



**An Early-Modern Counseling Initiative
Against Tobacco Addiction: Duhan Treatises**

**Tütün Bağımlılığına Karşı Bir Erken-
Modern Dönem Danışmanlık Girişimi:
Duhan Risaleleri**

Yazar

Muhammed Salih SEFİLOĞLU

salihsefiloglu@gmail.com, ORCID NO:0000-0001-6753-5809

Yayın Bilgisi

Yayın Türü: Araştırma Makalesi

Gönderim Tarihi: 18 Ağustos 2022

Kabul Tarihi: 20 Aralık 2022

Yayın Tarihi: 30 Aralık 2022

Siirt Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi Cilt 10, Sayı 2, Aralık 2022

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Abstract

Spreading rapidly among the peoples of Eurasia after the discovery of America, tobacco entered the Ottoman Empire at about the same time. This brought the conservative attitude of the state and society towards tobacco and tobacco consumers. In this pre-modern period, when people grasped the universe in its religious integrity, tobacco users were accused of introducing something that was not available in tradition and religion into human life. This article is specifically about tobacco treatises written in the Ottoman Empire. It can be argued that instead of being treated as religious texts per se, the treatises' main function is to warn those against this habit and to touch their lives. The vast majority of treatises state that tobacco is religiously forbidden and emphasize its negative aspects on health and home economics. For this reason, while the main factors in proving the ideas are thoughts on the harms of tobacco in social and individual terms, the tools used are primarily the Qur'an and *hadiths*. While the aim is human health, the preservation of traditions and the prevention of waste, it is the religious debates that seem to be at the forefront. However, neither these treatises nor the intervention of the states could stop the spread of tobacco. A rather subjective reasoning was made in the works, and therefore the result of convincing the other side rarely took place. Excessive expressions, on the other hand, basically have content that can lead people to this because of the insulting style they have, instead of warning them and directing them to stay away from tobacco. This article is intended to be a reading of all these debates and cultural adaptation procedure.

Keywords: tobacco, duhan treatises, Ottoman, fiqh.

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Öz

Amerika'nın keşfinden sonra Avrasya'da hızla yayılan tütün yaklaşık olarak aynı tarihlerde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na da girdi. Daha önce bilinmeyen bu ekonomik meta ise devlet ve halkın tütün ve tütün kullanıcılarına yönelik muhafazakar tepkisiyle sonuçlandı. İnsanların evreni dini bütünlüğü içerisinde kavradığı modern öncesi bu dönemde tütün kullanıcıları gelenek ve dinde olmayan bir şeyi insan hayatına soktukları gerekçesiyle suçlandılar. Bu makalenin konusu Osmanlı İmparatorluğu içerisinde yazılan tütün hakkındaki yazılardır. Bu risalelerin bizatihi dinsel metinler olarak ele alınmak yerine, temel fonksiyonlarının bu alışkanlığa karşı onları uyarmak ve hayatlarına dokunmak yönünde olduğu iddia edilebilir. Risalelerin büyük çoğunluğu tütünün dinsel açıdan yasak olduğunu ifade eder ve sağlık ve ev ekonomisi üzerindeki olumsuz yönleri üzerinde durur. Bu nedenle düşüncelerin kanıtlanmasındaki esas etmenler toplumsal ve bireysel olarak tütün üzerine düşüncelerken, kullanılan araçlar başta Kuran ve hadislerdir. Amaç insan sağlığı, geleneklerin korunması ve ekonomik açıdan israfı önlemekken, ön planda gözüken dinsel tartışmalardır. Fakat ne bu risaleler ne de devletlerin müdahalesi tütünün yayılımını durdurabilmiştir. Eserlerde oldukça öznel bir akıl yürütme yapılmış ve bu nedenle karşı tarafı ikna etme gibi bir sonuç nadiren gerçekleşebilmiştir. Aşırıya kaçan ifadeler ise temelde insanları uyarıp tütünden uzak tutmaya yönlendirmek yerine sahip oldukları tahkir edici üslup nedeniyle buna yöneltebilecek içeriğe sahiptir. Bu makale, tüm bu tartışmalar ve kültürel adaptasyonun bir okuması olma amacı taşır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: tütün, duhan risaleleri, Osmanlı, fıkıh.

Introduction

Tobacco belongs to a group within the *Nicotiana* species, which has a very different color, flavor and nicotine ratio. Nicotine, which forms the main composition of tobacco, varies depending on the region where it is grown and soil conditions. Although it can be grown in basically every climate, there may be a number of differences in its quality and yield due to a number of reasons such as soil characteristics or whether the soil is irrigated or not during the growing period (Goodman, 1994). Tobacco originated in South America 8000 years ago and spread to this continent in a north-south direction. After the fifteenth century, it spread very quickly in the rest of the world in the period following 1492. When tobacco crossed the oceans in the pockets of sailors, slaves, and traders in the fifteenth century, there was little sign that it would become a colonial object of consumption. The increase in intercontinental encounters and the expansion of world trade acted as accelerating factors in the spread of tobacco. While passing through the lively Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, and Chinese ports, farmers in the coastal regions of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East seeded this crop and grew it in their own regions. Over time, the situation quickly turned into a domino effect, and even the most remote areas of the interior fell under the addictive magic of tobacco (Benedict, 2011: 15).

Although the end of the sixteenth century witnessed a tobacco trade, there was no widespread and regular trade between the two continents. The increase in tobacco production was proportional to the size of the demand from the Old World and the Europeans' knowledge of tobacco production techniques. Unexpected profits from tobacco encouraged colonizers in the Americas to produce tobacco. As a result of the studies, it is shown that the first place of tobacco production after the Americas was the Ivory Coast of Africa. On the Asian continent, production started in India by the Spanish (Yilmaz, 2005: 15). The global market expanded more and more during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the wake of new technologies and entrepreneurial thinking. Spaniards, Portuguese, and later British, French, Dutch merchants combined the different types and quality of tobacco they brought from Africa, Asia and especially America, prepared special blends, and started selling them to Europe and the rest of the world, creating new trade centers (Romaniello, 2009: 12). This economic initiative by the Europeans resulted in a change in the traditional economic situation. England started growing tobacco in the Chesapeake region to get rid of the Spanish-dominated tobacco trade, and it was quite successful. After the success of the tobacco plantation trials in Virginia, they made attempts to expand their production areas. The anti-tobacco book, *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, written by the King of England James I, could not have an effect on banning tobacco, and the mercantilist-minded deputies in the Parliament argued that this would create new colonial and material gains for the British economy and that the money would remain in the Empire and have a positive effect on the economy (James I, 1869).

With the increase in expeditions to the continent over time, knowledge about tobacco has also increased indirectly. Its positive effects on health are among the main claims at first in the books written about tobacco, Nicolas Monardes stated in *Historia Medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales* that tobacco is an effective method that should be used in the treatment of many diseases from toothache to cancer. Monardes' work translated into other languages has become the main reference source for tobacco health. In the following period, Monardes' book maintained its importance with many references made to it. In 1633, James Hart stated that tobacco should be used by people living in humid areas because it removes phlegm and warms and dries the human body, while van Peima mentioned that tobacco should be used by mothers during pregnancy for their children's health (Stewart, 1967).

However, the reason why tobacco is in demand so quickly can not be explained as people using tobacco simply because they want to stay away from diseases. Tobacco is first and foremost a good socializing tool, shared among friends, and consumed very well with tea, coffee, and alcohol. Smoking is an experience that can be obtained in a chat environment by communicating with other people. Issues such as how to burn, how to inhale, which tobacco should be the best are decided in assemblies between friends. For this reason, the spread of tobacco is primarily as a result of social network between groups of friends. Although the consumption patterns of tobacco have changed in the following periods, it has not lost the basic social function throughout history, and tobacco has

continued its function of creating social interactions.

In the face of the rapid spread of tobacco, states have begun to implement prohibitions. England officially banned tobacco in 1604, Sweden and Denmark in 1632, and Russia in 1634. The reason for the prohibition of tobacco by the states in this first encounter is not because of the negative effects of tobacco on human health. As mentioned above, there are claims that tobacco was a beneficial plant for the human body in that period. The most important reason for the restrictions against tobacco can be associated with the mercantilist policies implemented by the states after the seventeenth century. Due to this act, which is purely a pleasure-based consumption, states have made prohibitions to maintain the trade balance.

It is barely possible to suggest that prohibitions stop people from consuming tobacco. Tobacco prohibitions continued rapidly and led to a gradual increase in its use. Realizing that they could not stop the consumption of this product through prohibitions, the European states not only lifted the bans to have financial gains from this product but also began to play an active role in this trade. They created special zones with a residence ban and started tobacco production in these zones. Over time, experiments have shown that tobacco could be produced easily in many parts of the world from the Netherlands to Anatolia (Erim, 2007). Following the eighteenth century, the state's involvement in tobacco production as a monopoly showed its positive contribution to the state budget. For example, tax revenue in France in 1730 was twenty times higher than in 1670. Tax revenues in other countries also increased in parallel these figures. At the same time, local tobaccos found buyers, at least among a certain group of consumers, as the product produced in their own geography was easier and cheaper to meet with the consumer. Launching tobacco production was a positive development for the farmers struggling to make a living and helped them earn a good amount of money from this trade (Yilmaz, 2005: 11).

Tobacco has been studied to a great extent so far. Researchers studying tobacco have attempted to take a comparative perspective, examining how this exotic plant was accepted across cultures in various parts of the world. Books have been written to discuss the economic, medical, psychological, and sociological aspects of tobacco. After understanding its importance and value as a commodity, there was an attempt to understand how tobacco evolved from a medicinal product to an important part of commercial colonization in the early modern period.

Jordan Goodman's *Tobacco in History* is the most fundamental book examining the change that tobacco has undergone in the historical process (Goodman, 1994). Goodman's work sheds light on the spread of tobacco as a commodity in the world and its reasons, and brings the history of tobacco in a historical perspective, from the use of American peoples to industrial production. Although smoking tobacco is controversial today, Eric Burns' *The Smoke of Gods: A Social History of Tobacco* shows us that this is not always the case (Burns, 2006). Burns described a fairly broad period, beginning with the Mayans, of the acceptance of tobacco by Europeans and its cultivation in the New World as large plantations, but focused mainly on the United States. The main purpose of these books are to examine how humanity relates to tobacco and how our relationship with tobacco has changed over time. Peer Schmidt mainly focuses on the question of why peoples of Europe with low pre-industrial incomes spend most of their income on this product (Schmidt, 2007). As the author shows, a quarter of adult people in England had the economic means to afford only one cigar a day, so why would these people mobilize so much of their economic resources for a product that vanishes into smoke? Trying to decipher a brief history of tobacco in the early modern world in a certain sense, the author examines its communication between merchants, distributors, and regions rather than states.

Considering the American region, tobacco cultivation was an enterprise based largely on slave labor. Allan Kulikoff's *Tobacco and Slaves* focuses on the production of tobacco and the human relations that take place in this process (Kulikoff, 1986). It tries to describe the demographic changes between 1680 and 1750 in the Chesapeake region, the social structure of men and women, white and black people forming new social relationships. The book presents an analysis of the structural changes in the region and presents different accounts from the perspective of white owners and black slaves.

In state policy to ban tobacco, Russia represents perhaps the most extreme movement. The anti-tobacco state policy in Russia continued for many years, and punishments ranged from whipping to sniffing and even the death penalty. Although there is no record of people killed for smoking tobacco today, as the author states, there are plenty of records of torture. As the work of Romaniello and Stark show, the primary reason for government bans on tobacco was economic (Romaniello&Stark, 2009). State officials have seen from the first day that tobacco causes foreign borrowing. These self-centered economic interests of the states were basically based on profit, which in later periods began to be called mercantilism. This work therefore mainly focuses on the monetary control efforts of early modern states and the importation of tobacco and its negative effects on the economy by creating a foreign trade deficit. The encounter with tobacco and the reactions in China differed from other Eurasian peoples. Carol Benedict's book *Golden-Silk Smoke* examines how tobacco is accepted in social life and the way it is perceived culturally, from its introduction in China to today's world (Benedict, 2011). By giving examples of the prohibitions of tobacco in Europe and the Islamic world in the early modern period, Benedict draws attention to the fact that the trade-centered way of thinking and philosophical thought in China has put forward positive views about tobacco from the very early days.

Tobacco in the Ottoman Empire

Tobacco has found strong reflections in the emotional and social perception of the people of the region during the centuries spent in the Ottoman geography. Over time, it has entered our idioms, proverbs and laments, and smoking has created its own living space in Turkish culture as a whole. The widespread use of cigarettes in slang, on the other hand, is a kind of natural consequence of the wide consumption of cigarettes in real social life. Although tobacco does not take place as the main theme in songs and folk songs, it has inevitably been an element in people's voicing of their cries against sadness, pain and injustice (Altun, 2007).

There is no definite information about the date of introduction of tobacco into the Ottoman Empire. There is no information about who brought the seed, where it was first grown and how it was consumed in the first periods. Moreover, since the tobacco that entered the Empire in a few years could not expand its area of spread, and its simultaneous cultivation could not be started in very short periods such as five or six years, it may be reasonable that this period was a little earlier than it was first mentioned in the documents, at least considering the period of recognition and adaptation. Peçevi, who gives information on this subject, shows the date of 1600 as the date of introduction of tobacco to the Ottoman Empire (Yılmaz, 2005).

It was so popular among the people that it was difficult for people to see each other in coffee shops due to the smoke caused by some people from the rabble smoking tobacco. In the streets and bazaars, people were always able to see each other, and they smelt the streets and neighborhoods by puffing on each other's faces, and writing poems on tobacco was inappropriate. "There was a lot of quarrels because of this. This bad smell made the drinker's beard, mustache, turban and even the clothes he wore inside smell, burned the carpets, and polluted everything with ash and coal (Peçevi, 1981: 259).

Our knowledge of tobacco production and trade becomes clearer with the travellers' reports. Pietro della Valle, who was in the Ottoman Empire in 1614-15, also wrote about the tobacco consumption of the Turks. "Turks like to smoke tobacco at all hours of the day, not just while chatting. They amuse themselves with worthless things like smoke coming out of their noses. They think tobacco is so much fun. But I find tobacco disgusting." The narrative here shows that even at such an early period, tobacco could find a wide buyer in all social strata (Vanzan, 2007: 431). At the same time, we can evaluate that the Italian writer was so surprised by this situation. If cigarettes were such a accepted and consumed reality in the society he came from, then the Italian writer would not have been so surprised.

Evliya Çelebi, who gives unique information about the early Ottoman geography and culture with his ten-volume travel book, also presents examples about the wide spread of tobacco in the Ottoman geography. For example, in the part where he describes the Crimea, he says, "All Tatars get drunk on tobacco of their own accord. They pride themselves on smoking tobacco and only

inhale it; then they get drunk by saying, "We are drunkards!" (Dankoff, 1991: 93). According to what Evliya Çelebi reported in 1671, tobacco farming is carried out intensively in Milas district and a large part of the tobacco produced is distributed into Anatolia from here (Evliya Çelebi, 2011: 228-231).

Until the increase in the use of cigarette paper in the second half of the nineteenth century, tobacco was mostly consumed in the Ottoman Empire as pipe ring and hookah, snorting in powder form and chewing in the mouth. The demand, which was initially met especially from England and the Netherlands, started to be consumed through copies made in the Ottoman Empire over time. In parallel with the fact that these nozzles, which are made of soil, have a breakable structure and the tobacco consumption has increased over time, there has been a great increase in the production of nozzles (Uçar & Ersoy, 2021). Over time, this Ottoman type of tobacco smoking became such a basic image that sticks in the example of paintings.

Interestingly, the interaction between tobacco and Turkish people was able to form such a strong link that although tobacco was a commodity brought from outside to the Ottoman Empire, it began to be perceived as a Turkish custom. Over time, the image of Turkish men smoking tobacco has been accepted as the main reflection in the Western mental world. As a matter of fact, in Italia "smoking tobacco like a Turk" has become a definition embedded in the language. These definitions have turned into a typical portrait of the orientalist understanding over time and have contributed to the creation of the figure of a drunkard and an idle person holding a cigarette in his hand (Vanzan, 2007). However, the predominance of smoking human motifs in the Turkish miniature art shows that this was an important aspect of Ottoman daily life (Bilgi, 2006). Robert Mantran, in his book about the life of Istanbul in the early modern period, also said about the tobacco habits of women in Turkey: "Both sexes from their youth, they smoke in their homes from the beginning, and their tobacco is superior in comparison to West Indies, and the women add yellow paprika or mastic to the tobacco to make it even softer" (Mantran, 1991: 212). As it can be seen here, unique ways of smoking have emerged among Turkish women, and they have been able to put their own tastes into this habit they have acquired.

Although the British were shown as the nation that introduced tobacco into the Ottoman Empire by Peçevi and Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, different authors blamed this "crime" on other nations with negative feelings. For example, el-Lakkani, one of the well-known fiqh scholar in Egypt in the 17th century, claimed in *Nasihatu'l-ihvan bi-ictinâbi'd-duhan* that tobacco was brought to Egypt by an Englishman named as Cil, a Jew to the Maghreb, a Magi to Sudan, and a Kharijite to Egypt (Yılmaz, 2005: 17). As can be seen, the listed nations such as British, Jewish, and Kharijite are used to express people that are perceived as negative by the culture of the author. As a result of the high tension between the West and the East in the nineteenth century, the already existing Christian/Western opposition in the Muslim geography increased, and it showed its reflections in the writers of the late Ottoman and early Republican period. Besim Ömer's description of Westerners in his works about cigarettes is very important: "In 1010 Hijra, the Franks carried and brought tobacco to Istanbul with their ships loaded with trade goods. This means that tobacco, like a well-known and terrible disease, is a Frankish heirloom (syphilis)!" (Sarı&Varlık, 2007: 463).

After its arrival in the Ottoman Empire, tobacco was subject to prohibition attempts, as in other parts of the world, due to the sudden shock of multiple causes. The first prohibitions against tobacco were carried out by Sultan Ahmed in 1609. It was stated that those who did not obey the order, which prohibited production, consumption and sale, would be punished. Prohibition provisions were repeated at regular intervals in 1610, 1614, 1618, 1619, 1630, 1631. There are also criticisms about why the prohibitions were not implemented in the documents. Considering that the state authority was also very limited in this period when the rebellious pashas and Celali uprisings continued in Anatolia, the state's helplessness in preventing the spread of tobacco remains understandable (Yılmaz, 2005: 25). At the same time, state officials were conscious of the fact that products such as tobacco and coffee facilitated people's coming together and the dangers this would pose for political authority.

Since tobacco was banned after being brought to the Ottoman Empire, its trade was carried out

through smuggling. Even after the bans were lifted, this smuggling continued due to reasons such as being a valuable agricultural product and the inability of the political administration to provide sufficient control. State administrators, on the other hand, chose to take various measures to prevent the smuggling of this product, which generates an important income for the treasury. In some periods when the tobacco tax was increased, the farmers showed their reaction after a while by not planting tobacco or by going into smuggling (Gözcü&Çakmak, 2014). Farmers could do this smuggling on a small scale, or more organized armed groups would hide the tobacco with the advantage of the mountainous geographical regions and risking the possibility of clashing with the village guards when necessary.

As a result of the clashes these people had with the rangers, very bloody clashes would take place and people would die. In time, folk songs began to be sung among the people in memory of these bloody conflicts with the rangers. For this reason, tobacco has also started to be the subject of folk songs. In these events, which mostly resulted in death, these songs, which are told by unknown folk artists with the mouth of the deceased, are predominantly felt by the feeling of pity for the deceased person or persons in the public conscience. Although there is no complete information about how death occurs in the singing of Turkish, the negative effects of conflicts can be felt in the minds of people in the works (Şenel, 2007: 362).

Pamphlets about Tobacco in the Ottoman Empire: Duhan Risaleleri

Products such as tobacco, tea, coffee and chocolate took on the role of representative of the modern world economy in the countries they circulated and began to be the main figure of intercultural thought. As the consumption of tobacco increased, the social unrest against tobacco in the society became more and more evident. Fires caused by tobacco, people's debt to consume cigarettes caused the unrest against tobacco to be expressed more. Although economic reasons played a decisive role in the state's ban on tobacco, health and religious-centered attacks were equally important. After the first encounter with tobacco, it caused controversy within the Church as to whether tobacco could be used by Christians. The use of tobacco in the church was officially banned by the Catholic Church in 1630, it was stated that smokers would be damned and punished. At the same time, they also expressed the opinion that because tobacco comes from the American continent, pagans use tobacco to worship their gods, and therefore the use of tobacco will not comply with the principles of Christianity. The lack of a tobacco plant in the Bible has further sharpened the debate about tobacco. This issue has been discussed for many years within the Church and many reasons have been expressed against tobacco.

For example, by the seventeenth century, the Russian Orthodox Church began to define tobacco as a sin and a means of promoting other sins. The church took a rather negative view of tobacco and increasingly sought to educate the public in this direction. In 1640, the Church stated that Mary, through visions, warned the Church about a number of evils, including tobacco. The Church's opposition to tobacco increased after the government's liberalization of tobacco, as Chrissidis's work shows, the Church did not engage in tobacco-related discussions as it was already firmly suppressed by the state by this time. The anti-tobacco attitude of the church increased, especially in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, with Patriarch Ioakim and Adrian and other priests. Tobacco was portrayed by the Church as an evil lured by foreign powers to corrupt Russia's morals. They associated tobacco with drunkenness, prostitution, and other vices. Rumors about where the tobacco came from continued differently by different sources, with the Russian Orthodox Church claiming that this herb was sent by the Istanbul Patriarchate to corrupt the true Russian Church. Ultimately, according to these people, a smoker can become a person who will do all the other bad things. For this reason, people should definitely stay away from smoking (Chrissidis, 2009: 28).

After the increase in the use of tobacco all over the world as of the seventeenth century, there were discussions within the Islamic world on the importance of the subject in terms of Islam. Especially since the seventeenth century was a period in which the demands for improvement and purification were expressed, newly accepted commodities such as tobacco began to be questioned in social life and various discussions began to occur about their religious significance. As a result of the

weakening of anti-tobacco punishments after the death of Murad IV, an area where freer discussions about tobacco could be made among Ottoman religious scholars emerged. The fact that Bahai Efendi, who also smoked tobacco and was dismissed from the qadi of Aleppo in 1633 for this reason, became şeyhülislam (the highest authority on religious matters) in 1649 and gave a fatwa stating that tobacco was permissible is important in terms of showing the change in the attitude of the state and religious circles about tobacco. From this period, we can clearly say that tobacco has entered a period that will continue until today and will become more and more widespread.

In these writings, which discuss what tobacco means in terms of religion are defined as duhan treatises. Due to the fact that tobacco has not found a place in the main sources of Islam and no opinion on it has been given by the great scholars of fiqh, a basic consensus has not been reached on the discussions on the subject. The subject was made not only in a limited part of the Ottoman world, but also in the entire Islamic world, in different languages. These discussions have become popular works since they are of interest to large masses in terms of their content. In this article, five types of treatises written in the early modern Ottoman Empire will be examined in terms of their religious approach to tobacco smoking.

In these works, scholars generally described tobacco as haram, makruh and mübah, and some chose not to make a judgment on the subject. In the works written about tobacco, the general weight is that tobacco is negative and claims that it is haram, forbidden. Some religious scholars directly call tobacco haram, while others describe it as makruh, close to forbidden, since there is no part of the Qur'an or hadith that directly prohibits it. The number of works that refer to its benefits and describe it as mübah is quite low. Even though these works are written within a legal framework, they are works that have the nature of directing people's lives, basically aiming to enlighten the society, to warn and support them against these objects that show addiction, and to bring the reader to a certain behavior model in the final analysis. In this way, they aimed to create social responsibility by trying to raise awareness against this sudden change in the society they live in.

These years, when tobacco treatises were written, were a period when the effects of the Little Ice Age were felt in every aspect of people's lives, while the Ottoman Empire was experiencing financial depression and administrative corruption. For this reason, the economic and political shocks experienced have found their reflections in religious and political works, with the desire for individual and social renewal. These disasters that befell people have been associated by different groups with not being faithful enough to religion and not living the religion as purely as when the prophet lived. In addition to practices such as whirling and mysticism that were not practiced in the time of the Prophet but gained popularity among some religious communities later on, coffee and tobacco consumption also attracted the suspicious glances of some segments and they were directly blamed for the corruption. Moreover, since coffee and especially tobacco are widely accepted by the society and are a part of social life, they have attracted more attention and led to extensive discussions about them in Islamic circles.

The treatises stating that tobacco is haram basically characterized tobacco with various adjectives and definitions such as bad, harmful, intoxicating. The most basic claims are that tobacco is unclean, has no use, smelling bad, being disgusted by smart and moral people. However, it cannot be claimed that these listed reasons cover all the explanations put forward in the anti-tobacco pamphlets. Often, certain personal reasons are put forward, such as smelling and being dirty, and these explanations are tried to be explained with religious evidences such as the Qur'an and the Sunnah. For this reason, there are many different explanations that will vary from person to person.

One of the most well-known examples of anti-tobacco treatises was written by Ahmed er-Rumi al-Akhisarî (d.1632), is well known for his treatise on tobacco, er-Risâletü'd-Duhâniyye. He was born in Cyprus to a Christian family and was recruited and converted to Islam. Whose life is not fully known, spent most of his life in Akhisar as a Hanafî scholar. Akhisarî wrote works on many subjects such as the Qur'an, hadiths, bid'at, the importance of holy nights, visiting tombs, smoking tobacco (Michot, 2015: 18). All of these discussions constitute the issues that were handled by the popular movement of the period, the Kadızadeli. Akhisarî appears as a follower of prohibitive and

bigoted decisions, just like other figures in the Kadızade movement. He not only sees tobacco as forbidden, but also equate listening music as being a disbeliever (Michot, 2015: 24). Coffee also receives the condemnation in Akhisarî's treatise.

According to Akhisarî, tobacco should be avoided because it is brought to the world of Muslims by malicious unbelievers. In the marginal note written on the manuscript of the work, Akhisarî claims that the British/Christians brought tobacco to Anatolia. According to him, British people consumed this product at first, but later they saw the effects of this on human health and banned tobacco to their own people, and that they brought tobacco to these lands in order to poison the Muslim people (Akhisârî, 2015: 62). The most important reason for Akhisarî's characterization of tobacco as haram is the negative effects of tobacco on human health. Regarding the negative effects of tobacco on human health, he claimed to have read the books of Galenos and Avicenna and consulted contemporary doctors, although he did not mention their names. In fact, what Avicenna and Galenos wrote about the alleged subject was related to smoke and dust, but to reference these two powerful authorities in the Islamic world, he likens smoke and dust to tobacco and keeps them the same. He is skeptical of the claim that tobacco dries out the moisture in the human body, and therefore can be used in the treatment of diseases, which was a respected view in health circles in his day. However, in any case, he states that even if these claims are true, it can only be approved for use in a certain period in the treatment of the disease. Because the use of drugs after the disease disappears in the body will cause harm rather than benefit (Akhisârî, 2015: 52-4).

Akhisarî is aware that tobacco had a controversial status among fiqh scholars during his lifetime. In this regard, he references the arguments of those who advocate the permissibility of tobacco, quoting Qur'an: "He is the One who created everything in the earth for you" (2:29). However, based on this, Akhisarî argues that tobacco cannot be considered permissible and that what is meant in this verse is useful goods. As mentioned above, Akhisarî claims that the object cited in this verse cannot be said to be tobacco, on the grounds that tobacco is harmful to health and in addition to having negative aspects in terms of family budget, and therefore there is no validity to a claim that it is permissible (Akhisârî, 2015: 54-6). Akhisarî opposes tobacco not only because of its health and financial harms such as waste, but also by considering the religious dimension of the issue.

Another work written against tobacco is *Risaletun celiletün fî şurbi'd-duhan*. The treatise was written by Abdülmelik el-Îsâmî (d.1628), who was born in Mecca in 1570, and he was considered an authority on religious issues in the region and period he lived in. The reason why I chose this pamphlet in particular is the rather sarcastic and heavy style that Îsâmî uses throughout the work about tobacco. Another important aspect of Îsâmî in terms of our subject is that he wrote his pamphlet in the early periods when tobacco was spread and discussions were being made about it. In his work, Îsâmî says that when he first encountered the subject, his view as an individual was closer to the forbidden side. He did not openly express his views on the subject at first, after examining the sources of Islam with a meticulous examination and consulting specialist physicians, he openly states that from the religious perspective tobacco should be accepted as haram (Îsâmî, 2010: 15).

In order to prove that, he first tried to find evidences from the Qur'an and hadiths. "He commands them to do good and forbids them from evil, permits for them what is lawful and forbids to them what is impure, and relieves them from their burdens and the shackles that bound them" (7: 57). Based on the verse in the Qur'an, Allah has made clean things lawful and unclean things forbidden, therefore, stating that tobacco and the like are also dirty and forbidden by religion. "..... Tobacco, of which no filth can be considered equal, is primarily within the scope of haram as stated in the verse. Dirt and filth formed in the mouthpiece indicate that the tobacco is dirtier than all the filth. This accumulation in the mouthpiece is more repulsive than feces, its smell is even worse in terms of being deadly and bitter than poison" (Îsâmî, 2010: 19). In addition to the dirtiness of tobacco, Îsâmî talks about other basic problems caused by tobacco. Îsâmî emphasizes that using the miswak, which is included in the sunnah of Prophet Muhammad, will become dysfunctional after smoking, and bad odors will occur in the mouth and breath, and emphasizes that smoking is not acceptable in terms of the sunnah.

İsâmî accepts that tobacco entered the Muslim world long after the first emergence of Islam, therefore it is difficult to find a verse in the Qur'an that refers to smoking on the subject. However, he claims that it is possible to express an opinion about tobacco by referring to the equivalent and similar ones in the Qur'an, by showing the verse "Then watch for the Day when the sky will bring a visible smoke. Covering the people; this is a painful torment" (44: 10-11). According to İsâmî, the events described here are a prophecy that God warned people centuries ago. The smoke mentioned in the verse is the cigarette itself, and the torment is the pain and pain that people are dragged into the society due to heavy smoking.

Just like Akhisarî, in the sixteenth century, when it was very early to encounter tobacco and the effects of tobacco on health were not known, İsâmî expressed his opinion on its negative effects on health and argued that it was forbidden because it had negative effects on human health. By referring to the diseases he observed in people who smoke, he tried to put forward the health-based logical evidence that tobacco is the source of disease and therefore should be forbidden. The opinions conveyed are quite important, although they lack the accumulations of pre-modern medicine and the direct observation of the damage of tobacco on the lung.

As for the medical prohibition of smoking, this is information we have heard and learned from experienced doctors who are experts in their fields. Doctors say that smoking is very harmful to the human body, and they explain their reasoning as follows: Tobacco is something that has a fire temperature, has a foul smell, is thin, soft and dark. It penetrates deep into the body with its delicacy, and affects the inside of the body with the effect of fire heat. It creates a dark density that turns black in blood. It burns bile so much that it makes it pitch black. Salty sputum, which is harmful to the human body, thickens and increases its stickiness so much that it becomes almost impossible to remove. It dissolves and destroys soft phlegm beneficial to the body. It causes dryness in the brain, which is extremely harmful to the brain. The mixtures in the body begin to deteriorate little by little and lose function. Because smoking takes place in the form of clean breaths in between. (İsâmî , 2010: 29).

Although there are treatises that focus on the harms of tobacco, some treatises claim that tobacco has positive effects on health and state that there is no prohibition on smoking tobacco from the point of view of Islam. One of the most important people who expressed an opinion on the permissibility of tobacco is Ebu Sehl Numan Efendi (d. 1755). He is an Ottoman scholar and diplomat who lived in the eighteenth century and held bureaucratic duties. He was born in Sivas province and continued his education in medrese in Divriği and Diyarbakir. He was appointed as the mufti of the newly captured Tabriz, but escaped secretly after the Safavids recaptured it. Due to the problems he had with his superiors, he was soon isolated and exiled. After the job changes, he was able to obtain some duties again, and finally he became müderris in 1742.

Numan Efendi, in his treatise *Tahlilu'd-Duhan* dated 1751, tried to establish the acceptability of tobacco by describing his own life experience. The most important feature that makes Numan Efendi's treatise interesting is that it gives information about the religious meaning of tobacco as well as how tobacco was received in the Ottoman geography. Numan Efendi introduces himself as a person who uses tobacco but stays away from coffee. His favorite tobacco is a very rare type of tobacco grown in Bitlis region. Apart from that, he also talks about tobacco grown in Rumelia and Cyprus. He even notes that tobacco grown in Cyprus is the best tobacco in the world if consumed in the region where it is produced, but it completely loses its smell and taste until it is marketed to another region. This information shows that Numan Efendi was a very selective tobacco user. Another important impression given by this information is how much tobacco spread throughout this geography during the time Numan Efendi lived.

According to his own account, he was initially asked questions about whether tobacco was forbidden or permissible, and he gave fatwas that it was forbidden or close to forbidden. Over time, the fact that the name of tobacco was not included in the main sources of Islam caused question marks in his mind, and he refrained from expressing an opinion in favor or against the subject. Due to the invasion of Tabriz in 1730, he left the city immediately and used tobacco during his troubled time in Anatolia, and especially when he was experiencing tooth decay. After this experience, he

started to give fatwas in the direction of permissibility of tobacco. According to Numan Efendi, the acceptance of tobacco among the public and the ulema constitutes an evidence that it is permissible (Kalaycı&Öztürk, 2017: 17). At the same time, Numan Efendi disagrees with the claims that tobacco is harmful to health. He says that tobacco is a plant, just like spinach, that is clean in its nature, so in terms of comparison, both should be halal. According to him, the smoke that comes out when it is burned does not stay in the body and comes out immediately, does not create a significant complication for the body, therefore it should not be accepted as harmful (Kalaycı&Öztürk, 2017: 18).

Numan Efendi, on the other hand, tries to deny the claim that tobacco is a waste. According to him, tobacco relieves toothache, is good against colds, helps to recover the human brain by reducing the humidity in the person, and is a unique product in correcting the psyches of sad people. For the reasons he listed, it is impossible to argue that tobacco is a waste. Secondly, due to the fact that tobacco has become a symbol of love among people, accepted among the public, offered to guests, and reached a status that must be considered halal (Kalaycı&Öztürk, 2017: 20).

Numan Efendi emphasizes the meaninglessness of the fatwas issued against tobacco in his own time. According to him, in the sense of Islamic law, it is unacceptable for people to interpret the Qur'an by putting forward their own thoughts, for example, he opposes the explanation of the word smoke in the Qur'an as tobacco, stating that these are all baseless conclusions. For example, the claims made by Vani Mehmed Efendi that the smell of tobacco will make the angels escape should be considered absurd (Kalaycı&Öztürk, 2017:20). He also argues that the claims that tobacco would be haram or mekruh because of the prohibition of tobacco by the previous sultans due to the power of Muslim rulers to make laws on public life are not valid. Numan Efendi's response to this is again based on Ottoman law. As it is known, according to the Ottoman tradition, a new era began after the death of the sultan and therefore they were not binding (Kalaycı&Öztürk, 2017: 21).

Galata Mevlevî sheikh İsmail Ankaravî Efendi is also a person who has concerns about the religious consequences of calling tobacco directly haram. Ankaravî (d.1631), who lived in the first days when tobacco began to spread rapidly in the Ottoman lands, wrote his book called *Keffu'l-lisân 'an hukmi'd-duhan* on the subject (Kavalcıoğlu, 2020). Referring to the above-mentioned views of anti-tobacco writers, Ankaravî then begins to voice his counter-claims against them. However, when Ankaravî references these views, he does not directly specify the names of the people and briefly conveys the quotations as he remembers. Considering that the people who expressed their opinions about tobacco in the same period were Vani Mehmed Efendi, Akhisarî and other well-known people, it can be guessed who Ankaravî gave reference.

Like Numan Efendi, Ankaravî emphasizes that no judgment can be made on tobacco due to the lack of a direct reference in the Qur'an and hadiths. Moreover, Ankaravî is of the opinion that there was no possibility of *ijtihad* in his own time, therefore, it is not possible to come to a conclusion whether tobacco is haram or not. (Kavalcıoğlu, 2020: 614). Another issue that Ankaravî emphasizes is that everything that enters into religion later cannot be directly considered as bad, in some examples such as *bid'at-i hasene*, it can be regarded as positive. He states that the dirty things cannot be the same in every society and for everyone, therefore this claim, which is based on the fact that tobacco is filthy, has no value in *fiqh*. At the same time, he argues that the claims made about tobacco, such as that it was brought by the British for the first time, that tobacco smokers are liars, and that jinn come out of the mouth of the tobacco smoker are nonsense and even needless to be answered. To put it briefly, although Ankaravî creates an impression in his work that smoking tobacco may be permissible, he is basically aware of the dangers of speaking on such ambiguous matters and is in favor of abstaining from the direct conclusions as much as possible. However, he personally advises his readers that those who can stop smoking, should quit. "Smoking tobacco is *bid'ah* and it is an ugly behavior. However, it is unclear what the ruling on smoking tobacco is. For this reason, a person who is reliable in religion does not come forward to say that tobacco is halal or haram. It is a bigger mistake to come forward to express an opinion on an issue that is not conveyed by the imams of the four madhhab, than to convey the decree of haram...." (Kavalcıoğlu, 2020: 622).

Conclusion

Tobacco entered the Ottoman Empire at about the end of the sixteenth century, spread rapidly and became a part of human life. Like everywhere else, initially it was banned for a long time due to conservative understanding of people, increasing fires disasters in cities and mercantile policies of governments. However, at the end of the seventeenth century, the restrictions on tobacco consumptions were lifted all over the world, and even the states supported and monopolized tobacco production, the biggest reason for this was the states wanted to benefit economically from this commercial commodity. Although tobacco was not generally prohibited as a state policy after eighteenth century, anti-tobacco sensitivities continued to live in religious and social memory, and tobacco writings known as duhan treatises remained popular until the modern period in Islamic societies. The authors who expressed their views on tobacco tried to defend their views with the traditional methodologies and concepts of fiqh in these works. Although mainly religious sources such as tafsir and hadith were used, logic was also used extensively in these works to justify the arguments. The examples discussed in these treatises are mostly subjective. They reflect the general acceptance of tobacco of their own region or period or their personal affinity. In particular, the evaluations that tobacco is clean or dirty, good or bad-smelling, wasteful or not, are so subjective that a general acceptance cannot be achieved. The people who claimed that tobacco should be banned could not convince the advocates of the other view, on the other hand, these people made counter-claims, arguing that tobacco brings people together and is a part of culture. Anti-smoking articles, which were quite harsh in the early days, have been softened more and more on the fact that the state has also lifted its bans on tobacco and it has been widely accepted among people. However, for a long time, these religious writings against smoking have been written by different people and from different perspectives in order to save more people from this habit. The basic arguments and approach have retained their general characteristic. Even the articles written to show that smoking is not forbidden from a religious point of view have called on people to move away from this habit as a warning.

Katip Çelebi (d.1657) tried to follow a more cautious position on the subject. He emphasized that people can become even more radicalized when they are forced to do a certain thing, and he warns that the policies followed about tobacco actually bring people closer to tobacco. As the evaluations made on Akhisari's other writings show, Akhisari appears as a person who is closed to everything from listening to music, whirling dervishes and drinking coffee. Katip Çelebi's approach is more reasonable in this respect. He scrutinizes the issue from a religious and health perspective and concludes that tobacco cannot be avoided through prohibitions, but must instead be heavily taxed and allowed to be sold in certain parts of the city. He also considers the religious dimension of the issue and argues that if the state and society forbid smoking and leave a very large part of people under the feeling of guilt, people's lives can be in great trouble. Çelebi defines such issues as "arguments that arise out of fanaticism and are of no use", and it seems that he sees such discussions as unnecessary prohibitions aimed at making people's already troubled lives more difficult, rather than achieving any results (Kâtip Çelebi, 1990).

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