



An Evaluation of Merits and Demerit of the Use of Traditional Herbal Enhancement Substance (*Kayan Mata*): An Islamic Analysis

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Abstract

Traditional herbal enhancement substances, commonly referred to as *Kayan Mata*, are widely used in many parts of Northern Nigeria, particularly among married women, to enhance sexual desire, intimacy, and marital harmony. Rooted in indigenous knowledge systems and transmitted across generations, *Kayan Mata* occupies a significant socio-cultural space within Hausa society. Despite its widespread use, the practice has generated mixed reactions due to growing health, ethical, and regulatory concerns. This study examines the merits and demerits of the use of *Kayan Mata* with a view to understanding its perceived benefits, potential risks, and broader social implications in contemporary society. The study adopts a qualitative descriptive approach, drawing on secondary sources such as academic literature, health reports, ethnographic studies, and documented cultural practices. In addition, insights from informal observations and reported experiences of users and traditional practitioners are synthesised to provide a balanced analysis. The findings reveal that the merits of *Kayan Mata* include enhancement of sexual satisfaction, strengthening of marital bonds, preservation of cultural heritage, and provision of affordable alternatives to modern pharmaceutical enhancers. Conversely, the demerits include health risks arising from unregulated preparation, lack of dosage standardisation, possible adulteration with synthetic drugs, and potential psychological dependency. Social and ethical issues, such as misinformation, exploitation, and misuse, were also identified. While *Kayan Mata* continues to play a functional role in marital and cultural life, its unregulated nature poses significant public health challenges. The tension between cultural acceptance and medical safety highlights the need for informed dialogue and structured regulation without undermining indigenous knowledge systems. The use of *Kayan Mata* presents both notable benefits and serious drawbacks. Maximising its merits while minimising its risks requires public education, research-based validation, and regulatory engagement with traditional practitioners to ensure safer usage.

Keywords: Merits, Demerits, Traditional, Herbal Enhancement, Substance (*Kayan Mata*).

INTRODUCTION

Traditional herbal enhancement substances, popularly known as *Kayan Mata*, are widely used among married women in parts of Northern Nigeria for purposes such as improving marital intimacy, enhancing fertility, and strengthening emotional bonds between spouses. From an Islamic perspective, any practice related to health, sexuality, and marital life must be evaluated in light of the *Shari'ah* objectives (*Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*), particularly the preservation of faith (*dīn*), life (*nafs*), intellect (*‘aql*), lineage (*nasl*), and dignity (*‘ird*).

There are different opinions among the people on the approved method to be used by Muslim women in northern part of Nigeria. According to Alkali Zakariya, women have different physiological characteristics, which he metaphorically

describes as being like oceans, rivers, lakes, wells, or deserts. He explains that some women, whom he likens to oceans, may experience excessive moisture during intimacy, which can affect their husband's comfort. In such cases, traditional herbal remedies like “*bagaruwa*” seeds are used to reduce this moisture, helping to balance the natural secretions. This concoction is often taken with cow milk to help regulate the body's moisture levels.

On the other hand, women described as deserts experience dryness, making intimacy uncomfortable or even painful. To address this, a mixture of natural ingredients such as milk, water melon, and coconut water is recommended to help increase moisture and improve comfort. For those who experience fatigue or exhaustion during intimacy, there are herbal preparations designed to boost energy levels. Additionally, some women seek remedies for vaginal tightening, for which natural ingredients like mango seeds, “musk,” and “*magarya*” leaves are traditionally used.¹

Dr. Abubakar also maintained that:

Women can use different types of traditional enhancement substance (*Kayan Mata*) in order to make their husband happy such as pigeon pepper soup, a mixture of “*habbatusauda*” seeds, moringa seeds, Sesame seeds, to be mixed and cook the meat and many more which will increase their libido such as moringa, date, Rahab, Rice, groundnut, carrot, *habbatu saudat*, honey, black pepper and others.²

The acceptance or rejection of aphrodisiac foods and traditional herbal enhancement substances (*Kayan Mata*) often depends on how they are prepared and consumed. One significant factor is the method of consumption. Oral ingestion is generally considered safer than substances inserted directly into the private parts, as inserting substances into these areas can pose health risks. This is because medication absorbed directly into the bloodstream through sensitive tissues can lead to serious side effects. In contrast, orally consumed substances are less risky, as they pass through the digestive system before being absorbed, which reduces the immediate impact on the body. Even branded enhancement products have their own side effects, which is why they should only be taken with a doctor's recommendation. The safest options are natural food-based substances derived from plants or animals and consumed in a normal, healthy way. While many herbal enhancement products may not be harmful, improper use or overdosing can still cause damage. Therefore, it is essential to be cautious about the sources and methods of administering “*Kayan Mata*”³

Merits of the Use of Traditional Herbal Enhancement Substance (*Kayan Mata*)

The widespread use of traditional herbal enhancement among Muslim women highlights its perceived benefits and popularity. The fact that it is so commonly practiced shows its acceptance and trust within the community. It is important to remember that individuals vary in their physical and psychological responses to these substances. What works well for one person may be harmful to another, and much of the effectiveness of these remedies relies on one's belief in them.

Islam teaches that Allah, in His infinite mercy, has provided a cure for every illness except aging and death, as conveyed by the Prophet Muhammad,⁴ who emphasized the importance of seeking treatment. This includes exploring traditional remedies, as long as they align with Islamic teachings and are free from contamination.

Alkali Zakariyyah says the advantages of traditional herbal enhancement (*Kayan Mata*) for Muslim women can be viewed from several perspectives:

- It strengthens marital bonds.
- It helps women maintain their youthful appearance and vitality.
- It enhances affection and intimacy from husbands.

He also mentioned that the use of “*Kayan Mata*” can prolong the life of some marriages by fostering deeper love and connection between couples. These herbal products are not limited to oral use; they also include treatments for skin and hair care. For instance, certain mixtures—such as lemon, egg, milk, and honey combined with bath soap—are used to refresh and rejuvenate the skin, reducing wrinkles and keeping women looking youthful. Other skin treatments, like steaming with sea salt, help to soften and freshen the skin. Hair treatments made from ingredients like fresh shea butter, honey, aloe vera, and neem tree leaves can strengthen hair, prevent breakage, and give it a shiny, healthy appearance. Some treatments are left on the hair for several hours before being washed out and conditioned. In addition, various powders, soaps, and body

¹ Alkali Zakariya Yanusa, 56 years, Shariah Court Judge Katsina Nasiru Danbaba, Katsina State 21/11/22

² A. Mafata Abdullahi: 57 years, An –Nissa’a Islamic medical Research center Kaduna and publisher of *zinariya mace, sirrin mijinta a tadin hununta and ingantattu magunguna mata*1&2,

³ Adam N.S. (Salihar Nur) 60 years, Executive Director for Sauhar Institute of Nature Health Science Kano, Sani Mai Nagge Sabon Titi, Kano State, 21/11/21

⁴ SM. M. Sherif, “*Sunan Ibn Majah, The Sixth Corrected Tradition of the Prophetic Sunnah*”, Vol. IV, 2008. Lebanon: Dar Kotoob Al-Ilmiyyat, p.1.

perfumes, such as "*humrar matan aure*" are believed to have special scents that attract husbands.⁵

For instance, **Nura Abubakar Yar Aduwa**, argue that the use of traditional enhancement substances (*Kayan Mata*) plays a crucial role in the lives of Muslim women in north-western Nigeria. For instance, after childbirth, women often use herbs from different trees to cleanse their bodies and prevent unwanted Odors from their private areas or from breast milk that may spill on them while nursing. They also use certain herbs, like "*bagaruwa*" dates, coconut, tigernut, and "*idon zakara*", to help their bodies recover from child birth.

However, caution is advised. Women should ensure that these substances do not conflict with Islamic teachings and should avoid using products that might upset the balance of power in their marriages. It is important that these remedies are used in a way that considers the needs and well-being of both partners. He also says:

In most cases those who are using "*Kayan Mata*" found that their husbands tend to love them more, and people will think that they charm their husband which is not like that but just because the husbands are enjoying their wives and have more comfort with them. As we see in this era more than 90% of women are using "*Kayan Mata*", if they are not benefiting from it, I don't think they will continue wasting their money and energy looking for them.

We should note that sometimes if misused the vice-versa will follow⁶

Moreover, **Shaykh Abdulbasir holds the view that:**

The use of traditional enhancement has its benefit as well as its effects but the benefit is more than the demerit. If we look at the way it has been used like wild fire, and if women are not benefiting from it they will not continue using it and we should not forget that sometimes we have couples who are opposite sex partner, in that case one has to look for a remedy to meetup his partner's need and it use to happen mostly on women because ideally women follow the foot step of their husband. If the husband need is more than her own, she needs to use traditional herbal enhancement in order to boost her libido to satisfy her husband which is of great important once it is not there, there will be a problem, if care is not taken the marriage will collapse. That is part of its importance to Muslim women to make use of traditional herbal enhancement provided they are from "*halal*" resources.⁷

Binta believes that the merit of using traditional herbal enhancement substances (*Kayan Mata*) is rooted in Islamic tradition, specifically from "*Tibb al-Nabawi*" (Prophetic medicine), where certain traditional herbal remedies are permitted, such as honey, milk, olive oil, and more. She argues that women have used "*Kayan Mata*" for generations, and if it had no benefit, this practice would not have persisted. The effects, she suggests, depend on the user's fortune and experience with the herbs. For many women, it brings peace of mind, calmness, and helps sustain their marriages. Some use it for composure, while others see it as a libido booster or energizer.

Additionally, it is employed to treat gynecological conditions such as candidiasis, dysentery, diabetes, and pelvic inflammatory disease (PID). Binta believes that it enhances a husband's love for his wife, fostering affection and reducing conflicts between couples, which is why about 80% of women use it. However, she emphasizes that it should be used in accordance with *Shari'ah* teachings, and that obedience to one's husband is essential to achieving success in marriage, as without adherence to Islamic marital principles, "*Kayan Mata*" will have no effect.⁸

Binta has the same view as Shaykh Abdulbasir on the importance of the use of traditional herbal enhancement substance, but she also discusses its origin which she links to Islamic history based on "*dibb nabawi*".

More so, **Bello Samaila has the view that:**

The merit of the use of "*Kayan Mata*" cannot be over emphasized, if we look at how Muslim women engage into the act, in different ways both *hallal* and *haram* ones. They use them in order to get attention of their husbands as we can see about 99% of women are using them, they only varied in different types and methods of their application. They used them based on kinds of deficient in marriage life. Some are after sexual activities while some after their body shape and look. Therefore, "*Kayan Mata*" has a lot of benefit and its women's secret.⁹

⁵ Alkali Zakariya Yanusa, 56 years, Shariah Court Judge Katsina, Nasiru Danbaba,

⁶ Mal. Nura Abubakar Yar'Aduwa, 55years, Chief Imam Jumu'at Mosque Makara Estate, Daura Road, Katsina State 22/11/2022

⁷ Sheikh Abdulbasir Isah, 56 years, Judge in Sharia Court Katsina Unguwar Mai Kawo Katsina, Katsina State, 23/11/22

⁸ Haj. Binta Abdullahi Lawal, 53 years, Assistant Pilgrimage Welfare Officer, Kofar Kwaya, Katsina State, 23/11/2022

⁹ Bello Sama'ilah, 57 years, traditional herbalist, Katsina central market, Katsina State, 28/11/22

Muhammad maintained that one of the importance of “*Kayan Mata*” is that it helps in strengthening of marriage among couple and it helps in balancing sex issue among the couples, because whenever there is a sex problem in marriage, it causes grudges and lapses among the couple. With the help of “*Kayan Mata*”, it establishes and maintains marriage stability. However, one can see the importance of “*Kayan Mata*” to women toward its rampant use without looking at its consequence, even though they have it.¹⁰

Hadiza ‘Yar baiwa says that:

The use of traditional herbal enhancement is very important and it has so many advantages to women. She went further to express that if a man has more than one wife the taste on those are using “*Kayan Mata*” will not be the same on those that are not using them. That is why women are found every corner of society searching for “*Kayan Mata*” so its important cannot be emphasize, its only those that are within the system can tell.¹¹

Kulsum Kasim maintains the view that the merit of the use of “*Kayan Mata*” can be seen more especially when women gave birth and it serves as remedy to fill her up. Based on what we learn from our grand mothers, when a woman conceives and delivers a baby, the journey of childbirth makes a hole into her private part. Therefore, she needs to use some traditional herbs such as: “*magarya*” leaves and “*bagaruwa*” seeds which are boiled together, allowed to cool down for her to do sit birth. It helps to close the hole. A woman can also use “*tukudi*” (a mixture of millet with date herbs and milk which make women sweet and fresh. It returns her to her original form, which makes the husband to enjoy her a lot. Kulsum further expresses that it is necessary for a woman to look for something that will raise her status in order to protect and upgrade her dignity to her husband, so as for him not to look down on her. That is why about 70% of women use them in order to gain their husbands’ respect and attention even though Islamically not all of the herbs are accepted. Therefore, it is necessary for women to go for those that are in line with the *Shari’ah*.¹²

More so, Ali Abdullahi holds the view that:

Because of the importance of the use of traditional herbal enhancement substances “*Kayan Mata*”, it became part of the olden herbals that exist for more than 100 years. Because they serve as sweetener to a woman and they also help in tightening vagina muscle in order to make their husband to enjoy them and they increase love among the couple. Such as fruits, olive leaves, seed of “*khulba*” mix with milk, or a mixture of honey, milk and water melon, “*Tsimi of gorontula, minanas, sassakebaure, cloves etc.*”¹³

Usman Adam says that traditional herbal enhancement substances “*Kayan Mata*” play a very vital role in marriage, because it gives satisfaction to the couple during intercourse. However, the traditional herbal enhancement substances “*Kayan Mata*” are of different types: there is the specific and the general ones. The specific one depends on the complains of the user and we have general ones which everybody can use. They are called sweetener that women use. This means when a woman uses them, she will be sweeter than before. Even though some ingredient are found in our food like moringa leaves, *minanas*, coconut water, water melon, cabbage, Tiger nut sesame seed and groundnut, they are all ingredient used to make “*Kayan Mata*”.¹⁴

From the above discussions, one can say that Muslim women benefit from the use of traditional herbal enhancement substances (*Kayan Mata*) based on the high demands of products by the Muslim women without looking at their consequence ranging from good ones and harmful ones. This gives birth to the sudden outburst of its market in every angle of the community ranging from market, TV stations, radio stations and the social media.

Demerit of the Use of Traditional Herbal Enhancement Substances (*Kayan Mata*)

It is well known that most herbs, even when used correctly, can have side effects, and problems may arise due to their misuse. The same applies to traditional herbal enhancement substances like “*Kayan Mata*”. Even with proper use, these substances may have negative impacts on couples, such as:

1. Lack of trust: The husband may become suspicious, thinking his wife is trying to charm or manipulate him, especially if she uses the substances without his knowledge or consent. Sometime the husband see their wife hiding herbal and drinking concotoin (*Tsimi or Gumba mata*) or during intercourse he can feel somethings in her Virgina if she use the insertable ones (*Dan matsi* type of *Kayan Mata*)

¹⁰ Sheik Muhammad Muslin Ibrahim, 57years, Katsina State, 28/11/22

¹¹ Hadiza Habubakar Yar’Bawa, 50 years, Gobirawa, Shugabar Masu Magani Gargajiya na Sandamun Town, Katsina State 24/11/22.

¹² Kulsum Kasim, 56 years, Deputy Commander General Women of Hisba, Kano State, 29/11/21

¹³ Ali Abdullahi, 76 years, Business man Gidan Sudan Kasuwar Kurmi, Kano State 23/11/21

¹⁴ Usman Alkamu, Kasuwar Kurmi, Gidan Mai Jimina, Vice Chairman Islamic Medicine Practitioners 52years, Kano State, 01/12/21

2. Health risks: Misuse of these substances can pose health hazards. Long-term use may lead to addiction, and those used as vaginal insertions such as “*Dan matsi*”, carry a higher risk of infection, even oral ones can cause diarrhea when things go wrong, also it can cause liver damages do to it acidity as for all we consume more especially drugs and herbal will go directly to liver before distributed to body.

3. Over stimulation: A woman may become excessively sexually aroused, when using excessively, it leading her to overpower her husband’s desire. This imbalance could result in frustration, with the woman complaining that her husband cannot satisfy her, potentially leading to marital conflict. If the man has low desire and women use “*Kayan Mata*” that are called libido booster will cause her sensation and urge to have sex multiple times and the husband cannot go more than one circle which may lead to conflicts.

4. Joint weakness: This issue is common for women who use insertions, as traditional substances are inserted into the vagina, which may weaken the vaginal muscles. It could also cause bodily swelling (edema) due to the introduction of hormones not naturally produced by the body, but triggered by the substances.

5. Moral and spiritual risk: Certain substances, especially those prepared by pseudo-scholars like “*bita zozai*,” “*gida ko mota*,” “*mallaka*,” and “*yar baka*,” can lead women astray.¹⁵

Aminu Abdullahi Yammawa points out that while traditional herbal enhancement substances may have some benefits, their consequences are often more harmful and can even lead to divorce. He questions the reason behind risking self-humiliation in an effort to please one’s husband. For example, some women use insertions that tighten their vagina to such an extent that their husbands struggle to penetrate them, causing pain and discomfort, which often leads to arguments. Women also consume fermented substances like “*tsimi*,” which can result in stomach aches and diarrhea. While a few women may succeed with these practices, the risks are significant. Yammawa advocates for avoiding traditional herbs and instead focusing on a balanced diet. He concludes that he does not believe in “*Kayan Mata*”, and the best solution for women is to maintain a healthy, nutritious diet.¹⁶ More so, Nura Aliyu holds the view that:

The disadvantage of the use of “*Kayan Mata*” can be seen where the women who use them become stronger in desire than their husband which makes them to be extremely in need of sex. If care is not taken, she is likely to harm her husband because he cannot change his nature. Therefore, it is not good for them to use them just because they want to enjoy themselves. It will look like they do not thank Allah for His blessing upon them.¹⁷

Murjanatu Ibrahim maintain the view where she argues that “*Kayan Mata*” offers no real advantages. Despite the type surrounding it, marriage instability still persists among Muslim women, even with its use. In fact, some women lose their marriages due to the use of traditional herbal enhancements substances (*Kayan Mata*). According to her, “*Kayan Mata*” has numerous disadvantages, and it often does not deliver the desired results. Women who use it for vaginal tightening frequently suffer from infections, such as abnormal discharge. In some cases, couples may even develop serious conditions like cervical cancer or pelvic inflammatory diseases. Additionally, the toxicity of certain bitter herbs can cause liver problems. In conclusion, while “*Kayan Mata*” may have both merits and draw backs, its effects among Muslim women in North-western Nigeria mirror the risks and benefits of other herbal remedies and medicines, though the outcomes may vary depending on individual circumstances.¹⁸

Islamic Analysis of the Use of Traditional Herbal Enhancement Substances (*Kayan Mata*)

Merits of *Kayan Mata* from an Islamic Perspective

1. Promotion of Marital Harmony (*Sakīnah and Mawaddah*)

Islam encourages lawful enjoyment between spouses as a means of strengthening marital bonds. If certain herbal substances help improve intimacy within marriage without causing harm, they may contribute to the Qur’ānic ideals of tranquillity and affection:

And among His signs is that He created for you spouses from among yourselves that you may find tranquillity in them, and He placed between you affection and mercy¹⁹.

When used strictly within marriage, *Kayan Mata* may support emotional closeness and reduce marital tension, which Islam views as commendable.

2. Use of Natural Remedies (Permissibility of Herbal Medicine)

Islam generally permits the use of natural and herbal remedies for health and well-being, provided they are not harmful or prohibited.

¹⁵ Asma’u Abubakar Usman, “*Hattara dai Mata Fadakarwa game da Hakim maye*”, Nadabo print, Sokoto, 2006, P.14

¹⁶ Dr. Aminu Abdullahi Yammawa, 58yrs, Director pilgrimage Welfare Katsina State, 22/11/22

¹⁷ Dr Nura Aliyu, 51 years, Traditiona Herbalist, Katsina central Market Katsina State 23/11/22

¹⁸ Malama Murjanatu Ibrahim Dukun, 55yrs, Community College of Arabic and Islamic Studies a mentor for marriage Support Katsina 20/11/2022

¹⁹ Qur’ān 30:21

If *Kayan Mata* consists of lawful (*ḥalāl*) substances and is taken for legitimate health or marital reasons, its use may fall under permissible medication (*mubāḥ*).

3. Addressing Reproductive and Sexual Health Challenges

Some women use *Kayan Mata* to manage post-childbirth weakness, hormonal imbalance, or reduced libido. Islam recognizes the importance of physical and psychological well-being, especially within marriage. Seeking remedies for such challenges is not inherently sinful, as long as they do not contradict Islamic ethics or medical safety.

Demerits of *Kayan Mata* from an Islamic Perspective

1. Risk of Harm to Health (Violation of the Principle of No Harm)

One of the fundamental Islamic legal maxims states:

(*Lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār*)

There should be neither harm nor reciprocating harm.

Many forms of *Kayan Mata* are unregulated, with uncertain dosages and ingredients. If their use leads to infections, infertility, chronic illness, or psychological harm, then such use becomes *ḥarām*, because Islam strictly prohibits self-harm:

And do not throw yourselves into destruction with your own hands²⁰.

2. Association with Deception or Marital Dishonesty

Islam places great emphasis on honesty and mutual consent in marriage. Using substances secretly to manipulate a spouse's emotions or sexual desire may contradict Islamic ethics. The Prophet ﷺ warned against deception in all forms, and scholars emphasize that marital intimacy should be based on mutual satisfaction, not coercion or manipulation.

3. Exposure of 'Awrah and Indecency

In some contexts, the preparation and administration of *Kayan Mata* involve improper exposure of 'awrah, vulgar discussions, or immoral demonstrations. Such practices violate Islamic standards of modesty (*ḥayā*) and chastity, which are core moral values in Islam.

4. Link to Superstition and Un-Islamic Beliefs

Certain types of *Kayan Mata* are mixed with charms, incantations, or beliefs in mystical control over a husband's mind, which may lead to shirk (associating partners with Allah). Islam strictly forbids reliance on supernatural powers outside Allah:

And if Allah touches you with harm, none can remove it except Him²¹.

Any substance accompanied by sihr (magic), talismans, or incantations is categorically prohibited.

5. Commercial Exploitation and Gender Pressure

Some sellers exploit women's fears of divorce or polygyny by aggressively marketing *Kayan Mata* as a "marital necessity." Islam condemns exploitation, fraud, and emotional manipulation, especially when it places undue pressure on women or undermines their dignity.

Scholarly Position and Islamic Ruling (Summary)

Islamic scholars generally agree on the following principles:

Permissible (Halāl/Mubāḥ):

When *Kayan Mata* consists of safe, natural, lawful substances, used within marriage, without harm, deception, indecency, or shirk.

Disliked (Makrūh):

When its use is unnecessary, excessive, or based on false claims, even if no direct harm is proven.

Prohibited (Ḥarām):

When it causes physical or psychological harm, involves forbidden substances, includes superstitious or magical elements, promotes indecency, or leads to marital injustice.

Conclusion

From an Islamic Analysis, the use of *Kayan Mata* cannot be judged as wholly permissible or wholly forbidden. Rather, its ruling depends on intention, content, method, and consequences. Islam encourages marital harmony, health, and lawful enjoyment, but strictly prohibits harm, deception, immorality, and shirk. Therefore, Muslim women and families should

²⁰ Qur'ān 2:195

²¹ Qur'ān 6:17

approach *Kayan Mata* with knowledge, caution, medical guidance, and strong Islamic ethical awareness, ensuring that all practices remain within the boundaries set by the Qur'an and Sunnah.

The use of traditional herbal enhancement substances (*Kayan Mata*) reflects a long-standing cultural practice deeply embedded in the social and marital life of many communities in Northern Nigeria. One of its major merits lies in its role in enhancing intimacy between spouses, thereby promoting marital stability and emotional satisfaction. For many users, *Kayan Mata* also represents a trusted, culturally familiar, and relatively affordable alternative to modern sexual enhancement products. Additionally, its continued use helps preserve indigenous medical knowledge and reinforces communal identity.

However, alongside these benefits are significant demerits that cannot be overlooked. The absence of standardised preparation methods and dosage guidelines exposes users to potential health risks, including infections, internal injuries, and adverse reactions. The increasing commercialization of *Kayan Mata*, often driven by untrained vendors, has further heightened concerns about adulteration with chemical substances and misleading claims. Psychological dependence and unrealistic expectations regarding sexual performance also pose social and emotional challenges.

While *Kayan Mata* offers culturally valued benefits, its use must be approached with caution. There is a pressing need for collaborative efforts involving health authorities, researchers, and traditional practitioners to promote safe practices, encourage evidence-based evaluation, and educate the public. Such measures would help retain the positive aspects of *Kayan Mata* while reducing its harmful effects on individual and public health.

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List of Informants

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- Sheikh Abdulbasir Isah, 56 years, Judge in Sharia Court Katsina Unguwar Mai Kawo Katsina, Katsina State, 23/11/22
- Haj. Binta Abdullahi Lawal, 53 years, Assiatant Pilgrimage Welfare Officer, Kofar Kwaya, Katsina State, 23/11/2022
- Bello Sama'ilah, 57 years, traditional herbalist, Katsina central market, Katsina State, 28/11/22
- Sheik Muhammad Muslin Ibrahim, 57years, Katsina State, 28/11/22
- Hadiza Habubakar Yar'Bawa, 50 years, Gobirawa, Shugabar Masu Magani Gargajiya na Sandamun Town, Katsina State, 24/11/22.
- Kulsum Kasim, 56 years, Deputy Commander General Women of Hisba, Kano State, 29/11/21
- Ali Abdullahi, 76 years, Business man Gidan Sudan Kasuwar Kurmi, Kano State 23/11/21
- Usman Alkamu, Kasuwar Kurmi, Gidan Mai Jimina, Vice Chairman Islamic Medicine Practitioners 52years, Kano State, 01/12/21
- Asma'u Abubakar Usman, "*Hattara dai Mata Fadakarwa game da Hakim maye*", Nadabo print, Sokoto, 2006, P.14
- Dr. Aminu Abdullahi Yammawa, 58yrs, Director pilgrimage Welfare Katsina State, 22/11/22
- Dr Nura Aliyu, 51 years, Traditional Herbalist, Katsina central Market Katsina State 23/11/22
- Malama Murjanatu Ibrahim Dukun, 55yrs, Community College of Arabic and Islamic Studies a mentor for marriage Support Katsina 20/11/2022
- Asma'u Abubakar Usman, "*Hattara dai Mata Fadakarwa game da Hakim maye*", Nadabo print, Sokoto, 2006, P.14
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