FAJAR Jurnal Pendidikan Islam
p-ISSN: 2809-2864 e-ISSN: 2808-4527
Volume 5 No. 2 September 2025

SIḤR AND THE MUSLIM CREED: A THEOLOGICAL APPRAISAL OF IBN ʿABDIL WAHHĀB'S DISCOURSE AND ITS CONTEMPORARY IMPLICATIONS IN ILORIN

Raheed Olalekan Azeez
Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin Nigeria
orazeez1955@gmail.com
Adam Sambo
Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin Nigeria
adamsambo1994@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Belief in and engagement with Siḥr *(magic or sorcery) remains a persistent feature of religious life in many Muslim communities, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, where Islamic orthodoxy often coexists with indigenous cosmologies. In Ilorin, Nigeria—a historically significant Islamic centre—practices associated with* Siḥr *continue to thrive despite the city's deep-rooted Sunni heritage. This phenomenon poses a theological contradiction to classical reformist doctrines, notably those advanced by Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb in* Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*, where* Siḥr *is categorically condemned as an act of* Shirk *(polytheism) and a nullifier of* Tawḥīd *(Islamic monotheism). The paper critically examines the discourse on Siḥr in Kitāb at-Tawḥīd and assesses its relevance to the beliefs and practices of Muslims in Ilorin. The research adopts a textual-analytical and expository method, rooted in classical Islamic scholarship, complemented by socio-anthropological interpretation based on informal field interviews and observed ritual patterns. It also integrates Cultural Schema Theory and Cognitive Anthropology to explain how theological doctrines are negotiated in local religious contexts. Findings reveal that various forms of* Siḥr*—such as love magic, separation rituals, economic charms, and protective amulets—are practised by Muslims across sectarian lines, including Sunni, Sufi, and Shia orientations. These practices are often justified through localised interpretations of spirituality, gender roles, and moral intention. The paper concludes that* Siḥr *in Ilorin reflects a pluralistic religious consciousness, where cultural resilience often challenges doctrinal rigidity. This research contributes to Islamic studies and religious anthropology by offering a contextual and interdisciplinary perspective on belief and ritual in contemporary Muslim societies.*

Keywords: *Siḥr (Islamic Sorcery), Tawḥīd and Shirk, Religious Pluralism in Islam, Cultural Schema Theory, Islam in Ilorin*

INTRODUCTION

Belief in the supernatural remains a powerful undercurrent in many religious societies, including those that strictly adhere to monotheistic doctrines. In Muslim communities, Siḥr (sorcery or magic) has endured from pre-Islamic times, often cloaked in indigenous cosmologies and spiritual practices. Despite Islam's doctrinal opposition to such beliefs, the persistence of Siḥr—both as a concept and a practice—reflects an enduring tension between orthodox theology and cultural religiosity. In Ilorin, Nigeria—a prominent centre of Islamic learning in West Africa—the prevalence of sorcery-related beliefs and practices presents a paradox within an otherwise conservative religious environment. Muslims in Ilorin frequently report experiences or suspicions of magical influence in various domains of life, including

health, marital relationships, economic activities, and political rivalry (Oloruntele, 2009). From a doctrinal standpoint, Islamic theology unambiguously condemns *Siḥr* as an act of *Shirk*—the gravest form of deviation from *Tawḥīd*, or the uncompromising oneness of Allah. The Qur'an addresses *Siḥr* in explicit terms, most notably in Sūrat al-Baqarah (2:102), which references the misuse of magic by humans and the angels Hārūt and Mārūt, and in Sūrat al-Nisā' (4:51), which criticises those "who believe in *Jibt* and *Ṭāghūt*" (evil and falsehood). Prophetic traditions likewise categorise *Siḥr* among the most destructive sins, as narrated in the ḥadīth of the "seven deadly sins" (Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, Ḥadīth No. 5763; Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Ḥadīth No. 89). Scholars across Sunni schools of thought have consistently maintained the view that sorcery constitutes a capital crime with severe theological and legal consequences (Spevack, 2014).

Despite the weight of such doctrinal prohibitions, the cultural entrenchment of *Siḥr* in Muslim societies remains resilient. Studies by scholars such as Ibrahim (2024) and Pizzi (2024) have drawn attention to the multifaceted nature of *Siḥr*, describing it not only as a theological transgression but also as a psychological and social weapon used to manipulate outcomes, incite enmity, or gain advantage in human affairs. In Nigeria, academic literature has touched on syncretic practices among Muslims. However, limited scholarly attention is devoted to the doctrinal responses to *Siḥr* in localised Muslim contexts, particularly those informed by classical reformist theology. Musa (2022) Islamic religiosity and cultural hybridity offer a focused examination of how classical theological frameworks presented by Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn, who interpreted and responded to the challenge of Siḥr. This research seeks to fill that gap by analysing the discourse of *Siḥr* as presented in *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*, one of the most authoritative works in the Islamic reformist tradition, authored by Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb. The book, instrumental in the 18th-century revivalist movement that emphasised the purification of ʿ*Aqīdah* (creed) and condemned all forms of *Shirk*, dedicates specific chapters to the discussion of sorcery, its theological meaning, types, and punishments. However, little attention has been given to how this discourse applies to contemporary Muslim societies where sorcery remains a lived reality. By juxtaposing classical theological arguments with reported practices and beliefs among Muslims in Ilorin, this paper provides an integrated perspective on how *Siḥr* continues to shape spiritual consciousness and social behaviours, even in communities committed to orthodox Islamic beliefs.

The novelty of this research lies in its contextual application of classical Islamic theology to a modern Muslim society in sub-Saharan Africa, using Kitāb at-Tawḥīd as a doctrinal framework. At the same time, many studies analyse either the sociocultural dimensions of Siḥr or its treatment in Islamic jurisprudence; few attempt to bridge both spheres. This paper synthesises scriptural exegesis, doctrinal analysis, and community-level observation to interrogate sorcery's religious, psychological, and social implications. In doing so, it contributes to the discourse on religious orthodoxy, syncretism, and the negotiation of belief in pluralistic societies. The primary objective of this paper is to critically examine

the theological discourse on Siḥr in the writings of Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb and to explore its contemporary relevance among Muslims in Ilorin. Specifically, the paper seek to: Elucidate the theological and legal foundations of the Islamic position on Siḥr as presented in Kitāb at-Tawḥīd; Contextualize the persistence of sorcery-related beliefs and practices among Muslims in Ilorin; Analyze the dissonance between normative Islamic doctrine and actual religious practices; Offer recommendations for enhancing theological literacy and combating doctrinal deviations. By anchoring the research in both classical sources and present-day realities, the paper contributes to Islamic theological scholarship. It informs practical strategies for religious education and reform in contemporary Muslim communities.

THEORETICAL STUDY

Conceptual Meaning of *As-Siḥr* (Magic)

In Islamic theology, the term *As-Siḥr* (Arabic: السحر) refers to the practice of manipulating or altering perceived reality through hidden or illicit means, often involving the assistance of supernatural entities such as jinn or shayāṭīn (devils). The conceptual meaning of *Siḥr* is rooted in both linguistic and scriptural origins, encompassing various dimensions—linguistic, theological, legal, and metaphysical. Linguistically, *As-Siḥr* is derived from the Arabic root س-ح-ر (sīn-ḥāʾ-rāʾ), which conveys the idea of deception, subtlety, or concealment. Selove and Sanad define *Siḥr* as "the transformation of a thing from its true nature into something else" (*ṣarf al-shay an ḥaqīqatihi ilā ghayrihi*), often through obscure or hidden means (Selove & Sanad, 2023). Pomerantz (2018), in *al-Miṣbaḥ al-Munīr*, similarly states that *Siḥr* entails "presenting falsehood in the form of truth" (*ikhraj al-bāṭil fī ṣūrat al-ḥaqq*), emphasising its illusory and deceptive qualities. In the Qur'anic discourse, *Siḥr* is described as a practice associated with disbelief (*kufr*) and spiritual corruption. The most widely cited reference occurs in *Sūrat al-Baqarah* (2:102), which recounts the incident of the two angels, Hārūt and Mārūt, who taught magic to people as a divine test, warning them: "We are only a trial, so do not disbelieve [by practising magic]." The verse further states: *"They learned what harmed them and did not benefit them, knowing full well that whoever practices magic will have no share in the Hereafter"* (Qur'an 2:102). Zadeh (2014) revealed that the spiritual destructiveness of *Siḥr*, which he describes as a practice that "leads to the corruption of faith and association with devils" (*yufsid al-ʿaqīdah wa yataʿāwan maʿa al-shayāṭīn*).

Islamic jurists and theologians across the four primary Sunni schools of law have generally defined *Siḥr* in legalistic and ontological terms. Simón (2021) describes *Siḥr* as comprising spells, charms, knots, and incantations that affect the hearts and bodies of individuals, causing illness, death, separation

between spouses or illicit attraction between individuals. This definition affirms that *Siḥr* has actual metaphysical consequences, rather than mere illusion or psychological manipulation. Another significant scholarly definition was from Talmon-Heller (2009), which distinguishes between *Siḥr*, *Muʿjizah* (prophetic miracle), and *Karāmah* (saintly miracle). According to Wright (2020), *Siḥr* is distinguishable because it is achieved through specific actions and utterances that elicit assistance from forbidden sources, typically jinn or devils. Contemporary scholars continue to affirm the Islamic understanding of *Siḥr* as a spiritual and theological aberration. Zadeh (2014) defines *Siḥr* as "an agreement between a sorcerer and a shayṭān (devil), where the former commits specific acts of disobedience or polytheism in exchange for the latter's assistance in achieving supernatural goals". This view emphasises the contractual and transactional nature of *Siḥr*, thereby implicating it in *Shirk*—a sin that nullifies *Tawḥīd*.

It is also essential to note the distinction in Islamic jurisprudence between illusory magic (*takhyīl*) and real, harmful magic (*ḥaqīqī*). According to classical scholars like al-Qurṭubī and al-Rāzī, some forms of *Siḥr* may involve psychological manipulation—such as optical illusions—while others involve actual harm inflicted through metaphysical means. However, the practice remains categorically forbidden and spiritually hazardous (Beaman, 2008). In sum, the conceptual meaning of *As-Siḥr* in Islam transcends simple trickery or entertainment. It constitutes a theological violation, a juridical crime, and a social menace. Rooted in the invocation of unseen forces and often perpetrated through *Shirk*, *Siḥr* is regarded by Islamic doctrine as one of the most serious offences a Muslim can commit, threatening both worldly well-being and ultimate salvation.

As-Siḥr and Its Ruling in Islamic Theology

The practice of *As-Siḥr* (sorcery or magic) is categorically forbidden in Islam, and classical scholars unanimously agree upon its ruling (ḥukm) as a major sin that constitutes *kufr* (disbelief) when it involves reliance on devils, invoking other than Allah, or undermining *Tawḥīd* (Islamic monotheism). The Qur'an explicitly condemns the practice of magic in several verses, including *Sūrat al-Baqarah* (2:102), where Allah says: *"They followed what the devils gave out (falsely) against the power of Sulaymān; it was not Sulaymān who disbelieved, but the devils disbelieved, teaching men magic…"(Qur'an 2:102).* This verse is foundational in establishing the disbelief (***kufr***) of those who teach or practice magic, as interpreted by Rizapoor and Athar (2023), who affirm that *Siḥr* is a tool of the devils. Its usage constitutes a severe spiritual transgression. Qamar explains that engaging in magic leads to a distortion of faith and collaboration with evil forces, which nullifies one's Islam (Qamar, 2013). From a jurisprudential standpoint, classical jurists have issued firm legal rulings on *Siḥr*. Imam Mālik, the founder of the Mālikī school, maintained that anyone proven to have practised magic—especially if the magic affects the minds, marriages, or health of others—should face the death penalty (Melvin-Koushki, 2019). His position is echoed by scholars such as Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Taymiyyah, and Abū Ḥanīfah, who argue that the gravity of *Siḥr* lies not

only in its harmful outcomes but in its theological breach of *Tawḥīd* (Ahmad & Greer, 2022). In *al-Mughnī*, Kaddouri (2013) states: "*Waḥd al-sāḥir ḍarbuhu bi-l-sayf*…" – The punishment for the magician is execution by the sword. This is the view of ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Ibn Masʿūd, and other companions.

Similarly, Wahīd ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Bālī Sulaiman and Sule (2023) hold that the execution of sorcerers is based on strong precedent from the Salaf (pious predecessors), who saw sorcery as a significant threat to faith, justice, and public order. He cites reports from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* where ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ordered the killing of sorcerers and sorceresses in his jurisdiction, which his governors carried out. Importantly, not all forms of Siḥr reach the level of kufr. Some scholars differentiate between real magic that invokes supernatural entities (which is considered disbelief) and deceptive trickery that mimics illusion without engaging in forbidden rituals. Nevertheless, even the latter is considered ḥarām (prohibited) due to its deceptive nature and potential to lead to greater evils.

Types of As-Siḥr According to Islamic Scholars

Islamic scholarship classifies *Siḥr* into various types, based on its effects, objectives, and methods. These classifications are derived from scriptural references and documented practices observed throughout Islamic history. The following are among the most commonly recognised types:

a. Siḥr at-Tafrīq (Magic of Separation): This sorcery type aims to cause enmity or separation between individuals, particularly spouses. It is explicitly referenced in *Sūrat al-Baqarah*: *"They learned from them that by which they cause separation between a man and his wife…" (Qur'an 2:102).* It often involves emotional and psychological manipulation and is among the most detestable forms because it destabilises the family unit.

b. Siḥr al-Maḥabbah (Magic of Love or Attraction): Also known as binding magic, this type creates unnatural affection or sexual attraction between individuals. It is especially condemned when used to manipulate or coerce emotional relationships, and is considered *Shirk* when accompanied by amulets or invocations to spirits (Oloruntele, 2009).

c. Siḥr at-Takhyīl (Magic of Illusion): This involves creating false perceptions in the minds of victims. The Qur'an alludes to this in the story of Pharaoh's magicians: "It appeared to him from their magic that their ropes and staffs were moving" (Qur'an 20:66). Parret (2022) argue that this form of Siḥr relies on psychological manipulation, using sleight of hand or deceptive techniques, but it still falls under prohibited categories.

d. Siḥr al-Marad (Magic of Sickness): This type causes physical or mental illness, often through cursed items or spiritual interference. Recognises the possibility of jinn-induced afflictions due to magic and affirms the need for treatment through Ruqyah and sincere tawbah.

e. Siḥr al-Junūn (Magic of Madness): The victim loses sanity or suffers cognitive disorientation. This may include hallucinations, personality shifts, or chronic confusion. Al-Bālī note that *Siḥr al-junūn* is often facilitated through the use of bodily items (hair, nails, etc.) in collaboration with jinn.
f. Siḥr al-Khumūl (Magic of Laziness or Inertia): This sorcery drains the victim's energy or motivation, resulting in idleness, depression, or chronic fatigue. It is said to block productivity and isolate the victim socially or spiritually.
g. Siḥr al-Nazīf (Magic of Bleeding): Primarily affecting women, this causes unnatural bleeding, usually beyond menstruation. Mohamad and Othman interpret it as a combination of spiritual affliction and physical harm, often treated through Ruqyah (Mohamad & Othman, 2017).
h. Siḥr al-Hawātif (Magic of Voices): This form causes the victim to hear disturbing or deceptive voices, often leading to paranoia or anxiety. It is a psychological sorcery noted by several classical scholars (Moro, 2018).

As-Siḥr and Its Ruling in Islamic Theology

The practice of *As-Siḥr* (sorcery or magic) is categorically forbidden in Islam, and classical scholars unanimously agree upon its ruling (ḥukm) as a major sin that constitutes *kufr* (disbelief) when it involves reliance on devils, invoking other than Allah, or undermining *Tawḥīd* (Islamic monotheism). The Qur'an explicitly condemns the practice of magic in several verses, including *Sūrat al-Baqarah* (2:102), where Allah says: *"They followed what the devils gave out (falsely) against the power of Sulaymān; it was not Sulaymān who disbelieved, but the devils disbelieved, teaching men magic…" (Qur'an 2:102).* This verse is foundational in establishing the disbelief (*kufr*) of those who teach or practice magic, as interpreted by scholars such as Qamar (2013), who affirms that *Siḥr* is a tool of the devils. Its usage constitutes a severe spiritual transgression. He explains that engaging in magic leads to a distortion of faith and collaboration with evil forces, which nullifies one's Islam. Similarly, Mandaville and Hamid (2018) hold that the execution of sorcerers is based on strong precedent from the Salaf (pious predecessors), who saw sorcery as a significant threat to faith, justice, and public order. *Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukhārī,* where ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb ordered the killing of sorcerers and sorceresses in his jurisdiction, which his governors carried out (Mustafa, 2023). Importantly, not all forms of *Siḥr* reach the level of *kufr*. Some scholars differentiate between real magic that invokes supernatural entities (which is considered disbelief) and deceptive trickery that mimics illusion without engaging in forbidden rituals. Nevertheless, even the latter is considered ḥarām (prohibited) due to its deceptive nature and potential to lead to greater evils.

RESEARCH METHOD

The paper adopts a textual-analytical and expository research method rooted in the classical Islamic tradition of inquiry. It does not follow the conventional paradigms of qualitative or quantitative

research; instead, it is based on systematically examining primary religious texts, classical exegetical works, and theological commentaries, complemented by field-based insights from oral traditions and experiential reports relevant to the topic. The core of this research involves a critical and thematic analysis of *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd* by Shaykh Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb, with particular attention to the chapters discussing *as-Siḥr* (sorcery). Key Qur'anic verses and Prophetic traditions (Aḥādīth) cited in the text are closely examined to extract doctrinal implications regarding sorcery, its legal rulings (*aḥkām*), and its theological link to *Shirk* (associating partners with Allah). Supplementary classical works, such as those by Ibn Qudāmah, Ibn Taymiyyah, Fakhruddīn ar-Rāzī, and others, are referenced to enrich the exegetical scope and comparative understanding across Sunni theological schools. This involves explicating the theological constructs embedded in the discourse on *Siḥr* and how these relate to the Islamic creed (*ʿAqīdah*), particularly the doctrine of *Tawḥīd*. The research engages with early juristic opinions (*fiqh*), positions of the Salaf (pious predecessors), and relevant doctrinal debates between orthodox Sunni theology and rationalist schools such as the Muʿtazilah. This method allows for an in-depth exposition of both the scriptural bases and the doctrinal implications of sorcery within Islam. The paper also explores the manifestation and perception of *Siḥr* among Muslims in Ilorin, Nigeria, without conducting empirical data collection in the scientific sense. Instead, it draws upon documented oral traditions, public religious discourse, and observational narratives gathered from informal interactions with local religious practitioners (such as Ruqyah specialists and community imams). These insights help contextualise the enduring influence of *Siḥr*-related practices and beliefs in contemporary Muslim society and how they intersect with Islamic orthodoxy. The paper employs a comparative lens by aligning the classical Islamic understanding of *Siḥr* with the locally practised forms reported in Ilorin. This includes identifying linguistic, cultural, and ritualistic magic variants and evaluating them against established Islamic theological criteria. Reference materials include classical Arabic dictionaries (*Lisān al-ʿArab*, *al-Misbāḥ al-Munīr*), legal manuals, and historical sources on Ilorin's religious development.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Discourse on As-Siḥr in Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abdil Wahhāb's Kitāb at-Tawḥīd: A Theological and Socio-Cultural Appraisal

Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb (1703–1792), a central figure in Islamic reformist thought, presents a doctrinally rigorous treatment of *As-Siḥr* in his seminal work *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*. His discussion on sorcery—especially in chapters such as *Bāb Mā Jā'a fī al-Siḥr* and *Bāb Qawl Allāh Taʿālā: "Wa Lā Yufliḥ al-Sāḥir Ḥaythu Atā"*—frames *Siḥr* not merely as a moral failing or a social vice but as a theological rupture that severs the bond between the believer and Tawḥīd. Citing verses from *Sūrat al-*

Baqarah (2:102) and *Sūrat al-Nisā'* (4:51), Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb equates sorcery with *Shirk*, asserting that belief or involvement in magical practices constitutes a nullifier of Islam (*nawāqiḍ al-Islām*). However, when contextualised within a pluralistic and syncretic Muslim society like Ilorin, Nigeria, this doctrinal absolutism confronts complex socio-religious realities. While Wahhābī theology demands doctrinal purity, Ilorin represents a vibrant confluence of Sunni orthodoxy**,** local Sufi practices**,** ethnic traditions, and gender-specific ritual spaces, complicating the reception of his discourse. Despite its strong Sunni identity—historically influenced by the Mālikī and Qādirī traditions—Ilorin hosts a diverse religious landscape. Sufi orders like the *Tijaniyyah* and *Qadiriyyah* are widely practised, and each interprets *Siḥr* and spiritual affliction through their own cosmologies and healing rituals (Sirriyeh, 2004). These traditions typically adopt a more nuanced, mystical view, attributing affliction to spiritual imbalance or jinn possession, and advocating for Ruqyah or saintly intercession (*tawassul*)—approaches that Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb strongly condemns as innovations (*bidʿah*) and polytheistic deviations (Rassool, 2018).

Moreover, the Shia minority in parts of Nigeria—including Ilorin's academic and migratory enclaves—tends to interpret *Siḥr* through Imamiyyah jurisprudence while agreeing on its prohibition, allowing for Imam-mediated intercession in healing and spiritual warfare. This further illustrates how divergent theological worldviews affect the perception and treatment of sorcery. Field evidence from Ilorin suggests that women are disproportionately implicated in both the use and accusation of *Siḥr*. This aligns with global anthropological observations, where women—especially those involved in informal spiritual healing, midwifery, or herbalism—are culturally associated with esoteric knowledge (Spring, 2012). In *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*, Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb's citations of Hadith—such as the execution of female sorcerers under ʿUmar—reflect historical biases toward women as sites of spiritual deviance. However, modern scholarship encourages a gender-aware analysis, recognising that these associations are often embedded in social power relations and patriarchal control (Catalano et al., 2018). To interpret these findings beyond textual orthodoxy, this paper applies Cognitive Anthropology, particularly Cultural Schema Theory (Andresen, 2001), which argues that religious beliefs are culturally constructed mental models used to interpret lived experience. In Ilorin, belief in *Siḥr* is not merely doctrinal but is embedded in cultural schemas of causality, where misfortune, illness, or marital breakdown are often attributed to hidden malevolent forces. Despite formal theological condemnation, these beliefs persist because they provide explanatory comfort and psychological agency.

In this regard, Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb's insistence on purging magical thinking becomes cognitively dissonant within a society where Siḥr explains the unexplainable. The *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd* model relies on a rational-legal epistemology of divine causality—where everything is solely attributed to Allah's will—while Ilorin Muslims often function within a plural-causal cosmology where Allah, jinn, ancestral spirits, and human envy co-exist as agents of consequence. Arkoun (2003) have observed that Islamic societies often exhibit dual religious structures, where scriptural Islam coexists with practical Islam, the latter more

adaptive to social needs. This is evident in Ilorin, where despite extensive exposure to orthodox teachings via mosques and madāris, many Muslims still consult local *Alfas* for *awure* (charms) and *nushrah* (counter-sorcery)—practices that are prohibited under Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb's theological framework. Moreover, Ware III (2014) confirms that Islam in West Africa has historically accommodated indigenous belief systems, blending Qur'anic cosmology with pre-Islamic African metaphysics. This "practical theology" contrasts with the purist Salafī rejection of any practice not explicitly sanctioned in the Qur'an or Sunnah. While *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd* offers a powerful theological condemnation of *Siḥr*, its framework is ill-equipped to accommodate cultural diversity and religious pluralism. Its binary view—of belief versus disbelief, *Tawḥīd* versus *Shirk*—can lead to takfīr (excommunication) or social alienation of Muslims whose beliefs are shaped by local experiences, gender roles, and communal expectations. In contrast, a context-sensitive theology, grounded in *maṣlaḥah* (public benefit) and *ʿurf* (custom), may provide a more pragmatic foundation for addressing *Siḥr* without alienating large segments of the Muslim population.

Effects of Siḥr on Muslims in Ilorin Metropolis: A Theological, Sectarian, and Sociocultural Interpretation

The practice and perceived effects of *Siḥr* among Muslims in Ilorin reveal a deeply entangled relationship between theological doctrine**,** cultural heritage, and communal psychology. While Islamic orthodoxy—particularly Salafī and Wahhābī theology as espoused in *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*—considers *Siḥr* a nullifier of faith and an act of *Shirk* (Alade, 2022), the lived religious experiences in Ilorin show a complex layering of beliefs and reactions that vary across sectarian lines**,** gender roles, and social class. This section applies cultural theory and cognitive anthropology to critically interpret how broader cultural and religious dynamics shape the belief in and responses to Siḥr. Ilorin, while dominantly Sunni and heavily influenced by Mālikī jurisprudence and Sufi traditions such as the *Tijāniyyah* and *Qādiriyyah*, is also a site of doctrinal contestation and internal Islamic pluralism. Sunni orthodoxy, particularly among Salafī adherents and graduates of Saudi-influenced institutions, strongly aligns with Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb's condemnation of *Siḥr* as a manifestation of *Shirk*. These communities emphasise spiritual fortification through daily *adhkār* (remembrance), Qur'anic *Ruqyah*, and strict monotheism (Rassool, 2024). In contrast, many Sufi adherents in Ilorin interpret *Siḥr* as a metaphysical danger and a test of spiritual purity. Their healing practices may include saintly intercession (*tawassul*), visitation to *maqāmāt* (graves of righteous scholars), or use of sacred amulets (*ḥirz* or *wazīfah*), which are viewed by Salafīs as clear violations of *Tawḥīd* (Boivin, 2012). The Shia minority, though less prominent, tends to interpret *Siḥr* through the lens of *Wilāyah*—the protective authority of the Imams—emphasising the metaphysical superiority of *ʿAlī* and his progeny in shielding the believer from unseen harm (Baradaran Amini, 2024). This doctrinal diversity influences the interpretation of Siḥr and the treatment. Where Salafīs may prescribe *Qur'an-only Ruqyah*, Sufi or Shia

believers may engage in healing rituals that include mystical poetry (*ḥizb*), sacred numerology, or spiritually mediated interventions. This theological pluralism results in diverse perceptions of agency, causality, and legitimacy in handling the effects of *Siḥr*.

Gender plays a significant role in shaping how *Siḥr* is understood and experienced. Women in Ilorin are both accused of practising *Siḥr* and frequently believed to be victims of it, especially in contexts of infertility, divorce, or economic misfortune. These assumptions reflect what Clarke (2010) refers to as "gendered spiritual vulnerability"—a cultural construct where women are perceived as either spiritually porous or emotionally unstable, making them both targets and transmitters of sorcery. For example, accusations of *Siḥr* are more readily made against co-wives in polygynous households or against women perceived as being socially deviant or economically independent. This aligns with Makris' (2023) theory of cultural pollution, where *Siḥr* becomes a metaphor for violating gender norms and spiritual boundaries. Women may resort to *Ruqyah* or seek help from *Alfas* (local religious healers). However, they are also more likely to rely on rituals passed down matrilineally, including herbal knowledge and charms, which blend Islam with Yoruba cosmology. Conversely, men tend to experience *Siḥr* in political or economic dimensions, fearing rivals may use it to ruin their businesses, destroy their political ambitions, or undermine their authority. These anxieties reflect what Lerner (2024) calls "ontological insecurity", where individuals seek metaphysical explanations for structural disempowerment or failure. Rather than see *Siḥr* as irrational, these beliefs offer a culturally coherent way to explain adversity in the absence of material evidence.

To interpret these pluralistic and experiential beliefs, this paper draws on Cultural Schema Theory (Jones et al., 2011), which suggests that individuals use culturally shared mental models to interpret complex phenomena. In Ilorin, beliefs about Siḥr are embedded in religious-cultural schemas that link misfortune to unseen malevolent forces, often personalised as jinn, ancestral spirits, or jealous acquaintances. This framework explains why many Muslims in Ilorin believe in Siḥr even when formally educated in Islamic theology. For instance, a business failure may be interpreted through market economics and spiritual causality, with the latter offering emotional reassurance and communal accountability. These schemas are not always irrational but reflect "distributed cognition" (Boland, 2020)—a process where social understanding is shared, reinforced, and ritualised. Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb's framework insists that Siḥr is entirely the domain of disbelief and demonic cooperation (Oloruntele, 2009), yet in practice, Ilorin Muslims distinguish between black magic (ajẹ), which is malicious and prohibited, and protective magic (awure), which is seen as spiritually neutral or even beneficial. This suggests a more spectrum-based belief model, rather than a binary one. The belief in Siḥr has tangible social consequences in Ilorin. It fuels distrust, social fragmentation, and sometimes moral panic, especially in tightly-knit urban neighbourhoods. Allegations of Siḥr can lead to ostracisation, marital breakdown,

or even vigilante actions. This supports Fitouchi and Singh's (2022) claim that belief systems often serve to enforce social discipline, using supernatural claims to regulate behaviour and marginalise dissent. Furthermore, the local economy of spiritual healing—comprising Ruqyah specialists, herbalists, and diviners—has created what is described as an "alternative health market," where Islamic legitimacy is negotiated and commodified (Ayuba et al., 2024). Some Alfas exploit fears of Siḥr to sell expensive treatments or charms, a practice that undermines religious ethics and blurs the boundary between faith-based healing and spiritual capitalism.

Different Types of Siḥr Practised by Muslims in Ilorin: A Theological and Cultural Analysis in Plural Contexts

The persistence and variation of *Siḥr*-related practices among Muslims in Ilorin highlight the dissonance between formal Islamic theology and local cosmological realities. While Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb's *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd* presents *Siḥr* as a univocally heretical and *kufr*-inducing act—one that severs the core of Islamic monotheism (*Tawḥīd*)—Muslims in Ilorin navigate a far more pluralistic landscape of belief, ritual, and healing. This section interrogates the typologies of *Siḥr* found in Ilorin, placing them in dialogue with Islamic orthodoxy, cultural schema theory, and gendered social roles, while engaging with broader Islamic and anthropological scholarship. *Siḥr* is not merely a theological category but a culturally embedded practice that reflects local interpretations of causality, morality, and social power (Pizzi, 2024). In Ilorin, acts categorised as *Siḥr* are not uniformly seen as evil or prohibited; many Muslims differentiate between *black magic* (*ajẹ*, harmful) and *protective or corrective magic* (*awure*, spiritually permissible or neutral). This nuanced schema enables believers to engage in "spiritual pragmatism," reconciling Islamic identity with existential needs and community norms.

Among Salafī-oriented Sunni Muslims—particularly those educated in Saudi-funded madāris or affiliated with Wahhābī/Salafī daʿwah movements—the typologies of *Siḥr* are drawn mainly from doctrinal sources such as *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd* and interpreted through a lens of rigid orthodoxy. They include: **Siḥr al-Tafrīq** (separation magic), **Siḥr al-Maḥabbah** (love magic), **Siḥr at-Takhyīl** (illusion magic), **Siḥr al-Maḥāla** (destruction magic), all viewed as significant forms of *Shirk* that render a Muslim outside the fold of Islam. By contrast, Sufi-influenced Muslims in Ilorin (notably from *Tijāniyyah* and *Qādiriyyah* orders) often reinterpret these categories. While overt sorcery is condemned, healing through numerological codes, sacred names, or spiritual invocations (ḥizb, wird) is permissible if intentions are pure. This aligns with findings by Katz (2005), who notes that ritual efficacy is judged less by form than spiritual intent in West African Islam. Thus, some practices that others see Salafīs label as Siḥr as legitimate *karāmāt* (saintly miracles) or *amāl* (spiritual works). Though a minority in Ilorin, some Shia communities—particularly university-educated converts influenced by Iranian theological literature—

distinguish between forbidden magic and esoteric knowledge (*ʿilm al-ghayb*), particularly when accessed through the *Wilāyah* (guardianship) of the Imams. *Duʿāʾ al-Jawshan al-Kabīr* or *Ziyārah Ashūrāʾ*, while devotional, are at times used as protective amulets. While not categorised as *Siḥr*, such practices occupy a similar ritual space and can be misinterpreted by other sects as bordering on superstition or occultism (Marcus-Sells, 2022).

The field research in Ilorin identified several locally classified types of *Siḥr*, which, while differing in form and intent, illustrate the broad spectrum of spiritual practice and interpretation:

Love Magic (*Kaali Afunje***,** *Kali oni Sigidi***)**

Typically used by women, these forms of *Siḥr* involve the use of bodily fluids, animal parts, or prepared charms to create romantic or sexual attachment. Sometimes, these rituals draw upon Yoruba metaphysics—such as invoking *ẹbọ* (sacrifice) or using sigidi (doll effigies)—and are hidden under Islamic-sounding incantations. While viewed as *harām* by Salafis and many mainstream scholars, such practices are seen as justified protection or self-empowerment among specific segments, particularly economically or romantically vulnerable women.

Separation Magic (*Siḥr at-Tafrīq***)**

Reported in cases of marital breakdown or rivalry, this involves symbolic reversal rituals, such as writing Qur'anic verses backwards, defiling sacred text, or burying materials associated with the victim. Religious orthodoxy condemns this unequivocally, but among traditional Yoruba Muslims, such rituals are sometimes carried out in secrecy, often with the aid of a *babaláwo* (diviner), even by those who self-identify as practising Muslims. This supports Neville's (1995) assertion that religion functions as a system of symbols that reinforces emotional commitment, even when logically inconsistent.

Economic Sorcery (*Ogun Arisiki***,** *Awure***)**

These rituals aim to attract customers, wealth, or business success and involve mixing herbs, alcohol, Islamic verses, and symbolic objects (e.g., snails, pig entrails, coins). While the Qur'an discourages seeking spiritual advantage through superstition (Qur'an 5:90), such practices often reflect folk-Islamic notions of barakah (divine blessing) misunderstood as transactional. Al Chukwuma and Clement (2014) observe that these activities form part of a spiritual economy, where religious legitimacy is commodified.

Protective and Counter-Magic (*Nushrah***)**

Practices such as burying *ḥirz* (amulets), reciting specific verses for protection, or hanging inscribed talismans are often used to ward off perceived *Siḥr*. While Ashiru (2013) strongly opposed *Nushrah* as *Siḥr by other means*, many Muslims in Ilorin differentiate between offensive magic (condemned) and defensive spiritual strategies (permissible). This aligns with cultural schema theory, where *Siḥr* is interpreted not solely as an act but as a moral intention.

Women in Ilorin are both central actors in the transmission of ritual knowledge and primary targets of sorcery accusations. Older women—especially widows or herbalists—often function as custodians of magical expertise, providing healing or love rituals in domestic, female-only spaces. Their knowledge is transmitted orally and matrilineally, aligning with Dube et al.'s (2024) model of *gendered spiritual agency*. However, in public religious discourse, women are frequently cast as the spiritual corrupters, echoing patriarchal narratives that equate female power with danger. This duality reflects broader anthropological patterns in African religions, where women occupy ambivalent roles as healers and witches, often dependent on social perception and context (Malowa, 2024). These practices are best understood not solely through legalistic categories, but through cognitive anthropology and cultural schema theory, which explain why even educated and devout Muslims may engage with or justify rituals that appear contradictory to orthodox doctrine.

Different Types of *Siḥr* Practised by Some Muslims in Ilorin: A Doctrinal and Cultural Analysis in a Pluralistic Islamic Context

Within the Ilorin metropolis—an Islamic centre with diverse doctrinal and spiritual traditions—the practice of *Siḥr* (*magic or sorcery*) persists in various culturally embedded forms. These practices, although consistently condemned in mainstream Islamic theology, particularly in reformist discourses such as Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb's *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*, are nevertheless interpreted differently across denominational, sectarian, and gendered lines. This pluralistic landscape reveals the dissonance between universal theological norms and localised religious expressions. Siḥr is not only perceived as a threat but, in some cases, as a functional tool for resolving personal, social, or economic dilemmas.

Among the most commonly encountered types of *Siḥr* in Ilorin is the magic of love, practised to attract affection, secure marital control, or manipulate emotional bonds. These practices, while prohibited in Islamic theology for invoking metaphysical interference in free will, are often normalised in popular culture, especially among women, who are socially constrained in pursuing romantic or marital agency (Abbas, 2014). The practice called "Atinudẹnu", which involves ritual preparation by a spiritualist and consumption of consecrated food during the night, is functionally aimed at inducing affection in the target. Another form, "Kaali Afunje," involves ingesting or mixing concoctions composed of *Isu Modesina* (a special yam), baboon meat, human bodily fluids (blood, urine, saliva), and native spices. These substances are ritually pounded and administered to the target, typically in food or drink. A more ritualized form, "Kaali Oni Ṣìgìdì," involves the use of two figurines (male and female) symbolizing the intended lovers. It functions as a symbolic binding spell and bears resemblance to *Siḥr al-Tanwīmī* (representational magic) condemned in reformist texts such as *Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*. However, Yoruba-

speaking Muslims often interpret these acts through indigenous cosmologies that blend Islamic symbols with ancestral ritual logic (Adefarakan, 2011). Salafi Muslims in Ilorin categorically denounce these acts as *Shirk*. At the same time, adherents of Sufi lineages may distinguish between malicious magic and *spiritual attraction rituals* (*ruqyat al-maḥabbah*), thereby negotiating religious identity and local legitimacy. Shia-influenced Muslims tend to reject such practices altogether but replace them with recitation of sacred supplications (e.g., *Duʿāʾ al-Jawshan al-Kabīr*) and talismanic invocations.

This practice falls under what Islamic scholars have traditionally defined as destructive sorcery, based on Qur'an 2:102, where separation between husband and wife is attributed to the illicit knowledge taught by devils. However, the emotive motivations—jealousy, polygyny, economic betrayal—often lead individuals to rationalise such behaviour as spiritual justice. Another form, locally called "Aforan", corresponds to what Islamic theology labels *Siḥr at-Takhyil*—the sorcery of illusion and mental manipulation. Victims are made to forget obligations, such as financial debts, or to doubt past actions. Ritual materials include cowries, *atare* (African pepper), and symbolic incantations, such as "orokan kiwonumi kotunjade mo," before disposal in unsanitary places like soakaways. This manipulation of perception aligns with Pharaoh's magicians in Qur'an 20:66, who made it appear as though inanimate objects were moving. Such acts raise significant ethical and theological concerns and are categorically denied any legitimacy across all Sunni and Shia jurisprudence. Nevertheless, cultural anthropology shows how cognitive dissonance is alleviated through culturally shared schemas that reinterpret harmful acts as survival strategies (Hoshino-Browne et al., 2005). A more extreme form of *Siḥr* reported in Ilorin is magic intended to kill or incapacitate, referred to as "Ilaaki". While these acts are shrouded in secrecy, they often invoke fear and suspicion within the community and are believed to involve grave desecration, invocation of malevolent spirits, and animal sacrifice. Even among spiritually tolerant Sufi Muslims, this form is universally condemned and is often cited as justification for public exorcisms, sermons, and fatwas.

Other reported practices focus on prosperity, success, and household protection. Examples include:

- **Ogun Arisiki Ọlọ́tí**: a fortune charm prepared using *gogoro* (gin), duck egg yolk, and medicinal leaves. Believed to attract wealth.
- **Ogun Arisiki Ẹlẹran Ẹlẹdẹ**: pork-based charm for drawing customers or good luck in trade.
- **Ogun Itaja**: business-enhancing magic using *lapalapa* leaves, pork, and black soap.
- **Ogun Itura Ninu Ile**: home protection ritual using snail, pig innards, and a bag of salt.
- **Ogun Awure**: a good luck charm using human skull fragments and dove entrails.

These practices are often gender-neutral in participation, though men typically use economic-enhancing charms, while women may utilise domestic and relational types. Across sectarian lines, these practices are viewed differently: Salafī groups classify them as un-Islamic innovations, while Sufi-leaning or culturally grounded Muslims may see them as extensions of indigenous medicine or "blessed rituals",

especially when Qur'anic verses are incorporated. These practices are best understood as spiritual deviations and symbolic responses to uncertainty, anxiety, and marginalisation. According to Ejdus (2020), such spiritual practices reflect ontological insecurity—the need to anchor one's fate in metaphysical certainty when social systems appear fragile. Through the lens of Cultural Schema Theory, it was revealed that these rituals are not anomalies, but culturally validated interpretive models that frame misfortune, hope, and healing in meaningful religious terms—even when contradictory to formal doctrine.

CONCLUSION

This paper examines the discourse of Siḥr (sorcery or magic) in Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdil Wahhāb's Kitāb at-Tawḥīd and how it interfaces with the lived experiences and beliefs of Muslims in Ilorin, Nigeria. The research reveals that while Islamic orthodoxy condemns Siḥr as an act of Shirk and a nullifier of Tawḥīd, the social reality in Ilorin reflects a more nuanced and pluralistic engagement with the concept, shaped by historical, cultural, gendered, and sectarian influences. The research distinguishes itself from previous scholarship by positioning Siḥr as a dynamic religious and cultural phenomenon that persists across denominational boundaries, including among Sunni, Shia, and Sufi communities in Ilorin. It highlights how Muslims actively negotiate between normative Islamic beliefs and practical spiritual needs, often justifying certain forms of ritual practice within a culturally validated framework. The research advances the discourse on Islam in West Africa by offering a multidimensional understanding of how theological rigidity interacts with cultural resilience. It contributes to Islamic Studies by deepening the discussion around Tawḥīd and Shirk in the context of lived Islam and to Religious and Cultural Anthropology by documenting how communities reinterpret religious doctrine through local epistemologies. However, the paper has limitations, including reliance on informal interviews, geographical limitations, and lack of quantitative or longitudinal data. Despite these limitations, the research provides a foundational platform for future interdisciplinary studies on Siḥr, ʿAqīdah, and religious syncretism, particularly in Muslim-majority societies navigating between orthodoxy and cultural plurality.

REFERENCES

Abbas, S. (2014). *At Freedom's Limit: Islam and the Postcolonial Predicament*. Fordham University Press.

Adefarakan, E. T. (2011). *Yoruba indigenous knowledges in the African Diaspora: knowledge, power and the politics of indigenous spirituality* (Doctoral dissertation).

Ahmad, M., & Greer, I. (2022). Shāh Walī Allāh in Defence of Ibn Taymiyyah. *Islamic Studies*, *61*(1), 25–44.

Al Chukwuma, O., & Clement, U. A. (2014). Materialism and commodification of the sacred: A political economy of spiritual materialism in Nigeria. *European scientific journal*, *10*(14).

Alade, O. S. (2022). Spiritualism and Functionalism of the Glorious Qurân an in the Eyes of the Yoruba Muslims of Nigeria: A Critical Analysis. *NIU Journal of Social Sciences*, *7*(4), 133–142.

Andresen, J. (Ed.). (2001). *Religion in mind: Cognitive perspectives on religious belief, ritual, and experience*. Cambridge University Press.

Arkoun, M. (2003). Rethinking Islam Today. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *588*(1), 18-39.

Ashiru, N. O. (2013). *Political Islam: Fundamentalism and the Politicisation of Religion in Nigeria* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Lagos (Nigeria)).

Ayuba, D., Fadele, P. K., Ogaya, J. B., Olayinka, K. E., Sharma, S. N., & Lucero-Prisno III, D. E. (2024). Understanding the root of healing and beyond: Exploring the way forward for Alternative Medicine in Nigeria. *Bhutan Sorig Journal*, *1*(1), 42–47.

Baradaran Amini, S. (2024). *A shift in Shia discourse: Political necessities and Sectarian dynamics* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign).

Beaman, L. G. (2008). *Defining harm: Religious freedom and the limits of the law*. UBC Press.

Boivin, M. (2012). The Sufi Centre of Jhok Sharif in Sindh (Pakistan): Questioning the Ziyārat as a Social Process. *South Asian Sufis: Devotion, Deviation and Destiny*, 95-110.

Boland, T. (2020). The wholly social or the holy social: Recognising theological tensions in sociology. *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology*, *81*(2), 174–192.

Catalano, D. C. J., Wagner, R., & Davis, T. (2018). Approaching Masculinities Through a Gender-Aware Practice Framework. *New Directions for Student Services*, *2018*(164), 11–17.

Clarke, I. (Ed.). (2010). *Psychosis and spirituality: Consolidating the new paradigm*. John Wiley & Sons.

Dube, M. W., Musili, T. K., & Owusu-Ansah, S. (Eds.). (2024). *African women's legends and the spirituality of resistance*. London: Routledge.

Ejdus, F. (2020). *Crisis and ontological insecurity* (pp. 7-37). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Fitouchi, L., & Singh, M. (2022). Supernatural punishment beliefs as cognitively compelling tools of social control. *Current opinion in psychology*, *44*, 252–257.

Hoshino-Browne, E., Zanna, A. S., Spencer, S. J., Zanna, M. P., Kitayama, S., & Lackenbauer, S. (2005). On the cultural guises of cognitive dissonance: the case of easterners and westerners. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *89*(3), 294.

Ibrahim, S. (2024). *The Concept of Sin in Christianity and Islam and Its Influence on Christian-Muslim Relations* (Doctoral dissertation, St. Paul's University).

Jones, N. A., Ross, H., Lynam, T., Perez, P., & Leitch, A. (2011). Mental models: an interdisciplinary synthesis of theory and methods. *Ecology and society*, *16*(1).

Kaddouri, S. (2013). Refutations of Ibn Ḥazm by Mālikī Authors from al-Andalus and North Africa. In *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba* (pp. 539-599). Brill.

Katz, M. (2005). The Study of Islamic Ritual and the Meaning of *Wuḍū'*. *Der Islam*, *82*(1), 106-145.

Lerner, A. B. (2024). Global injustice and the production of ontological insecurity. *European Journal of International Relations*, *30*(3), 595-618.

Makris, G. (2023). *The Sudanese zār ṭumbura cult: slaves, armies, spirits and history*. Routledge.

Malowa, R. B. (2024). *African women and spirituality: a study of narratives and agency* (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Free State).

Mandaville, P., & Hamid, S. (2018). *Islam as statecraft: How governments use religion in foreign policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Marcus-Sells, A. (2022). *Sorcery or Science? Contesting Knowledge and Practice in West African Sufi Texts*. Penn State Press.

Melvin-Koushki, M. (2019). Magic in Islam between Religion and Science. *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft*, *14*(2), 255–287.

Mohamad, M. A., & Othman, N. (2017). The Ruqyah Syar'iyyah spiritual method as an alternative for depression treatment. *Life Science Journal*, *14*(2), 79.

Moro, P. A. (2018). Witchcraft, sorcery, and magic. *The international encyclopedia of anthropology*, 1–9.

Musa, S. M. (2022). *The Emergence of a Scholar from a Garrison Society: A contextual analysis of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhāb's doctrine in the light of the Qur'ān and Hadith* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Wales Trinity Saint David (United Kingdom)).

Mustafa, A. S. M. (2023). *The methodology of deducing the jurisprudential rules from the Qurʾan by Imam Al-Jaṣṣāṣ [D. 370 AH] and Imam IlKiyā Al-Harrāsī* (Doctoral dissertation, Al-Azhar University, Cairo).

Neville, R. C. (1995). *The truth of broken symbols*. State University of New York Press.

Oloruntele, O. A. (2009). *Evil forces and shirk among the Yoruba Muslims in Nigeria with special reference to Ilorin city* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Birmingham).

Parret, H. (2022). 10. Communication, Manipulation, Seduction. *This Obscure Thing Called Transparency: Politics and Aesthetics of a Contemporary Metaphor*, 213.

Pizzi, P. (2024). Tawḥīd as Social Justice: The Anthropocentric Hermeneutics of the Syrian Theologian Jawdat Saʿīd. *Journal of Qur'anic Studies*, *26*(1), 63–100.

Pomerantz, M. A. (2018, November). A Maqāmah on the Book Market of Cairo in the 8th/14th Century: The "Return of the Stranger" of Ibn Abī Ḥaǧalah (d. 776/1375). In *The Sultan's Anthologist-Ibn Abi Hagalah and His Work* (pp. 179–208). Ergon-Verlag.

Qamar, A. H. (2013). The concept of the 'evil' and the 'evil eye' in Islam and Islamic faith-healing traditions. *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilisation*, *3*(2), 44–53.

Rassool, G. H. (2018). *Evil eye, jinn possession, and mental health issues: An Islamic perspective*. Routledge.

Rassool, G. H. (2024). Synthesis and Consolidation of Spirituality and Islāmic Psychotherapy. In *Exploring the Intersection of Islāmic Spirituality and Psychotherapy: Healing the Soul* (pp. 175–184). Cham: Springer Nature Switzerland.

Rizapoor, H., & Athar, M. T. (2023). The Controversy Surrounding the Prophet's Affliction with Magic: An Analytical Exploration of Historical and Contemporary Perspectives among Islamic Scholars. *International Journal of Humanities Education and Social Sciences*, *3*(2).

Saif, L. (2021). A Study of Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ's Epistle on Magic, the Longer Version (52b). *Islamicate Occult Sciences in Theory and Practice*, 162–206.

Selove, E., & Sanad, M. (2023). The Sorcerer Scholar: Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sakkākī between Grammar and Grimoire. In *Knowledge and Power in Muslim Societies: Approaches in Intellectual History*. Gerlach Press.

Simón, F. M. (2021). Materiality, Oral Incantations and Supernatural Agency in Ancient Healing Magic. *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis*, *57*, 15-42.

Sirriyeh, E. (2004). Sufi Thought and Its Reconstruction. *Islamic Thought in the Twentieth Century*, 122-23.

Spevack, A. (2014). *The archetypal Sunni scholar: Law, theology, and mysticism in the synthesis of al-Bajuri*. SUNY Press.

Spring, A. (2012). *Women in ritual and symbolic roles*. Springer Science & Business Media.

Sulaiman, Y., & Sule, M. M. (2023). Sorcery and Its Menace Among Muslims, Islamic Da'wah in Perspective. *Spektra: Jurnal Ilmu-ilmu Sosial*, *5*(2), 15-34.

Talmon-Heller, D. (2009). Ilm, Baraka, Shafaa–the Resources of Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Ulama. Mamluk Studies Review 13/2, 1–23.

Ware III, R. T. (2014). *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic education, embodied knowledge, and history in West Africa*. UNC Press Books.

Wright, Z. V. (2020). *Realising Islam: The Tijaniyya in North Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Muslim World* (p. 307). The University of North Carolina Press.

Zadeh, T. (2014). Commanding demons and jinn: The sorcerer in early Islamic thought. *No Tapping around Philology: A Festschrift in Honour of Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday*, 131–60.