Tobacco and smoking, a religious phenomenon and a social heresy in North Africa at the beginning of the 17th century AD

Tobacco and Smoking, A Religious Phenomenon and a Social Heresy in North Africa at the Beginning of the 17th Century AD

Fayssal MABRAK¹, Farouk DJIAB²

¹University Center of Barika (Algeria), fayssal.mabrak@cu-barika.dz

²University Center of Barika (Algeria), farouk.djiab@cu-barika.dz

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Abstract:

This historical study deals with an unprecedented social phenomenon which Maghreb witnessed at the beginning of the second millennium AH, the phenomenon of using tobacco herb to improve human temperament, medication, etc. We will also try to introduce this plant and its relation to the social scourges that emerged in the Maghreb in the 17th century, through Moroccan contemporary references Such as the book of Ibn-abi Mahlli entitled "El-Isleet, 1022 AH" and the Tamanarti's book "El-Fawaid el-Jemma, 1070 AH", in addition to his concise book: "Muhaddid Esinan fi Nuhur Ikhwan Edukhan" ...et al. The article also discusses approaches regarding the date of access into Morocco and its spread among the community members, scientists, rulers and slaves ..., how did the contemporary sources reported and disagreed about the verdict? How did the public believe that it is a supernatural herb of wisdom, magic and innumerable benefits? And how some of the scholars, Sufis and even ordinary people noticed their futility and uselessness, And all that is rumored are illusions, at the same time, some were afraid of it, others thought it was a sign of the end of the world.

Key words: Tabacco, Morocco, 17th century, Smoke, Maghreb

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Introduction:

Many researchers, in the Islamic world, were interested in studying and investigating the issue of smoking, and about the plant that people use. They differed greatly in terms of the origin of the plant, the history of its widespread use among people, the position of the jurists on it and the verdict of its use, as well as the possibility of using it as a treatment for some diseases of that era. However, those studies counted on eastern Shami, and Egyptian sources rather than Moroccan ones, although most of what is written on this subject mention that Morocco was the first country, which had known a widespread use of tobacco. Later, it moved to Egypt and the Middle East. Most of the works that dealt with this topic in the modern era were portrayed in the form of a heated jurisprudential debate between those who declared its prohibition and those who declared its permissibility and the permissibility of its use among Muslims. Among those who said that it was permissible was Sheikh Nur al-Din al-Ajhuri (d.1066 AH), in his book

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Ghayat al-Bayan li-Hil Shurb ma la Yughayib el-Akl Mina Eddukhan⁽¹⁾. And also Sheikh Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (1050 AH - 1143 AH), in his book Al-Sulh Bayna al-Ikhzan fi hukm Ibahat al-Dukhan ⁽²⁾. They are the most famous of those who issued fatwas that it is permissible to use it, and that those who followed them relied on their opinions, inferences, and arguments to issue the verdict later, while many of the jurists of the era in Egypt and Morocco disagreed with them, most of the recent studies were confined to investigating debate between the two parties, presenting some of the evidence that they proved through their works, giving preference to one of the two opinions, sometimes taking into consideration the middle ruling that says that it is permissible with dislike. Considering the symptoms that befall the smoke user, such as drunkenness and anesthesia, alarm, smell, etc. ⁽³⁾.

However, the subject may be much deeper if we try to delve into the history of Morocco and study the phenomenon historically according to a sociocultural vision in Morocco of the eleventh century AH / seventeenth century AD. Taking into account the specificity of society and the prevalent mentality in that period, when this phenomenon appeared, to get out of the closed historical text reference to the effectiveness of open understanding.

In this modest historical study, we will try to shed light on some of the history of this plant and its relationship to the social ills that appeared in the Maghreb in the eleventh century AH / seventeenth century AD, through contemporary Moroccan books on the phenomenon, such as the book: Al-Aslit Al-Kharit fi kata'e Bul'um Al-Ifrite Nephrite, by Abi Al-Abbas Ahmed bin Abdullah Al-Filali (⁴⁾Known as Ibn Abi Muhalli al-Sijlmasi (d. 1022 AH), buried in Marrakesh. as well as the book: Al-Fawaid Al-jamma fi Isnad Ulum Al-Ummah; by Abu Zayd Abd al-Rahman al-Tamanarti (d. 1070 AH), buried in Fes ⁽⁵⁾And also, a brief book, Mohdid al-Sinan fi

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⁽¹⁾ A copy of the aforementioned manuscript is available at King Saud University, Riyadh, under No. 3106.

⁽²⁾ Edited by Muhammad Adeeb Al-Jader, and published in Dar Nineveh for Publishing and Distribution in Damascus.

⁽³⁾ For more details about this issue, see: Hussein Ahmed Al-Khashen, in the Fiqh al-Salama al-Sihiya - smoking as a model -, Ibn Idris Al-Hali Center for Jurisprudential Studies, Nadjaf, Irak, 1428 AH, p 93.

⁽⁴⁾He is Ahmed bin Abdullah Al-Sijilmassi, known as Ibn Abi Mahlli and nicknamed Ibn Al-Qadi. He was born in the year 967 AH / 1559 AD, in the city of Sijilmassa. To which he is affiliated. He is from a Berber tribe that goes back to Sanhaja, those who live on the edge of the desert. The historian, Ernest Mercier, returned its origin to the tribe of Maghrawa or Lemtuna. Although Ibn Abi Mahli has claimed noble parentage and that all of his family descends from the descendants of Al-Abbas bin Abd Al-Muttalib, may God be pleased with him, except that some historians - especially Westerners - do not tend to believe his honorable lineage because his impersonation of the honorable lineage was only to fulfill some political purposes, and perhaps the first of which was his claim of Mahdism, and his rule over the Saadian kings. He was murdered in the year 1022 AH / 1613 CE. For more about him, see Faisal Mabrak, The Political Reality in Al-Aqsa Morocco and its Impact on the Fall of the Saadian State 1603-1613 A.D., Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Algiers-2-, 2011, pg. 74 et seq.

⁽⁵⁾ One of the encyclopedic Moroccan scholars, he is a man of science, literature, jurisprudence, and mysticism. He participates in many other arts. He learned from Muhammad bin Ahmed Al-Baaqili in the sciences of the Quran, jurisprudence and Arabic under the supervision of Muhammad bin Abdul Rahman Al-Kursifi (d. 1038 AH). He accompanied sheikh Abdullah bin Said bin Abd al-Munim al-Hahi so that he benefited spiritually from him. He moved to Marrakesh and learned from sheik

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Nuhur Ikhwan al-Dukhan, which is an abridgement of Abu Salem al-Ashi on the book of Abd al-Karim al-Fakoun al-Kasantini.⁽¹⁾, et al.

The naming problem of smoke herb:

There are many names denoting the smoke plant. Through historical sources and documents, we find those who call this plant Al-Tanbak, Al-Tabagh, Al-Tabigh, Taba, Al-Tatn, and many other names. In this study, we opted for using the word "al-Dakhan" with a stressed /de/ & /kha/syllables. since this herb releases smoke when burned and used by people for different purposes. This is on the one hand; On the other hand, due to the prevalence of this name among people until it dominated the rest of the other names. The rest of the other names are merely of the same meaning of the word smoke in other languages. For example, the word "Al-Tatn" was in fact the same as "al-Dakhan" in Turkish language: "tütün" and the Persian one "tutun", (2) as confirmed by Sheikh Abdul Ghani Al-Nabulsi*(1050 – 1147 AH / 1641 – 1731 AD) in his book Al-Sulh Beyna Al-Ikhwan fi Hukm Ibahat al-Dukhan, and through the titles of the Moroccan and Egyptian books it appears that the word "al-Dukhan" is more famous than others in denoting the intended plant in these countries⁽³⁾.

Ahmed Baba al-Tumbokti al-Sudani (d.1036 AH), as well as Ahmed bin Abul-Aziz al-Hasani and Abdullah bin Ali bin Taher al-Hasani al-Sijlmassi (d. 1045 AH), also studied jurisprudence on the authority of Sheikh Ibn Asher (d. 1040 AH), al-Hafiz Ahmed al-Maqqari (d. 1041 AH) and Abd al-Rahman al-Fassi (d. 1036 AH), among his most famous books: **Waslat Zulfa fi Al-taqarub li aal al-Mustafa**, as well as **Badhl al-Munasaha fi Fadhl al-Musafaha**. See Al-Baghdadi, in **Hadiyat Al-Arifin**. Wakalat Al-maarif al-Jaleela.1951, section 01, p.159. Muhammad Al-Bashir Dhafer Al-Azhari, Alyawaqit al-Thamina fi Aayan Madhhab Ahl El-Madinah, Al-Abbasid Refuge Press, Cairo, 1324 AH, pp. 31, 32.

(1) The manuscript of **Mohaddid al-Sinan**... was among the lost manuscripts, until Muhammad al-Mannuoni indicated that there was a copy of it in the public treasury in Rabat, in Tunisia in 1974, and Abu al-Qassem Saad Allah obtained a photocopy of it through Abd al-Jalil al-Tamimi. For more about the book of: Mohaddid al-Sinan fi Nohur Ikhwan Al-dukhan, see Abu al-Qasim Saad-allah, a Salafi preacher Abdul Karim Al-Fakoun, edition 1, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Beirut, 1986, p.152 et seq. (2) According to the International Standard Dictionary.

* A poet and scholar of religion, with a Sufi tendency, he was born in Damascus and made many trips to Baghdad, Lebanon, Egypt, and the Hijaz. Although he has many works, the most popular one is his work on Interpretation of Dreams, entitled: **Taatir Al-Alanam fi Taabir al-Manam**. Nabulsi's fame in the field of geography is due to his writings, which represent a pattern of tourism geography, such as his books: **Al-Hadrat Al-Unsiya fi al-Rihla al-Qudsiya**. **Al-haqiqa wa al-Majaz fi Rihlat al-Sham**, **Egypt and al-Hijaz**. **Al-Tuhfa al-Nabulsiya fi al-Rihla Tarabulsiya**, **Hulat al-Dhahab al-Ibreez fi Rihlat Baalbek wa al-Bekaa al-Aziz**. And he wrote a book that includes a lot of agricultural geography, which is **Ilm al-Jughraphiya**.

(3) Among the oriental writings, we mention the title: **Risalah fi Hurmat al-Tatan**, which is frequently repeated in the works of Dawood son of Al-Hassan Al-Djazairy Al-Bahraini, Khalil ben Al-Ghazi Al-Qazwini and Muhammad ben Al-Hassan Al-Hurr Al-Amili from the Shiite imams, as well as Marii ben Yusuf Al-Karmi Al-Hanbali in his treatise "**Al-Tahqiq wa al-Burhan fi Shaan al-Dukhan allazi Yastamilohu al-Nas al-An** (Investigation and Proof" regarding the smoke that people use now). As for the Maghrebian and Egyptian works on this issue, the most popular ones are: **Nasihat al-Akhwan bi Ijtinab al-Dukhan** by Al-Ibrahim El- Laqqani al-Maliki. **Mohdid al-Sinan fi Nahur Ikhwan al-Dukhan** by Abdul Karim Al-Fakoun, as well as **Tuhfat al-Ikhwan fi Tahrim Addukhan** (the

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Smoke (al-Dukhan) is also given many names, including Al-Tanbak, Al-Tabagh, or tobacco, and tabah or taba. Almost all of these names are one word, which has been distorted by people as it helps them in pronunciation. Nevertheless, many refer the name of Al-Tabagh to the English word: TOBACCO or Spanish: NICOTINA TOBACUW that is derived from a word launched by some tribes of the American continent on the hollowed reed that they used to inhale tobacco fumes. However, other scholars attribute the origin of the word to the province of Tupacos in Mexico, and this is an association that has no science-based support, but it is rather based on the convergence in the letters of the words and the similarity of the names, like the attributing Al-Tanbak herb to the city (Timbuktu) city. Although this latter was among the first countries that has known tobacco (al-Dukhan) in the continent of Africa, we own no clear evidence to claim that the name Al-Tanbak is derived from the the name of that city.

The origin of the smoke plant and the date of entrance into Morocco:

Historical sources are almost unanimous that the Morocco was the first of the Arab countries that tobacco reached, from which it quickly moved to Algeria, then Egypt, and from there to the East. There are some narrations that support one another, which mentioned that this herb has been brought by the Elephant-handler; who used it and alleged that it had benefits. The elephant was one of Mawla al-Mansur's most wonderful plunders after the invasion of Sudan. The herb is, therefore, from Timbuktu. As Al-Nasseri reported in Al-Istigsa ..., if this story were true, the origin of the herb is, thus, would be known to the Moroccan public. The herb, for them, was something that is not without wonder because it is associated with a strange event, which is the arrival of the Elephant and its handlers, and that most of the inhabitants of Morocco at that time had not seen it before, so it is not surprising that they were surprised by some of the rituals and movements that the Elephant-handler performed and even mastered. So it is not excluded that some of them consider him a magician or wise. He came to them from a country known for its strangeness and ambiguity, and in this regard Ahmed bin Khaled Al-Nasseri mentions in the Al-Istiqsa...: «... Because the people of Sudan, who came by elephants driving them, brought it with them smoking it and pretended it had benefits so it became popular ... Muhammad bin Maymoon bin Al-Taher Al-Tawzani Al-Madhari (1362 AH), Ibel, quoted him as adding that the first tobacco that appeared was in Timbuktu in the early eleventh century. (2) However, this is not true, if we consider that the arrival of this herb to Morocco was during the time of Mawla al-Mansur, at the end of the tenth century AH, and it is unlikely that the appearance of this herb in Morocco coincided with its appearance in Timbuktu.

As for the previous acquaintance of the Arabs with this plant, Muhammad Murtada al-Husayni al-Zubaidi (d. 1205 AH / 1791 CE) says in his book **Hadiyat Al-Ikhwan fi shajarat al-Dakhan** that whoever denies the knowledge of the Arabs about it before the tenth century AH is a false claim, as it is mentioned by Abu Hanifa al-Dinuri (d. 282 AH) in the book **al-Nabat**, when he

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masterpiece of the brothers in the prohibition of smoking) by Abdelkader al-Rashidi. **Al-Isaba fi Hukm Taba** by Ahmed Baba Timbukti, there is a lot of literature and books on this subject. ⁽¹⁾Abu Al-Abbas Ahmed Al-Nasseri, OP.CIT, Part 6, p. 126.

⁽²⁾Muhammad Hadjji, Alharaka Al-fikriya bi al-Maghrib fi ahd AL-saadiine (The Intellectual Movement in Morocco during the Saadian Era), Dar Al-Maghrib Publications for Authoring, Translation and Publishing, by Dar Al-Bayda, Part 1, pp. 247, 266.

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confirmed that it was mentioned in Jamhara of Ibn Durayd (d. 223 AH), Tahdheeb Ibn Sayyidah (d. 458 AH) and the Sihah of al-Azhari and others. Al-Zubaydi reported in his dictionary Taj Al- Arus from the book of al-Nabat the speech of Abu Hanifa: «...some AZD of SURAT told me, he said: "It is a tree about the stature that grows side by side, we can hardly see one of it standing alone, and it has leaves that are long, green scales. sticky if dipped..., and it has a combined yellow light. And camels don't eat it... and it rises around rocks with junipers"..." In any case, based on what Al-Zubaidi said, and since this plant was known to the Arabs, whether in the East or in Andalusia, the origin of the word (tobacco) may be Arabic, and it is only a modification of the Arabic word (al-Tabak) that the Arabs called this plant, so the Europeans kept it in their languages after its modification, as happened with many other Arabic words that entered their languages, and when the Arabs got to know al-Dakhan; They Arabized the word (tobacco) to the word Tabagh.

Tanbak, or so-called al-Dakhan, is among the innovations at the end of this time, and its occurrence has been chronicled by a group, among them: Abu al-Hasan al-Masri al-Hanafi, may God have mercy on him, as Ibn al-Manqur quoted him in: al-Fawakih al-Adida..., that he said: "Its occurrence was the limits of the millinum, and its first emergence was in the land of the Jews, Christians and the Magians." »⁽²⁾. It was said that the one who brought it by was a Jewish man, claiming to be a wise man, to the land of Morocco ⁽³⁾. However, some historical sources indicate the existence of the tobacco herb and the smoking and use of hashish before this date. Najm al-Din Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Ghazi (d. 1061 AH / 1650 CE), who is the author of the book al-Kawaqib al-Saira fi Ayan al-Mia al-Ashira, refers to Sheikh Abdullah al-Majdhoub, (d. 937 AH / 1530 CE), and that he was of Karama (wonder). Whoever took Hashish from him, they repented to Allah and never did it again. He used to say: «with the glory of my Lord! No one took it from this hand and returned to it...»⁽⁴⁾.

As for the famous physician Dawood Al-Antaqi (d1008 A.H./1599 A.D.) in his many medical works* about the smoke herb, which he mentioned, for example, in the book Al-Tadhkirah...: «Al- Tabaq: It is called the flea tree, it grows about a person's tall... and has a yellowish flowering... if laid on or sprayed, it repelled vermin, especially fleas...» And the description of Al-antaqi corresponds to the reality of this plant in the form of its leaves and flowers and the time of its appearance in the year. Except that Jalal-Din Yusuf al-Djuwayni in the book Ma La Yasau

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⁽¹⁾Murtaza Al-Zubaidi, **Taj Al-Arous**, Dar Al-Hidaya, Amman, Jordan, folder26, p 55, citing from Abu Hanifa Al-Daynuri's book **An-Nabat.**

⁽²⁾Ahmed ben Muhammad Al-Manqour Al-Tamimi, **Al-Fawkih al-Adida fi al- Masail al-Mufida**, 5th Edition, Publisher Abd Al-Aziz Al-Manqour, Saudi Arabian Printing Company, 1987, Part 2, p. 80.

⁽³⁾ Marii ben Youssef Al-Karmi, **Tahqiq al-Burhan fi Shaan al-Dukhan al-ladhi Yashrabuhu al-Nas al-An**, Dar Ibn Hazm for Printing, Distribution and Publishing, 1st Edition, Beirut, 2000, p. 93.

⁽⁴⁾Najm al-Din Muhammad ben Muhammad al-Ghazi, **Al-kawakib al-Sairah fi Aayan al-Mia al-Ashira**, investigated by Khalil al-Mansur, Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, Beirut, 1st Edition, 1997, Part 2, pp. 153, 154.

^{*}The most significant books and works are: Al-Tadhkirah. Nuzhat al-Insan fi Islah al-Abdan, and Kifayat al-Muhtaj fi Ilm al-Ilaj.

⁽⁵⁾ Dawud al-Antaky, **Tadhkirah uli al-Albab wa al-Jami li Ajab al-Ujab**, and with its footnotes **Al-Nuzha al-Mubhija fi Tashidh al-Adhhan wa Taadil al-Amzija, lithograph**, folder 1, p. 235.

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al-Tabeeb Jahluh (What the physician/ doctor mustn't be ignorant of), which is originally an explanation of the Antaqi's Tadhkirah. He mentions that al-Tabaq mentioned in the Tadhkirah is the same as al-Tatan, and that it is an Arabic name for a type of plant that was common in Andalusia with a heavy smell and is the same as the flea tree.

As for Algeria and Tunisia, the smoke herb and its use among people came from the first years in which this unfamiliar social phenomenon appeared. Abu al-Kasim Saad-Allah reported that that Ahmed ibn Mohamed al-Maqri and Abdul-Karim al-Fkoun were among the first who discussed this phenomenon (1). In addition, Sheikh Abdul-Karim al-Fkoun had written about it a treatise entitled: Mohddid al-Sinan fi Nahur Ikhwan al-Dukhan, which is a bold and violent response to many of those who spoke about the issue and were jurisprudentially lenient with it. Sheikh Abdul-Karim al-Fkoun had finished writing the aforementioned treatise by 1025 AH/ 1616 CE at an age of 26 years old. Sheikh Abdul-Karim al-Fkoun added that, trying to estimate the time in which the phenomenon had spread in the east of Algeria and Tunisia, saying: « I was, the time smoking spread, I mean, tobacco in this town, on an answer in which it was mentioned that it was from the Mufti of Kairouan... I did not take it seriously so that I memorized it or copied it negligently regarding the issue at that time when I did not think that the matter of smoke would turn into what we witnessed...»(2). Through this, we can estimate the year the smoke entered Algeria, which was within the limits of the year 1020 AH / 1611 AD, and that the year of its escalation is the year 1023, until 1025 AH. It is the year that Al-Fkoun resolved to respond to its users and warn of its danger, and this is what Al-Fkoun recounted in Mohaddid Al-Sanan ... and it was transmitted by Abu Salem Al-Ayashi in his Rihla (Scientific trip)⁽³⁾.

As for Egypt; The first to introduce the use of tobacco to it, according to Sheikh Muhammad Alish, the author of the famous fatwas, was Ahmed bin Abdullah bin Abi Mahalli, the owner of the book **Al-Islit...**, and he is the jurist who rebelled against the noble Saadi kings in Morocco (4). And that its entry was at the end of the tenth century AH, and it was also mentioned that Sheikh Salem Al-Sanhouri was the one who confronted his heresy. (5). However, this opinion - even if there is some truth in it -; There is a kind of abuse against Ahmed bin Abi-Mahalli.

That is why we can say that Arabs and Muslims in the East, Morocco and Andalusia knew the smoke plant. Nevertheless, they did not use it except for practical and medical purposes. As for its use by drinking and inhaling, it was late to the beginning of the second millennium of the Hijrah, and the tobacco consumer may need to carry a trigger with him and a flint stone, and iron pliers to remove the traces of dry tobacco sticking to the pipe. He also needs a bag of cotton

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⁽¹⁾ Abu al-Qassim Saad Allah, OP.CIT, p. 152.

⁽²⁾ Abu Salem Al-Ayashi, Ma'u Al-Mawa'id, investigation and presentation of Suleiman Al-Fadili and Saeed Al-Qurashi, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Suwaidi for Publishing and Distribution, Abu Dhabi, 2006, Part 2, p. 226.

⁽³⁾ IBID, Part 2, 226.

⁽⁴⁾See Fayssal Mabrak, The Political Situation in Morocco and its Impact on the Decline of the Saadian State, 1603-1613, unpublished master's thesis, Department of History, University of Algiers-2-, 2011, p75 et seq. See also Abd al-Majid kaddouri, Ibn Abi-Mahalli the rebellion jurist and his journey **Al-Isleet**, publications, Okaz, Ribat, 1991, p 37et seq.

⁽⁵⁾ Muhammad Alish, Fath al-Ali al-Malik fi al-Fatwa ala Madhab Imam Malik, Dar al-Ma'rifah, unknown date/place, Part 1, p. 118.

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or linen...etc. to carry the powder of tobacco. Others are satisfied with having it with other people, and some of them suffice with a stick from the ground instead of the pliers and the tape rod. Individuals had various habits in the matter.

The prevalence of smoking in the Arab and Islamic world:

The Arabs did not use tobacco for smoking, whether in the pre-Islamic era or in Islam, but it was transmitted to them in the later ages. The beginning of the appearance of tobacco in the Arab countries cannot be known with certainty since researchers contrastingly disagreed in determining the exact date. Yet, their disagreement was confined to years of 999 and 1020 AH/1590-1611 CE. Some researchers has quoted to unknown poet who was thought to have chronicled for the appearance of tobacco in the land of Sham.

سألوني عن الدخان وقالوا *** هل له في كتابنا إيماء قلت ما فرط الكتاب بشيء *** ثم أرخت يوم تأتي السماء

By this poetry, he means the verse that was recited in the Noble Qur'an: [يَوْمَ تَأْتِي السَّمَاءُ بِدُخَانٍ مُبِينٍ]
[The day the sky brings clear smoke] (1). If what was said by the poet is correct, then the appearance of tobacco there would be in the year 999 AH, which is the calculation of the letters "the sky comes". Corresponding to the years 1590 or 1591 AD, that is, a full century after the Europeans discovered it, and it was known in the land of Sham in the year 1015 AH, corresponding to the years 1606 and 1607 AD, in the year almost following its appearance in Turkey.

If we assume that tobacco appeared in the countries of the Arab East through Turkey, or through European ports on the White Sea, then it seems that its appearance in the countries of the Maghreb was through another way.* Ahmed Ibn Khaled al-Nasiri had mentioned in his book: Al-Istiqsa li Akhbar Duwal al-Maghreb al-Aqsa* that tobacco- And he called it Al-Tabigh - It appeared in Marrakesh, transmitted from the country of Sudan, which is now known as the Republic of Mali, in the year 1001 AH corresponding to the years 1592 and 1593 AD. That was after Ahmed Al-Mansur Al-Dhahabi's campaign against the country of Sudan, as he brought elephants from those countries to drive them towards Marrakesh - on a witnessed day - men, women, old men and boys were present then. He, then, went with the elephant to the city of Fes on the 16th of Ramadan 1007 AH / April 1598 AD, and about one hundred thousand people of Fez came out watching the elephants. The elephants drivers used to smoke tobacco, and they spread rumors that the use of this herb has many benefits for the health of the body (2). It is necessary to point out that the aforementioned date for the entrance of elephants into the city

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⁽¹⁾ The holy Quran, Surat Al-Dukhan, verse 10.

^{*}We find that Ahmed son of Khalid al-Nasiri in this matter quotes Muhammad al-Saghir al-Ifrani literally, with some additions and slight disposition. See Muhammad al-Saghir al-Ifrani, Nuzhat al-Hadi bi Akhbar al-Muluk al-Qarn al-Hadi, corrected and revised by Mr. Houdass, School of living oriental languages, Paris, 1888, p. 162.

⁽²⁾Ahmed son of Khaled Al-Salawi Al-Nasseri, Al-Istiqsaa Li-Akhbar Duwal al-Maghreb al-Aqsa, investigation by Muhammad Al-Nasseri and Jaafar Al-Nasseri, Dar Al-Kitab, Casablanca, 1955, Part 5, p. 126.

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of Fez is not necessarily matching the widespread use of tobacco. Its arrival in the city of Fez - as indicated by many interested in the subject -, the arrival of smoke may be before the arrival of the elephants to the city of Fez. Hence, by the stay of the elephants' handlers in the city of Marrakesh and their use of this herb and its widespread use among the Marrakeshians, it did not remain their monopoly, so we do not exclude that this herb was used before the year 1007 AH, i.e. before the elephants arrived in city.

Although we do not have clear evidence to show us the actual date in which the smoking herb appeared, due to the conflicting and different narratives, and the inaccuracy in the narratives, most of which are approximations only. Determining the year of the appearance of smoke in the Arab countries and the Morocco in particular cannot be controlled by scrutiny. Nonetheless, it is clear that the spread of using this herb among the people was very fast. we are supposed to find that Ahmed Baba al-Sudani al-Timbukti; who was among the captives of al-Mawla al-Mansur during his campaign against Sudan, mentions even a hint stating that the arrival of this herb was from Sudan in his book al-Luma fi Hukam al-Tabagh in some detail, more than what was reported by the writer and poet Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr al-Susi. He mentions in his poem:

بَدَتْ فِي سَمَاءِ الْمُجْدِ نُزْهَةُ رَامِقِ *** فَدَانَ لَهَا طَوْعًا شُعَاعُ الْمُشَارِقِ
أُحِبُ لَهَا السُّودَانَ حَتَّى كَأَنِنِ *** سُحِرْتُ بِهَا أَوْ مَسَّنِي طَيْفُ طَارِقِ
وَلْمُ تَبْدُ قَبْلَ الْيَوْمِ لِلنَّاسِ حِكْمَةً *** خَفَتُهَا عَلَيْهِم فِي السِّنِينِ السَّوَابِقِ
إِلَى أَنْ بَدَى الْمُنْصُورُ قُطْبًا أَتَتْ لَهُ *** خَفَتُهَا عَلَيْهِم فِي الْعَرْبِ نَحْو الْمُشَارِقِ
(2)

The date mentioned by both Al-Ifrani and Al-Nasiri is contrary to what Muhammad bin Ali Al-Busaidi came with in his book, **Badhl Al-Munasaha**. So, he determined the date of this event, which is 1005-1006 AH / 1597-1598 AD. ⁽³⁾Thus, he is unique about this date, contrary to other sources that follow, but he agrees about the date with what was mentioned by Sheikh Ibrahim Al-Laqani. In his paper **Nasihat al-Ikhwan bi Ijtinab al-Dukhan**, the tobacco tree appeared in the city of Timbuktu in the year 1005 AH / 1596 AD. While in the Egyptian country, the first

⁽¹⁾ I did not come across a sufficient definition for him except for a reference in the book **Sus Al-Alimah**, and that he has a treatise on the question about the ruling on smoking Tabaga - tobacco -, which was answered by Mr. Abdullah ben Yakob. Al-Mokhtar as-Susi, Sus Al-Alimah. Fudhala press, Al-Muhamadiya, Morocco, 1960, p 187.

⁽²⁾ Saeed ben Abi Bakr Al-Sousi, A Manuscripted Poem in Tobacco, King Abdul Aziz Foundation, Casablanca.

⁽³⁾ Muhammad Al-Arabi Al-Fasi, Sahm al-Isaba fi Hukm Taba, Al Saud Foundation for Islamic Studies and Humanities, number 02168-65.

^{*} Abu Ishaq Ibrahim bin Al-Hassan bin Ali Al-Laqqani Al-Maliki Al-Masry, who died in the year 1041 AH. Abdulhay bin al-Kabir al-Kettani describes him in his book **Fahres al-Faharis wa al-Athbat Mujam al-Maajim wa al-Musalsalat** saying: «...the scholar of Egypt and its Imam, famed for his expertise in the science of hadith and exploration in the rest of the sciences...». Among his books is Qadha Al-Watr fi Tawdih Nukhbat al-Fikr by Al-Hafiz Ibn Hajar. Ijmal al-Rasail wa Bahjat al-Mahafil fi Taarif bi Ruwat al-Shamael, and he has an index called it. Nashr al-Maethir fiman Adraka Ahl alqarn al-Asher, Abd Al-Hay Al-Kattani, **Fahres al-Faharis**, investigation Ihsan Abbas, 2nd Edition, Dar Al-Gharb Al-Islami, Beirut, 1982, Part 1, p. 130.

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introduction of tobacco leaves was in the year 1010-1011 AH / 1601-1602 AD. The prevalence of tobacco in Morocco was rapid as Al-Nasiri pointed out, he stated: « ... it prevailed among them in Dira'a, Marrakesh regions and other parts of Morocco...» (1).

In the book of **Al-Fawaid al-Jammah**... of the Tamanarti; It is mentioned that Abdullah bin Al-Mubarak Al-Aqawi d-1015 AH, that this herb came from Sudan, so the common people bought it with money. He mentioned that he also used it for several days; he did not find any benefit in that. However, on the contrary to what is common among people, he started feeling a decline in his strength and feebleness of joints, accompanied by a severe cough⁽²⁾. However, Al-Tamanarti, in his first talk about this herb, mentioned that its arrival was from the direction of the Qiblah⁽³⁾. Was he referring to the country of Sudan, which is located a little towards the Qiblah, to the south of the country of Sous?!

Prevalence of smoking in Moroccan society:

It is evident through the large number of extensive discussions and arguments that this phenomenon received among scholars, the prevalence of this plant among people in the Morocco, and there were many fatwas differing between the permissibility and prohibition of its use. Among the scholars who issued fatwas on this issue, we mention the judge of Daraa Ahmed bin Muhammad Al Busaidi, and Muhammad Al-Susi (1023 AH), in which he wrote a treatise he called Kashf al-Ghasaq an Kalb al-Fata fi al-Tanbiih ala Tahreem Dukhan al-Waraq. Also, Abu al-Qassim bin Abi Naim al-Ghassani and Muhammad al-Arabi al-Fasi who wrote a treatise called the Sahm Al-Isaba fi Hukm al-Taba. Likewise, Ahmad Baba al-Sudani al-Tomboukti wrote Allamaa fi Hukm Shorb al-Tabgh, Ahmed bin Abdullah Al-Sijlmassi Al-Filali, known as Ibn Abi Mahli, who devoted entire chapters to talking about this herb in his book Al-Isleet Al-Kharit fi Kati Buloum al-Ifreet Nephrit, as well as Ahmed bin Ali Al-Busaidi, who devoted a chapter to it in Badhl al-Munasaha book, as mentioned by the owner of the Al-Fawaid al-Jamma... in two chapters. Similarly, Abdul Qadir Al-Fassi in his Al-ajwiba al-Kobra, and Muhammad Mayara in Zubdat Al-Awtab; And Badr al-Din al-Hamoumi, Muhammad al-Marnisi, Ahmad al-Rahuni, Mustafa al-Ramasi, Abd al-Majid bin Ali al-Zabadi al-Manali in his journey Bulugh al-Qasd wa al-Maram, Muhammad bin al-Hassan bin Ardun al-Shafshawni, and Muhammad al-Saghir al-Ifrani in al-Nuzha, as well as Muhammad bin al-Tayyib al-Qadri in Nasher al-Mathani... and other men of the seventeenth and the eighteenth century CE. There was a link between the widespread use of this plant, within the western communities since the beginning of the eleventh century AH /the seventeenth century CE, and the great intrest it received from the majority of scholars and jurist in the region. It is what Muhamed Seghir Ifrani said: «...it spread among them in Daraa, Marrakesh and other parts of Morocco; the verdict has differed between the scholars may Allah be pleased with them. Some of them said it is permitted, others reckoned it is forbidden, while others remained undecided, and Allah is all knowing...»⁽⁴⁾.

Medicinal use of smoke:

⁽¹⁾ Ahmed bin Khaled Al-Nasseri, OP.CIT, p. 126.

⁽²⁾ Abd al-Rahman al-Tamanarti, OP.CIT, p. 484.

⁽³⁾ IBID, g. 476.

⁽⁴⁾ Muhammad al-Saghir al-Ifrani, OP.CIT, p. 162.

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It is not surprising that the claimants of wisdom and medicine in Morocco during the seventeenth century had a tendency to the exotics, which distinguished the mentality in that era. it is worth mentioning that many of those who claimed medicine, or became famous of it, did not have a wide knowledge in this field, for this we do not find akin of Ibn Zahr al-Ishbili, nor Ali bin Al-Hussein al-rais, nor Abu al-Qasim Al-Zahrawi among the medieval doctors who wrote encyclopedias and treatises on medicine. We do not even find examples like Al-antaqi, who lived during the 16th CE, but rather we find who is renowned of medicine but of little knowledge, shallow-minded to the point of naivety.

Those addicted to the smoking herb must claim that it has a relationship with medication and mood adjustment, because of its effect on the heaviness of the head and anesthesia of the senses, especially its effect on the addict by relaxing after tension. In this regard, we take the attitude of Ahmed ibn Abi Mahli al-Sijilmasi in his book: Al-Isleet Al-Kharit fi Kati Buloum al-Ifreet Nephrit, who wrote a treatise in which he inquired about the verdict of using this weed since he mentioned that "he had to use the tobacco tree of the experimentally well-known benefit! In repelling the harms of descending poisons » (1). Although he is inclined towards the permissibility of using it, he indicates that he stopped using it because he read about it a fatwa by Sheikh Salem Al-Sanhouri, the Egyptian Al-Maliki, and a treatise from a person from Sudan. (2). Too, he saw another one from one of the jurists of Sus (3). Ahmed ibn Abi Mahalli al-Sijilmasi did not want to be a visionless imitator in prohibiting it until it becomes clear and obtains an explicit ruling about it (4). In the end, the answer reached Ibn Abi Mahalli, which is as follows: "Praise be to Allah, if it does not harm the mind, it is not forbidden to use it» (5).

In this regard, we do not care about Ahmed bin Abi Mahalli's defense of smoking and his invoking the many jurisprudential rules, as we chiefly care about using this herb for medication. In this regard, he mentions that people who are not accustomed to it will feel numb and tired, but if they smoke it gradually until the body becomes familiar with it, it will be like all other medicines. The patient cannot hurt himself by using a large dose of medicine, whatever this medicine is, because it will turn into harmfulness. According to his opinion; that was conditioned general rule, "and whoever violates, he/she is mistaken in the methods of medicine or ignorant of the judgments of the Lord, and his/her sin is based on his ignorance, and his/her blame returns to him." "(6), this misbehavior does not apply to the type of medication he took.

As for the writer and poet Ibn Saeed bin Abi Bakr Al-Sousi Al-Hilali, he strongly supported this opinion, in his well-known rhyming poem in Morocco in the early 11th century AH. If he

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⁽¹⁾ Ahmed bin Abi Mahalli, Islit al-Kharit fi katae Bulum al-Ifrit al-Nephrite, investigation by Abd al-Majid Qaddouri, Okaz Publications, Rabat, 1991, p. 149.

⁽²⁾It should be noted that Ahmed bin Abi Mahalli avoided mentioning the name of Al-Sudani, who is Ahmed Baba, but he contented himself with calling him Al-Sudani in a sign of profanity, insult and contempt. This is perhaps traced back to their disagreement on the ruling of the herb (tobacco) that al-Sudani made and his stringency with those who claimed it permissibility.

⁽³⁾ He is the Al-Busaidi judge, who will mention that his answer to the question does not cut doubt with certainty, despite his high scientific position.

⁽⁴⁾ Ahmed bin Abi Mahalli, previous source, p. 149.

⁽⁵⁾ The same source, pg. 150.

⁽⁶⁾The same source, p. 152.

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explained what he knew of its benefits, people would almost deny him in that, as it removes the mixtures of sputum, and works in biliary disease very quickly, as it is the most powerful treatment for scorpion poison, and treats heart palpitations and other things ...etc⁽¹⁾

لَهَا قُوّةٌ تَنْفِي بِهَا خَلْطَ بَلْغَمٍ *** وَتُدْهِبُ بِالصَّفْرَاءِ فِي لَمْحِ بَارِقٍ
وَتُدْهِبُ أَخْلَاطَ الدِّمَاءِ لِحِينهَا *** وَتَفْتَحُ لِلسَّوْدَاءِ سُودَ الْخَوَانِقِ
وَمَا مِثْلُهَا شَيْءٌ لِلَسُعَةِ عَقْرَبٍ *** وَفِهَا سُكُونٌ لِلْقُلُوبِ الْحَوَافِقِ
وَفِهَا شِفَاءٌ لِلسُّمُومِ جَمِيعِهَا *** وَفَهَا اللهَ فِي الْهَضْمِ مِثْلَ الْحَوارِقِ
وَفِهَا شِفَاءٌ لِلسُّمُومِ جَمِيعِهَا *** فَكَمْ حِكْمَةٌ فِهَا وَكَمْ مِنْ مُرَافِقِ
وَفِهَا شَفاء للزكام إذا عدا *** وفها أمان من رباح الطوارق(2)

However, the aforementioned writer indicates a very important matter from a health point of view, which is that the medicinal uses of this plant are limited only to inhaling it in the form of smoke. As for eating it, whether it is cooked or fresh, or drinking its water, it is very dangerous and should be avoided. In this regard, he says:

In this regard, we cannot review all that was stated by Judge Ahmed bin Muhammad al-Busaidi al-Hashtouki in his book "Badhl al-Monasha fi Fadhl al-Mosafaha, because it does not deviate from discussing jurisprudential matters and trying to make clear decision whether in permission or prohibition. He saw that scholars in Egypt and Morocco are divided into two groups according to their fields of specialty. Those, specialized in the science of jurisprudence principles, tend to prohibiting it as they consider and focus on the principles. Others, who were known for their knowledge and righteousness- as he described-, tend to prohibit it because of its hatefulness, which is neither a useful food nor a refreshing drink. He, therefore, tends to its prohibition. He infers what many people have said in this field, including Al-Arabi Al-Fasi, Ali bin Taher Al-Hasani, Al-Qadi Abi Naim, Abdul-Karim Al-Fkoun, and others, but he indicates that this plant was known as the tree of the moon or the lice tree. Then, he adds that it contains water, which is squeezed and applied to the hair of the head, so that not a single louse remains in it. (3) He also showed that the power that kills lice is what affects the user to inhale its smoke.

It seems that the scientific and experimental tendency in discussing such issues is almost non-existent, due to the predominance of the literal transmission method, the exhibition of memorization, and demonstration of being encyclopedic in both of the question and the answer.

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⁽¹⁾ Said bin Abi Bakr Al-Susi, Poem on Tobacco, manuscript, Abdul Aziz Al Saud Library, Casablanca.

⁽²⁾Saeed bin Abi Bakr Al-Susi, Poem on Tobacco, manuscript, Abdul Aziz Al-Saud Library, Casablanca, Morocco.

⁽³⁾ Ahmed bin Muhammad al-Busaidi, a chapter from the manuscript of "Bathl Al-Munasaha fi Fadhl Al-Musafaha,", King Abdul Aziz Foundation, Casablanca, p. 11.

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Moreover, the appeal to the mind is limited only to confronting the issues by analogy with the previous writings of the ancestors. The observations of Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan in this area was very accurate ⁽¹⁾. He mentions that some of the sciences that people pass on are more basic than scientific, and this is the case of all sciences in that era. Al-Hasan Al-Wazzan noticed that in astronomy, for example; you find the peasants extremely illiterate, but they can speak about it in details. ⁽²⁾ However, it is just a memorized speech, and it also confirms the decline of the medical profession, or let us say its absence at times, so that many people consider stomach diseases among the diseases of the heart.!! The medical profession was often mixed with sorcery; incantations, magic and talismans. Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan himself mentioned that divination and fortune-telling were famous and widespread in Morocco. Especially, in Fes. Among them are the owners of sand script and the servants of the devils, and they are the ones who conjure the elves, the evocators, as well as the owners of the secrets of letters, treasure hunters, and alchemists ⁽³⁾.

Rather, medical information was among the anecdotes of wondrous literature and encyclopedic news. There was no teacher of medicine, astronomy, or pharmacy. Rather, these matters were known by practice, individual experience, and herbal medicine inherited from the ancestors. Although surgery was completely non-existent, moxibustion, and cupping were common in Moroccan areas, while chemistry was limited to making rose water only. Almost everything was linked to religion and serving it, which made knowledge limited and stagnation of thinking dominating the mindset of the populations.

Smoking; an ominous phenomenon and an alien plot:

Ibrahim al-Laqani, d. 1041 AH / 1632 CE, says in the book Nasihat Al-Ikhwan fi Ijtinab al-Dukhan that he received news from more than one person regarding the arrival of this herb, as it did not come from Sudan as we mentioned before; But it entered Muslim countries at the hands of European merchants and travelers, especially the British. The reason for their coming with it was to promote and sell it after it was confirmed to them that it is harmful, after it was officially banned in their countries too, except for light use that does not cause any harm. He also mentioned that it is harmful to the liver, as continuous smoking burns the liver and leads to death, and that it happened with one of the Christians, that he died, so they anatomized him. He says about that: « They found it running in his veins and sinews so that the bone marrow turned into black and his heart was found like a dry sponge with holes of different sizes- big and small. They also found his liver as if roasted on fire. From that time on, we were prevented from using it regularly. They were ordered to sell it to the Muslims » ⁽⁶⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Hassan al-Wazzan was very observant, despite the mistakes that he made in his book, because the book was retrieved from his memory and was not based on documents, notes, or references. Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan, OP.CIT, p. 81.

⁽²⁾ IBID, p. 80.

⁽³⁾ IBID, p-p. 262-274.

⁽⁴⁾ Abu al-Qassim Saad Allah, cultural history of Algeria, Part 2, Dar Al-Gharb al-Islami, Beirut 1998, p. 354.

⁽⁵⁾ Al-Hassan Al-Wazzan, OP.CIT, p. 81.

⁽⁶⁾ Jaafar bin Idris Al-Kattani, Hukm At-Tadkhin, investigated by Hashim bin Muhammad Hayjar Al-Hasani, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyah, Beirut, 1971, p 136-137. Citing from Ibrahim Laqani's **Nasihat al-Ikhwan**...

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People, who took precautions for smoking it, connected the news of this herb and the date of its emergence very close to the year 999 AH at the end of the millennium. Some of them denounced it and considered it an incident of the end of time, which is the worst of times in the eyes of Moroccan society, but rather all Islamic societies. They had a strange perspective as they understood it based on a Quranic verse that contains news of the end of the world that is in the words of Allah Almighty:

(Nay, they play in doubtful. Then wait you for the Day when the sky will bring forth a visible smoke. Covering the people, this is a painful torment)

This is what some of the public and scholars transmitted as well, including Abd al-Rahman al-Tamanarti (2). All of this was an expected response to those who competed to use, trade and promote it.

By returning to Abd al-Rahman al-Tamanarti; We find that he completely denies what can be benefited from smoking, whatever it was, because smoking is absolutely a result of fire. Allah Almighty only created fire and its smoke and its poisons as a punishment for whomever He wills in the Hereafter. Thus, it proves that swallowing fire and its poisons and smoke is torture and pain for the soul ⁽³⁾; the temptation of hastening the Fire with something of it, which is smoke; suggests the real fire as Allah Almighty says:

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. ﴿ هُوْمَ هُمْ عَلَى النَّارِ يُفْتَنُونَ، ذُوقُوا فِتْنَتَكُمْ، هَذَا الَّذِي كُنْتُمْ بِهِ تَسْتَعْجِلُونَ ﴿
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(A Day when they wil be tested-burnt- over the Fire. taste you your trial-burning! this is what you used to ask to be hastened)

In this regard, he narrates that al-Wali Ahmed ben Musa al-Samlali revealed to the people with its appearance, saying: «A herb will come to you from the direction of the Qiblah, and they will inhale its smoke in mouths, and only those on the Left Hand will smoke it». He meant the by that the noble verse: ﴿وَأَصْحَابُ الشِّمَالِ مَا أَصْحَابُ الشِّمَالِ مَا يُعْمَلُوم وَحَمِيم وَظِلِيّ مِنْ يَحْمُوم، لَا بَارِدٍ وَلَا كَرِيمٍ ﴿ 55).

{And the companions of Left Hand, Who will be the companions of the Left Hand. (they will be) in fierce Blast of Fire and boiling water. and in the shades of black of smoke. Nothing (will there be) to refresh, nor to please }.

Al-Tamanari inferred in proving the smoke and its wickedness many attitudes, holy secrets, and even dreams of some of those who were believed to be righteous in his era: and what was told about those who died while consuming this herb, from the change of their faces after their death,

(4) The Holy Quran, Surah Al-Dhariyat, verses 13 and 14.

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⁽¹⁾ The Holy Quran, Surat Al-Dukhan, verses 09, 10, 11.

⁽²⁾ Abd al-Rahman al-Tamanarti, OP.CIT, p. 480.

⁽³⁾ IBID, p. 281.

⁽⁵⁾ The Holy Quran, Surah Al-Waqi'ah, verses 43, 44, 45, 46, 47.

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and the dripping of its tar from their mouths, to the expressions of deterrence and intimidation.⁽¹⁾

In an interpretive approach to the hadith of Hudhaifa bin Al-Yaman, which was narrated by Ibn Jarir, and Al-Baghawi; With a weak chain of narrators, he said: The Messenger of Allah, may Allah's prayers and peace be upon him, said: "The first signs are the Antichrist, the descent of Jesus... and the smoke". Hudhayfah said: O Messenger of God! And what smoke? Then the Messenger of, God may God's prayers and peace be upon him, recited the verse of smoke, and said: "It fills what is between the east and the west, and he stays for forty days and nights. As for the believer; It hits him like a coldness, and blows the disbeliever until he runs out." We find Muhammad al-Arabi al-Fasi interpreting this hadith to the horrors and epics of the end of time, which is the eleventh century AH. The events of this herb harms, effects and the its wide spread in the east and west; are just a confirmation of the Hadith is all about.

Conclusion:

Tracking what came in the book Al-Isleet al-Khareet ... As well as in Al-Hilali's poem; we can notice the effect of addiction to them, so Ahmed bin Abi Mahli, who appears to be a defender of the herb, trying to justify it with texts and jurisprudential rules in any way. Otherwise, there is no need to use something new under the pretext of treatment. If it were truly for medication, it would exclusively be used during the period of the treatment and be immediately stopped the time the pathological incident was over. Here, the strong opposition, among the scholars and the jurists in the issue of the verdict of smoking, becomes evident and the implicit antagonism appears. Abdu-Rahman al-Tamanarti have objected to Said bin Abi-Bakr al-Hilali and stated that he has no opinion in jurisprudence and Sharia; that he is not a judge, nor is he known for jurisprudence or medicine, nor is he among the people of refutation or acceptance, and that his journey in seeking knowledge did not go beyond the city in which he was born, which is Taroudant, and that he learned nothing but the basics of Arabic and only worked as a clerk with the city police.!! he, Abu-Bakr, moved to Daraa fleeing the epidemic and settling there until he died in 1012 or 1013 AH/ 1604 CE. The beginning of one his poems demonstrates his defective sense as he considered the fetid smoking (plant) aromatic. (2) Al-Hilali is not blamed because it appears that he is addicted to smoking it, and this is evident through his poetry.

The jurisprudential debate about this phenomenon continued until the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, modern science proved the wickedness of this herb and methods of manufacturing and chemical treatment as well as the danger of using it in any way. Many scientific studies in medicine and other fields have been done.

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⁽¹⁾ Al-Tamanarti, OP.CIT, pp. 485, 486.

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