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	4	21.05%	15	95.78%
KALA/BALGE		4	57.14%	3	42.86%
KUKAWA	Borno North	0	0%	6	100%
MAGUMERI		0	0%	5	100%
BIU	Borno South	3	50%	3	50%
CHIBOK		3	75%	1	25%

Source: Field Survey 2015

It was revealed in the above table that Kala-Balge had 57% of the respondents who believed on the effectiveness of Badri-Fetish. Chibok had 50% response of the respondents who also agreed on the effectiveness of their method of healing known to be Bwali healing. Kukawa and Magumeri had scored 0% because they do not believe in Bwali or Badri-Fetish in their locality.

Table 5.2:6 Percentage Distributions of Patients' Responses on the efficacy of Amulets and Charms

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	2	10.53%	17	89.47%
KALA/BALGE		4	57.14%	3	42.86%
KUKAWA	Borno North	6	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		5	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	5	83.33%	1	16.67%
CHIBOK		3	75%	1	25%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The table above shows the efficacy of amulets and charms. Kukawa and Magumeri Local Government Areas in Borno North had 100% score of respondents who believe in the efficacy of charms and amulets while Maiduguri Metropolis had the least score of 10.53%. In another separate work it is asserted that amulets and talismans are also being found in all regions of the world in variety of forms.[248]

[248] B. Abu-Ameenah 'Fundamentals of Tauheed' Riyadh Saudi Arabia. 1982, P28.

Table 5.2:7 Percentage Distributions of Patients' Responses on whether the Qur'ánic healers write down some Qur'ánic Verses on the Clients Body

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	4	21.05%	15	78.95%
KALA/BALGE		5	71.43%	2	28.57%
KUKAWA	Borno North	4	66.67%	2	33.33%
MAGUMERI		4	80%	1	20%
BIU	Borno South	4	66.67%	2	33.33%
CHIBOK		2	50%	2	50%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The table above is on whether the Qur'ánic healers write down the verses of the Glorious Qur'án on the part of body of a possessed. Magumeri had the highest score of 80% that answered affirmatively that the verses of the Qur'án are written on the possessed body, while 78.98% respondents in Maiduguri revealed that the healers do not write any verse on the part of the possessed body. As stated in another work that some healers used to manipulate the verses of the Glorious Qur'án by writing it down under their feet or write it in reverse order.[249] This is not surprising because Darni is being practiced by some Qur'ánic scholars.

[249] Op cit 17, P14.

Table 5.2:8 Percentage distributions of patients' responses on whether the Qur'ánic healers burn some verses of the Glorious Qur'án as incenses for the clients to inhale

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	4	21.05%	15	78.95%
KALA/BALGE		5	71.43%	2	28.57%
KUKAWA	Borno North	3	50%	3	50%
MAGUMERI		5	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	3	50%	3	50%
CHIBOK		2	50%	2	50%

Source: Field Survey 2015

Table 5.2.10 is on whether the Qur'ánic healers burn some verses of the Glorious Qur'án to inhale by their clients. Magumeri in Borno North had the highest score of 80% while Maiduguri had the least score of 21.05%. This may be ascribed to unawareness of those who are practicing it.

Table 5.3:1 Percentage Distribution on whether the Bwali and Bori Practitioners' do seek a help from Allah

		YES		NO	
L.G.A	Sen. Zone	Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	8	100%	0	0%
KALA/BALGE		4	100%	0	0%
KUKAWA	Borno North	3	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		3	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	4	100%	0	0%
CHIBOK		4	100%	0	0%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The results from the above table shows that 100% of all the six sampled local Government areas in the three Geo-political zones have the same view on seeking a helping hand from Allah the Most high in the process of their healing irrespective of their culture and their religion. This is because every individual knows that Allah alone has the power of healing.

Table 5.3:2 Percentage Distributions of Fetishism Practitioners on whether they have a Counselling skill in their Healing Technique

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	7	87.5%	1	12.5%
KALA/BALGE		2	66.67%	1	33.33%
KUKAWA	Borno North	3	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		2	50%	2	50%
BIU	Borno South	3	75%	1	25%
CHIBOK		4	100%	0	0%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above table is on whether the healers used to counsel their clients to effect the healing. Chibok Local Government Area in Borno South had the highest score of 100% revealed that they are used to counsel their clients for effective healing. On the other hand Kala-Balge Local Government Area of Borno Central had followed with a score of 66. 67% who are party to counselling. Therefore, counselling is believed to be among the tools of healing.

Table 5.3:3 Percentage Distributions of Fetishism Practitioners on the Reality of Communicating with Jinn

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	2	25%	6	75%
KALA/BALGE		3	75%	1	25%
KUKAWA	Borno North	0	0%	4	100%
MAGUMERI		0	0%	4	100%
BIU	Borno South	3	75%	1	25%
CHIBOK		3	75%	1	25%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above table revealed that Biu, Chibok and Kala/balge had the highest score of 75% of the respondents in regards to calling names of Jinn in the healing process. This is because the mentioned Local Government Areas are known to their indigenous healing method. In this regard Kukawa and Magumeri were totally contrary to the notion of communicating with Jinn in the healing process.

Table 5.3:4 Percentage Distributions of Fetishism Practitioners on the reality of calling names of Jinn in the Healing Processes

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	4	50%	4	50%
KALA/BALGE		2	50%	2	50%
KUKAWA	Borno North	0	0%	3	100%
MAGUMERI		0	0%	3	100%
BIU	Borno South	1	75%	3	25%
CHIBOK		1	75%	3	25%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above table revealed that Biu and Chibok had the highest score of 75% each that this could be attributed to the act of magic as asserted in the history of the area. Meanwhile, Kukawa and Magumeri had totally disagreed on calling names of Jinn in healing process.

Table 5.3:5 Percentage Distributions of Fetishes Practitioners on prescribing Herbs to their clients

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	4	50%	4	50%
KALA/BALGE		3	75%	1	25%
KUKAWA	Borno North	2	50%	2	100%
MAGUMERI		2	50%	2	100%
BIU	Borno South	3	75%	1	25%
CHIBOK		3	75%	1	25%

Source: Field Survey 2015

As indicated in the above table, Biu, Chibok and Kala-Balge had 75% score who resort to using herbs from the barks of tree to effect healing of the possessed. This is because it is believed that many medicines are extracted from plants, while Kukawa Local Government had the least percentage of 50% in resorting to giving herbs.

Table 5.3:6 Percentage distributions of Fetishism practitioners on whether they do flog their clients during healing processes

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	8	100%	0	0%
KALA/BALGE		3	75%	1	25%
KUKAWA	Borno North	2	66.67%	1	33.33%
MAGUMERI		3	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	4	100%	0	0%
CHIBOK		4	100%	0	0%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The distribution above revealed whether the Fetishists used to flog their clients during a healing process in order to effect healing. Chibok in Borno South and Kala Balge in Borno Central had the highest score of 75% that resort to flogging of victims during a healing. Contrarily, Kukawa and Magumeri Local Government in Borno North are 100% opposed to flogging. Those practicing flogging used to flog patients who are violent, disobedient and troublesome; this will make the body of the possessed to be unpleasant to the Spirit involved.[250]

[250] A. Gadh, Op cit, P172.

Table 5.3:7 Percentage Distributions of Fetishism Practitioners on whether they make sacrifice in the Healing Processes

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	3	37.5%	5	62.5%
KALA/BALGE		3	75%	1	25%
KUKAWA	Borno North	0	0%	3	100%
MAGUMERI		0	0%	3	100%
BIU	Borno South	1	25%	3	75%
CHIBOK		3	75%	1	25%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above table have it that 75% of the respondents in Chibok and Kala-Balge resort to making sacrifice for the sake of making the healing effective. This is not surprising because people in Borno believe in the impact of alms giving. This means that the traditional remedy for healing a possessed is accepted by some locals who see it as effective either for the fact that they accept it for its origin in their culture or because of its physical power of healing through the use of counselling, giving of herbs and concoction, making sacrifice to placate the spirit involved and exorcising and flogging the possessed. By so doing relief is achieved by overcoming the source of affliction. However, Kukawa and Magumeri opposed totally to making sacrifice. This is because the areas do not believe in something like Bwali or Badri healing.

Table 5.4:1 Percentage Distributions of Qur'ánic Healers' Responses on encouraging their Clients for follow-up

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	6	60%	4	40%
KALA/BALGE		5	100%	0	0%
KUKAWA	Borno North	6	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		3	75%	1	25%
BIU	Borno South	4	67%	2	33%
CHIBOK		4	100%	0	0%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The results in the above table have it that whether the clients of Qur'ánic healers come for follow-up after recovery. Interestingly, Kala-Balge in Borno Central, Kukawa in Borno North and Chibok in Borno South had the highest score of 100% each that answered in the affirmative that Qur'ánic healers' clients used to come back for follow-up. On the other hand Maiduguri and Magumeri had the least score of 60% each that agreed on the view that their clients come for follow-up. This might be due to the effect of the Qur'ánic healing, if not they would stick to other type of remedy. As backed in another work, that the efficacy of the Glorious Qur'án as a valuable cure for the treatment of diseases depends upon one's strength of faith.[251]

[251] U. Dahiru, Op cit, P194.

Table 5.4:2 Percentage Distributions of Qur'ánic Healers' Responses on whether the Qur'ánic Healers counsel their clients after combating the Jinn

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	9	90%	1	10%
KALA/BALGE		3	60%	2	40%
KUKAWA	Borno North	6	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		4	80%	1	20%
BIU	Borno South	5	83%	1	17%
CHIBOK		3	75%	1	25%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The table above revealed that the respondents in Kukawa had the highest score of 100% respondents who affirmatively resort to counselling their clients whenever the need arises. This notion may be attributed to the fact that Qur'ánic scholars serve as guides to the society. To this end the remaining Local Government are reasonably engaging their clients with counselling. Meanwhile, the response of the respondents in Kala-Balge in this respect is 60%.

Table 5.4:3 Percentage Distributions of Qur'ánic Healers' responses on whether they prefer Qur'ánic Healing for themselves

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	10	100%	0	0%
KALA/BALGE		5	100%	0	0%
KUKAWA	Borno North	6	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		5	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	6	100%	0	0%
CHIBOK		4	100%	0	0%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The above table stated that all the sampled Local Governments Areas in the three Geopolitical zones had the score of 100% each that the Qur'ánic healers prefer Qur'ánic healing for themselves and also recommend it to others. This is confirmed in another work that religious scholars and Qur'anic healers function as both doctors and scholars.[252]

Table 5.4:4 Percentage distributions of Qur'ánic Healers' Responses on the effect of Qur'ánic Healing

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	10	100%	0	0%
KALA/BALGE		5	100%	0	0%
KUKAWA	Borno North	6	100%	0	0%
MAGUMERI		5	100%	0	0%
BIU	Borno South	4	67%	2	33%
CHIBOK		2	50%	2	50%

Source: Field Survey 2015

[252] S. Nursi, Op cit, P25.

The table above revealed that Maiduguri, Kala/Balge, Kukawa and Magumeri had the highest score of 100% each on the benefit of giving *sadaqah* during and after healing. This might be attributed to Muslim attitude towards the effect of *Sadaqah.* Muslims usually say Allah loves *Sadaqah.* Chibok area had a score of 33% only in regards to giving *Sadaqah.*

Table 5.4:5 Percentage Distributions of Qur'ánic Healers' Responses on whether they train others to learn the healing through apprenticeship

		YES		NO	
L.G.A		Number of Respondents	Percentage	Number of Respondents	Percentage
MMC	Borno Central	9	90%	1	10%
KALA/BALGE		3	60%	2	40%
KUKAWA	Borno North	5	83.33%	1	16.67%
MAGUMERI		4	80%	1	20%
BIU	Borno South	3	50%	3	50%
CHIBOK		2	50%	2	50%

Source: Field Survey 2015

The findings in table 5.4.10 revealed that Maiduguri Metropolitan had 90% of respondents who agreed on training their students to learn Qur'ánic healing through apprenticeship. This is because the practitioners want the continuity of such skills to the future generation. Similarly, Biu and Chibok had least score of 50% each to agree the idea of training their students to learn the skills.

CHAPTER SIX
AN EXAMINATION OF THE IMPACT OF BWALI, BADRI-FETISHES AND QUR'ÁNIC HEALING PROCESSES IN THE STUDY AREA

Before the discovery of Glorious Qur'án as means of healing in the study area the possessed there were treated by a number of traditional healing methods. People, who took ill, passed through self treatment and no one helped them make their choices on whom to consult. Nobody cares about the implication of such methods; rather they were influenced by the type of help available to them. This belief translates into relatively large number of people who in one way or the other seek the intervention of the Qur'ánic healers or traditional healers for remedy against spirit possession. For example, the common man would look after himself by using preventive and curative methods like not eating certain kinds of food or not going to certain places or to abide by certain societal norms and have you. The culture has influenced the people to know more about effective healing methods.[253] As a result, the magicians, soothsayers, traditional herbalists, tribal medicine, *Badri* healers and other healing methods are in vogue. It is difficult to put them under one category because of different activities and practices involved in each.

However, the advent of Islam marked a significant role in shaping the primitive method of healing by reserving some and retaining some technicalities in healing. Some medicines are good while others are bad this causes more harm than good. To this end, the primitively oriented method has drastically reduced due to the influence of Islam. Though, the seeking of remedy from the magicians has influenced some that are very eager to see that they have recovered. This is evident in the proverb of Kanuri that stated *'Ala kam azallataye'* the god of the one who is in haste'. Therefore, they will be contented when they visit the *Boka*.

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[253] A. Gadh, Op cit, P37.

Therefore, the accommodation or tolerance of some practices is traceable to a number of impacts. Notable among these impacts are:-

6.1 Religious Impact of Qur'ánic Healing in Relation to Fetishism in Borno State

The recitation of the Glorious Qur'an as a means for protection against any harm is widely practised in the environs of Borno. Certainly, the belief in Qur'an for healing has more impact than any other healing system to the extent that some people especially those in Borno North do not visit hospitals. They believed that the affliction that cannot be healed by the Glorious Qur'an cannot be cured forever.[254] This is because the Glorious Qur'án provides cure for all physical and emotional illnesses that are beyond the reach of human knowledge. The efficacy of any healing is based on the faith of both the healer and the patient; this is because the Qur'ánic healing includes the mentioning of Names of Allah as He is the ultimate Healer. Consequently, it is believed that rewards are given to people who recite any portion of the Glorious Qur'an during treatment of the possessed are doubled beside the efficacy. There is enough evidence to prove the tendency that the faith of the sick may be strengthened as a result of relief from a protracted illness. Therefore, Qur'anic healers are regarded as expert consultants in this regard for their roles of counselling during and after treatment. It is interesting to note, however, that the afflicted treat themselves through listening to electronics like tape recorders to be hung to their ears to listen to the Qur'anic recitation;[255] this attitude has a great effect in learning the Glorious Qur'an.

However, it is true to say that there is a high possibility of getting involved in Shirk (losing one's faith) during and after treatment as it is widely believed that the prayers of any Muslim who consult the *Boka* (magician) will not be accepted for forty days. The

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[254] Kaka Lewa Zarami, Op cit.
[255] Isa Aliyu, Op cit.

discrepancy between the practitioners of *Badri* healing and some Muslims who consider the practices involved as occultist. On the other hand, the *Badri* practitioners are viewing their profession as a healing method which is believed to be effective by both the healers and the healed. Beside the practical application of the system, some view it as an avenue through which cultural heritages are preserved and respected. To the people who reside in that area, some cannot do without *Badri* because the remedy is physically effective; they think that the observation of *Badri* can cause benefit; this is the reason why it survived the presence of Islam. To some people this type of performance is a mere scene in a theatre purposely organized for entertainment.[256]

6.2 Social Impact of Qur'ánic Healing in Relation to Fetishism in Borno State

For any symptom that is culturally accepted and attributed to spirit possession, the aid of healers is employed to exorcise the victim. There are some common signs of possession that are generally accepted by different healers of the possessed in the study area, these include mental imbalance, isolation, quick anger, untidy appearance, quarrelsomeness, epilepsy and others are socially attributed to spirit possession. There is a strong belief that Qur'ánic healers can clearly spell out what the symptoms are.[257] Indeed, clients often queue up to see their healers for counselling, medication, recitation and other lawful means for the effectiveness and efficacy of their prayers. Therefore, the type of counselling offered to the clients is used for general consumption of the entire population, such as knowing the causes of possession, preventive measures, self diagnoses, learning some *Adhkar* and healing with the recitation of *Surah* like *Al-Falaq, Nas, Ayat Al-kursi* and so forth.[258] Those that patronise priests also used to collect herbs, concoctions and other related remedies. Sacrifice is done in form of slaughtering an animal for the sake of

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[256] Lawan Mai Sigalma, Op cit.
[257] Goni Ali Bama, Op cit.
[258] Malam Ali Mustapha, Op cit.

appeasing the Jinn that possessed the sick person. This is done in order to facilitate the healing process. Sometimes, it precedes any activity that is associated with healing of the possessed.[259] In this case *Boka* or *Gau* will ask the Jinn what type of animal will please him most, but for Qur'ánic healing sacrifice is done voluntarily in form of alms giving.

Those Qur'ánic healers that are influenced most in giving *Sadaqah* to effect healing will slaughter animal in Allah's Name and the meat will sometimes be roasted and distributed freely. This in most cases is believed to hasten the recovery of the sick person. So also, the students of Qur'ánic centres who are under the care of their teachers, used to write the verses on slates and take it to many people in the community for the protection against evil forces.[260]

Nonetheless, it is also very common among some people most especially those with protracted illness to be worried about their affliction and inquire themselves why are they suffering from this kind of affliction or calamity? To them it is a punishment for a wrong done. Indeed, those victims are the ones who switch from lawful medication to unlawful ones, lastly their wealth is lost and their health condition may be complicated.[261]

6.3 Economic Impact of Qur'ánic Healing in Relation to Fetishism in Borno State

Afflicted people were not only counselled, but also require significant attention in terms of who can facilitate their cure effectively and this is very economical, this is because switching between a healer to the other consumes money. Some healers go into the art of healing with the Qur'án for economic gains. Those who heal with the traditional method look for sustenance with the belief that it is unlawful. This is because there are great sales of herbs, amulets and other concoctions of medicine for treating the possessed; this might

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[259] Ba Mai Karmina, Op cit.
[260] Ba Goni Modu, Op cit.
[261] Malam Ali Mustapha, Op cit.

be attributed to its affordability and acceptability. The extreme act of self harm in seeking for quick recovery is mostly motivated by possession as they spend on drugs that are not suitable for their sickness. Therefore, drugs like paracetamol and other analgesic tablets are on high demand because headache is a common symptom for being possessed.[262] Many possessed people have enjoyed free Qur'ánic healing from brothers who volunteered to assist. This is in line with the Prophet's (S.A.W) saying that there is no disease without cure except old age.

> The companions said to him: ''O Messenger of Allah! Is there harm on us to take medicine? He said you should take medicine, O Allah's servants, for Allah has never created an ailment but he has created its treatment except old age''
> [263]

6.4 Political Impact of Qur'ánic Healing in Relation to Fetishism in Borno State

It is popularly believed that the Jinn have effect on mankind in Borno and this is the more reason why many are disguising under the umbrella of Qur'ánic healers to heal ignorantly. To this fact there are healers who established themselves as a self acclaimed exorcists and traditional healers. Through their efforts many people have been liberated from various calamities or affliction. Therefore, many people used to patronize these practices as practicing Muslims.[264]

Some believe that any one called a Malam is regarded as a capable person who can enchant Jinn. However, this idea is wrong and dangerous for himself and others. This attracted many impostors and liars who claim the knowledge of treating people; as a result falsehood is promoted.[265] The study showed that some healers are exposing themselves to be known publicly by the populace. Some labelled themselves as

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[262] Isa Aliyu, Op cit.
[263] M. M. Al-sharif, 'Sunan Ibn Majah' Dar Al-kotob Al-ilmiyah: Beirut Lebanon.1st Edition. 2008. Vol.4,H1, P1.
[264] Malam Hamman Musa, Op cit.
[265] Malam Idriss Muhammad, Op cit.

specialists of healing through the media houses and other means of publicity such as sign boards on the road sides. Not only this, but the study also discovered that some people believed that those healers have skills of healing in order to have advantages over people. This is why one hears their advertisements being broadcasted on radio stations. However, those that are the priests of *Badri, Bokaye* and others have lost most of their powers to the extent that they cannot practice their skills openly rather they practice their skills in secrecy.

As such the utterances made by the possessed sometimes create confusion between members of a family to the extent that their disputes are settled in a court. This shows that the society suffers from the menace of Jinn who possessed human beings especially women to influence their actions and inactions which often results in death.[266] Qur'ánic healing is generally accepted by majority of the Muslims due to its effectiveness, beside the practical application of Glorious Qur'án to facilitate healing. Many do not know it as Ruqyah until when *Izala* movement started practising it. Interestingly, some of the Qur'anic healers' handover their secret knowledge and skills to their students and descendents to make sure the skills are passed to the future generation.

It is pertinent to acknowledge the activities of magicians, diviners and soothsayer in the contemporary society despite their roles in healing. Some people and some politicians recognise their practices for their selfish interest and political ambition. Candidates are trooping to them for predictions in to their political carrier. It was observed that the patronages by the politicians culminated to associating partner with Allah by asking their forth coming faith. This often lead to their funding to participate in Hajj (pilgrimage to Makkah) or Umrah (Lesser Hajj) solely for the success of their clients (Politicians).

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[266] Isa Aliyu, Op cit.

This is in the same vein with the research conducted by Bolagun. These practitioners use to manipulate with certain numbers in Ilm-al-hisab (Study of astrology). This method comes closer to astrological method.[267]

Therefore, Islam has totally condemned it and gave a strong warning to the practitioners. It is clearly stated that only Allah knows the future. As He says:

> 'Verily, Allah forgives not that partners should be set up with Him (in worship), but He forgives except that (anything else) to whom He wills; and whoever sets up partners with Allah (in worship), he has indeed invented a tremendous sin'[268]

We must conclude that anybody who practices or consults a Soothsayer or Magicians is considered to be deluded as this action will drag him outside the fold of Islam as Allah will not forgive him.

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[267] M. A. Bolagun, Op cit P171.
[268] Qur'an 4:48

CONCLUSION

The research is a comparative study of Islamic Exorcism and Bori-Fetish in the light of Islam. The study also examined other types of traditional exorcism practiced by different people in different nooks and crannies of Borno state. In fact, the study is aimed at identifying the areas of similarities and differences between the two methods. This is because some physical practices involved in the process of the two methods are similar to one another. The study also examined how the people simultaneously interact with either the Qur'ánic healing or other fetishism, as well as, the effects of the two methods.

Indeed, there are two traditionally oriented methods of healing known as *Bwali,*and *Badri*. For example the people of Kala Balge stick to *Badri* healing as an effective remedy for Jinn's possession and other bodily diseases. *Badri* performance was not only tolerated as a form of possession remedy, but the organizers were also respected and patronized by the people of Kala Balge area of Borno Central. On the other hand the Qur'anic healers are being patronized and this made their profession spread everywhere in Borno state according to different types and forms. In this respect the findings explored that the people of Borno believe that Jinn can harm at any point in time as there are healers who enchant the Jinn. Though, some victims switch from one type of treatment to the other. This brought about the belief in the efficacy of Charms and amulets by some people mostly who reside in the rural areas.

Findings

The results indicate that Qur'ánic healing process is generally accepted in Borno State as an effective healing strategy as shown that many clients believe to come for follow-up regularly as well as the healers themselves who recommend such types of healing for themselves and any willing member of the locality. Thus, it is also revealed that the

healers are teaching the skills of the healing to their children and students. In this regard they tend to be socially oriented in any given society.

It was also discovered that there are those who indulge in committing *Shirk* and innovations most especially in the rural areas of the state. This is because some cannot differentiate the accepted Qur'ánic healing process and the fabricated one. It was also brought into light that some healers resort to writing the verses of the Qur'án on the clients' body or burn the verses to produce smokes for inhalation.

This means that there are many remedies for evil possession in Borno according to the culture and geographical location of the inhabitants. There are priests (Bokaye) who are being patronized. Certainly, a long standing tradition of healing of the possessed among the people of Kala-Balge was unveiled. Notwithstanding, it was also revealed that there are those healers who used to hide under the guise of Qur'ánic healers to promote Shirk for worldly gains. As stated in the Glorious Qur'án:

> O you who believe! Verily, there are many of the Jewish and the Christian monks who devour the wealth of mankind in falsehood, and hinder (them) from the way of Allah (i.e. Allah's religion of Islamic Monotheism). And those who hoard up gold and silver and spend them not in the way of Allah, announce to them a painful torment. [269]

Recommendations

Based on the conclusion made above, the following are some of the recommendations the researcher makes based on the findings of the study.

1- Religious awareness should be intensified to make the populace know that not all remedies are lawful in Islam. This makes them to realise that Islam is a perfect religion that gives solution to unforeseen calamities through prayers, because the prayers itself serves as a tool to increase the healing power of other medicines.

[269] Qur'an 9:34.

2- Some healers are desperate to gain monetary gains. It is therefore recommended that Government should engage its citizen in adequate jobs.

3- To incorporate the genuine traditional healers to a relevant ministry such as culture & tourism, ministry of health or ministry of religious affairs with the aim of organising workshops and seminars.

4- It is recommended that Borno State Government should introduce psychiatric units in all the primary health centres with a relevant guidance and counselling units.

5- Awareness should be created among the populace on taking preventive and cautionary measures on what causes possession.

6- The populace should know that not all sicknesses should be ascribed to possession because of common symptoms. As a result of such symptoms some people might resort to witch doctors, herbalists, magicians or soothsayers for quick recovery instead of going to hospitals.

7- The Ulama should create awareness to those Muslims who profess Islam and perform all the commandments of Islam but yet engage directly or indirectly in some practices of Shirk and innovations, as well as, using the Glorious in un-Islamic ways.

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APPENDICES

SECTION A

Introductory letter

Department of Islamic
Studies Usmanu Dan Fodiyo
University Sokoto State
Nigeria.

Dear Respondents,

I am a postgraduate student of Islamic studies Department from the above mentioned University hereby conducting a research titled: Comparative Study of Islamic Exorcism and Bori-cult in the light of Islam: A study of Borno State. This is part of my M.A Graduation requirements. Your opinion is highly important in this research for it helps in clearing any doubt towards the various syncretic beliefs and practices that some of the populace clung onto it.

I assure you that your responses are highly confidential and used only for the purpose of this study.

Yours Faithfully

Abubakar Shettima

SECTION B

Questionnaire for the General public with regards to possession

Instruction: Kindly respond to all the questions below with ticking your personal opinion. All information will be treated confidentially for the purpose of this study.

Bio Data of the Respondents

Senatorial Zone, a-Borno central [ ] b-Borno North [ ] c-Borno South [ ]

N	Question	Yes	No
1	Do you believe that possession has a remedy?		
2	Are there Bori practitioners or their similar in your locality?		
3	If yes are they freely practicing their method of healing?		
4	If yes are they being patronized?		
5	Do you know that Qur'anic healing is Ruqyah?		
6	Are the Qur'anic healers being patronized?		
7	Are the Qur'anic healers take healing as a profession?		
8	Is Badri healing is being practiced in your area?		
9	Are there any healers who practice their healing techniques under the guise of the Qur'anic healers?		

SECTION C

Questionnaire seeking for opinions of possessed

Instruction: Kindly respond to all the questions below with ticking your personal opinion. All information will be treated confidentially for the purpose of this study.

Bio Data of the Respondents

Senatorial Zone, Borno central [ ] b-Borno North [ ] c-Borno South [ ]

NO	QUESTION	Yes	No
1.	Do you believe that Jinn can harm?		
2.	Do you believe that there are healers who enchant Jinn?		
3.	Are the Qur'anic healers collect huge amount of money for healing?		
4.	Do you resort to traditional treatments of fetishists or its similar when the treatment with the Qur'an ceased to heal physically?		
5.	Do you belief in the effectiveness of fetishism?		
6	Do you belief in the efficacy of amulets and charms?		
7	Are the Qur'anic healers used to write down some verses of the Glorious Qur'an on the client's body?		
8	Do the Qur'anic healers burn some verses of the Glorious Qur'an for their clients to inhale?		

SECTION D

Questionnaire for fetishists that used to heal a possessed.

Instruction: Kindly respond to all the questions below with ticking your personal opinion. All information will be treated confidentially for the purpose of this study.

Bio Data of the Respondents

Senatorial Zone, Borno central [ ] b-Borno North [ ] c-Borno South [ ]

N	Question	Yes	No
1.	Do you seek a helping hand from Allah in the process of healing?		
2.	Do you counsel your clients after healing?		
3.	Do you really engage in communication with Jinn involved during healing?		
4.	Do you call names of Jinn during the process of healing?		
5	Do you prescribe giving of herbs to your clients in your healing techniques?		
6	Do you flog your clients during the healing process?		
7	Is there any form of sacrifice in the process of healing?		

SECTION E

Questionnaire for the Qur'anic healers

Instruction: Kindly respond to all the questions below with ticking your personal opinion. All information will be treated confidentially for the purpose of this study.

Bio Data of the Respondents

Senatorial Zone, Borno central [ ] b-Borno North [ ] c-Borno South [ ]

N	Question	Yes	No
1	Do you encourage your clients to come regularly for follow up services?		
2	Do you counsel your client after combating the Jinn?		
3	Do you recommend the Qur'anic healing for yourself?		
4	Do you see the effect of the Qur'anic healing in your clients?		
5	Do you train other people to learn the healing techniques through apprenticeship?		