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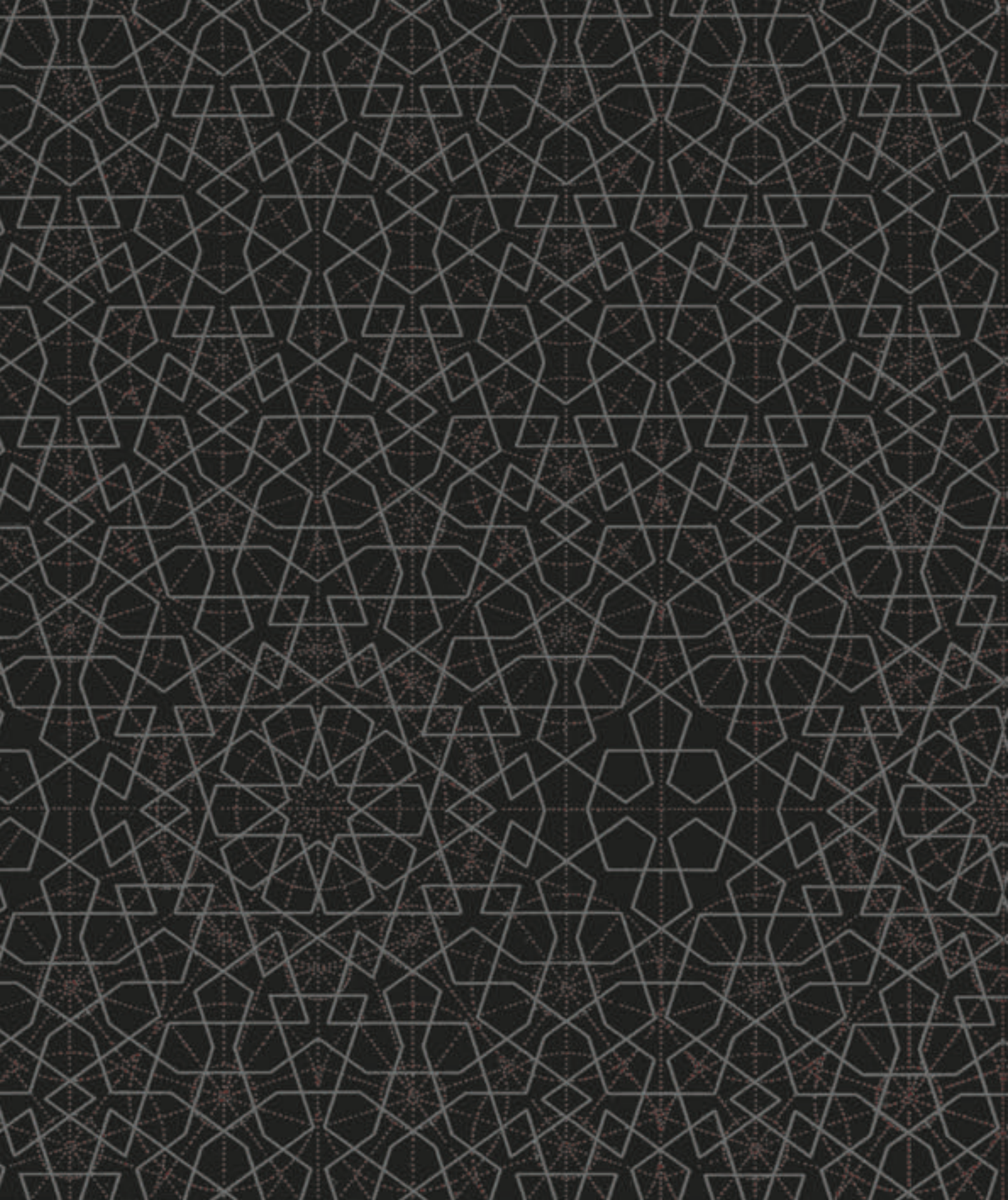
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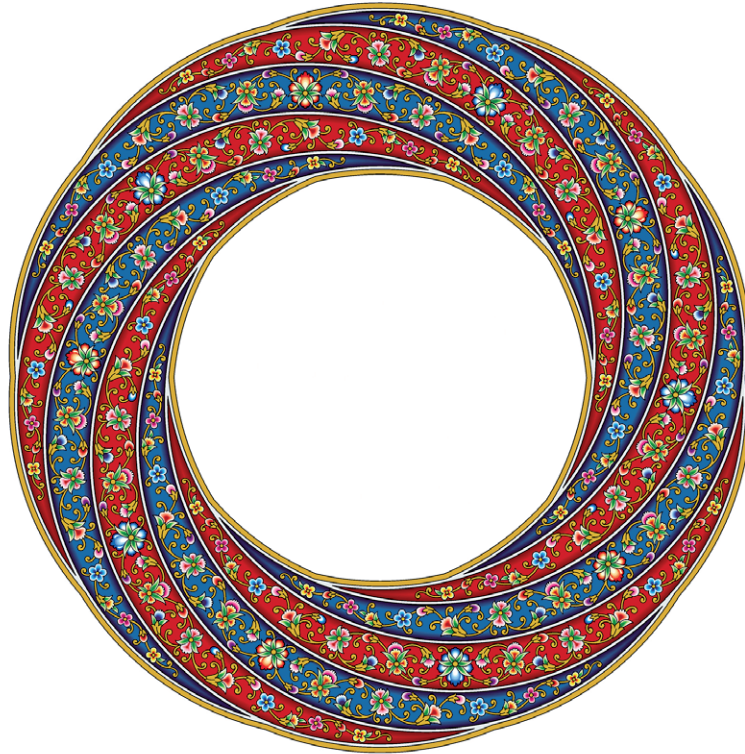
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a journal for new ideas that enlighten the human
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God is the Light of the heavens and the earth
• *Bog je svjetlo nebesa i zemlje* •

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Uvodnik

KO JE ZADUŽEN ZA ČOVEČANSTVO?

Ako ih pitate: „Ko je stvorio kozmos – nebesa i zemlju?“ oni odgovaraju: „Allah“.^{▼1}

To su oni - ljudi, koje je Allah, također, stvorio i zadužio ih da se brinu o sebi i svojoj okolini. Zabranio im je da se međusobno ubijaju jer „ubiti jednog nevinog čovjeka isto je kao ubiti cijelo čovječanstvo“.^{▼2}

To su oni – ljudi koji, kako Robert Jungk primjećuje, žele zauzeti Božje mjesto, žele ponoviti Božje djelo, žele iznova stvoriti i organizirati kozmos, kojeg, navodno, oni „stvaraju“ prema zakonu svog razularenom razumu. To je bila i ostala ambicija napretka dvadesetog stoljeća. Posljedica te ambicije je dehumanizacija čovjeka, koji je u svojoj pohlepi za božanskom moći, zaboravio ljudsko dostojanstvo.^{▼3}

Talijanski filozof i humanista Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) prvi je u Europi progovorio o značenju „dostojanstva čovjeka.“ Nije krio da je inspiraciju za to dobio iz drevnog spisa jednog Arapa po imenu Abdal Saracen, koji je, kako Pico navodi, na pitanje šta je na ovom svijetu najčudesnije odgovorio da „nema ništa čudesnije od čovjeka“.^{▼4} Pico della Mirandola je s pravom dobio ime „otac humanizma.“ Pisao je knjigu o dostojanstvu čovjeka u petnaestom stoljeću kada je u Europi crkveno-teološka riječ bila uglavnom posvećena „slavi Boga.“ To sâmo po sebi nije bilo sporno, već je bilo sporno da se u ime „slave Bogu“ gazilo dostojanstvo čovjeka, što je sâmo po sebi suprotno „slavi Boga“. Obučena u opskurnu skolastiku, srednjovjekovna teologija nije nužno bila vjera (trust) u Boga. Jer u konačnici ‘teologija’ je, kao i svaki drugi ljudski poduhvat, uvjetovan unutarnjim stanjem ljudskog duha i uma, koji je ograničen kontekstom vremena i mjesta. Pa ipak, od teologije se oduvijek očekivalo da se nosi s novim izazovima te da proširuje granice svojih dogmi. Teologija nije nauka posvećena prikupljanju i organizaciji novih naučnih informacija. Niti je ona umjetnost slikanja svijeta radi pukog čuđenja. Teologija je jedinstvena potpuno drugačija ljudska aktivnost, koja traga za istinom o Bogu prije nego za istinom o čovjeku.

▼1 Kur'an, 39:38.

▼2 Kur'an, 5:32.

▼3 Jungk, Robert. *Tomorrow is Already Here* („Sutra je već ovdje“). Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1954.

▼4 Vjerojatno je riječ o ‘Abdallahu ibn Muqaffa’ (um. 718-775. n. e.), poznatom po svojim prijevodima na arapski jezik medo-perzijskih spisa. Vidi: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. *Oration on the Dignity of Man* („Besjede o dostojanstvu čovjeka“). Regnery Publishing, Washington, 1956., obnovljeno 1984., Robert Coponigi & Russel Kirk, str. 3.

Editorial

WHO IS IN CHARGE OF HUMANITY?

If you asked them: "Who created the cosmos - heavens and the earth?" they say: "Allah".^{▼1}

They – humans – are the ones who were created by Allah, as well who has tasked them with taking care of themselves and their surroundings. He forbade them to kill each other because "to kill one innocent man is the same as to kill all mankind".^{▼2}

They – humans – are the ones who, as Robert Jungk notes, want to take God's place, want to repeat God's work, want to recreate and organize the cosmos, which, supposedly, they "create" according to the law of their rampant reason. This was and remains the ambition of the progress of the twentieth century. The consequence of this ambition is the dehumanization of man, who in his greed for divine power, has forgotten human dignity.^{▼3}

The Italian philosopher and humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) was the first in Europe to speak about the meaning of "the dignity of man". He did not hide that he was inspired by the ancient writings of an Arab named Abdal Saracen, who, as Pico states, when asked what he found most wonderful in this world replied that "there is nothing more wonderful than man".^{▼4} Pico della Mirandola was rightly named "The Father of Humanism". He was writing a book on the dignity of man in the fifteenth century when in Europe the church-theological word was largely devoted to "the glory of God". This in itself was not controversial, but it was disputed that in the name of "glory to God" the dignity of man was trampled upon, which in itself is contrary to the "glory of God". Dressed in obscure scholasticism, medieval theology was not necessarily faith (trust) in God. For ultimately 'theology' is, like any other human enterprise, conditioned by the inner state of the human spirit and mind, which is limited by the context of time and place. Nevertheless, theology has always been expected to cope with new challenges and to expand the boundaries of its dogmas. Theology is not a science dedicated to collecting and organizing new scientific information. Nor is it the art of painting the world for mere wonder. Uniquely, theology is a completely different human activity, which seeks the truth about God rather than the truth about man.

^{▼1} *Qur'an*, 39:38.

^{▼2} *Qur'an*, 5:32.

^{▼3} Jungk, Robert. *Tomorrow is Already Here*. Rupert Hart-Davis, London, 1954.

^{▼4} It is probably 'Abdallah ibn Muqaffa' (718-775 AD), known for his Arabic translations of the Medo-Persian scriptures. See: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*. Regnery Publishing, Washington, 1956, renewed 1984 by Robert Coponigi & Russel Kirk, p. 3rd.

Teško je odrediti tačan povijesni trenutak kada je čovjek uistinu shvatio da se do istine o Bogu najlakše i najbrže dolazi preko spoznaje čovjeka o sâmom sebi i svom bratu – čovjeku. Ali, može se reći da su duhom nadareni ljudi – sufijske ili mističke u svim religijama oduvijek imali na umu da „onaj koji spozna istinu o sebi, kao čovjeku, spoznao je istinu o Bogu“ („*Man 'arafa nafsahu, faqad 'arafa rabbahu*“). S tim, što treba naročito naglasiti, da spoznaja sâmoga sebe u sufijskom smislu nije i ne smije biti na račun „slave Bogu“. Ne smije se „slava čovjeku“ staviti ispred ili iznad „slave Bogu“. To je ono gdje je moderni humanizam zapao u zamku tako što se otudio od Božanskog duha i autentične religijske duhovnosti, tako što je „slavu čovjeku“ uzdigao iznad „slave Bogu“ pod isprikom podizanja „čovjekovog dostojanstva.“ Svjesno ili nesvjesno, čovjek je pritom izgubio orijentaciju u kozmosu:

Mi smo, kaže Albert Schweitzer, lišeni bilo kakve teorije univerzuma. Stoga, umjesto da budemo nadahnuti dubokim i snažnim duhom afirmacije svijeta i života, dopuštamo da nas, i kao pojedince i kao nacije, tjera ovamo-tamo vrsta takve afirmacije koja je i konfuzna i površna. Umjesto da usvojimo određen etički stav, mi postojimo u atmosferi pukih etičkih fraza ili se deklariramo kao etički skeptici. ▼⁵

Čovjek je nehotice u ideji humanizma prepoznao slobodu od okova religijskih opskurnih dogmi, ali nije obraćao pažnju na činjenicu da sloboda nevezana za istinu je najveći neprijatelj slobode. Jer ako postoji samo vaša i samo moja istina tako da ni jedan od nas ne priznaje transcendentni moralni standard (nazovimo to neupitnom “istinom”), standard po kojem bi prosuđivali naše razlike, onda je jedini način da riješimo to pitanje da vi nametnete svoju silu nada mnom, ili da ja nametnem svoju silu nad vama. Sloboda nevezana za istinu vodi u kaos; kaos vodi u anarhiju; a pošto ljudska bića ne mogu tolerirati anarhiju, tiranija kao odgovor na ljudski imperativ za red i poredak je odmah iza ugla. Lažni humanizam slobode ravnodušnosti vodi prvo do propadanja slobode, a potom i do propasti slobode. ▼⁶

Kada je zaista svjestan svoje slobode, čovjek istovremeno postaje uvjeren u postojanje Boga. Sloboda i Bog su neodvojivi... Ako svijest o slobodi sadrži svijest o Bogu, onda postoji veza između poricanja slobode i poricanja Boga. ▼⁷

Konfuzija i površnost o kojoj govori Albert Schweitzer nastala je kao posljedica ‘zamjenskog uvjerenja’ zasnovanog na premisi da „dostojanstvo čovjeka“, a ne „slava Bogu“, treba biti u fokusu ljudske slobodne misli. Naravno, kada je religija ili teološka misao izgubila svoju prirodnu i racionalnu argumentaciju te postala previše neuvjerljiva u smislu svojih ‘pukih etičkih fraza ili svojih stvarnih etičkih skeptika’, nije više imala izbora već da se podvrgne svojevrstnoj ‘humanizaciji’, što je zauzvrat značilo neku vrstu despiritualizacije, odnosno materijalizacije. Zamka ovog poteza bila je u činjenici da ‘materijalizam’ naglašava ono što je zajedničko životinjama i ljudima, dok religija – *din* naglašava ono što čini razliku između ljudi i životinja. Darwin nije čovjeka napravio životinjom, ali ga je naveo

▼⁵ Schweitzer, Albert. *The Philosophy of Civilization*. Prometheus Books, New York, 1987., str. xii, xiv, 4.

▼⁶ Vidi *John Paul II and the Crisis of Humanism*. Dostupno na: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwim4pm63siDaxXG2AIHHSoMBx8QFnoECA8QAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.catholiceducation.org%2Fen%2Fculture%2Fcatholic-contributions%2Fjohn-paul-ii-and-the-crisis-of-humanism.html&usq=AOv-Vaw1iQeWgnkhsQc3pXeBZCmEF&opi=89978449>. Posjećeno 6.01.2024

▼⁷ Jaspers, Karl. *Introduction to Philosophy* (“Uvod u filozofiju”). Prosveta, Beograd, 1967., str. 158.

It is difficult to determine the exact historical moment when man had truly understood that the truth about God is easiest and fastest to arrive at through man's knowledge of himself and his fellow man. But it can be said that spirit-gifted people—Sufis or mystics in all religions have always kept in mind that "he who knows the truth about himself, as a man, has come to know the truth about God" ("Man 'arafa nafsahu, faqad 'arafa rabbahu"). With this, it should be emphasized in particular, that the knowledge of oneself in the Sufi sense is not and must not be at the expense of "the glory of God". "Glory to man" must not be placed before or above "glory to God". This is where modern humanism has fallen into a trap by alienating itself from the Divine Spirit and authentic religious spirituality, by elevating "glory to man" above "glory to God" under the pretext of raising "human dignity". Consciously or unconsciously, man has lost orientation in the cosmos:

We, said Albert Schweitzer, are bereft of any theory of universe. Therefore, instead of being inspired by a profound and powerful spirit of affirmation of the world and of life, we allow ourselves, both as individuals and as nations, to be driven hither and thither by a type of such affirmation which is both confused and superficial. Instead of adopting a determined ethical attitude, we exist in an atmosphere of mere ethical phrases or declare ourselves ethical sceptics.▼⁵

Man inadvertently recognized in the idea of humanism freedom from the shackles of religiously obscure dogmas, but he did not pay attention to the fact that freedom unrelated to truth is the greatest enemy of freedom. For if there is only your truth and mine alone so that neither of us recognizes a transcendent moral standard (let us call it an unquestionable "truth"), a standard by which to judge our differences, then the only way to resolve this issue is for you to physically impose your power on me, or for me to impose my power over you. Freedom unrelated to truth leads to chaos; chaos leads to anarchy; and since human beings cannot tolerate anarchy, tyranny in response to the human imperative for order is just around the corner. The false humanism of freedom of indifference leads first to the decay of freedom and then to the ruin of freedom.▼⁶

When a man really is conscious of his freedom, said Karl Jaspers, he at the same time becomes convinced of the existence of God. Freedom and God are inseparable... If the consciousness of freedom contains the consciousness of God, then there exists connection between the denial of freedom and the denial of God.▼⁷

The confusion and superficiality Albert Schweitzer spoke of arose as a result of a 'replacing belief' based on the premise that "the dignity of man", not "glory to God", should be the focus of human free thought. Of course, when religion or theological thought lost its natural and rational argumentation and became too unconvincing in terms of its 'mere ethical phrases or its real ethical sceptics', it had no choice but to undergo a kind of 'humanization', which in turn meant a kind of despiritualization, or rather, materialization. The pitfall of this move was in the fact that 'materialism' emphasizes what animals and humans have in common, while religion – *din* emphasizes what makes the difference between humans and animals. Darwin did not make

▼⁵ Schweitzer, Albert. *The Philosophy of Civilization*. Prometheus Books, New York, 1987, pp. xii, xiv, 4.

▼⁶ See, *John Paul II and the Crisis of Humanism*. Available January 6, 2024. <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewim4pm63siDAXG2AIHHSOMBx8QFnoECA8QAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.catholiceducation.org%2Fen%2Fculture%2Fcatholic-contributions%2Fjohn-paul-ii-and-the-crisis-of-humanism.html&usg=AOvVaw1iQeW-gnkhsQc3pXeBZCmEF&opi=89978449>

▼⁷ Jaspers, Karl, *Introduction to Philosophy* ("Uvod u filozofiju"). Prosveta, Beograd, 1967, p. 158.

da misli o svom životinjskom porijeklu. Iz te “svijesti” ostali su nastavili da izvlače “odgovarajuće zaključke”, kako moralne tako i političke: ljudsko društvo je stado u civiliziranom obliku, a civilizacija je ljudsko buđenje koje se ostvaruje odbacivanjem zabrana te ovladavanjem prirodom i življenjem sa tjelesnim osjetilima umjesto osjećajem duha. ▼⁸

Očito, Picova dobronamjerna humanizacija religije otišla je predaleko u veličanju dostojanstva čovjeka u smislu njegovog materijalističkog egoizma, tako da je čovjek zaboravio korijene svoje duhovnosti. Prema tome, ‘humanizmu’ je danas potrebna vjera ili Božanski duhovni dodir isto onoliko koliko je religiji ili teologiji bio potreban Picov dodir razumnog ‘humanizma’. Zaista, danas je potrebno obogatiti ‘humanizam’ istinskom vjerom u Boga na isti način kao što je bilo potrebno ‘religiju’ obogatiti racionalnim ‘humanizmom’ u vrijeme kada je ‘religija’ bila u krizi kao što je ‘humanizam’ danas u krizi. Albert Camus je rekao: “Svrha pisca je da spriječi civilizaciju od uništenja.” Isto to bi se moglo reći danas u vrijeme trenutne akutne krize humanizma.

Svjetski ratovi su iznudili Ujedinjene nacije, koje su postale zadužene da iz humanističkih razloga brinu o miru i sigurnosti čovječanstva bez obzira na vjeru, naciju, rasu i porijeklo. Nažalost, UN nisu u stanju da efikasno izvrše svoje zaduženje upravo zato što, kao što kaže generalni sekretar UN-a Antonio Guterres:

Gaza nije samo humanitarna kriza, već je to prije svega kriza čovječnosti – kriza humanizma. Gaza postaje groblje za djecu. Na stotine djevojčica i dječaka stradaju ili bivaju ranjeni svakog dana. ▼⁹

Doista, ovaj kontinuirani trend nasilja i nepoštivanja međunarodnog humanitarnog prava i ljudskog života obavio je današnji svijet bez presedana.

Prema UNICEF-u, najmanje 120.000 djece je ubijeno ili osakaćeno u ratovima od 2005. U prosjeku, to je skoro 20 izgubljenih života svaki dan. Nadalje, u svom obraćanju Vijeću sigurnosti UN-a 30. oktobra, izvršna direktorica UNICEF-a Catherine Russell istakla je da „... više od 420 djece biva ubijeno ili ranjeno u Gazi svakog dana – broj koji bi svakoga od nas trebao potresti do temelja.” ▼¹⁰

Dok čitate ovaj kratki uvodnik, djeca u Gazi ginu od bombaškog napada na školu ili bolnicu.

Djeca se ne rađaju s mržnjom i nasiljem u srcu. Ili su direktno naučena da mrze, ili postaju žrtve mržnje i nasilja.

Jasno je da ‘nasilje rađa nasilje’ te da će djeca izložena nasilju u ranoj dobi odrastati u nasilnije odrasle osobe. I drugo, ‘otpornost’ protiv nasilja uz podršku omogućuje da se nasilje zaustavi i osiguraju bolji uvjete života u miru.

Preklapanje između „ljudskih prava“ i „slobode vjere“ je poput preklapanja ‘morala’ i ‘duhovnosti’. ‘Moral’ ili ‘etika’, kako je poznajemo, znači poštovanje (*al-iḥtirām*) prema drugome: „Želi drugome ono što želiš sebe“, i velikodušnost (*al-sakhā*): „Daruj i ne očekuj ništa zauzvrat.“ Ne postoji ‘moral’, vjerski ili drugi, koji zagovara mržnju i nasilje.

▼⁸ Vidi: Boisard, Marcel A. *Humanism in Islam*. American Trust Publications, Indianapolis, 1988., str. xi.

▼⁹ *Press Conference by Secretary-General António Guterres at United Nations Headquarters*. United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases, SM/SM/2202, 6.11.2023. Dostupno na: <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sgsm22021.doc.htm>. Posjećeno 6.01.2024.

▼¹⁰ *Gaza has become a ‘graveyard’ for children amid Israeli attacks: UN*. Al Jazeera, 31.10.2023. Dostupni na: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/31/gaza-has-become-a-graveyard-for-thousands-of-children-un>. Posjećeno 6.01.2024.

man an animal, but he did make him aware about his animal origins. From this "consciousness" the others continued to draw "appropriate conclusions", both moral and political: human society is a herd in a civilized form, and civilization is a human awakening that is realized by rejecting prohibitions and mastering nature and living with the bodily senses instead of the sense of spirit. ▼⁸

Obviously, Pico's benevolent humanization of religion has gone too far in glorifying the dignity of man in terms of his materialistic egoism, so that man has forgotten the roots of his spirituality. Consequently, 'humanism' today needs faith or divine spiritual touch just as much as religion or theology needed Pic's touch of reasonable 'humanism'. Indeed, today it is necessary to enrich 'humanism' with true faith in God in the same way that it was necessary to enrich 'religion' with rational 'humanism' at a time when 'religion' was in crisis as 'humanism' is in crisis today. Albert Camus said, "The purpose of a writer is to prevent civilization from being destroyed". The same could be said today at a time of the current acute crisis of humanism.

World wars have necessitated the establishment of the United Nations, which has, for humanistic reasons, become tasked with caring for the peace and security of humanity regardless of religion, nation, race and origin. Unfortunately, the UN is unable to effectively carry out its duties precisely because, as UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres says:

The nightmare in Gaza is more than a humanitarian crisis. It is a crisis of humanity. Gaza is becoming a graveyard for children. Hundreds of girls and boys are reportedly being killed or injured every day. ▼⁹

Indeed, this continuing trend of violence and disregard for international humanitarian law and human life has enveloped today's unprecedented world.

According to UNICEF, at least 120,000 children have been killed or maimed in wars since 2005. On average, that is nearly 20 lives lost every day. Furthermore, in her address to the UN Security Council on October 30, UNICEF Executive Director Catherine Russell pointed out that "... More than 420 children are killed or wounded in Gaza every day – a number that should shake each of us to our core". ▼¹⁰

As you read this short editorial, children in Gaza are dying of a bomb attacks on schools or hospitals.

Children are not born with hatred and violence in their hearts. Either they are directly taught to hate, or they become victims of hatred and violence.

It is clear that 'violence breeds violence' and that children exposed to violence at an early age will grow up to be more violent adults. Secondly, supported 'resilience' against violence means violence must be stopped and better living conditions in peace ensured.

The overlap between "human rights" and "freedom of religion" is like an overlap of 'morality' and 'spirituality'. 'Morality' or 'ethics', as we know it, means respect (*al-ihtirām*) for another: "Wish to another what you wish for yourself", and generosity (*al-sakhā'*): "Give and expect nothing in return". There is no 'morality', religious or otherwise, that advocates hatred and violence.

▼⁸ See: Boisard, Marcel A. *Humanism in Islam*. American Trust Publications, Indianapolis, 1988, p. xi.

▼⁹ *Press Conference by Secretary-General António Guterres at United Nations Headquarters*. United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases, SM/SM/2202, 6.11.2023. Available at: <https://press.un.org/en/2023/sgsm22021.doc.htm>. Visited on 01/06/2024.

▼¹⁰ *Gaza has become a 'graveyard' for children amid Israeli attacks: UN*. Al Jazeera, 31.10.2023. Available at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/10/31/gaza-has-become-a-graveyard-for-thousands-of-children-un>. Visited on 01/06/2024.

‘Duhovnost’ (*al-rūḥiyyat*), s druge strane, jednaka je ideji “egzistencijalnosti” (*al-wujūdiyyat*), gdje čovjek traži ne samo moralno i politički zajamčeno poštovanje i velikodušnost zarad društvenog mira i sigurnosti, već i za sretan život, koji može prevladati tugu prolaznog života unatoč moralnosti i dobroti. Ljudi su tužni jer neizbježno umiru bili moralno dobri ili loši. Ali neki ljudi nisu tužni jer su duhovno sretni što su živjeli svoj život u skladu sa slobodom svoje moralne savjesti.

Dragi čitatelji,

Namjera našeg/vašeg magazina „*illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar*“ je da vam u današnjoj krizi smisla i humanizma pružimo makar malo duhovnog zraka kako bi se osjećali sretnim i zadovoljnim. U ovom osmom broju akademik Akšamija nas/vas iznova vodi u svoj *ḍulistan* – ružičnjak, gdje nam se nudi jedinstven miris za dušu, gdje nam se um otvara od želje da kroz islamski *al-ṣinā’ah* – umjetnost spozna najsitnije detalje – jedinstva i različitosti estetiziranog djelanja/*ṣinā’ata* rekognitivnog predznaka (ornamentalne forme). Ako biste tražili primjer spiritualizacije humanizma, na tragu prethodne elaboracije o današnjoj krizi humanizma, onda biste ga zasigurno našli u nizu Akšamijinih umjetničkih perivoja, koji osvježavaju dušu i srce i u kojima se na suptilan način prožima ideja duhovnosti (*al-rūḥiyyat*), kao jednoznačna vrijednost sa egzistencijalizmom (*al-wujūdiyyat*). Stoga, uđite u Akšamijin *ḍulistan*, odmorite dušu mirisom ruža i uberite onu najbolju, koja će u vama pobuditi osjećaj humanosti.

U svom nadahnutom članku dr. Ramon Harvey je posvetio svoje vrijeme i intelektualni napor da nam predstavi „filozofa iz Samarkanda“, nikog drugog već sâmog Abū Maṣūra al-Maturīdija, koji je mnogo više poznat kao utemeljitelj sunnitske teološke škole, koju mi u Bosnu baštinimo – bar oficijelno. U svakom redu svog članka Harvi pokazuje veliko poštovanje prema al-Maturīdiji, kao originalnom muslimanskom misliocu iz desetog stoljeća u Samarkandu, gdje je razvijao ne samo svoje teološke ideje, već i filozofske premise. U teološkim krugovima je poznato da je pitanje Božjih atributa jedno od najosjetljivijih pitanja, zbog kojih je uglavnom dolazilo do rascjepa među teolozima. Harvi se upravo prihvatio tog teškog zadatka da nam objasni al-Maturīdijevu ortodoksnost, originalnost i genijalnost u tretiranju Božjih atributa na način tropa, označavajući ga „ranim teoretičarem tropa“. Zbog toga, ali i zbog nespornog al-Maturīdijevog doprinosa filozofsko-teološkoj misli, Harvi sugerira da se al-Maturīdijeva teološko-filozofska misao uvrsti u školske udžbenike. Siguran sam da će svako ko ima dušu, srce i radoznali um u Harvijevom članku naći odgovore na mnoga teološka pitanja u vezi Božjih atributa, pitanja koja imaju veze sa razumijevanjem Božjeg bića, što je najbitnije pitanje u vjeri.

U ovom broju se ispunjava zakašnjeli dug prema čovjeku, koji je uvelike zadužio naš narod. Naime, Kemal Cerić je za svoj diplomski rad na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta Sarajevu, Odsjeku za orijentalnu filologiju, studijska grupa arapski jezik i književnost, izabrao temu o životu i djelu dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića, sa osvrtom na dr. Smajlovićev odnos prema orijentalizmu. Svojom ljubaznošću Kemal je prihvatio da se njegov diplomski rad, koji je ocjenjen visokom ocjenom, objavi u ovom broju našeg magazina. Urednik – art direktor dr. Mehmed Akšamija, je uradio ilustracije, koje na

'Spirituality' (*al-rūḥiyyat*), on the other hand, is equal to the idea of "existentiality" (*al-wujūdiyyat*), where one seeks not only morally and politically guaranteed respect and generosity for the sake of social peace and security, but also for a happy life, which can overcome the sadness of a fleeting life despite morality and goodness. People are sad because they inevitably die whether morally good or bad. But some people are not sad because they are spiritually happy to have lived their lives according to the freedom of their moral conscience.

Dear readers,

The intention of our/your magazine "**illuminatio/Lighthouse/Almanar**" is to provide you with at least a little spiritual air in today's crisis of meaning and humanism so that you may feel happy and satisfied. In this eighth issue, Academician Akšamija takes us/you anew to his *ḍulistan* – rose garden, where we are offered a unique fragrance for the soul, where our mind opens with the desire through Islamic *al-ṣinā'ah* – art in knowing the smallest details– unity and diversity of aestheticized action/*ṣinā'at* of recognitive omen (ornamental forms). If you were to look for an example of the spiritualization of humanism, following the previous elaboration on today's crisis of humanism, then you would surely find it in a series of Akšamija's artistic gardens, which refresh the soul and heart and in which the idea of spirituality (*al-rūḥiyyat*) permeates in a subtle way, as an unambiguous value with existentialism (*al-wujūdiyyat*). Therefore, enter Akšamija's *ḍulistan*, rest your soul with the scent of roses and choose the best one, which will arouse in you a sense of humanity.

In his inspired article, Dr. Ramon Harvey devoted his time and intellectual effort to presenting to us the "Philosopher from Samarkand", none other than Abū Maṣū' al-Maturīdī himself, who is much more known as the founder of the Sunni theological school, which we inherit in Bosnia – at least officially. In every line of his article, Harvey shows great respect for al-Maturīdī, as an original tenth-century Muslim thinker in Samarkand, where he developed not only his theological ideas but also sound philosophical premises. In theological circles, it is known that the question of God's attributes is one of the most sensitive issues, due to which there was a significant rift among theologians historically. Harvey has undertaken the arduous task of explaining al-Maturīdī's orthodoxy, originality, and ingenuity in treating God's attributes in the way of tropes, labelling him as "an early trope theorist". Due to this, but also because of the indisputable contribution of al-Maturīdī to philosophical-theological thought, Harvey suggests that his corpus and views be included in school textbooks. I am sure that anyone who has a soul, heart, and inquisitive mind will find in Harvey's article answers to many theological questions regarding God's attributes, including questions that have to do with understanding God's being, which is the most important subject in faith.

In this issue, an overdue debt to one man has been tackled, one who has greatly indebted our people. Namely, Kemal Cerić chose the topic of the life and work of Dr. Ahmed Smajlović for his thesis at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Sarajevo, Department of Oriental Philology, study group Arabic Language and Literature, with reference to Dr. Smajlović's attitude towards Orientalism. Kemal has kindly accepted that his thesis, which was rated highly, be published in this issue of our magazine. Editor – Art Director Dr. Mehmed Akšamija, included illustrations, which best depict one man and one time, which is of us, and yet so close and so melancholy. The value of Kemal's work is in bringing forth new insights about the

najbolji način oslikavaju jednog čovjeka i jedno vrijeme, koje je iza nas, a opet tako blizu i tako sjetno. Vrijednost ovog Kemalovog rada je u donošenju novih podataka o životu dr. Smajlovića te u dr. Smajlovićevoj ocjena odnosa zapadnih orijentalista prema islamu i muslimanima, ali i njegova analiza arapskih mislilaca prema orijentalizmu, od onih koji su krajnje negativni do onih koji su umjereno pozitivni. Uvjereni smo da će svi koji su poznavali dr. Smajlovića, posebno njegovi brojni učenici i suradnici biti zahvalni što je naš magazin našao mjesta za čovjeka, koji je učinio veliki hizmet našoj veri i naciji.

Naš vjerni suradnik za engleski jezik sa Nju Zelanda Abdullah Drury počastio nas je svojim iscrpnim uvidom u život i djelo Bajrama Muratija (1930–2013), albanskog imigranta na Novi Zeland. Na prvi pogled može se činiti da biografija jednog neobičnog Albancu muslimanu u Nju Zelandu nema veze s konceptom našeg magazin, ali kad se pažljivo pročita poduži Drurijev članak o njemu, kojeg objavljujemo u ovom i sljedećem broju, vidjet će da njegova priča ima smislenu pouku i poruku o sudbini muslimana sa Balkana, napose Albanaca i Bošnjaka. Murati je, zaista, paradigma muslimana iseljenika sa Balkana i pustog doseljenika u zemlju, gdje svoga nema i gdje brata nije. No, vještom Muratiju nije trebalo dugo vremena da se kao vrijedni poslodavac snađe u Nju Zelandu. Bogatstvo koje stiče i utjecaj koje tim bogatstvom ostvaruje nije ga udaljilo od njegovog ni vjerskog ni nacionalnog identiteta. U stvari, Murati nije toliko mario o svom položaju u njuzelanskom društvu koliko je mario o svom ugledu i položaju u albansko-muslimanskoj zajednici. Murati ima veliku želju da od svoje albanske zajednice napravi primjer za ugled islamu unutar sekularnog društva angloevropskog kršćanskog naslijeđa. Drury u svom članku na najbolji način kontekstualizira kulturno i društveno okruženje Muratijevog života, naglašavajući kako njegove poslovne interese tako i njegove vjerske principe u okruženju u kojem se nije odveć držalo do vjerskih principa. Uvjeren sam da će strpljivi i radoznali čitatelji o sudbini muslimanskih iseljenika sa Balkana širom svijeta u ovom članku saznati mnogo toga što nisu znali ili što im nije nikad palo na pamet da je moguće da se u tuđem svijetu postigne uspjeha u malu i džanu.

U nastavku ovog boja pred čitateljem je jedan pogled na prospekt islamske civilizacije u kontekstu (hiero)historije u smislu kontinuiteta i promjene u životu i historiji. Naime, autor pokušava proniknuti u zasluge islamske civilizaciju u promociji napretka čovječanstva i uzroke pada i povlačenja islamske civilizacije sa globalne kulturne i političke scene. Osnovna misao je u tome da ni slabe ni agresivne civilizacije nisu nikad vladale svijetom, već su uvijek svijetom vladale kooperativne civilizacije od kojih islamska civilizacija može poslužiti kao dokazani povijesni primjer civilizacijske kooperativnosti. Stoga, oporavak islamske civilizacije nije ni u izolaciji ni u asimilaciji, već u afirmaciji civilizacijskih vrijednosti, koje su zajedničke cijelom čovječanstvu.

U vremenu poremećenih religijskih i moralnih vrijednosti treba biti hrabar pa misliti o mogućnosti postojanja „savršenog čovjeka“ („*al-insān al-kāmil*“). Hvala Allahu, takav jedan hrabri hizmećar *dīna* i *īmāna* se našao među nama. I sam sufija – derviš, dr. Mensur Valjevac se potrudio da nam prikaže bogatstvo sufijske misli o „savršenom čovjeku“ od Ibni `Arabija do svog Šeikha Mustafe ef. Čolića. Ne želeći da nas opterećuje sa svojim mišljenjem i stavom, dr. Valjevac niže definicije sufijski šekhova

life of Dr. Smajlović as well as his profound assessment of the attitude of Western Orientalists towards Islam and Muslims; in particular, his analysis of Arab thinkers towards Orientalism, from those who are extremely negative to those who are moderately positive. We are convinced that everyone who knew Dr. Smajlović, especially his numerous students and associates, will be grateful that our magazine found room for a man who has made a great contribution to our faith and nation.

Our faithful English language editor from New Zealand, Abdullah Drury, honoured us with his exhaustive insight into the life and work of Bayram Murati (1930–2013), an Albanian immigrant to New Zealand. At first glance, it may seem that the biography of an unusual Albanian Muslim in New Zealand has nothing to do with the concept of our magazine, but when one carefully reads Drury's article about him, which we publish in this and the next issue, one will see that his story has a meaningful lesson and message about the fate of Muslims from the Balkans, especially Albanians and Bosniaks. Murati is, indeed, a paradigm of Muslim emigrants from the Balkans and a desolate immigrant to the country, where he has no kin and no root. But it did not take long for the skilled Murati to get by as a hardworking businessman in New Zealand. The wealth he acquired and the influence he exerted with this wealth has not distanced him from his religious or national identity. In fact, Murati did not care so much about his position in the New Zealand society as he cared about his reputation and position in the Albanian-Muslim community. Murati had a great desire to make his Albanian community an example for the reputation of Islam within the secular society of Anglo-European Christian heritage. Drury in his article contextualizes the cultural and social environment of Murati's life in the best way, emphasizing both his business interests and his religious principles in an environment where religious principles were not adhered to very much. I am convinced that patient and inquisitive readers about the fate of Muslim emigrants from the Balkans around the world will learn in this article a lot that they did not know or that had never occurred to them, most notably that it is possible to achieve success in another's world in wealth and dignity.

In the continuation of this issue, before the reader is a look at the prospect of Islamic civilization in the context of (hiero)history, in terms of continuity and change in life and history. Namely, the author tries to unfold the merits of Islamic civilization in promoting the progress of humanity and the causes of the fall and withdrawal of Islamic civilization from the global cultural and political scene. The basic idea is that neither weak nor aggressive civilizations have ever ruled the world, but the world has always been ruled by cooperative civilizations, of which Islamic civilization can serve as a proven historical example of civilizational cooperation. Therefore, the recovery of Islamic civilization is neither in isolation nor in assimilation, but in the affirmation of civilizational values, which are common to all mankind.

In a time of disturbed religious and moral values, one must be courageous to think of the possibility of the existence of a "Perfect Man" ("*al-insān al-kāmil*"). Thanks be to Allah, such a brave servant to of *dīn* and *īmān* was found among us. As a Sufi himself – a Dervish, Dr. Mensur Valjevac made an effort to demonstrate the richness of Sufi thought of the "Perfect Man" from Ibni 'Arabi to his Sheikh Mustafa ef. Čolić. Not wanting to burden us with his opinions and attitudes, Dr. Valjevac presents the Sufi sheikh's definition of "*al-insān al-kāmil*" in such a way that it provokes in the reader the desire to be at least a semblance of an imaginary

o „*al-insānu al-kāmilu*“ na način da kod čitatelja izaziva želju da bude makar nokat zamišljenog „savršenog čovjeka“, koji je u odsutnosti vjerovjesnika znak i putokaz vjernicima. Posebno je važno istaknuti dr. Valjevičevu ljubav i poštovanje prema Šeikhu Mustafi ef. Čoliću, koji je iza sebe ostavio prepoznatljive tragove sufijske tradicije u našoj zemlji. To da je ideja o „savršenom čovjeku“ bila živa i u našoj Bosni govori o širini i dubini bosanske sufijsko/derviške duhovnosti, koja se i dan-danas njeguje o čemu svjedoči i dr. Valjevac, koji je svoj rad posvetio ovoj važnoj temi. Uvjeren sam da će čitatelji ovoga članka naći mir u duši kroz mudre sufijske poruke.

Na kraju, po običaju imamo prikaz knjige „Sistemske potrese i borba za svjetski poredak“ autora Ahmeta Davutoglua, bivšeg premijera Turske, prikaz kojeg je uradio Emir Hadžikadunić. Može se reći da svijet nije nikada bio bez potresa ovih ili onih, ali čini se da nikad povijesti nije bilo tako krvavih potresa, kao što ih ima danas, posebno u Svetoj zemlji, u Gazi – Palestini. Stoga cijenimo da je ovaj prikaz ove knjige važan zato što ju je pisao čovjek koji je bio u sred jakih političkih i vojnih potresa kako u Turskoj tako i u okruženju.

Svakako, vrijedno je kazati da se akademik Mehmed Akšamija, urednik – art direktor, i ovoga puta potrudio da nam ovaj osmi broj našeg magazina učini atraktivnim, informativnim i nadasve jedinstvenim primjerom magazina, koji plijeni poštovanje svakog objektivnog čitatelja, koji se razumije u vrijednost izuzetnih ilustracija, koje prate tekst.

Nismo to prije govorili, ali sada imamo potrebu da kažemo da su mnogi u domovini i svijetu odali priznanje za unikatnu kreativnost i inovaciju u ilustracijama i bioligvijalnoj opremi našeg magazina.

Veoma smo zahvalni našim vjernim čitateljima u zemlji i svijetu.

Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ, glavni urednik

"Perfect Man", who in the absence of a prophet is a sign and a signpost to the faithful. Particularly important is Dr. Valjevac's love and respect for Sheikh Mustafa ef. Čolić, who left behind recognizable traces of Sufi tradition in our country. The fact that the idea of the "Perfect Man" was alive in our Bosnia as well speaks of the breadth and depth of Bosnian Sufi/Dervish spirituality, which is still cherished today, as evidenced by Dr. Valjevac, who dedicated his work to this important topic. I am convinced that the readers of this article will find peace in the soul through these wise Sufi messages.

Finally, as usual, we have a book review, in this case it is the "Systemic Earthquake and Struggle for World Order" by Ahmet Davutoglu, former Prime Minister of Turkey, a review made by Emir Hadžikadunić. It can be said that the world has never been without earthquakes one way or another, but it seems that there have never been such bloody earthquakes in history as there are today, especially in the Holy Land, in Gaza – Palestine. Therefore, we appreciate that the depiction of this book is important because it was written by a man who had been in the midst of strong political and military earthquakes both in Turkey and in the surrounding area.

Certainly, it is worth saying that academician Mehmed Akšamija, Editor – Art Director, this time again tried to make this eighth issue of our magazine attractive, informative and above all a unique example of a magazine, which attracts the respect of every objective reader who understands the value of exceptional illustrations, which accompany the text.

We have not said this before, but now we have the need to say that many in the homeland and the world have given recognition for a unique creativity and innovation in illustrations and bilingual equipment of our magazine.

We are very grateful to our devoted readers in country and around the world.

Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ, Editor-in-chief

illuminatio/svjetionik/almanar
NEW IDEAS ON FAITH, MORALITY, ART, NATION, SOCIETY AND STATE



Emir Nawaf al-Ahmad al-Džaber al-Sabah (1937.-2023.) - © Beta/AP/ Nasser Waggi
Emir Nawaf al-Ahmad al-Jaber al-Sabah (1937-2023) - © Beta/AP/ Nasser Waggi



المشيخة الإسلامية في البوسنة والهرسك
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سفارة دولة الكويت
لدى البوسنة والهرسك

تعزية اليوم القلبية
إلى أهل الكويت الكرام

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته، وبعد:

إنا لله وإنا إليه راجعون، تعزيتكم بوفاه فقيدكم، وفقيد الأمة العربية، والإسلامية، أمير دولة الكويت، الشيخ / نواف الأحمد الجابر الصباح.

اللهم اغفر له، وارحمه رحمة واسعة، اللهم أكرم نزله، اللهم أوسع مدخله، اللهم اغسله بالماء والثلج والبرد، اللهم نقه من الخطايا كما ينقى الثوب الأبيض من الدنس، اللهم برحمتك أسكنه جنتك بالفردوس الأعلى بسحبه الأنبياء والصديقين.

عظم الله أجركم، واحسن الله عزاكم، وبمن عليكم بالصبر والسلوان.

ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله.

د. مصطفى تميميش

رئيس مجلس الإدارة

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ILUSTRACIJA - Jedan od objekata Kuvajtskog nacionalnog muzeja koji je osnovan 1983. godine. Muzej se sastoji od pet povezanih zgrada postavljenih oko centralnog vrta. (Arhiv Akšamija)



ILLUSTRATION - One of the facilities of the Kuwait National Museum, which was founded in 1983. The museum consists of five connected buildings set around a central garden. (Archive of AkSamija)



ILUSTRACIJA - *Portret učenog čovjeka od nepoznatog autora.* Indija, 16. stoljeće. © Aga Khan Museum AKM906.
ILLUSTRATION - *Portrait of a learned man by an unknown author.* India 16th century. © Aga Khan Museum AKM906.

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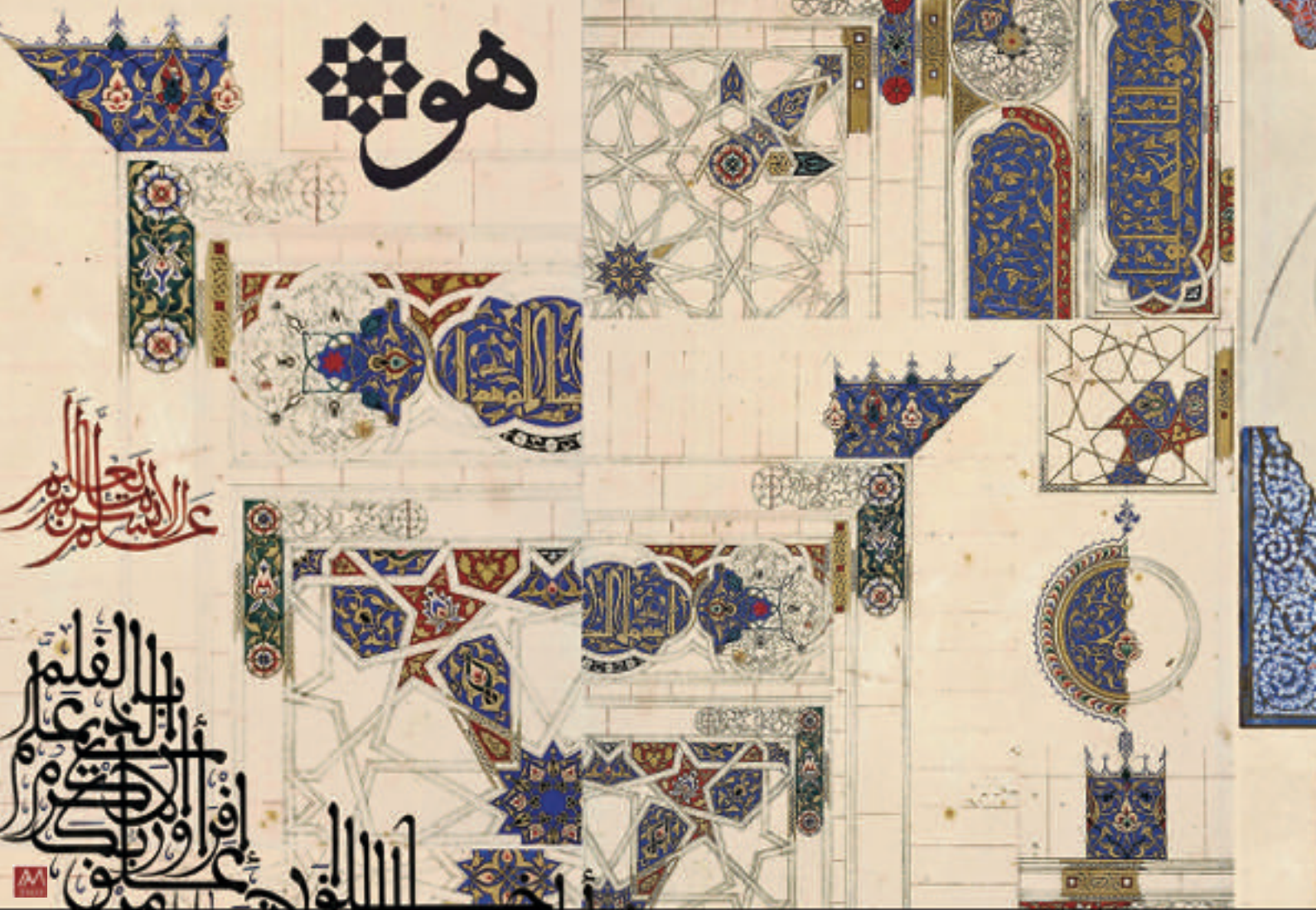
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Mehmed A. AKŠAMIJA

**ANTAGONIZAM OKCIDENTALNOG ODREĐENJA UMJETNOSTI I
KARAKTERIZACIJE MODALITETA DISKURSA QADAR/ŠINĀ'ATA**

• prvi dio •

**ANTAGONISM BETWEEN OCCIDENTAL DEFINITION OF ART AND
CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MODALITIES OF THE
QADAR/ŠINĀ'AT DISCOURSE**

• first part •

Sažetak

U radu se analizira odnos između okcidentalno-vesterniziranog poimanja *umjetnosti* i mogućeg statusa *umjetnosti* unutar jedinstvenog diskursa – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah*, te estetsko-metafizičkog iskustva tradicionalne islamske sistematizacije znanja – *ṣinā'at al-kitābah*, odnosno akta činjenja slikovne forme lijepom – *ṣinā'at al-taṣwīr*. Posebna pozornost usmjerena je na koncept *qadar/ṣinā'ata*, gdje je moguće razlikovati *homo islamicusovo* **ornamentalno djelanje rekognitivnog predznaka i kognitivno produktivno-refleksivnu reprezentaciju kolaborativne orijentacije**.

S obzirom na istovremeno postojanje *jedinstva* i *različitosti* u sklopu estetiziranog djelanja/*ṣinā'ata* rekognitivnog predznaka (ornamentalne forme) – *al-ṣinā'at al-zukhrufiyyah*, želi se pokazati kako tradicionalna sistematizacija znanja daje najpotpuniji izraz estetskom značenju dijalektike *jedinstvo* – *različitost*, koja se manifestira u diskursima *qadar/ṣinā'ata* pod krovom *ṣinā'at al-taḥsīna* – problematike modalitetā diskursa u kontekstu slikovnog djelanja/*ṣinā'ata*, a ne *fann al-taḥsīna*. Ipak, poseban naglasak stavljen je na paralelno prisustvo vida informativne inicijacije primijenjenog oblika – *al-ṣinā'at al-taḥbiqiyah* radi postizanja specifičnog sadržajnog cilja estetiziranog djelanja/*ṣinā'ata* *homo islamicusa*, gdje se on ne bavi imitacijom ili figuralnim predstavljanjem s posebnom važnošću čiste figuralne fantazme (minijturni slikovni prikaz / knjige arapskog i perzijskog manuskripta).

Također analiziramo i obrazlažemo značenja arapske riječi *al-fann* te postavljamo i pitanje zašto je riječ *al-fann* odabrana za označavanje fenomena *umjetnosti* u modernom arapskom jeziku, a ne riječ *al-ṣinā'ah* (vještina, praktično znanje). U formuliranju odgovora istražujemo date riječi u arapskoj leksikografskoj, neleksičkoj, odnosno semantičkoj tradiciji te obrazlažemo i definiramo naše opredjeljenje za utemeljeno korištenje riječi *al-ṣinā'ah* u sklopu *qadar/ṣinā'ata*, odnosno nauke o slikovnom – *'ilm al-taṣāwīr*.

Ključne riječi: *qadar/ṣinā'at*, *homo islamicus*, **ornamentalno djelanje rekognitivnog predznaka**, **kognitivno produktivno-refleksivna reprezentacija**, **nauka vizualnog predstavljanja**, **umjetnost**, **filozofija**, **muslimanska estetika** – *al-džamāl*, **tradicija**, **problematika lijepog**

Abstract

The paper analyzes the relationship between Occidental-Westernized understanding of **art** and a possible status of **art** within an integrated discourse – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah*, as well as the aesthetic-metaphysical experience of the traditional Islamic systematization of knowledge – *ṣināʿat al-kitābah*, and the action of making a visual form beautiful – *ṣināʿat al-taṣwīr*. Particular attention is attached to the concept of *qadar/ṣināʿat*, where it is possible to distinguish between *homo islamicus*'s **ornamental activity of cognitive type** and **the cognitive productive-reflective representation of collaborative disposition**.

Due to the simultaneous existence of unity and difference within the aestheticized activity/*ṣināʿat* of cognitive type (ornamental form) – *al-ṣināʿat al-zukhrufiyyah*, the paper strives to show that the traditional systematization of knowledge provides the most complete expression to the aesthetic meaning of the unity-difference dialectic, which is in turn manifested in the *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse under the umbrella of *ṣināʿat al-taḥsīn* – the issue of the modalities of discourse in the context of pictorial activity/*ṣināʿat* rather than *fann al-taḥsīn*. Still, a particular emphasis is placed on the parallel existence of a kind of informative initiation of applied form – *al-ṣināʿat al-taḥbiyyah* aimed at achieving a distinctive content-related goal of aestheticized activity/*ṣināʿat* of *homo islamicus*, where he is not involved in imitation or figural representation with a special importance of the pure figural phantasm (miniature visual representation/books of Arabic and Persian manuscript).

The paper also analyzes and substantiates meanings of the Arabic word *al-fann*, and raises the question as to why the word *al-fann* has been selected to refer to the phenomenon of art in modern Arabic, rather than the word *al-ṣināʿah* (skill, practical knowledge). To articulate the answer, the paper studies the words in Arabic lexicographic, non-lexical, i.e. semantic tradition, and substantiates and defines the reason for the established use of the word *al-ṣināʿah* within *qadar/ṣināʿat*, i.e. the science of the pictorial – *ʿilm al-taṣāwīr*.

Key words: *qadar/ṣināʿat*, *homo islamicus*, *ornamental activity of cognitive type*, *cognitive productive-reflective representation*, *science of visual representation*, *art*, *philosophy*, *Muslim aesthetics* – *al-jamāl*, *tradition*, *issue of beautiful*

ANTAGONIZAM OKCIDENTALNOG ODREĐENJA UMJETNOSTI I KARAKTERIZACIJE MODALITETĀ DISKURSA QADAR/ŠINĀ'ATA

• prvi dio •

Mogući pristup razumijevanju rekognitivnog i kognitivnog produktivno-refleksivnog prikaza saradničke dispozicije *homo islamicusa*

Estetizirano djelanje/*sinā'at* *homo islamicusa* unutar jedinstvenog diskursa – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah* i tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja – *sinā'at al-kitabah*

moguće je pretpostaviti da će se okcidentalno-vesternizirana javnost uvijek zalagati za opstanak one definirane sadržajnosti koju njihov akademizam smatra i definira kao *umjetnost*, a da se pod tim izrazom neće naći dodatno odgovarajuće objašnjenje onog određenja koje je moguće smatrati specifičnim diskursima *qadar/šīnā'ata* *homo islamicusa*,^{▼1} odnosno **ornamentalnim djelanjem rekognitivnog ili pak kognitivnog predznaka**, tj. **produktivno-refleksivna reprezentacija kolaborativne orijentacije ili dispozicije**. To bi mogao biti povod zašto želimo pokušati približiti ove fenomene svjesnog djelanja/*šīnā'ata* *homo islamicusa*.

Naime, **ornamentalno djelanje rekognitivnog predznaka** označava kompozicionu strukturu ornamentalno-geometriciziranog elementa – *al-tazyīn al-handasī* definiranu konstruktima plošnog, a u nekim slučajevima i euklidsko-plastičnog karaktera, karakterističnu za prvotne forme – *šaklan* slikovnog izražavanja začetnika/dizajnera pod „mentorstvom“ domene tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja – *šīnā'at al-'ilm*.

Ornament (ar. *al-zīnah*, grč. στολίδι, lat. *ornamentum*) kao konstrukt može biti naslikan, plastično oblikovan, izvezen, iskucan – obrađen u metalu ili izveden bilo kojom drugom metodom ručnog rada u nekom materijalu,^{▼2} a njegova se konstruktivno-sadržajna kompozicijska načela karakteriziraju

▼1 O definiranju i korištenju termina *homo islamicus* – islamski čovjek vidjeti u Akšamija, A. Mehmed. *Analiza korištenja terminoloških odrednica 'umjetnost islama' i 'islamska umjetnost'*. *Illuminatio – Svjetionik – Almanar*. 2020 proljeće, 1(1):62, fusnote 8 i 68; str. 70, fusnote 15, 16, 17 i 18.

For use of the term *qadar/šīnā'at* see Akšamija, A. Mehmed. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-101.

▼2 Tradicionalna islamska sistematizacija znanja pod riječju *al-sunnā'* podrazumijeva osnovno značenje koje se odnosi na one 'koji rade svojim rukama' – *šanī'u al-aydihim*. Naprimjer, Qusta ibn Luqa (um. oko 913) razlikuje četiri vrste *al-šīnā'ata* (množina od *šīnā'a*), a jedana od njih je i produktivna prakticirana kroz odgovarajuće radnje, kao i kolektivna, jer ima udjela u ostalim vrstama *šan'a*.

Usporediti Al-Farahidi, Al-Khalil ibn Ahmad. *Kitāb al-'Ayn*. Tom 1, str. 304-305. Engleska verzija dostupna na: https://dbpedia.org/page/Kitāb_al-'Ayn, a arapska na: <http://arabiclexicon.hawramani.com/al-khalil-b-ahmad-al-farahidi-kitāb-al-ain/>. Posljednji put posjećeno 20. 7. 2023; Kheirandish, Elaheh. „Organizing Scientific Knowledge: The 'Mixed'”

ANTAGONISM BETWEEN OCCIDENTAL DEFINITION OF ART AND CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MODALITIES OF THE QADAR/ŞINĀ'AT DISCOURSE

• first part •

A possible approach to understanding the recognitive and cognitive productive-reflective representation of collaborative disposition by *homo islamicus*

Aestheticized activity/*sinā'at* of *homo islamicus* within an integral discourse – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah* and traditional systematizations of knowledge – *sinā'at al-kitabah*

It can be assumed that a Occidental-westernized public will always advocate the survival of the defined content which their academism considers and defines as **art**. However, this term will not additionally and appropriately explain an aspect which can be considered the distinctive *qadar/şinā'at* discourse of *homo islamicus*,^{▼1} that is to say **the ornamental activity of recognitive** or else the **cognitive type**, or the **productive-reflective representation of collaborative disposition**. It could be the reason why we want to clarify these phenomena of *homo islamicus*'s conscious activity/*şinā'at*.

Indeed, **ornamental activity of recognitive type** refers to the compositional structure of ornamental-geometricized element – *al-tazyyīn al-handasī* defined by constructs of planar, and in some cases Euclidean-plastic character. This is characteristic of the original forms – *shaklan* of pictorial expression of authors/designers under the „mentorship“ of the domain of traditional systematization of knowledge – *şinā'at al-ilm*.

An **ornament** (Ar. *al-zīnah*, Gr. *στολίδι*, Lat. *ornamentum*) as a construct can be painted, plastically shaped, embroidered, embossed – molded in metal or made using any other method of handiwork on a material.^{▼2} The principles of composition of the construction of its content are characterized

^{▼1} For the definition and use of the term *homo islamicus* – *Islamic man*, see Akšamija, A. Mehmed. *Analysis of the Use of Terminological Determinants „Art of Islam“ and „Islamic Art“*. *Illuminatio-Svjetionik-Almanar*. 2020 spring, 1(1):62, fn. 8 i 68; p. 70, fn. 15, 16, 17 and 18.

For use of the term *qadar/şinā'at* see, Akšamija, A. Mehmed. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-101.

^{▼2} In the traditional Islamic systematization of knowledge, the term *al-şunnā'* implies the basic meaning which pertains to those *who work with their hands* – *şanī'u al-aydihim*. For instance, Qusta ibn Luqa (d. In or around 913) distinguishes for kinds of *al-şinā'āt* (plural of *şinā'ah*), one of them being the productive work, practiced by appropriate actions, as well as collective kind, since it participated in other kinds of *şan'a*.

Cf. al-Farahidi, Al-Khalil ibn Ahmad. *Kitab al-'Ayn*. Volume 1, pp. 304-305. English version is available at: https://dbpedia.org/page/Kitab_al-'Ayn; Arabic version at: <http://arabiclexicon.hawramani.com/al-khalil-b-ahmad-al-farahidi-kitab-al-ain/>. Last accessed on 20.07.2023; Kheirandish, Elaheh. *Organizing Scientific Knowledge: The 'Mixed' Sciences in Early Classifications*; in: Gerhard Endress

ritmičkim nizanjem geometrijskih, floralnih, nešto manje zoomorfni... motiva s istaknutim i jasno naglašenim stiliziranim ornamentalnim dominantama (lat. *dominans*). Ornamentalnu orijentaciju začetnika/dizajnera estetizirane reprezentacije moguće je nazvati *prvim alfabetom ljudske misli u sukobu s okruženjem*, I to s ciljem slavljenja Svevišnjeg.^{▼3}

'Uz svu ritmičnost kombinacija koje pruža, već najjednostavnija tema ornamenta, savijanje kakve linearne forme (asocijacija na lisnatu grančicu, op. aut.) konfigurira geometricizirani oblik vrtloženja i talasanja jednog jednostavnog konstrukta; negiranje objektivnosti izvan ljudskog uma s ciljem prezentacije sasvim nove stilizirane slikovne dimenzije.'^{▼4}

Samo uvođenje i korištenje pojma *geometrije* – '*ilm al-handasah* (grč.: γεω = zemlja, μετρεω = mjerim, te *geometria* = geodetsko mjerenje) za takve svrhe je nutarnja tradicionalna semiotička doktrina *homo islamicusa*, koja je, baš kao i kod arapske kaligrafije – *al-khatt*, izvornog sredstva za komunikaciju, koristila proizvoljne, ali i modularne znakove – *al-išārāt* s ciljem iskazivanja najdubljih značenja posredstvom ideografskih prevedenica iz percipiranog svijeta prirode. Iako se, pogledom izvana, za ovakav inspirativan izraz može kazati kako je povremeno hermetičan, ipak projekt kao takav zapanjujuće je savremen i nepromjenljiv u svom beskonačnom nizu različitih pojavnosti i bezvremenosti – *al-sarmad*. Karakterizira se dualnošću **jedinstva** i **različitosti**,^{▼5} gdje je potpuno *jedinstvo* – *al-tawhīd al-khālīṣ* (lat. *unitas*) sadržano u komplementarnosti estetiziranih elemenata unutar jednog homogeno-karakterističnog geometrijskog obrasca. Različitost – *al-tanawwu'* (lat. *varietas*) neodvojiva je od *jedinstva* jer je sadržana u uređenosti reduciranih/stiliziranih, ali i različitih mnogostrukih elemenata kroz odnos komparativne podudarnosti, repeticije, integriranja i kompozicijsko-interpretativnog nadopunjavanja, tako da se postiže interakcija i kohezija u produktu određenog rada, tj. djelanja/*šinā'ata homo islamicusa*. S obzirom na istovremeno postojanje *jedinstva* i *različitosti* ovih univerzalnih vrijednosti unutar akta

Sciences in Early Classifications“; U: Gerhard Endress, (ur.). *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopaedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*. Leiden: Brill; 2006. str. 149-150.

^{▼3} *Architecture and the Decorative Arts – The complete and unabridged full-color edition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016; Bruderlin, Markus (ur. et al.). *Ornament and Abstraction: The Dialogue Between Non-Western, Modern and Contemporary*. Riehen/Basel: Fondation Beyeler and Dumont, 2001; Trilling, James. *The Language of Ornament (World of Art)*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001.

^{▼4} Vidjeti Jones, Owen. *The Grammar of Ornament*. London: Day and Son; 1856. poglavlje X, str. 1-8. Dostupno na: <https://archive.org/details/grammarornament00jone>. Posljednji put posjećeno 22. 4. 2023. Vidjeti i Gabelica, Marina. *Ritam u ornamentima*. Nije paginirano. Dostupno na: <http://likovna-kultura.ufzg.unizg.hr/Ucimo-gledati-zine/Broj%202/ritam%20u%20ornamentima.htm>. Posljednji put posjećeno 22. 4. 2023.

^{▼5} Princip *jedinstva* i *različitosti* (grč. ενωμένοι και πολυμορφία) usmjerava nas ka dvjema osnovnim vrstama teorije: prvoj ili *općoj teoriji*, koja na *jedinstvo* i *različitost* gleda kao na fenomene koji se razumijevaju intuitivno, i drugoj ili *specifičnoj teoriji*, koja se prema *jedinstvu* i *različitosti* odnosi kao prema predmetu izučavanja, suprotstavljanja mišljenja i definiranja odgovarajuće metodološke analize. Na osnovu ove klasifikacije princip *jedinstva* i *različitosti* može se smatrati semantičkim fokusom i epistemološkim backgroundom opće teorije diskursa *qadar/šinā'ata*.

by rhythmical sequencing of geometrical, floral, somewhat less zoomorphic zoomorphic and other motifs with prominent and clearly highlighted stylized ornamental dominants (Lat. *dominans*). The ornamental orientation of authors/designers of aestheticized representation can be labeled as the *first alphabet of human thought in conflict with the surrounding*, aimed at glorifying the Almighty.^{▼3}

'Besides the rhythm of combination it provides, even the simplest theme of an ornament, bending of a linear form (association to a leafy branch) configures a geometricized form of whirling and waving of a simple construct: negation of objectivity beyond human mind aimed at presenting a completely new stylized pictorial dimension.'^{▼4}

The mere introduction and use of the concept of *geometry* – *‘ilm al-handasah* (Gr.: γεω = Earth, μετρεω = I measure, and *geometria* = geodetic measurement) for such purposes is the inner traditional semiotic doctrine of *homo islamicus*. Exactly like in Arabic calligraphy – *al-khatt*, the original means of communication, it used arbitrary, though modular signs – *al-ishārāt*) as well, with the aim of expressing the most profound meanings by means of ideographic translations from the perceived world of nature. Although a view from the outside can describe such an inspirational expression as occasionally hermetic, the project as such is astonishingly contemporary and unchangeable in its endless string of different manifestations and timelessness – *al-sarmad*. It is characterized by the duality of **unity** and **difference**,^{▼5} where the complete *unity* – *al-tawhīd al-khālīṣ* (Lat. *unitas*) is contained in the complementarity of aestheticized elements within a single homogeneously characteristic geometrical pattern. *Difference* – *al-tanawwu‘* (Lat. *varietas*) is inseparable from *unity* since it is contained in the organization of reduced/stylized though multiple different elements, through the relationship of comparative correspondence, repetition, integration and compositional-interpretative complementation. All these achieve interaction and cohesion in the product of a given work, i.e. activity/*ṣinā‘at* of *homo islamicus*. Due to the simultaneous existence of *unity and difference* of these universal values within the act of

(ed.). *Organizing Knowledge: Encyclopedic Activities in the Pre-Eighteenth Century Islamic World*. Leiden: Brill; 2006, pp. 149-150.

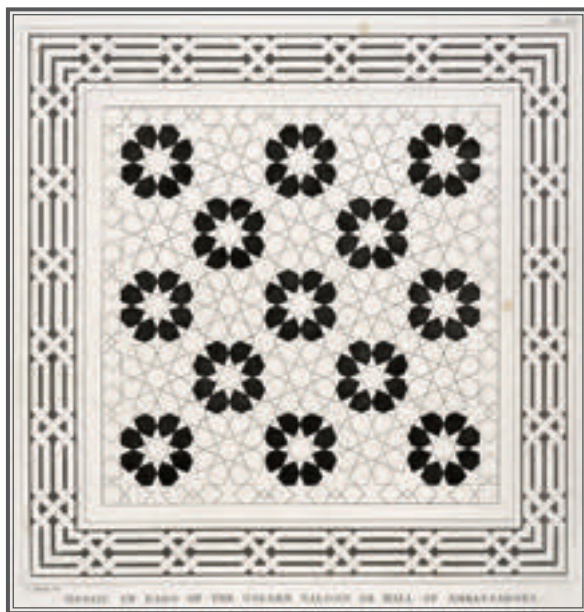
^{▼3} *Architecture and the Decorative Arts – The complete and unabridged full-color edition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016; Bruderlin, Markus (ed. et al.). *Ornament and Abstraction: The Dialogue Between Non-Western, Modern and Contemporary Art*. Riehen/Basel: Fondation Beyeler and Dumont, 2001; Trilling, James. *The Language of Ornament (World of Art)*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001.

^{▼4} See Jones, Owen. *The Grammar of Ornament*. London: Published by Day and Son; 1856, Chapter X, pp. 1-8. Available at: <https://archive.org/details/grammarornament00Jone>. Last accessed on 22.4.2023. Also see Gabelica, Marina. *Ritam u ornamentima*. Not paginated. Available at: <http://likovna-kultura.ufzg.unizg.hr/Ucimo-gledati-zine/Broj%202/ritam%20u%20ornamentima.htm>. Last accessed on 22.4.2023.

^{▼5} The principle of *unity and difference* (Gr. ενωμένοι και πολυμορφία) directs us toward two basic kinds of theory: toward the first, or **general theory**, which views *unity and difference* as phenomena which are understood intuitively, and toward the second or **specific theory**, which treats *unity and difference* as a subject of study, confronting opinions and defining an appropriate methodological analysis. Based on this classification, the principle of *unity and difference* can be considered as the focus and epistemological background of the general theory of *qadar/ṣinā‘at* discourse.

činjenja slikovne forme lijepom – *šinā' at al-tašawir*, ovo je ipak civilizacija za koju se može kazati da je dala najpotpuniji izraz općem estetskom značenju dijalektike (od grčkog διαλεκτική τέχνη) *jedinstvo – različitost*, koja se manifestira u rekognitivnom diskursu *qadar/šinā' ata*.

Dualnost *jedinstva i različitosti* karakterizira se elementima što se ponavljaju i koji ponavljanjem definiraju ornamentalnu cjelinu. Prisutno ponavljanje upućuje na to da je riječ o izrazu kojim se naznačuju određene svrhovitosti, koje prvenstveno proizlaze iz pokušaja da se formom postigne *ravnoteža cjeline*. Ravnotežu je, najjednostavnije moguće opisati kao uravnotežen odnos obiju strana. Analitički je moguće utvrditi kako postoje tri vrste ravnoteže: *simetrična*, *asimetrična* i *optička*, a kada je već o ornamentu riječ, ključna je simetrična ravnoteža (pravilna), što se postiže pomoću *simetrije* prisutnih elemenata. Simetrija nije jednoznačan pojam. Postoji više načina na koje se ona može ostvariti: *zrcaljenjem*, *translacijom* i *rotacijom*. Za razliku od zrcaljenja, forme jednostavnog preslikavanja lijeve na desnu ili gornje na donju stranu, *retranslacijom* – stalnim ponavljanjem istih elemenata u određenom smjeru sugerira se pokret, s tim da se takva slikovna forma, gledana u cjelini, i zrcali. Ukratko, *rotacija* je vrsta simetrije koja predstavlja zakretanje nekog elementa za zadani ugao, gdje se određeni elementi ponavljaju pod uglom i takvim stalnim ponavljanjem definiraju cjelinu (lat. *universus*).



ILUSTRACIJA – Definiranje ornamentalne cjeline posredstvom simetrije i dominacije ritma. (Arhiv Akšamija)
ILLUSTRATION – Defining the ornamental whole by means of symmetry and dominance of rhythm. (Archive of Akšamija)

Bez obzira na to o kojoj je simetriji riječ, ona predstavlja strukturalnost po kojoj se motiv usmjerava i po kojoj se njime raspolaže. Primjenom simetrije gradi se i *ritam* kao kontinuirano izmjenjivanje istih ili sličnih elemenata. Ipak, između simetrije i ritma postoji bitna razlika. *Simetrija* se vezuje uz

making a pictorial form beautiful – *ṣināʿat al-taṣawwir*, this is still a civilization which has, given the most complete expression to the general aesthetic meaning of the *unity-difference* dialectic (from Gr. *διαλεπτική τέχνη*), which is in turn manifested in the recognitive *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse.

The duality of *unity and difference* is characterized by elements that are repeated and which, by the repetition, define the ornamental whole. The present repetition indicates that it is an expression which signifies certain purposes that primarily result from an attempt to use form to achieve the *balance* of the whole. In simplest terms, balance can be described as a stable relationship between both sides. It can analytically be established that there are three kinds of balance: *symmetrical*, *asymmetrical* and *optical*. In the case of ornament, symmetrical balance is crucial, and it is achieved by *symmetry* of present elements. Symmetry is not an unambiguous concept. There are several ways in which it can be achieved: by *mirroring*, *translation* and *rotation*. Unlike *mirroring*, forms of simple mapping the left to the right side or the upper to the lower side, *translation* – continuous repetition of the same elements in a given direction suggest movement though such a pictorial form, viewed as a whole, is mirrored as well. In brief, *rotation* is a kind of symmetry which implies pivoting of an element at a given angle, whereby certain elements are repeated at an angle and by such a repetition define the whole (Lat. *universus*).



ILLUSTRATION – Defining the ornamental whole through the dominance and rotation of the rhythm. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA – Definiranje ornamentalne cjeline posredstvom dominacije i rotacije ritma. (Arhiv Akšamija)

Regardless of the kind of symmetry, it is a structure according to which a motif is directed and according to which it is used. Symmetry is also used to build *rhythm*, as a continuous alternation of the same or similar elements. Still, there is a crucial difference between symmetry and rhythm.

plohu ili prostor, a *ritam* uz vrijeme koje je potrebno za njegovo sagledavanje. Simetrija i ritam mjere su prostora i vremena, dvije su strane njihovog odnosa, polazeći od prostora – simetrija, a polazeći od vremena – ritam. Ipak, potrebno je kazati kako se ritam može javljati na bezbroj prepoznatljivih načina: u varijanti *dominacije* (stalno ponavljanje istog elementa), *alternacije* (izmjenom dvaju istih elemenata), *varijacije* (izmjenom sličnih elemenata), *gradacije* (postupnim naglašavanjem i/ili smirivanjem forme pojedinačnih elemenata) i *rotacije* (ravnomjernim širenjem određenog ritma od središta u svim smjerovima).

Analizom spomenutih kompozicionih načela kao aspekata ravnoteže simetrije i ritma cjeline u formi spoznaje *homo islamicusa* unutar ornamentalno-geometriciziranih slikovnih prikaza, pokušali smo sagledati opću strukturu ornamentalne cjeline. Ukoliko se sada osvrnemo na ornamentalnu orijentaciju začetnika/dizajnera estetizirane reprezentacije, moguće ju je okarakterizirati kao anikoničnu formu **povijesnog dokumenta prvog alfabetičke ljudske misli u sukobu sa zemaljskim okruženjem**. Međutim, potrebno je kazati kako se tu nameće i ponuda za moguće novo čitanje vremena, u kojem je *homo islamicusov* ornament – *al-zīnah* kao kulturni fenomen bio tipološki i povijesno povezan kao izraz pojavljivanja specifične strukture *spoznaje i istine*. U odnosu na tradicionalnu upotrebu ornamentalnog u kasnoantičkoj baštini, za umajadske/emevijske *homines islamici*, koji su bili vezani za dinastiju arapskih khalifā od 661. do 750. godine s prijestolnicom u Damasku, može se kazati da su redefinirali stanje značenja djelanja/*ṣinā'ata* na temelju do tada neviđenog stava prema slikovnim prikazima i vizualnom diskursu utemeljenom na islamskoj ontoteologiji i logocentričnoj metafizici. Ornament u funkciji akta činjenja slikovne forme lijepom – *ṣinā'at al-taṣawwir*, odnosno kao estetska kategorija više nije pripadao području uobičajene moderne reprezentacije shvaćene kao vizualni diskurs, naracija ili fikcija. Za razliku od reprezentacije koja postoji samo u obavezujućem odnosu između predstavljajućeg objekta i onoga što on predstavlja, *homo islamicusov* ornament ontološki jeste i prvenstveno djeluje kao samostalna „struktura“ u strukturalističkom/poststrukturalističkom smislu riječi. Kao takav, *pattern art*, kako ga, između ostalog klasificira nazivlje okcidentalnog akademizma, estetski je autonoman, iako je tehnički vezan za određeni medij s kojim gradi neku vrstu odnosa.

Na samom početku ovog uvodnog dijela, želimo dodatno istaći kako nemamo namjeru dekonstruirati sada već klasičnu ideju da je okcidentalni akademizam bio dio globalnog sistema neadekvatnog predstavljanja i neodgovarajućih teorijskih utemeljenja onih kultura koje nisu pripadale *univerzalnim vrijednostima okcidentalnih struktura*. Poznato je koliko je za te rasprave bilo prisutno centralno pozivanje i na „islamsku umjetnost“ te njezinu estetiku, koja je koncipirana, pored ostalog, i kao suprotnost savremenim *orijentalističkim fantazijama*, ali i globalno općim akademskim opredjeljenjima unutar *umjetnosti* kao takve. Imajući u vidu ovu situaciju, koja se tom prilikom bavila i kombiniranjem kritike mimetičke reprezentacije kao estetike iluzije i orijentalizma kao kvintesencije ove doktrine, promicala

Symmetry is associated to a plane or a space, while *rhythm* is associated to the time needed for its viewing. Symmetry and rhythm are measures of time and space, two sides of the relationship: symmetry starts from space while rhythm starts from time. Still, it should be noted that rhythm can appear in a myriad of recognizable ways: in the variant of *domination* (permanent repetition of the same element), *alternation* (of two same elements), *variation* (alternating similar elements), *gradation* (gradual emphasizing and/or calming the form of individual elements) and *rotation* (uniform spreading of a given rhythm from the middle to all directions).

By analyzing the described principles of composition as aspects of balance, symmetry and rhythm of the whole in the form of *homo islamicus's* knowledge within ornamental-geometricized pictorial representations, we attempted to understand the general structure of an ornamental whole. If we now consider ornamental disposition of the authors/designers of aestheticized representation, we can characterize it as an aniconic form of **historical document of the first alphabet of human thought in conflict with earthly environment**. However, it should be noted that it also requires a necessary new reading of the time to which *homo islamicus's* ornament – *al-zīnah* as a cultural phenomenon was typologically and historically related as an expression of the emergence of a distinctive structure of **cognition** and **truth**. Compared to the traditional use of ornamental in the late antique heritage, it can be claimed that Umayyad *homines islamici*, who were related to the dynasty of Arabic khalifs with the capital in Damascus from 661 to 750, redefined the meaning of activity/*ṣinā'at* based on the previously unseen view of pictorial representations and visual discourse predicated on Islamic ontotheology and logocentric metaphysics. The ornament as an act of making a pictorial form beautiful – *ṣinā'at al-taṣawir*, as an aesthetic category, no longer belonged to the area of typical modern representation understood as visual discourse, narration or fiction. Unlike representation which exists only in the binding relationship between the object and what it represents, *homo islamicus's* ornament is ontological and primarily acts as an independent „structure“ in the structuralist/poststructuralist sense. As such, „pattern art“, as it is classified in the terminology of Occidental academism, is aesthetically autonomous, although it is technically related to a certain medium with which it builds a kind of relationship.

At the very beginning of this introductory section, we would like to additionally point out that we do not intend to deconstruct the already classical idea that Occidental academism was part of inappropriate presentation and providing inadequate theoretical grounds of cultures which did not belong to *universal values of Occidental structures*. It is well-known that these discussions attached a great importance to references to „Islamic art“ and its aesthetics which was, among other things, also conceived as the opposite of contemporary *Orientalist fantasies*, as well as to globally general academic orientations within *art* as such. Such opinions, which also included criticism of mimetic representation as the aesthetics of illusion and Orientalism as quintessence of this doctrine, promoted

se puna *umjetnička* vrijednost dvodimenzionalnih nefigurativnih uzoraka u ornamentici, ali se i s naglašenom sklonošću pozivalo na formalna načela „islamske umjetnosti“ bez uvažavanja domene tradicionalne islamske sistematizacije znanja, jedinstvenog diskursa autorefleksivnih konstanti, kao i njezine temeljne slikovne ontologije. Upravo zbog toga, smatramo bitnim i opravdanim da se u ovom radu detaljnije osvrnemo bar na dio onih činjenica koje su se aktivirale još u 19. stoljeću i što su skoro do danas aktivne unutar okcidentalnog akademizma u širem kontekstu modernog stanja *historije i teorije umjetnosti*, a koje se (i još uvijek) osjećaju i zamišljaju kao opće „stanje krize“ dualnog promatranja onog što se po okcidentalnom akademizmu podrazumijeva za *umjetnost*, odnosno „islamsku umjetnost“.

Prema tome, probleme značenja, vrijednosti i identiteta,^{▼6} koliko god oni sami po sebi bili bitni/neophodni u okcidentalnom nadziranju povijesti *umjetnosti* odnosno u tumačenjima anksiozno-okcidentalnog akademizma, mišljenja smo da ih je potrebno sagledati ne kao **vrijednosti** u odnosu na novoosmišljeni *globalno-univerzalni estetski ideal*, nego da je estetske vrijednosti uvijek potrebno iznova istraživati, procjenjivati, konstituirati, pa i problematizirati u vlastitom prostoru poštujući njihov fundament sistematizacije znanja što se aktualizira između položaja *pojavnosti i pojavljivanja*.^{▼7}

▼6 U okcidentalnoj filozofiji, **vrijednosti** su objektivne ili subjektivne kvalitete bitka ili bića različite obveznosti na različitim nivoima promatranja. Prema spoznajama novije etike, vrijednosti se ipak ne mogu izvoditi neposredno iz spoznaje bitka, npr. iz sadašnje spoznaje nekog prirodnog stanja – kada se to čini, po stavu G. E. Moorea, dolazi do „pogrešnog naturalističkog zaključka“. Naprotiv, vrijednosti bi uvijek trebale pretpostavljati međuljudski konsenzus koji polazi od određenih uvjeta, pod kojima dolazi do slaganja. Dok F. Nietzsche zahtijeva potpuno „prevrednovanje svih vrijednosti“ u smislu njihova zasnivanja na konkretnom ljudskom životu, M. Heidegger u potpunosti odbacuje vrijednosno mišljenje zato što se ono, po njemu, uvijek zasniva na nekoj, bilo osjetilnoj bilo nadosjetilnoj, predodžbi o vrijednosti, prema kojoj čovjek mora izvršavati i svoju vlastitu egzistenciju, tj. otuđiti se od vlastitoga bitka.

Domena tradicionalne sistematizacije islamskog znanja – *ṣinā'at al-'ilm* podrazumijeva mistično povezivanje Božanske transcendencije – *al-'uluwwa* i univerzalnog Božanskog jedinstva – *al-tawḥīd*. *Homo islamicus*ov misticizam – *al-taṣawwuf* unutar *qadar/ṣinā'ata* jeste ono što se traži više srcem nego umom, zbog čega nije zapao u hajdegerijansko metafizičko otuđenje od bitka (grč. to ov - to on, particip glagola biti), što je inače usud okcidentalne filozofije. Time je ontološka diferencijacija bitka – *al-wudūd* i bića – *al-mawdūd* dokinuta u ekstazi *homo islamicusa*, koji Boga doživljava kao onog sasvim *Prvog* – transcendencija [(ar. *al-ta'ālī*) i (ar. *al-ḥaqīqah*)], i *Prvog* u sebi – imanencija (ar. *al-dzawhariyyah*).

U okcidentalnoj filozofskoj upotrebi (*fenomenolojski i logički*), **identitet** je jedinstvo značenja, onoga mišljenog, nasuprot višestrukosti načina mišljenja i predočavanja koji se odnose na isti (realni ili idealni) predmet. Dok se *materijalni identitet* odnosi na konkretno (pojedinačno) biće, *kvalitativni identitet* obuhvaća svojstva koja su zajednička sveukupnom području predmeta, objekata ili modela. Identični mogu biti samo oni pojmovi koji imaju jednak sadržaj i obim.

U kontekstu svrhe uspostavljanja jedinstvene islamske kolektivne svijesti i **identiteta** – *al-huwiyyah al-islāmiyyah*, odnosno jedinstva diskursa *qadar/ṣinā'ata*, postoje različiti filozofski pristupi, s tim da se kod jednog od njih, Isma'īl al-Faruqija, napominje da se, ukoliko to neko, želi sasvim slobodno može osporavati jedinstvo, ali ne **jedinstvo svrhe i forme** vezano za **identitet** unutar tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja: '[...] *kreativna angažiranost* [...] koja je jednom transformirana u islam (unutar *qadar/ṣinā'ata* op. aut.) *producirala je iste konstitutivne karakteristike, eliminiranje naturalizma, karakterizaciju i razvoj, te i sklonost stilizaciji koja je usmjerena ka formalizmu generativnog kretanja, ka bezvremenosti*' – *al-sarnad*.

Al-Faruqi, R. Isma'īl. „Islām and Art“. *Studia Islamica* – akademski časopis. Leiden: Brill; 1973;37:6.

▼7 U okviru okcidentalnog poimanja, da bi se mogao uspostaviti plauzibilni model općeg slikovnog pojavljivanja, uzimaju se u obzir podjednako promjene u medijalnosti slikovnih formi/sadržaja. U djelu *Estetika pojavljivanja* unutar eseja pod naslovom „Trinaest teza o slici“, njemački autor Martin Seel izričito tvrdi da se problematika ontologije slike jasnije aktualizira ako se pođe od nefigurativnih slikovnih vrijednosti zato što one ne nose „teret“ reprezentacije: „Svaka teorija slike mora s jedne strane objasniti kako je slikovni objekt povezan sa slikovnim prikazom, a s druge strane kako je slikovni prikaz povezan s reprezentacijom.“

the full *artistic* value of two-dimensional non-figural samples in ornamentation. At the same time, they were conspicuously inclined to refer to formal principles of „Islamic art“ without taking into account the traditional Islamic systematization of knowledge, unique discourse of self-reflective constants and its fundamental pictorial ontology. It is for this reason that we believe essential and justified to present in detail at least part of the facts which became active as early as in the 19th century and which have almost remained active within Occidental academism in a broader context of the modern conditions of *history and theory of art*. They are still felt and thought of as a general „state of crisis“ of dual viewing of what Occidental academism considers as *art*, i.e. „Islamic art“.

Thus, we believe that issues of meaning, values and identity,^{▼6} regardless of how essential/necessary they are per se in Occidental supervision of history of *art*, in interpretations of anxiously-Occidental academism, should not be discussed as **values** compared to the newly-conceived *global-universal aesthetic ideal*; rather, aesthetic values should be repeatedly studied, assessed, constituted, even challenged in their own space, taking into account their own foundation of systematization of knowledge, which is actualized between positions of *appearance and appearing*.^{▼7}

▼6 In Occidental philosophy, **values** refer to objective or subjective qualities of Being or a being with different obligations at different degrees of observation. According to insights of more recent ethics, values still cannot be directly derived from the knowledge of Being, e.g. from the present knowledge of a natural state – when it happens, according to the view of G.E. Moore, it results in a „false naturalist conclusion“. On the contrary, values should always imply consensus among people, which starts from certain conditions and results in the agreement. While F. Nietzsche requires a complete „revaluation of all values“ in the sense that they should be based on actual human life, M. Heidegger totally rejects thinking in values because, according to him, it is always based on either a sensory or supersensory notion of value according to which the man ought to execute even his own existence, i.e. alienate himself from his own Being.

The domain of the traditional systematization of Islamic knowledge – *ṣināʿat al-ʿilm* implies mystical linking between Divine transcendence – *al-ʿuluww* and universal Divine unity – *al-tawḥīd*. *Homo islamicus*'s mysticism – *al-taṣawwuf* within *qadar/ṣināʿat* is what is sought more by heart than by mind and therefore he has not fallen prey to Heideggerian metaphysical alienation from Being (Gr. *τὸ ὄν* - to on, participle of the verb *to be*), which is generally the fate of Occidental philosophy. In this way, the ontological differentiation of Being – *al-wujūd* and being – *al-mawjud* is annulled in the ecstasy of *homo islamicus*, who experiences God as the very First – transcendence [(Ar. *al-taʿālī*) and (Ar. *al-ḥaqīqah*)], and the First in himself – immanence (Ar. *al-jawhariyyah*).

In Occidental philosophical use (*phenomenologically and logically*), **identity** is the unity of meaning of what is thought against the multiplicity of ways of thinking and representing which pertain to the same (actual or ideal) object. While *material identity* refers to an actual (individual) being, *qualitative identity* includes properties which are common to the overall area of objects or models. Only the concepts which have the same content and scope can be identical.

There are different philosophical approaches aimed at establishing unity of Islamic collective awareness and **identity** – *al-huwiyyah al-islāmiyyah*, i.e. unity of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse. One of them, by Ismaiʿl Al-Faruqi, notes that one can freely dispute unity if he wants to, but not **identity of purpose and forms** related to **identity** within the traditional systematization of knowledge: '[...] *creative engagement ... which has once been transformed into Islam* (within *qadar/ṣināʿat* author's note) *has produced same constitutive characteristics, elimination of naturalism, characterization and development, as well as propensity for stylization which is directed toward formalism of general movement, toward timelessness*' – *al-sarmad*.

Al-Faruqi, R. Ismaiʿl. „*Islām and Art*“. *Studia Islamica – academic journals*. Leiden: Brill; 1973;37:6.

▼7 Within the Occidental understanding, establishment of a plausible model of general pictorial appearing also takes into account changes in mediality of pictorial forms/contents. In his work *Aesthetics of Appearing*, in the essay entitled „Thirteen Statements on the Picture“, German author Martin Steel explicitly claims that the issue of the ontology of picture is more clearly manifested if one starts from non-figurative pictures, because they do not carry the „burden“ of representation: „Any theory of the picture must explain how a pictorial object is connected with the pictorial presentation on the one hand, and how the pictorial presentation is connected with representation.“



ILUSTRACIJA - Ornamentalno-geometricizirani slikovni prikaz - anikonična forma povijesnog dokumenta prvog alfabeta ljudske misli u sukobu sa zemaljskim okruženjem. Indo-perzijska forma. © L'ornement Polychrome Alberta Racinea (1825.-1893.).



ILLUSTRATION ~ Ornamental-geometric pictorial representation - aniconic form of the historical document of the first alphabet of human thought in conflict with the earthly environment. Indo-Persian pattern, © L'ornement Polychrome Alberta Racinea (1825-1893).

Estetizirano djelanje/*ṣinā'at* *homo islamicusa* rekognitivnog predznaka ornamentalnih oblika – *al-ṣinā'at al-zukhrufiyyah*, dakle, nasuprot vrijednosnim sudovima okcidentalnog akademizma o onome što smatra/identificira terminom kao „islamska umjetnost“ i njezinim „estetiziranim djelovanjem“ ima jednu subjektivno-estetsku i jednu objektivno-civilizacijsku dimenziju. Prvu dimenziju temeljem islamske sistematizacije znanja moguće je sagledati u činjenici da diskurse *qadar/ṣinā'ata* čine **modaliteti** estetiziranih reprezentacija koji skupa formiraju kompleksniju, ali bezvremenu dimenziju fleksibilnijih formi dizajna (bez početka i kraja i nisu vezani za vrijeme). Generalno gledajući, modaliteti (lat. *modalitas*, *-atis*) unutar *qadar/ṣinā'ata* temeljni su preduvjeti za realizaciju određenih mogućnosti, kako estetske percepcije tako i percepcije slikovnog općenito kao fenomena (ar. *al-zawāhir*), koji posjeduju drugačiju unutrašnju logiku od realiteta (ili kontinuuma stvarnosti), a u kojem se, u jednom od modaliteta, nalaze supstancijalne projekcije predmetā, objekata ili modelā namijenjene percepciji promatrača. Te modalitete je potrebno precizno definirati iz dvaju temeljnih razloga. Prvo, zato što oni mogu baciti novo svjetlo na još nerazriješene aporije slikovnog obrata, prvenstveno onog njegovog dijela što se bavio pitanjem odnosa stvarnog i vizualiziranog, i obratno. Drugo, ako su ornamentalno djelanje rekognitivnog predznaka, kao i kognitivno produktivno-refleksivna reprezentacija kolaborativne orijentacije estetiziranog djelanja/*ṣinā'ata* u datom vremenu bili sredstvo pomoću kojeg je bilo moguće dosegnuti granice spoznaje i sagledati supstancijalne realitete izvan okvira puke nužnosti,^{▼8} tada bi slikovni prostor minijaturnog ilustrativnog realiteta i forme ornamentalno-geometriciziranih konstrukta mogli da čine granu specifične duhovne baštine *al-ṣinā'ah*. Ona bi u sebi nosila elemente osjetilnosti, rekognitivnog i kognitivnog pristupa estetizaciji, a neminovno bi uključivala i duhovno-vjerske kontekste, identificirajući *qadar/ṣinā'at* kao dio onog akta ili čina kako bi se estetizacija forme učinila lijepom – *ṣinā'at al-taṣwīr*, kao i podjednako mogućom, primjerenom i primjenljivom.

Poznato je da ta i takva drugačija unutarnja koncepcija *homo islamicusa* aktivira stiliziranu, to jest supstancijalnu formu slikovnog bilježenja (u nekim slučajevima **imaginalno** geometriciziranu mističnost); odbacivanjem svega sporednog, odnosno udaljavanjem od svega realnog (onoga što postoji) u prikazivanju predmeta, objekata ili modela zato što je kod takvog poimanja slikovnog zapisa definiran najveći rez između *medijalne osnove* na jednoj strani i *referencijalnosti* na drugoj. Naime, kod percepcije „serija rascjepa“ između puke nužnosti izvan okvira realiteta i minijaturnog ilustrativnog konstrukta

Također, Seel smatra da je nužno slikovne sadržaje osloboditi „viška“ upisanog prikaza, tj. pristupiti im kao apstraktnim entitetima: pritom se ne misli nužno na slike apstraktno umjetnosti, nego na slikovne forme kao objekte neminovno oslobođene kulturološki naslijeđenog estetskog sadržaja.

Vidjeti Seel, Martin. *Aesthetics of Appearing*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; 2005. str. 161-163.

▼8 Pod *supstancijalnim realitetima* podrazumijevamo spoznaju njihovog ontološkog statusa u okviru slikovne estetizacije *homo islamicusa*, čime su njihove reference određene ontološkim ograničenjima s maksimumom logičke i minimum ontološke općenitosti. Podešavanje mjesta logičkog u njihovom ontološkom statusu koji se ovdje vrši „poopćavanjem općeg“ i „razopćavanjem općeg“, tj. afirmacijom i negacijom, znači podešavanje smisla, značenja i referencije koje princip logičkog sprovodi kroz estetiziranu slikovnu strukturu.

As opposed to value judgments of Occidental academism on what is understood/identified with the term „Islamic art“ and its „aestheticized activity“, aestheticized activity/*ṣināʿat* of *homo islamicus* of recognitive type which results in ornamental forms – *al-ṣināʿat al-zukhrufiyyah* has one subjective-aesthetic and one objective-civilizational dimension. Based on the Islamic systematization of knowledge, the first dimension can be observed in the fact that the *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse consists of **modalities** of aestheticized representations which together form a more complex though timeless dimension of more flexible forms of design (without a beginning and an end, which are not related to a time). In general, the modalities (Lat. *modalitas*, *-atis*) within *qadar/ṣināʿat* are fundamental prerequisites for the realization of certain possibilities, both of aesthetic perception and the perception of pictorial as a phenomenon in general (Ar. *al-zawāhir*), which has an inner logic different from reality (or continuum of reality) and in one modality of which one can find substantial projections of objects or models intended for the viewer’s perception. These modalities should be accurately defined for two basic reasons. First, because they can throw a new light on still unsolved aporias of pictorial reversal, primarily its part which deals with the issue of relationship between real and visualized, and vice versa. Secondly, if, at a given time, ornamental activity of recognitive type, as well as cognitive productive-reflective representation of collaborative disposition of aestheticized activity/*ṣināʿat* were a means by which it was possible to reach limits of knowledge and understand substantial realities beyond the framework of mere necessity,⁸ the pictorial space of miniature illustrative reality and forms of ornamental-geometricized construct might constitute a branch of a distinctive spiritual heritage *al-ṣināʿah*. It would include elements of sensory, recognitive and cognitive approach to aesthetics, and would inevitably also incorporate spiritual-religious contexts, thus identifying *qadar/ṣināʿat* as part of an act or action which would make aestheticization of form beautiful – *ṣināʿat al-taṣwīr*, as well as equally possible, appropriate and applicable.

It is well-known that such a different inner conception of *homo islamicus* activates the stylized, or substantial form of pictorial recording (in some cases **imaginally** geometricized mysticism) by rejecting anything secondary, i.e. by moving away from anything real (from what exists) in representing objects or models, because such an understanding of pictorial recording defines the biggest split between the medial basis on the one hand and *referentiality* on the other. Indeed, the perception of a „series of splits“ between mere necessity outside the framework of reality and the miniature illustrative construct

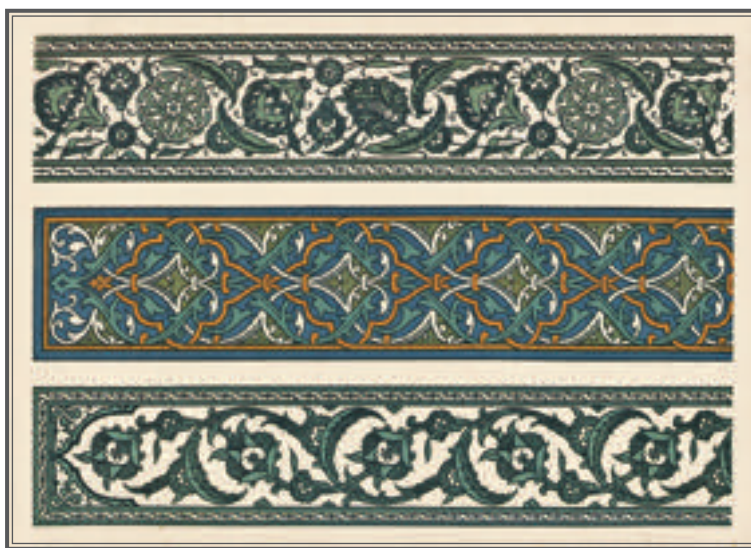
Besides, Steel believes that it is necessary to free the pictorial content from a „surplus“ of added presentation, i.e. to approach pictures as abstract entities: not necessarily as pictures of the abstract *art* but rather pictures as objects inevitably free from **culturally inherited aesthetic content**.

See Seel, Martin. *Aesthetics of Appearing*. Stanford University Press; 2005, pp. 161-163.

▼⁸ The term *substantial realities* here refers to the knowledge of their ontological status within pictorial aestheticization of *homo islamicus*, whereby their references are determined by ontological restrictions with a maximum of logical generality and a minimum of ontological generality. Adjustment of the position of logical in their ontological status which is here done by „generalizing general“ and „de-generalizing general“, i.e. by affirming and negating implies adjustment of sense, meaning and reference which the principle of logical carries out through the aestheticized pictorial structure.

slikovnog bilježenja dolazi do cijelog niza ... diferencija i aporija. Stanje različitosti, neodlučnosti ili poteškoća definira različite nizove *prodora* – a zadatak islamske filozofije slikovnog, koja je zasnovana na promatranju, sastoji se u tome da se medijalnost slikovnog i njezin mogući specifičan užitak za oko promatrača rekonstruiraju iz upravo te serije rascjepā, međutim ne kao realnost svijeta, nego kao supstancijalna ilustrativna karakterizacija tekstualnog sadržaja (simplificirana projekcija) ili određena forma stilizirane ornamentalnosti. Može se kazati da je to vrlina koja transcendirā preko granica iskustva okcidentalno-vesterniziranog svijeta i života, vrlina koja je usmjerena na stvarne, praktične, prisutne pojave i probleme s ciljem identificiranja i uspostavljanja slikovne estetizacije unutar *qadar/šīnā' ata*; duh koji s plohe ne emanira u stvarnost.

Također, čini se bitnim napomenuti kako svaki modalitet predstavlja nešto što se može, s jedne strane, smatrati samostalnom ekspresivnom cjelinom (npr. ornament), a, s druge, dijelom šire strukture (npr. beskonačni rekontekstualizirani ornamentalni niz), koji omogućuju da budu prisutni različiti estetski obrasci unutar jedinstvenog diskursa – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah*. Spomenute dvije dimenzije, ustvari, karakteriziraju estetizaciju kao oblast što konkretno pripada ornamentalnom obliku *qadar/šīnā' ata* – *al-šīnā' at al-zukhrufiyyah*, iako se umnogome naslanjaju i na druga područja tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja, a njihova modalitetna različitost suština je općeg estetiziranog odnosa.▼⁹



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Beskonačni rekontekstualizirani ornamentalni nizovi u formi stilizirane ornamentalnosti. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION ~ Endless recontextualize ornamental arrays in the form of stylized ornamentality. (Archive of Akšamija)

▼⁹ Usporediti Hanash, Idham Mohammed. *The Theory of Islamic Art : Aesthetic Concept and Epistemic Structure* (prev. na engl. Nancy Roberts). London i Washington: The International Institute of Islamic Thought; 2017. str. 39.

Očito je da suština općeg estetiziranog odnosa svoje porijeklo utemeljuje na kur'anskoj rekontekstualizaciji poruka, oslikavajući svaki put nove nijanse značenja, gdje se čak i odabir sinonima bira i razlikuje od ostalih dostupnih riječi kroz suptilne detalje.

of pictorial recording is accompanied with a series of differences and aporias. The state of difference, hesitation or difficulties defines various sequences of *perforations* – and the task of Islamic philosophy of pictorial, which is based on observation, is to reconstruct the mediality of pictorial and its possible distinctive pleasure for the eye of the viewer from the sequence of splits, though not as reality of the world but rather as a substantial illustrative characterization of textual content (simplified projection) or certain forms of stylized ornamentation. It can be claimed that it is a virtue which transcends limits of experience of Occidental-westernized world and life, a virtue which is focused on actual, practical, existing phenomena and problems aimed at identifying and establishing pictorial aestheticization within *qadar/ṣināʿat*; a spirit which does not emanate from a plane to reality.

Besides, it seems important to note that each modality is something that can be considered an independent expressive whole (for example ornament) on the one hand, and part of a broader structure (for instance an endless re-contextualized ornamental sequence) on the other, which allows presence of different aesthetic patterns within a unique discourse – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah*. These two dimensions actually characterize aestheticization as an area which specifically belongs to the ornamental form of *qadar/ṣināʿat* – *al-ṣināʿat al-zukhrufiyyah*, although it largely relies upon other areas of the traditional systematization of knowledge as well. Their difference in modalities is the essence of the general aestheticized relationship.^{▼⁹}

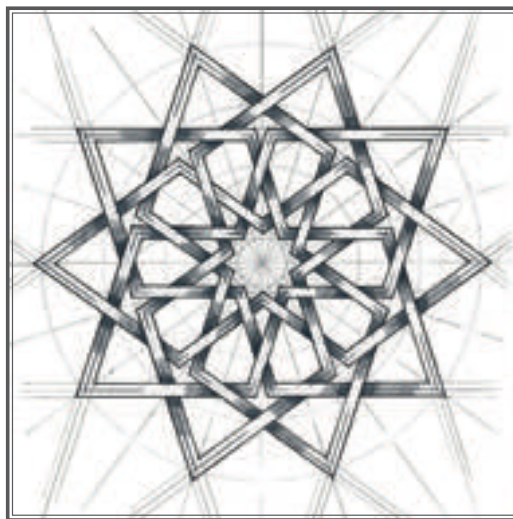


ILLUSTRATION - Construction ornament. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA - Konstrukcija ornamenta. (Arhiv Akšamija)

^{▼⁹} Cf., Hanash, Idham Mohammed. *The Theory of Islamic Art: Aesthetic Concept and Epistemic Structure* (English translation by Nancy Roberts). The International Institute of Islamic Thought; 2017, p. 39.

It is obvious that the essence of general aestheticized relationship bases its origin on the Qur'anic re-contextualization of messages, every time portraying new nuances of meaning, where even the choice of synonyms is made and differs from other available words through subtle details.

Objektivno-civilizacijska dimenzija ogleđa se u jedinstvenosti učenja i kulture posredstvom odabira, korištenja, invencije, interpretacije, grafičma, konstrukcije, relativizacije, sublimacije ... upravljanja oblicima i simbolima s ciljem prenošenja autonomnih ali ujedinjenih inspirativnih izraza, odnosno **autorefleksivnih konstanti** – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah* u formi odgovarajuće suštine sistematizacije znanja unutar poruke o jedinstvu *Prvog Uzorka svih stvari*, tj. Bogom (ar. *al-tawḥīd*).

Temeljni pojam slikovnog pojavljivanja u konkretnoj objektivno-civilizacijskoj dimenziji jeste *referencijalnost* koja predstavlja čovjekov (promatračev) najizravniji način dodira s načinjenim vizualiziranim formama *homo islamicusa*. *Temporalnost*,^{▼10} *transparentnost*^{▼11} i *medijalnost*^{▼12} prvenstveno su pojmovi iskoristivi za ciljeve *refleksivnog* djelanja/*šinā'ata* (kognitivno-misaonog), tj. ulogu ovih pojmova u potpunosti moguće je razumjeti tek svojevrsnim odvajanjem medija od slikovnog sadržaja. Moramo istaći da, u ovom momentu, takva analiza neće biti u našem fokusu.

▼10 Problematiku *temporalnosti* modaliteta *qadar/šinā'ata* sagledavamo u odnosu na ishodišne realitete, a ne u odnosu na karakteristike unutar slikovnih prikaza i mogućih momenata njezinih nastajanja. Statično reprezentirana slikovna forma ne posjeduje neko samo sebi svojstveno vrijeme, ali nije ni ovisna o mogućoj temporalnosti za koju se eventualno vezuje; svaka reprezentacija ornamentalno-geometrijskog modaliteta ontološki je podudarna bilo kojoj drugoj.

Temporalnost se ne karakterizira ontološkim ograničenjem medija, ali se izravnije može sugerirati da je riječ o *nevidljivoj vremenu* (tj. na slikovnoj bilješci izostavljeno je vrijeme, nije prikazano), koje je, u fizičkom smislu, prije i poslije reprezentiranog trenutka ipak fizički postojalo. Bitno je razumjeti da ovdje nije riječ o onoj vrsti vremena koje je potrebno da *homo islamicus* proizvede reprezentaciju (ishodišni realitet), nego o vremenu koje se odvija u samoj slikovnoj formi. Naime, promatrač, promatrano i medij promatranja dijele identičan bezvremenski kontinuum; posjeduju sve osobine islamske sistematizacije znanja o istodobnosti.

▼11 *Transparentnost* se odnosi na semiotički i fenomenološki učinak slikovne površine: odnosno, ona govori o tome koju vrstu vizualne informacije eventualno prepoznajemo na komadu papira. Poznata je forma konstatacije da što se više elemenata iz prirode „prepoznaje“ na nekom slikovnom bilježenju, za to bilježenje može se reći da je realnije i realističnije; ono time postaje transparentnije jer „kroz njega“ se prepoznaje ono što slikovna forma prikazuje.

Međutim, *netransparentnost* i *djelimična prozirnost* modaliteta *qadar/šinā'ata* upućuju na sâm medij zato što se u uvjetima smanjene/stilizirane realističnosti prikaza između promatrača i svijeta ispriječi onaj *metaforički prozor* koji je u slučaju nejasne bilješke zamagljen (minijatura ilustrativnog karaktera), a kod slikovnih formi ornamentalno-geometriciziranog karaktera skoro i potpuno neproziran. Kada je riječ o modalitetima *qadar/šinā'ata*, problematika slikovne prozirnosti karakterizira se neizraženom potrebom za eventualnim dosezanjem ideala potpune transparentnosti, odnosno u skladu s islamskom sistematizacijom znanja, dosezanjem *neprozirnosti*. Transparentnost je u neposrednoj vezi s referencijalnošću, čije je utemeljenje dato modalitetima *qadar/šinā'ata*, pa je kod transparentnosti presudno kako promatrač vidi, dok je kod referencijalnosti mnogo važnije *šta* vidi.

▼12 *Medijalnost* podrazumijeva uočavanja onih fenomena koji sudjeluju samo u estetici – *al-džamāl* pojavljivanja djelanja/*šinā'ata*. Pojavljivanje je estetska operacija vizualnog fokusiranja i osjetilnog sagledavanja predmeta, objekta ili modela u novom statusu: istodobno oslobođenom mnogostrukosti svojih svakodnevnih fizičkih pojavnosti koje nisu u skladu s idejom supstancijalnih oblika, odnosno njihovog ontološkog statusa u okviru slikovne estetizacije *homo islamicusa*, kao i oplemenjivanja unutar jedinstvenog slikovnog pojavljivanja.

Prvenstveno tu mislimo na apstrahiranje simboličko-narativnog sadržaja slikovnog bilježenja kroz svojevrsni fenomenološki obrat od realnog svijeta prema denotativnoj i kulturološki konotiranoj poruci, tj. simboličko-supstancijalnoj poruci slikovnog predmeta, objekata ili modela, odnosno kompletnog slikovnog prikaza. Ono što je značajno za analizu jeste da konotativni set poruke čini skup označenog u retoričkom i kao takav ulazi u domenu sistematizacije znanja koju određuju društveni, povijesni, prostorni i vjerski okviri. Prema tome moguće je izvesti zaključak kako interpretacija konotativne simboličke poruke, čiji se znakovi generiraju iz tradicionalnog kulturnog koda, ovisi o znanju i praksama, kao i inih ukupnosti pojedinačnog recipijenta – *homo islamicusa*, te mogućih zahtjeva koje regulira društvo u sprezi pozicije dogmatskih teologa i velikodostojnika.

The objective-civilizational dimension is reflected in the unity of teaching and culture by means of selection, use, invention, interpretation, graphism, construction, relativization, sublimation, and managing forms and symbols aimed at transferring autonomous though united inspirational expressions, that is to say **self-reflective constants** – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah* in the form of an appropriate essence of the systematization of knowledge within the message of unity of the *First Cause of all things*, i.e. God (Ar. *al-tawḥīd*).

The fundamental concept of pictorial appearance in the actual objective-civilizational dimension is referentiality, which represents man's (viewer's) most direct way of contact with the created visualized forms of *homo islamicus*. *Temporality*,^{▼10} *transparence*^{▼11} and *mediality*^{▼12} are primarily terms which can be used for the goals of *reflective activity/ṣinā'at* (cognitive-intellectual): indeed, it is only possible to fully understand the role of these terms by a distinctive separation of the medium from pictorial content. We have to point out that, at the moment, we will not focus on such an analysis.

▼10 We discuss the issue of *temporality* of modalities of *qadar/ṣinā'at* as related to original realities, rather than as related to characteristics within pictorial representations and possible moments of their creation. A statically represented pictorial form does not possess a time of its own, though it is not dependent on a possible temporality to which it is possibly associated; each representation of ornamental-geometrical modality is ontologically coincident with any other.

Temporality is not characterized by ontological limitation of a medium but it can more directly be suggested that it is an *invisible time* (i.e., the time is missing from the pictorial recording, it is not shown) which, in physical terms, still physically existed before and after the represented moment. It is crucial to understand that it is not the kind of time which is needed for the *homo islamicus* to produce a representation (original reality), but rather the time which takes place in the pictorial form itself. Indeed, the viewer, the viewed and the medium of viewing share the identical timeless continuum; they possess all the features of Islamic systematization of knowledge of simultaneity.

▼11 *Transparence* refers to the semiotic and phenomenological effect of the pictorial surface; in other words, it describes the kind of visual information which we possibly recognize on a piece of paper. There is a well-known form of statement that the more elements from nature are „recognized“ on a pictorial recording, the more real and realistic the recording becomes; in this way it becomes *more transparent* since „through it“ the viewer *recognizes* what the pictorial form represents.

However, *non-transparence* and *partial transparence* of modalities of *qadar/ṣinā'at* refer to the medium itself, since in the conditions of reduced/stylized realism of representation the *metaphorical window* gets in the way between the viewer and the world; in the case of unclear recording it is *blurred* (a miniature of illustrative character) while in pictorial forms of ornamental-geometricized character it is almost completely *opaque*. In the case of modalities of *qadar/ṣinā'at*, the issue of pictorial transparency is characterized by unexpressed need for possible achieving the ideal of full transparence, i.e., in line with the Islamic systematization of knowledge, achievement of *opaqueness*. Transparence is directly related to referentiality, which is in turn founded in modalities of *qadar/ṣinā'at* and in the case of transparence the crucial thing is how the viewer sees, while in the case of referentiality it is far more important *what* he sees.

▼12 *Mediality* implies observing the phenomena which participate only in aesthetics – *al-jamāl* of the appearing of activity/*ṣinā'at*. Appearing is an aesthetic operation of visual focusing and sensory viewing of objects or models in a new status: at the same time free from the multiplicity of their daily physical manifestations which are not in line with the idea of substantial forms, i.e. their ontological status within pictorial aestheticization of *homo islamicus*, as well as refinement within the unique pictorial appearing.

We here primarily have in mind abstracting of the symbolic-narrative content of pictorial recording through a distinctive phenomenological reversal from the real world to the denotative and culturally connoted message, i.e. the symbolic-substantial message of a pictorial object or model, or the whole pictorial presentation. What is important for the analysis is that the connotative set of the message constitutes a set of the signified in rhetoric and as such enters the domain of the systematization of knowledge which is determined by social, historical, spatial and religious frameworks. Thus, it is possible to conclude that interpretation of a connotative symbolic message, the signs of which are generated from a traditional cultural code, depends on knowledge and practices, as well as on other totalities of the individual recipient – *homo islamicus*, and on possible requirements regulated by the society in conjunction of the position of dogmatic theologians and dignitaries.



ILUSTRACIJA - Segment potvrđivanja temeljne slikovne ontologije posredstvom radikalne dekonstrukcije na kojoj je kulturalno proizvedena (beskonačni ornamentalno-geometricizirani niz). © Nacionalna biblioteka Katara. Ref.: 14760.



ILLUSTRATION - A segment of confirming the fundamental pictorial ontology through the radical deconstruction on which it was culturally produced (an endless ornamental-geometricized sequence). © Qatar National Library. Ref: 14760.

Međutim, pojam *referencijalnosti* u datoj podjeli bit će u funkciji obuhvatanja slikovnog bilježenja kao instrumentalnog medija s izraženim komunikacijskim, diskurzivnim i narativnim funkcijama utemeljenim na respektiranju tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja – *šinā'at al-'ilm*.

Naime, forma *ne-referencijalne*, tj. *autoreferencijalne* slikovne forme – *al-šakl* na jednoj strani i *metareferencijalni* slikovni prikaz – *al-'ard* na drugoj samo na različite načine potvrđuju istu temeljnu slikovnu ontologiju – *'ilm al-wdžūd qadar/šinā'ata*. I jedna i druga kategorija forme/prikaza u okviru tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja do kraja razotkrivaju vlastitu drugost u odnosu na izvanslikovnu stvarnost: prva to čini naglašavanjem stilizirane razlike između modusa slikovnog bilježenja i svijeta (minijatura ilustrativnog karaktera), dok druga to potvrđuje radikalnom dekonstrukcijom načina na koji je kulturalno proizvedena (beskonačni ornamentalno-geometricizirani niz).

Svaka slikovna forma – *al-šakl* koja se pojavljuje u nekom od spomenutih referencijalnih modalitetā – bez obzira na to da li se ona odnosi na nešto izvan sebe (referencijalnost) ili se pak odnosi na sebe samu (ne-referencijalnost i autoreferencijalnost) – može u načelu posjedovati samo dva *temporalna* aspekta/indikatora: *reprezentacionalnost* i *istodobnost*. Naime, u slikovno-ontološkom smislu svejedno je gledamo li slikovnu bilješku/formu koja nešto prikazuje ili nas na nešto podsjeća (dakle, referencijalna je) ili gledamo *ne-referencijalne*, tj. stilizirano-supstancijalne forme kao slikovne bilješke. Učinak referencijalnosti neovisan je o učinku temporalnosti ali samo ukoliko je zadovoljen uvjet „slikovne svijesti“, odnosno slikovna forma, da bi se uopće pojavila, bez obzira na stupanj vlastite referencijalnosti, mora biti „proizvedena“ pogledom promatrača. Nužnost postojanja *slikovne svijesti* govori nam o tome da taj temeljni fenomenološki uvid uspostavlja granicu iza koje percepcija slikovne forme više nije moguća. ▼¹³

Za razliku od *ne-referencijalnih*, tj. *autoreferencijalnih* slikovnih formi, *metareferencijalni* slikovni prikazi u sklopu estetiziranog djelanja/*šinā'ata* jesu one slikovne forme koje upućuju na nekoliko razina vlastite ontološke pozicije:

- u razotkrivanju načina na koji su konstruirane/realizirane ili pak na aktualni *background* predodžbe slikovnog značenja uopće;

▼¹³ Prema Edmundu Husserlu, svijest je *konstitutivni izvor svih objekata* i sve objektivnosti sadržane u krugu subjektivnosti. Jasnije rečeno, Husserl će za svijest reći da je ona u okvirima područja psihičkog doživljaja koji dolazi od empirijski uvjetovanog svijeta, ali koji transcendirā, odnosno nadilazi taj svijet ka samoj biti pa će tako fenomeni dati iz vanjskog svijeta biti uzeti u obzir upravo kao „doživljaji“ svijesti. Oni kao takvi stoga moraju biti svedeni na same sebe, što bi značilo da ne odgovaraju stvarnim određenjima svojih predmeta, objekata ili modela, nego intuitivno dolaze do sfere biti, u nešto drugačijoj od činjenične stvarnosti.

Husserl, Edmund. *Ideje za čistu fenomenologiju i fenomenologijsku filozofiju*. Zagreb: Breza, 2007., str. 14-15.

Usporediti Edie, J. M. „Transcendental Phenomenology and Existentialism“. U: *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 1964;25(1):55; Vidjeti i Husserl, Edmund. *Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie und phänomenologischen Philosophie*. Erstes Buch. *Allgemeine Einführung in die reine Phänomenologie*. Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1976. str. 96; Husserl, Edmund. *Logische Untersuchungen Ergänzungsband Erster Teil : Entwürfe zur Umarbeitung der VI : Untersuchung und zur Vorrede für die Neuauflage der Logischen Untersuchungen (Sommer 1913)*. Den Haag: Kluwer, 2002.

However, the term *referentiality* in this classification will serve to encompass pictorial recording as an instrumental medium with a pronounced communicative, discursive and narrative functions based on respect for the traditional systematization of knowledge – *ṣināʿat al-ʿilm*.

As a matter of fact, the form of *non-referential*, i.e. *self-referential* pictorial form – *al-shakl* on the one hand and *meta-referential* pictorial representation – *al-ʿarḍ* on the other, are only two different ways which confirm the same fundamental pictorial ontology – *ʿilm al-wjūd qadar/ṣināʿat*. Both categories of form/representation within the traditional systematization of knowledge fully uncover their own *otherness* compared to extra-pictorial reality: The former does so by emphasizing the stylized difference between the mode of pictorial recording and the world (miniature of illustrative character), while the latter confirms it by a radical deconstruction of the way in which it is culturally produced (endless ornamental-geometricized sequence).

Every pictorial form – *al-shakl* which appears in one of the described referential modalities – whether it pertains to something beyond itself (referentiality) or to itself (non-referentiality and self-referentiality) – can in principle possess only two *temporal* aspects/indicators: *representativeness* and *simultaneity*. Indeed, in the pictorial-ontological sense it makes no difference whether we view a pictorial recording/form which represents something or reminds us of something, or we view non-referential, i.e. stylized-substantial forms as pictorial recordings. The effect of referentiality does not depend on the effect of temporality, though only if the condition of „pictorial consciousness“ has been fulfilled; ▼¹³ in other words, a pictorial form, in order to appear in the first place, regardless of the degree of its own referentiality, must be „produced“ by the perspective of the viewer. The necessity of the existence of *pictorial consciousness* confirms that this fundamental phenomenological insight sets the limit beyond which perception of the pictorial form is no longer possible.

Unlike *non-referential*, or *self-referential* pictorial forms, *meta-referential* pictorial representations within aestheticized activity/*ṣināʿat* are pictorial forms which refer to several levels of their own ontological position:

- by uncovering the way in which they have been constructed/executed or the actual

▼¹³ According to Edmund Husserl, neurological consciousness is a *constitutive source of all objects and the whole objectivity contained in the circle of subjectivity*. More clearly, Husserl claims that *consciousness* lies within areas of psychological experience which comes from the empirically conditioned world, but which transcends this world toward the essence itself and that therefore the phenomena provided by the outer world will be taken into account as „experiences“ of consciousness. As such, they must be reduced to themselves, which would mean that they do not correspond to the actual definitions of their objects or models but that they intuitively reach the sphere of essence, somewhat different from the factual reality.

Husserl, Edmund. *Ideje za čistu fenomenologiju i fenomenologijsku filozofiju*. Zagreb: Breza, 2007, pp. 14-15.

Cf. Edie, J. M. „*Transcendental Phenomenology and Existentialism*“, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 1964;25(1):55; Also see Husserl, Edmund. *Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie und phänomenologischen Philosophie*. Erstes Buch. Allgemeine Einführung in die reine Phänomenologie. Den Haag: Nijhoff; 1976, p. 96; Husserl, Edmund. *Logische Untersuchungen Ergänzungsband Erster Teil : Entwürfe zur Umarbeitung der VI : Untersuchung und zur Vorrede für die Neuauflage der Logischen Untersuchungen (Sommer 1913)*. Den Haag: Kluwer, 2002.

- u oslikavanju moguće svojevrsne „teorije o slikovnim formama“ ne izlazeći iz vlastitog medija;
- u razotkrivanju bitne slikovne prirode: naime, slikovni zapis, da bi uopće funkcionirao kao komunikacijski medij, ne smije biti poistovjećen sa stvarnošću, ali niti sa samim sobom.▼¹⁴

U konačnici je moguće oblike estetiziranog djelanja unutar islamske sistematizacije znanja povezati s intelektom (lat. *intellectus*), mišljenjem (lat. *opinio, -onis*), pamćenjem (lat. *memoria, -ae*), postupanjem (lat. *actio, -ionis*)... ukoliko su bazirani na znanju – *al-’ilm* i duhovnoj viziji – *al-ḥikmah homo islamicusa* kao odrazu spoznaje – *al-ma’rifah* na svjesnom umijeću primjene odgovarajućeg modaliteta diskursa *qadar/ṣinā’ata* u koncepciji ornamentalnog – *al-ṣinā’at al-zukhrufiyyah* ili primijenjenog – *al-ṣinā’at al-taṭbīqiyyah* postojanja.▼¹⁵

Vidljivo je da u navedenom leksičkom određenju spomenutog modaliteta diskursa *qadar/ṣinā’ata* u pristupima ornamentalnog i primijenjenog nazivlja ne figurira arapska riječ *al-fann*, već *al-ṣinā’ah*, odnosno izraz *al-ṣinā’āt* ili *al-ṣanā’i’* (oba predstavljaju množinu od *ṣinā’a*). Može se pretpostaviti da su se mnogi zainteresirani za ovu oblast djelanja/*ṣinā’ata* *homo islamicusa* u različitim izvorima susretali s izrazima *al-funūn al-zukhrufiyyah* i *al-funūn al-taṭbīqiyyah*. Potrebno je kazati kako je riječ *al-fann* na arapskom bila povezana sa značenjem ‘vrste, varijacije i grane’, iako se u srednjovjekovnoj neleksikografskoj tradiciji primjenjivalo i semantičko proširenje riječi *al-fann* u značenju ‘ljubazni’,

▼¹⁴ Prema Mitchellu, s Univerziteta u Chicagu, metaslike su: „slike koje se odnose na sebe same ili na druge slike, slike koje se koriste da bi pokazale što slika jeste“. Čini se da Mitchellov pojam metaslika (*metapictures*), za razliku od našeg poimanja unutar *qadar/ṣinā’ata* u načelu, postavlja pitanje mogu li slikovni zapisi raspravljati sami o sebi, umjesto da to za njih čine tradicionalne discipline ikonologije i semiotike.

Mitchell, W.J.T. „Metapictures“. U: *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Presentation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994., str. 35-82; Crowell, Steven. „Retrieving Husserl’s Phenomenology“. U: Burt Hopkins i John Drummond (ur.). *New Yearbook for Phenomenology and Phenomenological Philosophy*. London i New York: Routledge; 2012;11:309; Mitchell, W. J. T. „Metaslike“. U: Krešimir Purgar (ur.). *Vizualni studiji : Umjetnost i mediji u doba slikovnog obrata*. Zagreb: Centar za vizualne studije, 2009., str. 24.

▼¹⁵ Želimo bar kratko ukazati na problematiku *primijenjenog postojanja* i *primijenjene umjetnosti* unutar shvatanja okcidentalnog akademizma i tradicionalne islamske sistematizacije znanja. Naime, okcidentalni akademizam pod *primijenjenom umjetnošću* podrazumijeva likovne discipline koje su usmjerene na upotrebljivost, pa su u povijesti poznatije kao *dekorativne umjetnosti*. *Dekoratívno*, lat. *decorativus* sa značenjima ‘ukrasan/uresan, koji krasí/resí, koji služi za ukrašavanje/uresivanje; ukrasni/uresni’, koji ima prirodu ‘ukrasa/uresa’; arhitektonski, ‘koji služi samo za ukras’ (suprotno konstruktivan); slikarski, ‘koji teži samo za vanjskim efektima boja, bez udublivanja u nutarnost, s ciljem da se slika učini dodatno interesantnijom’. Iz navedenih recentnih obješnjenja vidljivo je, da izraz *dekorativno* nije moguće koristiti kao ekvivalent pojmu *ornamentalno*, koji ima potpuno drugačiju samoinicijaciju *homo islamicusa* u njegovom konstruktivnom i značenjskom definiranju. Prema tome, pod ukupnošću ornamentalnog sagledavanja (*modus procedendi*), odnosno primijenjenog postojanja odgovarajućeg diskursa *qadar/ṣinā’ata* podrazumijeva se izražavanje esencijalnog dijela duhovnosti *homo islamicusa*, a ne dekorativnost. Ovdje nije riječ o *dekorativnoj umjetnosti*, već o asocijativnom generiranju artefakata naspram uvažavanih Božijih atributa i svojstava. Zato *primijenjeno postojanje* može samo biti shvaćano kao *simbolizam koji predstavlja smislenu slikovnu vrijednost* koja u sebi utjelovljuje i prezentira *nadnaravnu zbilju* kao ekvivalent značenja čina poštovanja Božije jednosti.

background of the notion of pictorial meaning in general;

- by portraying a possible distinctive „theory of pictorial forms“ without leaving their own medium;
- by uncovering the essential pictorial nature: indeed, to work as a medium of communication at all, a pictorial recording must not be identified with reality, or with itself.^{▼14}

Ultimately, it is possible to relate forms of aestheticized activity within Islamic systematization of knowledge with intellect (Lat. *intellectus*), opinion (Lat. *opinio*, -onis), memory (Lat. *memoria*, -ae), acting (Lat. *actio*, -ionis) etc. if they are based on knowledge – *al-‘ilm* and spiritual vision – *al-ḥikmah* of *homo islamicus* as a reflection of knowledge – *al-ma‘rifah*, on the conscious *artistry* of using a suitable modality of *qadar/ṣinā‘at* discourse in the conception of ornamental – *al-ṣinā‘at al-zukhrufiyyah* or applied – *al-ṣinā‘at al-taṭbīqiyah* existence.^{▼15}

It is obvious that the presented lexical definition of the described modality of *qadar/ṣinā‘at* discourse, the approaches of ornamental and applied terms do not include Arabic word *al-fann*, but rather *al-ṣinā‘ah*, that is to say the term *al-ṣinā‘āt* or *al-ṣanā‘ī‘* (both are plural of *ṣinā‘a*). It can be assumed that many people interested in this area of activity/*ṣinā‘at* of *homo islamicus* encountered terms *al-funūn al-zuhrufiyyah* and *al-funūn al-taṭbīqiyah* in different sources. It should be noted that the term *al-fann* in classical Arabic was associated to the meaning *kinds, variations and branches*, although the medieval non-lexicographic tradition also used semantic expansion of the term *al-fann* in the meaning *kind*, which was used for craft or science. However, in modern Arabic of

▼14 According to Mitchell, from the University of Chicago, *metapictures* are: „pictures which refer to themselves or to other pictures, pictures that are used to show what a picture is“. It seems that Mitchell's term *metapictures*, unlike our understanding within *qadar/ṣinā‘at* in general, raises the question as to whether pictorial recordings can discuss themselves, instead of traditional disciplines of iconology and semiotics doing the job for them.

Mitchell, W.J.T. „Metapictures“. In: *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Presentation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, pp. 35-82; Crowell, Steven. „Retrieving Husserl's Phenomenology“. In: Burt Hopkins i John Drummond (ed.). *New Yearbook for Phenomenology and Phenomenological Philosophy*. London and New York: Routledge; 2012;11:309; Mitchell, W.J.T. „Metaslike“. In: Krešimir Purgar (ed.). *Vizualni studiji. Umjetnost i mediji u doba slikovnog obrata*. Zagreb: CVS – Centar za vizualne studije; 2009, p. 24.

▼15 We would like, at least briefly, to draw attention to the issue of *applied existence* and *applied art* within understanding of Occidental academism and the traditional Islamic systematization of knowledge. Actually, Occidental academism classifies disciplines of *fine arts* which are focused on usability as *applied art*, which are historically better known as *decorative arts*. *Decorative*, Lat. *decorativus* means „adorn, which adorns, which serves for adorning“, which has the nature of „ornament“; in architecture, „which serves only as an ornament“ (as opposed to constructive); in painting, „which is intended only for external effects, without inward intentions, aimed at making a painting additionally interesting“. These recent explanations reveal that expression *decorative* cannot be used as an equivalent to the term *ornamental*, which has a completely different self-initiation of *homo islamicus* in his constructive and semantic definition. Accordingly, the totality of ornamental understanding (*modus procedendi*), that is to say *applied existence* of an appropriate *qadar/ṣinā‘at* discourse implies expression of the essential part of the spirituality of *homo islamicus*, rather than decorativeness. It is not a *decorative art* but rather associative generation of artefacts while taking into account attributes and properties of God. It is for this reason that *applied existence* can be understood only as *symbolism which represents a meaningful pictorial value*, which embodies and presents *supernatural reality* as an equivalent of the meaning of the act of respecting oneness of God.

koje se koristilo za zanat, nauku... Međutim, u modernom arapskom jeziku *al-fann* je u 20. stoljeću redefiniran kao *al-muntidž al-ibdā' i al-insānī* – ‘kreativni ljudski proizvod’, u skladu s globaliziranim okcidentalnim opredjeljenjem one oblasti koja se definira kao *umjetnost*.

Za razliku od riječi *al-fann*, riječ *al-šinā'ah* u arapskom jeziku slovi kao prijevod grčkog *technē* u značenju ‘zanat/profesija’, ali je i izravno povezana s idejom *rada/djelanja, dizajniranjem nečeg vještačkog (za razliku od prirodnog), te konceptom prakse/profesije, zanata, zanimanja*.^{▼16} U leksičkoj povezanosti riječi *al-šinā'ah* s riječju *al-qadar* – ‘uređenje/dizajn’, odnosno formom estetiziranog djelanja na principu precizne mjere, *al-šinā'ah* dobija potpuno značenje unutar sistematizacije znanja fundiranog *homo islamicusovim* oponašanjem/interpretacijom svih pozitivnih Božijih atributa kao vlastitih. Čini se bitnim naglasiti da *qadar/šinā'at* izvire iz bitka (*agere sequitur esse*), dok je narav (*supstancijalna forma*) specifični princip djelanja/*šinā'ata*, iz kojeg djelatne moći, kao neposredni principi dizajniranja, vuku djelatnu energiju. No iako su bitak i narav principi izraza *al-šinā'āt*, ono što se stvarno ostvaruje *qadar/šinā'atom* jest slikovna estetizacija *homo islamicusa* u okviru svjesne kognitivne i produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije. Prema tome, naše opredjeljenje da ne koristimo riječ *al-fann*, već *al-šinā'at* u odgovarajućem nazivlju diskursa *qadar/šinā'ata* bazirano je na konceptu domene tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja – *šinā'at al-'ilm*, te fundirano značenjem i mogućom određenošću, kako leksičkim, tako i neleksičkim, ali i semantičkim poljima unutar klasičnog arapskog jezika.

Također, smatramo bitnim naglasiti da se pod pojmom **kognitivne produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije kolaborativne orijentacije** ili **dispozicije** podrazumijeva vid informativne inicijacije radi postizanja posebnog sadržajnog cilja estetiziranog djelanja pod okriljem primijenjenog utemeljenja – *al-šinā'at al-taḥbiqiyah*, kao integralnog dijela akta da se forma slikovnog unutar estetizacije učini lijepom – *šinā'at al-taḥwīr*.^{▼17} Bitno je istaći da karakter i ovakvog *šinā'ata*/djelanja pretpostavlja postojanje unutarnjeg mentalnog stanja (uvjerenja, ar. *al-i'tiqād*), prvotno prihvaćenog bez prisile i prenesenog na um i inteligenciju začetnika/dizajnera sa svrhom posjedovanja spoznaje – *al-ma'rifah* o „temeljnoj“ ili „bitnoj informaciji“. Na osnovu „samostalnog“ zaključivanja i donošenja vlastitog suda o kolaboraciji te opredjeljenja za korištenje određenih konstruktivno-likovnih elemenata koji slijede, *homo islamicus* uspostavlja odgovarajuću ravnotežu između njemu date tekstualne inicijacije – rukopisnog tekstualnog sadržaja knjige – u formi narudžbe i primijenjene konstruktivno-stilizirane vizualnosti.^{▼18}

▼16 Da se ne bi stekao pogrešan dojam o korištenju arapske riječi *al-šinā'ah*, ona se primjenjivala i na intelektualne sadržaje/radove iz oblasti poezije, gramatike, logike, jurisprudencije ili filozofije. Može se kazati kako je dati pojam imao mnogo šire značenje od okcidentalnog koncepta *umjetnosti*, a djela, ukoliko bi nastala mogućim *umjetničkim nadahnućem* (lat. *inspiratio*) bez prezentnog nositelja ili *fantazijom* (grč. φαντασία, *phantasia*) kao nestvarnom manipulacijom vještine mašte predstavljala bi antitezu pojmu *al-šinā'ah*, dok su takva djela za okcidentalni koncept *umjetnosti* veoma bitna.

▼17 Ovdje se prije svega termin *reprezentacije* svodi na odnos između prisutnosti prikazanog na slikovnom prikazu i njegovog neprisutnog ali supstancijalno-stiliziranog referenta; refleksija na tekstualnu datost bez fikcijske zamjene za stvarnu prisutnost tjelesnih oblika – *al-šūra l-džismiyya*.

▼18 Odnos između *Prvog Uzroka* i *homo islamicusa* neposredan je jer nema posrednika (institucije crkve niti privilegiranih

the 20th century, *al-fann* was redefined as *al-nitāj al-ibdāī al-insānī* – a creative human product, in line with globalized Occidental description of the area defined as *art*.

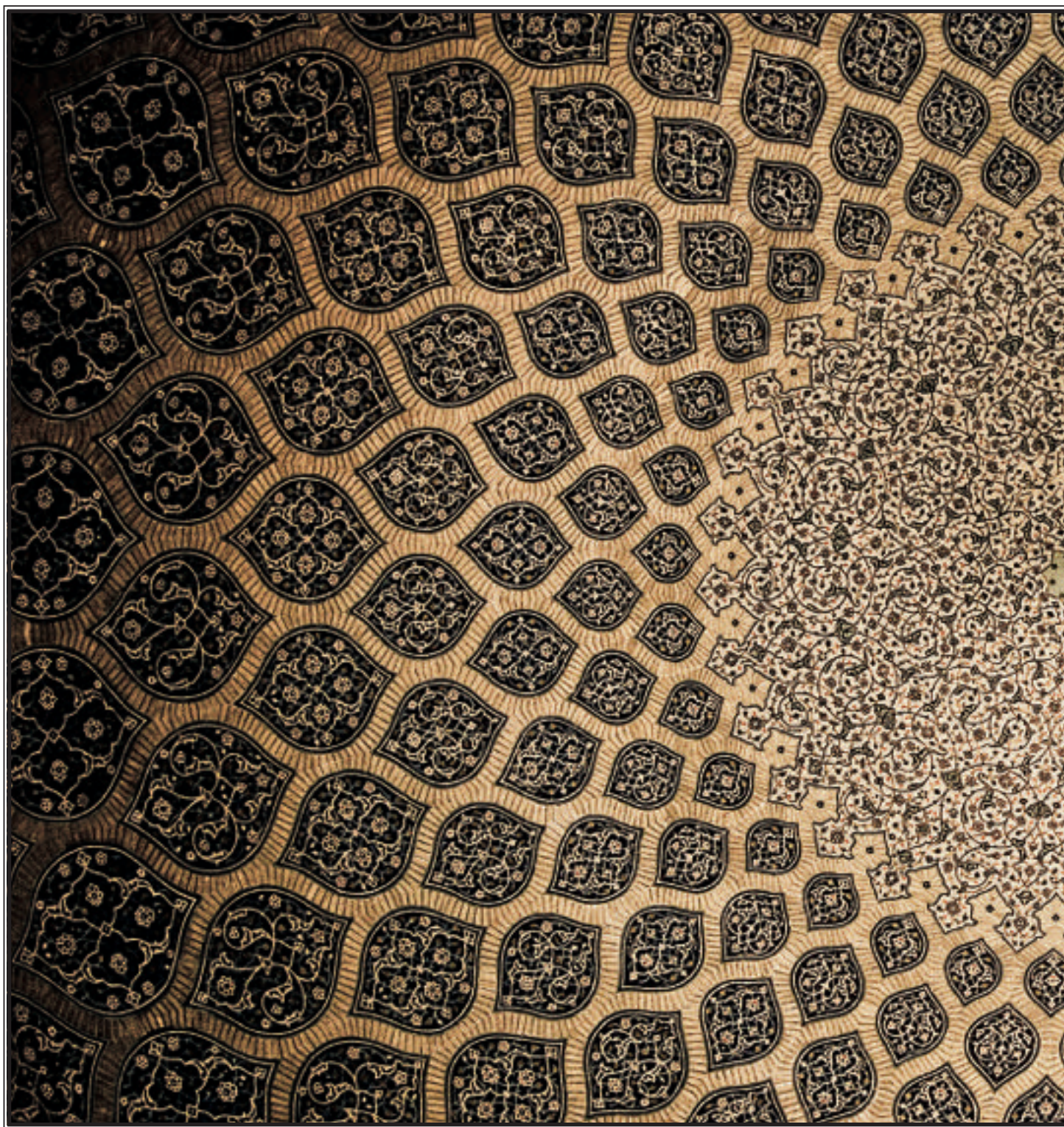
Unlike the word *al-fann*, the word *al-ṣinā'ah* in Arabic is translation of Greek *technē*, which means 'craft, profession', though it is directly related to the idea of *work/activity, designing of something artificial (as opposed to natural) and the concept of practice/profession, craft, occupation*.^{▼16} In our lexical association of the word *al-ṣinā'ah* to the word *al-qadar* – 'organization/design', that is to say the form of aestheticized activity on the principle of *accurate measure*, *al-ṣinā'ah* assumes a full meaning within the systematization of knowledge founded on *homo islamicus*'s imitation/interpretation of all the positive God's attributes as his own. It seems important to note that *qadar/ṣinā'at* springs from Being (*agere sequitur esse*), while the nature (*substantial form*) is a distinctive principle of activity/*ṣinā'at*, from which working powers, as immediate principles of designing, draw their active energy. However, although Being and nature are principles of the term *al-ṣinā'āt*, what is actually achieved by *qadar/ṣinā'at* is pictorial aestheticization of *homo islamicus* within the conscious cognitive and productive-reflective disposition. Accordingly, our decision not to use the term *al-fann*, but rather *al-ṣinā'at* in the corresponding terminology for the *qadar/ṣinā'at* discourse is based on the concept of the domain of the traditional systematization of knowledge – *ṣinā'at al-ilm*, and is founded on the meaning and possible lexical and non-lexical definitions, as well as on semantic fields within classical Arabic.

We also believe that it is important to point out that the term **cognitive productive-reflective representation of collaborative disposition** refers to the kind of informative initiation aimed at achieving a particular content-related goal of aestheticized activity under the auspices of applied foundation – *al-ṣinā'at al-taṭbīqiyah*, as an integral part of the action of making the form of pictorial within aestheticization beautiful – *ṣinā'at al-taṣwīr*.^{▼17} It should be noted that the character of such a *ṣinā'at*/activity assumes the existence of an inner mental state (conviction, Ar. *al-itiqād*), initially accepted without coercion and transferred to the mind and intelligence of the author/designer aimed at possessing knowledge – *al-ma'rifah* of the „fundamental“ or „essential information“. Based on „independent“ reasoning and making one's own judgment on collaboration and the decision to use given constructive-artistic elements which follow, *homo islamicus* establishes an appropriate balance between the textual initiation given to him – the hand-written textual content of the book – in the form of an order and the applied constructive-stylized visually.^{▼18}

▼16 To avoid wrong impressions of the use of Arabic word *al-ṣinā'ah*, it was also used for intellectual contexts/works in the area of poetry, grammar, logic, jurisprudence or philosophy. It can be claimed that the term had a meaning far broader than the Occidental concept *art*. Works which were created with possible *artistic inspiration* (Lat. *inspiratio*) without a present carrier or with *phantasy* (Gr. *φαντασία, phantasía*) as an unreal manipulation of the skill of imagination would be the antithesis to the term *al-ṣinā'ah*, while such works are very important for the Occidental concept of *art*.

▼17 The term *representation* is here primarily reduced to the relationship between presence of what is represented on the pictorial representation and its non-present though substantially-stylized referent; reflection on the textually given without a fictional replacement for the actual presence of corporeal forms – *al-ṣūra l-jismiyya*.

▼18 Relationship between the *First Cause* and *homo islamicus* is direct since it has no intermediary (institution of church or



ILUSTRACIJA - Ornamentalno-geometricizirani prikaz anikonične forme: djelomični unutrašnji pogled na kupolu džamije Sheikh Lotfollah Isfahan-Iran, 16. stoljeće. (© Fondacion Cultural Oriente - International Online Exhibition and Market of Persian Handicrafts)



ILLUSTRATION - Ornamental-geometric representation of the aniconic form: partial interior view of the dome of the Sheikh Lotfollah Mosque Isfahan-Iran, 16th century. (© Fondation Cultural Oriente - International Online Exhibition and Market of Persian Handicrafts)

Prostor za moguće sporenje oko jednog ili drugog načina odbrane definiran je prihvatanjem ili neprihvatanjem onoga što se podrazumijeva pod *umjetnošću*, ali i eventualno onoga što bi se moglo nazvati *šinā'at al-taḥsīn*, a ne *fann al-taḥsīn* (iz prethodno navedenih razloga značenja), usredotočeno na vještinu i općenito na formalno-metodološku stranu polja *qadar/šinā'ata*.^{▼19} Čini se da bi naša „zadaca“ trebala biti sadržana u odbacivanju bilo kojeg načina odbrane i opravdanja okcidentalno-vesterniziranog pojma *umjetnosti* koji postaje posebno neosjetljiv za sveukupnost prisutnosti kako tradicionalnih tako i suvremenih potreba i praksi, čak i u sopstvenom prostoru. Međutim, smatramo potrebnim da bar pokušamo evidentirati određene prisutne antagonizme. Upotreba i značenje riječi *umjetnost* u odnosu na njezino ključno značenje 'bitan, osnovni, temeljni' i smisao 'stvaranja prirode u svakom kutku čovjekove svijesti' trebali bi se s konzervativno-dogmatskog^{▼20} i tradicionalnog islamskog gledišta^{▼21} podrazumijevati kao dio domene *qadar/šinā'ata*, ali u nemogućoj funkciji moći „stvaranja“ *unaprijed postignutog rezultata svjesno kontroliranim i usmjerenim aktivnostima ili djelovanjem*, tako i ne u smislu pripadanja domeni tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja – *šinā'at al-'ilm*. Ipak, ukoliko respektiramo upotrebu i značenje riječi *umjetnost* u odnosu na njezino eventualno ključno značenje – *šinā'at al-taḥsīn*, nužno je napomenuti da bi u tom slučaju terminološka okcidentalna odrednica „islamska umjetnost“ prije svega morala podrazumijevati određeni vid profanog kognitivno-produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa *qadar/šinā'ata*, koji nije obuhvaćen niti definiran aktom moguće estetizacije forme slikovnog kako bi se ona učinila lijepom – *šinā'at al-taṣawīr*. U tom slučaju,

pojedinaца nad drugima u odnosu prema Bogu) kao u drugim religijama. Islamski monoteizam isključuje bilo kakvu analogiju između čovjeka i *Prvog Uzroka*.

▼19 S obzirom na to da nismo uspjeli pronaći odgovarajući termin ni u klasičnom, a ni u modernom arapskom jeziku, što ni u kom slučaju ne znači da on ne postoji, odlučili smo se za pokušaj formuliranja prikladne pojmovne orijentacije za karakterizaciju **produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije slikovne problematike unutar tradicionalne islamske civilizacijske strukture**. Naime, opredijelili smo se za leksem sastavljen od dviju prepoznatljivih riječi koje se osjećaju kao posebni dijelovi (kovanica), to jest termin *qadar/šinā'at*. U konačnici utvrdili smo usaglašenost i kompatibilnost s postojećim terminima u arapskom jeziku koji imaju, npr. značenje zanata – *ma'nā šinā'ah min šana'a*, forme ručnog rada/djelanja *šinā'at al-muntidž*, kao i s terminom koji podrazumijeva akt činjenja slikovne forme lijepom – *šinā'at al-taṣwīr*. Također, riječ *fannān* ne koristimo kao jednoznačnicu s našim latinskim nazivom *homo islamicus*, jer *fannān*, između ostalog po Ibn Manzuru znači 'umjetnik' (koji se čak koristi i u ovakom značenju: „*fannān* u poeziji al-A'šā [znači]: 'magarac, divlji, onaj koji koristi razne vrste trčanja'“). Naš *homo islamicus* je *al-insan al-šinā'ī*, a njegov artifičijelni slikovni prikaz (za razliku od prirodnog/realnog) je *al-šinā'ah*.

Vidjeti naše fusnote 48, 49, 50, 54 i 55.

▼20 Pojam *konzervativno* u arapskom jeziku izražava se određenim terminom, pri čemu, u obliku aktivnog participa ima značenje 'onaj koji je konzervativan' – *al-mutaḥaffiz*, odnosno konzervativac, tj. dogmata – osoba konzervativnih stavova, principa, mišljenja, ponašanja ...

Konzervativizam je određeno stanje duha, odnosno način mišljenja usredotočen na čuvanje stečenog ili naslijeđenog (kulturološkog) poretka; stajalište pojedinca i skupina protivno promjenama postojećeg stanja, koje zagovara stabilnost postojećeg s osloncem na tradiciju i tradicionalne vrijednosti kao prikupljene mudrosti prošlosti.

▼21 U islamskoj literaturi pojam *tradicionalno* izražava se terminom *al-taqīd*, pri čemu u obliku imenice ima značenje *tradicija* ili *tradicionalno*.

Tradicija, (kao imitacija – *al-taqīd*) općenito, podrazumijeva iskustva i stanje stečevine (običaji, vjerovanja, norme, vrednote ...) zajednice ummeta – *al-ummah* zasnovane na prijenosu znanja iz jedne generacije u drugu, uz nastojanje da se ne odstupa od utvrđenih pravila, ali koji se, ipak, mogu nadopunjavati, tačnije mijenjati s vremenom i prilagođavati aktualnijim kulturnim obrascima u okviru date civilizacijske strukture.

The space for possible disputes about one or the other way of defense is defined by acceptance or non-acceptance of what is understood as *art*, though possibly of what could be named *ṣināʿat al-taḥsīn*, rather than *fann al-taḥsīn* (for the previously presented reasons for the meaning), focused on the skill and generally on the formal-methodological side of the field of *qadar/ṣināʿat*.^{▼19} It seems that our „task“ should consist of rejecting any way of defense and justification of Occidental-westernized term *art* which becomes particularly insensitive for the totality of the presence of both traditional and contemporary needs and practices, even in its own space. However, we still believe that it is necessary at least to try to register certain antagonisms. The use and the meaning of the word *art* compared to its key meaning „essential, basic, fundamental“ and the sense „creating nature in every nook of man’s mind“ should be, from the conservative-dogmatic^{▼20} and traditional Islamic standpoint^{▼21} implied as part of the domain of *qadar/ṣināʿat*, though in the impossible function of the power to „create“ a *previously achieved result by consciously controlled and focused actions and activities*, and not in the sense of belonging to the domain of traditional systematization of knowledge – *ṣināʿat al-ʿilm*. Still, if we respect the use and the meaning of the word *art* compared to its possible key meaning – *ṣināʿat al-taḥsīn*, it would be necessary to note that in this case the Occidental term „Islamic art“ should primarily imply a kind of profane cognitive-productive-reflective *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse which is not included in or defined by an act of possible aestheticization of the pictorial form which would make it beautiful – *ṣināʿat al-taṣawwir*. In this case, the so-called **sacral form** (Lat. *forma sacra* – *sacra pictura*)

privileged individuals over others in their relationship with God) like in other religions. Islamic monotheism excludes any analogy between the man and the *First Cause*.

▼19 Since we have not managed to find a suitable term either in classical or in modern Arabic, which by no means implies that it does not exist, we have decided to attempt to articulate appropriate terminological orientations for characterizing the **productive-reflective representation of pictorial topics within the traditional Islamic civilizational structure**. We have therefore selected a lexeme composed of two recognizable words which are experienced as separate parts (coinage), i.e. the term *qadar/ṣināʿat*. Finally, we established conformity and compatibility with existing terms in Arabic which refer, e.g. to craft – *maʿnā ṣināʿah min ṣanaʿa*, forms of handiwork/activity *ṣināʿat al-nitāj*, as well as with the term which implies an act of making a pictorial form beautiful – *ṣināʿat al-taṣwīr*. Besides, we do not use the word *fannān* in the same meaning as our Latin term *homo islamicus*, since, among other things, according to Ibn Manzu, *fannān*, means the *artist* (which is even used with this meaning: „*fannān* in the poetry of al-Aʿsha [means]: the donkey, wild, the one who uses different kinds of running“). Our *homo islamicus* is *al-insan al-ṣināʿī*, and his artificial pictorial representation (unlike the natural/real one) is *al-ṣināʿah*.

See our footnotes 48, 49, 50, 54 and 55.

▼20 In Arabic, the term **conservative** is expressed by a given term, whereby in the form of active participle it means „The one who is conservative“ – *al-mutaḥaffiz*, i.e. a *conservative*, or a dogmatist – a person with conservative views, principles, opinions and behavior.

Conservativism is a certain state of spirit, i.e. the way of thinking focused on maintaining the acquired or inherited (cultural) order; a viewpoint of individuals and groups which opposes changes of the existing state, advocates stability of the existing relying upon tradition and traditional values as collected wisdom of the past.

▼21 In Islamic literature the term **traditional** is expressed by the term *al-taqlīd* which, in the form of a noun, means *tradition* or *traditional*.

Tradition, (as imitation – *al-taqlīd*) in general, implies experience and state of (customs, beliefs, norms and values) of the community of *ummet* – *al-ummah* based on the transfer of knowledge from one generation to the other, striving not to deviate from established rules which can, however, be supplemented, or more accurately changes over the time and adjusted to current cultural patterns within a given civilizational structure.

takozvani *sakralni oblik* (lat. *forma sacra – sacra pictura*) *qadar/šīnā'ata* rekognitivne unutarnje asimilacije *homo islamicusa* pod okriljem suštine islama – *al-islām* kao miroljubive ili dragovoljne predanosti *Prvom Uzroku*^{▼22} koja je u potpunom skladu s izvorištem (ar. *al-marja'* ili *al-maṣḍar*), odnosno njezina leksička veza trebala bi podrazumijevati sasvim drugi proces spoznaje – *al-ma'rifah* ili kognicija (lat. *cognosco*). U tom spoznajnom procesu *homo islamicus* bi dobrovoljno i slobodnim samoodređenjem (*actus humanus*) trebao graditi vlastitu kulturnu praksu fundiranu aktom tradicionalnog činjenja slikovne forme lijepom – *šīnā'at al-taṣwīr*, koja sadrži, kako je već kazano, oponašanje, odnosno interpretaciju svih pozitivnih atributa *Prvog Uzroka* kao vlastitih, a ne Njegov tjelesni oblik – *al-ṣūra l-džismiyya* (Ibn Sīnā). Tava estetika činjenja bila bi aktivirana saznanjem da iz ničega ništa ne nastaje – *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Aristotel smatra da ovaj princip vrijedi samo ako se odnosi na ne-bītak (*simpliciter*), ali ne na oblik ne-bītki koji je *privacija* (nedostatak neke perfekcije koju bi predmet, prema svojoj naravi, trebao imati), a koji se može zamisliti i nije kontradikcija, tj. ne odnosi se na prijelaz prouzročen od nekog uzroka iz ne-bīća u zbilji (mogućnosti) u bīće u zbilji.^{▼23} Želimo naglasiti da se začetnik/dizajner reprezentacije ne bavi *imitacijom* ili *figuralnim*

^{▼22} Korištenje izrazā kao što su *Prvi Uzrok*, *Prvobitno Biće* ili *Najsavršenije Biće* u filozofskim razmatranjima podrazumijeva da Bog ne može biti nešto kao što su ovozemaljska bića, već prije njihov uzrok ili uvjet za njihovo postojanje. Moguće je kazati da je to bila namjera i Tome Akvinskog kada je pokušao definirati *Boga* vraćajući se definiciji koju je *Bog o sebi dao Mojsiju* (ar. *Mūsā*): „Ja Sam Koji Jesam“, kao i Aristotelu, koji je konstatirao da je Bog „Prvi Pokretač“, koje je do nas došlo preko premisa i istine.

Usporediti *Biblija – Knjiga Izlaska*. 3, 14. Dostupno na: <https://biblija.ks.hr/knjiga-izlaska/3>. Posljednji put posjećeno 10. 5. 2022; Aristotel. *Fizika VII*, 242a, 53 (prev. Tomislav Ladan). Zagreb: SNL, 1984.

Međutim, nešto što je suštinska *Jednostavnost* bit će ono što će muslimanski filozofi nazivati „Prvobitno Biće“, odnosno „Prvi Uzrok“, to jest ono čije postojanje neće ovisiti ni o čemu. Iako se sljedeći korak u oslovljavanju al-Fārābija može smatrati potpunijim prihvatanjem neoplatonizma, tituliranje sa „Prvi Bitak“, odnosno „Prvi Uzrok“ čije je postojanje nužno – *darūrī* i čisto od bilo kakvoga nedostatka ili mnoštva, on usvaja emanacijsku shemu u kojoj „Prvi Bitak“ prouzrokuje egzistenciju netjelesnog *Drugog*, koji tada počinje misliti o svojoj biti i o *Prvome*. Ovo polučuje *Trećeg*, koji nastavlja s procesom sve dok egzistencija sublunarnog svijeta ne uđe u postojanje.

Za razliku od al-Fārābija, Ibn Sīnā dalje konkretizira filozofske ideje o Bogu oslovljavajući Boga kao „Nužnost Bitka“ – *al-wādžib al-wudūd*, te ga pozicionira nasuprot mogućnosti Bitka – *al-inkān al-wudūdīyy* kako bi pokazao da „Nužnost Bitka“ mora biti neprouzročena da bi se izbjegla beskonačna uzročna regresija.

Također, Ibn Sīnā je smatrao da se samo po sebi razumije kako je kozmos racionalan i da u racionalnom svemiru mora postojati jedno „Nestvoreno Biće“, „Nepokretni Pokretač“ na vrhu hijerarhije postojanja. „Nešto“ mora da je pokrenulo lanac uzroka i posljedica. Nepostojanje takvog vrhovnog bića, po njemu, značilo bi da čovjekov *um nije u suglasju s realnošću u cjelini*. U nekoj svojoj konačnici, Ibn Sīnā je razvio teoriju emanacije utemeljenu na konceptu nužnosti egzistencije.

Kada je riječ o glagolu *biti* u arapskom jeziku, muslimanski logičari nisu mogli formulirati čisti egzistencijalni iskaz. Zato su umjesto egzistencijalnog iskaza koristili atributivni, koji se po dogovoru smatrao egzistencijalnim. U takvom iskazu *bitak* uistinu jest „nešto“ što se atribuiralo *biti bića*, a ta konceptualizacija *bitka* osnova je Ibn Sīnāove ideje o *bitku* kao svojevrsnoj drugotnoj *biti*.

Bučan, Daniel. „Avicenna i problem bitka. Kako je viđen u islamu i arapskom jeziku“ = „Avicenna und das Problem des Seins. Einwirkungen des Islam und der arabischen Sprache“. Zagreb: *Filozofska istraživanja*. 2012;32(1):49.

^{▼23} Toma Akvinski prihvaća Aristotelovu interpretaciju, ali ističe da to ne vrijedi za *božansko stvaranje iz ničega*. Međutim, Akvinski je uveo Ibn Sīnāovo razlikovanje bitka i biti, obrazlažući odnos između stvorenog i nestvorenog bitka; nestvoreni je Bitak temelj postojanja stvorenog bića. Zato se s pravom može reći da je upravo Bitak (*Esse*) glavni pojam Tomine metafizike proizašao iz Ibn Sīnāovog učenja.

Usporediti Bajšić, Vjekoslav. *Granična pitanja religije i znanosti: Studije i članci*. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1998.

of *qadar/ṣināʿat* of recognitive inner assimilation of *homo islamicus* within the essence of Islam – *al-islām* as a peaceful or voluntary commitment to the *First Cause*▼²² which is in full harmony with the origin (Ar. *al-marjaʿ* or *al-maṣḍar*) or, in other words, its lexical connection should imply a completely different process of gaining knowledge – *al-maʿrifah* or cognition (Lat. *cognosco*). In this process of gaining knowledge, *homo islamicus* should voluntarily and by free self-determination (*actus humanus*) build his own cultural practice founded on the action of traditionally making a pictorial form beautiful–*ṣināʿat al-taṣwīr*, which includes, as was already noted, emulation, or interpretation of all the positive attributes of the *First Cause* as his own, rather than His corporeal form – *al-ṣūrah al-jismiyyah* (Ibn Sīnā). Such an aesthetics of doing would be activated by the knowledge that nothing emerges from nothing – *ex nihilo nihil fit*. Aristotle believes that this principle applies only if it pertains to a non-Being (*simpliciter*), but not to a form of non-Being which is *privation* (a lack of a perfection which an object, by its nature, should have), and which can be imagined and is not a contradiction, i.e. does not pertain to the transition resulting from a cause from a non-being in reality (possibility) to a being in reality.▼²³ We would like to point out that the author/designer of representation is not involved in

▼²² Use of expressions such as the *First Cause*, *Original Being* or the *Most Perfect Being* in philosophical discussions implies that *God* cannot be something like the earthly beings, but rather their *cause* or *condition* for their existence. It can be claimed that it was also an intention of Thomas Aquinas when he attempted to define *God* by returning to the definition which *God provided of himself to Moses* (Ar. *Mūsā*): „I am who am“, as well as to Aristotle, who claimed that *God* is the „First Mover“, who reached us through premises and the truth.

Cf. *Holy Bible – the Book of Exodus*, 3, 14. Good Will Publishers, Inc. Gastonia, North Carolina, 1953; Aristotle. *Fizika VII*, 242a, 53 (trans by. Tomislav Ladan). SNL, Zagreb 1984.

However, *something* which is the intrinsic *Simplicity* is what Muslim philosophers would name the „Original Being“ or the „First Cause“, i.e. the existence of whom will not depend on anything. Although the next step in addressing by al-Fārābī can be considered as a more complete acceptance of Neoplatonism, by qualifications such as the „First Being“ or the „First Cause“, the existence of whom is necessary – *ḍarūrī* and pure from any flaw or multitude, he adopts an emanation scheme where the „First Being“ causes existence of the incorporeal *Other*, who then begins to think about his essence and about the *First*. It leads to the *Third*, who continues the process until the existence of the sublunar world comes into existence.

Unlike al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā further specifies philosophical ideas of *God*, addressing *God* as the „Necessity of Being“– *al-wājib al-wujūd*, and positions it against the possibilities of Being – *al-imbkān al-wujūdiyy* to show that the „Necessity of Being“ must be uncaused to avoid an endless causal regression.

Ibn Sīnā also believed that it goes without saying that the cosmos is *rational* and that in the rational universe there must be one „Uncreated Being“, „Immovable Mover“ on the top of the hierarchy of existence. „Something“ must have moved the chain of causes and results. According to him, non-existence of such a supreme being would mean that the man’s *mind is not in harmony with reality as a whole*. Ibn Sīnā ultimately developed a theory of emanation based on the concept of the necessity of existence.

With respect to the verb *be* in Arabic, Muslim logicians could not articulate a pure existential expression. Consequently, instead of the existential expression they used an attributive one, which was considered as existential by convention. In such an utterance, *Being* really is „something“ which is attributed to the *essence of being*, and such a conceptualization of *Being* is the basis of Ibn Sīnā’s idea of Being as a distinctive secondary *essence*.

Bučan, Daniel. „Avicenna i problem bitka. Kako je viđen u islamu i arapskom jeziku“ = „Avicenna und das Problem des Seins. Einwirkungen des Islam und der arabischen Sprache“. Zagreb: Filozofska Istrazivanja. 2012, 32 (1):49.

▼²³ St. Thomas Aquinas accepted Aristotle’s interpretation, but pointed out that it is not true of the *Divine creation from nothing*. However, Aquinas introduced Ibn Sīnā’s distinction between Being and Essence when explaining the relationship between created and uncreated being; The uncreated Being is the foundation of the existence of the created being. Therefore, it can rightly be claimed that it is Being (*Esse*) that is the main concept of Thomas’s metaphysics resulting from Ibn Sīnā’s teaching.

Cf. Bajšić, Vjekoslav. *Granična pitanja religije i znanost: Studies and articles*. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1998, p. 176; Also see,

predstavljanjem s posebnom važnošću čiste **figuralne fantazme** kako se tumači unutar okcidentalnog akademizma, već umjesto takvog tumačenja moguće je govoriti o supstancijalnom slikovnom obliku.^{▼24} Nažalost, okcidentalno-vesternizirana akademska nauka u kojoj se nastoje očuvati vlastiti razlozi određenih fenomena (grč. φαινόμενον – *fainómenon*) ili okolnosti niti u jednom jedinom pokušaju ne prihvata ovaj vid fenomenološke metode *nutarnjeg iskustva s karakterom povratnog dejstva*,^{▼25} te se takvo iskustvo uporno pokušava pripisati *figuralnoj fantaziji*.^{▼26}

Očito je: šta god da je bila u prošlosti, danas je ideja vodilja formiranja određenog karakterističnog i utemeljenog **nazivlja** rekognitivnog ili kognitivnog karaktera „islamske umjetnosti“, odnosno produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije kolaborativne orijentacije ili dispozicije uglavnom zapreka, smetnja, koja se u određenim krugovima okcidentalnog akademizma obično označava kao *suptilno filistarstvo* („ukupnost ograničenih pogleda“, „zatvorenost duha prema učenosti, *umjetnosti* i novostima“...), *bigoterijom* (fr. *bigoterie*, vjerska omamljenost), *getom historije umjetnosti*, *orijentalističkim naslijeđem*, *vanzemaljskim obrazovanjem*, a kroz prijevode Kur'ana na druge jezike nastojalo se „čišćenjem“ vjerskih impulsa vidjeti *početak kraja jednog, navodnog monopolističkog položaja*.^{▼27}

str. 176; Vidjeti i Kušar, Stjepan. *Filozofija u srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2015. str. 67.

▼24 *Fantazma* – (grč. φάντασμα = *pojava, predodžba*), kao posljedica fantazije, utvare, priviđenja... u formi *umjetničke stvaralačke mašte* ne može biti realizirana unutar domene tradicionalne slikovne estetizacije *homo islamicusa*. Ukoliko se već insistira na njezinom postojanju unutar *qadar/šīnā'ata*, onda bi fantazmu jedino bilo moguće promatrati kao transpoziciju *imagilnacije* – *takhayyūl*, a ne *imaginacije*, odnosno priviđenja; suprotno poimanju okcidentalnog akademizma. Znači, riječ je o sposobnosti ili mentalnoj aktivnosti koju *imagilnacija* kod *homo islamicusa* proizvodi, čuva, ali i definira slikovne prikaze u ovisnosti o njegovoj svijesti o prisutnosti Božijih atributa kojima slikovni sadržaji podliježu. Mogući susret *homo islamicusovog* duha i materijalnog svijeta odvija se u „produžetku“ osjetnog, s jedne strane, i aktivne moći njegovog duha – *al-rūh*, s druge strane. Nasuprot slikovnom prikazu imamo aktivnost promatračevog intelekta, koji dobija sadržaj od osjetnog slikovnog prikaza – *al-'arḍ*, ali tako da u njemu odijeli **formu** od **materije**, pri čemu se, također, i sama forma utiskuje u aktivnu moć njegovog duha. Zato Aristotel izričito kaže: „Bez (osjetne, op. aut.) slike duša se ne može nikad spoznavati.“ Tako se ostvaruje *imagilnacija* izvanjskog (Božijih atributa): osjetna forma koju je pregnuće aktivnog uma „dematerijaliziralo“ u supstancijalnom obliku, te postaje nečim što je promatračevom umu shvatljivo (*intelligibile actu*), a time i općim pojmom. Čini se potrebnim naglasiti kako se takav proces spoznaje tumači u domeni tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja – *šīnā'at al-'ilm*, kao i realizira u aktu činjenja slikovne forme lijepom – *šīnā'at al-tašawir*, te označava kao *al-tadžrīd* – forma sadržaja senzualne i unutarnje percepcije fundirana duhovnim identitetom – *al-huwiyyah al-rūhiyyah*, pa je potrebno dobro razmisliti o opravdanosti insistiranja okcidentalnog akademizma na korištenju pojma *fantazam* u kontekstu *qadar/šīnā'ata*.

Aristotel. *O duši: Nagovor za filozofiju* (prev. Darko Novaković). Zagreb: Naprijed. 1987. 431a, str. 17.

▼25 Naime, poznata je činjenica da *homines islamici* preferiraju teozofsku mudrost (mistična gnoza) koja teži nutarnjoj kontemplativnoj vizualizaciji – *al-mošāhadah*, a što se ne zadobija ni puninom definicija ni izražajnošću silogizama, već snagom istočne svjetlosti – *al-āišraq* koja se rađa na Istoku duše.

▼26 *Fantazija* – (grč. φαντασία = *priviđenje, pričinjavanje; mašta*), sposobnost ili aktivnost *umjetnikove* duše koja proizvodi ili *stvara* slike stvari neovisno o njihovoj prisutnosti. Pa se za fantaziju kaže kako je ona sposobnost *umjetnikovog duha* da odsutne stvari predočava kao prisutne. Radi sposobnosti formiranja slika nazvana je i *imaginacijom*. Kod skolastika, *fantazija* je unutarnje osjetilo koje *umjetnikovom* umu predočava sliku osjetnog predmeta opaženog izvanjskim osjetilima, tako da je osjetna slika ona koju, ustvari, rasvjetljuje djelatni um.

Vidjeti našu fusnotu 24, gdje je dato šire objašnjenje *umjetnikove imaginacije* i *homo islamicusove* *imagilnacije*.

▼27 Šire vidjeti Ettinghausen, Richard. *Antiheidnische Polemik im Koran*. (Nastupna disertacija o stjecanju doktorata na

imitation or figural representation with a particular importance of the pure **figural phantasm** as it is interpreted within Occidental academism; instead, we can speak about a substantial pictorial form.^{▼24} Unfortunately, Occidental-westernized academic science which strives to preserve its own reasons for certain phenomena (Gr. *φαινόμενον* – *fainómenon*) or circumstances does not attempt at all to accept this kind of phenomenological method of *inner experience with a character of feedback effect*,^{▼25} persistently trying to attribute such an experience to *figural fantasy*.^{▼26}

Evidently, whatever it was in the past, today the guiding idea of the formation of certain characteristic and well-grounded **terminology** of recognitive or cognitive character of „Islamic art“ (that is to say productive-reflective representation of collaborative disposition) is mostly an obstacle. This hindrance, is typically labelled in some circles of Occidental academism as *subtle philistinism* („totality of limited views“, „closure of spirit for learning, art and novelties“), *bigotry* (Fr. *bigoterie*, religious stupor), *ghetto of the history of art*, *Orientalist heritage*, *extraterrestrial education*. Elsewhere, translations of the Qur’an into other languages attempted to „cleanse“ religious impulses and see *the beginning of the end of an allegedly monopolistic position*.^{▼27}

Kušar, Stjepan. *Filozofija u srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2015, p. 67.

^{▼24} **Phantasm** – (Gr. *φάντασμα* = *phenomenon, idea*) resulting from fantasy, apparition, vision in the form of *artistic creative imagination* cannot be realized within the domain of traditional pictorial aestheticization of *homo islamicus*. If one insists on its existence within *qadar/šīnā’at*, phantasm could only be viewed as transposition of *imagination* – *al-takhayyūl*, rather than *imagination* i.e. vision; contrary to understanding of Occidental academism. Thus, it is an ability or mental activity which *imagination* produces in *homo islamicus*, and which keeps as well as defines pictorial representations depending on his awareness of the presence of God’s attributes that pictorial contents are subject to. A possible encounter between *homo islamicus*’s spirit and the tangible world proceeds in the „continuation“ of sensory on the one hand and the active power of his spirit – *al-rūh*, on the other. Opposite to the pictorial representation we have the activity of the viewer’s intellect, who receives content from the sensory pictorial representation – *al-’arḍ*, but in such a way that he separates **form** from **matter**, whereby the form itself is also impressed in the active power of his spirit. Therefore, Aristotle explicitly writes: „The soul never thinks without a (sensory, author’s comment) picture“. This is how *imagination* of external (attributes of God) is created: a sensory form which was „dematerialized“ by the endeavor of an active mind in substantial form, and which becomes something that is understandable to the viewer’s eye (*intelligibile actu*), and thus a general concept. It should be noted that such a process of gaining knowledge is interpreted in the domain of the traditional systematization of knowledge – *šīnā’at al-’ilm*, actualized in the action of making a pictorial form beautiful – *šīnā’at al-taṣawwīr*, and labeled as *al-tajrīd* – a form of content of sensual and inner perception founded on spiritual identity – *al-huwiyyah al-rūḥiyyah*, and that is why it requires a thorough review of the justification of insistence of Occidental academism on the use of term *phantasm* in the context of *qadar/šīnā’at*.

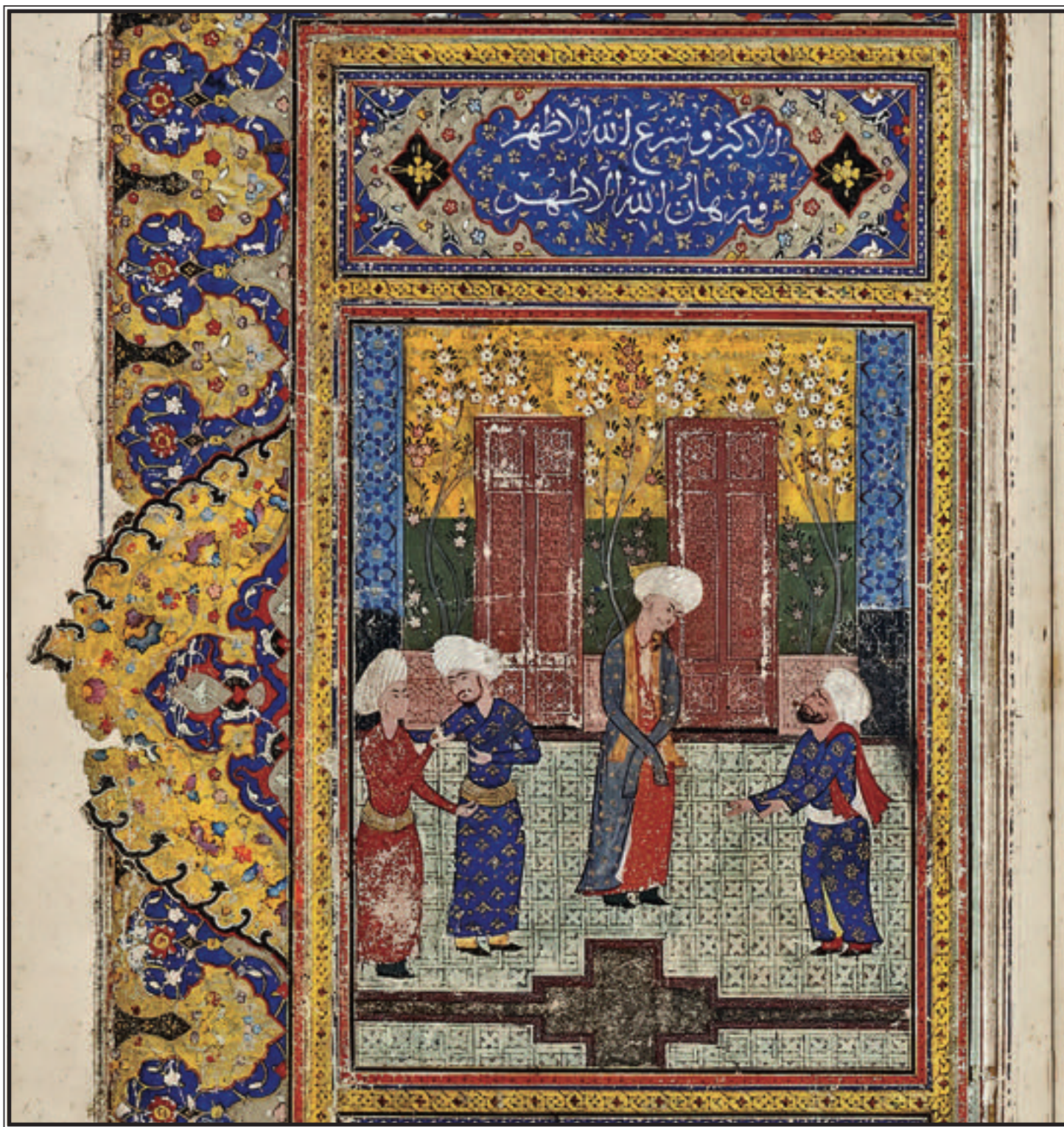
Aristotle. *O duši : Nagovor za filozofiju* (trans. by Darko Novaković). Zagreb: Naprijed, 1987, 431a, p. 17.

^{▼25} Actually, it is a well-known fact that *homines islamici* prefer the theosophical wisdom (mystic gnosis) which strives toward inner contemplative visualization – *al-moṣhāhadah*, and which is not acquired either by totality of definitions or by expressiveness of syllogisms but by the power of Eastern light – *al-ishraq* which is born in the East of the soul.

^{▼26} **Fantasy** – (Gr. *φαντασία* = *apparition, vision; imagination*), the ability or activity of the *artist’s* soul which produces or *creates* pictures of things independent of their presence. Therefore, *fantasy* is described as an ability of the *artist’s* spirit to render absent things as present. Due to the ability to form pictures it has also been named *imagination*. Among scholastics, *fantasy* is an inner sense which presents, to the *artist’s* mind, a picture of a sensory object perceived by external senses, and thus the sensory picture is what actually illuminates the active mind.

See our footnote 24, which provides detailed explanation of *artist’s* imagination and *homo islamicus*’s *imagination*.

^{▼27} For more, see Ettinghausen, Richard. *Antiheidnische Polemik im Koran*. (Inaugural dissertation for acquiring a doctoral degree at the faculty of philosophy of the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main). Frankfurt am Main: Gelnhäuser, F.W. Kalbfleisch, 1934.



ILUSTRACIJA - Estetizirano djelanje/*sinā'at* pod okriljem primijenjenog utemeljenja -
Džalal Al-Din Muhammad Rumi (um. 1273.), Šest knjiga Metnavija, Persija, Safavid, iz 1599.-1600. © Lot-Art 57.



ILLUSTRATION - Aestheticized action/*sinā'at* under the auspices of applied foundation -
Jalal Al-Din Muhammad Rumi (d. 1273), The six Books of the Mathnawi, Persia, Safavid, 1599-1600. © Lot-Art 57.

Vjerovatno ne postoji oblast okcidentalne nauke čiji adepti „čišćenja“ vjerskih impulsa, posebno neki predstavnici anksiozno-okcidentalnog akademizma iz oblasti morfokriticizma, tj. metode historije oblika, nisu se okušali u istraživanju navodne „tajne učenja Kur’ana“, ali ne kao vječne *Božije riječi* i *Objave Stvoritelja*, već rasprava o tome da li je *njegov sadržaj moguće pripisati određenim književnim oblicima; navodno, postojeći sadržaj Kur’ana kontradiktoran je kanonskom Tekstu koji je sačinjen prije khalife Osmana ibn 'Affāna*.^{▼28}

Jedan od primjera „čišćenja“ vjerskih impulsa, ali i razmimoilaženja hipoteza i nesklada okcidentalno-znanstvenih promišljanja jeste pitanje prirode Kur’ana sagledano iz perspektive vodeće njemačke kur’anologinje Angelike Neuwirth (r. 1943.), koja vjeruje da *corpus coranicum* izmiče svakoj klasifikaciji i da je Kur’an nemoguće pripisati književnim oblicima poznatim morfokritici. Dalje navodi, ako bi se, ipak, tražio vodeći oblik, to bi, po njoj, bio govor za liturgijske svrhe – tekst za recitiranje, propovijedi (*predicatio*).^{▼29} S druge strane, za američkog historičara Johna Wansbrougha (um. 2002.), oblik Kur’ana ukazuje na to da je književni oblik propovijedi morao dominirati u procesu formiranja kanonskog teksta (*textum canonicum*)^{▼30} – slična percepcija kur’anskog jezika i stila bila je usvojena i ranije kod Voltairea (um. 1778.), koji je svetu knjigu islama, u *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* („Esej o moralu i duhu naroda“), shvatao kao zbirku propovijedi isprepletenih nizom činjenica, elemenata vizija,

Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta Johann Wolfgang Goethe u Frankfurtu na Majni). Frankfurt na Majni – Gelnhausen: F. W. Kalbfleisch, 1934.

▼28 Budući da Objava nije bila u potpunosti prikupljena, nakon Poslanikove smrti, 632. godine, mnogi su njegovi sljedbenici – ashabi (ar. *al-ṣāhib*, pl. *al-'ashāb*) pokušali ishoditi sve što je o tome bilo poznato i zapisano da se pohrani u formi kodeksa. Po tvrdnji Arthura Jefferyja, protestantskog australijskog profesora semitskih jezika, sadržaje kodeksa veoma je brzo prikupilo nekoliko učenjaka, kao što su 'Abd Allāh ibn Mes'ūd, Ubay ibn Ka'b, Ali ibn Abi-Talib, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, Aswad al-Ansī, također poznat i kao Abhal bin Ka'b, te petnaest primarnih i veći broj sekundarnih učenjaka. Smatrao je da, kako se islam širio, na kraju je ostala ona građa što je prikupljena i postala poznata kao *metropolitanski kodeksi* u središtima Meke, Medine, Damaska, Kufe i Basre. Naime, po daljnjoj tvrdnji Jefferyja, treći halifa, Osman ibn 'Affān pokušao je uvesti red u haotičnu situaciju kanonizirajući *Medinjanski kodeks*, čije su kopije poslone u sve gradske centre, s naredbom da se unište svi ostali dijelovi Objave [sic!]. Na taj način navodna „prva zbirka sadržaja Kur’ana“, prvog halife Abū Bakra al-Rāzija stavljena je u *drugi plan, nije tretirana kao službeni kodeks, već gotovo kao privatno vlasništvo Ḥafse, Omerove kćerke ('Umar)*.

Ovakav stav jednog od predstavnika anksiozno-okcidentalnog akademizma očito je bio motiviran faktorima „čišćenja“ vjerskih impulsa... Također je, između ostalog, u želji da dokaže kako je Kur’an *ustvari lično djelo Božijeg Poslanika*, iznio i tvrdnju da je u svjetlu okcidentalnih istraživanja jasno da je poslanik Muhamed *sastavljao knjigu* (tj. Kur’an) *za muslimane u drugom dijelu svog života* [sic!].

Jeffery, Arthur. *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an: The Old Codices*. Leiden: Brill, 1937. Dostupno na: <https://www.islamic-awareness.org/quran/text/gilchrist/giljeffery> – nije paginirano. Posljednji put posjećeno 2. 7. 2023.

▼29 Neuwirth, Angelika. „Einige Bemerkungen zum besonderen sprachlichen und literarischen Charakter des Koran“. U: W. Voigt (ur.). *Deutscher Orientalistentag*, t. 1, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977. str. 736-739; Neuwirth, Angelika. „Some Notes on the Distinctive Linguistics and Literary Character of the Qur'ān“. U: A. Rippin (ur.). *The Qur'ān: Style and Contents*. London/New York: Routledge, 2016. str. 253-258.

▼30 Wansbrough, John. *Quranic Studies. Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977. str. 148.

There is probably no area of Occidental scholarship where zealots of „cleansing“ religious impulses (particularly some representatives of anxiously-Occidental academism in the area of morpho-criticism, that is to say the method of the history of forms) have not tried their hand in researching the alleged „secret of teaching of the Qur’an“. However, this is undertaken not as the eternal word of God and Revelation of the Creator, but rather as discussions about whether its content can be ascribed to certain literary forms; allegedly, the existing content of the Qur’an is contradictory to the canonical Text which was prepared before khalif ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān.▼²⁸

Examples of „cleansing“ religious impulses, as well as of divergence of hypotheses and of discrepancy of Occidental academic thoughts include the issue of nature of the Qur’an viewed from the perspective of leading German Qur’anic scholar Angelika Neuwirth (b. 1943), who believes that *corpus coranicum* eludes any classification and that it is impossible to ascribe the Qur’an to literary forms known to morphological critique.▼²⁹ She goes on to say that, if one were to look for a leading form, it would, according to her, be the speech for liturgical purposes – the text for reciting, sermons (*predicatio*). On the other hand, for American historian John Wansbrough (d. 2002), form of the Qur’an indicates that the literary form of sermon must have dominated in the process of forming the canonic text (*textum canonicum*)▼³⁰ – a similar perception of the Qur’anic language and style had been adopted earlier, by Voltaire (d. 1778), who, in *Essai sur les mœurs et l’esprit des nations*, understood the holy book of Islam as a collection of sermons interwoven with many facts, elements of visions, revelations and civil legislation.▼³¹ On the other hand, the mentor of French Arabic studies, Alfred-Louis de Prémare (d. 2006), describes contents of the Qur’an as a polemic work.▼³²

▼²⁸ Since Revelation was not completely collected, after Prophet’s death in 632 many of his followers – *ashabs* (Ar. *al-ṣāhib*, pl. *al-‘ashāb*) tried to obtain everything that was known and written about it with the aim of storing it in the form of codices. According to Arthur Jeffery, a Protestant Australian professor of Semitic languages, the contents of the codices were collected very quickly by several scholars such as ‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd, Ubay ibn Ka‘b, Ali ibn Ebu-Talib, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, Aswad al-Ansi, also known as Abhal bin Ka‘b, and about fifteen primary and a large number of secondary scholars. He believed that, as Islam expanded, *what ultimately remained was the material* which had been collected and become known as *metropolitan codices* in the centers of Mecca, Medina, Damascus, Kufa and Basra. Jeffery further claims that the third *khalif*, ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān tried to bring order in the *chaotic situation* by canonizing the *Medina’s Codex*, copies of which were sent to all urban centers with the order to *destroy all the other parts of the Revelation* [sic!]. In this way, the alleged „first collection of the contents of the Qur’an“, by the first khalif Abū Bakr al-Rāzī was set aside and was no longer treated as an official codex but almost as privately owned by Hafsa (‘Umar’s daughter).

Such an attitude of one of representatives of anxiously-Occidental academism was obviously motivated by factors of „cleansing“ religious impulses. Besides, wishing to prove that the Qur’an is *actually a personal work of God’s Prophet*, he claimed that in the light of Occidental studies it is obvious that Prophet Mehammed *compiled the book* (i.e. the Qur’an) *for Muslims during the second part of his life* [sic!].

Jeffery, Arthur. *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur’an: The Old Codices*. Leiden: Brill, 1937. Available at: <https://www.islamic-awareness.org/quran/text/gilchrist/giljeffery> – not paginated. Last accessed on 2.07.2023.

▼²⁹ Neuwirth, Angelika. „Einige Bemerkungen zum besonderen sprachlichen und literarischen Charakter des Koran“. In: W. Voigt (ed.). *Deutscher Orientalistentag*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977, pp. 736–739; Neuwirth, Angelika. „Some Notes on the Distinctive Linguistics and Literary Character of the Qur’ān“. In: A. Rippin (ed.). *The Qur’ān: Style and Contents*. London/New York: Routledge, 2016, pp. 253–258.

▼³⁰ Wansbrough, John. *Quranic Studies. Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 148.

▼³¹ Beuchot Adrien-Jean-Quentin (ed.). *Oeuvres de Voltaire*. Vol. 15, Paris: Chez Lefèvre, 1829, pp. 337-338.

▼³² Prémare, Alfred-Louis. *Aux origines du Coran*. Paris: Téraèdre, 2004, pp. 44-45.

objava te vjerskog i građanskog zakonodavstva.^{▼31} Zauzvrat, mentor francuske arabistike Alfred-Louis de Prémare (um. 2006.), opisuje sadržaj Kur'ana kao polemičko djelo.^{▼32} Tome se protivi njemačko-američki povjesničar „islamske umjetnosti“ Richard Ettinghausen (um. 1979.), koji tvrdi da je funkcija polemike sekundarna.^{▼33} Isusovac Roest Crollius (r. 1933.) vidi Kur'an kao cjelovitu izričitu knjigu molitve (*precatio*).^{▼34} Međutim, njemački semit i lingvist Christoph Luxenberg iznosi zaključak da je Kur'an izvorno zapisan u obliku lekcionara (*lectionarium*) za siro-arapske kršćane.^{▼35} S tim u vezi, a po navođenju Marcina Grodzkog (r. 1968.), njemački protestantski teolog Günter Lüling (um. 2014.) rekonstruirao je u formi politematskih himni, „najstariji tekstualni sloj Kur'ana“ (tzv. *Pra-Koran/Ur-Kur'an*).^{▼36} Često se među kur'anolozima visoko aluzivni koncept svete knjige islama također naziva *homiletičkim* ili *parafrazirajućim liturgijskim čitanjima*, kao i *eklektičnim*, *heterogenim stilom*, koji sadrži niz književnih oblika, uglavnom, po *dovoljno neutemeljenim tvrdnjama iz različitih tradicija prijenosa*.

Može izgledati da nas osvjedočena okcidentalno-historiografska i vesternizirano-teorijska tumačenja fenomenologije islama ignorirajući praksu, doktrinu i duhovni put estetiziranog djelanja *homo islamicusa*, unazad nekoliko stoljeća udaljavaju od ideje kako je za konkretno ostvarenje estetizacije slikovnog prevashodno primaran sadržaj – *al-muḥṭawā*, eliminirajući bitnost njegove vjerske spoznaje – *al-ma'rifah*. Nažalost, takva anksiozna ideja i dalje zadržava izvanrednu položajnu hegemoniju i prema ornamentalnom i primijenjenom konceptu za dostizanje stanja ostvarenjā Stvoritelja, kroz promišljanje *savršenstva* koje je sinteza lijepog i funkcionalnog. Mišljenja smo da je to zato što se ta ideja, između ostalog, često perpetuira u okviru „validnih“ akademskih pristupa analize okcidentalnih

▼31 Beuchot, Adrien-Jean-Quentin (ur.). *OEuvres de Voltaire*. t. 15. Paris: Chez Lefèvre, 1829. str. 337-338.

▼32 Prémare, Alfred-Louis. *Aux origines du Coran*. Paris: Téraèdre. 2004. str. 44-45.

▼33 Ettinghausen, Richard. *Antiheidnische Polemik...* str. 5-6.

▼34 Crollius, Arij A. Roest. „The Prayer in the Qur'ān“. *Studia Missionalia*. 1975; 24:223-252.

▼35 Luxenberg, Christoph. *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran. Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2000.

▼36 Primjer onoga što Lüling vjeruje da je temeljna kršćanska himna Kur'ana ustvari 96. poglavlje – *al-sūra Al-'Alaq* ili *Ugrušak*, jer je navodno prvobitno bila upućena kršćanima, a ne Poslaniku Muhamedu. Svojim pristupom istraživanju Lüling je bio rani predstavnik „Saarbrücken škole“ koja je dio Revizionističke škole islamskih studija. Njegova teza naišla je na oštre kritike učenjaka islamskih i biblijskih studija sve dok nije bio označen kao „radikalan“ i intuitivni istraživač.

Reynolds, Gabriel Said. „Introduction, Quranic studies and its controversies“. U: Reynolds, Gabriel Said (ur.). *The Quran in its Historical Context*. London: Routledge 2008. p. 10. Vidjeti i Grodzki, Marcin. „Problematyka i wyzwania współczesnych studiów nad genezą islamu“. *Karto-Teka Gdańska*. 2018;2(3):12.

Doista! Je li Kur'an prvenstveno deskriptivne ili preskriptivne prirode? Ovo pitanje lebdi u glavama i muslimana i nemuslimana. Neki doživljavaju islamske spise kao *božansku direktivu*, s Allahovim izdavanjem izričitih naredbi za organizaciju života. Alternativno, postoji druga perspektiva, koja sugerira da Kur'an služi kao *nacrt za stvaranje svijeta i naše percepcije o njemu*. U ovom potonjem pogledu, Kur'an/Koran/Ur-Kur'an je deskriptivan, a ne preskriptivan, ocrtavajući optimalan način za kretanje svijetom u skladu sa svojim inherentnim principima.

It is opposed by German-American historian of „Islamic art“ Richard Ettinghausen (d. 1979), who claims that the function of polemics is secondary.^{▼33} Jesuit Roest Crollius (b. 1933) understands the Qur’an as a complete explicit book of prayer (*precatio*).^{▼34} However, German Semite and linguist Christoph Luxenberg draws the conclusion that the Qur’an was originally recorded in the form of lectionary (*lectionarium*) for Syro-Arabian Christians.^{▼35} In this respect, according to Marcin Grodzki (b. 1968), a German Protestant theologian Günter Lüling (d. 2014) reconstructed, in the form of polythematic hymns, „the oldest textual layer of the Qur’an (the so-called *Pra-Koran*/*Ur-Qur’an*)“.^{▼36} Among Qur’anic scholars, the highly allusive concept of the holy book of Islam is often also labeled as *homiletic* or *paraphrasing liturgical readings*, as well as *eclectic, heterogenous style*, which is composed of a series of literary forms, mostly *according to sufficiently grounded statements from different traditions of communication*.

It may seem that the proven Occidental-historiographic and westernized-theoretical interpretations of the phenomenology of Islam and, within them, of what is defined as „Islamic art“ (which ignore practice, doctrine and the spiritual path of an aestheticized activity of *homo islamicus* over several past centuries) distance us from the idea that the actual realization of aestheticization of the pictorial primarily requires **content** – *al-muḥṭawā*, while the importance of personal **religious cognition** – *al-ma’rifah* is eliminated. Unfortunately, such an anxious idea still retains an extraordinary positional hegemony – even according to the ornamental and applied concept for reaching the state of actualizations of the Creator through the contemplation of *perfection* (which is a synthesis of the beautiful and the functional). Amongst other points, it is probably because this idea is often perceived within „valid“ academic approaches to the analysis of Occidental *works of art*, as well as works which can only be ascribed to the action of making a pictorial form beautiful – *ṣinā’at al-taṣwīr*. Consequently, most people have become convinced that any appearance which is declared as *art* should be taken seriously. What excessive emphasis on this and so **directed idea**

▼33 Ettinghausen, Richard. *Antiheidnische Polemik...*, pp. 5-6.

▼34 Crollius, Arij A. Roest. *The Prayer in the Qur’ān*. Studia Missionalia, 1975, No 24, pp. 223-252.

▼35 Luxenberg, Christoph. *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran. Ein Beitrag zur Entschlüsselung der Koransprache*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 2000.

▼36 An example of what Lüling believes to be the underlying Christian hymn of the Qur’an is actually the 96th chapter – *al-sūrah Al-‘Alaq* or *The Clot*, as it was supposedly originally addressed to Christians, not to the Prophet Muḥammad. With his approach of research Lüling was an early representative of the „Saarbrücken School“ which is part of the Revisionist School of Islamic Studies. Tesis Lüling banyak menerima kritik tajam dari sarjana studi Islam dan Biblikal hingga ia dilabeli sebagai peneliti yang „radikal“ dan intuitif.

Reynolds, Gabriel Said. „Introduction, Quranic studies and its controversies“. In: Reynolds, Gabriel Said (ed.). *The Quran in its Historical Context*. London: Routledge 2008, p. 10.

Really! Is the Qur’an primarily descriptive or prescriptive in nature? This question floats in the minds of both Muslims and non-Muslims. Some see the Islamic scriptures as *divine directives*, with Allah issuing explicit orders for the organization of life. Alternatively, there is another perspective, which suggests that the Qur’an serves as a *blueprint for the creation of the world and our perception of it*. In this latter respect, the Qur’an/Qur’an/Ur-Qur’an is descriptive rather than prescriptive, outlining the optimal way to navigate the world in accordance with its inherent principles.

umjetničkih djela, ali i djela koja je jedino moguće pripisati aktu činjenja slikovne forme lijepom – *ṣinā'at al-taṣwīr*, uslijed čega se ustalilo uvjerenje kod većine ljudi da ozbiljno uzimaju bilo koju pojavnost koja se deklarira pod nazivljem *umjetnost*. Pretjerano isticanje ove i ovako **usmjerene ideje sadržaja** podrazumijeva vječni, nikada dokončani proces utemeljenog tumačenja, i, obratno, naviku da se *umjetničkim ostvarenjima* i mogućim karakterima estetiziranog djelanja/*ṣinā'ata homo islamicusa* kako bi se *tumačila*, ustvari podupire ideja da doista u sklopu teorijskih pogleda okcidentalnog akademizama postoji nešto takvo poput *univerzalnog i sveobuhvatnog sadržaja* za karakterizaciju bilo koje forme estetizirane reprezentacije. Da, doduše, to se i čini eliminiranjem dominantne inicijacije djelanja/*ṣinā'ata* i podrazumijevajuće magije autorefleksivnih diskursa – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah* unutar poimanja datih realizacija, odnosno bez uvažavanja ključne inicijacije koja se podrazumijeva u okviru tradicionalne sistematizacije znanja – *ṣinā'at al-'ilm*. Budući da se muslimanska estetika fokusira na duhovno predstavljanje bića ali i predmeta, umjesto na njihove materijalne vrijednosti, vanjski izgled predmeta, objekata ili modela ni na koji način ne obuhvata njihovu suštinu i istinsko „ja“. Svaki vanjski kvantitativni i fizički izgled – *al-zāhir* razlikuje se od svoje unutarnje kvalitativne i duhovne suštine – *al-bā'in*; dok se *savršenstvo* može pripisati samo Bogu Stvoritelju. Za *homo islamicusa*, ljepota nije estetski prikaz ljudskih atributa, niti kopiranje idealnog stanja prirode, čiji je koncept renesansna Evropa posudila od starih Grka, a samu ideju *likovne umjetnosti* tek počela sistematizirati polovinom 18. stoljeća u, kako se ushićeno naglašava u Batteuxovo (1713.-1780.) vrijeme.^{▼37} Tradicija estetizacije slikovnih formi *homo islamicusa* zaokupljena je transcendencijom kojom on nastoji i kod promatrača, kroz kontemplaciju lijepog, potaknuti percepciju prirode Božije veličine i ljepote, s ciljem olakšanog ostvarenja konačnog sjedinjenja s Njim. Al-Ghazālī je, među ostalim misliocima doživljavao ljepotu, sažimajući je na sljedeći način: „[...] Jer je svijet na drugom mjestu svijet duha i manifestacije Allahove ljepote; srećan je onaj čovjek koji je ciljao i stekao srodnost s njim.“^{▼38} **Nastavak u idućem broju.**

^{▼37} Charles Batteux, francuski filozof i pisac o estetici je u tekstu *Likovne umjetnosti svedene na jedno načelo* iz 1746. godine („The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle“) utjecao na sve veće okcidentalne estetičare u drugoj polovini 18. stoljeća: Diderota, Herdera, Humea, Kanta, Lessinga, Mendelsohna i druge tako da su ili usvojili njegove poglede ili reagirali protiv njih. Ipak, prethodno naznačeni naslov njegovog teksta s datim sadržajem uzima se za izvornu ideju definiranja i općeg značenja pojma *likovne umjetnosti*.

Usporediti Batteux, Charles. *The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle* (prev. James O. Young). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. str. xiv, xix, xxiv i xxxviii. Dostupno na: <https://dokumen.pub/charles-batteux-the-fine-arts-reduced-to-a-single-principle-2015932610.html>. Posljednji put posjećeno 02. 7. 2023. = Batteux, Charles. *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe*. Genève: Editions Slatkine 2011. = Batteux, Charles. *Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe* (prvo originalno izdanje). Paris: DurandDurand 1746. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, identifier: ark:/12148/bpt6k50428g) Dostupno na: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50428g>. Posljednji put posjećeno 02. 7. 2023.

^{▼38} Vidjeti Al-Ghazzali, Mohamed. *The Alchemy of Happiness* (prev. Henry A. Homes). N.Y.: Alnany, 1873. Dostupno na: <https://ia800201.us.archive.org/12/items/alchemyhappines00homegoog/alchemyhappines00homegoog.pdf>. Posljednji put posjećeno 02. 7. 2023.

Čini se bitnim kazati kako je *ljepota* širok i bezgraničan koncept koji nije ograničen samo na estetizirano djelanje/*ṣinā'at*. Izrazito i jedinstveno mjesto ovog koncepta vidljivo je u uputama, kao i idejama muslimanskih mislilaca. U tom smislu, većina njih, uključujući Ibn Sīnā, al-Razija, Suhrawardija, Našira al-Dīn al-Ṭūsija, Ibn al-'Arabija, al-Ghazālīja i

of content implies is an eternal, never completed process of informed interpretation. Additionally, one can argue vice-versa: the habit of using *artistic creations* and possible characters of aestheticized activity/*ṣinā'at* of *homo islamicus* to *interpret* it actually supports the idea that there is really, within theoretical views of Occidental academism, something resembling the *universal and comprehensive content* for characterizing any form of aestheticized representation. Indeed, it is also achieved by eliminating the dominating initiation of activity/*ṣinā'at* and the implied *magic* of self-reflective discourse – *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah* within traditional understanding of *homo islamicus*'s realizations, without taking into account the crucial initiation which is implied within systematization of knowledge – *ṣinā'at al-ilm*. Since Muslim aesthetics is focused on spiritual representation of beings as well as objects rather than on their material value, the external appearance of objects or models in no way encompassed their essence and the true „I“. Any external quantitative and physical appearance – *al-ẓāhir*, differs from its inner qualitative and spiritual essence – *al-bāṭin*, while **perfection** can be ascribed only to God the Creator. For *homo islamicus*, beauty is not an aesthetic representation of human attributes nor copying an ideal state of nature, the concept of which European Renaissance borrowed from ancient Greeks, and began to systematize the idea of *fine arts* itself only in the mid-18th century, at the time of Charles Batteux (d. 1780), as it is ecstatically highlighted.^{▼37} The tradition of aestheticizing aesthetic forms of *homo islamicus* is preoccupied with transcendence by means of which he contemplates the beautiful and strives to spur perception of the nature of God's greatness and beauty in the viewer as well, aimed at making it easier to achieve final uniting with Him. Among other thinkers, Al-Ghazālī experienced beauty as he summarized in the following way: [...] „Since at another place the world is the world of spirit and manifestation of the beauty of God: lucky is the man who aimed and achieved kinship with him.“³⁸

Continued in the next issue.

▼37 A text of Charles Batteux, a French philosopher and writer about aesthetics, influenced all major Occidental aestheticians in the second half of the 18th century: Diderot, Herdera, Hume, Kant, Lessing, Mendelssohn and others. They either adopted his views or reacted against them. Still, the title of his text and the presented content is considered the starting idea of defining and general meaning of the term *fine arts*.

Cf. Batteux, Charles. *The Fine Arts Reduced to a Single Principle* (trans. by James O. Young). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. xiv, xix, xxiv and xxxviii. Available at: <https://dokumen.pub/charles-batteux-the-fine-arts-reduced-to-a-single-principle-2015932610.html>. Last accessed on 2.07.2023. = Batteux, Charles. *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe*. Genève: Editions Slatkine 2011. = Batteux, Charles. *Les Beaux arts réduits à un même principe* ([first original edition]). Paris: DurandDurand 1746. (Bibliothèque nationale de France, identifier: ark:/12148/bpt6k50428g) Available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50428g>. Last accessed on 02. 7. 2023.

▼38 See, Al-Ghazzali, Mohamed. *The Alchemy of Happiness* (trans. Henry A. Homes). N.Y.:Alnany, 1873. Available at: <https://ia800201.us.archive.org/12/items/alchemyhappines00homegoog/alchemyhappines00homegoog.pdf>. Last accessed on 2.07.2023.

It should be noted that beauty is a wide and boundless concept which is not limited only to aestheticized activity/*ṣinā'at*. The prominent and unique position of this concept can be seen in both instructions and ideas of Muslim thinkers. In this respect, most of them, including ibn Sīnā, al-Razī, Suhrawardī, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Ibn al-'Arabī, al-Ghazālī and Mullā Ṣadra, believed that God is the *ultimate beauty and source of all beautiful things*. Definitions of beauty by some of them highlighted the fundamental relationship between *beauty, good, virtue, love, zeal, happiness, movement and perfection*. It was in this sense that al-Ghazālī used the term beauty as opposed to *ugliness* for sensual matters (which can be felt by senses), as well as for rational matters (which can be learned by reason). He therefore considered good deeds beautiful and evil deeds ugly.

Cf. Ghazali, Abu Hamed. *Mehak an-Nazar*. Qom: Dar al-Fekr, 1994. p. 917; Ghazali, Abu Hamed. *Rasa'el al-Imam Ghazali*. Beirut: Dar al-Fekr, 1996, pp. 923 and 929.

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Mullā Šadru, smatrali su Boga krajnjom ljepotom i izvorom svih lijepih stvari. Neki od njih su u svojim definicijama ljepote isticali temeljni odnos između ljepote, dobra, vrline, ljubavi, žara, sreće, kretanja i savršenstva. U tom smislu, al-Ghazālī je koristio termin ljepota, nasuprot ružnoći, za senzualna pitanja (koja se mogu spoznati čulima) kao i za racionalna pitanja (koja se mogu spoznati razumom). Stoga je dobra djela smatrao lijepima, a zla ružnima.

Usporediti Ghazali, Abu Hamed. *Mehak an-Nazar*. Qom: Dar al-Fekr, 1994. str. 917; Ghazali, Abu Hamed. *Rasaʿel al-Imam Ghazali*. Beirut: Dar al-Fekr, 1996. str. 923 i 929.

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ILLUSTRATION ON NEXT PAGE – Detail of ceramic tiles from Jāmeḥ Mosque of Yazd city, within the Yazd Province of Iran, 14th century.
 ILUSTRACIJA NA SLJEDEĆOJ STRANICI – Detalj keramičkih pločica iz džamije Jāmeḥ u gradu Yazd, unutar provincije Yazd u Iranu, 14. st.







Dr. Ramon Harvey predaje islamsku teologiju u okviru BA programa Cambridge Muslim Collegea. Tokom tri godine trajanja programa, studenti detaljno proučavaju tekst iz *'aqīdah 'ilm al-kalām*, kao i kritički historijski kontekst razvoja ovih disciplina i tekućih savremenih diskusija o tome. Njegovo istraživanje trenutno se fokusira na istu oblast, s posebnim interesovanjem za maturidijsku (māturīdijску) tradiciju, uključujući djela Abū Manšūra al-Māturīdija (um. 944) i njegovih nasljednika u Transoksijani u desetom i jedanaestom stoljeću. On tvrdi da u ovoj ranoj tradiciji postoje bogati teološki resursi koje je donedavno u velikoj mjeri zanemarivala i šira islamska misao i savremena nauka. Stoga, pored pisanja studija o ovoj literaturi, on je uključen u uređivanje, prevođenje i komentarisanje ključnih ranih tekstova kako bi ih učinio dostupnijim. Uz historijski rad, on je dio konstruktivnog nastojanja da se obnovi islamska teologija (*kalām jadīd*) i istražuje njeno doticanje sa savremenim filozofskim pokretima. U oblasti analitičke filozofije, radio je na metafizičkim i epistemološkim temama, dok se njegova aktivnost u fenomenologiji fokusirala na ideje Edmunda Husserla. Svoja istraživanja predstavio je na naučnim skupovima širom Britanije, Amerike, Turske, Njemačke, Italije i Katara te na raznim online platformama. E-mail: rh@cambridgemuslimcollege.ac.uk

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Ramon Harvey

**FILOZOF IZ SAMARKANDA:
TEORIJA SVOJSTAVA KOD ABŪ MANŠŪRA
AL-MĀTURĪDĪJA**

**PHILOSOPHER OF SAMARQAND:
ABŪ MANŠŪR AL-MĀTURĪDĪ'S THEORY OF PROPERTIES**

Sažetak

Ovaj članak pokušava nadoknaditi nedostatak priznanja teologu hanefijske tradicije iz Samarkanda Abū Manšūru al-Māturīdiju za njegov filozofski doprinos u muslimanskoj teologiji u pogledu teorije Božanskih svojstava. Posmatrajući al-Māturīdija kao ranog teoretičara tropa, autor je istražio al-Māturīdijevu ontologiju, koja zagovara da supstance nisu samo snopovi kvaliteta već specifičnih svojstava, ili tropova. Ova al-Māturīdijeva teorija dolazi u kontekstu njegove dijalektičke razmjene o Božanskom govoru s neimenovanim sagovornikom. Stoga je autorov prijedlog da oni koji predaju kurseve koji uključuju tropove treba da razmotre obogaćivanje i diverzifikaciju historijskog konteksta svog nastavnog plana i programa uključivanjem al-Māturīdija kao ranog primjera teoretičara tropa. Uz to, al-Māturīdī ima važne etičke ideje koje bi se mogle istražiti u poređenju s drugim religioznim misliocima i filozofima.

Ključne riječi: *al-Māturīdī, falāsifa, filozofi, kalām, sunijska teologija, Kitāb al-tawḥīd, šifāt, svojstva, Semarkand*

Abstract

This article tries to make up a lack of the recognition of the theologian of the Ḥanafī tradition from Samarqand in Transoxiana Abū Maṣūʿ al-Māturīdī's philosophical contribution to the Muslim theology in regard to the theory of divine properties. Viewing al-Māturīdī as an early trope theorist, the author has dug into al-Māturīdī's ontology, which argues to the effect that the substances are not just bundles of qualities but of particular property instances, or tropes. This al-Māturīdī's theory comes in the context of his dialectical exchange about divine speech with an unnamed interlocutor. Thus, it is the author's suggestion that those who teach more systematic courses that involve tropes should consider enriching and diversifying the historical context of their syllabus by including al-Māturīdī as an early example of a trope theorist. In addition to that al-Māturīdī's has important ethical ideas that could be explored in comparison to other religious thinkers and philosophers.

Key words: *al-Māturīdī, falāsifa, philosopher, kalām, Sunnī Theology, Kitāb al-tawḥīd, ṣifāt, properties, Samarqand*

Filozof iz Samarkanda: teorija svojstava kod Abu Mānšūra al-Māturīdija

Uvod: al-Maturīdī u kontekstu

Kada se govori o filozofiji u srednjovjekovnom islamskom svijetu, misli se uglavnom na imena poznatih muslimanskih filozofa (*falāsifa*): al-Kindīja/*Alkindusa* (um. 873), al-Fārābīja/*Alpharabi* (d. 950–951), Ibn Sīnāa/*Avicenne* (um. 1037) i Ibn Rušda/*Averroesa* (um. 1198). Nadalje, istaknuta ličnost je *mutakallim* (teolog) al-Ghāzālī/*Algazel* (um. 1111), koji je poznat po svom protivljenju određenim uvjerenjima filozofa, unatoč prilično zanimljivoj činjenici da je baš on bio razlog za uvođenje filozofskih metoda u *kalām* (dijalektičku teologiju).^{▼1} Činjenica da svaki od ovih mislilaca ima latinizirano ime ukazuje da su bili prihvaćeni u srednjovjekovnom zapadnom filozofskom kanonu te da su imali utjecaj, u različitom stupnju, na glavne kršćanske teologe kao što je Akvinski (um. 1274). Ime kojem nedostaje ova filozofska vrijednost je Abū Manšūr al-Māturīdī (um. 944), teolog hanefijske tradicije iz Samarkanda u Transoksidiji. Unatoč tome što je na kraju okrunjen kao eponim jedne od dviju glavnih škola *kalāma* u sunijskom islamu, zajedno s Abū al-Ḥasanom al-Ash'arījem (um. 936), al-Māturīdī dugo vremena nije bio poznat izvan svog lokaliteta Semerkanda kao glavna teološka ličnost, a kamoli u srednjovjekovnoj kršćanskoj Evropi.^{▼2}

Hirovi povijesti koji dovode do slave neke osobe nisu u preciznoj korelaciji s originalnošću ili intrinzičnim filozofskim interesom njenih ideja. Ipak, ovaj uočeni nedostatak utjecaja vjerovatno je igrao ulogu u smanjenju prepoznavanja al-Māturīdijevih intelektualnih doprinosa u savremenom proučavanju historije filozofije. U svojoj knjizi *Filozofija u islamskom svijetu*, Peter Adamson, važan pobornik za uključivanje muslimanskih teologa u kanon, posvećuje cijelo poglavlje „al-Aš'arīji i aš'arījama“, ali manje od jednog paragrafa al-Māturīdiju i njegovoj školi.^{▼3} Ulrich Rudolph, autor najistaknutije intelektualne historije o al-Māturīdiju i njegovom miljeu, sugerira da on nema „filozofsku orijentaciju u konceptualnom okviru svoje misli“. ^{▼4} Ovo je iznenađujući sud s obzirom na to da sam

▼1 Wisnovsky, Robert. *One Aspect of the Avicennian Turn in Sunnī Theology*. Arabic Sciences and Philosophy; 2004, 14:65–100.

▼2 Rudolph, Ulrich. *Al-Māturīdī and the Development of Sunnī Theology in Samarqand*. Trans. Rodrigo Adem. Leiden: Brill; 2015. 319–320 str.; Aldosari, Ayedh S. *Hanafī Māturīdism: Trajectories of a Theological Legacy, with a Study and Critical Edition of al-Khabbāzī's Kitāb al-Hādī*. Sheffield: Equinox; 2020. 178. str. (Bosanski prijevod Enes Karić. *El-Maturidi i razvoj sunijske teologije u Semerkandu*. Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije; 2018).

▼3 Vidi: Adamson, Peter. *Philosophy in the Islamic World: A History of Philosophy Without Any Gaps*. Volume 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2016.

▼4 Rudolph, Ulrich. *Op. cit.*; 2015. 315. str.

Philosopher of Samarqand: Abu Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī's Theory of Properties

Introduction: al-Maturīdī In Context

When one thinks about philosophy in the medieval Islamic world, the names of famous Muslim *falāsifa* may come to mind: for example, al-Kindī/*Alkindus* (d. 873), al-Fārābī/*Alpharabius* (d. 950–1), Ibn Sīnā/*Avicenna* (d. 1037), and Ibn Rushd/*Averroes* (d. 1198). A further prominent figure is the *mutakallim* (theologian) al-Ghāzālī/*Algazel* (d. 1111) who is notorious for his opposition to certain beliefs held by the *falāsifa*, despite the rather more interesting fact that he was also important for the incorporation of their philosophical methods into *kalām* (dialectical theology).^{▼1} That each of these thinkers possesses a Latinized name is indicative of their acceptance in the medieval Western philosophical canon and their influence, to varying degrees, on major Christian theologians such as Aquinas (d. 1274). A name lacking this philosophical currency is Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 944), a theologian of the Ḥanafī tradition from Samarqand in Transoxiana. This is not a surprising state of affairs. Despite eventually being crowned the eponym of one of two main schools of *kalām* in Sunnī Islam along with the contemporaneous Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 936), al-Māturīdī was for a long time not acknowledged outside his locality of Samarqand as a major theological figure, let alone in medieval Christian Europe.^{▼2}

The vagaries of history that lead to a person's fame are not precisely correlated with the originality or intrinsic philosophical interest of their ideas. Nevertheless, this perceived lack of influence has likely played a part in lessening recognition of al-Māturīdī's intellectual contributions in contemporary study of the history of philosophy. In his *Philosophy in the Islamic World*, Peter Adamson, an important champion for the inclusion of Muslim theologians in the canon, devotes an entire chapter to "al-Ash'arī and the Ash'arites", but less than a paragraph to al-Māturīdī and his school.^{▼3} Ulrich Rudolph, the author of the foremost intellectual history of al-Māturīdī and his milieu, suggests that he does not have "a philosophical orientation in the conceptual framework of his thought."^{▼4} This is a surprising judgment considering that Rudolph himself identifies points of likely influence from al-Kindī on God's oneness and acknowledges al-Māturīdī's theological use of

▼1 Wisnovsky, Robert, *One Aspect of the Avicennian Turn in Sunnī Theology*, Arabic Sciences and Philosophy, 2004, 14: 65–100.

▼2 Rudolph, Ulrich, *Al-Māturīdī and the Development of Sunnī Theology in Samarqand*, Trans. Rodrigo Adem. Leiden: Brill, 2015, 319–320; Aldosari, Ayedh S., *Ḥanafī Māturīdism: Trajectories of a Theological Legacy, with a Study and Critical Edition of al-Khabbāzī's Kitāb al-Hādī*. Sheffield: Equinox, 2020, 178.

▼3 Adamson, Peter, *Philosophy in the Islamic World: A History of Philosophy Without Any Gaps*, Volume 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

▼4 Rudolph 2015, 315

Rudolph identificira tačke vjerovatnog utjecaja al-Kindija na Božiju jednoću i priznaje al-Māturīdijevu teološku upotrebu neoplatonske metafizike.^{▼5} Čini se da je Rudolphov stav da unatoč tome što je al-Maturidi koristio filozofsku terminologiju i koncepte, oni nisu utjecali na strukturu njegovog sistema. Jedan od ciljeva ovog poglavlja jeste pokazati da su ovi elementi duboko utkani, bar za al-Māturīdijevu teoriju svojstava.



ILUSTRACIJA (odozgo s lijeva na desno) ~ Al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnāa, Ibn Rušd, al-Ghāzālī i Abū Manšūr al-Māturīdī.

ILLUSTRATION (top left to right) ~ Alkindus, Alfarabi, Avicenna, Averroes, Algazel and al-Māturīdī. (Archive of Akšamija)

▼5 Rudolph, Ulrich. *Op. cit.*; 2015. 277. str. Postoje i drugi primjeri al-Kindijevog odjeka kod al-Māturīdīja. Vidi njegovu izjavu da "filozofi nazivaju, [ljudsko biće] mikrokozmosom" (*wa-huwa alladhī sammathu al-ḥukamā' al-'ālam al-ṣaghīr*) (al-Māturīdī. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*. Bekir Topaloğlu, Muḥammad Aruçi ed. 2nd ed. Istanbul: Maktabat al-Irshād; 2010. 67. str.). Čini se da ovo potječe od al-Kindija, koji piše: "Oni drevni filozofi koji posjeduju sposobnost razlikovanja, a koji nisu govorili naš jezik, nazivali su ljudsko biće mikrokozmosom" (*tusammā dhawū al-tamyīzi min ḥukamā' i al-qudamā' i min ghayri ahli lisāninā al-insāna 'ālamān ṣaghīran*) (al-Kindī, Ya 'qūb b. Iṣḥāq. *Rasā' il al-Kindī al-falsafīyya*. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hādī Abū Rayda ed. Vol. 1. Kairo: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī; 1950. 260. str.). Također, al-Māturīdījeva upotreba riječi mā' iyya (što) nalazi presedan kod al-Kindija u djelu *O prvoj filozofiji (Fī al-falsafa al-ūlā)* (Adamson, Peter, Peter E. Pormann. *The Philosophical Works of al-Kindī*. Karachi: Oxford University Press; 2012. 30. str.). Najvjerojatniji izvor za ova učenja nalazi se izravno kod al-Kindijevog učenika Abū Zayda al-Balkhija (um. 322/934) ili neizravno preko al-Māturīdijevog mu' tazilijskog rivala Abū al-Qāsima al-Ka' bija, za kojeg se zna da je poznao Abū Zayda (Rudolph, Ulrich. *Op. cit.*; 2015. 159. str.). Međutim, ne može se isključiti ni kruženje pisanog materijala manje poznatim kanalima.

Neoplatonic metaphysics.^{▼5} Rudolph's point seems to be that despite using philosophical terminology and concepts, they do not impact the structure of his system. One of the aims of the present chapter is to show that, at least for al-Māturīdī's theory of properties, these elements run deep.



ILLUSTRATION - Six Muslim philosophers, miniature, India 17th century. (Archive of Akšamija)
 ILUSTRACIJA - Šest muslimanskih filozofa, minijatura, Indija 17. stoljeće. (Arhiv Akšamija)

^{▼5} Rudolph 2015, 277. There are other examples of Kindian echoes in the work of al-Māturīdī. See his statement, “the philosopher’s term [the human being] the microcosm” (*wa-huwa alladhī sammathu al-ḥukamā’ al-‘ālam al-ṣaghīr*) (al-Māturīdī 2010, 67). This appears to derive from al-Kindī who writes, “those of the ancient philosophers possessing discrimination who did not speak our language termed the human being the microcosm” (*tusammā dhawū al-tamyīzi min ḥukamā’i al-qudamā’i min ghayri ahli lisāninā al-insāna ‘ālamān ṣaghīran*) (al-Kindī 1950, vol. 1, 260). Also, al-Māturīdī’s use of the word *mā’iyya* (whatness) finds a precedent in al-Kindī’s *On First Philosophy (Fī al-falsafa al-ūlā)* (Adamson and Pormann 2012, 30). The most likely source for these teachings is directly from al-Kindī’s student Abū Zayd al-Balkhī (d. 322/934) or indirectly via al-Māturīdī’s Mu’tazilī rival Abū al-Qāsim al-Ka’bī who is known to have met Abū Zayd (Rudolph 2015, 159). But the circulation of written material through less famous channels cannot be ruled out.

Iako, naravno, nije neophodno uspostaviti vezu s idejama priznatog muslimanskog filozofa da bi rad teologa imao filozofske zasluge, za al-Māturīdija se može reći da je imao takvu vezu (s al-Kindijem) kao dopunu svom originalnom teološkom djelu. Zapravo, postoji dobar argument da je pretjerano naglašavanje razlike između srednjovjekovnih muslimanskih filozofa i teologa općenito beskorisno. Al-Kindī, naprimjer, jasno daje do znanja da je zadatak filozofije suštinski teološki jer je “prva filozofija” “spoznaja prve istine koja je uzrok svekolike istine”.^{▼6} Stoga je cilj ovog poglavlja da upozna čitatelja s filozofskim aspektima al-Māturīdijeve misli, posebno kroz skiciranje njegove teorije svojstava, uloge koju ona igra u njegovoj metafizici i kako je koristi da unaprijedi svoj teološki projekt. Namjeravam pokazati da je ozbiljno tretiranje al-Māturīdija kao filozofa intelektualna dobit, kao i da je to važno za šire razumijevanje razvoja ideja u desetom stoljeću.



ILUSTRACIJA - *Predavanje jednog filozofa*. Al-Hariri iz Basre: Makamat od Haririja, 1237. godine. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

ILLUSTRATION - *Lecture of a philosopher*. Al-Hariri of Basra: Makamat of Hariri, 1237 AD. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

▼6 Adamson, Peter. „al-Kindi“. U: *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2020 Edition), ur. Edward N. Zalta. Posljednja izmjena 21. februar 2020. Dostupno na: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/al-kindi/>.

While, of course, it is not necessary to establish a connection to the ideas of a recognized Muslim philosopher for a theologian's work to have philosophical merit, al-Māturīdī can claim such a link (to al-Kindī) as a complement to his original theological corpus. In fact, there is a good argument to be made that overemphasizing the distinction between medieval Muslim philosophers and theologians is unhelpful in general. al-Kindī, for one, makes clear that the task of philosophy is intrinsically theological because “first philosophy” is “the knowledge of the first truth who is the cause of all truth.”^{▼6} The aim of the present chapter, therefore, is to introduce the reader to philosophical aspects of al-Māturīdī's thought, specifically through outlining his theory of properties, the role that it plays within his metaphysics, and how he uses it to advance his theological project. I intend to show that treating al-Māturīdī seriously as a philosopher is intellectually rewarding, as well as important for a broader appreciation of the development of ideas in the tenth century.



ILLUSTRATION - Gathering of philosophers around the king and the mosque. (Iran, Tehran school, around the 18th century.)
ILUSTRACIJA - Okupljanje filozofa oko kralja i džamije. (Iran, teheranska škola, oko 18. stoljeća.)

^{▼6} Adamson, Peter. 2006. *Al-Kindī*. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2020 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. Last Modified February 21, 2020. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/al-kindī/>.

Al-Maturīdījeva metafizika: rani teoretičar tropa?

Kao teolog unutar formativnog perioda *kalāma*, al-Māturīdī ne uvodi svoje metafizičke ideje samostalno, već ih razrađuje zajedno sa svojim teološkim idejama prema potrebama. Stoga postaje neophodno izdvojiti ih iz različitih mjesta u njegovoj sačuvanoj teološkoj raspravi *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*. Ovaj posao otežava jezgroviti i zagonetni arapski jezik upotrijebljen u ovom tekstu, koji se nalazi u unikatnom rukopisu, pohranjenom u biblioteci Univerziteta na Cambridgu.^{▼7} Izučavalac ranog *kalāma* Josef van Ess prikladno komentariše da al-Māturīdī ne daje teološki kontekst svakom pitanju koje se istražuje, već očekuje da će čitatelji biti u mogućnosti da ga sami postavе.^{▼8} Na neki način, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* stilski podsjeća na Aristotelovu *Metafiziku*, koju Hugh Lawson-Tancred uspoređuje s palatom ili katedralom, ipak „još uvijek prekrivenom skelama, s prazninama u žbuci i dekoraciji, pa čak i s ključnim strukturnim elementima koji se kolebaju na improviziranom nosaču”.^{▼9}

Zaista, iako nema dokaza za to, al-Māturīdī je čitao *Metafiziku*, možda joj je bio izložen indirektno, jer je prvi arapski prijevod napisan za al-Kindija.^{▼10} Jedna od mnogih bitnih razlika između ovih dvaju tekstova tiče se njihove recepcije. Dok je *Metafizika* generirala svoju vlastitu prateću literaturu komentara i prijevoda kroz stoljeća, sljedbenici al-Māturīdija smatrali su da njegov tekst sadrži “malo nejasnoće i opskurnosti, i neku vrstu poteškoća u poretku misli”,^{▼11} pa je, stoga, zanemaren zbog pristupačnijih tekstova koji su se doticali njegovih ideja.^{▼12}

Al-Māturīdī aktivno koristi ontološku terminologiju iz aristotelovskog teksta Kategorije, kojem je očito imao pristup. Konkretno, bio je upoznat s arapskim prijevodom *Organona*, koji on naziva *Al-Mantiq* od Aristāṭālisa, i iz kojeg navodi deset kategorija.^{▼13} *Organon* je bio među prvim grčkim

▼7 Rukopis je digitalizovan. Vidi: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-03651/1>, pristupljeno 26. marta 2020. Jedno izdanje je 1970. uredio Fathalla Kholeif, a još jedno superiorno 2003. uredio je Bekir Topaloğlu i Muḥammad Aruči. Reference u ovom poglavlju odnose se na drugo izdanje ovog potonjeg teksta. Svi prijevodi s arapskog al-Māturīdijevog *Kitāb al-tawḥīda* u ovom poglavlju su moji.

▼8 Van Ess, Josef. „*Kitāb al-tawḥīd Abū Maṣūra al-Māturīdija: prikaz*“, Fathalla Kholeif ur. *Oriens*. 1981;27(28):556-565.

▼9 Aristotle. *Metaphysics*. Hugh Lawson-Tancred trans. London: Penguin; 2004. lii.

▼10 D’Ancona, Cristina, „Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy“. U: *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Edward N. Zalta ed. Winter 2017 Edition; 2009. Dostupno na: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/arabic-islamic-greek/>.

▼11 Al-Bazdawī, Abū al-Yusr. *Uṣūl al-dīn*. Hans Peter Linss ed. Kairo: Al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-l-turāth; 2003. 14. str.

▼12 Naprimjer, teolog Māturīdī, Mankūbars al-Nāṣirī (um. 1254) opširno citira iz al-Māturīdijevih komentara na Kur’an, ali ne spominje *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, pokazujući u kojoj mjeri je ova posljednja knjiga izostajala iz redovnog optičaja u njegovo doba. (Aldosari, Ayedh S. *Op. cit.*; 2020. 193. str.).

▼13 Al-Māturīdī, Abū Maṣūr. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*. Bekir Topaloğlu i Muḥammad Aruči ur. 2. izd. Istanbul: Maktabat al-Irshād; 2010. 215-216. str. U svom komentaru Kur’ana al-Māturīdī spominje da, iako je dozvoljeno pregledati knjige filozofa, treba uzeti samo ono što se slaže s Kur’anom, a ostaviti ostalo (Al-Māturīdī, Abū Maṣūr. *Ta’wīl āt al-qur’ān*.

Al-Maturīdī's Metaphysics: An Early Trope Theorist?

As a theologian within the formative period of *kalām*, al-Maturīdī does not introduce his metaphysical ideas independently but elaborates them alongside his theological ones as needs dictate. It therefore becomes necessary to extract them from various places in his surviving theological treatise, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*. This job is made more difficult by the dense and cryptic Arabic employed in this text, which is found in the unicum manuscript housed in the library of the University of Cambridge.^{▼7} The scholar of early *kalām*, Josef van Ess, aptly comments that al-Maturīdī does not provide the theological context to each question under investigation but expects readers to be able to supply it themselves.^{▼8} In some ways, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* stylistically recalls Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, which Hugh Lawson-Tancred compares to a palace or a cathedral, yet one "still covered in scaffolding, with gaps in its plaster and decoration and even with key structural elements tottering insecurely on makeshift supports."^{▼9}

Indeed, though there is no evidence that al-Maturīdī had read the *Metaphysics*, he was possibly exposed to it indirectly, as the first Arabic translation was written for al-Kindī.^{▼10} One of many important differences between the two texts concerns their reception. Whereas the *Metaphysics* has generated its own supporting literature of commentary and translation through the ages, al-Maturīdī's text was considered by his followers as containing "a little obscurity and prolixity, and a kind of difficulty in its order."^{▼11} and was abandoned for more accessible texts that drew upon his ideas.^{▼12}

Al-Maturīdī does make active use of ontological terminology from an Aristotelian text to which he evidently did have access, the *Categories*. Specifically, he was familiar with the Arabic translation of the *Organon*, which he refers to as *Al-Manṭiq* of Aristṭāṭālīs and from which he lists the ten categories.^{▼13} The *Organon* was among the first

^{▼7} The manuscript has been digitized. See <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-03651/1>, accessed March 26, 2020. An edition was produced in 1970 by Fathalla Kholeif and another superior one in 2003 by Bekir Topaloğlu and Muḥammad Aruçi. References in the current chapter are to the second edition of this latter text. All translations from the Arabic of al-Maturīdī's *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* in this chapter are mine.

^{▼8} Van Ess, Josef, *Review of Kitāb al-tawḥīd, by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Maturīdī*, edited by Fathalla Kholeif. *Oriens*, 1981 27 (28): 556-565.

^{▼9} Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, Trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred. London: Penguin, 2004, lii.

^{▼10} D'Ancona, Cristina, *Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy*. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2017 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, 2009. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/arabic-islamic-greek/>.

^{▼11} Al-Bazdawī, *Abū al-Yusr, Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Hans Peter Linss, Cairo: Al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya li-l-Turāth, 2003, 14.

^{▼12} For example, the Maturīdī theologian, Mankūbars al-Nāṣirī (d. 1254), quotes extensively from al-Maturīdī's commentary on the Qur'an but does not even mention *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, demonstrating the extent to which this latter book had dropped out of regular circulation by his era (Aldosari 2020, 193).

^{▼13} Al-Maturīdī, Abū Maṣṣūr, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, ed. Bekir Topaloğlu and Muḥammad Aruçi, 2nd ed. Istanbul: Maktabat al-Irshād, 2010, 215-216. In al-Maturīdī's *Qur'anic commentary*, he mentions that though it is permissible to review the books of the *falāsifa*, one must take only what agrees with the Qur'an and leave the rest (al-Maturīdī 2006, vol. 9, 39). Based on his adoption of philosophical concepts, this "agreement" should be understood in an expansive, rather than restrictive, sense.

tekstovima koje je književnik Ibn al-Muqaffa' (um. 757), ili njegov sin, preveo na arapski, sredinom drugog/osmog stoljeća^{▼14} Shodno tome, al-Māturīdī klasificira stvarnost u kategoriju supstance ('*ayn*), pod kojom misli na konkretnu pojedinost, i kategoriju kvaliteta (*ṣifa*), atributa ili svojstva koje ona posjeduje.^{▼15}



ILUSTRACIJA - Al-Māturīdījev osvrt prema dvojici iračkih mislioca, Ḍirār b. 'Amr 'u i al-Ḥusaynu al-Nadždžāru.
ILLUSTRATION - Al-Māturīdī's review of two Iraqi thinkers, Ḍirār b. 'Amr and al-Ḥusayn al-Najjār. (Archive of Akšāmija)

Ali izbjegavajući aristotelovski hilomorfizam, koji su usvojili filozofi, kao i atomizam, koji je postao preovlađujući u tradiciji *kalāma*, al-Māturīdī razvija teoriju snopa kako bi opisao prirodu svijeta. Čini se da su mu inspiraciju za to dala dva kreativna iračka mislioca ranog *kalāma*, Ḍirār b. 'Amr' (um. oko 815) i al-Ḥusayn al-Nadždžār (um. oko 845), koji su bili slabo povezani sa školom mu'tazilija.^{▼16} Ova

Ertuğrul Boynukalin, Bekir Topaloğlu ed. Vol. 9. Istanbul: Dār al-Mizān; 2006. 39. str.). Na osnovu njegovog usvajanja filozofskih koncepata, ovaj „sporazum“ treba shvatiti u ekspanzivnom, a ne restriktivnom smislu.

▼14 D'Ancona, Cristina. *Op. cit.*

▼15 Čini se da je upotreba izraza '*ayn* umjesto *džawhar* za supstancu specifična karakteristika prijevoda kategorija u drugom/osmom stoljeću (van Ess, Josef. *Op. cit.*; 1981. 559. str.). Al-Māturīdī ponekad koristi izraz *džawhar*. Vidi: al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 215. str.

▼16 Cornelia Schöck ističe da su Ḍirārrove ideje vjerovatno imale neoplatonsku genealogiju. Ona ističe nekoliko sličnosti s Porfirijevim komentarom (um. 305) o kategorijama i s ranim kršćaninom Grgurom iz Nise (um. 395).

Greek texts to be rendered into Arabic by the litterateur Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 757), or his son, in the mid second/ eighth century.▼¹⁴ Accordingly, al-Māturīdī classifies reality into the category of substance ('*ayn*), by which he means a concrete particular, and the category of quality (*ṣifa*), the attribute or property possessed by it.▼¹⁵



ILLUSTRATION ~ Lecture of a philosopher. Maqamat al-Hariri, early 13th century. © Gallica.bn.fr / Arabe 6094/06.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Predavanje jednog filozofa. Maqamat al-Hariri, početak 13. stoljeća. © Gallica.bn.fr / Arabe 6094/06.

But eschewing the Aristotelian hylomorphism adopted by the *falāsifa*, as well as the atomism that became prevalent in the *kalām* tradition, al-Māturīdī develops a bundle theory to describe the nature of the world. Two creative Irāqī thinkers of early *kalām*, Ḍirār b. 'Amr (d. ca 815) and al-Ḥusayn al-Najjār (d. ca 845), both loosely related to the school of the Mu'tazila, seem to have provided the inspiration.▼¹⁶ These figures proposed

▼¹⁴ D'Ancona, Cristina, *Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy...*

▼¹⁵ It seems that the use of '*ayn* rather than *jawhar* for substance is a specific characteristic of the second-/eighth-century translation of the Categories (van Ess 1981, 559). Al-Māturīdī sometimes uses the term *jawhar*. See al-Māturīdī (2010, 215).

▼¹⁶ Cornelia Schöck points out that Ḍirār's ideas are likely to have a Neoplatonic genealogy. She highlights several similarities with

dvojica sugerirali su da akcidencije, koje su kontingentne kvalitete koje moraju posjedovati njihove supstance, čine temeljnu ontologiju.^{▼17} Uobičajeni termin u tradiciji *kalāma* za akcidenciju je *'araḍ*, koji je u početku imao značenje percepcije fenomena kada se predstavlja jedan predmet.^{▼18}

Riječ je o slici akcidentnih kvaliteta, *tropova* u savremenom filozofskom govoru, koji formiraju tijela kao snopove bez temeljnog atomskog supstrata.^{▼19} Utjecajni klasični maturidijski teolog Abū al-Mu'īn al-Nasafī (um. 1114) bilježi da je al-Māturīdī slijedio ovaj stav jer su samo akcidencije vidljive. Ali al-Nasafī čini sve što može da to pobije, tvrdeći da je to doktrina izražena u al-Māturīdijevom *Maqālātu*^{▼20} i stoga nije njegova konačna teološka pozicija.^{▼21} Neki suvremeni učenjaci željeli su slijediti al-Nasafīja u ovom pogledu.^{▼22} Ipak, u svom *Kitāb al-tawḥīdu*, al-Māturīdī je prilično eksplicitan da, unutar kreacije, ono što nije tijelo (*džism*) jeste akcidencija (*'araḍ*).^{▼23} On dalje objašnjava da preferira izraz *ṣifa* shodno Božijoj knjizi:

U Božjoj Knjizi, ime *'araḍ* upućuje na želju za privlačnim stvarima, kao što jsu riječi Svevišnjeg: „Ti želiš privlačnosti (*'araḍ*) nižeg svijeta” [K. 8:67] i Njegova riječ: „Da je to bila bliska privlačnost (*'araḍ*)...” [K. 9:42] Dakle, na osnovu ovoga, imenovanje svojstva (*ṣifa*) bliže je islamskoj terminologiji (*al-asmā' al-islāmiyya*).^{▼24}

Vidi: Schöck, Cornelia. „Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 128/745-6) and the 'Jahmiyya' and Ḍirār b. 'Amr (d. 200/815)“. U: *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*. Sabine Schmidtke ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 2016. 66-70. str.

▼17 Rudolph, Ulrich. *Op. cit.*; 2015. 245, 253. str.; vidjeti također: Cassin, Barbara. ed. *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; 2014. 835. str. Cornelia Schöck ističe da Ḍirārove ideje vjerovatno imaju neoplatonsku genealogiju. Ona ističe nekoliko sličnosti s Porfirijevim komentarom (um. 305) o kategorijama i sa ranim kršćaninom Grgurom iz Nise (um. 395). Vidi: Schöck. *Op. cit.*; 2016. 66-70. str.

▼18 Van Ess, Josef. „60 Years After: Shlomo Pines's Beiträge and Half a Century of Research on Atomism in Islamic Theology“. *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*. 2002;8(2):1-23.

▼19 Sorabji, Richard. *Matter, Space and Motion: Theories in Antiquity and Their Sequel*. London: Duckworth; 1988. 57. str.

▼20 To je izgubljeni hereziografski tekst. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* („Knjiga o Božijoj jedinosti“) i *Kitāb al-maqālāt* („Knjiga o različitim doktrinama“) bili su standardni arapski naslovi za, respektivno, islamske teološke zbornike i hereziografije u desetom stoljeću.

▼21 Vidi: Rudolph, Ulrich. *Op. cit.*; 2015, str. 253.

▼22 Yavuz, Yusuf Şevki. „İmâm Mâtürîdî'nin Tabiat ve İlliyete Bakışı“. U: *Büyük Türk Bilgini İmâm Mâtürîdî ve Mâtürîdîlik: Milletlerası Tartışmalı İlmî Toplantı*. İlyas Çelebi ur., Istanbul: M. Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları. 56-66. str. Vidi, također: Bulgen, Mehmet. „Al-Māturīdī and Atomism“. *ULUM*. 2019; 2(2):223-264.

▼23 Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 83. str. Postoji dodatna poteškoća u al-Māturīdijevom sistemu mišljenja utoliko više što on potvrđuje postojanje suprotstavljenih *ḥabā' i* (naravi) unutar stvari: „svaka osjetilna stvar nije slobodna od toga da bude sastavljena od različitih suprotstavljenih naravi“ (al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 78. str.). Rudolph tvrdi da su to vrste *'arḍa*, koje se mogu formirati u tijela, ali ne u ona koja karakteriziraju trenutna stanja (vidi Rudolph, Ulrich. *Op. cit.*; 2015, 256-259). To bi ih učinilo sličnim Ḍirārovom konceptu o *ab'ād* (sing. *ba'ad*), dijelovi ili primarni kvaliteti), koncept koji koristi sličnu razliku (van Ess 2018a, 41-43). Mislim da je ova slika suštinski tačna i dodao bih da al-Māturīdī također koristi taj izraz kako bi govorio o različitim tendencijama određenih stvari, približavajući se konceptu dispozicija. Neću o njima dalje raspravljati ovdje.

▼24 Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 83. str.

that accidents, which are contingent qualities that must be possessed by their substances, comprise the fundamental ontology.^{▼17} The usual term in the *kalām* tradition for the accident is *'araḍ*, which initially had the meaning of the perception of a phenomenon when an object presents itself.^{▼18}

The picture is of accident-like qualities, *tropes* in the contemporary philosophical vernacular, that form bodies as bundles with no underlying atomic substrate.^{▼19} The influential classical Māturīdī theologian Abū al-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (d. 1114) records that al-Māturīdī followed this stance since only accidents are perceptible. But al-Nasafī does everything he can to undermine it, claiming it is a doctrine voiced in al-Māturīdī's *Maqālāt*^{▼20} and therefore not his decided theological position.^{▼21} Some contemporary scholars have been keen to follow al-Nasafī in this view.^{▼22} Nevertheless, in his *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, al-Māturīdī is quite explicit that, within the creation, what is not a body (*jism*) is an accident (*'araḍ*).^{▼23} He goes on to explain that he prefers the term *ṣifa* for scriptural reasons:

In the Book of God, the name *'araḍ* is for desiring attractive things, such as in His saying, Most High, "You desire the attractions (*'araḍ*) of the lower world" [Q. 8:67] and His saying, "Had it been a nearby attraction (*'araḍ*)..." [Q. 9:42] So based on this, naming it a quality (*ṣifa*) is closer to the Islamic terminology (*al-asmā' al-islāmiyya*).^{▼24}

Digging deeper into al-Māturīdī's ontology, it becomes apparent that substances are not just bundles of qualities but of particular property instances, or tropes. This emerges in the context of his dialectical exchange about divine speech with an unnamed interlocutor, likely the Muʿtazilī Abū al-Qāsim al-Ka'bī (d. 931). Al-Māturīdī writes:

the commentary of Porphyry (d. 305) on the *Categories* and with the early Christian, Gregory of Nyssa (d. 395). See Schöck (2016, 66–70).

^{▼17} Rudolph, Ulrich, *Al-Māturīdī and the Development of Sunni Theology in Samarqand...* 2015, 245, 253. See also, Cassin, Barbara, ed. *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014, 835.

^{▼18} van Ess, Josef, *60 Years After: Shlomo Pines's Beiträge and Half a Century of Research on Atomism in Islamic Theology*, *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, 2002, 8 (2): 1–23.

^{▼19} Sorabji, Richard, *Matter, Space and Motion: Theories in Antiquity and Their Sequel*, London, Duckworth, 1988, 57.

^{▼20} This is a lost heresiographical text. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* (Book of Unicity) and *Kitāb al-maqālāt* (Book of Doctrines) were standard Arabic titles for, respectively, Islamic theological compendiums and heresiographies in the tenth century.

^{▼21} See: Rudolph, Ulrich. *Op. cit.*; 2015, p. 253.

^{▼22} Yavuz, Yusuf Şevki. 2016. *İmâm Mâtürîdî'nin Tabiat ve İlliyete Bakışı*. In *Büyük Türk Bilgini İmâm Mâtürîdî ve Mâtürîdîlik: Milletlerası Tartışmalı İlmî Toplantı*, ed. İlyas Çelebi, 56–66. Istanbul: M. Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Vakfı Yayınları. See also, Bulgen, Mehmet, *al-Māturīdī and Atomism*, *ULUM* 2 (2), 2019, 223–264.

^{▼23} Al-Māturīdī 2010, 83. There is an added difficulty to al-Māturīdī's system insofar as he affirms the existence of opposing *ṭabāʿ* (natures) within things: "every sensed thing is not free from being gathered from diverse opposed natures" (al-Māturīdī 2010, 78). Rudolph argues that these are a kind of *'araḍ* that can form into bodies, rather than those characterizing momentary states (see Rudolph 2015, 256–259). This would make them akin to Ḍirār's concept of *ab'ād* (sing. *ba'aḍ*, parts, or primary qualities), which uses a similar distinction (van Ess 2018a, 41–43). I suggest that this picture is substantially correct and would add that al-Māturīdī also uses the term to speak about the diverse tendencies of specific things, approaching a concept of dispositions. I will not discuss them further here.

^{▼24} Al-Māturīdī 2010, 83.

Kako se dublje ponire u al-Māturīdijevu ontologiju, postaje očigledno da supstance nisu samo snopovi svojstava, već pojedinačnih primjera svojstava ili tropova. To se pojavljuje u kontekstu njegove dijalektičke razmjene o Božanskom govoru s neimenovanim sagovornikom, vjerovatno mu ' tazilijom Abu al-Qāsimom al-Ka' bījem (um. 931). Al-Māturīdī kaže:

[Al-Ka' bī] tvrdi: “Milosrdni (*rahūm*) je svojstvo, za razliku od milosti (*rahma*). [To je zato što] svako ko vrši atribut neke stvari, on je njime opisan; kao što je onaj koji grdi drugoga ili ga veliča, njegov grditelj ili veličatelj. Na isti način, On je stvorio milost, ali nije dozvoljeno da Mu se pripisuje milost kada ju je stvorio sve dok On ne kaže: „Ja sam milostiv.“ Dakle, po tome znamo da je atribut Njegova riječ da je milostiv. ▼²⁵

Abū Manṣūr, neka mu se Bog smiluje, kaže kako on nije svjestan ove zbrke oko svojstava pa počinje tako u objašnjenju Božijih svojstava; slavljen je Bog iznad sličnih ovoj mašti, i On je transcendentan. Kad bi atribut u stvarnosti [samo] bio atribucija onoga koji ga pripisuje (*wasf al-wāṣif*), onda bi priča o stvaranju bila uzaludna, jer je stvaranje [sastavljeno od] supstanci (*a'yān*) i atributa (*ṣifāt*). To čini uzaludnim njegov [vlastiti] govor o spajanju, razdvajanju, kretanju i mirovanju, kojih pojedinosti nisu oslobođene u potvrdi njihove vremenitosti, iako su slobodne od pripisivanja onoga što im se pripisuje. Dakle, utvrđeno je da su atributi sastavni dio pojedinosti, a ne kako on kaže. ▼²⁶

Ovdje al-Māturīdī suprotstavlja svoju poziciju o atributima, koji su sastavni dio njihovih konkretnih pojedinosti, s nominalizmom koncepta svog sugovornika, koji zasniva svojstva u konceptima koji su zastupljeni o njima. ▼²⁷ Važan dio njegove kritike je tvrdnja da protivnik pada u nekoherentnost ako se koncept nominalizma, koji je uveden zbog deflatornog prikaza Božanskih atributa, primijeni na očigledno stvarna svojstva koja se nalaze u svijetu. Al-Māturīdijeva prezentacija odgovora njegovog protivnika pruža daljnju razradu dviju suprotstavljenih metafizičkih obrada svojstava:

▼²⁵ Oba štampana izdanja *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* ovu frazu prevode kao “Njegov iskaz 'Zaista je On milostiv’” (*qawluhu innahu rahīm*) (al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 119. str.; Al-Māturīdī, Abū Manṣūr. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*. Fathalla Kholeif ed. Alexandria: Dār al-Jāmi'āt al-Miṣriyya; 1970. 56. str.). To bi impliciralo direktan citat iz Kur'ana, kao što je 5:39: “Zaista, Bog prašta i milostiv je” (*inn Allāha ghafūrun rahīmūn*). Budući da u kanonskom tekstu Kur'ana ne postoji takva fraza, možda bi bilo bolje čitati al-Māturīdija tako što koristi indirektan govor, na sljedeći način: “Njegov iskaz da je milostiv” (*qawluhu innahu rahīm*). Rukopis dozvoljava ovu mogućnost. Vidi: Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī. *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*. Cambridge: Univerzitetska biblioteka Cambridge. MS Add.3651, fol. 27r.

▼²⁶ Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 119. str.

▼²⁷ Podrobnije o tome vidi: al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 113-114. str. Postoji daljnja rasprava o tome kod el Omari, Racha. *The Theology of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Ka' bī (d. 319/931)*. Leiden: Brill; 2016. 107. str. Za naznake doktrine u al-Ka' bījevim vlastitim spisima izložene u Rodriguez-Pereyra, vidi Rodriguez-Pereyra, Gonzalo. *Nominalism in Metaphysics*. U: *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Izdanje 2016. Edward N. Zalta ur. 2008. Dostupno na: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/nominalism-metaphysics/>. Vidi Al-Ka' bī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī. ' *Uyūn al-masā' il wa-l-jawābāt*. Rājiḥ al-Kurdī, ' Abd al-Ḥamīd Kurdī, Ḥusayn Khānṣū ur. Amman: Dār al-Ḥāmid; 2014. 101-102. str. Suvremeni koncept nominalizma opisan je u Rodriguez-Pereyra. *Op. cit.*; 2008.

[Al-Ka'bī] claims: "Merciful (*raḥīm*) is an attribute, unlike mercy (*raḥma*). [This is because] everyone who performs the attribute of a thing, he is described by it; just as the one who reviles another or glorifies him is his reviler or glorifier. In the same manner, He created mercy and it is not permissible that He be attributed with it when He created it until He says, 'I am merciful.' So, by that we know that the attribute is His statement that He is merciful."▼²⁵

Abū Maṣṣūr, may God have mercy on him, says: how unaware he is of this confusion about the attributes so that he begins such in the explanation of the attributes of God; glorified is God above the like of this imagination, and He is transcendent. Were the attribute in reality [merely] the attribution of the attributor (*waṣf al-wāṣif*), it renders futile speech of the creation, because the creation is [made up of] substances (*a'yān*) and attributes (*ṣifāt*). And it renders futile his [own] speech about joining together, splitting apart, movement and rest, which particulars are not free from in the affirmation of their temporality, though they are free from the attribution of the attributor for them. So, it is established that the attributes are integral to the particulars, not as he mentions.▼²⁶

Here, al-Māturīdī contrasts his own position of attributes, which are integral to their concrete particulars, with his interlocutor's concept nominalism, which grounds properties in the concepts held about them.▼²⁷ An important part of his critique is the assertion that the opponent falls into incoherence if concept nominalism, which has been introduced for its deflationary account of divine attributes, is applied to the obviously real properties found in the world. Al-Māturīdī's presentation of his opponent's response provides further elaboration of the two-contrasting metaphysical treatments of properties:

[Al-Ka'bī] says: "We never said that God, when He creates redness in a garment, makes for it an attribute. Yet was redness to be an attribute for it, it would be permissible to say that when God created it: 'He described the garment with [redness].' And the same would be true for movement and rest. Like this is the one who writes to another describing his height, it is permissible to say: 'he described himself to us in his letter.'" [Al-Māturīdī says:] [al-Ka'bī] claims this is clear. Then [al-Ka'bī] says: "We do not deny the permissibility of the unrestricted statement that redness is the attribute of the red thing, and mercy is the attribute of the action, but metaphorically speaking, while the reality is what I have mentioned."

▼²⁵ Both printed editions of Kitāb al-tawḥīd render this phrase as "His statement, 'Indeed He is merciful'" (*qawluhu innahu raḥīm*) (al-Māturīdī 2010, 119; Māturīdī 1970, 56). That would imply a direct Qur'anic quotation, such as Q. 5:39: "Indeed God is forgiving, merciful" (*inn Allāha ghafūrun raḥīmun*). As there is no such phrase in the canonical text of the Qur'an, it may be better to read al-Māturīdī as using indirect speech, as follows: "His statement that He is merciful" (*qawluhu innahu raḥīm*). The manuscript allows for this possibility. See Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, MS Add.3651, fol. 27r.

▼²⁶ al-Māturīdī 2010, 119.

▼²⁷ He makes the case more explicitly in al-Māturīdī (2010, 113–114). There is further discussion in el Omari (2016, 107). For an indication to the doctrine in al-Ka'bī's own writings outlined in Rodríguez-Pereyra, see Rodríguez-Pereyra, Gonzalo, *Nominalism in Metaphysics*. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2016 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta, 2008. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/nominalism-metaphysics/>. See Al-Ka'bī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī, *Uyūn al-masā'il wa-l-jawābāt*, ed. Rājīḥ al-Kurdī, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kurdī and Ḥusayn Khānshū, Amman: Dār al-Ḥāmid, 2014, 101–102. Contemporary concept nominalism is outlined in Rodríguez-Pereyra (2008).

من بعد طينته ويدعو غيره اليه حتى شادكم في ذلك انصاف
 المشكوك والجاهل فضلا عن الذي يشتر بوجود الاشياء
 على ذلك جرت سياسة ملوك الارض من سيرة كل منهم ما راوا
 تسوية امورهم عليه وتأليف ما بين قلوب وعيتم بهم وكذلك امر
 الذين ادعوا الرسالة والحكمة ونحن قارب بغير انواع الصناعات
 وبالله المعونة والنجاة وانما العقل هو ان يكون هذا العالم الفناء
 خاصة ليس بحكمة وخروج كل في عقل فقله عن طريق الحكمة في عينه
 فلا يتأمل ان يكون العالم الذي العقل منه جنس موشا على غير الحكمة
 او يتجولها موشا واذا ثبت ذلك ان انشاء العالم للبقاء لا
 للقاء ثم كان العالم باصله مينا على طبائع مختلفة ووجوه متضاه
 ومخاصة الذي هو مقصود من حيث العقل الذي يجمع بين الجمع
 وفقرت بين الذي حقه القوي وهو الذي تمت الحكمة العالم
 الضعيف فهو على انواع مختلفة وطبائع متشعبة وشهوات ركب
 فيهم غالبية لوتر كوا وما عليه جبلوا التنازعوا في مجاداة المنازع
 وانواع العجز والشرب والملك والملك والملك فبعث ذلك
 التباين ثم الغنائل وفي ذلك التناهي والتنازع الذي لو
 انما يكون العالم له لبطلت الحكمة في كونه معاجل
 البشر وجميع الحيوان غير محتمل للبقاء الا بالاعزير وما به قوا
 ابدانهم على المدد التي جعل لهم فلم يشرد بتكونهم سوى في انهم
 لم يحفل انشاء سابه بقاؤهم واذا ثبت ذلك لا بد من ان يولف بينهم
 ويحفظهم عن التنازع والنبات الذي لديه الهلاك والفتنة

وبتم بطيرة
 من ذوقه فراجع بالحقيقة اليه
 من ربح وسلخ رضاء ونسأ له ان يمشي
 احوالهم الكرمين وعلى اولياءه
 ذلك من رغب اليه فيما يكون من القول
 مشهور ورحمة الله استا بعد فانا وجدنا
 قتل في الذين يتقون على اخلائهم في
 هو عليه حتى والذي عليه غير باطل
 ذمتهم لم سلبت قتلا ميثاق العيلة
 ابره صفة على انه ليس فيه سوى كوش
 لا حلال سوى ستمين الملوك اليه حجة عقل
 ان يهتد المنصفين على اصابتة الحق
 وحيث تحقيقة عنده هو الحق وعلى كل
 يدون مؤبه كان الذي ذان به فوسخ
 له في حصرهم المشهور بل منهم ما
 لم لا يظلموا بها وكل انما ثبت
 في الذين انما قضى في انهم
 ساسا الشبه على حيلهم وكونه اذ ما
 به الذين اذ لا بد من كون هذا
 ع عليه وانما بانهم الفرع منه ونجها
 على انما السمع فما لا يتخلو بشر من اتخاله
 مؤيد

حاشية على المتن
 انما العقل هو ان يكون هذا العالم الفناء
 خاصة ليس بحكمة وخروج كل في عقل فقله عن طريق الحكمة في عينه

كما هو في المتن
 حاشية على المتن
 كرو القوم ان انما موع
 الصبح في انما انما موع
 الصبح في انما موع
 الصبح في انما موع

فانما هو من انما موع
 انما موع من انما موع
 انما موع من انما موع
 انما موع من انما موع

اومنيصو
 الماتريدي

ILLUSTRACIJA - Al-Māturīdī i njegovo djelo *Kitāb al-tawhīd*. Prve dvije stranice knjige. Licenca Creative Commons javna domena, identifikator msadd3651, identifikator-ark ark:/13960/t1xd9vz97. (Arhiv Akšamija)



ILUSTRACIJA - Al-Māturīdī and his work *Kitāb al-tawhīd*. The first two pages of the book. Creative Commons Public Domain License, identifier msadd3651, identifier-ark ark:/1396O/t1xd9vz97. (Archive of Akšamija)

[Al-Ka 'bī] kaže: “Nikada nismo rekli da Bog, kada stvori crvenilo na odjeći, čini joj to atributom. Ipak, da crvenilo bude njegov atribut, bilo bi dopušteno reći da je to tako kada je to Bog stvorio: 'Opisao je odjeću [crvenilom].' I isto bi vrijedilo za kretanje i odmor. Isto tako je kada neko piše drugome opisujući svoju visinu – dozvoljeno je reći: 'opisao nam se u svom pismu'.” [Al-Māturīdī kaže:] [al-Ka 'bī] tvrdi da je to jasno. Zatim [al-Ka 'bī] kaže: „Mi ne poričemo dopuštenost neograničene izjave da je crvenilo atribut crvene stvari, a milost atribut radnje, ali metaforički rečeno, dok je stvarnost ono što sam spomenuo.”

Zatim [al-Kabī] prigovara zbog toga što je dozvoljeno da za atribut postoji atribut. [Al-Māturīdī] kaže: da, sa značenjem da se opisuje, ali to postoji samo dok govori onaj koji ga opisuje. Kada prestane da govori, to više ne postoji. ▼²⁸



ILUSTRACIJA - Al-Māturīdī (u pozadini) sa Abu al-Qāsimom al-Ka 'bijem u prvom planu. (Arhiv Akšamija)
ILLUSTRATION - Al-Māturīdī (in the background) with Abu al-Qāsim al-Ka 'bī in the foreground. (Archive of Akšamija)

U ovom odlomku, protivnik odbacuje al-Māturīdijevu tvrdnju da on na kraju iznosi dvije nedosljedne teorije svojstava. Al-Ka 'bī ističe da je, prema njegovom poziciji, postojanje svih svojstava posljedica Božijeg opisa istih. To jest, al-Māturīdijev stav o integralnim svojstvima dopušten je kao korisna metafora, iako je nominalizam koncepta doslovna istina. Zatim iznosi svoj vlastiti prigovor, tvrdeći da

▼²⁸ Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 119-120. str.

Then [al-Kabī] objects on account of it thus being permissible that there is for the attribute an attribute. [Al-Māturīdī] says: yes, with the meaning that it is being described, but that is only in existence as long as the one describing it is speaking. When he stops speaking, it no longer exists. ▼²⁸



ILLUSTRATION ~ A philosopher in dialogue with a kadiya/judge. Maqamat al-Hariri, early 13th century. © Gallica.bn.fr / Arabe 6094/139.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Filozof u dijalogu sa kadijom. Maqamat al-Hariri, početak 13. stoljeća. © Gallica.bn.fr / Arabe 6094/139.

In this passage, the opponent rejects al-Māturīdī's claim that he ends up holding two inconsistent theories of properties. Al-Ka'bī points out that, according to his position, the existence of all properties is due to God's description of them. That is, al-Māturīdī's stance on integral properties is allowable as a useful metaphor, though concept nominalism is the literal truth. Then he launches his own objection, claiming that according to al-Māturīdī's account, a property, for instance redness, would be given a further property by its conceptual

▼²⁸ al-Māturīdī 2010, 119–120.

bi, prema al-Māturīdijevom mišljenju, osobina, naprimjer crvenilo, dobila još jedno svojstvo svojim konceptualnim opisom, koji je nekoherentan. O takvoj kritici metakvalifikacije atributa (*wasf al-ṣifa*) raspravljalo se prije ovoga. Naprimjer, to se pripisuje teologu iz devetog stoljeća Abu al-'Abbāsu al-Qalānisīju.▼²⁹ Al-Māturīdī na ovu kritiku odgovora da nije problematično da primjeri svojstava dobiju neku vrstu privremenog atributa kada se opisuju, sve dok nakon toga ne nestanu. Čini se da ovo koncepte svojstva čini lingvističkim apstrakcijama koje se odnose na njihove stvarne parnjake.



ILUSTRACIJA - Al-Māturīdī (lijevo) i Abu al-'Abbās al-Qalānisīj. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - Al-Māturīdī (left) and Abu al-'Abbās al-Qalānisī. (Archive of Akšamija)

Kao što al-Māturīdī primjećuje, različita stajališta ove dvojice učenjaka usvojena su na osnovu smjera, kojeg se drže u polemici. Za pripadnike škole bagdadskih mu'tazilija, kao što je al-Ka'bī, svojstva koja se opažaju u svijetu samo su metaforički stvarna, a svoju pravu stvarnost primaju iz koncepata koje je Bog opisao i učinio ih konsekventno tome nama poznatim. To jest, prividna konkretna ontologija "crvenila" metafora je koja se može koristiti u govoru, ali zapravo sva svojstva potpadaju pod svoje relevantne Božanske opise. Za al-Māturīdīja, budući da nemamo direktan

▼²⁹ Al-Ṣaffaī, Abū Ishāq. *Talkhīṣ al-adilla li-qawā'id al-tawḥīd*. Angelika Brodersen ed. 2 vols. Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut; 2011. 208. str.

description, which is incoherent. Such criticism of the meta-qualification of attributes (*waṣf al-ṣifa*) had been discussed prior to this. For instance, it is ascribed to the ninth-century theologian Abū al-‘Abbās al-Qalānisi. ▼²⁹ Al-Māturīdī’s response to this critique is that it is not problematic for real property instances to be given a kind of temporary attribute when they are described, so long as it disappears thereafter. This would seem to make property concepts linguistic abstractions that refer to their real counterparts.



ILLUSTRATION ~ The agreement of the philosophers before leaving to visit another region. Maqamat al-Hariri. ©Gallica.bn.fr / Arabe 6094/84.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Dogovor filozofa prije odlaska u posjetu drugoj regiji. © Maqamat al-Hariri. © Gallica.bn.fr / Arabe 6094/84.

As al-Māturīdī observes, the different positions adopted by the two figures in their back-and-forth polemics are predicated on the direction in which each argues. For members of the Baghdadī Mu‘tazilī school, such as al-Ka‘bī, properties observed in the world are only metaphorically real, receiving their true reality from the concepts described by God and subsequently known to us. That is, the apparent concrete ontology of “redness” is a metaphor that can be used in speech, but really all properties come under their relevant divine

▼²⁹ Al-Ṣaffa‘, Abū Ishāq, *Talkhīṣ al-adilla li-qawā‘id al-tawhīd*, ed. Angelika Brodersen, 2 vols. Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 2011, 208.

pristup Božanskim konceptima, trebali bismo uzeti uočljiva svojstva kao ontički stvarna i osnovu za razmišljanje o Bogu pa kaže:

Ne postoji način da se spozna prikrivena stvarnost osim kroz indikaciju manifestnog. Stoga, kada neko želi opis Visokog i Veličanstvenog, to je put znanja u manifestnom svijetu i [on pruža] mogućnost govora. [To je] zato što nam nedostaje sposobnost da spoznamo druga imena osim onih kojima smo svjedočili, i nema upućivanja na ono što nismo primili osjetilima i spoznali kroz percepciju. Da je bilo moguće da imamo taj kapacitet, onda bismo tako rekli. Ali [htjeli smo] da uklonimo svaki antropomorfizam iz našeg govora „znalac ne kao znalci“ ('*ālimun lā ka-l-'ulamā'*). To je način [pristupa] u svemu kojim Ga imenujemo i opisujemo. ▼³⁰

Al-Māturīdijevo poimanje Božanskih svojstava temelji se na njegovoj dvostrukoj upotrebi principa analogije (*mithl*) i transcendencije (*khilāf*). U središtu njegove teologije je simultana afirmacija Božanskih svojstava kroz jezik njihovih uočljivih analoga i poricanje pratećih kakvosti. Prema al-Māturīdiju, kada opažamo nešto u svijetu, možemo razlikovati njegovu kakvoću (*mā' iyya*), ▼³¹ ili vrstu stvari, njeno jestvo ▼³² (*hastiyya*), ili njeno postojanje uopće. ▼³³ Ova razlika između kakvoće i jestastva je konceptualna, a ne ontološka. Drugim riječima, um je taj koji pravi razliku između onoga što data stvar jest te da ona uopće postoji, a ne svaki koncept koji odgovara različitim aspektima svoje inherentne metafizičke strukture. Riječ *mā' iyya* potiče od *mā huwa* ('šta je to'), što je prijevod Aristotelove grčke fraze za suštinu: *to ti ên einai* (doslovno, 'šta je to biti stvar'). ▼³⁴ Al-Māturīdijeve riječi: „Šta je to? (*mā huwa*)“ znače: 'Po čemu je kakvoća stvari prepoznatljiva u stvaranju?' ▼³⁵ *Hastiyya* je neobična riječ koja dolazi od perzijskog *hast* (je), što znači *jest*, ili *posebno postojanje*. ▼³⁶ Al-Māturīdijeva razlika između kakvoće i jestastva središnja je u njegovom teološkom iskazu o Božijim svojstvima, jer dok se Božije postojanje i atributi mogu potvrditi, svaki zaključak o Njegovoj kakvoći iz stvaranja mora biti negiran. Tako Al-Māturīdī kaže:

Dakle, značenje našeg iskaza „stvar ne naliči stvarima“ jeste poništavanje kakvoće (*mā' iyya*) stvari [od Boga]. Dvije su vrste: supstancija ('*ayn*), koja je tijelo (*džism*), i svojstvo (*šifa*), koje je slučajnost ('*araḍ*). Prema tome, potrebno je u odnosu na Njega poništiti sve kakvoće i supstanci,

▼³⁰ Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 119-120. str.

▼³¹ Više preferiram prijevod 'whatness' nego 'essence' jer potonji nosi ima veću konceptualnu mogućno shvaćanja.

▼³² „Jestvo“ je ono što čini identitet pojedine stvari, bića, pojedine osobe. Za vas, „jastvo“ ste vi, a za nekog drugog, „jastvo“ je on sâm. (napomena prevoditelja).

▼³³ Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 70. str.

▼³⁴ Cassin, Barbara. *Dictionary of Untranslatable: A Philosophical Lexicon*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; 2014. 1133. str.

▼³⁵ Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 174. str.

▼³⁶ Wisnovsky, Robert. *Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press; 2003. 157. str.

descriptions. For al-Māturīdī, because we have no direct access to divine concepts, we should take observable properties as ontically real and the basis for reasoning about God. As he says:

There is no way to know the veiled reality except by indication from the manifest one. Therefore, when one wants the description of the High and Majestic, that is the path of knowledge in the manifest world and [it provides] the possibility of speech. [This is] because we lack the capacity for cognizing with names other than that which we have witnessed, and there is no pointing to what we have not taken in with the senses and realized through perception. Were that a capacity we possibly possessed; we would have said so. But [we desired] to remove any anthropomorphism from our statement “knowing not like the knowers” (*‘ālimun lā ka-l-‘ulamā’*), and this is the type [of approach] in all with which we name and describe Him.▼³⁰

Al-Māturīdī’s elucidation of divine properties is grounded in his twofold use of the principles of analogy (*mithl*) and transcendence (*khilāf*). At the heart of his theology is the simultaneous affirmation of divine properties through the language of their observable analogues and denial of the accompanying whatnesses. According to al-Māturīdī, when we perceive something in the world, we can distinguish between its whatness (*mā’iyya*),▼³¹ or the kind of thing it is, and its isness (*hastiyya*), or its existing at all.▼³² This distinction between whatness and isness is conceptual rather than ontological. In other words, it is the mind that differentiates between *what* a given thing is and *that* it exists at all, rather than each concept corresponding to distinct aspects of its inherent metaphysical structure. The word *mā’iyya* derives from *mā huwa* (what it is), which is a translation of Aristotle’s Greek phrase for essence: *to ti ên einai* (lit. what it is to be a thing).▼³³ In al-Māturīdī’s words: “What is it? (*mā huwa*)” means, “From what is its whatness known in the creation?”▼³⁴ *Hastiyya* is an unusual word that comes from the Persian *hast* (is), meaning isness, or particular existence.▼³⁵ Al-Māturīdī’s distinction between whatness and isness is central to his theological account of God’s properties, because whereas God’s existence and attributes can be affirmed, any inference to His whatness from the creation must be negated. Thus Al-Māturīdī states:

Then the meaning of our statement “a thing unlike things” is an annulment of the whatness (*mā’iyya*) of things [from God]. [A thing] is of two kinds: a substance (*‘ayn*), which is a body (*jism*), and quality (*ṣifa*), which is an accident (*‘arad*). So, it is necessary with respect to Him to annul the whatnesses of the substances, which are bodies, and qualities, which are accidents. When we remove the meaning of body from the substances, we negate the associated name, just as when we remove

▼³⁰ al-Māturīdī 2010, 91.

▼³¹ I prefer “whatness” as a translation to “essence” because the latter carries a great deal of conceptual baggage.

▼³² al-Māturīdī 2010, 70.

▼³³ Cassin, Barbara, *Dictionary of Untranslatable: A Philosophical Lexicon*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014, 1133.

▼³⁴ al-Māturīdī 2010, 174.

▼³⁵ Wisnovsky, Robert, *Avicenna’s Metaphysics in Context*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003, 157.

koje su tijela, i svojstva, koja su slučajnosti. Kada uklonimo značenje tijela iz supstanci, negiramo pridruženo ime, kao što kada uklonimo antropomorfnu značenje (*ma' nā al-tashbīh*) iz afirmacije i odbacimo poništavanje atributa (*ta' ḡīl*), negiramo poziciju [antropomorfizma].^{▼37}

Svoje stajalište o Božanskim svojstvima al-Māturīdī je nazvao “svjedočenjem” (*taḥqīq*) ili “potvrđivanjem” (*ithbāt*).^{▼38} Ovo je stavu kojem se Bog misli kao supstancija, ili konkretna partikularnost, koja posjeduje supstantivne attribute, ali čije se kakvoće ne mogu spoznati zbog njihove razlike od njihovih stvorenih analogija. Dakle, Bog je “stvar različita od stvari” (*šay' un lā ka-l-ašyā'*) i potvrđeno je da ima znanje, ali ne kao ljudska bića; stoga On "zna za razliku od znalaca". Za ovaj postupak, al-Māturīdī izvodi zaključak iz kur'anskog ajeta: “Ne postoji ništa slično Njemu” (*laysa ka-mithlihi šay'*),^{▼39} ali On je onaj koji čuje, vidi.” On koristi ovaj princip da negira tijelo, ili akcidencije Bogu, jer “to upućuje na sličnosti stvari” (*humā ta' wīlā šibhi al-ašyā'*). Ideja je da su sličnost i suprotnost neizbrisivo povezane sa stvorenim poretkom u smislu njegove pluralnosti, nepostojanja i kontingentnosti, te da je sve to Bog transcendirao u svojoj jednosti.^{▼40} Njegova metoda ima neke usporedbe s načinima preeminencije (*via eminentia*) i negacije (*via negativa*) Akvinskog i prije njega.^{▼41} Poput ovih kršćanskih pandana, al-Māturīdī dopušta da se Božija transcendentna savršenstva spoznaju putem analogije, dok negira ekvivalentnost njihovim svjetovnim analogizmom.

Ipak, al-Māturīdijeva primjena metafizike na Božiju prirodu može se korisno suprotstaviti često povezivanoj ideji Božanske jednostavnosti, koju su sunijski teolozi obično susretali u mu' tazilijskoj školi mišljenja. Verzija jednostavnosti koju al-Māturīdī pripisuje svom glavnom sugovorniku, kao što je već rečeno, jeste vrsta koncepta nominalizma, koji on kritizira zbog svođenja različitih atributa na samo mentalne individuacije zasnovane na imenovanju Božijih djela unutar stvaranja. Takavo stajalište čini da izgleda da su Božanski atributi vremenski generirani te da nastaju samo kada postoji nešto u stvaranju da se tako nazove, što on povezuje s Džahmom b. Šafwānom (um. 745–746), kontroverznim ranim transokzijanskim teologom:

Osnovno [stajalište] protiv poricanja atributa [...] je da ono što Džahm govori postaje nužno s obzirom na poništavanje [Božijih] imena, atributa i njihovog vremenskog nastajanja, tako da bi On bio neznajući i bez moći, zatim znajući. Bog je veličanstven i uzvišen iznad toga.^{▼42}

▼37 Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 105. str.

▼38 Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 91. str.

▼39 Kur'an, 42:11.

▼40 Al-Māturīdī. *Op. cit.*; 2010. 89. str.

▼41 Rocca, Gregory P. *Speaking the Incomprehensible God: Thomas Aquinas on the Interplay of Positive and Negative Theology*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press; 2004. 22. str.

▼42 Rocca, Gregory P. *Speaking the Incomprehensible God: Thomas Aquinas on the Interplay of Positive and Negative Theology*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press; 2004. 22. str.

the anthropomorphic meaning (*ma'nā al-tashbīh*) from the affirmation and reject nullification of attributes (*ta'tīl*), we negate the position [of anthropomorphism].^{▼36}

The position that al-Māturīdī reaches with respect to divine properties is termed by him “verification” (*taḥqīq*), or “affirmation” (*ithbāt*).^{▼37} This is a stance in which God is conceived as a substance, or concrete particular, possessing substantive attributes, albeit ones whose whatnesses cannot be known due to their dissimilarity with their created analogues. So, God is “a thing unlike things” (*shay'un lā ka-l-ashyā'*) and affirmed as having knowledge, yet not like that of human beings; hence He is “knowing unlike knowers.” For this procedure, al-Māturīdī draws an inference from the Qur'anic verse Q. 42:11, “There is nothing like Him (*laysa ka-mithlihi shay'*), yet He is the hearing, the seeing.” He uses this principle to negate a body, or accidents, to God, as “they are the explanation of the likeness of things” (*humā ta'wīlā shibhi al-ashyā'*).^{▼38} The idea is that similarity and opposition are indelibly linked to the created order in terms of its plurality, nonexistence, and contingency, and that these are all transcended by God in His oneness.^{▼39} His method bears some comparison to the ways of preeminence (*via eminentia*) and negation (*via negativa*) of Aquinas and before him Pseudo-Dionysius.^{▼40} Like these Christian counterparts, al-Māturīdī allows God's transcendent perfections to be known through analogy, while negating the equivalence to their worldly analogues.

Yet al-Māturīdī's application of metaphysics to God's nature can be usefully contrasted with the often-associated idea of divine simplicity, which Sunnī theologians commonly encountered from the Mu'tazila school of thought. The version of simplicity that al-Māturīdī ascribes to his main interlocutor, as already discussed, is a kind of concept nominalism, which he criticizes for reducing different attributes to merely mental individuations based on the naming of God's actions within creation. Such a position makes divine attributes appear to be temporally generated, only arising once there is something in creation to be so named, and is linked by him to Jahm b. Ṣafwān (d. 745–46), a controversial early Transoxianan theologian:

[T]he basic [position] against the denier of the attributes [...] is that what Jahm says becomes necessary with respect to the nullification of [God's] names, attributes, and to their temporal generation, so He would be unknowing and without power, then knowing. God is majestic and exalted over that.^{▼41}

^{▼36} al-Māturīdī 2010, 105.

^{▼37} al-Māturīdī 2010, 91.

^{▼38} Qur'an, 42:11.

^{▼39} al-Māturīdī 2010, 89.

^{▼40} Rocca, Gregory P., *Speaking the Incomprehensible God: Thomas Aquinas on the Interplay of Positive and Negative Theology*. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004, 22.

^{▼41} al-Māturīdī 2010, 130. al-Ka'bī tries to respond to this criticism in his *'Uyūn al-masā'il wa-l-jawābāt*. See Al-Ka'bī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī, 2014, 101–102.

Kanonska formulacija Božanske jednostavnosti u kršćanskoj tradiciji, u kojoj se Božiji atributi objašnjavaju kao identični jedni drugima i Njemu samom, nalazi se kod Akvinskog.^{▼43} Al-Māturīdī ne obraća mnogo pažnje na pogled koji je koristio Akvinski, vjerovatno zato što je bio manje rasprostranjen u njegovom neposrednom okruženju.^{▼44} Ipak, jasno je da bi on takvu poziciju smatrao kršenjem vlastite teološke metode u isticanju transcendencije na račun analogije, tako da se Bog ne bi mogao shvatiti kao da uopće posjeduje supstancijalna svojstva. Štaviše, on bi imao očigledan duhovni prigovor na razmatranje Božijeg znanja i moći, naprimjer, da su identični.

Ovdje se može napraviti važan kontrast s Dunsom Skotom (um. 1308), koji razumije da su Božija svojstva formalno različita, što znači da nisu identična s Božijom „bîti“, niti jedna s drugima.^{▼45} Skotov stav usko odražava klasičnu teološku poziciju škola al-Ash 'arija i al-Māturīdija, koje shvaćaju Božiju bît (*dhāt*) kao neku vrstu supstrata u kojem se uspostavljaju Njegovi atributi. Kao što pokazuju citati u ovom poglavlju, al-Māturīdijeva koncepcija Boga ne uključuje takav opredmećeni supstrat, već Ga direktno povezuje s Njegovim atributima.^{▼46}

Šta ovaj prodor u al-Māturīdijevu teoriju svojstava otkriva o njegovim filozofskim sklonostima i njegovom doprinosu ovoj temi? Za početak, postoji definitivna aristotelovska sklonost njegove misli. On citira Aristotela po imenu i, kao i on, rezonira od empirijskih osjetila prema metafizičkim principima i konačno prirodi Boga. Ovu tradiciju prenio mu je krug oko al-Kindija u Bagdadu, dajući al-Māturīdijevom sistemu kvalitetu koja podsjeća na ovog ranog člana *falāsifa*: prijem aristotelovskih i neoplatonskih tema unutar islamskog teističkog okvira. Ipak, mada al-Māturīdijeva fundamentalna metafizika duguje ovim utjecajima, ona je ipak idiosinkrastična, ublažena njegovim pristupom Aristotelovom djelu kroz utjecaje drugih ranih *kalāma* te njegovim vlastitim sistematskim teološkim gledištima, u čijem središtu je Kur'an. Iako se njegova dvojna ontologija supstance i kvaliteta čini smanjenom verzijom kategorija, na nju ne utječe hilomorfizam uveden u fiziku i razvijen u metafizici.^{▼47} Ovo je značajno odstupanje od glavne intelektualne putanje filozofa (*falāsifa*), što ga je dovelo do razvoja rijetkog, gotovo modernog nominalizma konkretnih pojedinosti i njihovih atributivnih instanci. Štaviše, dok je al-Māturīdijev sistem dijelom adaptacija ontologija na tragu

▼43 Vallicella, William F. *Divine Simplicity*. U: *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2006. (Spring 2019 Edition), ur. Edward N. Zalta. Zadnja izmjena 27. veljače 2019.

▼44 Može se naći kod nekih pripadnika basranske škole mu'tazila, naprimjer, kod Abu al-Hudhayla (um. 841–842) (al-Ash 'arī. *Maqāl āt al-islām iyyīn wa-ikhtilāf al-muṣallīn*. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ed. Vol. 2. Kairo: Maktabat al-Nahda al-Miṣriyya; 1950. 236. str.

▼45 Cross, Richard. *Duns Scotus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; 1999. 43-45. str.

▼46 Treba imati na umu da al-Māturīdī koristi izraz *dhāt* u svom sistemu za Božiju postojeću "prirodu". Ali ovo ne treba shvatiti kao supstrat lišen Njegovih atributa.

▼47 Ainsworth, Thomas. „Form vs. Matter.“ U: *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Edward N. Zalta ed. Summer 2020. edition. Prvi put objavljeno 1. decembra 2006. Posljednja izmjena 25. mart 2020. Dostupno na: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/form-matter/>.

The canonical formulation of divine simplicity in the Christian tradition, whereby God's attributes are explained as identical to each other and to Him, is found in Aquinas.^{▼42} The kind of view used by Aquinas does not receive much attention from al-Māturīdī, presumably because it was less prevalent in his immediate milieu.^{▼43} Nevertheless, it is clear that he would see such a position as violating his theological method in emphasizing transcendence at the expense of analogy, such that God could not be understood as possessing substantive properties at all. Moreover, he would have an obvious scriptural objection to considering God's knowledge and power, for instance, to be identical.

An important contrast here can be made with Duns Scotus (d. 1308) who understands God's attributes to be formally distinct, meaning that they are not identical with God's "essence," nor with each other.^{▼44} Scotus' position closely mirrors the classical theological position of the Ash'arī and Māturīdī schools, which understand God's essence (*dhāt*) as a kind of substratum in which His attributes are established. As the quotations in this chapter show, al-Māturīdī's conception of God does not include such a reified substratum, rather relating Him directly to His attributes.^{▼45}

What does this foray into al-Māturīdī's theory of properties reveal about his philosophical inclinations and his contribution to the subject? To begin with, there is a definite Aristotelian bent to his thought. He cites Aristotle by name and, like him, reasons from empirical sensation toward metaphysical principles and ultimately the nature of God. This tradition was transmitted to him by the circle around al-Kindī in Baghdad, giving to al-Māturīdī's system a quality reminiscent of this early member of the *falāsifa*: a reception of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic themes within an Islamic theistic framework. Yet if al-Māturīdī's fundamental metaphysics owes a debt to these influences, it is an idiosyncratic one, tempered by his access to Aristotle's corpus, the influence of other early *kalām*, and his own systematic theological ambitions, which center the Qur'an. Although his dual ontology of substance and quality seems a pared down version of the *Categories*, it is one not impacted by the hylomorphism introduced in the *Physics* and developed in the *Metaphysics*.^{▼46} This is a significant departure from the main intellectual trajectory of the *falāsifa*, leading him to develop a sparse, almost modern, nominalism of concrete particulars and their property instances. Moreover, whereas al-Māturīdī's system is partly an adaptation of the accident-led ontology of Ḍirār b. 'Amr and al-Ḥusayn al-Najjār, which has its own Neoplatonic antecedents, he leverages his Aristotelian categories for distinctively theological

▼42 Vallicella, William F., *Divine Simplicity*. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2006. (Spring 2019 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. Last Modified February 27, 2019.

▼43 It can be found in certain members of the Basran school of the Mu'tazila, for exam-ple, Abū al-Hudhayl (d. 841–842) (al-Ash'arī 1950, vol. 2, 236).

▼44 Cross, Richard, *Duns Scotus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, 43-45.

▼45 Note that al-Māturīdī uses the term *dhāt* within his system for God's existent "nature." But this should not be understood as a substratum stripped of His attributes.

▼46 Ainsworth, Thomas, *Form vs. Matter*. In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2016. (Summer 2020 Edition), ed. Edward N. Zalta. Last Modified March 25, 2020. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/form-matter/>.

akcidentalizma ʿAmra b. al-Ḥusayna al-Nadždžāra, što ima svoje neoplatonske prethodnike, on koristi svoje aristotelovske kategorije za izrazito teološke ciljeve. Obje navedene ličnosti smatrale su da je Božije ono što je nespoznatljivo, što je vodilo u smjeru potpuno negativne teologije: Božanski atributi definirani su negacijam djela.^{▼48} Al-Māturīdī zadržava kriterij Božanske transcendencije, ali dopušta da se primjenjuje i na kategoriju kvaliteta, a ne samo na supstanciju. To mu omogućava da potvrdi pozitivnu ontologiju Božijih atributa kao svojstava, zadržavajući pritom njihovu potpunu transcendenciju od njihovih stvorenih analogija. Postignuće nepriznatog „filozofa iz Samarkanda” stoga je nijansirana artikulacija suštinskih Božanskih atributa putem nove filozofske sinteze.

Primjena al-Matūrīdijevog djela u nastavi filozofije

Teškoća al-Māturīdijeve proze čini njegova djela teškim za komentarisanje i podučavanje, što nije promaklo njegovim ranim nasljednicima. Nedostatak pouzdanog, označenog engleskog prijevoda njegovog glavnog teološkog teksta, Kitāb al-tawḥīd, dodatna je prepreka uključivanju njegove misli u kurseve o historiji filozofije.^{▼49} Ipak, postoji neki razlog za nadu dok studenti čekaju da im ta knjiga na engleskom bude na raspolaganju. Sam nedostatak priznatog prijevoda kao referentne tačke natjerao je suvremene istraživače da daju dugačke prevedene citate ključnih dijelova al-Māturīdijevog teksta, kao što se može vidjeti iz ovog poglavlja. Takvi bi se odlomci mogli kreativno koristiti u nizu nastavnih okruženja. Naprimjer, neko ko predaje islamsku ili, općenito, srednjovjekovnu filozofiju i teologiju, mogao bi unijeti al-Māturīdijeve osebuje ideje o svojstvima i njihovoj primjeni u rasprave o Božanskoj jednostavnosti,^{▼50} negativnoj teologiji i teorijama atributa. Proučavanje ovih aspekata njegove misli nije zanimljivo samo u smislu al-Māturīdijevih specifičnih rješenja, već baca komparativno svjetlo na dominantne pozicije u srednjovjekovnoj kršćanskoj tradiciji, kao što je aludirano. Prilikom podučavanja uvodnog tečaja o filozofiji religije, možda ćete željeti izbjeći tehničke rasprave o kojima se govori u ovom poglavlju, ali ipak ćete naglasiti značaj al-Māturīdijeve originalne teološke sinteze. Oni koji predaju sistematičnije kurseve koji uključuju tropove mogu također razmotriti obogaćivanje

^{▼48} Van Ess, Josef. *Op. cit.*; Vol. 3; 2018a. 179-180. str.

^{▼49} Treba imati na umu da je jedan od urednika nedavnog izdanja *Kitāb al-tawḥīda* Bekir Topaloğlu 2002. godine napravio pojašnjavajući prijevod na turski. Nedavno sam kroz privatnu prepisku s Tahiroem Uluçom saznao da on radi na objavljivanju kompletnog engleskog prijevoda teksta, nadovezujući se na vlastiti turski prijevod, koji je objavljen 2021.

^{▼50} Božanska jednostavnost (*Divine Simplicity*) centralna je ideja za klasični zapadni – kršćanski koncept Boga. Jednostavnost poriče bilo kakvu fizičku ili metafizičku kompoziciju u Božanskom biću. To znači da je Bog sama Božanska priroda i nema nikakve akcencije (osobine koje nisu nužne), koje pripadaju Božanskoj prirodi. Ramon Harvey je u ovom članku htio približiti al-Māturīdijevo teološko mišljenje ovom konceptu (primjedba prevoditelja).

ends. Both of the above figures had held that God's whatness is unknowable and took this in the direction of an entirely negative theology: divine attributes were defined by negations of actions.^{▼47} Al-Māturīdī retains the criterion of divine transcendence but lets it apply to the category of quality, rather than substance alone. This allows him to affirm a positive ontology to God's attributes as properties, while retaining their utter transcendence from their created analogues. An achievement of the unrecognized "Philosopher of Samarqand" is therefore a nuanced articulation of substantive divine attributes via a novel philosophical synthesis.

Using al-Maturīdī in the Philosophy Classroom

The difficulty of al-Māturīdī's prose makes his works tricky to comment on and to teach, a point not missed by his early successors. The lack of a reliable, annotated English translation of his major theological text, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, is a further impediment to the inclusion of his thought in courses on the history of philosophy.^{▼48} Nevertheless, there is some cause for hope while scholarship waits for such a volume to arrive. The very absence of a recognized translation as a point of reference has forced contemporary researchers to provide lengthy translated quotations of key portions of al-Māturīdī's text, as can be seen from this chapter. Such excerpts could be creatively used in a range of teaching environments. For example, someone teaching Islamic or, more generally, medieval philosophy and theology could bring in al-Māturīdī's distinctive ideas on properties and their application to debates on divine simplicity, negative theology, and attribute theories. Study of these aspects of his thought is not only interesting in terms of al-Māturīdī's specific solutions but shines a comparative light on dominant positions in the medieval Christian tradition, as alluded to above. When teaching an introductory course on the philosophy of religion, one may want to eschew the technical debates discussed in this chapter but still highlight the significance of al-Māturīdī's original theological synthesis. Those who teach more systematic courses that involve tropes may also consider enriching and diversifying the historical context of their syllabus by including al-Māturīdī as an early example of a trope theorist. Finally, he also has important ethical ideas that could be explored in comparison to other religious thinkers and philosophers.⁴⁹

^{▼47} Van Ess, Josef, 2018a. *Theology and Society in the Second and Third Centuries of the Hijra*, Volume 3, Trans. Gwendolin Goldbloom. Leiden: Brill, 2018a, 179-180.

^{▼48} Note that one of the editors of the recent edition of *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, Bekir Topaloğlu, produced an explanatory Turkish translation in 2002. I have recently learnt through private correspondence with Tahir Uluç that he is working on publishing a complete English translation of the text, building on his own Turkish translation, which was published in 2021.

^{▼49} First published in Amber L. Griffioen & Marius Backmann (eds.), *Pluralizing Philosophy's Past: New Reflections in the History of Philosophy*. Springer Verlag. pp. 77-90 (2023).

i diverzifikaciju historijskog konteksta svog nastavnog programa uključivanjem al-Māturīdija kao ranog primjera teoretičara tropa.^{▼51} Konačno, on također ima važne etičke ideje koje bi se mogle istražiti u poređenju s drugim religijskim misliocima i filozofima.^{▼52}

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▼51 Teorija tropa je nominalistička teorija koja postulira postojanje svijeta u potpunosti ili djelomično sastavljenog od tropa. Slaganje stvari u atributu objašnjava se sličnošću tropa koje dvije u atributu slične konkretne pojedinačnosti posjeduju. Trop plavetnila neba i trop plavetnila mora na svojim plitkim dijelovima u potpunosti nalikuju jedan drugome, ali se numerički razlikuju. (Primjedba prevoditelja).

▼52 Prvi put objavljeno u Amber L. Griffioen & Marius Backmann (ur.), *Pluralizing Philosophy's Past: New Reflections in the History of Philosophy*. Springer Verlag. str. 77-90 (2023).

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ILLUSTRATION ON NEXT PAGE ~ Famous tile work at Jāmeḥ Mosque of Yazd city, within the Yazd Province of Iran, 14th century.

ILUSTRACIJA NA SLJEDEĆOJ STRANICI ~ Čuveni rad na pločicama u džamiji Jāmeḥ u gradu Yazd, unutar provincije Yazd u Iranu, 14. st.







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Kemal CERIĆ

Dr. AHMED SMAJLOVIĆ I ORIJENTALIZAM

Dr AHMED SMAJLOVIĆ AND ORIENTALISM

Sažetak

Ovo djelo je posvećeno liku i djelu dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića sa fokusom na njegov odnos prema *orijentalizmu*. Namjera je pokazati opseg utjecaja orijentalizma na arapsku misao i književnost prema mišljenju dr. Smajlović. Ovo je pokušaj da se ocrta profil *orijentalista* i arapskih mislilaca – sličnosti i razlike između njih, kao i da se ocijeni dr. Smajlovićev odnos prema *orijentalizmu* na zapadu i u arapskom svijetu. Ovaj rad ima za cilj prikazati doprinos dr. Smajlovića poimanju zapadnog *orijentalizma* u kontekstu arapsko-islamske kulture i tradicije.

Ključne riječi: *djetinjstvo, mladost, studentsko doba, službeni aktivizam, orijentalizam, orijentalisti, moderni arapski mislioci, književnost, islamska kultura i civilizacija*

Abstract

This work is dedicated to the character and work of Dr Ahmed Smajlović with a focus on his attitude towards *Orientalism*. The intention is to examine an extent of influence of Orientalism on Arab thought and literature according to dr Smajlović. It is an attempt to outline Dr Smajlović's profile of *Orientalists* and an Arab thinkers - similarities and differences between them as well as to make an assessment of his attitude toward *Orientalism* both in the West and the Arab world. This paper aims to present the contribution of dr Smajlović's comprehension of Western *Orientalism* in the context of an Arab-Islamic culture and tradition.

Key words: *childhood, youth, student age, official activism, Orientalism, Orientalists, modern Arab thinkers, literature, Islamic culture and civilization*

Dr. AHMED SMAJLOVIĆ I ORIJENTALIZAM

Uvod

Već odavno imao sam namjeru da izrazim svoje poštovanje prema liku i djelu dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića i to iz nekoliko razloga.

Prvo, osjetio sam potrebu da se bliže upoznam s likom i djelom čovjeka koji je posredno utjecao na moje mjesto rođenja. Naime, moj otac^{▼1} imao je sreću da studira na Univerzitetu Al-Azhar u Kairu od 1974. do 1978, u vrijeme dok je dr. Ahmed Smajlović završavao svoje višegodišnje studije na tom univerzitetu.^{▼2}

Drugo, iako nisam imao priliku osobno se upoznati sa dr. Smajlovićem, otac mi je prenio ljubav i poštovanje prema njemu, kroz priču o njegovom liku i djelu te o njegovom velikom doprinosu razvoju i napretku Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini našoj zemlji. Zato, želim naglasiti da je ovaj rad napisan uveliko kroz savjet, priču i svaki vid pomoći mog babe Mustafe, koji me vodio ukazujući mi na neke detalje vezane za lik i djelo dr. Smajlovića koji nisu dostupni u literaturi. Također, podatak da su Aiša-hanumu, majku dr. Smajlovića, srpski četnici ubili u Bratuncu 1992. god. zajedno s njenim kćerkama Halimom i Enezom te da kosti Aiša-hanume ni do danas nisu pronađene ne mogu nikoga ostaviti ravnodušnim. Otuda je moj izbor teme sve više dobivao na značaju kao dug dr. Ahmedu Smajloviću, kojeg je Milostivi Allah pozvao Sebi u augustu 1988. god. prije genocida u Srebrenici.

Treće, učenici, prijatelji i saradnici dr. Smajlovića ostavili su uredan zapis o njegovom životopisu, ali je nedostajao jedan prikaz njegovog života kroz četiri prepoznatljiva doba: a) djetinjstvo, b) mladost,

▼1 Moj otac je Mustafa Cerić, reisu-l-ulema Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini 1993-2012.

▼2 Profesor Džemal ef. Salihspahić iz Velikog Čajna kod Visokog, rođak i komšija moga oca, napisao je pismo preporuke dr. Smajloviću s molbom da se pobrine za mog oca studenta na Al-Azharu. To pismo uvelike mu je pomoglo ne samo u prilagođavanju studentskom životu u Kairu već i kasnije, kada je dr. Smajlović preuzeo odgovorne funkcije u Islamskoj zajednici. Po završetku studija (1974), dr. Smajlović je stan u kojem je stanovao u centru Kaira, u Ulici Abdulkhāliqa Tharwata, prenio na svog sestrića rahmetli Mesuda Hafizovića, a nakon što je on završio studij, taj stan je dr. Smajlović povjerio mom ocu. Otuda je dr. Smajlović govorio da su njih trojica braća. Zahvaljujući tom odnosu, uslijedio je ukaz mom ocu, 1981. god. od dr. Smajlovića, tadašnjeg predsjednika Starješinstva Islamske zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i Slovenije da naslijedi imama Čamila Avdića u Čikagu, Amerika. Tako je sudbina htjela da se rodim u Čikagu u septembru 1981. god.

Dr AHMED SMAJLOVIĆ AND ORIENTALISM

Introduction

I have long intended to express my respect for the life and work of Dr Ahmed Smajlović, for several reasons: **First**, I felt the need to become more familiar with the character and work of a man who indirectly influenced my place of birth. Namely, my father^{▼1} was lucky enough to study at the Al-Azhar University in Cairo (1974-1978) at a time when Dr Smajlović had completed his many years of studies at that very university.^{▼2}

Second, although I did not have the opportunity to meet Dr Smajlović personally, my father had a love and respect for him, through the story of his character and work and his great contribution to the development and progress of the Islamic Community in our country. Therefore, I wish to emphasize that this article was written largely through counsel, stories and all kinds of help from my father, who guided me and pointed out some details of the character and work of Dr Smajlović, which are not available in the public literature. Also, the fact that the mother of Dr Smajlović, Aiša-hanuma, was killed in Bratunac in 1992 together with her daughters Halima and Eneza by the Serbian soldiers and that the remains of his mother have not been found even to this day, cannot leave anyone indifferent. Hence, my choice of this topic became more and more important as a debt to Dr Smajlović, whom the Merciful Allah called to Himself in August 1988 before the genocide in Srebrenica.

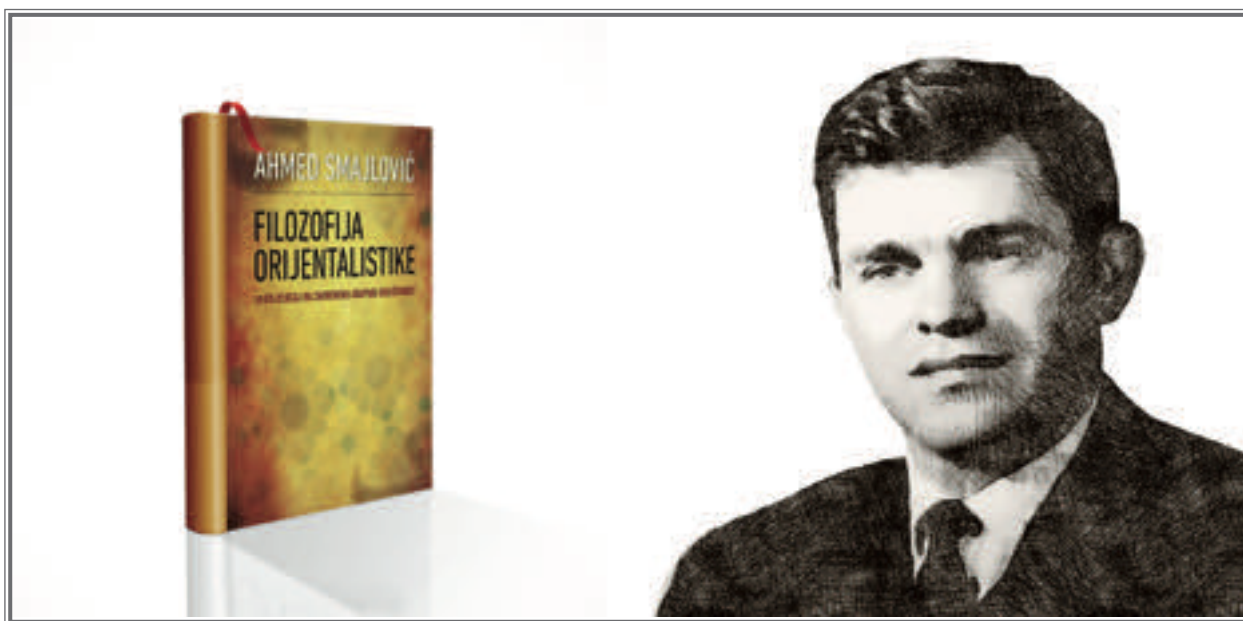
Third, students, friends and colleagues of Dr Smajlović were left with a good record of his biography. However, one account of his life through four recognizable periods was missing: a) childhood; b) youth; c) student years; and d) the era of the official activism of Dr Smajlović. I tried to make up for that shortcoming as much as possible in this paper.

▼1 My father is Mustafa Cerić, the Grand Mufti of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1993-2012.

▼2 Professor Džemal ef. Salihsahić from the village of Veliko Čajno near Visoko, a cousin and neighbour of my father, wrote a letter of recommendation to Dr Smajlović to take care of my father at Al-Azhar. That letter greatly helped him not only to adapt to student life in Cairo, but also later when Dr Smajlović assumed positions of authority in the Islamic Community. After completing his studies (1974), Dr Smajlović handed up the apartment where he lived in the centre of Cairo, the Abdulkhâliq Tharwat street, to his nephew, the late Mesud Hafizović, and after he finished his studies, Dr Smajlović entrusted that apartment to my father. For this reason, Dr Smajlović used to say that the three of them were brothers. Due to this relationship, a decree to my father followed in 1981 from Dr Smajlović, then the President of the Eldership of the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, to succeed Imam Ćamil Avdić in Chicago. Thus, fate wanted me born in Chicago in September 1981.

c) studentsko doba i d) doba službenog aktivizma. Nastojao sam taj nedostatak nadoknaditi koliko je to bilo moguće u ovom radu.

Četvrto, bibliografija dr. Smajlovića bogata je, ali čini se potrebnim izdvojiti njegovo kapitalno djelo: *Falsafat al-istišrāq wa atharuhā fi al-adab al-' arabī al-mu' āšir* (779 stranica), koje je, na bosanski jezik preveo dr. Mehmed Kico (718 stranica), na čemu smo mu iskreno zahvalni. Djelo predstavlja enciklopedijski poduhvat, koji zahtijeva ozbiljno čitanje i razumijevanje jer sadrži obimnu građu s važnim podacima o odnosu između Istoka i Zapada, zapravo o odnosu Zapada i arapsko-islamskog svijeta. Ova tema danas nije ništa manje važna nego što je bila u vrijeme dr. Smajlovića. Također, nastojali smo kroz ovaj rad prikazati Smajlovićevo viđenje najvažnijih aspekata odnosa *orijentalizma* i *orijentalista* prema arapsko-islamskoj kulturi i civilizaciji. Svjesni smo da je to kap u odnosu na more podataka i analiza, koje nam nudi dr. Smajlović, a koje bismo mi danas trebali čitati, razumjeti i analizirati.



ILUSTRACIJA - Smajlović, Ahmed. *Filozofija orijentalistike i njen utjecaj na savremenu arapsku književnost* (prev. Mehmed Kico). Sarajevo: El-Kalem i Fakultet islamskih nauka, 2012. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - Smajlović, Ahmed. *The philosophy of Orientalism and its influence on contemporary Arabic literature* (trans. Mehmed Kico). Sarajevo: El-Kalem and Faculty of Islamic Sciences, 2012. (Archive of Akšamija)

Peto, osobno u početku možda nisam ni bio toliko svjestan kao što sam sada koliko je dr. Smajlović zadužio bošnjački narod, posebno Islamsku zajednicu, svojim znanjem i mudrošću u vrijeme kada je trebalo imati hrabrosti da se čuje glas islama na brdovitom Balkanu. Stoga, zahvalan sam redakciji *Svjetionika* što je pružila priliku da podijelim moja osjećanja i sjećanja na ovog velikog čovjeka, koji je utjecao na moju sudbinu ne samo u Čikagu već i u Sarajevu.

Fourth, although the bibliography of Dr Smajlović is vast, it seems necessary to single out his capital work: *Falsafat al-istishrāq wa atharuhā fī al-adab al-‘arabī al-mu‘āšir* (779 pages), which, to our sincere delight, was translated into Bosnian by Dr Mehmed Kico (718 pages). The work represents an encyclopaedic undertaking, which requires serious reading and comprehension because it contains extensive material with important information on the relationship between East and West, or rather, the relationship between the West and the Arab-Islamic world. The selected subject in the very title of the work is no less important today than it was at the time of Dr Smajlović. Also, through this work, we tried to show the most important points of the relationship between *Orientalism* and *Orientalists* towards Arab-Islamic culture and civilization according to Dr Smajlović. We are aware that this is just a drop in a sea of data and analysis offered by Dr Smajlović that we should read, understand and analyse.

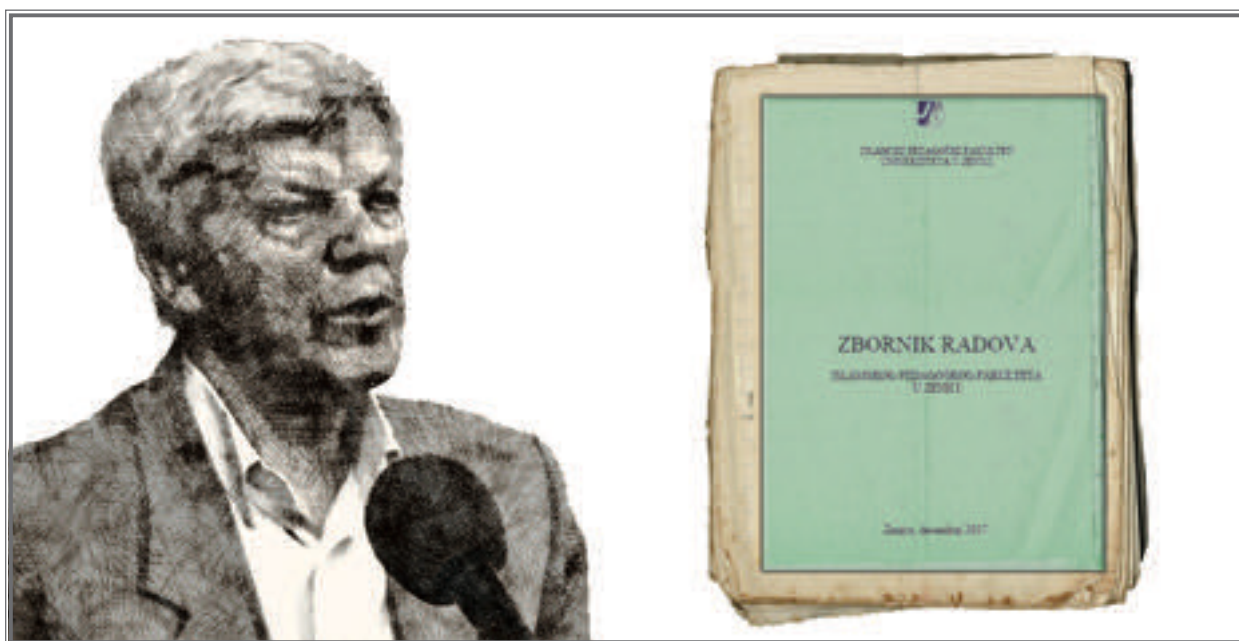


ILLUSTRATION ~ Kico, Mehmed and Beglerović, Samir. „Review of the book "Oriental Philosophy and its Impact on Modern Arabic Literature" by Ahmed Smajlović. *Collection of papers*, Faculty of Islamic Pedagogy, University of Zenica, 2017. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Kico, Mehmed i Beglerović, Samir. Prikaz knjige „Filozofija orijentalistike i njezin utjecaj na modernu arapsku književnost“ autora Ahmeda Smajlovića. *Zbornik radova*, Islamski pedagoški fakultet Univerziteta u Zenici 2017.

Fifth, personally I may not have been as aware at first as I am now of how indebted the Bosniak people are to Dr Smajlović, especially the Islamic Community, with his knowledge and wisdom at a time when it was necessary to have the courage to hear the voice of Islam in the mountainous Balkans. Therefore, I am grateful to all who supported me write this paper by giving me the opportunity to give back in kind to the man who influenced my destiny not only in Chicago, but also in Sarajevo.

Životopis dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića

dr. Smajlović nije ostavio nijedan zapis o svom djetinjstvu, mladosti, studentskim danima i dobu službene aktivnosti, niti je želio da neko za njegova života piše njegov životopis. Tek nakon rane smrti, njegovi učenici, poznanici i prijatelji progovorili su o njegovom životu i djelu kroz naučne skupove i okrugle stolove. Odavno je poznato da postoje ozbiljni nedostaci i problemi u vezi sa biografijom uleme. Djelomično, ovaj esej je skup priča i službenih izvještaja koji se pojavljuju u historijskoj literaturi i arhivima na bosanskom jeziku, uzimajući u obzir lične interakcije između više pojedinaca, njihove lične i profesionalne ciljeve i dostignuća, kao i njihova različita vjerovanja i običaje. Od naučnih skupova izdvojio bih naučnu konferenciju: *Alimi Srebrenice i njihova uloga u duhovnom i društvenom životu Bošnjaka*. Ova konferencija održana je u Srebrenici 6. jula 2021. god. u organizaciji „Instituta za društvena i religijska istraživanja“ pri Muftijstvu tuzlanskom.^{▼3} U sažetku svog referata, Muharem Omerdić je, između ostalog, kazao da je Ahmed Smajlović:



ILUSTRACIJA - Centralni dio Srebreničke čaršije krajem 19. stoljeća. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - The central part of the Srebrenica bazaar (čaršija) at the end of the 19th century. (Archive of Akšamija)

^{▼3} Vidi: „Alimi Srebrenice i njihova uloga u duhovnom i društvenom životu Bošnjaka“. *Zbornik radova*. Tuzla/Srebrenica; 2022. Zapažen referat o biografiji i iscrpnijoj bibliografiji dr. Smajlovića na ovoj konferenciji podnio je njegov bliski i vjerni saradnik Muharem ef. Omerdić pod naslovom: „Prof. dr. Ahmed Smajlović (1938-1988): Alim svjetskoga glasa“, str. 151-188. Vidi: <https://www.google.com/urlsa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewjS6YXvipeAAx-WuiP0HHd2IAqkQFnoECA0QAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Ffilmijja.ba%2F2021%2F07%2F08%2Fu-srebrenici-odrzana-na-naucna-konferencija-alimi-srebrenice-i-njihova-uloga-u-duhovnom-i-drustvenom-zivotu-bosnjaka%2F&usg=AOvVaw2hOkCoke2jQzHO-yDW7r7fj&opi=89978449>. Pristupljeno posljednji put: 18. 7. 2023.

Life and Work of Dr Ahmed Smajlović

Dr Smajlović did not leave any formal record of his childhood, youth, student days and years of official activity, nor did he want anyone to write his biography during his lifetime. Only after his early death, his students, acquaintances, and friends spoke about his life and work through scientific meetings and round tables. It has long been acknowledged that there are serious deficiencies and problems related to the biography of the *'uulamā'* (Muslim scholars). In part, this essay is an aggregate of stories and official reports that emerge in the Bosnian language historical literature and archives, considering the personal interactions between multiple individuals, their personal and professional aims, accomplishments, as well as their various beliefs and customs. Among the scientific gatherings, I would single out the "Scientific Conference" on the topic: *The Muslim Scholars of Srebrenica and Their Role in The Spiritual and Social Life of Bosniaks*. This conference was held in Srebrenica on July 6, 2021, organized by the "Institute for Social and Religious Research" under the Mufti of Tuzla.^{▼3} In the summary of his report, Muharem Omerdić said, among other things that Ahmed Smajlović:



ILLUSTRATION – The central part of Srebrenica, the 20th century. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA – Centralni dio Srebrenice, 20. stoljeće. (Arhiv Akšamija)

^{▼3} See: „*The Muslim Scholars of Srebrenica and Their Role in The Spiritual and Social Life of Bosniaks*“, *Collection of Papers*, Tuzla/Srebrenica, 2022. A notable report on the biography and more detailed bibliography of Dr Smajlović was presented at this conference by his close and faithful associate Muharem ef. Omerdić under the title: "Professor Dr Ahmed Smajlović (1938-1988): "World Renowned Muslim Scholar", p. 151-188. See: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2a-hUKEwjS6YXvipeAAxWuiP0HHd2IAqkQFnoECA0QAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Ffilmijja.ba%2F2021%2F07%2F08%2Fu-srebrenici-odrzan-na-naucna-konferencija-alimi-srebrenice-i-njihova-uloga-u-duhovnom-i-drustvenom-zivotu-bosnjaka%2F&usg=AOvVaw2hOkCoke-2jQzHO-yDW7fj&opi=89978449>. Last accessed: 18.07.2023.

[...] obnašao dužnost šefa Kabineta Reisul-uleme, bio je predsjednik Starješinstva Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji, bio je predavač u Gazi Husrev-begovoj medresi i profesor Islamskog teološkog fakulteta u Sarajevu; bio je afirmiran kao predstavnik bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana, član brojnih međunarodnih naučnih islamskih institucija, učesnik i izlagač na brojnim naučnim skupovima širom svijeta; vanredan orator, govornik i vaiz na bosanskom i arapskom jeziku; cijeni se da je svojom ozbiljnošću, držanjem i stavom ostavljao dubok dojam snažne i autoritativne ličnosti i vjerskog lidera.▼⁴

Od posebnih sjećanja na dr. Smajlovića, treba izdvoji sjećanje povodom dvadesete godišnjice njegove smrti pod naslovom „Dr. Ahmed Smajlović, život i djelo“ u organizaciji Fakulteta islamskih nauka u Sarajevu od 23. decembra 2008. god.▼⁵ Na ovom skupu podneseno je trideset referat o životu i djelu dr. Smajlovića. Tom prilikom reisul-ulema dr. Mustafa Cerić rekao je, između ostalog:

[...] Od dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića očekivalo se da uvijek bude svjež i zanimljiv u svojim predavanjima; da mijenja Islamsku zajednicu iznutra od vrha do dna; da proširi prisustvo Islamske zajednice u javnom životu; da se drži čvrsto i uspravno pred komunističkim vlastima; da u svijetu širi istinu o položaju muslimana u bivšoj Jugoslaviji te da ispuni gotovo svaku neostvarenu želju muslimana zato što je dr. Ahmed Smajlović svojom pojavom i svojom umnošću i hrabrošću bio drugačiji od svih u tadašnjoj Islamskoj zajednici.▼⁶



ILUSTRACIJA - Dr. Ahmed Smajlović na položaju šefa Kabineta reisu-l-uleme – jedna od konferencija za štampu.
ILLUSTRATION - Dr Ahmed Smajlović in the position of head of the cabinet of reisu-l-uleme – one of the press conferences.

▼⁴ *Ibid.*, str. 151.

▼⁵ Vidi: *Zbornik radova*. 2009;XXVIII(13), u povodu dvadesete godišnjice smrti dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića (1938-1988). Vidi: https://www.google.com/urlsa=t&trct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewiipcbJ1pCAAxVBgPOH-Hc46BdsQFnoECBIQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.islamskazajednica.ba%2Findex.php%2Fmina-vijesti-arhiva%2F5559-fin-dr-ahmed-smajlovi-ivot-i-djelo&usg=AOvVaw3e-BkVOIlaklGos_TPm6-4&opi=89978449. Pristupljeno posljednji put: 18. 7. 2023.

▼⁶ *Ibid.*, str. 15.

[...] served as the Chief of Staff of the Cabinet of the Grand Mufti, was is the president of the Eldership of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia, was a lecturer at the Gaza Husrev-bey Madrasa and a professor at the Faculty of Islamic Theology in Sarajevo; he was affirmed as a representative of Bosnian Muslims, a member of numerous international scientific Islamic institutions, a participant and speaker at numerous scientific meetings around the world; an extraordinary speaker, orator and preacher in Bosnian and Arabic; it is appreciated that with his staidness, demeanour and attitude he left a deep impression of a strong and authoritative personality and religious leader.▼⁴

From the special academic memories of Dr Smajlović, we should single out the memory on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of his death under the title "Dr Ahmed Smajlović, Life and Work" organized by the Faculty of Islamic Sciences in Sarajevo on December 23, 2008.⁵ At this gathering, thirty papers were submitted on the biography and corpus of Dr Smajlović, attended by Grand Mufti Dr Mustafa Cerić, who on that occasion said, among other things:

[...] It was always expected from Dr Ahmed Smajlović to remain fresh and interesting in his lectures; to change the Islamic Community from the inside from top to bottom; to expand the presence of the Islamic Community in public life; to stand firm and upright before the Communist authorities; to spread the truth about the position of Muslims in the former Yugoslavia in the world and to fulfil almost every unfulfilled desire of Muslims because Dr Ahmed Smajlović was different from everyone in the Islamic Community at that time with his appearance, intelligence and courage.▼⁶



ILLUSTRATION ~ Dr Ahmed ef. Smajlović during the awarding of diplomas for successful completion of schooling at the Gazi Husrev-bey's madrasa.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Dr. Ahmed ef. Smajlović prilikom dodjele diploma za uspješno okončano školovanje na Gazi Husrev-begovoj medresi.

▼⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

▼⁵ See: *Collection of Papers*, year XXVIII, 2009, No. 13, on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Death of Dr Ahmed Smajlović (1938-1988). See: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewiipcbJ1pCAAxVBgPOHHc46BdsQF-noECBIQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.islamskazajednica.ba%2Findex.php%2Fmina-vijesti-arhiva%2F5559-fin-dr-ahmed-smajlovi-ivot-i-djelo&usg=AOvVaw3e-BkVOIlaklGos_Tpm6-4&opi=89978449. Last accessed: 18.07.2023.

▼⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Svakako, posebno je dragocjeno svjedočanstvo o životu i djelu dr. Smajlovića njegovog životnog saputnika, druga i prijatelja iz kairskih dana dr. Jusufa Ramića, koji mu je posvetio svojevrsni omaž u časopisu *Znakovi vremena* pod naslovom *Život i djelo prof. dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića*.^{▼7} Ovdje nam dr. Ramić otkriva da je Ahmed Smajlović:

[...] za svoga kratkog vijeka objavio preko 250 radova, originalnih i prevedenih, na različite islamske teme, više prijevoda brošura i knjiga na bosanskom i arapskom jeziku“.^{▼8}

Na temelju ovih svjedočenja, petdecenijski (1938–1988) život i djelo dr. Smajlovića može se podijeliti na četiri prepoznatljiva razdoblja: (1) djetinjstvo, (2) mladost, (3) studentsko doba i (4) doba službene aktivnosti.



ILUSTRACIJA - Objekat Šerijatske sudačke škole (Mektebi-nuvvab) nakon austro-ugarskog zaposjedanja BiH 1878., a od 1977. u zgradu je smješten Fakultet islamskih nauka u Sarajevu. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - The building of the Sheria School of Judges (Mektebi-nuvvab) after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, and since 1977 the Faculty of Islamic Sciences in Sarajevo has been located in the building. (Archive of Akšamija)

▼7 Vidi: *Znakovivremena*. Sarajevo, proljeće-ljeto, 2007;10(35/36):10-18. Vidi: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwiJtIW6j-H_AhXkQvEDHTISAaoQFnoECAwQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ibn-sina.net%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2008%2F05%2F010_JUSUF_RAMIC.pdf&usq=AOvVaw1LaEaK0BAomdYGCcp14lAB&opi=89978449. Prestupljeno posljednji put: 18. 7. 2023. Usporedi: Bušatlić, Ismet. „Bibliografija objavljenih radova Ahmeda Smajlovića“. *Islamska misao*. 1988;X(116).

▼8 *Ibid.*, str. 15.

Of particular importance is the testimony about the life and work of Dr. Smajlović from his lifelong companion, comrade and friend from the Cairo days, Dr Jusuf Ramić, who dedicated a kind of tribute to him in the magazine *Znakovi vremena* under the title *Life and work of Professor Dr Ahmed Smajlović*.^{▼7} Here, Dr Ramić reveals that Ahmed Smajlović:

[...] in his short life published over 250 works, original and translated, on various Islamic topics, several translations of brochures and books in Bosnian and Arabic.^{▼8}

Based on these testimonies, the five-decade life (1938-1988) and work of Dr Ahmed Smajlović, can be divided into four recognizable age periods: (1) childhood; (2) youth; (3) student age; and (4) age of official activity.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Dr Ahmed ef. Smajlović in the White Mosque with other congregations in the area of Srebrenica.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Dr. Ahmed ef. Smajlović u Bijeloj džamiji sa ostalim džematlijama na području Srebrenice.

▼7 See: *Signs of the Time*, Sarajevo, spring-summer 2007, Vol. 10, double issue, 35/36, p. 10-18. See: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKewjtlIW6j-H_AhXkQvEDHTLSAaoQFnoECAwQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ibn-sina.net%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2008%2F05%2F010_JUSUF_RAMIC.pdf&usg=AOvVaw1LaEaK0BAomdYGccp14IAB&opi=89978449. Last accessed: 18.07.2023. Compare - Bušatlić, Ismet: „Bibliography of the Published Work of Ahmed Smajlović“. *Islamic thought*, X, 116, 1988.

▼8 *Ibid.*, p. 15.



ILUSTRACIJA - Po okončanju četverogodišnje škole u Mjesnoj zajednici Krnjići, kod Srebrenice, otac Alija-efendija ga je uputio na daljnje školovanje, a on se, nešto kasnije odlučio i na daleka putovanja. (Arhiv Akšamija)



ILLUSTRATION - After finishing the four-year school in the local community of Krnjići, near Srebrenica, Alije-efendi's father sent him to further education, and a little later he decided to travel far away. (Archive of Akšamija)

Djetinjstvo

Rođen u selu Tokoljaci,^{▼9} kod Srebrenice između dva svjetska rata, 1938. god., Ahmed sin Alije efendije^{▼10} i Aiša-hanume nije imao raskošno djetinjstvo. Kao sedmo dijete nije mogao ni sanjati da će njegova zvijezda jednoga dana zasjati na kairskom nebu. Može se, međutim, pretpostaviti da je Ahmedov otac Alija efendija, imam i matičar u Bratuncu, bio sretan što mu se u poznim godinama posrećio sin te je u njemu vidio svijetlu budućnost u imamskoj i alimskoj misiji, kojoj je on posvetio svoj život. Otuda, Alija efendija je 1950. svog sina Ahmeda, čim je završio četverogodišnju školu u Krnjićima,^{▼11} kod Srebrenice, poslao u osmogodišnju Gazi Husrev-begovu medresu u Sarajevu. Nažalost, Alija-efendija nije doživio maturu svoga sina. Preselio je na ahiret godinu dana ranije, 1957. god., prije nego je njegov sin Ahmed završio osmogodišnju Gazi Husrev-begovu medresu u Sarajevu u školskoj 1958/59. god.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Bosanska ulema u Bratuncu 1933. Prvi s desne strane sjedi bjelobradi Alija ef. Smajlović, otac dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića.
ILLUSTRATION ~ Bosnian ulama in Bratunac in 1933. First on the right sits the white-bearded Alija ef. Smajlović, father of dr. Ahmed Smajlović.

^{▼9} Popisom stanovništva iz 1991. god. Tokoljaci su imali 104 domaćinstva i 567 stanovnika. Zanimljiva je priča prvog povratnika u Tokoljak nakon srpskog genocida u Srebrenici Murata Smajića (86), koji kaže: „U zoru su nas budili pijetlovi, a mrsili smo po jedinom satu u selu, koji je imao mjesni imam Alija Smajlović.“ Bio je to otac dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića. U takvom jednom ozračju dječak Ahmed, sin Alije efendije proveo je svoje djetinjstvo i spremao sa da traži nauku pa makar u Kini, pa makar u Kairu.

^{▼10} Ljubaznošću dugogodišnjeg goraždanskog muftije Hameda ef. Efendića i njegove supruge Zakire, sestrične dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića, saznali smo da se Alija efendija dva puta ženio. S prvom ženom imao je dva sina: Mustafu i Idriza, a s drugom, Aišom, imao je dva sina: Mensura i Ahmeda te tri kćeri: Tahiru, Halimu i Enezu. Tahira, Zakirina majka, umrla je mlada, dok su druge dvije Ahmedove sestre, Halimu i Enezu, šehitkinje, u Bratuncu 1992. god. ubili srpski četnici zajedno s Ahmedovom majkom Aiša-hanumom, čije kosti ni do danas nisu pronađene.

^{▼11} Prema popisu broja domaćinstava, broja stanovnika i površina mjesnih zajednica iz 1991. god. na području općine Srebrenica, selo Tokoljaci, gdje je dječak Ahmed završio četverogodišnju osnovnu školu, imalo je 421 domaćinstvo, 1.674 stanovnika i površinu od 29 km². Vidi: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160303230059/http://srebrenica.gov.ba/index.php/modules-menu/mjesne-zajednice-srebrenice>. Prestupljeno posljednji put: 18. 7. 2023. Danas, nakon srpskog genocida u Srebrenici, u Krnjićima nema traga školi gdje je Ahmed Smajlović završio četverogodišnju osnovnu školu.

Childhood

born in the village of Tokoljaci^{▼9} near Srebrenica between the two world wars in 1938, Ahmed, the son of Alija-efendija^{▼10} and Aiša-hanuma, did not have a luxurious childhood. As a seventh child, he could not even dream that one day his star would shine in the sky of Cairo. It can be assumed, however, that Ahmed's father Alija-efendija, an imam and registrar in Bratunac, was happy to witness his son's good fortune in his later years and saw him leap into a bright future in his mission as an imam and a Muslim scholar, to which he dedicated his life. Hence, as soon as he finished his four-year education in the local community of Krnjići^{▼11} near Srebrenica, in 1950 Alija-efendija sent his son Ahmed to the eight-year schooling of the Gazi Husrev-bey Madrasa in Sarajevo. Unfortunately, Alija-efendija did not live to see his son's graduation. He moved to the Hereafter a year earlier in 1957, before his son Ahmed finished the eight-year education of the Gazi Husrev Bey Madrasa in Sarajevo in the 1958/59 school year.



ILLUSTRATION ~ The village of Tokoljaci, near Srebrenica. Reconstruction after the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2022.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Selo Tokoljaci, kod Srebrenice. Obnova nakon agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, 2022.

^{▼9} According to the population census from 1991, Tokoljaci had 104 households and 567 inhabitants. The story of the first returnee to Tokoljak after the Serbian genocide in Srebrenica, Murat Smajić (86), is interesting. He says: "At dawn we were woken up by roosters, and we used to break our fast in Ramadan by the single clock in the village, which was owned by the local imam Alija Smajlović". This was the father of Dr Ahmed Smajlović. The boy, Ahmed, son of Alija-efendija, spent his childhood in this environment and was preparing to seek education, even in China, even in Cairo.

^{▼10} Courtesy of the long-time mufti of Goražde, Hamed ef. Efendić and his wife Zakira, niece of Dr Ahmed Smajlović, we learned that Alija-efendija was married twice. With his first wife, he had two sons: Mustafa and Idriz, and with his second wife, Aiša, he had two sons: Mensur and Ahmed, and three daughters: Tahira, Halima and Eneza. Tahira, Zakira's mother, died young, while Ahmed's other two sisters, Halima and Eneza, were killed - martyred women in Bratunac in 1992, by Serbian Chetniks together with Ahmed's mother Aiša-hanuma, whose bones have not been found to this day.

^{▼11} According to the census of the number of households, the number of inhabitants and the area of local communities from 1991 in the territory of the municipality of Srebrenica, the local community of Krnjići for the village of Tokoljaci, where the boy Ahmed completed a four-year elementary education, had 421 households, 1674 inhabitants and an area of 29 km². See: <https://web.archive.org/web/20160303230059/http://srebrenica.gov.ba/index.php/modules-menu/mjesne-zajednice-srebrenice>. Last accessed: 18.07.2023. Today, after the Serbian genocide in Srebrenica, there is no trace of the school in Krnjići where Ahmed Smajlović completed his fourth year of elementary school.



ILUSTRACIJA - Učešće u općoj atmosferi radnih akcija na obnovi i izgradnji domovine krajem 50-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, čini se da je mimoišlo generaciju omladinca Ahmeda. (Arhiv Akšamija)

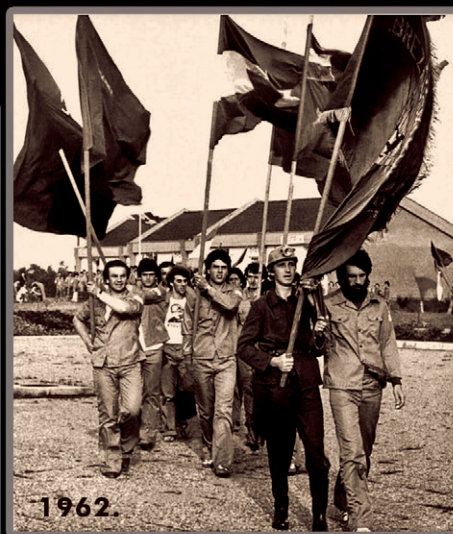


ILLUSTRATION - Participating in the general atmosphere of work actions on the reconstruction and construction of the homeland at the end of the 50s of the last century, seems to have passed the generation of youth Ahmed. (Archive of Akšamija)

Mladost

Ahmedova mladost počinje njegovim odlaskom iz Tokoljaca i dolaskom u Sarajevo, kada je imao dvanaest godina. Prelazak iz malog bosanskog sela u veliki grad značio je za Ahmeda Smajlovića i kraj djetinje bezbrižnosti i početak mladalačke samo-odgovornosti. Bilo je to vrijeme velikih preuređenja odgojno-obrazovnih ustanova Islamske zajednice u staroj Jugoslaviji nakon Prvog svjetskog rata. Dotadašnji sistem obrazovanja bio je potrošen, a ni austrougarski model *Mekteb-i nivaba* ili Sudačke šerijatske škole^{▼12} nije zadovoljavao osnovne potrebe muslimana. Zbog toga je došlo do spajanja Kuršumlije medrese i Hanikaha u jednu medresu u Sarajevu – Gazi Husrev-begovu medresu. U školskoj 1920/21. godini u prvi razred Medrese upisani su učenici koji su bili mladi od 14 godina i koji su završili četiri razreda osnovne škole.^{▼13} Pored vjerskih, uvedeni su i svjetovni predmeti: maternji jezik, matematika, zemljopis, prirodopis, crtanje i krasopis. Kasnije, u starijim razredima uvedeni su i predmeti: historija, fizika, hemija i higijena.^{▼14}

Čini se da 1950. god. mladi Ahmed iz sela Tokoljaci, kod Srebrenice nije imao izbor već da upiše osmogodišnju Gazi Husrev-begovu medresu. To je za Ahmeda značilo upis na prvi, niži tečaj od četiri godine, zatim na drugi, viši tečaj od četiri godine, sveukupno osam godina.^{▼15}

Ništa ne znamo o Ahmedovim medresanskim ili sarajevskim mladalačkim danima, osim da je bio odličan učenik lijepog vladanja. Kao što je već rečeno, stekao je diplomu osmogodišnje Gazi Husrev-begove medrese u školskoj 1958/59. god., nakon čega je bio pozvan na odsluženje vojnog roka u Jugoslavenskoj narodnoj armiji (JNA) u Ljubljani. Kao rijetko ko, vojnik Ahmed paralelno uz vojnu službu studirao je pravo u Ljubljani tako da je do kraja vojnog roka završio prvu godinu prava.

▼12 *Mekteb-i nuwab* ili Šerijatska sudačka škola trajala je pedeset godina (1889-1937) za vrijeme austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini. Nakon pada Austro-Ugarske monarhije 1918. god., Šerijatska sudačka škola izgubila je na značaju. Pokušaji da se reorganizira i dovede na rang fakulteta nisu uspjeli, pa se osniva Šerijatska gimnazija u Sarajevu 1918/19. god., kao prijelazni put do Više šerijatsko-teološke škole (VIŠT), koja zamjenjuje Šerijatsku sudačku školu s ciljem da VIŠT dobije status fakulteta, koji pak nije nikad dobio. Vidi: Kahrیمان, Hatidža. *Viša šerijatsko-teološka škola*. Sarajevo: El-Kalem; 2018. 20-21. str.

▼13 Dizdar, Muhamed Emin. „Gazi Husrevbegova medresa“. *Spomenica Gazi Husrevbegove četiristo-godišnjice*. Sarajevo; 1932. 42-57 (53) str.

▼14 Traljić, Mahmud. „'Ālija' viši stupanj Gazi Husrevbegove medrese“, *Glasnik Vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva u SFRJ*. 3(78):255: 267 (257).

▼15 O osmogodišnjoj Gazi Husrev-begovoj medresi, vidi: Hadžić, Kasim: „Gazi Husrevbegova medresa u Sarajevu (u razdoblju od 1920. do kraja 1982)“. *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*. 2017;6(9-10):263–280. Prof. Hadžić prikazuje historiju i dostignuća Gazi Husrev-begove medrese u Sarajevu, u kojem je i sam bio nastavnik 11 godina. Ova obrazovna ustanova od školske 1920/21. godine radi pod imenom Gazi Husrev-begova medresa, ali je suštinski nastavak Hanikaha, osnovanog 1931. godine, i Seldžukije, kasnije Kuršumli-medrese, osnovane 1537. godine. Školske 1965/66. prestaje rad osmogodišnje i počinje rad petogodišnje Gazi Husrev-begove medresa.

Youth

Ahmed's youth begins with his departure from Tokoljac and his arrival in Sarajevo, when he was twelve years old. Moving from a small Bosnian village to a big city meant for Ahmed Smajlović the end of childhood carelessness and the beginning of youthful self-responsibility. It was the time of major renovations of educational institutions of the Islamic community in the old Yugoslavia after the First World War. The previous education system was worn out, and even the Austro-Hungarian model of the *Mekteb-i Nuwab* or the Judiciary Sharia School^{▼12} did not meet the basic needs of Muslims. This is why the Kuršumlija madrasa and Hanikah were merged into one madrasa in Sarajevo - the Gazi Husrev-bey madrasa. In the school year 1920/21. In the year 2010, students who were younger than 14 years old and who had completed four grades of elementary school were enrolled in the first grade of the Madrasa.^{▼13} In addition to religious subjects, secular subjects were also introduced: mother tongue, mathematics, geography, natural history, drawing and calligraphy. Later, in the older classes, the following subjects were introduced: history, physics, chemistry and hygiene.^{▼14}

It seems that in 1950 young Ahmed from the village of Tokoljaci, near Srebrenica, had no choice but to enroll in the eight-year-old Gazi Husrev-bey madrasa. For Ahmed, this meant enrolling in the first, four-year lower course, then the second, four-year higher course, for a total of eight years.^{▼15}

We know little about Ahmed's Madrasa or Sarajevo youth days except that he was an excellent student with good behaviour. As already mentioned, he graduated from the eight-year-old Gazi Husrev Bey madrasa in the 1958/59 school year, after which he was called to serve his military service in the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) in Ljubljana. As one rarely did, soldier Ahmed studied law in Ljubljana in parallel with his military service, so that by the end of his military service he had completed the first year of a law degree. After completing his

▼12 The *Makteb-i nuwab* or Sharia School for Judges lasted fifty years (1889-1937) during the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918, the Sharia School for Judges had lost its significance. Attempts to reorganize it and bring it to the status of a faculty failed, so the Sharia High School was founded in Sarajevo in the school year 1918/19, as a transition path to the Higher School of Sharia and Theology, which replaced the Sharia School for Judges with the aim of the higher school receiving the status of a faculty, which it never received. See: Kahrman, Khadija: *Higher Sharia - Theological School*. El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2018, p. 20-21.

▼13 Dizdar, Muhamed Emin. „Gazi Husrevbegova medresa“. *Spomenica Gazi Husrevbegove četiristo-godišnjice*. Sarajevo; 1932. 42-57 (53) str.

▼14 Traljić, Mahmud: "'Ālija' the higher level of Gazi Husrev-bey Madrasa", *Gazette of the Supreme Islamic Eldership in SFRY*, 3/78, p. 255-267 (257).

▼15 About the eight-year Gazi Husrev-bey Madrasa, see: Hadžić, Kasim: "Gazi Husrev-bey Madrasa in Sarajevo (in the period from 1920 to the end of 1982)". *Annals of Gazi Husrev-bey's Library*, Sarajevo, 2017, 6(9-10), 263-280. Prof. Hadžić presents the history and achievements of Gazi Husrev-bey Madrasa in Sarajevo, where he himself was a teacher for 11 years. This educational institution has been operating under the name *Gazi Husrev-bey Madrasa since the school year 1920/21*, but it is essentially a continuation of the Hanikah founded in 1931 and Seldžukija, later Kuršumli-Madrasa founded in 1537. In the school year 1965/66, the eight-year education duration ceased and the education duration of the five-year Gazi Husrev-bey Madrasa began.

Po odsluženju vojnog roka nastavlja studij prava u Beogradu, gdje završava drugu godinu, ali vjerovatno po vasijetu – preporuci svoga oca Alije efendije, Ahmed iz Tokoljaca, kod Srebrenice mijenja svoj životni put tako što 1962. god. napušta Beograd i odlazi u Kairo na Univerzitet Al-Azhar zajedno s Jusufom Ramićem, Merzukom Vejzagićem, Hamdijom Jusufspahićem i Salkom Čanićem. ▼¹⁶



ILUSTRACIJA - Gradovi boravka, Sarajevo i Ljubljana; ILLUSTRATION - Cities of residence, Sarajevo and Ljubljana.

DOLJE / DOWN - Dio generacije medreslija iz 1950/51. u razgovoru 2010. sa naibu reisom Ismet ef. Spahićem. / Part of the madrasa generation from 1950/51. in a conversation 2010 with Naibu Reis Ismet ef. Spahić.



▼¹⁶ Vidi: Omerdić, Muharem. „Prof. Dr. Ahmed Smajlović (1938-1988): Alim svjetskog glasa“. *Alimi Srebrenice i njihova uloga u duhovnom i društvenom životu Bošnjaka*. Tuzla/Srebrenica: Institut za društvena i religijska istraživanja Medžlisa Islamske zajednice Srebrenica; 2022. 151-188 (152) str.

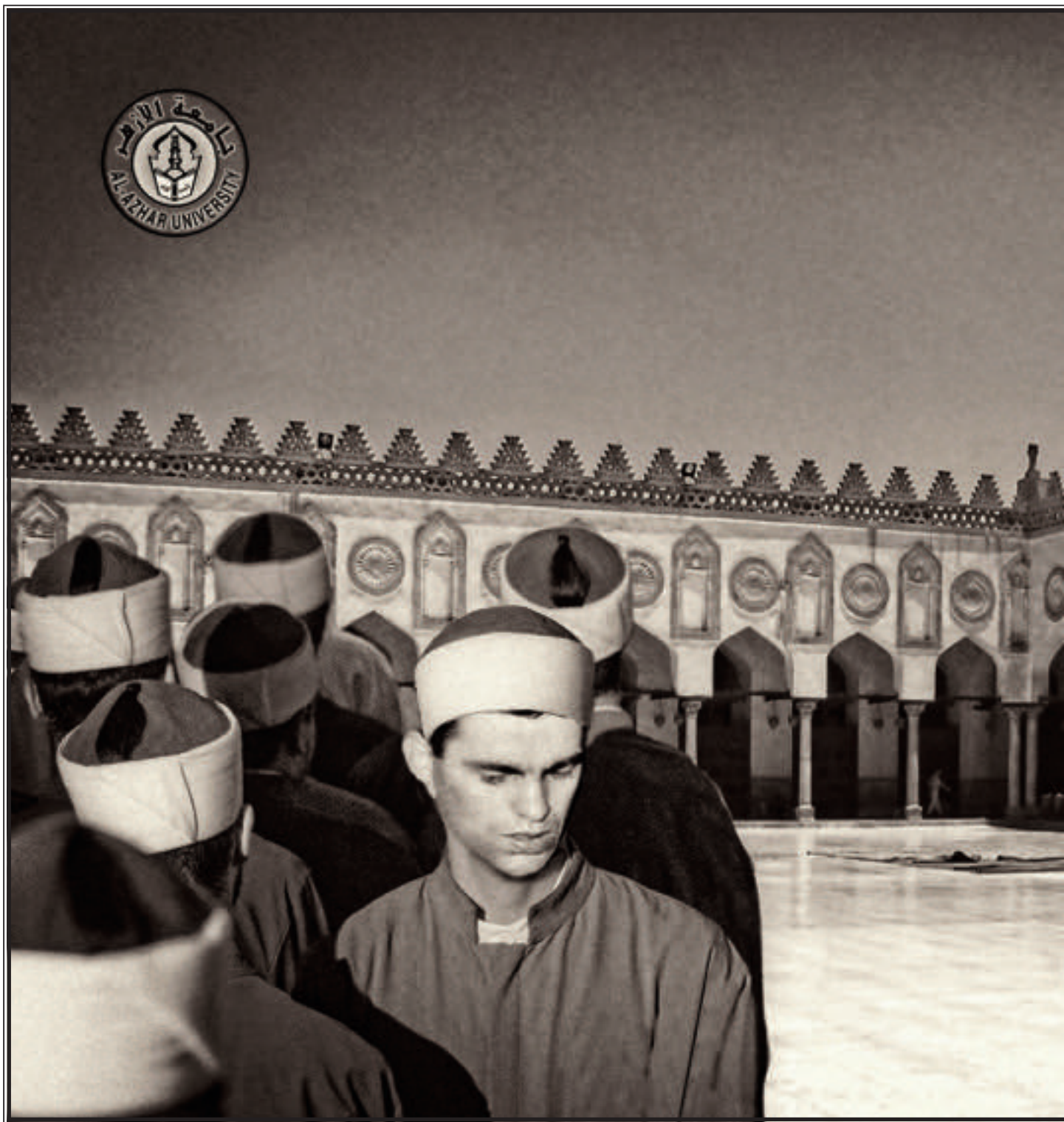
military service, he continued his legal studies in Belgrade, where he completed his second year. However probably at the behest-recommendation of his father Alija-efendija, Ahmed from Tokoljac near Srebrenica, changed his life path by 1962 and left Belgrade, moving to Cairo at the Al-Azhar University together with Jusuf Ramić, Merzuk Vejzagić, Hamdija Jusufspahić and Salko Čanić. ▼¹⁶



ILLUSTRATION ~ Cities of further stay: Beograd and Cairo.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Gradovi daljnjeg boravka: Beograd i Kairo

▼¹⁶ See: Omerdić, Muharem: "Prof. Dr. Ahmed Smajlović (1938-1988): World-renowned Muslim Scholar", *Alimi Srebrenice i njihova uloga u duhovnom i društvenom životu Bošnjaka*. Tuzla/Srebrenica: Institute for Social and Religious Research of the Majlis of the Islamic Community of Srebrenica, 2022, p. 151-188 (152).



ILUSTRACIJA - Kairsko ozračje, uspomena iz studentskog doba Ahmeda Smajlovića sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća na Univerzitetu Al-Azhar. (Arhiv Akšamija)



ILLUSTRATION ~ Cairo atmosphere, a memory from Ahmed Smajlović's student days in the 1970s at Al-Azhar University.
(Archive of Akšamija)

Studentsko doba

Svojom brošurom pod naslovom *Bošnjaci na Al-Azharu* dr. Jusuf Ramić poštudio nas je šire elaboracije o nastanku, razvoju i značaju Al-Azhara kao prenosnice za bošnjački duhovni i intelektualni život nakon prekida s duhovnim i intelektualnim napajanjima u Istanbulu.^{▼17} Spletom povijesnih zbivanja, cijeli Balkan, pa tako i Bosna i Hercegovina, nakon višestoljetne veze, bili su odvojeni od Istanbula, gdje se uglavnom školovala visoka bosanska ulema. Taj prekid s Istanbulom bio je jako traumatičan za muslimansku duhovna i intelektualna „pluća“. Zato je Al-Azhar služio kao prenosnica za uzimanje duhovnog i intelektualnog zraka. To je, naravno, značilo i promjenu kursa u odgojno-obrazovnom smislu od osmansko-turskog do arapsko-islamskog kulturnog kruga.

Dr. Smajlović i ostali nisu bili prvi Bošnjaci koji su dospjeli do Al-Azhara. Prethodili su im još za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske Mehmed Potogija, Džemaluddin Čaušević i Ibrahim Zafranija.^{▼18} Između dva rata bilo je više generacija Bošnjaka koji su studirali na Al-Azharu, od kojih izdvajamo Besima Korkuta, Kasima Dobraču, Mehmeda Handžića, Ahmeda Smajlovića,^{▼19} Huseina Đozu i dr.^{▼20}



ILUSTRACIJA - Predstavnici generacije Bošnjaka na Al-Azhar u Kairu za vrijeme Austro-Ugarske i između dva rata: Džemaluddin Čaušević, Besim Korkut, Kasim Dobrača, Mehmed Handžić i Husein Đozo. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - Representatives of the Bosniak generation at Al-Azhar in Cairo during the Austro-Hungarian Empire and between the two wars: Džemaluddin Čaušević, Besim Korkut, Kasim Dobrača, Mehmed Handžić and Husein Đozo. (Archive of Akšamija)

Međutim, ovdje je važno istaknuti da su dr. Smajlović i ostali bili prva poslijeratna (poslije 1945. god.) generacija Bošnjaka koji su završili visoke studije na prestižnom islamskom univerzitetu Al-Azhar u Kairu.

▼17 Ramić, Jusuf. *Bošnjaci na Al-Azharu*. Sarajevo: Biblioteka Glasnika Rijaseta Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini. Nova serija. Knjiga 7; 1997.

▼18 *Ibid.*, str. 31.

▼19 Istoimeni Ahmed Smajlović potječe iz sela Kovačići, kod Visokog, a preminuo je u Kairu za vrijeme studija na Al-Azharu. I danas njegovi rođaci i seljani Kovačića prepričavaju tužnu vijest o Ahmedovoj smrti u Kairu. Opisuju ga kao vrlo naočitog i načitanog Azharliju, koji se čekao „kao ozebao sunce“ da se vrati s Al-Azhara u Visoko.

▼20 Ramić. *Op. cit.*, str. 33.

Student years

With his brochure entitled "Bosniaks at Al-Azhar", Dr Ramić spared us a wider elaboration on the origin, development and importance of Al-Azhar for the Bosniak spiritual and intellectual *bypass* after the break with the spiritual and intellectual power supply in Istanbul.^{▼17} In a tangle of historical events, after centuries of connection, the entire Balkans, including Bosnia, were separated from Istanbul, where high level Bosnian Muslim Scholars were mostly educated. That break with Istanbul was quite traumatic for the Muslim spiritual and intellectual lungs. That is why Al-Azhar served as a *bypass* for breathing spiritual and intellectual air. This, of course, also meant a change of course in terms of education from the Ottoman-Turkish to the Arab-Islamic cultural circle.

Dr Smajlović and the others were not the first Bosniaks to get hold of Al-Azhar. They were preceded by Mehmed Potogija, Džemaluddin Čaušević and Ibrahim Zafranija^{▼18} during the Austro-Hungarian period. Between the two wars there were several generations of Bosniaks who studied in Egypt, among whom we single out Besim Korkut, Kasim Dobrača, Mehmed Handžić, Ahmed Smajlović,^{▼19} Husein Đozo and others.^{▼20}



ILLUSTRATION - Representatives of the post-war generation of Bosniaks at Al-Azhar in Cairo: Merzuk Vejzagić, Hamdija Jusufspahić, dr. Jusuf Ramić and dr. Ahmed Smajlović. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA - Predstavnici poslijeratne generacije Bošnjaka na Al-Azhar u Kairu: Merzuk Vejzagić, Hamdija Jusufspahić, dr. Jusuf Ramić i dr. Ahmed Smajlović. (Arhiv Akšamija)

However, what is important to highlight here is the fact that Dr Smajlović and the others were the first post-war

^{▼17} Ramić, Jusuf: *Bosniaks at Al-Azhar*. Library of the Gazette of the Rijaset of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, New Series, Book 7, Sarajevo, 1997.

^{▼18} *Ibid.*, p 31.

^{▼19} Ahmed Smajlović, of the same name, was from the village of Kovačići near Visoko, who died in Cairo while studying at Al-Azhar. Even today, his relatives and villagers of Kovačići recount the sad news of Ahmed's death in Cairo. He is described as a very handsome and well-read Azharli, who was waiting like a frostbite sun to return from Al-Azhar to Visoko.

^{▼20} Ramić, Jusuf: *Bosniaks at Al-Azhar...*, p. 33.

I dok su se Merzuk Vejzagić, Hamdija Jusufspahić i Salko Čanić zadovoljili fakultetskom diplomom, dr. Smajlović i dr. Ramić produžili su svoj boravak u Kairu kako bi magistrirali i doktorirali na Al-Azharu. Obojica su bili posvećeni arapskoj književnosti. Dr. Ramić odbrani je doktorsku disertaciju pod nazivom *Porodica al-Muwayliḥī i njen utjecaj u književnosti*.^{▼21}

Za razlika od djetinjstva i mladosti, o čemu nemamo nijedan zapis, student Ahmed Smajlović je ostavio zapis o svom prvom susretu s Kairom i tako nam je makar malo pružio uvid u njegovo kairsko studentsko iskustvo. Dr. Smajlović piše:

Prvi susret s Kairom, bio je noću 21. oktobra 1962. U svoj svojoj veličini i ljepoti grad na Nilu je ostavio neizbrisive utiske. To je bio prvi susret sa Kairom, kao i sa prijatnim čovjekom, prijateljem iz Kaira. Bio je to službenik ministarstva vakufa. Posao koji je trebao da se obavi oko ulaza bio je već završen. Sve je bilo u redu. Samo je još preostalo putovanje od aerodroma do studentskog doma u kojem ćemo biti smješteni. U ovom studentskom gradu stanuju studenti Al-Azhera iz drugih zemalja [...]. Naš dolazak je taj broj uvećao. [...] Ovdje vlada pravo šarenilo među ljudima [...]. Pa ipak sve je to jedno [...]. Zahvaljujući Kur'anu i njegovim principima sva ta različitost je uvezana u jedno [...] Tu je još jedan faktor povezanosti, jezik Kur'ana, arapski jezik. Zato čovjek ima utisak da se susreće s bratom ma odakle on bio iz Japana, Malezija, Turske, Pakistana, Sirije ili Evrope.^{▼22}

U takvom kairskom ozračju i oduševljenju počinje studentsko doba dr. Smajlovića na Fakultetu arapskog jezika i književnosti na Univerzitetu Al-Azhar u Kairu, koje traje dvanaest godina (1962–1974). Nakon *lisans* diplome (1967), odbranio je magistarski rad pod naslovom *Abduhu i njegov utjecaj na modernu književnost i renesansu* (1970). Svoju doktorsku disertaciju pod naslovom *Falsafat al-istiṣrāq wa atharuhā fī al-adabi al-'arabī al-mu'āṣir* (*Filozofija orijentalizma i njegov utjecaj na savremenu arapsku književnost*) odbranio je s ocjenom *šaraf* ('počasno') 1974.^{▼23} Disertacija je objavljena u Kairu 1980, a reprint 1998.^{▼24} Kao niko prije njega na Al-Azharu, dr. Smajlović uložio je višak svoje akademske i intelektualne energije u promociju bošnjačke/bosanske književnosti tako što je za vrijeme studija u Kairu u suradnji s Husaynom Abdullatifom preveo na arapski jezik dva kapitalna djela bosanske književnosti: *Derviš i smrt* (*Darwiš wa al-mawt*) Meše Selimovića i bosansku baladu *Hasanaginica*.^{▼25}

^{▼21} Vidi: *Usrat al-Muwayliḥī wa atharuhū fī al-adab al'arabī*, doktorska disertacija koju je odbranio dr. Jusuf Ramić na Al-Azharu, objavljena u Kairu 1997-80. god.. Tri štampana primjerka ove disertacije i jedan primjerak u rukopisu nalaze se pod brojem 0-11431 u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci u Sarajevu.

^{▼22} Ramić. *Op. cit.*, str. 36.

^{▼23} Omerdić. *Op. cit.*, str. 152.

^{▼24} Smajlović, Ahmed. *Falsafat al-istiṣrāq wa atharuhā fī al-adabi al-'arabī al-mu'āṣir* (predgovor Mustafa Maḥmūd). Kairo: Dār al-ma'ārif, 1980.

^{▼25} Smajlović, Ahmed. „*Hasanaginica na arapskom*“. *Takvim*. Sarajevo; 1976/1396., str. 170-171. Vidi cjelovit uvid u

(post-1945) generation of Bosniaks, who completed higher studies at the prestigious Al-Azhar Islamic University in Cairo. Whilst Merzuk Vejzagić, Hamdija Jusufspahić and Salko Čanić were satisfied with a faculty diploma, Dr Smajlović and Ramić extended their stay in Cairo in order to obtain their master's and doctorate degrees at Al-Azhar. Both were devoted to Arabic literature. Dr Ramić received his doctorate on the topic: *The Al-Muwayliḥī Family and its Influence in Literature*.^{▼21}

Unlike the period of childhood and youth, of which we have no records, student Ahmed Smajlović left a record of his first meeting with Cairo and thus gave us at least a little insight into his student experience in Cairo:

The first meeting with Cairo, Dr Smajlović writes, was on the night of October 21, 1962. In all its size and beauty, the city on the Nile left indelible impressions. It was the first meeting with Cairo, as well as with a pleasant man, a friend from Cairo. He was an official of the Ministry of Waqf. The work that needed to be done around the entrance was already completed. Everything was fine. All that remains is the journey from the airport to the student dormitory where we will be accommodated. Al-Azhar students from other countries live in this student town... Our arrival increased that number... Here there is a real colourfulness among the people... And yet it is all one... Thanks to the Qur'an and its principles, all this diversity is tied into one... Here is another connecting factor, the language of the Qur'an, the Arabic language. That is why a person has the impression that he is meeting his brother no matter where he is from; Japan, Malaysia, Turkey, Pakistan, Syria or Europe.^{▼22}

In such an atmosphere of intellectual acumen and enthusiasm, the student period of Dr Smajlović began at the *Faculty of Arabic Language and Literature at Al-Azhar University* in Cairo, which lasted twelve years (1962-1974). After his bachelor's degree (1967), he obtained his master's degree with the thesis: *ʿAbduhu and his influence on modern literature and the Renaissance* (1970). He defended his doctoral dissertation with the thesis: *Falsafat al-istiṣrāq wa atharuhā fī al-adabi al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir* ("Philosophy of Orientalism and its influence on contemporary Arabic literature") with the grade "sharaf" ("honourable") in 1974.^{▼23} The dissertation was published in Cairo in 1980 and reprinted in 1997.^{▼24} Like no one before him at Al-Azhar, Dr Smajlović invested the excess of his academic and intellectual energy in the promotion of Bosniak/Bosnian literature by translating into Arabic with Husayn Abdullatif two capital works of Bosnian literature during his studies in Cairo: *Dervish and Death* ("*Darwish wa al-mawt*") by Meša Selimović and the Bosnian ballad *Hasanaginica*.^{▼25}

▼21 See: *Usrat al-Muwayliḥī wa atharuhū fī al-adab al-ʿarabī*, doctoral dissertation defended by Dr. Jusuf Ramić at Al-Azhar, it was published in Cairo in 1980, 1997. Three printed copies of this dissertation and one manuscript copy can be found under the number 0-11431 in the Gazi Husrev-bey library in Sarajevo.

▼22 Ramić, Jusuf: *Bosniaks at Al-Azhar...*, p. 36.

▼23 Omerdić, Muharem: „Prof. Dr. Ahmed Smajlović (1938-1988): World-renowned Muslim Scholar” p. 152.

▼24 Smajlović, Ahmed: *Falsafat al-istiṣrāq wa atharuhā fī al-adabi al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir* (predgovor Mustafa Maḥmūd). Dār al-maʿārif, Cairo, 1980.

▼25 Smajlović, Ahmed: „Hasanaginica in Arabic”. *Takvim*, Sarajevo 1976/1396., p. 170-171. See a complete overview of the bibliography of Dr Ahmed Smajlović: Omerdić, Muharem: „Prof. Dr. Ahmed Smajlović (1938-1988): „World-renowned Muslim Scholar”, p. 165-187.

Prema svjedočenjima mnogih studenata koji su istovremeno studirali na Al-Azharu, dr. Smajlović je, kao student i naučni istražitelj uživao veliki ugled kako na Al-Azharu tako i u sredini u kojoj se kretao, posebno kod uleme i intelektualaca koji su imali kritički odnos prema savremenom društvu ne samo u Egiptu već i u svijetu u to doba. Dr. Smajlović je važio kao neko ko je bio upućen u pitanja Istoka i Zapada i zato se željelo čuti njegovo mišljenje o mnogim pitanjima s kojima se suočavao tadašnji muslimanski svijet. Dr. Smajlović je bio svjestan te svoje uloge pa je koristio svaku priliku da artikulira svoj stav. To će doći do izražaja naročito kad dr. Smajlović iz svog studentskog doba ili statusa dobije status službenog aktiviste u Sarajevu za širenje svojih ideja u domovini i svijetu.

Kao student, dr. Smajlović imao je kontakt s jugoslavenskom ambasadom u Kairu kroz svoj rad na dopunskoj školi u konzulatu. Bio je i prevodilac visokim jugoslavenskim zvaničnicama prilikom njihove posjete Egiptu, uključujući i Josipa Broza Tita. Možda baš zbog tog povjerenja koje je imao kod jugoslavenskih vlasti, dr. Smajlović se osjećao slobodnim da uspostavi kontakt s muslimansko-bošnjačkom emigracijom, poput Smaila Balića^{▼26} u Beču i imama Ćamila Avdića^{▼27} u Čikagu, koji je, također bio Azharlija (svršenic Al-Azharu), što u to vrijeme nije bilo nimalo oportuno. Ovi njegovi kontakti bivaju prepoznatljivi kad se vratio u Sarajevo, gdje se imamu Ćamilu Avdiću, nakon desetina godina, dozvoljava da 1977. god. prisustvuje otvaranju Islamskog teološkog fakulteta u Sarajevu. Ovaj čin bio je veliki iskorak Islamske zajednice u otvaranju komunikacije s muslimanskim zajednicama u Americi i Australiji. Dvije godine nakon toga, 1979. god. imam Ćamil Avdić preselio je na Ahiret.



ILUSTRACIJA / ILLUSTRATION - Imam Ćamil Avdić (američka muslimansko-bošnjačka emigracija) / (American Muslim-Bosniak emigration).

bibliografiju dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića: Omerdić. *Op. cit.*, str. 165-187.

▼26 Prof. dr. Smail Balić rođen je 1920. godine u Mostaru. Jedan je od najznačajnijih i najstarijih bošnjačkih intelektualaca koji je živio i djelovao niz godina u emigraciji. Predavao je na dvije Visoke bečke škole. Od 1983. do 1986. god. djelovao je u okviru Frankfurtskog instituta za povijest arapsko-islamskih nauka. Pred osnivanje sarajevskog Islamskog teološkog fakulteta 1977. god., bio je, uz prof. Tajiba Okića, na listi za člana nastavničkog vijeća, ali je tadašnja jugoslavenska (čitaj beogradska) vlast to zabranila. Dr. Balić je umro u Beču 2002. godine.

▼27 Imam Ćamil Avdić rođen je 1914. god. u Plani, kod Bileće. Završio je Gazi Husrev-begovu medresu u Sarajevu 1939. god., a potom diplomirao na Univerzitetu Al-Azhar u Kairu. Na poziv bošnjačkog udruženja „Džamijjetu-l-hajrije“, koje je osnovano 1906. god. u Čikagu, imam Ćamil iz Kaira dolazi 1954. god. u Čikago, gdje organizira prvu Islamsku zajednicu u tom gradu. Kao veliki alim i kosmopolit, imam Ćamil pokreće inicijativu 1974. god. za izgradnju Islamskog kulturnog centra u Northbrook velikog Čikaga. Imam Ćamil je preselio na ahiret 1979. god., u 65. godini života.

According to the testimonies of many students, who concurrently studied at Al-Azhar, Dr Ahmed Smajlović, as a student and scientific researcher, enjoyed a tremendous reputation both at Al-Azhar and in Egyptian society, especially among ulama and intellectuals, who had a critical attitude towards contemporary society not only in Egypt, but also towards the world at that time. Dr Smajlović was considered someone who was knowledgeable about the issues of the East and the West, and that is why his opinion was well received on many issues that the Muslim world was facing at the time. Dr Smajlović was aware of his role, so he used every opportunity to articulate his view. This will come to the fore especially when Dr Smajlović as a consequence of his student years or status, received the status of an official activist in Sarajevo for spreading his ideas in the homeland and the world.

As a student, Dr Smajlović had contact with the Yugoslav embassy in Cairo through his work at a supplementary school in the consulate. He was also a translator for high-ranking Yugoslav officials during their visit to Egypt, including Josip Broz Tito. Perhaps because of the trust he had with the Yugoslav authorities, Dr Smajlović felt free to establish contact with Muslim-Bosniak diaspora, such as Ismail Bali^{▼26} in Vienna and Imam Ćamil Avdić^{▼27} in Chicago, who was also an Azharli (al-Azhar graduate), which was not usually the case at the time and certainly not at all convenient. These contacts of his became recognizable when he returned to Sarajevo, where, after ten years, Imam Ćamil Avdić was allowed to, in 1977 attend the opening of the Islamic Faculty of Theology in Sarajevo. These acts were a major step forward for the Islamic Community in opening communication with the Muslim communities in America and Australia. Two years after that, Imam Ćamil Avdić passed way in 1979.

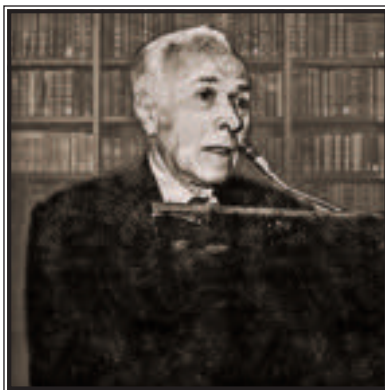


ILLUSTRATION / ILUSTRACIJA ~ Smail Balić (European Muslim-Bosniak emigration) / (evropska muslimansko-bošnjačka emigracija).

▼26 Professor Dr Smail Balić was born in 1920 in Mostar. He is one of the most important and oldest Bosniak intellectuals who lived and worked for many years in emigration. He taught at two Viennese universities. From 1983 to 1986 he worked within the Frankfurt Institute for the History of Arab-Islamic Sciences. Before the establishment of the Sarajevo Islamic Faculty of Theology in 1977, he was, along with Professor Tajib Okić, on the list for a member of the Teachers' Council, but the then Yugoslav (read Belgrade) government forbade it. Dr Balić died in Vienna in 2002.

▼27 Imam Camil Avdić was born in 1914 in Plana near Bileća. He graduated from the Gazi Husrev-bey Madrasa in Sarajevo in 1939, and then graduated from Al-Azhar University in Cairo. At the invitation of the Bosniak Association "Dzamiyetu-l-hajrija", which was founded in 1906. in Chicago, America, Imam Ćamil comes to Chicago from Cairo in 1954, where he organized the first Islamic Community in that city. As a great scholar and cosmopolitan, Imam Camil launched the initiative in 1974 for the construction of the "Islamic Cultural Center" in Northbrook, Greater Chicago. At the age of 65, Imam Camil moved to the Hereafter in 1979.

Doba službenog aktivizma

dr. Smajlović vraća se u domovinu krajem 1974. god., gdje mu se povjerava mjesto šefa kabineta reisu-l-uleme Sulejmana Kemure. Devetnaestog januara 1975. reisu-l-ulema Kemura preselio je na ahiret, a funkciju reisu-l-uleme nasljeđuje Naim ef. Hadžiabdić, koji je do tada obnašao dužnost predsjednika Starješinstva Islamske zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine. Bez oklijevanja reisu-l-ulema Naim ef. Hadžiabdić povjerava dr. Ahmedu Smajloviću da ga naslijedi na mjestu predsjednika Starješinstva Bosne i Hercegovine. Iako se iz Sarajeva i ranije vodila briga o Islamskoj zajednici u Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji, dolaskom dr. Smajlovića na čelo Starješinstva briga o Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji institucionalizirana je kroz službeni naziv Starješinstvo Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i Slovenije. To je omogućilo predsjedniku Starješinstva dr. Smajloviću da proširi i osnaži svoju aktivnost izvan Bosne i Hercegovine, posebno u Hrvatskoj, tj. Zagrebu, gdje se odgovor na zahtjev za izgradnju Zagrebačke džamije čekao više od sedamdeset godina. U znak zahvalnosti za veliki doprinos u dobivanju dozvole za izgradnju i sâmu izgradnju Zagrebačke džamije, medresa u Zagrebačkoj džamiji prvotno dobija ime „Dr. Ahmed Smajlović“, a potom „Islamska gimnazija dr. Ahmed Smajlović“, koja je 2000. god. uvrštena u sistem hrvatskog školstva.



ILUSTRACIJA - Dr. Ahmed Smajlović po stupanju na dužnost predsjednika Starješinstva Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - Dr Ahmed Smajlović upon assuming the office of President of the Elders of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. (Archive of Akšamija)

The age of official activism

dr Smajlović returned to his homeland at the end of 1974, where he was entrusted with the position of Chief of Staff of the Grand Mufti Sulejman Kemura. On January 19, 1975, Grand Mufti Kemura went to the Hereafter, and was succeeded as Grand Mufti by Naim ef. Hadžiabdić, who until then held the position of President of the Elders of the Islamic Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Without hesitation Grand Mufti Naim ef. Hadžiabdić entrusted Dr Ahmed Smajlović to succeed him as president of the Eldership of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the Islamic Community in Croatia and Slovenia was taken care of from Sarajevo before, with the arrival of Dr Smajlović at the head of the Eldership, care for Croatia and Slovenia was institutionalized in such a way that this care became official through the official title: Eldership of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia. This enabled the president of the Eldership Dr Smajlović to expand and strengthen his activity outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in Croatia, or rather, in Zagreb, around the construction of the Zagreb Mosque, where the answer to the request for the construction of the Zagreb Mosque was awaited for more than seventy years. As a sign of gratitude for the great contribution in obtaining the construction permit and the actual construction of the Zagreb Mosque, initially the madrasa in the Zagreb mosque was named "Dr Ahmed Smajlović", and then "Islamic High School Dr Ahmed Smajlović", which was founded in the Croatian education system in 2000.



ILLUSTRATION - Plaque at the Islamic High School "Dr Ahmed Smajlović" in Zagreb. (Archive of Akšamija)
ILUSTRACIJA - Ploča na Islamskoj gimnaziji „Dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića“ u Zagrebu. (Arhiv Akšamija)

Za prilike i uvjete u kojima je i pod kojima je radila i djelovala Islamska zajednica u sumrak bivše Jugoslavije, posebno u Bosni i Hercegovini, dr. Smajlović bio je istinska avangarda, pokrenuvši do tada nepoznate aktivnosti u Islamskoj zajednici, koji su imale dalekosežne domete u pokretanju i artikuliranju jednog novog i drugačijeg narativa o islamu i muslimanima ne samo u našoj zemlji već i u svijetu. Njegova predavanja bila su privlačna, edukativna i emotivna tako da niko nije mogao ostati ravnodušan prema tome.



ILUSTRACIJA - Dr. Ahmed Smajlović na jednom od održanih predavanja u Goraždu krajem sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća.
ILLUSTRATION - Dr Ahmed Smajlović at one of the lectures held in Goražde at the end of the seventies of the 20th century.

Administrativni poslovi Islamske zajednice usporili su naučni i istraživački rad dr. Smajlovića, ali su mu omogućili jedan službeni ili formalni aktivizam, koji je inače svojstven nevladinim i neformalnim organizacijama. Neviđeni aktivizam dr. Smajlovića kroz Islamsku zajednicu nije mogao biti nezapažen kako izvan tako i iznutra Islamske zajednice. Vlast je tolerirala aktivizam dr. Smajlovića dok nije shvatila da njegov ugled i utjecaj među muslimanima nadilazi uobičajene okvire rada i djelovanja Islamske zajednice na domaćoj i međunarodnoj sceni. Dragocjeno je svjedočanstvo dr. Jusufa Ramića o pomicanju granica aktivnog rada i djelovanja Islamske zajednice pod palicom dr. Smajlovića:

[...] Njegovo (dr. Smajlovića) ime usko je vezano i za nastanak i razvoj Islamskog teološkog fakulteta u Sarajevu. Jedan je od osnivača i prvi dekan ovog fakulteta. Bio je najaktivniji i najopterećeniji profesor Fakulteta. Uvidom u dokumentaciju Fakulteta, vidi se da je na

For the circumstances and conditions in which the Islamic Community worked and acted in the twilight of the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr Smajlović was a true vanguard, initiating previously unknown activities in the Islamic Community, which had far-reaching implications in initiating and articulating a new and different narrative about Islam and Muslims not only in our country, but also in the world. His lectures were attractive, educational and emotional so much so that no one could remain indifferent.

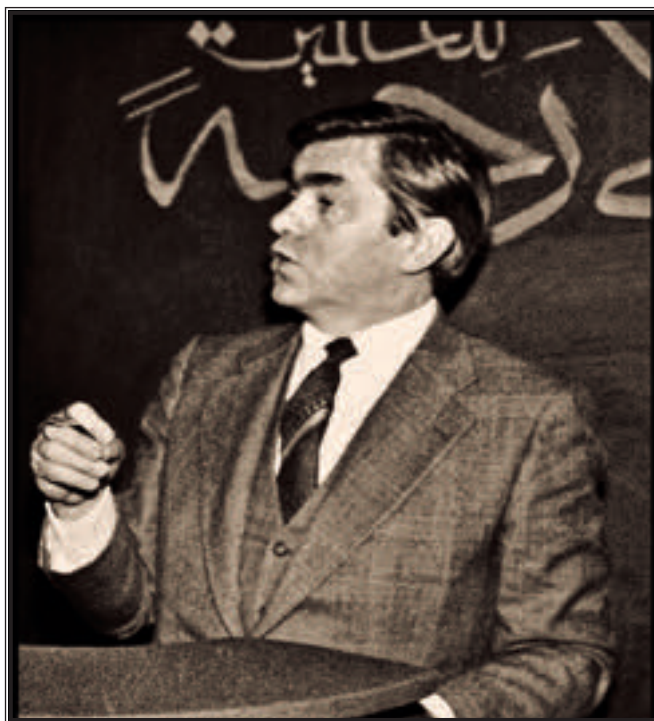


ILLUSTRATION ~ Dr Ahmed Smajlović at a lecture at the Islamic Theological Faculty in Sarajevo in 1980. (Archive of Akšamija)
ILUSTRACIJA - Dr. Ahmed Smajlović na predavanju u Islamskom teološkom fakultetu u Sarajevu 1980. godine.

The administrative work of the Islamic Community slowed down the scientific and research work of Dr Smajlović, but they enabled him to have an official or formal activism, which is normally characteristic of non-governmental and informal organizations. The unprecedented activism of Dr Smajlović through the Islamic Community could not have gone unnoticed both outside and inside the institution itself. The government tolerated the activism of Dr Ahmed until it realized that his reputation and influence among Muslims went beyond the usual scope of work and activities of the Islamic Community on the domestic and international scene. The testimony of Dr Jusuf Ramić on moving the boundaries of autonomy and agency of the institution under the baton of Dr Ahmed Smajlović is of great value:

[...] His (Dr Smajlović's) name is closely related to the creation and development of the Islamic Faculty of Theology in Sarajevo. He is one of the founders and the first dean of this faculty. He was the most active and busiest professor of the Faculty. An inspection of the Faculty's documentation shows that

ovom fakultetu do 1. jula 1988. godine diplomiralo 55 studenata, a pred dr. Smajlovićem skoro polovina naših diplomiranih teologa. Ako tome dodamo da je dr. Ahmed Smajlović devetnaest puta imenovan za člana ispitne komisije za polaganje diplomskih ispita, ispada da je pred njim diplomski ispit polagalo četrdeset studenata, što u procentima iznosi više od 72%. Na Fakultetu je predavao akaid i islamsku filozofiju. Na časovima je govorio o odnosu akaida i drugih naučnih disciplina, o zadacima, definiciji, nastanku i historijskom razvoju akaida.

Kao član mnogih međunarodnih institucija u Evropi i islamskim zemljama učestvovao je na brojnim konferencijama, simpozijima i stručnim savjetovanjima na kojima su njegovi referati i diskusije bili veoma zapaženi. Pokretač je *Islamske misli*, časopisa za islamsku znanost i praksu. Svojevremeno, kao glavni i odgovorni urednik listova *Preporod* i *Islamska misao* utjecao je na kvalitet tih listova, a i sam je surađivao u njima, čime je doprinio obogaćivanju islamske misli na ovim prostorima.



ILUSTRACIJA - Kopija originalnog zahtjeva upućenog Starješinstvu *Islamske zajednice* u Sarajevu za pokretanje stručno-informativnog časopisa, za islamsku teologiju i vjersku informatiku, pod nazivom *Islamska misao*. *Islamska misao* je bio časopis Starješinstva *Islamske zajednice* SRBiH, Hrvatske i Slovenije, koji je izlazio u periodu od 1978. do 1993. godine, a pokrenuo ga je dr. Ahmed Smajlović. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - A copy of the original request addressed to the Elders of the *Islamic Community in Sarajevo* for the launch of a professional-informative magazine, for Islamic theology and religious informatics, called *Islamic Thought*. *Islamic Thought* was the magazine of the Elders of the Islamic Community of SRBIH, Croatia and Slovenia, which was published in the period from 1978 to 1993, and was started by dr Ahmed Smajlović.

Islamska misao je u vremenu svoga kontinuiranog izlaženja uspjela da bude na visini zadatka. Ovaj časopis je opravdao svoje postojanje i zadovoljio svojim kvalitetom. Kroz *Islamsku misao* stečena su nova saznanja i upoznat je veći broj islamskih mislilaca.

Nažalost, *Islamska misao* poslije agresije na BiH više ne izlazi. Ahmed Smajlović je pisao na našem i arapskom jeziku i prevodio sa našeg na arapski jezik i obratno. Svoje radove je potpisivao punim imenom i prezimenom. Pisao je u našim listovima: *Preporod*, *Islamska misao*, *Takvim* i *Glasnik VIS-a*. Za svoga kratkog vijeka Ahmed Smajlović je objavio preko 250

by July 1, 1988, 55 students graduated from this Faculty, and almost half of our theologians graduated before Ahmed Smajlović. If we add to that that Dr Ahmed Smajlović was appointed 19 times as a member of the examination committee for graduation exams, it turns out that 40 students took the graduation exam before him, which in percentage is more than 72%. He taught Aqa'id and Islamic Philosophy at the Faculty. In the classes, he spoke about the relationship between Aqa'id and other scientific disciplines, about the tasks, definition, origin and historical development of Aqa'id.

As a member of many international institutions in Europe and Islamic countries, he participated in numerous conferences, symposia and expert consultations, where the competency and professionalism of his papers, discussions and the underlying axiomatic presuppositions, were all highly regarded. He is the initiator of the journal of *Islamska misao (Islamic Thought)*, a journal for Islamic thought and practice. At one time, as the editor-in-chief of the newspapers *Preporod (Revival)* and *Islamska misao*, he influenced the quality of those newspapers, and he himself collaborated in them, thereby contributing to the enrichment of Islamic thought in public.



ILLUSTRATION - One of the participations of dr. Ahmed Smajlović on the international stage. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA - Jedno od učešća dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića na međunarodnoj sceni. (Arhiv Akšamija)

During its years of publication, the journal of *Islamska misao (Islamic Thought)* managed to be up to the task. This journal justified its existence and satisfied with its quality. Through *Islamic Thought*, new knowledge was acquired and circulated. A greater number of Islamic thinkers were introduced. Unfortunately, *Islamic Thought* is no longer being published after the aggression on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Ahmed Smajlović wrote in the Bosnian and Arabic languages and translate freely and fluently between each. He signed. He signed his works with his full name and surname. He wrote in our newspapers: *Preporod, Islamska misao, Takvim and Gazette VIS*. In his short life, Ahmed Smajlović

radova, originalnih i prevedenih, na različite islamske teme, više prijevoda brošura i knjiga na bosanskom i arapskom jeziku. ▼²⁸

Nažalost, ni domaći ni međunarodni aktivizam dr. Smajlovića kroz zvaničnu Islamsku zajednicu vlast nije mogla više tolerirati, ali nije mogla ništa učiniti dok nije iznudila pobunu onih iznutra Islamske zajednice, koji nisu mogli više pratiti nabujali aktivizam dr. Smajlovića pa je 1985. god., uz kolaboraciju s vlastima, pokrenuta smjena dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića s položaja predsjednika Starješinstva Islamske zajednice. Nekoliko godina nakon smjene, 11. augusta 1988. god. dr. Smajlović preselio je na ahiret u pedesetoj godini života. Ukopan je u Sarajevu, na gradskom groblju Bare. ▼²⁹



Tarih na nišanu dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića na arapskom jeziku napisao je hafiz Kamil Silajdžić:

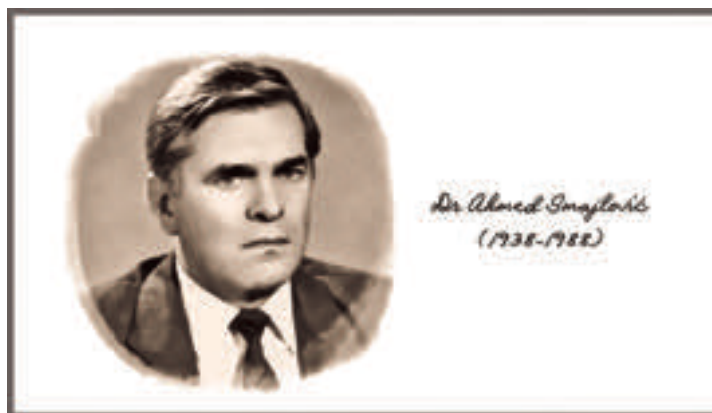
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
كل من عليها فان
ويبقى الفرد الصمد
والمرحوم الدكتور إسماعيلوفيتش الحاج احمد
رئيس المشيخة الإسلامية في بوسنة وهرسك
ولما بلغ أشده ارتحل إلى الأبد
المدرس في الجامعة الإسلامية
والمؤلف والواعظ وكثير ما وعد
وحسن الثواب عند ربه لا ينفد تاريخه في الدعاء إلى ربه بالأبجد
"أدخل الجنة يا لطيف عبدك أحمد"
1408هـ

▼²⁸ Ramić, Jusuf, „Život i djelo prof. dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića (1938. – 1988.)“. *Znakovi vremena*. Sarajevo. Proljeće-ljeto 2007;10(35/36):14-15.

▼²⁹ *Ibid.*, str. 12.

published over 250 works, original and translated, on various Islamic subjects, several translations of brochures and books in Bosnian and Arabic. ▼²⁸

Unfortunately, the authorities could no longer tolerate either the domestic or international activism of Dr Ahmed Smajlović through the official Islamic Community. They could not do anything until they pressed a rebellion of those inside the institution who were unhappy with the swelling activism of Dr Ahmed Smajlović. In 1985, in collaboration with the Communist Party authorities, the dismissal of the good doctor from the position of President of the Eldership of the Islamic Community was initiated. A few years after this dismissal, Dr Ahmed Smajlović passed to the Hereafter on August 11, 1988 at the age of fifty. He was buried in Sarajevo at the Bare cemetery in Sarajevo. ▼²⁹



The headstone of Ahmed Smajlović was written by hafiz Kamil Silajdžić in the Arabic language as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
كل من عليها فان
ويبقى الفرد الصمد
والمرحوم الدكتور إسماعيلوفيتش الحاج احمد
رئيس المشيخة الإسلامية في بوسنة وهرسك
ولما بلغ أشده ارتحل إلى الأبد
المدرس في الجامعة الإسلامية
والمؤلف والواعظ وكثير ما وعد
وحسن الثواب عند ربه لا ينفد تاريخه في الدعاء إلى ربه بالأبجد
"أدخل الجنة يا لطيف عبدك أحمد"
1408 هـ

▼²⁸ Ramić, Jusuf: *Život i djelo prof. dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića (1938. – 1988.)*, *Znakovi vremena*, Sarajevo, spring-summer 2007, vol. 10, double issue 35/36, p. 14-15.

▼²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Prijevod tariha na bosanski jezik:

U ime Allaha, sveopćeg Dobročinitelja, Milostivog

Sve što je na Zemlji prolazno je,

ostaje samo Gospodar Jedan.

Merhum dr. hadži Ahmed Smajlović,

predsjednik Starješinstva Islamske zajednice BiH,

tek što se snagom opasa, preseli u vječnost.

Muderris na Islamskom teološkom fakultetu,

pisac i vaiz, mnogo je obećavao.

A nagrada kod Allaha je neizmijerna i najljepša.

Njegov tarih sadržan je u dovi upućenoj Allahu ebdžedom

„Uvedi u Džennet, Milostivi Allahu, Svoga roba Ahmeda“

1408/1988. god.



ILUSTRACIJA - Dr. Ahmed Smajlović imao je veliki doprinos u dobivanju dozvole za izgradnju i sâmu izgradnju Zagrebačke džamije. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - Dr Ahmed Smajlović had a great contribution in obtaining the construction permit and the actual construction of the Zagreb Mosque. (Archive of Akšamija)

The translation of the headstone from Bosnian to English:

*In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful
All that is on earth is transitory,
only Master One remains.
Dr Marhum Hadji Ahmed Smajlović,
President of the Eldership of the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina,
as soon as he is girded with power, he moves into eternity.
Mudarris at the Faculty of Islamic Theology,
writer and preacher, he had much promise.
And the reward with Allah is immeasurable and most beautiful.
Its history is contained in a prayer addressed to Allah with abjad
"Bring your servant Ahmed into Paradise, Merciful Allah"
1408 / 1988*



ILLUSTRATION - Conceptual architectural design of the new "Cultural and Educational Center with gymnasium and student dormitory" in Folnegovič's settlement, Zagreb. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA - Idejno arhitektonsko rješenje novog "Kulturno obrazovnog centra s gimnazijom i učeničkim domom" u Folnegovičevom naselju, Zagreb. (Arhiv Akšamija)



ILUSTRACIJA - Johann Gustav Adolf Bauernfeind (Gustave Bauernfeind), Orijent: Tržnica u Jaffi, 1887.



ILLUSTRATION - Johann Gustav Adolf Bauernfeind (Gustave Bauernfeind), The Orient: Market in Jaffa, 1887.

Definicija *Orijentalizma*

etimološki, pojam *orijentalizam* izvedena je iz latinske riječi *oriens*, što znači 'istok', doslovno 'mjesto izlaska sunca', nasuprot latinskoj riječi *occidens*, što znači 'zapad', 'mjesto zalaska sunca'. Sa svoje tačke gledišta Evropa je sa Zapada definirala Istok, tj. Orijent, kao drugi i drugačiji egzotični svijet, koji joj ne pripada, ali prema kojem nije nikad bila ravnodušna ni politički, ni ekonomski, ni kulturno, ni civilizacijski.^{▼30}

Tehnički, *orijentalizam*^{▼31} je zapadna naučna disciplina koja proučava bliskoistočne jezike, kulture, religije i općenito bliskoistočna društva. Osoba koja se bavi proučavanjem kulture i jezika naroda Orijenta naziva se *orijentalist*. Prva upotreba riječi *orijentalist* u evropskim jezicima zabilježena je 1630. godine, kada je primijenjena na pripadnika Istočne ili Grčke crkve. Riječ *orijentalist* prvi se put pojavila u engleskom jeziku oko 1779. god., dok je riječ *orijentalizam* ušla u rječnik Francuske akademije *Dictionnaire de l' Académie Française* tek 1838. godine^{▼32}

Iako je kao naučna disciplina uvelike pridonio razumijevanju Orijenta na Zapadu, orijentalizam je zahvaljujući američkom teoretičaru palestinskoga porijekla Edwardu W. Saidu okarakterisan kao jedan od ključnih pojmova postkolonijalne hegemonije Evrope, tj. Zapada, nad Istokom, posebice nad arapsko-islamskim istokom. Pod istoimenim nazivom *Orientalism*, Edward Said je objavio knjigu (1978.), u kojoj na najkritičniji način prigovara da je osnovna ideja zapadnog *orijentalizma*, ustvari, ovladavanje i oblikovanje mišljenja utemeljenog na istodobnoj političkoj i spoznajnoj razdjelnici moći između Zapada i Istoka. Zbog toga, Edward Said misli da Zapadu izmiče stvarni Istok i mogućnost da

^{▼30} S obzirom da autor koristi odrednicu za Istok posredstvom metonima „**Orijent**“, pa sam je kao takvu i zadržao, s tim da sam mišljenja da treba koristiti odrednicu/pojam „**islamski svijet**“. Naime, *Orijent* je staromodan naziv za Aziju, odnosno Istok u odnosu na Evropu, te tradicionalno obuhvaća sve što pripada istočnom svijetu. To je anonim izraza *Zapad* koji se odnosi na zapadni svijet. U engleskom jeziku to je uglavnom metonim za azijski kontinent, koji je povezan s njim – koji se slobodno dijeli na jugozapadnu Aziju, jugoistočnu Aziju, južnu Aziju, središnju Aziju, istočnu Aziju, a ponekad uključuje i Kavkaz. Izvorno se pojam *Orijent* koristio za označavanje samo Bliskog istoka, no kasnije se njegovo značenje razvilo i proširilo, označavajući i središnju Aziju, jugozapadnu Aziju, južnu Aziju, jugoistočnu Aziju ili Daleki istok. Za razliku od pojma Orijent, pojam *islamski svijet* podrazumijeva sve one koji se pridržavaju vjerskih uvjerenja i zakona islama ili društava u kojima se prakticira islam. U modernom geopolitičkom smislu, ovi pojmovi se odnose na zemlje u kojima je islam raširen.

^{▼31} *Orijentalizam* ili *orijentalistika* odnosi se na naučno izučavanje Istoka, i to ponajprije Bliskog istoka. Glavni predmet izučavanja je islam kao najrasprostranjenija bliskoistočna religija, oko koje se razvila snažna civilizacija prisutna u svakom vidu individualnog i kolektivnog života.

^{▼32} Smajlović. *Filozofija orijentalistike...*, str. 26.

A Definition of *Orientalism*

Technically, the term *Orientalism* is derived from the Latin word *oriens* meaning "east", literally the place of sunrise, as opposed to the Latin word *occidens* meaning "west", the place of sunset. From its point of view, Europe defined the East from the West, i.e., the "Orient", as another and different exotic world, which does not belong to it, but towards which it has never been indifferent either politically, economically, culturally, or civilizationaly.^{▼30}

Technically, "*Orientalism*"^{▼31} is a Western scientific discipline that studies Middle Eastern languages, cultures, religions, and Middle Eastern societies in general. A person who studies the culture and language of the people of the Orient is called an "Orientalist". The first use of the word "**Orientalist**" in European languages dates back to 1630, when it was applied to a member of the Eastern or Greek Church. The word "Orientalist" first appeared in the English language around 1779, while the word "*Orientalism*" entered the dictionary of the French Academy *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* only in 1838.^{▼32}

Although as a scientific discipline it greatly contributed to the understanding of the Orient in the West, thanks to the American theorist of Palestinian origin Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* has been characterized in recent decades as one of the key concepts of the post-colonial hegemony of Europe, i.e., the West, over the East, especially over the Arab-Islamic East. Under the eponymous title "*Orientalism*", Edward Said published a book (1978), in which he objects in the most critical way that the basic idea of Western *Orientalism* is, in fact, the mastery and shaping of opinion based on the simultaneous political and cognitive power distribution between the West and the East. Because of this, Edward Said thinks that the West is eluding the real East and the possibility to objectively understand and accept the East as it

▼30 Given the fact that the author uses the designation for the East through the metonym "**Orient**", I kept it as such, with the fact that I am of the opinion that the designation/term "**Islamic world**" should be used. Namely, the Orient is an old-fashioned name for Asia, that is, the East in relation to Europe, and traditionally includes everything that belongs to the Eastern world. It is an antonym of the term West, which refers to the Western world. In English it is mostly a metonym for the continent of Asia, which is associated with it – which is loosely divided into Southwest Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Central Asia, East Asia, and sometimes includes the Caucasus. Originally, the term *Orient* was used to refer only to the Middle East, but later its meaning developed and expanded to include Central Asia, Southwest Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, or the Far East. Unlike the term *Orient*, the term *Islamic world* includes all those who adhere to the religious beliefs and laws of Islam or societies where Islam is practiced. In modern geopolitical terms, these terms refer to countries where Islam is widespread.

▼31 *Orientalism* or *Orientalists* refers to the scientific study of the East, primarily the Middle East. The main subject of study is Islam as the most widespread Middle Eastern religion, around which a strong civilization developed, present in every form of individual and collective life.

▼32 Smajlović, Ahmed: *Philosophy of Orientalism...*, p. 26.

objektivno shvati i prihvati Istok onakav kakav on jest.^{▼33} Iako je, nakon zamjerki nekih kritičara da je bio prestrog u kritici *orijentalizma*, korigirao neke svoje kritičke stavove u knjizi *Kultura i imperijalizam*, kritika *orijentalizma* Edwarda Saída zadržala je antologijski status u naučnim i akademskim krugovima kako na Zapadu tako i na Istoku.^{▼34}

Dr. Smajlović nije imao uvid u kritiku *orijentalizma* Edwarda Saída,³⁵ ali može se reći da se njegova kritika unekoliko razlikuje od Saidove. Saidova kritika *orijentalizma* uglavnom se bavi političkim namjerama imperijalističkog ili kolonijalističkog Zapada prema Istoku, dok je kritika dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića adresirana ne samo Zapadu već i Istoku, posebice arapskim misliocima koji nisu odoljeli negativnom utjecaju zapadnih *orijentalista*, koji u pozadini imaju religijski i kulturni prozelitizam, ali i politički, kolonijalistički i cionistički hegemonizam.

U vezi s tim, dr. Smajlović podsjeća da je vjekovni susret Istoka – Arapa i Zapada nerijetko značio borbu za opstanak i jednih i drugih.^{▼36} Zbog toga se u Evropi pojavila ideja o „orijentalistici“ ili „orijentalizmu“ kao nauci radi razumijevanja Istoka, prije svega islamske civilizacije. Dakle, dr. Smajlović naglašava:

[...] Otuda su nosioci orijentalizma nastojali upoznati Istok, duboko u njegove misaone horizonte ući putem izučavanja njegove literature i kulture. Oni imaju metodologiju i ciljeve koji, gledano prema njihovim djelima, prijevodima i kritičkim obradama, izgledaju jasni. Na ovaj ili onaj način, orijentalisti vrše utjecaj na arapski moderni preporod uopće, a na savremenu arapsku književnost posebno.

Polazeći s tog stanovišta neophodno je orijentalizam proučiti s ciljem da se shvate: **prvo** – njegova narav; **drugo** – njegovi počeci; **treće** – njegov odnos prema kolonijalizmu, misionarstvu i cionizmu; **četvrto** – njegovo interesovanje za očuvanje arapsko-islamkog naslijeđa i **peto** i posljednje – njegova filozofija, a sve to prije nego što se pristupi proučavanju njegovog utjecaja na savremenu arapsku književnost.^{▼37}

Nadalje, dr. Smajlović podcrtava:

▼33 Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. Vintage Books Edition; 1979. *Orijentalizam*. Prijevod na bosanski jezik Rešid Hafizović. Sarajevo: Svjetlost; 1997.

▼34 Said, Edward. *Culture & Imperialism*. New York: Vantage Books; 1993. Vidi: https://monoskop.org/images/f/f9/Said_Edward_Culture_and_Imperialism.pdf. Posljednji put pristupljeno 5. 6. 2023.

▼35 Djelo Edwarda Saída *Orientalism* nije na spisku literature doktorske disertacije dr. Ahmeda Smajlovića, što ukazuje na to da mu nije bilo dostupno.

▼36 Smajlović, Ahmed. *Filozofija orijentalistike...*, 23. str.

▼37 *Ibid.*, str. 23-24. Svi citati su prijevod M. Kice osim riječi *istišrāq*, koju prevodimo s 'orijentalizam', umjesto *orijentalistika*, kao i zamjenica koje se odnose na riječ *istišrāq*, kao što smo objasnili u fusnoti br. 29.

is.^{▼33} Although he corrected some of his views in the book *Culture and Imperialism*, after the objections of some critics that he was too strict in his too strict in his literary analysis of of *Orientalism*, Edward Said's critique of *Orientalism* has maintained a near canonical status in academic circles both in the West and in the East.^{▼34}

Dr Smajlović had not insight into Edward Said's critique of *Orientalism*,^{▼35} but it can be said that his critique is somewhat different from Said's. Edward Said's criticism of Orientalism mainly deals with the popular and scientific literature, and the policy of the West towards the East; while the criticism of Dr Ahmed Smajlović was addressed not only to the West, but also to the East, especially Arab thinkers, who did not resist the negative influence of Western orientalists, who have in the background religious and cultural proselytism, as well as political, colonialist and Zionist hegemony.

In this regard, Dr Ahmed Smajlović emphasized that the age-old meeting of the East - Arabs and the West often had a struggle for the survival of both.^{▼36} This is why the idea of *Orientalistics* or *Orientalism* appeared in Europe as a science to understand the East, primarily Islamic civilization. Therefore, Dr Smajlović stressed:

[...] This is why the bearers of *Orientalism* tried to learn of the East, to enter deep into its horizons of thought through the study of its literature and culture. They have a methodology and goals that, judging from their works, translations and critical treatments, seem clear. In one way or another, Orientalists exert influence on the Arabic modern revival in general, and on contemporary Arabic literature in particular.

Starting from that point of view, it is necessary to study *Orientalism* in order to understand: **first** - its nature; **second** - its beginnings; **third** - its attitude towards colonialism, missionaries and Zionism; **fourth** - its interest in preserving the Arab-Islamic heritage; **fifth** and last - its philosophy, and all this before starting the study of its influence on contemporary Arabic literature.^{▼37}

Furthermore, Dr Smajlović underlines:

^{▼33} Said, Edward, *Orientalism*. Vintage Books Edition, 1979.

^{▼34} Said, Edward. *Culture & Imperialism*. Vantage Books, Nev York 1993. See: https://monoskop.org/images/f/f9/Said_Edward_Culture_and_Imperialism.pdf. Last accessed: 05.06.2023.

^{▼35} Edward Said's work *Orientalism* is not on the literature list of Dr Ahmed's Smajlović which indicates that it was not available to him.

^{▼36} Smajlović, Ahmed: *Philosophy of Orientalism...*, p. 23.

^{▼37} *Ibid.*, p. 23-24.

All quotes are translations of M. Kico, with the exception of the word „*istishrāq*“, which we translate to *Orientalism* as opposed to *Orientalistics* as explained in the footnote no. 29.

[...] *Orijentalizam* je misaona djelatnost koja je važnu ulogu u arapskoj misli i arapskoj književnosti odigrala u klasičnom periodu i u modernom dobu. U klasičnom periodu, *orijentalizam* je od Arapa (pre)uzeo književnost i umjetnosti, prenio ih Zapadu, gdje je na njihovim osnovama bio ostvaren nagli kulturni preporod i dostignut sadašnji progres, uspon i procvat. U modernom dobu, *orijentalizam* je uzeo evropske misli, teorije i poglede, zasnovane na arapskoj kulturi, da bi ih Arapima vratio i time veoma snažno utjecao na njihov savremeni preporod. Upravo ta druga strana pojave je ono što sam ja izabrao kao predmet doktorske disertacije pisane pod naslovom: *Falsafat al-istiṣrāq wa atharuhā fi al-adabi al- 'arabī al-mu' āṣir* („Filozofija orijentalizma i njegov utjecaj na savremenu arapsku književnost“).^{▼38}

Kao motiv za izbor ove teme dr. Smajlović u *Predgovoru* navodi svoje evropsko porijeklo, ali i svoju pripadnost islamskom civilizacijskom krugu.^{▼39} To ga je motiviralo da prouči orijentalizam kako bi se shvatilo u čemu se kriju opasnosti, te da se na osnovama toga pripremi za odbranu vjerskih, idejnih i moralnih islamskih vrijednosti do kojih svi muslimani drže.^{▼40} U širokoj i dubinskoj elaboraciji *orijentalizma*, dr. Smajlović je svoj rad podijelio na tri poglavlja: (1) „Orijentalizam i njegovo zanimanje za arapsko-islamsko naslijeđe“, (2) „Arapska književnost između orijentalizma i arapskih učenjaka“ i (3) „Utjecaj orijentalizma na savremenu arapsku književnost“.

Motivi

Ovim ovog članka ograničen je i zato nije moguće detaljno obraditi svako od triju naznačenih poglavlja, ali je moguće spomenuti sedam motiva *orijentalizma*, koje dr. Smajlović navodi u drugom dijelu prvog poglavlja, a to su:

- psihološki motivi, kao evropska ili zapadna potreba duhovne i intelektualne nadgradnje kroz upoznavanje s različitim kulturama i civilizacijama na Istoku,^{▼41}
- historijski motivi, kao susret različitih svjetova, koji su historijski prolazili kroz međusobno obogaćivanje novim spoznajama ili međusobno sukobljavanje zbog ideoloških, političkih i ekonomskih interesa,^{▼42}
- ekonomski motivi, kao hegemonistička želja Evrope za ovladavanjem prirodnim resursima na Istoku, posebno u naftom bogatom arapskom-islamskom svijetu,^{▼43}

^{▼38} *Ibid.*, 11. str.

^{▼39} *Ibid.*, 11-15. str.

^{▼40} *Ibid.*, 11-12. str.

^{▼41} *Ibid.*, 42-44. str.

^{▼42} *Ibid.*, 44-46. str.

^{▼43} *Ibid.*, 47. str.

[...] *Orientalism* is a mental activity that played an important role in Arabic thought and Arabic literature in the classical period and in the modern era. In the classical period, *Orientalism* (re)took literature and arts from the Arabs, transferred them to the West, where a sudden cultural revival was achieved on their basis and the current progress, rise and flourishing was achieved. In the modern age, *Orientalism* took European thoughts, theories and views, based on Arab culture, in order to return them to the Arabs and thus strongly influenced their modern revival. It is precisely this other side of the phenomenon that I chose as the subject of my doctoral dissertation written under the title: *Falsafat al-istišrāq wa atharuhā fī al-adabi al-‘arabī al-mu‘āšir* (*Philosophy of Orientalism and its influence on contemporary Arabic literature*).^{▼38}

As a motive for choosing this topic, Dr Smajlović stated his European origin in the foreword,^{▼39} but also his belonging to the Islamic circle of civilization, which motivated him to study Orientalism in order to understand where the dangers lie, and on the basis of this, to prepare for the defence of the religious, ideological and moral Islamic values which all Muslims uphold.^{▼40} In a broad and in-depth elaboration of Orientalism, Dr Smajlović divided his work into three chapters: (1) *Orientalism and its interest in Arab-Islamic heritage*; (2) *Arabic literature between Orientalism and Arab scholars*; (3) *The influence of Orientalism on contemporary Arabic literature*.

Motives

The scope of this paper is limited and therefore it is not possible to deal in detail with each of these three indicated chapters, but it is possible to mention seven motifs of Orientalism, which Dr Smajlović elucidated in the second part of the first chapter, namely:

- Psychological motives, as a European or Western need for spiritual and intellectual development through familiarization with different cultures and civilizations in the East.^{▼41}
- Historical motifs, as a meeting of different worlds, which historically went through mutual enrichment with new knowledge or mutual conflict due to ideological, political and economic interests.^{▼42}
- Economic motives, as a hegemonic desire to master the natural resources of Europe in the East, especially in the oil-rich Arab-Islamic world.^{▼43}
- Ideological motives, which follow economic motives or vice versa, economic motives

▼38 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

▼39 *Ibid.*, p. 11-15.

▼40 *Ibid.*, p. 11-12.

▼41 *Ibid.*, p. 42-44.

▼42 *Ibid.*, p. 44-46.

▼43 *bid.*, p. 47.

- ideološki motivi, koji prate ekonomske motive ili obratno, ekonomski motivi koji prate ideološke do cilja, a to je primjena svojevrsnog kulturnog i civilizacijskog prozelitizma, ▼⁴⁴
- vjerski motivi, koje dr. Smajlović smatra kao jednim od „glavnih razloga što je Zapad učio orijentalne jezike uopće, a jezik izvora islama posebno“, ▼⁴⁵
- kolonijalistički motivi, koje dr. Smajlović označava kao „važno uporište veze između Zapada i Istoka, s nastojanjima prvoga da ovlada drugim, da uništi njegovu snagu, okupira mu zemlju i eksploatiše njegova dobra [...] ciljevi misionara podudaraju se s preokupacijom kolonijalista“, ▼⁴⁶
- naučni motiv *orijentalizma*, koji je kao pokret i zasebna disciplina na Zapadu za dr. Smajlovića najuvjerljiviji dokaz univerzalnosti islamske kulture i civilizacije, koja je u svojoj biti inkluzivno-posrednička u smislu sabiranja, čuvanja i razvijanja zdravih i korisnih elemenata iz svih kultura i civilizacija svijeta, uključujući i zapadnu civilizaciju. To su na Zapadu jako dobro primijetili pa su ustanovili *orijentalizam* za potrebu svoje vlastite kulturne i civilizacijske baštine, ali, kao što dr. Smajlović s pravom primjećuje, *orijentalisti* su svojim naučnim radom i istraživanjem itekako pomogli snažnom intelektualnom preporodu arapskog svijeta na različite načine, između ostalog i putem arapske moderne književnosti. ▼⁴⁷

Kroz ovih sedam navedenih motiva *orijentalizma*, može se sagledati kritička analiza filozofije orijentalizma dr. Smajlovića, koja nije sasvim negativna, ali jeste upozoravajuća u smislu da arapsko-islamski svijet, tj. njegova inteligencija mora biti budna i svjesna da iza „naučnog“ *orijentalizma* postoje hegemonistički i kolonijalistički ciljevi Zapada. Ustvari, ovdje se ne radi samo o fizičkoj ili geografskoj hegemoniji, već i o duhovnoj i intelektualnoj u smislu prisvajanja prava na tumačenje same islamske kulture i civilizacije, jer, kao što francuski *orijentalista* Maxime Robinson samouvjereno kaže:

[...] Ova knjiga je napisana s velikom ambicijom da bude od pomoći intelektualcima u zemljama muslimanske vjere i civilizacije, pomažući im da shvate svoju situaciju. Nije da se smatram superiornijim, jer sam Evropljanin, u odnosu na najbolje među njima u učenju ili inteligenciji. Ne polažem pravo ni na kakvu prednost te vrste. Samo su mi okolnosti omogućene da prije od njih pobjegnem od određenih društvenih prepreka koje ometaju njihovo razumijevanje vlastitih problema. Imao sam sreću da mi se omogući slobodan pristup sticanju znanja o njihovoj prošlosti bez mitova, i nastojao sam da se riješim mitova koji su prepreka razumijevanju

▼⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 48-49. str.

▼⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 50. str.

▼⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 51. str.

▼⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 52-54. str.

which follow ideological ones to the goal, which is the application of a kind of cultural and civilizational proselytism. ▼⁴⁴

- Religious motives, which Dr Smajlović considers it as one of the "main reasons why the West studied oriental languages in general, and the language of the source of Islam in particular". ▼⁴⁵
- Colonial motives, which Dr Smajlović marks it as "an important fulcrum of the connection between the West and the East, with the efforts of the former to dominate the latter, to destroy its strength, occupy its land and exploit its goods... the goals of the missionaries coincide with the preoccupation of the colonialists. ▼⁴⁶
- The scientific motive of *Orientalism*, as a movement and a separate discipline in the West, is for Dr Smajlović, the most convincing proof of the universality of the Islamic culture and civilization, which in its essence is inclusive and mediating in the sense of collecting, preserving and developing healthy and useful elements from all cultures and civilizations of the world, including Western civilization. They noticed this very well in the West, so they established *Orientalism* for the needs of their own cultural and civilizational heritage, but, as Dr Smajlović rightly observes, the *Orientalists*, with their scientific work and research, have greatly helped the strong intellectual revival of the Arab world in various ways, including in the way of Arab modern literature. ▼⁴⁷

Through these seven stated motifs of *Orientalism*, one can see the critical analysis of the philosophy of Dr Smajlović, which is not entirely negative. However, it is a warning in the sense that the Arab-Islamic world (especially the intelligentsia) must be alert and aware that behind "scientific" *Orientalism* there remain the hegemonic and colonialist goals of the West. In fact, this is not only about physical or geographical hegemony, but also spiritual and intellectual in the sense of appropriating the right to interpret Islamic culture and civilization itself, because, as the French *Orientalist* Maxime Robinson confidently says:

[...] This book was written with a great ambition to be of help to intellectuals in countries of the Muslim faith and civilization, helping them to understand their situation. Not that I consider myself superior, being a European, to the best of them in learning or intelligence. I claim no advantage of that kind. Only the circumstances allowed me to escape before them from certain social obstacles that hinder their understanding of their own problems. I was fortunate enough to be given free access to the knowledge of their myth-free past, and I endeavoured to get rid of the myths that stand in the way of understanding their present. I must add that I am in a position to speak up and say what they

▼⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48-49.

▼⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

▼⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

▼⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52-54.d

njihove sadašnjosti. Moram dodati da sam u poziciji da progovorim i kažem ono što su oni često dužni da drže za sebe. To je sloboda koja se mora platiti, kao i sve slobode, ali cijena, u mom slučaju, nije pretjerana, a oni, općenito govoreći, za nju moraju platiti mnogo više. ▼⁴⁸

Orientalisti i arapski mislioci

Drugo poglavlje *Filozofije orijentalizma* dr. Smajlović posvećuje profilu zapadnih *orijentalista* i arapskih mislilaca u kontekstu nastanka, razvoja i utjecaja *orijentalizma* na arapski mentalno-kulturni i civilizacijski sklop u vrijeme dekadense arapsko-islamske civilizacije te naporima arapskih mislilaca u pravcu kulturnog i civilizacijskog preporoda (*al-nahdah*). Od velikog broja arapskih klasičnih i modernih mislilaca te zapadnih klasičnih i modernih *orijentalista*, ovdje donosimo dva prepoznatljiva profila orijentalista i dva profila arapskih mislilaca.

Profil orijentalista

Nakon što je u prvom poglavlju ukazao na prve inicijatore učenja arapskog jezika te arapske nauke i mudrosti poput Francuza Gerberta de Aurillaca (999–1003), ▼⁴⁹ Engleza Abelardusa Bathensisa (1070–1135), Italijana Gerarda da Cremona (1114–1187) i Tome Akvinskog (1225–1274) ▼⁵⁰ te Nijemca Albertusa Magnusa (1193–1280), ▼⁵¹ koji su kroz poznavanje arapskog jezika i nauke prenijeli pozitivne civilizacijske vibracije u Evropu i time utisnuli arapsko-islamski utjecaj na ukupni razvoj evropskog humanizma i renesanse, dr. Ahmed Smajlović u trećem poglavlju donosi primjer negativnog profila *orijentaliste* u liku i djelu Engleza Davida Samuela Margolioutha. ▼⁵²

▼⁴⁸ Robinson, Maxime. *Islam i kapitalizam* (prev. Brian Pearce). Austin: University of Texas Press; 1981. (Naprijed) str. vii.

▼⁴⁹ Riječ je o papi Silvesteru II, prvobitno poznatom kao Gerbert od Orilaka. Podržao je i promovirao proučavanje maurske i grčko-rimske aritmetike, matematike i astronomije, ponovo uvodeći u Evropu abakus i armilarnu sferu, koje je latinska Evropa izgubila od kraja grčko-rimske ere. Za njega se kaže da je prvi u Evropi uveo decimalni numerički sistem koristeći hindu-arapski brojevi sistem. Prema historičaru iz 12. stoljeća Williamu od Malmesburyja, Gerbert je ideju o računarskom uređaju abakusa dobio od jednog maurskog učenjaka s Univerziteta Al-Qarawiyyin, gdje je studirao na tada jedinom i najstarijem univerzitetu u svijetu, koji je osnovan 857–859. god., dok je najstariji univerzitet u Evropi osnovan u Bologni, Italija, 1088. god.

▼⁵⁰ Važno je kazati da je Toma Akvinski talijanski dominikanac, filozof, teolog, crkveni učitelj, kojem je Katolička crkva dala status „sveca“ po zaslugi jednog od najvećih katoličkih teologa i filozofa, koji je bio pod jakim utjecajem arapsko-islamske duhovnosti i kulture preko Andaluzije i averoizma, škole srednjovjekovne filozofije koja se temelji na primjeni djela andaluzijskog filozofa iz 12. stoljeća Averroesa, tačnije Ibn Rušda (1126–1198), komentatora Aristotela.

▼⁵¹ Ahmed Smajlović, *Filozofija orijentalistike...*, 59-64. str.

▼⁵² *Ibid.*, str. 562-564. David Samuel Margoliouth (1858-1940) engleski je orijentalista. Bio je profesor arapskog jezika na Oksfordu (1889–1937). Bio je i aktivni propovjednik Engleske crkve. Proveo je dosta vremena putujući po Bliskom istoku. Boraveći duže vrijeme u Bagdadu, Margoliouth je bio umislio sebi da bolje poznaje islam nego mnogi učeni muslimani. Vidi i: „D. S. Margoliouth“. *Mawsū'ah al-mustašriqīn*, dr. Abd al-Rahmān Badawī. Bejrut: Dār al-'ilm

are often obliged to keep to themselves. It is a freedom that must be paid for, like all freedoms, but the price, in my case, is not excessive, and they, generally speaking, have to pay much more for it. ▼⁴⁸

Orientalists and Arab Thinkers

The second chapter of *the Philosophy of Orientalism* by Dr Smajlović is dedicated to the profile of Western Orientalists and Arab thinkers in the context of the origin, development and impact of Orientalism on the Arab mental-cultural and civilizational complex during the decadence of Arab-Islamic civilization and the efforts of Arab thinkers in the direction of cultural and civilizational revival (*Al-Nahdah*). From a large number of Arab classical and modern thinkers and Western classical and modern Orientalists, here we present two recognizable profiles of Orientalists and two profiles of Arab thinkers.

A Profile of Orientalists

After he pointed out, in the first chapter, the first initiators of learning the Arabic language and Arabic science and wisdom, such as the Frenchman Gerbert de Aurillac (999-1003), ▼⁴⁹ the Englishman Abelardus Bathensis (1070-1135), the Italian Gerardo da Cremona (1114-1187) and Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) ▼⁵⁰ and the German Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), ▼⁵¹ who, based on their knowledge of the Arabic language and science, transmitted positive civilizational impulses to Europe and thus imprinted the Arab-Islamic influence on the overall development of European humanism and the Renaissance, Dr Ahmed Smajlović, in the third chapter, provides an example of the negative profile of the Orientalist in the character and work of the Englishman David Samuel Margoliouth. ▼⁵²

▼⁴⁸ Robinson, Maxime: *Islam and Capitalism*. University of Texas Press, Austin, 1981., (Foreword) p. vii.

▼⁴⁹ Reference to Pope Sylvester II, originally known as Gerbert of Aurillac. He supported and promoted the study of Moorish and Greco-Roman arithmetic, mathematics and astronomy, reintroducing to Europe the abacus and the armillary sphere, which Latin Europe had lost since the end of the Greco-Roman era. He is said to be the first in Europe to introduce a decimal number system using the Hindu-Arabic numeral system. According to the 12th-century historian William of Malmesbury, Gerbert got the idea for the abacus computing device from a Moorish scholar at Al-Qarawiyyin University, where he studied at the then only and oldest university in the world, founded in 857-859, while the oldest university in Europe was founded in Bologna, Italy, in 1088.

▼⁵⁰ It is important to emphasize that Thomas Aquinas is an Italian Dominican philosopher, theologian, church teacher, who was given the status of "saint" by the Catholic Church as one of the greatest Catholic theologians and philosophers, who was strongly influenced by Arab-Islamic spirituality and culture through Andalusia. and Averroism, a school of medieval philosophy based on the application of the works of the 12th-century Andalusian philosopher Averroes, more precisely Ibn Rushd (1126-1198), a commentator on Aristotle.

▼⁵¹ Smajlović, Ahmed: *Philosophy of Orientalism...*, p. 59-64.

▼⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 558. David Samuel Margoliouth, (1858-1940), is an English Orientalist. He was a professor of Arabic at Oxford (1889-1937). He was also an active preacher of the Church of England. He spent a lot of time traveling in the Middle East. Staying for a long time in Baghdad, Margoliouth had thought to himself that he knew Islam better than many learned Muslims. See also: "D.S. Margoliouth", *Mawsū'ah al-mustashriqīn*, d. Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, Dār al-'Ilm lilmalayīn, Beirut 1989, p. 379.

Naime, ocjenjujući korisnim metodološki utjecaj *orijentalizma* na arapsku književnost kroz arapskog modernog mislioca i književnika Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, ^{▼53} koji je taj utjecaj primijenio u svojoj obradi lika i djela klasičnog arapskog mislioca i pjesnika Abū al- 'Alā 'a al-Ma 'arriya, ^{▼54} dr. Ahmed Smajlović skreće pažnju na D. S. Margoliutha, kao „drukčiju vrstu utjecaja *orijentalizma* na razvoj arapske savremene kritike“, ^{▼55} koji je, tvrdi dr. Smajlović, „prvi ko je smatrao da je sva predislamska poezija vještačka“ ^{▼56} te nastavlja:

[...] Nema sumnje da će svako ko tome obrati pažnju biti iznenađen tim šta tvrdi D. S. Margoliutha. Međutim, on je orijentalista sklon šovinizmu, štaviše u tome je najdalje otišao. To se jasno vidi iz njegovog poznatog članka „Temelji arapskog pjesništva“ („ṣūlu al-š 'iri al-'arabiyyi“), u kojem se njegov šovinizam sasvim jasno pokazuje kad tvrdi da stavove zasniva na dvjema stvarima: *prvo* – sumnja u cjelokupno predislamsko pjesništvo, tj. da je krivtvoreno i sastavljano nakon dolaska islama; *drugo* – napad na islam, njegovu dogmu, Poslanika, a. s. i Objavu. ^{▼57}

Pošto *orijentalista* D. S. Margoliuth nije ostavio na miru arapsko pjesništvo i uopće arapsko-islamsku kulturu, ni dr. Smajlović nije ostavio D. S. Margoliutha na miru, već ga je žestoko iskriticizirao:

[...] To bi bile misli D. S. Margoliutha, njegov način arapskog naslijeđa i negiranja njihovog značaja. Mi na njega nećemo navaljivati da prihvati sve što spada u tradiciju Arapa i naslijeđe iz predislamskog doba, ali ne možemo zaobići pečat šovinizma koji se kod njega vidi u svakom stavu iznesenom u svrhe opornog poricanja tog naslijeđa.

Međutim, kad se radi o D. S. Margoliuthu i njegovoj usmjerenosti, po svemu što smo mogli vidjeti, on nastoji sve oboriti. Po njemu, predislamska predaja je sumnjiva a predislamsko pjesništvo je islamsko po sadržini, po smislu, po stilu i muzikalnosti, iako je svako portretiranje, dočaravanje, stil, rječitost, jasan izraz, metafora i poetika, izum i tekovina predislamskog doba.

To je sve zajedno bilo otrcano nastojanje da se umanje vrijednosti arapskog jezika, njegovih tajni, neprolaznog naslijeđa iz predislamskog pjesništva. Međutim, čemu sve to? Naravno, sve u svrhe dolaska do jednoga veoma podlog cilja, a to je napad na Kur'an, negiranje njegovih

lilmalayin; 1989., 379. str.

^{▼53} *Ibid.*, 558. str. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889–1973) je prepoznatljiv lik modernističkog pokreta u egipatskoj književnosti, čiji spisi na arapskom uključuju romane, priče, kritike te društvene i političke eseje. Izvan Egipta najpoznatiji je po svojoj autobiografiji *Al-Ayyām* („Dani“) u tri toma, 1929–1967. To je prvo moderno arapsko književno djelo, koje je cijenjeno na Zapadu.

^{▼54} Vidi, *Ibid.*, str. 558. Abū al- 'Alā 'a al-Ma 'arri (973–1057) bio je poznat po svom arapskom porijeklu, po svojoj virtuoznosti, po svojoj originalnosti i svom pesimizmu. Bio je slijep kao i Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, što ih je dodatno spajalo pored misaone i književne sličnosti.

^{▼55} *Ibid.*

^{▼56} *Ibid.*

^{▼57} *Ibid.*

Namely, recognizing the beneficial methodological influence of *Orientalism* on Arabic literature through the Arab modern thinker and writer Ṭāhā Ḥusayn⁵³ who applied this influence in his treatment of the character and work of the classical Arab thinker and poet Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī,⁵⁴ Dr Ahmed Smajlović draws attention to D.S. Margoliuth, as "a different kind of influence of *Orientalism* on the development of Arab contemporary criticism."⁵⁵ According to Dr Smajlović, he was "the first one who considered that all pre-Islamic poetry is artificial."⁵⁶ and continues:

[...] There is no doubt that anyone who pays attention will be surprised by what D.S. Margoliuth claims. However, he is an Orientalist inclined to chauvinism, moreover, in it he was most advanced. This is clearly seen from his famous article *Foundations of Arabic Poetry* (*ṣūlu al-shʿri al-ʿarabiyyi*), in which his chauvinism is quite clearly shown when he claims and bases his views on two things: **First** - doubts about the entire pre-Islamic poetry, i.e., that it was forged and compiled after the advent of Islam; **Second** - an attack on Islam, its dogma, the Prophet and the Revelation.⁵⁷

Since the *orientalist* D.S. Margoliuth did not leave Arab poetry and Arab-Islamic culture alone, neither did Dr Ahmed Smajlović leave D.S. Margoliuth alone; in fact, he had already severely criticized him:

[...] Those would be the thoughts of D.S. Margoliuth, his way of denigrating Arab heritage and denying their importance. We will not pressure him to accept everything that belongs to the tradition of the Arabs and the heritage from the pre-Islamic era, but we cannot avoid the stamp of chauvinism that can be seen in his every position presented for the purpose of persistently denying that heritage.

However, when it comes to D.S. Margoliuth and his direction, according to everything we could see, he tries to bring down everything. According to him, pre-Islamic tradition is unreliable and pre-Islamic poetry is Islamic in content, meaning, style and musicality, although every portrayal, conjuration, style, eloquence, clear expression, metaphor and poetics is an invention and product of the pre-Islamic era.

All in all, it was a shabby attempt to diminish the value of the Arabic language, its secrets, its timeless heritage from pre-Islamic poetry. However, what was the purpose of this? Of course, all for the purpose of reaching a very nefarious goal, which is an attack on the Qur'an, denying its merits

▼⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 558. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1889-1973) is a recognizable figure of the modernist movement in Egyptian literature whose writings in Arabic include novels, stories, criticism, and social and political essays. Outside of Egypt, he is best known for his autobiography *Al-Ayyām* ("The Days") in three volumes, 1929–67. It is the first modern Arabic literary work, which is appreciated in the West.

▼⁵⁴ See: *Ibid.*, p. 558. Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (973-1057) was known for his Arab origin, for his virtuosity, for his originality and for his pessimism. He was blind like Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, which further united them in addition to their intellectual and literary similarity.

▼⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

▼⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

▼⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

zasluga kod Arapa u očima cijelog svijeta, zbog toga što ljude izvodi iz tmina na svjetlo, vodi jedinom ispravnom putu, kako to stvarnost dokazuje a historija potvrđuje, o čemu smo i mi naprijed govorili. ▼⁵⁸

Iz navedenog vidimo da dr. Smajlović ima prilično izbalansiranu kritiku filozofije *orijentalizma* na način da priznaje i prihvata pozitivni utjecaj nekih *orijentalista*, ali i upozorava na neke *orijentaliste* koji su imali negativni odraz na modernu arapsku misao, kao i njihov zlonamjerni cilj. Prostim umovima je lahko da ismiju ovu potragu, ovu liniju istraživanja, kao neku vrstu naivnog sentimentalizma, ali to bi bila plitka analiza. Zanimljiva je ocjena Johna Esposito o *orijentalistima*:

[...] Postao je (termin *orijentalisti*, o. a.) povezan s romantičnim, egzotičnim impulsom evropske kulture devetnaestog stoljeća, pod utjecajem etnocentrizma i imperijalizma. Zbog negativnih konotacija ove asocijacije, razvijene krajem dvadesetog stoljeća, naučnici više ne koriste taj termin. ▼⁵⁹

Naravno, uvijek treba imati na umu da je između ovih dvaju utjecajnih kontrasta veliki broj objektivno neutralnih *orijentalista*, koji nisu opterećeni ničim osim željom za naučnom istinom o Orijentu. Dr. Smajlović to objektivno primjećuje:

[...] Kad se radi o utjecajima u ravni metodologije, orijentalistika je uspjela usmjeriti moderne arapske učenjake u obrađivanja rukopisa, oživljavanje naslijeđa, na pisanje historije književnosti, navesti ih da se interesiraju za svoju leksikologiju, da organiziraju naučna istraživanja, da uključe sve svoje učenjake radi istraživanja u svojim naučnim oblastima, da pronađu u akulturacione i enkulturacione procese te da prepoznaju svoje mjesto u sklopu svjetske misli [...]

[...] Tako su Arapi modernisti svoju književnost izučavali po metodologiji C. Brockelmana, C. A. Nallina, R. Nicholson, R. Blacherea, H. Gibba, I. Kratchkovskoga, G. von Grunebauma, A. G. Palacios, Ch. Adamsa, D. S. Margoliutha, G. Bergstrassera, J. Ribere, M. A. Palacios, I. Goldzihera, A. Arberya i drugih, tako što nije bio gotovo nijedan, ne samo arapski već ni islamski univerzitet, pa ni arapski istraživač u arapskoj misli i civilizaciji, a da nije bio pod utjecajem navedenih učenjaka i njihove metodologije. ▼⁶⁰

▼⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 562. str.

▼⁵⁹ Vidi: Esposito, J. John. „Orientalists“. U: *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*. Oxford University Press; 2003. 239. str.

▼⁶⁰ Smajlović, Ahmed. *Filozofija orijentalistike...*, 563-564. str.

among the Arabs and its value in the eyes of the whole world, because it leads people from darkness to light, leads them to the only correct path, such as reality proves that and history confirms it, which we also talked about earlier. ▼⁵⁸

From the above, we see that Dr Smajlović has a fairly balanced critique of the philosophy of Orientalism in a way that acknowledges and accepts the positive influence of some Orientalists, but also warns against some Orientalists, who had a negative impact on modern Arab thought, as well as their malicious goal. It is easy for simple minds to deride this pursuit, this line of inquiry, as a kind of naïve sentimentalism but that would be a shallow analysis. John Esposito's assessment of Orientalists is interesting:

[...] It became (the term Orientalists) associated with the romantic, exotic impulse of the European culture of the nineteenth century, under the influence of ethnocentrism and imperialism. Due to the negative connotations of this association, developed at the end of the twentieth century, scientists no longer use the term. ▼⁵⁹

Of course, it should always be remembered that between these two influential contrasts is a large number of objectively neutral Orientalists, who are not burdened by anything but the desire for accurate scientific truth about the Orient. Dr Smajlović observed the point objectively as follows:

[...] When it comes to influences at the level of methodology, Orientalism has managed to direct modern Arab scholars to the processing of manuscripts, the revival of heritage, to writing the history of literature, to entice them into taking an interest in their lexicology, to organize scientific research, to include all its scholars for research in their scientific fields, to delve into acculturation and enculturation processes and to recognize their place within world thought...

[...] Thus Arab modernists studied their literature according to the methodology of C. Brockelman, C.A. Nallina, R. Nicholson, R. Blacherea, H. Gibb, I. Kratchkovsky, G. von Grunebaum, A.G. Palacios, Ch. Adams, D.S. Margoliutha, G. Bergstrasser, J. Ribere, M.A. Palacios, I. Goldziher, A. Arbery and others, so that there was almost no one, not only an Arab but not an Islamic university, and not even an Arab researcher in Arab thought and civilization, that was not influenced by the aforementioned scholars and their methodology. ▼⁶⁰

▼⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

▼⁵⁹ See: Esposito, J. John: „Orientalists“; *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*. Oxford University Press, 2003., p. 239.

▼⁶⁰ Smajlović, Ahmed: *Philosophy of Orientalism...*, p. 563-564.



ILUSTRACIJA - Ludwig Deutsch, *Arapski mislilac*. Paris 1901.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Ludwig Deutsch, *Arab Thinkers*. Paris 1901.

Profil arapskih mislilaca

Kao što ukazuje na pozitivni i negativni profil zapadnih orijentalista koji su utjecali na modernu arapsku književnost i misao, dr. Smajlović slično potcrtava dva različita profila arapskih mislilaca u odnosu na zapadni orijentalizam, jedan koji je otvoren i optimističan i drugi koji je zatvoren i skeptičan.

Kao primjer otvorenog profila arapskog mislioca, kao što smo već kazali, dr. Smajlović uzima Ṭāhā Ḥusayna, koji ne samo da se ne obazire na neutemeljene teze Margoliutha o neoriginalnosti arapske predislamske poezije već ih prihvata i primjenjuje u svom kontroverznom djelu pod naslovom *Fī al-adab al-džāhili* („O predislamskoj književnosti“).^{▼61} Zbog toga dr. Smajlović nije štedio kritike ni velikog arapsko-egipatskog mislioca i književnika kao što je Ṭāhā Ḥusayna:

Unatoč tome“ - kaže dr. Smajlović, - ovakvo usmjerenje (Margoliutha, o. a.) je našlo svoj put u modernoj arapskoj kritici i u njoj ostavilo traga, jer ga je i Ṭāhā Ḥusayn primijenio u svome djelu *O predislamskoj književnosti* („Fī al-adab al-džāhili“). Djelo je izazvalo veliku buru i skrenulo pažnju istraživača na autora i njemu slične.^{▼62}

Nadalje, dr. Smajlović konstatira:

[...] Tako je orijentalistici bilo omogućeno jednostavno i djelotvorno vršenje utjecaja na arapsku modernu kritiku i njeno usmjerenje. Treba li nam na tom tragu više nego da podsjetimo na priznavanje Ṭāhā Ḥusayna da je orijentalistika utjecala na njegovu kritičarsku usmjerenost kao i na usmjerenost drugih, počevši "od osnivanja Odsjeka za književnost na Univerzitetu, na koji su bili pozvani uvaženi profesori orijentalisti iz Italije, Francuske i Njemačke", a Ṭāhā Ḥusayn je pripadao tom odsjeku i na njemu slušao nastavu.

U vezi s tim, rekao je: „[...] Za neke vrste lekcija ranije nisam ni znao, a za neke metode u kritici nisam ni čuo. Kad se radi o studentu, on iz tih lekcija treba slušati i šta je dobro i šta je loše, ovladati jednako i u istoj mjeri onim što je dobro i onim što nije dobro. Dakle, istraživač historije književnosti nije obavezan ovladati samo jezičkom naukom i književnošću, već mora dobro vladati i filozofijom i teologijom. Treba posebno izučavati historiju i pojave vezane uz pojedine krajeve. U vezi s učenjem jezika, istraživaču historije književnosti nije dovoljno spretno rukovanje rječnikom i vladanje vokabularom niti vladanje onim što se tiče uže specijalnosti, što čini strukturu, zaokruženost i osnovicu, već mora, uz to, učiti i osnove klasičnog jezika i njegove prve izvore.“^{▼63}

^{▼61} Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā. *Fī al-adab al-džāhili*. Kairo: Dār al-ma'ārif bi miṣr, 1975.

^{▼62} *Ibid.*, 563. str.

^{▼63} *Ibid.*, 556. str.

A Profile of Arab Thinkers

In a similar way as he indicated the positive and negative profile of Western Orientalists, who influenced modern Arabic literature and thought, Dr Smajlović underscored two different profiles of Arab thinkers in relation to Western Orientalism in the manner of one that is open and optimistic and the other that is closed and sceptical.

As an instance of the open profile of an Arab thinker, as we have already said, Dr Smajlović provided the example of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, who ignored Margoliuth's unfounded theses about the unoriginality of Arabic pre-Islamic poetry but – consciously or subconsciously – accepted and applied them in his controversial work entitled *Fī al-adab al-djāhili* ("On Pre-Islamic Literature").^{▼61} That is why Dr Smajlović did not spare from criticism the great Arab-Egyptian thinker and writer.

[...] Despite that, says Dr Smajlović, such orientation (Margoliutha, o.a.) found its way in modern Arabic criticism and left its mark, because Ṭāhā Ḥusayn also applied it in his work *On Pre-Islamic Literature (Fī al-adab al-djāhili)*. The work caused a great storm and drew the attention of researchers to the author and others like him.^{▼62}

Furthermore, Dr Smajlović states:

[...] Thus Orientalism was enabled to easily and effectively influence Arab modern criticism and its direction. Do we need more on this track than to visit the recognition of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn that Orientalism influenced his critical orientation as well as the orientation of others, starting "from the establishment of the Department of Literature at the University, to which distinguished Orientalist professors from Italy, France were invited and Germany," and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn belonged to that department and attended classes there.

And in this regard, he said:

[...] I did not even know about some types of lessons before, and I had not even heard of some methods in criticism. When it comes to a student, he should listen to what is good and what is bad from those lessons, master equally and to the same extent what is good and what is not good. Therefore, researchers of the history of literature are not obliged to master only linguistics and literature but must also have a good command of philosophy and theology. The history and phenomena related to certain regions in particular should be studied. In connection with language learning, the researcher of the history of literature is not enough to skilfully handle the dictionary and master the vocabulary

▼61 Ḥusayn, Ṭāhā. *Fī al-adab al-džāhili*. Kairo: Dār al-ma'ārif bi miṣr, 1975.

▼62 *Ibid.*, p. 563.

Za razliku od modernih arapskih mislilaca poput Ṭāhā Ḥusayna i drugih, koji su bili otvoreni i povodljivi prema nadolazećem utjecaju *orijentalizma* i *orijentalista* na arapsku modernu misao, druga grupa bila je zatvorena, skeptična i krajnje kritična prema zapadnom *orijentalizmu* i *orijentalistima*. Za njih dr. Smajlović kaže:

„[...] Nasuprot toj struji stao je jedan broj velikana savremene arapske književnosti i zaustavio nadolazeću bujicu tog usmjerenja, koje je željelo poplaviti sve svetinje, činjenice i istine koje nađe pred sobom.“^{▼64}

Iz tog „broja velikana“ čini se da dr. Smajlović preferira sebi najbližeg po ideološkom usmjerenju, a to je Muhamed al-Bahiyy.^{▼65} Ustvari, kroz cijelo djelo dr. Smajlovića o utjecaju filozofije *orijentalizma* na arapsku modernu misao i književnost provijava kritički stav koji se može pripisati dr. Muḥammadu al-Bahiyyu, koji dr. Smajlović manje-više usvaja, a to je da je Zapad slijedio mnoge metode i ciljeve kako bi uništio islamski svijet i svoju zapadnu kulturu nametnuo arapsko-islamskom svijetu, bilo kroz direktan kolonijalizam i *orijentalizam* bilo kroz arapsku nacionalnu elitu koja se obrazovala na Zapadu i bila inspirirana zapadnim modelom, slijedeći zapadne zaključke i poruke koje imaju za cilj osporiti originalnost islamske religijske, kulturne i civilizacijske misli. U svemu tome suptilno se provlači ideja o „evropskom centralizmu“ u smislu da su Evropljani ili Zapadnjaci ti koji imaju monopol na kulturu i civilizaciju. Ti napori Zapada su, zapravo, napadi na arapski um, arapski jezik, islamsku vjeru i naslijeđe. Ova linija mišljenja smatra da su se mnogi arapski učenjaci, mislioci i pisci obrazovali kod *orijentalista* i tako postali ovisni o njihovom utjecaju, pa su prenosili njihove misli, teorije i mišljenja u arapsko-islamski svijet. Dakle, dr. Smajlović, poput Muḥamada al-Bahiyya, smatra svojom obavezom da ukaže na taj i takav utjecaj *orijentalizma* na cjelokupnu arapsko-islamsku misao, kulturu i književnost da bi se na taj način opovrgli lažni navodi *orijentalista*. Može se reći da je dr. Ahmed Smajlović tu svoju obavezu uvelike uspješno obavio zaduživši tako i nas Bošnjake da mu na tome budemo zahvalni.

^{▼64} *Ibid.*, 563. str.

^{▼65} Dr. Muḥammad al-Bahiyy (1905-1982) rođen je u Egiptu. Doktorirao je na Univerzitetu Hamburg, Njemačka, gdje je stekao uvid u zapadnu filozofiju, što mu je omogućilo da pravi komparaciju s islamskom filozofijom. Obnašao je funkciju ministra vakufa Egipta. Smatra se jednim od velikih mislilaca modernog doba, koji je zagovarao islamski religijski preporod kroz vraćanje temeljnim načelima. Bio je oštar kritičar evropskog kolonijalizma i imperijalizma. Njegovo najvažnije djelo je: *Al-fikr al-islāmiyy al-ḥadith wa šilatuhū bi al-isti' māri al-gharbiyyi* („Moderna islamska misao u vezi sa zapadnim kolonijalizmom“).

nor to master what concerns the narrow specialty, which constitutes the structure, roundness and basis, but must, in addition, learn the basics of the classical language and its primary sources.^{▼63}

In contrast to modern Arab supplicants like Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and others, who were open and receptive to the emerging influence of *Orientalism* and *Orientalists* on Arab modern thought, stood another group, who were closed, sceptical and extremely critical of Western *Orientalism* and *Orientalists* and their malicious and salacious speculations. They are described by Dr Smajlović as follows:

[...] Against that current, a number of great men of contemporary Arabic literature stood and stopped the oncoming torrent of that trend, which wanted to flood all the holy places, facts and truths that it found before it.^{▼64}

From that "number of greats" it seems that Dr Smajlović preferred the one closest to him in terms of intellectual direction, which is Muḥamad al-Bahiyy.^{▼65} In fact, the entire work of Dr Ahmed Smajlović on the influence of the philosophy of Orientalism on Arab modern thought and literature demonstrated a critical attitude, which can be attributed to Dr Muḥammadu al-Bahiyy. In fact, Dr Smajlović more or less adopted his view that the West followed many methods and goals in order to destroy the Islamic world and imposed its culture on the Arab-Islamic world, either through direct colonialism and *Orientalism*, or through the Arab national elite that was educated in the West and was inspired by Western social models, following Western conclusions, which aimed to challenge the originality of Islamic religious, cultural and civilizational thought. The idea of "European centralism" in the sense that it is Europeans or Westerners who have a monopoly on culture and civilization is subtly woven into all of this. These efforts of the West are, in fact, attacks on the Arab mind, the Arabic language, the Islamic faith and heritage. This line of thought holds that many Arab scholars, thinkers, and writers were educated by *Orientalists* and thus became dependent on their influence, thus transmitting their thoughts, theories, and opinions to the Arab-Islamic world. So, Dr Smajlović, like Muḥamad al-Bahiyya, considered it his duty to point out the influence of *Orientalism* as such on the entire Arab-Islamic thought, culture and literature so as to refute the false claims of *Orientalists*. It can be said that Dr Ahmed Smajlović fulfilled his duty very successfully and in that way obliged us Bosniaks to be grateful to him for that.

▼63 *Ibid.*, p. 556.

▼64 *Ibid.*, p. 563.

▼65 Dr Muḥammad al-Bahiyy (1905-1982) was born in Egypt. He received his doctorate from the University of Hamburg, Germany, where he gained insight into Western philosophy, which enabled him to make comparisons with Islamic philosophy. He served as the Minister of Waqf of Egypt. He is considered one of the great thinkers of the modern era, who advocated Islamic religious revival in the way of returning to fundamental principles. He was a sharp critic of European colonialism and imperialism. His most important work is: *Al-fīkr al-islāmiyy al-ḥadīth wa ṣīlatuhū bi al-isti'māri al-gharbiyyi* ("Modern Islamic Thought in Relation to Western Colonialism").



ILUSTRACIJA - Trenuci razmišljanja dr. Smajlovića nad Kur'anom.... (Arhiv Akšamija)



ILLUSTRATION - Moments of reflection of Dr Smajlović over the Qur'an... (Archive of Akšamija)

Dr. Ahmed Smajlović kao uzor

Posljednji Allahov poslanik Muhammed, a.s., najviši je i najbolji uzor (*uswah ḥasanah*) muslimanima.^{▼66} Poslije njega uzor^{▼67} muslimanima su oni kojima je uzor Poslanik, a to je najprije ulema – muslimanski učenjaci, koji su duhovni nasljednici Božijih vjerovjesnika.^{▼68} Svaka generacija muslimana imala je uzore u muslimanskoj ulemi, koja je bila svjesna svoje uloge i odgovornosti u prenošenju poruke islama, teorijski i praktično. Dakako, i muslimani Bošnjaci imali su svoje istaknute uzore u vjeri i moralu, od Hasana Kafije Prušćaka do naših dana.^{▼69} Um, koji je pojio žedne vjere u vrijeme nevjere; uzor je njegov pregalački rad, koji je poticao i druge da rade i djeluju u korist općeg dobra; uzor je njegova neposredna komunikacija sa svijetom, posebno s muslimanskim svijetom, gdje je rado viđen i kao gost i kao učitelj. To su svjedočenja onih s kojima sam razgovarao, a koji su ga blisko poznavali i s njim radili.^{▼70}

Uzoritost dr. Smajlovića naročito se ogleda u njegovoj vještini da svojom ličnošću i stavom bude primijećen kako u domaćoj tako i u međunarodnoj javnosti kao relevantan činilac u oblikovanju javnog mišljenja o islamskoj kulturi i civilizaciji, ali i o nacionalnoj kulturi i civilizaciji Bošnjaka. Ta vještina proizlazi iz njegove upućenosti u svjetovnu i duhovnu literaturu i ogleda se u njegovoj autentičnoj prezentaciji arapskom svijetu dvaju epohalnih bosanskih književnih djela: balade *Hasanaginica* i romana *Derviš i smrt*.

Otuda, dr. Smajlović po povratku iz Kaira uspijeva da uspostavi, više nego iko do tada u Islamskoj zajednici, vezu između duhovne ili vjerske i svjetovne ili sekularne zajednice Bošnjaka,^{▼71} koje su zbog anti-vjerske propagande u komunizmu bile nepravедno udaljene jedna od druge. Na vjeru, crkve i vjerske zajednice, posebno na Islamsku zajednicu, u bivšoj Jugoslaviji gledalo se s izvjesnim

▼66 Vi u Allahovom Poslaniku imate divan uzor za onoga koji se nada Allahovoj milosti i nagradi na onome svijetu. (*Al-Aḥzāb*, 21).

▼67 Uzor 'osoba koja služi kao primjer dobrih osobina i ispravnih postupaka pa zaslužuje da se slijedi'.

▼68 „Zaista su ulema – muslimanski učenjaci nasljednici vjerovjesnika. Vjerovjesnici nisu ostavili u nasljedstvo ni dinare ni dirheme, već su jedino ostavili znanje, pa ko ga se prihvati, dobio je veliki udio u nasljedstvu.“ (Ahmed, Tirmizi, Ebu Davud, Ibn Madže i Darimi).

▼69 Hasan Kafija Prušćak (1544-1616) je bio filozof, teolog, biograf i historičar u vrijeme osmanske vladavine u Bosni. On je najvažnija ličnost u naučno-književnom i intelektualnom životu Bošnjaka. Istakao se i na kulturno-prosvjetnom polju te svojim zadužbinama, od kojih neke postoje i danas. Njegovo književno djelo o uređenju države i društva još 1824. prevedeno je na francuski jezik, pa je otad postao zanimljiv mnogim svjetskim naučnicima.

▼70 Ove ocjene o dr. Ahmedu Smajloviću čuo sam prije svih od oca, ali sam, također, čitajući referat o liku i djelu dr. Smajloviću koji je podnio dr. Jusuf Ramić, njegov najvjerniji i najduži suputnik na Al-Azharu, te referat Muharema Omerdića stekao dojam o navedenoj njegovoj uzoritosti.

▼71 Pojam 'zajednice' može biti notorno neuhvatljiv i klizav, tečan i porozan, pa čak i sporan. Uprkos tome što su stoljećima integrirani u evropsko društvo i uživaju u ekumenskom kosmopolitizmu, muslimani na Balkanu uvijek su čuvali izrazitu filozofiju autonomije i djelovanja u svom ličnom i zajedničkom identitetu.

Dr Ahmed Smajlović as a Role Model

The last Prophet of Allah Muhammad, p.b.u.h., is the highest and greatest role model (*uswah ḥasanah*) for Muslims. ▼⁶⁶ After him, the role model⁶⁷ for Muslims are those whose role model is the Prophet, and that is first of all the *ulama* - Muslim scholars, who are the spiritual successors of God's prophets. ▼⁶⁸ Each generation of Muslims had role models in the Muslim *ulama*, who were aware of their role and responsibility in conveying the message of Islam, theoretically and practically. Of course, Bosniak Muslims also had their prominent role models in religion and morality from Hasan Kafija Pruščak to the present. ▼⁶⁹ Dr Smajlović is one of the unquestionable role models. His model is that of his open soul, which had comfort and hope for everyone; the model is that of his clear mind, which fed the thirst of faith in the time of unbelief; his exemplary work is a role model, which encouraged others to work and act in favour of the common good; the model is that of his direct communication with the world, especially with the Muslim world, where he was a delight both as a guest and as a teacher. These are the testimonies of those I talked to, who knew him closely and worked with him. ▼⁷⁰

The exemplary presence of Dr Smajlović is particularly reflected in the fact of his ability to be noticed by his personality and attitude both in the domestic and international public as a relevant factor in shaping public opinion about Islamic culture and civilization, as well as the national culture and civilization of Bosniaks. This skill stems from his familiarity with secular and spiritual literature and is reflected in his authentic presentation to the Arab world of two epochal Bosnian literary works: *Hasanaginica* and *Derviš i smrt* (*Darwish and Death*).

Hence, after his return from Cairo, Dr Smajlović managed to establish, more than anyone in the Islamic Community before, the connection between the spiritual or religious and the secular community of Bosniaks, ▼⁷¹ which were unfairly distant from each other due to anti-religious propaganda during Communism. Religion,

▼⁶⁶ *Indeed, in the Messenger of Allah you have an excellent example for whoever has hope in Allah and the Last Day, and remembers Allah often. (Al-Aḥzāb, 21).*

▼⁶⁷ A "role model" is a person who serves as an example of good qualities and right actions and deserves to be followed.

▼⁶⁸ *Truly the 'ulamā' - Muslim scholars are the heirs of the prophets. The prophets did not leave dinars or dirhams as an inheritance, but only left knowledge, so whoever accepts it, received a large share of the inheritance. (Ahmed, Tirmidhi, Abu Dawud, Ibn Majah and Darimi).*

▼⁶⁹ Hasan Kafija Pruščak (1544-1616) was a philosopher, theologian, biographer and historian during the Ottoman rule in Bosnia. He is the most important figure in the scientific, literary and intellectual life of Bosniaks. He stood out in the cultural and educational field and with his endowments, some of which still exist today. His literary work on the organization of the state and society was translated into French in 1824, and since then it has become interesting to many world scholars.

▼⁷⁰ I had heard these evaluations about Dr Smajlović first of all from my father, but also, reading the report on the character and work of Dr Smajlović from Dr Jusuf Ramić, his most faithful and longest traveling companion at Al-Azhar, as well as the report by Muharem Omerdić whereby I gained an impression of his exemplary role.

▼⁷¹ The notion of 'community' can be notoriously elusive and slippery, both fluid and porous, and even contested. Despite being integrated into European society for centuries and enjoying an ecumenical cosmopolitanism, the Muslims of the Balkans region have always preserved a distinct philosophy of autonomy and agency in their personal and communal identity.

podozrenjem u smislu da njihovi nositelji – hodže,^{▼72} svećenici i sveštenici nisu dorasli izazovima modernog znanstvenog doba i zato ih svjetovna zajednica, koja se oslanja isključivo na materijalnu znanost, treba zanemariti pa čak i spriječiti njihovo duhovno ili vjersko djelovanje u sekularnom društvu. Svojom pojavom i riječju dr. Smajlović je na najuvjerljiviji način pobijao tezu o hodžinskoj učmalosti i neupućenosti, pokazujući da znanje duhovnih ljudi ne samo da može biti ravno svjetovnom znanju već može biti i nadmoćnije, jer duh ima prednost nad materijom, kao što srce ima prednost nad umom zbog osjećaja ljubavi prema svakom Božijem stvorenju.

Imajući na umu današnje stanje u Bosni, kao i stanje muslimanskog svijeta, posebno u Palestini, cijenio sam važnim podsjetiti na izuzetne osobine dr. Smajlovića, koje nam mogu biti putokaz kako se nositi s izazovima ovdje i kako razumjeti ono što se događa tamo, a što se tiče svakog čovjeka koji ima trun osjećaja za istinu i pravdu. Formalni i neformalni nositelji vjerske duhovnosti danas su ravnopravni s nositeljima svjetovnog pogleda na svijet, ali nisu pošteđeni krivnje ako slobodu svoje duhovnosti kompromitiraju svojom moralnom nedosljednošću, što može biti porazno za vjeru i vjersku zajednicu u javnom životu. Ova biografija naglašava neophodnost nijansiranog ponovnog vrednovanja izvora, običaja i kultiviranih mentaliteta vezanih za bosansku intelektualnu historiju. Otuda je dr. Ahmed Smajlović uzor na koji Islamska zajednica treba obratiti pažnju i od kojeg treba da crpi svoje znanje i iskustvo u suočavanju s današnjim izazovima, koji nisu nimalo lahki.

Zaključak

dr. Smajlović bio je jedna od najprepoznatljivijih ličnosti Bošnjaka muslimana u dvadesetom stoljeću kroz svoju misao i djelo na polju razumijevanja i prezentiranja islama ne samo u Bosni i Hercegovini već i na Balkanu, u Evropi i svijetu, posebno u arapskom svijetu.

Dr. Smajlović bio je naučnik i istražitelj, koji se nije mirio s postojećim stanjem islamskog mišljenja, već je kroz duboku analizu tražio adekvatne odgovore na moderne izazove na temelju Kur'ana i sunneta.

Kao Evropljanin, dr. Ahmed Smajlović nije bio eurofob, ali je bio kritičan prema evropskim kolonijalnim i imperijalističkim pretenzijama prema arapsko-islamskom svijetu kroz *orijentalizam*, koji se ponekad pretvara u otvoreni kršćansko-misionarski prozelitizam.

Uz sve prigovore *orijentalizmu*, dr. Ahmed Smajlović ipak priznaje i pozitivni utjecaj orijentalizma,

^{▼72} Neopravdano, ali je činjenica da su Bošnjaci svjetovne naobrazbe nekako uvijek gledali na hodže – nositelje islamskog učenja i odgoja u Bosni kao na manje upućene u svjetovnu nauku te su ih kao takve smatrali beskorisnim za ozbiljan i suvisli razgovor i suradnju. Dr. Ahmed Smajlović je svojom pojavom i uvjerljivom retorikom umnogome promijenio taj imidž o hodži kod svjetovnog kruga Bošnjaka.

churches and religious communities, especially the Islamic Community, in the former Yugoslavia were viewed with a certain suspicion in the sense that their holders – the hodjas, ^{▼72} priests were not up to the challenges of the modern scientific age, and therefore the secular community, which relies exclusively on material science, and therefore the spiritual or religious activity in secular society should be ignored and even prevented. With his appearance and words, Dr Smajlović most convincingly refuted the thesis of an Hodja's clumsiness and lack of knowledge, showing that the knowledge of spiritual people is not only equal to worldly knowledge, but can also be superior, because the spirit has an advantage over matter, just as the heart has an advantage over the mind in terms of feelings of love for every creature of God.

Bearing in mind the current situation in Bosnia, as well as the situation of the Muslim world, especially in Palestine, ⁷³ I thought it important to remind the reader of the exceptional qualities of Dr Smajlović, who can be a role model for how to deal with challenges here and how to understand what is happening there for every person who has a shred of feeling for truth and justice. Formal and informal bearers of religious spirituality today are equal to bearers of a secular worldview, but they are not spared guilt if they compromise the freedom of their spirituality in the way of their moral inconsistency, which can be devastating for faith and the religious communities in public life. This biography highlights the necessity for a nuanced re-evaluation of the sources, customs and cultivated mentalities related to Bosnian intellectual history. Hence Dr Ahmed Smajlović is a role model, to whom the Islamic Community should pay attention and from whom it should draw its knowledge and experience in facing today's challenges, which are by no means easy.

Conclusion

dr Smajlović was one of the most recognizable figures among Bosniaks-Muslims in the twentieth century through his thought and work in the field of understanding and presenting Islam not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in the Balkans, Europe and the world, especially in the Arab world.

Dr Smajlović was a scientist and researcher, who did not accept the existing state of Islamic thought but sought adequate answers to modern challenges based on the Qur'an and Sunnah through deep analysis.

As a European, Dr Ahmed Smajlović was not a Europhobe, but he was critical of European colonial and

^{▼72} Completely unjustified, but the fact is that Bosniaks with a secular education somehow always looked at the hodjas/Imams - bearers of Islamic learning and upbringing in Bosnia as less knowledgeable in secular science and as such useless for serious and coherent conversation and cooperation. Dr Ahmed Smajlović, with his appearance and persuasive rhetoric, greatly changed the image of the Hodja in the worldly circle as a Bosniak.

^{▼73} As I was writing this on the 39th day of Israel's bloody attack on Gaza, reports are stating that the Israeli army is killing Palestinian children in Gaza - one child every ten minutes. The total number of murdered children is already over 4,300. Thousands of children are injured. About 1,200 children are under the rubble. There is no prospect of stopping the genocide and paedocide in Gaza.

koji se može posmatrati i kao dug Zapada prema muslimanskom doprinosu razvoju evropskog humanizma i renesanse.

Pored svega i iznad svega, čitatelj disertacije o utjecaju filozofije orijentalizma na arapsko-islamski svijet dr. Smajlovića, koju je odbranio na Al-Azharu, ne može se oteti utisku da, zahvaljujući baš *orijentalizmu*, islamska kultura i civilizacija imaju status opće humanističke, tj. svjetske vrijednosti, koja se ne može zanemariti.

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imperialist pretensions towards the Arab-Islamic world through Orientalism, which sometimes turns into open Christian-missionary proselytism.

With all the objections to *Orientalism*, Dr Ahmed Smajlović nevertheless acknowledges the positive influence of *Orientalism*, which can also be seen as a debt owed by the West to the Muslim contribution to the development of European humanism and the Renaissance.

Besides and above all, upon reading Dr Smajlović's dissertation at Al-Azhar on the impact of the philosophy of *Orientalism* on the Arab-Islamic world, one cannot escape the impression that, due to *Orientalism*, Islamic culture and civilization have the status of general humanistic, i.e., of world value, which cannot be ignored.

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ILLUSTRATION ON NEXT PAGE ~ Johann Gustav Adolf Bauernfeind (Gustave Bauernfeind), The orient: Market in Jaffa, 1887.

ILUSTRACIJA NA SLJEDEĆOJ STRANICI ~ Johann Gustav Adolf Bauernfeind (Gustave Bauernfeind), Orijent: Tržnica u Jaffi, 1887.

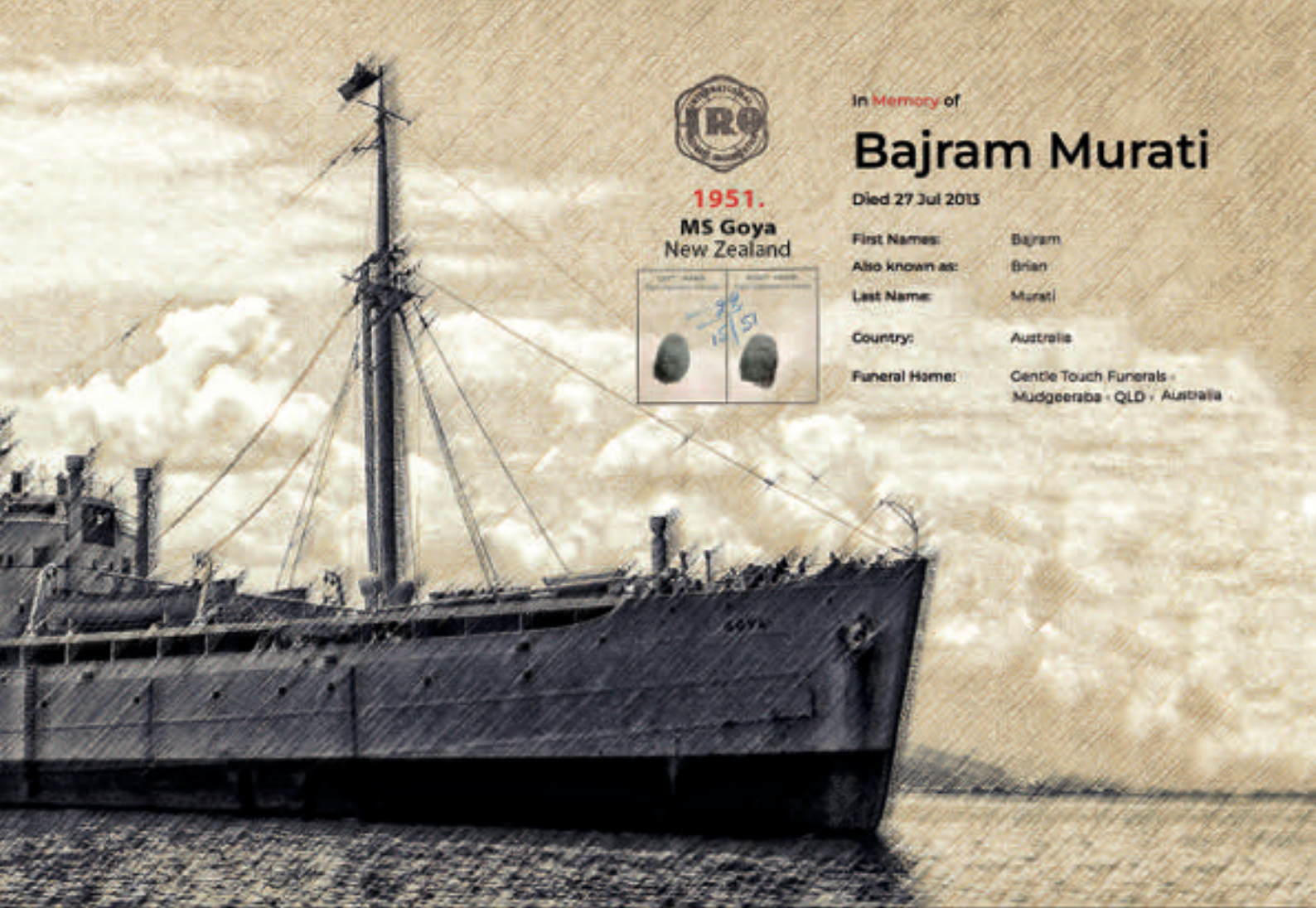






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1951.

MS Goya
New Zealand



In Memory of

Bajram Murati

Died 27 Jul 2013

First Names:	Bajram
Also known as:	Brian
Last Name:	Murati
Country:	Australia
Funeral Home:	Gentle Touch Funerals - Mudgeeraba - QLD - Australia

datum prijema / date of receipt: 6.9.2023.
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Pregledni stručni rad - Other uncategorized works

Abdullah DRURY

DOBRODUŠNI ALBANAC: BAJRAM MURATI I ZAŠTITNICI ISLAMA

• prvi dio •

A GENIAL ALBANIAN: BAJRAM MURATI AND THE WATCHDOGS OF ISLAM

• first part •

Sažetak

Članak analizira biografiju Bajrama Muratija (1930–2013), albanskog izbjeglice na Novi Zeland, te sporove oko simboličkih prostora i značenja unutar novozelandske muslimanske zajednice tokom 1960-ih, 1970-ih i 1980-ih. U središtu analize stoje razgovori oko liderstva između Muratija, kao izvršnog direktora Novozelandskog vijeća Svjetskog muslimanskog kongresa, i drugih predstavnika muslimanske zajednice. Takvo ispitivanje otkriva mnogo o širem imigrantskom iskustvu i nijansiranoj evoluciji islama unutar sekularnog društva angloevropskog kršćanskog naslijeđa. Autor kontekstualizuje kulturno i društveno okruženje Muratijevog života, ističući kako svoje komercijalne interese izvan vjerskih organizacija tako i svoje opsežne diskusije o pitanjima vjere. Kao što bi trebalo da postane očigledno, pojam jednostavnog albansko-muslimanskog rivalstva s azijskim imigrantima nije dovoljan da detaljno objasni složene mehanizme na djelu. Ustvari, unutarmuslimansko nadmetanje među zajednicama, preoblikovanje islamskih identiteta i solidarnosti u cijeloj zemlji te šarolik politički diskurs generirali su razlike i lojalnosti koje nadilaze jednodimenzionalne etničke uslovljenosti.

Ključne riječi: *Bajram Murati, Novi Zeland, muslimanska zajednica, albanski imigranti, islam, kršćanstvo.*

Abstract

This article analyses the biography of Bajram Murati (1930-2013), an Albanian refugee to New Zealand, and the contentions over symbolic spaces and meaning within the New Zealand Muslim community over the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. At the centre of the analysis stand the ongoing negotiations between Murati, as director-general of the New Zealand Council of the World Muslim Congress, and other Muslim community representatives over leadership. Such an examination reveals much about the wider immigrant experience and the nuanced evolution of Islam inside a secular society of Anglo-European Christian heritage. The author contextualizes the cultural and social setting of his life, highlighting both his commercial interests outside the religious organisations and his extensive discussions on faith issues. As should become obvious, the notion of a simple Albanian-Muslim rivalry with Asian-immigrants does not suffice to explain in depth the complex mechanisms at work. Altogether intra-Muslim communal competition, the reshaping of Islamic identities and solidarities across the country, and variegated political discourse have generated differences and loyalties that go well beyond one-dimensional ethnic conditionalities.

Key words: *Bajram Murati, New Zealand, Muslim Community, Albanian immigrants, Islam, Christianity.*

DOBRODUŠNI ALBANAC: BAJRAM MURATI I ZAŠTITNICI ISLAMA

Uvod

U ovom radu pokušat ćemo razjasniti prirodu nekih frakcija među zajednicama koje su utjecale na muslimansko stanovništvo Aucklanda tokom 1970-ih i 1980-ih godina, s posebnim fokusom na biografiju albanskog izbjeglice po imenu Bajram Murati, izvršnog direktora Novozelandskog vijeća Svjetskog muslimanskog kongresa. Za neke je on vrlo kontroverzna ličnost, koja izaziva podjele u muslimanskoj historiji Novog Zelanda. Oni koji pamte i poštuju njegovo naslijeđe poznavali su ga po nadimku „dobrodušni Albanac“; drugima je bio opasan *fassaadi* (arapski 'narušitelj mira').^{▼1} Oba ova gledišta proizlaze iz njegovih složenih i jedinstvenih kosmoloških i svezremenskih ideja. Murati je skrenuo pažnju sa pretjerano rječitih intelektualnih rasprava i nejasnih filozofija prema domenu konkretne prakse i tehnike. Ovi stavovi označili su ga kao jednu od najznačajnijih i najzanimljivijih ličnosti u muslimanskoj historiji Novog Zelanda. Bio je najaktivniji sedamdesetih godina, u eri radikalnog slobodnog razmišljanja o religijskim pitanjima u javnom prostoru, sazrio za intelektualnu aktivnost i teološke rasprave svih vrsta. Muratijeva biografija i karijera svjedočanstvo su o trajnim silama ekonomije i politike, te o tome kako se ti aspekti ukrštaju s etničkom pripadnošću i vjerom kako bi stvorili idiosinkrastične društvene pojave.

^{▼1} Berry, Trevor. „Publican's Prize“. *Auckland Star* (večernje izdanje). 11. april 1970:35.

A GENIAL ALBANIAN: BAJRAM MURATI AND THE WATCHDOGS OF ISLAM

Introduction

This paper will attempt to illuminate the nature of some of the communal factionalism that affected the Auckland Muslim population over the 1970s and 1980s by focusing on the biography of an Albanian refugee named Bajram Murati, director-general of the New Zealand Council of the World Muslim Congress. For some, he is a very controversial and divisive character in New Zealand Muslim history. To those who remember and respect his legacy, the 'genial Albanian' was his sobriquet; to others, he was a dangerous *Fassaadi* (Arabic: disturber of the peace).^{▼1} Both of these views arise from his complex and unique cosmological and temporal ideas. Murati directed attention away from excessively verbose intellectual debates and vague philosophies, and towards the domain of practices and techniques. These views have flagged his biography as one of the most significant and curious figures in New Zealand Muslim history. He was most active in the 1970s, an era of radical freethinking in religious matters in the public domain, ripe with intellectual activity and theological debates of all types. The biography and career of Murati is a testimony to the enduring forces of economics and politics, and how such aspects intersect with ethnicity and faith to forge the idiosyncratic affairs of society.

^{▼1}Trevor Berry, 'Publican's Prize', *Auckland Star* (evening edition), 11 April 1970, p.35.



ILUSTRACIJA - Zanemareni izvori – novine za rasvjetljavanje jedne od najznačajnijih i najzanimljivijih ličnosti u muslimanskoj historiji Novog Zelanda. (Arhiv Akšamija)



ILLUSTRATION - Christian view: Hendrik Goltzius, The Untangling of Chaos, or the Creation of the Four Elements, 1589, From the collection of Los Angeles County Museum of Art®. (Archive of Akšamija)

Ovaj esej predstavlja pokušaj da se pokrene istraživanje teme na koju se više puta aludiralo, ali do sada nikada nije temeljito istražena kroz ovu preciznu hermeneutičku prizmu. On pruža novi pogled na historiju Novog Zelanda. To se postiže ne samo ispitivanjem zamršenih, transnacionalnih aspekata i pogleda na ovu prošlost već i rasvjetljavanjem inače zanemarenog izvora – novina. U daljnjem tekstu, članak se oslanja na čitanje i analizu medijskih priča i intervjuva od šezdesetih do osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća (pozivam zainteresovanog čitaoca da pregleda bibliografiju i fusnote za dalje podatke.) Konkretno, ispituje se odnos između Muratijevog analitičkog stava prema široj novozelandskoj muslimanskoj zajednici i individualističke prirode njegove biografije, ukorijenjene u albanskoj historiji i albanskim pojmovima islama.^{▼2} Argument je da se dominantnije struje u islamskoj teologiji i mišljenju oslanjaju na takav analitički stav, koji postaje najeksplicitniji u slučaju definisanja (ili nedefinisanja) njenih ontoloških modela, dok je zapravo implicitni preduslov u većini primjera korištenje epistemoloških kriterija. Međutim, Murati je artikulisao, i živio, široku epistemologiju koja nije morala da bude ograničena na historijski kontekst civilizacije u kojoj je živio.

Bez obzira na lične mane i druge prepreke, pojmovi sudbine i misije ostali su s Muratijem do kraja, a čini se da pritisak drugih da izmijene njegovu teologiju nije ostavio nikakav dojam. Njegov jedinstveni pogled na islamski revizionizam i preporod možda se činio zastarjelim u društvu koje je polako postajalo otvorenije prema učešću muslimana, ali u svom životu uložio je zadivljujući napor da pokaže izbjeglicama kako da cijene i ostvare sebe.

Iznad svega, Muratijeva biografija zapravo je narativ o znanju i vremenu te odnosu između ovih dvaju pojmova. To je priča o nezavisnom muslimanu, slobodoumnom misliocu koji nikada nije prestao da se bori s teškoćama i izazovima svog doba, jer je potraga za svrhom i smislom u savremenom svijetu zahtijevala upravo takav pristup. Iako je bio odlučan da nastavi svoje aktivnosti sa gotovo patološkom posvećenošću, njegov neuspjeh da izgradi veze s drugim muslimanima na Novom Zelandu nije pomogao njegovom cilju. Međutim, nikada nije bio potpuno siguran da može pridobiti kritičare na svoju stranu bilo kakvim ponuđenim argumentom ili u vezi sa bilo kojim slučajem, a do samog kraja života ostao je odlučno u defanzivi. Ovaj pogled ili nagon može pružiti trag njegovom kreativnom, preduzetničkom i intelektualnom pristupu, a može čak biti i primarni faktor u određivanju njegovog karaktera i uloge u historiji. Nakon njegove smrti 2013. godine, struja u muslimanskoj zajednici koja se kretala protiv Muratija tokom njegovog života bila je toliko utjecajna da je praktično potisnut iz kolektivne svijesti ove kulture.

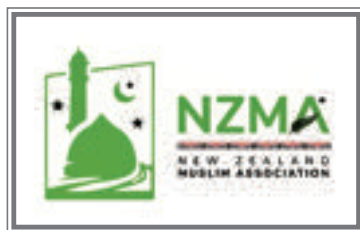
^{▼2} Za dodatne informacije, vidjeti: Logoreci, Anton. *Albanci, zaboravljeni Evropljani*. London: Victor Gollancz; 1977); Vickers, Miranda. *Albanci: Moderna historija*. London: I. B. Tauris; 1999.

This essay constitutes an attempt to initiate an inquiry into a topic that has been repeatedly alluded to, but hitherto never thoroughly researched through this precise hermeneutical lens. It proffers new views on the history of New Zealand. I achieve this not only by examining the entangled, transnational aspects and facets of this past, but also by elucidating otherwise neglected sources: newspapers. The following article relies on the reading and analysis of media stories and interviews from the 1960s to the 1980s. (I invite the interested reader to peruse the bibliography and footnotes for further data.) Specifically, I examine the relationship between Murati's analytic stance towards the wider New Zealand Muslim community and the individualistic nature of his biography, rooted in Albanian history and Albanian notions of Islam.^{▼2} The argument is that the more dominant currents in Islamic theology and thought rely on such an analytical stance, that becomes most explicit in the case of defining (or not defining) its ontological models, whilst actually being the implied prerequisite in most examples of employing epistemological criteria. However, Murati articulated, and lived, a wide-ranging epistemology that did not need to be confined to the historical context of the civilization in which he resided.

Regardless of personal flaws and other impediments, notions of destiny and mission remained with Murati to the end, and pressure from others to alter his theology appear to have made no impression. His unique view of Islamic revisionism and revival may have seemed obsolete in a society slowly becoming more open to Muslim participation, nonetheless his life was an admirable effort to show refugees how to appreciate and realise themselves.

Above all, a biography of Murati is really a narrative about knowledge and time, and the relationship between the two. It is the story of an independent Muslim, a free-minded thinker who never ceased to wrestle with the difficulties and challenges of his era because the pursuit of purpose and meaning in the modern world demanded nothing less. Although he was determined to continue his activities with an almost pathological dedication, his failure to build links with other Muslims in New Zealand, did not help his cause. However, he was never entirely sure of being able to win over the critics to his side of any given argument or case, and to the very end of his life he remained decidedly on the defensive. This aspect or urge may provide a clue to his creative, entrepreneurial and intellectual approach, and may even be the primary factor in determining his character and role in history. After his death in 2013, so influential was the Muslim community opposition ranged against Murati in life, that he was virtually purged from the collective cultural consciousness.

^{▼2} For more, see: Anton Logoreci, *The Albanians, Europe's Forgotten Survivors* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1977); Miranda Vickers, *The Albanians: A Modern History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999).



Perspektiva: Muslimanska zajednica Novog Zelanda

Prema popisu stanovništva iz marta 2018. godine, na Novom Zelandu živi više od 60.000 muslimana: većina je azijske nacionalnosti, a više od polovine živi u Aucklandu. Samo mali broj je evropske ili albanske nacionalnosti. Međutim, za više od šest decenija, u okviru različitih islamskih organizacija, albanski muslimanski imigranti i izbjeglice dali su značajan doprinos.^{▼3} U julu 1950. godine u Aucklandu je formiran prvi formalni islamski entitet – Novozelandsko muslimansko udruženje (NZMA). U to vrijeme u cijeloj zemlji bilo je samo oko dvjesto muslimana (gotovo svi azijski ili indijski).^{▼4} U aprilu 1959. godine, Udruženje je kupilo stambeni objekt namijenjen da bude islamski centar u centralnom Aucklandu, a naredne godine Mevlana Ahmed Said Musa Patel (1937–2009) iz Indije stigao je da služi kao prvi *mullah* (vrhovni kadija) na Novom Zelandu.^{▼5} Druge muslimanske organizacije osnovane su u Christchurchu i Wellingtonu tokom 1964. i 1977. godine. U aprilu 1979. godine, Mazhar Krasnići (1931–2019) izabran je za inauguralnog predsjednika Federacije islamskih udruženja Novog Zelanda (FIANZ), prvog nacionalnog muslimanskog tijela.^{▼6} Zbog značajnih promjena imigracionih zakona 1987. godine, veličina muslimanske zajednice na Novom Zelandu višestruko se proširila u posljednjim trima decenijama.^{▼7} Dakle, ova manjinska vjerska grupa je izuzetno raznolika po karakteru, etničkoj pripadnosti i geografiji. To stvara izazove u pravljenju tačnih generalizacija u vezi s aktivnostima, udruženjima, interakcijama i odnosima takve difuzne populacije.

^{▼3} Vidjeti: Abdili, Sabit R. *Bijtë e shqipes në tokën e Reve të bardha*. Auckland: Universal Print & Management; 2010.

^{▼4} New Zealand. Census and Statistics Office. *New Zealand Population Census 1951 : Religious Profession*. Volume III. Wellington; 1953., str. 9; Drury, Abdullah. *Islam na Novom Zelandu: Prva džamija*. Christchurch; 2006. str. 6.

^{▼5} Drury. *Islam na Novom Zelandu*. str. 13-19.

^{▼6} Thomson, Ainsley. „Mazhar Krasniqi“. *New Zealand Herald*. 31. prosinca 2002:A6; Khan, Zohoor Mohammad. „Mazhar Shukri Krasniqi“. *100 velikih muslimanskih lidera 20. vijeka*. New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies; 2006., str. 157-160.; Abdili, Sabit R. *Bijtë e shqipes në tokën e Reve të bardha*. str. 67-70.

^{▼7} *Službeni godišnjak Novog Zelanda*. 2010., str. 106.



Overview: the Muslim Community of New Zealand

According to the March 2018 census there are over 60,000 Muslims in New Zealand: the majority are of Asian ethnicity and over half of whom live in Auckland. Only a small number are of European ethnicity or Albanian nationality. However, for over six decades, within various Islamic organisations, Albanian Muslim immigrants and refugees have made a significant contribution.^{▼3} In July 1950, the first formal Islamic entity was created – the ‘New Zealand Muslim Association’ (NZMA) – in Auckland. At the time, there were only around 200 Muslims in the entire country (almost all Asian or Indian).^{▼4} In April 1959 the Association purchased a residential property for use as an Islamic Centre in central Auckland and in the following year, Maulana Ahmed Said Musa Patel (1937-2009) from India arrived to serve as the first *Mullah* in New Zealand.^{▼5} Other Muslim organisations were established in Christchurch and Wellington over 1964 and 1977. In April 1979, Mazhar Krasniqi (1931–2019), was elected inaugural president of the Federation of Islamic Associations of New Zealand (FIANZ), the first national Muslim body.^{▼6} Due to substantial alterations to the immigration laws in 1987, the size of the Muslim community in New Zealand has expanded exponentially over the past three decades.^{▼7} Overall, this minority confessional group is remarkably diverse in character, ethnicity and geography. This creates challenges in making exact generalisations regarding the activities, associations, interactions and relationships of such a diffuse population.

^{▼3} See: Sabit R. Abdylil, *Bijtë e shqipes në tokën e reve të bardha* (Auckland: Universal Print & Management, 2010).

^{▼4} *New Zealand Population Census 1951, Volume III – Religious Profession*, (Wellington, 1953), p. 9; Abdullah Drury, *Islam in New Zealand: The First Mosque* (Christchurch, 2006), p. 6.

^{▼5} Drury, *Islam in New Zealand*, pp. 13-19.

^{▼6} Ainsley Thomson, ‘Mazhar Krasniqi’, *New Zealand Herald*, 31 December 2002, p. A6; Zohoor Mohammad Khan, ‘Mazhar Shukri Krasniqi’, *One Hundred Great Muslim Leaders of the 20th Century* (New Delhi: Institute of Objective Studies, 2006), pp. 157-160; Sabit R. Abdylil, *Bijtë e shqipes në tokën e reve të bardha*, pp. 67-70.

^{▼7} *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 2010, p. 106.

Na Novi Zeland albanski migranti stigli su u dva velika talasa. Godine 1951. prva grupa stigla je na brod MS Goya preko IRO-e (Međunarodna organizacija za izbjeglice, prethodnica UNHCR-a) kao izbjeglice iz socijalizma.▼⁸ Murati i Krasnići (vidi gore) stigli su ovim brodom. Druga značajna grupa došla je s Kosova tokom kasnih 1990-ih. Između ovih datuma došlo je do stalnog izvrgavanja pojedinaca i porodica dugim procedurama. Vilijam Šepard s Univerziteta u Canterburyju kaže da je većina evropskih muslimanskih imigranata "brže usvojila kivi način života, sklonija je da uđe u bračnu zajednicu s kivijem (uobičajena samoreferenca koju koriste Novozelandani) i veća je vjerovatnoća da će se ublažiti njihov muslimanski identitet".▼⁹



ILUSTRACIJA - Brod MS Goya. © Muzej pomorske historije Goya Fo7477A, Stokholm.

ILLUSTRATION - MS Goya Shi. © Sjöhistoriska museet Fo7477A, Stokholm.

▼⁸ Plowman, Peter. *Australian Migrant Ships 1946–1977*. Dural, N. S. W.: Rosenberg Publishing; 2006., str. 36.

▼⁹ Shepard, William. "Islamski doprinos: muslimani na Novom Zelandu". *Religija u novozelandskom društvu*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press; 1985, str. 182.

There have been two significant waves of Albanian migrants to settle in New Zealand. In 1951, the first cohort arrived on board the MS Goya through the IRO (International Refugee Organisation, a precursor to the UNHCR) as refugees from Socialism.▼⁸ Murati and Krasniqi (see above) arrived on this vessel. During the late 1990s, the second important group came from Kosova. In between these dates there was a steady dribble of individuals and families. William Shepard of the University of Canterbury reports that most European Muslim immigrants were 'quicker to adopt Kiwi ways, more inclined to marry into the Kiwi community, and more likely to attenuate its Muslim identity.'▼⁹



ILLUSTRATION - Disembarkation and registration of migrants from the ship MS Goya in 1951. Portrait of twenty-one-year-old Murati.
ILUSTRACIJA - Iskrcavanje i registracija migranata sa broda MS Goya 1951. godine. Portret dvadesetjednogodišnjeg Muratija.

▼⁸ Peter Plowman, *Australian Migrant Ships 1946 - 1977* (Dural, N.S.W.: Rosenberg Publishing, 2006), p.36.

▼⁹ William Shepard, 'The Islamic Contribution: Muslims in New Zealand', *Religion in New Zealand Society*, (Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press, 1985), p. 182.

Ne moramo detaljno istraživati jungovski sinhronicitet ili maladaptivne obrasce ponašanja, ali, u bilo kojem obliku ili nivou niske i visoke tačke u životu, vođe zajednice uronjene u mutne sjene političkog ponašanja dijametralno su suprotne pravednoj i moralno strogoj individui. Historijski, osnivanje i poslovanje preduzeća rijetko kad je bilo najglamuroznije ili najintelektualnije zanimanje. Međutim, Muratijeva priča ispričana je i sačuvana u izvanrednom nizu novinskih članaka i detaljnih intervjua. Oni ističu njegove riječi, čak i glas Muratijev, njegove opsežne rečenice, izbor anegdota, do odabranog rječnika i aksiomatskih pretpostavki. Budući da je Murati uložio toliko ličnog napora u karijeru, čini se da je sve neuspjeha (stvarne ili zamišljene) doživljavao kao ozbiljne lične uvrede. Je li Bajram Murati oličenje Franka Spencera novozelandskog islama, koji se kliže ispod šlepera u pokretu na autoputu? Kao albanski musliman koji je jasno meditirao o agnostičkom karakteru života u drugim kontekstima, uveo je ovaj pogled na svijet kao ključnu komponentu svog argumenta o ulozi religije. Složena, ali nijansirana međuigra i kontraigra tijela i uma bila je njegov primarni agonistički lokus; međutim, to je bila samo još jedna borba za ideju o istini iznad osnovne vrijednosti istine propozicionih iskaza.

Kakav je on čovjek bio? Šta je dalo moć njegovom karakteru? Kako je on zapravo utjecao na muslimansku zajednicu Novog Zelanda? Nikada nećemo razumjeti izbjeglicu iz komunizma ukoliko ne shvatimo da su za njega ideje bile istinska duhovna i fizička stvarnost u rangu s ljudskim strastima i emocijama.



ILUSTRACIJA - Kraljičina ulica u centralnom Aucklandu 1950. © NZ Herald image.

ILLUSTRATION - Queen Street, Auckland Central, 1950s. © NZ Herald image.

We do not need to explore the Jungian synchronicity or maladaptive behavioural patterns in detail, but in whatever guise or level, the low and high points in the life of a community leader immersed in the murky shadows of politicking and is diametrically opposed to a righteous and morally strict individual. Historically, the establishment and operation of business enterprises has seldom been the most glamorous or cerebral of occupations. However Murati's story is told and preserved in a remarkable series of newspaper articles and in-depth interviews. These capture his words, the very voice of Murati from his personal sweep of sentences, choice of anecdotes, to his chosen vocabulary and axiomatic presuppositions. Since Murati imbued so much of his personal efforts into his career, he appears to have perceived any and all setbacks (real or imagined) as serious personal slights. Was Bajram Murati the Frank Spencer of New Zealand Islam, skating under a moving articulated lorry on the motorway? As an Albanian Muslim who had clearly meditated on the agonistic character of life in other contexts, he introduced this aspect as a key component of his argument about the role of religion. The complex but nuanced interplay and counterplay of body and mind was the primary agonistic locus; however another struggle for the idea of truth was occurred here beyond the basic truth value of propositional statements.

What sort of man was he? What gave him this power of character? How did he actually affect and influence the New Zealand Muslim community? We will never understand the refugee from Communism if we do not realise that for him ideas possessed actual spiritual and physical reality on a par with human passions and emotions.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Orewa Beach, Auckland, 1950s-1960s. - Public transport towards Auckland. © National Publicity Studios.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Plaža Orewa, Auckland, 1950/1960. godine - Javni transport u pravcu Aucklanda. © National Publicity Studios.

Murati – biografska pozadina

bajram Murati rođen je 2. augusta 1930. godine u Vlorëu, velikoj luci na jugu Albanije. Njegov otac, Šerif Murat Haxhimuhaj, bio je iz Podgorice, u susjednoj Crnoj Gori. U vrijeme kada su rodbinske veze bile spas za izgradnju karijera u zemlji, Murati je rođen u dobro situiranoj porodici. Njegov otac bio je potomak jedne od istaknutih regionalnih kuća i često je putovao kao mladić. Čak i ako nije dobio nikakvo direktno vjersko obrazovanje, tokom mladosti bio je izložen okruženju koje su blagoslovili mnogi inteligentni filozofi, mislioci, pjesnici, pisci i političari, kako kršćanski tako i muslimanski. Za Albance, za razliku od većine Novozelanda, Drugi svjetski rat završio je katastrofom istinski apokaliptičnih razmjera – u doslovnom smislu. U novembru 1944. godine Komunistička partija nasilno je preuzela vlast u Albaniji i do kraja mjeseca Sherif Haxhimuhaj je javno pogubljen u Skadru, na sjeveru zemlje. Dva mjeseca kasnije, u januaru 1945. godine, Murat Isuf Haxhimuhaj, star 85 godina, djed Bajrama Muratija, pogubljen je u Skadru i nabrzinu pokopan. Bio je to kritičan i poticajan incident u Bajramovom životu. Ubistva su se dogodila tri mjeseca nakon njegovog četrnaestog rođendana. Murati je u mladosti shvatio da moć nije samo apstraktna misao ili jednostavno agonističko znanje, već i maštovito, ne samo suštinsko već i relaciono; kao fenomen, ona je postojala samo u odnosu na to kako se posmatra i doprinosi, što je značilo da ozbiljni mislioci treba da se odmaknu od mehanističkih modela zasnovanih na isključivo materijalnim osnovama.

U novinskom intervjuu iz 1979. godine, Murati je opisao svoje odrastanje. "Sa 14 godina odlučio sam da pobjegnem u Grčku. Dvije godine kasnije bio sam na brodu kao asistirani imigrant na putu za Novi Zeland." Objasnio je da su muškarci uvedeni u cijelu zemlju preko Southlanda. "Kada smo napustili brod, vladin zvaničnik nam je dao po deset šilinga i poslao nas da radimo na farmama. Od prvog paketa plaće uzeo sam jednu funtu i stavio je u poštu. Ta funta je i danas tu, a kada se penzionišem, vratiću je Vladi zajedno sa svim kamatama."¹⁰ U intervjuu iz 1981. godine, Murati je opisao sebe kao siromašnog šesnaestogodišnjaka:

Nisam znao engleski i bio sam sam. [. . .] Odveden sam sa još četrdeset ljudi u logor u Pahiatui i dobili smo desetice. Ostali smo tamo dvije sedmice da pokušamo da naučimo vaš jezik, a onda su me poslali u Invercargill da radim na farmi. Ali to nije uspjelo. Nisam bio farmer. Došao sam u Auckland i zaposlio se u pleteionici, ali nikad nisam imao novca. Sjećam se jedne nedjelje navečer kad sam došao kući, potpuno švorc, i onda sam odlučio da to nije način da se živi. Morao sam da se saberem, da napravim pristojan život za sebe.

¹⁰ „Mini Disneyland neispunjeni san“. *North Shore Times*. 25. septembar 1979:5.

Murati – a Biographical Background

bajram Murati was born on 2 August 1930 in Vlorë, a large seaport in southern Albania. His father, Sherif Murat Haxhimuhaj, was from Podgorica in neighbouring Montenegro. At a time when kinship ties were lifelines for building careers in the country, Murati was born into a well-established family; his father was a scion of one of the prominent regional houses and had travelled much as a young man. Even if he didn't receive any direct religious education, during his youth he was exposed to an environment blessed by many intelligent philosophers, thinkers, poets, writers and politicians, both Christian and Muslim. For Albanians, in contrast to most New Zealanders, WWII ended in a disaster of truly apocalyptic proportions – in the literal sense. In November 1944 the Communist Party violently seized power in Albania and by the end of the month Sherif Haxhimuhaj was publicly executed in Shkodër, in the north of the country. Two months later in January 1945, Murat Isuf Haxhimuhaj, aged 85, the grandfather of Bajram Murati, was executed in Shkodër and buried hurriedly. It was a critical and inciting incident in the life of Bajram. The murders were three months after his fourteenth birthday. Murati has realised in his youth that power was not just an abstract thought or simply agonistic knowledge but also imaginative, not merely substantive but relational; as a phenomena, it existed only in relation to how it is regarded and yielded, which meant that serious thinkers need to move away from mechanistic models predicated on a purely material bases.

In a 1979 newspaper interview, Murati explained his upbringing. “At 14 years of age I decided to escape to Greece. Two years later I was on board a ship as an assisted immigrant bound for New Zealand.” He explained that the men were introduced to the entire country through Southland. “When we left the ship, a Government official gave us 10 schillings each and sent us out to work on farms. From my first wage packet I took one pound and put it in the Post Office. That one pound is still there today, and when I retire I shall send it and all the interest back to the Government.”^{▼10} In a 1981 interview, Murati described himself arriving as a penniless 16 year old:

I couldn't speak English and I was quite alone. [. . .] I was taken with 40 others to a camp at Pahiatua and given 10s. We stayed there two weeks to try to learn your language then I was sent to Invercargill to work on a farm. But that didn't work out – I wasn't a farmer. I came to Auckland and got a job in a knitting mill but I never had any money. I remember one Sunday night I came home, utterly broke, and I decided then that was no way to live. I had to pull myself together, to make a decent life for myself.

^{▼10} 'Mini Disneyland a dream denied', *North Shore Times*, 25 September 1979, p.5.

Njegovo je govorništvo nadahnuto i lijepo formulisano, bez sudskih, tehničkih ili jako konciznih, pedantnih klasičnih citata koji zavise od pojedinosti. Kada je Murati stigao u Auckland, taj grad je bio pod anglosaksonskom upravom više od stotinu godina i postao je prepoznatljiv kulturni i ekonomski centar: mjesto frenetične aktivnosti, intenzivne debate i sestrijskih brakova. Murati je bio jako ambiciozan i nije planirao odlazak na selo kako bi živio miran usamljenički život, tako da je preseljenje u Auckland obilježilo jedan od najznačajnijih perioda njegovog života i doprinijet će njegovom kasnijem ubrzanom ekonomskom uspjehu i iskustvu vodstva u zajednici. Očigledno je da je Albanac prekovremeno radio u mlinu i štedio svaki peni, dok nije skupio 250 funti, koje je iskoristio kao depozit na mjestu za spavanje i doručak na 27. College Hillu, u dobi od 19 godina.^{▼11} Zanimljivo je da je Direktorijum pošte Wises za 1962. godinu ovu zgradu identifikovao kao "Murati apartmane" i naveo Bajrama Muratija kao trgovca ribom na 10. Bellevue Ave na Mt. Edenu.^{▼12}



ILUSTRACIJA - Pogled iz Partingtonovog mlina prema Mount Edenu s Karangahape Roadom (u prvom planu), Grafton Gullyjem (lijevo), Symonds Street i grobljem (u sredini) te crkvom Svetog groba (lijevo od središta) u pozadini.

© Aucklandska biblioteka, 1-W414.

ILLUSTRATION - View from Partington's Mill towards Mount Eden with Karangahape Road (foreground), Grafton Gully (left), Symonds Street and cemetery (centre) and Holy Sepulchre Church (left of centre) in background. © Auckland Library, 1-W414.

▼11 Kennedy, Graeme. "Čovjek iz snova iz kasina kojem je dosta svega". *Auckland Star* (večernje izdanje). 19. septembra 1981:6.

▼12 *Direktorijum pošte Wise's Post Office*. Volume 1. Auckland City: 1962-1963, str. 281.

His oratory is lofty and finely-phrased, rather than forensically technical or full of compressed, pedantic classical quotations that hinge on minutiae. When Murati arrived in Auckland it had been under Anglo-Saxon governance for over one hundred years and had become a distinctive cultural and economic centre: a place of frenetic activity, intense debate and sororate marriages. Murati possessed many ambitions and retiring to the countryside to live a quiet life of solitude was not one of them, so the move to Auckland was one of the most significant periods of his life and would provide the catalyst for much of his subsequent economic success and community leadership experience. Evidently the Albanian asked for overtime at the mill and saved every penny until he had £250 which he used as a deposit on a bed-and-breakfast place at 27 College Hill, aged 19 years.^{▼11} Curiously the Wise's Post Office Directory for 1962 identified this building as the 'Murati Apartments' and listed Bajram Murati as a fish merchant at 10 Bellevue Ave in Mt Eden.^{▼12}



ILLUSTRATION - Current offer in the sale of fish, Mt. Eden 60s.
ILUSTRACIJA - Aktualna ponuda u prodaji ribe, Mt. Eden 60-tih.

^{▼11} Graeme Kennedy, 'The Casino dream man who has had enough', *Auckland Star* (evening edition), 19 September 1981, p.6.

^{▼12} *Wise's Post Office Directory*, Volume 1, Auckland City 1962-1963, p.281.

MUSLIMS IN N.Z. HOPE FOR AID TO BUILD A

The Straits Times, 29 January 1964, Page 12



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Bajram Murati na Međunarodnoj islamskoj konferenciji u Kuala Lumpuru. © Press, 1. februar 1964.

MOSQUE

MUSLIMS IN N.Z. HOPE FOR AID TO BUILD A MOSQUE

KUALA LUMPUR, Tues. — The difficulty of establishing a mosque in New Zealand will be brought to the notice of the World Muslim Congress regional conference which begins here on Friday.

New Zealand's only delegate to the conference, Mr. Bajram Murati, 30, said this today after he arrived here by air.

Mr. Murati said: "There are 500 Muslims in New Zealand but they are living all over the country.

"This in itself presents a problem for setting up a mosque but the main stumbling block is lack of money."

He would be asking the conference for help in setting up a mosque.

Lack of books

Mr. Murati said: "Another point that I will be raising is the difficulty we have in getting Muslim religious books."

A big problem that faced New Zealand Muslims was the fact that there were no religious officials.

"We only have two religious teachers for the 500 Muslims in the country," he said.

Mr. Murati is a political refugee from Albania who migrated to New Zealand in 1951 after fleeing to Greece from Albania in 1949.

This afternoon a five-man delegation arrived from Formosa to attend the conference, which will be opened by the Prime Minister, Tengku Abdul Rahman.



ILLUSTRATION - Bajram Murati at the *International Islamic Conference* in Kuala Lumpur. © Press, February 1, 1964.

Nije jasno kada je Murati počeo da se interesuje za poslove muslimanske zajednice, ali je u februaru 1964. godine u novinama širom Novog Zelanda objavljeno njegovo prisustvo na međunarodnoj islamskoj konferenciji u Kuala Lumpuru. Kako je tamo dospio i ko ga je pozvao ostaje misterija, ali članak je posebno značajan jer je to bila njegova prva javna izjava na ovoj planeti Zemlji i važan odraz njegovog vjerskog zavjeta.

Novozelandski musliman pozvao je na modernizaciju učenja islama. Bajram Murati, porijeklom iz Albanije, predstavlja Novi Zeland na muslimanskoj konferenciji u jugoistočnoj Aziji. Tridesetogodišnji trgovac nekretninama rekao je novinarima da je jedini medij za podučavanje u islamu ostao arapski. "Ukoliko ne dođe do promjene u ovoj metodi, naša religija neće napredovati", rekao je on. "Mi smo u zastoju. Moramo da nadoknadimo vrijeme. Islam bi trebali širiti inteligentni višejezični misionari, a trebali bi postojati opsežni prijevodi Kur'ana."^{▼13}

To je izvanredno hrabra izjava i lijepa slika, umjetničko djelo teatra – nema sumnje da je Muratijeva umišljenost ovdje prilično briljantna. Kao musliman, Murati je vjerovao da je *Jevm el-kijame*, Sudnji dan, neminovan, a njegov svečani i hitni vjerski zadatak bio je – osigurati da što veći broj ljudi izbjegne vatru pakla. Želio im je pomoći da ispune Allahove zahtjeve i zato je, povremeno, bio blago snažan i otvoren u svom predstavljanju islama i njegovih pratećih propisa. Njegovi stavovi bili su socijalno inkluzivni, ali je njegova poruka muslimanima bila otvorena. Sociološki gledano, dispozicija i temperament dubokog religijskog vjerovanja takvi su da je normativno rasuđivanje o sredstvima i ciljevima, putevima i rizicima često naknadno razmatrano, a obično površno kada se suprotstavi pojmu sveprisutnog, svemogućeg i neograničenog božanstva sposobnog da donese čudesne posljedice. Naravno, Bajram Murati bio je racionalan mislilac, sa stabilnim shvatanjem dinamike zajednice i istinitosti, ali je Allaha doživljavao u ovom vjerskom svjetlu – iako s pogledom na tešku realnost svog vremena.

Dva dana kasnije u drugom članku objavljeno je da "novozelandski muslimanski lider" želi da u dominionu Novog Zelanda vjeru islam šire imami odnosno muslimanski učitelji koji govore engleski jezik. On je na regionalnoj konferenciji Svjetskog muslimanskog kongresa obavijestio da "iako sada imamo imama na Novom Zelandu, on ne govori engleski jezik. Tako da je gotovo nemoguće za njega da podučava našu djecu, ili da širi glas islama po cijelom Novom Zelandu." On je naveo da su muslimanske vjerske knjige nedostupne i da zemlja nema odgovarajuću džamiju. "Uvjeravam vas da će, kada budemo imali džamiju, to dovesti do boljeg razumijevanja islamske religije kod naroda Novog Zelanda, čija je jedina religija sada kršćanstvo."^{▼14} Morali su biti oslobođeni rizika od vječnog prokletstva, na ovaj ili onaj način. Ako ostavimo bezbrižnost na stranu, Murati ustvari ovdje ističe značajnu poentu.

^{▼13} „Islamsko učenje retardirano“. *Press*. 1. februar 1964:15.

^{▼14} „Imam: Potrebna džamija za Novi Zealand“. *Press*. 3 februar 1964:13.

It is not clear exactly when Murati started to take an interest in Muslim community affairs but in February 1964 he was reported in the newspapers across New Zealand, attending an international Islamic conference in Kuala Lumpur. How he got there and who invited him remains a mystery, but the article is especially significant because it was his first public pronouncement on this earth and an important reflection of his religious testament. The Christchurch Press noted: 'A New Zealand Muslim has called for a modernisation of the teaching of Islam. Mr Bajram Murati, originally from Albania, is representing New Zealand at a South-East Asian Muslim conference here. The 30-year old property dealer told reporters the only medium for instruction in Islam remained Arabic.

Unless there is a change in this method, our religion will not prosper," he said. "We are at a standstill. We must catch up with the times." Islam should be spread by intelligent multi-lingual missionaries, and there should be wide translations of the Koran. ▼¹³

It is a remarkably bold statement and a lovely image, an artful piece of theatre – there can be no doubt that Murati's conceit here is a rather brilliant one. As a Muslim, Murati believed that *Yawm al-qiyamah*, the end day, was imminent and thus he had a solemn and urgent religious task to perform – to ensure as many folk as possible avoided hellfire. He wanted to help them fulfil the requirements of Allah and was therefore, on occasion, slightly forceful and blunt in his presentation of Islam and its attendant precepts. His views were socially inclusive but his message to fellow Muslims was blunt. Sociologically, the disposition and temperament of deep religious belief is such that normative reasoning about the means and ends, the pathways and risks, are often of secondary consideration, and usually pale when contrasted to the notion of an omnipresent, omnipotent and limitless deity capable of delivering miraculous consequences. Naturally, BM was a rational thinker, possessing a steady grasp on communal dynamics and veracity, but he perceived Allah in this confessional light – albeit with an eye on hard temporal realities.

Two days later another article pronounced that “a New Zealand Muslim leader” wanted the services of an English-speaking Imam, or Muslim teacher, to spread the faith of Islam in the Dominion. He informed the regional conference of the world Muslim congress that “although we now have an Imam in New Zealand he does not speak English. So it is almost impossible for him to teach our children, or to spread the gospel of Islam throughout New Zealand.” He stated that Muslim religious books were absent and the country did not have a proper mosque. “I can assure you that when we do have a mosque it will bring a better understanding of the Islamic religion to the people of New Zealand whose only religion now is Christianity.” ▼¹⁴ They had to be delivered from the risk of eternal damnation, one way or another. Glibness aside, Murati in fact makes a significant point here.

▼¹³ 'Islam Teaching Retarded', *Press*, 1 February 1964, p.15.

▼¹⁴ 'Imam, Mosque Wanted For New Zealand', *Press*, 3 February 1964, p.13.

Nije jasno kakvu je tačno religijsku aktivnost Murati imao na umu. Da li je želio mullaha koji bi mogao pisati književne tekstove ili razviti islamsku filozofiju života prilagođenu stvarnosti novozelandskog društva? Ili je sanjao o nekakvom omjeru i revalorizaciji teoloških vrijednosti? Ovi novinski članci ni u jednom detalju ne otkrivaju njegove kreativno-religijske težnje, a čini mi se malo vjerovatno da ih je u ovoj fazi u potpunosti sam sebi jasno formulisao. Njegova tema bila je ontologija ogromnog domena koja nije bila samo teorijska već iskustvena i utilitarna. Međutim, Murati je sa sigurnošću znao da treba da evoluirao od tipa osrednjeg vođe sektaške zajednice koji govori o drugima, u primarnu ličnost o kojoj drugi pričaju i pišu. Jasno je i da su putovanja Muratiju dala osjećaj za raznoliku kulturu i geografiju svijeta izvan Albanije i Novog Zelanda. Uronio je u drugačije tradicije i jezike iz prve ruke, postavljao relevantna pitanja i mnogo naučio.

Važno je napomenuti da se čini da nikada nije savladao arapski ili klasični arapski, pa je tako njegovo znanje Kur'ana bilo polovično i filtrirano. Izgleda da uopće nije studirao s ulemom koja je živjela na Novom Zelandu ili u Južnom Pacifiku. Čini se da nije prisustvovao predavanjima, nije učestvovao u bilo kakvim raspravama unutar muslimanske zajednice (naprimjer, o valjanosti obilježavanja Milada). Možda se nije slagao sa mnogo toga što se učilo ili propovijedalo u javnom diskursu, ali izgleda da nije bio zainteresovan za prihvatanje ili pobijanje popularnih ideja drugih teologa, filozofa ili vjerskih lidera. Prihvatio je da drugi posjeduju istinu, ali nije bio zainteresiran za detaljne rasprave o duhovnosti. (Ne treba zanemariti činjenicu da su njegovo pisanje i izjave bili pod utjecajem popularnih muslimanskih intelektualnih i filozofskih pretpostavki, teorija i tako dalje.) Čini se da je odmah i u potpunosti shvatio da se Kur'an najbolje razumije kao diskurzivni komentar svakodnevnih poslova i iskustava poslanika Muhammeda i njegovih prijatelja tokom 23 godine, i nikada nije bio zamišljen kao sistemski traktat o etici, moralu ili zakonodavstvu (iako će, svakako, pobožni muslimani shvatiti tekst kao definitivnu, doslovnu i konačnu objavu čovječanstvu od Allaha).

Zašto je uspješni biznismen poput Muratija bio motiviran da se bavi vjerskim aktivnostima? Historijski i filozofski, svijet i sebstvo možda su imali ogromne ili čak tragične razmjere, ali Murati je odlučio da eksperimentiše s netragičnom stranom života, znanja i optimizma koristeći neku vrstu strateške neustrašivosti. To je bila kontradikcija koja je ostala s njim do kraja života. Jasno se nadao da će odrediti koliko daleko ga to može odvesti, i šta će se desiti ako bi djelovao ili artikulisao nekoliko mogućih linija mišljenja; po svoj prilici, uzbuđenje intelektualne jurnjave nikada se ne bi utajilo. Murati se posvetio režimu otvrdnjavanja svog pogleda protiv pretjeranih emocija ili patosa, utvrđujući svoju volju za jasnoćom i trezvenošću protiv jedinstvene privlačnosti grubog materijalizma.

Godine 1967. novine širom Novog Zelanda objavile su – na naslovnoj strani – da je vođa lokalne muslimanske zajednice Bajram Murati poslao telegram predsjedniku Egipta Naseru izražavajući punu podršku arapskoj vojnoj akciji na Bliskom istoku. Identifikovan kao portparol Novozelandske muslimanske asocijacije (NZMA), Murati je objavio da je poruka poslana nakon sastanka članova

It is unclear precisely what kind of religious activity Murati had in mind. Did he want a mullah who could compose literary texts or develop an Islamic philosophy of life tuned to the realities of New Zealand society? Or was he dreaming of some kind of ratiocination and revaluation of theological values? These newspaper articles do not reveal his creative-religious aspirations in any detail, and it seems unlikely to me that he had fully formulated them clearly in his own mind at this stage. His theme was an ontology of a vast domain that was not merely theoretical but experienced and utilitarian. However, Murati knew for a certainty that he needed to evolve from the type of mediocre sectarian community leader who talked about others, into a primary character about whom others talk and write. It is also clear that travel gave Murati a feeling for the diverse culture and geography of the world outside Albania and New Zealand. He immersed himself in alien traditions and languages first hand, asked pertinent questions and learnt much.

It is noteworthy that he appears to have never mastered Arabic or classical Arabic, and thus his knowledge of the Quran was second-hand and filtered; he does not seem to have studied with the Ulema resident in New Zealand or the South Pacific at all. He does not appear to have attended lectures or participated in any debates within the Muslim community (for example, over the validity of the Milad celebrations). He may have disagreed with much that was taught or preached in the public domain but does not seem to have been interested in accepting or refuting popular ideas of other theologians, philosophers or religious leaders. He accepted that others possessed truth but was uninterested in detailed debates about spirituality. (This is not to ignore the fact that his own writing and pronouncements were extremely influenced by popular Muslim intellectual and philosophical presuppositions, theories and so forth.) He does appear to have understood immediately and totally that the Quran is best understood to be a discursive commentary on the ongoing affairs and experiences of the prophet Muhammed and his entourage over 23 years, and was never intended as a systemic treatise on ethics, morality or legislation (although certainly, devout Muslims will comprehend the text to be the definitive, literal and final revelation to mankind by Allah.)

Why was a successful businessman like Murati motivated to pursue religious activities? Historically and philosophically, the world and the self may have possessed vast or even tragic proportions, but Murati chose to experiment with the non-tragic side of life, knowledge and optimism employing a kind of strategic fearlessness. It was a contradiction that was to stay with him for the rest of his life. Clearly, he hoped to determine how far it could be taken, and what would happen if he acted or articulated several possible lines of thought; in all probability, the thrill of the intellectual chase would never be sated. Murati dedicated himself to a regimen of hardening his gaze against excessive emotion or pathos, fortifying his will to clarity and sobriety against the singular allure of crass materialism.

In 1967 newspapers across New Zealand reported – usually on the front page – that a local Muslim community leader, Bajram Murati, had sent a cablegram to President Nasser of Egypt expressing full support of Arab military action in the Middle East. Identified as a spokesman for the New Zealand Muslim Association (NZMA), Murati announced that the message was sent after a meeting of members of the

udruženja u Aucklandu. "Novozelandsko muslimansko udruženje u potpunosti podržava arapski cilj, moralno i materijalno ako je potrebno. Molim vas, prenesite naša osjećanja svim liderima i ljudima arapskog svijeta."▼¹⁵ Ove primjedbe iznijele su ono što je Murati očekivao od vodstva zajednice: morali su ići dalje od jednostavnih papagajskih propozicionih istina i trebali bi pristupiti pitanjima na egzistencijalan, pragmatičan i javni način. Bilo bi pošteno reći da su etika, pravda i moral bili doživotna opsesija za izbjeglicu, posebno nakon njegovih iskustava tokom i nakon Drugog svjetskog rata u Albaniji. Za Muratija, činilo se da je islamski koncept bio na 'istini' ako je demonstrirao i/ili ilustrovao dovoljno maštovitu i poticajnu moć da se suprotstavi nepravdi i tiraniji. Samo ta ideja može dati dostojanstvo životu. U bezbroj društava, politika i kultura, etika i moral smatrani su sistemima koji prevazilaze jednostavne pojmove razlikovanja dobra i zla i dopiru do suštine razlikovanja istine od neistine. Razmišljajući o tim idejama i temama, kada je počeo artikulirati svoje stavove u medijima, shvatio je da osnovno ljudsko stanje zapravo proizlazi iz čovjekovog odnosa prema Bogu. Čovjek – *dividuum* u tradicionalnim zapadnim filozofskim propisima – može i mora imati odnos prema sebi i spram Svemogućeg. Privatni građanin nije bio harmoničan, već neskladan entitet. Život pojedinca, a time i život društvenih kultura u cjelini, stoga se vrtio oko niza samoispitivanja.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Palestinski-izbjeglički-kamp-Nahr-al-Barid-Libanon. (Arhiv Akšamija)
ILLUSTRATION ~ Palestinian-refugee-camp-Nahr-al-Barid-Lebanon. (Archive of Akšamija)

▼¹⁵ "Kabl Naseru". *Press*, 12. juni 1967:1. Vidi također: "N. Z. muslimani podržavaju arapski cilj". *Novi Zeland Herald*. 12. juni 1967:1; "N. Z. Moslems Pledge Support". *Otago Daily Times*. 12. juni 1967:5.

association in Auckland. Apparently, the cablegram read: “The New Zealand Moslem Association fully supports the Arab cause, morally and materially if need be. Please convey our feeling to all the heads and people of the Arab world.”^{▼15} These remarks are an observation of what Murati expected from community leadership: they had to go beyond simply parroting propositional truths and should approach issues in a manner both existential, pragmatic and public. It would be fair to say that ethics, justice and morality were a lifelong obsession for the refugee, especially after his experiences during and after World War Two in Albania. For Murati, it seems that an Islamic concept possessed 'truth' if it demonstrated and / or illustrated a sufficiently imaginative and stimulating power to oppose injustice and tyranny. Only this idea could confer dignity upon life. Across myriad societies, polities and cultures, ethics and morality were regarded as systems that went beyond simple notions of differentiating good and evil, and reached to the core issues of distinguishing truth from falsehood. As he contemplated these subjects and themes, and began to articulate his views in the media, he began to realise that the basic human condition was actually their relationship to God. Man – the *dividuum* in traditional Western philosophical precepts – can and must relate to both himself and the Almighty. The private citizen was not a harmonious entity but a discordant one. The life of the individual, and the thus the life of social cultures as a whole, therefore revolved around a series of self-examinations.



ILLUSTRATION - Bajram Murati, had sent a cablegram to President Nasser. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA - Bajram Murati, poslao je telegram egipatskom predsjedniku Nasseru. (Arhiv Akšamija)

^{▼15} “Cable to Nasser”, *Press*, 12 June 1967, p.1; See also: “N.Z. Moslems Support Arab Cause”, *New Zealand Herald*, 12 June 1967, p.1; “N.Z. Moslems Pledge Support”, *Otago Daily Times*, 12 June 1967, p.5.

Dva mjeseca kasnije, u augustu, Murati je kupio hotel New Criterion u ulici Albert, u centru Aucklanda. Porodica kaže da nikada nije govorio o svojoj prošlosti i da su osjećali da se uvijek osvrće preko ramena, misleći na progon albanske tajne policije. Navodno, u početku su živjeli u hotelu jer je to njemu i njegovoj porodici pružalo određeni stepen sigurnosti. Kada je sagradio kuću na obali Hibiskusa, bio je okružen zidom visokim osam stopa a prostorije su imale samo jedan ulaz. Podnio je zahtjev za pretvaranje hotelskih prostorija u običan javni bar ili kafanu, prebacivši fokus sa smještaja na prodaju alkohola, ali je Komisija za kontrolu licenciranja to odbila. U aprilu 1970. godine, uprkos tome što je bio fudbaler bez veze s ragbi-ligom, ustanovio je nagradu „Brian Murati“ za lokalne zvaničnike ragbi-lige, a novine su ga opisale kao "dobrodušnog Albanca".^{▼16} Početkom 1972. godine prodao je hotel kompaniji Fletcher Development Co. Ltd. Poput Mavericka, Murati nije bio čovjek kojeg je lahko razumjeti.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Hotel New Criterion u ulici Albert, centar Aucklanda, u vlasništvu Muratija. (Arhiv Akšamija)
ILLUSTRATION ~ The New Criterion Hotel on Albert Street, central Auckland, owned by Murati. (Archive of Akšamija)

^{▼16} Berry, Trevor. „Publican's Prize“. *Auckland Star* (večernje izdanje). 11. travnja 1970:35.

Two months later in August, Murati purchased the New Criterion Hotel on Albert Street in central Auckland. Family say he never spoke about his past and that they felt he was always looking over his shoulder, thinking of the long arm of the Albanian secret police. Apparently, this is why they lived in a hotel initially, giving him and his family some degree of security. When he built the home on the Hibiscus Coast, it was surround by an eight foot high wall and the premises possessed only one entrance. He applied to convert the hotel premises into a regular public bar or tavern, transitioning from a focus on accommodation to a focus on the sale of alcohol, but this was declined by the Licensing Control Commission. In April 1970, despite being a football soccer player with no connections to rugby league, he created the "Brian Murati Award" for local rugby league officials and was described by the newspapers as a 'genial Albanian'.^{▼16} Early in 1972 he sold the Hotel to Fletcher Development Co. Ltd. Something of a maverick, Murati was not an easy man to understand.



ILLUSTRATION - In April 1970, Bajram Murati initiated and established the "Brian Murati" award for members of the local rugby league in Auckland. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA - Bajram Murati je aprila 1970. godine inicirao i ustanovio nagradu "Brian Murati" za članove lokalne ragbi lige u Auckland. (Arhiv Akšamija)

^{▼16} Trevor Berry, 'Publican's Prize', *Auckland Star* (evening edition), 11 April 1970, p.35.

Vrhunac njegove igre

Tokom 1970-ih Bajram Murati se pojavio kao ozbiljan vođa zajednice, kako u muslimanskim tako i u nemuslimanskim krugovima. Razvio je protivljenje politici kolege Albanca Mazhara Krasnićija u NZMA-i i osnovao vlastitu islamsku agenciju. Njegov moral bio je na visokom nivou. (Možda je, ukratko, najbolji način karakterizacije morala visokog nivoa da se uzme u obzir da pojedinac koji je moralan ima kapacitet za fizičku agresiju, ili čak nasilje, ali je također sposoban da kontroliše i reguliše tu stranu svoje ličnosti na civilizovan i konstruktivan način.) Pridružio se slaboj struji neodobravanja, navodeći kao razlog pohlepu, neprivrženost i nevjerstvo prema islamskim običajima u NZMA-i. Međutim, u određenoj mjeri, njegova pobjeda bila je Pirova pobjeda, a cijena je bila visoka, tj. diskreditacija njegove reputacije skromnog muslimana i vođe ljudi. Do 1980-ih, njegova borba bila je donekle izgubljena, ostatak života proživjet će u pažljivo njegovanom dostojanstvu, ali i u relativnoj zbunjenosti. Bez obzira na mišljenje o Muratiju, on ostaje veći od života, u očima mnogih, nezaboravan i staložen lik koji je govorio što misli, slijedio svoje strasti i volio i svoju porodicu i svoju zajednicu.



ILUSTRACIJA - Mazhar Krasnićij (desno), Auckland, 2011. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - Mazhar Krasnićij (right), Auckland, 2011. (Archive of Akšamija)

The Height of His Game

In the 1970s Bajram Murati emerged as a serious community leader, in both Muslim and non-Muslim circles. He developed an opposition to the policies of fellow Albanian Mazhar Krasniqi in the NZMA and established his own Islamic agency. His was a high order morality. (Perhaps, briefly, the best way of characterising higher order morality is to consider that an individual who is moral has the capacity for physical aggression, or even violence, but is also capable of controlling and regulating that aspect of his persona in a civilised and constructive manner.) He joined a faint chorus of disapproval alleging cupidity, partisanship and infidelity to Islamic practices in the NZMA. However, to some extent, his was a Pyrrhic victory, the primary cost being the discrediting of his reputation as a modest Muslim and a leader of men. By the 1980s, his cause somewhat lost, he would live out the rest of his days in carefully composed dignity but relative obscurity. Whatever opinions were expressed of Murati he remains larger than life in many respects: an unforgettable and *sangfroid* character who spoke his mind, followed his passions, and loved both his family and community.



ILLUSTRATION - Bajram Murati founded his own Islamic agency in New Zealand. (Archive of Akšamija)
ILUSTRACIJA - Bajram Murati je osnovao vlastitu islamsku agenciju u Novom Zelandu. (Arhiv Akšamija)

U jednom trenutku između 1971. i 1973. godine, Murati je izgradio kuću u predgrađu Aucklanda Orewa i nazvao je "Vila Barakat" ('Kuća blagoslova' u čudnoj mješavini latinskog i arapskog). Otprilike u isto vrijeme, kupio je odmaralište na obližnjoj plaži Puriri.



ILUSTRACIJA - Predgrađe Orewa, Auckland.

ILLUSTRATION - A suburb of Orewa, Auckland.

U julu 1973. godine Murati je nakratko ušao u svijet jahtinga. S ushićenjem je ustanovio "Trofej Briana Muratija" (koji je dizajnirao David Barker) s novčanom nagradom od 250 dolara. Poznatiiji kao "domaćin rudnika" u hotelu Windsor Park, u zaljevu Mairangi, Murati je već donirao 1.000 dolara jedriličarskom klubu Auckland. Sekretar kluba P. L. Quinn rekao je: "Gospodin Murati, koji dodjeljuje sedmičnu nagradu Auckland Rugby League, zainteresovan je za njegovanje interesa mladih." ^{▼17}

Godinu dana kasnije, sa jakim sjedištem u Orewi, hrabri Albanac takmičio se na izborima za gradonačelnika Oklanda. Gospodin Brajan Murati je zaštitio svoju ženu i porodicu od nasilja Oklanda. Kao jedan od pet kandidata za gradonačelnika, Murati je obećao da će usvojiti snažnu politiku javnog

^{▼17} "\$1000 Yachting Trophy for one-of-a-kind". *New Zealand Herald*. 11. oktobar 1973:10.

At some point between 1971 and 1973, Murati built a house in the Auckland suburb of Orewa and called it the “Villa Barakat” (‘house of blessings’ in a curious mixture of Latin and Arabic). Around the same time, he purchased a holiday resort at nearby Puriri beach.

At some point between 1971 and 1973, Murati built a house in the Auckland suburb of Orewa and called it the “Villa Barakat” (‘house of blessings’ in a curious mixture of Latin and Arabic). Around the same time, he purchased a holiday resort at nearby Puriri beach.

In July 1973 Murati briefly entered the world of yachting. He cheerfully initiated the “Brian Murati Trophy” (designed by David Barker) with a \$250 cash prize. Newspapers reported: ‘better known as “mine host” at the Windsor Park Hotel at Mairangi Bay’ Murati had already donated \$1000 to the Auckland Sailing Club. The Club secretary P.L. Quinn said: ‘Mr Murati, who presents a weekly award to the Auckland Rugby League, is interested in fostering the interests of youth. ▼¹⁷



ILLUSTRATION ~ Windsor Park Hotel, in Mairangi Bay.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Hotel Windsor Park, u zaljevu Mairangi.

▼¹⁷ ‘\$1000 Yachting Trophy for one-of-a-kind’ *New Zealand Herald*, 11 October 1973, p.10.

reda i zakona.^{▼18} Na novinskoj fotografiji prikazan je u svom domu sa suprugom i djecom, noseći iznenađujuće vučiji osmijeh koji je upućivao na pomalo tamnu dušu. (U članku se dalje opisuje njegova izuzetna rezidencija: očigledno je sam iskopao temelje za kuću u mavarskom stilu. Smješteno na parceli od 4.250 kvadratnih metara, imanje je ograđeno zidovima i kovanim željeznim kapijama. Veći dio poda kuće bio je prekriven tirkiznim tepihom.) Novinar je također razumio da je nedjelja porodični dan i da tog dana nikada nije obavljen nijedan posao. Tokom života bio je čovjek širokog ukusa i kulture: omiljeni automobili su mu bili Holdens, omiljeni film mu je bio "Grk Zorba", omiljena muzika Nila Dajmonda, dok mu je omiljena bila pjesma Koni Frensis *Never on a Sunday*.



ILUSTRACIJA - Predizborna kampanja 1974. - iskazani Muratijev interes za kulturu i istančani ukus. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - Election campaign in 1974 - expressed Murati's interest in culture and refined taste. (Archive of Akšamija)

U drugom novinskom članku, kandidat za gradonačelnika Aucklanda (opisan kao "tvrdoglavi vlasnik hotela") govorio je o planovima proširenja svog odmarališta od 23 hektara na obali Hibiskusa, "samo pola milje od njegovog glamuroznog mavarskog doma". Muratijev prijedlog uključivao je "vještačko navodnjavanje oko 25 hektara parka od 150 hektara. U parku ispresijecanom vještačkim jezerima,

^{▼18} "Olakšanje u njihovoj Orewa osami". *Sunday Herald*. 25. august 1974:60.

A year later, firmly based in Orewa, the plucky Albanian contested the Auckland mayoral elections. The newspaper reported: 'Mr Brian Murati has sealed his wife and family off from the violence of Auckland. One of five candidates for the mayoralty, Mr Murati has promised to adopt a strong law-and-order platform.'^{▼18} The newspaper photograph featured him at his home with his wife and children, bearing a surprisingly wolfish grin that suggested a slightly dark soul. (The article went on to describe his remarkable residence: apparently he had dug the foundations for the Moorish style house himself. Located on a 4250sq foot plot, the property possessed eight foot walls and wrought iron gates. Most of the floor of the house was covered in turquoise carpet.) It was also understood that Sundays was family day and that no business was ever conducted on that day. Throughout his life he was a man of broad tastes and culture: his favourite cars were Holdens, his favourite film was 'Zorba the Greek', his preferred music was Neil Diamond, whilst his favourite song was 'Never on a Sunday' by Connie Francis. In another newspaper article, the candidate for the Auckland mayoralty (described as a 'hard-headed hotel owner') talked about expansion plans for his 23 acre holiday resort property on the Hibiscus Coast, 'only half a mile from his glamorous Moorish home.' Murati's proposal involved 'flooding about 25 acres of a 150-acre park. Dotted in the artificial oceans he sees clusters of islands, the home of birds, animals and Disney-like attractions for all the family.' He was unable to state where or when exactly, and insisted the project – wonderfully nicknamed 'Murati-land' – preceded his bid for the Auckland mayoralty. This time the newspaper featured the Albanian beside a lone donkey resident in his park.^{▼19} Perhaps ironically, in person Murati was not exactly a chiselled example of Mediterranean masculine vigour, more resembling a happily retired Presbyterian cleric than a Greco-Roman sculpture. His pose, looking directly at the camera with a gentle smile, exude confidence, intimacy and immediacy, or at least as much confidence as one could expect in the presence of a live donkey. Other contenders for the job were not so conscientious. In the following month, Murati publicly criticised the present Mayor, suggesting his support from the Citizens and Ratepayers Association undermined the independence of the post.^{▼20} That put a knot in his tail and he later claimed to have experienced a heart attack from the pressure of the election. He retired from the contest before the formal vote in October 1974.^{▼21} Over such issues, it is perhaps unnecessary to linger, and discretion and charity will induce the reader to draw a polite veil.

Almost a decade later, in a Metro magazine interview, Murati observed retrospectively:

^{▼18} 'Relief in their Orewa seclusion', *Sunday Herald*, 25 August 1974, p.60.

^{▼19} 'Disneyland no dream', *Sunday Herald*, 1 September 1974, p.64.

^{▼20} 'About face by Mayor says Murati', *Auckland Star*, 2 September 1974, p.25.

^{▼21} Graeme Kennedy, 'The Casino dream man who has had enough', *Auckland Star* (evening edition), 19 September 1981, p.6.

vidi grupe ostrva, dom ptica, životinja i Diznijeve atrakcije za cijelu porodicu. Nije mogao navesti gdje i kada tačno, te je insistirao da je projekt – čudesno nazvan 'Muratiland' – prethodio njegovoj kandidaturi za gradonačelnika Aucklanda. Ovog puta u novinama je prikazan Albanac pored usamljenog magarca koji živi u njegovom parku.^{▼19} Možda ironično, lično Murati nije bio baš isklesani primjer mediteranske muške snage, više nalik sretno penzionisanom prezbiterijanskom svešteniku nego grčko-rimskoj skulpturi. Njegov stav, dok gleda direktno u kameru s blagim osmijehom, odiše samopouzdanjem, intimnošću i neposrednošću, ili sa barem onoliko samopouzdanja koliko se moglo očekivati u prisustvu živog magarca. Ostali kandidati za posao nisu bili tako savjesni. U narednih mjesec dana, Murati je javno kritikovao gradonačelnika, sugerišući da njegova podrška Udruženju građana i poreskih obveznika podriva nezavisnost te funkcije.^{▼20} To ga je unazadilo i kasnije je tvrdio da je doživio srčani udar zbog pritiska pred izbore. Povukao se prije formalnog glasanja u oktobru 1974. godine.^{▼21} Možda je nepotrebno o takvim pitanjima dalje diskutovati, te će diskretnost i dobronamjernost čitatelja potaknuti da prekrije cijelu priču jednim pristojnim velom.



ILUSTRACIJA - Bajram (Brajan) Murati - Promotivni skup za izbor gradonačelnika Aucklanda 1974. (Arhiv Akšamija)
ILLUSTRATION - Bajram (Brian) Murati - 1974 Auckland Mayoral Campaign Rally. (Archive of Akšamija)

^{▼19} "Disneyland bez snova". *Sunday Herald*. 1. septembar 1974:64.

^{▼20} „O obrazu gradonačelnika, govori Murati“. *Auckland Star*, 2. septembar 1974:25.

^{▼21} Kennedy, Graeme. "Čovjek iz kasina kojem je dosta svega". *Auckland Star* (večernje izdanje). 19. septembra 1981:6.

I would have approached the people frequently through the news media. I would have appealed to them for support in cleaning up the city. Auckland is the most frightening city in the world. It is the dirtiest city in the world. The law is too lenient. ▼²²

Here is a typical example of his lacerating style of polemic. These details assert the individuality of the interlocutor and convince the reader that we are observing his true ideas in his own words. It is laced with a peculiar type of subtle and withering sarcasm. It is clever and cutting. It is difficult not to conclude that Murati would, indeed, have made an excellent Mayor of Auckland.

On Murati's part, it was an oratorical masterpiece, but only one of many recorded in the newspapers over the years. In fact, the articulations made by Murati in the newspapers can be approached as an especially efflorescent instance of the implementation of an implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) positive epistemology. As such, the assertion of this essay is that such an approach would not simply provide elucidations on such complex theological proclivities, but rather shed potentially valuable hermeneutical light on his words, functioning as a utilitarian thread running through it. Consequently, the focal points here consist of queries regarding knowledge and its disclosure, the function of language and religion, and so forth. Murati was clearly very competent and professional in all his dealings, and it is evident that he found great personal reward in helping others; he was visibly keen to facilitate the benevolent development of the talents of other folk, providing employment and economic opportunity for many individuals to pursue their careers and succeed.

It is not clear when Bajram Murati parted ways with the NZMA. The tides of history are indeed often fickle and capricious. One suspects he was drop-kicked sometime after the 1967 Nasser telegram. On 14 January 1975 Murati and Mohammed Iqbal from Sri Lanka created the 'New Zealand Council of the World Muslim Congress' (hereafter NZC/MWC). William Shepard was informed that a Yugoslav Muslim named 'Muhammed Fard' was also a member but this has never been independently confirmed nor has the identity of this bloke been clarified. ▼²³ The pairing up was unobvious and in our era, like some point in ancient Arabian mythology, nobody seems to know how it happened exactly; none of the available paperwork explains their introduction or relationship but it appears to have been quasi-functional. (Several years later, in a 1983 newspaper interview, Murati described the NZC/MWC as the 'watchdogs of Islam'.) ▼²⁴ In July 1975 they made the front page of the main Auckland newspaper, the New Zealand Herald, with their spectacular public proposal to build a \$3 million mosque in Freeman's Bay funded by the headquarters of the World

▼²² "The Immigrants: Brian Murati", *Metro*, Number 16, October 1982, p.46.

▼²³ Abdullah Drury, *Islam in New Zealand: The First Mosque* (Christchurch, 2006), p. 21.

▼²⁴ Warren Berryman, 'Insensitivities created halal meat difficulties', *National Business Review* (19 December 1983), p.13.

Skoro deceniju kasnije, u intervjuu za magazin Metro, Murati se osvrnuo:

Često sam se obraćao ljudima preko medija. Apelovao bih na njih za podršku u čišćenju grada. Auckland je najstrašnji grad na svijetu. To je najprljaviji grad na svijetu. Zakon je previše blag.^{▼22}

Evo tipičnog primjera njegovog polemičkog stila. Ovi detalji potvrđuju individualnost sagovornika i ubjeđuju čitaoca da posmatramo njegove istinske ideje kroz njegove riječi. Pomiješan je s posebnom vrstom suptilnog i uvenulog sarkazma. Govori razumno i oštro. Teško je ne zaključiti da bi Murati zaista bio odličan gradonačelnik Aucklanda.

Sa Muratijeve strane, to je bilo govorničko remek-djelo, ali samo jedno od mnogih zabilježenih u novinama tokom godina. Ustvari, Muratijevim izjavama koje je dao novinama može se pristupiti kao posebno blistavim instancama implementacije implicitno (a ponekad i eksplicitno) pozitivne epistemologije. Kao takva, tvrdnja ovog eseja jeste da takav pristup ne bi jednostavno pružio objašnjenja o složenim teološkim sklonostima, već bi prije osvijetlila potencijalnu vrijednost njegovih riječi, koje funkcionišu kao utilitarna nit koja se kroz njih provlači. Shodno tome, ovdje su ključna pitanja u vezi sa znanjem i njegovim otkrivanjem, funkcijom jezika i religije itd. Murati je očito bio vrlo kompetentan i profesionalan u svim svojim poslovima, a vidljivo je da je našao veliku ličnu satisfakciju u pomaganju drugima. Bio je vidno željan da olakša dobronamjerni razvoj talenata drugih ljudi, pružajući zaposlenje i ekonomske mogućnosti mnogim pojedincima da nastave svoju karijeru i uspiju.

Nije jasno kada se Bajram Murati razišao sa NZMA-om. Plime historije često su prevrtljive i hirovite. Sumnja se da je izbačen negdje nakon Nasserovog telegrama iz 1967. godine. Dana 14. januara 1975. godine, Murati i Mohammed Iqbal iz Šri Lanke osnovali su Novozelandsko vijeće Svjetskog muslimanskog kongresa (u daljem tekstu NZC/MWC). William Shepard je obaviješten da je jugoslavenski musliman po imenu Muhammed Fard također bio član, ali to nikada nije nezavisno potvrđeno niti je identitet tog čovjeka razjašnjen.^{▼23} Uparivanje nije bilo očigledno i u našoj eri, kao u nekom trenutku u drevnoj arapskoj mitologiji, čini se da niko ne zna kako se to tačno dogodilo; nijedan od dostupnih dokumenata ne objašnjava njihovo uvođenje ili vezu, ali čini se da je bila kvazifunkcionalna. (Nekoliko godina kasnije, u novinskom intervjuu iz 1983. godine, Murati je opisao NZC/MWC kao "zaštitnike islama").^{▼24} U julu 1975. godine dospjeli su na naslovnu stranu New Zealand Herald, glavnih novina u Aucklandu, sa svojim spektakularnim javnim prijedlogom da se izgradi džamija u Frimanovom zalivu

^{▼22} „Doseljenici: Brian Murati". *Metro*. oktobar 1982;(16):46.

^{▼23} Drury, Abdullah. *Islam na Novom Zelandu: Prva džamija*. Christchurch; 2006, str. 21.

^{▼24} Berryman, Warren. "Neosjetljivost je stvorila poteškoće sa halal-mesom". *Nacionalni poslovni pregled*. 19. decembar 1983:13.

Muslim Congress in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. The interview is intriguing in its presentation and conclusion, as it counters multiple points by potential opponents, elucidates the Islamic character of the endeavour, and attempts to reconcile modernity and Islam. Murati stressed that design would fit into existing New Zealand architecture and then elaborated the exceptions such as traditional Islamic building features, a 50 foot dome, a 60 foot minaret, a 200 space carpark, a library of Arabic and English books on Islam. The plan was an opulent triumph of mathematical ingenuity as much as it was of aesthetics and beauty. 'The director-general of the New Zealand Council, Mr B. Murati, said the cultural centre could be used for recreation and education purposes.' The architect, J.C. Sinclair emphasized that simplicity would be a key feature of the facility and Al-Haj Muhammad Iqbal, the secretary-general of the Council, stated that a block of 45 apartments would provide residence for overseas students and help pay maintenance costs. 'The mosque is to be named Auckland Mosque New Zealand and if Mr Murati and Mr Iqbal have their way it will be the first of a chain of mosques throughout the country.'²⁵ The New Zealand Council of the World Muslim Congress had the zeitgeist behind it (a mosque was built by another Islamic agency a few years later in a different suburb), the question was how to eventuate this zeal and these goals. In short, the plan was lethal on paper but possessed far too many revolving cogs and working parts to actually work, and nothing came of the scheme; the Congress was no Schmalkaldic League. One cannot comment much on this newspaper interview: what it really necessitates is silence and reflection.

On 8 May 1976, a Saudi delegation led by Dr Abdullah Al-Zaid from the University of Medina visited Auckland in response to appeals for assistance in uniting the Muslims of the city. He met with representatives of the four main Islamic groups, including the NZC/MWC at the Intercontinental Hotel and appointed a 'Caretaker Committee' to administer the assets and resources of all the factions until legal unification could be attained. It is unclear whether Murati attended but his deputy Mohamed Iqbal was placed on the Committee.²⁶ As long as they maintained an imperium in imperio inside the NZMA, it was utterly impossible for any proper leadership to function efficiently and they effectively remained quite independent. Murati never clearly stated what his opposition to the NZMA merger actually was with any surgical precision. One can only conjecture. He had bared the innermost workings of his soul as never before to another coterie of human beings, sensing an unparalleled profundity of mutual comprehension and goodwill between them. Together they had touched the core of his aims, objectives and talents, and he felt that they understood him completely. It seems to me that the truly unbearable realisation for the Albanian refugee was the fact that they understood him totally (or did they?) and then, with their boundless energy, vitality and numbers, he simply moved on to other characters and did not remain overly impressed with all that he had to offer as a community leader. He was relegated to be a stage in their broader communal development, rather than

²⁵ "Mosque to Cost \$3 Million", *New Zealand Herald*, 24 July 1975, p.1.

²⁶ Martin Bishop, 'A History of the Muslim Community in New Zealand to 1980', a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of M.A. in history at the University of Waikato (Waikato University, 1997), p.33.

vrijedna tri miliona dolara koju bi finansirao Svjetski muslimanski kongres sa sjedištem u Meki, Saudijska Arabija. Intervju je intrigantan u svom izlaganju i zaključku, jer se suprotstavlja višestrukim tačkama potencijalnih protivnika, razjašnjava islamski karakter tog poduhvata i pokušava pomiriti modernost i islam. Murati je naglasio da će se dizajn uklopiti u postojeću novozelandsku arhitekturu, a zatim razradio izuzetke kao što su tradicionalne islamske građevinske karakteristike, kupola od pedeset stopa, minaret od šezdeset stopa, svemirski parking od dvjesto metara kvadratnih, biblioteka s arapskim i engleskim knjigama o islamu. Plan je bio jednako raskošan trijumf matematičke genijalnosti koliko i estetike i ljepote. „Generalni direktor Vijeća Novog Zelanda B. Murati rekao je da bi kulturni centar mogao da se koristi u rekreativne i obrazovne svrhe.“ Arhitekta J. C. Sinclair naglasio je da će jednostavnost biti ključna karakteristika objekta, a Al-Haj Muhammad Iqbal, generalni sekretar Vijeća, izjavio je da će blok od 45 stanova osigurati boravak stranim studentima i pomoći u plaćanju troškova održavanja. "Džamija će se zvati Auckland džamija Novi Zeland, a ako Murati i Iqbal budu dobili odobrenje, to će biti prva džamija u nizu u cijeloj zemlji",^{▼25} navodi se u saopštenju. Novozelandsko vijeće Svjetskog muslimanskog kongresa imalo je naklonost većine iza sebe (džamiju je izgradila druga islamska agencija nekoliko godina kasnije u drugom predgrađu). Pitanje je bilo kako ocijeniti tu inicijativu i te ciljeve. Ukratko, plan je bio ubitačan na papiru, ali je imao u sebi previše rotirajućih zupčanika i radnih dijelova da bi zaista funkcionisao, i ništa se od sheme nije ostvarilo. Kongres nije bio *Schmalkaldic* liga (referenca: Savez protestantskih prinčeva protiv Svetog rimskog carstva). Ovaj novinski intervju ne može se mnogo komentarisati: on zaista zahtijeva ćutanje i razmišljanje.

Dana 8. maja 1976. godine, saudijska delegacija predvođena dr. Abdullahom al-Zaidom s Univerziteta u Medini posjetila je Auckland kao odgovor na apele za pomoć u ujedinjenju muslimana u gradu. Delegacija se sastala s predstavnicima četiriju glavnih islamskih grupa, uključujući NZC/MWC u hotelu Intercontinental i imenovala "Nadzorni odbor" za upravljanje imovinom i resursima svih frakcija dok se ne postigne pravno ujedinjenje. Nejasno je da li je Murati prisustvovao sastanku, ali je njegov zamjenik Mohamed Iqbal postavljen u Odbor.^{▼26} Sve dok su održavali imperium in imperio unutar NZMA-e, bilo je potpuno nemoguće da bilo koje zvanično rukovodstvo efikasno funkcionise te su u stvarnosti ostali prilično nezavisni. Murati nikada nije jasno i nedvosmisleno izjavio kakvo je njegovo protivljenje spajanju NZMA-e. Može se samo nagađati. On je najdublje djelovanje svoje duše kao nikada ranije prenosio drugoj grupi ljudskih bića, osjećajući neuporedivu dubinu međusobnog razumijevanja i dobre volje između njih. Zajedno su dotakli srž njegovih ciljeva i talenata, a on je osjećao da ga u potpunosti razumiju. Čini mi se da je zaista nepodnošljiva spoznaja za albanskog izbjeglicu bila

^{▼25} "Džamija će koštati \$3 miliona". *Novi Zeland Herald*. 24. juli 1975, str. 1.

^{▼26} Bišop, Martin. *Historija muslimanske zajednice na Novom Zelandu do 1980. godine*, djelomično podnesena teza u ispunjavanju zahtjeva za stepen magistarskog studija iz historije na Univerzitetu Vaikato. Univerzitet Vaikato; 1997, str. 33.

a culminating terminus. I suspect this deeply wounded him both emotionally and intellectually, personally. Perhaps he even felt abused and exploited, offended and betrayed? In his worldview, all of these perceived affronts, disdain, and insults stemmed from a tedious world of cerebral mediocrity (and he was not overly wrong in his assessment here.) A few months later, in June, Dr Inamullah Khan, secretary-general of the World Muslim Congress and a close friend and collaborator with Bajram Murati, visited the Auckland Muslim community. He spoke out against Apartheid and Zionism, and stated that he would try to raise money overseas to finance the proposed Freeman's Bay mosque.²⁷ His were challenging and visceral words in person reported on the front page of a main newspaper.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Dr. Abdullah al-Zaid's meeting with representatives of four major Islamic groups, including the NZC/MWC, was held at the Intercontinental Hotel, Auckland May 8, 1976. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Sastanak dr. Abdullaha al-Zaida sa predstavnicima četiri glavne islamske grupe, uključujući i NZC/MWC, održan je u Hotelu Intercontinental, Auckland 8. maja 1976. (Arhiv Akšamija)

²⁷ 'Moslem Please on Racism', *New Zealand Herald* (17 June 1976), p.1.

činjenica da su ga potpuno razumjeli (ili nisu?) i da je onda svojom bezgraničnom energijom, vitalnošću i brojnošću, jednostavno prešao na druge osobe i nije ostao pretjerano impresioniran svime što je imao da ponudi kao lider zajednice. Stavljani su u stranu kao prevaziđena osoba u širem društvenom razvoju, a ne kao kulminacija. Sumnjam da ga je to duboko ranilo i emocionalno i intelektualno. Možda se čak osjećao zlostavljanim i eksploatisanim, uvrijeđenim i izdanim? U njegovom pogledu na svijet, sve te percipirane uvrede i prezir proizašli su iz dosadnog svijeta intelektualne osrednjosti (i nije pretjerano pogriješio u svojoj procjeni ovdje). Nekoliko mjeseci kasnije, u junu, dr. Inamullah Khan, generalni sekretar Svjetskog muslimanskog kongresa i blizak prijatelj i saradnik Bajrama Muratija, posjetio je muslimansku zajednicu u Oklandu. Govorio je protiv aparthejda i cionizma i izjavio da će pokušati da prikupi novac u inostranstvu za finansiranje predložene Freeman's Bay džamije.▼²⁷ Njegove izazovne i tegobne riječi bile su objavljene na naslovnoj stranici glavnih novina.

Nekoliko dana prije početka ramazana, u augustu 1976. godine iz Irana su stigla dva tepiha kao poklon šaha muslimanskoj zajednici na Novom Zelandu. Ručno tkani tepisi iz okruga Kerman veličine 4 metra sa 5,21 metar i težine oko 130 kilograma imali su tamnoplavu pozadinu s kontrastnim obodom od crvenih, ružičastih, zelenih, plavih i zlatnih detalja. Godinu dana nakon što je objavljen njegov javni plan da izgradi džamiju vrijednu tri miliona dolara u Freeman's Bayu, Murati je iskoristio ovu priliku i kao generalni direktor Novozelandskog vijeća Svjetskog muslimanskog kongresa odmah je preuzeo predmete s aerodroma. U novinama su ga citirali: "Ovo je poklon iznenađenja koji je primljen s najvećom zahvalnošću. Nadamo se da će doći vrijeme kada će šah doći i klanjati u našoj džamiji."²⁸ Murati je zatim poklonjene predmete opisao kao "neprocjenjive" i dogovoreno je da ih odmah izloži široj javnosti u sjedištu obale Novog Južnog Velsa. Nakon toga osigurani su na 100.000 dolara i pohranjeni u sigurnom trezoru sjedišta novozelandskog osiguranja. Ovaj slučaj stvorio je sliku drzovitog generalnog direktora Novozelandskog vijeća Svjetskog muslimanskog kongresa. Drugi članovi novozelandske muslimanske zajednice smatrali su da su tepisi namijenjeni Islamskom centru u Oklandu, kojim upravlja NZMA. Ovo je zaista bio težak korak i Murati se decenijama suočavao s ukorima svojih prijatelja i kolega zbog svog uplitanja.▼²⁹ Kritika je bila stalni pratilac Muratijeve biografije. Iako nije bilo u njegovom karakteru da se javno žali na prozivke, Murati mora da je zamjerio na podrugljivim komentarima neinformisanih. Iako iskren u svojim motivima, Murati je i dalje izazivao bijes i gnjev nekih svojih zemljaka i drugih muslimana, posebno zbog svog učešća u iranskoj drami s tepisima.

▼²⁷ "Muslimani; Molba o rasizmu". *Novi Zeland Herald*. 17. juni 1976:1.

▼²⁸ "Pokloni za džamiju od šaha". *Novi Zeland Herald*. 25. august 1976:1.

▼²⁹ Vidjeti: Hanif Quazi: *Hibrid mira – pioniri na Novom Zelandu*. Levin; 2019, str. 203.

A few days before the start of Ramadan in August 1976, two carpets arrived from Iran as an offering from the Shah to the Muslim community in New Zealand. Measuring four metres by 5.21 metres and weighing approximately 130 kilos each, the hand-woven carpets from the Kerman district featured a dark blue panel with contrasting borders of red, pink, green, blue and gold detail. A year after his earlier public plan to build a \$3 million mosque in Freeman's Bay, Murati pounced on this opportunity like a cat on an expensive vase and as Director-General of the New Zealand Council of the World Muslim Congress he expeditiously escorted the items from the airport immediately. In the newspapers, he was quoted: 'This is a surprise gift which is most gratefully received. We hope that there will be a time when the shah will come and pray in our mosque.'^{▼28} The items were further described by Murati as 'priceless' and it was agreed to place them on display to the general public immediately at the Queen Street headquarters of the Bank of New South Wales. Afterwards they were insured for \$100,000 and stored in the strong room vault of the head office of New Zealand Insurance. There is an almost brash sort of braggadocios air to the director-general of the New Zealand Council of the World Muslim Congress in this image. However, other members of the New Zealand Muslim community felt the carpets were intended for the Islamic Centre in Auckland, operated by the NZMA. This was a grave step indeed and Murati faced reprimands and rebukes for decades from his friends and colleagues for his meddling.^{▼29} Criticism was a constant companion of Murati's biography. Although it was not in his character to bemoan issues publicly, Murati must have resented what he perceived to be an uninformed and derisive commentary. Although sincere in his motives, Murati still incurred the ire and wrath of some of his countrymen and other Muslims, especially over his involvement in the Iranian carpet drama.



ILLUSTRATION - Islamic Centre in Auckland operated by the NZMA.
ILUSTRACIJA - Islamski centar u Aucklandu kojim upravlja NZMA.

^{▼28} 'Gifts For Mosque From The Shah', *New Zealand Herald*, 25 August 1976, p.1.

^{▼29} See: Hanif Quazi, *Hybrid of Peace – Pioneered in New Zealand* (Levin: 2019), p.203.

Godine 1977. portret Bajrama Muratija naslonjenog na svoj Holden Statesman, na prilazu njegove maurske kuće, napravio je umjetnik Clive Stone u Aucklandu. Maštovito nazvan „Projekt Hibiscus Coast, stanovnici: Brian Murati, Orewa“, portret čovjeka koji stoji na travnjaku ispred svog automobila odštampan je na srebrnoj želatinskoj podlozi veličine 187x230. Godine 2015. slika je poklonjena Umjetničkoj galeriji u Aucklandu. U ovoj fazi svog života, nadživio je sopstvenog oca i obezbijedio naklonost javnog mnjenja.



ILUSTRACIJA - Clive Stone, *Projekt Hibiscus Coast, stanovnici: Brian Murati, Orewa*, Auckland 1977.
ILLUSTRATION - Clive Stone, *The Hibiscus Coast Project, Residents: Brian Murati, Orewa*, Auckland 1977.

U maju 1978. godine, Murati je objavio planove za novi veliki projekt – kazino visok šezdeset metara, zajedno s hotelom po međunarodnim standardima sa dvjesto kreveta na Centreway Roadu u Orewi. Postojala je prepreka ovoj divnoj ideji i jedan lokalni list izvještavao je s užasom: "Zbog nivoa razvoja ekološki je sumnjiva". Službenik za planiranje Okružnog savjeta Rodneya J. F. Kameron izrazio je rezerve i pokrenuo pitanja u vezi sa Zakonom o igrama, iako je Albanac sugerisao da će profit biti zakonski regulisan.^{▼30} Međutim, Vijeće zajednice Hibiscus Coasta odlučilo je podržati zahtjev hotelijera Muratija iz Aucklanda.^{▼31} Ministar turizma Lapvud rekao je da vlada neće podržati projekt. Na kraju je

^{▼30} „Orewa Casino planiran u hotelu od 14 katova“. *Novi Zeland Herald*. 16. maja 1978:1.

^{▼31} "Plan za kazino podržan". *Auckland Star*. 16. maja 1978:1.

In 1977 a portrait photograph of Bajram Murati leaning on his Holden Statesman, in the driveway of his Moorish house, was created by artist Clive Stone in Auckland. Imaginatively entitled 'The Hibiscus Coast Project, Residents: Brian Murati, Orewa', the piece is a 187X230 mm silver gelatin print image of the man standing in front of his car, presumably on his front lawn. In 2015, it was gifted to the Auckland Art Gallery. By this stage in his life, he had outlived his own father and secured the goodwill of the general public he lived with.

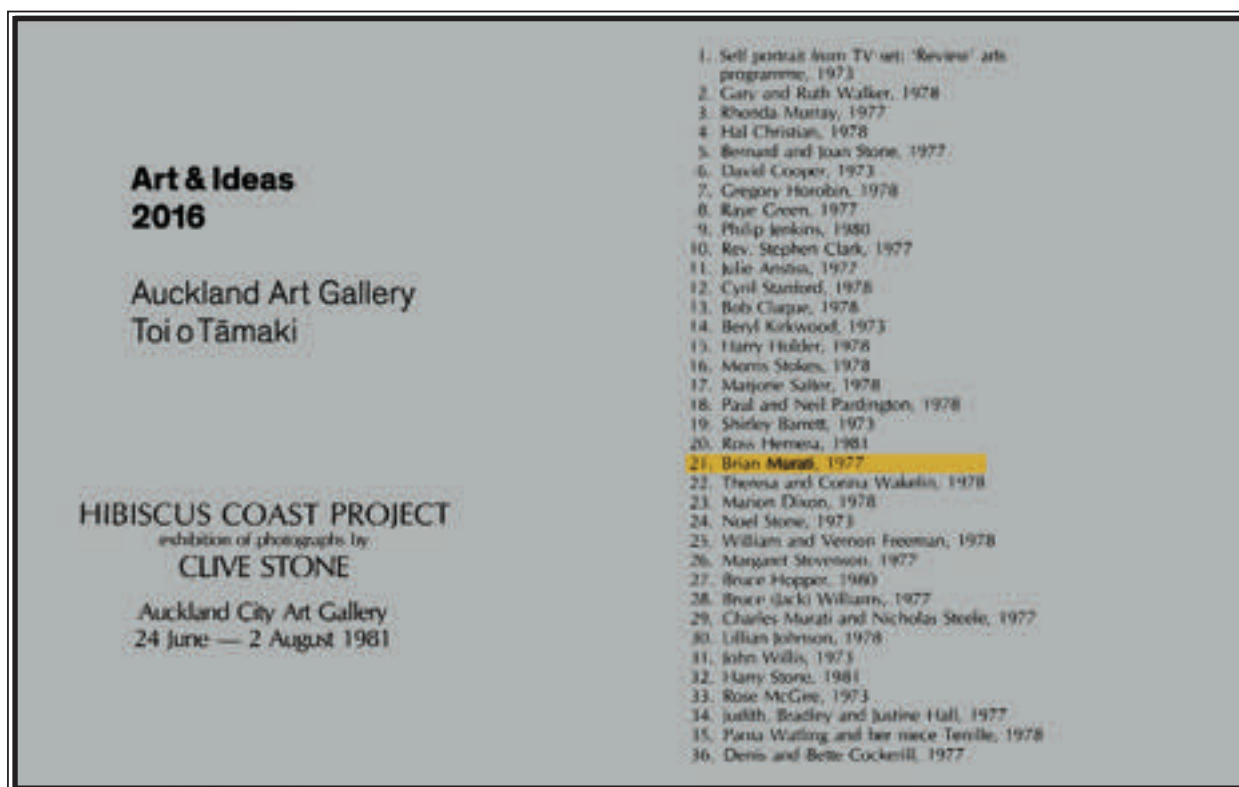


ILLUSTRATION - *Hibiscus Coast Project* by Clive Stone at the Auckland City Art Gallery and Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.
ILUSTRACIJA - *Projekt Hibiscus Coast* Clivea Stonea u Auckland City Art Gallery i Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.

In May 1978, Murati announced plans for a massive new project – a 60 metre high casino, complete with a 200-bed international standard hotel on Centreway Road in Orewa. There was a snag to this nifty idea and one local newspaper reported tersely: 'The scale of the development made it environmentally suspect.' The Rodney County Council planning officer J. F. Cameron expressed reservations and raised issues concerning the present Gaming Act, even though the Albanian suggested a percentage of the profits would go their way.^{▼30} However the Hibiscus Coast Community Council decided to support the

▼30 'Orewa Casino Planned For Hotel Of 14 Storeys', *New Zealand Herald*, 16 May 1978, p.1.

državni tužilac Wilkinson, koji je bio poslanik Rodneya, razgovarao o prijedlogu s ministrom unutrašnjih poslova Hajteom, koji je potvrdio da vlada neće dozvoliti kazino.^{▼32} Čitajući ove podatke decenijama kasnije, teško je ne saosjećati s Muratijem. S ove vremenske distance čini se da je buntovni Murati imao šarma. Elegantan i kontroverzan, iako pomalo donkihотовski – izazivao je divljenje. Šta god da je ovaj hrabri, ali nezgodni Albanac radio u prošlosti, drugdje, čitalac želi stati na stranu odvažnog, ali nespretnog Albanca protiv pomalo „samopravednog“ i snobovskog Okružnog vijeća.

Novozelandski institut za pravne informacije sadrži nekoliko zanimljivih dokumenata vezanih za Bajrama Muratija koje vrijedi ukratko istražiti jer ilustruju nešto o uobičajenim iskustvima i perspektivama malih muslimanskih imigrantskih biznismena u Aucklandu tokom ove ere.

Dana 2. oktobra 1978. godine, Komisija za kontrolu licenciranja Novog Zelanda saslušala je svjedoke u slučaju vezanom za Zakon o prodaji alkoholnih pića iz 1962. godine. R. S. Austin i F. W. Pringle iz Komisije u upravnom odboru Međunarodnog suda u zgradi Southern Cross primili su zahtjev koji se odnosio na odmaralište Puriri Park smješteno u aveniji Puriri, Orewa, značajnom trgovačkom i turističkom centru okruga Hibiscus Coast u Vijeću okruga Rodney. Područje je uključivalo plažu i razna druga odmarališta u Orewi i na poluostrvu Whangaparoa. Murati je bio vlasnik parka od 23 hektara, u čijem su se sklopu nalazila 133 karavanska mjesta na pogon, deset samostalnih turističkih motelskih jedinica, bazen, klizalište, ptičiji kavez, prodavnica kamperske opreme, zabavna dvorana, igralište za djecu i pristup šetnji grmljem u Eaves Bushu. Murati je, međutim, ustvrdio da lokacija sadrži malo kvalitetnih restorana za posjetioce. Murati je predložio da potroši svoj novac na proširenje postojećeg objekta, ali je vjerovao da će morati da prodaje alkohol kako bi preduzeće bilo finansijski održivo: potrebna je dozvola za zgradu na sjevernom kraju imanja, u kojoj se nalazio salon, restoranski bar i zabavni centar. Gospodin Sinclair, registrovani arhitekta, također je dao dokaze koji podržavaju aplikaciju. Formalna odluka Kontrolne komisije – broj 143/78 – donesena je mjesec dana kasnije, 8. novembra u Wellingtonu i zahtjev je odbijen. Očigledno su smatrali da je zahtjevom trebalo tražiti odobrenje za restoran. "Ne smatramo da su prostorije u skladu s našim minimalnim standardima za dozvole za turističke kuće."^{▼33} Murati je otvorio restoran u novembru 1978. godine, nakon što je slijedio upute za izmjene koje je predložila Komisija za licenciranje.^{▼34} Saslušanje u vezi sa zahtjevom ponovljeno je u istim prostorijama 14. marta 1979. godine. Ovog puta Muratija je zastupao L. H. Southwick, Q. C., a nekoliko svjedoka pozvano je da podrže slučaj. Međutim nisu uspjeli uvjeriti dva člana Komisije i zahtjev je odbijen ponovo 11. aprila 1979. godine.^{▼35} Nakon ove presude, novine su objavile da je Murati

^{▼32} "Nema turističke dozvole za odmaralište", *Novi Zeland Herald*. 10. novembar 1978:4.

^{▼33} *NZLCC 143* (8. novembar 1978), str. 3.

^{▼34} "Bez dozvole, pa osoblje gubi posao". *Novi Zeland Herald*. 20. april 1979:8.

^{▼35} *NZLCC 36* (11. april 1979). Odluka broj 36/79.

application by Auckland hotelier Murati.^{▼31} The Minister of Tourism, Mr Lapwood, said the government would not support the project and ultimately, the Attorney-General, Mr Wilkinson, who was the MP for Rodney, discussed the proposition with the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Highet, who confirmed the government would not permit a casino.^{▼32} Reading this data decades later, it is difficult not to feel some sympathy with Murati. From the distance of time, there is a certain charm to the fervid bombast of Murati. It is delightful – elegant and vivid, if slightly quixotic. Whatever he has done in the past, elsewhere, the reader wants to side with the plucky but awkward Albanian against the slightly self-righteous and snooty County Council.

The New Zealand Legal Information Institute contains several interesting documents related to Bajram Murati that are worth exploring briefly as they illustrate something of the ordinary experiences and perspectives of small Muslim immigrant businessmen in Auckland during this era.

On 2 October 1978 the Licensing Control Commission of New Zealand heard a case related to the 1962 Sale of Liquor Act. R.S. Austin and F. W. Pringle of the Commission at the Tribunals Boardroom in the Southern Cross Building. The application concerned the Puriri Park holiday resort situated at Puriri Avenue, Orewa, a significant commercial and tourist centre for the Hibiscus Coast district of the Rodney County Council. The area included a beach and various other holiday resorts in Orewa and the Whangaparoa peninsula. Mr Murati was the owner and proprietor of the 23 acre park that contained 133 powered caravan sites plus ten self-contained tourist motel units, a swimming pool, skating rink, bird aviary, camp shop, amusement hall, toddlers play area and access to bush walks in Eaves Bush. He asserted that the location provided little in the manner of quality dining facilities for visitors however. Murati proposed spending his own money to expand his existing facility but believed he would need to sell alcohol to make the enterprise financially viable: a licence was required for the building at the northern end of the property that housed a lounge, restaurant bar and entertainment centre. A Mr Sinclair, a registered architect, also gave evidence supporting the application. The formal decision of the Control Commission – number 143/78 – was made a month later in Wellington, dated 8 November, and was against the application. They evidently considered the proposal more suitable to a restaurant license application. 'We do not consider that the premises comply with our minimum standards for tourist house licences.'^{▼33} Consequently, Murati opened a restaurant in November 1978 after following instructions for alterations suggested by the licensing commission.^{▼34} There was a rehearing of this

^{▼31} 'Plan for casino supported', *Auckland Star*, 16 May 1978, p.1.

^{▼32} 'No Tourist Licence For Resort', *New Zealand Herald*, 10 November 1978, p.4.

^{▼33} *NZLCC 143* (8 November 1978), p.3.

^{▼34} 'No License So Staff Lose Jobs', *New Zealand Herald*, 20 April 1979, p.8.

"nerado zamolio" menadžera restorana i 35 članova osoblja da napuste posao. Lokalni poslanik McKinnon rekao je da će razmotriti Zakon o prodaji alkoholnih pića. "Murati je rekao da je potrošio nekoliko stotina hiljada dolara na razvoj parka u posljednjih sedam godina."^{▼36} Dana 28. jula 1979. godine održano je još jedno saslušanje u sali za sastanke Tribunala, 175 The Terrace, Wellington. P. J. Edwards pojavio se u ime optuženog Bajrama Muratija. Ovog puta Komisija je dala saglasnost pod uslovom da je objekt izgrađen u skladu s podnesenim i odobrenim arhitektonskim planovima i u potpunosti u skladu s važećim propisima Komisije za požar i svim zahtjevima policije.^{▼37}



ILUSTRACIJA - Regionalni park Te Rau Pūriri se nalazi u regiji Auckland na sjevernom otoku Novog Zelanda.

ILLUSTRATION - Te Rau Pūriri Regional Park is situated in the Auckland region of the North Island of New Zealand.

Nemamo evidenciju o tome što je Murati zaista rekao, ali ovako su pravni organi prepričavali razmjenu u toku procesa.

U junu 1981. godine Murati je prisustvovao Međunarodnom islamskom seminaru u Tokiju, koji su organizovali profesor Al-Haj dr. Shawqi Futaki (1900–1994) i Japanski islamski kongres. Detalji su oskudni, ali izgleda da je to bila manifestacija pacifističke islamske solidarnosti. Istog mjeseca Murati se suočio s manjim pravim postupkom jer u poslovnim knjigama nije pravilno vodio evidenciju o radnom vremenu zaposlenog osoblja. Saslušanje je održano pred Arbitražnim sudom Novog Zelanda

^{▼36} "Bez dozvole, pa osoblje gubi posao". *Novi Zeland Herald*. 20. april 1979:8.

^{▼37} *Puriri Park Restaurant [1979] NZLCC 96* (12. juli 1979). Odluka broj 96/79.

application at the same premises on 14 March 1979, this time Murati was represented by L.H. Southwick, Q.C., and several witnesses were summoned to support the case. The two Commission members remained unconvinced and declined the application, again, on 11 April 1979.▼³⁵ Following this ruling, newspapers reported that the restaurant manager and 35 staff were 'reluctantly asked' to leave their jobs by Murati. Local MP D.C. McKinnon said he would look into the Sale of Liquor Act. 'Murati said he had spent several hundred thousand dollars developing the park over the last seven years.'▼³⁶ On 28 July 1979, a further rehearing was held at the Tribunals Boardroom, 175 The Terrace, Wellington. P.J. Edwards appeared for the defendant, Bajram Murati. This time the Commission granted approval on condition that the premises have been completed in accordance with architectural plans submitted approved and in full compliance with the Commission's fire code here applicable, and any requirements of the Police.▼³⁷



ILLUSTRATION ~ Restaurant facility in Puriri Park Resort, a major shopping and tourist center of the Hibiscus Coast District.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Objekt restorana u odmaralištu Puriri Park, značajnom trgovačkom i turističkom centru okruga Hibiscus Coast.

We have no record of what Murati really said, but this is how the legal authorities recounted the exchange for posterity.

In June 1981 Murati attended the Tokyo International Islamic Seminar organised by Al-Haj Professor Dr. Shawqi Futaki (1900-94) and the Japan Islamic Congress. Details are scarce but apparently it was a

▼³⁵ NZLCC 36 (11 April 1979), Decision No. 36/79.

▼³⁶ 'No License So Staff Lose Jobs', *New Zealand Herald*, 20 April 1979, p.8.

▼³⁷ *Puriri Park Restaurant [1979] NZLCC 96* (12 July 1979), Decision No. 96/79.

17. juna 1981. godine, kada je Stephen Charles Webster, inspektor nagrada osporio / procesuirao (?) Muratija / Puriri Park Holiday Resort. Murati je lično prisustvovao saslušanju, a advokat tuženog bio je R. J. Henshaw. Očigledno je da Murati nije uspio dokazati da je u platnim listama i evidenciji tačno upisano vrijeme tokom kojeg su njegova dva zaposlena radila. Sud je konstatovao da su povrede tehničke i izrečena je kazna od 75 dolara s naredbom za plaćanje troškova svjedoka.^{▼38}

Sredinom septembra 1981. godine, o Muratiju se ponovo pisalo u novinama, kada je javno osporio prijedlog lokalnog Okružnog vijeća da se ograniče pojedinci koji su stalno nastanjeni u karavanskim parkovima odbacivši njihove tvrdnje da su motivisani zdravstvenim problemima. Albanac je naglasio da njegov park nudi širok spektar pogodnosti, kao i činjenicu da već ima 25 stalno nastanjenih stanovnika, te zaprijetio sudskom tužbom protiv Vijeća okruga Rodney. "Oni ne mogu da promijene pravo ljudi da žive kako žele i gdje žele."^{▼39}

Nekoliko dana kasnije, u svim drugim novinama Murati je u dugom intervjuu govorio o svom odrastanju u Albaniji. Govorio je o nasilnom progonu svoje porodice tamo, a svojim mandatom gradonačelnika planira da Auckland sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća učini "najboljim, najurednijim, najčistijim gradom na svijetu". Njegov je govor majstorski i uglađen i ponudio je ilustraciju koja teško da bi mogla biti više u duhu 1950-ih da ju je artikulirao i senator Joseph McCarthy. Govorio je o planovima za izgradnju kazina i zapošljavanju, prihodima koje bi ostvario za to područje, odredbama i uslugama koje bi bile dostupne.^{▼40}

„Uživa u pričanju kako ga je gost iznenadio u 3.00 sata jednog jutra dok je čistio zahode – odjeven u svoje večernje odijelo. 'Momak koji je to trebao uraditi bio je bolestan', objašnjava on, 'pa sam očistio mjesto kad sam došao kući nakon zabave – to se moralo obaviti.'"^{▼41}

U okruženju sveprisutne i intenzivne ekonomske konkurencije i rivalstva, ponašao se odgovorno i racionalno kontinuirano nastojeći da poboljša finansijsku sigurnost, prosperitet, stabilnost i uslove svoje porodice, zaposlenih i prijatelja, neprekidno tražeći prilike da maksimizira njihove izgleda i to nije beznačajno.

Nastavak u idućem broju.

^{▼38} Webster (Inspektor nagrada i sporazuma) Murati t/as puriri Park Holiday Resort (1981) (Originalni naziv) NZArbCJud 60; [1981] ACJ 185 (17. juni 1981).

^{▼39} „**Borit ćemo se – kaže Park Man**“. *Rodney i Waitemata Times*. 15. septembar 1981:1, 3.

^{▼40} Kennedy, Graeme. "Čovjek iz snova iz kasina kojem je dosta svega". *Auckland Star*. Večernje izdanje. 19. septembar 1981:6.

^{▼41} *Ibid.*

manifestation of pan-Pacific Islamic solidarity. That same month Murati faced minor legal action as he had no keep his books in order, regarding the hours worked by staff. The Arbitration Court of New Zealand heard the case on 17 June 1981 when Stephen Charles Webster, Inspector of Awards challenged / prosecuted (?) Murati / Puriri Park Holiday Resort. Murati attended in person and R.J. Henshaw served as Counsel for Plaintiff. Evidently, Murati had failed to show in his wages and time book the correct hours during which his two employees were working. The Court noted that the breaches were technical and a penalty of \$75 imposed with orders to pay expenses of witness. ▼³⁸

In mid-September 1981 Murati made the newspapers again when he publicly challenged a proposal by the local county council to restrict individuals living permanently in caravan parks and refuted their claims to be motivated by health concerns. The Albanian stressed the wide range of amenities at his park, plus the fact that there were already 25 long-term residents, and threatened legal action against the Rodney County Council. 'They cannot change the right of people to live how and where they want to live.' ▼³⁹

A few days later, in another newspaper altogether Murati talked about his upbringing in Albania in a lengthy personal interview. He talked about the violent persecution of his family there, and his mayoralty plans to make Auckland the 'best, tidiest, cleanest city in the world' in the 1970s. His words are a masterclass in genteel command and he offered an illustration that could hardly be more 1950s if it had been articulated by Senator Joseph McCarthy. He discussed the casino plans and the employment it would have generated, the revenue it would have created for the area, the services and provisions that would have been available. ▼⁴⁰

He relishes telling of how a guest surprised him at 3 a.m. one morning as he cleaned the toilets – dressed in his dinner suit. "The chap who was supposed to do it was ill," he explains, "So I mopped out the place when I got home after a party – it had to be done." ▼⁴¹

In an environment of ubiquitous and intense economic competition and rivalry, he acted responsibly and rationally by continuously striving to enhance the financial security, prosperity, stability and he conditions of his own family, his employees and friends; he ceaselessly sought opportunities to maximise their prospects and that is not trivial.

Continued in the next issue.

▼³⁸ Webster (Inspector of Awards and Agreements) v Murati t/as Puriri Park Holiday Resort [1981] NZArbCJud 60; [1981] ACJ 185 (17 June 1981).

▼³⁹ 'We Will Fight Says Park Man', *Rodney and Waitemata Times*, 15 September 1981, p.1, 3.

▼⁴⁰ Graeme Kennedy, 'The Casino dream man who has had enough', *Auckland Star* (evening edition), 19 September 1981, p.6.

▼⁴¹ *Ibid.*

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ILUSTRACIJA (desno) - Grupa emigranata u Aucklandu, 50-tih godina prošlog stoljeća. Bajram Murati sjedi prekrizanih ruku, drugi red, krajnje lijevo, iza gopodina u odjelu (Petrita) a pored dame.

ILLUSTRATION (right) - **A group of emigrants in Auckland 50s of the last century**. Bajram Murati is seated, second row, far left, behind the gentleman in the department (Petrit) and beside the lady, with hands folded.





Dr. Mustafa Cerić važi za jednog od najuticajnijih muslimanskih ličnosti današnjice. Završio je Gazi Husrev-begovu medresu u Sarajevu, a diplomirao na Univerzitetu Al-Azhar u Kairu, Egipat. Doktorirao je na Čikaškom univerzitetu pred uglednim muslimanskim učenjakom Fazlur Rahmanom. Predavao je na Međunarodnom institutu islamske misli i civilizacije u Kuala Lumpuru u Maleziji pod vodstvom prof. Naquib Al-Attasa, te kao gostujući profesor na Svjetskom univerzitetu za islamske nauke i obrazovanje, Amman, Jordan. Vodio je Islamsku zajednicu u Bosni i Hercegovini kao reisu-l-ulema i vrhovni muftija (1993 - 2012) u ratu i miru; njegovo vodstvo je imalo veliki utjecaj na domaća i međunarodna pitanja koja se tiču istine, pravde, mira i pomirenja. Dr. Cerić je zagovornik međukulturalnog angažmana, kao i mirovni aktivist; dobitnik je *UNESCO-ove nagrade za mir*, nagrade *Theodor-Heuss-Stiftung*, *Sternbergove nagrade*, *Nagrade zaklade Eugen Biser*, *Nagrade za životno djelo asocijacije UK Muslim Social Scientist*, *Nagrade Fondacije Ducci...* Napisao je *Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana*; predvodio muslimansku delegaciju inicijative *Zajednička riječ* u Vatikanu; član je *Odbora savjesti* koji se bori protiv poricanja holokausta; član je Upravnog odbora *Muslimanskog mirovnog foruma*, Abu Dabi; specijalni savjetnik šejha Abdallaha bin Bejje; počasni predsjednik *Svjetske konferencije 'Religija za mir'*; uvršten je među 50 najuticajnijih muslimana u svijetu... Redovni je član Kraljevske akademije Al al-Bajt (Jordan), a jedan je od osnivača i redovni član BANU-a (Bosna). E-Mail: cericmustafa@gmail.com

Dr. Mustafa Cerić is considered one of the most influential Muslim figures of today. He completed the Gazi Husrevbeg Madrasa in Sarajevo and earned a scholarship to Al-Azhar University in Cairo, Egypt. He received his doctorate from the University of Chicago by the mentorship of the eminent Muslim scholar Fazlur Rahman. He lectured at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, under the leadership of Prof. Naquib Al-Attas; was a Visiting Professor at the World University of Islamic Sciences and Education, Amman, Jordan. He led the Islamic Community as the Grand Mufti (Raisu-l-ulema) of Bosnia (1993-2012) in war and peace; his leadership had a major impact on domestic and international issues concerning truth, justice, peace and reconciliation. Dr. Cerić is an advocate of intercultural engagement as well as a peace activist; he won the *UNESCO Peace Prize*, *the Theodor-Heuss-Stiftung Prize*, *the Sternberg Prize*, *the Eugen Biser Foundation Prize*, *the UK Muslim Social Scientist Association Life Achievement Prize*, *Ducci Foundation Prize...* He wrote *Declaration of European Muslims*; led the Muslim delegation of the *Common Word initiative* to the Vatican; he is a member of the *Committee of Conscience* against Holocaust denial; he is a member of the Board of *Trustees of Muslim Peace Forum*, Abu Dhabi; he is a special adviser to Sheikh Abdallah bin Bayyah; he is Honorary President of *World Conference Religions for Peace*; he is listed among the 50 most influential Muslims in the world ... He is a full member of the Royal Academy Al al-Bayt (Jordan), and is one of the founders and full member of BANU (Bosnia). E-Mail: cericmustafa@gmail.com



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Mustafa CERIĆ

(HIERO) HISTORIJA I ISLAMSKA CIVILIZACIJA

(HIERO) HISTORY AND ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

Sažetak

Ovaj rad pokušava proniknuti u zasluge islamske civilizaciju u promociji napretka čovječanstva i uzroke pada i povlačenja islamske civilizacije s globalne kulturne i političke scene. Osnovna misao jeste u tome da svijetom nikad nisu vladale ni slabe ni agresivne civilizacije, već su svijetom uvijek vladale kooperativne civilizacije, među kojima islamska civilizacija može poslužiti kao dokazani povijesni primjer civilizacijske kooperativnosti. Stoga autor tvrdi da oporavak islamske civilizacije nije ni u izolaciji ni u asimilaciji, već u afirmaciji civilizacijskih vrijednosti koje su zajedničke cijelom čovječanstvu.

Ključne riječi: *islamska civilizacija, afirmativna historija, kontinuitet i promjena, inkluzivna historija, vjerski pluralizam, kulturna interakcija, izolacija, asimilacija, afirmacija*

Abstract

This paper tries to penetrate into the merits of Islamic civilization in promoting the progress of humanity and the causes of the decline and withdrawal of Islamic civilization from the global cultural and political scene. The basic thought is that neither the meek nor aggressive civilization has ever ruled the world, but the world has always been ruled by cooperative civilizations, of which the Islamic civilization can serve as a proven historical example of civilizational cooperation. Therefore, the author claims that the recovery of Islamic civilization is neither in isolation nor in assimilation, but in the affirmation of civilizational values, which are common to all mankind.

Key words: *Islamic civilization, affirmative history, continuity and change, inclusive history, religious pluralism, cultural interaction, isolation, assimilation, affirmation*

(HIERO) HISTORIJA I ISLAMSKA CIVILIZACIJA

Islamska civilizacija kao točak

fenomen islamske civilizacije može se posmatrati kao točak koji se okreće oko ose neprekidne Božanske poruke od prvog čovjeka Adama do posljednjeg vjerovjesnika, Muhammeda, a.s. Ova Božanska osovina islamske civilizacije ostala je ista jer ima isto značenje živog duha, jer ima istu logiku transcendentalne istine. Kod osovine je takav da pomiče točak islamske civilizacije u različitim smjerovima, ali uvijek ostaje u blizini ose. Dinamika kretanja točka brža je na ivici nego u centru. Osovina islamske civilizacije dar je Božanski, koji se odvija u kontinuitetu života i historije. Točak islamske civilizacije također je dar Božanski, ali je njegovo kretanje posljedica ljudskog smjera i brzine.

Otuda se postavlja pitanje: Kuda ide točak islamske civilizacije? I kojom se brzinom kreće?

Sloboda duha i snaga uma

ali prije nego što se pozabavimo ovim dvama pitanjima, želimo kazati da je civilizacija više od situacije urbanog komfora. Civilizacija je, vjerujemo, nastojanje ljudskog duha da uravnoteži sjećanje na prošlost s očekivanjem od budućnosti te da izrazi smisao života i predstavi prirodu ljudskog duha u stanju nade i straha. Doista, civilizacija je stanje duha koji je Ibn Khaldūn^{▼1} nazvao

^{▼1} Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406) bio je arapski sociolog, filozof i historičar, široko priznat kao jedan od najvećih društvenih naučnika srednjeg vijeka, a mnogi ga smatraju ocem historiografije, sociologije, ekonomije i demografskih studija. “On je osmislio i formulirao filozofiju historije, koja je nesumnjivo najveće djelo te vrste koje je ikada stvorio bilo koji um u bilo kojem vremenu ili mjestu.” A. Toynbee, A. *A Study of History*. Vol. 3. Oxford; 1934. 322. str. Vidi: Lacoste, Yves. *Ibn Khaldun: The Birth of History and the Past of the Third World*. Librairie François Maspero; 1966. 1. str.

(HIERO) HISTORY AND ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

Islamic Civilization as a Wheel

the phenomenon of the Islamic civilization may be seen as a wheel that is turning on the axis of a continuous divine message from the first Man Adam to the last Messenger Muhammad, (*a.s.*). This divine axis of the Islamic civilization has remained the same because it has the same meaning of the living spirit and because it is the same logic of the transcendental truth. The code of the axis is such that it moves the wheel of the Islamic civilization in different directions, but it remains in the vicinity of the axis. The dynamics of the movement of the wheel is faster at its edge than at its center. The axis of the Islamic civilization is the divine gift, which unfolds itself in the continuity of life and history. The wheel of Islamic civilization is the divine gift as well, but its movement is due to the human direction and speed.

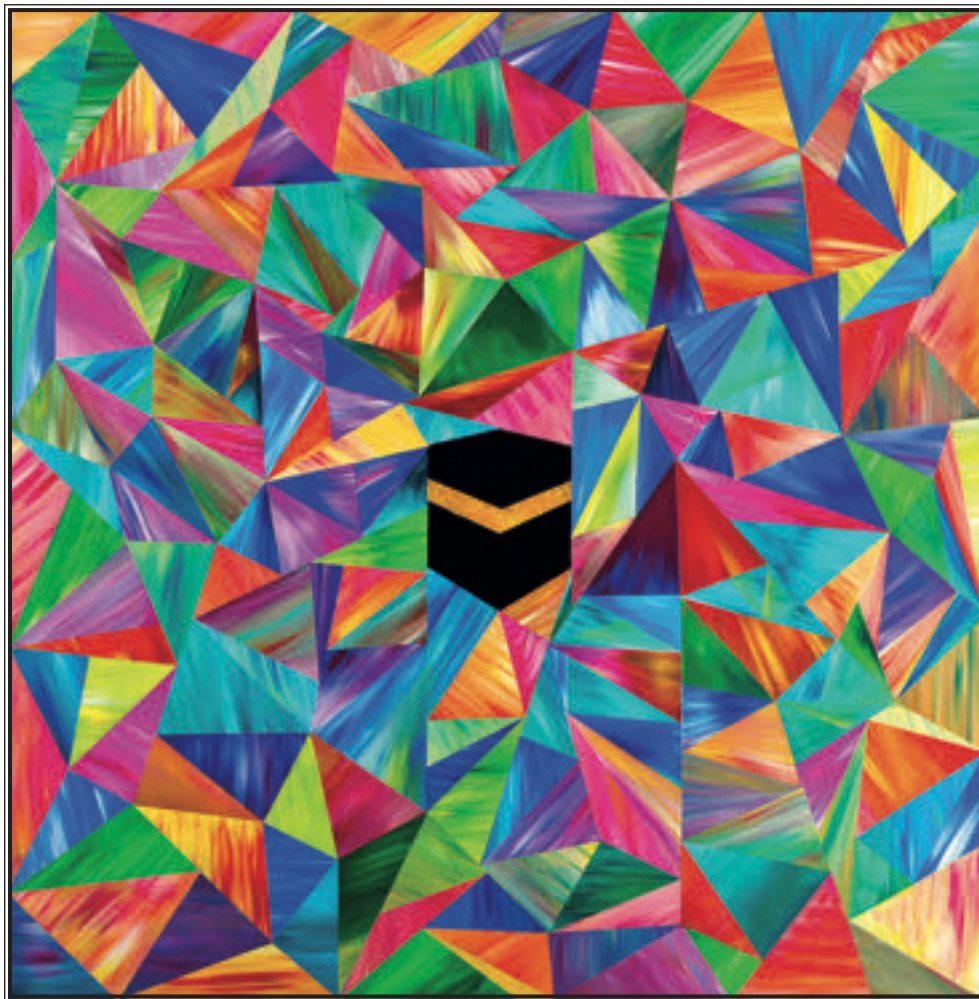
Hence, the question is: Whither the wheel of the Islamic civilization is going? And with what speed it is moving?

Freedom of Spirit and Strength of Mind

but before dealing with these two questions, let us say that a civilization is more than a situation of urban comfort. A civilization, we believe, is an effort of human spirit to balance the memory of the past by the memory of the future time, to express the meaning of life, and to present the nature of human spirit both in its hope and in its fear. Indeed, the civilization is the state of mind which Ibn Khaldun^{▼1}

▼1 Ibn Khaldun (1332 – 1406) was an Arab sociologist, philosopher, and historian widely acknowledged to be one of the greatest social scientists of the Middle Ages, and considered by many to be the father of historiography, sociology, economics, and demography studies. “He has conceived and formulated a philosophy of history which is undoubtedly the greatest work of its kind that has ever yet been produced by any mind in any time or place.” A. Toynbee, A. *A Study of History*, Oxford, 1934, vol. 3, p. 322. See, Lacoste, Yves. *Ibn Khaldun: The Birth of History and the Past of the Third World*, Librairie François Maspero, 1966, p. 1.

al-'aṣabiyyah,^{▼2} strast^{▼3} “grupnog osjećaja” za određeni ljudski život dok prelazi iz jedne faze u drugu sa svrhom samoaktualizacije u historiji. Veoma važne sile strasti (*al-'aṣabiyya*) u ljudskom životu jesu sloboda ljudskog duha i snaga ljudskog uma.



ILUSTRACIJA - Sloboda duha i snaga uma unutar civilizacije je nastojanje ljudskog duha da uravnoteži sjećanje na prošlost sa sjećanjem na budućnost. (© slika Siddiqe Jume, 2015.)

ILLUSTRATION - Freedom of spirit and strength of mind within civilization is the effort of the human spirit to balance the memory of the past with the memory of the future. (© painting by Siddiqe Juma, 2015.)

^{▼2} „Čim se formira neka vrsta društvene organizacije, nastaje 'civilizacija' (*'umrān*) (...). Ibn Khaldun odgovara da moraju postojati neki faktori, neki podstrek, da bi želja za saradnjom postojala u većem obimu među nekim ljudskim bićima nego između ostalih. Samo tako mogu nastati velike i moćne države. Ovaj faktor on naziva (*'aṣabiyyah*) 'solidarnost', 'grupni osjećaj', 'grupna svijest' (...).” Vidi: Ibn Khaldun. *The Muqaddimah – An Introduction to History*. Prev. Franc Rosenthal. Princeton: Princeton University Press; 1981. x-xi str.

^{▼3} *Strast* – snažna sklonost ili želja ili odanost prema nekoj aktivnosti, predmetu ili konceptu.

called the *al-‘aşabiyyah*,^{▼2} the passion of “group feeling”^{▼3} for a particular human life as it progresses from one stage to another with a purpose of self-actualization in history. Very important forces of the passion (*al-‘aşabiyya*) in human life are the freedom of human spirit and the strength of human mind.



ILLUSTRATION - Freedom of spirit as the passion of "group feeling" for a particular human life as it progresses from one stage to another with a purpose of self-actualization in history. (© painting by Siddiqa Juma, 2015.)

ILUSTRACIJA - Sloboda duha kao strast “grupnog osjećaja” za određeni ljudski život dok prelazi iz jedne faze u drugu sa svrhom samo-aktualizacije u historiji. (© slika Siddiqa Jume, 2015.)

▼2 “As soon as some kind of social organization is formed, ‘civilization’(‘*umrān*) results... Ibn Khaldun replies that there must be some factors, some incitement, for the desire for co-operation to exist on a larger scale among some human beings than among others. Only thus can large and powerful states have originated. This factor he calls (*‘aşabiyyah*) ‘solidarity’, ‘group feeling’, ‘group consciousness’...” See, Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah – An Introduction to History*, tras. Franc Rosenthal, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1981, pp. x-xi.

▼3 *Passion* – a strong liking or desire for or devotion to some activity, object, or concept.

Kontinuitet i promjene u životu i historiji

atribut “islamski” za civilizaciju trebao bi nas dovesti do ideje o suživotu kontinuiteta i promjene u historiji i životu.^{▼4} To je, vjerujemo, ključna tačka kojom je određen tok islamske civilizacije u prošlosti – njena sposobnost da shvati suštinski kontinuitet tradicije s mogućim promjenama u historiji. Dakle, u ovom uvijek zahtjevnom izazovu – uvažavanju kontinuiteta tradicije i prihvaćanju promjena u historiji – vidimo pravi test za budućnost islamske civilizacije u smislu njene duhovne smjelosti i intelektualne kreativnosti. Zapravo, ideja koegzistencije kontinuiteta i promjene glavna je ideja, koja je islamskoj civilizaciji osigurala neviđeni uspjeh u svjetskoj historiji. Snaga islamske civilizacije leži u pojmu afirmativne (*hiero*)historije^{▼5} (*al-taṣḍīq*) te pojmu porijekla čovjeka bez grijeha (*al-barā’at*).



ILUSTRACIJA - Islamska civilizacija je ideja o suživotu kontinuiteta i promjene u historiji i životu. (Arhiv Akšamija)
ILLUSTRATION - Islamic civilization is the idea of the coexistence of continuity and change in history and life. (Arhiv Akšamija)

▼4 “(...) historija i život sastoje se od koegzistencije kontinuiteta i promjena. Ništa u potpunosti ne nestaje (...)” Lukacs, John. *At the End of an Age*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press; 2002., 31. str.

▼5 Riječ *hijerohistorija* (*hiero* – sveto) ukazuje na ono što je u islamskoj literaturi poznato kao *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*.

Continuity and Change in Life and History

The attribute “Islamic” to civilization should lead us to the notion of the coexistence of continuity and change in history and life.^{▼4} That, we believe, is the crucial point whereby the course of the Islamic civilization has been determined in the past – its ability to comprehend the essential continuity of tradition with possible changes in history. It is, then, in this ever-demanding challenge – the appreciation of the continuity of tradition and the acceptance of changes in history – that I see the real test for the future of the Islamic civilization both in terms of its spiritual boldness and its intellectual creativity. In fact, the idea of the co-existence of continuity and change is the major idea and the one, which had provided the Islamic civilization with an unprecedented success in world history. The strength of it lies in the notion of affirmative (*hiero*) history^{▼5} (*al-taṣḍīq*) and the notion of guilt-free origin of man (*al-barā’at*).

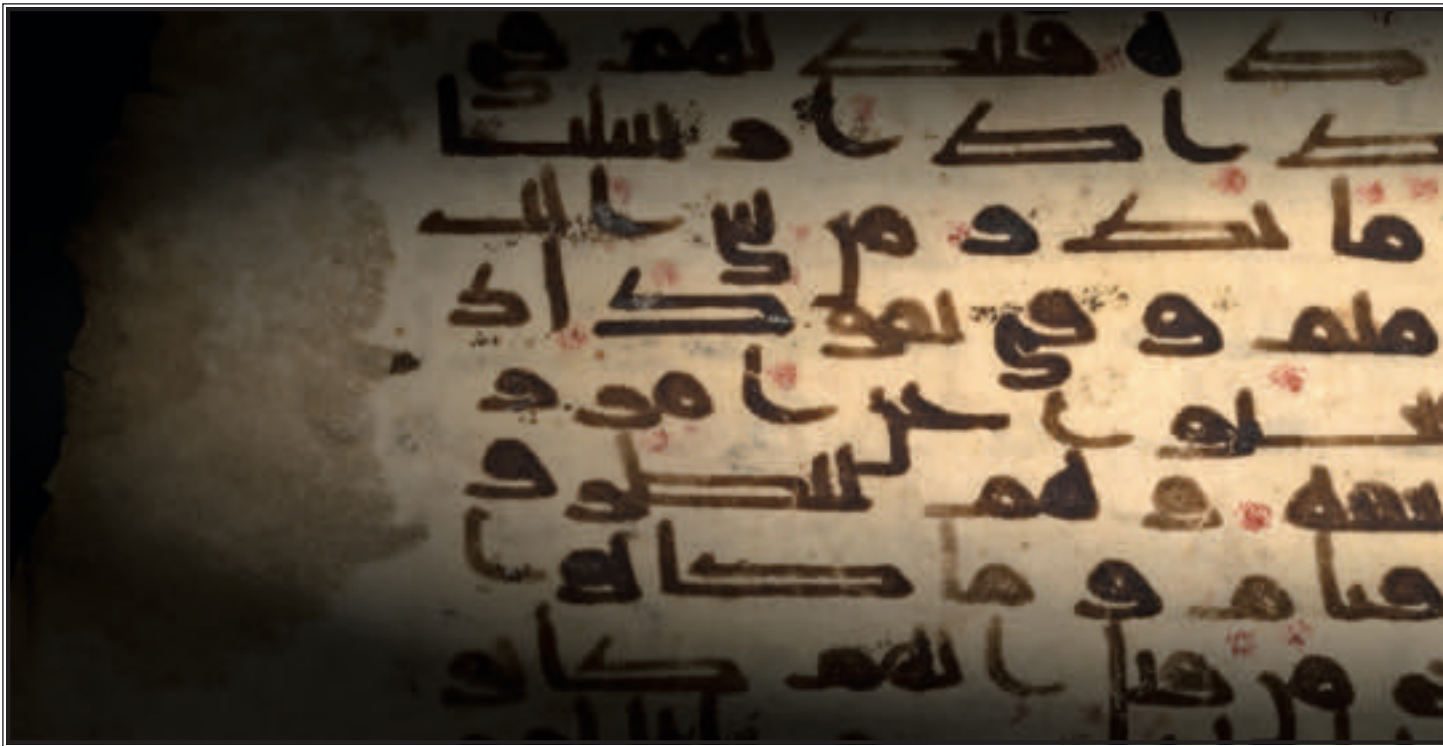


ILLUSTRATION ~ The idea of the coexistence of continuity and change is a test for the future of Islamic civilization in terms of its spiritual boldness and intellectual creativity. (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Ideja koegzistencije kontinuiteta i promjene je test za budućnost islamske civilizacije u smislu njezine duhovne smjelosti i intelektualne kreativnosti. (Arhiv Akšamija)

▼4 “... History and life consist of the coexistence of continuity and change. Nothing vanishes entirely”. Lukacs, John. *At the End of an Age*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2002, p. 31.

▼5 The word *hierohistory* (*hiero* – sacred) indicates to what is known as *qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*.



ILUSTRACIJA - Kur'an, fragment, Sura al-Dhāriyāt. Irak ili Arabija? 801. - 900. (približno). (Arhiv Akšamija)

Afirmativna historija

afirmativna (*hiero*)historija dolazi kao najuvjerljiviji dokaz da je Kur'an kulminacija sveobuhvatne Božanske poruke te da je poslanik Muhammed, a.s., univerzalni Božiji poslanik. Drugim riječima, objava Kur'ana ne iznenađuje, ne krši pravila komunikacije između Boga i Čovjeka i ne počinje niotkuda:

A prije ove bila je Musaova knjiga kao vodič i milost – što ova knjiga na arapskom jeziku potvrđuje – kako bi opomenula nepravedne i kako bi navijestila radosnu vijest onima koji čine dobra djela.^{▼6}

Allah! Nema boga osim Njega, – Živog, Samobitnog, Vječnog. On je taj koji ti je uistinu spustio Knjigu, potvrđujući ono što joj je prethodilo. On je poslao *Tawrat* (Musaov, a. s., zakon) i *Indžil* (Evanđelje od Isaa, a. s.) kao vodič za čovječanstvo te je ustanovio Mjeru prema kojoj se odvaja ono što je ispravno od onoga što je pogrešno.^{▼7}

▼6 Kur'an, 46:12.

▼7 Kur'an, 3:1-3.



ILLUSTRATION - Qur'ān, fragment, Sārat al-Dhāriyāt. Iraq or Arabia? 801 - 900 (Approximate). (Arhiv Akšamija)

Affirmative History

the affirmative (*hier*o)history comes as the most convincing proof that the Qur'an is the culmination of an inclusive divine Message and that the Prophet Muḥammad, (*a.s.*), is the universal divine Messenger. In other words, the revelation of the Qur'an does not come as a surprise, it does not break the rules of the God-Man communication, and it does not begin from nowhere:

And before this, was the Book of Moses as a guide and mercy. This book (Qur'an) affirms it in the Arabic tongue; to admonish the unjust, and as Glad Tidings to those who do right.^{▼6}

God! There is no god but He, - the Living, the Self-Subsisting, Eternal. It is He Who sent down to thee in truth, the Book, affirming what went before it. He sent down the *Tawrāt* (the Law of Moses) and *Injīl* (the Gospel of Jesus) before as a guide to mankind, and he sent down the Criterion of judgment between right and wrong.^{▼7}

▼6 Qur'an, 46:12.

▼7 Qur'an, 3:1-3.

Poslanik Muhammed (a. s.) kao *muṣaddiq*

Shodno tome, poslanik Muhammed, a. s., nije prvi, već posljednji Božiji poslanik. Historija ne počinje, niti se završava s Muhammedom, a. s. On nije buntovni revolucionar koji negira sve što je bilo prije njega.^{▼8} Poslanik Muhammed, a. s., Božiji je poslanik koji je došao da potvrdi sve dobre stvari koje su mu prethodile (*muṣaddiqan limā bayna aydihim*), ali je također tu da nauči ljude kako da izbjegnu loše stvari u životu i historiji iz iskustva dalekih ljudi i nacija.

I tako smo te poslali narodu prije kojeg su bili i nestali drugi narodi, da im kazuješ ono što ti objavljujemo, jer oni u Milostivog ne vjeruju. Reci: – On je Gospodar moj, nema boga osim Njega, u Njega se uzdam i Njemu se obraćam!^{▼9}

Inkluzivna historija

Pojam afirmativne historije (ili hijerohistorije) obogatio je muslimane idejom inkluzivnog pristupa historiji^{▼10} kao cjelini i, zauzvrat, oslobodio islamsku historiju od njenog isključivog posjedovanja. Naravno, muslimani su vrlo ozbiljno shvatili svoju krajnju ulogu nasljednika (*hier*)historije, ali nikada nisu poricali ulogu ostalih, posebno ulogu *ahl al-kitāba*, tj. jevreja i kršćana, koji se pak spore oko triju teoloških pitanja:

- oko kršćanske doktrine o Trojstvu – Ocu, Sinu i Svetom Duhu, doktrine koju judaistička teologija ne prihvata zbog implikacije o utjelovljenju božanstva;
- oko drugog dolaska Mesijae jer, prema judaističkoj teologiji, Mesija dolazi samo jednom, a nikako drugi put, nakon što je navodno ubijen ili razapet i
- oko pitanja zavjeta s Bogom, gdje kršćanska teologija negira pravo jevrejima na tevratski zavjet nakon novozavjetnog evanđelja.^{▼11}

▼8 Uporedite to s nekim nedavnim revolucionarnim pokretima u svijetu, posebno onim marksističko-lenjinističkog tipa i vidite koliko su oni bili destruktivni u ime promjene i lažnog napretka. Čak i u nekim muslimanskim revolucionarnim pokretima možemo primijetiti destruktivnu silu, koja je u potpunosti u suprotnosti s duhom islama. Ideja o nasilnom tadždīdu, obnovi, čudna je, ne odgovara kontinuitetu sjećanja kao srži islamskog identiteta i ne odražava stvarnu svrhu napretka u kontinuitetu islamske civilizacije.

▼9 *Kur'an*, 13:30.

▼10 „Historija nije društvena nauka, već nezaobilazan oblik mišljenja. Da 'živimo naprijed, ali možemo misliti samo unatrag' vrijedi ne samo za sadašnjost (koja je uvijek prolazna iluzija) već i za cjelokupni naš pogled na budućnost: jer čak i kada razmišljamo o budućnosti, to radimo tako što je se prisjećamo.” Lukacs, John. *At the End of an Age*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press; 2002., 53. str.

▼11 Važno je znati da se jevreji, kršćani i muslimani slažu da je Isa, a. S., Mesija, ali se razilaze oko njegove mesijanske

Prophet Muḥammad (a.s.) as a *Muṣaddiq*

Consequently, the Prophet Muḥammad, (a.s.), is not the first, but the last Messenger of God. The history does not begin, nor does it end with Muhammad, a.s.. He is not a rebellious revolutionary who negates everything that came before him. ^{▼8} The Prophet Muḥammad, (a.s.), is the Messenger of God who has come to affirm all the good things which preceded him (*muṣaddiqan limā bayna aydīhim*), but also he is here to teach people how to avoid bad things in life and history from the experience of far-gone people and nations.

Thus, have We sent you to a community before which [other] communities have passed on so you might recite to them that which We revealed to you, while they disbelieve in the Most Merciful. Say, "He is my Lord; there is no deity except Him. Upon Him I rely, and to Him is my return." ^{▼9}

Inclusive History

The notion of the affirmative history (or hiero-history) has enriched the Muslims with the idea of an inclusive approach to history ^{▼10} as a whole and, in turn, freed the Islamic history from an exclusive possession of it. Of course, Muslims took very seriously their ultimate role as inheritors of (*hiero*)history, but they never denied the role of others, especially the role of *ahl al-kitāb*, i.e., Jews and Christians, who, in turn, argue about three theological issues:

- about the Christian doctrine of the Trinity - Father, Son and Holy Spirit, a doctrine that is not accepted by Judaic theology because of the implication of the corporatization of the divine;
- about the second coming of the Messiah because, according to Judaic theology, the Messiah comes only once and not a second time after he had been supposedly killed or crucified;

^{▼8} Compare that with some recent revolutionary movements in the world, especially that of the Marxist-Leninist type and see how destructive they had been in the name of change and fake progress. Even in some Muslim revolutionary movements we can notice the destructive force, which is entirely in contradiction to the spirit of Islam. The idea of *tajdīd*, renewal, is a strange idea and it does not correspond to the continuity of memory as the core of Islamic identity and it does not reflect the real purpose of the progress in the continuity of Islamic civilization.

^{▼9} *Qur'an*, 13:30.

^{▼10} "History is not a social science but an unavoidable form of thought. That "we live forward but we can only think backward" is true not only of the present (which is always a fleeting illusion) but of our entire view of the future: for even when we think of the future, we do this by *remembering* it." Lukacs, John. *At the End of an Age*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2002, p. 53.

Časni Kur'an i kritika

Čitajući i učeći Časni Kur'an, musliman ne može ne osjetiti prisustvo *ahl al-kitābija*, nositelja Knjige, na gotovo svakoj stranici. Isto tako jevreji i kršćani ne mogu čitati nijednu relevantnu knjigu svjetske historije bez priznanja muslimanskog prisustva na svim poljima ljudskog života.

Naravno, Kur'an kritizira neke jevreje i kršćane, ali isto čini i nekim muslimanima. Pretpostavljam da su muslimani moralno odgovorni da ne iskoriste kritiku drugih u Časnom Kur'anu kako bi pokrili nedostatke. Ako ni zbog čega drugog, zbog činjenice da je Kur'an, kao Božija riječ, gotovo jedinstven u cijenjenju dobrote ljudi drugih religija, posebno *yahūda* i *al-naṣārā*, muslimani su dužni poštovati duh tolerancije usred vjerskog pluralizma. Evo jednog od mnogih ajeta Časnog Kur'ana, koji jasno ukazuje na to:

One koji su vjerovali, kao i one koji su bili jevreji, kršćani i Sabejci^{▼12} – one koji su u Allaha i u onaj svijet vjerovali i dobra djela činili – doista čeka nagrada od Gospodara njihova; ničega se oni ne treba da plaše niti da i za čim tuguju!^{▼13}

Religijski pluralizam

Naravno, bilo bi naivno zaključiti da ne postoje razlike između islama i drugih religija, odnosno judaizma i kršćanstva. Ovdje se ne radi o nejasnom poimanju lošeg laskanja ili jeftine vjerske propagande, već o iskrenom uvjerenju zasnovanom na najvažnijem islamskom izvoru koji podučava muslimane kako da se sami nose s vjerskim pluralizmom i kako da cijene činjenicu da ovaj svijet nije

uloge i funkcije. U judaizmu Mesija je imenovani kralj koji će vladati svijetom u danima nakon što Bog bude sudio cijelom čovječanstvu; u kršćanstvu Mesija je sam Bog u tijelu koji bi trebao umrijeti za grijeha čovječanstva i otkupiti ih; u islamu Mesija je onaj koji bi trebao ponovo doći na kraju svijeta da izvede svijet iz mraka te porazi Dedžala (Antikrista) i uvjeri sve ljude da vjeruju u Jednog Boga na način kako to islam propovijeda.

▼12 „Čini se da su Sabejci bili monoteistička religiozna grupa između judaizma i kršćanstva.” Vidi: *The Message of the Qur'an*. Prijevod i objašnjenje Muhammad Asad. Gibraltar: Dār al-Andalus; 1984., 14. str., 49. n.

▼13 *Kur'an*, 2:62.

- around the issue of the covenant with God, where Christian theology denies the right of Jews to the Old Testament of the Tora Torah after the New Testament of the Gospel. ▼¹¹

Holy Qur'an and Critique

While reading the Holy Qur'an, a Muslim cannot but feel the presence of the *ahl al-kitāb*, the People of the Book, in almost every page of it. By the same token that the Jews and Christians cannot read any relevant book of world history without recognition of the Muslim presence in all fields of human life.

Surely, the Qur'an criticizes some Jews and Christians, but it does the same with some Muslims as well. I guess, it is the Muslim moral responsibility not to take advantage of the critique of others in the Holy Qur'an in order to cover the Muslims' own shortcomings. If nothing else, but for the fact that the Qur'an, as the word of God, is almost unique in appreciating the goodness of people of other religions, especially of the *yahūd* and *al-naṣārā*, the Muslims have a duty to carry out the spirit of tolerance in the midst of religious pluralism. Here is one of many verses of the Holy Qur'an that clearly indicates to that effect:

Verily, those who have attained to faith (in this divine writ), as well as those who follow the Jewish faith, and the Christians, and Sabians ▼¹² – all who believe in God and the Last Day and do righteous deeds – shall have their reward with their Sustainer; and no fear need they have, and neither shall they grieve. ▼¹³

Religious Pluralism

Of course, it would be naïve to conclude that there are no differences between Islam and other religions, namely, Judaism and Christianity. The point here is not a vague notion of poor flattering or cheap religious propaganda, but a sincere conviction based on the most important Islamic source that teaches Muslims how to cope with religious pluralism on their own and how to appreciate the fact that this world

▼¹¹ It is important to know that Jews, Christians and Muslims agree that Jesus, may God bless him and grant him peace, is the Messiah, but differ on his messianic role and function. In Judaism, the Messiah is the appointed king who will rule the world in the days after God judges all mankind; in Christianity, the Messiah is God himself in the flesh who should die for the sins of mankind and redeem them; in Islam, the Messiah is the one who should come again at the end of the world to bring it out of darkness and defeat the Dajjal (Anti-Christ) and convince all people to believe in One God as Islam preaches.

▼¹² “The Sabians seem to have been a monotheistic religious group intermediate between Judaism and Christianity.” See, *The Message of the Qur'an*, Translated and Explained by Muhammad Asad, Dār al-Andalus, Gibraltar, 1984, p. 14, n. 49.

▼¹³ *Qur'an*, 2:62.

sastavljen od jedne religije ili jednog naroda, jer da je Bog htio da svijet bude takav, On je to mogao učiniti, ali je želio da ljudi ovoga svijeta budu raznovrsni po svojim religijama i nacijama kako bi se mogli takmičiti jedni s drugima u dobrim djelima.



ILUSTRACIJA - Religijski pluralizam - svijet nije sastavljen od jedne religije ili jednog naroda. (Arhiv Akšamija)

is not made up of one religion or one nation, because if God wanted the world to be so, He could do it, but He wanted the people of this world to be multiple in their religions and nations so that they may compete with each other in good deeds.



ILLUSTRATION - Religious pluralism - the world is not made up of one religion or one people. (Arhiv Akšamija)

Takmičenje u dobrim djelima

●
Ideja nadmetanja u dobrim djelima posebno se odnosi na tri svjetske religije Knjige: judaizam, kršćanstvo i islam, ne samo zbog njihovog prava na slično naslijeđe Knjige već i zbog njihovog naslijeđa jedinstvene historijske interakcije, koja se nije mogla izbjeći u prošlosti i njihove historijske odgovornosti, koja se ne može zanemariti u budućnosti. Upravo u toj historijskoj neizbježnosti judaizma, kršćanstva i islama vidimo nadu, ali i, moramo reći, osjećamo neku vrstu straha. Naša se nada zasniva na dobrom srcu većine, iako vrlo često tihom u svojoj dobroti, iskrenih jevreja, kršćana i muslimana koji svoj mir traže u suživotu ovih religija, a ne u sukobu.

Sličnost i razlika

nažalost, postoji vrlo glasna manjina u sve trima religijama koja, zapravo, u sličnosti judaizma, kršćanstva i islama vidi sam razlog za sukob, a ne za mir. Ovakav stav dovodi nas gotovo do zaključka da sličnost, a ne razlika, izaziva sukob, a razlika unosi poštovanje. Poznata nam je historija žestoke debate među sličnim, a ne različitim religijskim grupama, debata koja se često pretvarala u veoma nasilan sukob. Mislim na neke historijske sukobe između sunnija i šiija u muslimanskoj religiji i sukob između katolika i protestanata u kršćanstvu. Siguran sam da takvi primjeri postoje i u judaizmu.

Logika ove vrste sukoba među onima koji su slični, šta god da je to, leži u lažnoj ideji da neko – da bi zadržao čistoću svoje vjere – mora vidjeti duboku razliku u drugom koji je sličan njemu ili njoj. To je ta razlika u zajedničkoj sličnosti koja se ne tolerira. Ovo je pravo pitanje odnosa između judaizma, kršćanstva i islama danas: njihova sličnost, a ne razlika u njihovim duhovnim korijenima, njihova nada, a ne strah jednih od drugih, njihova ljubav, a ne mržnja jednih prema drugima, i pravda jednih prema drugima, a ne međusobno ugnjetavanje. ▼¹⁴

▼¹⁴ Ceric, Mustafa. "Judaism, Christianity, Islam: Hope or Fear of our Time". U: *Beyond Violence: Religious Sources for Social Transformation*. The Conference at the University of Southern California on the 5-7th of May. 2003.

Competition in Good Deeds

This idea of the competition in good deeds applies, especially, to these three world religions of the Book: Judaism, Christianity and Islam, not only because of their claim to the similar heritage of the Book, but also because of their heritage of a unique historical interaction that could not be avoided in the past and their historical responsibility that cannot be ignored in the future. It is precisely in this historical unavoidability of Judaism, Christianity and Islam that I see hope, but also, I must say, I sense a kind of fear. My hope is based on the good heart of the majority, though very often silent in its goodness, of sincere Jews, Christians and Muslims who seek their own peace in the coexistence of these religions rather than conflict.

Similarity and Difference

Unfortunately, there is a very loud minority in all three religions who, in fact, see in the similarity of Judaism, Christianity and Islam the very reason for conflict rather than peace. This kind of attitude leads us almost to the conclusion that the similarity, and not the difference, provokes the conflict while the difference brings the respect. We are familiar with the history of a severe debate among the similar, not different, religious groups, the debate that has often turned into a very violent conflict. I have in mind some historical conflicts between the Sunnites and the Shiites in the Muslim religion and the conflict between the Catholics and Protestants in the case of Christianity. I am sure that such examples exist in Judaism as well.

The logic of this kind of conflict among those who are similar, whatever it may be, lies in the false notion that in order for me to keep the purity of my religion, the deep difference must be seen of the other who is similar to me. It is this difference of his in a common similarity which is not tolerated. This is the real issue of the relationship between Judaism, Christianity and Islam today: their similarity, not the difference in their spiritual roots, their hope, not fear from each other, their love, not hate of each other, and their justice toward each other, and not oppression of each other.^{▼14}

^{▼14} Ceric, Mustafa. "Judaism, Christianity, Islam: Hope or Fear of our Time", in *Beyond Violence: Religious Sources for Social Transformation*. The Conference at the University of Southern California on the 5-7th of May, 2003.



ILUSTRACIJA - Muslimani su u prošlosti znali cijeniti različita mišljenja i bili su vođeni uvjerenjem u suživot umjesto sukoba.
(© Freerange)



ILLUSTRATION - In the past, Muslims valued different opinions and were guided by the belief in coexistence instead of conflict.
(© Freerange)

Kulturna interakcija

Treba li podsjetiti da je slavno vrijeme islamske civilizacije bilo vrijeme njene interakcije s drugim civilizacijama. Ideja izolacije strana je islamskoj civilizaciji jer je poslanik Muhammed, a. s., poslan cijelom čovječanstvu i stoga je svjedok svijetu u smislu da mu donosi milost, a ne prokletstvo: Mi smo te poslali kao milost svjetovima! (*Wa mā arsalnāka illā raḥmatan li al- ' ālamīn!*)^{▼15}

Jasno je, dakle, da su muslimani u prošlosti znali kako komunicirati s drugima koji su im bili i slični i različiti od njihove vjere i njihovih očekivanja od života i historije. Bili su vođeni snažnim vjerovanjem u afirmaciju (*al-taṣḍīq*), umjesto (*al-takfīr*) u ekskomunikaciju, bili su vođeni uvjerenjem u suživot (*al-ta' āyuš*), umjesto sukoba (*al-širā'*). Osim toga, znali su cijeniti različita mišljenja među sobom, imajući na umu isti smjer prema slavi islamske civilizacije kao zajedničkom dostignuću cijelog *ummeta*.

Balansiranje sjećanja

Pošto nismo djeca trenutka, moramo biti u stanju da uravnotežimo sjećanje na prošlost sa sjećanjem na budućnost. Upravo u ovoj tački, tj. balansiraju sjećanja na prošlost sa sjećanjem na budućnost, vidimo poteškoću u muslimanskoj sadašnjosti. Drugim riječima, muslimani se, s jedne strane, teško oslobađaju krivnje za neke prethodne historijske događaje kako bi svježim spiritualizmom i kreativnim intelektualizmom preuzeli rizik budućnosti, s druge strane.

Rođeni smo slobodni

Treba li da podsjetimo da je ideja o porijeklu čovjeka bez grijeha (*al-barā'h*) jedna od najvažnijih ideja tzv. modernosti, koja je svijet dovela do duhovnog i intelektualnog napretka, tj. humanizma i renesanse? Slogan: Svi smo rođeni slobodni i svi ljudi su jednaki pred Bogom – reakcija je na ideju da su svi ljudi rođeni s Ademovim grijehom i da su neki ljudi rođeni kao gospodari, a drugi kao robovi. Evropi su bila potrebna stoljeća i mnogi krvavi ratovi da prevaziđe ove dvije opće ideje: ideju unaprijed određenog – naslijeđenog grijeha i ideju unaprijed određenog ropstva.

▼15 *Kur'an*,21:107.

Cultural Interaction

Should I remind you that the glorious time of the Islamic civilization had been the time of its interaction with other civilizations. The idea of isolation is strange to the Islamic civilization because the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., was sent to all mankind and thus he is the witness over the world in the sense of bringing upon it the mercy and not the curse: *We have sent you as a mercy to the worlds!* (*wa mā arsalnāka illā raḥmatan li al- 'ālamīn*).^{▼15}

It is clear, then, that the Muslims in the past knew how to interact with others who had been both similar to and different from their faith and their expectations of life and history. They had been guided by the strong belief of the conformation (*al-taṣḍīq*) rather than (*al-takfīr*) denunciation, the belief of life sharing (*al-ta'āyush*) rather than conflict (*al- ṣirā'*). Furthermore, they knew how to appreciate the different opinions amongst themselves while keeping in mind the same direction towards the glory of the Islamic civilization as a common achievement of the whole *Ummah*.

Balancing Memories

Since we are not children of the moment, we must be able to balance the memory of the past by the memory of the future time. It is in this point, i.e., the balancing of the memory of the past by the memory of the future time that I see the difficulty in the Muslim present. In other words, the Muslims have difficulty, on the one hand, to free themselves from the guilt of some previous historical events and to take the risk of the future by fresh spiritualism and creative intellectualism, on the other hand.

We are Born Free

Should we remind you that the idea of sin-free origin of man (*al-barā'h*) (is one of the most important ideas of the so-called modernity, which has led the world to a spiritual and intellectual advancement, i.e., humanism and renaissance? The slogan: "We are all born free and all men are equal before God", is the reaction to the notion that all men are born with the sin of Adam and that some men are born as masters and the others are born as slaves. It took Europe centuries and many bloody wars to overcome these two general ideas: the idea of predetermined - inherited sin and the idea of preordained slavery.

^{▼15} *Qur'an*, 21:107.

Vjerujemo da jedan od razloga zašto je muslimanski svijet bio ispred ostatka svijeta leži u činjenici da je islam oslobodio čovječanstvo nasljednog grijeha i postavio pozornicu jednakih šansi za sve da pokažu svoje historijske vrijednosti.

Kulturna nesigurnost

aktuelna kriza islamske civilizacije ogleda se u nedostatku samopouzdanja, koji je nastao kao posljedica kulturološke nesigurnosti, koja se javila kada se izgubilo povjerenje u slobodu od krivice te povjerenje u jednake šanse za uspjeh u životu i historiji. Posljedično, generacije muslimana izgubile su duhovnu smjelost i intelektualnu kreativnost. Umjesto toga, vidjeli smo neku vrstu duhovne stidljivosti, koja je islamsku civilizaciju odvela u izolaciju, kao i intelektualno zaduživanje, koje je islamsku civilizaciju vodilo u asimilaciju.

Evo mogućeg odgovora na pitanje: Kuda ide točak islamske civilizacije? Ili: Kuda bi trebalo da ide od sada? U izolaciju ili u asimilaciju? Ili treba da ide putem interakcije i kooperacije?



ILUSTRACIJA - Svi ljudi su rođeni slobodni i svi su jednaki pred Bogom. (© Freerange)

ILLUSTRATION - All people are born free and all are equal before God. (© Freerange)

We believe that one of the reasons why the Muslim world was in advance to the rest of the world lies in the fact that Islam had freed humanity of an inherited sin and had set the stage of equal chance for all to show their historical merit.

We are Born Free

the current crisis of the Islamic civilization may be seen in the lack of self-confidence, which came as a result of a cultural insecurity, which was introduced with the time of losing the belief in freedom of guilt and the belief in the equal chance for a success in life and history. Consequently, generations of Muslims have lost the spiritual boldness and intellectual creativity. Instead, we have seen a kind of spiritual shyness that has led the Islamic civilization into isolation, as well as an intellectual borrowing that was going to lead the Islamic civilization into assimilation.

Here is a possible answer to the question as to: “Whither will the wheel of the Islamic civilization go”? Or whither it ought to go from here? To isolation or to assimilation? Or whether it will make its way towards an interaction and co-operation?



ILLUSTRATION ~ All people should be freed from the idea of predestined slavery. (© Freerange)

ILUSTRACIJA - Svi ljudi treba da su oslobođeni ideje unaprijed određenog ropstva. (© Freerange)

Ni izolacija, ni asimilacija, već civilizacijska afirmacija

Islamska civilizacija nije nastala ni za izolaciju ni za asimilaciju. Nastala je za interakciju i kooperaciju. Međutim, da bi išla u tom pravcu, islamska civilizacija mora odbaciti ideju historijske krivice. To se danas nameće muslimanima u smislu da sadašnja generacija mladih mora ispraviti sve greške prethodnih generacija prije nego što pomisli da unaprijedi neposrednu i dugoročnu budućnost *ummata* – univerzalne muslimanske zajednice.

Drugim riječima, savremena generacija treba da se čvrsto drži uvjerenja^{▼16} da je slobodna od grešaka iz prošlosti i tako preuzme odgovornost za budućnost svijeta ne na način izolacije, niti na način asimilacije, već na način ravnopravne kulturne interakcije i civilizacijske kooperacije. Sredina između historijske interakcije i racionalne kooperacije pravi je izlaz iz neugodnosti izolacije i rizika od asimilacije islamske civilizacije.

Vrijeme je za treću interakciju

Sada je vrijeme za treću historijsku interakciju islamske civilizacije s ostatkom svijeta, posebno sa zapadnim svijetom, nakon što je doživio interakciju u vrijeme podviga islama, a zatim u vrijeme velikog islamskog utjecaja na duhovne i intelektualne promjene na Zapadu. Ovoga puta, međutim, situacija je nešto drugačija od prethodnih dviju jer Zapad ne osjeća potrebu da išta uči od Istoka, kao što je to bio slučaj.

Naprotiv, Zapad smatra da Istok treba da oponaša Zapad u svemu, čak i u čudnom moralnom ponašanju koje je protivno ljudskoj pristojnosti kao i ljudskoj reprodukciji. Ova situacija ipak ne bi trebala udaljiti muslimane od interakcije sa Zapadom zbog trajne međuovisnosti dvaju svjetova – Istoka i Zapada – koja nije počela jučer i neće završiti do sutra.

Dozvolite mi sada da odgovorim na drugo pitanje: Kojom će se brzinom kretati točak islamske civilizacije? Brzinom njegovog centra? Ili brzinom njegove ivice?

▼16 “Uostalom, sve što čovjek radi zavisi od neke vrste vjerovanja. On će govoriti ili djelovati na određeni način jer misli da je takav način govora ili glume bolji od drugog.” Lukacs, John. *Op. cit.* 88. str.

Neither Isolation, nor Assimilation, but Civilizational Affirmation

The Islamic civilization is not made either for isolation, or assimilation. It is made for the interaction and co-operation. However, in order to go towards that direction, the Islamic civilization must reject the idea of historical guilt. It has been being imposed nowadays upon the Muslims in the sense that the current generation of youth must correct all the mistakes of the previous generations before it thinks of improving an immediate and long-term future of the *Ummah* – the Universal Muslim Community.

In other words, the contemporary generation should hold fast to the belief^{▼16} of freedom from the past mistakes and thus take responsibility for the future of the world not in the way of isolation, nor in the way of assimilation, but in the way of equal cultural interaction and civilizational co-operation. The middle ground of historic interaction and rational co-operation is the right way out from the embarrassment of isolation and the risk of assimilation of the Islamic civilization.

Time for Third Interaction

It is now the time for the third historic interaction of the Islamic civilization with the rest of the world, especially the western world, after it had experienced the interaction in the time of the venture of Islam and then in the time of the great Islamic impact on both the spiritual and intellectual change in the West. This time, however, the situation is somewhat different from the two previous ones because the West does not feel the need to learn anything from the East as it used to be the case.

On the contrary, the West believes that the East should imitate the West in everything, even in the strange moral behavior, which is against human decency as well as human reproduction. This situation though should not discourage the Muslims from the interaction with the West because of the permanent interdependence between the two worlds – the East and the West – which did not start yesterday and will not end by tomorrow.

Let me now address the second question as to: With what speed will the wheel of the Islamic civilization move? With the speed of its center? Or with the speed of its edge?

^{▼16} “After all, everything a man does depend on some kind of belief. He will speak or act in a certain way because he thinks that this kind of speaking or acting is better than another”, Lukacs, John. *At the End of an Age*, p. 88.

Centar i periferija

ali prvo, postoji li centar islama? Da, postoji centar islama, ali ne toliko u smislu geografskog kompakta, ekonomskog proizvoda ili političkog utjecaja na globalni razvoj, koliko u smislu univerzalnog identiteta, vremensko-prostorne orijentacije (*Ka'ba* – *Qibla*) i solidarnosti koja se temelji na vjeri među običnim muslimanima širom svijeta. Ove prilično apstraktne karakteristike ideje centra islama ostat će jake jer je poruka Kur'ana snažna u svojoj univerzalnosti i vjerodostojnosti za ljudski spas.

Ovdje se, dakle, ne radi o očiglednim blagoslovima Neba, već o ljudskom korištenju i zloupotrebi tih blagoslova. Niko ne može poreći blaženstvo Poslanikovog vremena i „niko ne može poreći slavu hilafeta, moć Osmanlija ili transformativni utjecaj moderne Evrope (...). Halife i sultani – barem neki od njih – zaslužuju svoju slavu (...). A iznad svega, priča o Muhammedu, a. s., i ranim sljedbenicima bila je oslonac islamskog identiteta već četrnaest stoljeća.”^{▼17} Richard Buliet nastavlja:

Ipak, pogled iz centra ostavlja previše pitanja bez odgovora. Odakle su došli svi ti muslimani? Zašto su razvili koherentnu kulturu ili civilizaciju dok je Evropa, uprkos svojoj hrišćanskoj homogenosti, bila tako razučena i raznolika?

Pogled iz centra prikazuje islamsku historiju kao izdanak iz jednog jezgra, mrlje od mastila koja se širi pod oznakom "hilafeta". Ali šta drugo osim političke etikete drži islam na okupu? I zašto je njegova politička kohezija isparila nakon nešto više od dva stoljeća, da se više nikada nije ponovila?

Pogled s ruba pruža mogućnost rješavanja ovakvih pitanja. Polazi od činjenice da većina muslimana izvan Arapskog poluotoka nisu potomci Arapa (...). Većina njih naučila je o islamu nakon što su ušli u zajednicu, a ne prije; a ono što su naučili nikada nije poprimilo homogen karakter, iako je od četrnaestog stoljeća pa nadalje postojao snažan impuls ka normativnoj homogenosti.^{▼18}

Nadalje, niko ne može poreći centralnu ulogu Arapa, Perzijanaca i Turaka u glavnoj historiji islamske civilizacije. Ali isto tako niko ne može zanemariti činjenicu da je najteži teret islamske civilizacije u posljednjim dvama stoljećima stavljen na arapska pleća. Tek nedavno počinje da se pojavljuje rub ili periferija islama i da pokazuje neke znakove okupljanja oko centra očekujući da će centar doći s inicijativom za jačanje unutrašnjeg odnosa *ummata* na globalnom nivou.^{▼19}

^{▼17} Richard W. Bulliet. *Islam: The View from the Edge*. New York: Columbia University Press; 1994., 7. str.

^{▼18} *Ibid.*, 7-8. str.

^{▼19} Vidi: Mehmet, Ozay. *Islamic Identity & Development: Studies of the Islamic Periphery*. Routledge, London & New York, 1990.

Center and Periphery

But, first is there a center of Islam? Yes, there is a center of Islam, but not so much in the sense of geographical compact, economical product, or political impact on the global development as in the sense of a universal identity, the time-space *Ka'ba - Qibla* orientation and of the faith-based solidarity among common Muslims all over the world. These rather abstract characteristics of the idea of the center of Islam will remain strong because the message of the Qur'an is strong in its universality and its credibility for the human salvation.

The issue here, then, is not about the obvious blessings of the Heaven, but about the use and misuse of those blessings by humans. No one can deny the bliss of the time of the Prophet and “no one can deny the glory of the caliphate, the might of the Ottomans or the transformative impact of modern Europe... The caliphs and sultans – at least some of them – deserve their fame... And above all, the story of Muhammad (*a.s.*) and early followers has been a linchpin of Islamic identity for fourteen centuries.”^{▼17}

Yet, continues Richard Bulliet, the view from the center leaves too many questions unanswered. Where did all those Muslims come from? Why did they develop a coherent culture or civilization while Europe, despite its Christian homogeneity, was so fractious and diverse?

The view from the center portrays Islamic history as an outgrowth from a single nucleus, a spreading inkblot labeled “the caliphate”. But what other than a political label held Islam together? And why did its political cohesion evaporate after little more than two centuries, never to reoccur?

The view from the edge holds out the possibility of addressing questions like these. It starts from the fact that most Muslims outside the Arabian Peninsula are not the descendents of the Arabs ... Most of them learned about Islam after they entered the community, not before; and what they learned never assumed a homogeneous character, though from the fourteenth century on there was a strong impulse toward normative homogeneity.^{▼18}

Furthermore, no one can deny the central role of the Arabs, the Persians and the Turks in the mainstream history of the Islamic civilization. But also no one can ignore the fact that the heaviest burden of the Islamic civilization for the last two centuries was put on the Arab shoulders. It is only recently that the edge or periphery of Islam is beginning to emerge and to show some signs of rallying around the center expecting that the center will come with an initiative to strengthen the internal relationship of the *Ummah* on a global level.^{▼19}

^{▼17} Bulliet, Richard W. *Islam: The View from the Edge*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1994, p. 7.

^{▼18} *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8

^{▼19} See: Mehmet, Ozay. *Islamic Identity & Development: Studies of the Islamic Periphery*, Routledge, London & New York, 1990.

Centar se mora kretati brže

Periferija islama postaje nestrpljiva da vidi praktičnu akciju centra, ako je centar svjestan da je zaista centar islama danas, u smislu prevođenja jedinstvenog duhovnog bogatstva islama koje se može vidjeti u jedinstvu vjere, jedinstvu smisla, jedinstvu molitava i jedinstvu sudbine. Periferija islama ne može razumjeti zašto je centar spor u rješavanju tolikih suvremenih pitanja, koja ostaju na putu moralnog, političkog i ekonomskog razvoja globalnog *ummata*. Teško je objasniti „generaciji interneta“ da muslimani ne mogu unaprijed odrediti univerzalni datum Bajrama; teško je razumnim ljudima objasniti da se globalna muslimanska politika još uvijek zasniva na pravilu da jedan član *ummata* mora izgubiti da bi drugi mogao preživjeti i teško je pristojnim ljudima povjerovati da muslimani nemaju strategiju za globalnu ekonomiju koja bi smanjila siromaštvo i povećala pismenost među muslimanima, koji po svim standardima još uvijek boluju od ovih dviju društvenih bolesti – siromaštva i nepismenosti – više od bilo koje druge religijske grupe u svijetu.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Imaju li muslimani strategiju za globalnu ekonomiju koja bi smanjila siromaštvo i povećala pismenost? (Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION ~ Do Muslims have a strategy for a global economy that would reduce poverty and increase literacy?

Center Must Move Faster

The periphery of Islam is becoming impatient to see a practical action of the center, if the center is aware that it is really a center of Islam today, in terms of translating the unique spiritual richness of Islam that can be seen in the unity of faith, the unity of purpose, the unity of prayers and the unity of destiny. The periphery of Islam cannot understand why the center is slow in addressing so many contemporary issues which stay on the way for a moral, political and economic development of the global *Ummah*. It is difficult to explain to the generation of “Internet” that the Muslims cannot determine the universal date of their Eid in advance; it is difficult to explain to rational people that the global Muslim policy is still based on the rule that one member of the *Ummah* must lose so that the other may survive; and it is hard for decent people to believe that the Muslims do not have the strategy for a global economy which could decrease the poverty and increase the literacy among the Muslims who are by all standards still suffering from these two social illnesses – poverty and illiteracy – more than any other religious group in the world.



ILLUSTRATION – The future of Muslims lies in their ability to synthesize their past memory with future history. (Archive of Akšamija)
ILUSTRACIJA – Budućnost muslimana je u njihovoj sposobnosti da sintetiziraju svoje prošlo pamćenje sa budućom historijom.

Mora se naći sinteza

muslimani danas nemaju izbora, osim da dođu do spoznaje da je njihova budućnost u njihovoj sposobnosti da sintetiziraju svoje prošlo pamćenje s budućom historijom, koja se može odvijati u unutrašnjoj suradnji svih aspekata bogatih duhovnih darova i intelektualnih plodova, kao i u vanjskoj interakciji svih mogućnosti napretka ljudskog života koje pozitivno ljudsko znanje može ponuditi pojedincu i društvu.

Samopoštovanje i međusobno povjerenje

Uz sve prethodno, muslimani danas moraju doći do tačke samopoštovanja kako bi ih i ostali poštovali i moraju znati da današnji svijet funkcionira na osnovu međusobnog povjerenja, za čiju je izgradnju potrebno mnogo više vremena nego je potrebno da se ono uništi.

Zaključak

Prema svim mjerama, islamska civilizacija danas je u krizi jer je cijelo čovječanstvo ugroženo. Postoje načini da islamska civilizacija ovu krizu pretvori u priliku. Prije svega, prioriteti *ummeta* moraju biti prepoznati kako bi svi njegovi članovi znali šta je važno i šta je zaista bitno za njegov prosperitet, mir i sigurnost. Drugo, muslimani moraju znati ko su nacije na koje se mogu osloniti kako bi jačali svoje odnose s njima. Treće, mora postojati sistem kolektivne međusobne podrške islamskog svijeta. I, dalje, mora postojati samoprocjena *ummeta* u smislu snaga i područja za poboljšanje. *Ummet* mora pokazati gdje se ističe u izvrsnosti, ne samo u kriznoj već i u situaciji kada je cijelo čovječanstvo ugroženo. Stoga je zadatak islamske civilizacije danas da čuva sjećanje na prošlost zarad budućnosti čovječanstva u smislu njegovanja civilizacijske suradnje kakva je nekada postojala u službi spasa čovječanstva kakvo mora biti kako bi preživjelo sadašnji rizik od uništenja.

There Must be a Synthese

I believe that the Muslims do not have choice today but to come to the realization that their future is in their ability to synthesize their past memory with the future history which may unfold itself in the internal co-operation of all the aspects of rich spiritual gifts and intellectual fruits as well as in the external interaction of all the possibilities of the advancement of human life that a positive human knowledge may offer to an individual and society.

Self-Respect and Mutual Trust

In addition to that, the Muslims today must come to the point of self-respect so that the others may respect them as well and they must know that today's world operates on the basis of mutual trust that requires much more time to build it than to destroy it.

Conclusion

By all measures, the Islamic civilization today is in a crisis as the whole humanity is at risk. There are ways for the Islamic civilization to turn this crisis into an opportunity. First of all, the priorities of the *Ummah* must be recognized so that all its members know what is important and what truly matters for its prosperity, peace and security. Second, the Muslims must know who are the nations that they can rely on in order to foster their relationships with them. Third, there must be a collective support system of the Islamic world across the globe. And, forth, there must be a self-assessment of the *Ummah* in the sense of strengths and areas for improvement. The *Ummah* must show where it stands out in excellence not only in a crisis but also in the situation when the whole humanity is at risk. Therefore, the task of the Islamic civilization today is to keep its memory of the past for the sake of the future of humanity in the sense of fostering a civilizational cooperation as it used to be in the service of a salvation of humanity as it must be in order to survive today's risk of annihilation.

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Essay – Esej

Mensur VALJEVAC

SAVRŠENI ČOVJEK (AL-INSĀNU AL-KĀMIL) U TAFSĪRU, ḤADĪTHU I TAŠAWWUFU

THE PERFECT MAN (AL-INSĀNU AL-KĀMIL) IN TAFSĪR, ḤADĪTH AND TAŠAWWUF

Sažetak

U ovom radu pokušali smo prikazati osnovne karakteristike islamskog učenja o „savršenom čovjeku“, koje je svoju kulminaciju doseglo u islamskoj duhovnosti, tj. *taṣawwufu*. Islamsko ili *tesavufsko* učenje o *Savršenom čovjeku* nikako se ne može dovesti u vezu sa kršćanskim ili budističkim poimanjem čovjeka, koje je antropomorfno. Za razliku od njih, kod *sufija* (*ṣūfi*) je i najsavršeniji čovjek uvijek čovjek i rob Allahov. Svaki čovjek, prema *sufijama*, potencijalno može biti individualno savršen, a zadaća tako savršenih ljudi jeste da služe drugim ljudima, nastojeći ih usrećiti na obama svjetovima, te su oni pravi nasljednici vjerovjesnika. Savršeni ljudi jesu učitelji i vodiči drugim ljudima. I bosanske *sufije*, nadahnute drugim *sufijskim* učenjacima, u svojim djelima, također, govorile su o *Savršenom čovjeku*. Njihova učenja uveliko su naslonjena na Ibn 'Arabija i Rūmija. Oni jasno negiraju bilo kakav vid panteizma, panenteizma, sjedinjenja Boga i čovjeka, utjelovljena, postajanja Boga čovjekom i sl. Prema njima, pored jednog univerzumi *Savršenog čovjeka*, također, postoje i individualno savršeni ljudi koji su jedini dostojni da budu namjesnici i vodiči drugim ljudima, kao potpuni učitelji kojima su ljudi obavezni iskazivati poslušnost i predanost. Najveći stepen individualnog savršenstva jeste najpotpunije savršenstvo koje pripada Muhammedu, *ṣallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam*, i njegovim potpunim i savršenim nasljednicima. Šejh Mustafa-efendija Čolić, u svome naučavanju o *Savršenom čovjeku*, upotrebljava jedan novi termin u bosanskom jeziku, tj. „Allahov obznambeni univerzum“. Njegovo učenje, također, naslonjeno je na učenja ranijih *sufija*, ali ima i neke nove aspekte.

Ključne riječi: *Savršeni čovjek, Ibn 'Arabī, šejh Mustafa-ef Čolić, Allahov obznambeni univerzum*

Abstract

In this paper, we tried to show the basic characteristics of the Islamic teaching about the "perfect man", which reached its culmination in Islamic spirituality, i.e., *taṣawwuf*. The Islamic or *taṣawwuf* teaching of the *Perfect Man* cannot possibly be linked to a Christian or Buddhist notion of man, which is anthropomorphic. The most perfect man is always a man and a servant of Allah. Every man, according to the *Ṣūfīs*, can potentially be individually perfect, and the task of such perfect men is to serve other people, striving to make them happy in both worlds, and they are the true heirs of the Prophets. *Perfect men* are other people's teachers and guides. Bosnian *Ṣūfīs* inspired by other *Ṣūfī* scholars also spoke of the *Perfect Man* in their works. Their teachings are largely based on Ibn 'Arabī and al-Rūmī. They clearly deny any form of pantheism, panentheism, union of God and man, incarnation, becoming God through man, etc. According to them, in addition to a universally *Perfect man*, there are also individually perfect men who are the only ones worthy of being Prophets and guides to other people, as complete teachers to whom people are obliged to show obedience and devotion. The highest degree of individual perfection is the most complete perfection that belongs to Muḥammad, *ṣallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam*, and his complete and perfect successors. Sheikh Mustafa-effendi Čolić, in his teaching on the *Perfect Man*, uses a new term in the Bosnian language „Allahov obznambeni univerzum“, which may be translated as "Allah's Meaningful Universe." His teaching, too, is based on the teachings of earlier *Ṣūfīs*, but it also has some new aspects.

Key words: *Perfect Man, Ibn 'Arabī, Sheikh Mustafa-effendi Čolić, Allah's Meaningful Universe*

SAVRŠENI ČOVJEK (*AL-INSĀNU AL-KĀMIL*) U TAFSĪRU, ḤADĪTHU I TAŞAWWUFU

Uvod

Jedan od najznačajnijih koncepata (*mafhūm*) koji je tokom historije nastao u okrilju islama, a kasnije se razvijao unutar islamske duhovnosti (*taşawwuf*) jeste naučavanje o savršenom čovjeku (*al-insānu al-kāmil*).

Iako se još prije mogu pronaći indirektna naznaka o ovome učenju, terminološki kovanica *Savršeni čovjek* nije upotrebljavana prije Muḥyiddina ibn 'Arabīja. On je prvi sufijski velikan koji ovaj termin ne samo na taj način iskazao već ga je i definisao i sistemski odredio. Nakon njega i drugi sufijski učenjaci, poput al-Džīlīja, Şadr al-Dīna Qūnawīja, 'Azīz al-Dīna al-Nasafīja i drugih, uveliko koriste upravo ovaj termin i dalje ga razvijaju.

Tradicijske osnove učenja o Savršenom čovjeku

Pojedini ajeti indirektno i direktno ukazuju na fizičko, etičko i univerzumsko savršenstvo čovjeka. Ibn Kathīr, kao tipični predstavnik tradicionalnog tumačenja Kur'ana, u svome komentaru ovih ajeta navodi mnoštvo predaja vezanih za njihovo značenje koje su zabilježili *mufasssīrūn* (muslimanski tumači Kur'ana) prije njega. Iako je on izraziti predstavnik tradicionalne škole tumačenja Kur'ana, on redovno iznosi svoja mišljenja i zaključke o njihovim značenjima. On kaže da ti ajeti ukazuju na fizičku i intelektualnu savršenost i superiornost čovjeka nad svim drugim stvorenjima, čak i melekima.^{▼1}

Za razliku od Ibn Kathīrovog *tafsīra*, al-Suyūṭījev *tafsīr* je u pravom smislu te riječi tradicionalni *tafsīr*. On se ograničava na predaje od Allahova Poslanika, *şallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam*, i od prvih generacija, nigdje ne iznoseći svoje mišljenje. On tako navodi predaje u kojima se ukazuje da je praktikovanje vjere u vrijeme Muhammeda, a. s., doživjelo svoj vrhunac, potpunost i savršenstvo, te da će s vremenom, neminovno, doći do umanjivanja, kao i da će naredne generacije biti manje savršene i potpune u pogledu vjerskog života. Zatim navodi predaje koje ukazuju na čovjekovo fizičko savršenstvo.^{▼2}

▼1 Ibn Kathīr, Ismā'īl. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm*. Kuwait; 1994.

▼2 Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *al-Durru al-manthūru fi al-tafsīri al-m'thūri*. Bejrut: Dār al-kutubi li al-malāyīn; 1990.

THE PERFECT MAN (*AL-INSĀNU AL-KĀMIL*) IN TAFSĪR, ḤADĪTH AND TAŞAWWUF

Introduction

One of the most important concepts (*mafhūm*) which has been created in the course of history of Islam later developed within the Islamic spirituality (*taşawwuf*), is the teaching of The *Perfect Man* (*al-insānu al-kāmil*). Although indirect indications of this teaching can be found even earlier, the terminological coinage of the *Perfect Man* was not used before Muḥyiddin ibn ‘Arabī. He is the first great Sufi who not only was the first to express the term in this way, but also defined it and defined it systematically. After him, other Sufi scholars, such as al-Jīlī, Şadr al-Dīn Qūnawī, ‘Azīz ad-Dīn al-Nasafī and others, widely use this term and continue to develop it.

Traditional basic teachings about the *Perfect Man*

Some Qur’anic verses indirectly and directly indicate the physical, ethical and universal perfection of man. Ibn Kathīr, as a typical representative of the traditional interpretation of the Qur’an, in his commentary on these verses cites a multitude of traditions related to their significance recorded by the *mufasssīrūn* (Muslim exegetes) before him. Although he is a pronounced representative of the traditional school of interpretation of the Qur’an, he regularly presents his own opinions and conclusions about the meaning of some verses. He says that these verses point to the physical and intellectual perfection and superiority of man over all other creatures, including angels. ▼¹

Unlike Ibn Kathīr’s *tafsīr*, al-Suyūṭī’s *tafsīr* is in the truest sense of the word the traditional *tafsīr*. He is devoted to the traditions of the Messenger of Allah, *şallallahu ‘alaihi wa sallam*, and the first generations, without expressing his own opinions anywhere. He therefore says that the practice of faith in the time of Muhammad, a.s., had experienced its peak, completeness and perfection, and that with time, inevitably, there will be a diminution, as well as that the next generations will be less perfect and complete in regard to religious life. Then, he cites traditions that point to man’s physical perfection. ▼²

▼¹ Ibn Kathīr, Ismā‘īl, *Tafsīr al-qur’ān al-‘aẓīm*. Kuwait, 1994.

▼² Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *al-Durru al-manthūru fi al-tafsīri al-m’thūri*. Dār al-kutubi li al-malāyīn, Beirut 1990.

Al-Zamakhsharī je kategoričan da ljudi nemaju prednosti nad melekima, te da se radi samo o fizičkom savršenstvu čovjeka.^{▼3}

Al-Rāzī smatra da je čovjek odlikovan nad drugim stvorenjima svojom dušom kao nečim najvrednijim ali i svojom fizičkom savršenošću.^{▼4}

Ibn 'Arabī mnoge od ajeta nije komentarisao, ili je dao samo kratak komentar. On smatra da je čovjek općenito najsavršenije stvorenje i po svome izgledu i po svojoj suštini.^{▼5}

Al-Haqqijeva tumačenja općenito su jako bliska Ibn 'Arabijevom. On smatra da u svakom vremenu ima samo jedan *Savršeni Čovjek*. Prvi je bio Adem, a. s., a posljednji će biti Isa, a. s. On je s jedne strane predstavnik stvorenja, jer je Allah u njemu objedinio sve svjetove: duhovne, tjelesne, nebeske, zemaljske, ovosvjetske, onosvjetske, mineralne, biljne, životinjske i božanske, a s druge strane on je predstavnik Allaha Svevišnjeg kao Njegov zastupnik u svjetovima. Samo pojedinačno savršeni i potpuni čovjek vredniji je od meleka, jer je stvoren *u skladu najljepšem*, a to je njegova pripravnost da neposredno primi izljev Allahova svjetla.^{▼6}



ILUSTRACIJA - Abu al-Kasim Mahmud ibn Umar al-Zamakšari, srednjovjekovni mu'tezilitski teolog perzijskog porijekla.

ILLUSTRATION - Abu al-Qasim Mahmud ibn Umar al-Zamakhshari, a medieval Mu'tazilite theologian of Persian origin.

▼3 Al-Zamakhshari, Abu al-Qāsim. *al-Kashshāf*. Bez mjesta: Dār al-fikr; bez datuma.

▼4 Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn. *Tafsīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī - Mafātīh al-ghayb*. Dār al-fikr; 1981.

▼5 Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥammad. *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm*. Teheran: Intishārāt Nāsīr-i Hūsrev; bez datuma.

▼6 Al-Haqqī, Ismā'īl al-Brusawī. *Rūḥ al-bayān*. Bez mjesta: Dār al-fikr; bez datuma.

Al-Zamakhsharī is categorical that humans have no advantage over angels, and that it is only about the physical perfection of man.▼³

Al-Rāzī believes that man is decorated above other creatures with a soul as the most precious thing, but also with physical perfection.▼⁴

Ibn 'Arabī did not elaborate on many of the verses but he did make a brief comment. He believes that man is generally the most perfect creature both in his appearance and in his essence.▼⁵

Al-Haqqī's interpretations are generally very close to Ibn 'Arabī's. He believes that in any given time there is only one *Perfect Man*. The first was Adam, a.s., and the last will be 'Īsā, a.s. He is on the one hand the representative of creation, because Allah has united in him all the worlds: spiritual, bodily, heavenly, earthly, this-worldly, then-worldly, mineral, plant, animal and divine, and on the other hand he is the representative of Allah Almighty as His vicegerent in the worlds. Only an individually perfect and complete man is more valuable than an angel, because he was created *in accordance with the most beautiful*, which is his preparedness to directly receive the outpouring of Allah's light.▼⁶



ILLUSTRATION ~ Al-Rāzī and Ibn 'Arabī - Muslim scholars, mystics and philosophers, extremely influential within Islamic thought.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Al-Rāzī i Ibn 'Arabī - muslimanski učenjaci, mistici i filozofi, izuzetno utjecajni unutar islamske misli.

▼³ Al-Zamakhshari, Abu al-Qāsim. *al-Kashshāf*. Dār al-fikr, without the name of place and date.

▼⁴ Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn. *Tafsīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī - Mafātīh al-ghayb*. Dār al-fikr, 1981.

▼⁵ Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥammad. *Tafsīr al-qur'ān al-karīm*. Intishārāt Nāsir-ı Hüsrev, Teheran, bez datuma.

▼⁶ Al-Haqqī, Ismā'īl al-Brusawī. *Rūḥ al-bayān*. Dār al-fikr, without the name of place and date.

Al-Ālūsī smatra da se pod *khalīfom* – Allahovim zastupnikom misli na Adema, a. s., kao *Savršenog Čovjeka* (*al-insān al-kāmil*), te da će to zastupništvo (*al-khilāfah*) neprekidno biti kod *Savršenog Čovjeka* sve do nastupanja Časa posljednjeg. Savršeni ljudi su Allahovi vjerovjesnici i odabranici, čija je zadaća da održavaju Zemlju, vode ljude, usavršavaju njihove duše i izvršavaju Njegovu volju među njima.▼⁷

Predaje zabilježene od Allahovog Poslanika, a. s., eksplicite ukazuju na mogućnost individualnog ljudskog savršenstva, kao i da je Muhammed, a. s., kruna toga savršenstva s obzirom na to da su u njegovom životu došla do izražaja sva plemenita kur'anska svojstva.

Prema predajama, jedna od zadaća Muhammeda, a. s., jeste usavršavanje plemenitih ljudskih osobina, a onaj koji je poslan s tim zadatkom i sam mora biti oličenje etičke potpunosti i savršenstva.▼⁸

Allah Svevišnji apsolutno je savršen i potpun, a Adem, alejhis-selam, praotac svih ljudi, stvoren je po Njegovom Liku, odnosno na Njegovim Svojstvima (*ṣūratihī*), u značenju posebne počasti i privilegovanosti, nikako antropomorfnosti, i kao takav odraz je tog Savršenstva i Potpunosti.▼⁹

Muhammed, a. s., kao ličnost koja je, po predajama, bila uzrokom stvaranja svjetova, sama po sebi je primjer savršenstva i potpunosti.▼¹⁰

Određene predaje ukazuju na prvotnost stvaranja i prediskonsku odabranost Allahovog poslanika Muhammeda, a. s., a samim time i na njegovu odabranost i veću savršenost u odnosu na druge poslanike i vjerovjesnike.▼¹¹



ILUSTRACIJA - Friz od keramičkih pločica, Iznik, Turska, oko 1570. © Muzej Aga Kana AKM698.

ILLUSTRATION - Tile frieze, Iznik, Turkey, ca 1570. © Aga Khan Museum AKM698.

▼⁷ Al-Ālūsī, Shihāb ad-Dīn. *Ruḥ al-ma'ānī*. Bejrut: Dār al-fikr; 1987.

▼⁸ Imam Hanbal, Aḥmed. *Musnad Aḥmad*. Kairo: Mu'assasat al-qurṭubī; bez datuma. 2/381.

▼⁹ Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Bejrut: Dār Ibn Kathīr; 1987. 5/2299.

▼¹⁰ Al-Naysābūrī, al-Ḥākīm. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-ṣaḥīḥaynī*. Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah; 1990.

▼¹¹ Al-Tirmidhī, Abu 'Īsā Muḥammad. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*. Dār iḥya' al-turāth al-'arabiyy; bez datuma.

Al-Ālūsī considered the idea of *khalīfah* – as the vicegerent of Allah meant Adam, a.s., as the *Perfect Man* (*al-insān al-kāmil*), and that this representation (*al-khilāfah*) will remain constant with the *Perfect Man* until the End of Times. Perfect men are Allah's prophets and those selected whose task is to maintain the earth, guide people, perfect their souls, and do His will among them. ▼⁷

The Qur'an received by the Prophet of Allah, a.s., explicitly indicates the possibility of individual human perfection, and that Muḥammad, a.s., is the crown of that perfection considering that in his life all the noble Qur'anic qualities came to the fore.

According to traditions, one of the tasks of Muhammad, a.s., was the perfection of noble human characteristics, and the one who is sent with this task must himself be the epitome of ethical completeness and perfection. ▼⁸

Allah Almighty is absolutely perfect and complete, and Adam, peace be upon him, the forefather of all men, was created in His Image, that is, with His Properties (*ṣūratihī*). In the sense of special honour and privilege, not as an anthropomorphism, and as such is a reflection of that Perfection and Completeness. ▼⁹

Muḥammad, a.s., as a person who, according to tradition, was the cause of the creation of worlds is himself an example of perfection and completeness. ▼¹⁰

There are certain traditions that point to the primacy of creation and the primordial selection of Allah's Messenger Muḥammad, a.s., and thus it is the choice of him and his greater perfection than other prophets. ▼¹¹



ILLUSTRATION – Folio from a Qur'an Manuscript Chapter 114, Al-Nas, the Mankind, Iraq 9/10th century. © Aga Khan Museum AKM478.

ILUSTRACIJA – Stranica Kur'anskog rukopisa, poglavlje 114, Al-Nas, Čovječanstvo, Irak 9/10.st. © Muzej Aga Kana AKM478.

▼⁷ Al-Ālūsī, Shihāb ad-Dīn. *Ruḥ al-ma'ānī*, Dār al-fīkr, Beirut, 1987.

▼⁸ Imam Hanbal, Aḥmed. *Musnad Aḥmad*, Mu'assasat al-qurṭubī, Cairo, without a date, 2/381.

▼⁹ Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Dār Ibn Kathīr, Beirut, 1987, 5/2299).

▼¹⁰ Al-Naysābūrī, al-Ḥākīm. *al-Mustadrak 'alā al-ṣaḥīḥayni*, Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyyah, 1990.

▼¹¹ Al-Tirmidhī, Abu 'Īsā Muḥammad. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*, Dār iḥya' al-turāth al-'arabiyy, without a date.

Savršeni čovjek u sufijskom mišljenju

Islamska znanost *tašawwuf* legitimna je disciplina u sastavu tradicionalnih islamskih znanosti, u punom smislu te riječi, sa svojom historijom, svojim hronikama, svojom literaturom, učenjacima, studentima i terminologijom, te je utemeljena kada i druge islamske tradicionalne znanosti.

Njena etimologija vezana je za ljude koji su se, u predislamskom periodu, posvećivali *'ibādetu* (pobožnosti) i služili hodočasnicima kod Ka'be, a bili su poznati među ljudima kao *šūfa*.^{▼12}



ILUSTRACIJA - Sufije posvećeni *'ibādetu* (pobožnosti) i službi hodočasnicima kod Ka'be. Širaz, 16. stoljeće, © Oriental Art Auctions ART30013632.

ILLUSTRATION - Sufis dedicated to *'ibādet* (piety) and service to pilgrims at the Ka'ba. Shiraz, 16th, © Oriental Art Auctions ART30013632.

▼12 Al-Iṣfahānī, al-Rāghib. Mu'jam mufradāt al-fāz al-qur'ān. Beirut: Dār al-fikr; bez datuma.

The Perfect Man in *Šūfī* thought

Islamic science of *taṣawwuf* is a legitimate discipline within the traditional Islamic sciences, in the full sense of the word, with its history, its chronicles, its literature, and its scholars, disciples and terminology. It is a fundamental part with other traditional Islamic sciences.

Its etymology is related to people who, in the pre-Islamic period, devoted themselves to *‘ibādah* (worship), served the pilgrims to the Ka‘bah, and were known among the people as *šūfī*.^{▼12}



ILLUSTRATION - Kharitat al-Ajaib wa Faridat al-Gharab, the Pearl of Wonders and Uniqueness of Strange Things by Ibn al-Wardi, 1797, © Oriental Art Auctions.

ILUSTRACIJA - Kharitat al-Ajaib wa Faridat al-Gharab, Biser čudesa i jedinstvenost čudnih stvari od Ibn al-Wardija, 1797., © Aukcije istočnjačke umjetnosti.

^{▼12} Al-İşfahānī, al-Rāghib. *Mu‘jam mufradāt alfāz al-qur‘ān*, Dār al-fikr, Beirut, without a date.

Učenje o *Savršenom Čovjeku*, u okrilju islama, upravo će svoj puni izraz naći u nauci *taṣawwufa*.

Općenito, *sufije* govore o dvjema dimenzijama ljudske savršenosti: univerzumske, tj. kosmološkoj, i individualnoj, tj. etičkoj, s posebnim osvrtom na najpotpuniju savršenost Muhammeda, *a.s.*, u kojem su objedinjene obje te dimenzije.



ILUSTRACIJA - Ali od Gloconde, Ibn 'Arabī razmišlja u bašći o *Savršenom čovjeku*. Država Telangan, južna Indija, oko 1610.

ILLUSTRATION - Ali of Gloconda, Ibn 'Arabī meditates in the garden on the *Perfect Man*. Telangan State, South India, circa 1610.

Što se tiče *Savršenog Čovjeka* kao univerzuma, prema Ibn 'Arabiju, kruna stvaranja svih svjetova i svih stvorenja jeste *Savršeni Čovjek*, koji je svoju prvu realizaciju imao u Ademu, a. s. *Savršeni Čovjek* je sveobuhvatna manifestacija Allahovih bezbrojnih Imena. On je i mjesto ili manifestacija na kojoj Istiniti Sebe gleda u ogledalu svih Svojih Imena. On je i duša i srce svijeta, tj. univerzuma ili makrokosmosa, koji je sa *Savršenim Čovjekom* doveden do svog punog sjaja. U odnosu na svijet *Savršeni Čovjek* je zastupnik (*khalīfah*) Istinitog u njemu, jer je on kao zjenica u oku (*insān al- 'ayn*) ili ugravirani dragulj na prstenu kojim je Allah opečatio sām taj svijet. S obzirom na to da je vanjšina *Savršenog Čovjeka* stvorena prema zbiljama svijeta i njegovim likovima, a njegova unutrašnjost stvorena prema Liku Uzvišenog, te da jedino on objedinjuje u sebi sve ono što je u svijetu, on je jedini i dostojan da bude Allahov namjesnik (*khalīfah*) nad drugim Allahovim stvorenjima i Njegov zastupnik (*al-nāib*). *Savršeni Čovjek* je, s jedne strane, manifestacija značenja Allahovih imena i atributa, a s druge kopija svih stvorenih svjetova, pa je tako spona (*barzakh*) između Svijeta božanskog i svijeta stvorenog. Samo *Savršeni Čovjek* istinski poznaje Allaha Uzvišenog, a putem spoznaje *Savršenog Čovjeka* mi spoznajemo Allaha Uzvišenog, jer je Allah Uzvišeni skriven u *Savršenom Čovjeku*. ▼¹³

▼¹³ Ibn 'Arabijeva djela navedena su u literaturi.

The teaching of the Perfect Man, in the fold of Islam will find its full expression in the science of *taṣawwuf*.

In general, the *Ṣūfis* speak of two dimensions of human perfection: the universal, i.e., cosmological and individual, i.e., ethical. With special reference to the most complete perfection of Muḥammad, a.s., in which both of these dimensions are united.



ILLUSTRATION - Adem (Adam) carries his dead son Habil (Abel) on his back, fol. 15., *The first Prophets*. Persian Manuscripts 1580.

ILUSTRACIJA - Adem na leđima nosi svog mrtvog sina Habila (Abela), str. 15., *Prvi Poslanici*. Perzijski rukopisi 1580.

As to the *Perfect Man* as the Universe, according to Ibn 'Arabī, the crown of creation of all worlds and all creatures is the *Perfect Man*, who had his first realization in Adam, a.s. The Perfect Man is a full-fledged manifestation of God's innumerable names. He is also the place or manifestation in which the True One looks in the mirror of all His Names. He is both the soul and the heart of the world, i.e., the universe or macrocosm, who with the *Perfect Man* is brought to his full brilliance. In relation to the world, the *Perfect Man* is a vicegerent (*khalīfah*), the True One in the world, whereby the *Perfect Man* is like the pupil in the eye (*insān al-'ayn*) or a jewel engraved on the ring with which Allah has sealed the world. Since the exterior of the *Perfect Man* has been created in accordance to the realities of the world and its appearances, while its interior has been created in accordance to the Image of the Almighty, the *Perfect Man* is only one that unites in himself all that is in the world, he is the only one worthy to be Allah's viceregent (*khalīfah*) among God's creatures and his envoy (*al-nāib*). The *Perfect Man* is, on the one hand, the manifestation of the meaning of Allah's names and attributes, and on the other hand, he is a copy of all created worlds, and therefore is the bond (*barzakh*) between the world of the divine and the world created. Only the *Perfect Man* truly knows Allah Almighty, and through knowledge of the *Perfect Man* we know Allah Almighty, because Allah Almighty is hidden in the *Perfect Man*. ▼¹³

▼¹³ Ibn 'Arabī's works are cited in the references.

Prema al-Džiliju, svaki čovjek savršena je kopija drugoga i, ukoliko nema nekih fizičkih nedostataka, oni su kao dva ogledala jedan naspram drugoga, pri čemu se u jednom nalazi sve što i u drugom. Savršeni među ljudima jesu vjerovjesnici i dobri, ali se i oni razlikuju u savršenstvu, pa je neko savršen, a neko savršeniji. Međutim, savršenstvo kojim se u postojanju izdvaja Muhammed, a. s., jedinstveno je i samo njemu svojstveno. O tome svjedoče njegove osobnosti, duhovna stanja i njegove, a. s., izjave, te je samo on *Savršeni Čovjek*, a drugi vjerovjesnici, dobri i potpuni ljudi vezani su za njega kao savršeni za najsavršenijeg, dobri za najboljeg. On dalje naglašava da se, iz obzira prema njegovom najvećem stupnju i najsavršenijem mjestu, terminom *Savršeni Čovjek* jedino misli na Muhammeda, a. s.. *Savršeni Čovjek* je svojom osobnošću jednak svim egzistencijalnim zbiljama, ali on je i kopija Istinitog, dostojan Imena i božanskih Atributa, ogledalo u kojem se ogleda Istiniti.▼¹⁴

U svakom vremenu, prema 'Azīz ad-Dīnu al-Nasafiju, ima samo jedan univerzumski *Savršeni Čovjek*, koji je srce cijelog svijeta. Srce *Savršenog Čovjeka* jeste ogledalo na kojem se održava svijet u svojoj cjelini i kroz koje, iz svijeta totalne skrivenosti, izlaze forme egzistencije. Kako razum upravlja i vlada čovječijim tijelom, tako i *Savršeni Čovjek* upravlja i vlada svijetom.▼¹⁵

Firthjof Schoun, jedan od najznamenitijih predstavnika perenijalne filozofije, u 20. stoljeću, snažno naglašava da je islamsko učenje o savršenstvu Pečata Poslanika različito od kršćanskog ili budističkog.▼¹⁶

Ibn 'Arabī, kao i druge *sufije*, govori i o univerzalno savršanim ljudima, kao jedinkama unutar ljudske vrste, a kako je univerzumski *Savršeni Čovjek* zastupnik Istinitog, tako su i individualno savršeni ljudi zastupnici *Savršenog Čovjeka*. Savršeni ljudi svjedoče Allaha u svakoj zbilji, svakoj pojavi i svakom liku. Individualno savršeni ljudi jesu praktičari koji su objedinili formu i suštinu. Oni su obazrivi prema božanskim zakonitostima koje je On uspostavio u svijetu i oni su u trajnoj povezanosti s Allahom Uzvišenim. Individualno savršeni ljudi općenito su bolji i od meleka, a svaki čovjek potencijalno može biti individualno savršen▼¹⁷

Pojedinačno savršeni ljudi, prema al-Nasafiju, vlasnici su spoznaje, oni služe drugim ljudima, nastojeći ih usrećiti na obama svjetovima, te su oni nasljednici vjerovjesnika.▼¹⁸

Pored drugih, jedna od izuzetnosti savršenih ljudi, prema Džalāl al-Dīnu al-Rūmiju, jeste i moć prenošenja znanja. Savršeni ljudi učitelji su i vodiči drugim ljudima. *Mawlānā* one koji nisu dostigli stepen savršenosti poredi s malom djecom koja još nisu progovorila, te im preporučuje da malo jedu i da mnogo šute. Savršeni učitelji su kao čista ogledala koja, bez ikakvih znakova, vide stanja srca drugih

▼¹⁴ Al-Džillī, 'Abd al-Karīm. *al-insān al-kāmil fī ma'rifati al-awākhir wa al-awā'il*. Egipat: bez datuma.

▼¹⁵ Al-Nasafī, 'Azīz ad-Dīn. *al-Insān al-kāmil*. Teheran: Intishārāt-e Tahuri; 2005.

▼¹⁶ Schoun, Frithjof. *Razumijevanje islama*. Sarajevo: El Kalem; 2008.

▼¹⁷ Vidi Ibn 'Arabījeva djela ispod.

▼¹⁸ Al-Nasafī. 'Azīz ad-Dīn, *al-Insān al-kāmil*. Teheran: Intishārāt-e Tahuri; 2005.

According to al-Jillī, each man is a perfect copy of the other and, unless there are some physical defects, they are like two mirrors facing each other in which there is everything that is in the other. The perfect among men are the prophets and the good, but they also differ in perfection, and therefore some are perfect and some are more perfect. But the perfection that stands out in the existence of Muhammad, a.s., is unique to him alone. This is evidenced by his peculiarities, spiritual states and his statements, and only he is *The Perfect Man*, and other prophets, good and complete people are attached to him as perfect for the most perfect, good for the best. He further emphasizes that, out of consideration for his highest degree and most perfect place, the term *Perfect Man* refers only to Muhammad, a.s.. The *Perfect Man* is equal in his personality to all existential realities, but he is also a copy of the True, worthy of the Name and divine Attributes, a mirror in which the True is reflected.▼¹⁴

At any given time, according to ‘Azīz ad-Dīn al-Nasafī, there is only one universal *Perfect Man*, who is the heart of the whole world. The heart of *Perfect Man* is a mirror on which the world in its entirety is maintained and through which, from the world of total concealment, forms of existence emerge. In the way the reason rules and governs the human body, so the *Perfect Man* rules and governs the world as well.¹⁵

Firthjof Schoun, one of the most famous representatives of perennial philosophy, in the 20th century, strongly emphasizes that the Islamic teaching on the perfection of the Seal of the Prophet is different from that of Christianity or Buddhism.▼¹⁶

Ibn ‘Arabī, like other *Ṣūfīs*, speaks of universally perfect men, as individuals within the human species and indicates that as the universal *Perfect Man* is the vicegerent of the Truth, so are individually perfect men representatives of the Perfect Man. The perfect men bear witness to Allah in every reality, every appearance, and every form. Individually perfect men are practitioners who have united form and essence. They are mindful of the divine laws that Allah has established in the world and they are in constant presence with Allah the Exalted. Individually perfect men are generally better than angels, and every human can potentially be individually perfect.▼¹⁷

Individually perfect men, according to al-Nasafī, are the owners of knowledge, they serve other people, trying to make them happy in both worlds, and they are the heirs of the prophet.▼¹⁸

In addition to others, one of the exceptionalities of perfect men, according to Jalāl al- Dīn al-Rūmī, is the power of transmitting knowledge. Perfect men are teachers and guides to other people. *Mawlānā* compares those who have not reached the level of perfection to small children who have not yet spoken and recommends

▼¹⁴ Al-Jillī, ‘Abd al-Karīm. *Al-insān al-kāmil fī ma‘rifati al-awākhir wa al-awā’il*, Mīsr without a date.

▼¹⁵ Al-Nasafī, ‘Azīz ad-Dīn. *al-Insān al-kāmil*, Intishārāt-e Tahuri, Teheran, 2005.

▼¹⁶ Schoun, Frithjof. *Razumije vanje islama*, El Kalem, Sarajevo, 2008.

▼¹⁷ Consult references below for Ibn ‘Arabī’s works.

▼¹⁸ Al-Nasafī, ‘Azīz ad-Dīn. *al-Insān al-kāmil*, Intishārāt-e Tahuri, Teheran, 2005.

ljudi. Mawlānā govori i o savršenim ženama kojima nije jedina briga bol rađanja, već su razborite i razmišljaju o drugim vječnim stvarima. ▼¹⁹

Sufije su suglasne da je Najpotpunija Allahova Riječ i Njegovo najveće Ime Muhammed, a. s., a samim time i *Najsavršeniji Čovjek*, od kojega nema savršenijeg i potpunijeg. Kur'an je najpotpunija i najsavršenija Allahova Objava, a Muhammed, a. s., živa je manifestacija kur'anskih riječi. S obzirom na to da su Muhammedu, a. s., date sveobuhvatne riječi u koje ulaze i Allahova Imena, te da je on sam najpotpunija Allahova Riječ i Njegovo najveće Ime, drugi Božiji poslanici, vjerovjesnici i savršeni ljudi samo su zastupnici i predstavnici najsavršenijeg među njima, tj. Muhammeda, a. s., a on je svakome od njih podrška i oni iz njega izvode svoje savršenstvo. ▼²⁰



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Diskusija među filozofima. Arapski rukopis iz 13. stoljeća. (Arhiv Akšamija)
ILLUSTRATION ~ A discussion among philosophers. Arabic manuscript from the 13th century. (Archive of Akšamija)

▼¹⁹ Vidi Rūmijeva djela u literaturi ispod.

▼²⁰ *Šarḥ al-ustādh al-fāḍil wa al-‘ālim al-kāmil al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī ‘alā Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam li al-ustādh al-akbar al-shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabī*. Kairo: Muṣṭafā Maḥmud al-Ḥalabī wa šurakā’; 1987.

that they eat little and be silent a lot. Perfect teachers are like clear mirrors that, without any signs, see the states of other people's hearts. *Mawlānā* also talks about perfect women whose only concern is not the pain of childbirth but are prudent and think about other eternal things. ▼¹⁹

The *Şūfīs* agree that the Most Complete Word of Allah and His greatest Name is Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, and therefore he is the *Most Perfect Man*. Thus, there is no one more perfect and complete. The Qur'an is the most complete and perfect Revelation of Allah, and Muḥammad, a.s., is a living manifestation of the words of the Qur'an. Given that Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, was given comprehensive words that include the Names of Allah, and that he himself is the most complete Word of Allah and His greatest Name, other messengers of God, prophets and perfect people are only representatives of the most perfect among them, i.e., Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, and he is a support for each of them and they derive their perfection from him. ▼²⁰



ILLUSTRATION - Philosophical discussions. Manuscript, Turkish miniature from the 13th century. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA - Filozofske rasprave. Rukopis, turska minijatura iz 13. stoljeća. (Arhiv Akšamija)

▼¹⁹ Consult references below for al-Rūmī's works.

▼²⁰ *Sharḥ al-ustādh al-fāḍil wa al-'ālim al-kāmil al-shaykh 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī 'alā Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam li al-ustādh al-akbar al-shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī*, Mustafā Maḥmud al-Ḥalabī wa šurakā', Cairo, 1987.

Savršeni čovjek u bosanskom sufijском mišljenju

Učenje Ali Dede Bošnjaka o *Savršenom Čovjeku* na tragu je učenja Ibn Arebija. On smatra da je Muhammed, a. s., kao univerzumski *Savršeni Čovjek* sjemenka i začetnik svega postojećeg. Ali Dede govori i o univerzalnim pojedincima, tj. individualno savršenim ljudima i njihovoj hijerarhiji. *Najsavršeniji Čovjek*, koji je ujedno i duhovni stožer, jeste Muhammed, a. s., i to u svakom vremenu. Nakon njegova, a. s., preseljenja najsvršeniji među ljudima je duhovni pol, ali samo kao zastupnik Pečata Vjerovjesnika, alejhis-selam. Pored ovog duhovnog stožera koji je direktni zastupnik Muhammeda, alejhis-selam, postoje i drugi savršeni ljudi, a ukupno ih ima 364. Ali Dede govori i o principu ekvivalencije između makrokosmosa i bilo kojeg čovjeka kao mikrokosmosa. ▼²¹



ILUSTRACIJA - *Ali Dede Bošnjak*, odnosno 'Alī Dede ibn Muṣṭafā al-Bosnawī, Šayh at-turba, as-Sigetwārī (um. 1598.), halvetijski tarikat.
ILLUSTRATION - *Ali Dede Bošnjak*, i.e. 'Alī Dede ibn Muṣṭafā al-Bosnawī, Šayh at-turba, as-Sigetwārī (d. 1598), Halvetian Tariqat.

Šejh Abdullah Bošnjak naglašava da je *Savršeni Čovjek* međuprostor ili spona (*barzakh*) egzistencije koji spaja, ali i razdvaja svijet i Božanska Imena, te je kao takav njihovo ogledalo. Pored određenih sličnosti i mogućnosti poređenja Božijeg Sebstva i *Savršenog Čovjeka*, šejh Abdullah Bošnjak negira

▼²¹ Al-Mustarī, A. D. *Khawātim al-ḥikam*. Bejrut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya; 2007; Kasumović, Ismet. *Ali Dede Bošnjak i njegova filozofijsko sufijska misao*. Sarajevo: El Kalem; 1994.

The Perfect Man in Bosnian *Ṣūfī* pinion

ali Deda Bošnjak's teaching about the *Perfect Man* follow the teachings of Ibn 'Arabī. He considers Muḥammad, a.s., as the *Perfect Man* of the universe to be the seed and originator of all that exists. But Dede also talks about universal individuals, i.e., individually perfect men and their hierarchy. The *Most Perfect Man* who is also the spiritual headquarters is Muḥammad, a.s., and at all times. After the passing away of Muḥammad, a.s, the most perfect among men became the spiritual pole, but only as a representative of the Seal of the Prophet, a.s. In addition to this spiritual headquarters, which is the direct representative of Muḥammad, a.s., there are other perfect men, whose number together with him is 364. But Dede also talks about the principle of equivalence between the macrocosm and any human as a microcosm. ^{▼21}

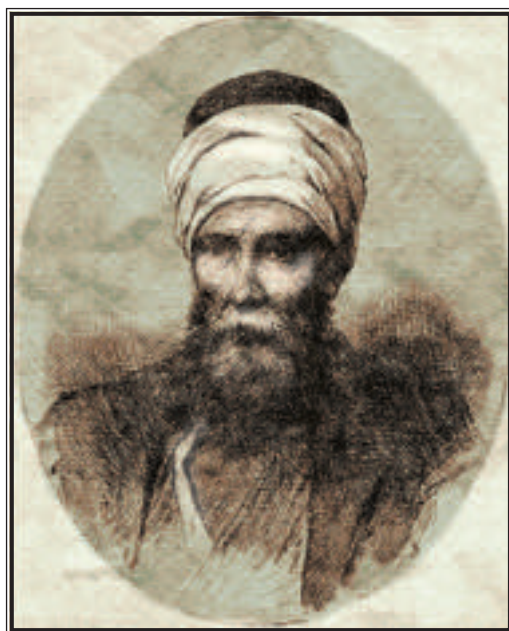


ILLUSTRATION - *Sheikh Abdullah Bosniak*, i.e. 'Abdi' bin Muhamed al-Bosnewi (1584-1644), Bajrami Tariqat. (Archive of Akšamija)
ILUSTRACIJA - *Šejh Abdullah Bošnjak*, odnosno 'Abdi' bin Muhamed al-Bosnewi (1584.-1644.), bajramijski tarikat.

Sheikh Abdullah Bošnjak emphasizes that the *Perfect Man* is an intermediate space or link (*barzakh*) of existence that unites but also separates the world and the divine Names, and as such is their mirror. In addition to certain similarities and possibilities of comparing God's Self and the *Perfect Man*, Sheikh Abdullah Bošnjak denies any form

^{▼21} Al-Mustarī, A. D., *Khawātim al-ḥikam*, Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, Beirut, 2007; Kasumović, Ismet. *Ali dede Bošnjak i njegova filozofijsko sufijska misao*, El Kalem, Sarajevo, 1994.

bilo kakav vid panteizma, panenteizma, sjedinjenja Boga i čovjeka, utjelovljenja, postajanja Boga čovjekom i sl. Šejh Abdullah Bošnjak, pored toga što govori o univerzumi Savršenom Čovjeku, također, govori i o individualno savršenim ljudima, koji su jedini dostojni da budu namjesnici i vodiči drugim ljudima, kao potpuni učitelji kojima su ljudi obavezni iskazivati poslušnost i predanost. Najveći stepen individualnog savršenstva jeste najpotpunije savršenstvo koje pripada Muhammedu, a. s., i njegovim potpunim i savršenim nasljednicima. Kao posljedica ili rezultat individualnog ljudskog savršenstva javlja se božanska spoznaja i otkrovenje. Najsavršeniji pojedinac u svakom vremenu jeste kao srce, a drugi savršeni ljudi jesu kao organi tijela. ▼²²



ILUSTRACIJA - Fevzija Mostarac, odnosno Fawzī Mostārī (rođen između 1670. i 1677. - 1747.), mevlevijski tarikāt.
ILLUSTRATION - Fevzija Mostarac, i.e. or Fawzī Mostārī (born between 1670 and 1677 - 1747), Mevlevi Tariqat. (Archive of Akšamija)

Fevzija Mostarac, na tragu Rūmija, govori o individualno savršenim ljudima, koje najčešće predstavlja kao duhovne vodiče drugim ljudima koji teže savršenstvu. Odnos prema savršenim ljudima, kao Allahovim odabranicima (*awlijā'*) uzrok je nečije upute prema Allahu ili njegova udaljavanja od Njega. Fevzija smatra da je savršenim ljudima Allah dao raspolaganje imperativom *kun fejekūn*, tj. stvaranja. Savršenim ljudima, kao Allahovim odabranicima (*awlijā'*), nisu sakrivene tajne ljudskih srca, a oni su ujedno i njihovi najbolji duhovni liječnici. ▼²³

▼²² Bošnjak, Abdulah-efendija. *Tumačenje dragulja poslaničke mudrosti*. I. Sarajevo: Naučnoistraživački institut "Ibn Sina"; 2008.

▼²³ Mostarac, Fevzija. *Bulbulistan*. Sarajevo: Kulturni centar Ambasade I. R. Iran u Bosni i Hercegovini; 2003.

of pantheism, panentheism, of unity of God and man, of incarnation, and God becoming man, etc. Sheikh Abdullah Bošnjak, in addition to speaking about the universal *Perfect Man*, also speaks of individually perfect men, who are solely worthy to be rulers and guides to other men, as complete teachers to whom people obligated to show obedience and respect. The highest level of individual perfection is the most complete perfection that belongs to Muḥammad, a.s., and to his complete and perfect successors. As a consequence, or result of individual human perfection, divine knowledge and revelation arise. The most perfect individual in any time is like the heart, and other perfect people are like the organs of the body.▼²²



ILLUSTRATION ~ Rumi Leaves the Halawiyya Madrasa at Aleppo at Midnight Followed by his Teacher Kamal Al-Din Ibn Cadim, Ruler of Aleppo. Iraq, Baghdad 1590S. © The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.466, fol. 34v.

ILUSTRACIJA - Rumi napušta medresu Halawiyya u Alepu u ponoć, praćen svojim učiteljem Kamalom Al-Din Ibn Cadimom, vladarom Alepa. Irak, Bagdad 1590-ih. © Morganova knjižnica i muzej, MS M.466, fol. 34v.

Fevzija Mostarac, on the trail of al-Rūmī, talks about individually perfect men, whom he most often presents as spiritual guides to other people who strive for perfection. The attitude towards perfect men, as Allah's chosen ones (*awlijā'*), is the cause of one's guidance towards Allah or his turning away from Him. Fevzija believes that perfect people were given the imperative *kun fa yakūn* by Allah, i.e., of creation. The secrets of human hearts are not hidden from perfect men, as Allah's chosen ones (*awlijā'*), and they are also their best spiritual physicians.▼²³

▼²² Bošnjak, Abdulah-efendija. *Tumačenje dragulja poslaničke mudrosti*, I. Sarajevo: Naučnoistraživački institut "Ibn Sina", Sarajevo, 2008.

▼²³ Mostarac, Fevzija. *Bulbulistan*, Kulturni centar Ambasade I. R. Iran u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, 2003.

Savršeni čovjek u djelima šejha Mustafa-efendije Čolića

Šejh Mustafa-efendija Čolić je, u svome opusu, za *Savršenog Čovjeka* konstruisao potpuno novi termin, koji, prema našim uvidima, niko od bosanskohercegovačkih *sufija* prije njega nije koristio. Naime, kada govori o *Savršenom Čovjeku*, Šejh koristi sintagmu *Allahov obznamenbeni Univerzum*.^{▼24}



ILUSTRACIJA - Šejh Mustafa ef. Čolić (1921.-2004.), nakšibendijski tarikat. (© Arhiv Akšamija)

ILLUSTRATION - Sheikh Mustafa ef. Čolić (1921-2004), Nakšibendi Tariqat (tur. *Nakšibendi tarikat*). (© Archive of Akšamija)

▼24 Vidi djela šejha Mustafa-efendije Čolića u literaturi ispod.

The *Perfect Man* in the opinion of Sheikh Mustafa-efendi Čolić

Sheikh Mustafa-efendi Čolić, in his oeuvre, about the *Perfect Man* has created a completely new term, which, according to our insights, none of the Bosnian- Herzegovinian *Şūfīs* had used before him. In fact, when he talks about the *Perfect Man*, Sheikh uses the phrase *Allah's Meaningful Universe*.^{▼24}



ILLUSTRATION - Meeting and discussion of theologians of Sufi (dervish) orders (tariqats) on the topic of the *Perfect Man*. Uzbekistan, Bukhara, between 1540-1550, © The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

ILUSTRACIJA - Susret i rasprava teologa sufijskih (derviških) redova (tarikata) na temu *Savršenog Čovjeka*. Uzbekistan, Bukhara, između 1540.-1550., © The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art.

^{▼24} For Sheikh Mustafa-Efendi Čolić's works, see references below.

Šejh smatra da sintagma *waḥdat al-wujūd* ukazuje na nedjeljivost i neodvojivost Allahove Egzistencije od Njega Samoga, isto kao što ni mi – a Allah je iznad svakog poređenja – našu egzistenciju ne dijelimo ni s kim drugim, te da nema mjesta *panteizmu* bilo koje naravi, već samo projekcijama Allahove egzistencije na ogledalima Njegova stvaranja, (od kojih je prvo *Njegov obznambeni Univerzum*) ogledalima koja nisu i ne mogu biti On. ▼²⁵

Sve što postoji, pa i Allahov obznambeni Univerzum, postoji samo u Allahovom znanju. Međutim, to postojanje za nas je realno, a u odnosu na Svevišnjeg Allaha relativno, tako da je Allahov obznambeni Univerzum samo slika (*ṣūrah*) Allahova Opstojanja, nikako Sâmo Allahovo Opstojanje, niti Sâmo On Osobno. Dotle su drugi egzistenti, po jednom učenju, kako naglašava Šejh, slike Allahove slike, ili, po drugom, Njegove direktne slike. Allahov obznambeni Univerzum opstoji zahvaljujući tome što ga se Allah sjeća. Šejh ističe da je zapravo svako postojanje rezultat Allahovog sjećanja na isto, ali i da se Allah sjeća onoga koji se sjeća Allaha. ▼²⁶

Pošto Allahov obznambeni Univerzum postoji samo u Allahovom znanju, tj. on je sâmo Njegovo znamenje (*'alam*), on nema niti vlastite egzistencije, niti vlastite osobnosti, pa je samo Njegov rob i Njegovo stvorenje, te je u odnosu na Allahovo Osobno ime „HUVE“ i Egzistencijalno „ALLAH“ uvijek u zavisnom, tj. pripadajućem, pridodanom položaju (*iḍāfah*). ▼²⁷

Allahov obznambeni Univerzum ima ove tri dimenzije i značenja. On je *subjekt*, tj. onaj koji se obznanjuje u odnosu na druge svjetove koji su njegova direktna obznana a indirektna Allaha Uzvišenog. On je i *objekt* u odnosu na Allaha uzvišenog, jer je Njegova obznana i oznamenjenje, a on je ujedno i *predikat* kao sâmo čin radnje preko kojeg se realizuju obznane Allaha uzvišenog. ▼²⁸

Šejh ukazuje da su sva Allahova Imena bez određenog člana ustvari imena *Obznambenog Allahovog Univerzuma*, kao *Raḥmān, Raḥim...*, ali u objekatsko-predikatskom značenju u odnosu na Allaha, a subjekatskom u odnosu na svijet. U Šejhovu naučavanju *al-Raḥmān* s određenim članom jeste subjekatsko Allahovo ime, a neodređeno *Rahman*, ili u genitivnoj vezi *Raḥmānullah*, jeste predikatsko Allahovo ime, odnosno ime *Obznambenog Univerzuma*, koji je u odnosu na *huwallahu aḥad*, tj. Allaha Jednog Jedinog, objekt, u odnosu na Allaha Osobno i Opstojno predikat te u odnosu na svjetove subjekt. ▼²⁹

▼²⁵ Čolić, Mustafa. *Evidencije i definicije osnovnih ideoloških i religioških učenja*. Visoko; 1998.

▼²⁶ Bergivija, M. R. *Evidencije i definicije islamskih šerijatskih učenja i vjerovanja*. prijevod s komentarom šejh hadži Mustafa-efendija Čolić. Visoko; 1998.

▼²⁷ *Ibid.*

▼²⁸ *Ibid.*

▼²⁹ *Ibid.*

Sheikh Čolić believes that the syntagm *waḥdat al-wujūd* indicates the indivisibility and inseparability of Allah's Existence from Him Himself, just as we - and Allah is above all comparison - do not share our existence with anyone else, and that there is no place for pantheism of any nature, but only for projections of Allah's existence on the mirrors of His creation, (the first of which is *His Meaningful Universe*) with mirrors that are not and cannot be Him. ▼²⁵

Everything that exists, including Allah's *Meaningful Universe*, exists only in Allah's knowledge. However, that existence is real for us, and relative to Almighty Allah, so that Allah's *Meaningful Universe* is only a picture (*ṣūrah*) of Allah's Existence, not Allah's Existence Himself, nor He Himself. There are other existents, according to one teaching, as the Sheikh emphasizes, images of Allah's image, or, according to another, His direct images. *Allah's Meaningful Universe* exists because Allah remembers it. The Sheikh points out that actually every existence is the result of Allah's remembrance of it, but also that Allah remembers the one who remembers Allah. ▼²⁶

Since Allah's *Meaningful Universe* exists only in Allah's knowledge, i.e., it is only His sign (*'alam*), it has neither its own existence nor its own personality, so it is only His slave and His creation, and in relation to Allah's Personal name "HUWA" and in terms of its existence, it is always dependent to "ALLAH", i.e., belonging to the added position (*iḍāfah*). ▼²⁷

Allah's *Meaningful Universe* has these three dimensions and meanings. It is a *subject*, i.e., one which is revealed in relation to other worlds that are its direct appearance and indirect of Allah the Exalted. It is also an *object* in relation to Allah the Exalted, because His making it known and it is a *predicate* as the very act of action through which announcement of it by Allah the Exalted is realized as well. ▼²⁸

The Sheikh points out that all the Names of Allah without a definite article are actually names of the *Meaningful Universe* of Allah, such as *Raḥmān, Raḥim...*, but in the object-predicate meaning in relation to Allah, and the subjective meaning in relation to the world. In the teachings of the Sheikh, the name of *al-Raḥmān* with the definite article is the subjective name of Allah, and indefinite name of *Raḥman* or in the genitive *Raḥmānullah* is the predicate name of Allah, that is, the name the Meaningful Universe, which is in relation to *huwallahu aḥad*, i.e., Allah the One and Only, the object, and in relation to Allah Personal and Persistent name it's the predicate, and in relation to the worlds it is the subject. ▼²⁹

▼²⁵ Čolić, Mustafa. *Evidencije i definicije osnovnih ideoloških i religioških učenja*, Visoko, 1998..

▼²⁶ Bergivija, M. R., *Evidencije i definicije islamskih šerijatskih učenja i vjerovanja*, translation with commentary, Sheikh Čolić hadži Mustafa-efendija, Visoko, 1998.

▼²⁷ *Ibid.*

▼²⁸ *Ibid.*

▼²⁹ *Ibid.*

Govoreći o subjekatsko-predikatsko-objekatskoj (*dhākir, dhikr, madhkūr* ili ' *ālim, 'ilm, 'ālam*) ulozi Allahova obznamenog Univerzuma, Šejh pojašnjava da je on **Subjekt** u odnosu na svoja oznamenjenja (*fakultative*), na kojima i preko kojih se on obznanjuje i projicira, **Predikat**, kao sami čin vršenja radnje u kojoj se obznanjuju, prelijevaju i projiciraju značenja Allahovih Imena i **Objekt** u odnosu na Allaha s obzirom na to da je poligon obznane ili projekcije Njegovih Imena, Njegove Egzistencije ili Njega Samoga. Tako da je on univerzumski Subjekt, Predikat i Objekt. ▼³⁰



Šejh Čolić, kao i njegovi prethodnici, evidentira brojna imena *Savršenog Čovjeka*, ili *Allahovog obznamenog Univerzuma*. ▼³¹

Allah se obznanio preko Svog obznamenog Univerzuma, koji je On obznanio stvaranjem svjetova tako da su svjetski faktori direktna njegova obznana, a indirektna Allahova obznana. *Savršeni Čovjek*, odnosno Allahov obznamenbeni Univerzum samo je manifestacija, odraz i obznana Svevišnjeg Allaha preko koje se On predstavlja, a nikako da s Njime Svevišnjim on dijeli i saučestvuje u Njegovoj Osobnosti i Opstojanju. ▼³²

Ovom *Allahovom obznamenom Univerzumu* potčinjeni su svi svjetovi. On je u odnosu na Svevišnjeg Allaha Njegov osobni Rob, a u odnosu na svjetove njihov vladar i upravitelj. Međutim, i pored takvih „privilegija i prerogativa“ Allahov obznamenbeni Univerzum nije i nikako ne može biti identičan Njemu. ▼³³

Međutim, s obzirom na to da je Allahov obznamenbeni Univerzum Njegov *khalīfa* u svijetu, kršćani i židovi su, upravo, ovom Allahovom *khalīfi* i Njegovom obznamenbenom Univerzumu pripisali božanske prerogative. ▼³⁴

▼³⁰ *Ibid.*

▼³¹ *Ibid.*

▼³² *Ibid.*

▼³³ Ibn 'Arabī, Muḥammed. *Apsolutna i evidenciona, de factna i de iurna egzistencija – opstojanje i postojanje; osobna spoznaja svoga i svjetskoga subjekta i njegove egzistencije*. Prijevod s komentarom šejh hadži Čolić Mustafa-efendija. Visoko (Fojnica) Vukeljići – Živčići: Tekija Šejh Husejn-baba Zukić; 2000.

▼³⁴ Al-Džīlānī, 'Abd al-Qādir. *Spasonosna poslanica*. Prijevod s komentarom šejh hadži Čolić Mustafa-efendija. Visoko (Fojnica) Vukeljići – Živčići: Tekija Šejh Husejn-baba Zukić; 2000.

Speaking of the subject-predicate-object (*dhākir*, *dhikr*, *dadhkūr* or *‘ālim*, *‘ilm*, *‘ālam*) role of Allah's *Meaningful Universe*, the Sheikh explains that it is the **Subject** in relation to its meanings (*facultatives*), on which and through which it is made known and projected, the **Predicate**, as the very act of performing an action in which the meanings of Allah's Names are made known, overflowed and projected and **Object** in relation to Allah considering that it is the polygon of known or projection of His Names, His Existence or Himself. Therefore, it is the universal Subject, Predicate and Object. ▼³⁰



Sheikh Čolić, like his predecessors, records numerous names of the *Perfect Man* or the *Allah's Meaningful Universe*. ▼³¹

Allah made Himself known through His revealed Universe, which He made known through the creation of the worlds so that the world's factors are directly and indirectly revealed by Allah. The *Perfect Man*, namely *Allah's Meaningful Universe*, is only a manifestation, reflection and known by the Almighty Allah through whom He presents Himself, and by no means shares and participates in His Personality and Existence with Him, the Most Exalted. ▼³²

All the worlds are subordinated to this *Allah's Meaningful Universe*. It is in relation to the Almighty Allah His personal Slave, and in relation to the worlds their ruler and manager. However, despite such "privileges and prerogatives", *Allah's Meaningful Universe* is not and cannot be identical with Him. ▼³³

However, considering that *Allah's Meaningful Universe* is His *khalifa* in the world, Christians and Jews have attributed divine prerogatives to this *khalifa* of Allah and His *Meaningful Universe*. ▼³⁴

▼³⁰ *Ibid.*

▼³¹ *Ibid.*

▼³² *Ibid.*

▼³³ Ibn ‘Arabī, Muḥammed. *Apsolutna i evidenciona, de factna i de iurna egzistencija – opstojanje i postojanje; osobna spoznaja svoga i svjetskoga subjekta i njegove egzistencije*, Sheikh Čolić hadži Mustafa efendija translation with comentary, Tekija Šejh Husejn-baba Zukić, Hukeljići-Živčići (Fojnica), Visoko, 2000.

▼³⁴ Al-Jīlānī, ‘Abd al-Qādir. *Spasonosna poslanica*, Sheikh Čolić hadži Mustafa-efendija, translation with commentary, Tekija Šejh Husejn-baba Zukić, Hukeljići-Živčići (Fojnica), Visoko, 2000.

Zaključak

Kako je spoznaja Svevišnjeg Allaha esencijalno nemoguća, mi Ga upoznajemo preko Njegovog obznambenog Univerzuma, za koji Šejh kaže da se označava „subjektivnim, predikativnim i objektivnim Allahovim imenima i znamenjima“. Prvi obznambeni Univerzum je Allahova obznana, a svjetovi su obznane tog univerzuma. Spoznajom obznana Allahovog obznambenog Univerzuma indirektno spoznajemo i Allaha Uzvišenog. Allahov obznambeni Univerzum je Veliki Čovjek. Dok su ljudi njegove kopije, on je prasjemenka svih ljudi. Samo je ovaj Veliki Čovjek stvoren direktno, a druga stvorenja su njegove obznane i manifestacije. Kao što su ranije objave parcijalni dijelovi univerzalne Objave, tj. Kur'ana, tako su i svi ljudi samo primjeri tog najsavršenijeg čovjeka. Šejh naglašava da se samo pojedinačno savršeni ljudi mogu smatrati kompletnim mikrokosmosima, te da je spoznaja tog Univerzalnog Allahovog Roba i Čovjeka moguća samo pojedinačno savršenim ljudima.

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Conclusion

Since the knowledge of the Almighty Allah is essentially impossible, we know Him through His *Meaningful Universe*, which the Sheikh says is denoted by "subjective, predicative and objective names and signs of Allah". The first *Meaningful Universe* is Allah's meaning while the worlds are the meanings of that *Meaningful Universe*. By knowing the meanings of Allah's Meaningful Universe, we also indirectly know Allah the Most Exalted. *Allah's Meaningful Universe* is the Great Man. While humans are copies of him, he is the original seed of all humans. Only this Great Man was created directly, and other creatures are his meaning and manifestations. As earlier revelations are certain parts of the Universal Revelation of the Qur'an, so all men are just examples of that most *Perfect Man*. The Sheikh Čolić emphasizes that only individually perfect men can be considered complete microcosms, and that the knowledge of that Universal Allah's Servant and Man is possible only for individually perfect men.

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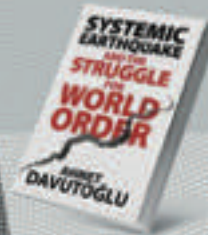
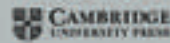


Systemic Earthquake and the Struggle for World Order

Exclusive Populism versus Inclusive Democracy

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Professor of Political Science and International Relations

English translation by Andrew Wood
Foreword by Richard Falk



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What led to the crises that the current world is experiencing? How should we approach to deal with them and restore the international order? The systemic earthquake and the struggle for world order is met in this book. The book's importance increases because its author is not only a prominent international relations scholar but also at the same time he has been prime minister of Turkey (2009-2014) and Prime Minister (2014-2016). The book is a reflection of the author's personality. In our recent history, there are few prominent international relations scholars whose prominence is extremely rare. Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski are prominent but both of them were never at the helm of a major power.

Dr. Emir Hadžikadunić doktorirao je iz oblasti međunarodnih odnosa na Internacionalnom univerzitetu u Sarajevu. Objavio je dvije knjige: *Od Dejtona do Brisela i Zašto Iran*, uključujući nekoliko članaka u naučnim žurnalima na temu vanjske politike, geopolitike i evropskih integracija. Kolumnista je za domaće i strane medije kao što su *Al Jazeera Balkans*, *Al Jazeera English*, *Fair Observer* i druge. Trenutno je angažovan kao profesor na Sarajevskoj školi nauke i tehnologije, kao i gostujući predavač na Univerzitetu za trgovinu u Istanbulu i Univerzitetu Sultan Zainal Abidin, suradnik je na Univerzitetu Tehnologije MARA u Maleziji. Član je Institut za geopolitiku, ekonomiju i sigurnost. Bivši je ambasador Bosne i Hercegovine u Iranu i Meleziji.
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Dr. Emir Hadžikadunić received his doctorate in the field of international relations at the International University in Sarajevo. He has published two books: *From Dayton to Brussels* and *Why Iran*, including several articles in scholarly journals on foreign policy, geopolitics and European integration. He is a columnist for domestic and foreign media such as *Al Jazeera Balkans*, *Al Jazeera English*, *Fair Observer* and others. He is currently employed as a professor at the Sarajevo School of Science and Technology, as well as a guest lecturer at the University of Commerce in Istanbul and Sultan Zainal Abidin University, and is also an associate at the MARA University of Technology in Malaysia. He is a member of the Institute for Geopolitics, Economy and Security. He is the former ambassador of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Iran and Malaysia.
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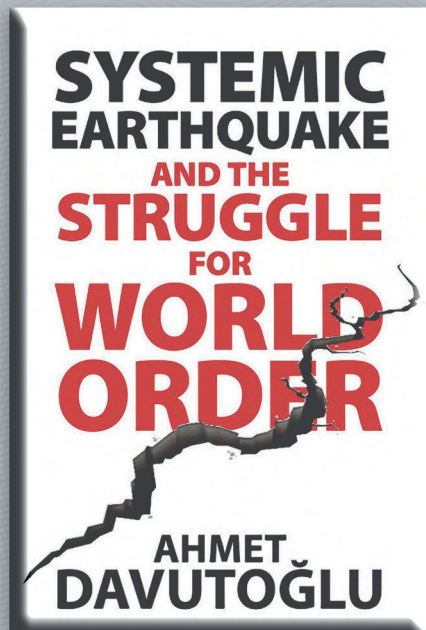
INTRODUCTION: CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

From Utopic Optimism to Nihilistic Pessimism: A Psycho-Methodological Dilemma

The discussions and debate we had around the "Toward a Greater Eurasia: How to Build a Common Future" in the fourth Astana Club Meeting (12–13 November 2018), held while I was working on *Systemic Earthquake*, contained significant clues with respect to understanding the psychology of the international environment and bringing out the main focus of this book's methodological approach. The prevailing intellectual currents among participants emerged right from the opening session of this wide-ranging roundtable gathering hosted by the President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, and attended by a number of former presidents, prime ministers, and ministers together with a host of academics distinguished for their work on the issue of international order.

One group had a relatively optimistic vision of the future in spite of the crises we were going through, while another argued that humanity was on the threshold of a major debacle from which it would be very hard to emerge. Advocates of the first approach provided comparative historical references to emphasize the fact that in terms of the losses relative to the population of mankind incurred in these ongoing crises we were in a far more favorable position than previous centuries, while those arguing for the second approach did not limit themselves to depicting the current spiral of crises in anticipating an extremely gloomy future.

...encing now and what is their scale and scope? What is the best
...tional disorder? Prof. Ahmet Davutoğlu in his book *Systemic*
...culously trying to answer these and many other similar questions.
...r is not just a professor of political science and international
...tically at the most important positions in Turkey: Foreign Minister
...ok reflects both theoretical as well as the practical dimensions of
...nique mix of high-level political experience with academic
...bigniew Brzezinski are the other two important figures of this
...m of affairs as Davutoğlu was during his prime ministership.



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Emir HADŽIKADUNIĆ

SISTEMSKI POTRES I BORBA ZA SVJETSKI POREDAK AUTOR AHMET DAVUTOĞLU

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SYSTEMIC EARTHQUAKE AND STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD ORDER AUTHOR AHMET DAVUTOĞLU

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SISTEMSKI POTRES I BORBA ZA SVJETSKI POREDAK

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Knjiga Ahmeta Davutoglua dolazi u vrijeme još jednog geopolitičkog potresa, ovog puta na evropskom kontinentu, na kojem je konvencionalni rat do jučer bio nezamisliv.^{▼1} Njena temeljna teza je da svaki međunarodni sukob sadrži sjeme za novi poredak, kao što novi poredak sadrži sjeme za novi sukob. Svaki poredak ima ugrađene sistemske greške, koje ga postepeno razgrađuju, i koje na koncu dovode do novog sistemskog potresa. Njega je moguće spriječiti ako se sistemske slabosti koriguju ili strukturalne komponente vrate svoju funkcionalnost, što autor detaljno analizira u drugom dijelu knjige.

Sistemski potres nije važno djelo samo zbog slojevitog sadržaja, interdisciplinarnog pristupa ili velikog broja praktičnih sugestija, nego i zato što je autor jedan od rijetko angažiranih intelektualaca koji je obnašao najviše političke funkcije, što ga opet svrstava u red javnih djelatnika poput Mohammada Javada Zarifa, Henrija Kissingera ili Zbigniewa Brzezinskog. Sinteza intelektualnog i profesionalnog omogućava nezaboravno čitateljsko iskustvo protkano trenucima u kojima su ideje o vanjskoj politici profesora Davutoglua bile testirane na stvarnoj međunarodnoj sceni na visokom ili najvišem diplomatskom nivou niz godina dok je autor obnašao dužnosti vanjskopolitičkog savjetnika, ministra vanjskih poslova ili premijera Turske. Na tim temeljima, Davutoglu nudi sistemsku analizu problematičnih odnosa u

svijetu na trima međusobno povezanim nivoima – međunarodnom, regionalnom i državnom – ali nudi i konkretne prijedloge za drugačije odnose, stvarajući u isto vrijeme koherentno jedinstvo prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti.

Rad je namijenjen globalnoj čitalačkoj publici, najviše stručnoj javnosti iz oblasti geopolitike, ali može biti od velike koristi za lokalnu ili regionalnu javnost koja želi najbolji mogući uvid u geopolitičku trusnost Bosne i Hercegovine i Balkana. U tom smislu zanimljiv je dio koji objašnjava liniju razdvajanja dviju tektonskih ploča unutar evropskog sistema. Prema autoru, ta problematična linija ne ide samo istočnom Evropom (Donbas, Krim, Abhazija, Osetija i Nagorno-Karabah), nego zahvata i područje Balkana (Bosna i Hercegovina i Kosovo). Taj prostor karakteriše “era produženog primirja”, u kome sukobljene strane ne vide korist od nastavka neprijateljstva u datim okolnostima čekajući povoljnije prilike za prekid primirja i vraćanje nasilju, što se u slučaju Donbasa i Nagorno-Karabaha već desilo.

Analogija potresa

Davutoglu koristi analogiju potresa od naslova kroz cijeli sadržaj knjige, rekli bismo s razlogom. Kako kaže, svaki međunarodni poredak suočava se s testom otpornosti kao što se fizičke konstrukcije na zemlji suočavaju sa seizmičkim kretanjem. Krhke konstrukcije koje ne mogu odoljeti udarima urušavaju se, dok preživjele strukture pokazuju potrebu za ozbiljnom sanacijom. Jednako tako, međunarodni poredak koji karakteriše strukturalne slabosti suočava

^{▼1} Izvorno djelo napisano je na turskom, a na engleski ga je preveo Andrew Boord. Predgovor je napisao profesor emeritus Richard Falk sa Sveučilišta Princeton.

SYSTEMIC EARTHQUAKE AND STRUGGLE FOR THE WORLD ORDER
author Ahmet Davutoglu, Cambridge University Press, 2020, 306 pages.
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Ahmet Davutoglu's book comes at a time of another geopolitical upheaval, this time on the European continent, where conventional war was unimaginable, until yesterday.^{▼1} Its fundamental thesis is that every international conflict contains seeds for a new order, just as a new order contains seeds for a new conflict. Each order has built-in system errors, which gradually break it down, and which eventually lead to a new system upheaval. It is possible to prevent it if the system weaknesses are corrected or structural components restore their functionality, which the author analyses in detail in the second part of the book.

Systemic earthquake is not only important because of its layered content, interdisciplinary approach or a large number of practical suggestions, but also because the author is one of the rarely engaged intellectuals who has held the highest political positions, which again puts him among the ranks of public officials like Mohammad Javad Zarif, Henry Kissinger or Zbigniew Brzezinski. The synthesis of the intellectual and professional provides an unforgettable reading experience interwoven with moments in which professor Davutoglu's foreign policy ideas were tested on the real international scene at a high or highest diplomatic level for many years while the author served as foreign policy adviser, foreign minister, or prime minister of Turkey. On these foundations, Davutoglu offers a systematic analysis of the world's problematic relationships at three interconnected levels – international, regional

and national – but also offers concrete proposals for different relations, while creating a coherent unity of the past, present and future.

The paper is intended for a global reading audience, mostly a professional audience in the field of geopolitics, but it can be of great use for the local or regional audience who want the best possible insight into the geopolitical turmoil of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans. In this sense, the part that explains the line of separation of two tectonic plates within the European subsystem is interesting. According to the author, this problematic line does not only pass through Eastern Europe (Donbass, Crimea, Abkhazia, Ossetia, and Nagorno-Karabakh), but also affects the Balkan region (Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo). This area is characterized by an "era of prolonged ceasefire", in which the parties to the conflict see no benefit from the continuation of hostilities in the given circumstances, waiting for more favourable opportunities to break the ceasefire and return to violence, which has already happened in the case of Donbass and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Earthquake analogy

Davutoglu uses the earthquake analogy from the title throughout the book, with good reason, we would say. As he says, every international order faces a test of resilience just as physical structures on earth face seismic movement. Fragile structures that cannot withstand impacts simply collapse, while surviving structures show the need for serious rehabilitation. Likewise, the international order characterized by structural weaknesses faces crises, conflicts or wars. Disruptions lead to its gradual collapse if that order

^{▼1} The original work was written in Turkish, translated into English by Andrew Boord, and the foreword was written by Professor Emeritus Richard Falk, Princeton University.

se s krizama, sukobima ili ratovima. Poremećaji dovode do njegovog postepenog urušavanja ako taj poredak nije dovoljno snažan da upravlja unutrašnjim napetostima. Otporni sistemi koriguju se tamo gdje je to najpotrebnije, kao što se novosagrađeni objekti jačaju novim željeznim konstrukcijama. Iz sistema koji nisu toliko otporni rađaju se novi, sa setom odgovarajućih institucija, propisa i vrijednosti, prilagođeni također novom balansu moći. Autor na isti način govori o regionalnim podsistemima, grupi država koje imaju specifične geopolitičke, geoekonomske ili geokulturne karakteristike. Kao primjer često navodi Bliski istok, koji je podložniji sistemskim potresima od evropskog regiona, čije su statičke/institucionalne strukture mnogo otpornije. Bliski istok je posebno podložan geopolitičkim potresima zbog sistemskih greški koje su ugrađene u regionalni poredak nakon Prvog i Drugog svjetskog rata. U središtu regionalnog nereda, palestinsko pitanje zadržalo je svoj visoki prioritet prije, tokom i nakon završetka Hladnog rata. Zapravo je spisak svih ratova autoru poslužio kao dokaz da se najčešći potresi dešavaju upravo na Bliskom istoku. Manifestacija tog nasilja u proteklih četvrt stoljeća jesu Prvi (1990–1991) i Drugi (2003) zaljevski rat, izraelsko-libanski rat (2006), izraelski napadi na Palestinu (2002, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014), građanske tenzije i ratovi u Alžiru, Iraku, Siriji, Libanu, Palestini, Libiji, Jemenu, Sudanu i Somaliji. Ovi geopolitički potresi izazvali su smrt i raseljavanje miliona ljudi, rasipanje ekonomskih resursa i uništavanje historijske baštine i kulturnog blaga.

Metodološki okvir

Mada je sadržaj knjige interdisciplinaran, centralna tema jeste struktura međunarodnog sistema, koju autor objašnjava kroz sintezu geopolitike, geoekonomije i geokulture kao tri temeljna stuba međunarodnog poretka. Čitalac u prvi mah može pomisliti da Davutoglu pripada popularnoj školi realizma, preciznije strukturalnog realizma, jer nudi realistično

promatranje svijeta, pogotovo u prvom dijelu. Taj dio analize po svojoj je prirodi više pesimističan, kao što je pesimistična najstarija teza realizma da velike sile rade šta žele, a manje trpe što moraju. Međutim, čitalac će u drugom dijelu knjige spoznati da je njegova vizija protkana liberalnim ili neoliberalnim idejama u međunarodnim odnosima. U tom smislu, Davutoglu je kod dijagnoze stanja više realista, ali je zato kod preporuka – kako dalje – više idealista.

Autor zapravo nudi sintezu između dviju krajnosti “nihilističkog pesimizma”, s jedne strane, i “utopijskog optimizma”, s druge. Prema njemu, glavna zajednička karakteristika “pretjerano optimističnog” ili “pretjerano pesimističkog” razumijevanja međunarodne politike jeste oslanjanje na povoljne historijske okolnosti ili na trenutak vlastite slave. Naprimjer, psihologiju “utopijskog optimizma” nalazimo neposredno nakon završetka hladnog rata u euforičnoj tezi F. Fukuyame o “kraju historije i pobjedi liberalizma u dugoj povijesti ljudske civilizacije”. Autor prepoznaje da sličnu “psihologiju optimizma” nalazimo kod pax Romana, pax Ottoman ili pax Britannica. Egocentrično gledište da će svaki od spomenutih poredaka trajati vječno pokazalo se pogrešnim, kao što je pogrešna teza Fukuyame o trijumfu liberalnog Zapada.

U tom smislu, gubitak djelotvornosti i neispunjena očekivanja postojećeg liberalnog poretka, kao i neuspjeh u rješavanju nagomilanih kriza u proteklom trima decenijama, doveli su do razočarenja postojećim poretkom, a posljedično tome i progresivne zamjene “psihologije optimizma” njenom suprotnošću – “psihologijom pesimizma”. Ono što će čovječanstvo odvojiti od nove spirale nasilja bit će njegova sposobnost da stvori viziju za drugačiji svijet. Autor nudi srednje rješenje “realističnog optimizma”, čime njegovo promišljanje postaje sinteza dvaju rivalskih teorijskih okvira, liberalnog i realističnog. Umjesto obmane, koju nudi analiza jednog euforičnog trenutka ili “statička snimka”, potrebna je “dinamička analiza” cijelog

is not strong enough to manage internal tensions. Resilient systems are corrected where it is most needed, just as newly built buildings are strengthened with new iron structures. From systems that are not so resilient, new ones are born, with a set of appropriate institutions, regulations and values, adapted also to a new balance of power. In the same way, the author speaks of regional subsystems, a group of states that have specific geopolitical, geoeconomic or geocultural characteristics. As an example, he often cites the Middle East, which is more susceptible to systemic earthquakes than the European region, whose static/institutional structures are much more resilient. The Middle East is particularly vulnerable to geopolitical upheavals due to systemic errors embedded in the regional order after World War I and World War II. At the heart of the regional unrest, the Palestinian issue has maintained its high priority before, during and after the end of the Cold War. In fact, the author's list of all wars served as proof that the most common earthquakes do occur in the Middle East. Manifestations of this violence over the past quarter of a century are the First (1990–1991) and Second (2003) Gulf War, Israeli-Lebanese War (2006), Israeli attacks on Palestine (2002, 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014), civil tensions and wars in Algeria, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Libya, Yemen, Sudan and Somalia. These geopolitical upheavals have caused the death and displacement of millions of people, waste of economic resources and the destruction of historical heritage and cultural treasures.

Methodological framework

Although the content of the book is interdisciplinary, the central theme is the structure of the international system, which the author explains through the synthesis of geopolitics, geoeconomics and geoculture as the three fundamental pillars of the international order. The reader may at first think that Davutoglu belongs to the popular school of realism, more precisely structural realism, because it offers a realistic observation of the world, especially in the first part. This part of the analysis is by its very nature more pessimistic, as is the pessimistic oldest thesis of realism that great powers do what they want and suffer less what they must. However, the reader will

learn in the second part of the book that his vision is interwoven with liberal or neoliberal ideas in international relations. In this sense, Davutoglu is more realistic when diagnosing the condition, but with his recommendations – how to proceed - he is more idealistic.

The author actually offers a synthesis between the two extremes of "Nihilist pessimism", on the one hand, and "utopian optimism", on the other. According to him, the main common characteristic of an "overly optimistic" or "overly pessimistic" understanding of international politics is reliance on favourable historical circumstances or on a moment of glory. For example, the psychology of "utopian optimism" is found immediately after the end of the Cold War in F. Fukuyama's euphoric thesis of "the end of history and the victory of liberalism in the long history of human civilization." The author recognizes that a similar "psychology of optimism" is found in pax Romana, pax Ottoman or pax Britannica. The egocentric view that each of the aforementioned orders will last forever has been proven wrong, as has Fukuyama's erroneous thesis of the liberal West's triumph.

In this sense, the loss of effectiveness and the unfulfilled expectations of the existing liberal order, as well as the failure to resolve the accumulated crises of the past three decades, have led to disappointment with the existing order, and consequently a progressive replacement of the "psychology of optimism" by its opposite – the "psychology of pessimism". What will separate humanity from a new spiral of violence will be its ability to create a vision for a different world. The author offers a middle solution of "realistic optimism", thus making his reflection a synthesis of two rival theoretical frameworks, the liberal and the realistic. Instead of deception, offered by the analysis of a single euphoric moment or a "static snapshot", a "dynamic analysis" of the whole process with many more static images is needed. As the author says, the process for international relations is what the law of motion is for physics. Such an approach allows for a realistic understanding of the spiral of systemic earthquakes, but also defines the characteristics for its transformation into a new and more optimistic international order. In this sense, the author emphasizes that his "optimism" is not "utopian",

procesa sa mnogo više statičkih slika. Kako kaže autor, proces je za međunarodne odnose ono što je zakon kretanja za fiziku. Takav pristup omogućava realistično razumijevanje spirale sistemskih potresa, ali također definira karakteristike za njegovu transformaciju u novi i optimističniji međunarodni poredak. U tom smislu, autor naglašava da njegov "optimizam" nije "utopijski", nego je "realističan". Zato nudi mješavinu "idealističkih" i "realističkih" principa kao izlaz iz postojećeg stanja. On smatra da "inkluziju", koja ima idealistički okvir, treba povezati s "interesom" iz sfere realnog preko onoga što autor naziva "institucionalizacija". Tako se novo razumijevanje međunarodnog poretka postiže prevazilaženjem tenzija između idealizma i realizma.

Kritičke opservacije

Mada je svojim naslovom i sadržajem univerzalnog karaktera, knjiga je ipak pomalo turkocentrična. Autor je više pažnje posvetio vanjskopolitičkoj ulozi Turske. Posebno je isticao aktivnosti turske diplomatije na međunarodnom planu kao model inkluzivnog ponašanja, što nije toliko sporno. Međutim, slične međunarodne aktivnosti drugih država koje su imale više ili manje odjeka nisu spomenute. Naprimjer, u dijelu knjige u kojem autor opravdano ističe zajedničku inicijativu Turske i Španije (Alijansa civilizacija) i zasluge za promociju interkulturalnog i interreligijskog dijaloga 2005. godine, nema spomena o dijalogu civilizacija kao antiteze sukoba civilizacija koje su kroz sistem UN-a pokrenuli lideri drugih država, poput Irana (Hatami 1997, 2001; Ruhani 2013) ili Malezije (Najib 2010, 2013). Drugo, autor je najčešće i najsveobuhvatnije problematizirao države i regionalne sisteme iz neposrednog okruženja Turske. U isto vrijeme, malo je pažnje posvetio istočnoj Aziji ili zapadnom Pacifiku, kojem prema najozbiljnijim geopolitičkim analizama pripada ovo stoljeće. U tom smislu, rivalstvo Sjedinjenih Država i Kine nije dobilo zasluženi tretman iako je u naslovu knjige

naglašen termin svjetskog poretka. Jednako je izostavljena zona razdvajanja dvaju rivalskih blokova koja ide od linije razgraničenja Sjeverne i Južne Koreje preko Tajvana do teritorijalnih sporova u Južnokineskom moru. Treće, strukturalni potres kao ključni pojam ili pojava nije nužno simplificiran. Autor koristi interdisciplinarni i intradisciplinarni pristup te ga objašnjava faktorima iz međunarodne ekonomije, politike, kulture, psihologije, sigurnosti, što samo po sebi ne predstavlja veliki problem. Također ga tretira slojevitom analizom na trima nivoima – nacionalnom, regionalnom i međunarodnom. U mješavini velikog broja uzročnika koji potencijalno utječu na stabilnost ili nestabilnost poretka, autor ostavlja dojam da nije uvijek dosljedan jer slabosti jednog međunarodnog sistema ili subsistema objašnjava jednim setom faktora, a slabosti nekog drugog objašnjava drugim setom faktora. Peto, pokušaj da se interakcija realnog (pesimističnog) i idealnog (optimističnog) pretvori u novi teorijski okvir (optimističkog realizma) ostala je samo na sintezi dvaju suprotstavljenih gledišta, u čemu je najveći doprinos ovog djela. Novi teorijski okvir, a čini se da su bile takve ambicije, nije dovoljno simplificiran, što jeste smisao svih teorija iz oblasti međunarodnih odnosa. Šesto, kod analize velikih sila i sistema ravnoteže moći autor na istom mjestu tretira tri velike sile (Kinu, Rusiju i Sjedinjene Države) i jednu regionalnu integraciju (EU), što nije sporno ako je u pitanju ravnoteža ekonomske moći. Međutim, ako su u pitanju geopolitički odnosi, onda se ponašanje velikih sila uglavnom tretira u okviru škole realizma ili neorealizma, a ponašanje regionalnih integracija, poput EU, u okviru liberalne ili neoliberalne škole u međunarodnim odnosima. Također se očekuje da se Sjedinjene Države i EU najčešće tretiraju kao jedinstven geopolitički pol zbog mehanizma kolektivne sigurnosti. Oni istovremeno dijele vrijednosti liberalne demokratije, tržišne ekonomije i kulturne pluralnosti. Sedmo, autor također iznosi općepoznate manjkavosti UN-a dovodeći ih u vezu s krizama koje su izbijale od 1990-ih. Međutim, te manjkavosti nisu nastale

but "realistic". That is why it offers a mixture of "idealistic" and "realist" principles as a way out of the existing state. He believes that "inclusion", which has an idealistic framework, should be linked to "interest" from the real sphere through what the author calls "institutionalization". Thus, a new understanding of the international order is achieved by overcoming tensions between idealism and realism.

Critical observations

Although its title and content are universal in character, the book is still somewhat Turkocentric. The author paid significant attention to Turkey's foreign policy role. In particular, he highlighted the activities of Turkish diplomacy on the international level as a model of inclusive behaviour, which is not so controversial. However, similar international activities of other states that had more or less impact have been not mentioned. For example, in the part of the book in which the author justifiably points out the joint initiative of Turkey and Spain (Alliance of Civilizations) and credit for promoting intercultural and interreligious dialogue in 2005, there is no mention of the dialogue of civilizations as an antithesis of the clash of civilizations initiated through the UN system by leaders of other countries, such as Iran (Hatami 1997, 2001; Rouhani 2013) or Malaysia (Najib 2010, 2013). Secondly, the author most often and most comprehensively problematized states and regional subsystems from Turkey's immediate environment. At the same time, he paid little attention to East Asia or the Western Pacific, to which, according to the most serious geopolitical analysis, this century belongs. In this sense, the rivalry between the United States and China has not received the treatment it deserves, even though the title of the book emphasizes the term world order. Equally omitted is the zone of separation of the two rival blocs that goes from the line of demarcation of North and South Korea through Taiwan to territorial disputes in the South China Sea. Third, structural earthquake as a key term or phenomenon is not necessarily a simplification. The author uses an interdisciplinary and intradisciplinary approach and explains it with factors from international economics, politics, culture, psychology, security, which in itself is not a

big problem. It also treats it with layered analysis at three levels – national, regional and international. In a mixture of a large number of causative agents that potentially affect the stability or instability of order, the author gives the impression that he is not always consistent because he explains the weaknesses of an international system or subsystem with one set of factors, and explains the weaknesses of someone else with another set of factors. Fifth, the attempt to transform the interaction of the real (pessimistic) and the ideal (optimistic) into a new theoretical framework (optimistic realism) remained only on the synthesis of two opposing views, within which is the greatest contribution of this work. The new theoretical framework, and it seems that there were such ambitions, is not sufficiently simplified, which is the entire point of all theories in the field of international relations. Sixth, in the analysis of great powers and the system of the balance of power, the author treats three great powers (China, Russia and the United States) and one regional integration (EU) at the same time, which is not controversial when it comes to the balance of economic power. However, if it comes to geopolitical relations, then the behaviour of the great powers is mainly treated within the school of realism or neorealism, and the behaviour of regional integration, such as the EU, within the liberal or neoliberal school in international relations. It is also expected that the United States and the EU are most often treated as a single geopolitical pole due to the mechanism of collective security. At the same time, they share the values of liberal democracy, market economy and cultural plurality. Seventh, the author also outlines the UN's commonly known shortcomings by linking them to crises that have erupted since the 1990s. However, these shortcomings did not arise in 1990, but are part of the UN founding acts of 1945. If the UN's capacity has been inadequate over the past thirty years, it had also been inadequate before that. Eighth, the author mentions BiH in several places (almost twenty times) citing it as an example of systemic disorder at the national, regional or international level, for the most part, correctly. However, in the second part of the book for BiH, he also says that it experienced fragmentation "after the bloody civil war". Many in BiH will disagree with this term, which is insinuated mostly by the neighbouring

1990, nego su dio osnivačkih akata UN-a od 1945. Ako je kapacitet UN-a bio neadekvatan u proteklih trideset godina, on je bio neadekvatan i prije toga. Osmo, autor spominje BiH na više mjesta (skoro dvadeset puta) navodeći je kao primjer sistemskog poremećaja na nacionalnom, regionalnom ili međunarodnom nivou, uglavnom s pravom. Međutim, u drugom dijelu knjige za BiH također kaže da je doživjela fragmentaciju “nakon krvavog građanskog rata”. S tim terminom, koji se imputira najviše iz susjedne Srbije, mnogi se u BiH neće složiti jer implicira da su sve strane jednako krive. Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju u predmetu Duško Tadić također je okvalifikovao rat u BiH kao međunarodni sukob, a ne građanski rat. Na kraju, mada je spasilački narativ autora obogaćen inkluzivnom sviješću koja afirmiše vrijednosti demokratije, pluralizma ili vladavine prava, neke od njegovih sugestija za bolji, pravedniji i mirniji svijet ipak su previše idealizirane i teško provodive.

Struktura

Knjiga od preko tristo stranica (uključujući literaturu) podijeljena je u dva glavna dijela, od kojih se svaki sastoji od četiri kraća poglavlja. U prvom dijelu – “Sistemski potres: analiza i posljedice svjetskog (ne) reda” – autor rasvjetljava sistemске krize međunarodnog poretka kroz različite historijske faze, uključujući i ovu posljednju posthladnoratovsku. Posebno istražuje uzroke i posljedice posljednjeg sistemskog potresa nastalog stvaranjem unipolarnog svijeta na trima nivoima – nacionalnom, regionalnom i globalnom. U drugom dijelu – “Nova vizija: inkluzivna vladavina” – autor nudi vlastite ideje i preporuke za izlazak iz ruševina posljednjeg sistemskog potresa, dosljedno ponavljajući nacionalnu, regionalnu i međunarodnu strukturu odlučivanja. Prema njemu, ove su preporuke od ključne važnosti za izgradnju stabilnije strukture koja će biti u stanju izdržati sve moguće potrebe. Alternativa za Davutoglua

jeste nastavak spirale nasilja, koja će, ako se ne tretira adekvatno, završiti jednog dana novim svjetskim ratom. Autor zaključuje zadnje poglavlje u duhu dijaloga. “Bez obzira na našu kulturnu pripadnost, moramo zapamtiti ovu činjenicu: miran globalni poredak koji osigurava budućnost čovječanstva može se uspostaviti samo na temelju inkluzivne, pluralističke, međucivilizacijske interakcije, a ne na temelju monopolističke civilizacijske hegemonije. Istina koju smo spoznali kroz historiju je jasna: oni koji isključuju ‘druga’ ljudska naslijeđa u jednoj eri sami su osuđeni na isključenje u sljedećoj.”



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Serbia, because it implies that all sides are equally guilty. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in the Duško Tadić case also classified the war in BiH as an international conflict, not a civil war. Finally, although the author's rescue narrative is enriched with an inclusive awareness that affirms the values of democracy, pluralism or the rule of law, some of his suggestions for a better, fairer and more peaceful world are still too idealized and difficult to enforce.

Structure

The book of over three hundred pages (including literature) is divided into two main parts, each consisting of four shorter chapters. In the first part – "Systemic earthquake: analysis and consequences of world (dis)order" – the author sheds light on the systemic crises of the international order through various historical phases, including the one of the last post-Cold War. It specifically investigates the causes and consequences of the last systemic earthquake created by the creation of a unipolar world at three levels – national, regional and global. In the second part – "A New Vision: Inclusive Governance" – the author offers his own ideas and recommendations for emerging from the ruins of the last systemic earthquake, consistently repeating the national, regional and international decision-making structure. According to him, these recommendations are essential for building a more stable structure that will be able to withstand all possible earthquakes. The alternative for Davutoglu is to continue the spiral of violence, which, if not properly treated, will one day end in a new world war. The author concludes the last chapter in the spirit of dialogue. "Regardless of our cultural affiliation, we must remember this fact: a peaceful global order that ensures the future of humanity can only be established on the basis of inclusive, pluralistic, inter-civilizational interaction, and not on the basis of monopolistic civilizational hegemony. The truth we have learned throughout history is clear: those who exclude 'other' human heritage in one era are themselves doomed to exclusion in the next."





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Prijevod

Prevedeni članci trebaju biti, uz prevedeni tekst, popraćeni prevodiočevom napomenom o relevantnosti i značaju članka. Poželjno je da se dadne kratka analiza prevedenog teksta u vidu uvodnog teksta i prevodiočevih bilješki.

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Nakon što je prihvaćen, rad se s ispravkama u PDF formatu e-mailom dostavlja autoru da provjeri ima li činjeničnih i štamparskih grešaka. Autori su odgovorni za provjeru korigiranog rada i preporučuje im se da koriste alatnu traku Comment & Markup da unesu svoje eventualne izmjene direktno na korigirani tekst. U ovoj fazi pripreme dozvoljene su samo manje izmjene.

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Naknada za objavljivanje

Radovi (članci) se ne honoriraju.

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Dostava radova

Autori mogu izvršiti predaju radova putem OJS-a: <https://illuminatio.cdv.ba/index.php/casopis/about/submissions>.

It is well known that there are several accepted systems for citing literature. Our goal is to have a common citation of accurate data and uniformity, which, unfortunately, we were not able to explicitly provide at the outset. This is the only reason the Vancouver and partly the Harvard citation systems are present. From the next issue onwards, we will exclusively use the Vancouver Uniformity System. All papers should follow the Vancouver Parity Quotation System in the text.

It seems important to note that in the text: reference numbers in the superscript are listed; titles in capital letters (Times New Roman **Bold** 12pt); subtitle initial big remaining small letters (Times New Roman **Bold** 12pt); additional titles (subheading) initial large and remaining small letters, but in *italics* (Times New Roman *Italic* 12pt); the numerical citation system is used within the bibliographic notes (footnotes) at the foot of the page – in the footnote or at the end of the paper or chapter – in the endnote; page numbers are written in their entirety; citation retains all spelling peculiarities (punctuation and spelling) and possible errors; quoted text must be marked with quotation marks at the beginning and end („ ”); quotation marks and single quotation marks (‘ ’), as well as bold font, can be used to highlight words, concepts or short phrases within the text; the titles of journal articles and reference works are treated with the indicated **bold font in italics**; when the quoted text is extensive, the omitted parts should be marked with three dots in square brackets before and after the break [...]; also, any possible changes to the quoted text should be marked with square brackets; the quotation in the quotation is indicated by single quotation marks (‘...’); exceptionally, when the primary source is not available, the citation already cited by another author may be cited, in which case the full bibliographic record of the original citation as well as the publications from which the citation was taken should be indicated; when quoting a source of information already cited earlier in the paper, abbreviation is used *op. cit.*; abbreviation *ibid.* is used when multiple citations on the same page are quoted from the same source; larger parts of a quoted text are rendered in a separate paragraph, left-indented, with a space above and below the paragraph, in a smaller font size in *italics* (10pt). These larger sections should not be quoted.

Bibliographic units should be alphabetized by the author's surname. Arrange the works of the same author in chronological order, from earlier to newer, and additionally mark the works of one author published in the same year in small letters (e.g. 1988a, 1988b).

If more than one article in the same book is cited, it should be cited as a separate unit under the name of the editor, and referenced throughout the book in individual article units. Give the author's names in their entirety, not replace them with initials, unless the author usually uses only the initials. Book and magazine titles should be written in **bold italics**. The titles of journal articles or proceedings should be written in quotation marks in **bold**.

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Book reviews

A book review typically consists of between 800 and 1200 words. Subheadings should be reduced to a minimum while footnotes should be used as little as possible. A book review should be titled by the bibliographic information in accordance with the following rule: Author's full name, Book title, Place of publication: Publisher, Year of publication, Number of pages, ISBN. Name of the author of the review should be provided in the end of the work.

The review should provide a short overview of the main aims of the work that is being reviewed, the main theses and topics it deals with and the kind of sources it uses. For an edited collection the review should sum up the main topics, and mention individual chapters only if necessary. It should describe the original contribution of the work both to the specific area of research and to science in general. If relevant, it should describe the broader context the work contributes to and assess to what extent the work has fulfilled its purpose and whether it is theoretically or methodologically reliable. Target readership for the book should also be recommended.

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Translation

Translated articles should be accompanied by the translator's comment on the relevance and significance of the article. It is desirable to provide a brief analysis of the translated text in the form of an introductory text and translator's notes.

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Preparation of the paper

Upon acceptance, the paper, with corrections, is sent in PDF format by email to the author to check for factual errors and misprints. Authors are responsible for checking the proofread paper and are advised to use the toolbar Comment & Markup for inserting their eventual changes directly into the proofread text. Only minor changes are allowed during this stage of preparation.

The publisher will send the paper in PDF format to the author for his/her personal use, free of charge. Authors are allowed to post the printed versions of their papers in PDF format on their own websites, without compensating the publisher.

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Publishing fee

There are no publishing fee.

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Delivery of works

Authors can submit papers via **OJS**:
<https://illuminatio.cdv.ba/index.php/casopis/about/submissions>.



VODIČ ZA TRANSLITERACIJU NA BOSANSKOM JEZIKU
TRANSLITERATION GUIDE FOR BOSNIAN

Arapski / Arabic	Simbol / Symbol	Arapski / Arabic	Simbol / Symbol
ا	A	ط	T
ب	B	ظ	Z
ت	T	ع	c
ث	Th	غ	Gh
ج	Dž	ف	F
ح	Ḥ	ق	Q
خ	Kh	ك	K
د	D	ل	L
ذ	Dh	م	M
ر	R	ن	N
ز	Z	ه	H
س	S	و	W
ش	Š	ي	Y
ص	Ṣ	ء	'
ض	Ḍ	ة	A/T

Kratki samoglasnici:

Short Vowels:

أ	u
ا	a
ي	i

Dugi samoglasnici:

Long Vowels:

و	Ū
ا	Ā
ي	Ī

Dvoglasnici:

Diphthongs:

وا	Aw
يا	Ay

Važna napomena: Ovo je transliteracija arapskog na bosanski alfabet koja se koristi u ovom časopisu!



TRANSLITERATION GUIDE FOR ENGLISH
VODIČ ZA TRANSLITERACIJU NA ENGLISKOM JEZIKU

Arapski / Arabic	Simbol / Symbol	Arapski / Arabic	Simbol / Symbol
ا	A	ط	Ṭ
ب	B	ظ	Ẓ
ت	T	ع	ʿ
ث	Th	غ	Gh
ج	J	ف	F
ح	Ḥ	ق	Q
خ	Kh	ك	K
د	D	ل	L
ذ	Dh	م	M
ر	R	ن	N
ز	Z	ه	H
س	S	و	W
ش	Sh	ي	Y
ص	Ṣ	ء	ʾ
ض	Ḍ	ة	A/T

Kratki samoglasnici:

Short Vowels:

ó	u
ó	a
ó	i

Dugi samoglasnici:

Long Vowels:

و	Ū
ا	Ā
ي	Ī

Dvoglasnici:

Diphthongs:

وا	Aw
يا	Ay

Important Note: This is transliteration of Arabic into English alphabet that is used in this Magazine!



**CENTAR ZA DIJALOG – VESATIJA
AL-WASATIYYA CENTER FOR DIALOGUE**

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Predsjednik Upravnog odbora /
Chairman of the Board: Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ
Direktor / Director: Dr. Senad ĆEMAN
Sekretar / Secretary: Mohamed-Suleyman TADEFI

Misiju i ciljeve **Centar za dijalog – Vesatijja** realizira kroz sljedeće aktivnosti:

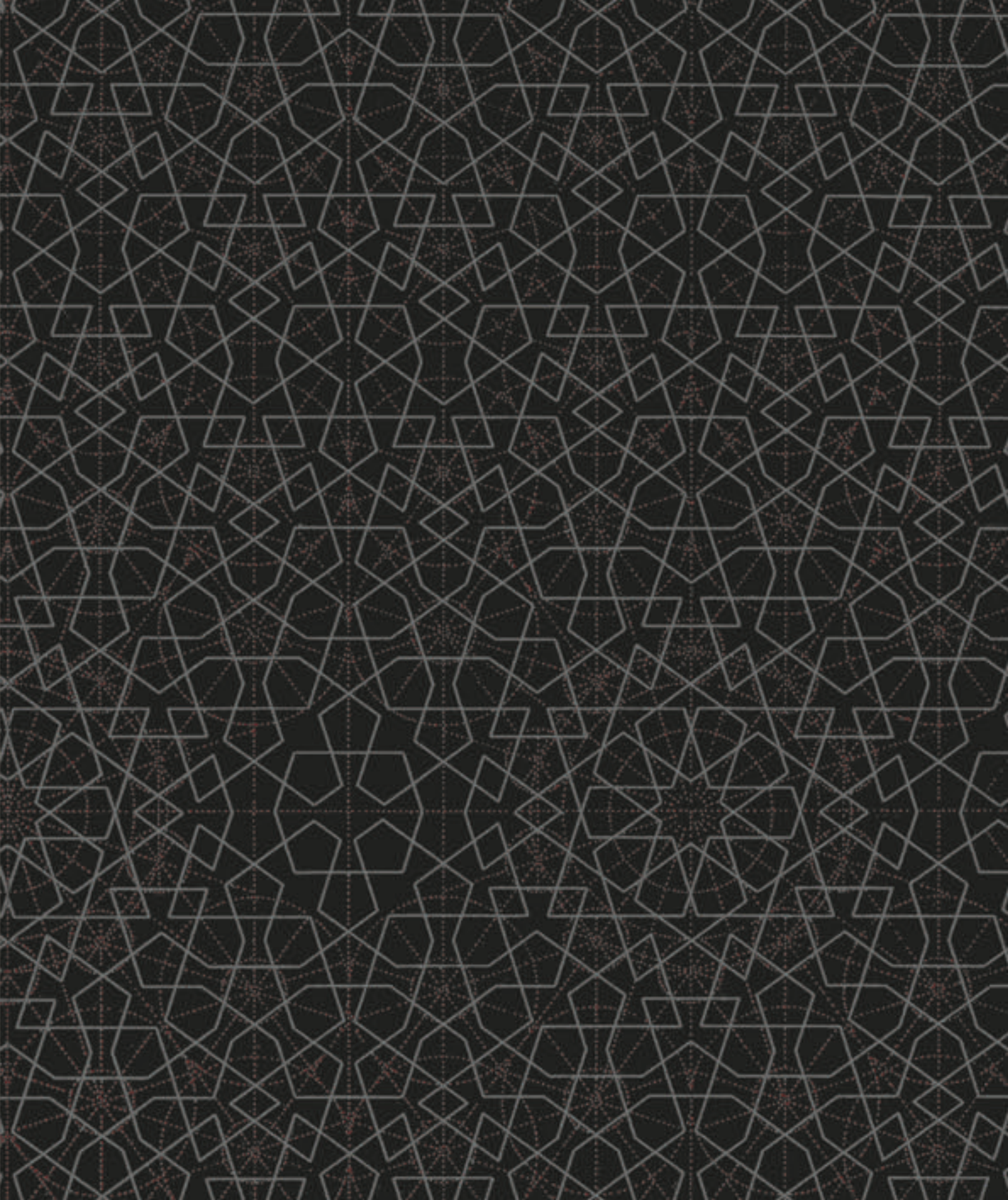
- multidisciplinarna istraživanja i studije o dijalogu i srednjem ili miroljubivom putu u islamu;
- objavljivanje zapaženih ostvarenja domaćih i stranih autora o dijalogu i srednjem ili miroljubivom putu u islamu;
- organiziranje naučnih skupova, okruglih stolova, seminara, foruma i sličnih skupova na kojima će se razmatrati problemi i pitanja iz domena dijaloga i islamskog djelovanja u savremenim uslovima globaliziranog svijeta i diskutirati o njima;
- različite vrste edukacije i obuke u cilju osposobljavanja mladih ljudi da se aktivno uključe u procese dijaloga na lokalnom, regionalnom i međunarodnom nivou;
- identifikiranje i predlaganje mjera za otklanjanje različitih oblika devijantnog, ekstremnog ponašanja i shvatanja;
- održavanje internetskog portala posvećenog misiji i aktivnostima Centra;
- prikladne medijske aktivnosti.

Na planu realizacije svoje misije i ciljeva Centar putem naučno-istraživačkih radova i projekata posebno radi na uspostavljanju obostrano korisnih i prihvatljivih oblika saradnje sa srodnim centrom u Državi Kuvajt kao i s drugim sličnim centrima i ustanovama u regiji i svijetu. Centar će u perspektivi, shodno potrebama i mogućnostima, a u dogovoru s islamskim zajednicama u regionu, posebnu pažnju posvetiti uspostavi raznovrsnih oblika institucionalne saradnje na planu realizacije osnovne ideje i cilja Centra, a to je promoviranje kulture dijaloga, tolerancije i suživota te promicanje interpretativne tradicije srednjeg ili miroljubivog puta u islamu (*vesatijja*).

Al-Wasatiyya Center for dialogue achieves its mission and vision through the following activities:

- multidisciplinary research and studies on dialogue and issues of the middle way of Islam;
- publishing prominent works by local and international authors on dialogue and issues of the middle way of Islam;
- organizing scientific meetings, round tables, seminars, forums and similar gatherings which will consider problems and issues in the domain of dialogue Islamic activity in the contemporary conditions of the globalized world and discuss them;
- various kinds of education and training aimed at enabling young people to become actively involved in the dialogue processes at the local, regional and international level;
- identifying and proposing measures for the elimination of various kinds of deviant or extreme behavior and understanding;
- maintaining the Internet portal devoted to Center's mission and activities;
- appropriate media activities.

In achieving its mission and goals, Center is particularly involved in establishing the mutually useful and acceptable forms of cooperation with the related center in the State of Kuwait, as well as with other similar centers and institutions in the region and the world through research papers and projects. In the future, depending on needs and possibilities and in the agreement with Islamic communities in the region, Center will pay a particular attention to the establishment of diverse forms of institutional cooperation in the area of achieving Center's basic idea and goal, i.e. the promotion of the culture of dialogue, tolerance and coexistence and nourishing the interpretative tradition of the middle way of Islam (*Al-Wasatiyya*).





CENTAR ZA DIJALOG - VESATIJA
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Misija Centra je širenje i promoviranje kulture dijaloga kako među muslimanima tako i među pripadnicima različitih religija i svjetonazora, a u skladu s ciljevima i misijom Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini definiranim izvorima islama i normativnim aktima.

Osnovna djelatnost Centra je usmjerena na realizaciju naučno-istraživačkih i edukativnih projekata u oblasti kulture dijaloga i promocije srednjeg puta u islamu.

The **mission of the Center** is to spread and promote a culture of dialogue among Muslims as well as members of different religions and worldviews, in accordance with the goals and mission of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina defined by the sources of Islam and its normative acts.

The main **activity of the Center** is focused on the realization of scientific-research and educational projects in the field of cultural dialogue and the promotion of the cultural dialogue.



illuminatio/svjetionik/almanor

časopis za nove ideje / a journal for new ideas
<https://svjetionik.cdv.ba>