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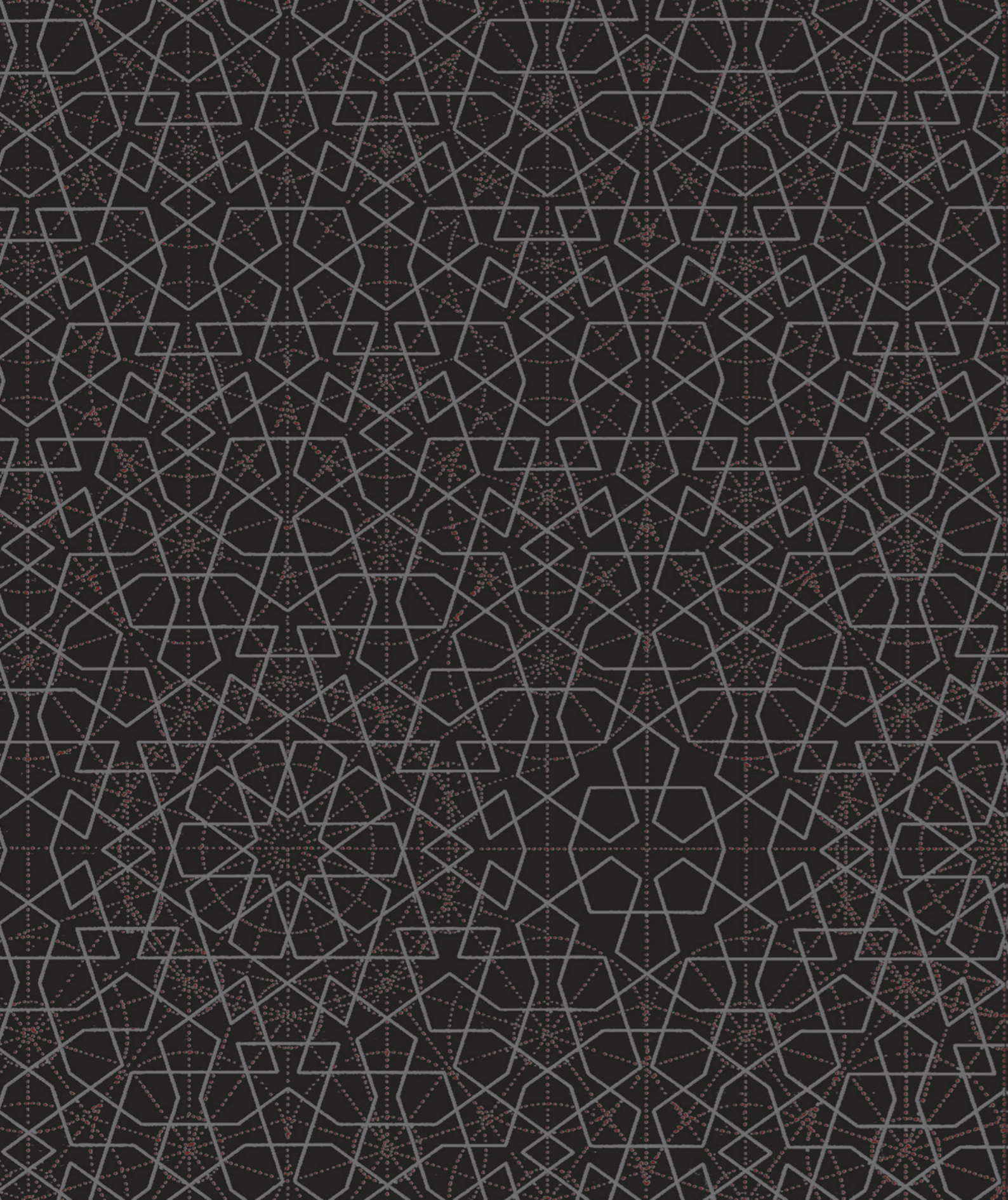
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a journal for new ideas that enlighten the human
spirit and mind about the conditions of human past,
present and future.



No 1



• *God is the Light of the heavens and the earth* •
• *Boq je svjetlo nebesa i zemlje* •

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Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar je naučni časopis za afirmaciju novih ideja o vjeri, moralu, umjetnosti, naciji, društvu i državi. Časopis čuva tradiciju (*taṣḍīq*) i afirmira inovaciju društvene i državne misli (*tadẓīd*). *Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar* poziva *ulemu*, učenjake, filozofe i druge autore s područja društvenih nauka da bace novo svjetlo na kritična pitanja i teške izazove suvremenog svijeta u vezi religije, filozofije, etike, povijesti, umjetnosti, državotvornosti i humanističkih nauka u kontekstu bosanskih, regionalnih i svjetskih dešavanja. Objavljaju se članci koji su utemeljeni na izvorima Božanske objave, kao i na osobnom iskustvu i razumijevanju Boga, čovjeka i svijeta. Časopis je otvoren za objavljivanje prijevoda važnih knjiga i članaka, kao i prikaze novih inovativnih knjiga.



Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar is a scholarly journal for the affirmation of new ideas about religion, morality, art, nation, society and state. The magazine confirms the tradition (*taḍīq*) and affirms the innovation of social and state thought (*tadẓīd*). *Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar* invites '*ulamā*', scholars, philosophers and other authors in the area of humanities to shed new light on the critical issues and difficult challenges of the modern world regarding religion, philosophy, ethics, history, art, statehood and humanities in the context of Bosnian, regional and world events. Articles are published that are based on the sources of Divine revelation, as well as on personal experience and understanding of God, man, and the world. The journal is open for publishing translations of important books and articles as well as a review of new innovative books.



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Feisal Abdul-Rauf, imam, Inicijativa Kordoba (SAD)

Imam Abdul-Rauf je rođen 1948. u Kuvajtu, autor i aktivist čiji je cilj poboljšanje odnosa muslimanskog svijeta i zapada.

Studirao je fiziku na Univerzitetu Columbia, gdje je stekao diplomu o nuklearnom inženjerstvu 1969. godine, prije nego što je stekao magisterij iz fizike plazme na Institutu Stevens u Hobokenu, New Jersey. Nakon završetka fakulteta usredotočio se na religiju.

Napisao je tri knjige o mjestu islama u suvremenom zapadnom društvu od kojih je jedna pod naslovom: Ono što je dobro u islamu, dobro je za Ameriku. Osnivač je *Američkog sufijskog muslimanskog društva* (ASMA 1997)., koje je preimenovano u *Američko društvo za napredovanje muslimana*. Osnovao je 2003. godine *Cordoba Initiative (Inicijativa Kordoba)*, još jednu neprofitnu organizaciju s uredima u New Yorku i Kuala Lumpuru (Malezija). Kao izvršni direktor *Cordoba Initiative* koordinira projekte koji naglašavaju veze između muslimanskog svijeta i zapada.

Feisal Abdul-Rauf, imam, The Cordoba initiative (USA)

Imam Abdul-Rauf was born 1948 in Kuwait. He is author and activist whose stated goal is to improve relations between the Muslim world and the West.

He studied physics at Columbia University, where he earned his bachelor's degree in nuclear engineering in 1969, before earning a master's degree in plasma physics at Stevens Institute in Hoboken, New Jersey. After finishing college he focused on religion.

He has written three books on Islam and its place in contemporary Western society, including *What’s Right with Islam Is What’s Right with America*. He is founder of *American Sufi Muslim Society* (ASMA – 1997), which has since been renamed the *American Society for Muslim Advancement*. He founded in 2003 the *Cordoba Initiative*, another nonprofit organization with offices in both New York and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. As CEO of *Cordoba Initiative* he coordinates projects that emphasize the bonds that connect the Muslim world and the West.

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Mr. Abdullah Martin Drury, Univerzitet Waikato (Novi Zeland)

Mr. Drury diplomirao je na Univerzitetu Waikato, a istražuje povijest muslimanske zajednice Novog Zelanda. Diplomirao je povijest 1995. godine, magistrirao iz oblasti umjetnosti 1997. (dobio odlikovanje Prve klase), također na Univerzitetu u Waikatou (teza: *Povijest muslimanske zajednice na Novom Zelandu do 1980.*), te magistrirao i iz oblasti filozofije 2016. (teza: *Jednom su bili Muhamedani: Muslimani na Južnom otoku Novog Zelanda, sredina 19. do kraja 20. stoljeća, s posebnim osvrtom na Canterbury*).

Kao gost predavač predaje na dodiplomskom kolegiju *Islam i zapad* na Univerzitetu Waikato u programu za religijske studije (*Waikato islamske studije*); autor je knjige *Islam na Novom Zelandu : Kratka povijest Novozelandskog muslimanskog udruženja*; recenzirao je širok spektar knjiga na temu islama i kršćansko-muslimanskih odnosa.

Mr. Abdullah Martin Drury, University of Waikato (New Zealand)

Mr. Drury is a University of Waikato MPhil graduate and is researching the history of the New Zealand Muslim community. He holds a BA in History, a Master's degree in Arts 1997 (First Class Hons) also at the University of Waikato (Thesis: *A History of the Muslim Community in New Zealand to 1980.*) and a Master's degree in Philosophy 2016 (Thesis: *Once Were Mahometans : Muslims in the South Island of New Zealand, Mid-19th to Late 20th Century, with Special Reference to Canterbury*).

As a Guest Lecturer, he lectured of the University of Waikato’s Religious Studies Programme’s undergraduate course Islam & the West (*Waikato*

Islamic Studies Group); he is the author of book of *Islam in New Zealand : A Short History of the New Zealand Muslim Association and Islam in New Zealand*; and reviewed a wide range of books on the subject of Islam in Islam and Christian-Muslim Relation.

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Dr. Hisham A. Hellyer, Royal United Services Institute u Londonu (Velika Britanija)

Dr. Hellyer je fakultetsku diplomu stekao na Pravnom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sheffieldu, ujedno prateći viši stepen međunarodne političke ekonomije na Odjeljenju za politiku na istom Univerzitetu. U dobi od 25 godina završio je multidisciplinarni doktorat na Univerzitetu u Warwicku, a zatim nastavio istraživati islamsku misao u Velikoj Britaniji, Egiptu, Maleziji i Južnoj Africi. Redovno je uključen u naučni dio godišnjeg globalnog popisa „Muslim 500“ sa Univerziteta Georgetown (SAD) i RISCC (Jordan). Istraživački interesi dr. Hellyera uključuju islamsko pravo, teologiju i duhovnost, koje je izučavao u Velikoj Britaniji, Egiptu, Maleziji, Singapuru, Južnoj Africi i drugdje. Podučavali su ga malezijski polimat (*homo Universalis*) profesor Sayyid M. Naquib al-Attas i južnoafrički nasljednik makkanskog učenjaka, profesora Muhammeda b. Alawi al-Malikija, šejh Seraj Hasan Hendricks, koji je dr. Hellyera imenovao višim naučnikom *Fondacije Azzawia* i *Instituta al-Zawiya*. Dr. Hellyer je također imenovan profesorom na *Muslimanskom koledžu* u Cambridgeu i vanredni je profesor u *Centru za napredne studije islama, nauke i civilizacije* na Univerzitetu Tehnologija u Kuala Lumpuru (Malezija).

Dr. Hellyer istražuje međusobnu povezanost politike, međunarodnih studija i religije, unutar i izvan akademskog neslaganja koje se odnosi na akademske sisteme, kako na zapadu tako i unutar arapskog svijeta. Viši je stručni saradnik i naučnik na Institutu Royal United Services u Londonu i na Carnegie Endowmentu za međunarodni mir (Washington). Objavljuje tematska usmjerenja prema populizmu, različitim oblicima ekstremizma i religiji u savremenom svijetu. Dr. Hellyer je trenutno član upravnog odbora za višegodišnji projekt financiran od strane EU *Radikalizacija, sekularizam i upravljanje religijom*, koji okuplja evropsku, sjevernoafričku i azijsku populizmu s konzorcijem od 12 univerziteta i trustom mozgova – oblik neprofitne organizacije čiji se članovi bave istraživačkim i obrazovnim radom o određenoj politici ili raznim drugim pitanjima. Kao baštinik britanskog generacijskog zapadnog odgoja te i nekoliko arapskih zemalja, surađuje između Londona, Washingtona i šireg arapskog svijeta.

Dr. Hisham A. Hellyer, Royal United Services Institute, London (United Kingdom)

Dr. Hellyer’s degree in law from the University of Sheffield’s School of Law was followed by an advanced degree in interntional political economy at the University of Sheffield’s Department of Politics. At the age of 25, he completed a multidisciplinary Ph.D. at the University of Warwick, and then continued to research Islamic thought in the UK, Egypt, Malaysia and South Africa. Regularly included in the scholarly section of the annual global „Muslim 500“ list of Georgetown University (USA) and RISCC (Jordan), Dr. Hellyer’s research interests include Islamic law, theology and spirituality, which he studied in the UK, Egypt, Malaysia, Singapore, South Africa and elsewhere. He received instruction from the likes of the Malaysian polymath, Professor Sayyid M. Naquib al-Attas, and the South African successor of the aforementioned Makkan scholar, Sayyid Muhammad b. Alawi al-Maliki, Shaykh Seraj Hasan Hendricks, who appointed Dr. Hellyer as Senior Scholar of the *Azzawia Trust* and

Al-Zawiya Institute. Dr. Hellyer was also appointed Professorial Fellow at *Cambridge Muslim College* and adjunct full Professor at the University of Technology’s *Centre for Advanced Studies on Islam, Science and Civilisation* in Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia).

Dr. Hellyer researches the interchange between politics, international studies and religion, within and beyond the academic ivory tower, in the West and the Arab world. A senior associate fellow and scholar at the Royal United Services Institute in London and at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington DC, he publishes on populism, different forms of extremism, and religion in modernity. Dr. Hellyer is currently on the steering committee for a multi-year EU-funded project on *Radicalisation, Secularism and the Governance of Religion*, which brings together European, North African, and Asian perspectives with a consortium of 12 universities & think-tanks. As a Briton of generations of heritage and upbringing in the West and several Arab countries, he works between London, Washington DC and the wider Arab world.

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Dr. Benjamin Idriz, imam, Minhenski forum za islam (Njemačka)

Dr. Idriz je rođen 1972. godine u Skoplju, Sjeverna Makedonija, kao Bajrambejamin Idriz, imam je i autor koji živi u Njemačkoj. Postao je poznat u cijeloj zemlji kao predsjednik *Minhenskog foruma za islam* (MFI) – izvorno nazvanog *Centar za islam u Evropi – Minhen* (ZIE-M), koji je izvrno mjesto susreta religija.

Pohađao je Islamsku teološku gimnaziju u Damasku (1987-1994). Diplomirao je na Evropskom fakultetu za islamske studije u Château Chinon (Šampanj, Francuska, 1998.). Magistrirao je islamsku teologiju na Univerzitetu *Al Ouzai* u Bejrutu (2014.), a iz islamske teologije doktorirao na Internacionalnom univerzitetu u Novom Pazaru (Sandžak, Srbija) disertacijom: *Horizontalni aspekti u islamu*.

Dr. Idriz je imam Islamske zajednice u Penzbergu (IGP), predsjednik *Minhenskog foruma za islam* (MFI), član povjerenstva *Društva prijatelja Abraham*, predsjednik *Islamsforuma Bajern* zajedno s Rainerom Oechslenom (Evanglička luteranska crkva u Bajernu), član je vijeća govornika *Vijeća religija*, Minhen.

Dr. Benjamin Idriz, Imam, Munich Forum for Islam (Germany)

Dr. Idriz was born 1972 in Skopje, North Macedonia, as Bajrambejamin Idriz, is an imam and author living in Germany. He became known nation-wide as chairman of the *Munich Forum for Islam* (MFI) [originally called *Center for Islam in Europe – Munich*] (ZIE-M), which is a great meeting place for religions.

He attended an Islamic theological high school in Damascus(1987-1994). He graduated from the European Faculty of Islamic Studies in Château Chinon (1998). He received his master's degree in Islamic Theology at Al Ouzai University in Beirut (2014), and a Ph.D. in International University Novi Pazar (Sanjak, Serbia) in Islamic theology with the dissertation: *The Horizontal Aspects in Islam*.

Dr. Idriz is Imam of the Islamic Community of Penzberg (IGP), also chairman of the *Munich Forum for Islam eV* (MFI), member of the board of trustees of the *Friends of Abraham Society*, chairman of the *Islamforum Bayern* together with Rainer Oechslen (Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bayern), he is a member of the speaker council of the *Council of Religions*, Munich.

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Dr. Abdullah Al Lheedan, Univerzitet Kralja Sauda u Rijadu (Saudijska Arabija)

Dr. Al Lheedan je rođen 1965. godine. Diplomirao je na Fakultetu upravnih nauka Univerziteta *Kralja Sauda* 1986. godine, a magistrirao na Univerzitetu Politologije u Južnoj Kaliforniji 1990. godine. Na istom Univerzitetu je i doktorirao iz oblasti politologije/komparativnih sistema na temi *Visoko obrazovanje, politički razvoj i stabilnost u Saudijskoj Arabiji* 1994. godine, koja se smatra za najrelevantniju disertaciju iz ove oblasti jer povezuje obrazovne promjene sa širim kontekstom političke reforme.

Dr. Al Lheedan, prije nego što je radio kao pomoćnik podsekretara u Ministarstvu za islamska pitanja, zadužbine (vakufe), pravna pitanja i koordinaciju (2005-2011), bio je profesor na Odsjeku za politologiju na Univerzitetu *Kralj Saud* (1995-2005; te od 2017. – do sada). Specijalizirao se za islamsku političku misao i radio je kao savjetnik u Ministarstvu islamskih poslova i kao supervizor *Programa razmjene znanja*.

Napisao je pet knjiga na arapskom jeziku, jednu na engleskom i u koautorstvu još dvije knjige na engleskom, kao i preko 25 naučnih radova. Njegova glavna istraživanja i publikacije uključuju naslove kao: *Muslimani i novi svjetski poredak* (2001.), *Vladavina kralja Fahda : jednadžba modernizacije i stabilnosti i muslimani i izazovi doba* (2005.), *Siromaštvo i bogatstvo u judaizmu, kršćanstvu i islamu* (2016.). Učestvovao je na mnogim konferencijama, uključujući *Konferenciju vjerskih vođa* u Japanu 2008., *Konferenciju o proučavanju islama i islamskih zajednica* na Univerzitetu Oxford i *Konferenciju o toleranciji u islamu i suživotu sljedbenika religija* na Univerzitetu u Bologni 2015. godine. Danas je dr. Al Lheedan, predsjednik *Programa razmjene znanja* (KEP).

Dr. Abdullah Al Lheedan, 'King Saud' University in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia)

Dr. Al Lheedan was born in 1965. He graduated from *King Saud* University's College of Administrative Science in 1986 and received his master's degree from the University of Southern California in 1990. He also received a doctorate in political science/comparative systems from the same university in *Higher Education, Political Development, and Stability in Saudi Arabia* in 1994, which is considered to be the most relevant dissertation in this area because it links educational change to the wider context of political reform.

Dr. Al Lheedan, before serving as Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments (Vakuf), Legal Affairs and Coordination (2005-2011), was a professor in the Department of Political Science at *King Saud* University (1995-2005; 2017– so far). He specialized in Islamic political thought and worked as an advisor to the Ministry of Islamic Affairs and a supervisor of the *Knowledge Exchange Program*.

He has written five books in Arabic, one in English and co-authored two more in English, as well as over 25 scientific papers. His major research and publications include titles such as: *Muslims and the New World Order* (2001), *The Rule of King Fahd : The Equation of Modernization and Stability, and Muslims and the Challenges of the Age* (2005), *Poverty and Wealth in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (2016)… He has participated in many conferences, including the 2008 *Conference of Religious Leaders* in Japan, the *Conference on the Study of Islam and Islamic Communities* at Oxford University, and the 2015 Conference on *Tolerance in Islam and the Coexistence of Religious Followers* at the University of Bologna. Dr. Al Lheedan is *President of Knowledge Exchange Program* (KEP).

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Akademik Ferid Muhić, Unverzitet 'Sv. Kiril i Metodij' u Skoplju (Sjeverna Makedonija)

Akademik Muhić rođen je 1943. godine u Zavidovićima u Bosni i Hercegovini. Magistrirao je i doktorirao na Filozofskom fakultetu u Beogradu. Predaje modernu i savremenu filozofiju na Univerzitetu Sv. Kiril i Metodij u Skoplju. Na tom univerzitetu uveo je i prvi počeo sa predavanjima predmeta filozofska antropologija, filozofija religije i filozofija politike. Predavao je i estetiku, etiku, logiku, hermenutiku, postomoderno mišljenje. Bio je predavač na mnogim univerzitetima širom svijeta kao što su: Florida State University, New York University, Međunarodni institut islamske misli i civilizacije u Kuala Lumpuru, Sorbonna 8 (Pariz) te nekoliko sveučilišta u jugoistočnoj Evropi. Njegove glavne stručne specijalnosti su: savremena filozofija, kulturna antropologija, estetika i politička filozofija.

Učestvovao je na mnogim naučnim konferencijama, objavio veći broj naučnih i stručnih radova, te tridesetak publikacija. Ovom prilikom pomenut ćemo samo neke: *Metode kritike* (1977.), *Filozofija ikonoklastike* (1983.), *Jezik filozofije* (1995.), *Velika građevina i drugi razgovori s nepoznatim* (2001.), *Logos i hijerarhija* (2001.), *Bosanski identitet i suverenitet : 1992 – 2011* (2012.), *Islamski identitet Evrope* (2013.). Bio je prvi predsjednik Bošnjačke akademije nauka i umjetnosti (BANU) i redovni je član ASAE.

Academician Ferid Muhić, *University 'Sts. Cyril and Methodius' in Skopje* (North Macedonia)

Academician Muhić was born in 1943 in Zavidovići, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He received his master's and doctoral degrees at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. He teaches modern philosophy and contemporary philosophy at St. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. At that university he introduced and first began teaching lectures on philosophical anthropology, philosophy of religion, and philosophy of politics. He also taught aesthetics, ethics, logic, hermeneutics, post-modern thinking. He has been a lecturer at many universities around the world such as: Florida State University, New York University, the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization in Kuala Lumpur, Sorbonna 8 (Paris) and several universities in Southeast Europe. His main professional specialties are: contemporary philosophy, cultural anthropology, aesthetics and political philosophy.

He has participated in many scientific conferences, has published numerous scientific and professional papers, and thirty publications, On this occasion we will mention only some: *Methods of Criticism* (1977), *Philosophy of Iconoclacticism* (1983), *Language of Philosophy* (1995), *The Great Building and Other Talks with the Unknown* (2001), *Logos and Hierarchies* (2001), *Bosnian Identity and Sovereignty : 1992-2011* (2012), *Islamic Identity of Europe* (2013)... He was the first president of the Bosnian Academy of Sciences and Arts (**BANU**) and regular member ASAE.

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David Shlomo Rosen, *rabin, savjetnik za međuvjerska pitanja Glavnog rabinata Izraela* (Izrael)

Rabin Rosen rođen je 1951. godine u Newburyju, Berkshire, a školovao se u Engleskoj i Jeruzalemu. Bivši je glavni rabin Irske (1979–1985), a trenutno obavlja dužnost direktora Odjela za međuvjerske odnose *Američkog jevrejskog odbora* i Instituta *Roberta i Harrieta Heilbrunna* za međunarodno međureligijsko razumijevanje. Predvodio je *Međunarodni jevrejskski odbor za međureligijske konzultacije* (IJCIC), široku koaliciju jevrejskih organizacija i denominacija koja predstavlja svjetsko jevrejstvo u njegovim odnosima s drugim svjetskim religijama.

Međunarodni je predsjednik *Religije za mir* (RfP) i član Upravnog odbora *Međunarodnog centra za međureligijski i međukulturalni dijalog kralja Abdullaha* (KAICIID), kojeg je osnovao kralj Saudijske Arabije, kao i vlade Saudijske Arabije, Austrije i Španije zajedno sa Svetom Stolicom. Također je počasni predsjednik *Međunarodnog vijeća kršćana i Jevreja* (ICCJ), Izvršnog odbora *Svjetskog vijeća vjerskih vođa* i Odbora svjetskih vjerskih vođa *Elijah Interfaith Instituta*. Bio je član Izvršnog odbora *Svjetskog kongresa imama i rabina* i član Izvršnog odbora *Vijeća Svjetskog ekonomskog foruma* u Davosu (WEF) za unapređenje odnosa i suradnje između muslimanskog i zapadnog svijeta. Osnivač je organizacije za ljudska prava *Rabini za ljudska prava* i *Rossingovog centra za obrazovanje i dijalog*. Također je član upravnog odbora sa sjedištem u Bruxellesu CEJI – *Jevrejski doprinos inkluzivnoj Evropi* koji promiče Evropu različitosti i poštovanja.

Sa sjedištem u Jeruzalemu on služi na glavnom rabinatu Izraelske komisije za odnose sa Svetom Stolicom, a bio je i dio tima koji je pregovarao o uspostavljanju punih odnosa između Svete Stolice i Države Izrael. Radio je i u Komisiji za međureligijske odnose.

Rabin Rosen postavljen je za viteškog zapovjednika *Reda svetog Grgura Velikog* (KSG), kao priznanje za svoj doprinos jevrejsko-katoličkom pomirenju, čime je postao prvi izraelski državljanin i prvi ortodokсни rabin koji je dobio tu čast. Također je postavljen i za zapovjednika *Reda Britanskog Carstva* (CBE).

David Shlomo Rosen, *Rabbi, Advisor on Interreligious Affairs to the Chief Rabbinate of Israel* (Israel)

Rabbi Rosen born 1951 in Newbury, Berkshire, educated in England and Jerusalem. Is the former Chief Rabbi of Ireland (1979–1985) and currently serves as the director of the *American Jewish Committee's* Department of Interreligious Affairs and the *Robert and Harriet Heilbrunn Institute* for International Interreligious Understanding. He headed the *International*

Jewish Committee for Inter-religious Consultations (IJCIC), the broad-based coalition of Jewish organizations and denominations that represents World Jewry in its relations with other world religions.

He is an International President of the *Religions for Peace* (RfP), and a member of the Board of Directors of the *King Abdullah International Center for Interreligious and Intercultural Dialogue* (KAICIID), established by the King of Saudi Arabia as well as the governments of Austria and Spain together with the Holy See. He is also Honorary President of the *International Council of Christians and Jews* (ICCJ); on the Executive of the *World Council of Religious Leaders* and the *Elijah Interfaith Institute's* Board of World Religious Leaders. He has served as a member of the Executive Committee of the *World Congress of Imams and Rabbis* and as a member of the Executive Committee of the *World Economic Forum's* in Davos (WEF), Council for promoting relations and cooperation between the Muslim and Western worlds. He is a Founder human rights organizations of *Rabbis for Human Rights*, and the *Rossing Centre for Education and Dialogue*. He is also a board member of the Brussels-based organization CEJI – *A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe* that promotes a Europe of diversity and respect.

Based in Jerusalem, he serves on the Chief Rabbinate of Israel's Commission for relations with the Holy See and was part of the team that negotiated the establishment of full relations between the Holy See and the State of Israel. He also served on the latter's Commission for Interreligious Relations.

Rabbi Rosen was made a Knight Commander of the Order of *St. Gregory the Great* (KSG) in recognition of his contribution to Jewish-Catholic reconciliation, making him the first an Israeli citizen and the first Orthodox rabbi to receive this honour. He was appointed Commander of the *Order of the British Empire* (CBE).

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Prof. dr. Stefan Schreiner, *Univerzitet u Tübingenu* (Njemačka)

Prof. dr. Schreiner je rođen 1947. godine. Studirao je protestantsku teologiju, arapske studije, islamske studije i jevrejske studije na Fakultetu evangelističke teologije, Univerzitet u Tübingenu. Doktorirao je 1974. na Univerzitetu u Halle-Wittenbergu sa temom: *Partikularizam ili univerzalizam? Egzegetičke studije o proročkim knjigama Joel – Obadija – Malahija – Jona*. Od 1992. profesor je komparativnog proučavanja religija (sa fokusom na islam) i židovskih studija, te direktor *Instituta Judaicum* na Univerzitetu u Tübingenu. Savjetnik je rektora o pitanjima koja se odnose na daljnji razvoj *Centra islamske teologije, međukulturalnog i međureligijskog dijaloga*; koordinator *Evropskog abrahamskog foruma* za promociju međukulturalnog i međureligijskog dijaloga širom Sredozemlja; Član je i upravnog odbora *Instituta za međureligijski dijalog* u Zürichu (ZIID).

Učestvovao je na mnogim forumima (*Međunarodno savjetovanje Sarajevo*, BiH, 2005. / Abrahamski forum, ogranak u Sarajevu), održao mnoga predavanja na univerzitetima širom svijeta, objavio veći broj naučnih i stručnih radova, te više publikacija [Antiislamska polemika u istočnoeuropskom kontekstu: prijevod i recepcija ‘zapadnih spisa’ o islamu u poljskoj književnosti – 16.-18. stoljeće (2016.); Kršćanska teologija kao odgovor na islamski izazov : povijesna perspektiva (2015.); Pismo zaštite poslanika Muhameda za jevrejske Jevreje (2015.); Kur'an kao tumačenje Biblije – Biblija kao pomoć u razumijevanju Kur'ana : o međusobnoj povezanosti Biblije i Kur'ana (2014.)].

Prof. Dr. H.c. Stefan Schreiner, *The University of Tübingen* (Germany)

Prof. Dr. Schreiner was born in 1947. He studied Protestant Theology, Arabic Studies, Islamic Studies and Jewish Studies at the Faculty of Evangelical Theology at the University of Tuebingen. He received his PhD in 1974 from the University of Halle-Wittenberg with a degree in *Particularism or Universalism? Exegetical Studies on the Prophetic Books of Joel – Obadja – Maleachi – Jonah*. Since 1992, he has been a professor of comparative study of religions (with a focus on Islam)

and Jewish studies, and director of the *Judaicum Institute* at the University of Tübingen. Advises the Rector on issues related to the further development of the *Center for Islamic Theology, Intercultural and Interreligious Dialogue*; Coordinator of the *European Abrahamic Forum* for the Promotion of Intercultural and Interreligious Dialogue across the Mediterranean; He is also a board member of the *Institute for Inter-Religious Dialogue* in Zurich (ZIID).

He has participated in many forums (*Sarajevo International Conference*, B&H, 2005 / Abraham Forum, Sarajevo Branch...), delivered many lectures at universities around the world, published a number of scientific and professional papers, and several publications [Anti-Islamic Controversy in the Eastern European Context : Translation and Reception of 'Western Writings' on Islam in Polish Literature – 16th-18th Centuries (2016); *Christian Theology in Response to the Islamic Challenge : A Historical Perspective* (2015);); *The Qur'an as an Interpretation of the Bible – The Bible as a Help in Understanding the Qur'an : On the Interconnection of the Bible and the Qur'an* (2014)]...

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Gunnar Stålsett, *biskup* (Norveška)

Biskup Stålsett rođen je 1935. godine u Nordkappu. Norveški je teolog i političar. Bio je vođa stranke Centar, zamjenik zastupnika u norveškom parlamentu u Oslu, državni sekretar u Ministarstvu crkvenih poslova i obrazovanja (za vrijeme vlade Korvalda), generalni sekretar *Svjetske luteranske federacije* u Ženevi, član norveškog *Nobelovog odbora za mir*, rektor škole *Praktične teologije* na Univerzitetu u Oslu, biskup u Norveškoj i kopredsjednik *Religije za mir* – međunarodne koalicije predstavnika svjetskih religija koja je posvećena promicanju mira (New York).

Dobitnik je *Niwanove nagrade za mir*, koja se dodjeljuje kao čast i ohrabrivanje onih koji se posvećuju međureligijskoj suradnji u cilju mira i promociji svojih dostignuća.

Biskup Stålsett slijedi svjetski mir kroz mnoge rute i vodeći je globalni zagovornik međunarodnog razvoja i uključivanja vjerskih zajednica u pitanja socijalne pravde i solidarnosti.

Gunnar Stålsett, *Bishop* (Norway)

Bishop Stålsett was born in 1935 in Nordkapp. He is a Norwegian theologian and politician. He was the leader of the Center party, deputy in the Norwegian parliament in Oslo, secretary of state at the Ministry of Church Affairs and Education (during the Korvald government), secretary general of the *World Lutheran Federation* in Geneva, member of the Norwegian *Nobel Peace Committee*, rector of the School of *Practical Theology* at the University in Oslo, Bishop of Norway and Co-President of *Religion for Peace* – an international coalition of representatives of world religions dedicated to promoting peace (New York).

He is the recipient of the *Niwan Peace Prize*, which is honored and encouraged by those who commit themselves to inter-religious cooperation for the purpose of peace and the promotion of their achievements.

Bishop Stålsett has followed world peace through many routes and is a leading global advocate for international development and the involvement of religious communities in matters of social justice and solidarity.

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Dr. Ugo Vlaisavljević, *Univerzitet u Sarajevu* (Bosna i Hercegovina)

Dr. Vlaisavljević je rođen 1957. godine u Visokom. Redovni je profesor filozofije na Univerzitetu u Sarajevu, gdje predaje *Epistemologiju društvenih nauka* i *Teorije izgradnje identiteta*. Bio je glavni urednik časopisa za filozofiju i društvene nauke *Dijalog*, Sarajevo (2006-2013), član uredništva međunarodnog časopisa *Transeuropéennes*, Pariz (2000-2011), predsjednik *PEN Centra BiH* (2006-2009), član Međunarodnog savjetodavnog odbora časopisa fenomenologije i hermeneutike *Phainomena*, Ljubljana (2015 – danas). Pisao je široko o fenomenologiji, poststrukturalizmu, semiotici i političkoj filozofiji (posebno o etničkom i nacionalizmu, rodnoj ravnopravnosti,

ponovnom rođenju religije, miru i pomirenju). Objavio je brojne članke u engleskim, francuskim, njemačkim, talijanskim i mađarskim časopisima i zbirkama knjiga. Među dvanaest knjiga objavljenih u njegovoj zemlji su: *Ontologija i njeno naslijeđe* (1995.), *Fenomenološki ustav Europske zajednice* (*Ponovno čitanje bečkog predavanja*) (1996.), *Porijeklo geometrije i Transcendentalna fenomenologija povijesti* (2003.), *Lepoglava i sveučilište. Eseji iz političke epistemologije* (2003.), *Semiotika percepcije Merleau-Pontyja. Fenomenološki put u dekonstrukciju* (2004). *Etnopolitika i građanstvo* (2006.), *Rat – najveći kulturni događaj. Prilog semiotičnosti etnonacionalizma* (2007.), *Udomljavanje nacionalizma* (2007.), *Duhovna stvarnost narativne politike* (2012.) i *Aporije suživot*a (2018.).

Dr. Ugo Vlaisavljević, *University of Sarajevo* (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Dr. Vlaisavljevic was born in 1957 in Visoko. Hi is full professor of philosophy at the University of Sarajevo, where he teaches *Epistemology of social sciences* and *Theories of identity construction*. Editor-in-chief of the journal of philosophy and social sciences *Dialogue*, Sarajevo (2006-2013), member of editorial board of the international journal *Transeuropéennes*, Paris (2000-2011), president of **PEN Centre B&H** (2006-2009), member of International advisory board of the journal of phenomenology and hermeneutics *Phainomena*, Ljubljana (2015 – present). He has written widely on phenomenology, poststructuralism, semiotics, and political philosophy (particularly on ethnicity and nationalism, gender equality, rebirth of religion, peace and reconciliation issues). He has published numerous articles in English, French, German, Italian and Hungarian journals and book collections. Among twelve books published in his country are: *Ontology and Its Legacy* (1995), *The Phenomenological Constitution of the European Community* (*A Re-Reading of the Vienna Lecture*) (1996), *The Origin of Geometry and the Transcendental Phenomenology of History* (2003), *Lepoglava and University. Essays in Political Epistemology* (2003), *Merleau-Ponty's semiotics of perception. The phenomenological Way into Deconstruction* (2004). *Ethnopolitics and Citizenship* (2006), *War – the Greatest Cultural Event. A Contribution to Semiotics of Ethnonationalism* (2007), *The Domestication of Nationalism* (2007), *A Ghostly Reality of the Narrative Politics* (2012) and *The Aporias of Coexistence* (2018).

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Dr. William Fray Vendley, *Svjetska konferencija religija za mir* (SAD)

Dr. Vendley je teolog, a radio je kao univerzitetski profesor i dekan u visokoškolskim ustanovama teološkog usmjerenja.

Bio je glavni tajnik *Svjetske konferencije Religije za mir* (WCRP). Ovo je najveća i najreprezentativnija multireligijska koalicija koja promiče zajedničke akcije vjerskih zajednica na zaustavljanju rata, rješavanju siromaštva i zaštiti zemlje.

Dr. Vendley je pionir u korištenju vjerske saradnje radi rješavanja sukoba. Naprimjer, omogućio je uspostavljanje *Međureligijskog vijeća – Religije za mir u Bosni i Hercegovini* (MRV) neposredno nakon rata '92-'95., što je rezultiralo povijesnim opredjeljenjem vjerskih zajednica za obnovu jedinstvene i multietničke Bosne.

Često predaje na akademskim ustanovama, forumina Ujedinjenih naroda i nevladinih organizacija. Dobitnik je brojnih nagrada za religiju i ljudska prava, a sudjeluje u odborima mnogih organizacija, od likovnih umjetnosti do onih koji su posvećeni za izgradnju mira. Član je *Vijeća vjerskog odbora za vanjske odnose* (CFR), *Centra za međuvjersko djelovanje o globalnom siromaštvu* (CIFA), savjetnik *Forumu za religiju Clinton Global Initiative*, savjetnik UNICEF-a za *globalna partnerstva* i član Odbora *Svjetske madridske konferencije za dijalog* predstavnika islama, judaizma, kršćanstva, hinduizma, budizma, konfučijanizma i šintoizma radi jačanja zajedničkih vrijednosti.

Dr. William Fray Vendley, *The World Conference of Religions for Peace – WCRP* (USA)

Dr. Vendley is a theologian and has served as a professor and dean in graduate schools of theology. Born and raised in Indiana, he earned his

BA from Purdue University (1971) and was the recipient of the *Distinguished Alumni for Science award* (Purdue University). He has a MA from *Maryknoll School of Theology* (1976) and a Ph.D. from Fordham University (1984).

He was Secretary General of the *World Conference of Religions for Peace* (WCRP). This is the largest and most representative multi-religious coalition advancing common action among the religious communities to stop war, address poverty, and protect the earth.

Dr. Vendley is a pioneer in employing religious cooperation to help resolve conflict. For example, he facilitated the establishment of the *Religions for Peace Inter-religious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina* (MRV) in the immediate aftermath of the war '92-'95, which resulted in its setting forth an historic commitment of the religious communities to rebuild a single, multi-ethnic Bosnia.

He lectures frequently in academic forums, United Nations, and NGO forums. He has been awarded numerous prizes for religion and human rights, and serves on the boards of a number of organizations ranging from the fine arts to those committed to peace building. He is a member of the *Council on Foreign Relations Religious Committee* (CFR), the *Center for Interfaith Action on Global Poverty* (CIFA), an advisor to the *Clinton Global Initiative Religion Forum*, an advisor to UNICEF on *global partnerships*, and a member of the *Madrid World Conference on Dialogue Committee* between representatives of Islam, Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism and Confucianism to strengthen common values.

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Dr. Stefan Jakob Wimmer, Univerzitet Ludwig-Maximilian, Minhen (Njemačka)

Dr. Wimmer rođen je 1963. godine u Minhenu. Po završenoj Gimnaziji i stručnom usavršavanju za bankarskog činovnika odlazi na studij na Hebrejski univerzitet u Jerusalemu da studira egiptologiju i arheologiju (1984.). Na istom univerzitetu je i doktorirao (1994.) iz egiptologije s tezom o hijeratskoj paleografiji neliterarne ostrace (riječ *ostracon* ima značenje lonaca koji su se koristili kao površina za pisanje).

Poznati je njemački egiptolog, orijentalista i autor, te urednik u područjima religijske povijesti i međureligijskog dijaloga. Uz svoje istraživačke i nastavne aktivnosti, dr. Wimmer radi stalno na Orijentalnom i Azijskom odjelu Bavorske državne biblioteke kao specijalista za *Zbirku Hebraicu* (hebrajski književni ili historijski materijali), *jidiš*, *drevni orijent* i *egiptologiju*. Do 1999. godine vodio je područje Spomen-obilježja na prostoru Spomen-koncentracijskog logora Dachau za *Dachauer Forum*. Dr. Wimmer je Jevrejima i muslimanima osmislio tematske obilaskе grada Minhena. Bio je predsjednik *Društva Abrahamovih prijatelja* koje je usmjereno na historijska istraživanja i međureligijski dijalog. Sa Georgom Gafusom izdaje časopis *Blätter Abraham* (*Abraham odlazi*). Uključen je u inicijativu *Minhenskog foruma za islam* Dr. Benjamin Idriza, gdje je privremeno obnašao dužnost zamjenika predsjedavajućeg i bio metom antiislamističkih ekstremističkih grupa. Jedan je od organizatora *Nimfenburških razgovora*, a bio je član *Vijeća religija* u Minhenu, kao i jedan od osnivača *Minhenskog nastavnog centra za religije* rabina Stevena Langnasa.

Objavio je više naučnih studija i publikacija (*Mašallah – muslimani u Minhenu*, 2005/2006; *Od Adama do Muhameda. Poređenje Biblije i Korana*, (zajedno sa Stephanom Leimgruberom) 2005; *Abu Safija, Maria, odakle ti to? Žene u Koranu*, 2008; *Islam s evropskim licem. Perspektive i impulsi* (zajedno sa Benjaminom Idrizom), 2010.

Uz učešće na mnogim međunarodnim projektima dobitnik je i više nagrada i priznanja (nagrada *IDIZEM*, nagrada *Friends of Abraham*, *Građanska nagrada bavorskog parlamenta za prijatelje Abrahamove...*), a kao naučni asistent Manfreda Görga na Katoličkom teološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Minhenu, te nakon habilitiranja na Fakultetu za kulturne studije Univerziteta u Minhenu, 2016. godine imenovan je za vanrednog profesora.

Dr. Stefan Jakob Wimmer, Ludwig-Maximilian University, Munich (Germany)

Dr. Wimmer was born in 1963 in Munich. After completing high school and professional training for a banking clerk, he went to study at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem to study Egyptology and archeology (1984). At the same university he received his PhD (1994) in Egyptology with a thesis on hieratic paleography of non-literal ostrace (the word *ostracon* has the meaning of pots used as a writing surface).

He is a renowned German Egyptologist, Orientalist and author, and editor in the fields of religious history and interreligious dialogue. In addition to his research and teaching activities, Wimmer works full time at the Oriental and Asian Departments of the Bavarian State Library as a specialist in the *Hebraica Collection* (Hebrew literary or historical materials), *Yiddish, Ancient Landmarks and Egyptology*. Until 1999, he headed the Memorial Area at the Dachau Memorial Concentration Camp for the *Dachauer Forum*. Dr. Wimmer also designed thematic tours of the city of Jews and Muslims in Munich. He was president of the *Society of Abraham Friends* focused on historical research and interreligious dialogue. With Georg Gafus, he publishes *Blätter Abraham*. He was involved in the initiative of Dr. Benjamin Idriz, the *Munich Forum for Islam*, where he temporarily served as deputy chairman and became the target of anti-Islamist extremist groups. He is one of the organizers of the *Nymphenburg Talks*, was a member of the *Council of Religions* in Munich, as well as one of the founders of Rabbi Steven Langnas' *Munich Teaching Center for Religions*.

He has published several scholarly studies and publications [*Maschallah – Muslime in München* (*Maschallah – Muslims in Munich*), 2005/2006; *Von Adam bis Muhammad. Bibel und Koran im Vergleich* (*From Adam to Muhammad. Comparison of the Bible and the Koran*), (together with Stephan Leimgruber) 2005; *Abu Safija, Maria, woher hast du das? Frauengestalten im Koran* (*Abu Safija, Maria, where did you get that from? Women figures in the Koran*), 2008; *Islam mit europäischem Gesicht. Perspektiven und Impulse* (*Islam with a European face. Perspectives and impulses*), (together with Benjamin Idriz), 2010]...

In addition to participating in many international projects, he has received many awards and honors (*IDIZEM Award*, *Friends of Abraham Award*, *Bavarian Parliamentary Citizen Award for Friends of Abraham...*), and as a research assistant to Manfred Görg at the Catholic Theological University of Munich, and habilitation at the Faculty for Cultural Studies at the University of Munich, in 2016 he was appointed Associate Professor.

Biografske podatke obradio i priredio Mehmed A. Akšamija
Biographical data processed and compiled by Mehmed A. Akšamija



illuminatio/svjetionik/almanar

ČASOPIS O VJERI, MORALU, UMJETNOSTI, NACIJI, DRUŠTVU I DRŽAVI
NEW IDEAS ON FAITH, MORALITY, ART, NATION, SOCIETY AND STATE

**U pripremi prvog izdanja časopisa, članovi Savjetodavnog odbora su poručili /
In preparation for this first issue of our journal, the members of the Advisory Board have stated:**

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[...] *No, prije svega, htio bih vam zahvaliti što ste me počastili pozivom na suradnju postajući članom Savjetodavnog odbora novog časopisa koji uskoro izlazi. Njegov sam naziv je izazovan i najavljuje da nudi forum za razmjenu misli i ideja koje dolaze u pravo vrijeme na pravo mjesto: 'Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar' opisuju upravo ono što je potrebno danas, sutra i za onaj dan prekosutra. Dok 'Illuminatio' prikuplja sjećanja na evropski put prosvjetiteljstva, 'Almanar' nas podsjeća na istočni put koji vodi od 'al-hikma al-mašriqiyya' preko 'išraqa' do 'al-hikma al-mušriqiyya' s bosanskim 'Svjetionikom' u sredini pružajući bitnu vezu i potreban most između dva gore spomenuta načina da zajednička ostavštinu urodi plodom za našu zajedničku budućnost.*

Bit će mi velika čast i zadovoljstvo prihvatiti vaš ljubazni poziv i pridružiti vam se na onome što ste nazvali 'putovanjem' kojem bih želio dodati: „na nove obale“ razmišljanja i zajedničkog života. Kako se virus korone ne zaustavlja na granicama zemalja i skače preko vjerskih, kulturnih, jezičnih ili bilo kakvih linija razgraničenja, to nam uvjerljivo govori da svi sjedimo u jednom te istom čamcu i podjednako smo ranjivi, ostavljajući nam ili ruku da zajedno dosegemo nove obale ili ćemo se utopiti zajedno [...]

[...] *Above all, however, I would like to thank you very much for your honouring me invitation to cooperate by way of becoming a member of the Advisory Board of the new Journal that you are about to start. Its mere title is as challenging as programmatic and announces to offer a forum for exchange of thoughts and ideas that comes at the right time in the right place: 'Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar' describes precisely what is very much need for today, tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. Whereas 'Illuminatio' recalls the memories of the European way of Enlightenment, 'Almanar' reminds us of the Eastern way leading from 'al-hikma al-mashriqiyya' via 'ishraq' to 'al-hikma al-mushriqiyya' with the Bosnian 'Svjetionik' in the middle providing the essential link and necessary bridge between the two aforementioned ways to make our common legacy bearing fruits for our common future.*

It will be my great honour and pleasure to accept your kind invitation and join you on what you called a 'journey' to which I would like to add: 'to new shores' of thinking and living together. As the corona virus does not stop at countries' borders and jumps over religious, cultural, language or whatever demarcation lines, it tells us convincingly that we all are sitting in one and the same boat being equally vulnerable, thus, leaving us either to reach the new shore together or drown together [...]

Prof. Dr. H.c. Stefan Schreiner

• • •

[...] *Oduševljen sam i počašćen pruženom mogućnošću da budem dio tako obećavajućeg duhovnog napora i da nastavimo našu dosadašnju uspješnu i nadahnjujuću saradnju. Ohrabrujuće je znati da u ovom trenutku nevolje i zbrke postoje ljudi koji žarko žele osvijetliti i dati dublji smisao našem svakodnevnom životu [...]*

[...] *I am delighted and honoured by the offered opportunity to be a part of such a promising spiritual endeavour and to continue our previous successful and inspiring collaboration. It is encouraging to know that in this time of distress and confusion there are people who eagerly seek to shed more light on, and give a more profound sense to our daily lives [...]*

Prof. dr. Ugo Vlaisavljević

• • •

[...] *Biće mi zadovoljstvo da služim u vašem odboru i da na bilo koji način dam svoj doprinos, da pomognem vama i vašem vrijednom poduhvatu [...]*

[...] *It will be my pleasure to serve on your board and to contribute in any way to helping you and your worthy endeavor [...]*

Imam Feisal Abdul-Rauf

• • •

[...] *Velika je čast biti članom Savjetodavnog odbora vašeg novog časopisa 'Illuminatio'. Zahvaljujem vam na ovoj prilici da mogu raditi s vama u širenju duha ljubavi, prijateljstva i mira. [...]*

[...] *It is a great honor to be a member of the Advisory Council of your new journal 'Illuminatio'. I thank you for this opportunity to work with you in spreading the spirit of love, friendship and peace. [...]*

Prof. dr. Abdullah Al Lheedan

• • •

[...] *Hvala vam što dijelite svoj zanimljiv projekt sa kojim sam se pažljivo upoznao. Čestitam vam na ovoj vrlo važnoj i pravovremenoj inicijativi. Doista, u ovom trenutku višestrukih kriza, potrebne su nam nove ideje koje će religiju uskladiti sa stvarnošću i pozvati stvarnost da uključi i religiju [...]*

[...] *Thank you for sharing your interesting project which I have studied carefully. I congratulate you on this very important and timely initiative. Indeed at this time of multiple crises, we need new ideas that align religion to reality and call reality to include religion [...]*

Biskup /Bishop Gunnar Stålsett

...
[...] *Nepopravljivo Tajanstveni, Milosrdni i Brižni Bog nas je uputio na naše puteve kako bismo – poštujući naše posebnosti i iskrene obaveze – zajedno radili kao braća u Ljubavi Božjoj za našu ljudsku porodicu. Kako je milostiv i dobar naš Bog! Zahvaljujem Bogu za vas!*

...
[...] *The irreducibly Mysterious, Merciful and Loving God put us on our respective paths so that we might – honoring our particularities and sincere commitments – work together as brothers in the Love of God for our human family. How Gracious and Good is our God! I give thanks to God for you!*

Dr. William Vendley

...
[...] *Prije svega, čestitke na ovoj zanimljivoj inicijativi! Koliko je pogodno za ova bizarna, uznemirujuća vremena kada se smisli konstruktivna ideja i promovira nešto pozitivno za budućnost. Osjećam se naravno puno počastvovan pozivom da se pridružim Savjetodavnom odboru i rado prihvaćam [...]*

...
[...] *First of all, congratulations on this interesting initiative! How appropriate for these bizarre, unsettling times when a constructive idea comes up and promotes something positive for the future. I feel, of course, much honored to be invited to join the Advisory Board and gladly accept [...]*

Prof. dr. Stefan Jakob Wimmer

...
[...] *Hvala vam puno na časti i što ste me uzeli u obzir za Savjetodavni odbor ovog važnog časopisa. ...Unatoč svim mojim nedostacima i ograničenjima, stojim vam na raspolaganju. Pozdrav iz Al Quds al Sharifa (gdje sam blagoslovljen da mogu vidjeti Al Aqsu iz izolacije u našem domu) [...]*

...
[...] *Thank you very much for the honor in considering me for the Advisory Board of this important journal. ... Despite all my inadequacies and limitations, I am at your service. Greetings from Al Quds al sharif (where I am blessed to be able to see Al Aqsa from isolation in our home) [...]*

Rabin/Rabbi Davis Rosen

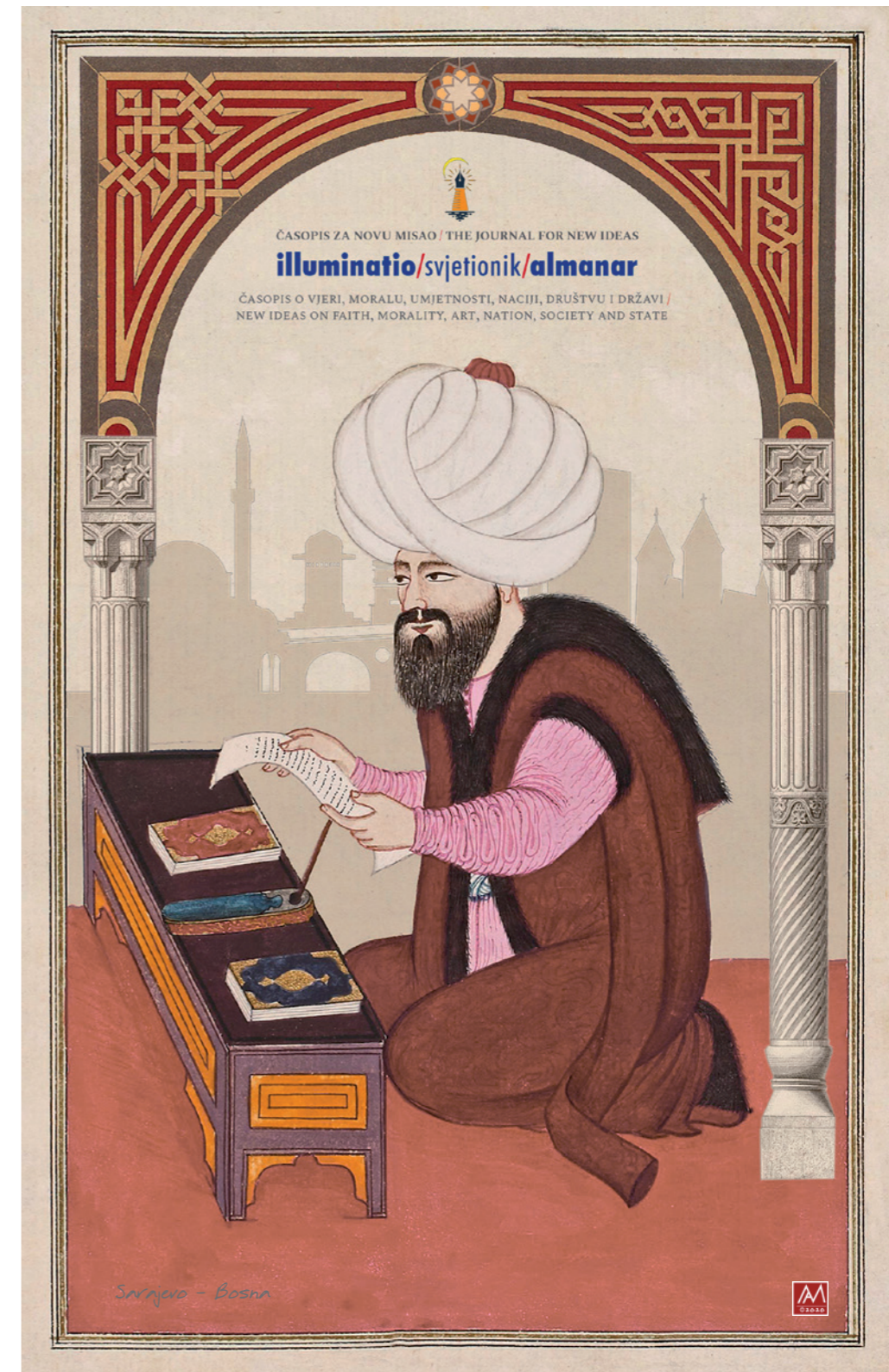
...
[...] *Počašćen sam pozivom da budem član vašeg Savjetodavnog odbora. Potrebno nam je novo prosvjetiteljstvo. Čini mi se da će časopis "Svjetionik" odgovoriti toj potrebi. Molim vas recite mi kako ja mogu biti od pomoći. Allah vas blagoslovio!*

...
[...] *I am honored to be asked to be a member of your Advisory Board. We need a new Enlightenment and it seems that the journal of "Illuminatio" will meet this need. Please let me know how I can help. Barak Allahu fikum!*

Dr. Hisham A. Hellyer

ILUSTRACIJA DESNO ~ *Homo islamicus* u radu na časopisu *Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar* – po ugledu na ilustraciju iz knjige 'Peintre, Figures Naturelles de Turquie peinture', 1688.

ILLUSTRATION RIGHT ~ *Homo islamicus* in a paper in the journal *Illuminatio/Lighthouse/Almanar* – based on an illustration from the book 'Painter, Natural Figures of Turkey Painting', 1688.



SVJETLO DUHA I UMA

Bog je svjetlo nebesa i zemlje! (Kur'an, 24:35)

*Duša je kao lampa od stakla,
spoznaja je svjetlost od plamena,
a mudrost Božija je ulje!*

Ako se upali, živ si, ako se ugasi, mrtav si! (Ibn Sina)

*U toku naših najmračnijih trenutaka
moramo se usmjeriti da vidimo svjetlo!* (Aristotel)

Polazeći od toga da je razumijevanje ljudskog duha, duše, uma i srca primarni uvjet za razumijevanje odnosa između Boga i svijeta te odnosa između Boga, čovjeka i svijeta, cilj časopisa „Illuminatio“, „Svjetionik“, „Almanar“ je oživljavanje čistog duha u ljudskoj duši i prosvjetljenje čistog uma u ljudskom srcu kroz podsjećanje duše na njen iskonski zavjet¹ Svevišnjem Bogu, te poticanje uma da traži pravi put do spoznaje asolutne istine kroz teoriju i praksu **taṣḍīq**², afirmacija tradicije i **tadžīd**³, obnovu misli u službi sadašnje i buduće duhovne i humanističke misli o poštenom individualnom⁴ i zdravom društvenom životu⁵.

Imajući na umu da nemaju moć otkrivanja trajnih zakona društvenih kretanja, kao što to imaju prirodne znanosti u otkrivanju zakona prirodnih kretanja, društvene nauke, posebno o vjeri, moralu, umjetnosti, naciji, društvu i državi, imaju trajne izazove za ljudski um. Stoga, časopis „Svjetionik“ ima za cilj da pravi analize i sinteze društvenih događaja, koji objašnjavaju ili predviđaju moguću sadašnjost i budućnost vjere, nacije, društva i države.

Prednost će imati autorski članci, koji nude svježije ideje o vjeri, moralu, etici, društvu i državi te koji polaze od **taṣḍīqa**, utvrđene tradicije do **tadžīda**^{**}, osmišljenog novog rješenja za stare filozofske,

¹ Prema islamskom učenju iskonski zavjet Svevišnjem Bogu sadržan je u sintagmi „qālū belā“ kao odgovor prvog čovjeka Adema na pitanje: „Nisam li Ja vaš Gospodar“? Oni rekoše: „Qālū belā“! „Dakako, Ti si naš Gospodar“ (Kur'an, 7:172).

² Tri korijena arapskih slovnih znakova: *ṣād*, *dāl* i *qāf* upućuju na značenje pojmova: istina (*ṣīdīq*), onaj koji govori istinu (*ṣādiq*), čin potvrđivanja i svjedočenja istine (*taṣḍīq*) te onaj koji potvrđuje i svjedoči istinu (*muṣāddiqūn*). Tako je Poslanik Muhammed a.s., *muṣāddiqan limā bayna yadayhi*, to jeste on je onaj koji potvrđuje i koji svjedoči istinu, koja je kod njih, Jevreja i kršćana, sljedbenika knjige od *Starog zavjeta (Tawrāt)* i *Novog zavjeta (Indžil)*. Stoga, *Ummet* muslimanski, kao cjelina, a posebno njena 'ulama', kao duhovni nasljednici vjerovjesnika, su oni koji potvrđuju i svjedoče istinu koju imaju kod sebe od *Kur'ana Časnog*, od normativnog *Sunneta* Poslanika Muhammeda a.s. i od njegovog narativa *Hadīsa*, narativa koji je potvrđen da je istinit bez dlake sumnje u lancu (*isnād*) istinoljubivih prenositelja. Prema tome, ideja **taṣḍīq** predstavlja naslijeđe Božanske istine, predstavlja istinu Božijeg Vjerovjesnika te istinu istinoljubivih prenositelja ljudskog iskustva o historijskim istinama. Također, **taṣḍīq** predstavlja *sam* (slušanje i shvatanje Božije poruke); *khābar* (slušanje i razumijevanje narativa Božijeg vjerovjesnika); *naql* (prihvatanje i prenošenje riječi Božijeg vjerovjesnika i njegovih neposrednih sljedbenika [*aṣḥābā*]); i *ghayb* (imanje ideje o odsutnom svijetu [*'ālam al-ghayb*]), koji ima vezu s prisutnim svijetom (*'ālam al-shahādah*), kao i utjecaj na njega.

³ Tri korijena arapskih slovnih znakova: *džīm*, *dāl* i *dāl* upućuju na nešto što je novo (*džādīd*); tako onaj koji vrši renovaciju nečega je obnovitelj (*mudžaddīd*) a sâm čin renovacije ili obnove je *tadžīd*. Ova ideja o obnovi nije izmišljanje iz ničega (*bid'ah*), već je to obnova ljudskog duha i uma na temelju Kur'ana i Sunneta te ljudskog iskustva u duhu Ibn Sinaove ideje o lampi od stakla, o svjetlu spoznaje i o ulju Božije mudrosti, koja ako se upali, živi smo, ako se ugasi, mrtvi smo. Dakle mi polazimo na naš put s idejom o potvrđivanju i svjedočenju stare istine koju smo naslijedili, kao i s idejom o obnovi naslijeđa kroz osvježavanje utvrđenih doktrina novim idejama, koje ostavljamo u amanet našim potomcima.

THE LIGHT OF SPIRIT AND MIND

God is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth! (Qur'an, 24:35)

*The soul is like a glass lamp,
and knowledge is light of flame,
and the wisdom of God is the oil!*

If it is lit, you are alive, and if it is darkened, you are dead! (Ibn Sina)

*It is during our darkest moments
that we must focus to see the light!* (Aristotel)

Starting with the fact that understanding the human spirit, soul, mind and heart is a primary condition of an understanding of the relationship between God and the world and the relationship of God-Man-World, the goal of the Journal of „Illuminatio“ (Bosnian „Svjetionik“, Arabic „Almanar“) is to revive the pure spirit in the human soul and to enlighten the pure mind in the human heart by reminding the soul of its primordial Covenant¹ with God Almighty and stimulating the mind to seek the right path to the realization of the transcendental truth through the theory and practice of **taṣḍīq**², i.e. the assertion of divine tradition, and the theory and practice of **tajdīd**³, i.e. the renovation of human thought in the service of present and future spiritual and humanistic cause, as well as in

the service of a truthful individual⁴ as well as a healthy social life⁵.

Bearing in mind that the social sciences do not have the same power of determining the permanent law of social movements as the natural sciences have in discovering the laws of natural processes, the social sciences regarding faith, morality, art, nation, society and the state in particular, face perennial challenges for the human mind. Therefore, the Journal of „Illuminatio“ aims to analyze and synthesize events that explain and predict the possible present and future state of human religious, moral, national and social life.

Priority will be given to articles of authors who offer fresh ideas on faith, morality, art, society and the state, starting

¹ In accordance to the Islamic teaching, the primordial Covenant with God is contained in the syntagm of „qālū balā“ as an answer of the first man Adam o the question: „Am I not your Lord“? They replied: „Qālū balā“, „Yes, indeed, Thou art our Lord“!

² The three root Arabic letters: *ṣād*, *dāl* and *qāf* signify the meaning of truth (*ṣīdīq*), truthful (*sādiq*), the assertion of truth (*taṣḍīq*) and the asserter of the truth (*muṣāddiq*). Thus, the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., is *muṣāddiqan limā bayna yadayhi*, id est he is the asserter of the truth which they, the Jews and Christians, have in their books of the *Old Testament (Tawrāt)* and the *New Testament (Injīl)*. Hence, the Muslim *Ummah* as a whole and in particular *her 'ulamā'* as the spiritual heirs of the Prophet(s) are the assertors of the truth which they have in their hands of the Holy Qur'an, of the normative *Sunnah* of the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., and of his narrative *Hadīth*, which has been proven to be true without a shred of doubt by a chain (*isnād*) of truthful transmitters. Henceforth, the idea of **taṣḍīq** represents the legacy of the divine truth, the truth of the Messengers of God as well as the truth of the truthful transmitters of the human experience of historical truths. Also, the **taṣḍīq** represents the idea of *sam* (hearing and comprehending God's message); *khābar* (listening and understanding the narrative of God's messengers); *naql* (accepting and transmitting the word of God's Meseenger and his immediate followers [*aṣḥāb*]); and *ghā'b* (having a notion of an absent world [*'ālam al-ghayb*]), which has a connection with an influence on the present world (*'ālam al-shahādah*).

³ The three root Arabic letters: *jīm*, *dāl* and *dāl* signify the meaning of something new (*jadīd*); thus, the one who makes something new is called renewer (*mujaddīd*) and the act of renovation is *tajdīd*. This notion of *tajdīd* is not an invention (*bid'ah*) out of nothing, but it is based on the Qur'an and Sunnah in the light of Ibn Sin's a glass lamp, a light of knowledge and the oil of God's wisdom if it is lit, we are alive, and if it is darkened, we are dead. So, we are starting our journey with this notion of **taṣḍīq**, the assertion of the legacy of the old truth, which we have inherited and the notion of **tajdīd**, the renovation of the legacy by the the new or fresh ideas about the old truth, which we will bequeath to our future descendants.

teološke, kulturološke i društvene probleme. Prijevodi su prihvatljivi uz temeljite uvodnike i ozbiljne analize prevedenog teksta.

Časopis „Svjetionik“ nije ni na koji način ni imitacija ni promocija nijednog **mezheba**, teološke škole (*kalām*) i pravne škole (*fiqh*), već ima širok pogled na sve muslimanske teološke i pravne škole s fokusom na hanefijsko-maturidijsku školu u **kelāmu**, teologiji i hanefijsku školu u **fikhu**, pravu.

Uvažavajući **taṣḍīq**, tradiciju, kao polaznu osnovu za vjerski i moralni pogled, „Svjetionik“ će snažno poticati upotrebu zdravog razuma u analizi sadašnjeg stanja duha i uma radi **tadždīda**, obnove u iznalaženju teoloških i pravnih riješenja za duhovne i moralne probleme. **Tadždīd**, obnova mišljenja nema prednosti nad **taṣḍīqom**, tradicijom, ali ni **taṣḍīq**, tradicija ne smije biti prepreka za kreativno mišljenje, koje nije u sukobu s jasno utvrđenom tradicijom.

Jedan od temeljnih ciljeva „Svjetionika“ je afirmacija uleme, muslimanskih učenjaka, kao nositelja misije Božijih vjerovjesnika, uleme koja je u stanju da na originalan i inspirativan način tumači Kur’an i Hadis. Ulema mora biti vodič ne samo muslimanima, već cijelom društvu kroz svoj lijep moral, **ahlak**, i kroz svoju edukativnu etiku, **edeb**. No, svjesni smo istodobno da ulema nije u stanju iznijeti ovaj emanet sama bez suradnje i pomoći od mislioca iz područja historije, filozofije, sociologije, prava, etike, kulture i drugih grana nauka, koje oživljavaju ljudski duh i prosvjećuju ljudski um. Stoga, „Svjetionik“ je otvoren za duhovnjake i mislioca koji mogu, znaju i hoće biti na našem putu **svjetionika** koji nam pokazuje signal do uzvišenog cilja.

Međureligijski i međukulturni dijalog je osnovna ideja časopisa „Svjetionik“, a to je dijalog koji se ne tiče samo islamske perspektive, već i perspektivâ drugih svjetonazora, koji su relevantni za globalni mir i sigurnost. Uistinu, ljudi sve više postaju svjesni da niko pojedinačno ne posjeduje cijelu istinu, ali svako može istinu na svoj način osvijetliti dok svi zajedno tražimo mir u duši i smisao u životu kroz Božansku uputu i zdrav ljudski razum. To, međutim, ne smije umanjiti želju da se istakne specifična prednost islamskog pogleda na svijet, posebno u pogledu monoteizma (*tawḥīd*) kao osnovne islamske matrice u vjeri i moralu.

Časopis „Svjetionik“ nije i ne smije biti ni na koji način obojen bilo kojom stranačkom politikom, ali smije iznositi moralne i političke stavove podudarne s njegovom osnovnom misijom, a to je oživljavanje čistoga duha u duši i oplemenjivanje čistoga uma u srcu naroda. A to znači da će „Svjetionik“, pokušati biti kompas svima i kapetanima i putnicima na ovom uzburkanom balkanskom i ovom nemirnom starom i novom evropskom kontinentu.

Časopis „Svjetionik“ izlazi dvojezično na bosanskom i engleskom jeziku u namjeri da se njegova pisana riječ širi izvan bosanskih granica, odnosno da se glas bosanske uleme, duhovnjaka i mislioca čuje u svijetu, kao što se svojevremeno čuo glas velikog bosanskog *‘ālima*, duhovnjaka i mislioca Hasana Kafije Prušćaka.

⁴ Uvjet za pošten individualni život je *istina* (*ṣidq*).

⁵ Uvjet za zdrav društveni život je *pravda* (*‘adālet*).

** (Važna napomena: U tekstovima na engleskom jeziku korištena je transliteracija prema metodologiji IJMES-a, sistem transliteracije za arapski, perzijski i osmansko-turski (*osmanlı yazısı*). Važna napomena, također, je da u transliteraciji arapskog na latinski alfabet u bosanskom jeziku odstupamo od usvojenog pravila tako što umjesto engleskog „sh“ koristimo bosanski znak „š“, a bosanski znak „dž“ umjesto engleskog „j“, dok umjesto bosanskog „j“ koristimo engleski znak „y“).

from the **taṣḍīq****, the reference to the valid tradition, to the **tajdīd**, the renovation of new solutions, based on old and new philosophical, theological and social reflections. Translations from foreign languages of books and articles are acceptable only with thorough editorials and a serious analysis of the translated text.

The Journal of „**illuminatio**“ is not an exclusive imitation or promotion of one **Mazhab**, the school of thought, against the other, but rather it has a broad view of all Islamic theological and law schools with a focus on the Ḥanafī law school in *Fiqh*, Islamic Law and on the Māturīdī school in *Kalām*, Islamic theology. While recognizing **taṣḍīq**, tradition, as the starting point for a religious and moral view, the Journal of „**illuminatio**“ will strongly encourage the use of common sense in analyzing the present state of mind for the sake of **tajdīd**, the renovation for finding the right solutions for spiritual and moral problems. **Tajdīd**, new ideas, have no advantage over **taṣḍīq**, tradition. However, **taṣḍīq** must not be a barrier to new ideas that do not contradict with a clearly proven tradition.

One of the basic objectives of the Journal of „**illuminatio**“ is the promotion of the opinions of Muslim scholars, the **‘ulamā’**, who are the heirs of the mission of the messengers of God and who are capable to interpret the Qur’an and Hadith in an original and inspirational way. The **‘ulamā’**, must be a moral guide not only to the Muslims, but also to the society at large through their good moral, **akhlak** and their educative ethics, **adab** as well. However, we are at the same time aware that the **‘ulamā’** are not able to carry this task alone without a cooperation and assistance from scholars in the area of history, philosophy, sociology, law, ethics, culture and other branches of knowledge, which revive human spirit and enlighten human mind. Thus, the Journal of „**illuminatio**“ will be open for all thinkers who can, who know and who like to travel with us the path on the beacon which shows us the signal to a sublime goal.

⁴ The condition of honest individual life is *truth* (*ṣidq*).

⁵ The condition of healthy social life is *justice* (*‘adālet*).

** For the English texts we are using the transliteration according to the IJMES system for Arabic, Persian and Ottoman-Turkish (*Osmanlı Yazısı*).

Interfaith and intercultural dialogue is the basic idea of the Journal of „**illuminatio**“, which is not only concerned with an Islamic perspective, but also with a perspective of other worldviews that are relevant for the global peace and security. Indeed, people are becoming more and more aware of the fact that no one possesses the whole truth, but everyone may contribute to the truth as we are walking together and are striving jointly for the peace of human mind and the purpose of human life through the divini guidance and the sound human reason. However, this should not diminish the will to emphasize a specific advantage of the Islamic worldview, especially with regard to the **tawḥīd**, monotheism, as the core of Islamic faith and morality.

The Journal of „**illuminatio**“ is not and must not be in any way influenced by any party politics. However, it may present moral and political views that are in line with its basic mission, which is to revive pure spirit in the soul and to ennoble the pure mind at the heart of the nation. The Journal of „**illuminatio**“ will try to be a compass for everyone, both for the captains and the passengers on the sailing ship in this turbulent land of the Balkans as well as in this old and new continent of Europe.

The Journal of „**illuminatio**“ will be published bilingually in Bosnian and English language in order to spread its written word beyond the Bosnian borders, indeed, to be the Bosnian voice around the world in the same way as the voice of the great Bosnian *‘ālim*, scholar, Hasan Kāfī Prušćak had been in the past.

UZOR

*Narod koji nema uzora u precima,
nema ni uzgoja u potomcima!*

PUT OD VJERA DO ZNANOSTI
ILI PUT OD ZNANOSTI DO VJERE

Nije bilo tako davno. Prije jedno stoljeće Rešid Rida⁶ (Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā) je nagovarao Muhammeda Abduhua (Muḥammad 'Abduhu)⁷ da napiše *tefsīr*, tumačenje Kur'ana: – *Rekao sam mu, priča Rida, da bi bilo dobro ako bi napisao tefsīr* (komentar Kur'ana, op. aut.) *na način da sažmeš ono što traži vrijeme, ostavljajući po strani ono što piše u prijašnjim tefsirskim knjigama te da objasniš ono što su prijašnji mufessiri* (tumači Kur'ana, op. aut.) *propustili objasniti...* Muhammed Abduhu je na to odgovorio: – *Knjige ne koriste gluhi srcima... knjige ne koriste ako ih ne čitaju budna i radoznala srca s osjećajem potrebe da se znanje širi. Ako je knjiga mimo znanja učenih, oni ne razumiju njen smisao, a ono što učenici razumiju često odbacuju i ne prihvataju, a ako i prihvate, onda iskrivljuju na način da to usklađuju sa svojim znanjem i vjerovanjem, kao što to ponekad rade s tekstom Kur'ana i Sunneta... Slušani govor mnogo više utječe na dušu nego pisani, jer dikcija*

govornika, njegovi pokreti, išareti i dijalekat pomažu da se bolje shvati poruka. Također, slušatelj može pitati govornika ako mu je nešto nejasno iz njegovog govora, dok čitatelj nema priliku da pita pisca šta je htio reći u napisanom tekstu. Slušatelj razumije 80% iz govora govornika, dok čitatelj razumije samo 20% iz onoga što pisac piše... Neki ljudi imaju odliku da mogu govoriti o bilo kojoj temi pred bilo kojim insanom, bez obzira da li taj insan razumije ili ne razumije o čemu se govori. Ova odlika je bila kod Džemaluddina Afganija (Al-Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani), koji se razmahivao mudrošću pred onim koji su je željeli kao i pred onima koji je nisu željeli čuti, na čemu sam mu zavidio. Ja, međutim, preferiram da govorim samo onda ako vidim da su i skup i vrijeme pogodni za to. Tako isto je i s pisanjem. Ponekad pomislim da pišem o nekoj temi, skupim energiju i mnoge misli o tome, a onda mi padne na pamet: – A kome treba ova priča? Kome ona koristi?

⁶ Rešid Rida [Muḥammad Rašīd Riḍā] (1865. – 1935.) je rođen u Libanonu. Bio je najpoznatiji učenik Muhammeda Abduhua (Muhammad 'Abduhu). Spojila ih je zajednička reformatorska ideja, koja se širila kroz novinu *Al-'Urwat al-wuthqā*, koju su pokrenuli Džemaluddin Afgani (Al-Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani) i Muhammed Abduhu u Parizu. Prvi broj tih novina izašao je u martu 1884., a zadnji, 18. broj, izašao je u oktobru 1884. god. Iako kratkog vijeka, svega osam mjeseci, ova novina je imala snažniji utjecaj na obnovu (*tadžīd*) islamske misli nego ijedna novina prije i poslije nje. No, reformatorski talenat Rešid Rida očitovao se najbolje u Egiptu, gdje je emigrirao iz Libanona, i gdje je s Muhammedom Abduhuom pokrenuo časopis *Al-Manār* te nakon Abduhuove smrti nastavio i dovršio Abduhuov *tefsīr*, komentar Kur'ana, pod istim imenom *Al-Manār*. Vidi: Riḍā, Muḥammad Rašīd: *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-šāhīr bi al-tafsīr al-manār*, Dār al-fikr, Beyrut, bez datuma, drugo izdanje.

⁷ Muhammed Abduhu (Muḥammad 'Abduhu, 1849 – 1905) bio je egipatski učenjak i pravnik. Njegov otac bio je Turčin, a majka je bila Arapkinja. Studirao je logiku, filozofiju i islamski misticizam. Bio je učenik Seyyida Džemaluddina Al-Afghanije (Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Al-Afghānī, umro 1897.). Abduhu je imao progresivne ideje koje u to vrijeme u Egiptu nisu bile dovoljno shvaćene. Ali, Abduhu je uspio pokrenuti reformu univerziteta Al-Azhar u Kairu, reformu koja je i danas na djelu. Abduhu je zagovarao ukidanje tradicionalnih običaja, koji nisu imali uporište u glavnim izvorima islama: Kur'anu i Sunnetu. Napisao je više komentara Kur'ana. Slijedio je racionalizam Imama Ebu Mensura el-Maturidija (Abu Maṣū'ir al-Māturīdī, umro 944.) u '*aqā'idu*, islamskim doktrinarnim pitanjima. Napisao je knjigu „Risālat al-tawhīd“ (*Poruka ili misija monoteizma*), koja je ostavila snažan utjecaj na svijest muslimana širom svijeta. Zanimljivo je naglasiti da je Muhamed Abduhu bio jedan od uzora našem '*ālimu*, reformatoru, Husein ef. Đozi u '*aqā'idu*, islamskim doktrinama i *fiqhu*, islamskom pravu.

PARAGON

*People that cannot find a paragon in their ancestors,
have no breeding in their descendants!*

THE ROAD FROM BELIEF TO SCIENCE
OR THE ROAD FROM SCIENCE TO BELIEF

It was a century ago when Rashīd Riḍā⁶ was persuading Muḥammad 'Abduhū⁷ to write an exegesis of the Qur'an: – *I told him, said Riḍā, that it would be good if he would write an exegesis of the Qur'an in a manner of summarizing what is time-consuming, setting aside what has been said in previous exegetical books and explaining what the exegetes have missed as well... Muḥammad Abduhū replied: – Books are of no use to deaf hearts ... books are of no use if not read by alert and curious hearts with a sense of need to spread knowledge. If the book is beyond the knowledge of the learned, they do not understand its meaning, while those who understand the book, do not accept what is written in it; and even if they do accept, they distort it in a way that aligns it with their sense and belief, as they do with the very text of the Qur'an and Sunnah... The spoken word is much more affective to the soul than the written one, because the speaker's diction, his motions, his patterns and his dialect help to transfer the message*

better. Also, the listener can ask the speaker if something is unclear from his speech, while the reader does not have the opportunity to ask the writer about his thought which is in the written text... The listener understands 80% of the speaker's speech, while the reader understands only 20% of what the writer writes... Some people have the ability to speak on any topic in front of any person, whether they understand or don't understand what is being said. This characteristic was held by Jamāluddīn al-Afghānī, who was writhing with wisdom before those who wanted it and those who didn't want it, which I envied him for... However, I prefer to speak only when I see that both the set and the time are suitable for it. It is the same with writing. Sometimes I think about writing on a subject, gathering energy and many thoughts about it, and then it comes to my mind: – Who needs this story? Whom does it benefit? So I quit writing. And then, the thoughts and concepts I had in my head evaporated so that there was nothing left for me to

⁶ Rashīd Riḍā (1865 – 1935), was born in Lebanon. He was the most famous disciple of Muḥammad 'Abduhū. They were joined by a common reformist idea, spread through the journal of *Al-'Urwat al-wuthqā*, launched by Jamāluddīn Al-Afghānī and Muḥammad Abduhū in Paris. The first issue of this journal was published in March 1884, and the last eighteenth issue was published in October 1884. Although short-lived, only eight months, this journal had a more powerful impact on the rebirth of a new Islamic thought than any other journal before and after. However, the reformational talent of Rashīd Riḍā is manifested best in Egypt, where he emigrated from Lebanon, and where he together with Muḥammad 'Abduhū initiated the Magazine of *Al-Manār*. After 'Abduhū's death, Rashīd Riḍā continued the 'Abduhū's *Exegesis of the Qur'an* under the same name *Al-Manār*. See Riḍā, Muḥammad Rashīd: *Tafsīr al-qur'ān al-šāhīr bi al-tafsīr al-manār*, Dār al-fikr, Beyrut, without date, second print.

⁷ Muḥammad 'Abduhū (1849 – 1905) was born in Egypt. His father was a Turk and his mother an Arab woman. He was a student of Al-Sayyid Jamal al-Dīn al-Afghani (d. 1897). 'Abduhū had progressive ideas, which were not well appreciated at the time. However, he was able to initiate a reform of the Al-Azhar University in Cairo, which is still at work. 'Abduhū advocated the removal of some traditional customs, which had no support of the main Islamic sources of the Qur'an and Sunnah. He adopted Imam Abu Maṣū'ir Al-Māturīdī's (d. 944) rationalism in the matters of '*aqā'id*, Islamic doctrinal issues. 'Abduhū wrote many commentaries on the Qur'an and authored a book: „Risālat al-tawhīd“, (*The Message or Mission of Monotheism*) as well, which had a great impact on the conscience of Muslims around the world. It is interesting to note that 'Abduhū had a great influence on the Bosnian '*ālim* and reformer, Husain ef. Jozo (d. 1982) regarding '*aqā'id*, Islamic doctrines and *fiqh*, Islamic Law.

I tako odustanem od pisanja. A onda, misli i pojmovi koje sam imao u glavi ispare se tako da mi ništa ne ostane za pisanje. Slušatelj ili sugovornik jako utječe na mene. Stoga, ne pričam o islamu kad se nađem među ulemom, jer njihove misli su skroz daleko od teme. Oni nemaju osjećaj o važnosti vremena...⁸

Zatečen ovim neočekivanim pesimizmom svog učitelja, Rešid Rida mu skrušeno objašnjava: Nijedno vrijeme nije bilo bez onih koji su istinski znali cijeniti reformatorsku priču iako ih je malo, ali se njihov broj vremenom uvećavao. Pisana riječ bit će im putokaz na njihovom putu. Istinita riječ unatoč malog broja onih koji ju na trenutak uzimaju i razumiju, mora se upamtiti i razvijati kad joj se posveti pažnja u odgovarajuće vrijeme, shodno nužnom *nāmūsu* (zakonu, op. aut.) i prirodnom izboru, kao što se (istinita riječ) upamtila u novini 'Al-' *Urwatu-l-wuthqā*'. Iako su njeni prvi listovi bili neznatni i požutili, ali ono što je zapisano na njima od prosvjetiteljskih ideja, ideala i drugih velikih koristi upamćeno je u pisanim redovima i u ljudskim dušama...⁹

Ovako sam se ja osjećao kad mi je, nakon jednog razgovora sa reisu-l-ulemom Huseinom ef. Kavazovićem, dr. Senad Ćeman, direktor Centara za dijalog – Vesatijja, sugerirao da bi bilo dobro da Centar pokrene jedan časopis, posvećen svježim idejama o vjeri, moralu, umjetnosti, naciji, društvu i državi. Pitao sam se na isti nači: – *A kome to danas treba u ovoj inflaciji svega, pa i novih ideja od kojih ljudi pamet gube i vrijeme troše uzalud?* No, istražujući odgovor na ovaj izazov, zaključio sam da nam, doista, treba „Almanar“, „Svjetionik“, „Illuminatio“. Mora neko biti i u ovom vremenu i Muhammed Abduhu i Rešid Rida; mora se i ovdje i sada kod nas vidjeti Abduh-Ridaov svjetlosni znak „Almanara“, „Svjetionika“, „Illuminatio“ u mraku današnjeg svijeta. Dakle, shvatio sam da nam treba redefinicija duhovne i moralne „ose svijeta“, *axis mundi*¹⁰. Život je more; čovjekov život na zemlji je uzburkano more. Čovjek nije sâm na ovom moru, ali je sâm od Boga izabran da bude *khalīfa*, da bude Božiji izaslanik, da bude

write. The listener or the interlocutor greatly influences me. Therefore, I am not talking about Islam when I find myself among the 'ulamā', the Muslim scholars, because their thoughts are far from the subject. They have no idea about the importance of their time...⁸

Disconcerted by this unexpected pessimism of his teacher, Rashīd Riḍā humbly and gently commented: – *There was no period in time without those who truly knew how to appreciate the story of reformation (al-iṣlāḥ). Although few, but their numbers increased over time. The written word will be a beacon (Al-Manar) on their journey. The true word, despite the small number of those who take and understand it for a moment, must be remembered and developed when it is given attention at the right time, according to the necessary law (nāmūs) and natural choice, as it (the true word) is remembered in the newspaper 'Al-'Urwatu-l-wuthqā'. Although its first pages are insignificant and became yellow, but what is written on them of the ideas of Enlightenment and other great benefits is remembered in the written lines and in the human souls...⁹*

This is how I felt when, after speaking to the Grand Mufti Husein ef. Kavazović, Dr Senad Ćeman, the director of the Al-Wasatiyya Center for Dialogue, suggested to me that it would be a good idea that the Center launches a journal devoted to fresh ideas about faith, morality, art, nation, society and the state. Indeed, I wondered in the same way: – *Who needs this journal in this time of inflation of ideas or information out of which people are losing mind and spending time in vain for?* But, exploring additionally the answer to this challenge, I concluded that we really need a Journal of „Illuminatio“, „Svjetionik“, „Almanar“, as a beacon for our way forward. There must be someone at this time like Muḥammad 'Abduhū and Rashīd Riḍā; there must be here and now in front of us a visible 'Abduhū – Riḍā's lightening signal of „Almanar“, „Svjetionik“, „Illuminatio“ in the darkness of today's world. Thus, I thought, we need a redefinition of the spiritual and moral „axis of the world“, i.e. the *axis mundi*¹⁰. Life is the sea; life on earth is a turbulent sea. Man is not alone in this sea, but he is chosen by God to be a Caliph, a Vicegerent, an Envoy of God, indeed, to be the



ILUSTRACIJA – Muḥammad Abduhū; Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī; Rashīd Riḍā; Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī.



ILLUSTRATION – Moses ben Maimon Maimonides; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn; Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī; Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī.

⁸ Riḍā, Muḥammad Rašīd: *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-shāhīr bi-l-tafsīr al-manār*, Dār al-fikr, Beyrut, bez datuma, drugo izdanje, tom I, str. 13-14.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Axis mundi*, „osa svijeta“ je centar svijeta. Kao duhovni i geografski pol, „osa svijeta“ izražava tačku veze između nebesa i zemlje, gdje se dotiču četiri kompasna pravca.

⁸ Riḍā, Muḥammad Rashīd: *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-shāhīr bi al-tafsīr al-manār*, Dār al-fikr, Beyrut, without date, second print, volume I, pp. 13-14.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Axis mundi*, "axis of the world" is the center of the world. As a spiritual and geographical pole, the "axis of the world" expresses the point of connection between the heavens and the earth, where four compass directions touch.

kapetan broda. Bio svjestan te svoje misije na zemlji ili ne bio svjestan, čovjek je relativni, a ponekad umišlja sebi i da je apsolutni, navigator plovidbe života na ovom valovitom moru. A da bi uspješno upravljao plovidbom života na uzburkanom moru, čovjek mora imati jedno polazište, u duhovnom i moralnom smislu, mora imati „jednu tačku (istinu)“, odakle počinje navigaciju svoga i života svog okruženja. Doista, čovjek mora imati kompas, koji pokazuje sve pravce, ali se na kraju zaustavlja na startnoj poziciji Sjevernog Pola¹¹. Tek tada kompas pomaže putnicima da počnu svoje putovanje pravim putem. To isto važi za ljudski moral. Šta je, dakle, pravi Sjeverni Pol odakle počinje navigacija ljudskog moralnog života? U Kur'anu Časnom jasno se kaže: – *Ima krivih pravaca, ali na kraju svi putovi završavaju kod Allaha...* („**wa 'ala Allahi quṣḍu al-sabīli wa minhā džā'irun**“)¹². Dakle, ako nema Boga, onda nema referentne tačke, nema „ose svijeta“, odakle počinje i kamo doseže životno putovanje čovjeka. Onda je svako mišljenje i svaki pravac isti kao i svaka druga misao i svaki drugi pravac. Onda istina postaje relativna, gdje su istina i laž jednako tretirane; onda nema ni potrebe ni smisla tragati za apsolutnom istinom, jer tvoja istina je tvoja, a moja istina je moja. Svako je tada zaključan u zatvoru svoje interpretacije dobra i zla. Može se reći da je ovo stanje uma i morala prije svega kriza Zapada, ali pošto se utjecaj „zapadne misli i morala“ neumitno

širi svijetom, onda ni jedna vjera, ni jedna misao, ni jedan moral, ni jedna kultura nije imuna na bolest modernog relativizma. Činilo se da su neke stare teme historijski potrošene, poput nespojivog odnosa vjere i znanosti te neupotrebljivog odnosa antičke i moderne politike. Zanimljivo je, u vezi s tim, ovdje citirati zapažanje Gerarda i Marfija (Graeme Garrard i James Bernard Murphy, odnosno René Girard), koji kažu: – *Ako bismo pisali ovu knjigu prije sto godina, mi vjerovatno ne bismo uključili nekoliko antičkih mislilaca, poput Konfučija, al-Farabija i Majmonidesa (Maimonides). S početka dvadesetog stoljeća činilo se da je historija ostavila iza sebe konfučijsku, islamsku i judaističku političku misao. No, iznenađujuće je da u zadnje vrijeme vidimo obnovu konfučionizma u post-Maovoj Kini, eksploziju islamske političke teorije širom planete te pojavu jevrejske države na Bliskom istoku. Danas, ništa nije važnije od ovih nekad zaboravljenih mislilaca. Kao što nas Viljam Fokner (William Faulkner) podsjeća: 'Prošlost nije mrtva; ona čak nije ni prošlost'*¹³. *Na sličan način britanski biolog Rupert Šeldrejk (Rupert Sheldrake) odgovora Ričardu Davkinsu (Richard Dawkins) da nije riječ o Iluziji o Bogu*¹⁴, *već je riječ o Iluziji znanosti*¹⁵. Znanost ima svojih deset dogmi, koje ništa manje ne usporavaju slobodnu znanstvenu misao, nego što su nekad to činile neke vjerske dogme.

Evo deset osnovnih uvjerenja koje većina naučnika uzima zdravo za gotovo:

captain of the ship. Whether man is aware of his mission on earth or unaware, he often imagines himself to be the absolute navigator of life on this tumultuous sea. In order to successfully navigate the life on the turbulent sea, man must have one starting point, in spiritual and moral terms; he must have „one truth“, from where he begins to navigate his life and his environment. Indeed, man must have a compass, which shows him all directions, but eventually stops at the starting position of the North Pole of the truth. Only then does the compass help the traveller to begin his journey the right way. The same is true of human morality. What, then, is the North Pole¹¹ of the truth from where the navigation of human moral life begins? The Holy Qur'an states it clearly: – There are wrong directions, but in the end all directions end up to God... („**wa 'ala Allahi quṣḍu al-sabīli wa minhā jā'irun**“¹²). So, if there is no God, then there is no point of reference, no „axis of the world“, from where man begins and where he reaches the life journey of his life. But if every thought and every direction is the same as every other thought and every other direction, then the truth becomes relative, and thus the truth and the falsehood are treated equally. Hence, there would be no sense to seek the absolute truth because you have your truth and I have my truth separately. But the truth is only one because God is One. Everyone is then locked in the prison for his or her own interpretation of good and evil. It can be said that this state of mind and morality is first and foremost a crisis of the West, but since the influence of „Western thought and morality“ is spreading around the

world, then no religion, no thought, no morals, no culture is immune to the disease of modern relativism. Some of the old themes seemed to be historically depleted, such as the incompatible relationship between religion and science and the unusable relationship between ancient and modern politics. It is interesting to quote here Garrard & Murphy's remark: – *History, it has been said, never repeats itself, but it does often rhyme. If we were to write this book a hundred years ago, we probably would not have included a few ancient thinkers, such as Confucius, Al-Fārābī and Maimonides. By the early twentieth century, history seemed to leave behind Confucian, Islamic and Jewish political thought. But surprisingly, we have recently seen the renewal of Confucianism in post-Mao China, the explosion of Islamic political theory across the globe, and the emergence of a Jewish state in the Middle East. Today, nothing is more important than these once forgotten thinkers. As William Faulkner reminds us: 'The past is not dead; it's not even past'*¹³. *Similarly, British biologist Rupert Sheldrake responded to Richard Dawkins that it is not an Illusion of God*¹⁴, *but an Illusion of Science*¹⁵. Science has its ten dogmas that no less inhibit free scientific thought, as some religious dogmas once did.

Here are ten basic beliefs that most scientists take for granted.

• 1. Everything is basically mechanical. Dogs, for example, are complex mechanisms, not living organisms with their own goals. Even humans are machines, 'bulky robots', in the vivid phrase of Richard Dawkins, with a brain that is

¹¹ Kod muslimanskih mistika, sufija, to je *al-qutb* („pol“), što asocira na „zvijezdu sjevernog pola“ – *al-nadžmu al-quṭbiyyu al-šamāliyyu*. Sufijski pol (*qutb*) ne umire, već živi u *Barzakhu* (čistilištu od grijeha), dok ga na zemlji zamjenjuje druga osoba *qutb* ili više osoba, najviše do četiri na četiri strane svijeta. *Al-qutb*, kao osoba, mora biti u rangu svog prethodnika ili svojih prethodnikâ, osoba koja može biti u službi ljudima (svojim *muridima*, sufijskim sljedbenicima), kao duhovni orijentir u vremenu i prostoru zato što čovjek (sufija) ne može znati kojim pravcem, kojim putem *tariqat-om*, treba da ide do svjetla istine, *ḥaqīqat-a*, bez svog *al-qutb-a*, bez pola, bez „Sjevernog Pola“.

¹² Kur'an, 16:9.

¹³ Garrard, Graeme & Murphy, James Bernard: *How to Think Politically – Sages, Scholars and Statesmen Whose Ideas Have Shaped The World*, Bloomsbury, London, 2019, str. 8-9.

¹⁴ Dawkins, Richard: *The God Delusion*, First Published, 2006 by Bantam Press (Black Swan edition reissued 2016).

¹⁵ Sheldrake, Rupert: *The Science Delusion*, Coronet, 2013.

¹¹ In the Muslim mystics, the Sufis, *al-qutb* („Pole“) might mean „the star of the north pole“ *Al-najmu al-quṭbiyyu al-šamāliyyu*. The Sufi pole (*qutb*) doesn't die but he lives in the *Barzakh* (Purgatory), while one of his heirs *qutb* takes his place or more than one up to four on the four sides of the world (north, south, east and west). This *qutb* must be up to the rank of his *qutb* predecessor or predecessors. Also, he must be capable to be in the service of the Sufi who needs to know the right direction on his path *tariqah*, which he is taking in order to reach the light of *ḥaqīqah*, but he cannot do that without the *Qutb*, without the Pole, indeed, without „the North Pole“.

¹² Qur'an, 16:9.

¹³ Garrard, Graeme & Murphy, James Bernard: *How to Think Politically – Sages, Scholars and Statesmen Whose Ideas Have Shaped The World*, Bloomsbury, London, 2019, str. 8-9.

¹⁴ Dawkins, Richard: *The God Delusion*, First Published, 2006 by Bantam Press (Black Swan edition reissued 2016).

¹⁵ Sheldrake, Rupert: *The Science Delusion*, Coronet, 2013.

- 1. Sve je u osnovi mehaničko. Psi su, na primjer, složeni mehanizmi, a ne živi organizmi sa vlastitim ciljevima. Čak su i ljudi strojevi, 'glomazni roboti', u živopisnoj frazi Richarda Dawkinsa, s mozgom koji je poput genetski programiranih računala.
- 2. Sva je materija nesvjesna. Nema unutrašnji život ni subjektivnost ili gledište. Čak je i ljudska svijest iluzija proizvedena od materijalnih aktivnosti mozga.
- 3. Ukupna količina materije i energije uvijek je ista (s izuzetkom Velikog praska, kada su se iznenada pojavile sve materije i energija svemira).
- 4. Zakoni prirode su fiksni. Isti su danas kao i na početku, i ostat će isti zauvijek.
- 5. Priroda je besmislena, a evolucija nema cilja ni smjera.
- 6. Sva biološka baština je materijalna, nošena u genetskom materijalu, DNK i u drugim materijalnim strukturama.

- 7. Um je unutar glave i nije ništa drugo nego aktivnost mozga. Kad pogledate drvo, slika stabla koje vidite nije „vani“, tamo gdje izgleda, već unutar vašeg mozga.
- 8. Uspomene se čuvaju kao materijalni tragovi u mozgu i brišu se na smrti.
- 9. Neobjašnjive pojave poput telepatije su iluzorne.
- 10. Mehanička medicina je jedina vrsta koja stvarno djeluje.

Pitanje je logično: Je li, zapravo, znanost postala vjera, odnosno dogma, a vjera sve više postaje nauka, odnosno slobodna misao. Časopis „Svjetionik“ ima zadatak da odgovori na ova i slična pitanja u duhu sjećanja na prošlost i u duhu programiranja budućnosti kako bi sadašnjost imala smisla u pogledu duhovne i moralne obnove (*taṣḍīq* i *tadẓīd*) vjere, morala, umjetnosti, nacije, društva i države.



ILUSTRACIJA - Majmonides - Moses ben Maimon Maimonides; Thomas Hobbes; Auguste Comte.

like a genetically programmed computer.

- 2. All matter is unconscious. Inner life has no subjectivity or point of view. Even human consciousness is an illusion produced by the material activities of the brain.
- 3. The total amount of matter and energy is always the same (with the exception of the Big Bang, when all matter and energy of the universe suddenly appeared).
- 4. The laws of nature are fixed. They are the same today as they were at the beginning, and will remain the same forever.
- 5. Nature is meaningless, and evolution has no purpose or direction.
- 6. All biological heritage is material, carried in genetic material, DNA and other material structures.
- 7. The mind is inside the head and is nothing but brain activity. When you look at a tree, the image of the tree you see is not „outside“ where it seems, but inside your brain.
- 8. Memories are stored as material traces in the brain and

are wiped at death.

- 9. Unexplained phenomena such as telepathy are illusory.
 - 10. Mechanical medicine is the only kind that really works.
- The question is logical: Is science, in fact, religion or dogma? Is religion science or free thought? The Journal of „Illuminatio“ is tasked with answering these and similar questions in the spirit of remembering the past as well as in the spirit of programming the future so that the present makes sense with respect to the spiritual and moral renewal in the light of *taṣḍīq* and *tadẓīd* of faith, morality, art, nation, society and state.



ILLUSTRATION - William Faulkner; Richard Dawkins; Rupert Sheldrake.

RAZLOG

*Onaj koji nema razlog da iznova misli,
nema ni razlog da iznova živi!*

PISANA RIJEČ I BIJELI PAPIR

Pisanu riječ ne može ništa zamijeniti, kao što ni bijeli papir, na kojem se ostavlja pisani trag nove misli, ne može ništa nadomjestiti. Dakle, pisana riječ i bijeli papir, na kojem se riječ piše, ostaju trajna vrijednost i nužna potreba za novu misao u pisanoj riječi. Jer, riječ je bila na početku i riječ će biti na kraju. – *I kada bi sva mora bila tinta i svo drveće pera, mora bi se sasušila, a pera bi se polomila, ali Allahovih riječi ne bi ponestalo*¹⁶. Jer, riječ ima Božanski duh – *wa nafakha fihi min rūḥihī*¹⁷, koji nadahnjuje ljudsku dušu; riječ ima Božanski um – *nūrun 'ala nūr*¹⁸, koji prosvjetljava ljudski um. Imam al-Gazali (Abū Ḥāmid Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muhammad al-Tūsī al-Shāfi'i al Ghazālī, umro 1111.) je ovako definirao čovjeka: – *Bit čovjeka je nematerijalna supstanca, koja se razlikuje od svih drugih stvorenja. Ova supstanca ima više imena s različitim preciznim značenjima. Ona je al-rūḥ („duh“); ona je al-nafs („duša“); ona je al-'aql („um“); i ona je al-qalb („srce“). Mi smo kroz tu supstancu postali svjesno, savjesno i znatiželjno čovječanstvo, a ne kroz tjelesne*

*organe. Ova supstanca je sugovornik; ova supstanca je otkrivljiva; ova supstanca je prijekornjiva; i ova supstanca je kažnjiva.*¹⁹

Riječ, dakle, usmena i pismena, ima zadatak da izražava „staru“ i „novu“ misao koja ima duh, koji hrani ljudsku dušu, koja ima um koji prosvjetljava ljudski razum. I kao što ljudsko tijelo ne može opstati bez novog zraka (kisika), nove vode i nove hrane, tako isto ljudska bit, tj. ljudska nematerijalna supstanca – duh, duša, um i srce – ne mogu opstati bez nove misli (kisika), nove riječi i nove vizije svoje budućnosti. Zbog toga, cijenimo da je bilo potrebno pokrenuti „Svjetionik“, „Almanar“, „Illuminatio“ u pisanoj riječi na bijelom papiru u obliku tromjesečnog, polugodišnjeg ili godišnjeg časopisa, koji bi izražavao duh našeg vremena i duh naše nacije na jedan nov i inspirativan način, koji bi značio svjež duhovni i misaoni zrak (kisik), vodu i hranu za našu bosansku, svjetsku i ljudsku supstancu kako ju je definirao Imam al-Gazali.

¹⁶ Kur'an, 31:27.

¹⁷ Kur'an, 32:9.

¹⁸ Kur'an, 24:35.

¹⁹ Al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn* („Oživljavanje vjerskih znanosti“). Dostupno na: (ghazali.org a virtual online library) <https://www.ghazali.org/ihya-arabic/>. Pristupljeno 10.4.2020.

REASON

*One who has no reason to think again,
has no reason to live again!*

WRITTEN WORD AND WHITE PAPER

The written word cannot replace anything, nor can the white paper, on which a written trail of new thought is left, replace anything. Thus, the written word and the white paper on which the word is written remain a lasting value and a necessary need for new thought in the written word. For the word was at the beginning and the word will be at the end. – Even if all the seas were ink and all the feather trees, the seas would be dried and the feathers would be broken, but God's words would not be wasted...¹⁶. For the word has the Divine spirit („*wa nafakha fihi min rūḥihī*“¹⁷), which inspires the human soul; the word has a Divine light („*nūrun 'ala nūr*“¹⁸), which enlightens the human mind. Imam al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) defined man in this way: – *The essence of man is an intangible substance, which is different from all other creatures. This substance has multiple names with different precise meanings. It is al-rūḥ („spirit“); it is al-nafs („soul“); it is al-'aql („mind“); and it is al-qalb („heart“). We have through this substance become conscious, conscientious and curious humanity, not through bodily organs. This substance is the interlocutor;*

*this substance is guilty; this subtlety is reversible; and this substance is punishable.*¹⁹

The word, both oral and written, has the task of expressing an „old“ and „new“ thought that has a spirit, which nourishes the human soul, and which has a mind that enlightens human reason. Just as the human body cannot survive without new air (oxygen), new water and new food, so also human essence, i.e., human intangible substance – spirit, soul, mind and heart – cannot survive without new thought (oxygen), new words and new visions of the future. Therefore, we appreciate the need to launch the Journal of „Illuminatio“ in a written word on white paper in the form of a quarterly, semi-annual or annual journal, which expresses the spirit of our time and the spirit of our nation in a new and inspiring way, meaning fresh and spiritual thought air (oxygen), water and food for our Bosnian and human substance as defined by Imam al-Ghazālī.

¹⁶ Kur'an, 31:27.

¹⁷ Kur'an, 32:9.

¹⁸ Kur'an, 24:35.

¹⁹ Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid: *Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn*. See link available at: (ghazali.org a virtual online library) <https://www.ghazali.org/ihya-arabic/>. Checked on on April 10, 2020.

MOTIV

*Onaj koji nema motiva da djeluje,
nema ni volje za pozitivnu promjenu!*

TEŠKI KAMEN I TVRDA MISAO

Lakše je pokrenuti teški kamen iz njegovog prirodnog ležišta nego tvrdu misao iz njenog vještačkog sjedišta. Prirodni kamen je težak, ali ne pruža težak otpor pomjeranju iz svog tvrdog ležišta; vještačka misao je lahka, ali pruža težak otpor pomjeranju iz svog tvrdog sjedišta. Kamen se iz prirodnog ležišta pomjera snagom ljudske ruke pomoću alatke i mašine, a misao se iz vještačkog sjedišta pomjera ljudskim duhom putem uma i razuma, tj. putem „nove misli“. Mnogo je bilo lakše i manje je trebalo vremena da se podigne visoki i dugi kameni kineski zid ljudskom rukom, nego da se ljudskim duhom ustanovi osnovna i trajna misao o tome da čovjek nije ničije vlasništvo, nije ničiji rob, nije ničiji sluga, nije ni o kome ovisan osim o Jednom i Jedinom Bogu, njegovom Stvoritelju.

Iako je u „Osovinskom dobu“²⁰ – *Axial Age*, nakon više milenija, došlo do pomjeranja paganske i mitološke misli iz sjedišta iluzornog prema sjedištu transcendentnog i racionalnog, tvrda ideja o tome

da je robovlasništvo nužno i legitimno stanje društva nije se ni tada pomjerilo iz vještačkog sjedišta racionalne helenske kulture. Ni Spartakov ustanak ili Treći ustanak robova 73. i 71. p.n.e. u Rimu nije uspio pomjeriti tvrdu misao iz njenog sjedišta Rimske republike o pravu gospode da posjeduju ljude kao svoje robove. Ni pokušaj Francuske revolucije (1789 – 1799) da kroz donošenje zakona iz 1794. god. o potpunom ukidanju robovlasništva u francuskim kolonijama nije prošao. Primjenu tog zakona zaustavio je Bonaparta (Napoléon I Bonaparte) 1802. god. i time još jednom pokazao da je „tvrdu misao“ teže pomjeriti iz njenog vještačkog sjedišta nego „tvrđi kamen“ iz njegovog prirodnog ležišta. To je pošlo za rukom tek američkom političaru Abrahamu Lincolnu (1809 – 1865), koji je 1862. god., bar politički i ustavno, ne samo pomjerio, već i izbacio „tvrdu misao“ o robovlasništvu iz njenog sjedišta i, definitivno, tu misao bacio na smetljište povijesti.

²⁰ „Osovinsko doba“ je sintagma koju je skovao Karl Jaspers (Karl Theodor Jaspers 1883 – 1969) kako bi označio povijesni period između osmog i trećeg stoljeća prije nove ere kad su istovremeno nastale glavne filozofske tradicije, koje poznajemo, u Kini, Indiji i istočnom Mediteranu. Međutim, neki poput Luisa Mamforda (Lewis Mumford) misle da je to cjelokupni povijesni period kada su nastajale sve svjetske religije od vremena Zarastre do Muhammedovog alejhisselam doba. Dostupno na: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=6&ved=2ahUKewjh04_9oIXpAhXQ_CoKHe4YBF8QFjAFegQIBRAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fpescanik.net%2Fdug-prvih-5000-godina%2F&usg=AOvVaw3MrZdXBqGV6hXrAxiz1. Pristupljeno 26. 4. 2020.

MOTIVE

*One who has no motive to act,
has no will to change!*

HEAVY STONE AND HARD OPINION

It is easier to launch a heavy stone from its natural bearing than a hard opinion from its artificial seat. Natural stone is heavy, but it does not provide heavy resistance to displacement from its hard bearing; artificial opinion or thought is light but provides heavy resistance to moving from its hard seat. The stone is moved from the natural bearing by the power of the human hand with the help of tools and machines, while the human spirit through the mind and reason – through the „new idea“, displaces the thought from the artificial seat. It was much easier and less time consuming to build the tall and long stone wall of China with a human hand than to establish with the human spirit the basic and lasting thought that man is no one's property, no one's slave, no one's servant, not in debt to anyone except to the One and Only God, his real Creator.

Although in the *Axial Age*²⁰, after many millennia, there was a shift of pagan and mythological thought from the seat of the illusory to the seat of the transcendental and the rational, the stone firm idea that slavery was a necessary and a legitimate state of society was not even then shifted

from the artificial seat of rational Hellenic culture. Neither the Spartacus Uprising nor the Third Uprising of the Slaves of 73 and 71 BC in Rome succeeded in moving the hard mass from the seat of the Roman Republic on the right of the gentlemen to possess people as their slaves. Nor did the attempt of the French revolution (1789 – 1799), through the enactment of the law of 1794 on the complete abolition of slavery in the French colonies, succeed to pass. In 1802 Bonaparte abrogated/suspended this emancipation law and thus once again showed that a „hard opinion“ was harder to move from its artificial seat than a „hard rock“ from its natural bearing. However, this was possible only by American politician Abraham Lincoln (1809 – 1865), who in 1862, at least politically and constitutionally, not only shifted but also removed the „hard thought“ on slavery from its seat and, definitively, cast that thought on the wasteland of history.

²⁰ „Axial Age“ is a phrase coined by German philosopher Karl Jaspers in the sense of a „pivotal age“, covering the period of ancient history from about the 8th to 3rd century BC. However, some like Lewis Mumford, think that it covers the whole historical period in which all religious traditions have been formed from Zarathustra to the Prophet Muhammad, a.s. Available at: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=6&ved=2ahUKewjh04_9oIXpAhXQ_CoKHe4YBF8QFjAFegQIBRAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fpescanik.net%2Fdug-prvih-5000-godina%2F&usg=AOvVaw3MrZdXBqGV6hXrAxiz1. Checked on April 26, 2020.

MISIJA

*Onaj koji nema misiju,
nema ni smisla za životom!*

VJERA JE NAČIN ŽIVOTA,
A MISAO JE NAČIN VJEROVANJA

Pomjeranje ili kretanje misli o vjeri još je najteže zbog straha da se "tvrda ili utvrđena misao" u vjeri otrgne iz svog sigurnog sjedišta. Vjera je ne samo kao uvjerenje, već i kao mišljenje, najtvrde stanje ljudskog duha i uma. Svako pomjeranje ili kretanje mišljenja i misli u vjeri kod čovjeka izaziva duhovnu i mentalnu uznemirenost, koja se na kraju pokriva argumentom da je dokaz za vjeru sama vjera, kojoj ni nova misao ni novi dokaz nisu potrebni zato što pomjeraju staru misao (vjeru) iz njenog sigurnog ležišta i time prave nepotrebnu nesigurnost. Mekkanski pagani su se pozivali na vjeru svojih predaka iako su bili svjesni da je ta vjera suprotna zdravom ljudskom razumu. Stoga je Muhammedu, a. s., trebalo vremena da svojim vjerovjesničkim duhom i putem svog uma i zdravog razuma pomjeri i zamijeni "tvrdu misao" krivog vjerovanja u glavama mekkanskih pagana u Mekki za „novu misao“ pravog vjerovanja. Mnogi od njih u prvo vrijeme to pomjeranje „stare“ paganske vjere u zamjenu za „novu“ monoteističku vjeru nisu prihvatili. Zbog toga je Muhammed, a. s., u Medini tražio i našao plodnije tlo za novu misao u vjeri, koja „nositeljima knjige“ (*ahl al-kitāb*), Jevrejima i kršćanima u Medini, nije bila skroz nova, već radije svježija, jer im je u mnogome potvrđivala njihovu „staru“ misao u vjeri, koja je već bila sadržana u *Starom zavjetu* „Tevratu“

i *Novom zavjetu* „Indžilu“. U stvari, kao posljednji u nizu Božijih vjerovjesnika i poslanika iz Jakubove, odnosno Ibrahimove i Islamilove loze, Muhammed, a. s., je najuvjerljiviji primjer pravila da se povijest misli i mišljenja u vjeri zasniva na pravilu „kontinuiteta i promjene“. Muhammed, a. s., Božijom voljom i uputom, pozivao se na „kontinuitet“ misli i mišljenja u vjeri (*taṣḍīq*), ali je i nudio „obnovu i promjenu“ (*tadẓīd*) misli i mišljenja o ulozi vjere u moralnoj obnovi čovjeka na način koji je kod ljudi budio osjećaj za istinu, pravdu, moral, ljudsko dostojanstvo i bratstvo. U stvari, ideja o društvenoj pravdi²¹ bila je nova glavna misao islama. Prvim muslimanima je bilo naloženo da grade zajednicu (*ummah*), koju karakterizira suosjećanje i u kojoj se vrši pravedna podjela bogatstva. To je bilo mnogo važnije nego doktrinarno učenje o Bogu. Kur'an ima negativan odnos prema spekulativnoj teologiji, koja se zasniva na sumnjivom mišljenju (*ẓann*) o pitanjima, koja su neopisiva na ovaj ili onaj način. Otuda je ideja o političkom i socijalnom blagostanju zajednice (*ummah*) oduvijek imala važniju i uzvišeniju vrijednost kod muslimana od spekulativne teologije ili skolastike²². Ako se ta vrijednost u međuvremenu izgubila, onda muslimani treba da je nađu i vrate je u novu ili svježiju misao i praksu svog islama.

²¹ Uporedi Armstrong, Karen: *Islam: A Short History*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 2002, str. 5.

²² *Ibid.*, str. 6.

MISSION

*One who has no mission,
has no sense of life!*

FAITH IS A WAY OF LIFE,
THOUGHT IS A WAY OF BELIEF

Shifting or moving thought about faith is even more difficult because of the fear of „hard thought“ in the faith moving from its secure seat. Faith, not only as a conviction, but also as an opinion, is the most solid state of the human spirit and mind. Each shift or movement of thought in man's faith provokes spiritual and mental agitation, which is eventually covered by the argument that proof of faith is the faith itself, which requires neither a new thought nor a new evidence for it because the new thought moves an old thought out of the faith's secure bed and thereby creates unnecessary uncertainty. The Mecca pagans appealed to the faith of their ancestors, even though they were aware that their religion was contrary to the common sense. Therefore, it took time for the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., with his spirit of the Messenger of God and through his open mind and sound reason to remove the „hard thought“ of false belief in the minds of the Mecca pagans for the „new thought“ of true belief. Many of them at first did not accept this shift of the „old“ pagan faith in exchange for the „new“ monotheistic faith. Because of this, Muhammad, a.s., sought and found a more fertile ground in Medina for the new thought in the faith, which was not entirely new to the „The Holders of the Book“, (*Ahlu-l-kitāb*), the Jews and Christians in Medina, but rather this new thought was to them just fresh. It affirmed in many respects their „old“ faith, already contained in *The Old Testament* („*Tawrāt*“) and *The New Testament* („*Injīl*“). In fact, as the last in a

series of God's messengers from Jacob, i.e. Abraham and Ismail's lineage, Muhammad, a.s., is the most convincing example of the rule that the history of thought in particular the history of thought in religion is based on the rule of „continuity and change“. By the will and inspiration from God, Muhammad, a.s., referred to the „continuity“ of the thought of faith (*taṣḍīq*), but also offered a „change“ (*tajdīd*) of thought and opinion about the role of faith in the moral renewal of man in a way that awakened in people a sense of truth, justice, morality, human dignity and human brotherhood. In fact, the idea of social justice²¹ was the new mainstream thought of Islam. The first Muslims were instructed to build a community (*ummah*), characterized by compassion in which a just distribution of wealth was carried out. This was far more important than the doctrinal teaching of God. In fact, the Qur'an has a negative attitude towards speculative theology, which is based on dubious (*ẓann*) opinions on issues that are indescribable in one way or another. Hence, the idea of political and social well being of the community (*ummah*) has always had a more important and exalted value in Muslims than speculative theology or scholasticism²². If that value is lost in the meantime, then Muslims should find it and bring it back to the new or fresh thought and practice of their Islam.

²¹ Compare Armstrong, Karen: *Islam: A Short History*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 2002, p. 5.

²² *Ibid.*, str. 6.

PRAKSA

*Onaj koji nema poštenog djela,
nema ni poštenog javnog morala!*

VJERA, MORAL I POLITIKA

Činjenica da je Muhammed, a. s., definirao svoju vjerovjesničku misiju kao zadatak „moralnog usavršavanja čovjeka“ (*innemā bu'ithtu li utemmime makārime al-akhlāqī*)²³, upućuje nas na zaključak da misao u vjeri ima smisla ako je prati moralna svijest i savjest te moralna praksa i etička spoznaja. Otuda Džemaluddin Afgani (Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, umro 1897.) naglašava da je čovjek podoban za ulogu Božijeg zastupnika na zemlji (*khalīfa*) samo ako ima čistu dušu, tj. ako je moralno čist i etički obrazovan²⁴. U svojoj *Nikomahovoj etici* Aristotel (umro 322. p.n.e.) u prvoj knjizi govori o *politici kao glavnoj nauci o dobru*²⁵. U stvari, za razliku od ideje o odvojenosti etike od politike, ideje koju su zastupali Nikolo Makijaveli (Niccolò Machiavelli) i Tomas Hobs (Thomas Hobbes), Aristotel je smatrao da etika, kao nauka, postiže svoju punu svrhu tek u sklopu s politikom. Jer, politika je nauka, koja se bavi pitanjem općeg dobra. U tom se smislu antičko-grčka

percepcija politike pojavljuje kao ključna u potrazi za odgovorom na pitanje šta je to dobro i korisno za društveni i politički život čovjeka. Aristotelova praktična filozofija kao jedinstvo etike, ekonomije i politike predstavlja se u svojoj punini upravo kao *philosophia anthropina* – filozofija o ljudskim stvarima.²⁶ U takvom kontekstu politika ostaje izraz ljudske prirode, koja čovjeka potiče da ostvari svoja najviša očekivanja. Bivajući takvom, politika je povezana sa svojom svrhom – zajedničkim dobrom svih ljudi – građana; država, dakle, djeluje kao politička zajednica utemeljena na načelima slobode i pravednosti. Takva posebnost pojma politike – unutar svoje vezanosti sa moralom i etikom i njenog praktičkog značenja za čovjeka – može preživjeti samo sa povratkom njenom izvornom značenju, a to je značenju njene naučnosti, zanačenju njene moralnosti i etike, kao i značenju njenog praktičnog života pojedinca i zajednice.

²³ Hadis koji je pripovijedao Ebu Hurejre (Abū Hurayrah). Bio je jedan od prijatelja – *aṣḥāba* Muhammeda, a. s., i jedan od najplodnijih pripovjedača hadisa.

²⁴ Abū al-Qāsim al-Rāghib al-Iṣfāhānī: *Kitāb al-dharī'ah ilā makārimi al-sharī'ah* („Put prema etici Šerijata“), Dār al-Salām, 1428/2008, str. 85-86.

²⁵ Vidi: Aristotel, *Nikomahova etika* (Tomislav Ladan prijevod s izvornika: Aristotelis, *Ethica Nicomechea*), SNL, Zagreb 1982.

²⁶ Vidi: Kovačić, Slavko, *Etičnost politike u Aristotela*. Dostupno na: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=2ahUKewjJg76SqIXpAhVhposKHRdjASEQFjABegQIAhAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fhrca.hr%2F5909&usq=AOvWaw2oalIB--v9PzUid2OdHZbm> Pristupljeno 26.4.2020.

PRACTICE

*One who has no fair deed,
has no fair morality in politics either!*

FAITH, MORALITY AND POLITICS

The fact that Muhammad, a.s., defined his Prophetic mission as the task of „moral improvement of man“ (*innemā bu'ithtu li 'utammima makārima-l-akhlāqī*)²³, leads us to conclude that thought of faith makes sense if accompanied by a moral conscience and moral sense, as well as by moral practice and ethical cognition. Hence, al-Rāghib al-Iṣfāhānī (d. 1897) had rightly emphasized that a person is fit for the role of God's vicegerent on earth (*khalīfa*) only if he has a pure soul, i.e., if he is morally pure and ethically educated²⁴. In his *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle (d. 322 BC) speaks in the first book about *politics as the main science of the good*²⁵. In fact, unlike the idea of separating ethics from politics, the idea advocated by Niccolò Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes, Aristotle believed that ethics, as a science, achieved its full purpose only in the context of politics. Politics is a science, which deals with the issue of the common good. So, if politics misses the notion of good as the good life of man, then it doesn't serve its main function, namely the well-being of man. In this

sense, ancient Greek perception of politics appears crucial in the search for an answer, i.e., the Aristotle's practical philosophy as a unity of ethics, economics and politics as *philosophia anthropina* – a philosophy on human affairs.²⁶ In such a context, politics remains an expression of human nature, markedly rooted in the breadth of human life as a path or a way of achieving its highest aspirations. Being that way it is inextricably linked to its purpose – the common good of citizens; the state acts as a political community based on the principles of freedom and justice. Such a peculiarity of the concept of politics – within its attachment to ethics and its practical meaning for man – can survive only through the confrontation with the forgetting of its original meaning, which is its science, its morality and ethics, and its practical life of an individual and society.

²³ A Hadīth narrated by Abū Hurayra. He was one of the friends – the *aṣḥāb* of Muhammad a.s. and one of the most prolific narrators of the Hadīth (at least 5,374).

²⁴ Abū al-Qāsim al-Rāghib al-Iṣfāhānī: *Kitāb al-dharī'ah ilā makārimi al-sharī'ah*, („A Path Toward the Ethics of al-Sharī'ah“), Dār al-Salām, 1428/2008, pp. 85-86.

²⁵ See, Aristotel: *Nikomahova etika* (Tomislav Ladan translated into Croatian from the original: Aristotelis, *Ethica Nicomechea*), SNL, Zagreb 1982.

²⁶ See link available at: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=2ahUKewjJg76SqIXpAhVhposKHRdjASEQFjABegQIAhAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fhrca.hr%2F5909&usq=AOvWaw2oalIB--v9PzUid2OdHZbm>. Checked on April 26, 2020.

JAVNI ŽIVOT

*Onaj koji šuti i trpi,
nema osjećaj odgovornosti za javni život!*

POLITIKA, ETIKA I DRŽAVA

Tragom te ideje o politici kao etici te tragom osnovne ideje islama o nužnosti i trajnosti moralne obnove pojedinca i zajednice, moralne obnove koja je zadana Božijem Poslaniku i koju je muslimanska ulema naslijedila (*al-'ulamā' warathatu-l-anbiyā'*), dolazimo do zaključka da je taj zadatak moguće ispuniti kroz novu etičku misao, koja „postizuje svoju punu svrhu tek u sklopu politike“, kao ideji o općem dobru, odnosno općem dobru za pojedinca i zajednicu. Nadalje, tragom ideje da je u islamu političko i socijalno blagostanje zajednice (*ummah*) važnije od spekulativne teologije²⁷, navodi nas na spoznaju da je nužno imati i razvijati vjersku, moralnu, etičku i političku misao u „kontinuitetu“, ali imati i osjećaj hrabrosti i mudrosti za „promjenu“, koja osvježava i potiče na akciju u zadatoj povijesti. Ovdje nam se „pozitivno“ nameće pozitivistička ideja francuskog oca sociologije na Zapadu Ogista Konta (Auguste Comte (1798 – 1857), kojem je pretača bio Ibn Haldun ('Ibn Khaldūn – 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Khaldūn, 1332 – 1406), kao otac sociologije na Istoku. Naime, Kont dijeli socijalnu fiziku na socijalnu statiku i socijalnu dinamiku. Statika, Kont tvrdi, proučava pojedinca, porodicu i društvo, čvrste uvjete egzistencije društva, uvjete ravnoteže društvenog organizma, a dinamika proučava zakone njegova napretka kojemu su pokretač ideje.

Praktični cilj sociologije mora biti organizacija društva na principu pozitivne nauke... Kont napredak društva shvata kao kvalitativni razvoj u okviru postojećeg reda, kao evoluciju koja ne zna ni za kakve bitne preobražaje ni revolucionarne skokove u novo kvalitativno stanje. Pojave u društvu kao i njegovi međusobni odnosi, ispituju se prema njihovoj vanjskoj "koegzistenciji i sukcesiji" empirijskim utvrđivanjem i uspoređivanjem. No, Kont ne istražuje uzroke koje te promjene rađaju, osnovne pokretačke snage društva, nego samo raščlanjuje okolnosti pod kojima su te pojave nastale, i onda ih povezuje po redu i sličnosti. Postoji uvijek prelazno stanje anarhije, tvrdi Kont, stanje koje traje najmanje nekoliko generacija; to traje utoliko duže ukoliko se radi na tome da obnova (renovation) bude što potpunija.²⁸

Ogist Kont je u pravu. Naše bosansko društvo, posebno Bošnjaci/Bosanci muslimani, su već jedno stoljeće u „prelaznom stanju anarhije, stanju koje traje nekoliko generacija“. U Kur'anu se to stanje naroda naziva **tayh**.

*Oni, Musaov narod, četrdeset godina su lutali (yatīhūn) zemljom (zato što nisu bili spremni da se bore za svoje mjesto pod suncem). Ali, vi nemojte očajavati zbog onih koji su korumpirani. (Budite hrabri i borite se idejom i akcijom).*²⁹

Ova anarhija ili „lutanje po zemlji“ nije samo fizička ili biološka raseljenost, razbijenost, podijeljenost i neujednačenost nacije, već je to, prije svega, posljedica

²⁷ Vidi: Armstrong, Karen, *Islam: A Short History...*, str. 5-6.

²⁸ Vidi: Comte, August, *Système de politique positive* (Sistem pozitivne politike), I-IV, 1851-54. Dostupno na: (Auguste Comte, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*) <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/comte/>. Pristupljeno 26.4.2020.

²⁹ *Kur'an*, 5:26.

PUBLIC LIFE

*The one who is silent and suffering,
has no sense of responsibility for public life!*

POLITICS, ETHICS AND THE STATE

Tracing this idea of morality in politics as well as the basic idea of Islam about the necessity and permanence of moral renewal of the individual and the community, the moral renewal given to the Messenger of God and inherited by the Muslim '*ulamā'* (*al-'ulamā' warathatu-l-anbiyā'*), we come to the conclusion that this task can be fulfilled through a new moral and ethical thought, which „achieves its full purpose only within politics“, as the idea of the common good, i.e. the common good for individuals and the community. Furthermore, the search for the idea that in Islam „political and social well-being of the community (*ummah*) is more important than speculative theology“²⁷ leads us to realize that it is necessary to have and develop religious, moral, ethical and political thought in „continuity“. However, it is also essential to have a sense of courage and wisdom for „change“, which is refreshing and encouraging to activate in a given history. Here, the „positive“ idea of the French father of sociology in the West, Auguste Comte (1798 – 1857), who was preceded by Ibn Khaldun (1332 – 1406), as the father of sociology in the East, is important. Specifically, Comte divided social physics into social statics and social dynamics. The part of statics studies individuals, family and society, the firm conditions of the existence of society, the conditions of equilibrium of the social organism, while the part of dynamics studies the laws of social progress and the driving ideas behind it. The practical aim of sociology must be to organize society on the principle of positive science... Comte understood the

progress of society as a qualitative development within the existing order, as an evolution that is not aware of any significant transformations or revolutionary leaps to a new qualitative state. The phenomena in society, as well as their mutual relations, are examined according to their external „coexistence and succession“ by empirical identification and comparison. But he did not investigate the patterns that give birth to these changes, the basic driving forces of society, but merely dissected the circumstances under which these phenomena occurred, and then connected them in order and similarity. There is always a transient state of anarchy, a state that lasts for at least several generations; it takes as long as possible to make the renovation as complete as possible.²⁸

Augustine Comte is right, our Bosnian society, especially the Bosniak Muslims, have been for a whole century in a „transient state of anarchy, a state that has lasted for several generations“. In the Qur'an, this state of affairs of the people is called **tayh**.

*– They, the Moses' people, were wondering the earth for forty years (because they had not been ready to fight for their place under the sun). But, you should not fall in despair because of corrupt people. (You should be courageous and fight by your thought and action).*²⁹

This anarchy or „wandering the earth“ is not only because of the physical or biological displacement, brokenness, division and inequality of the nation, but it is, above all, a consequence of the tired and almost dead

²⁷ See Armstrong, Karen: *Islam: A Short History...*, pp. 5-6.

²⁸ See Comte, Auguste: *Système de politique positive*, I-IV, 1851-54. See link available at: (Auguste Comte, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*) <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/comte/>. Checked on April 6, 2020.

²⁹ *Kur'an*, 5:26.

umornog i gotovo umrtvljenog ljudskog duha, koji nije u stanju da dostatno hrani ljudsku dušu. Isto tako i ljudski um je umoran i gotovo umrtvljen pa nije u stanju da dostatno prosvjeđuje ljudski razum, tj. ljudsku pamet, koja je zbog toga često blokirana mrakom od neviđenog, strahom od nepoznatog i beznađem od neizvjesnog. Ne, nikako! Bosanski duh nije mrtav. On je živ, ali ne zahvaljujući napajanjem iz vlastitog izvora duhovnosti, već iz izvora duhovnosti izvan njegovog vlastitog duhovnog bića. Također, nije ni bosanski um mrtav. On je živ, ali ne zahvaljujući njegovoj vlastitoj kreativnosti, već zahvaljujući njegovoj imitaciji umnih proizvoda drugih, naročito njegovih najbližih susjeda, koji ciljano i svjesno djeluju da se bosanski um nikad skroz ne probudi u smislu njegove pune svijesti o vjeri, o moralu, o naciji, o umjetnosti, o društvu, o državi, o slobodi i o časti. Stoga je danas zadatak prvoga reda ove generacije da iz ovog *prelaznog stanja anarhije i lutanja* – *tayha* bosanskog duha i bosanskog uma izađe na način obnove (renovation – *tadždid*) autentičnog bosanskog duha i originalnog

bosanskog uma. Ako ova generacija ovdje i sada to ne uradi, onda će to morati uraditi jedna od budućih generacija pod uvjetom da ne bude prekasno. Mislim da to ova generacija ovdje i sada može uraditi, može pokrenuti obnovu autentičnog bosanskog duha i originalnog bosanskog uma kroz časopis „Illuminatio“, „Svjetionik“, „Almanar“, časopis kojem je cilj da, ne samo kod Bošnjaka/Bosanaca – muslimana, već kod muslimana u svijetu i uopće kod ljudi dobre volje razvija sljedeće vrijednosti:

- Volju za životnim smislom!
- Volju za časnom slobodom!
- Volju za lijepim moralom!
- Volju za pravom i etikom!
- Volju za svijetlom kulturom!
- Volju za poštenim životom!
- Volju za moralnom i korisnom politikom!
- Volju za dragom domovinom!
- Volju za napornim radom!
- Volju za stalnim napretkom!

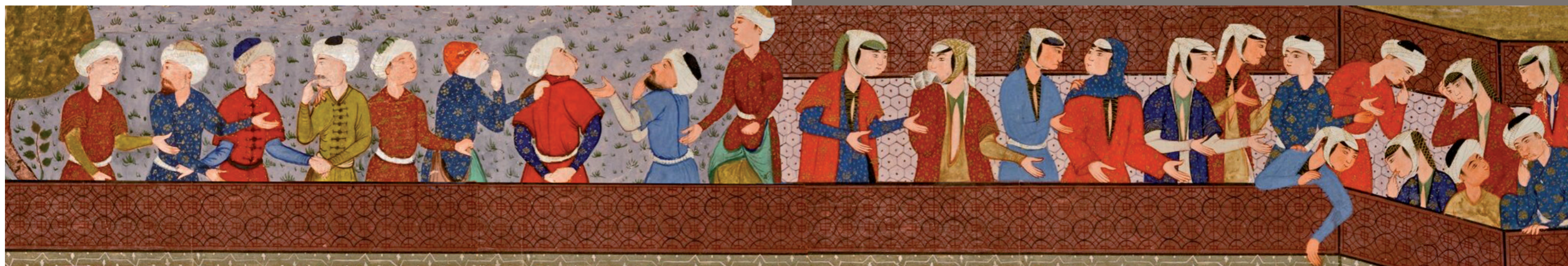
Dr. Mustafa CERİĆ, GLAVNI UREDNIK

Bosnian spirit, which is unable to sufficiently nourish the Bosnian soul. Likewise, the Bosnian mind is tired and almost dead, so it is unable to sufficiently enlighten the Bosnian mind, that is, the Bosnian intellect, which is often blocked by the darkness of the unseen, of the fear of the unknown, and of the hopelessness of the uncertain. No, not at all – the Bosnian spirit is not dead. It is alive, but not thanks to the power from its own source of spirituality, but from a source of spirituality beyond its own spiritual being. Also, the Bosnian mind is not dead either. It is alive, not because of its own creativity, autonomy and agency, but because of the imitation of the intellectual products of others, especially its closest neighbors, who deliberately and consciously act to never awaken the Bosnian mind in terms of its full awareness of its nationality and state, its ethics and politics, its freedom and honor. Therefore, today it is the task of the first order of this generation to emerge from this *transient state of anarchy and wandering* – *tayh* of the Bosnian spirit and the Bosnian mind in the way of the renewal (*tajdid*) of the authentic Bosnian spirit and the independent Bosnian mind. If this generation does not do it here and now, then one of the future generations

will have to do it, provided it would be not too late. I think this generation can do it here and now, it can initiate the renewal of the Bosnian spirit in the Bosnian mind through this Journal of „Illuminatio“, which aims to develop not only in the spirit and mind of the Bosniak Muslims, but also in the spirit and mind of the Muslims around the world as well as in the spirit and mind of all the people of good will the following common values of the whole humanity:

- The will for noble purpose!
- The will for sacred freedom!
- The will for good morality!
- The will for right ethics!
- The will for bright culture!
- The will for decent human life!
- The will for useful public life!
- The will for dear homeland!
- The will for hard work!
- The will for continuous progress!

Dr. Mustafa CERİĆ, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



*Kad jednog dana narod poželi da živi: I sudbina se odazove,
I noć nestane, Zato što će narod slomiti okove!*

(Tuniski pjesnik Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābi)

*When one day the people take the will to live: Destiny will respond to them,
Night will end by then, Because shackles will be broken by them!*

(The Tunisian Poet Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābi)

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ILUSTRACIJA ~ Nepoznati autor, *Homo islamicus u sjedećem položaju sa listom papira*; Safavidski period, Perzija 17. stoljeće.
ILLUSTRATION ~ Unknown author, *Homo islamicus sitting with a sheet of paper*; Safavid period, Persia 17th century.



ILUSTRACIJA - Detalj „Natjecanja grčkih i kineskih slikara“; dupla stranica iz rukopisa *Masnavi-i Ma'navi* („Duhovni parovi“) Džalāl al-Dīn Rūmīja (Mevlana) (um. 1273.); Tabriz (Perzija) 1530. Rekonstrukcija urađena 2020. godine prema originalu iz Zbirke Bruschetini, Muzej *Aga Khan*.

ILLUSTRATION - Detail of „Greek and Chinese Painter Competition“; double page from a manuscript of the *Masnavi-i Ma'navi* („The Spiritual Couplets“) by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Maulana) (d. 1273); Tabriz (Persia) 1530. Reconstruction done in 2020 according to the original from the *Bruschettini Collection* at the *Aga Khan Museum*.

Prof. Dr. Mehmed A. Akšamija je teoretičar i kreativac. Redovni je profesor na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Suraduje sa Univerzitetima u Pragu, Bazelu i Gracu. Redovni je član BANU – *Bošnjačke akademije nauka i umjetnosti* (Sarajevo, Bosna) i EASA / ASAE – *Academia Scientiarum et Artium Europaea* (Salzburg, Austrija). Bio je dekan Akademije likovnih umjetnosti Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Kao teoretičar iz oblasti teorije i historije umjetnosti iskazao se zapaženim objavljivanjem naučnih i stručnih članaka, enciklopedijskih unosa, izvještaja i analiza, te više bilingvalnih monografija na bosanskom i engleskom jeziku (*Monografija arhivografije*, *LETTER • PISMO • BRIEF • LIST • RISALLA*, *Prozori*, *Stop negaciji genocida i holokausta* (ur.), *Život i djelo akademika Muhameda Filipovića*, *Historiografija arhitektonskog kompleksa gradačačke utvrde* [koautor sa Lemjom Chabbouh Akšamija] ...). Dizajnirao je reprezentativno bibliofilsko izdanje *Prijeвода Kur'ana na bosanski jezik*, uredio veći obim publikacija iz oblasti teorije i historije umjetnosti (fotografije, arhitekture...), a jedan je od urednika časopisa *Glasnik* Bošnjačke akademije nauka i umjetnosti.

Prof. Dr. Mehmed A. Akšamija is a theoretician and artist. He is a full professor at the Academy of Fine Arts, University of Sarajevo. Collaborates with the Universities of Prague, Basel and Graz. He is a Regular member of BANU – *Bosniak Academy of Sciences and Arts* (Sarajevo, Bosnia) and EASA/ASAE – *Academia Scientiarum et Artium Europaea* (Salzburg, Austria). He was the dean of the Academy of Fine Arts at the University of Sarajevo. As a theorist in the field of theory and history of art, he proved himself by notable publication of scientific and experts articles, encyclopedia entries, reports, and analysis, and several bilingual monographs in Bosnian and English (*Monograph of Archivography*, *LETTER • PISMO • BRIEF • LIST • RISALLA*, *Windows*, *Stop Genocide and Holocaust Denial* (ed.), *The Life and Work of Academician Muhamed Filipović*, *Historiography of the architectural complex of the Gradačac fortress* [co-author with Lemja Chabbouh Akšamija], and so forth). He designed representatively a bibliophilic edition of the *Translation of the Qur'an into the Bosnian language*, edited a larger volume of publications in the field of art theory and history (photography and architecture), and is one of the editors of the journal *Glasnik* of the Bosnian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Mehmed A. AKŠAMIJA

ANALITIZA KORIŠTENJA TERMINOLOŠKIH ODREDNICA „UMJETNOST ISLAMA“ I „ISLAMSKA UMJETNOST“

AN ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF TERMINOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS „ART OF ISLAM“ AND „ISLAMIC ART“

Sažetak

Ovaj rad govori o svojevrsnoj analizi fenomenološke vrijednosti termina „islamska umjetnost“ i „umjetnost islama“ u kojoj se pokušava rasvijetliti jedinstven tretman takvog nazivlja prisutan u zapadnim ali i u muslimanskim izvorima, koji sa stanovišta islamskog civilizacijskog načela predstavljaju neprikladne i neutemeljene forme. Fokusrajući se na **kognitivni i rekognitivni pristup produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne problematike** unutar ove teme, odnosno nudeći moguće rješenje, ovaj istraživački rad se „sukobljava“ sa stereotipima kojima savremena teorija i historija umjetnosti u duhu zapadnog civilizacijskog poimanja, aplicirajući aspekt globalizacije na sve što smatra opsegom svoje naučne oblasti na isti način pristupa svakoj civilizacijskoj tekovini svodeći je na klasične zapadne postulate.

Objašnjavajući ovaj fenomen, dakle izraženu a ne primjerenu potrebu za svođenjem svih oblika kreativnog djelovanja na zajedničke imenitelje, pri čemu jedni gube a drugi dobijaju, ova se studija, posredstvom paralelnog uvođenja odgovarajućih latinskih i arapskih termina, te njihovih mogućih leksičkih veza kroz teorijske postavke zapadnog civilizacijskog kruga, upravo približava specifičnim karakteristikama istočnom/islamskom civilizacijskom krugu – **homo faber, homo islamicus, homo fannān...** Zanimljivo i sasvim specifično je da upravo približavajući se kroz metodološki postupak ovom nazivlju s istočne i sa suprotne zapadne strane, dolazi se do zaključka da je riječ o dijametralno raznorodnim pojavama, koje u konačnici zapadne orijentacije nose naziv „umjetnost“, dok se islamska orijentacija objašnjava i definira posredstvom nazivlja koje je utemeljeno u **sakralnom i profanom produktivno-refleksivnom diskursu djelanja/uređenja/dizajna**, odnosno **qadar/šīnā'ata homo islamicusa**. Zaključit ćemo, dakle, da razumijevanje kao ni suštinsko značenje pojma „umjetnost“ u islamskoj civilizaciji s jedne i ostalih civilizacija s druge strane niti mogu niti znače isto. Također, brojna pitanja i dogme, koje su ranije postavljene, bivaju spomenute a neke i razriješene u ovom radu.

Ključne riječi: *islamska umjetnost, umjetnost islama, homo islamicus, homo fannān, umijeće djelanja/uređenja/dizajniranja, dizajn, qadar/šīnā'at, kognitivna i rekognitivna produktivno-refleksivna reprezentacija, kognitivna asimilacija, rekognitivna asimilacija.*

Abstract

This paper is a distinctive analysis of the phenomenological value of terms „Islamic art“ or „art of Islam“, which attempts to clarify the common treatment of such terms found in both Western and Muslim sources and which are inappropriate and ungrounded formulations from the viewpoint of traditional Islamic civilizational principles. By focusing on the cognitive and precognitive approach to the productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art within this topic (i.e. by offering a possible solution) this study „comes into conflict“ with stereotypes that contemporary theories and history of art in the spirit of Western understanding of civilization, which can apply the aspect of globalization to anything it considers within the scope of its scientific area and approaches any civilizational achievement in the same way, reducing it to classic Western postulates.

In the explanation of this phenomenon (i.e. a prominent rather than appropriate need to reduce all forms of creative activity to common denominators whereby some lose and others win) the study introduces corresponding Latin and Arabic terms in parallel, and their possible lexical connections through theoretical tenets of Western civilizational circle to come closer to distinctive characteristics of Eastern/Islamic civilizational circle (**homo faber, homo islamicus, homo fannān**, and so forth). It is interesting and totally distinctive that it is by approaching this terminology both from the Eastern and from the opposite, Western side through a methodological process one comes to the conclusion that these are diametrically opposite phenomena, which the ultimate Western definition names „art“, while Islamic denotation is explained and defined by means of terms grounded in the sacral and profane productive-reflective discourse of *homo islamicus's* action-design/*qadar*, respectively **qadar/šīnā'at**. Thus, we will conclude that understanding and the essential meaning of the concept of „art“ in Islamic civilization from the one hand and in other civilizations on the other are not and cannot be the same. Also, many of the issues and dogmas raised earlier are mentioned and some are addressed in this paper.

Key words: *Islamic art, art of Islam, homo islamicus, homo fannān, skill of action/arranging/designing, design, qadar/šīnā'at, cognitive and precognitive productive-reflective representation, cognitive assimilation, precognitive assimilation.*

Predgovor i zahvale

nekoliko poticaja dovelo je do pisanja ove studije i, budući da su ti faktori određivali njezin sadržaj i formu, čini se uputnim ukratko ih i naznačiti. Prvi poticaj je bio dat sagledavanjem korištenja aktualnog područja nazivlja, odnosno leksičkih veza izraza *islamska umjetnost* i *umjetnost islama* u obimno dostupnoj literaturi, kako od autora zapadne tako i istočne provenijencije. Nažalost, o značenju, utemeljenosti i implementiranju takvog nazivlja gotovo da nema objelodanjenih bilo kakvih specijaliziranih znanstvenih studija, kao ni općih prikaza u formi studije/knjige gdje bi takva problematika bila detaljno obrazložena u smislu njezinog tradicionalnog značenja na tragu islamskog učenja, bez svođenja na globalne postulate uvjetovane ustrajnim višestoljetnim zatočeništvom.¹ Drugi poticaj je bio determiniran tretmanom ogromnog raspona u vremenu i prostoru prisustva *islamske umjetnosti* ili *umjetnosti islama*, čije se trajanje permanentno želi prikazati neobjedinjeno. Mišljenja sam da sa eksperimentalnog, fenomenološkog i teorijskog stanovišta postoje potpuno valjani razlozi da se tako ogromno područje promatranja ipak smatra jedinstvenim entitetom bar tokom analize njegovog uspostavljanja, rasta i rasprostiranja, iako je izvjesno da su neizbježno bile prisutne značajne promjene, regionalne ili vremenske, ali i orijentaciono-sadržajne u likovnom smislu. Ne respektirajući stavove nekih teoretičara da se po svaku cijenu „treba upotrijebiti oruđe koje nikako ne pripada *a fortiori* kulturnom području koje se promatra“², te sagledavajući onaj dio fenomenološkog vezan za ornamentalno (apstraktno) i profano (oslikane rukopisne forme) unutar povijesnog okvira koji je istodobno estetski ali i politički, bilo je moguće doći do zaključka kako je ovaj oblik ljudskog kreativnog djelovanja materijalno i kreativno definiran specifičnim **dizajnom/djelanjem**, koje je rezolutno **islamsko**.

¹ Pojavom knjige eseja Olega Grabara kasnih 70-tih godina prošlog stoljeća, naslovljene „Praksa islamske povijesti umjetnosti“ – *The Practice of Islamic Art History*, kao da se konačno pokušao dati odgovor na datu problematiku korištenih leksičkih veza i pogotovo mogućeg objašnjenja pojedinačnog značenja riječi „islam“ kao imenice i „islamski“ kao pridjeva. Nažalost to se desilo bez mogućeg tumačenja riječi „umjetnost“ u kontekstu konzervativnog ili tradicionalnog poimanja „islama“. Tako se leksička veza „islamska umjetnost“ zadržala i u ovom jedinstvenom teorijsko-historijskom prikazu, kao analitički produkt koji u konačnici ima definirano poslanstvo da se ne odnosi na „umjetnost određene religije“. Indirektnim tumačenjem takvog stava moguće je zaključiti kako se odnosi na „jednostavno kulturno prekrivanje koje utječe na zemlje koje su vjerom ili civilizacijom postale muslimanske“, odnosno na „kulturu ili civilizaciju u kojoj većina stanovništva ili barem vladajući element ispovijedaju vjeru islam“. Međutim, navodi se i opaska da i takvo „islamsko“ postaje besmisleno kao pridjev koji „identificira kulturni i umjetnički trenutak ili mora biti modificiran nizom dodatnih pridjeva poput ‘rano’, ‘kasno’, ‘klasično’, ‘iransko’, ‘arapsko’, ‘tursko’ ili bilo što drugo što može smisliti znanstvena domišljatost“. Ipak, ostali smo uskraćeni za preciznije tumačenje leksičke veze „umjetnost islama“, kao i već spomenuto značenje riječi „umjetnost“ u kontekstu poimanja „islama“.

Grabar, Oleg: *The Practice of Islamic Art History*; Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1978., str. 1-4.

² Gonzalez, Valerie: *Beauty and Islam – Aesthetics in Islamic Art and Architecture*; Institute of Ismaili Studies, I.B.Tauris Publishers, London and New York 2001., str. 2.

Foreword and acknowledgments

the writing of this text was driven by several stimuli, and since they determined its content and form, it seems useful to briefly explain them. The first stimulus resulted from the observation of the use of current terms, i.e. the lexical units in the terms „**Islamic art**“ and „**art of Islam**“ in widely available literature by authors of both Western and Eastern provenance. Unfortunately, there are almost no publicized or specialized scientific studies on the meaning, rationale and implementation of such terms, and the same is true of general reviews in book form where this issue could be discussed as related to its traditional meaning pursuant to Islamic teaching, without reducing it to global postulates conditioned by persistent centuries-long captivity.¹ So there is a real need for an accurate theoretical framework with more precise terminology. The second stimulus was determined by the treatment of the huge span of time and space of the presence of „**Islamic art**“ or „**art of Islam**“, the duration of which permanently tends to be presented as non-unified. I believe that from the experimental, phenomenological and theoretical standpoints there are completely valid reasons to consider this huge area as a single entity in the analysis of its establishment, growth and spread, although there have been significant regional or temporal changes, as well as gradual alterations related to the orientation of content within visual art. Without taking into account the views of some theoreticians that one should at any price „employ tools that by no means belong to the *a fortiori* cultural region under observation“², the observation of the part of phenomenology related to the ornamental (abstract) and the profane (illustrated manuscript forms) within a historical framework that is also aesthetic and political led to the conclusion that this form of human creative activity is materially and creatively defined by distinctive **design/action**, which are decidedly **Islamic**.

¹ It seemed that the appearance of the collection of essays by Oleg Grabar entitled *The Practice of Islamic Art History* in the late 1970s finally attempted to provide an answer to the given issue of used lexical units, and particularly to the possible explanation of the individual meanings of the words „Islam“ as a noun and „Islamic“ as an adjective. Unfortunately, it failed to provide a possible interpretation of the word „art“ in the context of the conservative or traditional understanding of „Islam“. Thus, the lexical unit „Islamic art“ was preserved in this unique theoretical-historical review as well, as an analytical product which ultimately has the defined mission not to pertain to the „art of any particular religion“. Indirect interpretation of such a view leads to the possible conclusion that it refers to a „simple cultural covering that affects countries which became Muslim through religion or civilization“, i.e. to a „culture or civilization where most citizens, or at least the governing element, profess the faith of Islam“. However, he also notes that even „Islamic“ used in this way becomes meaningless as an adjective „which identifies a cultural and artistic moment or has to be modified by a series of additional adjectives such as ‘early’, ‘late’, ‘classical’, ‘Iranian’, ‘Arabic’, ‘Turkish’ or anything else that scientific wit can think of“. Still, we were not provided with an accurate interpretation or definition of the lexical unit „art of Islam“ and the already noted meaning of the word „art“ in the context of apprehending „Islam“.

Oleg Grabar: *The Practice of Islamic Art History*; Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1978, pp. 1-4.

² Valerie Gonzalez: *Beauty and Islam – Aesthetics in Islamic Art and Architecture*; Institute of Ismaili Studies, I.B.Tauris Publishers, London and New York 2001, p. 2.

Treći poticaj bio je prouzrokovan višegodišnjim proučavanjem i mojim osobnim praktičnim postupanjem unutar onoga što se, i još se uvijek deklarira kao *islamska umjetnost* ili *umjetnost islama*. Kontinuirani rad pripomogao je „tragu novom“ definiranju niza ideja, hipoteza i interpretacija koje su, kako konzervativni tako i tradicionalni *odsluk* uvjeta konstituiranja specifičnih oblika produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa islamskog civilizacijskog poimanja. Razrada se razvijala pod okriljem jedinstvenog i višeg teorijskog okvira date slojevitosti, opravdanosti definiranja mogućeg trasiranja odgovarajućeg nazivlja, konteksta i auditorija – s orijentacijom poštivanja slobode i ljudskog dostojanstva onih osoba koje su u svom vlastitom izboru *odvedene* do karakterističnih putanja produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije sakralnog ali i profanog (u kontestu već navedenog). Podrazumijeva se da je proces sagledavanja kompletne problematike bio iz mnogostrukih, različitih, drugih i drukčijih perspektiva pluralističke i polivalentne likovne prakse. Mnoge od ideja i ponuđenih rješenja koje slijede su, moguće, inicijalne i nedovoljno stabilne vrijednosti. Pa ipak, njihova *vrla krhkost* i nepotpunost mogu ih činiti korisnijim od „gotovih studija i riješenih problema“ u onom povijesnom svijetu koji je, u okviru globalnog promatranja definirao određenu (ne bilo koju) teoriju „svijeta umjetnosti“ i „umjetničkog djela“ nastalog pod takvim poslanstvom. Takav eksplicitno-narcisoidni odnos neminovno je dovodio do stava o neophodnom prihvatanju kako doista postoji samo jedan, jedini i definitivni način identificiranja konteksta i nazivlja, navodno zbog opravdanog utemeljenja, gdje treba smjestiti „umjetničko djelo“ u odnosu na teorijsku konstrukciju modeliranu subjektom modernog prosvjetiteljstva. Također, čini se bitnim naglasiti da prisutna *vrla krhkost* i nepotpunost u ovoj studiji ipak mogu ukazivati daleko preciznije na maglovite granice savremenog znanja, skrenuti pozornost na osobe koje su duhovnošću i praktičnim dizajnom/djelanjem pozicionirane u temelje produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa kao integralnog dijela islamskih civilizacijskih tekovina, objasniti formu **kognitivne i rekognitivne produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije** evidentno kompleksne likovne problematike, te pružiti mogućnost drugima na kritiku, osporavanje ili poboljšanje njihovih implikacija.

Prethodno navedeni poticaji su uistinu oblikovali karakter ove studije. To nije priručnik „islamske umjetnosti“ ili „umjetnosti islama“ i ne nastoji obrađivati građu o svim dostupnim artefaktima i svim problemima. Sastoji se od jedanaest eseja međusobno povezanih pitanjem definiranim u uvodnom eseju: *zašto je korištenje terminoloških odrednica ‘islamska umjetnost’ i ‘umjetnost islama’ neutemeljeno i protivno konzervativnim ali i tradicionalnim shvatanjima islama*. Nešto obimnijim bilješkama data su neophodna tumačenja i objašnjenja, a u popisu citirane i korištene literature moguće je naći reference koje se čine nužnim za kritičko iznošenje činjeničnog stanja. Pokušao sam obraditi i predložiti raznolike intelektualne, funkcionalne, estetske, teorijske i formalne interese za koje se činilo da su u nedvojbenoj funkciji definiranja forme kognitivne i rekognitivne produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije kompleksne likovne problematike pod okriljem civilizacijskih tekovina islama. Na određenim mjestima jednostavno sam uveo dodatne ideje i opažanja konzervativnog, ali i profanog diskursa, koje su ponegdje bile i nedokazive – možda čak i neoborive – tvrdnje. Nadalje, činilo mi se da problem poput analiziranja i mogućeg definiranja sakralnog

The third stimulus was caused by years-long studies and my personal practice within what has been described as „Islamic art“ or „art of Islam“. Continuous work helped devise „a new path“ of defining a series of ideas, hypotheses and interpretations which are both a conservative and traditional *reflection* of the conditions for the constitution of distinctive forms of the **productive-reflective discourse** of the Islamic concept of civilization. Elaboration proceeded within a unique and higher stratified theoretical framework and the rationale for defining a possible routing of the appropriate terms, context and audiences. It also respected the freedom and human dignity of persons who were, by their own choice, *guided* to the characteristic paths of both sacral and profane productive-reflected disposition (in the above described context). Naturally, the process of consideration of the entire issue stemmed from multiple different, from multiple and diverse perspectives of pluralistic and polyvalent practice of visual art. Many of the ideas and offered solutions that follow are possibly initial and insufficiently stable values. Still, *their fragility* and incompleteness can make them more useful than „ready-made studies and solved problems“ in the historical world which, within global viewing, defined a given (not any) theory of the „world of art“ and a „work of art“ created within such a mission. Such an explicitly narcissist attitude inevitably led to the view that one must necessarily adopt the idea that there is a single, sole and definite way of identifying context and terms, supposedly due to reasonable justification, where a „work of art“ should be positioned in comparison to a theoretical construction modelled by the adherents of modern enlightenment. Besides, it seems important to note that the *fragility* and incompleteness present in this study can still point far more accurately to the blurry limits of contemporary knowledge, draw attention to personalities whose spirituality and practical design/actions positioned them in the foundations of productive-reflective discourse as an integral part of Islamic civilizational heritage, explain the form of **cognitive and precognitive productive-reflective representation** of evidently complex elements of visual art, and offer the possibility for others to criticize, to challenge or to improve their implications.

The described stimuli truly shaped the character of this study. It is not a manual of „Islamic art“ or the „art of Islam“ and does not strive to deal with material about all available artefacts and all issues. It consists of eleven essays mutually connected by a question articulated in the introductory essay: **why is the use of the terminological determinants „Islamic art“ and „art of Islam“ unfounded and contrary to a conservative and traditional understanding of Islam?** Somewhat extensive notes provide necessary elucidations and explanations, while in the list of cited literature one can find references that seem necessary for the critical presentation of facts. I have attempted to discuss and propose various intellectual, functional, aesthetic, theoretical and formal interests which seemed undoubtedly to serve to define the form of cognitive and precognitive productive-reflective representation of complex elements of visual art under the auspices of the civilizational achievements of Islam. In some instances I simply introduced additional ideas and observations of both conservative and profane discourse, which were sometimes unprovable – perhaps even irrefutable – claims. Moreover, it seemed to me that an issue such as analyzing and possibly defining the sacral and profane climate for creative design/actions over almost fifteen centuries cannot be solved

i profanog, spomenutog ozračja kreativnog dizajna/djelanja u trajanju skoro petnaest stoljeća ne može se riješiti jednostavno kontinuiranim, monografskim proučavanjem pojedinih izvora i odgovarajućih artefakata. Uvjeran sam da je, pored ostalog, neminovno i njihovo postavljanje u opći kulturni kontekst, ali vlastitog **kompleksno-duhovnog pojavljivanja, razvoja i trajanja**, zajedno sa ulogom karakteristične inicijacije u formiranju produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne problematike kako **kognitivne** (profane), tako i **rekognitivne** (sakralne) **asimilacije**. Radi boljeg razumijevanja ove koncepcije u cijelosti, postavljanjem problema u postojeći terminološki kontekst opće teorije umjetnosti pokušao sam dati naznaku opravdanosti/neopravdanosti konkretnih stavova konzervativnog i tradicionalnog usmjerenja. Ujedno sam analitički promatrao i pojedina gledišta/postavke izvorno fundirane upravo u općoj teoriji umjetnosti, koje efektivno dovode u pitanje spomenuto nazivlje što se *okamenilo* kao *znanstvena ortodoksija* među mnogim povjesničarima i teoretičarima umjetnosti, proturiječno općem polju utemeljenja islamske povijesti kreativnog dizajna/djelanja. U nastojanju da ipak unesem *dah svježeg zraka* i izvjesni dio osvjetljenja u kvalitetnije razumijevanje estetske analize i islamske specifičnosti dizajna/djelanja, koristio sam i pojedine zapadnjačke alate iz ove oblasti – uz objašnjenje značenja koja su utemeljena i na tradicionalnim islamskim osnovama. Jedna od najznačajnijih posljedica okupljanja karaktera islamskog kreativnog djelanja i odraza zapadnjačke metodologije i terminologije je da se „islamska umjetnost“ proučava u glavni savremenog intelektualnog i kulturnog diskursa, poštujući prisutno ustrojstvo odgovarajuće tradicionalne islamske terminologije i metodoloških naznaka njezine primjene. Uvjeran sam da je to potencijalni proces koji nije ništa drugo nego rehabilitacija islamskih načela kreativnog djelanja u znanstveni tok današnjih pitanja. Nadam se da će i islamski teolozi, povjesničari i teoretičari drugih kreativnih tradicija pronaći interes za ono što slijedi, a najviše od svega, pretpostavljam da će ponuđene hipoteze i zaključci biti dovedeni u pitanje i razmotreni.

Doista bi bilo apsurdno tvrditi da je u ovoj studiji otkrivena neka velika teorija ili istina. Želja mi je da provokativno djelujem kako bi drugi pronašli sadržajnija i opravdanija rješenja. Ovdje je predstavljena tekstualna struktura ideja kojima je bilo moguće odgovoriti na neka, bar sam ja takvog mišljenja, od temeljnih pitanja u okviru razumijevanja naznačene tematike. To je ujedno pokušaj predstavljanja duhovne, djelatne a ponekad čak i estetske fascinacije, orijentacije čovjeka kojeg imenujem kao *homo fannān*, odnosno zbog popularnijeg (šireg) razumijevanja *homo islamicus*.

Ukoliko se ponekad bude činilo da neke postavke nisam dovoljno objasnio ili argumentirao, razlozi su s jedne strane što se premalo pozornosti uopće pridaje teorijskim principima naznačene oblasti (možda preciznije kazano nikako), kojima sam tumačio ovu situaciju (nemogućnost kritičkog osvrta) i drugo, što bi svaka forma dizajna/djelanja *homo islamicusa*, u okviru produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne tematike bilo koje asimilacije, trebala imati uporište u pravilno definiranim epistemološkim granicama konzervativnog i tradicionalnog poimanja islama. Tek sa ispunjenjem navedenih uvjeta bit će moguće preciznije i detaljnije sugeriranje formi *novih teorijskih saznanja*.

simply by continuous, monographic research into individual sources and corresponding artefacts. I am convinced that, among other things, it is necessary to place them in the general cultural context, as well as in the context of **their own complex, spiritual emergence, development and duration**, together with the role of characteristic initiation in the formation of productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art of both **cognitive** (profane) and **precognitive** (sacral) **assimilation**. To better understand this conception as a whole I included the issue within the existing terminological context of the general theory of art that effectively challenges these terms, which have *fossilized as scientific orthodoxy* among many historians and theoreticians of art, and thus attempted to indicate whether the specific views of conservative and traditional orientation may be considered reasonable or unreasonable (or, perhaps paradoxically, both simultaneously). I also analytically observed individual views/postulates originally founded in the general theory of art and contrary to the general area of the foundations of Islamic history of creative design/action. In the attempt to still introduce a *breath of fresh air* and a certain *light* into a higher-quality understanding of aesthetic analysis and the Islamic distinctiveness of design/action. I also used some Western tools for this area, accompanied with the explanation of meanings that are founded on traditional Islamic bases. One of the most significant results of assembling the character of Islamic creative actions and echoes of Western methodology and terminology is that „Islamic art“ is studied within the main body of contemporary intellectual and cultural discourse, respecting the present structure of the corresponding traditional Islamic terminology and methodological indications of its use. I am convinced that it is a potential process which is nothing else but the rehabilitation of Islamic principles of creative actions in the scientific approach to current issues. I hope that Islamic theologians, historians and theoreticians of other creative traditions will find interest in what follows and, most of all, I assume that the offered hypotheses and conclusions will be considered and challenged.

It would certainly be immodest and unwise to claim that this study reveals a singular profound theory or truth. My desire is to be provocative so that others can find more substantial and justified solutions. This work presents a textual structure of ideas which could answer, at least in my opinion, some fundamental questions within the understanding of the described topic. It is also an attempt to present the spiritual, active, sometimes even aesthetic, fascination in the biological and psychological disposition of man, which I define as *homo fannān* or, for the sake of a more popular (broader) understanding, *homo islamicus*.

If, at times, one gets the impression that I did not sufficiently explain or argue some postulates, the reason may be, on the one hand, that too little (or, more aptly), no attention is paid in general to the theoretical principles of this area, which I used to explicate the situation (the impossibility of a critical review) and, on the other hand, the idea that any form of *the design/actions of homo islamicus* within the productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art of any assimilation should be grounded within properly defined epistemological boundaries of the conservative and traditional understanding of Islam. Only when these conditions have been fulfilled will it be possible to more accurately and thoroughly suggest forms of *new theoretical insights*.

Stranice koje slijede sadrže i niz vrlo detaljnih rasprava o pojedinim pitanjima, kao i prilično konkretna razmatranja opće problematike dizajna/djelanja *homo islamicusa*. Simbioza intelektualnih žanrova uveliko je diktirana raznovrsnim dilemama koje se aktiviraju i značajnim odstupanjima u našem uobičajenom razumijevanju i informacijama o karakteru, uvjetovanosti i okolnostima realizacije kreativnog djelovanja. Kako se ne bi preopteretio sadržaj nepotrebnim geografskim, povijesnim ili tehničko-tehnološkim detaljima unutar prezentirane građe, pretpostavio sam da budući čitatelac ima približnu predodžbu o glavnim kulturnim i političkim događajima unutar civilizacije islama, odnosno da su te osnovne činjenice dostupne u velikom broju drugih knjižnih izdanja.

Kao i svaki esej u interpretaciji koja implicira da su povijesti umjetnosti uglavnom aspekti šireg historicizma ideja, i ova studija riskira da neće zadovoljiti one koji će u njoj tražiti precizna objašnjenja inače poznate problematike ili onima koji mogu očekivati neki koherentni teorijski sistem. Zsigurno ova i ovakva građa ne može i ne bi trebala zamijeniti one prijeko potrebne monografije iz ove oblasti, jer ne želim osporiti i neke intelektualne sklonosti drugima, iako mi se i dalje čini da još uvijek nije moguće potpuno teorijski definirati sve idejne, konstruktivne i estetske probleme koji proistječu iz **duhovne osnove** dizajna/djelanja. Valjda to tako i treba biti. Pa ipak, ovih se jedanaest eseja temelji na uvjerenju da je većina znanja i datih objašnjenja u ovoj studiji samo radna hipoteza, čija je stalna rafiniranost naprosto intelektualno nastojanje i čiji ključni kriterij vrijednosti nije toliko njihova moguća *istina* koliko stupanj u kojem se može poslužiti i eventualno usmjeriti rad na daljnjim studijama, čak i ako se ova predočena građa okonča njezinim napuštanjem.

Mnogima dugujem za nastanak ovih eseja, jer su stotine njihovih studija obogatile moja saznanja i upotpunile sadržajnost moje biblioteke (neke su date u literaturi), te omogućile nastanak i evolutivno oblikovanje predočenog teorijskog elaboriranja. Moji prijatelji i poznanici čitali su ove stranice, a njihova iskrena kritika učinila je mnogo da ih se poboljša u njihovoj posljednjoj fazi: prof. emeritus Ibrahim Krzović, prof. dr. Ugo Vlasisavljević, akademik Miro Jakovljević, dr. Ekrem Tucaković, dr. Ahmet Alibašić i mr. Abdullah Martin Drury. Na uobičajan način niko od njih ne snosi nikakvu odgovornost za stranice koje slijede, ali moram naglasiti da su njihovi komentari bili svrsishodni više nego što se usuđujem priznati.

Poznato je da se sva djela koja koriste originalne arapske izraze suočavaju s ozbiljnim problemom transliteracije. Kako bi se izbjegla moguća zabuna davanjem posebnih glasovnih oznaka slovima i riječima, odnosno uvođenjem sistema diakritičkih oznaka – arapskih, perzijskih ili osmanskoturskih riječi i imena, pojednostavio sam njihovu osobitu fonetsku vrijednost koja se pridaje pojedinom fonemu (glasu) u izvornom jeziku, pa sam koristio transliteraciju prema metodologiji IJMES, sistem transliteracije za arapski, perzijski i osmansko-turski jezik (*osmanli jazisi*). Naime, uvjeren sam da će ovakav pristup anulirati zbunjenost neupućenih i opravdanje stručnjaka.

Na kraju, posebno mi je zadovoljstvo zahvaliti se, u ime izdavača, onima koji su pomogli u objavljivanju eseja. Vrlo sam zahvalan svim institucijama i pojedincima čije su reprodukcije originalnih artefakata postale

The pages that follow also present a number of very thorough discussions of individual issues, as well as fairly specific considerations of the general issue of the technique illustrating the design/actions of our *homo islamicus*. The symbiosis of intellectual genres is dictated considerably by various dilemmas that are activated and significant deviations in our habitual understanding and information on the character, conditions and circumstances of the effectuation of creative activity. To avoid overloading the content with unnecessary geographic, historical or technical-technological details within the presented material, I assumed that readers have an approximate idea of the main cultural and political history of the civilisation of Islam, i.e. that these basic facts are available in a great number of other book editions.

Similarly to any essay dealing with interpretation which implies that histories of art are typically aspects of a broader history of ideas, this study also risks not satisfying those who read it with the aim of finding accurate explanations of otherwise well-known issues, or those who might expect a coherent theoretical system. This and other such material certainly cannot and should not replace the indispensable monographs in this area, since I would not wish to deny others' intellectual affinities, although I still feel that it is not yet possible to fully theoretically define all conceptual, constructive and aesthetic issues stemming from the **spiritual basis** for design/actions. Perhaps it is as it should be. Still, these eleven essays are based on the conviction that most insights and explanations provided in this study are only a working hypothesis, the constant subtlety of which is simply intellectual endeavor, and whose key criterion of value is not their possible *truth* but rather the degree to which they can help and perhaps direct work on further studies, even if the presented material ultimately perishes through rejection.

I owe gratitude for the genesis of these essays to many people, since hundreds of studies enriched my knowledge and supplemented the content of my library (some are provided in references), and allowed the emergence and evolutionary shaping of the presented theoretical elaboration. Friends and acquaintances have read this paper, and their sincere critique contributed much to its improvement in the last stage: Prof. Emeritus Ibrahim Krzović, Dr. Ugo Vlasisavljević, Dr. Ekrem Tucaković, Dr. Ahmet Alibašić and Mr. Abdullah Martin Drury. Naturally, none of them bears any responsibility for the pages that follow, although I must point out that their comments contributed more than I dare admit.

It is well known that all writings that use original Arabic terms face a serious problem of transliteration. To avoid possible confusion resulting from the provision of special markings attached to particular letters to letters and words (i.e. from introducing a system of diacritical marks for Arabic, Persian and Ottoman-Turkish words and names) I decided to simplify the distinctive phonetic value attached to an individual phoneme (speech sound) in the original language, so I used transliteration according to the methodology of the IJMES, transliteration system for Arabic, Persian and Ottoman-Turkish (*Ottoman Yazisi*). Indeed, I am convinced that such an approach will eliminate confusion of the unfamiliar, and lead to recognition by experts.

Finally, it is my special pleasure to express my gratitude, on behalf of the publisher, to those who helped in the publication of the essay. I am extremely grateful to all the institutions and individuals whose reproductions

sastavni dio ovog neprofitnog bilingvalnog izdanja. Popis institucija i pojedinaca naći ćete s potpisima ispod ilustracija. Također, izražavam osobit osjećaj iskrenog duga prema supruzi Lemji i sinu Ammaru, čije je višegodišnje razumijevanje za istraživanje iz ove oblasti umanjilo moju svakodnevnu pažnju i obaveze prema njima. Konačno, iskazujem i poseban dug dr. Ibrahimu Chabbouhu, od kojeg sam početkom 90-tih godina prošlog stoljeća dobio iskonsko tradicionalno tumačenje o formiranju i sazrijevanju onih koji se žele baviti ornamentalnim kreativnim dizajnom/djelanjem, tj. *qadar/šīnā'atom*^{*}, kao i akademikima Mustafi Ceriću i Asimu Kurjaku što su mi predložili da objedinim napisane eseje i objavim ih u jednoj studiji.



ILUSTRACIJA – Yahyā bin Maḥmūd al-Wāsiṭī, *Ilustracija iz al-Haririjeva Maqāmāta* („Stupnjevi“); Fascinantan niz uvida u komentare islamskog života koji se izuzetno zadovoljavaju kao ilustracije knjiga, Južni Irak, Bagdad, 13. stoljeće. Rekonstrukcija urađena 2020.

ILLUSTRATION – Yahyā bin Maḥmūd al-Wāsiṭī, *Illustration from al-Hāriri's Maqāmāt* („Stages“); Fascinating series of glimpses into and commentaries islamic life that are remarkably satisfying as storybook illustrations, southern Iraq, Baghdad 13th century. Reconstruction done in 2020.

* Vidi fusnotu 4.

of original artefacts became a constituent part of this non-profit bilingual edition. The list of institutions and individuals will be found in the captions below the illustrations. In addition, I would like to express my feeling of sincere debt to my wife Lemja and son Ammar, for their years-long understanding for my research in this area, which diminished my daily attention and fulfillment of my obligations to them. Finally, I also owe particular gratitude to Dr. Ibrahim Chabbouh, who, in the early 1990s, provided me with the primordial, traditional interpretation of the formation and maturation of those who have been concerned with ornamental creative design/actions i.e., *qadar/šīnā'at*^{*}, as well as to academicians Mustafa Cerić and Asim Kurjak, for suggesting that I assemble the written essays and publish them in a single study.



ILLUSTRATION – Unknown author, *Homo islamicus Bosniacus* (Matrakçı/Matrahkī Naşūh bin Karagöz bin Abdullah al-Visokāwī al-Bosnāwī); 16th century. Reconstruction in 2020.

ILUSTRACIJA – Nepoznati autor, *Homo islamicus Bosniacus* (Matrakčija/Naşūh bin Karagöz bin Abdullah al-Visokāwī al-Bosnāwī); 16. stoljeće. Rekonstrukcija urađena 2020.

* See footnote 4.



و في بيوتهم و لحر فوجد حدها عظم
حوله اكله غنوه مسكن مرا وسكن
ملكهم و احسنو له با و لغو له ذ فبه و
ايه اياه ذلك كونه ابيده اياه
ابنك كذا لسان الله احد الله
والدين امنوا انما الله والمسيح
له دله ديس من عمل الشكر وال
انما ديد الشكر ازلو في بيوتهم
بني و الجهد و المسير و نكد
والصلاه و هذا الله مسنون و
الرسول و اخرجوا افا ر تولته
سول الله المبر للمبر
الصلوات على رسوله
صلى الله عليه وسلم
و في بيوتهم و لحر فوجد حدها عظم
حوله اكله غنوه مسكن مرا وسكن
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له دله ديس من عمل الشكر وال
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سول الله المبر للمبر
الصلوات على رسوله
صلى الله عليه وسلم

لدينا امنوا بغيره
انما الله المبر للمبر
الصلوات على رسوله
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الصلوات على رسوله
صلى الله عليه وسلم



Die Stadt Medina. Fig. LXXXIII



Die Stadt Mecca. Fig. LXXXIV

Uvod

Analizirajući termine *islamska umjetnost* i *umjetnost islama*, moguće je doći do zaključka kako se u zapadnim izvorima, u većini slučajeva, pod tim podrazumijeva *umijeće ljudskog djelovanja*³ koje je inicirano u 7. stoljeću između dva planinska vijenca u regiji Hidžaz – ar. *Al-Ḥidžāz* u pješčanoj dolini na oko 277 metara iznad razine mora u zapadnom dijelu Arabijskog poluotoka. Sljedbenici takvog karaktera orijentacije dalje su se širili i oplemenjivali na području Bliskog istoka, Anadolije, Iberijskog poluotoka, središnje i južne Azije, sjeverne Afrike, Dalekog istoka, a nešto kasnije, između 13. i 14. stoljeća, sa formom **kognitivne i rekognitivne produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne problematike** koje je osmanskim utjecajem udomljeno i oplodeno na prostoru povijesne i geografske regije jugoistočne Evrope. Čini se bitnim, odmah na početku ove studije, istaći kako u okviru islamske civilizacije produktivno-refleksivno uređenje/dizajn/djelanje ili qadar/djelanje odnosno *qadar/ṣinā'at*⁴ podrazumijeva konstruktivnu ali i kreativnu aktivnost usmjerenu na optimizaciju razvoja refleksivnih sposobnosti osobe koja u okviru vlastite orijentacije vrši izvjesne kreativne radnje i otkriva unutarnju strukturu i specifičnost islamskog duhovnog svijeta, sa aktiviranjem razvojnih obrazaca i karakteristika integriranja refleksije tokom pružanja pozitivnog emocionalnog stava i nakon okončanja takvih aktivnosti.

³ Pod pojmom *djelovanje*, odnosno *djelovati* – prez. -*lujēm*, pril. sad. -*lujūci*, gl. im. -*ānje* podrazumijeva se da je nešto činjeno u zbilji; ostvaren određeni karakter i učinak predviđene vrste rada.

⁴ Kada je riječ o specifičnom konkretnom korištenju termina *uređenje/dizajn* (ar. *qadar*) uz *djelanje* (ar. *ṣinā'at*) iz čega je izvedena riječ „zanat“ u bosanskom jeziku, situacija je atipična, ali ona ipak proizilazi iz mogućnosti koju nudi tradicionalna islamska teologija i filozofija. Naime, u islamskoj teologiji i filozofiji termin *qaḍā* (*odluka ili određenje ili sud*, što asocira na pojam *kadija*, tj. *sudija*) i termin *qadar* (*poredak ili harmonija ili uređenje, odnosno dizajn*) predstavlja jedno od šest temeljnih islamskih vjerovanja. *Qaḍā* je *Božija odredba* kao *Božija apsolutna volja*, a *qadar* je *Božija svemoć* da sve stvari u prirodi postavi po određenoj mjeri što čini prirodu, te da u njoj vlada *red i poredak*, tj. *harmonija*, koja kod filozofa pobuđuje radoznalost (gr. φιλοσοφία, *philosophía*), a kod *homo fannāna/islamicusa* (ar. *fannān*) izaziva osjećaj volje i želje za *redom i uređenjem/dizajnom*, kao oblikom kreativnog djelanja na principu *qadara*, precizne mjere. „Sve što je Bog stvorio, stvorio je s [*dizajnom*, op. aut.] preciznom mjerom [ar. *bi-qadar*]“ (Kur'an, 54:49). Ovdje se ne radi o čovjekovoj imitaciji Božijeg umjeća stvaranja, već o čovjekovoj želji da svoje kreativno djelanje (ar. *ṣinā'at*) uradi preciznom mjerom, koju na sebi svojstven način zapaža u prirodi.

Djelati, odnosno *djelanje* – prez. -*ām*, pril. sad. -*ajūci* za razliku od *djelovanje*, odnosno *djelovati*, dakle podrazumijeva određenu čovjekovu spontanu svjesnu aktivnost koja je u potpunosti postala svjesna sebe. Djelanja (ar. *ṣinā'at*) nema bez svijesti o djelanju i *qadara* koje *homo fannān/islamicus* smatra i realnim u skladu sa širinom i dubinom svoje pronicljivosti u Suverenost Svevišnjeg.

ILUSTRACIJA NA PRETHODNOJ DVOSTRUKOJ STRANICI – Teritorijalni počeci „islamske umjetnosti“: u središnjem dijelu: *Kozmografija Klaudija Ptolomeja iz Aleksandrije* (*Cosmographia Claudii Ptolomaei Alexandrini*), 1467. – *Arabijski poluotok*; gore lijevo: *Meka* [Bernard Picart, publ. Fouquet, oko 1720]; dolje lijevo: *Arabija* (detalj), London 1825.; podloga desno: *Stranice Kur'ana iz Hidžaza*, Arabija, kraj 7. stoljeća; dolje desno: *Karta Arabije i pogled na gradove Meke i Medine*, Allain Manesson, 1719. Kompoziciono rješenje urađeno rekonstrukcijom navedenih izvora 2020. godine.

Introduction

When analyzing what is termed „Islamic art“ or „art of Islam“ Western sources mostly imply the *artistry of human doing*³ which was initiated in the 7th century between two mountain ranges in the region of Hejaz (ar. *Al-Ḥijāz*), in a sand valley around 277 meters above the sea level, in the western part of the Arabic Peninsula. Followers of this disposition further expanded and cultivated themselves in the area of the Middle East, North Africa, Anatolia, the Iberian Peninsula, Central and South Asia, and the Far East. Somewhat later, between the 13th and 14th centuries, under Ottoman influence, the form of **cognitive and precognitive productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art** also found its home and fructified in the area of the historical and geographic region of Southeast Europe. It seems essential to point out, at the very beginning of this study, that within Islamic civilization, the productive-reflective **arranging/designing/action**, or *qadar/actions*, respectively *qadar/ṣinā'at*⁴ refers to the productive, creative activity focused on optimizing the development of reflective abilities in a person who, in line with his/her own disposition, performs certain creative actions and discovers the inner structure and distinctiveness of the Islamic spiritual world. In doing so, they trigger developmental patterns and characteristics of the evolution of reflection both while providing a positive emotional attitude and after having finished such activities.

³ The term *doing*, i.e. do, refers to what is being done in reality; to the achieved particular character and effect of an anticipated kind of work.

⁴ When it comes to a specific and concrete usage of the term *qadar* and *action creativity* (ar. *ṣinā'at*), from which was forged the Bosnian word "zanat" (eng. *craft*), the situation is atypical but it, nevertheless, comes from what the traditional Islamic theology and philosophy offer us. Namely, in the Islamic theology and philosophy the term *qaḍā* (*decree or determination or judgment* which alludes to the idea of *qāḍī*, i.e., *judge*) and the term *qadar* (*a precise order of things or harmony, that is, design*) represent one of six fundamental tenants of Islamic faith. The *qaḍā* signifies *God's Decree* as an absolute *Will of God*, while the term *qadar* signifies *God's omnipotent power* by the way of which God Almighty creates everything in the nature according to a precise measure so that in it (in the nature) everything is in *a proper order* (ar. *qadar*) or *harmony*, the harmony which in a philosopher (gr. φιλοσοφία, *philosophía*) provokes a curiosity for knowledge, while in an *homo fannān/islamicus* (ar. *fannān*) produces the sense of will and desire to order and arrangement/design, as a form of creative action on the principle of *qadar*, a precise measure. "Everything what God has created, He has created by [design, aut. n.] a precise measure [ar. *bi-qadar*]“ (*Qur'an*, 54:49). We are not talking here about the man's imitation of God's omnipotence, but we are alluding to the man's will and desire to carve (*ṣinā'at*) creatively defining harmony in a peculiar way a precise measure as he observes that phenomenon of harmony *qadar* in the very nature of all things of which he is just a piece of this universal God's harmonious creativity (*ṣinā'at*) as well.

As opposed to *doing*, "action" refers to man's spontaneous conscious activity that has become fully self-aware. There is no action without awareness both of action and of *qadar*, which *homo fannān/islamicus* also considers realistic in line with the breadth and depth of his insight into the Sovereignty of the Almighty.

ILLUSTRATION ON THE PREVIOUS DOUBLE PAGE – The territorial beginnings of „Islamic art“: in the central part: *The Cosmography of Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria* (*Cosmographia Claudii Ptolomaei Alexandrini*), 1467 – *Arabian peninsula*; top left: *Mecca-Mecque* [Bernard Picart, Publ. by Fouquet, c. 1720]; bottom left: *Arabia* (detail), London 1825; lining right: *Pages from a Qur'an in Hijazi*, Arabia, late 7th Century; bottom right: *A map of Arabia and city views of Mecca & Medina* by Allain Manesson, 1719. Composition solution made by reconstruction of said sources in 2020.

U zapadnim izvorima prisutan je skoro jedinstven tretman leksičkih veza u oba izraza⁵, sa stanovišta civilizacijskog načela islama neprimjerenih i neutemeljenih oblika koji ne mogu imati isto značenje. Naime, kada je riječ o korištenju samog pojma *islam* i *islamski* dolazi do dihotomije umjetnosti kako sa konzervativističkog tako i sa tradicionalističkog islamskog stajališta. Ukoliko se govori o *islamu* u širem smislu, kao tumačenju i primjeni vjerovanja (religije) od strane njegovog sljedbenika („umjetnika“/ *homo islamicusa*), onda nastaje dihotomija, otprilike, između interpretacije islama posredstvom nekih tradicionalnih likovnih figura i moguće naznake interpretacije pojedinih zapadnjačkih, koje bi trebale dati puninu tumačenja prisutne kognitivne i rekognitivne produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovnih djela. Međutim, ako se govori o *islamu* kao vjerovanju (religiji) i o „umjetniku“/ *homo islamicusu* čija je kreativna aktivnost propisana islamom (religijom), tada se ne javlja dihotomija između islama i drugih monoteističkih religija; nije zanemareno „umjetnikovo“ / *homo islamicusovo* prihvatanje poslanstva – ar. *risālah* ili vjerovjesništva – ar. *nubuwwah* u užem i njegove djelotvornosti u širem smislu. Stoga je neminovna analiza odnosa između umjetnosti i poslanstva koja se mora pažljivo tretirati prije nego što se identificira bilo kakva detekcija s *islamom*, odnosno s *onim što je islamsko*. Može se kazati da se izričitom odbranom određene interpretacije „univerzalnog umjetničkog mišljenja“ teži ka suzbijanju različitosti. Govori se o autentičnoj „islamskoj umjetnosti“, odnosno „umjetnosti islama“ kao da ne postoji već normirano utemeljenje na osnovu kojeg se može razgraničiti je li nečija kreativna aktivnost autentično islamska ili ne. „Islamsku umjetnost“, odnosno „umjetnost islama“ pokušava se promatrati s različitih gledišta pa ne samo da se piše o dobro poznatim realiziranim artefaktima već se, što se može smatrati pozitivnim, pružaju i korisne informacije o manje poznatim ostvarenjima, ali, nažalost, takvi pristupi ne pružaju odgovarajuća rješenja specifične problematike netipičnog kreativnog *qadar/šīnā`ata*. Protivno konzervativnim⁶ i tradicionalnim⁷ shvatanjima islama, pokušavaju se prezentirati i objasniti raznorodne strukture, „umjetnički trendovi ili stilovi“ u islamskim društvima prisutnim na različitim geografskim nacionalnim prostorima – uzimajući u

⁵ Vidi: Bloom, Jonathan and Blair, S. Sheila: *Islamic Arts (Art & Ideas)*; Phaidon Press, London, 1997; Bloom, M. Jonathan and Blair, S. Sheila (ed.): *Islamic Art: Past, Present, Future (The Biennial Hamad bin Khalifa Symposium on Islamic Art)*; Yale University Press, 2019; Bloom, Sheila and Jonathan (ed.): *Rivers of Paradise: Water in Islamic Art and Culture*; Yale University Press, 2009; Broug, Eric: *Islamic Geometric Design*; Thames & Hudson, London, 2013; Critchlow, Keith: *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach*; Inner Traditions International, Rochester, 1999; Dodds, J.D.: *Al-Andalus: the Art of Islamic Spain*; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992; Hillenbrand, Robert: *Islamic Art and Architecture (The World of Art)*; Thames & Hudson, The World of Art edition, 1998; King, Donald and Sylvester, David, eds.: *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World: From the 15th to the 17th Century*; Arts Council of Great Britain, London, 1983; Leone, Giuliano Nicola and Mauro, Eliana et al.: *Siculo-Norman Art. Islamic Culture in Medieval Sicily (Islamic Art in the Mediterranean)*; Museum With No Frontiers, MWNF (Museum Ohne Grenzen), 2003; Madden, Edward H.: *Some Characteristics of Islamic Art*; Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 1975, 33 (4), str. 423–430; Mozzati, Luca: *Islamic Art: Architecture, Painting, Calligraphy, Ceramics, Glass, Carpets*; Prestel, Munich in London and New York, 2019; Ruggles, D. Fairchild (ed.): *Islamic Art and Visual Culture: An Anthology of Sources*; Wiley-Blackwell, Main St. Malden, United States, 2011; Shaw, K. M. Wendy: *What is 'Islamic' Art? – Between Religion and Perception*; Cambridge University Press, 2019...

⁶ Pojam konzervativno, u arapskom jeziku izražava se terminom *al-muḥāfiẓ*, pri čemu, u obliku aktivnog participa ima značenje *onaj koji je konzervativan*, odnosno *konzervativac*.

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

Although Western sources, where the authors are typically not Muslims, tend to treat the lexical units in both terms almost uniformly⁵, from the standpoint of the civilizational principle of Islam, they are inappropriate and unfounded forms that cannot have the same meaning. Indeed, the use of the very concepts *Islam* and *Islamic* leads to the dichotomy of art from both a conservative and traditionalist Islamic standpoint. If *Islam* is understood in a broader sense, as the interpretation and application of faith (religion) by its follower („artist“/ *homo islamicus*), the dichotomy lies roughly between the interpretation of Islam by means of traditional figures and its interpretation by means of individual Western figures, which are supposed to provide a full interpretation of the present cognitive and precognitive productive-reflective representation of works of visual art. However, if one speaks of *Islam* as faith (religion) and of the „artist“/ *homo islamicus* whose creative activity is prescribed by Islam (religion), there is no dichotomy between Islam and other monotheistic religions; the „artist’s“/ *homo islamicus's* acceptance of messengership (ar. *nubuwwah*) or prophethood (ar. *risālah*) in the narrow sense, and his effectiveness in the broad sense is completely ignored. Consequently, it is necessary to carefully analyze the relationship between art and prophethood before detecting any element associated with *Islam*, i.e. with *what is Islamic*. It can be claimed that the categorical defense of a given interpretation of „universal artistic thought“ tends to repress diversity. Sources speak of authentic „Islamic art“, and „art of Islam“ as if there were no previously standardized foundation based upon which one can discern whether someone’s creative activity is authentically Islamic or not. They attempt to view „Islamic art“ or „art of Islam“ from different standpoints, and both write about well-known produced artefacts and – which can be considered positive – provide useful information on less known creations. Unfortunately, such approaches do not provide proper solutions for the distinctive issue of atypical creative *qadar/šīnā`at*. As opposed to the conservative⁶ and traditional⁷ comprehension of Islam, they strive to present and explain different structures or „art trends or styles“ in Islamic societies that exist in different geographic and national areas, taking into account creative activities believed to be related in some way or even

⁵ See: Blair, Sheila S. and Bloom, Jonathan M.: *Islamic Arts (Art & Ideas)*; Phaidon Press, London, 1997; Bloom, Jonathan M. and Blair, Sheila S. (ed.): *Islamic Art: Past, Present, Future (The Biennial Hamad bin Khalifa Symposium on Islamic Art)*; Yale University Press, 2019; Blair, Sheila S. and Bloom, Jonathan M. (ed.): *Rivers of Paradise: Water in Islamic Art and Culture*; Yale University Press, 2009; Broug, Eric: *Islamic Geometric Design*; Thames & Hudson, London, 2013; Critchlow, Keith: *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach*; Inner Traditions International, Rochester, 1999; Dodds, J. D.: *Al-Andalus: the Art of Islamic Spain*; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992; Hillenbrand, Robert: *Islamic Art and Architecture (The World of Art)*; Thames & Hudson, The World of Art edition, 1998; King, Donald and Sylvester, David, eds.: *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World, From the 15th to the 17th Century*; Arts Council of Great Britain, London, 1983; Leone, Nicola Giuliano and Mauro, Eliana et al.: *Siculo-Norman Art. Islamic Culture in Medieval Sicily (Islamic Art in the Mediterranean)*; Museum With No Frontiers, MWNF (Museum Ohne Grenzen), 2003; Madden, Edward H.: *Some Characteristics of Islamic Art*; Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 1975, 33 (4), pp. 423–430; Mozzati, Luca: *Islamic Art: Architecture, Painting, Calligraphy, Ceramics, Glass, Carpets*; Prestel, Munich in London and New York, 2019; Ruggles, D. Fairchild (ed.): *Islamic Art and Visual Culture: An Anthology of Sources*; Wiley-Blackwell, Main St. Malden, United States, 2011; Shaw, Wendy M. K.: *What is 'Islamic' Art?: Between Religion and Perception*; Cambridge University Press, 2019, and so forth.

⁶ The notion *conservative* is expressed in Arabic by the term *al-muḥāfiẓ*, the participle active of which means *one who is conserving*, i.e. *a conservative*.

Conservatism is a state of mind, i.e. ways of thinking which are focused on the preservation of an acquired/inherited (cultural) order; the individual's and the group's view that opposes changes in the existing conditions and advocates its stability, supported by tradition and traditional values as the collected wisdom of the past.

obzir kreativne aktivnosti koje su smatrane nečim povezanim ili čak temeljem tako promatranog kreativnog djelovanja. Ništa od navedenoga ne predstavlja nikakav vid iznenađenja. Sve što je u skladu s modalitetima na koji način se pristupa i analizira „islamsku umjetnost“, kao i teze o metafizičkoj dimenziji „islamske kreativne misli“, čini se prilično otvorenim za diskusiju, odnosno za detaljno obrazloženje činjeničkog stanja u poimanju konzervativnih i tradicionalnih civilizacijskih načela islama i islamskog.



ILUSTRACIJA - Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Sā’atī: *Kitāb Madẓma’ al-Baḥrayn wa al-Multaqā al-Nayyirayn*. Sažetak hanefijske pravne znanosti, vjerovatno osmanska Turska iz 1412. Muzej umjetnosti u Dallasu.

ILLUSTRATION - Muẓaffar al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Sā’atī: *Folio from a manuscript of the Kitāb Majma’ al-Baḥrayn wa al-Multaqā al-Nayyirayn*. A compendium of Hanafi jurisprudence, probably Ottoman Turkey 1412. Dallas Museum of Art.

⁷ U islamskoj literaturi pojam *tradicionalno* izražava se terminom *al-athar*, pri čemu u obliku imenice ima značenje *tradicija* ili *tradicionalno*. *Tradicija*, općenito, podrazumijeva iskustva i stanje stečevine (običaji, vjerovanja, norme, vrednote...) određene zajednice zasnovane na prijenosu znanja iz jedne generacije u drugu, nastojeći da se ne odstupa od utvrđenih pravila, ali što se ipak može nadopunjavati/mijenjati s vremenom i prilagođavati aktualnijim kulturnim obrascima u okviru date civilizacijske strukture.

predicated on creative activity viewed in this manner. None of this is surprising. Everything that is in line with the modalities of this way of approaching and analyzing „Islamic art“, as well as their theses on the metaphysical dimension of „Islamic creative thought“, seem fairly open to discussion, i.e. to a detailed explanation of facts in comprehending conservative and traditional civilizational principles of Islam.



ILLUSTRATION - Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh (translator), *Folio from a manuscript of the Kalīla wa-Dimna (Kalīla and Dimna)*; Egypt or Syria 1401-1500. Fables. Reconstruction done on the basis of source from BnF Galica.

ILUSTRACIJA - Ibn al-Muqaffa', 'Abd Allāh (prevoditelj), *Ilustracija iz rukopisa Kalīla wa-Dimna (Kalīla i Dimna)*; Egipat ili Sirija 1401-1500. Basne. Rekonstrukcija izvedena na temelju izvora iz BnF Galica.

⁷ In Islamic literature, the notion of *traditional* is expressed with the term *al-athar* which, in the form of a noun, means *tradition* or the *traditional*. In general, *tradition* pertains to the experiences and conditions of heritage (customs, beliefs, norms, values, and so forth) of a given community based on the transfer of knowledge from one generation to another, endeavoring not to deviate from established rules, though it can be supplemented/changed over time and adjusted to up-to-date cultural patterns within a given civilizational structure.



ILUSTRACIJA - Nepoznat autor: Kopija Firdusijeve Šahname. Minijatura predstavlja „Uspinjanje Šaha Tahmaspa na tron“, Iran, Širaz, 1565.-1566. David Collection, Kopenhagen, Danska.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Unknown author: A Copy of Firdawsī's *Shahnāma*. This miniature represents „Shah Tahmasp's Ascension to the Throne“ Iran, Shiraz; 1565-1566, The David Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Upotreba i značenje riječi *umjetnost*

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 sa tradicionalnog islamskog gledišta podrazumijevati kao *qadar/šīnā'at*, a ne moć „stvaranja“ unaprijed postignutog rezultata svjesno kontroliranim i usmjerenim djelovanjem. Ukoliko respektiramo upotrebu i značenje riječi *umjetnost* u odnosu na njezino ključno značenje – *qadar/šīnā'at*, nužno bi bilo napomenuti da u tom slučaju terminološka odrednica *islamska umjetnost* prije svega mogla bi podrazumijevati profano produktivno-refleksivni diskurs *qadar/šīnā'ata homo islamicusa*⁸ koje je nastalo unutar islamskog civilizacijskog kruga. U tom slučaju, kovanica *umjetnost islama* mogla bi označavati sakralni oblik *qadar/šīnā'ata* rekognitivne unutrašnje asimilacije *homo islamicusa* unutar suštine islama – ar. *al-islām* – miroljubiva ili dragovoljna predanost Svevišnjem Bogu nasuprot nasilnoj ili mrzovoljnoj pripadnosti vjeri, koja je u potpunom skladu s izvorištem – *Objava*/Kur'an (*Kur'an*, 2:256), *Sunnet*/Poslanikova norma i *hadis*/Poslanikova usmena predaja, a rekognitivna asimilacija, odnosno njena leksička veza bi trebala podrazumijevati proces spoznaje u kojem *homo islamicus* dobrovoljno gradi vlastitu kulturnu praksu *qadar/šīnā'at-a*⁹ koja sadrži oponašanje/interpretaciju svih pozitivnih Božijih atributa kao vlastitih.

Također, smatramo bitnim naglasiti da bi se pod terminom *kognitivan* podrazumijevali svi psihički procesi koji se nalaze u osnovi ponašanja *homo islamicusa*, a koji su u vezi sa produktivno-refleksivnom reprezentacijom kolaborativne orijentacije/dispozicije – vid informativne inicijacije [suradnje] radi postizanja određenog sadržajnog cilja *qadar/šīnā'ata*. Bitno je istaći da karakter kognitivnog pretpostavlja postojanje unutarnjeg mentalnog stanja (vjerovanja), prvotno prenesenog na um i inteligenciju *homo islamicusa* sa svrhom posjedovanja spoznaje o „temeljnoj“ ili „bitnoj informaciji“ da bi na osnovu „samostalnog“ zaključivanja i donošenja vlastitog suda o kolaboraciji te opredjeljenja za korištenje određenih konstruktivno-likovnih elementa koji slijede, uspostavio odgovarajuću ravnotežu između tekstualne inicijacije i primijenjene konstruktivne likovnosti. Da bi postigao željene rezultate, *homo islamicus* mora posjedovati kognitivnu inteligenciju, odnosno podrazumijevajuću umnu sposobnost

⁸ Termin *homo islamicus* – islamski čovjek koristimo za one ljude koji se bave kreativnim *qadar/šīnā'atom* i ujedno su iskreni sljedbenici islamskog puta, a vrlo su rijetko postajali poznati pod vlastitim imenom, okupljali se oko pojedinaca, najčešće utjecajnih, koji su im bili duhovni i profesionalni učitelji i nastojali biti osobe od produktivno-refleksivne akcije sa značajnom ulogom u intelektualnom, duhovnom i kako u rekognitivno-asimilacijskom tako i u kolaborativno-kognitivnom životu islamskog civilizacijskog kruga.

⁹ Moguće je razlikovati prijelazni oblik *qadar/šīnā'ata*, koje počinje u *homo islamicusu*, a završava u izvanjskoj stvari koju mijenja; i unutarnji *qadar/šīnā'at*, koji opstaje u samom *homo islamicusu*. Prijelazna su djelanja manifestacije nutarnje perfekcije *homo islamicusa*, a često i njegova nutarnjeg djelanja. Kao djelatnik *homo islamicus* komunicira vlastitu zbiljnost, jer svaki *homo islamicus* djela ukoliko je u zbilji. U tom smislu može se ustvrditi da *qadar/šīnā'at* izvire iz bitka (*agere sequitur esse*), dok je narav (supstancijalna forma) specifični princip *qadar/šīnā'ata*, iz kojeg djelatne moći, kao neposredni principi dizajniranja, vuku djelatnu energiju. No iako su bitak i narav principi djelanja, ono što stvarno ostvaruje *qadar/šīnā'at* jest *homo islamicus* u okviru svjesne produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije.

Use and meaning of the word *art*

From the traditional Islamic standpoint, the use and meaning of the word „art“ with respect to its key meaning („essential, basic, fundamental“) and sense („creation of nature in every corner of the human mind“) should imply *qadar/šīnā'at*, rather than the power to „create“ an already achieved result by consciously controlled and focused doing. If we respect the use and meaning of the word „art“ related to its key meaning in the sense of *qadar/šīnā'at*, we should necessarily note that in this case, the term „Islamic art“ could primarily imply the profane productive-reflective discourse of *homo islamicus*⁸ *qadar/šīnā'at* which emerged within the Islamic civilizational circle. In this case, the coinage „art of Islam“ might signify *sacral qadar/šīnā'at of homo islamicus's precognitive inner assimilation* within the essence of Islam (ar. *al-islām* – peaceful or voluntary devotion to the Most High God as opposed to a violent or hateful allegiance to the faith *Revelation*/Qur'an (*Qur'an*, 2:256), *Sunnah*/Prophet's norm, and *Ḥadīth*/Prophet's oral tradition), while *precognitive assimilation*, i.e. the unit of these two terms, should imply the process of cognition whereby a *homo islamicus* voluntarily develops his own cultural practice of *qadar/šīnā'at*⁹ which in turn includes imitation/interpretation of all positive attributes of God as one's own.

We believe that it is also important to point out that the term *cognitive* implies all psychic processes that are found in the basis of *homo islamicus's* behavior and that are related to the productive-reflective representation of collaborative disposition (a form of informative initiation [collaboration] aimed at achieving a given content-related goal of the *qadar/šīnā'at*). It should be noted that the character of cognitive assumes the existence of an inner mental state (faith) which was originally transferred to *homo islamicus's* mind and intelligence, aimed at gaining cognizance of „fundamental“ or „essential“ information. In this way, based on „independent“ deduction and making one's own judgment on collaboration, and deciding to use the given constructive elements of visual art that follow, he would establish an appropriate balance between textual initiation and the applied constructive visual art. To achieve the desired results, *homo islamicus* must have cognitive intelligence, for that is to say the mental ability and function to perceive/observe, study, analyze, conclude and solve problems and tasks within the character of *qadar/šīnā'at*, which is ultimately related to the mind, reasoning, memorizing, acting, and so forth based on his knowledge and spiritual vision (ar. *ḥikmah*); in brief, conscious knowledge/skill of *qadar/šīnā'at*.

⁸ We use the term *homo islamicus* („Islamic man“) for persons involved in creative *qadar/šīnā'at* and who are at the same time sincere followers of the Islamic path, and who, though few of them became famous under their own name, gathered around individuals, mostly influential ones, who were their spiritual and professional teachers. These individuals endeavored to be persons of productive-reflective action with a significant role in the intellectual, spiritual, precognitive-assimilative and collaborative-cognitive life of the Islamic civilizational circle.

⁹ It is possible to distinguish between *transitive qadar/šīnā'at*, which begin in *homo islamicus* and end in the outer object that he changes; and *inner qadar/šīnā'at*, which remain in *homo islamicus* himself. Transitive actions are manifestations of *homo islamicus's* inner perfection, and frequently of his inner actions as well. As an actor, *homo islamicus* communicates his own reality, since each *homo islamicus* acts as if he is in reality. In this sense, it can be claimed that *qadar/šīnā'at* follows being (*agere sequitur esse*), while nature (substantive form) is a distinctive principle of *qadar/šīnā'at* out of which the powers to act, as immediate design principles, draw their acting energy. However, although being and nature are principles of activity, what actually makes *qadar/šīnā'at* possible is *homo islamicus*, within his conscious productive-reflective disposition.

i funkciju opažanja/primjećivanja, istraživanja, analiziranja, zaključivanja i rješavanja problema i zadatka u okviru karaktera *qadar/šīnā'ata*, što je u konačnici povezano s intelektom, mišljenjem, pamćenjem, postupanjem... bazirano na njegovom znanju i duhovnoj viziji – ar. *ḥikmah* – **svjesno znanje/umijeće *qadar/šīnā'at***.

Pod terminom *rekognitivno* podrazumijevaju se mentalni procesi u funkciji prepoznavanja pojava i formi, a koje su u iskustvenom i reproduktivnom smislu vezane sa produktivno-refleksivnu karakterizaciju asimilacijskog karaktera *homo islamicusa*; mogu biti jednostavne i složene a uključuju i ilustriranje, argumentiranje, istraživanje i objašnjavanje. U interpretaciji produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne problematike (sakralnog *qadar/šīnā'ata*) rekognitivna asimilacija odnosi se na uočavanje kompozicijske strukture djela i njezinih karakteristika te određivanju kompozicijskih načela, kontrasta, harmonije, ritma, ravnoteže, proporcija, dominacija i jedinstva svih likovnih elemenata u autentičnu cjelinu. Karakter rekognitivnog neizostavno pretpostavlja postojanje onog unutarnjeg mentalnog stanja (vjerovanja) kod *homo islamicusa*, koje on preuzima od ranije stečenih znanja i *a priori* ga interpretira formom asimilacije i sinteze, prenoseći ga na vlastiti um i inteligenciju, sa svrhom dodatnog/ponovnog prepoznavanja/potvrđivanja spoznaje o „temeljnoj“ ili „bitnoj informaciji“.

Produktivnošću se označava općenita percepcija o nivou angažmana i korištenja resursa u odnosu na (izlazne) rezultate rekognitivno-asimilacijske i kolaborativno-kognitivne aktivnosti *homo islamicusa*. *Refleksivno* podrazumijeva mislen, misaoni proces refleksije – povratnosti kao samoreference, samoreferiranja, odnosno upućivanja na Njegovu apsolutnost i sublimnost posredstvom samoispunjavanja, samopodržavanja, samoograničavanja, samomodificiranja... Tradicionalni komentari navode kako prefiks *samo* upućuje na to da je riječ o radnjama koje *homo islamicus* vrši odajući priznanje Božijim atributima, zasnovano na misaonom, razumskom osvrtanju na njihovo doživljavanje aktivnim promišljanjem, razmišljanjem, rasuđivanjem..., s ciljem konkretne orijentacije koja se karakterizira kao svjesno refleksivno „znanje o znanju“.

Moguće je doći do zaključka kako je riječ o percepciji na nivou angažmana i korištenja resursa povezanoj s misaonim promatranjem svjesne aktivnosti i njezinih ostvarenja, kada duh, um ili spoznaja ne spoznaje izvanjske predmetne karakterizacije nego se okreće vlastitoj nutarnosti, pri čemu se težište pažnje pomiče s prvotnih objekata, predmetnih vrijednosti ili modela na samog *homo islamicusa* i njegov, bilo mentalni (duhovni) bilo djelatni (praktični) odnos prema svijetu ili odgovarajućim imputima o svijetu i događajnosti u njemu.

Govorimo dakle o onoj ljudskoj aktivnosti u kojoj *homo islamicus* posredstvom vlastitog razmišljanja, fundiranog na saznanju o Božijim atributima obilježava lijepo u pokušaju refleksije univerzalne ljepote, što takvu samoreferencijalnu egzistenciju karakterizira kao mentalni proces koji se upravo temelji na metafizičkom poimanju *istine* s utemeljenim porijeklom na duhovnoj tradiciji.

U oba prethodno navedena naziva koje koriste zapadni izvori – prvom u obliku pridjeva a drugi put kao imenicu, pod *islamom* se podrazumijeva **vjera islam**, bez obzira na njezino evidentno različito značenje unutar navedenih leksičkih koneksija, kao i shvatanje značenja i smisla riječi „umjetnost“.

The term *precognitive* refers to mental processes aimed at recognizing phenomena and forms which are, in terms of experience and reproduction, related to *homo islamicus's* productive-reflective disposition of an assimilative nature. They can be simple and complex, and include illustration, argumentation, research and explanation. In the interpretation of productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art (sacral *qadar/šīnā'at*), precognitive assimilation refers to the perception of the compositional structure of the piece and its characteristics, and to defining compositional principles, contrast, harmony, rhythm, balance, proportions, domination and unity of all elements of visual art in an authentic whole. The precognitive character necessarily assumes the existence of *homo islamicus's* inner state of mind (faith), which he adopts from previously acquired knowledge, *a priori* interprets it in the form of assimilation and synthesis and transfers it to his own mind and intelligence, aimed at additional-repeated recognition-confirmation of the insight into „fundamental“ or „essential information“.

Productivity signifies the general perception of the level of engagement and use of resources compared to the (output) results of *homo islamicus's* precognitive-assimilating and collaborative-cognitive activity. *Reflective* implies the thinking, mental process of reflection (reflexion) as self-reference, self-referral, i.e. referring to His absoluteness and sublimity by means of self-fulfillment, self-support, self-restriction, self-modification, and so forth. The prefix *self* indicates that these are actions that *homo islamicus* performs to acknowledge God's attributes, based on the mental, reasoned review of experiencing them by active contemplation, thinking, reasoning, all aimed at the specific definition characterized as conscious, reflective „knowledge of knowledge“.

It can be deduced that it is about perception at the level of engagement and using resources related to the mental observation of conscious activity and its results when spirit, mind or cognition does not recognize external material characterizations but rather turns to its own inside and shifts the focus of attention from original objects, material values or models to *homo islamicus* himself and either his mental (spiritual) or operating (practical) relationship toward the world or corresponding inputs on the world and events in it.

Thus, we speak about the human activity whereby *homo islamicus*, through his own contemplation based on the knowledge of God's attributes, imprints the beautiful in the attempt to reflect universal beauty. This characterizes such self-referential existence as a mental process based on a metaphysical understanding of **truth** which draws its origin from spiritual tradition.

In both the above-cited terms used by Western sources (in the first case, as an adjective and in the second as a noun) *Islam* refers to the **religion of Islam**, regardless of its evidently different meaning within these lexical units, and of the understanding of the meaning and sense of the word „art“. Unfortunately, the term „art“ encompasses the sense of numerous theoretical discourses dealing with challenging, anatomizing and transforming the coordinate system of the epoch of Islam, which maintained the power of the great meta-story about universality as the beacon. *This story was able to encompass and prescribe an external pons asinorum of theoretical knowledge and the practical orientation of the entire epoch, though copied from the foundation of Western heritage and its conceptual and interpretative*

Nažalost pod „umjetnošću“ obuhvaćen je smisao mnogobrojnih teorijskih diskursa što govore o propitivanju, razgrađivanju i preobrazbi koordinatnog sistema epohe islama, koji je održavao moć velike metapriče o univerzalnosti kao ideji vodilji, koja je bila u stanju obuhvatiti i propisivati izvanjsko *pons asinorum* teorijsko znanje i praktičnu orijentaciju cijele epohe, ali pod **preslikom fundamenta zapadnih stečevina i njezine pojmovne i interpretativne strategije**. Također postoje i ona gledišta koja neprekidno pokušavaju tražiti izvor „islamske umjetnosti“ ili „umjetnosti islama“ u društveno-političkim uvjetima što ih je također obilježio islam. Takvo shvatanje zasigurno nije nastalo na ishodištu islamskog postojanja, čak i ako ga danas podržavaju mnogi muslimani, budući da se izvor unutarnjeg vidi u vanjskom i svjesno reducira sakralno produktivno-refleksivnu orijentaciju rekognitivne asimilacije sa njegovom **interiorizirajućom moći**¹⁰ na bukvalno izvanjske, socijalne i ekonomske uvjete. Laički rečeno, *interiorizirajućom moći* smatra se unošenje spoljašnjih vrijednosti (efekata) i socijalnih odnosa u unutarnjost „islamske umjetnosti“ ili „umjetnosti islama“. Ipak, čini se opravdanim da odgovor valja potražiti u samom **islamskom učenju unutarnje naravi**¹¹ – *intrinsicus possibile naturalis*, koje nije fundirano izvanjskim pojavama stvari – *experientia externa*, već njihovom **inernaliziranom zbiljom**¹² kao kategoričkim imperativom.

S obzirom da je riječ o veoma širokoj sferi svjesnog ljudskog produktivno-refleksivnog *qadar/šīnā'ata*, ovom prilikom fokusirat ćemo se na moguće forme usko vezane za oblast, a koja se u okviru zapadnog civilizacijskog identiteta imenuje kao „slikarstvo“, odnosno kaligrafijsko, iluminacijsko i ebru produktivno-refleksivno *qadar/šīnā'at*, obilježeno rekognitivnim karakterom asimilacije, kao i ilustracija nastalih unutar unikatnih rukopisnih knjižnih formi književnih djela ili historiografskih pripovijedanja o tadašnjem životu **kolaborativno-kognitivnog diskursa**. Pod ovakvom karakterizacijom opredjeljenja podrazumijeva se kolaboracija, odnosno iskustvena suradnja *homo islamicusa* na bazi dodatne motivacije datog (određenog) tekstualnog sadržaja radi postizanja cilja *qadar/šīnā'ata* u okviru profane produktivno-refleksivne interdisciplinarnе reprezentacije likovne problematike.

Početno naglašavanje uređenja zasnovano na sopstvenom (zapadnom) spoznajnom prostoru i njegovoj strukturi označavajućih (spoljnih) odnosa u funkciji razjašnjavanja kontroverzi oko značenja leksičke konekcije dva pojma *umjetnost* i *islam*, je od bitnog značaja za perspektivu konzervativnog, tradicionalnog pa i savremenog preispitivanja. Mnogi, kada počinju govoriti o „umjetnosti islama“ ili „islamskoj umjetnosti“, vjeruju da su ovi pojmovi, kao i njihove višerječne leksičke veze ne samo same po sebi razumljive nego i

¹⁰ *Interiorizacija*, po definiciji, predstavlja pojam koji se odnosi na mehanizam prisvajanja kulturno-historijskog iskustva individue kojim se objašnjava nastanak njezinih viših mentalnih funkcija.

¹¹ U arapskom jeziku za označavanje onog što se ne može spoznati osjetilima (ono što je mišljeno) koristi se pojam *bāṭin*, a u grč. *noumenon*. Prema Platonu, noumenon jest ono što je raspoznatljivo povezano duhom, u suprotnosti s onime što se okom gleda, te je na taj način označena ona esencija koja je, prema njegovom gledištu, izvorište svih vidljivih i opipljivih manifestacija u pojavnom svijetu. Kod Kanta, za razliku od grč. *fenomen*, ar. *zāhir* u značenju *pojava*, pojam *noumenon* označava ono što se, doduše, može misliti, ali je kao „stvar po sebi“ – *das Ding an sich* u konačnici nespoznatljiva. U tom smislu ne može biti objekt teorijske spoznaje, nego se može potvrditi samo praktičnim umom, tj. kao korektiv djelovanja u etici. Ipak, praktični um mora postulirati svijet noumena da bi se mogla protumačiti sloboda.

¹² *Inernalizirana zbilja*, u navedenom konkretnom slučaju podrazumijeva moralnu kategoriju svjesno izvršenog prihvatanja vjere i vjerovanja unutar svjesnog *qadar/šīnā'at-a homo islamicusa*; „utemeljenje posredovanja“ vjere i djelatnog života.

strategy. There are also views that incessantly attempt to seek the source of „Islamic art“ or „art of Islam“ in sociopolitical conditions also marked by Islam. Such a view certainly did not surface at the origin of the existence of Islam, even though it is still supported by many Muslims, since the source of the internal can be seen in the external and reduces the conscious sacral productive-reflective definition of precognitive assimilation with its **interiorizing power**¹⁰ literally to external, social and economic conditions. In layman's terms, *interiorizing power* implies the inclusion of external values (effects) and social relations into the interiority of „Islamic art“ or „art of Islam“. Still, it seems reasonable to seek the answer in **Islamic teaching about inner nature**¹¹ (*intrinsicus possibile naturalis*) itself, which is founded not on external manifestations of things (experiential externa) but rather on their **internalized reality**¹² as a categorical imperative.

Since this is a very broad sphere of human conscious productive-reflective *qadar/šīnā'at*, we will here focus on possible forms closely connected to the area which within Western civilizational identity is named „painting“. More accurately, we will focus on calligraphic illumination and Ebru productive-reflective *qadar/šīnā'at* of precognitive assimilation (a traditional marbled paper art of Ottoman), as well as on illustrations created within unique hand-written forms of literary works or historical narrations on the life of the time within **collaborative-cognitive discourse**. Such a choice implies collaboration, i.e. *homo islamicus's* experiential cooperation based on the additional motivation of a given textual content aimed at achieving the goal of *qadar/šīnā'at* within the profane productive-reflective interdisciplinary representation of elements of visual art.

The initial emphasis on *qadar* based on the (Western) cognitive space and its structure of signifying (external) relations aimed at elucidating controversies related to the meaning of a lexical unit between the two concepts, *art* and *Islam* is essential for the perspective of conservative, traditional and contemporary reconsideration. When beginning to discuss the „art of Islam“ or „Islamic art“, many people believe that these concepts, as well as their lexical unit, are both understandable *per se*, and that they are unitary and monosemic, relying on definitions in general encyclopedia or professional lexicons¹³ of both Western and Islamic origin.

¹⁰ By definition, *interiorization* is a term that refers to the mechanism of adopting the individual's cultural-historical experience, which explains the genesis of his/her higher mental functions.

¹¹ In Arabic, the term for what cannot be apprehended by the senses (what is thought) is *bāṭin*, and in Greek it is *noumenon*. According to Plato, noumenon is what is recognizably related to spirit, as opposed to what is observed with the eye, and this is the essence which is, according to him, the source of all visible and tangible manifestations on the physical world. According to Kant, as opposed to the Greek *phenomenon* – ar. *zāhir*, which means „manifestation“, the concept *noumenon* signifies the thing that can be thought but which is, as the „thing in itself“ (*das Ding an sich*), ultimately inapprehensible. In this sense, it cannot be the object of theoretical cognition, but can be confirmed only by the practical mind, i.e. as a corrective for actions in ethics. Still, the practical mind must postulate the world of noumenon to be able to interpret freedom.

¹² *Internalized reality*, in this actual case, refers to the moral category of conscious adoption of religion and faith within *homo islamicus's* conscious *qadar/šīnā'at*; the „establishment of mediation“ between religion and active life.

¹³ See: Bosworth, C. E., Donzel, E. van et al.: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition)*; Leiden – E. J. Brill, 1997; Campo, Juan Eduardo: *Encyclopedia of Islam (Encyclopedia of World Religions)*; Better World Books, Mishawaka, IN, U.S.A., 2009; Gibb, Sir Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Brill Archive, 1980; Glasse, Cyril: *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*; Hippo Books, Toledo, OH, U.S.A., 2005; Houtsma, Martijn Theodoor, Arnold, Sir Thomas Walker et al.: *The Encyclopaedia of Islām: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*; E.J. Brill Limited, 1913; Kalin, Ibrahim, Ayduz, Salim et al.: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Science, and Technology in Islam*; V Books, DH, SE, Spain, 2009; Lane W. E.: *Arabic-English Lexicon*; Islamic Texts Society, Revised Format, Cambridge, 1984; Morrow, John A. (ed.): *Arabic, Islām, and the Allāh*

jedinstvene, te jednoznačane oslanjajući se na formulacije iz općih enciklopedija ili stručnih leksikona¹³ zapadne ali i islamske provenijencije. Da to nije tako upozorava nas jedan od arapskih termina *fannu taḥsīn*¹⁴ čije se značenje usredsređuje na tehniku i općenito na formalno definiranje konstruktivne strane ornamentalnog, produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa. Riječ *fann* izvorno nema značenje „umjetnost“¹⁵ u onom smislu u kome se ona determinira u zapadnom civilizacijskom krugu: *fann* je „umijeće“, „tehne“,¹⁶ usredotočeno na vještinu i općenito na formalno-metodološku stranu *polja qadar/ṣinā'ata islamskog homo fabera*, odnosno *homo fannāna* – osobe koja je sposobna kontrolirati vlastitu sudbinu i životnu sredinu kao rezultat korištenja određenih alata na osnovu osobnih spoznaja i uvjerenja na realitetu koherentnog vjerovanja – *cohaerentia religare*, ugrađujući ih u instituciju jedinstvene povijesti – *historiae autonoma*,¹⁷ odnosno *homo islamiensis* – „islamiste“ ili određenije *homo islamicusa* – „islamskog čovjeka“¹⁸ pozicioniranog u temelj produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa kao integralnog dijela islamskog civilizacijskog kruga. Ornamentalnost – ar. *taḥsīn*, kao temeljna crta svjesnog slobodnog *qadar/ṣinā'ata homo islamicusa* unutar

¹³ Vidi: Bosworth, C. E., Donze, E. van et al.: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition)*; Leiden-E. J. Brill, 1997; Campo, Juan Eduardo: *Encyclopedia of Islam (Encyclopedia of World Religions)*; Better World Books, Mishawaka, IN, U.S.A., 2009; Gibb, Sir Hamilton Alexander Rosskeen: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Brill Archive, 1980; Glasse, Cyril: *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*; Hippo Books, Toledo, OH, U.S.A., 2005; Houtsma, Martijn Theodoor, Arnold, Sir Thomas Walker et al.: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*; E.J. Brill Limited, 1913; Kalin, Ibrahim, Ayduz, Salim et al.: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Science, and Technology in Islam*; V Books, DH, SE, Spain, 2009; Lane W. E.: *Arabic-English Lexicon*; Islamic Texts Society, Revised ed. edition, Cambridge, 1984; Morrow, A. John (ed.): *Arabic, Islam, and the Allah Lexicon: How Language Shapes Our Conception of God*; Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 2006; Netton, Richard Ian: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Routledge, 2013; Smailagić, Nerkez: *Leksikon islama*; Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1990.

Vidi i: Bloom, M. Jonathan and Sheila Blair S. Sheila (editor): *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture – Oxford Reference*; Dostupno na: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195309911.001.0001/acref-9780195309911>. Pristupljeno 8.8.2019; *Islamic Art – New Catholic Encyclopedia*; The Gale Group Inc. Dostupno na: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/islamic-art>. Pristupljeno 8.8.2019; *Islamic Art And Architecture – The Columbia Encyclopedia*; 6th ed. Dostupno na: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/literature-and-arts/art-and-architecture/asian-and-middle-eastern-art/islamic-art-and-architecture>. Pristupljeno 8.8.2019; *Islamic arts – Encyclopædia Britannica*; Dostupno na: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Islamic-arts>. Pristupljeno 8.8.2019; Brozović, Dalibor (gl. ur.): *Hrvatska enciklopedija*; Leksikografski zavod „Miroslav Krleža“, Zagreb, 1999. Dostupno na: <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=70076>. Pristupljeno 8.8.2019; *Art Glossary of Terms – The Art History Archive*; Dostupno na: <http://www.arthistoryarchive.com/arthistory/glossary/Art-Glossary-Terms-AA-AZ.html>. Pristupljeno 8.8.2019; Donzel, E. Van, J. Schacht, B. Lewis et al.: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1960-2004; *Encyclopaedia of Islam (Second Edition)*; Online sets out the present state of our knowledge of the Islamic World. Brill. Dostupno na: <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>. Pristupljeno 2.12.2019.

¹⁴ S obzirom da nismo uspjeli pronaći odgovarajuće nazivlje u arapskom jeziku, što ni u kom slučaju ne znači da ono ne postoji, pribjegao sam formuliranju prikladne pojmovne orijentacije po analogiji sa poznatom terminološkom odrednicom iz povijesti arapske književnosti za tehniku pjesništva (a ne poetike u značenju aristotelovske tradicije), koja se u arapskoj leksičkoj koneksiji identificira sa izrazom/terminom *fannu al-šī'r*.

¹⁵ U cilju preciznijeg razumijevanja primordijalnog i savremenog značenja riječi „umjetnost“, neminovno je potrebno razlikovati savremenu upotrebu i značenje ove riječi u odnosu na njezino ključno značenje i smisao koji se tradicionalno nazivao *zanatom*. Očito je kako je arapsko nazivlje zadržalo takvo tradicionalno značenje u terminu *fann* sa njegovom aktivacijom u značenju *umjeće qadar/ṣinā'at*, a savremeno zapadno izvršilo njegovu transformaciju na ono što je *ars* na st. latinskom ili na ono što je na st. grčkom τέχνη (*techne*); „sposobnost, zanat“) u značenju: *moć 'stvaranja' unaprijed postignutog rezultata svjesno kontroliranim i usmjerenim djelovanjem*.

¹⁶ Čini se bitnim navesti kako u antici nije postojao pojam koji bi na adekvatan način iskazao ono što se danas razumijeva pod pojmom „umjetnost“. Aristotel je podijelio sve nauke na: teorijske (promatrajuće), praktične (one koje su usmjerene na djelovanje) i tehničke. U ove posljednje, tehničke, spadalo je umjeće produktivno-refleksivnog djelovanja, koje je bilo ekvivalentan pojam pojmu *proizvodnje*, i to *zanatske proizvodnje*. *Tehne* je bila vezana za način proizvodnje, i nije uživala status „slobodne javne djelatnosti“, kao što je takav status, donekle, imala filozofija. Geneza pojma „umjetnost“ tek sa pojavom *arse* (lat. *ars, artis* – vještina) počinje da uključuje u sebi moment kreativnosti, ali je bila strogo kontrolirana i propisivana, takoreći naručena djelatnost.

We are warned that this is not the case by one of the Arabic terms, *fannu taḥsīn*,¹⁴ the meaning of which focuses on the technique and, generally, on the formal *definition* of the constructive side of ornamental, productive-reflective discourse. Originally, the word *fann* does not mean „art“¹⁵ in the sense in which it is defined in the Western civilizational circle: *fann* is „artistry“, „tehne“¹⁶ focused on skill and generally on the formal-methodological side of *the field of qadar/ṣinā'at of Islamic homo faber*, i.e. of *homo fannān* – a person who is able to control his own fate and living environment as a result of using certain tools based on his own knowledge and convictions in the reality of coherent faith (*cohaerentia religare*), incorporating them in the institution of unique history (*historiae autonoma*),¹⁷ i.e. of *homo islamiensis* („Islamist“) or, more accurately,

Lexicon: How Language Shapes Our Conception of God; Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, 2006; Netton, Ian Richard: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Routledge, 2013; Smailagić, Nerkez: *Leksikon islama*; Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1990.

See also: Bloom, Jonathan M. and Blair, Sheila S. (eds): *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture – Oxford Reference*; Available at: <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195309911.001.0001/acref-9780195309911>. Accessed on 8.8.2019; *Islamic Art – New Catholic Encyclopedia*; The Gale Group Inc. Available at: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/islamic-art>. Accessed on 8.8.2019; *Islamic Art And Architecture – The Columbia Encyclopedia*; 6th ed. Available at: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/literature-and-arts/art-and-architecture/asian-and-middle-eastern-art/islamic-art-and-architecture>. Accessed on 8.8.2019; *Islamic arts – Encyclopædia Britannica*; Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Islamic-arts>. Accessed on 8.8.2019; Brozović, Dalibor (gl. ur.): *Hrvatska enciklopedija*; Leksikografski zavod „Miroslav Krleža“, Zagreb, 1999. Available at: <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=70076>. Accessed on 8.8.2019; *Art Glossary of Terms – The Art History Archive*; Available at: <http://www.arthistoryarchive.com/arthistory/glossary/Art-Glossary-Terms-AA-AZ.html>. Accessed on 8.8.2019; Donzel, E. Van, J. Schacht, B. Lewis et al.: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*; Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1960-2004; *Encyclopaedia of Islam (Second Edition)*; Online sets out the present state of our knowledge of the Islamic World. Brill. Available at: <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>. Accessed on 2.12.2019.

¹⁴ Since we did not manage to find appropriate terms in Arabic, which in no case means that there are not any, we resorted to the formulation of an appropriate conceptual definition by analogy with the known terminological entry from the history of Arabic corpus for poetry technique (not poetics in the meaning of Aristotelian tradition), which is, in the Arabic lexical unit, identified with the expression/term *fannu al-šī'r*.

¹⁵ To more accurately understand the primordial and contemporary meaning of the word „art“, it is necessary to distinguish between its contemporary use and meaning and its key meaning and sense, which was traditionally called *craft*. It is evident that Arabic vocabulary retained this traditional meaning in the term *fann*, with the meaning of *skill of qadar/ṣinā'at*, while contemporary Western vocabulary transformed it into the meaning of *ars* in Latin, or τέχνη (*techne*); „ability, craft“ in Greek, i.e.: *the power to 'create' a previously achieved result by consciously controlled and directed doing*.

¹⁶ It seems essential to note that in ancient times there was no concept that could appropriately express what is presently understood under the concept „art“.

Aristotle divided the science into: theoretical (observing), practical (focused on doing), and technical. The last, technical science, included the skill of productive-reflective doing, which was a notion equivalent to that of *production*, namely *handicraft production*. *Tehne* was related to the manner of production, and did not enjoy the status of „free public activity“, as was, to a degree, the case with philosophy. It was only with the emergence of *ars* (Lat. *Ars, artis* – „skill“) that the notion of „art“ began to include the moment of creativity, though it was a strictly controlled and prescribed, almost ordered activity.

¹⁷ The term *homo faber* (Lat. *Homo* „man“, *faber* „blacksmith“) was adopted by H. Bergson in 1907 to refer to human distinctive qualities.

See: Bergson, Henri: *Stvaralačka evolucija (L'Évolution créatrice)*, [transl. Tomislav Medak]; HAUZ, Igitur, Zabok – Zaprešić, 1999.

In conservative Islamic thought one can find views that generally deprive *homo fannān* of the power of causal actions, claiming that only God is active and that any kind of causal actions should be attributed to God; in the created reality, the relationship between cause and effect depends on God's will. It is such views that led to the establishment of *occasionalism*, as a specific form of interpreting causation, rooted in the interpretations of Islamic conservative theology. In the sources of traditional Islamic thought one can encounter the view that causation can be interpreted rationally. Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī believes that if there were any *creator's causality*, God's agency would be subordinate to the necessity imposed by nature, and he therefore claims that *there is no other causation than that by God*.

Sharif, M. M.: *Historija islamske filozofije* [prev. Dr. Hasan Sušić]; II volume, August Cesarec, Zagreb 1990, p.9; Zakzouk, Mahmoud: *Ghazalijeva filozofija u usporedbi s Descartesom*; El-Kalem, Sarajevo 2000, pp 148-149; See also: Bohm, David: *Uzročnost i slučajnost u savremenoj fizici*; Nolit, Belgrade 1972, p.70.

fann šinā'ata (umjeće djelanja), nije puki „umjetni“ (na umjetni način, supr. *prirodni*) postupak pikturnalnog ukrašavanja, dekoriranja, oslikavanja, kićenja, aranžiranja, koji ovisi o njegovoj povremenoj sposobnosti. Ako se može, recimo, prilikom okončanja *actusa humanusa* – „ljudskog čina“ nekog takvog karaktera djelanja *homo islamicusa* odrediti njegova likovna kvaliteta prikaza ornamentalne kompozicije u slijedu različitih faza poimanja linearnog i tonalnog, to je, idući preko toga, izgrađivanje konstruktivnih uporišta, koja tvore

¹⁷ Izraz *homo faber* (lat. *homo* – čovjek, *faber* – kovač) usvojio je H. Bergson 1907. godine da izrazi čovjekova osebujna svojstva.

Vidi: Bergson, Henri: *Stvaralačka evolucija – L'Évolution créatrice*, [prev. Tomislav Medak]; HAUZ, Igitur, Zabok – Zaprešić, 1999.

U konzervativnom islamskom mišljenju moguće se susresti i sa stavovima koji generalno *homo fannānu* oduzimaju moć uzročnog djelanja, tvrdeći da je samo Bog aktivan i da svaku vrstu uzročnog djelanja treba pripisati Bogu; odnos uzroka i učinka u stvorenoj stvarnosti ovisi o volji Božijoj. Upravo takvi stavovi su doveli do utemeljenja *okazionalizma* kao specifičnog oblika tumačenja uzročnosti čiji su korijeni utemeljeni u okvirima tumačenja islamske konzervativne teologije. U izvorima tradicionalnog islamskog mišljenja, moguće se susresti sa stavovima da se uzročnost može racionalno tumačiti. Abū Ḥāmid Al-Ghazālī je mišljenja da ako bi postojala *stvarateljska uzročnost*, Božije djelovanje bi bilo podređeno nužnosti koju nameće narav, zato on iznosi tvrdnju *da nema druge uzročnosti osim Božije*.

Sharif, M. M.: *Historija islamske filozofije* [prev. dr. Hasan Sušić]; II tom, August Cesarec, Zagreb 1990., str. 9; Zakzouk, Mahmoud: *Ghazalijeva filozofija u usporedbi s Descartesom*; El-Kalem, Sarajevo 2000., str 148-149; Vidi i: Bohm, David: *Uzročnost i slučajnost u savremenoj fizici*; Nolit, Beograd 1972., str. 70.

¹⁸ Kasnih osamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, radeći na jednoj studiji o ornamentalnoj prirodi/orijentaciji islamskog civilizacijskog kruga, za osobu koja se svjesno bavila produktivno-refleksivnim diskursom u ovoj oblasti koristio sam oba termina: *homo islamiensis* i *homo islamicus* ovisno od karaktera i praktične funkcije atributa. Nažalost studija u formi knjige nije objavljena, ali je njena rukopisna forma u potpunosti uništena prilikom granatiranja mog ateljea u Sarajevu 28. maja 1992. godine.

U ovoj studiji opredijeljeni smo za prevashodno korištenje termina *homo islamicus* jer je u njegovom značenju deponirana sadržajnost koja je kroz stoljeća nastajala da unutar sakralnog produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa održi odbljesak Božijih savršenih atributa koji se tiču unutarnje čistoće, slijeđenja Sunneta, moralne nadgradnje ljudske duše, uzdizanja ljudskog bitka čestitošću, iskrenošću i poniznošću kao i pokušajima razumijevanja unutarnjeg značenja vjere i učenja islama, te poimanja *tawhīda* – islamski izraz na bosanskom jeziku za monoteizam i znači jedinstvenost ili jednoća Boga u njegovom značenju (tj. svjedočenje da nema drugog boga osim Allaha).

Bili su to *homo islamicusi* koji su tokom stoljeća stvarali konstrukte produktivno-refleksivne prirode/orijentacije, čineći to bilo putem sposobnosti da steknu viziju – ar. *dhawq, kašfili šuhūd*, tog arhetipskog svijeta, zahvaljujući sredstvima koja je dostupnim učinila Objava i specifično muhammedanski *bereket* – ar. *barakah* – blagoslov, napredak, sreća, ili tako što su bili podučeni od onih učitelja koji su imali takvu viziju.

Igrom okolnosti prilikom predaje ove studije za tisak u časopisu Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar, urednik dr. Ekrem Tucaković mi je skrenuo pažnju na korištenje istog termina kod Seyyeda Hosseina Nasra, koji kaže: „*Homo islamicus* jeste Božiji sluga ili rob – ar. *al-'abd* i Njegov namjesnik na zemlji – ar. *khalīfatu Allah fi-l-ard*, ne životinja koja govori i misli, već biće koje posjeduje dušu i duh/intelekt stvoren od Boga. *Homo islamicus* sadrži unutar sebe biljnu i životinjsku prirodu, budući da je kruna stvaranja – ar. *ašraf al-makhlūqāt*, ali nije evoluirao iz nižih oblika života. Čovjek je uvijek bio čovjek. Islamska koncepcija ljudskih bića predviđa da su oni bića koja žive na Zemlji i imaju zemaljske potrebe, ali nisu isključivo zemaljski, i njihove potrebe nisu ograničene samo na ono zemaljsko. Oni vladaju Zemljom, ali ne po svom vlastitom pravu, već zapravo kao Božiji namjesnici prije svih stvorenja. Oni također snose odgovornost pred Bogom za stvoreni poredak i oni su putevi milosti ka Božijim stvorenjima. *Homo islamicus* posjeduje moć razuma (*ratio*), koji dijeli i analizira, ali njegove ili njene mentalne sposobnosti nisu ograničene na razum... On ili ona posjeduje sposobnost intuitivnog spoznavanja kroz korištenje intelekta, kao i onog analitičkog kroz upotrebu uma i, također, posjeduje sposobnost stjecanja unutarnje spoznaje, odnosno spoznaje o njegovu ili njenu unutarnjem biću, koje je zapravo ključ za spoznaju Boga... *Homo islamicus* svjestan je činjenice da njegova ili njena svijest nema vanjski, materijalni uzrok, već potječe od Boga.

Stoga *homo islamicus* ostaje svjestan eshatoloških zbilja, činjenice da, iako on ili ona živi na Zemlji, on ili ona jeste ovdje poput putnika koji je veoma daleko od svog izvornog doma. On ili ona svjestan/svjesna da je njegov ili njezin vodič na ovom putovanju poruka koja potječe iz njegova ili iz njezina izvornog porijekla, iz *Izvoja*, a ta poruka nije ništa drugo do objava, za koju osoba ostaje vezana, ne samo u njezinu pravnom aspektu oličenom u *Serijatu*, nego također, i u njegovom unutarnjem aspektu kao istine i spoznaje – ar. *ḥaqīqah*. Također, takvo je biće svjesno da ljudske sposobnosti nisu vezane i ograničene na osjetila i razum, već su do te mjere da su ljudska bića u stanju dosegnuti puninu svog bivstvovanja i aktualizirati sve mogućnosti koje je Bog usadio u njih, a kroz vjeru i duhovnu praksu njihov um i razum može postati prosvijetljen snagom svjetlosti duhovnog svijeta, te su u mogućnosti da postignu direktnu spoznaju duhovnog i spoznajnog svijeta, na koji časni Kur'an upućuje kao na nevidljivi ili onostrani svijet – ar. *'ālam al-ghayb*.“
Prijevod preuzet iz: Nasr, Hossein Seyyed: *Islamska filozofija od postanka do danas*; sa engleskog preveo: Rusmir Šadić, Centar za kulturu i edukaciju „Logos“, Tuzla, 2018., str. 339-340.

Vidi i originalno djelo: Nasr, Hossein Seyyed: *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present: Philosophy in the Land of Prophecy*; Albany, State University of New York Press, 2006., str. 265-266 i fus. 13;

homo islamicus („Islamic man“),¹⁸ who is positioned in the basis of productive-reflective discourse as an integral part of the Islamic civilizational circle. Ornamentality (*taḥsīn*), as the fundamental feature of *homo islamicus's* conscious free *qadar/šīnā'at* within *fann šīnā'at* (*skill of action*), is not a mere „artificial“ (opp. of *natural*) procedure of pictorial *ornamenting, decorating, imaging, adorning, arranging* which depends on his occasional ability. For instance, if, during the completion of *actus humanus* („human act“) of *homo islamicus's* actions of such a nature, one can determine the artistic quality of presenting an ornamental composition in a sequence of different stages of conceiving the linear and tonal, the building of constructive footholds that make up the compositional value is an *inventive-conceptual act*.

¹⁸ In the late 1980s, while working on a study on the ornamental nature of the Islamic civilizational circle, I used both terms for a person consciously involved in productive-reflective discourse in this area: *homo islamiensis* and *homo islamicus*, depending on the character and practical function of the attribute. Unfortunately, the study has never been published in the form of a book, and its manuscript was completely destroyed during the shelling of my studio in Sarajevo on 28 May 1992.

In this study we chose to primarily use the term *homo islamicus*, since its meaning is pregnant with content that, over centuries, endeavored to permeate the sacral productive-reflective discourse with the reflection of God's perfect attributes pertaining to inner purity, adherence to Sunnah, the moral advancement of the human soul, the elevation of a human being through honesty, sincerity and humbleness, as well as through attempts to understand the inner meaning of religion and the teaching of Islam, and the conception of *Tawhīd* (Islamic term for monotheism, which means the oneness of God) in its meaning (i.e. testimony that there is no other god except Allah).

These were the *homines islamici* who, over centuries, created constructs of a productive-reflective nature. They did it either because they had the ability to have a vision (ar. *dhawq, kašf or shuhūd*) of that archetypal world, due to resources made available by the Revelation and specifically Mohammedan *Baraka* (ar. *barakah* „blessing, progress, happiness“), or by having been taught by teachers who had such a vision.

By virtue of circumstances, when I was submitting this study to be printed in the journal „Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar“, the editor, Dr. Ekrem Tucaković, drew my attention to the use of the same term by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, who says: The *homo islamicus* is at once the servant of God (*al-'abd*) and His vicegerent on earth (*khalīfatu Allāhi fi-l-ard*), not an animal that happens to speak and think but a being who possesses a soul and spirit/intellect created by God. The *homo islamicus* contains within himself or herself the plant and animal natures as he or she is the crown of creation (*ašraf al-makhlūqāt*) but has not evolved from the lower forms of life. Man has always been man. The Islamic conception of human beings envisages that they are beings who live on earth and have earthly needs but are not only earthly, and their needs are not limited to the terrestrial. They rule over the earth, not in their own right, but rather as God's vicegerents before all creatures. They therefore also bear responsibility for the created order before God and are the channels of grace for God's creatures. *Homo islamicus* possesses the power of reason, of ratio that divides and analyzes, but his or her mental faculties are not limited to reason. He or she possesses the possibility of knowing intuitively through the use of the intellect as well as analytically through the employment of reason and also has the capability to gain inward knowledge, the knowledge of his or her own inner being, which is in fact the key to the knowledge of God.

The *homo islamicus* thus remains aware of the eschatological realities, of the fact that although he or she lives on this earth, he or she is here as a traveler far away from his or her original abode. He or she is aware that his or her guide for this journey is the message that issues from his or her home of origin, from the Origin, and this message is none other than revelation to which such as person remains bound not only in its aspect of law as embodied in the *Sharī'ah* but also in its inner aspect as truth and knowledge (*Ḥaqīqah*). Such a being is also aware that human faculties are not bound and limited to the senses and reason but that to the extent that human beings are able to regain the fullness of their being and bring to actualize all the possibilities that God has placed within them, through faith and spiritual practice, their minds and reason can become illuminated by the light of the spiritual world, and they are able to gain direct knowledge of the spiritual and intelligible world to which the Noble Quran refers as the invisible or absent world (*'ālam al-ghayb*).

See: Nasr, Seyyed Hossein: *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present: Philosophy in the Land of Prophecy*; Albany, State University of New York Press, 2006, pp. 265-266 and footnote 13.

In the course of further research into recent literature, I found this term used in Islamic economy and finance, where it is claimed that economically extraordinary Islamic finance has been built based on *homo islamicus* who is, as claimed, different from *homo economicus*. Islamic financial institutions are part of Islamic banking, where interest is prohibited and the basic behavior of constituent members of *homo islamicus* is assumed to be part of the idealized society, permeated with Islamic values and commitment. However, the experience of international investments reveals a reality where Muslims still do not behave in the way prescribed by such a model.

See: Farooq, Mohammad: *Self-Interest, Homo Islamicus and Some Behavioral Assumptions in Islamic Economics and Finance*; PDF Available, January 2011. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228204390_Self-Interest_Homo_Islamicus_and_Some_Behavioral_Assumptions_in_Islamic_Economics_and_Finance. Accessed on 25.1.2020.

kompoziciju vrijednost, *inventivno-konceptualni čin*, pri kojem se sloboda *homo islamicusa* sastoji upravo u tome da izvrši odabir unutar ukupnosti konstruktivnih odraza u obliku plošnih pikturalnih konstrukta/poruka (npr. gereh pločica¹⁹), a da korišteni linijski karakter posredstvom ornamentalnog usmjerenja – ar. *taḥsīn* – transformira u nadindividualnu strukturu; negiranje objektivnosti izvan ljudskog uma. Otuda se događa da jedan te isti plošno strukturirani prikaz, pri identičnom kompozicionom rješenju, može imati različitu karakterizaciju, ali istu projiciranu refleksiju. Ornamentalni izričaj je baština i zavještaj islamskog razumijevanja određenog polja ljudske orijentacije/dispozicije, unutar čijih granica djelanje *homo islamicusa* nikada ne može imati karakter proste proizvodnje iste supstancije s ciljem njezine reciklaže (ponovne proizvodnje) sa novom egzistencijom – *novum esse entitativum et substantiale*, nego uvijek svjesno djelatni život obilježen novom slobodnom ornamentalnom konstruktivnošću²⁰ kojom se izražava Njegova neponovljivost.²¹ Dolazak do stanovišta da je Njega nemoguće predstaviti bilo čime što je „stvoreno“ – to za *homo islamicusa* znači biti dokraja ozbiljan spram Njegove apsolutnosti i sublimnosti.²² Kada imaginalni svijet *homo islamicusa* dokuči da Njemu nije slično ništa što je „stvoreno“, to znači dokučiti Njega kao *Ljepotu*²³ – kojoj ništa drugo što je lijepo nije slično. Neizrazivost Svevišnjeg je Božiji atribut²⁴ čije je značenje *vječnost, apsolutnost, prvobitnost ili bezuvjetnost, neograničenost...* Vječnost je neizraziva u svakom smislu.

Daljim istraživanjem novonastale aktualne literature susreo sam se s korištenjem ovog termina i u islamskoj ekonomiji i finansijama, gdje se tvrdi kako su ekonomske izvanredne islamske finansije izgrađene na temelju *homo islamicusa*, i za kojeg se tvrdi da je različit od *homo economicusa*. Islamske finansijske institucije pojavljuju se kao dio islamskog bankarskog pokreta, gdje je kamata zabranjena, a temeljno ponašanje konstitutivnih članova *homo islamicusa* pretpostavlja se kao dio idealiziranog društva, prožetog islamskim vrijednostima i predanošću. Međutim, iskustvo međunarodnih investicija otkriva stvarnost u kojoj se muslimani ipak ne ponašaju onako kako to ovakav model predviđa.

Vidi: Farooq, Mohammad: *Self-Interest, Homo Islamicus and Some Behavioral Assumptions in Islamic Economics and Finance*; PDF Available, January 2011. Dostupno na: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228204390_Self-Interest_Homo_Islamicus_and_Some_Behavioral_Assumptions_in_Islamic_Economics_and_Finance. Pristupljeno 25.1.2020.

¹⁹ Ustaljeno je mišljenje da su pojedinačni geometrijski uzorci konstruirani određenim pomagalicama (alatima) u formi šestara i ravnala na pravokutnim ili pravilnim šesterokutnim jedinicama, koje je zatim moguće pravilno periodički popločati. No, taj postupak nije izvediv kod nekih kompozicija uzoraka proizašlih iz peterokuta, te se sve do nanovo otkrivenih gereh pločica – perz. *gereh-sāzi*, njihov način konstruktivne izrade nije mogao objasniti. Gereh pločice se sastoje od pet jednakokraničnih mnogokuta s karakterističnim uzorkom te omogućuju periodičko i neperiodičko popločanje; konstruktivno-kompozicijsku formu.

Čini se bitnim naglasiti kako *homo islamicus* u okviru navedenog popločanja, odnosno razvijene forme **plošnog koncepta** nije prihvaćao samo poznate (naslijeđene) konstruktivne vrijednosti formi, već, naprotiv, iskazivao težnju ka novim motivirajućim vrijednostima slavljenja islamskih istina, za koje je bilo potrebno više stoljeća da se njihova konstruktivnost izvan islamskog civilizacijskog kruga dekodira.

Millwright, Marcus: *Architecture – Gereh-sāzi*; *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. X, Fasc. 5, Associated Press i Sveučilište Columbia 1982., str. 500-504. Za objašnjenje **plošnog koncepta** vidi fusnotu 38.

²⁰ Pod *slobodnom konstruktivnošću* podrazumijeva se *homo islamicusovo* činjenje *qadar/šīnā'at-a* iz slobode što je u arapskom jeziku označeno rječju *akhlāq* – ar. pl. *akhlāqun*, koja predstavlja množinu arapske riječi *khuluqun* i označava urođenu sklonost, ćud, način ljudskog ophođenja sa svijetom, duševna i moralna svojstva koja određuju i formiraju način ljudskog ponašanja – grč. *ethos*, lat. *mores*. Iako se u središtu značenja pojma moral nalazi „činjenje“, a u središtu značenja pojma *akhlāq* – duševna i moralna svojstva, može se kazati da se pojam *akhlāq* u svom značenju poklapa s pojmom *moral*.

Etimologija riječi *reciklirati* ima značenje moguće proste proizvodnje iste supstancije sa novom egzistencijom – dolazi od engl. izraza *recycle* koji, pak, korijen ima u lat. riječi *cyclus*, odnosno grčkoj *kyklos*, koje znače „krug“ (engl. složenica lat. – grč. izrazu dodaje prefiks „re“ i ta se inačica koristi u ovoj studiji sa navedenim značenjem).

²¹ *Fann*, kao ljudsko umijeće iskazivanja onog najljepšeg – ar. *ḥasan* – ljepotan što ima unutar svoga duha/duše, kao izuzetnu produktivno-refleksivnu vrijednost onoliko koliko je taj izražaj „neponovljiv“. To je bit i tajnovitost pojmova *fann*, *ḥasan* i *taḥsīn* – uljepšavanje, odnosno Njegova metafizička bit – *actus purus* čista, sama zbiljnost; On je neponovljiv u svom bitku pa je upravo i zbog toga Jedan Jedini.

In this process, *homo islamicus's* freedom implies making a choice within the entirety of constructive reflections in the form of planar pictorial constructs/messages (e.g. girih tiles¹⁹), while he transforms the used linear character into a supra-individual structure by means of affinity for the ornamental (*taḥsīn*); the negation of objectivity beyond the human mind. It is for this reason that one and the same flatly structured representation, with an identical compositional solution, may have both a different characterization and the same projected reflection. Ornamental expression is the heritage and legacy of Islamic understanding of a given field of human disposition, within which *homo islamicus's* actions can never have the character of the basic production of the same substance aimed at its recycling (repeated production) with the new existence (*novum esse entitativum et substantiale*); rather, it is always the consciously active life marked by new free ornamental constructiveness²⁰ that expresses His uniqueness.²¹

To reach the conclusion that He is impossible to represent by anything that is „created“ – for *homo islamicus* it means being completely serious towards His absoluteness and sublimity.²² When *homo islamicus's* imaginal world grasps that nothing „created“ resembles Him, it means grasping Him as *Beauty*²³ – *that nothing else that is beautiful resembles*. The inexpressibility of the Almighty is an attribute of God,²⁴ the meaning of which is *eternity, absoluteness, originality or unconditionality*. Eternity is inexpressible in any sense.

¹⁹ It is typically believed that individual geometric patterns are designed using certain aids (tools) in the form of compasses and rulers on rectangular or symmetrical hexagonal units, which can then be regularly periodically tiled. However, this procedure is not feasible with some compositions of patterns arising from the pentagon, and therefore the manner of their constructive production could not be explained until the re-discovered *girih tiles* (pers. *gereh-sāzi*). Girih tiles are composed of five equilateral polygons with a characteristic pattern and allow periodical and un-periodical tiling; a constructive-compositional form. It seems important to point out that within this kind of tiling, i.e. within the developed form of planar concept, *homo islamicus* did not only adopt the known (inherited) constructive values of forms; on the contrary, he strove to new motivating values of praising Islamic truths, and it took a few centuries to decode their constructiveness beyond the Islamic civilizational circle.

Millwright, Marcus: *Architecture – Gereh-sāzi*; *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Vol. X, Fasc. 5, Associated Press and University of Columbia 1982, pp. 500-504. See footnote 38 for an explanation of the *planar concept*.

²⁰ *Free constructiveness* refers to *homo islamicus's qadar/šīnā'at* arising from freedom; in Arabic it is described by the word *akhlāq* (ar. pl. *akhlāqun*), which is the plural of the Arabic word *khuluqun* and signifies innate affinity, disposition, the mode of human communication with the world, mental and moral features that determine and form the manner of human behavior (Greek *ethos*, Lat. *mores*). Although „doing“ is central to the meaning of the notion of *morality*, while „mental and moral features“ are central to the meaning of *akhlāq*, it can be claimed that the meaning of the concept *akhlāq* corresponds to the concept of *morality*.

The etymology of the word *recycle* points to the possible simple production of the same substance with a new existence – its root is found in the Latin word *cyclus*, i.e. the Greek word *kyklos*, both of which mean „circle“ (in English, the prefix 're' is added to the Latin-Greek word, and it is the meaning of the term used in this study).

²¹ *Fann* is the human skill of expressing the most beautiful (*ḥasan* – „a beauty“) the person has within his spirit/soul, as an exceptional productive-reflective value in the sense that this expression is „unrepeatable“. This is the essence and mystery of the concepts *fann*, *ḥasan* and *taḥsīn* („beautifying“), i.e. His metaphysical essence (*actus purus*) – pure actuality, actuality itself. He is unrepeatable in His being, and it is for this reason that He is One and the Only.

²² By Islamic definition, *He, God, is the Creator of good* ... He does not create evil, but rather allows evil to „sneak into“ the earthly world, which is imperfect because only God is perfect. If the world were perfect, it would resemble God, and since nothing can resemble God, the world is necessarily imperfect and, consequently, evil is allowed in it.

²³ Certainly, it is also true of earthly beauty: nothing can be as perfectly beautiful as God is, but it does not mean that a person has no right to endeavor not to **create**, but rather to imitate beauty (ar. *taqlid* – „mimicking, imitating“), which God creates in nature and in man himself. For this reason it is not proper to say that those who act within this productive-reflective *qadar* are „creators“ (ar. *Khāliq* active part. of verb *khalāqa* – „create“); rather, they are only *imitators* (ar. *muqallid* derived from the Arabic verb *qallada* – „to follow someone's words and moves without



ILUSTRACIJA - Nepoznati autor, *Radionica za proizvodnju oružja – minijatura osmanske zanatske radionice s oružjem*. Perzija sredinom 16. stoljeća; Kompoziciono rješenje urađeno rekonstrukcijom izvora preuzetog sa Google platforme 2020. godine.

ILLUSTRATION - Unknown author, *An Arms Workshop – miniature painting of a craft Ottoman weapons workshop*; Persia mid-16th century; Composition solution done reconstruction of the source that are hosted on Google platforms 2020.

²² Po islamskoj atribuciji je *On, Bog, Stvoritelj dobra...* On ne stvara zlo, već dopušta da se zlo „zavučee“ u ovozemaljski svijet, koji je nesavršen zato što je Bog samo savršen. Kad bi svijet bio savršen, onda bi ličio na Boga, a pošto ništa ne može ličiti na Boga, ovaj svijet je nužno nesavršen pa je, stoga, i zlo dopušteno u njemu.

²³ To, dakako, važi i za ovozemaljsku ljepotu: ništa ne može biti savršeno lijepo kao Bog, ali to ne znači da čovjek nema pravo da se trudi ne da *stvara*, već da *imitira* ljepotu – ar. *taqlid* – oponašanje, imitiranje, koju Bog stvara u prirodi u i samom čovjeku. Zato nije valjano kazati da su oni što djeluju u okviru produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije *stvaraoci* – ar. *Khaliq* part. akt. od gl. *khalāqa* – stvoriti, oni su samo *imitatori* (ar. *muqallid*, izvedeno iz ar. glagola *qallada* – slijediti nečije riječi i postupke bez razmišljanja) već stvorenog u prirodi i njima samima. On želi da Njegova stvorenja budu posrednici (ar. *wāsiṭah*), razlog ili uzrok – ar. *sabab* i sredstvo – ar. *wasilah*. [On stvara i *sabab*, *wasilah*, *wāsiṭah* (tj. razloge, posrednike, načine, sredstva) i njihove efekte].

Pojam *mimesis* imao je posebnu važnost u antičkoj estetici koja je prvotno shvaćana kao *imitacija*. Demokrit je shvaćao *mimesis* kao imitaciju načina djelovanja u prirodi. Pojam je dobio osobitu važnost u Platonovoj i Aristotelovoj filozofiji. Prema Platonu *mimesis* ima tri značenja: ontološko – o odnosu ideja i osjetilnih stvari koje su njihove kopije; etičko – u smislu sličnosti s Bogom; i estetsko – kao bit kreativnosti. Kod Aristotela *mimesis* znači imitaciju ili predstavljanje sa posebnom važnosti u kreativnom djelovanju ljudi. Bitno je primijetiti kako se ideja o *imitaciji* kao „umjetnosti“ u okviru zapadnog civilizacijskog kruga zadržala veoma dugo sve do suprotnog romantičarskog shvatanja „umjetnosti kao stvaranja“.

²⁴ Jedan od Božijih atributa je da je Bog „Džamil“ – *Lijep* (ar. *džamil* – „lijep“). Islamsko poimanje dopušta da čovjek *Njegovu ljepotu* prepoznaje i usvaja kao svoju vlastitu, kao što je dopušteno da čovjek prepoznaje *Božiju milost* i usvaja je kao svoju vlastitu. Također dopušteno je da čovjek oponaša sve pozitivne *Božije attribute* kao svoje vlastite – ljepotu, dobrotu, samilost, pravednost...



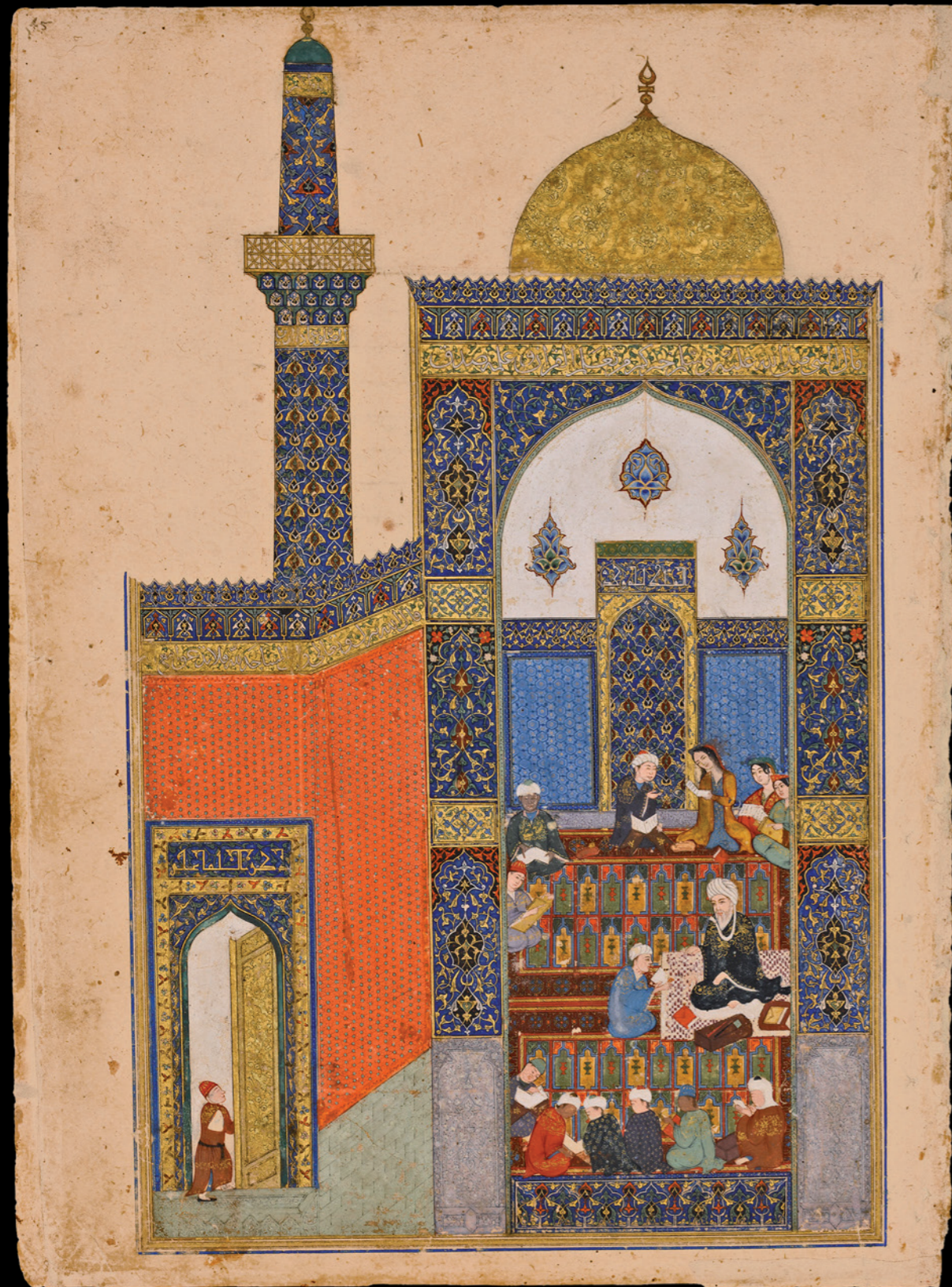
ILLUSTRATION - Unknown author, *Portrait of Homo Islamicus – Painter*; Illustration from an album, India 17th century. Source-based reconstruction from the *Al-Ṣabāḥ*, Collection The Kuwait National Museum and the Dar al-Āthār al-Islāmiyyah („House of Islamic Antiquities“) in 2019.

ILUSTRACIJA - Nepoznati autor, *Portret homo islamicusa – slikar*; Ilustracija iz albuma, Indija 17. stoljeće. Rekonstrukcija urađena na osnovu izvora iz zbirke *Al-Ṣabāḥ*, Kuvajtski nacionalni muzej i Dar al-Āthār al-Islāmiyyah („Kuća islamskih starina“) 2019. godine.

thinking“) of what has already been created in nature and in themselves. He wants His beings to be the mediators (*wāsiṭah*), reason or cause (*sabab*) and means (*wasilah*). [He also creates *sabab*, *wasilah*, *wāsiṭah* (i.e. reasons, mediators, ways, means) and their effects.

The concept *mimesis* had a particular significance in Ancient aesthetics. Originally, it was understood as *imitation*. Democritus conceived *mimesis* as the imitation of the mode of acting in nature. The concept gained a particular importance in Plato's and Aristotle's philosophy. According to Plato, *mimesis* has three meanings: ontological – pertaining to the relationship between ideas and the sensory objects that are copies thereof; ethical – in the sense of similarity to God; and aesthetic – as the essence of creativity. For Aristotle, *mimesis* means imitation or representation with a particular importance in people's creative activity. It should be noted that the idea of *imitation* as „art“ survived in the Western civilizational circle for a very long time, all the way until the opposite Romanticist understanding of „art as creation“.

²⁴ One of God's attributes is that God is „Jamil“ – *Beautiful* (ar. *jamil* – „beautiful“). Islamic understanding allows man to recognize *His beauty* and adopt it as his own. It is also allowed for man to recognize *God's grace* and adopt it as his own. It is also allowed for man to imitate all the positive *attributes of God* as his own – beauty, goodness, compassion, righteousness, and so forth.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ *Homo islamicus*. Kompoziciono rješenje urađeno rekonstrukcijom sljedećih izvora: *Laila i Madžnūn u školi*, stranica iz *Khamse* (Kvintet) od Nizāmija, 1431.-32.; *Qawwal*, pripadnik velike muslimanske kaste 'Mirasis' ili pjevača iz *Kitāb-i tashriḥ al-aqvām* (Historija o porijeklu i prepoznatljivim crtama različitih kasti u Indiji), Mughalski Delhi 1825; Al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, 13. stoljeće; Kamāl ud-Dīn Behzād, *Portret pjesnika Hātīfija*, Timuridski period, 1511. godine; Reza Abbasi, *Portret Ḥakima Šifāe*, Perzija, Tabriz 1628-1629.

ILLUSTRATION ~ *Homo islamicus*. Composition solution done by reconstructing the following sources: *Laila and Majnūn at School*, Folio from a *Khamse* (Quintet) of Nizām 1431-32; *Qawwal*, a sub-caste of the large Muslim caste of 'Mirasis' or singer from the *Kitāb-i tashriḥ al-aqvām* (History of the origin and distinguishing marks of the different Castes of India), Mughal Delhi 1825; Al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, 13th century; Kamāl ud-Dīn Behzād, *Portrait of The Poet Hātīfī*, Timurid Period 1511; Reza Abbasi, *Portrait of Ḥakīm Šifāeh*, Persia, Tabriz 1628-1629.

Pojam *umjeća* (*qadar/ṣinā'at*) u kontekstu tradicionalnog islamskog odbljeska

Čini se posebno potrebnim i bitnim, da bi se učinio sljedeći korak ka naznačenoj tradicionalnoj aktualizaciji značenja *qadar/ṣinā'ata* *homo islamicusa*, promatrati moguće značenje pojma *umjeća* (*qadar/ṣinā'at*), odnosno *produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne problematike* u kontekstu konzervativnog i tradicionalnog islamskog civilizacijskog odbljeska.

- Jedna od prvotnih karakteristika onoga što je označeno kao *umjeće* (*qadar/ṣinā'at*) u formi produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa je sadržano u podrazumijevanju različitosti između *sredstava* i samog čina u konačnosti uređenja; svako od njih je jasno zamišljeno kao nešto što se razlikuje jedno od drugog, ali je ipak jedno s drugim povezano. Korišteni izraz „sredstva“ ne odnosi se na konačno ostvarenje *qadar/ṣinā'ata*, već na radnje koje su u vezi s njima (manipuliranje alatima). Rukotvorno vladanje olovkom, kistom, perom – ar. *qalam* – ostavljajući trag grafita, boje ili jednom vrstom arapske/kineske tinte – ar. *murakkab* – da bi se dosegla neophodana cjelina *qadar/ṣinā'ata*, ostaju po strani kada je ona dostignuta.
- Plošna dvodimenzionalna forma *qadar/ṣinā'ata* je unaprijed osmišljena ili je podrazumijevajuća prije nego što je okončana. *Homo islamicus* zna šta želi uraditi prije nego što ostvari konačnu kompozicionu formu, što u svakom slučaju zahtijeva precizno definirano predznanje (duhovnu nadgradnju ljudske duše i obučenost).
- Vještinu *qadar/ṣinā'ata*, *homo islamicus* upravo stječe dijelom osobnog iskustva, a dijelom usredsređivanja na iskustva drugih koji su time postali njegovi duhovni i strukovni učitelji (vjerska i praktična operativnost djelanja).
- Sredstva i svrha *qadar/ṣinā'ata* povezani su na suprotan način u postupku čina izvršenja. Prvo se osmisli konačna vrijednost kompozicione forme a nakon toga se osmišljavaju sredstva. Međutim, u izvršavanju *qadar/ṣinā'ata* sredstva dolaze na prvo mjesto a kraj se postiže njihovim posredovanjem.
- Evidentna je razlika između korištenih materijala (direktan utjecaj na formalno-materijalne karakteristike djela) i artefakta (djela kao konačne vizualizirane forme). Ono na čemu se djelanje obavlja i okončava, odnosno ima za cilj pretvorbe toga u nešto drukčije

Concept of *skill* (*qadar/ṣinā'at*) in the context of traditional Islamic reflection

The next step toward updating traditional issues in discussing the meaning of *homo islamicus's qadar/ṣinā'at* requires separate consideration of the possible meaning of the notion of *skill* (of *qadar/ṣinā'at*), i.e. of *productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art* in the context of the conservative and traditional Islamic civilizational echo.

- One of the primary characteristics of what is designated as *skill* (of *qadar/ṣinā'at*) in the form of productive-reflective discourse is contained in the implied difference between the *means* and the act itself in the ultimate *qadar*. Each of them is clearly conceived as something different from the other; still, they are mutually connected. The employed term „means“ does not refer to the final actualization of *qadar/ṣinā'at*, but rather to activities related to it (handling tools): the hand's mastery over pencil, brush and pen (ar. *qalam*, from classical Greek *kamalos*), leaving the trace of blacklead, color or a kind of Arabic/Chinese ink (ar. *murakkab*) to achieve the necessary unity of *qadar/ṣinā'at* is left aside when it has been achieved;
- The geometric two-dimensional form of *qadar/ṣinā'at* is conceived in advance or is implied before it has been completed. *Homo islamicus* knows what he wants to do before he has created the final compositional form, which always requires accurately defined previous knowledge (the spiritual upgrade of human soul and training);
- It is as *homo islamicus* that he acquires the skill of *qadar/ṣinā'at*, partly from his own experience and partly by concentrating on the experience of others, who thus become his spiritual and vocational teachers (religious and practical operativity);
- The means and purpose of *qadar/ṣinā'at* are related in the opposite way in the process of the act of implementation. He first conceives the final value of the compositional form, and only then does he conceive the means. However, while executing *qadar/ṣinā'at*, means come first, and the end is achieved through their mediation;
- The difference between the employed materials (the direct effect on the formal and substantial characteristics of a piece) and the artefact (the piece as the final visualized form) is evident. The material is what the *qadar/ṣinā'at* are performed and completed on; i.e. it is intended

a preuzeto je u odgovarajućoj formi prije nego što je započet *qadar/ṣinā'at*; postoji razlika između ostvarene forme artefakta i korištenog materijala i pribora. Korišteni materijal je identičan prije i poslije njegove upotrebe, odnosno transformacije u oblik, a ostvareni oblik je u duhu vjerovanja i *qadar/ṣinā'ata* s ciljem postizanja refleksije Svevišnjeg; u zavisnosti od veličine teksta ili voluminoznosti ornamentalne/profane kompozicije, odnosno inskripcionog ili podložnog panela, te korištenog materijala određenog porijekla, upotrebljavaju se pribori različitih karakteristika.

- Nužno je shvatiti da konačna forma produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne problematike, koja omogućuje da vještina *qadar/ṣinā'ata homo islamicusa* bude shvaćena trenutačno i neupitno, sama po sebi nije dovoljna da bi bila prouzrokovana ukoliko *istina* nije stalna opomena za svako njegovo mišljenje.
- Učinak vještine *homo islamicusa* se očituje kod recipijenata konačnih formi produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije posredstvom aktiviranja određenog stanja uma koje je unaprijed zamišljeno, te da je konzervativnim i tradicionalnim stavovima okarakterizirano kao poželjno. Kompetentan *homo islamicus* ispunjava barem jedan uvjet: djelo utječe na recipijenta onako kako je on namjeravao pod uvjetom da se nalaze na *istom duhovnom putu* (ar. *ṭarīqah*). Moguće je i ispunjenje drugog uvjeta: stanje uma koje se tako probudi u *homo islamicusu* i recipijentu može biti na jedan ili drugi način vrijedno; ono koje obogaćuje njihov život i tako se javlja ne samo njihovo obostrano divljenje nego i zahvalnost.
- On posjeduje znanje o učinku na koji cilja i čini ga mogućim iskustvom i predodžbom – što je neostvareno znanje i iskustvo drugih iako je i *njihova duša obasjana*.
- Koliko god bilo moguće da *homo islamicus* ostvari zavidan nivo tehničko-tehnološke vještine, on je *homo islamicus* samo ako se ta vještina ne poistovjećuje s „umjetnošću“ ili „zanatom“, nego s **umijećem** *qadar/ṣinā'ata* koje je u skladu sa konzervativnim, ali i tradicionalnim poimanjem. Posjedovanje tehničko-tehnološke vještine ni u kom slučaju ne znači da je to ona vrijednost koju posjeduje svaki drugi zanatlija/obrtnik; njegova vještina je produktivno-refleksivnog karaktera fundirana vjerovanjem, a ne kao obrtnička vještina za zadovoljenje precizno dogovorene ili proizvodnje za tržište predmeta/objekata i modela praktične namjene.
- Uspostavljanje znaka jednakosti između djelanja *homo islamicusa* i obrtnika nije moguće niti je opravdano. Tehnika *qadar/ṣinā'ata homo islamicusa* podrazumijeva da on, kako je već kazano, posjeduje određena iskustva koja zahtijevaju izražavanje; osmišljenu i duhovno utemeljenu mogućnost djelanja u produktivno-refleksivnoj orijentaciji kako bi se mogao izraziti; njegovo djelo, kao neostvareni kraj, zahtijeva realiziranje kompozicionih vrijednosti određenih moći ili oblika vještina, a to je tehnika *qadar/ṣinā'ata homo islamicusa*.

to be transformed into something different, though it is taken in a given form before the action begins. Thus, there is a difference between the produced form of the artefact and the employed material and implements. The employed material is identical before and after its use, i.e. its transformation into a shape, while the produced shape is in line with the faith and *qadar/ṣinā'at*, and is aimed at achieving the reflection of the Almighty; depending on the size of the text and the volume of ornamental/profane composition, and the inscription or background panel and the employed material of a certain origin, implements of different characteristics are used.

- It is not necessary to understand, nor is it less important, that the final form of productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art, which allows the momentary and unambiguous understanding of the skill of the *qadar/ṣinā'at* of our *homo islamicus's*, is not *per se* sufficient to cause understanding, unless *truth* is the permanent caveat for each of his thoughts.
- The effect of *homo islamicus's* skill is to trigger, in the recipients of the final forms of productive-reflective representation, certain states of mind that he conceived in advance, and that are characterized as desirable in conservative and traditional views. A competent *homo islamicus* fulfills at least one condition: a piece affects the recipient in the way he intended under the condition that the two of them are on the *same spiritual path* (ar. *ṭarīqah*). It is also possible to fulfill another condition: the state of mind thus aroused in the recipient can be a valuable state of mind in one way or another; he is the one who enriches their life and therefore induces both their admiration and their gratitude.
- He has the knowledge of the effect he aims at and makes it a possible experience and notion; for the others, it is unattained knowledge and experience, although their souls are also *flooded with light*.
- As much as it is possible for the *homo islamicus* to gain a desirable level of technical-technological skill, he is a *homo islamicus* only if this skill is not identified with „art“ or „craft“ but rather with the **skill of** *qadar/ṣinā'at*, which is in line with both the conservative and traditional understanding. Having the technical-technological skill in no case means that it is the value possessed by any other craftsman; his skill is of productive-reflective character and is founded on faith, rather than a craftsman's skill for completing accurately agreed production, or production for the market of things/objects and models with a practical purpose.
- It is not possible or justified to put an equation sign between actions by *homo islamicus* and a craftsman. The technique of *homo islamicus's qadar/ṣinā'at* implies that he, as we have already mentioned, possesses certain experiences which require expression; the well-conceived and spiritually grounded possibility of action in the productive-reflective *qadar* to be able to express himself; his work, as an unattained end, requires the actualization of the compositional values of given powers or forms of skills, and this then is the technique illustrating the *qadar/ṣinā'at* of our *homo islamicus's*.

Upravo u tome je sadržan element istinitosti. Istinitost je da samo definiranje određenog kompozicionog rješenja započinje doživljajem inicijacije koja zahtijeva izražavanje u formi produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa. U poređenju s načinom djelovanja obrtnika značilo bi da je njegova produktivno-refleksivna orijentacija lažna; ne posjeduje konkretizirano rješenje u vidu namjene za daljnju serijsku proizvodnju i prodaju niti specifikaciju materijala koja mu je potrebna da ustanovi financijsku protuvrijednost za aktivno djelanje i utrošeni materijal, što svaki obrtnik/zanatlija ima prije nego što započne konkretno djelovanje. To se uvijek odnosi na obrtnika; to se, dakle, ne odnosi na *homo islamicusa* iako je produkt njegovog *qadar/šīnā'ata* u okviru produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije kod pojedinih autora označeno kao *zanatsko (obrtničko) djelo*.²⁵

- Iako se može kazati da su izrazi *umjetnost* i *produktivno-refleksivna reprezentacija likovne problematike* vrste jednog roda: oba su u osnovi aktivnosti produkovanja inovacijskih artefakata, ali se razlikuju u aktiviranju duhovnih inicijacija i konačnoj kvaliteti ili karakteru značenja. Potrebno je isključiti iz mišljenja da se *qadar/šīnā'at homo islamicusa* sastoji u proizvodnji posebne vrste artefakata, označenih kao *umjetnička djela* ili *predmeti d'arte*. Prvenstveno, to je unutarnja ili mentalna datost, postojeća ali fundirana iskrenim vjerovanjem i potvrđenom praksom uređenja, odnosno znanja *qadar/šīnā'ata*. Drugo, to je opažajna stvar refleksivnog karaktera i odnosi se na atribut Svevišnjeg. Lahko je zaključiti da tačan odnos *homo islamicusa* prema toj mentalnoj strukturi iziskuje vrlo pažljivo i utemeljeno definiranje.
- Budući da *homo islamicus* ne nastupa kao „umjetnik“, ali ni kao „zanatlija/obrtnik“, onda on kao takav „ne stvara djela iz umjetnosti“ niti „produkte obrtničke karakterizacije koja se ostvaruju proizvodnjom, prometom ili pružanjem usluga na tržištu“. Djela *homo islamicusa*, za razliku od djela umjetnika i produkata ručnog rada zanatlija/obrtnika, imaju, između ostalog definiranu „društveno propisanu svrhu na osnovu iskustva odanog vjerovanja“, moguće je ustvrditi da finalnu formu njegovog *qadar/šīnā'ata* ne možemo nazvati „umjetničkim djelom“, ali ni „zanatskim/obrtničkim proizvodom“ – bez obzira na određene stavove koji nameću znak jednakosti među svim mogućim karakterima „obrta/zanata“, kao i „umjetnosti“.²⁶

Analizirajući liniju islamskog očitovanja putem dostupnosti izvora koji pružaju neosporne dokaze o odnosu između islamske duhovnosti (koja proistječe, naravno, direktno iz Kur'ana, Sunneta

²⁵ U okviru *Tehničke teorije umjetnosti*, neki su autori, povedeni mišljenjem grčkih filozofa, „umjetnička djela“ označavali kao *zanatska (obrtnička)*. Naime, grčki su filozofi razradili ideju o *zanatu*, ustvari, što je jedno od najvećih i najčvršćih dostignuća grčkog uma ili u bilo kojoj mjeri te škole od Sokrata do Aristotela. Kad su se počeli baviti estetskim problemima, i Platon i Aristotel konstatirali su postojanje tzv. „pjesničkih zanata“, kao i „analognih zanata“ među kojima je imalo svoje mjesto i bilo koje od oblika djelovanja u oblasti slikarstva.

Ingram, G. Peter: *Art, Language and Community in Collingwood's Principles of Art*; u: *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 37, No. 1, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 1978., str. 53-64.

²⁶ Collingwood, George, Robin: *The Principles Of Art (reprint iz 1938.)*; Oxford University Press, Amen House, London 1960., str. 42-56.

This contains an element of truth. The truth is that the very definition of a given compositional solution begins with the experience of initiation, which in turn requires expression in the form of productive-reflective discourse. When compared to the craftsman's way of working, it would mean that the latter's productive-reflective *qadar* is false; he does not have a specific solution in terms of its purpose for further mass production and sales, or specs for the material he needs to determine the financial equivalent for the activity and employed material, which any craftsman has before beginning the actual activity. This always pertains to the craftsman; thus, it does not pertain to the *homo islamicus* – although some authors describe the product of his *qadar/šīnā'at* within productive-reflective representation as *a work of craft*.²⁵

- It can be claimed that the terms *art* and *productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art* are species of the same genus; both are basically activities of producing innovative artefacts. However, they differ in the activation of spiritual initiations and in the ultimate quality or character of meaning. It is necessary to exclude from one's thinking the idea that the *qadar/šīnā'at* of our *homo islamicus's* consist of the production of special kinds of artefacts, designated as *works of art* or *objets d'art*. Primarily, it is an inner or mental activity, existing but founded on the sincere faith and the confirmed practice of actions, i.e. the knowledge of *qadar/šīnā'at*. Secondly, it is a perceptual object of reflective character and pertains to the attributes of the Almighty. It is easy to conclude that *homo islamicus* exact relationship toward this mental structure requires a very careful and well-founded definition.

- Since *homo islamicus* does not appear either as an „artist“ or as a „craftsman“, as such, he does not create „works of art“ or „products of a craftsman character which are created by production, traffic or the provision of services on the market“. As opposed to works by artists and the products of craftsmen's handiwork, *homo islamicus's* works have, among other things, the defined „socially prescribed purpose based on the experience of devoted faith“. It is possible to claim that the final form of his *qadar/šīnā'at* cannot be called a „work of art“ or „product of craft“, regardless of certain views that impose equality between all the possible characteristics of „craft“ and „art“.²⁶

By analyzing the line of Islamic proclamations through the available sources that provide indisputable evidence of the relationship between Islamic spirituality (which, naturally, derives directly from the Quran, plus the Sunnah and Hadith of the Prophet) and forms of hand-making activity, as well as treatises in the

²⁵ Within a *Technical theory of arts*, some authors, led by the thinking of Greek philosophers, designated „works of art“ as those of *craft*. Indeed, Greek philosophers elaborated the idea of *craft*, which was actually one of the greatest and strongest achievements of the Greek mind, from Socrates to Aristotle. When they began to deal with aesthetic issues, both Plato and Aristotle established the existence of the so-called „poetic crafts“, as well as of „analogous crafts“, which included any form of activity in the area of painting.

Ingram, Peter G.: *Art, Language and Community in Collingwood's Principles of Art*; in: *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 37, No. 1, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 1978, pp. 53-64.

²⁶ Collingwood, Robin George: *The Principles Of Art (reprint of 1938)*; Oxford University Press, Amen House, London 1960, pp. 42-56.

Poslanikovog i hadisa) i forme rukotvornog djelovanja, te rasprava s područja kritike i teorije djelatnog života *homo islamicusa*²⁷, moguće je doći do zaključka kako se ona izolirano sve vrijeme odvijala unutar „zatvorene“ civilizacije islama;²⁸ određeni stavovi o njezinim **ornamentalnim** (sakralnim) ali i **profanim** poljima reprezentacije nisu bili namijenjeni onima koji „nisu upućeni“, tačnije rečeno *nalazili na istom putu*.²⁹ Znači na putu *islama* kao **kulturološke**,³⁰ ali i *islama* kao **civilizacijske odrednice** koji se u povijesnom produktivno-refleksivnom diskursu očituju u primjeni pojma *islam*³¹ na jedan od dva različita,

²⁷ Pored direktnih izvora postoji i čitava biblioteka djela na skoro svim svjetskim jezicima koja se bave historijom, opisivanjem i materijalnim karakteristikama produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa islamskog civilizacijskog kruga. Međutim, osnovno pitanje utemeljenja takvog nadindividualnog slobodnog *qadar/šīnā'at-a homo islamicusa* rijetko je ili nije nikako postavljano. Nažalost rješenje problema veza preko stoljeća i kulturalnih granica, uprkos njihovoj zanimljivosti sa motrišta povijesti produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa ne otkriva nam izvorište, budući da ono nije naprosto artefakt koji je korišten već ono što je islamska zajednica (ar. *ummat-l-mū'minīn*) učinila s tim artefaktima.

Seyyed Hossein Nasr smatra da: [...] „Pitanje izvora islamske umjetnosti i naravi snaga i principa koji su doveli do njezinog ozbiljenja mora stoga biti upućeno na svjetonazor samoga islama, na islamsku Objavu iz koje izravno zrači **sveta** (akcentirao aut.) umjetnost islama, a posredno cjelokupna islamska umjetnost“ [...]

Nasr, Hossein Seyyed: *Odnos između islamske umjetnosti i islamske duhovnosti; Znakovi vremena*, časopis za filozofiju, religiju, znanost i društvenu praksu, vol. 7, dvobroj 22/33, Naučnoistraživački institut „Ibn Sina“, Sarajevo, zima-proljeće 2004., str. 117–129.

²⁸ Kada je riječ o prenošenju znanja i tumačenju produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa rekognitivne asimilacije u skladu sa stavovima islamskog civilizacijskog kruga, vladalo je mišljenje da takve informacije mogu biti od koristi samo onima koji ih razumijevaju bez umanjivanja njihove vrijednosti. Razumijevanje takve orijentacije je mudrost koja nije data svakom čovjeku, pa zato to mogu činiti samo oni koji su iskrenim radom u skladu sa poznavanjem vjerske istine ostvarili takvu sposobnost posredstvom velikog učenjaka (ar. *'allāmah* ili *'ālim* – onaj koji posjeduje *'ilm*, „znanje, učenost visokog stupnja“) iste duhovne tradicije. Ovakav stav svjedoči o stanovitoj gradaciji u islamskom konceptu znanja apostrofirajući vjerski (kosmički) aspekt znanja koji ima pravo da sudi o svjetovnom (zemaljskom) znanju u svim njegovim varijacijama. Čini se bitnim naglasiti kako znanje (ar. *al-'ilm*) u islamu ima jednu dublju unutarnju dimenziju koja se često naziva *ma'rīfah* (gnoza), i vezana je prvenstveno za intuitivnu stranu ljudskog intelekta, pa je otuda zbog nerazumijevanja uloge (misije) sakralne i profane produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije u jednom konkretnom „trenutku“ razvoja islamske kulture i civilizacije došlo do izoliranosti cjelokupnih teorijskih rasprava s „izvanjskim svijetom“ zbog učvršćivanja islamskog znanja, odnosno „korijena“ odanog vjerovanja.

²⁹ Radeći na iluminaciji *Kur'ana sa prijevodom na bosanski jezik* za izdavačku kuću „Bosanska knjiga“ (1993.-'95.) izvršio sam prethodnu analizu pedesetak različitih verzija i oblika knjižnih izdanja *musafa* – ar. *mushāfa* (Kur'an je sabran u mushaf, a mushaf je proizvod čovjekovog djelanja, dok je Kur'an Allahov Govor) u smislu iluminacijskih pristupa. U kontaktu sa konzervativnim i tradicionalnim islamskim misliocima i iskazanog interesa da saznam njihov odnos prema različitim iluminacijskim pristupima, naišao sam na „zid šutnje“, odnosno jednostavno izrečenu konstataciju „svi su plahi“. Prilikom kratkog boravka u Istanbulu 1994. godine (IRSICA – *Research Centre For Islamic History, Art and Culture*) o problematici pristupa iluminaciji teksta Objave razgovarao sam sa tadašnjim direktorom IRSICA-e akademikom Ekmeleddinom İhsanoğluom. On mi je kazao da mi u tome, ipak, može pomoći samo jedan čovjek, a to je dr. Ibrahim Chabbuoh (Generalni direktor Kraljevskog instituta za islamsku misao Aal al-Bayt, Jordan).

Igra okolnosti je bila ta, da je dr. Chabbuoh već bio moj punac kojeg još do tada nisam upoznao, a koji je upravo u to vrijeme boravio u Istanbulu. Tako sam upoznao punca i dobio sažet odgovor na upit o datoj problematici: „Ne može se sa bilo kim raspravljati i razgovarati o *qadar/šīnā'atu* koje čovjeka podsjeća na Boga, dok god iz čovjekovog srca nije odstranjeno sve drugo osim Uzvišenog i ne promijeni se loša narav njegove duše (ar. *nafs*). Osoba s kojom se to čini mora biti potpun čovjek (ar. *al-insān al-kāmil*), koji je kročio putem (ar./perz. *ma'navi sayr*) postizanja potpunosti (ar. *kamāl* – „savršenstvo, potpunost“) i nadahnuća Premilostivog (ar. *džazbī*).“ Shvatio sam poruku, ali nisam dobio željeno, i bez obzira na upozorenje da je to mudrost koja nije data svakom čovjeku, u konačnici, ipak, postigao sam zapaženu iluminaciju mushafa (u formi prijevoda na bosanski jezik) koju je punac sa ponosom poklanjao najcjenjenijim prijateljima.

³⁰ Za razliku od nekih drugih objašnjenja i različito shvaćenim predmetnim odrednicama i metodološkim okvirima pojma *kulturologija* (npr. Edvarda Tajlora, Vilhelma Ostvalda, Alfreda Krebera, Lesliea Whitea, E. V. Sokolova...), pod kulturološkim odrednicama u ovoj studiji podrazumijeva se sveobuhvatno sagledavanje geneze fenomena kulture, kao i fundamentalna važnost pozicije, nadležnosti i integrativnog tumačenja kulture u okviru društvenog razvoja pod utjecajem islama. U takvom okviru kultura zadobija značajno mjesto u oblikovanju krucijalnih odrednica društvene realnosti u kreiranju i artikuliranju osnovnih vrijednosnih i razvojnih opredjeljenja. Nužnost ovakve specifičnosti sagledavanja proizilazi iz shvatanja: da su kulturne pojave, o kojima je riječ posebne i specifične; da kulturni elementi djeluju i odnose se prema drugim elementima u skladu sa sopstvenim islamskim principima; da se kultura kao takva može objasniti jedino „sama sobom“... Na taj način se analiza odnosa na relaciji čovjek-društvo-kultura moguće utemeljuje jednostrano, ili čak uprošteno, jer se tumači samo u okvirima pravolinijskog, determinacijskog djelovanja islamom fundirane kulture na čovjeka i društvo.

sphere of the critique and theory of *homo islamicus's* active life,²⁷ it can be concluded that, throughout time, it proceeded in isolation within the „closed“ civilization of Islam;²⁸ certain views on its **ornamental** (sacral) as well as **profane** fields of representation were not intended for those who „were not initiated“, or rather *who were not on the same path*.²⁹ It refers to the *path of Islam* as a **culturological determinant**,³⁰ as well as *Islam* as a **civilizational determinant**. In productive-reflective discourse both of them are manifested in the use of the concept of *Islam*³¹ in one of two different, though mutually related ways of *qadar/šīnā'at*, depending on

²⁷ Besides direct sources, there is an entire library of writings in almost all the languages of the world dealing with the history, descriptions and material characteristics of productive-reflective discourse of the Islamic civilizational circle. However, the fundamental question of the foundation of such supra-individual free *qadar/šīnā'at* by *homo islamicus* has rarely or never been asked. Unfortunately, the solution of the problem of connections over centuries and cultural borders, despite its curiosity from the viewpoint of the history of productive-reflective discourse, does not reveal the starting point, since it is simply not an artefact that was used, but what the Islamic community (*ummatu-l-mū'minīn*) did with these artefacts.

Seyyed Hossein Nasr believes that: [...] „The question of the source of Islamic art, and the nature of the powers and principles that led to its becoming a reality, must therefore be directed to the worldview of Islam itself, to the Islamic Revelation which directly emanated the **sacred** (emphasis by the author) art of Islam, and indirectly the entirety of Islamic art“ [...]

Nasr, Hossein Seyyed: *Odnos između islamske umjetnosti i islamske duhovnosti*; „Znakovi vremena“, časopis za filozofiju, religiju, znanost i društvenu praksu, vol. 7, double issue 22/33, Naučno istraživački institut „Ibn Sina“, Sarajevo, Winter-Spring 2004, pp. 117–129.

²⁸ With respect to the transfer of knowledge and interpretation of productive-reflective discourse of precognitive assimilation in line with the views of the Islamic civilizational circle, it was believed that such information can be useful only to those who understand them without diminishing their value. The understanding of such a view is wisdom that is not granted to every man, and it can therefore be practiced only by those who, by their sincere work, in line with the knowledge of religious truth, have gained such ability through a great scientist (*'allāmah* or *'ālim* – one who possesses *'ilm* „a high level of knowledge, learnedness“) of the same spiritual tradition. Such a view testifies to a certain gradation in the Islamic concept of knowledge by emphasizing the religious (cosmic) aspect of knowledge, which is entitled to judge secular (earthly) knowledge in all its variants. It should be noted that in Islam knowledge (*al-'ilm*) has a deeper inner dimension which is often called *ma'rīfah* (gnosis), and is primarily related to the intuitive side of the human mind. It is for this reason that due to the lack of understanding of the role (mission) of sacral and profane productive-reflective *qadar* at a specific „moment“ of the development of Islamic culture and civilization, the entire theoretical discussion with the „outer world“ is isolated for the purpose of reinforcing Islamic knowledge, i.e. the „root“ of devoted faith.

²⁹ While working on the graphic design of the *Quran with a translation into Bosnian* for the publisher „Bosanska knjiga“ (1993–1995), I previously analyzed about fifty different versions and forms of printed editions of *mushaf* (the Quran is assembled into mushaf; thus, mushaf is a product of human action, while the Quran is Allah's Recitation) in terms of illumination approaches. In contacts with conservative and traditional Islamic thinkers due to my interest in their attitude toward different illumination approaches, I encountered a „wall of silence“ or, in simple terms, „they were all shy“. During my short stay in Istanbul in 1994 (IRSICA – *Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture*) I discussed the issue of the approach to illumination of the text of the Revelation with the IRSICA director at the time, academician Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu. He told me that there was only one person who could help me, Dr. Ibrahim Chabbuoh from Tunisia.

By virtue of circumstance, Dr. Chabbuoh, whom I had not met before, was already my father-in-law, and it turned out that he was staying in Istanbul at the time. In this way, I met my father-in-law and received a succinct answer to my inquiry about the issue: „One cannot discuss the *qadar/šīnā'at* that remind people of God, unless everything except the Sublime has been removed from the person's heart and the bad nature of his soul (ar. *nafs*) has changed. The person you do it with must be a complete man, who is already following the path (ar./perz. *ma'navi sayr*) of attaining perfection (ar. *al-insān al-kāmil* – „a perfect man“) and the Merciful's inspiration (ar. *jadhbi*).“ I understood the message but did not hear what I wanted. However, regardless of the warning that it is *wisdom that is not given to any man*, I eventually achieved the prominent illumination of mus'haf (in the form of a translation into Bosnian), which my father-in-law proudly gave his most respected friends as a present.

³⁰ As opposed to some other explanations and differently understood determinants and methodological frameworks of the concept of *culturology* (e.g. Edward Taylor, Wilhelm Ostwald, Alfred Kroeber, Leslie White, E.V. Sokolov and so forth), in this study culturological determinants refer to the comprehensive consideration of the genesis of the phenomenon of culture, as well as to the fundamental importance of the position, competence and integral interpretation of culture within social development under the influence of Islam. In such a framework, culture gains a significant place in the formation of crucial determinants of social reality, in creating and articulating basic values and development choices. The necessity of such a distinctive consideration stems from the view that the cultural phenomena in question are distinctive and particular; that cultural elements affect and relate to other elements in line with their own Islamic principles; that culture as such can be explained only „by itself“, and so forth In this way, the analysis of the relationship man-society-culture may have a one-sided, or even simplified basis, since these relations are explained only within the linear, determining effect of Islam-based culture on man and society.

premda međusobno povezana načina *qadar/šinhā'ata*, ovisno o interesima i ciljevima produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne problematike, te konzervativnog i/ili tradicionalnog mišljenja. Čini se da ovom prilikom nije moguće zaobići niti jedan od njih.



ILUSTRACIJA - *Homo islamicus*; Ilustracija iz *Tašriḥ al-aqvām* (izvještaj o podrijetlu i zanimanjima nekih indijskih sekti, kasta i plemena). Mogulsko Carstvo, Delhi 1825. Rekonstrukcija urađena na osnovu navedenog izvora 2020. godine.

ILLUSTRATION - *Homo islamicus*; Illustration from the *Tašriḥ al-aqvām* (an account of origins and occupations of some of the sects, castes, and tribes of India). Mughal Empire, Delhi 1825. Reconstruction done on the basis of the said source in 2020.

³¹ Islam se sastoji od Božanskog zakona *Šerijata* (ar. *Šarī'ah*), duhovnog puta *Tarikata* (ar. *Ṭarīqah*) i Istine *Hakikata* (ar. *Ḥaqīqah*) koja je izvor i Zakona i Puta. Također, posjeduje mnoge forme znanosti teologijske, filozofijske, ezoterijske i pravne naravi koje korespondiraju sa ovim osnovnim dimenzijama, mada ih sve nije moguće tretirati kao sazajno-teorijska uporišta u izvorištu upute za realizaciju produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije.

the interests and goals of the productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art, and conservative and/or traditional thought. It seems that on this occasion it is not possible to avoid either.



ILLUSTRATION - Gentile Bellini, *Homo islamicus - A Seated Scribe*; 1479-1481, reconstruction done on the basis of source from Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, USA. Reconstruction done on the basis of the said source in 2019.

ILUSTRACIJA - Gentile Bellini, *Homo islamicus - Sjedeći pisar*; 1479-1481., rekonstrukcija urađena na osnovu izvora iz Muzeja Isabella Stewart Gardner, Boston, SAD. Rekonstrukcija urađena na osnovu navedenog izvora 2019. godine.

³¹ Islam consists of the Divine law *Šarī'ah*, the spiritual path *Ṭarīqah* and Truth *Ḥaqīqah*, which is the source of both Law and Path. It also includes many forms of science of the theological, philosophic, esoteric and legal nature that correspond to these basic dimensions, although not all of them can be treated as cognitive-theoretical footholds in the origin of the source for instructions for the effectuation of productive-reflective *qadar*.



ILUSTRACIJA – PRIZORI IZ SVAKODNEVNOG ŽIVOTA. Rekonstrukcija urađena na osnovu izvora: Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-'Arīdī iz Qazwīna, *Povijest sultana Sulejmana od Sayyida Luqmana* – Selim se susreće s osmanskom vojskom, donoseći tijelo svog oca Sulejmana u Beograd; Istanbul 1579.

ILLUSTRATION ~ SCENES FROM EVERYDAY LIFE. Reconstruction done on the basis of the source: Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-'Arīdī of Qazwīna, *History of Sultan Süleyman* by Sayyid Luqman – Selim meets the Ottoman army, bringing the body of his father Süleyman, at Belgrade; Istanbul 1579.



ILLUSTRATION ~ SCENES FROM EVERYDAY LIFE. Unknown author, *Miniature painting – illustrated manuscript*. Dār al Āthār al Islamiyyah (DAI) – The Al-Ṣabāḥ Collection, Kuwait. Reconstruction done on the basis of the said source in 2020.

ILUSTRACIJA – PRIZORI IZ SVAKODNEVNOG ŽIVOTA. Nepoznati autor, *Minijaturna slika – ilustrirani rukopis*. Dār al Āthār al Islamiyyah (DAI) – Kolekcija Al-Ṣabāḥ, Kuvajt. Rekonstrukcija urađena na osnovu navedenog izvora 2020. godine.

O pojmu islamske karakterizacije produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa

Prvi i najrasprostranjeniji način primjene tog pojma jeste onaj, koji se inače upotrebljava za označavanje stanja kulture – ar. *thaqāfa*, što proishodi iz šireg vjerskog kodeksa naučavanja, ideja i stavova, koji ga prate (sklonost i iskustvo *odanog vjerovanja*; osjetna [čulna] komponenta spoznajnog čina), a koji se ponajprije prepoznaje u tematskoj i pikturnalnoj zaokupljenosti problematikom i prizorima „poruke islama“.³² Ovakva koncepcija definirala je poziciju produktivne autonomije sakralno/ornamentalne orijentacije rekognitivne asimilacije, koja je utvrđuje kao zaokupljenost „područjem kompetencije“, odnosno estetskim iskustvom i standardima u odnosu prema zahtjevima „čistoće“ i jedinstvenosti medija kao sebstva univerzalnih istina islama,³³ onako kao što Božije neizrecivo jedinstvo obuhvata vječnu različitost Njegova stvaranja.

Kompozicionalnost s određenim prisutnim aksiomima, temeljem kojih je uspostavljeno značenje na način potpuno iskazane semantičko-estetizirane strukture korištenog jezika *qadar/šīnā 'ata homo*

³² Pod „porukom (ili prezentacijom) islama“ dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi podrazumijeva sve ono što je rečeno u ime islama, s ciljem poziva u islam ili podučavanja o islamu, bez obzira na sredstvo i način na koji je izrečeno... Kada se govori o islamskoj poruci, podrazumijevaju se veći broj formi orijentacija koje zahtijevaju ogroman trud i jaka sistemska uređenja kako bi se na originalan način *prenijela istina o islamu*.

Dr. Jusuf al-Kardavi u programu katarske tv-stanice Al Jazeera Balkans. Dostupno na: <http://www.iltizam.org/tekstovi/read/2327>. Pristupljeno 23.9.2019.

³³ *Al-tawhīd* (Tevhid) je najznačajniji temeljni koncept u islamu koji označava ontološku uzvišenost ili transcendentnost Boga, jer Bog je prisutan u cjelokupnom području pojavnog svijeta. Sve što nije On – stvoreno je, netrascendentno, podvrgnuto zakonima prostora i vremena. Ništa u pojavnom svijetu ne može biti Bog niti Božansko ni u kojem smislu, posebno u ontološkom; *al-tawhīd*, kao suština monoteizma, to poriče (bilo šta i bilo ko ne može imati ikakve sličnosti s Bogom Svevišnjim Neuporedivim).

Može se kazati kako takav temeljni koncept nije protiv produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa muslimana niti protiv njegovog uživanja u ljepoti. Upravo obrnuto, *al-tawhīd* blagosilja ljepotu i promovira je, s tim da je apsolutna ljepota vidljiva samo u Bogu i Njegovim objavljenim riječima. Prema tome, moguće je izvesti zaključak da je *al-tawhīd* naklonjen kreiranju odgovarajućeg oblika produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije prikladne svom svjetonazoru.

Pošavši od premise da ne postoji drugi Bog osim Allaha, *homo islamicus* je prihvatio uvjerenje da ništa u pojavnom svijetu ne može predstavljati ili Ga izraziti. Zbog toga je on *stilizirao/reducirao* sve što se nalazi u pojavnom svijetu koga predstavlja, tj. kroz linearnu i tonalnu stilizaciju, on se, koliko god je mogao, udaljio od pojavnog svijeta. U ruci *homo islamicusa*, postupak stilizacije je postao ono negirajuće sredstvo pomoću kojega on kaže „Ne!“ svakoj pojedinosti u pojavnom svijetu – da bi to sredstvo kreiralo samo sebe. Istovremeno poričući prirodnost te stilizacije, on u vidljivoj plošnoj formi izražava negativni aspekt *Šehadeta* (ar. *Šahādah* – „uvjet za pristup u vjeru sa kojim se rađa, živi i umire“), naime, da ništa drugo nije bog osim Allaha. Moguće je konstatirati kako je *šehadet homo islamicusa* zbiljski ekvivalent poricanja transcencije u prirodi.

Pored svog čisto vjerskog značaja, kredo *lā ilāha illā Allāh* ima značaj i na području produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije. U arapskom pismu njegovi naizmjenični slovni znaci *elif* i *lā* formiraju temeljni obrazac za svaku vrstu ornamentalnog te formule koja se, naravno, nalazi dokle god su muslimani dospjeli. Kako u ornamentalnim plošnim formama tako i u arhitektonskim uklesima ove su važne riječi urešene sa zadivljujućim isprepletenim filigranskim ukrasima, tako da neupućena osoba jedva može i zamisliti da se bit islama kao vjere skriva iza njih.

Također treba imati na umu da suštinska ljepota u islamu nije relativna, jer ne zavisi od promatrača. Riječ je o suštinskoj ontološkoj ljepoti, ne o emocijama koje ona moguće pobuđuje. Takvu ontološku ljepotu nije lahko pojmiti, ali ju je zbog lakšeg razumijevanja moguće podijeliti u tri kategorije: istinsku, inicijacijsku i lažnu. Istinska ljepota pripada Bogu i Njegovom postojanju, a inicijacijska podrazumijeva ljepotu stvorenu, ne Stvoritelja, s tim da i ona uvodi u osjećaj divljenja Božijem postojanju. Dok se lažna kategorija ljepote, po mišljenju konzervativno-tradicionalnih mislilaca, ispoljava uživanjem u „ljepoti kreacija“ kao stvorenja, bez usredsređenja na to da je sve Božije stvorenje.

On the concept of the Islamic characterization of productive-reflective discourse

The first and widest-spread way of applying this concept is that for designating conditions of culture (*thaqāfa*), which stems from a broader religious code of learning, the ideas and views accompanying it (an affinity for and experience of *devoted believing*; the sensory component of a cognitive act), which is primarily recognized in the thematic and pictorial preoccupation with the topics and scenes of the „message of Islam.“³² This conception defined the position of the productive autonomy of the sacral/ornamental definition of precognitive assimilation, which defines it as a preoccupation with the „area of competence“, or aesthetic experience, and with standards regarding the requirements of „purity“ and the uniqueness of the medium as a means of the universal truths of Islam,³³ in the same ways as the inexpressible Divine Oneness encompasses the eternal diversity of His Creation.

It should be noted that compositionality, with certain present axioms that serve as a basis for establishing meaning by the fully expressed semantically aestheticized structure of the language used in *homo islamicus's*

³² By the „message (or presentation) of Islam“ Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi refers to everything that is said in the name of Islam aimed at inviting to Islam or teaching on Islam, regardless of the means and manner of expressing it. The Islamic message implies a great number of orientations that require enormous effort and a strong organizational system to *communicate the truth about Islam* in an original way.

Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi in a program of the Qatar TV channel Al Jazeera Balkans. Available at: <http://www.iltizam.org/tekstovi/read/2327>. Accessed on 23.9.2019.

³³ *Al-tawhīd* is the most significant fundamental concept in Islam, which refers to the ontological sublimity or transcendence of God, for God is present in the whole realm of the appearing world. Everything that is not Him – is created, non-transcendental, subject to laws of space and time. Nothing in the manifest world can be God or Divine in any sense, particularly in the ontological sense; *al-tawhīd*, as the essence of monotheism, denies it (anything and anyone cannot bear any resemblance to God the Supreme Unmatched).

It can be claimed that such a fundamental concept is not contrary to Muslim productive-reflective discourse nor to its enjoyment in beauty. Quite the opposite, *al-tawhīd* blesses beauty and promotes it, although absolute beauty is visible only in God and His revealed words. Thus, it can be deduced that *al-tawhīd* favors the creation of the form of productive-reflective *qadar* appropriate to its worldview.

Starting from the premise that there is no other God except Allah, *homo islamicus* adopted the belief that nothing in the manifest world can represent or express Him. It is for this reason that he *stylized/reduced* everything there is in the manifest world that he represents. In other words, he moved away from the manifest world as much as he could through linear and tonal stylization. In *homo islamicus's* hand, the procedure of stylization became the means of negation with which he says „No!“ to each detail in the manifest world – to make the means create itself. By simultaneously denying the naturalness of this stylization, he uses the visible planar form to express the negative aspect of *Shahada* (ar. *Shahādah* – „prerequisite for access into the religion that one is born, lives and dies with“), indeed, that nothing else is God but Allah. It can be claimed that *homo islamicus's Shahada* is the true equivalent of the denial of transcendence in nature.

Besides its purely religious significance, the *lā ilāha illā Allāh* creed is significant in the area of productive-reflective *qadar*. In the Arabic alphabet, its alternating letters *elif* and *lā* form the basic pattern for any kind of ornamental of the formula which is, naturally, found in any place that Muslims reached. Both in ornamental planar forms and in architectural engravings, these important words are adorned with amazing interwoven filigree decorations, so that an uninformed person could hardly imagine that the essence of Islam is hiding behind them.

It should also be borne in mind that essential beauty in Islam is not relative, since it does not depend on the beholder. It is essential ontological beauty, rather than the emotions that it can possibly evoke. Such ontological beauty is difficult to grasp; however, for the sake of easier understanding it can be classified into three categories: genuine, initiating and false. Genuine beauty belongs to God and His existence, while initiating beauty implies the beauty of beings rather than Creator, though it also introduces one to the feeling of admiration for Divine existence. On the other hand, according to conservative-traditional thinkers, false beauty is manifested by enjoying the „beauty of creations“ as a creature, without bearing in mind that everything is God's Creation.

islamicusa, neophodno je kazati da je utemeljena na metafizičkom poimanju istine.³⁴ Analizirajući tradicionalno islamsko mišljenje, moguće je pojmiti kako takav senzibilitet istine³⁵ potječe iz duhovne tradicije s obilježjima lijepog *ahlaqa* – ar. pl. *akhlāq*, sing. *khuluq*, *khulq* – „ćud, narav, karakter, dobro djelo“ – reflektirajući univerzalnu ljepotu – ar. *Inna Allaha jamīlun wa yuḥibbu-l-jamāl* („Allah je lijep i zato voli ljepotu“), apstraktnog izražaja (irealni svijet uvjetovane [kreirane] refleksije odijeljen od stvarnih činjenica; negiranje objektivnosti izvan ljudskog uma/uvjerenja), intelektualne naravi (način promišljanja/umovanja o Stvoritelju, svijetu i ljudskom biću utemeljen na Objavi i Poslanikovo tradiciji u smislu prenesenog – ar. *naql*, naslijeđa), matematičke nutrine (odraz duhovne tvorevine u smislu koncepta, poimanja, načina korištenja, pa i ostvarivanje nekih ciljeva), neshvatljivih geometrijskih metoda (konstruktivna vrijednost npr. gereh pločica³⁶) i ritmičnosti simetričnih oblika (prema rotacijskoj simetriji svrstana u tri veće grupe). Posredstvom korištenih karakterističnih transformativnih postupaka i njihovog simboličkog značaja pikturnalne forme se *pokoravaju* plošnosti podloge temeljem dominantnih linija kojima su opcertani oblici, dok je boja (ili tinta) neposredno, ravnomjerno nanešena na dvodimenzionalnu podlogu tako da čitljivost poteza kista (ili kaligrafijskog pera) skoro i nije prisutna. Takvo polje *homo islamicusovog qadar/ṣinā'ata* moguće je označiti kao *ornamentalno*,³⁷ ali i *plošno*³⁸ jer ne kreira bilo kakvu iluziju dubine prostora podjelom plohe na planove ili eventualnu igru svjetla i sjene, nego samo ističe dvodimenzionalnost prikaza u konvergenciji prema uzročnosti. Ako se eventualno svjetlo i sjena i pojave u naznaci na takvim rješenjima, njihovo prisustvo je ograničeno na konturno

³⁴ Po tumačenju svih tradicionalno monoteističkih pristupa vjerovanju/religiji, *vjerovanje je istina, a vjera je u suštini traganje za Bogom*. Analizirajući stavove Ibn Rušda (Abū l-Walīd Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad, latinizovano: Averoes) moguće je doći do zaključka da se mora razlikovati doslovni smisao i objašnjenje vjerskog učenja jer, kako on obrazlaže „[...] držati se doslovnog smisla, dužnost je mnoštva; tražiti pravo tumačenje, obrnuto, zadaća je učenjaka“, ... a „filozof, ipak, ima pravo izvlačiti iz njih tumačenjem u njima skriveni, dublji i češći smisao [...]“

Tradicionalisti zastupaju stav da je *istina ono što jest*, u prvom i najvišem smislu bitak sam, i onda analogno spram bitka svako biće kao i sud o tom biću. U najvišem smislu *istina* je sve što jest i kao takva ona je najuniverzalnija kategorija. *Biće je u svojoj biti jedno, istinito i dobro* – tako su to izražavali i srednjovjekovni filozofi, navodeći transcendentalije kao najopćenitije odredbe bića. Time se *istina*, ona transcendentalna, pojavljuje kao subjekt, kao neosporan temelj (*fundamentum inconcussum*) svekolikog bivanja i mišljenja. Smatrali su da su *biće, jedno, istinito i dobro* uzajamno zamjenljivi pojmovi pa je moguće kazati da je svako biće kao biće jedno, dobro, istinito i postojeće. *Ens unum, verum, bonum*, a neki još dodaju *pulchrum* – lijepo. U tom smislu svako je stvorenje, ako odgovara svom pojmu, *istinito, jedno i dobro* pa ma kako neznatno ono inače bilo. Naravno, *biti* se ovdje izriče na analogan način, prema analogiji bića (*analogia entis*) koja važi i za *homo islamicusa* jer slijedi iz onoga jednog i prvog i najvišeg bića, samoga Boga.

Dakako, svako izvedeno ili stvoreno biće na neki je način svojom determinacijom ujedno i negacija svakoga drugog bića, jer inicijacijsko determiniranje je ujedno u nekom smislu i negiranje (*omnis dermintio negatio est*) i zato nijedno biće nije savršeno poput bitka samog. Ovakav *umanjeni bitak* ima sav pojavni svijet. Sve stvoreno manje je od svog Stvoritelja i otuda i porijeklo neistine, nejednog i nebića.

O stavovima Ibn Rušda vidi: Smailagić, Nerkez: *Europska godina Ibn Rušda – Ibn Rusd znameniti Averoes*; „Behar“ (internet časopis), br. 38, IX-X 1998. Dostupno na: <http://www.oocities.org/paris/bistro/1347/behar38f.html>. Pristupljeno 28.9.2019.

³⁵ U empirijskom istraživanju, kako ga provodi novostoljetna znanost, *istina* je postala ne samo relativnom nego i potpuno nedostižnom, dok je filozofska *istina* uvijek jedna *a priori* u čijem se znaku svo istraživanje čini, ali koje samo nije predmet empirijske spoznaje. Taj *a priori* jest bit filozofije kao metafizike. *Homo islamicus* je po svojoj biti tražitelj istine – to je njegova definicija, po mišljenju tradicionalista veća i obuhvatnija od Aristotelove da je „umno živo biće“, odnosno veća i obuhvatnija od svih onih drugih, mnogolikih definicija čovjeka, jer *homo islamicus* ne može bez metafizike, vjerske ili znanstvene filozofijske istine. Sve drugo je po njemu sekundarno i pripada povijesnoj mijeni i promjenama svjetonazora.

³⁶ Vidi bilješku 19. [*Gereh* (perz. *čvor*) je dekorativni islamski geometrijski oblik koji se koristi u arhitekturi i rukotvorinama.]

qadar/ṣinā'at, is based on the metaphysical understanding of truth.³⁴ When analyzing traditional Islamic thinking it is possible to understand that such a sensibility of truth³⁵ originates from a **spiritual tradition with traits of the beautiful *akhlāq*** (ar. pl. *akhlāq*, sing. *khuluq*, *khulq* – „disposition, nature, character, good deed“) and that it reflects the universal beauty, *Inna Allaha jamīlun wa yuḥibbu-l-jamāl* („Allah is beautiful, and thus He loves beauty“), of **abstract expression** (the surreal world of conditioned [created] reflection separated from actual facts; the negation of objectivity beyond human mind/belief), of **intellectual nature** (the way of contemplating the Creator, the world and human being based on the Revelation and the Prophet’s tradition as passed-on [*naql*] heritage), of **mathematical interior** (reflection of spiritual creation in terms of concepts, understanding, ways of methodologies of utilization, even achievement of some goals), of **incomprehensible geometric methods** (e.g. the constructive value of girih tiles³⁶), and of **the rhythm of symmetric shapes** (classified into three larger groups by rotational symmetry). By means of employed characteristic transformative procedures and their symbolic significance, pictorial forms *yield* to the planarity of the base by virtue of dominant lines that outline shapes, while color (or ink) is directly and evenly applied on the two-dimensional base so that the legibility of the strokes of the brush (or calligraphic pen) is almost absent. Such an area of human (*homo islamicus*) *qadar/ṣinā'at* can be described both as *ornamental*³⁷ and as *planar*³⁸ since it does not create any illusion of the depth of space by dividing the plane into zones or by a possible play of light and shade; rather, it only highlights the two-dimensionality of representation in the convergence toward causality. Even if glimpses of light and shade should appear in such solutions, their

³⁴ According to interpretation by all traditional monotheistic approaches to faith/religion, *faith is truth, while religion is essentially the search for God*. An analysis of the view of Ibn Rushd (Abū Walīd Muḥammad, latinized as: Averoes) views leads to the conclusion that one must distinguish between the literal sense and the explanation of a religious teaching since, as he explains, „[...] to adhere to the literal sense is the duty of the crowd; to search for the true interpretation, on the other hand, is the scholar’s task, ... still, the philosopher has the right to derive from them, by interpretation, the hidden, deeper and more frequent meaning [...]“

Traditionalists advocate the view that truth is what it is, in the first and highest sense, being itself and, by analogy to being, any creature and judgment on that creature. In the highest sense, truth is everything that is, and as such it is the most universal category. Being is essentially one, true and good – the same was claimed by medieval philosophers, citing transcendentalism as the most general determinants of being. In this way, truth, transcendental truth, appears as the subject, as the indisputable foundation (*fundamentum inconcussum*) of all being and thinking. They believed that *being, one, true and good* are mutually interchangeable concepts and that it can be said that any being as a being is one, good, true and existing: *ens, unum, verum, bonum*, and some even added *pulchrum*, beautiful. In this sense, every creature is true, one and good if it corresponds to its concept, regardless of how insignificant it may otherwise be. Naturally, to be is not used here in a way analogous to the analogy of being (*analogia entis*), which also applies to *homo islamicus*, since it stems from the one, and the first and the highest creature, God himself.

Certainly, any derived or created creature is in a way, by its determination, also the negation of any other creature, since the initiating determination is, in a sense, negation as well (*omnis dermintio negatio est*) and therefore no creature is as perfect as being itself. The entire manifest world has this diminished being. Everything that is created is smaller than its Creator and this is the origin of non-truth, non-one and non-being.

For Ibn Rushd’s views, see: Smailagić, Nerkez: *Europska godina Ibn Rušda – Ibn Rusd znameniti Averoes*; „Behar“ (internet journal), issue 38, IX-X 1998. Available at: <http://www.oocities.org/paris/bistro/1347/behar38f.html>. Accessed on 28.9.2019.

³⁵ In the empirical research conducted by recent science, *truth* has become both relative and completely inaccessible, while philosophical truth is always *a priori*, which is the background for all research, though it itself is not the object of empirical cognition. This *a priori* is the essence of philosophy as metaphysics. By his essence, *homo islamicus* is a seeker of truth – that is his definition, and according to traditionalists it is greater and more comprehensive than Aristotle’s definition, which claims that he is a „rational living being“. It is also greater and more comprehensive than all the other, multifaceted definitions of man, since there is no *homo islamicus* without metaphysical, religious or scientific philosophical truth. Everything else in him is secondary and belongs to historical change and changes in worldview.

³⁶ See footnote 19. [*Girih* (pers. *knot*) is a decorative Islamic geometric form used in architecture and handicraft.]

ponavljanje obrisa datih oblika; figuralni efekt, a ne kao rezultat površine „na koju ne pada ni jedna zraka Sunca“. Kompozicije geometrijskih uzoraka kojim je označen karakter ovakvog ljudskog djelanja su reflektiranje Njegovih atributa, a njihove isprepletene i povezane linije su najizravniji iskaz Jedinstva koji se sastoji od neiscrpne raznolikosti svijeta.

Ovako određena medijska priroda produktivno-refleksivne reprezentacije likovne problematike rekognitivne asimilacije sa orijentacijom za „vjernošću Svevišnjem“ postaje paradigmom redukcije simboličkih aspekata formi kojima se konzistentno povezuje spoljašnost njezinih oblika – ar. *ṣūrah*, s njihovim unutarnjim značenjem – ar. *m'anā*,³⁷ te omogućuje razumijevanje duhovne orijentacije karaktera ovog djelovanja i još jednom potvrđuje da Jedinstvo prožima svijet formi (geometriciziranih, floralnih, zoomorfnih...) koje su viđene, ne kao mentalne apstrakcije, već kao refleksije određenih arhetipova unutar kosmosa, uma i duše čovjeka, odnosno imaginalnog svijeta – *mundus imaginalis*.⁴⁰

³⁷ *Ornamentalno qadar/ṣinā 'at* označava kompozicioni skup ornamentalnog karaktera definiran formama/konstruktima plošnog karaktera, karakterističan za prvotno likovno izražavanje *homo islamicusa*. *Ornament* kao konstrukt može biti naslikan, plastično oblikovan, izvezen, iskucan u metalu ili izveden bilo kojom drugom tehnikom ručnog rada, a njegova se likovnost karakterizira ritmičkim nizanjem geometrijskih, floralnih, zoomorfnih... motiva s istaknutim i jasno naglašenim dominantama.

Ornamentalne orijentacije *homo islamicusa* moguće je nazvati prvim alfabetom ljudske misli u sukobu s prostorom s ciljem slavljenja Svevišnjeg. Uz svu ritmičnost kombinacija koje pruža, već najjednostavnija tema ornamenta, savijanje kakve linearne forme (asocijacija na lisnatu grančicu) konfigurira geometricizirani oblik vrtloženja i talasanja jednog jednostavnog konstruktiva; negiranje objektivnosti izvan ljudskog uma s ciljem prezentacije sasvim nove stilizirane likovne dimenzije.

³⁸ *Plošnošću* se označava kompozicioni skup kod kojega dominira linijski karakter ocrtavanja oblika, gdje su boje nanešene ravnomjerno (bez kolorističke modulacije; postizanje iluzije volumena komplementarnim tonovima) na podlogu (ravninu) bez mogućnosti iščitavanja poteza kistom. U odnosu prostora i mase, nanešena tinta (tuš) ili boja imaju karakter plošno istanjenih masa, koje su zapravo plošne, a ne plohe. Plošnost je karakteristika čistog likovnog jezika zasnovanog na *homo islamicusovom* osjećaju visine i širine bez ikakve potrebe da se dodaje osjećaj dubine, to jest da se iz dvodimenzionalnog (plošnog) prijeđe u nestvarno trodimenzionalno (plastično). Plošnim načinom izražavanja konstrukta/oblika i kompozicionih vrijednosti uspostavlja se plošni likovni red – niz ili polje koje se pokorava plošnosti podloge.

Linija nastaje gibanjem tačke i kao takva označava putanju njezinog kretanja na plohi, pa možemo govoriti o plošnom crtežu. Linearni odnosno linijski crtež je onaj u kojemu prevladava linija kao temeljni likovni element. Linija po karakteru (tanka, debela, dugačka, kratka, oštra, neoštra, kontinuirana, isprekidana, izlomljena, prozirna, gusta, jednolična, nejednolična) i značenju (konturna) najizravnija je od svih likovnih elemenata koji izražavaju karakter orijentacije i duhovno stanje *homo islamicusa*.

³⁹ U arapskom jeziku, najuobičajeniji termin za duhovnost je *rūḥāniyyat*, a u perzijskom *ma'nawīyyat*. Dželaluddin Muhammed Rumi (Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī) uvijek govori o izvanjskom aspektu nekog objekta kao o njegovoj formi (ar. *ṣūrah*), a o njegovoj unutarnjoj zbilji kao o značenju (*m'anā*). Vidi: Tourage, Mahdi: *Rūmī and the Hermeneutics of Eroticism*; Brill, Leiden, 2007.

⁴⁰ Po stavu islamskih teologa pokretač duše je izvor *imaginalnog svijeta* (ar. *'ālam al-mithāl*). Egzistencije imaginalnog svijeta posjeduju spoznajni bitak ili, drukčije kazano, to su forme bez materije koje su u svojoj biti odvojene od Ovozemaljskog i Osjetilnog svijeta, ali su u isto vrijeme i povezane s njim.

Sa stanovišta primjetljivosti te posjedovanja oblika i količine, imaginalni svijet asocira na materijalni svijet, ali nema druga obilježja materije, poput promjenljivosti, vremenitosti i prostornosti, pa je s tog stanovišta sličniji Svijetu intelekta (ar. *'ālam al-'aql*). Budući da ovaj svijet ima mnogo sličnosti sa moći ljudske imaginalcije, nazvan je *odvojena imaginalcija* (ar. *al-khayāl al-munfaṣil*), dok je čovjekova moć imaginalcije nazvana *spojena imaginalcija* (ar. *al-khayāl al-munfaṣil*). Pod spojenom imaginalcijom implicira se čovjekova senzibilnost koja pohranjuje osjetilne forme i zahvaljujući čemu *homo islamicus*, pod određenim okolnostima produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije, osmišlja i sklada nove konstrukte, pohranjujući ih u plošnoj formi. (Korišteni termin *imaginalcija* a ne *imaginacija*, podrazumijeva značenje koje se razlikuje od *fantazije*.)

Ipak, kada je riječ o *qadar/ṣinā 'atu homo islamicusa* unutar produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije nezaobilazno je i stanje *kontemplacije* u kome se njegov um usredotočuje na duhovnu stvarnost, uranjajući u nju sve do zaborava svake druge stvarnosti (poput *sufija* ili *derviša* – islamskih vjernika koji se bave odgojem duše [ar. *naḥs*] u smislu obožavanja Allaha i napuštanja ukrasa i užitaka ovoga svijeta).

Ovakvo značenje *zrenja istine* i motrenja nekog objekta za Platona i Aristotela predstavljalo je intelektualnu spoznaju nasuprot djelovanju. Kod Plotina i neoplatonika *kontemplacija* je poimana kao sastavni dio emanacijskog procesa kojim iz Jednog proizlaze druge hipostaze (um i duša).

presence is limited to the contour-like repetition of the outlines of given shapes; it is a figural effect rather than a result of the surface „where not a single ray of Sun falls“. Compositions of geometric patterns that mark the character of such human actions are reflections of His attributes, while their intertwined and connected lines are the most direct expression of Unity, which consists of the inexhaustible diversity of the world.

The nature of medium in the productive-reflective representation of elements of visual art by precognitive assimilation determined in this way and oriented toward „loyalty to the Almighty“ becomes a paradigm of the reduction of symbolic aspects of the form, which consistently connects the exterior of its shapes (*ṣūrah*) with their inner meaning (*m'anā*)³⁹, and allows understanding of the spiritual definition of the character of this activity, thus confirming once again that Unity permeates the world of forms (geometricized, floral, zoomorphous, and so forth) which are seen not as mental abstractions but rather as reflections of certain archetypes within the universe, human mind and soul, i.e. the imaginal world (*mundus imaginalis*).⁴⁰

³⁷ We use the term *ornamental qadar/ṣinā 'at* to designate a compositional set of ornamental character defined by forms/constructs of planar nature, characteristic for *homo islamicus's* original visual expression. *Ornament* as a construct can be painted, plastically shaped, embroidered, engraved in metal or achieved in any other technique of handiwork. Its visual quality is seen in the rhythmical sequences of geometric, floral, zoomorphous and so forth motifs with pronounced and clearly emphasized dominants.

Ornamental expressions of *homo islamicus* can be described as the first alphabet of human thought in conflict with space, aimed at praising the Almighty. Due to all the rhythms of combinations it offers, even the simplest theme of ornament, the bending of a linear form (association with a leafy twig) configures a geometricized shape of whirling and ripples of a simple construct; negating objectivity beyond the human mind aimed at presenting a completely new, stylized visual dimension.

³⁸ *Planarity* refers to the compositional set dominated by the linear character of outlining shapes, where colors are applied evenly (without coloristic modulation; achieving the illusion of volume using complementary hues) on the base (surface) without the possibility to read brush strokes. With respect to space and mass, the applied ink (Chinese ink) or color has the character of masses thinned into a plane, and they are therefore planar rather than planes. Planarity is a characteristic of the pure language of visual arts based on *homo islamicus's* sense of height and width without any need to add a sense of depth, i.e. to move from the two-dimensional (planar) to three-dimensional (plastic). The planar way of expressing constructs/shapes and compositional values establishes a planar visual order – a sequence or field that yields to the planarity of the base.

A line is created by the movement of a dot and as such it marks the path of its movement on the plane, and we can therefore speak of a planar drawing. Linear drawing is one where the line as a basic element of visual art prevails. Due to its character (thin, thick, long, short, sharp, not sharp, continuous, dashed, broken, transparent, dense, unvarying, varying) and meaning (contour), line is the most direct of all visual art elements that express the character of *homo islamicus's qadar* and his spiritual state.

³⁹ In Arabic, the term typically used for spirituality is *rūḥāniyyat*, while in Persian it is *ma'nawīyyat*. Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī always discusses the exterior aspect of an object as its form (*ṣūrah*), and its inner reality as its meaning (*m'anā*).

⁴⁰ According to Islamic theologians, the imaginal world springs from the driver of soul, i.e. activities of the soul which produce or create images of objects (*'ālam al-mithāl*). Existences of the imaginal world have cognitive being or, in other words, they are form without matter, which are in their essence separated from the Earthly and Sensory world, though at the same time connected with it.

From the standpoint of perceptibility and having a form and quantity, the imaginal world is associated with the material world but has no other features of matter, such as variability, temporality and spatiality. From this viewpoint, it is thus more similar to the World of Mind (*'ālam al-'aql*). Since this world has many resemblances with the power of human imagination, it is named *separated imagination (al-khayāl al-munfaṣil)*, while the human power of imagination is named *joined imagination (al-khayāl al-munfaṣil)*. Joined imagination implies human sensitivity which stores sensory forms due to which *homo islamicus*, under certain circumstances of productive-reflective *qadar*, conceives and composes new constructs, storing them in the planar form. (The term *imagination* instead of *imagination* implies a meaning that differs from *fantasy*.)

Still, when we discuss *homo islamicus's qadar/ṣinā 'at* within his productive-reflective *qadar* we cannot ignore the state of *contemplation*, where his mind focuses on spiritual reality, sinking into it until he forgets any other reality (such as *sufi* or *dervish* – Islamic believers involved in the nurture of soul [*naḥs*] aimed at the worship of Allah and abandoning decoration and the delights of this world).

For Plato and Aristotle, this meaning of the ripening of truth and observation of an object meant intellectual cognition as opposed to activity, while Plotinus and the Neo-platonists understood contemplation as an integral part of the emanation process whereby One emanates other hypostases (mind and soul).

Takav svijet je realni svijet *homo islamicusa*; realniji od svijeta osvjedočenja i osjetilnih iskustava,⁴¹ te se uzdiže iznad svijeta osvjedočenja a ispod je svijeta čistog racija. Dakle, imaginalni svijet je posredni svijet u kojem *homo islamicus* bezuvjetnim vjerovanjem nadilazi pojavni svijet, motreći efekte odraza u obliku kreacije – *paslike*⁴² posredstvom prikladne senzibilnosti – ar. *khayāl* – imaginalna sposobnost, usklađujući sa njemu prihvatljivim simboličnim značenjima, odnosno kreiranjem refleksije svijeta osvjedočenja – refleksiju imaginalnog svijeta – ar. *'ālam al-khayāl* ili *al-khayāl*.⁴³ Takvim formama on teži kao ekskluzivnoj vrijednosti ili *estetskoj formi vrline i integriteta*, što zauzvrat kvalificira praksu *qadar/šīnā'ata* kao odgovor *homo islamicusa* na *istinu*⁴⁴ i sistem moguće neograničene vremenske orijentacije bez autorskog pečata, odnosno autorizacije, koja je sekundarne važnosti. Riječ je o likovno-plošnom istupu koji za cilj ima eksplicitnu demistifikaciju čina ornamentalno-rekognitivne asimilacije, gdje se *homo islamicus* vraća prirodnoj težnji da se (vrati) susretne sa svojim Gospodarom (koja se manifestira u služenju, spoznavanju i ljubavi) u nastojanju da izvrši preuzeto zaduženje kao iskreni Božiji sluga, sužanj, podanik... – ar. *'abd*, na Zemlji.

Za razliku od prvog (sakralnog/ornamentalnog) značenja, općeg konzervativno-tradicionalnog evociranja⁴⁵ i reprezentacije čitavog spektra potencijalnog produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa utemeljenog na fundamentu piktoralnosti islamskih poruka baziranih na vjerovanju (rekognitivna sinteza)⁴⁶, drugi, više diferenciran pojam islamske karakterizacije produktivno-refleksivnog diskursa vrijednosno je usmjeren na

⁴¹ Po tumačenju islamskih mislilaca osjetilna iskustva su zasnovana na izvoru i temelju svijeta prirode koji je podložan uništenju bez određenog vida postojanosti. Pošto se, po rangiranju islamskih teologa, nalaze na najnižem stupnju, karakteriziraju se kao pasivan svijet u odnosu na više svjetove duhovnog putovanja (imaginalni svijet i svijet intelekta).

Prema uobičajenom islamskom filozofskom učenju četiri su slojevita svjeta: *Nāsūt* od ar. riječi *nās* – „ljudi“, ili *'ālam al-ṭabī'ah* – „prirodni svijet“, gdje postoji vrijeme i prostor; *Malakūt* ili *'ālam al-mithāl* – „idealni svijet“, gdje nema materije, ali postoje oblici; *Jabarūt* ili *'ālam al-mā'nā* – „svijet pojmova“, gdje nema ni materije ni oblika; i *Lāhūt* ili *'ālam al-ilāh* – „transcendentalni svijet“, koji je izvan ljudskog poimanja i dodira.

⁴² *Paslika*, odraz vječnih ideja u osjetilnim stvarima (Platon); naknadna slika, koja se pod pogodnim uvjetima javlja neposredno poslije prestanka doživljavanja slike nekog predmeta (viđenja slike), odnosno poslije prestanka djelovanja optičke draži, i traje kratko vrijeme (viđenje paslike).

⁴³ Riječju *imaginalno* izbjegavamo značenje „iluzornog“ što se u modernom govoru vezuje za termin imaginacija, premda se i ova potonja riječ može redefinirati tako da obuhvaća njezino starije značenje razlikovano od fantazije.

⁴⁴ Vidi bilješke 31 i 32.

⁴⁵ Vidi bilješku 6.

Ono što karakterizira konzervativizam kod *homo islamicusa*, sa usmjerenjem na sakralno produktivno-refleksivnu orijentaciju, je nepromjenljivost poimanja *qadar/šīnā'ata* u odnosu na vrijeme i kretanja u društvu, s tim da je njemu pružen osjećaj pripadnosti, identiteta i stabilnosti, te ga podstiče u razvijanju osjećaja dužnosti i osobne discipline, odbrani morala kao temelja zajednice u kojoj djela...

⁴⁶ *Rekognitivna sinteza*, odnosno ovakva leksička veza podrazumijeva proces u kojem *homo islamicus* svojevrijedno gradi i uspostavlja vlastitu kulturnu praksu *qadar/šīnā'ata* koja teži oponašanju svih Božijih savršenih atributa koji se tiču unutarne čistoće, slijeđenja *Sune* ili *Sunneta*, moralne nadgradnje ljudske duše, uzdizanja ljudskog bitka čestitošću, iskrenošću i poniznošću, kao i razumijevanja unutarnjeg značenja i učenja islama te poimanja *tawhīda* u njegovom značenju..., u smislu njihovog povezivanja u odgovarajuće konstruktivne vrijednosti produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije. Potrebno je naglasiti kako, sa stajališta teorije znanja, sinteza predstavlja nužan korak manifestacije kognitivne aktivnosti svijesti, kojoj je neminovno prethodila analiza. Također, i to da se sintezom taj proces vraća unazad, te da s njom *homo islamicus* pokušava nanovo spojiti konstituente koje je dobio u procesu analize, čime nastoji ostvariti i sastaviti novu

Such a world is *homo islamicus's* real world, more real than the world of witnessing and sensory experiences;⁴¹ it rises above the world of witnessing and is below the world of pure reason. Thus, the imaginal world is the mediating world where *homo islamicus*, through unconditional faith, surpasses the manifest world, observing the effects of the reflection in the form of creation – *afterimage*⁴² by means of special sensitivity (imaginal ability – *khayāl*) and adjusting to acceptable symbolic meanings, i.e. by creating a reflection of the world of witnessing – a reflection of the imaginal world (*'ālam al-khayāl* or *al-khayāl*). He strives toward such forms as exclusive value or *aesthetic form of virtue and integrity*, which in turn qualifies the practice of *qadar/šīnā'at* as *homo islamicus's* response to *truth*⁴⁴ and as a system of possibly unlimited temporal determination without the author's stamp, i.e. without authorship, which is of secondary importance. It is a two-dimensional artistic act which is aimed at explicit demystification of the act of ornamental-precognitive assimilation and whereby *homo islamicus* returns to the natural aspiration to meet (return to) his Lord (which is manifested in serving, learning and love) by endeavoring to fulfill the undertaken task as a sincere Divine servant, slave, subject, and so forth (*'abd*) on the Earth.

As opposed to the first (sacral/ornamental) meaning, the general conservative-traditional evocatio⁴⁵ and representation of the whole spectrum of potential productive-reflective discourse based on the foundation of the pictoriality of Islamic messages based on faith (precognitive synthesis),⁴⁶ the second, more differentiated concept of Islamic characterization of productive-reflective discourse is – in terms of value – focused on

⁴¹ According to the explanation of Islamic thinkers, *sensory experiences* are based on the source and foundation of the world of nature, which is liable to destruction without a defined aspect of constancy. Since Islamic theologians rank these experiences as the lowest, they are characterized as a passive world compared to higher worlds of spiritual journey (the imaginal world and the world of mind). According to established Islamic philosophical teaching, there are four layers of the world: *Nāsūt* from ar. word *nās* – „people“, or *'ālam al-ṭabī'ah* – the „natural world“, where there time and space exist; *Malakūt* or *'ālam al-mithāl* – the „ideal world“, where there is no matter but there are shapes; *Jabarūt* or *'ālam al-mā'nā* – the „world of notions“, where there is no matter nor shapes; and *Lāhūt* or *'ālam al-ilāh* – the „transcendental world“, which is beyond human cognition and touch.

⁴² *Afterimage* –the reflection of eternal ideas in sensory objects (Plato); an image which, under favorable conditions, emerges immediately after the experience of the image of an object has ceased (viewing the image), i.e. after the optical stimulation has ceased, and which lasts for a short time (viewing the afterimage).

⁴³ By using the word *imaginal* we avoid the meaning of „illusory“ which in modern speech is associated with the term *imagination*, although the latter word can also be redefined so as to encompass its older meaning, which was distinguished from fantasy.

⁴⁴ See notes 31 and 32.

⁴⁵ See footnote 6.

What characterizes conservatism in *homo islamicus*, with his orientation to sacral productive-reflective *qadar/šīnā'at*, is the invariability of the conception of action with respect to time and trends in the society. In addition, he has been granted a sense of belonging, identity and stability, which encourages him to develop a sense of duty and personal discipline, and to defend morality as the foundation of the community he acts in.

⁴⁶ *Precognitive synthesis*, i.e. this lexical unit refers to the process where *homo islamicus* deliberately builds and establishes his own cultural practice of *qadar/šīnā'at* which strives to imitate all perfect Divine attributes pertaining to inner purity, adherence to *Sunnah*, the moral upgrading of the human soul, the elevation of a human being by honesty, sincerity and humility, as well as the understanding of the inner meaning and teaching of Islam and the understanding of *Tawhīd* in this meaning, all in order to incorporate them in corresponding constructive values of productive-reflective disposition. It should be noted that, from the standpoint of the theory of knowledge, synthesis is a necessary step of the manifestation of cognitive activity of the mind, and is inevitably preceded by analysis. Besides, the synthesis sends the process back, and by using it, *homo islamicus* attempts to re-connect constituents that he received in the process of analysis, whereby he attempts to create and compose a new artistic whole.

izdvajanje one „paralelne“ tradicionalne⁴⁷ tendencije koja ukazuje na jednu drugu i drukčiju liniju, odnosno njezinu koncentriranost na samokritičke postupke okrenute preispitivanju granica tranzitivnog djelovanja – *actio transiens* unutar profane kolaborativno-kognitivne orijentacije. (Nastavak u sljedećem broju)

singling out the „parallel“ traditional⁴⁷ tendency which points to another and different line, i.e. its focus on self-critical procedures directed towards challenging the limits of transitive activity (*action transiens*) within the profane collaborative-cognitive identification. (To be continued)



ILUSTRACIJA – Iluminirana dvostruka stranica Kur'ana. Ilhanidska monarhija (Ilkhānāt) urađena za ilkhānidskog vladara Udžaytu. Perzija, Bagdad ili Mosul 14. stoljeće. U pozadini: Dio alata (ar. *'alāt*) muslimanskog kaligrafa i iluminatora.

ILLUSTRATION – Illuminated double page Qur'an. Ilhanid Monarchy (Ilkhanate) made for ilkhānid ruler Uljaytu. Persia, Baghdad or Mosul 14th century. In the background: Part of the tools (ar. *'alāt*) of a Muslim calligrapher and illuminator.

likovnu cjelinu. U stvari, rekognitivnom sintezom *homo islamicus* podiže osnovne izražajne elemente na nivo općih, konkretne pojmovne atribute na apstraktnu, te sumira sve mnogostrukosti pod jedinstvenim činom likovne karakterizacije. Na taj način posredstvom svjesnog korištenja usvojenih odgovarajućih elementarnih sredstava izražajnosti dolazi do kompleksnih izražajnih mogućnosti.

⁴⁷ Vidi bilješku 7.

U islamskom smislu, *homo islamicus* funkcionira u tradiciji, koja ga time bitno određuje tokom njegove povijesne produktivno-refleksivne orijentacije. Ta ukorijenjenost u tradiciji istodobno mu omogućuje da bude sljednikom islama pod okriljem cjelokupne civilizacije kojoj pripada i da s tom civilizacijskom strukturom vodi onu vrstu dijaloga u kojem mu se otkrivaju bitni momenti za ozbiljenje vlastitog bitka i formi njemu svojstvenih oblika djelanja – *qadar/šinjā'at*.

Indeed, by means of precognitive synthesis *homo islamicus* elevates basic expressive elements to the level of the general, and specific attributes of concepts to abstract ones, and sums up all the variety under a single act of artistic characterization. In this way, by means of the conscious use of the adopted appropriate elementary means of expression he reaches complex expressive possibilities.

⁴⁷ See footnote 7.

In the Islamic sense, *homo islamicus* functions in tradition, which thus essentially determines him during his historical productive-reflective *qadar*. This rootedness in tradition also allows him to adhere to Islam under the auspices of the entire civilization he belongs to, and to lead, with this civilizational structure, the kind of dialogue which reveals to him moments crucial for the actualization of his own being and forms of action – *qadar/šinjā'at*.

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ILUSTRACIJA – Rekonstrukcija izvedena na temelju izvora: Nepoznati autor, *Detalj – Scena iz kahve*; ilustracija iz osmanskog albuma, Istanbul c. 1620. (Biblioteka Chester Beatty).

ILLUSTRATION – Reconstruction done on the basis of source: Unknown author, *Detail – Coffee house scene*; folio from an Ottoman album, Istanbul c. 1620 (Chester Beatty Library).

Ferid MUHIĆ

**BOŠNJACI I BOSNA:
studija iz filozofije politike (1)**

**BOSNIACS AND BOSNIA:
A Study in the Philosophy of Politics (1)**

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Sažetak

U ovom članku autor na sugestivni način ukazuje na važnost razumijevanja nacije i države u kontekstu evropske filozofske misli i prakse o naciji i državi. Iako su mu povod nacija Bošnjaka i bosanska država, autorova razmišljanja su aplikativna za sve skupine slične naciji Bošnjaka, kao i za države slične bosanskoj državi. Osnovna misao u ovom članku je da ideja univerzalne nacije, kulture i civilizacije niti osporava niti negira partikularni osjećaj i subjektivni doživljaj nacije i države. Članstvo u Evropskoj uniji ne oduzima pravo nijednoj naciji u Evropi da gaji i razvija svoju nacionalno-kulturnu i nacionalno-državnu svijest. Zapravo, u mjeri u kojoj je svaka nacija i svaka država u Evropi aktivno svjesna svoje nacionalne i kulturne specifične vrijednosti, čini Evropu, odnosno Evropsku uniju, snažnom i važnom u globalnom svijetu. Otuda i Bošnjaci, odnosno Bosanci, kao nacija i kao država (nacija) nemaju potrebe da se povlače, već imaju historijsku obavezu da istaknu svoju specifičnu bosansku kulturu i bosansku državu kao bogatstvo vrijedno pažnje ne samo u Evropi već i u svijetu.

Ključne riječi: *Bosna, Bošnjaci, bosanstvo, nacionalna država, pojedinac, nacija, društvo, država, filozofija politike, građanska država.*

Uvod

Prilozi koji slijede zamišljeno je da budu jedna cjelina od četiri ili pet tekstova. Nadovezuju se na moj tekst „Besjeda Bošnjacima“, objavljen početkom januara 2012. godine, kao i na desetine tekstova, javnih predavanja, tribina, TV nastupa koji su tematizirali otvorena pitanja nacionalnog identiteta Bošnjaka i statusa Bosne. Kao i kroz cijeli ovaj period, i u svim svojim javnim nastupima, pisanim ili usmenim, tako ću se i ovim tekstovima rukovoditi samo principom istine, kao jedinim predmetom svih mojih ispitivanja, ne zamarajući se nimalo oko pitanja hoće li se to kome dopasti ili neće. Pri tome, nastojat ću da mi i ovdje osnovni stavovi, kao premise, budu jasno formulirani, odnosno, kako logički, tako i faktografski, čvrsto zasnovani. Razumije se, razvijanje izlaganja, izvođenje zaključaka iz ovih premisa i zastupani stavovi, u skladu sa mojim mogućnostima, u potpunosti su usklađeni s nastojanjem da se, i ovom prilikom, beskompromisno slijedi istina – kao centralni princip i osnovni motiv naučnog rada i svakog javnog angažmana.

Abstract

In this article, the author suggestively points to the importance of understanding the concept of nation and the state in the context of the European philosophical thought and practice regarding the nation and the state. Although the occasion is about the Bosniak/Bosnian nation and the Bosnian state, the author's reflections are applicable to all groups similar to the Bosniak/Bosnian nation, as well as to all the states similar to the Bosnian state. The basic premise of this article is that the idea of a universal nationality, culture and civilisation does not oppose or negate the particular feeling or the subjective experience of either the nationality or the state. The membership of European Union does not detract the right for any nation in Europe of the right to cultivate and develop its national culture as well as its particular state consciousness. In fact, in the extent of which every nation and every state in Europe has an active awareness of its national and cultural specific value, gives Europe, indeed – the European Union strong and important role in the global community. Hence, the Bosniaks/Bosnians, both as a nation and a state (nation) have no need to withdraw, but rather have the historical opportunity to feature their specific Bosnian culture and Bosnian state as a richness worthy of appreciation, not only in Europe, but also in the world.

Key words: *Bosnia, Bosniaks, Bosnianity, nation state, individual, nation, society, state, philosophy of politics, civil state.*

Introduction

The contributions that follow are conceived as a whole consisting of four or five parts. They are the continuation of my text „A Word to Bosniaks“, published in early January 2012, as well as of dozens of texts, public lectures, forums, and TV appearances focused on open issues of Bosniaks' national identity and the status of Bosnia. Just as throughout this period, and just as in all my public addresses, written or spoken, these texts will be guided solely by the principle of truth, as the only subject of all my investigations, without bothering about whether people will like it or not. Thus, I will endeavor to formulate my basic views as premises, clearly articulated, and firmly founded, both logically and factually. Indeed, developing the reasons, deriving conclusions from these premises, and presenting the advocated views are, in line with my capabilities, fully harmonized with the endeavor to uncompromisingly pursue the truth on this occasion as well, as the central principle and core motive of a scientific paper and any public engagement.

Bošnjaci i Bosna

bošnjaci i Bosna. Pojedinaac, narod, nacija, država! Posljednjih nekoliko godina sve češće se u javnosti govori o anahronizmu, zastarjelosti *nacije* i *nacionalne pripadnosti* kao pojmova – što je posebno zanimljivo i nimalo slučajno kada je riječ o Bošnjacima, pa čak i o *reakcionarnosti* kada se spomene pitanje njihove nacionalne države. Kao da niko od ovih kritičara *bošnjačkog nacionalizma* ne vidi da svuda u svijetu postoje nacionalne države, gdje god postoji autohtoni narod i to kao standardna forma njegove političke organizacije. Unutar Evropske unije (EU), sve države, bez izuzetka, i dalje su nacionalnog karaktera. Ipak, ideja da se Bosna i Hercegovina organizira kao građanska država u kojoj će se Bošnjaci, autohtoni narod sa apsolutnom većinom (po popisu iz 2013.), u ime te građanske države odreći svog etničkog i duhovnog naslijeđa, poziva se upravo na navodno građanski karakter EU! Zašto kažem „navodno“? Zato što bi, u slučaju da je tako, EU bila organizirana kao zajednica država u kojoj su svi narodi koji čine države članice EU iz svog državnog uređenja isključile faktor etničke, jezičke i duhovne posebnosti u ime apstraktne građanske nacije – *Evropljana* – kao njihove zajedničke pripadnosti!

Umjesto toga, vidimo da su sve članice EU i dalje organizirane upravo kao nacionalne države. Vidimo i da se u ovim nacionalnim državama, u kojima žive drugi autohtoni narodi, upravo na teritoriji EU, procesi stvaranja nacionalne države nisu ugasili, nego naprotiv, tinjaju bez prestanka i svakih nekoliko godina razgore se sa obnovljenom snagom! Katalonija se nastoji osamostaliti kao država u odnosu na Španiju, a ista težnja već decenijama održava napetost Baskijaca prema centralnoj vladi Španije; Škotska i Irska kontinuirano zahtijevaju državni status i autonomiju u odnosu na UK; Valonci i Flamanci održavaju neprekidnu tenziju nastojeći se osamostaliti i tako Belgiju podijeliti na dvije nacionalne države; čak se i Korzikanci intenzivno organiziraju u borbi za autonomiju Korzike u odnosu na Francusku; Česi i Slovaci, koji su stoljećima živjeli zajedno pod tuđom vlašću pa decenijama u zajedničkoj državi Čehoslovačkoj, razdvojili su se i organizirali u dvije nacionalne države, prvom pogodnom prilikom; konačno Jugoslavija, kao zajednica južnoslovenskih naroda, poslije promjene više političkih sistema, od monarhije do Socijalističke Federativne Republike (SFRJ), fragmentirala se upravo po nacionalnim kriterijima u pet naglašeno nacionalnih država: Srbiju, Hrvatsku, Sloveniju, Makedoniju, Crnu Goru. Uslijedilo je i odvajanje Crne Gore od Srbije, desilo se ono u šta niko nije mogao povjerovati: dragulj *srpstva* je iz srpske krune ispao, poslovična *dva oka jedne glave* su se od *glave* rastavila a zatim je uslijedilo i otcjepljenje autonomne pokrajine Kosova od Srbije, motivirano pravom Albanaca, kao većinskog autohtonog stanovništva, da stvore svoju nacionalnu državu!

Bosniaks and Bosnia

bosniaks and Bosnia. An individual, a people, a nation, a state. Over the past few years, there have been increasingly frequent public discussions on the anachronism, obsolescence of „nation“ and „national affiliation“ as concepts and, particularly interestingly and by no means unintentionally where Bosniaks are concerned, even on „reactionism“ when the issue of their nation state is raised. As if no critic of „Bosniak nationalism“ can see that there are nation states all over the world, wherever the indigenous nation lives, as a standard form of their political organization. Within the European Union (EU), all countries with no exceptions are still of the national character. Still, the idea that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be organized as a civil state where Bosniaks, the indigenous nation with the absolute majority (the 2013 census) should renounce their ethnic and spiritual heritage in favor of the civil state specifically refers to the allegedly civil character of the EU. Why do I say: „allegedly“? Because if it indeed were the case, the EU would be organized as a union of states where all the nations that constitute member-states of the EU would exclude, from their state organization, the factor of ethnic, language and spiritual distinctiveness in favor of an abstract civil nation – „Europeans“ – as their joint affiliation.

Instead, we are witnesses to the fact that all of the EU member countries are still organized as nation states. We also witness that in these nation states, where other indigenous nations live as well, in the EU itself, the processes of the creation of a nation state have not died out; on the contrary, they smolder incessantly and flare up with renewed force every few years. Catalonia strives to gain independence from Spain, and the same tendency perpetuates the Basque tensions toward the Spanish central government; Scotland and Ireland continuously seek the status of a state and autonomy from the UK; the Walloons and the Flemish maintain incessant tension endeavoring to gain independence and thus divide Belgium into two nation states; even the Corsicans are intensively organizing themselves in their struggle for the independence of Corsica from France; the Czechs and the Slovaks, who used to live under foreign rule for centuries and in a common state – Czechoslovakia – for decades, separated and became organized into two nation states at the first opportunity; finally, Yugoslavia, as a union of South Slavic nations, underwent several changes in political systems, from a monarchy to the Socialist Federal Republic (SFRY), to become fragmented, according to national criteria, into five distinct nation states: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Montenegro. It included the separation of Montenegro from Serbia, an event that no one could believe would happen: the jewel of „Serbianity“ fell out of the Serbian crown, the proverbial „two eyes of a single head“ separated from the „head“; and this was followed by the secession of the autonomous province of Kosovo from Serbia, motivated by the rights of Albanians as the majority indigenous population, to create their nation state.

Izuzetak je bila i do danas ostala samo Bosna i Hercegovina. Zašto? Samo zato što se nije postigla saglasnost oko njenog jedinstvenog, odnosno, nosećeg i dominantnog nacionalnog identiteta – iz perspektive pripadnika srpske, odnosno hrvatske nacionalne manjine u Bosni i Hercegovini, instrumentaliziranih u kontekstu velikodržavnih pretenzija Srbije i Hrvatske da Bosnu podijele između sebe i te dijelove uključe u sopstvene nacionalne države. Pritom, jedina realna i kao što se pokazalo, nesavladiva smetnja njihovim ambicijama, bila je neporeciva činjenica da većinsko stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine, po svojoj nacionalnoj – etničkoj, duhovnoj, kulturnoj i narodnoj pripadnosti nije ni srpske ni hrvatske nacionalne pripadnosti, nego da je to autohtona, autonomna i zasebna nacija – narod, etnikum sa hiljadugodišnjom kulturnom i višestoljetnom državotvornom tradicijom – Bošnjaci! Pokušaj fizičkog istrebljenja i raseljavanja Bošnjaka tokom agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu 1992-95. godine, te nasilne re-populacije njenih regiona opustošenih agresijom i genocidima, koja i danas traje, nije dao očekivane rezultate, pa je pitanje političkog statusa ove države ostalo otvoreno – 28 godina poslije agresije i 25 godina poslije njenog oružanog sloma.

Ipak, nastojanja da se Bosna i Hercegovina pretvori – u cjelini ili dijelom, u nacionalnu državu Srba, odnosno Hrvata, nisu zamrla. Naprotiv, i dalje se nalaze u najužem fokusu strateških interesa ove dvije države – podignutih na nivo njihovih vitalnih nacionalnih interesa. Da li je ovim konačno najavljen kraj borbe za istinu i, posebno, borbe za nacionalno samopotvrđivanje Bošnjaka kao nacije? Pitanje je opravdano – kako u kontekstu neprestanih pritisaka usmjerenih na onemogućavanje nacionalne afirmacije Bošnjaka od strane Srbije i Hrvatske tako i od strane predstavnika međunarodne zajednice, čiji strateški interesi u regionu, za sada konvergiraju sa interesima ove dvije države. Pod takvim pritiscima čini se da popušta i jezgro bošnjačkog nacionalnog korpusa, koje se sve glasnije i sve češće, javno oglašava kapitulantskim zahtjevima da Bošnjaci odustanu od svoje etničke i duhovne afirmacije i da se, lišeni svojih ključnih identitetskih obilježja, privole da iščeznu sa svjetske scene kao samostalna nacija – narod, etnikum, te da se, kao anonimni, anacionalni demografski faktor, izgube i pretope u bosanstvu, e da bi Bosnu i Hercegovinu učinili *modernom građanskom državom, po uzoru na EU i njene države članice(?)*. Međutim, oni su sasvim smetnuli s uma već spomenute činjenice da je EU po svim kriterijima *moderna građanska Unija* i sve njene države članice su, isto tako *moderne građanske države*. Ni EU, ni bilo koja država članica nisu se odrekle svog naglašeno nacionalnog karaktera – nisu odbacile svoje etničke i duhovne biljege niti im ijednog trenutka pada na pamet da svoj nacionalni karakter žrtvuju u ime anonimnog i anacionalnog *evropejstva*.

Da sumiram: Bošnjaci i Bosna su u teškoj situaciji, ugroženi i spolja i iznutra od drugih i od svojih. Dosada su odolili svim prijetnjama – vojnoj sili, ekonomskim sankcijama, političkim ucjenama i pritiscima. Kada su neprijatelji Bošnjaka i Bosne shvatili da nijednom od navedenih metoda nisu uspjeli slomiti Bošnjake i ugasiti njihovu nacionalna i kulturnu svijest niti ukinuti Bosnu kao državu, potražili su slabu tačku – tačnije rečeno, onu najjaču tačku iz koje izvire nesalomljiva snaga Bošnjaka i Bosne. Potražili su i našli su je.

The only exception, to this day, is Bosnia and Herzegovina. Why? Only because agreement has not been reached about its single, i.e. structural and dominant, national identity from the perspective of members of the Serbian and Croatian national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, who became instruments in the context of the great-state claims of Serbia and Croatia to divide Bosnia between them and include these parts in their own nation states. In these attempts, the only realistic and, as it turned out, unsurmountable obstacle to their ambitions was the irrefutable fact that the majority population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, by their national (ethnic, spiritual, cultural) affiliation are neither Serbian nor Croatian, but they constitute an indigenous, autonomous and separate nation (ethnicity) with a thousands years-long cultural and centuries-long state-building tradition – Bosniaks. Attempts to physically exterminate and displace Bosniaks during the 1992-1995 aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and to forcibly repopulate its regions that were devastated due to the aggression and genocide did not produce the expected results and consequently, the issue of the political status of this state is still open, 28 years after the aggression and 25 years after the armed defeat of the aggression.

Still, endeavors to make Bosnia and Herzegovina (all or part of it) a nation state of Serbs or Croats have not vanished. On the contrary, they can still be found in the narrowest focus of these two countries' strategic interests, raised to the level of their vital national interests. Does this finally herald the need for the struggle for truth and, particularly, for the struggle for national self-confirmation of Bosniaks as a nation? The question is reasonable, in the context of both the incessant pressures focused on disallowing the national recognition of Bosniaks by Serbia and Croatia, and the pressures by representatives of the international community, whose strategic interests in the region currently converge with the interests of those two countries. It seems that the core of the Bosniak national body is also yielding under this pressure and is increasingly loudly and frequently publicly expressing capitulating claims for Bosniaks to abandon their ethnic and spiritual recognition and, deprived of the crucial features of their identity, be persuaded to vanish from the global scene as an independent nation (ethnicum) and become lost and melt into '*Bosnianity*' as an anonymous, a-national demographic factor, in order to make Bosnia and Herzegovina a „modern civil state, after the model of the EU and its member countries“ (?). However, they have completely forgotten the facts listed above, i.e. that the EU is a „modern civil Union“ by all criteria, and all its member countries are also „modern civil states“, although neither the EU nor any of its member countries has renounced their prominently national character nor rejected their ethnic or spiritual labels, and that it never occurs to them to sacrifice their national character in favor of the anonymous and a-national „Europeanity“.

Let us sum up: Bosniaks and Bosnia are in a difficult situation, threatened both from the outside and from the inside, by others and by their own. So far, they have resisted all the threats, the military power, economic sanctions, political blackmail and pressures. When the enemies of Bosniaks and Bosnia realized that none of these methods had managed to break Bosniaks down and extinguish their national and cultural awareness or annul Bosnia as a state, they searched for a weak spot – or more accurately, the strongest spot where the unbreakable strength of Bosniaks and Bosnia originates. They searched and found it.

Ono što je za biblijskog Samsona bila njegova kosa, ono što je kod džinova i zmajeva iz bajki bilo skriveno u medvjedu, pa u vuku, pa u lisici, pa u sokolu i, najzad, u golubu, tako da je redom trebalo poubijati, medvjeda, vuka, lisicu, sokola, da bi se, konačno, ubio golub i tako se zčaju oduzela snaga – to je za Bošnjake njihovo nacionalno ime, njihova etnička pripadnost, duhovna i kulturna posebnost, svijest o višestoljetnoj državotvornoj tradiciji – sjedinjenih u pojmu Bosna kao simbolu i sinonimu njihove Majke Zemlje. Oduzmi Bošnjacima sve ono prethodno, i Bosna će iščeznuti iz njihovog sjećanja. Kada jednom zaborave da su Bošnjaci i da je Bosna njihov praiskonski zavičaj i rodna gruda, bit će time ubijeni i medvjed, i vuk, i lisica, i sokol, a onaj golub, u kom je skrivena njihova snaga, sam će klonuti i pasti. U državi Bosni i Hercegovini ostat će tada samo dva konstitutivna naroda: Srbi i Hrvati! Ona većina njenih stanovnika što su se nekada nazivali Bošnjaci, bit će degradirani na amorfnu demografsku kategoriju: *Bosanci*, koji će, umjesto svoje izgubljene nacionalne pripadnosti, duhovne i kulturne posebnosti, ostati da se tješe novostečenim apstraktnim statusom državljana *moderne građanske države*. Vremenom bi i ta država promijenila svoje ime i rascijepila se na dva dijela sa svojim imenima – posebno imajući u vidu da se, već više od dvije decenije, pola Bosne zove *Republika Srpska*, dok je četvrtina *Županija Herceg-Bosna*, čime bi se konačno izbrisao svaki trag Bošnjaka i svako sjećanje na Bosnu.

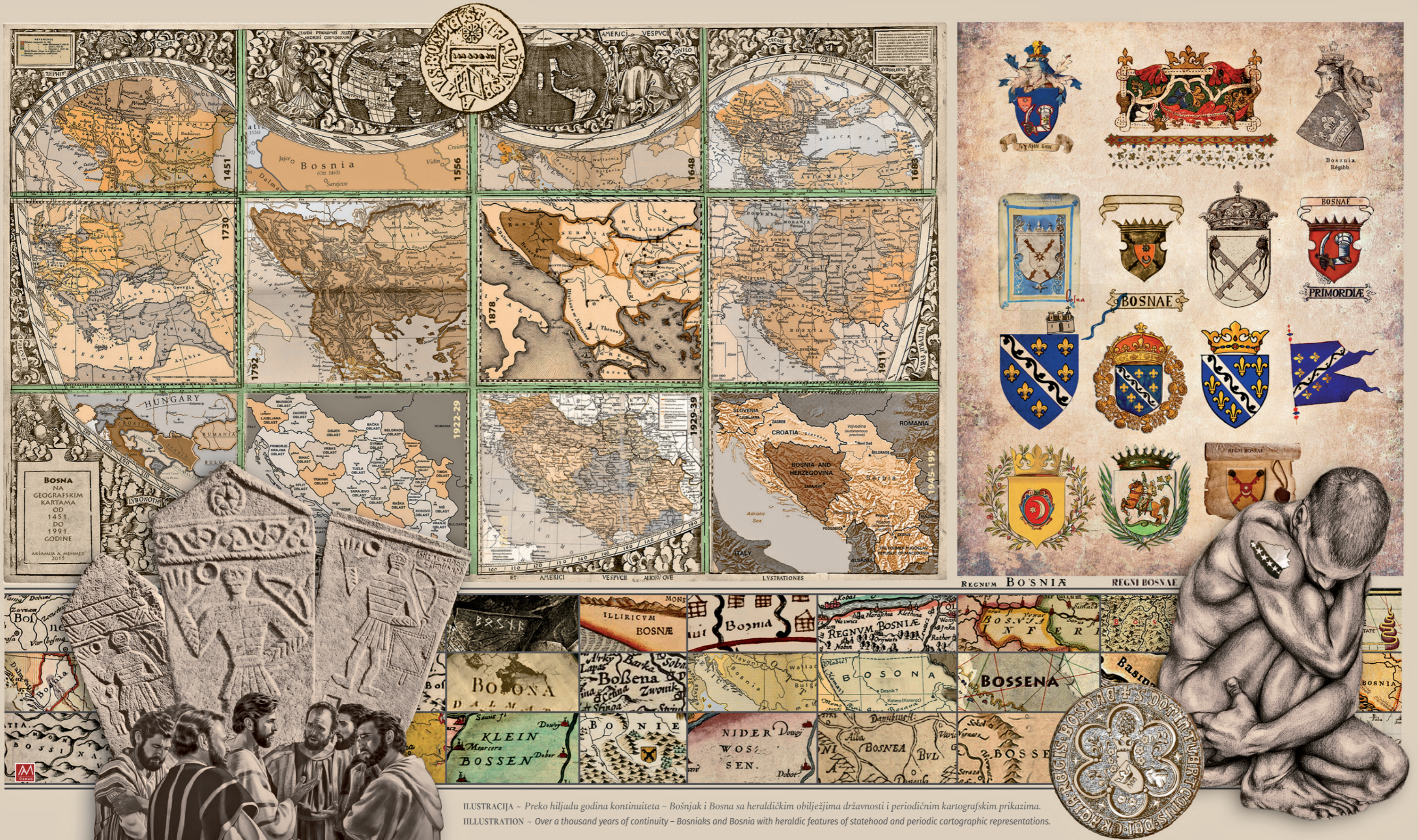
Šta moraju i šta mogu uraditi Bošnjaci da bi opstali kao – oni koji jesu i koji su odvajkada bili – na svojoj pradjedovskoj rodnoj grudni Bosni!? Jednostavno i jasno: Moraju očuvati svoje ime Bošnjaci, njegovati svoj etnički karakter i duhovnu tradiciju. Moraju shvatiti da je njihov opstanak sada pitanje očuvanja duha i kulture, više nego pitanje političke organizacije! U ovoj fazi, a posebno u perspektivi, opstanak Bosne je imperativno pitanje samosvijesti Bošnjaka kao naroda i nacije, očuvanja znanja o sebi kroz njegovanje sopstvene duhovne i kulturne tradicije, a ne više pitanje fizičkog opstanka Bošnjaka i odbrana njihove državne teritorije.

Da bi se ovaj imperativ ostvario, Bošnjaci mogu sasvim realno i bez poteškoća, početi s organizirnim i sistematskim otporom protiv kulturne asimilacije i intelektualne dominacije koja im se intenzivno, sistematski i svim sredstvima nameće. Paralelno, treba raditi na suzbijanju, nažalost općeprihutne i raširene sopstvene submisivnosti i kolonijalnog mentaliteta inferiornosti. Umjesto pasivnog prihvatanja bilo kojih autoriteta sa strane kada je riječ o njima samima i njihovim nacionalnim interesima, neophodno je da razviju samostalnu kritičku distancu prema njima – koji god bili i odakle god inače dolazili ti autoriteti! Ovo se posebno odnosi na one bošnjačke akademske krugove iz sfere historijskih, društvenih i političkih nauka, koji su potpuno, takoreći, u zametku zanemarili svako samostalno rasuđivanje – *kritiku*, jer je osnova pojma *kritika* upravo glagol *kritein: rasuđivanje*. Fascinirani zvučnim imenima i njihovom medijskom popularnošću, povjerovali su da bi bespogovornim prihvatanjem njihovih stavova i pukim imitiranjem njihovog tehničkog žargona mogli preuzeti dio te popularnosti i odsjaj njihovog autoriteta. Umjesto toga, postali su obični epigoni, promotori tuđih ideja, nesvjesni da su čak i te ideje sasvim drukčije interpretirane i sa rezervom primljene u zemljama njihovog nastanka.

What was the hair for Biblical Samson, what was hidden in giants and dragons as a bear, then as a wolf, a fox, a falcon and finally a pigeon, so that one had to kill first the bear, then the wolf, the fox, the falcon and finally the pigeon to deprive the dragon of its strength – this is for Bosniaks their national name, their ethnic affiliation, their spiritual and cultural distinctiveness, their awareness of their centuries-long state-building tradition, united in the notion of Bosnia as a symbol and a synonym of their Mother Country. Deprive Bosniaks of all these and Bosnia will vanish from their memory. When they have forgotten that they are Bosniaks and that Bosnia is their primordial homeland and native soil, it will kill the bear, the wolf, the fox and the falcon, and the pigeon where their strength is hidden will wither and fall by itself. Only two constituent nations will remain in the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Serbs and Croats. The majority of its population who used to be called Bosniaks will be degraded to the amorphous demographic category: *'Bosnians'*, who will, instead of their lost national affiliation, find comfort in the newly acquired abstract status of the citizens of a „modern civil state“. Eventually, this country would change its name and split into two parts with names of their own, particularly keeping in mind that for over two decades half of Bosnia has already been called the *Republika Srpska*, and one fourth the *County of Herceg-Bosna*, which would finally erase every trace of Bosniaks and every memory of Bosnia.

What can and must Bosniaks do to survive as what they are and who they have always been on their ancestors' native soil of Bosnia? It is simple and clear: They must preserve their name, Bosniaks, nourish their ethnic character and spiritual tradition. They must realize that their survival is now an issue of preserving spirit and culture, rather than an issue of political organization. In this stage, and particularly in the future, the survival of Bosnia is an imperative of the self-awareness of Bosniaks as a nation, of preserving their knowledge about themselves by nourishing their spiritual and cultural tradition, rather than an issue of the physical survival of Bosniaks and defense of their state territory.

In order to achieve this imperative, Bosniaks can quite realistically and without any difficulties begin the organized and systematic resistance to cultural assimilation and intellectual dominance that is imposed on them intensely, systematically and by every means. In parallel, they should work on suppressing their own unfortunately omnipresent and widely spread submissiveness and colonial mindset of inferiority. Instead of the passive adoption of any authority of others in matters concerning themselves and their national interests, it is necessary for Bosniaks to develop an independent critical distance from them – whoever the authorities are and wherever they come from. This particularly pertains to Bosniak academic circles in the area of historical, social and political studies, who have completely, almost seminally, ignored any independent reasoning (*critique*, since the root of the term '*critique*' is the verb *kritein = to reason*). Fascinated by sonorous names and their media popularity, Bosniak academicians came to believe that by unconditional acceptance of those views and by mere imitation of their technical jargon, they themselves could take over part of that popularity and the reflection of their authority. Instead, Bosniak academicians became mere epigones, promoters of someone else's ideas, unaware that even these ideas were interpreted quite differently and accepted with reservations in the countries of their origin.



BOSNA
NA
GEOGRAFSKIM
KARTAMA
OD
1451.
DO
1991.
GODINE

ARKANIJA A. MEHMED
2015

ILUSTRACIJA - Preko hiljadu godina kontinuiteta - Bošnjak i Bosna sa heraldičkim obilježjima državnosti i periodičnim kartografskim prikazima.
 ILLUSTRATION - Over a thousand years of continuity - Bosniaks and Bosnia with heraldic features of statehood and periodic cartographic representations.

Konkretno, kada je riječ o odnosu filozofije politike i političke stvarnosti, mora se imati u vidu historijski nepobitna činjenica da sve nove ideje i koncepcije o pojedincu, narodu, naciji i državi, koliko god bile spektakularne tokom minula tri stoljeća, nisu bile prihvaćene s očekivanim entuzijazmom niti su promijenile praksu političkog organiziranja evropskih naroda u nacionalne države, gdje god i kad god je to bilo moguće. Uzmimo kao posebno uvjerljiv primjer širenje ideje kosmopolitizma, formulirane u periodu prosvjetiteljstva, sistematski elaborirane u racionalističkoj filozofiji kroz teoriju o univerzalnoj jednakosti *ljudske prirode*. Eruptivno politički promovirana u paroli Francuske buržoaske revolucije od 1789. godine: *Sloboda, Bratstvo, Jednakost – Liberte, Fraternite, Egalite!* koja je, doslovno, fascinirala cijelu epohu, ova kosmopolitska lozinka ostala je bez odjeka i zapravo je samo inspirirala separatistička stremljenja naroda koji su dotada ostali bez svoje države. Izvorna ideja da smo svi jednaki jer smo jedan rod – *Gens una summus!*, nije dovela do pretapanja naroda u anonimnu jednakost *Čovječanstva*, nego se protumačila kao ideja da svi naroda imaju jednaka prava a da su nekim narodima ta prava uskraćena. Kroz cijeli ovaj period, do danas, sve te ideološke intervencije, uz svu svoju očaravajuću moć, nijednog trenutka nisu dovele u pitanje nacionalističku političku praksu nijedne od država koje su se spremno odazvale tom pokliču. Uz svu svoju privlačnost i popularizaciju u društvenim naukama i književnosti, nisu izmijenile čak ni svijest građana, niti su ukinule etničke, vjerske, kulturne, pa čak ni rasne predrasude i stereotipe! Očigledno je, dakle, da se kosmopolitski naglašena filozofska definicija *jedinstvenog univerzalnog čovječanstva*, u praksi sasvim drukčije eksponirala. Isto tako se i sve teorijske debate o *postnacionalnim društvima* završavaju u okvirima akademskih narativa – bez bilo kakvog stvarnog efekta ne samo na političku praksu nego i na etničku, nacionalnu i kulturnu svijest građana, kao i većine, ako ne i svih autora ovih teorijskih intervencija. Svugdje u svijetu, danas kao i tokom dugih milenija, ljudski rod živi fragmentiran na mnogobrojne intrahomogene ljudske grupe i zajednice, historijski formirane u brojne naroda, od kojih je svaki razvio svoj jezik, tradiciju, običaje i posebno markirao teritoriju na kojoj je od pamtivijeka živio. Koliko god kasnije bila kompromitirana kroz neke ekstremno nacionalističke oblike ispoljavanja, ova, u biti romantičarska ideja, nudi daleko realističniju sliku čovječanstva. Umjesto kroz apstraktno jedinstvo, svuda vidimo da čovječanstvo svoju biološku jedinstvenost – kao *Homo sapiens*, u stvarnosti realizira kroz podjelu na bezbroj uzajamno različitih etnosa, naroda i nacija. Shvatanje univerzalnosti i sveopće rasprostranjenosti ove činjenice skida s dnevnog reda svako dalje preispitivanje navodne anahronosti ideje nacionalne države i neopravdanosti osjećanja privrženosti sopstvenom etničkom, jezičkom, narodnom ili nacionalnom identitetu. Ova činjenica legitimira u potpunosti pravo svakog čovjeka da se pozove na svoju pripadnost:

Da, ja jesam onaj koji jesam!

Pošavši od pretpostavke inherentne slobode svakog čovjeka, uz puno poštovanje prava da svako sebe kao pojedinca odredi u najširem kontekstu samo granicom pripadnosti ljudskom rodu, mora se poštovati i pravo svakog čovjeka da sebe odredi i kao pojedinca, ali i kao pripadnika specifične

Specifically, with respect to the relationship between the philosophy of politics and the political reality, one should keep in mind the historically irrefutable fact that all new ideas and concepts of the individual, the nation and the state, regardless of how spectacular they have been over the past three centuries, were not accepted with the expected enthusiasm nor did they change the practice of political organization of European nations into nation states, whenever and wherever it was possible. A particularly convincing example pertains to the spread of the idea of cosmopolitanism, articulated in the period of Enlightenment, and systematically elaborated in the rationalist philosophy through the theory of the universal equality of „human nature“. Eruptively politically promoted in the slogan of the 1789 French Revolution: *Freedom, Brotherhood, Equality („Liberté, Fraternité, Egalité!“)*, which literally fascinated the entire epoch, this cosmopolitan password did not materialize and, actually, it only inspired the separatist tendencies of nations who had previously lost their country. The original idea, that we are all equal because we are one people (*Gens una summus!*) has not resulted in the melting down of nations into the anonymous equality of „Humanity“; rather, it was interpreted as the idea that all nations have the same rights and that some nations have been refused these rights. Throughout this period, and to this day, all these ideological interventions, with all their enchanting power, have never challenged the nationalist political practice of any country that readily responded to this cry. Despite their appeal and popularization in social studies and literature, they have not even changed citizens' views, nor have they eliminated ethnic, religious, cultural or even racial prejudices and stereotypes. Thus, it is evident that the philosophic definition of a „united universal humanity“, highlighted as cosmopolitan, was manifested quite differently in practice. Moreover, all theoretical debates on „post-national societies“ end within academic narratives, without any real effect either on political practice or on the ethnic, national and cultural awareness of citizens and of the majority, if not all, of the authors of these theoretical interventions. Everywhere in the world, today just as throughout other millennia, mankind lives fragmented into numerous intra-homogenous human groups and communities, historically formed into numerous nations, each of which has developed its own language, tradition, customs and, particularly, marked the territory in which it has lived since time immemorial. Regardless of how compromised it was later, through some extremely nationalistic manifest forms, this essentially romantic idea provides a far more realistic image of humanity. Instead of through abstract unity, we see that humanity everywhere materializes its biological distinctiveness (as *Homo sapiens*) through division into a myriad mutually different ethnic groups and nations. An understanding of the universality and omnipresence of this fact removes from the agenda any further questioning of the alleged anachronism of the idea of the nation state and non-justification of the feeling of attachment to one's own ethnic, language or national identity. This fact fully legitimizes every man's right to refer to their affiliation:

Yes, I am who I am!

Starting from the assumption of everyone's inherent freedom, with all due respect to the right of every person to define himself as an individual in the broadest context – just by the delineation of his affiliation to mankind – one must also respect every person's right to define himself both as an individual and as a member

nacionalne – narodne, etničke, kulturne, jezičke zajednice, konačno, kao državljanina sopstvene države. Zato, kada bez bilo kakvog snebivanja i nelagode kažete, jednako pred sobom kao i pred drugima:

Da, ja sam Bošnjak!

učinili ste odlučujući korak za sopstveno samopoštovanje i dali ste najveći prilog nacionalnoj afirmaciji Bošnjaka i opstanku Bosne. Iako su se teorijska ispitivanja odnosa pojedinca, društva i države neravnomjerno razvijala u različitim periodima i različitim regionima, ljudi, društva i države, kao njihova povijesna podloga, prolazili su u biti kroz iste faze i suočavali se s veoma sličnim osnovnim izazovima. Stoga, kratka analiza razvoja tih shvatanja bit će jednako relevantna i za razumijevanje aktuelne dinamike i unutrašnje logike odnosa pojedinca, društva i države u savremenoj stvarnosti Bosne, kao i bilo gdje u savremenom svijetu.

of a distinctive national (ethnic, cultural, language) community and, ultimately, as a citizen of his own country. Therefore, when you say, for yourself or before others, without any hesitation or embarrassment:

Yes, I am a Bosniak!

you have taken a decisive step toward your own self-respect and have given the greatest contribution to the national recognition of Bosniaks and the survival of Bosnia. Although the theoretical investigations of the relationship between the individual, society and state developed unevenly in different periods and different regions, peoples, societies and countries, they have undergone essentially the same stages and have faced very similar basic challenges as their historical background. Therefore, a brief analysis of the development of these understandings will be equally relevant for understanding the current dynamics and internal logic of the relationship between the individual, the society and the state in the contemporary reality of Bosnia, just as anywhere in the contemporary world.



ILUSTRACIJA – Rafael Sanzio, *Atinska akademija (La Academia de Atina)*, detalj; prikazuje Platona i Aristotela (u sredini), Ibn Rušda (na Zapadu poznat kao *Averroes*), dolje lijevo i druge drevne filozofe koji razmjenjuju svoje znanje.

ILLUSTRATION – Rafael Sanzio, *Academy of Athens (La Academia de Athens)*, detail; depicts Plato and Aristotle (center), Ibn Rushd (known in the West as *Averroes*), bottom left and other ancient philosophers sharing their knowledge.

Pitanje odnosa pojedinca, naroda – zajednice, etnosa i države, u striktno filozofskom kontekstu se svodi na teorijsko pitanje odnosa dijelova i cjeline, dok se u filozofsko-političkoj teoriji i praksi eksponira kao pitanje njihove hijerarhije, prioriteta i subordinacije. Pitajući se: „Da li pojedinci stvaraju narod, a narod državu?“, filozofija postavlja vrijednosno neutralno pitanje, kao kada bismo se pitali: „Da li ‘šumu’ čini određeni broj pojedinačnog drveća, kao njenih dijelova, ili je svako pojedinačno drvo tek dio ‘šume’?“ Razumije se, samo ovo pitanje izgleda neopravdano, jer je sasvim jasno da bez drveća, nema ni ‘šume’, dok jedno drvo i osamljeno, bez ‘šume’, ostaje drvo! Drvo je pretpostavka za postojanje šume. Ali šuma nije pretpostavka za postojanje drveta! Prema tome, isto važi i za odnos pojedinca i naroda: Nema naroda bez pojedinaca, dok pojedinac ostaje pojedinac i bez naroda. Drukčije rečeno: narod dobija svoj realitet preko pojedinaca, dok pojedinac svoj realitet ima u sebi samome! Jednako se ovaj primjer, iako u nešto izmijenjenom značenju, može primijeniti i na odnos naroda i države. Nijedna država bez naroda; mnogi narodi bez države! Država dobija svoj realitet tek preko naroda; narod ima svoj identitet u sebi samome! Činjenica da u sastav mnogih država ulaze dva ili više naroda, ili da jedan narod može imati više država, ne mijenja ništa u osnovnom vrijednosno neutralnom principu, koji glasi da je *narod nužan iako ne dovoljan uvjet postojanja države, dok država nije ni dovoljan ni nužan uvjet postojanja naroda.*

Međutim, čim je sa analize dijelova i cjeline predmeta prešlo na analizu odnosa pojedinca, naroda i države – sa drveća i šume na ljude, filozofija je napustila područje vrijednosne neutralnosti i stupila na klizavi teren hijerarhije, supremacije i subordinacije, prioriteta i marginalnosti, uzroka i posljedice, konačno – sredstva i cilja! Na ovom ključnom zaokretu cijela se historija političke filozofije – dakle, filozofije zajednice, jer korijen riječi *politika* zapravo označava *zajednicu*, razdvojila u dva glavna toka, prema tome kako je koji odgovorio na ovo osnovno pitanje. Davanje prioriteta pojedincu, vodilo je ka afirmaciji individue, ličnih sloboda i prava, pri čemu je zajednica, posebno država, shvaćena kao forma društvene organizacije čiji je najviši cilj ostvarenje ideala slobodnog, suverenog pojedinca. *Samo slobodni pojedinci mogu ostvariti slobodnu državu!* – ovaj je aksiom, dakako, svaki pokušaj države da ograniči lične slobode i prava pojedinca, vidio kao napad na generičku, rodovsku suštinu čovjeka. Beskompromisna borba protiv takve države završavala je tek njenim rušenjem.

Čovjek se svuda rađa slobodan, a svugdje je u okovima! – ova rečenica Žan-Žaka Rusoa najpregnantnije je izrazila ideale tradicije filozofije koja je zajednicu, društvo, državu vidjela kao sredstvo a ideal slobodnog, suverenog pojedinca kao krajni cilj historije! Pod njegovim utjecajem pozicija je radikalizirana do krajnosti od Pjera Žozefa Prudona, za koga je: *Svaki onaj koji želi vladati nadamnom, jeste moj smrtni neprijatelj.*

The issue of the relationship between the individual, the nation (community, ethnos) and the state, in the strict philosophical context, boils down to the theoretical issue of the relationship between a whole and its parts, while in the theory of the philosophy of politics and in practice it is manifested as the issue of their hierarchy, priority and subordination. When asking the question: „Do individuals create a nation, and a nation – a state?“, philosophy asks a neutral-value question, the same as if we asked: „Is the ‘forest’ made up of a certain number of individual trees, as its parts, or is every individual tree only a part of the ‘forest’?“ Naturally, this very question sounds unjustified, since it is more than clear that there is no ‘forest’ without trees, while a single tree, even alone and without the ‘forest’ is still a tree. The tree is a prerequisite for the existence of the forest. On the other hand, the forest is not a prerequisite for the existence of the tree. The same applies for the relationship between the individual and the nation: There is no nation without individuals, while the individual remains an individual even without the nation. In other words: the nation achieves its reality through individuals, while the individual has his reality within himself. This example can also be applied, though with a somewhat changed meaning, to the relationship between the nation and the country. There is no country without a nation; there are many nations without a country. The country assumes its reality only through nations: the nation has its identity in itself. The fact that many countries consist of two or more nations, or that a single nation may have more than one country, does not change anything in the value-neutral principle, which says that *the nation is a necessary, though not a sufficient prerequisite for the existence of a country, while the country is neither a sufficient nor a necessary prerequisite for the existence of a nation.*

However, as soon as philosophy moved from the analysis of the parts and the whole of an object to the analysis of the relationship between the individual, the nation and the state (from trees and the forest to people), it left the area of value neutrality and stepped on a slippery terrain of hierarchy, supremacy and subordination, priority and marginality, cause and effect, and ultimately – means and the goal. At this crucial turn, the whole history of political philosophy (thus, the philosophy of community, since the root of the word ‘politics’ actually signifies ‘community’), split into two main streams, according to how each of them answered this fundamental question. Prioritizing the individual led to the recognition of a person, personal freedoms and rights, while the community, particularly the state, was understood as a form of social organization whose highest goal was achieving the ideal of a free, sovereign individual. Only free individuals can form a free state. Of course, this axiom saw any attempt of the state to restrict personal freedoms and individuals’ rights as an attack on the generic, ancestral essence of man. Uncompromising struggle against such a state ended only in its destruction.

Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains! – this sentence by Jean-Jacques Rousseau most pregnantly expressed the ideals of the tradition of the philosophy that viewed the community, the society and the state as a means, and the ideal of a free, sovereign individual as the ultimate goal of history. Under his influence, this view was radicalized to the extreme by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, for whom: *Whoever lays*

Maks Štirner je u potpunosti podijelio sa Prudonom osjećaj neukrotive individualne slobode kao najveće vrijednosti ukazujući pritom da je upravo: *Svaka država kao institucija, smrtni neprijatelj svakog pojedinca!*

Drugi je tok svoj izvor imao u suprotnom stavu svedenom na aksiom: *Pojedinac je ništa, narod je nešto, država je sve!* Prema ovom shvatanju, izvan države čovjek kao jedinka, zapravo jedva da je još čovjek. U suštini, ovo shvatanje se zasniva na tezi da je, po svojoj prirodi, čovjek *biće zajednice*, te da se, sljedstveno, ne može ni govoriti o nekakvom čovjeku izvan zajednice. Sama ova tvrdnja potječe iz drevne filozofske baštine. Riječ je o svakako najcitiranijoj Aristotelovoj definiciji prema kojoj je čovjek određen sintagmom – *zoon politikon*. Ova odredba je do danas ostala i jedna od najshvaćenijih definicija, jer u nivou semantike *zoon politikon* ne znači *politička životinja*, kao što se po pravilu paušalno prenosi – svakako ne iz Aristotelovog teksta, nego, reklo bi se, *s koljena na koljeno*, već sasvim jednostavno i doslovno: *društveno biće*. U skladu s pravilima definiranja, koja je formulirao sam Aristotel, *definicija nastaje određivanjem najbližeg roda i specifične razlike – Definitio fiat per genus proximum et differentiam specificam*, u ovom slučaju, kategorija čovjek se definira najbližim rodом *živo biće – zoon* i specifičnom razlikom koju Aristotel određuje činjenicom da to *živo biće*, po zakonima svoje prirode, živi u zajednici. Sasvim jednostavno i jasno, Aristotel kaže da je čovjek *društveno biće – biće zajednice – politik*, jer riječ *politika*, znači upravo zajednica – otuda i riječ *politeia – država, zajednica*, a ne *politika kao aktivnost* u smislu u kom se danas koristi. Već sljedeća Aristotelova rečenica ovo efektno i nedvosmisleno dopunjava ocjenom da je *onaj koji može živjeti sam, zvijer ili bog!* Treba imati u vidu da je Aristotel živio u društvu s politeističkom religijom i da ovdje izražava vjerovanje da su bogovi besmrtni – nezavisno žive li u zajednici ili sami, odnosno, da osim bogova i divlje zvijeri, iako smrtni, po svojoj prirodi žive same.

Određivanje inherentne, urođene društvenosti kao čovjekove specifične rodovske suštine, zapravo je značilo da je prioritet s pojedinca prešao na zajednicu. Sam Aristotel se u različitim periodima kolebao dajući naizmjenično primat čas pojedincu, čas opet, društvu. Međutim, već od samog početka, paralelno su se počele 'miješati vode' ova dva nepomirljiva toka. Tako, naprimjer, Platon najprije analizira fenomen ljudske zajednice i određuje njen karakter, izvodeći iz te analize zaključke o suštini njenog odnosa prema pojedincu, kao i o osnovnim obavezama koje proizilaze iz tog odnosa i koje pojedinac ima prema državi. Da su se spomenuti suprotstavljeni tokovi već tada računali, vidi se iz Platonovog dijaloga *Gozba – Symposion*, u kom Trazimah oponira Sokratu kada ovaj određuje državu kao *zajednicu zasnovanu na pravdi*, s ciljem primjene pravde za sve njene članove, tvrdeći da je svaka država u biti instrument sile te da je, sljedstveno i ono što nazivamo 'pravdom', zapravo samo sila koju država koristi protiv pojedinca u ostvarivanju svojih interesa. Mnogo kasnije, posebno s filozofijom njemačkog klasičnog idealizma, odnos pojedinca, društva i države, definirat će se na osnovu deduktivne metafizike, koja svoj završni izraz dobija u Hegelovom stavu: *Istina je cjelina!*, prema kom se sva predmetna realnost, kao i pojedinačni stavovi u mišljenju, određuju i valoriziraju iz njihove

his hand on me to govern me is a usurper or tyrant, and I declare him my enemy. Max Stirner fully shared Proudhon's feeling of irrepressible individual freedom as the greatest value, also claiming that *Every state, as an institution, is intrinsically the enemy of the people.*

The other stream found its source in the opposite view, reduced to the axiom: *The individual is nothing, the nation is something, the state is everything.* According to this viewpoint, man as an individual is almost no man without the state. Essentially, this understanding is based on the assumption that, by his nature, man is a „being of community“ and that, consequently, one cannot even speak of any man beyond community. This claim springs from ancient philosophical heritage. It is certainly the most quoted of Aristotle's definitions, according to which man is defined by the phrase *zoon politikon*. This definition is still one of the least understood definitions, since at the level of semantics, *zoon politikon* does not mean a „political animal“, as it is typically arbitrarily translated (certainly not from Aristotle's text but rather, one might say, passed down for several generations), but rather, quite simply and literally: a „social being“. In line with the rules of defining, which were formulated by Aristotle himself, *the definition proceeds by citing a genus to which the term belongs, and then the difference that gives its species (Definitio fit per genus proximum et differentiam specificam)*, in this case the category „Man“ is defined by the closest genus „living being“ (*zoon*), and by the distinction that Aristotle defines by means of the fact that this „living being“, by the laws of his nature, lives in the community. Quite clearly and simply, Aristotle says that man is a „social being“ – a being of the community (*politikon*), since the word politics signifies the community (therefore the word *politeia – state, community*), rather than „politics as an activity“ in the sense in which it is used today. Aristotle's next sentence effectively and unambiguously supplements this rule, with the assessment that he *who can live alone is a beast or god*. One should keep in mind that Aristotle lived in a society with polytheistic religion, and that here he expresses his belief that gods are immortal, that they live independently in a community or alone, and that besides gods, wild beasts, although mortal, live alone by their nature.

Determining inherent, inborn sociality as the distinctive essence of men as a genus implied that the priority was transferred from the individual to the community. Aristotle himself wavered in different periods, alternately placing priority on the individual and on society. However, since the very beginning, the „waters“ of these two irreconcilable streams began to mix. Thus, for example, Plato first analyzes the phenomenon of the human community and determines its character, deriving from this analysis conclusions about the essence of its relationship to the individual, and about the basic obligations that the individual has toward the state resulting from this relationship. One can see that the two streams already began to branch in Plato's dialogue „Symposium“ (*Symposion*), where Thrasymachus opposes Socrates when the latter defines the state as a „community based on justice“ aimed at applying justice for all its members, claiming that every state is essentially an instrument of force and that, consequently, what we call 'justice' is actually only the force that the state uses against individuals in achieving its interests. Far later, particularly in the philosophy of German classical idealism, the relationship between the individual, society and state would be defined based on deductive metaphysics, which gained its final expression in Hegel's view: *The truth is the whole!* According to this view, the whole of material reality, as well as individual views in reasoning, are

pozicije u cjelini – što znači da je i pojedinac potpuno podređen cjelini, konkretno – državi! Afirmacija države i potpuno zanemarivanje pojedinca, do njegovog totalnog obezvređivanja, postaje temelj ove filozofije. Hegelova apoteoza države u status apsolutnog autoriteta, promovirala je građansku lojalnost i bezuvjetnu pokornost državi u najvišu vrijednost i obavezu, istovremeno odričući pojedincu bilo kakvu samostalnost. Ovaj totalitarni model države i supremaciju države nad pojedincem Hegel je sistematski zastupao, ne samo u svojim filozofskim traktatima nego i kroz nekoliko poslovično kratkih i ubojitih aforizama koje su vlasti prihvatile s oduševljenjem a ogromna većina građana bezrezervno usvojila kao neporecivu istinu i svetu obavezu: *Bez države, pojedinac je – ništa. Tek država omogućava pojavu pojedinca. Najviše što može učiniti pojedinac, jeste da umre za državu, a najviše što može država učiniti za pojedinca, jeste da tu žrtvu prihvati!*

Teškoće dosljedno jednostranog zastupanja bilo koje od dvije krajnosti, kada je riječ o odnosu 'pojedinac, društvo, država', očigledne su već kod interpretacije samog Aristotela. Neki interpretatori smatraju da je Aristotel dao nesumnjiv prioritet zajednici kao općem načelu, jer se i pojedinac, i zajednica, i država, kao forma zajednice, izvode iz prirode čovjeka, kao općeg uvjeta, zajedničkog za sve njih. Nasuprot tome, drugi smatraju da je Aristotelov stav nesumnjivo afirmirao prioritet pojedinca. U prilog ovakvom tumačenju ide i podatak da se Aristotel razišao sa Platonom, između ostalog, upravo po pitanju prihvatanja razlika u afinitetima i sklonostima svakog pojedinca, iz kojih onda proizilaze i njihovi različiti interesi, što se, prema Aristotelu, mora imati u vidu kada se razmišlja o odnosu pojedinca i države. Platon je ove razlike ignorirao, da bi sklonosti svih ljudi grupisao samo u tri kategorije: **1.** želju za materijalnim dobrima; **2.** častoljubivost; **3.** želju za istinom. Ipak, i ovdje se može prigovoriti da je i sam Platon ovu podjelu izveo iz njegovog shvatanja prirode svakog čovjeka kao pojedinca, a ne iz principa *ljudske prirode* i pravednosti, odnosno *velikog dobra*, kojima sam on motivira i opravdava postojanje države. Naime, Platon ukazuje na to da svaki čovjek ima tri osnovne potrebe: **1.** materijalne; **2.** moralne; **3.** intelektualne, koje kod čovjeka, fiziološki predstavljaju: **1.** stomak; **2.** srce; **3.** glava. Jedina, iako bitna razlika, prema Platonu, proizilazi iz činjenice da ni ovi dijelovi, ni ove potrebe nisu ravnomjerno raspoređene kod ljudi: kod jednih, dominira stomak; kod drugih, srce, kod trećih glava. Pravedna država treba biti utemeljena na postojanju ovih razlika i u skladu s tim, organizirana na poštovanju njihove hijerarhijske pozicije. Na ovoj podjeli koncipirao je Platon i svoju idealnu državu, koju čine tri kategorije građana: **1.** radnici; **2.** vojnici; **3.** filozofi.

Ovaj nešto detaljniji ekskurs u Platonovu filozofiju politike dovoljno uvjerljivo ilustrira kompleksnost i kontroverznost pitanja odnosa pojedinac, narod – građani, država, čak i kada je riječ o najznačajnijim predstavnicima filozofije politike. U ovom svjetlu treba shvatiti i podatak, da nasuprot onima koji smatraju da je Aristotel dao pojedincu prioritet nad državom, postoje i interpretacije prema kojima je Aristotel, zapravo, dao prioritet cjelini nad dijelom, a time i zajednici – državi nad pojedincem, pozivajući se u osnovi na isti argument, da je za Aristotela, 'ljudska priroda' ona zajednička osnova

defined and evaluated from their position in a whole, which means that the individual is fully subordinated to the whole, or specifically – to the state. Promotion of the state and complete neglect of the individual, all the way to his total disparagement, became the foundation of this philosophy. Hegel's apotheosis of the state to the status of absolute authority promoted civil loyalty and unconditional submissiveness to the state to the highest value and obligation, while denying any independence to the individual. Hegel systematically advocated this totalitarian model of the state and the supremacy of the state over the individual both in his philosophical treatises and in several proverbially brief and piercing aphorisms, which were accepted with delight by the authorities and adopted by the vast majority of citizens as an irrefutable truth and sacred obligation: *Without the state, the individual is – nothing, It is the state that allows the emergence of the individual. The most that the individual can do is die for the state, and the most the state can do is accept this sacrifice.*

Difficulties in the consistent one-sided advocacy of either of the two extremes in discussions on the relationship of 'individual, society, state' are evident as early as in the interpretations of Aristotle himself. Some interpreters believe that Aristotle irrefutably places priority on the community as a general principle, since both the individual and the community, including the state as a form of the community, are derived from human nature as a general condition, common to all. Others believe that, on the contrary, Aristotle's view indubitably promotes the priority of the individual. This interpretation is supported by the fact that Aristotle did not share Plato's views on accepting differences in each individual's affinities and preferences, which then result in their different interests. According to Aristotle, this must be kept in mind when considering the relationship between the individual and the state. Plato ignored these differences and grouped the preferences of all people into only three categories: **1.** desire for material goods; **2.** ambition; **3.** desire for truth. Still, one might object that Plato himself derived this categorization from his understanding of everyone's nature as an individual, rather than from the principle of „human nature“ and justice, i.e. a „greater good“, which he believed to be the motive and justification for the existence of the state. Indeed, Plato suggested that every man has three basic needs: **1.** material; **2.** moral; and **3.** intellectual, which, in man, are physiologically represented by: **1.** stomach; **2.** heart; and **3.** head. According to Plato, the only, though vital, difference results from the fact that neither these parts of the body nor these needs are equally distributed in all people: in some, the stomach dominates; in others, the heart; and in still others, the head. A just state should be founded on the existence of these differences and, in line with them, organized based on respect for their hierarchical position. It is on this categorization that Plato conceived his ideal state, which is composed of three categories of citizens: **1.** workers; **2.** soldiers; and **3.** philosophers.

The above, fairly detailed presentation of Plato's philosophy of politics convincingly illustrates the complexity and controversy of the issue of the relationship: individual, nation (citizens), state, even when it involves the most significant representatives of the philosophy of politics. It is in this light that one should understand that, contrary to those who believe that Aristotle placed priority on the individual rather than on the state, there are also some interpretations according to which Aristotle, in fact, placed priority on the whole over the part, and thus on the community (state) over the individual, essentially referring to the same argument, that for Aristotle

koja u krajnjoj liniji određuje i bit svakog pojedinca, što dozvoljava da se zaključi kako je 'pojedinaac' kao kategorija, u Aristotelovoj filozofiji politike, izveden iz opće kategorije 'ljudski rod', što bi onda opravdalo i zaključak da Aristotel ipak daje prioritet državi nad građaninom, ljudskom rodu nad pojedinačnim čovjekom.

Da nijedna ni druga intepretacija Aristotela nije ponudila dovoljno uvjerljive argumente, vidi se iz činjenice da su se na njega pozivali i zastupnici koncepcije prioriteta države nad pojedincem, kao i njima suprotstavljeni branitelji teze o prioritetu pojedinca nad zajednicom i državom. U ranom helenističkom periodu slavni filozof Epikur ističe autonomiju i integritet pojedinca kao vrijednosti koje se ne smiju žrtvovati u ime bilo kvih državnih ili ličnih interesa, zato što pojedinac ima najviši stepen konkretnosti postojanja – za razliku od države koja je u visokom stepenu, apstraktna kategorija. Njegovi argumenti su bili tako uvjerljivi da se, kao reakcija, u ovom periodu pojavio fenomen masovne apstinencije od prihvatanja državnih poslova i visokih pozicija, uz paralelno intenziviranje socijalnih vrijednosti u ljudskom životu, posebno vrijednosti prijateljstva i ljubavi. Sličan stav u prilog afirmacije autonomije pojedinca i redukcije društvenih obaveza, ako ne i njegovog potpunog povlačenja iz javnog života, preporučuju i pripadnici stoičke škole. Insistiranje stoicizma na vrijednostima čovjeka kao pojedinca, posebno naglašene u njihovom naglašavanju moralnog integriteta svakog čovjeka, koliko god bilo dosljedno i impresivno, otkriva još jednom logičke i pojmovne teškoće jednostranog odgovora na pitanje o odnosu pojedinca, naroda i države, bez obzira kako taj odgovor glasilo! Naime, afirmacija prava i čak, obaveze pojedinca da slijedi sopstvena moralna načela i po cijenu povlačenja iz društvenog života, stoji u suprotnosti sa činjenicom da stoici čovjeka pojedinca izvode iz općeg pojma čovječanstva, dakle, da ga najprije smatraju pripadnikom ljudskog roda pa tek zatim individuum – upravo na ovom stavu stoičari zasnivaju i svoju poznatu teoriju kosmopolitizma i suštinske jednakosti svih ljudi. Implikacija da je moralni integritet pojedinca nespojiv sa teorijom o prioritetu čovječanstva nad pojedincem, promakla im je ali ne zato što je to bio njihov previd, nego zato što se od zahtjeva moralnog integriteta čovjeka kao pojedinca jednostavno ne može odreći nijedno filozofski relevantno promišljanje najboljeg načina života – što je bila osnovna inspiracija i centralna tema stoičke filozofije. S istim teškoćama da se dosljedno odbrani jedna ili druga teza, suočili su se i Platonovi sljedbenici – odnosno Sokratovi, jer je Sokrat bio Platonov učitelj, koji su se, tragajući za najboljim modelom života pojedinca i njegovog optimalnog odnosa prema državi, podijelili u dvije suprotne struje iako su zajedničku inspiraciju imali upravo u Platonovoj filozofiji. S jedne strane, Kirenska škola na čelu sa Aristipom, afirmirala je aktivan, intenzivan društveni i politički život usmjeren prema konkretnom ličnom zadovoljstvu i uspjehu svakog pojedinca, dok je nasuprot tome, Kinička škola zagovarala povlačenje pojedinca od svih društvenih funkcija i obaveza, a lični integritet i slobodu, po cijenu svih odricanja, proglasila za najvišu vrijednost, nalazeći smisao života u moralnoj nezavisnosti, a ne u stjecanju materijalnih dobara.

'human nature' is the common basis which ultimately determines the essence of each individual. This allows the conclusion that, in Aristotle's philosophy of politics, the individual as a category is derived from the general category of 'mankind', which then justifies the conclusion that Aristotle still places priority on the state over the citizen, on mankind over the individual man.

That neither interpretation has offered sufficiently convincing arguments can be seen from the fact that it was referred to both by the advocates of the conception of the priority of the state over the individual and by their opponents, who defended the premise of the priority of the individual over the community and the state. In the early Hellenic period, the famous philosopher Epicurus highlighted the autonomy and integrity of the individual as values that must not be sacrificed in the name of any state or personal interests, because the individual has the highest degree of the specificity of existence, as opposed to the state, which is an abstract category to a high degree. His arguments were so convincing that, as a response, that period witnessed the phenomenon of mass unwillingness to accept the jobs of public servants and highly-ranked positions, with the parallel intensification of social values in human life, particularly the values of friendship and love. A similar view that favors the recognition of the autonomy of the individual and the reduction of social obligations, even the individual's total withdrawal from public life, is also recommended by members of the Stoic school. Stoicism's insistence on the values of man as an individual, particularly prominent in its emphasis on the moral integrity of any man, regardless of its consistence and impressiveness again reveals the logical and conceptual difficulties of the one-sided answer to the question of the relationship between the individual, the nation and the state, regardless of what the answer is. Indeed, the promotion of the individual's right, his obligation even, to pursue his own moral principles, even at the expense of withdrawing from social life, contradicts the fact that Stoics derive the individual from the general notion of humanity, i.e. that they believe the individual to be primarily a member of mankind and only then an individual. It is on this view that Stoics base their well-known theory of cosmopolitanism and the essential equality of all people. They missed the implication that the individual's moral integrity is incompatible with the theory of the priority of humanity over the individual, not because they overlooked it but rather because no philosophically relevant contemplation of the best way of life can renounce the request for the moral integrity of man as an individual – which was the basic inspiration and the central topic of the Stoic philosophy. The same difficulty in consistently defending either of the premises was faced by Plato's followers (i.e. those of Socrates, since Socrates was Plato's teacher) who, in their quest for the best model of the individual's life and its optimum relationship to the state, split into two opposing streams, although they both had common inspiration in Plato's philosophy. On the one hand, the Cyrenaic school headed by Aristippus promoted an active, intense social and political life focused on the actual personal satisfaction and success of every individual. On the other, the *Cynic school* advocated the individual's withdrawal from any social position and obligation, while declaring personal integrity and freedom at the expense of such abstinence to be the highest value, finding the meaning of life in moral independence rather than in the acquisition of material goods. Famous representatives of this school include Diogenes, who is well-known for, among other things, living in an old clay jar and carrying a lamp during the day, claiming to be looking for an honest *man*.



Čuveni predstavnik ove škole bio je Diogen, poznat, između ostalog, po tome što je živio u starom buretu i što je, na svjetlu sunačnog dana, u centru grada prepunom prolaznika, sa fenjerom tražio čovjeka.

Tokom srednjeg vijeka, posebno preko neoplatonističke filozofije, počinje dominacija koncepcije o prioritetu cjeline nad dijelovima – pri čemu je čovjek pojedinac izveden iz pojma cjeline i vraćen u cjelinu. Ipak, pojedinac kao kategorija nije izgubio svoje značenje, jer je bio postuliran unutar religijski intonirane filozofije, što znači da bi njegovim nestankom religija zapravo izgubila svoj osnovni smisao – spas pojedinca! Ipak, status pojedinca bio je sekundarnog karaktera, a prihvatanje činjenice da je svaka zajednica, pa i država, zapravo agregat pojedinaca, te da je pojedinac nesumnjivo prije zajednice i države, nijednog trenutka nije našlo svoje mjesto u spisima ovog razdoblja. Tek pojavom nominalizma, koji je ukazao na teškoće u pridavanju ontološki realnog statusa općim pojmovima – *Postoji konkretni predmet, ali ne i pojam; postoji ova jabuka, ali ne jabuka uopće* – snažnije je afirmiran status pojedinca, iako je prioritet države – Crkve kao zajednice, Božije Države, ostao neprikosnoven. Debata je dalje oscilirala između dvije krajnosti, uz definitivno pridavanje većeg značaja Cjelini – društvu, državi, pri čemu se prihvata različit ali uvijek prisutan stepen neporecive autonomije pojedinca. Nemogućnost da se u teorijskim razmatranjima pojedinac potpuno ukine kao nezavisan entitet i podvede pod pojam zajednice, odnosno države, praktično je demonstrirao svojim tragičnim primjerom Đordano Bruno. Iako je svojom filozofijom prirode razvio teoriju o cjelini univerzuma, uz implikaciju gotovo totalne marginalizacije pojedinačnog kao takvog – dakle i čovjeka kao pojedinca, sam on je svojim primjerom potvrdio neporecivost ontološkog i svakog drugog statusa pojedinca, time što se suprotstavio Cjelini – društvu, crkvi, državi, i ostao dosljedan sebi kao pojedinu i u trenutku izvršenja smrtne presude spaljivanjem.

Ovaj primjer ima ogromno simboličko značenje za shvatanje stvarnih proporcija uloge, vrijednosti i snage pojedinca, odnosno njegove važnosti za postojanje i karakter svakog društva, posebno države, kao političke, pravne i moralne zajednice. U tom kontekstu postaje jasno da je pojedinac, i kao konkretna individua i kao kategorija, zapravo nužna pretpostavka i neophodan uvjet za postojanje svake zajednice, od obitelji do države, te da po svom realnom značaju daleko prelazi okvire svake teorijske i naučne rasprave, potvrđujući se kao ključni akter ljudskog društva i historije.

Izlaskom iz dominacije religijskog mišljenja, označenim u novo doba filozofijom racionalizma, pitanje odnosa pojedinca, naroda i države otvara nove horizonte, ali ipak ostaje u suštini kontroverzno. Tako je Dekart, francuski filozof, osnivač filozofije racionalizma, Rene Descartes, *Carthesius* (1596-1650), preko asolutne afirmacije samosvijesti, formulirane u njegovom čuvenom aksiomu: *Mislim, dakle, jesam!* – *Cogito, ergo, sum!*, s jedne strane apsolutizirao intelektualnu autonomiju pojedinca, ipak je, s druge strane, tu činjenicu izveo iz najopćijeg pojma božanskog uma, prirodnog svjetla – *lumen naturale*. Na ovaj način je nesumnjivo, uz intelektualnu autonomiju pojedinačne individue, izraženu u apsolutnom statusu samosvijeti, istovremeno nedvosmisleno uvjetovao tu autonomiju tako što je

The Middle Ages witnessed the domination of the concept of the priority of the whole over the parts, which was particularly influenced by Neoplatonic philosophy. According to this conception, the individual man is derived from the notion of the whole and returns into the whole. Still, the individual as a category did not lose its meaning, since it was postulated within religiously oriented philosophy, which means that its disappearance would result in the loss of the fundamental meaning of religion – the salvation of the individual. Still, the individual's status was of secondary character, and the acceptance of the fact that every community, even the state, is actually an aggregate of individuals, and that the individual undoubtedly precedes the community and the state, can be seen in no writing of this period. It was only upon the emergence of nominalism, which pointed to the difficulties in attributing an ontologically realistic status to general notions (*There exists a specific object, but not a notion; there exists this apple, but not the apple in general*), that the status of the individual was more strongly recognized, although the priority of the state (Church as a community, Divine State) remained inviolable. The debate then oscillated between the two extremes, definitely attaching a greater significance to the Whole (society, state), with the acceptance of a different but always present degree of irrefutable autonomy of the individual. The impossibility of completely excluding the individual as an independent entity from theoretical discussions, and subsume it under the notion of community, i.e. state, was practically demonstrated by Giordano Bruno with his tragic example. Although in his philosophy of nature he developed the theory of the whole of the universe, which implied the almost total marginalization of individual as such (thus of man as an individual), he himself, with his own example, confirmed the irrefutability of the ontological and any other status of the individual, by opposing the Whole (society, church, state) and remaining consistent to himself as an individual even at the moment of his execution by being burnt at the stake.

This example has a huge symbolic significance for understanding the real proportions of the role, values and power of the individual, i.e. his importance for the existence and character of every society, particularly the state, as a political, legal and moral community. In this context, it becomes clear that the individual, both as a specific person and as a category, is indeed a necessary assumption and prerequisite for the existence of any community, from family to state, and that by his real significance he transcends the frameworks of any theoretical and scientific discussion, proving to be the crucial participant in human society and history.

After the end of the domination of religious reasoning, which was marked by the philosophy of rationalism, the issue of the relationship between the individual, nation and state opened new horizons, though it essentially remained controversial. Thus Descartes (French philosopher, founder of the philosophy of rationalism, René Descartes, *Carthesius*, 1596-1650), postulated the absolute recognition of self-awareness, formulated in his famous axiom: *I think, therefore I am!* (*Cogito, ergo, sum*) and thus absolutized the individual's intellectual autonomy on the one hand though, on the other, he derived this from the most general notion of the divine mind, natural light (*lumen naturale*). In this way, he unambiguously conditioned the intellectual autonomy of the individual, expressed in the absolute status of self-awareness, by placing absolute priority on the supra-individual unity of matter and thought (*res extensa, res cogitans*), ultimately – God.

apsolutni prioritet dao nadindividualnom jedinstvu materije i mišljenja – *res extensa, res cogitans*, u krajnjoj liniji – Bogu.

Ista unutrašnja protivrječnost održala se i u promišljanju odnosa pojedinca, društva i države i kod Spinoze, drugog znamenitog predstavnika racionalizma – Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677), holandski filozof. U svom čuvenom djelu *Etika*, Spinoza do krajnjih granica afirmira etičku svijest i moralni integritet pojedinca, nezavisno od svih društvenih pritisaka i posljedica do kojih ga takva beskompromisna pozicija može odvesti u životu – sam Spinoza je, zbog nepopustljivosti u odbrani svojih stavova, bio žrtva jednog neuspješnog atentata, kao i oficijelne ekskomunikacije. Pa ipak, njegova metafizička, ontološka pozicija pretpostavlja očigledni suprotni princip afirmacije apsolutne Cjeline u kojoj se izjednačavaju i preklapaju pojmovi Boga i Prirode – *Deus sive Natura – Bog ili Priroda*; Cjelina je Jedno – bilo da je nazivamo Bog ili Priroda, što znači da je moralna autonomija pojedinca u krajnjoj liniji sekundarna, izvedena iz pojma Cjeline, koji je time dobio i apsolutni prioritet nad pojedincem. Sam Spinoza je, po svemu sudeći, bio svjestan ove logičke neusaglašenosti, jer je autonomiju moralne volje suverenog pojedinca ponovo uzdigao na najviši pijedestal, definirajući je kao *intelektualnu ljubav prema Bogu – Amor Dei intellectualis*. Iako je time objašnjen nadnaravni izvor moralnog integriteta pojedinca, sam njegov status ovim je postao još nesamostalniji, jer se pojedinac, čak i u svom pravu da beskompromisno slijedi svoja uvjerenja, nasuprot društvu i državi, ipak morao povinovati zovu božanske intelektualne ljubavi, čime je Cjelini dat definitivni prioritet.

Problem odnosa pojedinac, društvo, država, dobio je konkretniju sadržinu u opusu trećeg velikog predstavnika filozofije racionalizma, Lajbnicu – njemački filozof, matematičar i izumitelj, Wilhelm Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716). Još uvijek izražena filozofskim jezikom i kroz filozofske kategorije, njegova koncepcija ovog odnosa je određena sa dvije uzajamno suprotstavljene pozicije. S jedne strane Lajbnic je afirmaciju pojedinca, kao individue, doveo do krajnje tačke koju je, čak i teorijski, nemoguće preći. Naime, njegov sistem, objašnjen u djelu *Monadologija*, počinje odredbom da je svijet sačinjen od monada – grčki, *monos – jedno*, pri čemu je dosljedno, samu monadu definirao kao „ono što nema dijelova“. Ova definicija otklonila je imanentni problem sadržan u pojmu atoma, koji iako znači *nedjeljiv – a-tomos*, zapravo je djeljiv jer se svaki atom razlikuje po obliku i veličini, kako kod filozofa koji su prvi upotrijebili ovaj pojam – Leukip i Demokrit, jednako tako i u atomskoj fizici, koja mjeri veličinu atoma i određuje njegove elemente – protone, neutron, elektrone, što direktno znači da je sam pojam *atoma* od početka bio pogrešan. Svojom definicijom monade, Lajbnic je ovaj problem briljantno riješio, čime je zapravo anticipirao i rezultate najnovijih istraživanja kvantne, sub-molekularne fizike. Ali paralelno s ovakvom, uistinu do kraja dovedenom afirmacijom samog pojma monade – otuda i pojedinca kao individue jer, *individua* doslovno odgovara pojmu Lajbnicove monade time što znači i nedjeljivo, iz korijena latinske riječi *divide – podijeliti* i negativnog prefiksa *in*, dakle *in-divide, ono što se ne može podijeliti* – i Lajbnic je afirmirao prioritet Univerzuma kao cjeline svih monada, koje su hijerarhijski pozicionirane, od najnižih – *monads nues*, do one

The same internal controversy was present in the contemplation of the relationship between the individual, society and state by Spinoza, another famous representative of rationalism (Baruch Spinoza, Dutch philosopher, 1632-1677). In his well-known work *Ethics*, Spinoza promotes the individual's ethical awareness and moral integrity to the extreme, independently of all social pressures and consequences to which such an uncompromising position can lead him in life (due to his adamancy in defending his views, Spinoza himself was a victim of an unsuccessful assassination, as well as of official excommunication). Still, his metaphysical, ontological position adopts the obviously opposite principle of the promotion of the absolute Whole, where notions of God and Nature are equated and where they overlap (*Deus sive Natura – God or Nature; Whole is One – whether we call it God or Nature*), which means that the individual's moral autonomy is ultimately secondary, derived from the notion of Whole, which thus assumes absolute priority over the individual. In all likelihood, Spinoza himself was aware of this logical discrepancy, since he raised the autonomy of the sovereign individual's moral will to the highest pedestal, defining it as the *intellectual love of God (Amor Dei intellectualis)*. Although it explains the supernatural source of the individual's moral integrity, this makes his status even less independent since the individual, even in his right to uncompromisingly pursue his convictions, as opposed to the society and state, still has to obey the call of divine intellectual love, which definitely places priority on the Whole.

The issue of the relationship: individual, society, state received more specific content in the works by the third great representative of the philosophy of rationalism, Leibniz (German philosopher, mathematician and inventor, Wilhelm Gottfried Leibniz, 1646-1716). Still expressed in philosophical language and through philosophic categories, his conception of this relationship is defined by two mutually opposed positions. On the one hand, Leibniz took the recognition of the individual to an extreme which is, even theoretically, impossible to cross. Indeed, his system, explained in his work *Monadologie*, begins with the claim that the world is composed of monads (Greek, *monos – one*) and he consistently defines the monad itself as „what has no parts“. This definition removed the immanent problem contained in the notion of an atom which, although it means „indivisible“ (*a-tomos*), is actually divisible since every atom has a distinctive form and size, both in the view of the philosophers who first used this notion (Leucippus and Democritus) and in atomic physics, which measures the size of the atom and determines its elements (protons, neutrons, electrons), which clearly means that the very notion of „atom“ was wrong at the start. With his definition of monad, Leibniz solved this problem brilliantly, and indeed anticipated the results of the most recent research in quantum, sub-molecular physics. However, in parallel with this, indeed with the ultimate promotion of the very notion of monad (and therefore a person as an individual, since *individual* literally corresponds to the notion of Leibniz's monad, because it also means in-divisible, from the root of the Latin word *divide (divide)* and the negative prefix *in*, thus *in-divide, what cannot be divided*) – Leibniz also promoted the priority of the Universe as the whole of all monads, which are hierarchically positioned, from the lowest (*monads nues*) to the highest (*actus purus*). This top monad is by definition the pure distilled active principle, and as an activity without any material traces, it

najviše – *actus purus*. Ova vrhovna monada po definiciji predstavlja čisti destilirani djelatni princip, pa je kao aktivnost bez bilo kakvih materijalnih primjesa, jednostavno sam – Bog! U ovakvu svoju koncepciju Univerzuma, Lajbnic je uveo dinački princip *težnje, žudnje, poriva – appetitio*, koji svaku nižu monadu tjera da teži višem nivou, a sve zajedno usmjerava kroz težnju prema savršenstvu vrhovne monade – Boga.

Primijenjen na društveni kontekst, Lajbnicov sistem nudi zanimljivu i instruktivnu sliku ljudske historije. U osnovi svakog društva, pa dakle i države, kao i ljudskog društva u cjelini, stoji pojedinac, neporeciv i nužan kao monada. Svaki pojedinac je elemenat od kog su sačinjeni i društvo i država – kao što je u materijalnom svijetu sve ono što je sastavljeno, što ima dijelove, sastavljeno od monada, koje same nisu sastavljene i nemaju dijelove! Ovako trezvena, objektivna i realistična odredba pojedinca definitivno ga utemeljuje u najtemeljitiše i najtrezvenije analitičare strukture svakog društva i države čineći pojedinca nužnim elementom njihovog postojanja! I težnja monada – *appetitio* da od nižih napreduju ka višim, primijenjena na ljude, nudi veoma inspirativnu parabolu jer se izražava kao inherentna čovjekova težnja za savršenstvom, kao antropološka konstanta i univerzalna osobina čovjeka kao bića! Ujedno, ova težnja za savršenstvom, objašnjava i krajnji cilj djelovanja svakog čovjeka i svakog društva, odnosno, cijelog čovječanstva – kao što je impresivno formulirano u Lajbnicovoj definiciji: *Čovjek (Čovječanstvo) je asimptota Boga!* – u skladu sa definicijom da je asimptota *prava koja se u svojoj funkciji beskonačno približava beskonačno dalekoj tački*. U svjetlu ove koncepcije, čovjek kao pojedinac i svi oblici njegove društvene organizacije u cjelini, dobijaju integrativni princip djelovanja, koji omogućava da se sagleda i shvati ono zajedničko u čitavoj, prividno haotičnoj evidenciji historijskog iskustva različitih naroda i država. Ako je svako društvo sačinjeno od pojedinaca, a svaki pojedinac teži ka savršenstvu, onda je zapravo neizbježan zaključak da su sva društva i cijelo čovječanstvo u suštini jedna ista zajednica koja beskonačno teži beskonačnom savršenstvu! Drugim riječima, za Lajbnica, historija je proces približavanja čovječanstva Bogu ili, još konkretnije: *beskonačno približavanje infinitnom, beskonačnom Bogu*.

Ovim veličanstvenim filozofskim sistemom, Lajbnic je, barem u teoriji, odstranio svako opravdanje za pitanje o protivrječnostima pojedinca i društva izvedenim iz pretpostavke njihovih suprotstavljenih interesa, klasnih borbi, inter i intraetničkih sukoba. Njegova koncepcija društva uzdigla je i čovjeka kao pojedinca, i ljudsko društvo u cjelini, na nivo najplemenitijih poriva i njihove izvorne usmjerenosti ka vječnosti i savršenstvu. Čovjek je za njega biće zajednice, pri čemu je izvorna jednakost osnovne konstitucije svakog čovjeka – izražena kao težnja za savršenstvom, temelj svakog društva i svake države. I u životu, jednako kao u svojoj filozofiji, Lajbnic se klonio rasprava, polemika i sukoba. Njegov sistem nastoji harmonizirati sve protivrječnosti – kako one u različitim filozofskim sistemima tako i inherentne logičke protivrječnosti svog sistema. Rezultat ovakvog pristupa predstavlja njegov monadološki sistem koji u ontološkoj ravni isključuje samu mogućnost postojanje nepomirljivih, antagonističkih suprotnosti, pa čak i trajnije oblike divergentnih djelovanja koji bi doveli u pitanje suštinski integriranu cjelinu svijeta. Jednako tako, u antropološkoj ravni, pojedinac, društvo i država su

is simply – God himself. Leibniz also introduced, in such a conception of the Universe, the dynamic principle of *striving, yearning, urge (appetition)*, which urges every lower monad to strive for a higher level, and directs all of them together through striving for the perfection of the supreme monad – God.

When applied to the social context, Leibniz's system offers an interesting and instructive image of human history. The basis of every society, and thus of the state as well, and of human society as a whole, is the individual, as irrefutable and necessary as the monad. Every individual is an element which composes the society and state, just as in the material world everything that is composed, that has parts, is made up of monads, which are themselves not composed and have no parts. Such an austere, objective and realistic definition of the individual certainly includes him among the most thorough and most austere analysts of the structure of any society and state, where the individual is a necessary element of their existence. When applied to people, a monad's striving to progress from the lower to higher positions provides a very inspiring parable since it is expressed as man's inherent striving for perfection, as an anthropological constant and universal feature of man as a being. At the same time, this *striving for perfection* also explains the ultimate goal of the activity of every man and every society, indeed of the whole of mankind, as impressively articulated in Leibniz's definition: *Man (Mankind) is the asymptote of God* – in line with the definition that an asymptote is a *straight line that in its function infinitely approaches an infinitely distant spot*. In the light of this conception, man as an individual and all forms of his social organization as a whole assume the integrating principle of activity, which in turn allows the observation and understanding of what is common in all, apparently chaotic, records of the historical experience of different nations and states. If every society is composed of individuals, and every individual strives for perfection, then the necessary conclusion is that all societies and the whole of mankind are essentially the same community which infinitely strives for infinite perfection. In other words, for Leibniz history is the process of mankind's approach to God or, more specifically: *infinite approach to the infinite God*.

With this glorious philosophical system, Leibniz, at least in theory, eliminated any justification for the issue of contradictions of the individual and society derived from the assumption of their opposed interests, class struggles, inter and intra-ethnic conflicts. His conception of society also elevated man as an individual, and human society as a whole, to the level of the most noble urges and their primordial direction toward eternity and perfection. For him, man is a being of community, whereby the genuine equality of the basic constitution of every man, expressed as the striving for perfection, is the foundation of every society and every state. In his life, as in his philosophy, Leibniz shied away from debate, dispute and conflict. His system endeavors to harmonize all contradictions, both those in different philosophical systems and the inherent logical contradictions of his system. Such an approach results in his monadistic system which, at the ontological level, excludes the very possibility of the existence of irreconcilable, antagonistic opposites, even the more permanent forms of diverging activities that would challenge the essentially integrated whole of the world. In the same way, at the anthropological level, the individual, society and state are organically and inextricably

organski, iznutra neraskidivo povezani, ne smo funkcionalno, tako što ne bi mogli postojati nezavisno jedni od drugih, odnosno, jedni bez drugih nego i vrijednosno, aksiološki, jer se težnje pojedinca, kao monade koja sačinjava armaturu svakog društva i države za savršenstvom i vječnošću, mogu ostvariti samo unutar društva i države. Istovremeno, težnja svakog društva i države za sve boljim i savršenijim modelom organizacije i uzvišenijim društvenim ciljevima, ne bi mogla pronaći svoju unutrašnju snagu bez aksiološke energije koju im daje svaki njihov pripadnik – pojedinac!

(Nastavak u sljedećem broju)

internally connected, both functionally, in the sense that they could not exist independently of each other, i.e. without each other, and axiologically, since the striving of the individual (as a monad which constitutes the reinforcement of every society and state) for perfection and eternity can be achieved only within the society and state. Besides, the striving of every society and every state for an ever-improved and perfect model of organization and nobler social goals could not find its inner strength without the axiological energy provided by each of its members – individuals.

(To be continued)



ILUSTRACIJA - Pisari Kraljevine Bosne - povelje, darovnice, listine bosanskih banova i kraljeva do 14 stoljeća.

ILLUSTRATION - Scribes of the Kingdom of Bosnia - charters, grants, deeds of Bosnian bans and kings of the 14th century.



ILUSTRACIJA - Okrugli voštani pečati na poveljama

ILLUSTRATION - Round wax stamps on charters

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).

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-ulama) 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).

Mustafa CERİĆ

**VRIJEME
DIJALEKTIČKOG SPIRITUALIZMA
Od Medinske do Mekkanske povelje**

**THE TIME
OF DIALECTIC SPIRITUALISM
From Medina to Mecca Charter**

Sažetak

Kriza je poziv za promjenu i kreativno mišljenje koje inicira dijalektiku mišljenja i akcije. A izazov u krizi je, kako za nacije tako i za pojedince, da ustanove koji dijelovi njihovog identiteta su već funkcionalni i ne traže promjenu, a koji aspekti identiteta nisu više djelotvorni i zato traže promjenu. Uistinu, muslimanska misao treba hrabrost kako bi se prepoznalo šta se mora mijenjati da bi se adekvatno suočilo s novom situacijom. Ali, istodobno muslimanski učenjaci moraju povući liniju i naglasiti elemente koji su fundamentalni za vjeru i kulturu islama koji se ne mogu mijenjati. Ovo stanje stvari nazivamo *dijalektika spiritualizma* kao suprotnost Marksovoj ideji o „dijalektici materijalizma“. Vrijeme je da se čovječanstvo suoči sa svojim *Zeitgeist*-om, „Duhom vremena“, a to je „Duh mira“ među vjerama i nacijama u svijetu. Historija, kako u prošlosti tako i u sadašnjosti, nije bez dobrih primjera o dogovorima, ugovorima, poveljama, deklaracijama i posvećenostima mirovnoj koegzistenciji među vjerama i nacijama od **Medinske povelje** (622.), **Magna Carta Libertatum** (1215.) **Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima** (1948.), **Nostra Aetate** (1965.), **Deklaracije evropskih muslimana** (2005.), **Zajedničke riječi između nas i vas** (2007.), **Marakeške deklaracije** (2016.), **Saveza vrlina za zajedničko dobro** (2018.), **Deklaracije o ljudskom bratstvu** (2019.) do **Mekkanske povelje** (2019.). Sve ove inicijative, prošle i sadašnje, promoviraju ideju o „Duhu mira i suživota“ za sva vremena, ali ovoga puta potreba da se prepozna *Zeitgeist*, „Duh vremena“, kao „Duh mira i suživota“, veća je nego ikada. Ovaj članak pokušava da objasni tu potrebu iz muslimanske perspektive uz usporedbu sa drugim inicijativama.¹

Ključne riječi: *Islam, mir, dijalektika spiritualizma, Duh vremena, Medinska povelja, Univerzalna deklaracija o ljudskim pravima, Nostra Aetate, Deklaracija evropskih muslimana, Zajednička riječ između nas i vas, Marakeška deklaracija, Savez vrlina za zajedničko dobro, Deklaracija o ljudskom bratstvu, Mekkanska povelja.*

¹ Neke ideje u ovom članku su predstavljene u mom predavanju na Fakultetu islamskih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, marta 2019.

Abstract

A crisis is a call for change and creative thinking that initiates a dialectics of thought and action. Also, the challenge for nations as well as individuals in crisis is to figure out which parts of their identities are already functioning well and do not need changing, and which parts are no longer working and do need changing. Indeed, Muslim thought today needs the courage to recognize what must be changed in order to deal with the new circumstances. But, at the same time, Muslim scholars need to draw a line and stress the elements that are so fundamental to the faith and culture of Islam that they refuse to be changed. This state of affairs we call *dialectical spiritualism*, as opposed to Marxist „dialectical materialism“. It is time for humanity to meet the *Zeitgeist*, „Spirit of the Age“, which is „the Spirit of Peace“ among religions and nations across the globe. History, past and present, is not void of good examples of accords, charters, declarations and commitments to peaceful coexistence between religions and nations from the **Medina Charter** (622), the **Magna Carta Libertatum** (1215), the **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** (1948), the **Nostra Aetate** (1965), the **Declaration of European Muslims** (2005), the **Common Word Between Us and You** (2007), the **Marrakesh Declaration** (2016), the **Alliance of Virtue for the Common Good** (2018), the **Declaration of Human Fraternity** (2019) to the **Mecca Charter** (2019). All these initiatives, past and present, promote the idea of „the Spirit of Peace“ of all times, but this current time has the biggest need of all times for the *Zeitgeist*, „Spirit of the Age“, which is the „Spirit of Peace and Tolerance“. This paper attempts to explain this need from a Muslim perspective with a comparison with other initiatives.¹

Key words: *Islam, Peace, Dialectical Spiritualism, the Spirit of the Age, Medina Charter, Magna Carta Libertatum, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Nostra Aetate, Declaration of European Muslims, Common Word Between Us and You, Marrakesh Declaration, Alliance of Virtue for the Common Good, Declaration of Human Fraternity, Mecca Charter.*

¹ Some ideas in this paper were presented in a lecture at the Faculty of Islamic Studies of the University of Sarajevo in March 2019.

*Pozivaj ljude na put tvog Gospodara mudro i lijepim savjetom te na najbolji način,
ustpostavi s njima 'dijalektički dijalog'*

*Upamti da tvoj Gospodar najbolje poznaje one koji promaše pravi put,
kao i one koji znaju da idu pravim putem.²*

Iako Karl Marks (Karl Marx) nije autor termina „dijalektički materijalizam“³, obično se ova sintagma njemu pripisuje. To je zbog toga što je dijalektički materijalizam aspekt šireg predmeta materijalizma, što je bio Marksov filozofski pogled na svijet. Naime, materijalizam utvrđuje primat materijalnog svijeta: ukratko, materija prethodi misli. Prema tome, svijet je materijalan i sve pojave u svemiru sastoje se od „materije u pokretu“⁴.

Iako priznaje da je Hegelov učenik, Marks kritizira Hegelovu dijalektiku, prigovarajući mu da je skrenuo s pravog puta zato što se bavio idejama, odnosno ljudskim umom. Marks je vjerovao da dijalektika ne bi trebalo da se bavi mentalnim ili duhovnim svijetom ideja već „materijalnim svijetom“, svijetom proizvodnje i ekonomije.

Za razliku od materijalističkog monizma, prema kojem je materija osnova svijeta, spiritualistički monizam se zasniva na ideji o tome da je um ili duh osnova svijeta. Najvjerniji čuvar ideje spiritualizma je oduvijek bila religija, ali i filozofija bar u misli Džordža Berklija (George Berkeley), misli koja glasi *esse est percipi*, („biti jeste biti opažen“). *Mi jedemo i pijemo ideje, mi smo obučeni u ideje*⁵, govorio je Berkli. Jer, za opažanje čovjeku je potreban i duh i um, jer čovjek nije čovjek bez tog dvoga. Nema čistog uma bez čistog duha, niti ima aktivnog duha bez aktivnog uma. Marksova materija može biti u pokretu, ali je mrtva u odnosu na duh, koji je živ u pokretu i um koji je svjestan u mišljenju o sebi samome i svijetu oko sebe.

Ako ikada, onda je sada vrijeme da se može sa sigurnošću reći da materija nije skroz usrećila čovjeka. Ako ikada, onda smo danas blizu ideji filozofa-teologa Pola Tiliha (Paul Tillich), koji je označio temu separacije-i-povratka kao osnovnu karakteristiku Hegelove dijalektike⁶. Da, Marks je učinio sve što je

² *Kur'an*, 16:125.

³ Termin „dijalektički materijalizam“ je formulirao 1887. god. Džozef Dicgen (Joseph Dietzgen), socijalista koji se dopisivao sa Karlom Marksom za vrijeme i poslije neuspjele njemačke revolucije 1848. god. Kao filozof, Dicgen je izgradio teoriju dijalektičkog materijalizma nezavisno od Marksa i Fridriha Engelsa (Friedrich Engels). Vidi: Charbonnat, Pascal: *Histoire des philosophies matérialistes*. Syllepse, 2007., str. 477.

⁴ Foerbahov (Feuerbach) historijski materijalizam bio je nadahnuće za marksiste i dijalektičke materijaliste. U vrijeme socijalističkih ideja u 19. stoljeću, socijalisti su bili pretežno privrženi filozofiji materijalizma. Međutim, niko od njih nije objasnio pojam materije. I sam Karl Marks je izbjegavao definiciju materijalizma mada je taj pojam često koristio.

⁵ Berkeley, George: *Principles of Human Knowledge and Three Dialogues*. Penguin Books, 2004., načela odjeljka 38.

*You shall call people to the way of your Lord wisely with good advice and
you shall make a 'dialectical dialogue' with them in the best way possible.
And you shall know that your Lord is the best aware of those who fail His way and
He is the best aware of those who are rightly guided as well.²*

Although Karl Marx did not coin the term „dialectical materialism“³, this term is typically attributed to him. That is because dialectical materialism is an aspect of the broader subject of materialism, which was central to Marx's philosophical view of the world. Indeed, materialism gives priority to the material world: in brief, matter precedes thought. Thus, the world is material and all phenomena in the universe involve „matter in motion“⁴.

Although he admitted to being a follower of Hegel, Marx criticized Hegelian dialectics, claiming that the latter had been sidetracked because he dealt with ideas, (i.e. the human mind). Marx believed that dialectics should not deal with the mental or spiritual world of ideas, but rather with the „material world“, the world of production and economy.

As opposed to materialist monism, according to which matter is the basis of the world, spiritual monism is founded on the idea that the mind or spirit is the basis of the world. Religion has always been the most loyal guardian of the idea of spirituality, although the same is also true of philosophy, at least in George Berkeley's thinking, which says *esse est percipi* („to be is to be perceived“). Berkley used to say: „We eat and drink ideas, and are clothed with ideas“⁵. For to perceive, man needs both spirit and mind, since a human being is not a human being without the two. There is no pure mind without pure spirit, nor is there active spirit without active mind. Marx's matter may be in motion, but it is dead compared to the spirit, which is alive in its motion, and to the mind, which is conscious when thinking of itself and the world around.

If ever, this is the time to claim with certainty that matter alone has not made man completely happy. If ever, today we are close to the idea of the philosopher-theologian Paul Tillich, who labeled the topic of separation-and-return as the basic characteristic of Hegelian dialectics⁶. Yes, Marx did his best to alienate man from the spirit and mind of religion. One cannot say that he did not succeed in it to a degree, though neither can one say that

² *Qur'an*, 16:125

³ The term „dialectical materialism“ was coined, in 1887, by Joseph Dietzgen, a socialist who corresponded with Karl Marx during and after the failed German revolution of 1848. As a philosopher, Dietzgen developed a theory of dialectical materialism independently of Marx and Engels. Charbonnat, Pascal: *Histoire des philosophies matérialistes*. Syllepse, 2007, p. 477.

⁴ Feuerbach's historical materialism was an inspiration to Marxists and dialectical materialists. At the time of socialist ideas in the 19th century, socialists were predominantly attached to the philosophy of materialism. However, none of them explained the concept of matter. Karl Marx himself avoided the definition of materialism, although he often used the term.

⁵ Berkeley, George: *Principles of Human Knowledge and Three Dialogues*. Penguin Books, 2004, sections 38.

mogao da otuđi čovjeka od duha i uma religije. Ne može se kazati da u tome nije unekoliko uspio, ali se ne može reći ni da je Marksova ideja o materiji kao primarnoj supstanci svijeta pobijedila. Naprotiv, ako bi se Marks danas vratio da vidi kako je njegova ideja o dijalektičkom materijalizmu prošlost, dok je ideja o dijalektičkom spiritualizmu, koju je on nastojao poslati u prošlost, itekako živa i mobilna u sadašnjosti – ostao bi zaprepašten i žurno bi se vratio tamo gdje mu je mjesto – možda u pakao (a možda i u raj). Ko zna?

Ovdje, međutim, treba napraviti razliku između „spiritizma“ i „spiritualizma“. *Spiritizam* upućuje na mogućnost komunikacije sa duhovima umrlih, od kojih se očekuje da prenesu mudre poruke živima, dok je *spiritualizam* filozofski pogled na svijet nasuprot „materijalizmu“. Također, spiritualizam može značiti da je cijeli svijet samo duhovna supstanca, ali i to da se svijet sastoji i od materijalne supstance pa je, stoga, svijet i duh i materija. Dakle, dijalektički spiritualizam treba da nas izvede iz otuđenosti, tj. iz čisto materijalnog i vrati nas u čisto duhovni svijet, a to znači da, u konačnici, dijalektički spiritualizam treba da oživi u nama spoj ili sintezu duhovnog i materijalnog, kao jedinog puta, koji čovječanstvo vodi u svijet mirovne koegzistencije.

Znam da nisam ni izdaleka dotakao sve bitne aspekte dijalektičkog spiritualizma, ali se nadam da sam bar načio ovu temu, koja mi se čini važnom u smislu jednog dijalektičko-dijaloško-religijskog duha, na koji nas upućuje Kur'an Časni.

Naime, želim kazati da Karl Marks nije izumio ideju dijalektike u historiji. On je to mogao pročitati u Kur'anu Časnom: – *A da Allah ne potiče jedne ljude da ustanu protiv, kao i da ustanu u odbranu drugih ljudi, svijet bi propao*⁷. I ne samo to, već: – *Da Allah ne potiče jedne ljude da ustanu u odbranu drugih ljudi, porušeni bi bili svi manastiri, i sve crkve, i sve sinagoge, i sve džamije u kojima se neprestano spominje Božije ime*⁸.

Povod za ovu kur'ansku dijalektičku misao bio je, između ostalog, sukob između Davuda i Džaluta ili Davida i Golijata⁹. Davud je pobijedio daleko moćnijeg protivnika Džaluta. No, historija, ni tada ni kasnije, nije bila pošteđena od borbe, tj. „dijalektike“ gdje su se pobjede i porazi jakih protiv slabih i slabih protiv jakih smjenjivale. Svaka historijska kriza¹⁰ odnosa između ljudi i nacija koja je rezultirala sukobom ili „dijalektikom“ različitih mišljenja i postupaka bila je bolna, ali je istovremeno bila i intelektualno kreativna, historijski plodna i spiritualno poticajna. Dakle, u svojoj konačnoj analizi, ideja dijalektike je diskurs između dva ili više ljudi koji imaju različita mišljenja o nekom predmetu, ali su voljni da uspostave dobar odnos zasnovan na istini, putem argumenta.

⁶ Pol Tilih (Paul Tillich 1886-1965) je bio njemačko-američki teolog i filozof, jedan od najutjecajnijih protestantskih teologa 20. stoljeća sa izrazitim liberalnim idejama. Vidi link dostupan na: Encyclopædia Britannica (online ed.): *Paul Tillich*. 2008. Dostupno na: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Paul-Tillich>. Pristupljeno 03. maja 2020.

⁷ *Kur'an*, 2: 251.

⁸ *Kur'an*, 22:40.

⁹ Vidi: Gladwell, Malcolm: *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants*. Little, Brown and Company, 2013.

Marx's idea about matter as the primary substance of the world prevailed. On the contrary, if Marx were to return today to see that his idea of dialectical materialism was a thing of the past, while the idea of dialectical spiritualism, which he tried to send to the past, is very much alive and agile in the present – he would be astounded and rush to return to where he belonged – perhaps to Hell (and perhaps to Heaven). Who knows?

However, at this point it is necessary to make a distinction between „spiritism“ and „spiritualism“. „Spiritism“ refers to the ability to communicate with the spirits of the dead, who are expected to convey wise messages to the living, while „spiritualism“ is a philosophical view of the world opposed to „materialism“. Besides, spiritualism may imply both that the whole world is only a spiritual substance, and that the world consists of material substance among other things and that, therefore, the world is both spirit and matter. Thus, dialectical spiritualism should take us out of alienation, i.e. out of the purely material, and take us back to the purely spiritual world. Ultimately, it means that dialectical spiritualism should revive, within us, the bond or synthesis of the spiritual and material, as the only road that leads mankind to a world of peaceful coexistence.

I am aware that I have not nearly touched upon all the essential aspects of dialectical spiritualism; however, I hope that I have at least broached this subject, which I believe to be important in terms of a dialectical-dialogical-religious spirit, as instructed by the Holy Qur'an.

What I wish to say is that Karl Marx did not invent the idea of the dialectics of history namely, "dialectical materialism". He could have read it in the Holy Qur'an: – *If it were not for people's encounter against each other as well as in favor of each other, the earth would have collapsed*⁷. Not only this, but also – *were it not that Allah checks the people, some by means of others, monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques in which the name of God is much mentioned would have been demolished*⁸.

The occasion for this Qur'anic dialectical thought was the encounter between David and Goliath. David defeated his far more powerful opponent Goliath⁹, but history has not been spared from the struggle, (i.e., dialectics), ever since, where victories and defeats of the strong against the weak and the weak against the strong have taken turns. Each and every historical crisis¹⁰ of relationships between people and nations that resulted from an encounter or „dialectics“ of different opinions and actions has been painful, but at the same time intellectually creative and historically fruitful. For, in its final analysis, the idea of dialectics is a discourse between two or more people holding different opinions about a subject, but willing to establish a good relationship based on truth through rational arguments.

⁶ Paul Tillich (1886-1965) was a German-American theologian and philosopher, one of the most influential Protestant theologians of the 20th century with distinct liberal ideas. See link available at: Encyclopædia Britannica (online ed.): *Paul Tillich*. 2008. Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Paul-Tillich>. Checked May 3, 2020.

⁷ *Qur'an*, 2: 251.

⁸ *Qur'an*, 22:40.

⁹ See: Gladwell, Malcolm: *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants*. Little, Brown and Company, 2013.

¹⁰ The word *crisis*, which is derived from the root of the Greek noun *krisis* and the verb *krino*, means: 'to separate', 'to decide', 'to draw a difference',

U svojoj knjizi *Fenomenologija duha*¹¹, Hegel govori o „duhu vremena“ (*Zeitgeist*)¹². Ustvari, svako vrijeme i svaka generacija u vremenu ima svoj duh u povijesti, kao sastavni dio apsolutnog duha. Šta je to, onda, duh našeg vremena? Neki bi to mogli pobijati i uvjeravati nas da je ovo naše vrijeme više vrijeme anti-duha nego ikakvog duha, nego ikakve duhovnosti; da ova generacija uopće ne mari za svoj duh, te se čini da je izgubila dodir s duhovnim svijetom kao takvim. Bitan je materijalni svijet i trenutni užitak, bez razmišljanja o sutrašnjim posljedicama. To se najbolje vidi u odnosu na eksploataciju globalnog prirodnog okoliša, koji je sve zagađeniji. Nekada je bilo uobičajeno na rastanku dva čovjeka da jedan drugom kažu: „Neka te Bog čuva“. A sada uglavnom čujemo „ćao“, „provedi se“ ili „have a fun“. Sam taj preokret ljudske pozornosti sve govori o pomaku ljudskog duha ovoga vremena. To je prelazak na trenutno ljudsko uživanje i zadovoljstvo. Međutim, kakvo uživanje i kakvo zadovoljstvo? Duhovni učitelji ukazuju na tri vrste ljudskog užitka i zadovoljstva: tjelesno (*al-ladhah al-džasadiyyah*); intelektualno (*al-ladha al-fikriyyah*); i duhovno (*al-ladha al-rūḥiyyah*). Danas su ljudima dostupniji tjelesni i intelektualni užitci i zadovoljstvo više nego ikada prije u ljudskoj povijesti. To je ponekad čak i više nego što ljudsko tijelo i ljudski um mogu podnijeti. Posljedica te pretjeranosti nanosi težak bol i patnju umjesto užitak i zadovoljstva. Očito je da ova prekomjerna tjelesna i intelektualna strast potcjenjuje duhovni užitak, koji je užitak svih užitaka. Ljudi to shvate tek kad osjete prazninu u duši. Spisak samoubistava bogatih i slavnih dug je ne zbog njihovog materijalnog siromaštva, već zbog njihove duhovne praznine, ili zbog nedostatka njihovog duševnog mira. A mir uma ne dolazi od samog uma, već od Božanskog duha koji se udahnuje u čovjekov um. Kada ljudi u svojoj duši izgube taj Božanski duh u korist vlastite preplavljenosti tjelesnim i intelektualnim strastima, bez jasnog plemenitog cilja, oni gube mir duha i uma. Stoga je očito jasno da čovječiji um sam ne može voditi ljudski rod. Umu je potreban Božanski duh, a duhu je potrebna čovjekova duša, a čovjekovoj duši je potrebno ljudsko srce.

¹⁰ Riječ *kriza*, koja se izvodi iz korijena grčke imenice *krisis* i glagola *krino* znači: „odvojiti“, „odlučiti“, „povući razliku“, „odlučni ili presudni momenat“, dok se u arapskom jeziku pojam *krize* izvodi iz korijena *ezmun*, koji znači: „skupiti se“, „zbiti se“, „skvrčiti se“, drugim riječima, *kriza* (*ezmetun*) na arapskom jeziku upućuje na „spajanje“, dok na grčkom upućuje na „odvajanje“. Nije li kriza ili nevolja prije svega u samom poimanju pojma krize u smislu da li se nešto „odvaja“ od nečega ili se nešto „spaja“ s nečim kako bi se ovladalo *krizom*, tj. odlučnim ili presudnim momentom, u kojem se ukidaju stara i nameću nova pravila ponašanja. Nije li kriza onaj trenutak ili momenat kad nemamo izbora, već da se suočimo s istinom tj. s trenutkom odluke, a to je *momenat* kada su uvjeti prije i poslije tog *momenta* drugačiji od svih ostalih *momenata* u prošlosti, ali i u budućnosti.

¹¹ Hegel je imao ambiciju da pokaže kako se ljudska spoznaja od neposredne osjetilne svijesti podiže kroz različite oblike duha, koji postaje čista spoznaja ili apsolutni duh. Hegel je smatrao da se njegova filozofija ili filozofija uopće može razumjeti samo ako se pročita njegova knjiga o fenomenologiji duha i ako se shvati njegova teza o „apsolutnom duhu“. Vidi: Hegel, G.W.F., *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Translated by A.V. Miller, Delhi, 1998.

¹² *Zeitgeist*, „duh vremena“ je jedan od više naziva koje Hegel upotrebljava za *Geist*, prevedeno kao *duh*, *um*, *svjetski um*, *apsolutna ideja o Bogu*, izražavajući time koncept smisla ili racionalnosti u poretku stvari i niza jednog stanja stvari nakon drugoga prema nekoj vrsti zakonitog procesa. Hegel je vidio ovu racionalnost kao duh koji animira ljude, a ne kao djelovanje ljudskog rada. Vidi: *Special Theory of Relativity*. Dostupno na: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=8&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewj0n-X68ZTpAhXvsYsKHT3TCb8QFjAHegQIAxAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.marxists.org%2Fglossary%2Fterms%2Fs%2Fp.htm&usg=AOvVaw3wFLmVCnGfRscFEgnWgLCCh>. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020. Vidi i: Hegel, G.W.F., *Outlines of the Philosophy of Right*. Oxford University Press, London, 2008, §344, str. 317.

In his book *Phenomenology of Spirit*¹¹ Hegel speaks about *Zeitgeist*, „the spirit of the age“¹². Indeed, each era and each generation in time is entitled to have its embeddable spirit in history as part and parcel of an absolute spirit. So, what is the embeddable spirit of our time? Some would argue, however, that our time is the time of anti-spirit rather than the time of spirit. It is as if this generation does not care about its spirit at all. It seems as if it has lost its touch with the spiritual world as such. What matters is the material world and the joy of today without consideration for tomorrow's consequences. It used to be that when two people departed, they would say to each other: „May God be with you“, but now when they depart, they say: „Have a good time“ or „Enjoy“. This shift of human attention says it all about the shift of the human spirit of this time. It is a shift to instantaneous human joy. But which joy? The mystics of all faiths have considered three kinds of human joy or pleasure: bodily joy (*al-ladha al-jasadiyya*); intellectual joy (*al-ladha al-fikriyyah*); and spiritual joy (*al-ladhah al-rūḥiyyah*). Today, men and women have more access to bodily and intellectual joy than ever before in human history. It is sometimes even more than the human body and the human intellect can bear. This unbearable joy makes it opposite to its purpose; it makes it painful rather than joyful because of its overuse. Obviously, this overuse of bodily and intellectual joy denigrates the spiritual joy, which is the joy of all joys. Men and women perceive that only when they feel emptiness inside themselves. The list of suicides of rich and famous people is long, not because of their material poverty, but because of their spiritual emptiness or because of their lack of peace of mind. And peace of mind does not come from the mind itself, but from the spirit of God Himself who breathes it into the human mind. When men and women lose this divine spirit in themselves in favor of overwhelming bodily and intellectual joy without a noble purpose, they lose their peace of mind. Therefore, it is obvious that the human mind alone cannot lead humanity. The mind needs the divinely inspired human spirit, and the spirit needs the human soul, and the human soul needs the human heart. Only in a synergic unity of

‘decisive or pivotal moment’. In Arabic the term crisis is derived from the root *azmun*, which means: ‘to gather’, ‘to compress’, ‘to shrink’ in other words, the crisis (*azmatun*) in Arabic refers to ‘merging’, while in Greek it refers to ‘separating’. Isn't a crisis or trouble primarily in the very understanding of the concept of crisis in the sense of whether something is ‘separated’ from something or something is ‘merged’ with something in order for us to control the crisis, i.e. a decisive or pivotal moment in which old rules are replaced by new rules of conduct. Is not the crisis such a point or a moment when we have no choice, but to face the truth, i.e. the moment of decision, and that moment is when the conditions before and after that moment are different from all other moments in the past, but also in the future.

¹¹ Hegel had the ambition to show how human cognition rises from immediate sensory consciousness through various forms of spirit, which becomes pure cognition or absolute spirit. Hegel believed that his philosophy or philosophy in general could be understood only if one reads his book on the phenomenology of spirit and if one understood this thesis of his about the “absolute spirit.” See: Hegel, G.W.F. : *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Translated by A.V. Miller, Delhi, 1998.

¹² *Zeitgeist* or ‘spirit of the times’ is one of several names Hegel gives to Geist, translated variously as Spirit, Mind, World Mind, Absolute Idea or God and expressing the concept of the sense or rationality in the order of things and the succession of one state of affairs after another according to some kind of lawful process. Hegel *did* see this rationality as a spirit, which animated people, not as a creation of human labor. Hegel: *Special Theory of Relativity*. Available at: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=8&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewj0n-X68ZTpAhXvsYsKHT3TCb8QFjAHegQIAxAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.marxists.org%2Fglossary%2Fterms%2Fs%2Fp.htm&usg=AOvVaw3wFLmVCnGfRscFEgnWgLCCh>. Checked on May 3, 2020. Hegel, G. W. F.: *Outlines of the Philosophy of Right*. Oxford University Press, London, 2008, §344, p. 317.

Samo u sinergijskom jedinstvu duha, duše, uma i srca čovječanstvo može preživjeti izazove 21. stoljeća. Doista, 21. stoljeće mora biti stoljeće duhovne revolucije, na isti način kao što je 18. stoljeće bio stoljeće intelektualne revolucije, i kao što je 19. stoljeće bilo stoljeće industrijske revolucije, i kao što je 20. stoljeće bilo stoljeće znanstvene revolucije koja je promijenila način čovjekovog života na Zemlji.

Također, očito je da je čovjekov um, sa svom svojom snagom, zbunjen vlastitim proizvodima zbog nesposobnosti da tim proizvodima definira potrebno značenje. Samo je čovjekov duh, obzirom da je Božanskog porijekla, sposoban voditi ljudski um da pronade smisao svojih vlastitih proizvoda i da ga čuva sigurnim od štetnosti tih proizvoda. Ništa manje nego duh, čovjekovom umu je potrebno srce, koje je danas u krizi više nego ikada ranije, jer je ljubav prema čovjeku zamijenjena Luciferovom mržnjom prema ljudskom biću, a i zato što se čovjeku uskraćuje nužni osjećaj srca za njegovu dušu. Međutim, baš zbog toga vjerujem da je duhovna revolucija u 21. stoljeću ne samo moguća, već i neminovna za opstanak čovječanstva. Ljudi su ono što je njihov duh, njihova duša, njihov um i njihovo srce, a ne ono što su njihova tijela bilo kojeg oblika i boje.

Mi već možemo vidjeti znak duhovne revolucije 21. stoljeća za mir i sigurnost u svijetu. Možemo to vidjeti u duhu, u duši, u umu i u srcu „nove misli“, možemo to tražiti kroz svjetlo jednog *Svjetionika/Illuminatio/Almanara* islama, svjetla koje nas vodi do mira u nama samima i oko nas samih kako bi to bio „duh ovog vremena“, tj. duh u povijesti kao sastavni dio apsolutnog duha. Ako su posljednja dva stoljeća muslimanske povijesti obilježena muslimanskim povlačenjem iz povijesti zbog straha i kulturne nesigurnosti i zbog bojazni da će neko zloupotrijebiti muslimansku vjeru i kulturu, ovo 21. stoljeće mora biti suprotno – mora biti otvoreno muslimanskom pristupu prema drugom i drugačijem u dijalektičkom spiritualizmu umjesto u marksističkom dijalektičkom materijalizmu.

To je, ako pravilno prepoznamo duh islama¹³, naš današnji muslimanski zadatak da pokažemo svijetu kroz smislen dijalektički spiritualizam da se ne bojimo mira, mira koji je moguć samo istinskim humanističkim duhom, čistom dušom, otvorenim umom i poštenim srcem. Zaista, to su bile moralne i ljudske karakteristike duha, duše, uma i srca posljednjeg Božijeg Poslanika Muhammeda, a.s., koji nikada nije rekao da je poslanička misija počela s njim, već je uvijek naglašavao da je njegova poslanička misija bila samo nastavak čovjekovog pamćenja (*taṣḍīq*) kao identiteta čitavog čovječanstva. A srž ovog iskonskog pamćenja (*taṣḍīq*) izražena je u *islāmu*, čije je značenje u arapskom korijenu riječi *se-li-me*, što znači *mir* ne samo kao verbalni izraz, već i kao konceptualna deklaracija *islāma*, tj. **miroljubive predanosti Bogu**.

¹³ U jeku historijske tranzicije islamske civilizacije u potrazi za novim idejama, posebno nakon Prvog svjetskog rata, indijski muslimanski prosvjetitelj Sejjid Amir Ali (Sayyid Amīr Alī 1849-1928) bio je prvi koji je upotrijebio sintagmu *Duh islama*. U svojoj knjizi „The Spirit of Islam: A History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islam“ (*Duh islama: historija evolucije i ideali islama*), Amir Ali je na najbolji način predstavio život Poslanika Muhammeda, a.s. i historiju islama. Ideja o *duhu islama*, koju je Amir Ali želio razviti prije svega kod muslimana, ali i tu ideju drugima predstaviti, imala je za cilj izbaviti duh i dušu islama od rigidne i bukvalne interpretacije, u kojoj se originalni ‘*duh islama*’ bio izgubio. Čini mi se da ni danas situacija nije drugačija. Zato nam je potrebno iznova tražiti originalnost duha i duše islama, originalnost koja može animirati mir i dobro u duhu i duši ljudi.

spirit, soul, mind and heart can humanity survive the challenges of the 21st century. Indeed, the 21st century must be a spiritual revolution in the same way as the 18th century was the rational revolution, the 19th century was the industrial revolution, and the 20th century was the scientific revolution, which has changed the way of life of the whole of humanity in the world.

It is also obvious that the human mind, with all its power, has become confused by its own products because of its incapability to give them adequate meanings. Only the human spirit, as it comes from divine origin, is capable of guiding the human mind to find meaning for its own products and to keep it safe from the harm of these products. The human mind, no less than spirit, is in need of the human heart, which is nowadays in a crisis more than ever before, because its love for humanity has been replaced by Lucifer's hatred against human beings, and because its necessary sense of the human heart towards the human soul is being denied. I believe, though, that a spiritual revolution in the 21st century is not only possible, but necessary for the survival of humanity. Men and women are what their spirit is, what their soul, their mind and their heart are, not what their bodies are, of whatever shape and color.

I already see a big sign of this 21st century spiritual revolution for peace and security in the world. I see it in a new thinking as an *Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Al-Manar* of Islam, a thinking that could lead us to Peace (*Salām*) in ourselves and around ourselves as a sign of Zeitgeist „the spirit of the age“, i.e., the spirit in history as a part of the Absolute (Spirit). If the last two centuries of Muslim history were marked by a Muslim withdrawal approach because of a fear of the other taking advantage of Muslim faith and culture, this 21st century must be the opposite – it must be predicated on an open Muslim approach to reach out to the other in dialectical spiritualism rather than in the Marxist dialectical materialism.

Today, it is the task of Muslims, if they recognize rightly the Spirit of Islam¹³, to show to the world through a meaningful dialectical dialogue that Muslims are not afraid of Peace. Such Peace is possible only by a genuine human spirit, by a decent human soul, by an open human mind and by an honest human heart. Indeed, these were the moral and human characteristics of the spirit, soul, mind and heart of God's last Messenger Muhammad, a.s. (peace be upon him), who never said that the prophetic mission had begun with him, but who always emphasized that his prophetic mission was just a continuation of genuine divine guidance and human memory as the identity of the whole of humanity. And the core of this divine guidance and human memory has been expressed in the faith of *i-s-l-ā-m*, the verbal meaning of which is in the Arabic roots of the word *sa-la-ma*, which means Peace, not only as a verbal expression, but also as a conceptual declaration of *i-s-l-ā-m*, (i.e., peaceful devotion to God).

¹³ In the midst of the historical transition of Islamic civilization in search for new ideas, especially after the First World War, the Indian Muslim educator Sayyid Amīr Alī (1849-1928) was the first to use the phrase *Spirit of Islam*. In his book *The Spirit of Islam: A History of the Evolution and Ideals of Islam*, Amīr Alī presented the best way of life in the biography of the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., and the history of Islam. The idea of the spirit of Islam, which Amīr Alī wanted to develop first and foremost with Muslims, but also to present this idea to others, was to save the spirit and soul of Islam from a rigid and literal interpretation, in which the original 'spirit of Islam' was lost. It seems to me that the situation is no different today. That is why we need to look again for the originality of the spirit and soul of Islam, an originality that can animate peace and good in the spirit and soul of the people.

Ovaj *islām* potpuna je Božanska objava milosti (*rahmet*) i mira (*selām*) čovječanstvu. Dakle, ako riječ *islām* označava koncept miroljubive vjere, onda neminovno i riječ *musliman* znači koncept miroljubivog čovjeka. Ovaj *musliman*, tj. **miroljubivi čovjek**, je nositelj i prenositelj mira među ljudima i narodima u svijetu. Nije ni slučajno da riječ *imān*, tj. vjerovanje muslimana, u svom korijenu ima značenje *mira* i *sigurnosti*. To je zato što bez unutrašnje sigurnosti čovjekovog uma i srca, ljudi ne mogu imati mir i sigurnost u vanjskom svijetu. Prema tome, samo unutrašnji *imān*, tj. **sigurnost vjere ljudskog uma i srca**, vodi čovječanstvo u mir i sigurnost u svijetu. Stoga je ideja promocije mira, pokretanja saveza s ljudima i narodima koji vole mir, pisanje enciklopedije mira¹⁴ kao naslijeđa duha ovoga vremena te institucionaliziranje ideje o toleranciji¹⁵, jedna plemenita ideja koja je ojačana abrahamovskim/ibrahimovskim dijalektičkim spiritualizmom, koji je legitimiran duhom vjere *islāma*, prije 1397 godine (622. po *Milādu*¹⁶), u gradu Medini, u *Medinskoj povelji* koju je izdiktirao i potpisao sam Poslanik Muhammed, alejhisselam.

Dakako, *opće dobro* mora biti izraz *opće volje* mješovitog društva i jedinstvene države, volje koja se definira općim društvenim dogovorom ili ugovorom, kao što je bila *Medinska povelja*. Ovaj historijski dokument nastao je 622. godine po *Milādu* kao rezultat krize u odnosima između rane muslimanske i jevrejske zajednice u Medini. Naime, po dolasku u Medinu Allahov Poslanik Muhammed, a.s., je zatekao jevrejsku zajednicu, kojoj, za razliku od arapskih beduina, nije bilo strano to o čemu je Poslanik govorio, jer su kod sebe imali *Musaov*/Mojsijev, a.s., *Tevrat*/*Toru*. Objava Kur'ana je jevrejski narod u Medini snažila u njihovoj vjeri, ali ih je istodobno i uznemiravala, jer je bila različita u nijansama od *tevratske/toravske* objave. Iz opreza da te razlike u nijansama u razumijevanju *tevratske* i *kur'anske* objave monoteizma (*tevḥīda*) ne uzrokuju disharmoniju medinskog pluralnog društvu, Muhammed, a.s., je dao da se napiše dokument *Medinska povelja*, za koju možemo reći da je jedan od prvih, ako ne i uopće prvi dokument, te vrste u historiji¹⁷. Nije moguće nabrojati sve dokumente koji se tiču mira, tolerancije i suživota u pluralnim društvima, ali je moguće istaknuti deset bitnih, ako ne i najbitnijih, dokumenata od kojih *Medinska povelja* zauzima prvo spoznajno i simboličko mjesto.

¹⁴ Riječ je o projektu *Enciklopedija mira*, kojeg je, na inicijativu šejkha Abdullah bin Bajja (Abdullah bin Bayyah), organizirao Forum za mir u muslimanskim zajednicama sa sjedištem u Abu Dabiju (Abu Dhabi). Drago mi je što sam mogao aktivno sudjelovati u ovom projektu.

¹⁵ Zanimljivo je spomenuti da je vlada Ujedinjenih Arapskih Emirata imenovala ministra za toleranciju, što je, koliko nam je poznato, prvi slučaj te vrste ministarstva u svijetu.

¹⁶ Izraz *Milād* upućuje na rođendan Isa, a.s., otkad se računa historijsko vrijeme ili nova era u odnosu na staru eru, tj. vrijeme prije *Milāda*. Za rođendan Muhammeda, a.s., koristi se izraz *Mevlūd*.

¹⁷ Vidi, Hamidullah, Muhammad: *The First Written Constitution of the World*. USA, Kazi Publications Inc, 1941.

Kompletan tekst „*Medinske povelje*“ na arapskom jeziku dostupan na: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=13&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewj10o3KkpXpAhVJtIsKHdWZBQUQFjAMegQIBhAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.alraimedia.com%2FHome%2FDetails%3FId%3D3Dee3d3b7d-4566-4493-bf87-4aa9c3ed1824&usg=AOvVaw0aFm5BhYjHMVXJ9IH4TZrw>. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020.

Kompletan tekst „*Medinske povelje*“ na engleskom jeziku dostupan na: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewiuqujUgZXpAhXVDmMBHa4fDk4QFjABegQIARAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.constitution.org%2Fcons%2Fmedina%2Fm charter.htm&usg=AOvVaw0Btw1TNBQE6frPj2UqAivU>. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020.

This faith of *i-s-l-ā-m* is a complete divine revelation of mercy (*r-a-ḥ-m-a-h*) and peace (*s-a-l-ā-m*) to mankind. Thus, if the word *i-s-l-ā-m* means the concept of peaceful faith, then the word *m-u-s-l-i-m* means the concept of peaceful man and woman. This *m-u-s-l-i-m*, this peaceful man and woman as it were, are both bearers and brokers of peace among religions and nations in the world. It is not by chance that the word *i-m-ā-n*, i.e., faith in *i-s-l-ā-m*, has, in its roots, the meaning of security. This is because without an inner security of the human mind and heart, men and women cannot have security in an outside world. Therefore, only an inner *i-m-ā-n*, (i.e., the security of the faith of the human mind and heart), leads humanity to peace and security in the world. Hence, the idea of promoting peace, of initiating alliances with peace loving people and nations, of writing an encyclopedia of peace¹⁴ as a legacy of the spirit of this time, as well as of state institutionalization of the idea of tolerance¹⁵, is a noble idea that is strengthened by Abrahamic dialectical spiritualism, which was legitimized by the spirit of the faith of *i-s-l-ā-m* 1397 years ago in the city of Medina, within the Medina Charter. Let us not forget, this noble document was read out and signed by the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., himself.

Of course, the common good must be an expression of the general will of a mixed society and a single state, a will defined by a general social agreement or contract, as was the Medina Charter. This historical document was written during the *Milād*¹⁶ of 622, as a result of the crisis in relations between the early Muslim and Jewish community in Medina. Namely, upon his arrival in Medina, the Messenger of Allah Muhammad, a.s., found a Jewish community, which, unlike the Arab Bedouins, was not unfamiliar with what the Prophet was talking about, because they had recourse to the *Tawrāt*/*Torah* of Moses, a.s.. The revelation of the Qur'an strengthened the Jewish folks in Medina in their faith, but at the same time annoyed them because it contained different in nuances from the Hebrew/*Torah* revelation. Out of caution that these some differences in nuances in the understanding of the *Torah* and Qur'anic revelation of monotheism (*tawḥīd*) should cause disharmony in the pluralistic society, Muhammad, a.s., had the document *Medina Charter* written. This we can say is one of the earliest, if not the first document of all, of that kind in history¹⁷. It is not possible to enumerate all the documents concerning peace, tolerance and coexistence in pluralistic societies, but it is possible to point out ten important, if not essential, documents of which the *Medina Charter* occupies the first cognitive and symbolic place.

¹⁴ We are talking about the Encyclopedia of Peace project, organized at the initiative of Sheikh Abdullah bin Bayyah by the Abu Dhabi-based Forum for Promoting Peace in Muslim Societies. I was honored to have been an active part of this project.

¹⁵ It is interesting to mention that the Government of the United Arab Emirates has appointed a Minister for Tolerance, which, as far as we know, is the first case of this kind of ministry in the world.

¹⁶ The term *Milād* refers to the birthday of Isa, a.s., since the historical time or new era in relation to the old era, that is, the time before „*Milād*,” has been calculated. For the birthday of Muhammad, a.s., the term *Mawlūd* is used.

¹⁷ See: Hamidullah, Muhammad: *The First Written Constitution of the World*. USA, Kazi Publications Inc, 1941.

Full text of Medina Charter in Arabic is available at: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=13&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewj10o3KkpXpAhVJtIsKHdWZBQUQFjAMegQIBhAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.alraimedia.com%2FHome%2FDetails%3FId%3D3Dee3d3b7d-4566-4493-bf87-4aa9c3ed1824&usg=AOvVaw0aFm5BhYjHMVXJ9IH4TZrw>. Checked on May 4, 2020.

Full text in English is available at: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewiuqujUgZXpAhXVDmMBHa4fDk4QFjABegQIARAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.constitution.org%2Fcons%2Fmedina%2Fm charter.htm&usg=AOvVaw0Btw1TNBQE6frPj2UqAivU>. Checked on May 4, 2020.



Medinska povelja (622.) je nastala kad nije bilo ni govora o ljudskim pravima, niti o pravima manjina u viševjerskim i višekulturnim društvima. Nije tada postojala visoka svijest o jednakim pravima i dužnostima stanovnika jednog pluralnog društva u jedinstvenoj državi. Stoga, *Medinska povelja*, posmatrana s današnjeg stanovišta, u kontekstu niske civilizacijske, kulturne, političke, pravne i religijske svijesti o ljudskim pravima predstavlja pravo znamenje (ar. *mu'džizah*, eng. *miracle*), koje se moglo dogoditi kroz inspiraciju Božanske objave, sadržane u Kur'anu Časnom, kao posljednjem

Božijem zavjetu u nizu Božijih zavjeta *Tevrata*, „Staroga zavjeta“ i *Indžila*, „Novoga zavjeta“. Dakle, *Medinska povelja* je historijski dokument o abrahamovskom/ibrahimovskom dijalektičkom spiritualizmu. To je jedinstveno svjedočanstvo duha miroljubive vjere *islāma* kao i rane miroljubive muslimanske zajednice. Smatra se primjermom izuzetno važnog dokumenta ideje *društvenog dogovora*, ideje koju su Žan Žak Ruso (Jean Jack Rousseau), Džon Lok (John Locke) i Tomas Hobs (Thomas Hobbes) osmislili kao glavnu društveno-političku ideju u Evropi.¹⁸



The *Medina Charter* appeared when nobody was speaking of human rights, or minorities' rights in multi-religious and multicultural societies. There was no high awareness of equal rights and obligations of members of a pluralist society in a united country. Therefore, the *Medina Charter*, observed in this context of low civilizational, cultural, political and religious awareness of human rights, is a true miracle (*mu'jizah*): one that was made possible through the inspiration of Divine Revelation contained in the Holy Qur'an, as the last divine covenant in a series of God's covenants of the *Tawrāt*, „Old Testament“, and

the *Injil*, „New Testament“. Thus, the *Medina Charter* (622) is a historic document of Abrahamic dialectical spiritualism. It is a unique testimony of the spirit of the peaceful faith of *i-s-l-ā-m* as well as of an early peaceful Muslim Community. It was initiated as a result of the relationship crisis between the early Muslim and Jewish Communities in Medina. It is considered to be an exemplary, advanced document for the idea of „Social Contract“ that was forged by Jean Jack Rousseau, John Locke and Thomas Hobbes as the main socio-political idea in Europe.¹⁸



ILUSTRACIJA - Medinska povelja (lijevo) i Povelja poslanika Muhammeda, a.s., asirskim kršćanima (desno).

ILLUSTRATION - The Medina Charter (left) and the Charter of the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., to the Assyrian Christians (right).



❖ 2 ❖

Drugi važan povijesni dokument, koji je promijenio ljudsko mišljenje bio je dokument **Magna Carta Libertatum** (*Velika povelja slobode*), kao prvi korak u historiji za definiranje i uspostavu ustavnog sistema. Ni ovaj dokument iz 1215. god. nije nastao slučajno, već kao posljedica krize u odnosima između rimskog pape i engleskog kralja Ivana bez Zemlje (John, King of England, 1167 – 1216). *Magna Carta Libertatum* je, u stvari, oduzela kralju pravo na božanski mandat¹⁹, ograničila kraljevsku vlast i osigurala osnovna prava kako feudalcima tako i slobodnjacima. Time se engleski kralj obavezao na poštivanje zakonske procedure te prihvatio da kraljeva volja može biti ograničena zakonom. I nakon osam stoljeća dvije od šezdeset i tri klauzule

Velike povelje slobode još uvijek odzvanjaju kao glas slobode za čovjeka: *Nikoga se neće prodavati* [kao roblje, op. aut.] *i nikome se neće uskraćivati pravda; nijednog slobodnog čovjeka neće se uzimati ili hapsiti ili na bilo koji način ga se unižavati osim na temelju legalnog suda njemu ravnih sudija ili na temelju zakona zemlje*²⁰. Mnogi još uvijek smatraju da je *Magna Carta* iz 1215. god. temeljni akt u odbrani ljudskih sloboda protiv samovoljne i nepravedne vlasti. Dakle, **Magna Carta Libertatum**²¹ je historijski dokument koji je nastao kao posljedica krize između božanskih prava kralja naspram ljudskih prava²². Ovo je još uvijek glavna referenca za konstitucionalizam u svijetu.

¹⁸ O *Medinskoj povelji* napisano je dosta analiza posebno u vrijeme krize poput krize nakon rušenja Trgovinskog centra u Nju Jorku (New York) 11. septembra 2001. god. Muslimani su se našli u veoma teškoj situaciji zbog onih koji su taj čin terorizma pripisivali islamu. I kao vjera i kao kultura islam je optuživan da nije za duh mira i tolerancije. Nažalost, ideja *Medinske povelje*, koja u sebi sadrži zdravu klicu civilnog društva u pluralnom okruženju, nije se dovoljno razvila u solidno stablo u državama i društvima sa muslimanskom većinom, kao što je stablo *društvenog dogovora*, koje se razvilo u Evropi. Umjesto toga, *Medinska povelja* je ostala samo kao svijetli primjer na kojeg se muslimani pozivaju kad ih se baci u krizu svojom ili greškom tuđih povijesnih okolnosti. Vidi link: *Ibidem*.

Nadati se da će *Medinska povelja*, doista, biti inspiracija sadašnjoj i budućoj generaciji muslimana da na temelju toga grade pluralno društvo u duhu slobode i demokratije na način pune svijesti o vlastitim pravima, ali i o pravima drugih u društvu sa muslimanskom većinom.

¹⁹ Tako nam se danas može činiti apsurdnim ideja o *božanskom kraljevskom mandatu*, ta ideja je bila za mnoge prirodna stvar i *plemičko-kraljevsko-božansko pravo*, koje podanici nisu osporavali sve do donošenja *Magna Carte Libertatum*, koja je kralju oduzela to navodno od Boga dano mu pravo. Vidi: Figgis, John Neville: *The Theory of the Divine Rights of Kings*. Cambridge University Press, 1896.

²⁰ *Magna Carta Libertatum*. Translation by Professor Nicholas Vincent. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington. Dostupno na: <https://www.archives.gov/files/press/press-kits/magna-carta/magna-carta-translation.pdf>. Pristupljeno 03. maja 2020.

²¹ Vidi: Danziger, Danny & Gillingham, John: *The Year of Magna Carta*. Hodder & Stoughton, 2003.

²² Zanimljivo je ovdje primjetiti da je u Evropi *Magna Carata Libertatum* donešena nakon 593 godine nakon *Medinske povelje*. Ovo ne zanči da je u *Medinskoj povelji* sadržano sve što danas znamo o ljudskim pravima, posebno u pogledu individualnih ljudskih prava, ali, zasigurno, možemo tvrditi da *Medinska povelja* predstavlja jedan od najvećih historijskih iskoraka u pravcu zaštite ljudskih prava, posebno manjinskih zajednica u pluralnom društvu. U Kur'anu Časnom, kao i u praksi Božijeg Poslanika, postavljena je osnova za ukidanje robovlasničkog sistema na način da je jedan od osam fondova za izdvajanje zekata (*zekāt*, vrsta islamskog moralnog poreza), bio i ostao fond za oslobađanje robova ili zatvorenika, *fi al-riqāb* (Kur'an, 9:60). To je bio i ostao dobar znak da je islam protiv robovlasničkog sistema kao takvog a time i da je za nepovredivost i neotuđivost prava pojedinca na slobodu i čast. Dakako, tek usporedbom *Medinske povelje* sa drugim dokumentima ove vrste u historijskom kontekstu možemo razumjeti kolika je danas njena historijska i moralno-društvena važnost ne samo za muslimane, već i za cijeli svijet.



❖ 2 ❖

The second important historic document that changed human thinking was the document of the **Magna Carta Libertatum**, as the first step in history for establishing constitutional law. This document of 1215 did not emerge accidentally either, but rather as a result of a crisis in the relations between the Roman Pope and the English king, John Lackland (1167 – 1216). Essentially, the *Magna Carta Libertatum* deprived the king of the right to divine mandate¹⁹, restricted royal power and ensured basic rights to both feudal lords and freemen. By sealing it, the English king was bound to adhere to legal process and accept the fact that royal will can be restricted by law. Even after eight centuries, two of the sixty-three clauses of the

Magna Carta of freedom still resonate as the voice of freedom for man. 'To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay right or justice'; 'no freeman shall be taken or [and] imprisoned or disseized or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers or [and] by the law of the land'²⁰. Many people still believe this document is fundamental in the defense of human freedoms from arbitrary and unjust power. Thus, the **Magna Carta Libertatum**²¹ is a historic document that resulted from a crisis between the king's divine rights against human rights²². It is still the cornerstone of constitutionalism in the world.

¹⁸ Much analysis has been written about the *Medina Charter*, especially in times of crisis like the era immediately following the demolition of the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001. Muslims found themselves in a very difficult situation because of those who attributed this act of terrorism to Islam. Both as a religion and as a culture, Islam has been accused of not favouring the spirit of peace. Unfortunately, the idea of the *Medina Charter*, which contains a healthy germ of civil society in a pluralistic environment, has not developed sufficiently into a solid tree in Muslim-majority states and societies, such as the social contract tree, which has developed in Europe. Instead, the *Medina Charter* has remained only as a shining example to which Muslims refer when they are thrown by a crisis of their own or by the mistake of other historical circumstances. See link: *Ibid*. It is to be hoped that the *Medina Charter* will, indeed, inspire the present and future generation of Muslims to build a pluralistic society based on it in a spirit of freedom and democracy in a way that is full of awareness of their own rights as well as of the rights of others in a Muslim majority society.

¹⁹ Although the idea of a divine royal mandate may seem absurd to us today, this idea was for many a natural matter and a noble-royal-divine right, which the subjects did not challenge until the enactment of the *Magna Carta Libertatum*, which deprived the king of such allegedly divine given rights. See: Figgis, John Neville: *The Theory of the Divine Rights of Kings*. Cambridge University Press, 1896.

²⁰ *Magna Carta Libertatum*. Translation by Professor Nicholas Vincent. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington. Available at: <https://www.archives.gov/files/press/press-kits/magna-carta/magna-carta-translation.pdf>. Accessed 3rd May 2020.

²¹ See: Danziger, Danny & Gillingham, John: *The Year of Magna Carta*. Hodder & Stoughton, 2003.

²² It is interesting to note here that in Europe, the *Magna Carata Libertatum* was adopted after 593 years of the *Medina Charter*. This does not mean that the *Medina Charter* contains everything we know today about human rights, especially with regard to individual human rights, but we can certainly say that the *Medina Charter* represents one of the greatest historical steps towards the protection of human rights, especially the rights of minority community in a plural society. The Holy Qur'an, as well as the practice of the Messenger of God, laid the groundwork for the abolition of the slave system in such a way that one of the eight zakat allocation funds (*zakat*, a type of Islamic moral tax) was and remained a fund for the release of slaves or prisoners (*fi al-riqāb*) (Qur'an, 9:60). This was and remains a good sign that Islam is against the slave system as such, and thus it is for the inviolable and inalienable individual human rights of liberty and honor. Of course, it is only by comparing the *Medina Charter* with other documents of this kind in the historical context that we can understand today its historical, moral as well as social importance not only for Muslims, but for the whole world.



ILUSTRACIJA - Originalni primjerak i kopija Magna Carte Libertatum

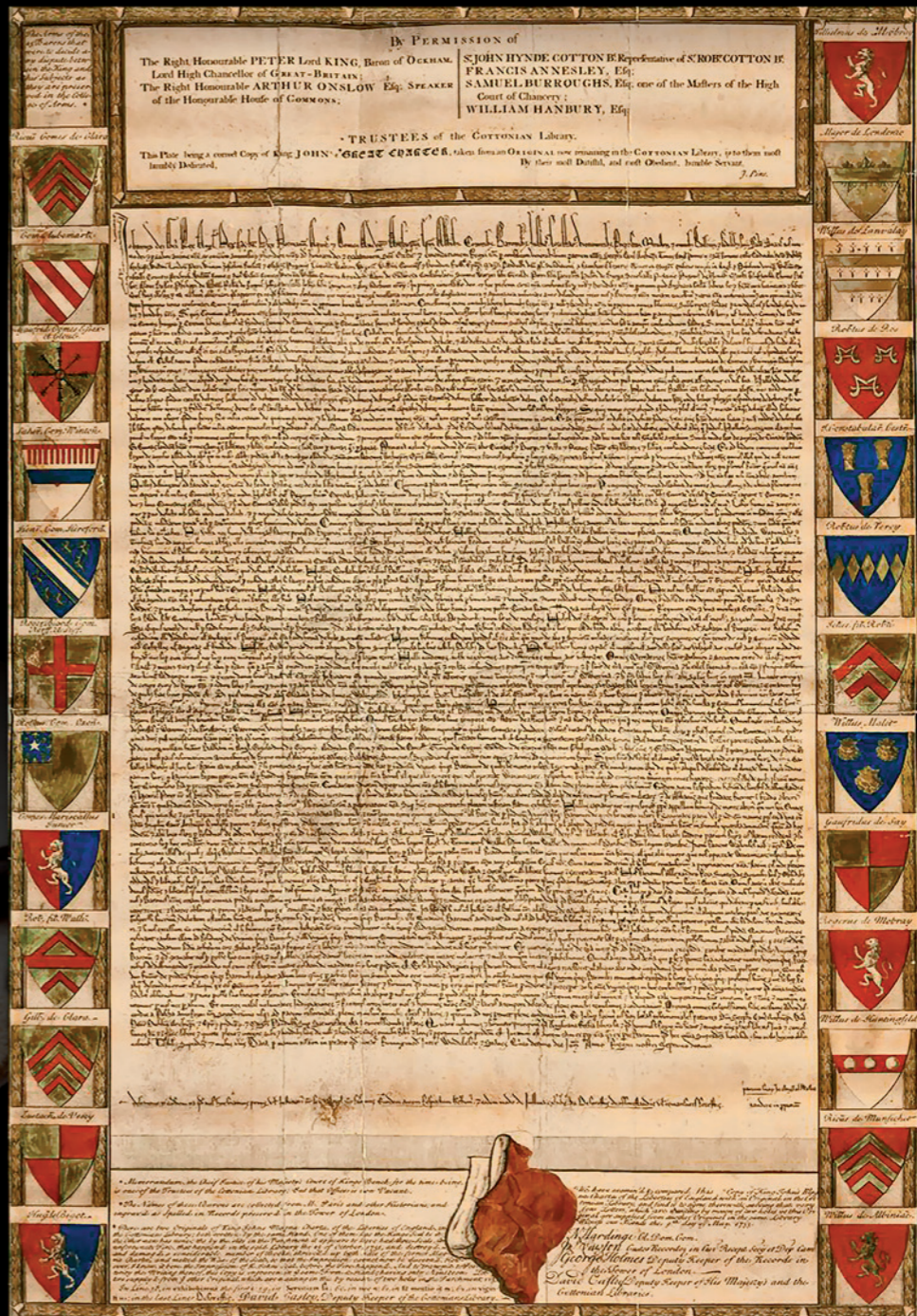


ILLUSTRATION - Original copy and copy of Magna Carta Libertatum





Nije sigurno da li bi **Univerzalna deklaracija o ljudskim pravima** Ujedinjenih nacija (1948.) ikad nastala da nije bilo Drugog svjetskog rata i Holokausta nad Jevrejima i masakra nad drugim narodima, koji nisu prihvatili Hitlerov nacistički režim. Vrijedi naglasiti da je 2018. godine, svijet obilježio sedamdesetu godišnjicu usvajanja *Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima UN-a*. Ako je iko, onda smo mi, žrtve srpskog Genocida u Bosni, morali posvetiti posebnu pažnju toj činjenici i uložiti napor u širenje ideje o ljudskim pravima. Nažalost, koliko mi je poznato, mi to nismo uradili ni na razini politike, ni na razini države, ni na razini nacije, ni na razini kulture, ni na razini vjere. A morali smo, jer uz sve manjkavosti u implementaciji *Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima* u svijetu, taj dokument ostaje još uvijek najbolja nada za ugrožene nacije i države da žive i prežive u zamršenom i zamagljenom globalnom svijetu, gdje se, u mnogim krajevima svijeta, krše osnovna ljudska prava. No, da nije te *Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima UN-a* kršila bi

se još više²³. Nažalost, politika u nas nije dorasla visini tog zadatka, država se nije izdigla na visinu tog izazova, nacija nije dosegla tu dubinu svog korijena, kultura se nije oplodila do te visine zrelosti, a vjera nije na visini te svijesti o svojoj misiji. No, sve dok i kao politika, i kao država, i kao nacija, i kao kultura, i kao vjera ne shvatimo važnost, ali i opasnost, našeg geografskog položaja, kao i našeg duhovnog okruženja, i dok zbog toga ne shvatimo važnost ideje o ljudskim pravima, ne možemo reći da smo položili ispit duhovne, nacionalne i državne zrelosti, ne zbog opasnosti od bilo koga, već zbog naše nehatnosti i neupućenosti u naša vlastita ljudska prava, ali i ljudska prava drugih. Nadam se da će nam posljednja doživotna presuda Haškog tribunala Radovanu Karadžiću²⁴ za genocid nad našim narodom biti poticaj da ozbiljnije shvatimo naš položaj i temeljitije se upoznamo s pravnim mehanizmima i moralnim prednostima kako bi se zaštitili od budućeg genocida, koji nije isključen ako se prepustimo nemaru.

²³ Važno je ovdje spomenuti činjenicu da je muslimanski teoretičar islamskog prava (*Šari'ah*) šejh imam El-Šatibi (Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭibī, 1320 – 1388) ustanovio pet nužnih principa za uzvišeni smisao islamskog prava, a to su principi prava svakog pojedinca na život (*nafs*), vjeru (*din*), slobodu (*aqil*), imetak (*māl*) i čast (*ird*). U biti, sadržaj *Univerzalne deklaracije o ljudskim pravima* sastoji se od ovih pet fundamentalnih principa o ljudskim pravima. Vidi: Al-Shāṭibī, Abū Ishāq: *The Reconciliation of the Fundamentals of Islamic Law*. Translated by Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee, Volume I, Garnet, 2011.

²⁴ Radovan Karadžić (1945 –), vođa srpske iredentističke politike u Bosni, pravosnažno je osuđen u martu 2019. god. na međunarodnom sudu u Hagu na doživotnu kaznu zatvora za zločine protiv čovječnosti i genocid u Bosni i Hercegovini između 1992. i 1995. god. Vidi: *Judgement Summary – Trial Judgement Summary for Radovan Karadžić*. The Hague, 24 March 2016. Dostupno na: https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/tjug/en/160324_judgement_summary.pdf. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020; *Radovan Karadžić (MICT-13-55)*. International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals. Dostupno na: <https://www.irmct.org/en/cases/mict-13-55>. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020.



It is not certain if the United Nations **Universal Declaration of Human Rights** (1948) would ever have been drawn up if there had not been the Second World War and the Holocaust of Jews and other nations that did not accept Hitler's Nazi regime. It should be noted that in 2018 the world marked the 70th anniversary of the adoption of the UN's Declaration. Of all people, we, victims of the Serb nationalism and genocide in Bosnia, should have paid particular attention to this and should have made efforts to spread the idea of sovereign human rights. Unfortunately, as far as I know, we did not do that either at the level of politics or at the level of state or at the level of nation, culture and religion. We should have done that, since regardless of all the imperfections in the implementation of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in the world, this document remains the best hope for minority nations and states to live and survive in our convoluted and hazy world where, in many of its parts, basic human rights are constantly infringed. However, these rights would be infringed even more if the *UN's Universal Declaration* did not exist²³. Unfortunately, in our country, politics

is not yet up to this task, the state has not risen to the challenge, the nation has not reached the full depth of its roots, its culture has not yet matured to that point, and religion has not yet become sufficiently aware of its mission. However, unless we, regarding our politics, state, nation, culture and religion, understand both the importance and risks of our geographic position and our spiritual environment, and therefore the importance of the idea of human rights, we cannot say that we have successfully come through the right of passage to spiritual, national and state maturity.

Not because of the threat of any danger, but rather due to our negligence and ignorance of our own human rights and the human rights of others. I hope that the Hague Tribunal's latest life sentence, given to Radovan Karadžić²⁴ for the genocide of our people, will spur us to understand our position more seriously and gain better knowledge of the legal mechanisms and moral advantages that can protect us from future genocide, which is not impossible if we succumb to negligence.

²³ It is important to mention here the fact that the Muslim theorist of Islamic law (*Shari'ah*) Shaykh Imam Abū Ishāq al-Shāṭibī (1320 – 1388) established five necessary principles for the sublime meaning of Islamic law, and these are the principles of the right of every individual to life (*nafs*), faith (*dīn*), freedom (*aqil*), property (*māl*) and honor (*ird*). In essence, the content of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* consists of these rights of minority communities in a pluralistic society. See: Al-Shāṭibī, Abū Ishāq: *The Reconciliation of Islamic Law Fundamentals*. Translated by Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee. Volume I, Garnet, 2011.

²⁴ Radovan Karadžić (1945 –), the leader of the Serbian irredentist policy in Bosnia, was convicted in March 2019. at the International Court of Justice in the Hague to life in prison for crimes against humanity and genocide committed in Bosnia between 1992 and 1995. See: *Judgement Summary – Trial Judgement Summary for Radovan Karadžić*. The Hague, 24 March 2016. Available at: https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/tjug/en/160324_judgement_summary.pdf. Accessed 4th May 2020; *Karadžić, Radovan (MICT-13-55)*. International Residual Mechanism for Criminal Tribunals. Available at: <https://www.irmct.org/en/cases/mict-13-55>. Checked on May 4, 2020.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Eleanor Roosevelt i Univerzalna deklaracija o ljudskim pravima Ujedinjenih nacija



THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF Human Rights

PREAMBLE recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

PREAMBLE disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

PREAMBLE it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.

PREAMBLE it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

PREAMBLE the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

PREAMBLE Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

PREAMBLE a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

PREAMBLE The GENERAL ASSEMBLY Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1 All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2 Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be an independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3 Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

ARTICLE 4 No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5 No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6 Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7 All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8 Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

ARTICLE 9 No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10 Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11 (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence. (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a person be punished for an offence which was not applicable at the time the offence was committed.

ARTICLE 12 No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13 (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14 (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution. (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15 (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

ARTICLE 16 (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. (2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses. (3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

ARTICLE 17 (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others. (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18 Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion, to teach, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 19 Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20 (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association. (2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21 (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. (2) Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country. (3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22 Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

ARTICLE 23 (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work. (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family a decent standard of living.

ARTICLE 24 Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25 (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26 (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. (2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27 (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits. (2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28 Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

ARTICLE 29 (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible. (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society. (3) These rights and freedoms shall be exercised in conformity with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30 Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein, or to engage in teaching, practice, worship and observance.



UNITED NATIONS



ILLUSTRATION ~ Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations



Također, i dokument **Nostra Aetate** Katoličke crkve, nastao je kao izraz potrebe Katoličke crkve da na *Drugom vatikanskom koncilu* (1962 – 1965) donese epohalni zaokret kojim ako ne potpuno otklanja, a ono uveliko ublažava stoljetnu krizu u odnosima s nekršćanskim, odnosno nekatoličkim religijama. Naime, nakon povijesnih konfrontacija, Katolička crkva se odlučila za novi način pristupa nekršćanskim religijama koji će biti utemeljen na poštivanju i dijalogu. Iako za taj obrt percepcije o nekršćanskim religijama, Vatikan nije imao direktno uporište u stavovima crkvenih učitelja iz prošlost, II. vatikanski sabor, 28.10.1965. godine je uspio usvojiti *Nostra Aetate* sa 2.221 glasom „za“ i 88 „protiv“. Zanimljiva je izjava o islamu i muslimanima u tom dokumentu, gdje se kaže: [...] *Crkva gleda s poštovanjem i muslimane, koji se klanjaju jedinom Bogu, živom i subzistentnom, milosrdnom i svemogućem, stvoritelju neba i zemlje, koji je govorio ljudima. Oni se svom dušom nastoje podložiti njegovim skrovitim odlukama, kao što se Abraham, na koga se islamska vjera rado poziva, podložio Bogu. Oni Isusa, istina, ne priznaju Bogom, ali ga ipak časte kao proroka* [Poslanika, op. aut.], *a također i njegovu djevičansku*

*majku. Nju ponekad i pobožno zazivaju. Osim toga iščekuju dan suda, kad će Bog naplatiti svim uskrslim ljudima. Zato cijene moralni život, a Boga štiju napose molitvom, milostinjom i postom. Budući da je tijekom stoljeća između kršćana i muslimana dolazilo do čestih sukoba i neprijateljstava, Sveti sabor poziva sve da se, zaboravi što je bilo, iskreno trude oko međusobnog razumijevanja i da zajednički štite i promiču socijalnu pravdu, čudoredna dobra, mir i slobodu za sve ljudi [...]*²⁵ Ova izjava o islamu i muslimanima postala je dobar osnov za muslimansko-katolički dijalog, partnerski odnos koji održava dijalektiku duha u pokretu, dijalektiku o kojoj Kur'an Časni govori, a koju katolici oslovljavaju kao djelovanje Duha Svetog. Dakle, **Nostra Aetate** je historijski dokument *Drugog vatikanskog koncila*. Iako, kao što smo već kazali, u svojim dokumentima u prošlosti nije mogao naći temelj za to, Vatikan je, uz pomoć *Svetog Duha*, kako su kazali, bio u stanju sačiniti ovaj dokument koji je od ogromnog značaja u smislu preorijentacije prema toleranciji i dijalogu sa nekršćanskim religijama, posebno sa judaizmom i islamom u dijalektičkom spiritualizmu abrahamske/ibrahimovske tradicije.²⁶

²⁵ Deklaracija 'Nostra Aetate' o odnosu Crkve prema nekršćanskim religijama („Declaratio de Ecclesiae Habitudine Ad Religiones Non-Christianas“). U: *Drugi vatikanski koncil – Dokumenti*, IV izdanje, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Zagreb, 1986., od stavaka 3, str. 384-387

²⁶ O univerzalnom značaju dokumenta *Nostra Aetate* vidi: Cohen, Charles L., Knitter, Paul E. i Rosenhagen, Ulrich ed.: *The Future of Inter-religious Dialogue – A Multi-religious Conversation on Nostra Aetate*. Orbis Books, 2017.

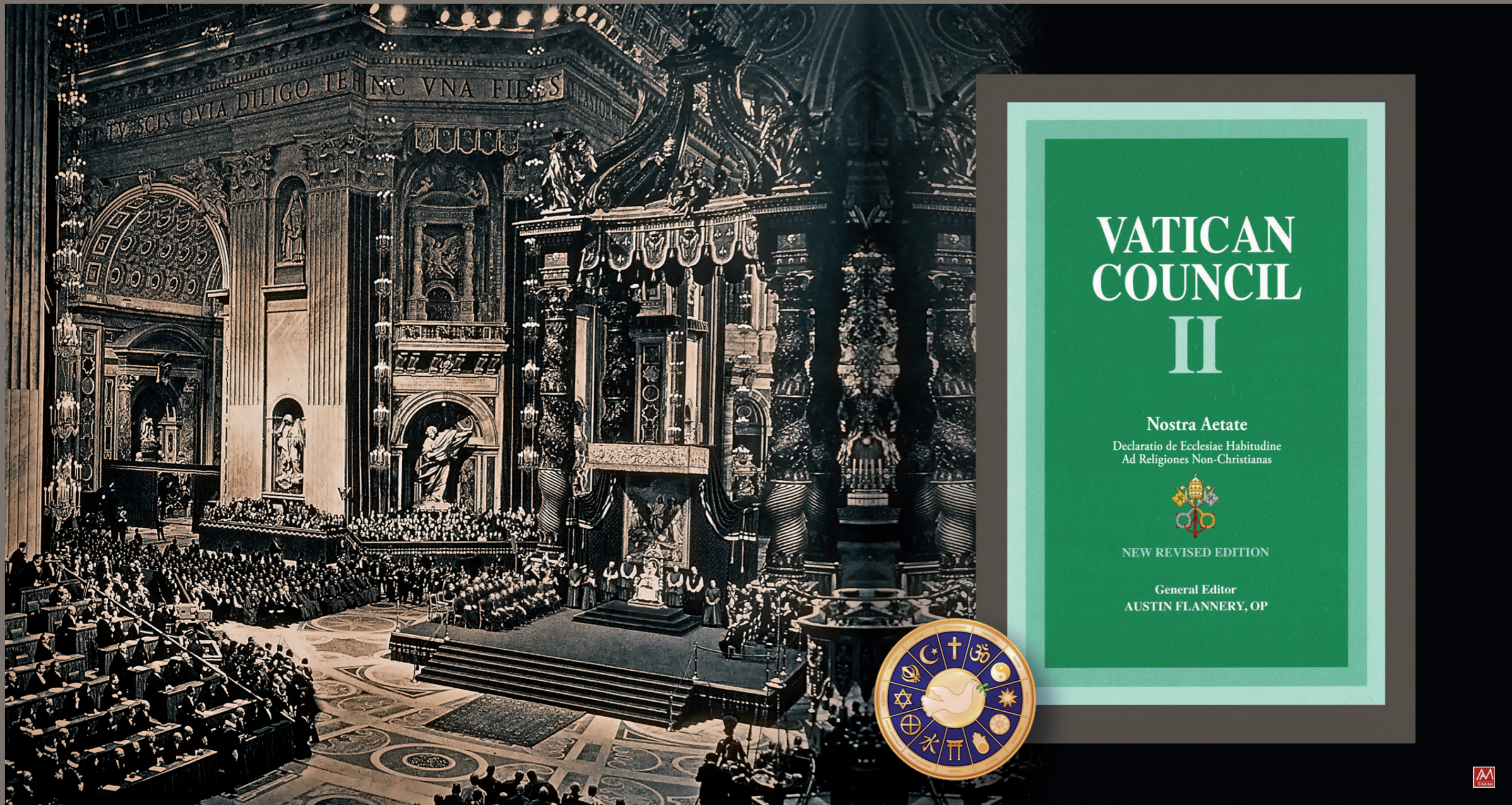


The Catholic church document **Nostra Aetate** (1965), passed at the Second Vatican Council, was also produced as an expression of the need of the Roman Catholic Church to undertake an epoch-making which, though it did not completely eliminate, at least it largely alleviated the centuries-old crisis in relations with non-Christian, i.e. non-Catholic religions. Indeed, after historical confrontations, the Catholic Church opted for a new approach to non-Christian religions which was to be founded on respect and dialogue. Although the Vatican did not have direct support for such a change in perception of non-Christian religions in the views of the Doctors of the Church of the past, on 28 October 1965, the Second Vatican Council managed to pass *Nostra Aetate* by a vote of 2.221 to 88 of the assembled Catholic bishops. It is interesting to read the declaration on Islam and Muslims in this document, which says: [...] *The Church regards with esteem also Moslems. They adore the one God, living and subsisting in Himself; merciful and all-powerful, the Creator of heaven and earth; they take pains to submit whole-heartedly to even His inscrutable decrees, just as Abraham, with whom the faith of Islam takes pleasure in linking itself, submitted to God. Though they do not acknowledge Jesus as God, they revere Him as a prophet* (messenger, author's

note). *They also honor Mary, His virgin Mother, at times they even call on her with devotion. In addition, they await the day of judgment when God will render their deserts to all those who have been raised up from the dead. Finally, they value the moral life and worship God especially through prayer, almsgiving and fasting. Since in the course of centuries not a few quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Moslems, this sacred synod urges all to forget the past and to work sincerely for mutual understanding and to preserve as well as to promote together for the benefit of all mankind social justice and moral welfare, as well as peace and freedom [...]*²⁵ This declaration on Islam and Muslims became a sound basis for the dialogue between Muslims and Christians, a dialogue that keeps the dialectics of spirit in motion, the dialectics described in the Holy Qur'an and characterized as the activity of the Holy Spirit by Catholics. Thus, **Nostra Aetate** is a historic document of the Second Vatican Council. Although no foundation could be found for it in documents of the past, the Vatican used the help of the Holy Spirit, as they said, to draw up this document, which is of utmost significance for a reorientation toward tolerance and dialogue with non-Christian religions, particularly Judaism and Islam in the dialectical spiritualism of the Abrahamic tradition.²⁶

²⁵ See: *Declaratio de Ecclesiae Habitudine Ad Religiones Non-Christianas in Drugi vatikanski koncil – Documents*. IV edition, Christian Present, Zagreb, 1986., Paragraph 3, p. 384-387.

²⁶ On an universal importance of the document of *Nostra Aetate* see: Cohen, Charles L., Knitter, Paul E. i Rosenhagen, Ulrich ed.: *The Future of Inter-religious Dialogue – A Multi-religious Conversation on Nostra Aetate*. Orbis Books, 2017.



VATICAN COUNCIL II

Nostra Aetate

Declaratio de Ecclesiae Habitudine
Ad Religiones Non-Christianas



NEW REVISED EDITION

General Editor
AUSTIN FLANNERY, OP

ILUSTRACIJA - Nostra Aetate - Drugi vatikanski koncil - Deklaracija o odnosu Crkve prema nekršćanskim religijama.

ILLUSTRATION - Nostra Aetate - Thrifty Vatican Council - Declaratio de Ecclesiae Habitudine Ad Religiones Non-Christianas.



Međutim, zamah muslimansko-katoličkog dijaloga iznenada je prekinulo predavanje pape Benedikta XVI (2005-2013) o islamu i poslaniku Muhammedu, a.s., na Univerzitetu u Regensburgu 2006. godine. Na tu krizu kreativno je djelovao jordanski princ Ghazi bin Muhammed²⁷ sa inicijativom 2007. godine pod naslovom *Zajednička riječ između nas i vas – ljubav prema Bogu i ljubav prema komšiji*, kojeg je potpisalo 138 muslimanskih teologa i mislioca kao poziv na muslimansko-kršćanski dijalog nakon papinog kontraverznog predavanja u Regensburgu. Vjerovatno, dokument *Zajednička riječ* ne bi nastao da nije bilo krize u odnosu između islama i kršćanstva, krize koju je svjesno ili nesvjesno izazvao papa Benedikt XVI, koji se poslije toga ispričao muslimanima na način da je kazao da mu je žao ako je nekoga povrijedio svojom izjavom, koju je referirao kao dijalog iz 1391. god. u mjestu blizu Ankare između bizantijskog cara Manuela II Paleologa (Manuel II Palaiologos ili Palaeologus 1391-1425) i jednog učenog Perzijanca o kršćanstvu i islamu, gdje bizantijski car pita Perzijanca: – Pokaži mi šta je to Muhammed donio novoga, tamo ćeš naći samo zle i neljudske stvari, kao

što je njegov zahtjev da se vjera koju je propovijedao širi sabljom. Dakle, *Zajednička riječ između nas i vas* je historijski dijalektički dokument između kršćana i muslimana nakon obraćanja pape Benedikta XVI, u Regensburgu, 13. septembra 2006. godine. Prvo su se, 38 islamskih autoriteta i učenjaka iz cijelog svijeta, koji predstavljaju sve pravce i škole mišljenja, udružili kako bi odgovorili Papi, u duhu otvorene intelektualne razmjene i uzajamnog razumijevanja. U svom *Otvorenom pismu*²⁸ Papi, po prvi put u novijoj historiji, muslimanski učenjaci, iz svih pravaca islama, jedinstveno su se oglasili o suštinskim učenjima islama. Tačno godinu dana nakon tog pisma, 13. oktobra 2007. godine muslimani su proširili svoju *Poruku*. U *Zajedničkoj riječi između nas i vas*, muslimanski učenjaci, *'ulema* i intelektualci su se okupili da bi obznanili ono što spaja islam i kršćanstvo, a ne ono što ih razdvaja. Ovaj dokument je imao snažan odjek u svijetu i zato ostaje kao historijski zapis dobre volje, koju je u ime islama i muslimana pokrenuo princ Gazi u vrijeme krize u odnosima muslimana sa drugim i drugačijim.

²⁷ Gazi bin Muhammad (Ghazi bin Muhammed, 1966 –) je jordanski princ i profesor filozofije. U jeku kriza koje opterećuju relaciju islama i muslimana sa svijetom, princ Gazi je na pravoj liniji sa idejama o toleranciji i suživotu, kojeg promovira islam. Otuda je „Ammanska poruka“ (*Amman Message*, 2004.) obišla svijet i ublažila antiislamski naboj, koji se bio nadvio nad muslimanima nakon 11. septembra 2001. No, najopsežniji zahvat u smirivanju tenzija između islamskog i zapadnog svijeta bila je inicijativa prica Gazija o *Zajedničkoj riječi između nas i vas – ljubav prema Bogu i ljubav prema komšiji* (2007.). Sretan sam što sam imao priliku aktivno sudjelovati u ovom projektu sa pricom Gazijem od Rima do Vašingtona (Washington). I sretan sam, isto tako, što je knjigu sa engleskog „A Common Word Between Us and You“ Azra Mulović prevela na bosanski jezik.

Mulović, Azra: *Zajednička riječ za nas i vas*. El-Kalem i CNS – Centar za napredne studije, Sarajevo, 2010. Vidi i: *The Amman Message – Summary*. Dostupno na: <http://ammanmessage.com>. Pristupljeno 03. maja 2020.

²⁸ *An Open Letter to his Holiness Pope Benedict XVI*. Dostupno na: https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research_sites/cjl/texts/cjrelations/news/openletter-8238DA.pdf. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020.



However, the impetus of the Muslim-Christian dialogue was suddenly interrupted by Pope Benedict XVI's lecture on Islam and the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., at the University of Regensburg in 2006. This crisis was creatively dealt with by the Jordanian Prince Ghazi bin Muhammad²⁷ with the 2007 initiative entitled *A Common Word Between Us and You – Love for God and Love for Neighbor*, which was signed by 138 Muslim theologians and thinkers as an invitation to Muslim-Christian dialogue after the Pope's controversial lecture in Regensburg. The document *A Common Word* would probably not have been produced had it not been for a crisis in the relationship between Islam and Christianity, a crisis that was, consciously or not, caused by Pope Benedict XVI, who later apologized to Muslims by saying that he was sorry if he had hurt anyone with his statement. He said that it was a reference to a 1391 dialogue, in the winter barracks near Ankara, between Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos and an „educated Persian“ on the subject of Christianity and Islam, where the Byzantine Emperor tells the Persian: „Show me just what Muhammad brought that was new and there you will find things only bad and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he

preached.“ Thus, *A Common Word Between Us and You* (2007) is a historic dialectical document between Christians and Muslims following Pope Benedict XVI's address in Regensburg, on 13 September 2006. Initially, 38 Islamic authorities and scholars from around the world, representing all denominations and schools of thought, joined together to deliver an answer to the Pope in the spirit of open intellectual exchange and mutual understanding. In their *Open Letter*²⁸ to the Pope, for the first time in recent history, Muslim scholars from every branch of Islam spoke with one voice about the true teachings of Islam. Exactly one year after that letter, on 13 October 2007, Muslims expanded their *Message*. In *A Common Word Between Us and You*, Muslim scholars, clerics and intellectuals unanimously came together, for the first time since the days of the Prophet, a.s., to declare the common ground between Christianity and Islam. Like the *Open Letter*, the signatories of this *Message* came from every denomination and school of thought in Islam. Every major Islamic country or region is represented in this *Message*, which is addressed to the leaders of all the world's churches, and to all Christians everywhere.

²⁷ Ghazi bin Muhammad (1966 –) is a Jordanian prince and professor of philosophy. In the midst of crises burdening the relationship of Islam and Muslims with the world, Prince Gazi is on the front line with the ideas of tolerance and coexistence promoted by Islam. Hence, the *Amman Message* (2004) toured the world and eased the anti-Islamic charge that had befallen Muslims since 9/11. However, the most comprehensive intervention in calming the tensions between Islam and the West was the Prince Ghazi's initiative of *The Common Word Between Us and You – the Love of God and the Love of Neighbor* (2007). I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to actively participate in this project with Prince Gazi from Rome to Washington. I am also happy that Azra Mulović translated the book *A Common Word Between Us and You* from English into Bosnian language.

See: Mulović, Azra: *Zajednička riječ za nas i vas*. El-Kalem i CNS – Centar za napredne studije, Sarajevo, 2010. See also: *The Amman Message – Summary*. Available at: <http://ammanmessage.com>. Checked on May 3, 2020.

²⁸ See: *An Open Letter to his Holiness Pope Benedict XVI*. Available at: https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research_sites/cjl/texts/cjrelations/news/openletter-8238DA.pdf. Checked on May 4, 2020.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Zajednička riječ između nas i vas – ljubav prema Bogu i ljubav prema komšiji.

ILLUSTRATION ~ A Common Word Between Us and You – Love for God and Love for Neighbor.





Ova i ovakva izjava pape Benedikta XVI naišla je na oštru i široku osudu ne samo kod muslimana, već i kod kršćana-katolika. No, treba imati na umu da se ona pojavila u atmosferi nakon terorističkih napada na Trgovinski centar u Nju Jorku (New York) 11. septembra 2001., 11. marta 2004. u Madridu te 7. jula 2005. god. u Londonu. Sve te napade sebi je pripisala organizacija El-Kaida (Al-Qā'idah)²⁹, pozivajući se na islam i muslimane, kao borbu protiv Zapada. Svi ti napadi bili su povod da mi u Bosni napišemo **Deklaraciju evropskih muslimana** (2005.), u kojoj je posebno naglašeno da Evropa nije ni „**dāru-l-ḥarb**“ (*dom rata*), ni „**dāru-l-islām**“ (*dom islama*), već je Evropa „**dāru-l-'aqd**“ (*dom društvenog dogovora*), na principu demokratije i ljudskih prava. Stoga, muslimani koji žive u Evropi

moraju to shvatiti kao svoju vjersku i patriotsku dužnost bilo kao autohtoni, bilo kao doseljeni, bilo kao konvertitni evropski muslimani. Dakle, **Deklaracija evropskih muslimana** je historijski dokument, u smislu njegove značajne poruke muslimanima Evrope, da Evropa nije dom rata, niti je dom islama, već je Evropa dom dogovora ili društvenog ugovora (*el-'akd el-idžtimā'ī*)³⁰. Ovaj dokument je usvojen na 14. redovnoj sjednici od 30.11.2005. godine, kao zvanični dokument Rijasetu Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini. **Deklaracija** je objavljena na bosanskom, arapskom, engleskom, njemačkom i francuskom jeziku. Vjerski, akademski i politički autoriteti u Evropi cijene ovu **Deklaraciju** kao značajan doprinos religijskoj toleranciji i suživotu u Evropi³¹.

²⁹ El-Kaida (Al-Qā'idah) je paravojna organizacija nastala od dobrovoljaca koji su u toku 80-ih odlazili u Afganistan da se bore protiv snaga Sovjetskog saveza. Najpoznatije vođe tog poduhvata su Usama bin Ladin ('Usāma bin Ladin) i Ejmen El-Zawahiri (Ayman Al-Zawāhirī). El-Kaida je odgovorna za mnoge nasilne akcije u svijetu, uključujući i teroristički napad 11. septembra 2001. god. u Nju Jorku, nakon kojeg Amerika pokreće svoj *rat protiv terorizma*.

³⁰ O ideji mogućeg muslimanskog društvenog dogovora u Evropi vidi: Cerić, Mustafa, *Toward a Muslim Social Contract in Europe*. Zaki Badawi Memorial Lecture Series, AMSS UK, London, 2008. Vidi, također: Novak, David, *The Jewish Social Contract – an Essay in Political Theology*. Princeton University Press, 2005.

³¹ Šef odsjeka za religijske i humanističke studije na Rosemont College, Pennsylvania, USA, ko-urednik „Journal of Ecumenical Studies“ (*Žurnal za ekumenske studije*) i urednik časopisa „Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe“ (*Povremeni radovi o religiji u Istočnoj Evropi*) dr. Pol Mojzis (Paul Mojzes) je napravio prikaz **Deklaracije evropskih muslimana**. Mojzis, Paul, *Review of Akšamija's 'Letter, Pismo, Brief, List, Risālah'*. *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, Volume 37, Issue 5, Article 8, George Fox University, 9-2017. Dostupno na: <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2046&context=ree>. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020.

Također, **Deklaracija** je objavljena na bosanskom, engleskom, njemačkom, francuskom i arapskom jeziku u dokumentarnoj monografiji autora akademika Mehmeda Akšamije. Vidi: Akšamija, Mehmed, *Letter, Pismo, Brief, List, Risālah*. Centar za dijalog – Vesatiyya / Al-Wasatiyya Center for Dialogue, Sarajevo, 2017., str. 92-109.



The statement by Pope Benedict XVI was strongly and widely condemned both among Muslims and among Christians, primarily Catholics. However, one should bear in mind that it appeared in the atmosphere following the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September 2001, in Madrid on 11 March 2004, and in London on 7 July 2005. The organization Al-Qā'idah²⁹ claimed responsibility for all these attacks, referring to Islam and Muslims, as well as to the fight against the West. All these attacks led us to write the **Declaration of European Muslims**, which particularly emphasized that Europe is neither a „**dāru-l-ḥarb**“ (*house of war*) nor „**dāru-l-islām**“ (*house of Islam*) but that it is a „**dāru-l-'aqd**“ (*house of social contract*) based on the principle of democracy and human rights. Therefore, Muslims who live in Europe must understand this as their primary

religious and patriotic duty, either as indigenous or as settled or converted European Muslims. Thus, the **Declaration of European Muslims** (2005) is a historic document because of its significant message to European Muslims that Europe is not a home of war or a home of Islam but it is a home of agreement or social contract (*al-'aqd al-ijtimā'ī*)³⁰. This document was adopted at the 14th regular session on 30. November, 2005. as an official document of the Riyasat document of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The **Declaration** was published in the Bosnian, Arabic, English, German and French languages. Religious, academic and political authorities in Europe appreciate this **Declaration** as a significant contribution to religious tolerance and coexistence in Europe³¹.

²⁹ Al-Qā'idah is a paramilitary organization made up of volunteers who traveled to Afghanistan in the 1980s to fight Soviet forces. The most famous leaders of the venture are 'Usāma bin Ladin and Ayman Al-Zawāhirī. Al-Qā'idah is responsible for many violent actions in the world, including September 11, 2001 terrorist attack in New York, after which the USA launched their *War or Terror*.

³⁰ On the idea of a possible Muslim social contract in Europe, see: Cerić, Mustafa, *Toward a Muslim Social Contract in Europe*. Zaki Badawi Memorial Lecture Series, AMSS UK, London, 2008. See also Novak, David, *The Jewish Social Contract – an Essay in Political Theology*. Princeton University Press, 2005.

³¹ Head of the **Department of Religious and Humanistic Studies** at Rosemont College, Pennsylvania, USA, co-editor of the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* and editor of the *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, Dr. Mojzes, Paul made a valuable review of the **Declaration of European Muslims**. See: Mojzis, Paul, *Review of Akšamija's 'Letter, Pismo, Brief, List, Risālah'* in *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, Volume 37, Issue 5, Article 8, George Fox University, 9-2017. Available at: <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2046&context=ree>. Checked on May 4, 2020.

Also, the **Declaration** was published in Bosnian, English, German, French and Arabic in a documentary monograph by Academician Mehmed Akšamija.

See: Akšamija, Mehmed, *Letter, Pismo, Brief, List, Risālah*. Al-Wasatiyya Center for Dialogue, Sarajevo, 2017, p. 92-109.



ISLAMSKA ZAJEDNICA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Reis-ul-ulema dr. Mustafa ef. Cerić

**UVOD U DEKLARACIJU
EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA**

Istorijski događaji od 11. septembra 2001. god. u Njujorku, 11. marta 2004. god. u Madridu te 7. jula 2005. god. u Londonu* ne ostavljaju nikog ravnodušnim. Muslimani širom svijeta su posebno šokirani što se ti teroristički napadi dovode u vezu sa islamom. Niko razuman ne može prihvatiti ubijanje nevinih ljudi u njegovo/njezno ime. Zato su muslimani najoštrije osudili terorističke napade u Njujorku, Madridu i Londonu.

* Naravno, svjesni smo i drugih napada: u Rijadu 1995, Dhahranu 1996, Nairobiju i Dansalamu 1998, Jemenu 2000, Baliju 2002 i Istanbulu 2003. god., ali napadi u Njujorku, Madridu i Londonu najviše opterećuju odnose na relaciji Islam-Zapad.

Međutim, neki kažu da to nije dovoljno. Muslimani moraju učiniti više od toga da bi uvjerali evropsku javnost da je njihova vjera vrijedna poštovanja i da je njihov boravak u Evropi dobrodošao.

Ostavljajući po strani one u Evropi koji se teško liječe od islamofobije bez obzira da li je bilo neprimjerenog ponašanja nekih muslimana ili nije, muslimani moraju shvatiti da opći utisak koji danas vlada u Evropi o njihovoj vjeri nije primjeren. Evropski muslimani moraju ozbiljno uzeti pitanje nasilja koje neki, navodno, provode u ime islama ne zato što neki u Evropi mrze islam i ne vole muslimane, već zato što su nasilje, teror i mržnja u ime islama pogrešni. To je protivno islamskom moralnom učenju. To je protivno muslimanskim interesima u svijetu, posebno u Evropi.

Evropski muslimani moraju uraditi program za borbu protiv nasilja u svijetu. Oni moraju jasno i nedvosmisleno objaviti cijelome svijetu da je islam nenasilna vjera, i učiti svoju djecu da pravi put do uspjeha na ovome svijetu i spasa na

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DEKLARACIJA EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA
o stavu evropskih muslimana u vezi sa napadom na Neujork u septembru 2001., masakrom u Madridu u martu 2004., i eksplozijama bombi u Londonu u julu 2005:

S obzirom da su 11. septembra 2001. hiljade muškaraca i žena koji su radili u Svjetskom trgovačkom centru u Neujorku ubijeni u terorističkom napadu, i da su 11. marta 2004. stotine ljudi koji su putovali vozom u Madridu bili izmasakrirani, te da su 7. jula mnogi nevinu putnici bili žrtvama eksplozija bombi u Londonu; a s obzirom da su svi ovi akti nasilja protiv čovječanstva pripisani "islamskom terorizmu";

- uzimajući u obzir da nakon njujorskog napada, madridskog masakra i londonskih eksplozija evropski muslimani žive pod teškim teretom kolektivne odgovornosti za "islamski terorizam" kojeg stalno propagiraju neki političari i mediji;
- polazeći od toga da evropski muslimani vjeruju da ne postoji kolektivna krivica, već pojedinačna odgovornost;
- uzevši u obzir da evropski muslimani pate od islamofobije zbog neodgovornog medijskog pokrivanja muslimanskih pitanja u Evropi;
- budući da evropski muslimani vole slobodu drugima kao što je vole za sebe te da poštuju instituciju građanina i ljudska prava u multikulturnim društvima;
- s obzirom da evropski muslimani žele podizati svoju djecu u miru i sigurnosti zajedno sa drugim vjerskim zajednicama u Evropi na principu "etike zajedništva";
- uzimajući u obzir da islam uči muslimane da su Jevreji i kršćani narod Knjige te da stoga svi Jevreji, kršćani i muslimani trebaju naučiti kako da dijele svoje zajedničke korijene i svoje zajedničke nade za budućnost bez predrasuda kako bi izbjegli diskriminaciju, nizak nivo samopoštovanja, demoralizaciju, vjersku i rasnu mržnju, bespomoćnost, gubitak kontrole, društveno izbjegavanje, besperspektivnost i političku zapostavljenost;

- polazeći od toga da je Evropa zajednički kontinent mnogih vjera;
- uzevši u obzir da je Evropa ponosna na svoj put od ropstva do slobode, od mitologije do znanosti, od sile do prava i od teorije do legitimnosti države, kao i evropsku predanost osnovnim vrijednostima ljudskih prava i demokratije;
- budući da evropski muslimani žele biti dio evropskog života i napretka kao i društvenog, političkog, kulturnog i moralnog razvoja evropskih društava

- neka bude obznanjeno -

I

EVROPSKOJ UNIJI DA JE STAV EVROPSKIH MUSLIMANA

1. Evropa je **Dom mira i sigurnosti** utemeljen na principu društvenog dogovora;
2. Evropsko tlo je **Dom mira** jer je na njemu moguće živjeti u skladu sa svojom vjerom u kontekstu principa koje bi "slobodne i racionalne osobe zainteresirane za unapređenje svojih interesa, u polaznoj poziciji jednakosti, prihvatile kao definirajuće za temeljne uvjete svoga udruživanja" (John Rawls);
3. (Društveni) Dogovor je nalog čovjekovog razuma, dok je Zavjet (prema Bogu) volja čovjekovog srca/vjere. Musliman je čovjek predan Bogu u aktu volje svoga srca/vjere, a građanin je čovjek sa obavezom prema državi kao nalogom svoga razuma. Zavjetom čovjek predaje svoje srce Bogu i prima unutrašnju sigurnost. Ugovorom on daje um državi a zauzvrat dobija društvenu sigurnost kao stanovnik grada ili naselja. Građanin ima prava i privilegije slobodna čovjeka, član je države, autohtona ili naturalizirana osoba koja lojalnost duguje nekoj vlasti a zauzvrat ima pravo da ta vlast zaštiti njegov život, vjeru, slobodu, imetak i dostojanstvo.
4. Evropski muslimani su u potpunosti i jasno predani sljedećim evropskim vrijednostima:
 - vladavini prava;
 - principima tolerancije;
 - vrijednostima demokratije i ljudskih prava;
 - uvjerenju da svako ljudsko biće ima pravo na pet temeljnih vrijednosti: život, vjeru, slobodu, imetak i čast;

Nažalost, nerazumijevanje i otvoreni konflikti na relaciji Istoka i Zapada, gdje su islam i muslimani postali glavna meta kako protagonistima za odbranu tako i antagonistima za napad na islam i muslimane, nisu se stišavali, već su se povećavali kako na Zapadu tako i na Istoku. Oružani sukobi na Bliskom istoku prerasli su u krvave sukobe i progone tradicionalnih nemuslimanskih zajednica, posebno u Iraku i Siriji od strane ISIL-a³², dok su učestali teroristički napadi u evropskim prijestolnicama od Londona do Brisela ugrožavali mir i sigurnost muslimanskih zajednica širom svijeta. U takvim okolnostima krize u odnosima između Istoka i Zapada, posebno tradicionalnih manjinskih nemuslimanskih zajednica u društvima sa muslimanskom većinom na Istoku, kao i manjinskih muslimanskih zajednica u društvima sa većinskom kršćanskom većinom moralo je doći do dijalektičkog spiritualizma u pokretu. Ovoga puta progovorila je muslimanska savjest, koja je imala uporište u prošlosti, a to je *Medinska povelja*, kao uzor muslimanima za odnos prema manjinskim zajednicama u njihovom većinskom okruženju. Naime, pod patronatom marokanskog kralja Muhammeda VI, u Marakešu (Marrakech) je održana konferencija o temi "Prava religijskih manjina u zemljama sa muslimanskom većinom". Konferenciji je prisustvovalo 300 muslimanskih delegata iz 120 zemalja, kao i 50 nemuslimanskih religijskih ličnosti. Nakon dvodnevne rasprave, usvojena je **Marakeška deklaracija** o pravima nemuslimana u zemljama sa muslimanskom veći-

nom po uzoru na *Medinsku povelju* od prije 1.400 godina. Dakako, *Marakeška deklaracija* iz 2016. godine je uporediva i sa vatikanskom *Nostre Aetate* iz 1965. godine u smislu da oba ova dokumenta sadrže poruke o religijskoj toleranciji i suživotu u pluralnosti i različitosti vjerske i kulturne stvarnosti. Valja skrenuti pažnju da ni *Marakeška deklaracija* ne bi nastala da nije bilo izrazite krize u odnosima između Istoka i Zapada, krize koja je potakla Šejha Abdullaha bin Bejja (Abdullah bin Bayyah³³, predsjednika *Foruma za mir u muslimanskim zajednicama* sa sjedištem u Ebu Dabiju (Abu Dhabi) i dr. Ahmeda Tefvika (Ahmad Tawfiq), marokanskog ministra vakufa, da pokrenu ovu inicijativu, kao odgovor na progone nemuslimanskih manjinskih zajednica iz Iraka i Sirije, te da na taj način ožive sjećanje na *Medinsku povelju*, kao temelj za zaštitu ljudskih prava manjinskih zajednica, koje žive u zemljama sa muslimanskom većinom. Dakle, **Marakeška deklaracija** je historijski dokument muslimana, koji je nastao kao posljedica krize odnosa muslimanskih većinskih zajednica s nemuslimanskim manjinama, u Iraku i Siriji, zbog militantnih i netolerantnih grupa poput ISIL-a koje su zlostavljale nemuslimanske manjine što je suprotno slovu i duhu *Medinske povelje* i duhu islama. *Marakeška deklaracija* je imala i još uvijek ima značajan utjecaj na poboljšanje slike islama i muslimana u svijetu koja je iskrivljena neodgovornim ponašanjem nekih radikalnih grupa koje su kidnapovale islam kao svoju privatnu svojinu³⁴.

Unfortunately, misunderstanding and open conflict between East and West – where Islam and Muslims became the main target, both for protagonists of their defense as well as for antagonists for attacks on Islam and Muslims – did not abate, but rather flared up. Armed conflicts in the Middle East grew into bloody conflicts and persecution of traditional non-Muslim communities, particularly in Iraq and Syria by ISIL³², while frequent terrorist attacks in European capitals from London to Brussels threatened the peace and safety of Muslim communities across the world. In such circumstances of crisis in the relations between East and West, particularly between traditional minority non-Muslim communities in societies with a Muslim majority in the East, and between minority Muslim communities in societies with a Christian majority, a dialectical spiritualism in motion inevitably emerged. This time it was Muslim consciousness that spoke up. It had the footing for doing so in the past in the form of the *Medina Charter*, as the model for Muslims for their attitude toward minority communities in their majority environment. Under the patronage of Moroccan King Muhammad VI, a conference on the topic of *The rights of religious minorities in predominantly Muslim majority communities* was organized in Marrakesh. The conference was attended by 300 Muslim delegates from 120 countries, as well as by 50 non-Muslim religious officials. The two-day discussion resulted in the adoption of the **Marrakesh Declaration** on the rights of non-Muslims in countries with a Muslim majority, after the model of the *Medina Charter* of 1.400 years before. Certainly, the 2016 *Marrakesh Declaration* is comparable to the 1965 Vatican *Nostre Aetate*, since both documents include

messages of religious tolerance and coexistence in the plurality and diversity of religious and cultural reality. However, as opposed to the Vatican document *Nostra Aetate*, which was produced, as some like to say, as a momentary activity of the „Holy Spirit“, the Muslim *Marrakesh Declaration* is a document that was produced as an inherited memory, and consequently reflects the moral awareness of the responsibility for minority religions and other communities in societies with a Muslim majority. Still, it should be noted that the *Marrakesh Declaration* would not have appeared had it not been for the prominent crisis in the relations between East and West, a crisis that spurred Shaykh Abdullah bin Bayyah³³, President of the *Abu Dhabi-based Forum for Peace*, and Dr. Ahmed Toufiq, the Moroccan Minister of Islamic Affairs, to initiate this conference as a response to the persecution of the non-Muslim minority communities of Iraq and Syria, and thus revive memories of the *Medina Charter* as the cornerstone of the protection of the human rights of minority communities living in predominantly Muslim countries. Thus, the **Marrakesh Declaration** is a historical document of Muslims, made as a result of the crisis of relations of Muslim majority communities with non-Muslim minorities in Iraq and Syria, due to militant and intolerant groups like ISIL abusing non-Muslim minorities contrary to both the spirit of Islam and the letter and spirit of the *Medina Charter*. The *Marrakesh Declaration* has had, and still is, a significant influence on improving the image of Islam and Muslims in a world that is distorted by the irresponsible behavior of some radical political groups who have abducted Islam as their private property³⁴.



ILUSTRACIJA - Marakeška deklaracija

ILLUSTRATION - Marrakesh Declaration

³² ISIL je skraćeni naziv za „Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant“ (*Islamska država Iraka i Sirije*), a naslov je nastao 2004. god. nakon američke invazije na Irak. Ovaj pokret je muslimanski svijet odbacio.

³³ Šejh Abdullah bin Bejja (Abdullah bin Bayyah) je jedan od najpućenijih živih muslimanskih učenjaka u oblasti islamske jurisprudencije i jedan od najuticajnijih alima današnjice u pogledu međuvjerskog i međukulturnog dijaloga. Rođen u Mauritaniji 1953. god., šejh Bin Bejja je imao bogatu naučnu, političku i diplomatsku karijeru. Njegov otac Maḥfūz bin Bejja (Maḥfūz bin Bayyah) bio je poznati i priznati alim, od kojeg je šejh Abdullah najviše naučio. Godine 1978. u Mauritaniji je došlo do državnog udara, gdje je kao ministar svrgnute vlade bio zatvoren nekoliko mjeseci. Nakon izlaska iz zatvora, napušta politiku i posvećuje se islamskoj nauci. Prihvata ponudu da predaje na Univerzitetu *Kralj Abdulaziz* u Rijadu, gdje mu se pruža prilika da artikulira svoje teološke i pravne nazore. Nakon 25 godina obučavanja studenata, od kojih su neki postali važne ličnosti u Africi, Aziji i Evropi, šejh Bin Bejja posvećuje svoju pažnju globalnim pitanjima islama i muslimanima, naročito nakon pojave ekstremnih grupa, poput El-Kaide i ISIL-a. Godine 2010. šejh Bin Bejja u svojstvu utemeljitelja i predsjednika *Globalnog centra za obnovu i pravi put* sa sjedištem u Londonu organizira konferenciju u Mardinu, Turska, o čuvenoj *Mardinskoj fetvi*, koju je izdao šejhu-l-islam Ibn Tejmijje (Ibn Taymiyyah), a koju su ekstremne grupe zloupotrebljavale radi njihovih radikalnih ciljeva, kao što je „regicide“ (*kraljoubojstvo*), ubijanje muslimanskih državnika, koji, po njihovom shvatanju nisu dovoljno muslimani i tome slično. Šejh Abdullah bin Bejja je danas na čelu pokreta sa sjedištem u Ebu Dabiju (Abu Dhabi) za komunikaciju i suživot muslimana sa svijetom, posebno sa Zapadom, na temelju *Medinske povelje*, kao osnove za toleranciju i suživot manjinskih zajednica u društvima sa muslimanskom većinom i *Saveza vrlina* („*Ḥilf al-fuḍūl*“), kao osnove za toleranciju i suživot manjinskih muslimanskih zajednica u većinskim nemuslimanskim društvima u svijetu.

³⁴ O značenju i značaju *Marakeške deklaracije* vidi link dostupno na: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=2ahUKEwi60pSw95npAhVxosKHru-BHMQFjADegQIBBAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.usip.org%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2F392-Understanding-and-Extending-the-Marrakesh-Declaration-in-Policy-and-Practice.pdf&usq=AOvVaw3nRBkeq7f24ZlEsXoQ0OQF>. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020.

³² ISIL is short for „Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant“. This title was made up in 2004 after the American invasion of Iraq. This movement was rejected by the Muslim world.

³³ Sheikh Abdullah bin Bayyah is one of the most knowledgeable living Muslim scholars in the field of Islamic jurisprudence and one of the most influential scholars of today in terms of interfaith and intercultural dialogue. Born in Mauritania in 1953, Sheikh Bin Bey had a rich scholarly, political and diplomatic career. His father, Maḥfūz bin Bayyah, was a well-known and recognized scholar, from whom Shaykh Abdullah learned the most. In 1978, there was a coup in Mauritania, where he was imprisoned for several months as a minister of the overthrown government. After his release from prison, he left politics and devoted himself to Islamic science. He accepted an offer to teach at *King Abdulaziz* University in Riyadh, where he was given the opportunity to articulate his theological and legal views. After 25 years of training students, some of whom have become important figures in Africa, Asia and Europe, Sheikh Bin Bayyah is turning his attention to global issues of Islam and Muslims, especially after the emergence of extremist groups such as Al-Qa’idah and ISIL. In 2010, as the founder and president of the *Global Center for Renewal & Guidance*, based in London, Sheikh bin Bayyah organized a *Conference in Mardin*, Turkey, on the famous Mardin Fatwa, issued by Sheikh l-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah, which was abused by extremist groups for their radical goals, such as "regicide", killing Muslim statesmen who, in their view, were not sufficiently Muslims, and the like. Sheikh Abdullah bin Bayyah is today at the head of the Abu Dhabi-based movement for communication and coexistence of Muslims with the world, especially with the West, on the basis of the *Medina Charter*, as a basis for tolerance and coexistence of minority communities in Muslim-majority societies and the *Alliance of Virtues* („*Ḥilf al-fuḍūl*“), as a basis for tolerance and coexistence of minority Muslim communities in the majority non-Muslim societies in the world.

³⁴ On the meaning and significance of the *Marrakesh Declaration*, see the link available at: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=2ahUKEwi60pSw95npAhVxosKHru-BHMQFjADegQIBBAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.usip.org%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2F392-Understanding-and-Extending-the-Marrakesh-Declaration-in-Policy-and-Practice.pdf&usq=AOvVaw3nRBkeq7f24ZlEsXoQ0OQF>. Checked on May 4, 2020.



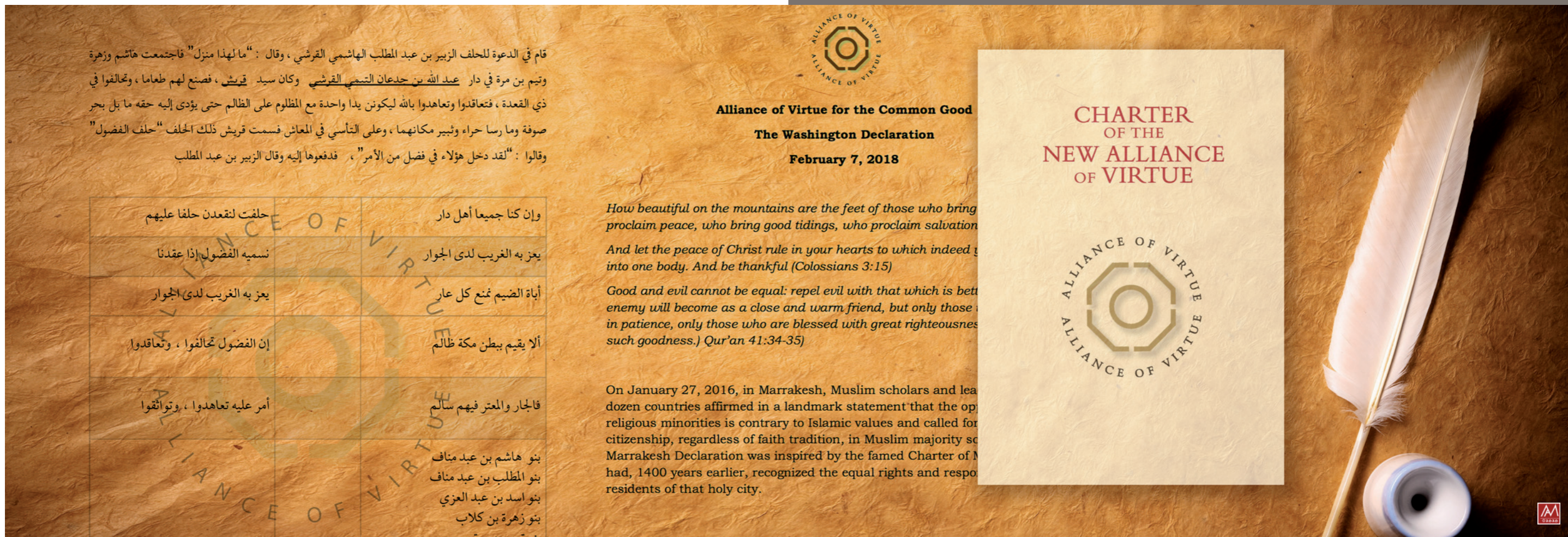
U međuvremenu, a na inicijativu šejha Abdullaha bin Bejja, ustanovljen je 2018. god. *Savez vrlina (Ḥilf al-fuḍul)*³⁵, po uzoru na predislamsko arapsku tradiciju, koji je proizveo **Vašingtonsku deklaraciju** sa ciljem da se „istraže načini na koje tri velike abrahamovske/ibrahimovske vjere mogu ponuditi

svoje zajedničke vrijednosti u službi mira.“ *Vašingtonska deklaracija* je samo nastavak *Marakeške deklaracije* koja je produžetak *Medinske povelje* kao tradicionalne osnove za muslimane da prakticiraju mir, toleranciju i suživot prema nemuslimanima, u svojim društvima.



In the meantime, in 2018, the initiative by Shaykh Abdullah bin Bayyah, the *Alliance of Virtues* („*Ḥilf al-fuḍul*“)³⁵ was established after the model of pre-Islamic Arabic tradition, which in turn engendered the **Washington Declaration** intended „to explore the ways in which the three great Abrahamic faiths can

offer their shared values in the service of peace.“ The *Washington Declaration* is only the continuation of the *Marrakesh Declaration*, which is the extension of the *Medina Charter* as the traditional basis for Muslims to practice peace and tolerance toward non-Muslims in their respective societies.



ILUSTRACIJA - *Savez vrlina* (ar. *Ḥilf al-fuḍul*) - *Vašingtonska deklaracija, Povelja Novog saveza vrline za globalni mir.*

ILLUSTRATION - *Alliance of Virtues* (ar. *Ḥilf al-fuḍul*) - *Washington Declaration, Charter of the New Alliance of Virtues for Global Peace.*

³⁵ *Savez vrlina* (ar. *Ḥilf al-fuḍul*) je savez iz sedmog stoljeća u Mekki, u kojem je Muhammed, a.s., osobno sudjelovao prije islama s ciljem uspostave pravde za sve kroz kolektivnu akciju, pa tako i za one koji nisu bili bliski mekkanskim moćnicima. Budući da je Poslanikova uloga u formiranju „*Ḥilf al-fuḍul*“ (*Savez vrlina*) bila od velikog značaja, za koju je Poslanik rekao da bi to isto opet uradio ako bi mu se ponudilo, sklapanje saveza ovakve vrste je u islamu poželjno.

³⁵ The *Alliance of Virtues* (ar. *Ḥilf al-fuḍul*) is a seventh-century alliance in Makkah, in which Muhammad, a.s., personally participated before Islam with the aim of establishing justice for all through collective action, and also for those who were not close to the Meccan power. Since the Prophet's role in forming the "*Ḥilf al-fuḍul*" was of great importance, which the Prophet said he would do the same again if offered, making alliances of this kind is desirable in Islam.



Kao kruna muslimanskog nastojanja da se zaustavi antimuslimanska retoriku u svijetu, ne više samo u medijima, već i u političkim i akademskim krugovima, dolazi do povijesno-praktičnog *dijalektičkog spiritualizma* u Ebu Dabiju početkom prošle godine (od 3. do 5. ferbruara 2019.). Naime, usvajanje i potpisivanje **Deklaracije o ljudskom bratstvu** od strane pape Franje i Šejha Al-Azhara bio je vrhunski događaj u dugom nizu prethodnih međuvjerskih dijaloga i međuduhovne dijalektike između muslimana i kršćana, kao vjerskih zajednica, ali isto tako i između Istoka i Zapada, kao prepoznatljivih civilizacijskih i kulturnih sfera. Susret između el-imamu-l-ekbera, šejhul-Azhara Ahmeda Tajjiba (Aḥmad al-Ṭayyib) i pape Franje je historijski događaj koji će, zasigurno, napraviti značajnu razliku u 21. stoljeću u načinu uspostavljanja odnosa između muslimanskih i kršćanskih zajednica, osobito između katoličke i muslimanske zajednice, širom svijeta, ali će, također, napraviti i značajan pomak između Istoka i Zapada u smislu civilizacijske i kulturne razmjene. Ovdje je jako dobro prihvaćena ideja šejha Abdullaha bin Bejja da muslimanska društva moraju promijeniti svoje stavove o povlačenju iz glavnog toka globalne historije, te otvoriti svoje umove kako bi postali aktivni sudionici globalnog historijskog razvoja, u svim područjima života. Zaista, muslimanska društva moraju preći sa

marginalne pozicije današnje svjetske historije na aktivnog i produktivnog predstavnika svjetske historije, sa misijom mira i sigurnosti, kao svojim ciljem oživljavanja novog duha vremena, oživljavanja novog duha muslimanske nacije, jer zaslužuju, svojim slavnim duhom i svojom plemenitom misijom, da budu među najboljima u poznatoj historiji. Prema tome, Papina posjeta Ebu Dabiju u februaru 2019. godine, nije historijska samo zbog činjenice da je to prva posjeta jednog pape Arapskom poluotoku u historiji, već i stoga što je to prva transcendentalna posjeta u historiji u smislu njene globalne duhovne poruke univerzalnoj zajednici muslimana – *Ummetu*. Formalni domaćin Rimskom biskupu i vrhovnom poglavaru Katoličke crkve bili su država i narod Ujedinjenih Arapskih Emirata, ali mu je religijski domaćin, njegov duhovni partner, bio Šejh Al-Azhara, koji je danas vrhovni autoritet globalnog sunitskog muslimanskog *Ummeta*. Stoga susret dvojice najviših lidera katoličke i muslimanske zajednice u svijetu, u gradu Ebu Dabiju, na Arapskom poluotoku, ima historijski značaj bez presedana. Po prvi put, globalna muslimanska zajednica mogla je osjetiti da ima istinski duhovni i kulturalni glas koji se u njeno ime obraća cijelom svijetu. Ne možemo propusti ovu priliku a da ne naglasimo da nakon papine posjete Ebu Dabiju i konstruktivnog dijaloga između njega i Šejha



As the crown of Muslim efforts to stop anti-Muslim rhetoric in the world, no longer only in media but also in political and academic circles, historical and practical „dialectical spiritualism“ began in Abu Dhabi early last year (3 – 5 February 2019). Indeed, the adoption and signing of the **Declaration of Human Fraternity** by Pope Francis and Shaykh of Al-Azhar was the crowning event in a long series of previous interreligious dialogues and inter-spiritual dialectics between Muslims and Christians as religious communities, as well as between East and West, as recognizable civilizational and cultural spheres. The meeting between the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar Ahmad Al-Tayyib and Pope Francis was a historic event, which will certainly make a significant difference in the 21st century, in the method of establishing relations between Muslim and Christian religious communities, particularly between Catholic and Muslim communities across the world. It will also mark significant progress between East and West in terms of civilizational and cultural exchange. The document embraced Shaykh Abdullah bin Bayyah’s idea that Muslim societies have to change their attitudes toward withdrawing from the mainstream of current affairs and open their minds to become active participants in global historical development in all areas of life. Indeed, Muslim societies must move away from a marginal position in current world events and become active and productive contributors to

world history, with the mission of peace and security as their own goal of reviving the spirit of the Muslim nation of the age. For they deserve, with their famous spirit and noble mission, to be among the best in known history. Thus, the Papal visit to Abu Dhabi on 3 – 5 February 2019 was historic not only due to the fact that it was the first visit in history by a Pope to the Arabian Peninsula, but also because it was the first transcendental visit in history in terms of its global spiritual message to the Universal Community of Muslims – *Ummah*. The state and people of the United Arab Emirates were the formal hosts to the Bishop of Rome and supreme head of Catholic Church, but his religious host was his spiritual partner, Shaykh of Al-Azhar, who is presently the supreme authority of the global Sunni *Muslim Ummah*. Therefore, the meeting of two top leaders of the Catholic and Muslim communities in the world, in the city of Abu Dhabi on the Arabian Peninsula, had unprecedented historic significance. For the first time, the global Muslim community could feel that they have a true spiritual and cultural voice that speaks to the whole world on its behalf. We cannot miss this opportunity to point out that after the Papal visit to Abu Dhabi and the constructive dialogue between him and the Shaykh of Al-Azhar, as two reliable religious symbols of peace and trust, Muslims, particularly those in the West, expect the organization of similar visits by Shaykh of Al-Azhar to crucial Christian countries.

Al-Azhara, kao dva pouzdana religijska simbola mira i povjerenja, muslimani, pogotovo oni na Zapadu, očekuju da se organiziraju slične posjete Šejha Al-Azhara ključnim kršćanskim zemljama. Te posjete mogu početi posjetom Rimu, gdje bi se šejh Al-Azhara dr. Ahmed Tajjib susreo s muslimanima Evrope na nekom velikom stadionu te kršćanima i muslimanima uputio slične poruke mira kao što to papa Franjo čini muslimanima i kršćanima u većinski muslimanskim zemljama na misama, poput mise u Ebu Dabiju na stadionu koji prima oko 40.000 ljudi. U toj mogućnosti vidim najvažniji aspekt papine historijske posjete Arapskom poluotoku, kao i usvajanja *Deklaracije o ljudskom bratstvu*.

Vrijedi povezati ovaj podudarni historijski događaj sa historijskim susretom kršćanina sv. Franje Asiškog³⁶ i muslimanskog sultana Malika Kemala (al-Mālik al-Kamāl)³⁷ u mjestu Damietti u Egiptu prije osam stotina godina (1219 – 2019). Ko je u to vrijeme mogao zamisliti da će njihov susret imati toliki značaj za naše vrijeme? Pa, izgleda da su kršćanin sv. Franjo Asiški i muslimanski sultan Malik Kemal iz Kaira imali takvu imaginaciju. Izgleda da su zamislili nužnost muslimansko-hrišćanskog dijalektičkog spiritualizma prije nego

što je Karl Marks iznio svoju ideju o dijalektičkom materijalizmu. Tačnije govoreći, mi, kao čovječanstvo, danas smo usred natjecanja (ne konflikta, uz dužno poštovanje prema Marksu) duhovnih sila, pri čemu abrahamske/ibrahimovske tradicije (judaizam, hrišćanstvo i islam) stoje na čelu izazovnog globalnog dijalektičkog spiritualizma koji nije uzrokovan materijalnim, već duhovnim potrebama čovječanstva.

Uistinu, što se više sastajemo i razgovaramo, sve više shvatamo da niko od nas ne posjeduje punu istinu, nego da svako od nas posjeduje dovoljno istine da se drži svoje vjere i teži za svojim uspjehom na Ovom i spasenjem na Drugom svijetu. I, što je još važnije, što više razmjenjujemo svoja vjerska iskustva, sve više shvatamo koliko nam je uzajamno potrebno duhovno prosvjetljenje. Ustvari, kad to spoznamo vidimo razlog zbog kojeg nas je Svevišnji Bog stvorio tako da nismo svi JEDNE VJERE, već nas je on, Svevišnji, stvorio tako da pripadamo mnogim vjerama ili religijama kako bismo mogli iskušavati, ispravljati i podržavati jedni druge te međusobno se natjecati u dobrom moralu i dobrim djelima. – *A da je Allah htio učinio bi da svi budete JEDNE VJERE, ali Allah hoće da svakog od vas provjeri pa, stoga, natječite se u dobru...*³⁸

³⁶ Sv. Franjo Asiški rodio se početkom 1182. god. u Asizu, grad u talijanskoj pokrajini Perudi (Perugi), kao sin trgovca Pietra di Bernardonea i Ivane. Majka mu je dala ime Ivan, a otac je tome imenu kasnije dodao Franjo, s kojim je ušao u historiju. U djetinjstvu i ranoj mladosti bio je sklon zabavi, ali i osjećaju prema siromašnim. Vremenom se potpuno okreće brizi za siromašne i nakon što je osnovao i drugi franjevački red – klarise – ili „Siromašne dame od sv. Damjana“, sv. Franjo putuje prema Palestini, zatim prema Španjolskoj i Maroku. Godine 1219. uspijeva doći u Egipat, gdje se sastao s razboritim sultanom Malikom Kemalom. Vidi: *Francis Model for the Spiritual Renewal of the Church*. U: Tolan, John: *Saint Francis and The Sulta: the Curious History of a Christian – Muslim Encounter*. Oxford University Press, London, 2009., str. 19-39.

³⁷ Sultan Malik Kemal (1177 – 1238) bio je četvrti ejubijski sultan Egipta. Poznato je da su Ejjubije u vrijeme njegove vladavine porazile peti križarski pohod. Kod franačkih križara bio je poznat kao Meledin, ime na koje se još uvijek referira u nekim starim zapadnim izvorima. Sultan Malik Kemal je poznat i po svom susretu sa sv. Franjom Asiškim. Vidi: *Ibidem*, str. 40-53.

³⁸ *Kur'an*, 5:48.

These visits can begin with a visit to Rome, where Shaykh of Al-Ahzar Dr. Ahmed Tayyib would meet European Muslims in a large stadium, and deliver to Christians and Muslims messages of peace similar to those Pope Francis delivered at Mass to Muslims and Christians in majority Muslim countries, such as the mass in Abu Dhabi, in a stadium that holds around 40,000 people. It is in this possibility that I see the most important aspect of the Pope's historic visit to the Arabian Peninsula, as well as of the adoption of the *Declaration of Human Fraternity*.

It is worthwhile to relate this event with the coincidental historic event with the historic meeting between the Christian Saint Francis of Assisi³⁶ and the Muslim sultan al-Mālik al-Kamāl³⁷ of Cairo at Damietta in Egypt eight hundred years ago (1219-2019). Who could have imagined at the time that their meeting would have such a great significance for our times? Well, it seems that the Christian Saint Francis of Assisi and the Muslim sultan al-Mālik al-Kamāl of Cairo had such an inkling. It seems, they had conceptualized the necessity of a Muslim-Christian dialectical spiritualism before Karl Marx came up with his idea of dialectical materialism. Precisely, we, as humanity, are today in the midst of the competition (not the conflict, pace to Marx) of

spiritual forces, whereby the Abrahamic traditions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) stand at the front of a challenging global dialectical spiritualism caused not by material, but rather by spiritual needs of humankind.

Indeed, the more we meet and talk with each other, the more we realize that neither one of us possess the whole truth, but each of us possess enough truth to hold fast to his/her faith and to strive for his/her success Here and his/her salvation in the Hereafter. More importantly, the more we articulate and exchange our faith experiences the more we realize how much we are in need of a spiritual enlightenment from each other. Indeed, with such a cognition we can see the reason why God Almighty has made us not to be only ONE FAITH, but He, Almighty, made us to be of many faiths or religions so that we may test each other, correct each other, support each other and compete with each other in good morals and good deeds. – *For had Allah willed, He would have made you ONE FAITH, but He wants to test each one of you so you should compete in good deeds*³⁸. This may be called a dialectical spiritualism and, if you wish, a „spiritual revolution“ of the 21st century.

Thus, when Nedda Alberghini, the president of

³⁶ St. Francis of Assisi was born in early 1182 in Assisi, a city in the Italian province of Perugia, as the son of the merchant Pietro di Bernardone and Ivana. His mother gave him the name Ivan, and his father later added Francis to that name, with whom he made history. In his childhood and early youth he was prone to fun, but also to feeling towards poor people. In time, he completely turned to caring for the poor. After he founded another Franciscan order – klarise – „Poor Ladies of St. Damyan“, St. Francis traveled to Palestine, then to Spain and Morocco. In 1219 he managed to come to Egypt, where he met with the prudent Sultan al-Mālik al-Kamāl. See: *Francis Model for the Spiritual Renewal of the Church*. In: Tolan, John: *Saint Francis and The Sulta: the Curious History of a Christian – Muslim Encounter*. Oxford University Press, London, 2009, pp. 19-39.

³⁷ Sultan al-Mālik al-Kamāl (1177 – 1238) was the fourth Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt. It is known that the Ayyubis defeated the Fifth Crusade during his reign. Among the Frankish crusaders he was known as Meledin, a name still referred to in some old Western sources. Sultan al-Mālik al-Kamāl is also known for his meeting with St. Francis of Assisi. See: *Ibid*, pp. 40-53.

³⁸ *Kur'an*, 5:48.

To možemo nazvati „dijalektičkim spiritualizmom“ i, ako hoćete, „duhovnom revolucijom“ 21. stoljeća.

Zato, kad me je Neda Alberghini (Nedda Alberghini), predsjednica udruženja „Case degli Angeli di Daniele“ (*Kuće anđela Daniela*)³⁹ zamolila da napišem predgovor za njenu pozorišnu operu „Čovjek po imenu Franjo“, bez oklijevanja sam pristao jer me je na to potakao taj historijski susret između Franje Asiškog i egipatskog sultana. Međutim, bilo mi je malo neugodno zbog trenutne situacije u muslimansko-kršćanskim odnosima u nekim dijelovima svijeta. Nemam namjeru da savjetujem kršćane. No, imam dužnost da savjetujem muslimane da treba da budu avangardni međureligijski sugovornici – zapravo, avangardni interkulturalni komunikatori. Muslimani ne nalaze poticaj za taj zadatak samo u Kur'anu Časnom i Sunnetu, Poslanikovoj praksi, već to nalaze i u mnogim historijskim primjerima kao što je ovaj koji je spojio egipatskog sultana i Franju Asiškog. U Kur'anu Časnom čitamo sljedeću Božansku poruku: – *Ima sljedbenika Knjige* [kršćana i jevreja, op. aut.] *koji vjeruju u Boga i u ono što se objavljuje vama i u ono što je objavljeno njima* [Starom i Novom zavjetu, op. aut.]. *Oni su ponizni prema Bogu! Ne zamjenjuju Božije*

*riječi za sitnu dobit. Oni će nagradu od Gospodara svoga dobiti! Bog će zaista brzo računati svjedjeti*⁴⁰!

Među mnogim pozitivnim historijskim primjerima konstruktivnog dijaloga i civilizacijske suradnje između muslimana i kršćana, ovdje bih želio istaći gostoprимljivost etiopijskog kralja Armaha Neguša⁴¹, koji je u sedmom stoljeću ponudio utočište prvim muslimanskim *muhādžirima*, prognanicima, koji su morali pobjeći od proganjanja mekanskih pagana. Muslimani nikad nisu zaboravili taj plemeniti Negušov gest u ime hrišćanstva. Ustvari, prethodno citirani *ajet – ājetun* Kur'ana naveden je kao podsjetnik na dobrotu hrišćanina Neguša kada su neki muslimani loše postupali prema hrišćanima u Medini. Slično tome, savjesni hrišćani uvijek se sjećaju plemenitog gesta muslimanskog časnog Emira Abdulkadira Džezairija (Abdalqadir Al-Jazāiri)⁴², koji je 1860. godine u Damasku u svom domu pružio utočište hrišćanima, nakon što su neki muslimani napali hrišćansku četvrt i ubili preko 3.000 hrišćanskih civila. Emir Abdulkadir Džezairij je u sigurnosti svog doma zaštitio veliki broj hrišćana, uključujući nekolicinu stranih konzula i hrišćanskih zajednica kao što su „Milosrdne sestre“. Abdulkadirovi najstariji sinovi poslani su na ulice

³⁹ Vidi, Mustafa Cerić: *A Dialectical Spiritualism of Assisi & Cairo – Past & Present*. U: Nedda Alberghini: *Un uomo chiamato Francesco*, Editore Youcanprint, 2019. str. 122-124.

⁴⁰ *Kur'an*, 3:199.

⁴¹ Neguš (*nigūs*, kralj) je titula za etiopijskog kralja. Kralj Armah (614 – 631), koji je u muslimanskim izvorima poznat kao Al-Nadžāšī, bio je vladar Kraljevstva Aksum, koje je počelo koristiti ime Etiopija već u 4. stoljeću. Kaže se da je on ili njegov otac ugostio prve muslimane, muhadžire, iz Mekke 615./616. u Aksumu. Zbog te njegove dobre volje prema muslimanima, prenosi se da mu je Poslanik Muhammed, a.s., klanjao džezazu u odsutnosti.

⁴² 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Mustafā al-Ḥasanī al-Jazā'irī, (1808 – 1883) emir Maskara (od 1832), vojni i religijski vođa, koji je utemeljio alžirsku državu i vodio Alžirce u devetnaestom stoljeću u borbi protiv francuske dominacije (1840 – 46) pred kojom se Osmanska carevina, tj. Visoka porta (ar. *Bāb-i 'āli*), povlačila. Vidi: Bouyerdene, Ahmed, *Emir Abd el-Kader – Hero and Saint of Islam*. World Wisdom. Inc., 2012.; Marston, Elsa, *The Compassionate Warrior Abd El-Kader of Algeria*. Wisdom Tales, 2013.

Zanimljivo je primjetiti da je gotovo u isto vrijeme Husein-kapetan Gradašćević (1802 – 1834), poznatiji kao Zmaj od Bosne, poveo borbu za bošnjačku nacionalnu i bosansku državnu autonomiju u Bosni, koja je, nažalost, neuspješno završila.

„Case degli Angeli Association“ mailed me to write a preface her theatrical opera: *A man called Francis*, I was not hesitant to reply, but rather moved by this historic meeting between St. Francis and the Sultan of Egypt³⁹. However, I felt somewhat embarrassed by the current situation of the Muslim-Christian relations in some part of the world. I have no intention to advise the Christians. But, I have the duty to advise the Muslims that they should be the avant-garde interfaith interlocutors – indeed, the avant-garde intercultural communicators. The Muslims do not find the stimulus for such a task at this time only in the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah, the Prophetic practice, but also they can find that in many historical experiences such as this one of the Sultan of Egypt and St. Francis. In the Holy Qur'an we read this noble statement: – *Certainly among the people of the Book* [Christians and Jews, author's note] *are those who believe in God and in what has been revealed to you and what had been revealed to them* [Old Testament and New Testament, author's note]. *They bow in humility before God as well! And they do not trade for paltry gain the word of God. Their reward is verily with their Lord! And swift is the reckoning of God*⁴⁰!

Among many positive historical examples of

the Muslim-Christian constructive dialogue and civilizational cooperation, I would like to highlight here the hospitality of the ancient Ethiopian Negus, the King, Arabic Al-Najāshī⁴¹, who had offered in the seventh century a safe haven to the first Muslim refugees, who had to flee from the persecution of the Mekkan heathens. The Muslims never forget this noble gesture of Negus on behalf of Christianity. In fact, the above quoted verse of the Qur'an was revealed as a reminder of the goodness of the Christian Negus after some Muslims mistreated some Christians in Medina. Similarly, the conscious Christians always remember the noble gesture of the Muslim Noble Prince Abdalqadir Al-Jazāiri⁴², who made his home a safe haven for the Christians in Damascus in 1860, when some disgruntled local Muslims attacked the Christian quarter, killing over 3.000 innocent civilians. Emir Abdalqadir Al-Jazāiri sheltered large numbers of Christians, including the heads of several foreign consulates as well as religious groups such as the Sisters of Mercy in the safety of his house. His eldest sons were sent into the streets to offer any Christian under threat shelter under his protection, and Emir Abdalqadir personally was said by many survivors to have

³⁹ See: Mustafa Cerić: *A Dialectical Spiritualism of Assisi & Cairo – Past & Present*. In: Nedda Alberghini: *Un uomo chiamato Francesco*. Editore Youcanprint, 2019, pp. 122-124.

⁴⁰ *Qur'an*, 3:199.

⁴¹ Negus (*nigūs*, king) is the title for the Ethiopian king. King Armah (614 – 631), known in Muslim sources as Al-Najāshī, was the ruler of the Aksum Kingdom, which began to use the name Ethiopia as early as the 4th century. He or his father is said to have hosted the first Muslim refugees, the Muhājirīn, from Makkah 615/616 in Aksum. Because of his goodwill towards Muslims, it is reported that Prophet Muhammad, a.s., prayed *Janāzah* in absentia for his soul.

⁴² Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Mustafā al-Ḥasanī al-Jazā'irī, (1808 – 1883) Emir Mascara (from 1832), was military and religious leader, who founded the Algerian state and led the Algerians in the nineteenth century against French domination (1840 – 46) in the wake of the Ottoman power seceding at the High Port (ar. *Bāb-i 'āli*). See: Bouyerdene, Ahmed: *Emir Abd el-Kader – Hero and Saint of Islam*. World Wisdom. Inc., 2012; Marston, Elsa: *The Compassionate Warrior Abd El-Kader of Algeria*. Wisdom Tales, 2013.

It is interesting to note that almost at the same time Husain-Captain Gradašćević (1802 – 1834), better known as the Dragon of Bosnia, led the fight for the Bosniak-national and Bosnian state autonomy in Bosnia, which, unfortunately, ended in failure.

da ponude svakom hrišćaninu kome prijeti opasnost utočište pod njegovom zaštitom, a mnogi preživjeli posvjedočili su da je Emir Abdulkadir lično odigrao značajnu ulogu u njihovom spašavanju.

Šta je motivisalo kršćanina, plemenitog Neguša od Etiopije da poštedi prve muslimane od progona i šta je potaknulo muslimanskog časnog Emira Abdulkadira da se pobrine za hrišćane među muslimanskom većinom u Damasku? Neguš nije čitao knjigu Tomasa Kempisa⁴³ (Thomas À

Kempis), *Imitacija Krista*, ali je sigurno u srcu i duši imao Kempisovu ideju o oponašanju Isa, a.s., u preziranju svih poroka na zemlji na način kao što je Isa, a.s., govorio da: – *Onaj koji me slijedi, ne hoda u tami*.⁴⁴ I siguran sam, isto tako, da je muslimanski Emir Abdulkadir poznao duh poruke islama koja ga je potakla da se pobrine za hrišćane u Damasku tako što je slijedio kur'anske riječi da – *Ako Allaha volite, mene [Poslanika, op. aut.] slijedite ... I vas će Allah voljeti*⁴⁵.

played an instrumental part in saving them.

What motivated the noble Christian Negus of Ethiopia to spare the first Muslims from persecutions and what moved the noble Muslim Prince Abdalqadir to take care of Christians among the Muslim majority in Damascus? The Negus had not read the book of Thomas À Kempis⁴³ *The Imitation of Christ*, but he, for sure, had had in his mind and his heart the Kemps' idea of imitating Christ and despising all vanities on earth: *He who follows Me, walks not in*

*darkness*⁴⁴. I am sure as well that the Muslim Prince Abdalqadir was aware of the spirit of the message of Islam that moved him to take care of Christians in Damascus: *If you love God, imitate me [the Prophet, author's note]... God will love you*⁴⁵.



ILUSTRACIJA - Šejh Ahmed Tajjib, el-imamu-l-ekber šejhul-Al-Azhar, pozdravlja papu Franju, nakon što su potpisali dokumente tokom njihovog sastanka o 'Ljudskom bratstvu' u Abu Dabiju.

ILLUSTRATION - Sheikh-Al-Azhar Ahmad al-Ṭayyib, the grand imam (al-imamu-l-akbar) greets Pope Francis, after signing the documents during their 'Human Fraternity' Meeting in Abu Dhabi.

⁴³ Thomas À Kempis, pravo ime Thomas Hemerken (1379 – 1471), bio je kršćanski teolog porijeklom iz Nizozemske, autor *Imitacije Krista*, pobožne knjige, koja je pored Biblije bila najuticajnije djelo u kršćanskoj literaturi. Vidi: Thomas À Kempis: *The Imitation of Christ*. Vintage, 1998.

⁴⁴ *Novi zavjet – Evanđelje po Ivanu*. Iv 8, 12.

⁴⁵ *Kur'an*, 3:31.

⁴³ Thomas À Kempis, real name Thomas Hemerken (1379 – 1471) was a Christian theologian originally from the Netherlands, author of *The Imitation of Christ*, a pious book, which, in addition to the Bible, was the most influential work in Christian literature. See: Thomas À Kempis: *The Imitation of Christ*. Vintage, 1998.

⁴⁴ See: *New Testament – The Gospel of John* 8, 12.

⁴⁵ *Qur'an*, 3: 31.



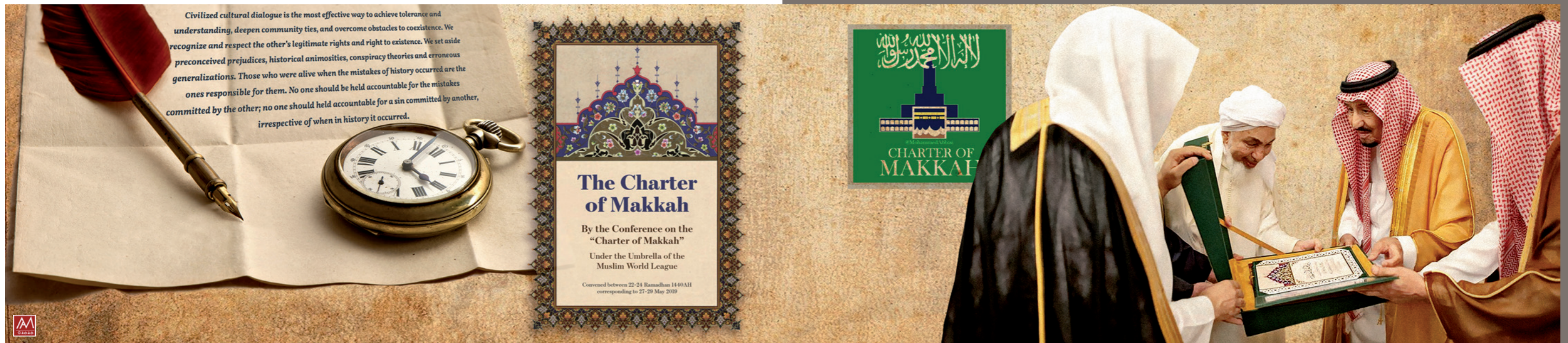
I kao što se nekad govorilo da *svi putevi vode u Rim*, danas se može reći da *svi putevi vode u Mekku*, pa tako i put *dijalektičkog spiritualizma*; i kao što se kaže da je *Medinska povelja* (622.) u prošlosti bila inicijativni poticaj za toleranciju i suživot u pluralnom društvu, tako isto može se danas reći da je *Mekkanska povelja* (2019.) sublimacija svih dosadašnjih historijskih deklaracija i povelja, koje potvrđuju osnovnu ideju *Medinske povelje* o nužnosti mira i sigurnosti za održivost multireligijskog i multikulturalnog globalnog svijeta. Ideja o sukobu civilizacija je neodrživa zato što ovaj svijet Bog Svevišnji nije stvorio radi trenutnog uništenja (*al-fanā'*), već ga je svorio radi kontinuiranog trajanja

(*al-baqā'*) Božijom neizmjernom milošću. Stoga, čin donošenja *Mekanske povelje* u Mekki iz maja 2019. godine u prisustvu velikog broja muftija iz cijeloga svijeta na čelu s generalnim sekretarom Svjetske muslimanske lige (Rabite) dr. Muhammadom b. Abdulkerimom El-Isaom (Muḥammad b. Abdu-l-karīm Al-'Isā) predstavlja historijski događaj od prevelike važnosti ne samo za unutar muslimanske odnose, već i za odnose muslimana na globalnoj razini. U ovoj *Mekkanskoj povelji* iskazan je veliki stupanj tolerancije i razumijevanja prema različitim vjerskim učenjima, nacionalnim pripadnostima i kulturnim tradicijama.⁴⁶



In the same way as it was said in the past that *all roads lead to Rome*, we can say today that *all roads lead to Mecca*. Also, as the *Medina Charter* in the past was said to have been an initial drive for tolerance and peaceful coexistence in a pluralistic society, we can say today that the *Mecca Charter* (2019) was a great summary of all previous historic documents and charters that confirm the basic idea of the *Medina Charter* of the necessary foundation stone of peace and security for the construction, maintenance and promotion of a multi-religious and multicultural global world. The idea of clash of civilizations is dismissed on the grounds that God Almighty did not create this world for an annihilation (*al-fanā'*),

but it was created for a continuation (*al-baqā'*) by God's everlasting grace. Hence, the act of issuing the *Mecca Charter* in Mecca in May 2019 in the presence of a great number of Muftis from all over the world headed by the Secretary General of the Muslim World League Dr. Muḥammad b. Abdulkarīm Al-'Isa represents a historic event of a great importance not only in regard to the inter-Muslim relationship, but also in regard to the relationship with the whole world. In this *Mecca Charter* it has been expressed a great level of tolerance and understanding toward different religious teaching, national belonging and cultural traditions⁴⁶.



ILUSTRACIJA - 'Mekanska povelja' za uspostavljanje vrijednosti suživota i odbacivanje mržnje. Dr. Muhammad b. Abdulkerim El-Isa zajedno s šejhom Abdullahom bin Bejjom predaje Mekkansku povelju kralju Saudi.

ILLUSTRATION - 'Meccan Charter' to establish values of co-existence and reject hatred. Dr. Muḥammad b. Abdu-l-karīm Al-'Isā together with Sheikh Abdullah bin Bayyah hands over the Meccan Charter to King Saud.

⁴⁶ Vidi arapski tekst *Mekkanske povelje*. Dostupno na: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=2ahUKewiklpyjIrpAhVDxIsKHdnRAqAQFjAEegQIBBAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.docdroid.net%2FdUZRvUj%2Fothyk-mk-almkrm.pdf&usg=AOvVaw1Wz-p97atC_Zh0zhGsCBo;
Vidi i engleski tekst: Dostupno na: <https://www.saudiembassy.net/sites/default/files/Charter%20of%20Makkah-%20Unofficial%20Translation.pdf>. Pristupljeno 04. maja 2020.

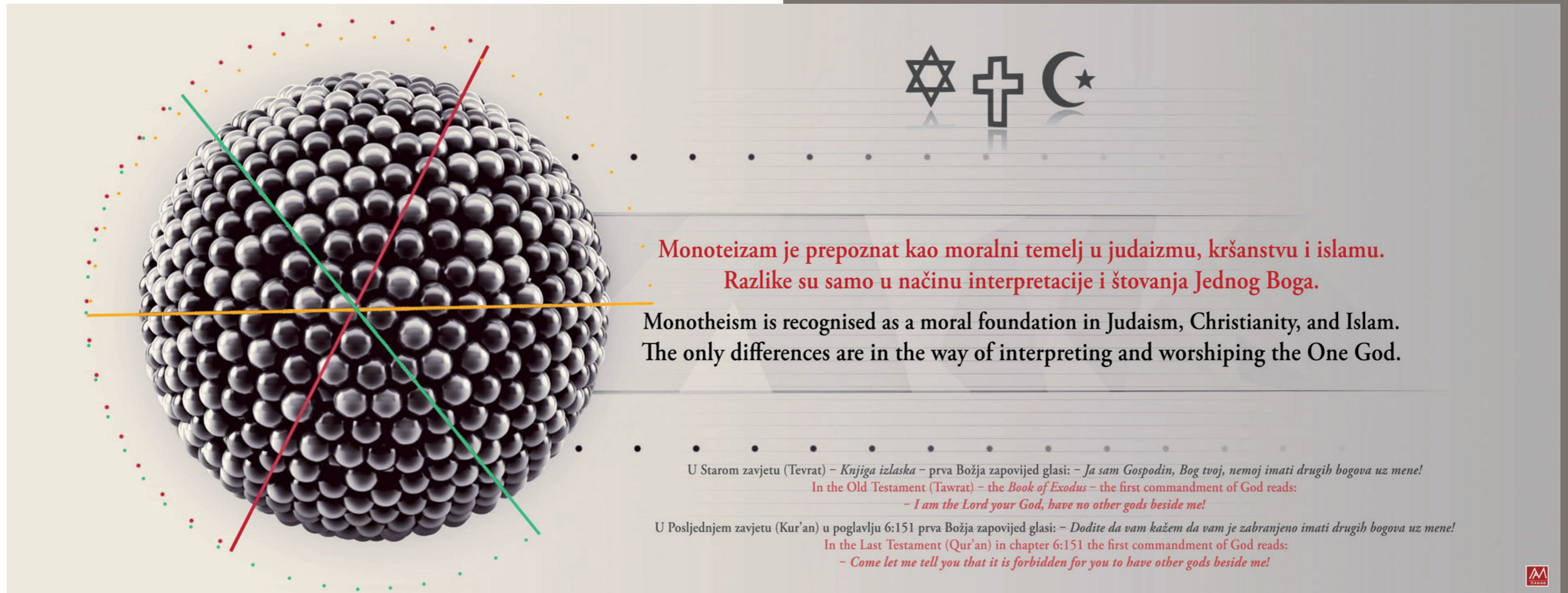
⁴⁶ Tee Arabic text of *Mecca Charter* available at this link: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=2ahUKEwiklpyjIrpAhVDxIsKHdnRAqAQFjAEegQIBBAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.docdroid.net%2FdUZRvUj%2Fothyk-mk-almkrm.pdf&usg=AOvVaw1Wz-p97atC_Zh0zhGsCBo. Checked on May 4, 2020;
See English text available at this link: <https://www.saudiembassy.net/sites/default/files/Charter%20of%20Makkah-%20Unofficial%20Translation.pdf>. Checked on May 4, 2020.

Zaključak

danas je čovječanstvo kao cjelina u velikoj krizi. Zbog toga, čovječanstvo mora djelovati mudro i na vrijeme kako bi se izbjegao konflikt poput epohalnih svjetskih ratova u dvadesetom stoljeću. A da bi se to ostvarilo, čovječanstvo se mora sresti sa svojim *Zeitgeist*-om, *Duhom vremena*, a to je *Duh mira*, kojeg je moguće prepoznati u slovu i duhu historijskih povelja i deklaracija u prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Stoga, svi ljudi i narodi svijeta moraju se okupiti kako bi dijelili svoj talent, posebno ljudi i narodi vjere jer bez mira među svjetskim vjerama, neće biti mira i među nacijama.

Conclusion

today, humanity as a whole is in a great crisis. Therefore, it needs to act wisely and in a timely way to avoid a large conflict such as the two epochal world wars of the the 20th century. In order to do so, humanity needs to meet its *Zeitgeist*, its *Spirit of the Age*, that is, the *Spirit of Peace* that can be found in the letter and tone of historic charters and declarations in the past and in the present. Global peace and security are axiomatic to the very existence of humanity. There is no alternative. Therefore, all people and nations must come together for the sake of sharing their common talents, especially the common talents of the people and nations of faith. Because without peace among the world religions, there cannot be peace among nations.



**Monoteizam je prepoznat kao moralni temelj u judaizmu, kršanstvu i islamu.
Razlike su samo u načinu interpretacije i štovanja Jednog Boga.**

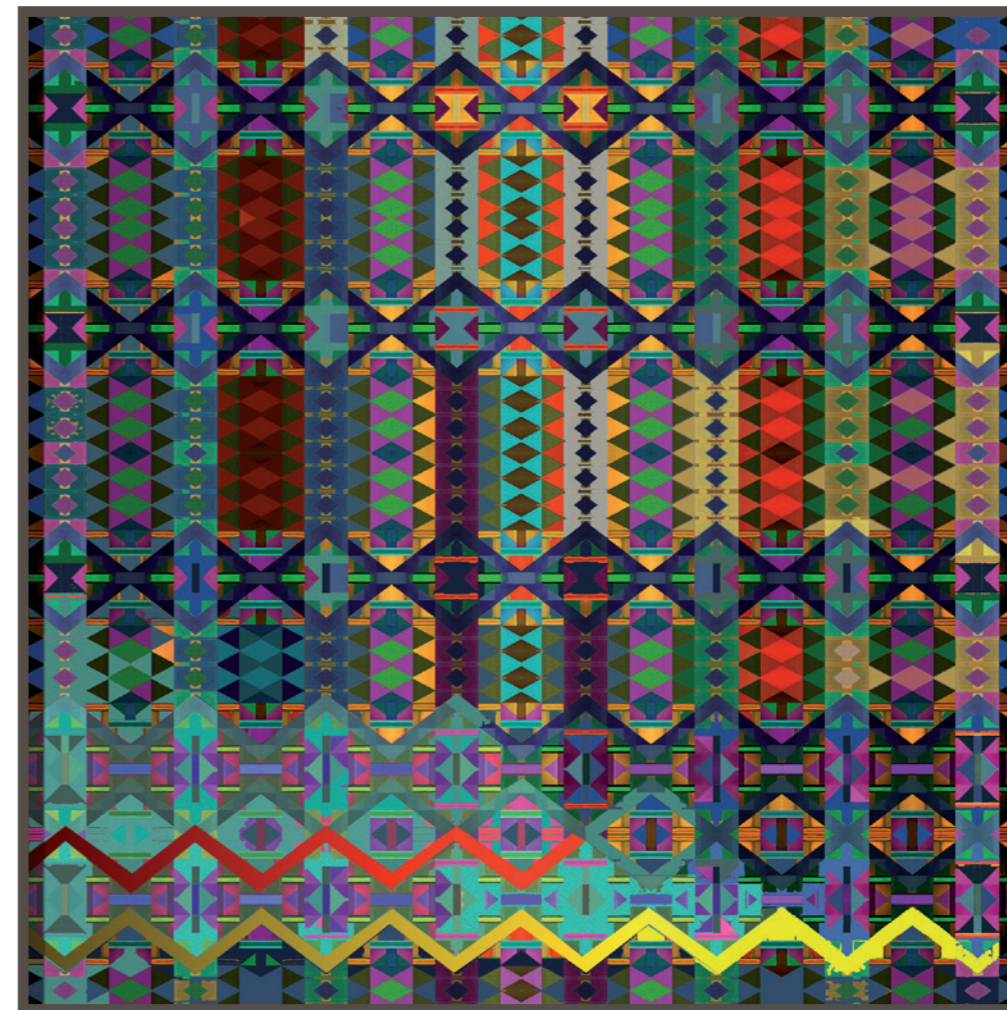
**Monotheism is recognised as a moral foundation in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.
The only differences are in the way of interpreting and worshipping the One God.**

U Starom zavjetu (Tevrat) – *Knjiga izlaska* – prva Božja zapovijed glasi: – *Ja sam Gospodin, Bog tvoj, nemoj imati drugih bogova uz mene!*
In the Old Testament (Tawrat) – the *Book of Exodus* – the first commandment of God reads:
– *I am the Lord your God, have no other gods beside me!*

U Posljednjem zavjetu (Kur'an) u poglavlju 6:151 prva Božja zapovijed glasi: – *Dodite da vam kažem da vam je zabranjeno imati drugih bogova uz mene!*
In the Last Testament (Qur'an) in chapter 6:151 the first commandment of God reads:
– *Come let me tell you that it is forbidden for you to have other gods beside me!*

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ILUSTRACIJA - Ahmad Sayri, *Detail - Qur'an*; Perzija, Safavidski period, 1598. godine.

ILLUSTRATION - Ahmad Sayri, *Detail - Qur'an*; Persia, Safavid period, 1598.

Ekrem TUCAKOVIĆ

SINTETIČKO I KONTEKSTUALNO IZUČAVANJU ISLAMA U OBRAZOVNIM USTANOVAMA ISLAMSKE ZAJEDNICE

SYNTHETIC AND CONTEXTUAL STUDIES OF ISLAM IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE ISLAMIC COMMUNITY

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Sažetak

Obrazovne ustanove Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini imaju dugu tradiciju obrazovanja o islamu koja je nastajala i razvijala se u različitim državnopravnim okvirima i kulturnim kontekstima. U vrijeme intenzivnih rasprava o muslimanskom prisustvu u Evropi i debatama o rješavanju muslimanskog pitanja, modelima obrazovanja imama i muslimanskih autoriteta, obrazovne ustanove Islamske zajednice imaju priliku ponuditi vlastiti koncept islamskog obrazovanja utemeljen na sintetičkom i kontekstualnom izučavanju islama. Sintezom ukupne islamske intelektualne tradicije ponovo će se u islamskim izvorima i tradiciji otkriti autentičan potencijal islamske poruke koji može u savremenom bosanskom i evropskom kontekstu biti ravnopravan i kredibilan sagovornik. S druge strane, islamsko obrazovanje za rad u evropskom kontekstu neminovno, ako hoće biti relevantno, mora staviti u fokus proučavanja ključna pitanja evropskog ambijenta i nuditi na njega zadovoljavajuće odgovore. Poznato je iz kur'anskog teksta da kontekst čak provocira i direktnu Božiju reakciju i intervenciju. U tefsirskoj nauci nalaze se poglavlja o povodima objavljivanja određenih kur'anskih ajeta i sura. Božija objava ne ignorira kontekst, štaviše pokazuje njegovu veliku važnost. Također, muslimanska intelektualna tradicija baštini praksu primjene vjere u kontekstu. Muslimanski obrazovni sistem već dugo ima neodložnu potrebu da obrazuje i profilira ulemu konteksta, znalce koji uz vjerska znanja posjeduju autoritativno znanje konteksta. U tom pogledu obrazovne ustanove Islamske zajednice trebaju ponuditi vlastiti model utemeljen na svome iskustvu, autentičnom razumijevanju islama i islamske intelektualne tradicije, jer takav model im ne može ponuditi Evropa. Ovaj rad pledira na razvijanje koncepta koji će umjesto pasivnog *prilagođavanja islamskog mišljenja i islama Evropi* i iščekivanja evropskih instrukcija biti proaktivni rezultat bosanske muslimanske intelektualne samosvijesti i univerzalne odgovornosti za čovječanstvo. Iz dosadašnje paradigme *prilagođavanja* potrebno je preći u novu fazu, paradigmu *afirmacije i priznavanja*.

Ključne riječi: *obrazovanje, islamsko obrazovanje, obrazovne ustanove Islamske zajednice, sinteza, sintetički pristup, kontekst, evropski kontekst, ulema-konteksta.*

Abstract

The educational institutions of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina have a long tradition of training in Islam that emerged and developed in different frameworks of public law and different cultural contexts. In the course of intensive discussions on the presence of Muslims in Europe and debates on solving the Muslim issue, and on models of educating imams and Muslim authorities, educational institutions of the Islamic Community have the opportunity to offer their own concept of Islamic education based on synthetic and contextual studies in Islam. The synthesis of the entire Islamic intellectual tradition will re-discover the authentic potential of the Islamic message in Islamic sources and tradition, a potential which may be an equal and credible partner in the contemporary Bosnian and European context. On the other hand, if it aspires to be relevant, to work in the European context Islamic education must inevitably focus on studying crucial issues of the European environment and offer satisfactory answers. The text of the Qur'an makes it known that context provokes even God's direct response and intervention. Tafsir exegesis science includes chapters on the motives for publicizing certain Qur'an ayahs chapters and surahs sentences. The Divine Revelation does not ignore context; rather, it shows its great importance. Besides, Muslim intellectual tradition inherited the practice of applying religion in context. The Muslim educational system has long felt a pressing need to educate and profile the context-'*ulamā'* (scholar), experts who have both religious knowledge and the authoritative knowledge of context. In this respect, educational institutions of the Islamic Community should offer their own model based on their experience and authentic understanding of Islam and Islamic intellectual tradition, since such a model cannot be offered by Europe. This paper argues for the development of a concept which will be a proactive result of Bosnian Muslim intellectual self-awareness and universal responsibility for mankind, rather than being a passive *adjustment of Islamic thinking and Islam to Europe*, waiting for European instructions. In the shift from the present paradigm of *adjustment* to a new stage, the paradigm of *promotion and recognition* is necessary.

Key words: *education, Islamic education - training, educational institutions of the Islamic Community, synthesis, synthetic approach, context, European context, context-'ulamā' (scholar).*

Izazovi islamskog obrazovanja

Obrazovanje o islamu u ustanovama Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovni, koje ima dugu tradiciju u različitim historijskim i državnopravnim okvirima i značajna postignuća, u posljednje stoljeće i po odvija se u širem evropskom kontekstu od kojeg je ono danas neodvojivo, jer u njemu Bošnjaci muslimani i država Bosna i Hercegovina egzistiraju i žive evropsku političku, društvenu i kulturnu stvarnost ne samo po svojoj geografskoj determiniranosti. Muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini, kao dio kulturnog i političkog evropskog prostora, primarno su zainteresirani za koncept islamskog obrazovanja koji može autentično artikulirati sadržaj u kojem se muslimanski identitet izvorno razvija kao univerzalni model smisla i nade za čovječanstvo. Danas je to, čini se, suštinski i ključni izazov za muslimane i njihove institucije a kvalitetan odgovor osposobio bi ih da se etabliraju kao savremena zajednica koja može potencijal islama i Božije objave pretvarati u adekvatna rješenja za potrebe današnjeg čovjeka bez obzira na njegov svjetonazor. Temeljne potrebe svakog čovjeka su identične: od pronalaženja životnog smisla do ostvarenja društvene harmonije i pravde a svjetonazor koji to može ponuditi ima perspektivnu budućnost.

S druge strane, koncept islamskog obrazovanja postaje sve značajnije pitanje savremenog evropskog diskursa o islamu i muslimanima sa značajnim izgledom da dugoročno ostane jedno od bitnih društvenih i obrazovnih pitanja u pojedinim evropskim državama. Činjenica da milioni muslimanskih zajednica iz azijskih i afričkih država, potomci nekadašnjih doseljenika, trajno ostaju građani evropskih država, veliki migracijski pokreti prema Evropi te permanentna potreba evropskih ekonomija za uvozom radne snage, samo su neki od važnih faktora koji realnost značajnog muslimanskog prisustva čine neizbježnom i u onim zemljama u kojima ih ranije uopće nije bilo, akamoli da su činili autohtonu zajednicu – kao što je to slučaj sa muslimanima Balkana. Za posljedicu to ima nužnost rješavanja specifičnih pitanja i potreba muslimanskih zajednica u Evropi.

Challenges of Islamic Education - Training

Over the last century and a half, education in Islam in the institutions of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has a long tradition in different historical, state and legal frameworks and significant achievements, has been proceeding in a broader European context and has become inseparable from it, since it is where Bosniaks-Muslims and the Bosnia state exist and live their European political, social and cultural reality – and not only due to their geographic position. As part of the cultural and political European space, Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina are primarily interested in a concept of Islamic education that can authentically articulate the content in which the Muslim identity does this mean in a unique way, or initially develops as a universal model of meaning and hope for humanity. At present, this seems to be the essential and crucial challenge for Muslims and their institutions, and a high caliber response would allow them to establish themselves as a contemporary community that can transform the potential of Islam and the Divine Revelation into appropriate solutions for the needs of contemporary man, regardless of his worldview. Each person's basic needs are identical: from finding the meaning of life to achieving social harmony and justice, and a worldview that can provide them has a promising future.

On the other hand, the concept of Islamic education is becoming an increasingly significant issue of the contemporary European discourse on Islam and Muslims, with a significant prospect of remaining one of the essential social and educational issues in some European countries in the long term. The fact that millions of Muslim communities from Asian and African countries, descendants of former immigrants, remain permanent citizens of European countries, as well as the large migration movements toward Europe and the permanent need of European economies for the import of labor are some of the important factors which make the reality of a significant Muslim presence inevitable even in countries where there used to be no Muslims, let alone autochthonous communities as is the case with Balkan Muslims. This has resulted in the necessity of resolving the distinctive issues and needs of Muslim communities in Europe.



ILUSTRACIJA - Rekonstrukcija urađena na temelju izvora: Nicola Forcella, *Nastava Kur'ana u mektebu*, oko 1850.

ILLUSTRATION - Reconstruction done on the basis of the source from: Nicola Forcella, *Teaching the Qur'an in Maktab*, c. 1850.

Jedno od tih specifičnih pitanja i potreba evropske muslimanske populacije jeste organizacija vjerskog života i uspostavljanje adekvatnog koncepta obrazovanja imama i vjerskih autoriteta osposobljenih da u novoj društvenoj stvarnosti budu autentični tumači muslimanskih duhovnih potreba u zdravoj korelaciji s raznolikim društvenim okruženjem i unutar potpuno nove kulturne podloge i tradicije.¹ Primjera radi, muslimanski vjeroučitelji u evropskim javnim školama – pravo na vjeronauku je dostupno muslimanima u većini evropskih država – pored islamskog obrazovanja nužno moraju vladati i specifičnim obrazovnim standardima nacionalnih država po kojima se izvodi nastava iz ostalih predmeta. Školski sistem teži usklađivanju i ujednačavanju nastavnih standarda što se, dakako, odnosi i na islamsku vjeronauku. S druge strane, obrazovni sistem je od krucijalnog državnog značaja i svaka država je snažno zainteresirana za kreiranje svojih obrazovnih konceptata i politika. Kroz obrazovanje se prenose zajedničke vrijednosti, svjetonazor, kultura i identitet naroda, a ne samo znanje i znanstveno naslijeđe. Stoga država ne može ostati ravnodušna prema obrazovnim procesima, posebno u onim segmentima u kojima se kreira podloga za društvenu koheziju ili suštinski definiraju odnosi u zajednici. Posmatrajući iz te perspektive pitanje obrazovanja imama, vjeroučitelja ili organizacija vjerskih poslova ne tiče se samo muslimana, nego i nacionalnih država i društva općenito. Ukoliko muslimani žele biti aktivni sudionik evropskih društava a svoja specifična pitanja isticati kao pitanja od javnog značaja i sudjelovati u kreiranju javnih institucija sa prepoznatim vlastitim vrijednostima, po nužnosti zakona spojenih posuda država i društvo na neki način reagirat će ili iskazivati interes za njihove zahtjeve te se određivati prema njihovoj participaciji u javnom životu i mogućoj transformaciji vlastite društvene i kulturne supstance. „Upravo putem obrazovanja jedna nacija, društvo ili civilizacija svjesno predaje stečene vještine, znanje i mudrost iz ruku prethodnih u ruke budućih naraštaja. Obrazovanje ne čuva samo kulturni identitet i historijsko naslijeđe, već osigurava opstanak zasebne cjeline. Obrazovanje izgrađuje pogled na svijet unutar kojeg jedno društvo nastoji rješavati svoje probleme, ocrtava njegove društvene odnose i ekonomsku aktivnost, daje smisao vlastitog postojanja, pomjera granice znanja, a društvo tako nastavlja živjeti kao zasebna cjelina.“²

Za muslimane su izazovne i podsticajne aktuelne evropske rasprave o sposobnosti muslimana da u vlastitom identitetu izgrade ili zadobiju obostrano prihvatljivu poziciju u evropskom kulturnom prostoru, diskusije o muslimanskoj kulturnoj adaptabilnosti i političkim implikacijama muslimanskog prisustva, što se često završava u raspravama o sigurnosti evropskih društava i opasnostima po zapadnjački kulturni identitet. Premda se jedan aspekt ovih rasprava tiče kvaliteta i konkurentnosti

¹ Vidjeti: Ceric, Mustafa, *History of the Institutionalized Training of Imams in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. U: Willem B. Drees and Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, et al.: *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe: Academic and Religious Freedom in the 21st Century*. Leiden University Press, 2008., str. 277-299.

² Ziauddin Sardar, Jeremy Henzell-Thomas, *Preispitivanje reforme u visokom obrazovanju: od islamizacije ka integraciji*; Sarajevo: Centar za napredne studije, 2019, str. 104.

One of these distinctive issues and needs of the European Muslim population is the organization of religious life and the establishment of an appropriate concept of educating training imams and religious authorities who will have the capacity, in the new social reality, to be authentic interpreters of Muslim spiritual needs in sound correlation with diverse social environments and within an entirely new cultural base and tradition.¹ For instance, teachers of the Muslim religion in European public schools – the right to religious education is available to Muslims in most European countries – have to master both Islamic education and the distinctive educational standards of the respective countries according to which the classes in other subjects are delivered. School systems tend to harmonize and align teaching standards and that certainly pertains to Islamic religious education as well. On the other hand, educational systems are of crucial national significance and every country is keen to develop its own educational concepts and policies. Education conveys not only knowledge and scientific heritage but also common values, a worldview, and a nation's culture and identity. Consequently, the state cannot remain indifferent to educational processes, particularly in the components that create a basis for social cohesion or essentially define relations in the community. When viewed from this perspective, the issue of educating imams and religious teachers or organizing religious affairs concerns not only Muslims but also national states and society in general. If Muslims want to be active participants in European societies, if they want to highlight their distinctive issues as those of public significance and participate in establishing public institutions with recognized values of their own, by the necessity of the law of interconnected vessels, the state and society will respond in one way or another or express interest in their requests and define their position toward their participation in public life and possible transformation of their own social and cultural substance. „It is through education that a nation, a society or a civilization consciously passes on the accumulated skills, knowledge and wisdom of the past to future generations. Education not only preserves the cultural identity and historical legacy of the society but ensures its survival as a distinct entity. It furnishes a worldview within which the society seeks to solve its problems, delineates its social relations and economic activity, makes sense of itself, pushes the frontiers of knowledge, and continues as a living entity.“² Muslims find challenge and encouragement in current European discussions of Muslims' ability to build or achieve, in their own identity, a mutually acceptable position in the European cultural space, as well as in discussions of Muslim cultural adaptability and the political implications of the Muslim presence, which often end in discussions of the security of European societies and threats to Western cultural identity. Although one aspect of these discussions pertains to the quality and competitiveness of Muslim education in general, and the values that shape the Muslim worldview and mindset through this education, they still,

¹ See: Ceric, Mustafa, *History of the Institutionalized Training of Imams in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. In Willem B. Drees and Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld, et al.: *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe: Academic and Religious Freedom in the 21st Century*. Leiden University Press, 2008, pp. 277-299.

² Ziauddin Sardar, Jeremy Henzell-Thomas, *Rethinking Reform in Higher Education: From Islamization to Integration of Knowledge*; Herndon, VA: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2017, p. 87.

muslimanskog obrazovanja uopće i vrijednosti koje kroz obrazovanje formiraju muslimanski svjetonazor i mentalitet, ipak na specifičan način one stavljaju pod lupu vjersko obrazovanje te kontekstualno proučavanje i interpretaciju islama u zapadnoj obrazovnoj i kulturnoj tradiciji. U fokus se ovdje stavlja sistem obrazovanja o islamu koji može ponuditi savremenu perspektivu proučavanja islama i obrazovanja muslimana, posebno njihovih vjerskih autoriteta, za rad u svjetonazorskoj i ideološkoj pluralnosti i multikulturnom okruženju u kojem muslimanske vrijednosti ranije nisu imale značajniju ili skoro nikakvu formativnu ulogu.³

Obrazovne ustanove Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini obrazuju vjerski kadar za rad u evropskom kulturnom i vrijedonosnom prostoru, iako Bosna i Hercegovina još nije članica Evropske unije, ali ima ambiciju da to postane. Čak iako još uvijek svijest u obrazovnim ustanovama o tome nije snažno naglašena ili nastavni plan i program u tom pravcu definiran, tu realnost nije moguće ignorirati. Više stotina svršnika obrazovnih ustanova Islamske zajednice već aktivno djeluje u evropskim i američkim muslimanskim zajednicama – *džematima*; evropske potrebe su velike i već je iskazivan interes nekih evropskih država prema iskustvima i modelima bosanskih islamskih obrazovnih ustanova. U današnjem vremenu i okolnostima ispravan i najbolji bosanski, a ujedno i evropski muslimanski odgovor na izazove islamskog obrazovanja jeste razvijanje islamskog obrazovnog koncepta utemeljenog na sintetičkom i kontekstualnom izučavanju i tumačenju islama, prije svega u obrazovnim ustanovama Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini. Pored toga, ovaj koncept i njegovi

in a distinctive way, put under scrutiny religious education and contextual study and interpretation of Islam in a Western educational and cultural tradition. The focus here is on a system of education in Islam that can offer a contemporary perspective of studies in Islam and the education of Muslims – particularly their religious authorities, and that can work in a worldview and ideological plurality and multicultural environment where Muslim values did not use to have a significant or formative role.

Educational institutions of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina educate staff to work in the European cultural space and its system of values, although Bosnia and Herzegovina is not yet a member of the European Union but is striving to become one. Although the awareness of this in educational institutions is not prominent and the curriculum has not been defined in this direction, this reality cannot be ignored. A few hundred alumni of the educational institutions of the Islamic Community are already actively working in European and American Muslim communities (*jamaats*); European needs are great and some European countries have already expressed interest in the experiences and models of Bosnian Islamic educational institutions. In the present age and circumstances, the appropriate and best response of Bosnian, and at the same time European, Muslims to the challenges of Islamic education is the development of an Islamic educational concept based on a synthetic and contextual study and interpretation of Islam, primarily in the educational institutions of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides, this concept and its outcomes can in many ways strengthen and positively affect the position of Muslims-Bosniaks within their own country and allow them to be a knowledgeable participant in European debates and solutions for



ILUSTRACIJA - Rekonstrukcija urađena na temelju izvora iz 13. stoljeća: Al-Ḥarīrī od Basra, *Maqāmāt Al-Ḥarīrī*.

ILLUSTRATION - Reconstruction done on the basis of the source from 13th century: Al-Ḥarīrī of Basra, *Maqāmāt Al-Ḥarīrī*.

³ Vidjeti: Ceric, Mustafa, *A Draft Proposal for the Ghazi Husrev-bey University, Contemporary European Islamic University (GHBU), 'Centre for Educational Excellence Where East Meets West'*, Appendix 2. U: *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe: Academic and Religious Freedom in the 21st Century*, etdited by Willem B. Drees and Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld. Leiden University Press, 2008., str. 326-332.



ILLUSTRATION - Reconstruction done on the basis of the source from 13th century: Al-Ḥarīrī of Basra, *Maqāmāt Al-Ḥarīrī*.

ILUSTRACIJA - Rekonstrukcija urađena na temelju izvora iz 13. stoljeća: Al-Ḥarīrī od Basra, *Maqāmāt Al-Ḥarīrī*.

³ See: Ceric, Mustafa, *A Draft Proposal for the Ghazi Husrev-bey University, Contemporary European Islamic University (GHBU), 'Centre for Educational Excellence Where East Meets West'*, Appendix 2. In: *The Study of Religion and the Training of Muslim Clergy in Europe: Academic and Religious Freedom in the 21st Century*, etdited by Willem B. Drees and Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld. Leiden University Press, 2008, pp. 326-332.

ishodi po više osnova mogu ojačati i pozitivno utjecati na poziciju muslimana Bošnjaka unutar vlastite države i biti referentan sagovornik evropskih debata i rješenja za muslimansko obrazovanje. Prvenstveno bosanskim muslimanima on omogućava poziciju aktivnog proizvođača i ponuđača novog razumijevanja islama koje će biti u stanju usmjeravati vlastitu zajednicu, snažiti joj vjeru i samopuzdanje.

Koncept sinteze i sintetičkog proučavanja islama

Težište na sintezi⁴ i sintetičkom⁵ proučavanju i tumačenju islama u obrazovnim ustanovama Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, koji ovdje imamo u vidu, podrazumijeva postupak prijenosa znanja na novu generaciju i tumačenje predmeta i sadržaja islamskih disciplina metodom sinteze različitih pravaca njihovog historijskog razvoja i postignuća, s uvidom u širi društveno-politički ambijent njihovog nastanka i rasta, te konačno izvođenje zaključaka i tumačenja za savremeni kontekst. Sinteza omogućava uopćavanje pojedinačnih dostignuća svake discipline ili njenog zasebnog toka, aktivno ovladavanje intelektualnom tradicijom u cjelini i izgradnju novog znanja (nove interpretacije i razumijevanja) na temelju kvalitetnog uvida u ranija dostignuća. Usto, sinteza pruža priliku da se dobije najkvalitetniji ekstrakt iz ukupnosti intelektualnih plodova ranijih generacija i dalje taj ekstrakt ugrađuje u nova misaona i interpretativna pregruća. Dakako, svemu ovome prethodi analiza, kao metod i postupak naučnog raščlanjivanja islamske intelektualne tradicije, pojmova, sudova i zaključaka na njihove jednostavnije dijelove kako bi se u obrnutom procesu (sinteze) dobile nove opće spoznaje oslobođene za ovo doba suvišnih pojedinosti i nepotrebnih taloga vremena u kojima su nastajale.

Islamska tradicija Bošnjaka, posebno iskustvo koje Bošnjaci imaju u posljednja tri desetljeća, govori u prilog važnosti ovakvog postupka u naučavanju islama u medresama i islamskim fakultetima. Sagledavajući u historijskoj retrospektivi, muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini ideju i praksu islama primili su putem institucija osmanske države u fazi njenog punog uspona na putu ka vodećoj svjetskoj imperiji

⁴ Sinteza (grč. *synthēsis*: sastavljanje, spoj, spajanje) je postupak kojim se rastavljene pojedinosti udružuju u jedinstvenu i složeniju cjelinu, nastajanje jedne misaone cjeline iz raznih pojedinačnih spoznaja s novim značenjem, put od dijelova ka cjelini. Sinteza je pojam suprotan analizi. „Sinteza (grč. *synthesis*), 1) općenito: svaki postupak kojim se razlučene pojedinosti udružuju u jedinstvenu cjelinu (kemijska sinteza, umjetnička sinteza); 2) psihička (prirodna, i na iskustvu osnovana) djelatnost kojom se doživljajni elementi stapaju u cjelovite doživljaje, npr. pojedini osjeti u percepcije, percepcije u pojmove itd. Doživljajne cjeline ostvarene psihičkom sintezom (koju W. Wundt zove 'stvaralačkom sintezom') uvijek su novi oblici (strukture) i oni nadilaze golu sumaciju elemenata od kojih su nastali (v. struktura); 3) misaona, operacija, suprotna analizi, kojom se pojmovi manjeg logičkog opsega udružuju u logički šire (specifični u generičke), ili predikacijom slijevaju u sudove; 4) sintetičkim postupkom naziva se katkad u matematskim disciplinama deduktivno izvođenje poučaka iz nekoliko temeljnih definicija i aksioma.“

Filozofijski rječnik; treće dopunjeno izdanje, Vladimir Filipović (ured.), Matica hrvatska, Zagreb: 1989., str. 302.

⁵ „Sintetičan, čime se ostvaruje sinteza (v.), koji spaja, povezuje, izgrađuje, nadograđuje. Kod Kanta se sintetičnim naziva sud u kome predikat nije sadržan u subjektu (kao kod analitičkog suda) nego se u samom stvaralačkom aktu suda subjektu pridaje novi predikat... U dijalektici se sintetičkom povezanošću prevladavaju suprotnosti u novoj, višoj cjelini.“ *Filozofijski rječnik*, str. 302.

Muslim education. For Bosnian Muslims primarily, this enables taking the position of active producer and provider of a new understanding of Islam that will be able to direct its own community, and strengthen its faith and self-confidence.

The concept of synthesis and synthetic studies in Islam

The focus on synthesis⁴ and synthetic⁵ studies and interpretation of Islam in educational institutions of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which we discuss here, implies the process of transferring knowledge to the new generation, and interpreting the subject and content of Islamic disciplines using the method of synthesis of the different directions of their historical development and achievements, with an insight into a broader sociopolitical environment of their emergence and growth, and finally drawing conclusions and interpretations for the contemporary context. Synthesis allows the generalization of the individual achievements of each discipline and its separate branches, the active mastering of intellectual tradition as a whole and building new knowledge (new interpretation and understanding) based on superior insight into previous achievements. Besides, synthesis provides the opportunity to obtain the highest-quality extraction from the entirety of the intellectual fruits of previous generations and then incorporate this extraction into new mental and interpretative endeavors. Naturally, all this is preceded by analysis, as a method and process of the scientific breakdown of Islamic intellectual tradition, concepts, propositions and conclusions into their simpler parts, so that the opposite process (synthesis) can yield new general insights free from details that are redundant for this age and unnecessary residue of the time in which they emerged.

Bosniaks' Islamic tradition, particularly Bosniaks' experience over the last three decades, speaks in favor of the importance of such a process in studying Islam at madrasas and Islamic faculties. Viewed historically, Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina received the idea and practice of Islam through the institutions of the Ottoman state during the stage of its full rise on the road to being the leading world empire in various

⁴ Synthesis (Gr. *synthēsis*: putting together, composition) is a procedure by which separate items are joined together in a single and more complex unit; creation of a single mental whole from different individual insights with a new meaning; a path from parts to a whole. Synthesis is a notion opposite to analysis. „Synthesis (Gr. *Synthesis*), 1) generally: any procedure by which separate particulars are joined together into a unified whole (chemical synthesis, artistic synthesis); 2) psychic (inborn, and experience-based) activity which joins together elements of experience into integral experiences, e.g. individual senses into perceptions, perceptions into notions, and so forth. Experiential wholes achieved by psychic synthesis (which W. Wundt named „creative synthesis“) are always new forms (structures), and they transcend the mere sum of the elements they have been created of (cf. structure); 3) a mental operation, opposite to analysis, which unites concepts of smaller logical scope into logically broader ones (specific to generic), or flow into propositions by means of predication; 4) in mathematical disciplines, a synthetic procedure sometimes pertains to deductively drawn theorems from a few basic definitions and axioms.“ *Filozofijski rječnik*; treće dopunjeno izdanje, Vladimir Filipović (ed.), Matica hrvatska, Zagreb: 1989., p. 302.

⁵ „Synthetic, which creates a synthesis (cf.), which unites, joins, builds, builds upon. In Kant, a synthetic judgment is one in which the predicate is not contained in the subject (as the analytic judgment); rather, it is the very creative act of judgment that gives the subject a new predicate... In dialectics, synthetic unity overcomes oppositions in a new, higher whole.“ *Filozofijski rječnik*, p. 302.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Panorama grada Sarajeva iz 1697. godine.
 ILLUSTRATION ~ The panorama of the city of Sarajevo from 1697.

u različitim aspektima ljudske djelatnosti. Taj opći pobjednički duh nosio je i psihološku supremaciju vjere. Obrazovanje vjerske inteligencije odvijalo se u školama i po standardima sponzoriranim od moćne države čiji je suveren – *sultan* u sebi objedinjavao svjetovni i duhovni autoritet. Međutim, dugi period stagnacije osmanske imperije ostavio je negativne posljedice i na vjersko obrazovanje koje je dijelilo sudbinu države a nekadašnji napredni obrazovni obrasci su zastarjevali i sve više ostajali izvan stvarnih sadržaja i potreba života. I u razdoblju uspona i nazatka osmanske imperije određeni aspekti islamske intelektualne tradicije u obrazovnom sistemu su favorizirani ili marginalizirani. Određeni aspekti pravnih nauka, za potrebe uređenja i vođenja društva, imali su važnu ulogu, dok je filozofska tradicija ostajala na margini. Derviški redovi i tekijski sufizam imao je izvjesnu popularnost i društvenu prihvatljivost, dok je gnoza – *irfan*, kao visokoteorijska i spekulativno-kontemplativna dimenzija sufizma, ostajala izvan snažnijeg interesa čak i u obrazovnim ustanovama. Istodobno u nekim dijelovima muslimanskog svijeta, Iran i Indijski potkontinent, islamsko obrazovanje odvijalo se neovisno od osmanskog obrasca i sa težištem na neka druga vjerska područja.

Nakon odlaska Osmanlija iz Bosne, stari obrazac se dugo i preovlađujuće emanirao u bosanskom obrazovnom i vjerskom sistemu. U novom razdoblju, nakon austrougarske okupacije 1878. godine, vjerske veze sa Istanbulom, iako oslabljene, i dalje su održavane – između ostalog i posredstvom ljudi

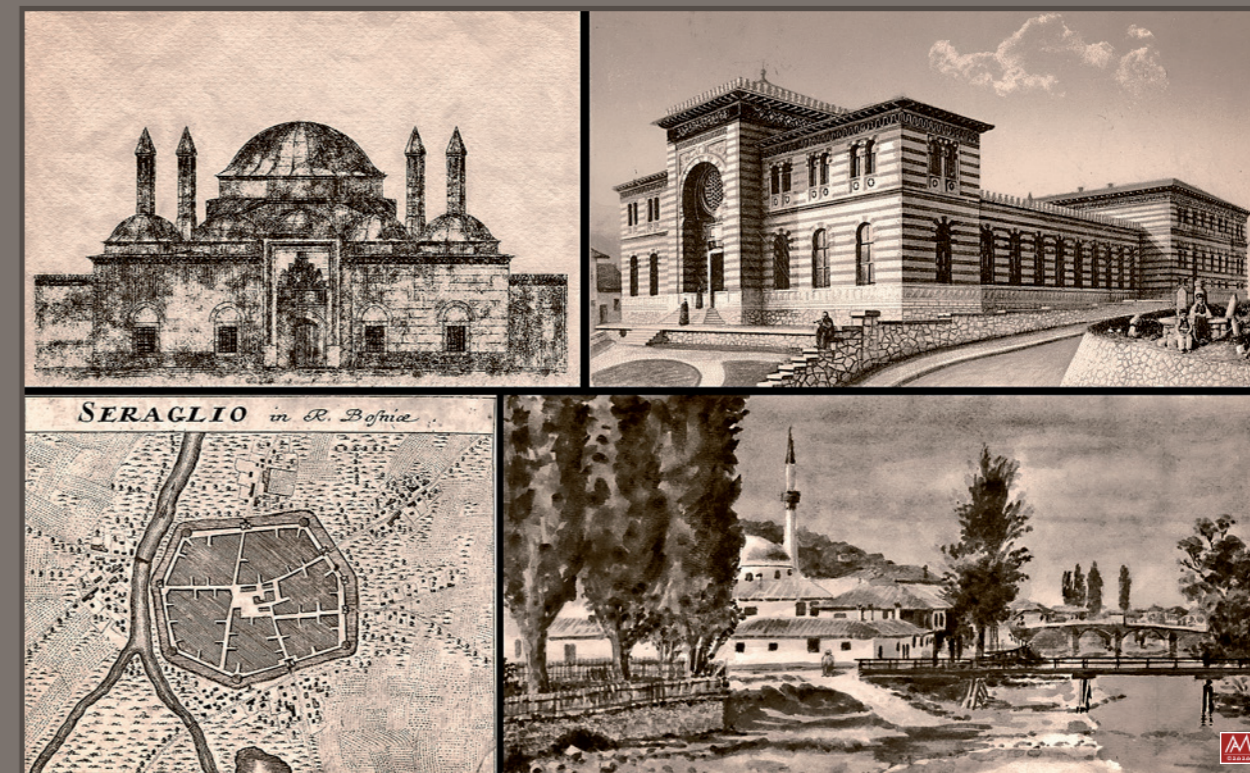


ILLUSTRATION ~ Gazi Husrev-beg's (Kuršumli) Madrasah in Sarajevo (1537); Higher Shariat Judicial School in Sarajevo (1887); Map of the City of Sarajevo from 1738; The Drvenija Madrasah in Sarajevo – women's educational institution (1886).
 ILUSTRACIJA ~ Gazi Husrev-begova (Kuršumli) medresa u Sarajevu (1537.); Viša Šerijatska sudačka škola u Sarajevu (1887.); Mapa grada Sarajeva iz 1738.; Drvenija medresa u Sarajevu – ženska odgojno-obrazovna institucija (1886).

aspects of human activity. This general victorious spirit implied the psychological supremacy of religion. The education of the religious intelligentsia proceeded in schools according to standards sponsored by the powerful state, whose sovereign (*sultan*) embodied both secular and spiritual authority. However, the long period of the stagnation of the Ottoman Empire had negative consequences for religious education as well, as it shared the fate of the country. Previously progressive educational patterns became obsolete and increasingly remained outside the actual substance and needs of life. Both at the time of the rise and that of the decline of the Ottoman Empire, some aspects of Islamic intellectual tradition in the educational system were favored while others were marginalized. Some aspects of the legal sciences, those needed for organizing and leading society, played an important role while, on the other hand, the philosophical tradition remained on the margins. Dervish orders and tekke Sufism enjoyed a certain popularity and social acceptability, while gnosis (*irfān*), as a highly theoretical and speculative-contemplative dimension of Sufism, did not generate great interest, even in educational institutions. At the same time, in some parts of the Muslim world, in Iran and on the Indian subcontinent, Islamic education proceeded independently of the Ottoman pattern and was focused on other areas of the religion.

When the Ottomans left Bosnia, the old pattern remained prominent and prevailed in the Bosnian

koji su se školovali u Istanbulu te kroz naslijeđenu osmansku obrazovnu strukturu.⁶ Također prvih pet reisu-l-ulema Islamske zajednice, koji su obavljali ovu dužnost od 1882. do 1936. godine, školovali su se u Istanbulu.⁷ Prva moderna škola nakon austrougarske okupacije, Šerijatsko-sudačka škola – *Mektebi-nuvvab* otvorena u Sarajevu 1887. godine, s ciljem da obrazuje kadije za primjenu Šerijata u personalnim stvarima muslimana unutar austrougarskog državnopravnog okvira, u vjerskom segmentu naslanjala se na osmansku tradiciju i profesorski kadar obrazovan, uglavnom, u toj tradiciji.⁸



ILUSTRACIJA – Ivan Yakovlevich Bilibin: Dvorište džamije Al-Azhar i univerzitetskog kompleksa u Kairu, Kairo 1928.
ILLUSTRATION – Ivan Yakovlevich Bilibin: Courtyard of Al-Azhar Mosque and University Complex in Cairo, Cairo 1928.

⁶ Opširnije vidjeti: Hajrudin Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo u Bosni Hercegovini do 1918. godine*; Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1983.

⁷ Reisu-l-ulema Mustafa Hilmi-efendija Hadžiomerović (1882-1893), reisu-l-ulema Mehmed Teufik-ef. Azabagić (1893-1909), reisu-l-ulema hafiz Sulejman-ef. Šarac (1910-1912), reisu-l-ulema Mehmed Džemaludin-ef. Čaušević (1913-1930) i reisu-l-ulema hafiz Ibrahim-ef. Maglajlić (1930-1936) visoko vjersko obrazovanje stjecali su u Istanbulu. Također Salih Safvet Bašić, koji je u dva navrata bio vršitelj dužnosti reisu-l-uleme (naibu-reis), prvi put od 1936. do 1938. i drugi put od 1942 do 1947. godine srednje i visoko obrazovanje stjecao je u Istanbulu.

O reisu-l-ulemama Islamske zajednice vidjeti: Ferhat Šeta, *Reisu-l-uleme u Bosni i Hercegovini i Jugoslaviji*; Sarajevo: 1990.

⁸ O predmetima i profesorima ove škole više vidjeti u: *Spomenica Šerijske sudačke škole u Sarajevu – izdana prilikom pedesetogodišnjice ovoga zavoda 1887-1937*; Sarajevo; Islamska dionička štamparija, 1937.

educational and religious system for a long time. In the new age, after the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878, religious connections with Istanbul, though weakened, were inter alia maintained through people who went to schools in Istanbul and through the inherited Ottoman educational structure.⁶ Moreover, the first five raisu-l-ulamas of the Islamic Community, who served as raisu-l-ulamas from 1882 to 1936, received their education in Istanbul.⁷ The first modern school after Austro-Hungarian occupation, the Shari school for sharia judges (*Mekteb-i-nuvvab*), was opened in Sarajevo in 1887 and was aimed at educating kadis judges for applying the sharia law in Muslims' personal affairs within the Austro-Hungarian public law. In its religious segment, it relied upon the Ottoman tradition and its teachers were mostly educated trained in this tradition.⁸



ILLUSTRATION – Diploma of Higher Studies (university education) Dr. Mustafa Cerić from al-Azhar University in Cairo in 1978.
ILUSTRACIJA – Diploma visokih studija (univerzitetsko obrazovanje) dr. Mustafe Cerića sa Univerziteta al-Azhar u Kairu 1978. godine.

⁶ For more, see: Hajrudin Ćurić, *Muslimansko školstvo u Bosni Hercegovini do 1918. godine*; Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1983.

⁷ Raisu-l-ulema Mustafa Hilmi-efendija Hadžiomerović (1882-1893), raisu-l-ulema Mehmed Teufik ef. Azabagić (1893-1909), raisu-l-ulema hafiz Sulejman ef. Šarac (1910-1912), raisu-l-ulema Mehmed Džemaludin ef. Čaušević (1913-1930) and raisu-l-ulema hafiz Ibrahim ef. Maglajlić (1930-1936) received their higher religious education in Istanbul. In addition, Salih Safvet Bašić, who served as raisu-l-ulema (naibu reis) twice, first from 1936 to 1938 and then from 1942 to 1947, received his secondary and higher education in Istanbul. For raisu-l-ulema of the Islamic Community. See: Ferhat Šeta, *Reisu-l-uleme u Bosni i Hercegovini i Jugoslaviji*; Sarajevo: 1990.

⁸ See more about courses and teachers of this school in: *Spomenica Šerijske sudačke škole u Sarajevu – izdana prilikom pedesetogodišnjice ovoga zavoda 1887-1937*; Sarajevo; Islamska dionička štamparija, 1937.

Nakon pada hilafeta 1924. godine i promjene karaktera turske države, Kairo i univerzitet El-Azhar postaju važno izvorište islamskog učenja za bosansku ulemu koja donosi nove, u to vrijeme reformatorske, ideje Džemaluddina Afganija, Muhammeda Abduha, Rešida Ridaa i dr.⁹ Time među bošnjačkom ulemom počinje period postupnog opadanja dominacije osmanskog obrazovnog modela. Ulema iz Kaira stječe afirmaciju i počinje zauzimati značajne pozicije u Islamskoj zajednici i obrazovnom sistemu a popularnost univerziteta El-Azhar, kao autoritativnog vjerskog učilišta, među bosanskim muslimanima je narednih desetljeća postajala sve značajnija.

Šerijatska sudačka škola je 1937. godine podignuta na nivo fakulteta pod nazivom Viša islamska šerijatsko-teološka škola, koja je pored kadija trebala obrazovati i teologe. Do zatvaranja ove škole 1945. godine diplomirao je veći broj alima i muslimanskih intelektualaca koji su, do otvaranja Islamskog teološkog fakulteta u Sarajevu 1977. godine, imali značajnu ulogu u očuvanju i održanju kontinuiteta islamske obrazovne misli i muslimanskog identiteta. Između 1945. i 1977. nije bilo nijedne visoke islamske obrazovne ustanove u BiH a imami i hatibi su se obrazovali u Gazi Husrev-begovoj medresi koja je imala rang srednje škole.

Međutim, u nedostatku vlastitih visokih obrazovnih ustanova 70-tih godina 20. stoljeća, izvjestan broj bosanskih studenata završio je, pored Kaira, islamske studije u Bagdadu i zemljama Magreba – Alžir, Maroko i Tunis. Potom su uslijedili sporadični odlasci studenata na univerzitete u Saudijsku Arabiju i Pakistan.¹⁰

Ipak, otvaranjem Islamskog teološkog fakulteta u Sarajevu 1977. godine, koji od 1992. djeluje pod imenom Fakultet islamskih nauka, otvorile su se minimalne pretpostavke da Islamska zajednica i Bošnjaci muslimani kreiraju vlastitu obrazovnu politiku, premda u veoma skućenim i ograničenim mogućnostima usljed snažnog državnog nadzora i kontrole.¹¹ Otvaranjem Islamskog teološkog fakulteta smanjena je potreba za odlaskom studenata na univerzitete u muslimanskim zemljama, ali je, usljed agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu i skoro četverogodišnjeg brutalnog rata i posljedica koje je rat proizveo, značajan broj bosanskih studenata, neki silom ratnih prilika, nastavio studij u nekim od muslimanskih država, posebno u zemljama Bliskog istoka, Turskoj, ali i, po prvi put, u Maleziji i Iranu.

Ovo fragmentarno ukazivanje na islamsku obrazovnu tradiciju na području Islamske zajednice

⁹ O Bošnjacima na El-Azharu dosada je najcjelovitiju studiju napisao prof. dr. Jusuf Ramić.

Vidjeti: Jusuf Ramić, *Bošnjaci na El-Azheru*; Sarajevo: Rijaset Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1997.

Na El-Azharu su se školovala i trojica kasnijih reisu-l-ulema Jakub-ef. Selimoski (1991-1993), reisu-l-ulema dr. Mustafa-ef. Cerić (1993-2012) i aktuelni reisu-l-ulema dr. Husein-ef. Kavazović.

¹⁰ Nažalost još uvijek nema cjelovite studije o broju bosanskih studenata i karakteru njihovog obrazovanja u pojedinim muslimanskim zemljama ili zajedničke studije u kojoj bi se pitanje školovanja bosanske uleme u muslimanskim državama cjelovito i detaljnije istražilo i valoriziralo.

¹¹ Među prvim profesorima FIN značajan je udio svršenika El-Azharu. U prvom nastavničkom zboru bili su bivši studenti El-Azharu: Husein Đozo, Ahmed Smajlović, Ibrahim Trebinjac, Jusuf Ramić.

Vidjeti: Hilmo Neimarlija, *Vrijeme utemeljenja i utemeljitelji – Fakultet islamskih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu 1977-2017*; Sarajevo, Fakultet islamskih nauka, El-Kalem, 2017., str. 45.

After the fall of the caliphate in 1924 and the change in the character of the Turkish state, Cairo and Al-Azhar University became an important source of Islamic teaching training for Bosnian 'ulamā' (scholars), who brought the new, at the time reforming, ideas of Jamāluddīn Afghānī, Muḥammad Abduh, Rashīd Riḍā and others.⁹ It marked the beginning of a period of gradual decline of the domination of the Ottoman educational model among the Bosnian scholars. Cairo-educated scholars gained recognition and began to take significant positions in the Islamic community and educational system, while the popularity of Al-Azhar University, as an authoritative religious college, significantly increased among Bosnian Muslims over the following decades.

In 1937, the Shari school for sharia judges was raised to the level of a faculty and named the Higher Islamic Shari-Theological School. Besides *kadis* (judges), it was also intended for educating theologians. By the time this school was closed in 1945, its alumni had included a great number of *alims* (scholars) and Muslim intellectuals who had a significant role in preserving and maintaining the continuity of Islamic educational thought and Muslim identity until the establishment of the Islamic Theological Faculty in Sarajevo in 1977. Between 1945 and 1977 there was no Islamic higher-education institution in Bosnia, and *imams* (guides) and *hatibs* (preachers) were educated in Gazi-Husrevbey's madrasa, which was ranked as a secondary school.

However, due to the lack of local higher-education institutions, in the 1970s a certain number of Bosnian students completed their Islamic studies in Cairo or Baghdad, or in Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia). This was later followed by sporadic education at universities in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.¹⁰

Still, the establishment of the Islamic Theological Faculty in Sarajevo in 1977, which was renamed the Faculty of Islamic Studies in 1992, provided minimum prerequisites, allowing for the Islamic Community and Bosniaks-Muslims to design their own educational policy, though in very confined and restricted conditions due to strong state supervision and control.¹¹ The opening of the Islamic Theological Faculty decreased the need for studying at universities in Muslim countries. However, due to the aggression against Bosnian independent state, the almost four-year long brutal war and the consequences of the war, a significant number of Bosnian students, some constrained by the war conditions, continued their studies in Muslim countries, particularly in the Middle East countries, Turkey and, for the first time, in Malaysia and Iran.

This fragmentary overview of Islamic educational tradition in the Islamic Community in Bosnia and

⁹ The most comprehensive study on Bosniaks at Al-Azhar to date was written by Prof. Dr. Jusuf Ramić.

See: Jusuf Ramić, *Bošnjaci na El-Azheru*; Sarajevo: Rijaset Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, 1997.

Three more recent raisu-l-ulas were also educated at Al-Azhar; raisul-l-ulema Jakub ef. Selimoski (1991-1993), raisu-l-ulema Dr. Mustafa Cerić (1993-2012) and the current raisu-l-ulema Dr. Husein ef. Kavazović.

¹⁰ Unfortunately, there is not yet a comprehensive study of the number of Bosnian students and the character of their education in individual Muslim countries, or a joint study which would comprehensively and thoroughly research and evaluate the issue of education of Bosnian scholars in Muslim countries.

¹¹ Graduates from Al-Azhar made up a significant share of the first professors at the Faculty of Islamic Studies. The first composition of teaching staff included Al-Azhar alumni: Husein Đozo, Ahmed Smajlović, Ibrahim Trebinjac, Jusuf Ramić.

See: Hilmo Neimarlija, *Vrijeme utemeljenja i utemeljitelji – Fakultet islamskih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu 1977-2017*; Sarajevo: Fakultet islamskih nauka, El-Kalem, 2017, p. 45.

u Bosni i Hercegovini u funkciji je elaboracije stava da se obrazovne ustanove Islamske zajednice trebaju prioritetno usmjeravati prema razvijanju vlastite sintetičke interpretativne i obrazovne prakse.¹² Naime, obrazovni pristupi bilo koje muslimanske države vođeni su njenim nacionalnim interesima i potrebama – uključujući i organizaciju islamskih univerziteta. Obrazovne politike su nedvojive od državnih interesa i stepena kulturnog razvoja društva. Svaka država pažljivo vodi računa na koji način obrazuje naciju, kakav je profil i orijentacija nastavnog osoblja, te bdije nad pedagoškim područjem. Također, nije nevažno imati u vidu rigidnost i autoritarnost režima koji upravljaju tradicionalnim obrazovnim islamskim središtima, te političku zloupotrebu vjere kao sredstva održavanja na vlasti i potčinjavanja islamskog obrazovanja, između ostalog, i takvim ciljevima i ideološkim usmjerenjima.

S druge strane, društveno-politički i kulturno-svjetonazorski uvjeti u Bosni i Hercegovini i Evropi posve su različiti od onih u muslimanskim državama, pa se, prema tome, ne mogu ni slijediti isti obrazovni modeli ili se, pak, direktno prenijeti. Povrh svega toga, obrazovni islamski koncepti na razini muslimanskih država su u znatnoj mjeri međusobno suprotstavljeni – više partikularni i ideološki obojeni nego inkluzivni – usmjereni na jednostrano i često selektivno tumačenje islama, te bi njihovo „sirovo“ preuzimanje i u tom obliku „presađivanje“ na ovim prostorima neminovno proizvodilo izvjesne tenzije. Neke korisne poruke u ovom pogledu mogu se uzeti iz recentnog bosanskog iskustva. Tokom agresije na Bosnu i Hercegovinu u i u godinama na prijelazu u 21. stoljeće, usljed povratka u Bosnu većeg broja studenata iz određenog broja muslimanskih zemalja, koji su sa sobom donijeli obrazovni pristup tumačenja islama karakterističan za te zemlje, dolazilo je do oštih i, uglavnom, nesuvislih rasprava o ispravnosti bosanske islamske tradicije i vjerodostojnosti njenog koncepta. To grubo sučeljavanje različitih muslimanskih obrazovnih tradicija i ideoloških pristupa vjeri, s ambicijom da se nametne pravovaljanost jednog, tuđeg koncepta u njegovom nerafiniranom obliku, za jednu malu muslimansku zajednicu i njenu tradiciju kakva je bosanska, bilo je traumatično i, na koncu, štetno ako bi se i dalje održavalo. Bosanski kontekst i tradicija dugoročno to ne mogu valjano apsorbirati i podnijeti. Rukovodeći se tim nedavnim iskustvom, nije mudro dopustiti da Bosna postane *bojno polje* različitih koncepata obrazovnih sistema međusobno isključivih i konfliktnih. Dakako, zahvalnost na tome što su bosanski muslimani mogli koristiti muslimanske obrazovne ustanove u svijetu u vremenu nedostatka vlastitih i time snažiti kontinuitet svoga znanja o islamu, ne podrazumijeva servilnost i odustajanje od vlastitog traganja za onim što omogućuje napredak i autentičnost u evropskom okruženju.

¹² Ne smije se izgubiti iz vida da su bosanski muslimani, iako su njihovi visoki vjerski autoriteti u značajnom dijelu školovani izvan Bosne i Hercegovine, razvijali svoje obrazovne ustanove na tragu vlastitih potreba i okolnosti u kojima su djelovali. Provođene su brojne suštinske reforme u mektebima i medresama, vođene mnoge rasprave o islamskom obrazovanju u Bosni i Hercegovini i u tom pogledu su ostvarivani značajni rezultati. Oni su u ovome djelovali potpuno autonomno u odnosu na bilo koju muslimansku obrazovnu politiku u svijetu, donosili su nastavne planove i programe, pisali udžbenike i definirali sadržaje, ciljeve i ishode svog obrazovnog sistema. Ne može se govoriti o pukom imitatorskom konceptu ili ovisnosti o utjecaju nekog obrazovnog sistema izvana, ali se može govoriti o nedostatku pune slobode kreiranja vlastitog obrazovnog koncepta usljed direktnog miješanja državnih sistema u obrazovne koncepte ili slabih ekonomskih mogućnosti za značajnije investiranje ili reformu muslimanskog obrazovnog sistema.

Hercegovina serves to elaborate on the view that educational institutions of the Islamic Community should primarily focus on developing their own synthetic interpretative and educational practice.¹² Indeed, approaches to education in any Muslim country are guided by its national interests and needs, including the organization of Islamic universities. Educational policies are inseparable from state interests and the degree of the cultural development of the society. Every country pays close attention to the way in which it educates the nation and to the profile and orientation of teaching staff, and keeps watch over the pedagogical area. Besides, it is important to keep in mind the rigidity and authoritarianism of the regimes that manage traditional Islamic education centers, and the political abuse of religion as a means to remain in power and subject Islamic education, among other things, to such goals and ideological orientations.

On the other hand, sociopolitical, cultural and worldview conditions in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Europe are completely different from those in Muslim countries; therefore, they cannot follow the same educational model or directly transfer it. Besides, the Islamic educational concepts in different Muslim countries are to a great extent mutually opposed, specifically or ideologically colored rather than inclusive, focused on a one-sided and frequently selective interpretation of Islam, and their „raw“ adoption and „transplantation“ in this form in this region would inevitably lead to tensions. Some useful lessons in this respect can be learned from the recent Bosnian experience. During the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and at the turn of the century a great number of students returned to Bosnia from various Muslim countries. They brought with them the educational approach to interpreting Islam characteristic of these countries, which led to fierce and mostly meaningless debates on the propriety of the Bosnian Islamic tradition and the authenticity of its concept. This tough confrontation of different Muslim educational traditions and ideological approaches to religion, aimed at imposing the validity of a single and foreign concept in its unrefined form was traumatic and, ultimately, harmful for a small Muslim community such as that in Bosnia, and for its tradition if it were to be maintained. The Bosnian context and tradition cannot properly absorb and endure it in the long term. Guided by this recent experience, it is not wise to allow Bosnia to become a „battlefield“ of different concepts of educational systems which are mutually exclusive and conflicting. Naturally, the gratitude for allowing Bosnian Muslims to use Muslim educational institutions in the world at the time of a lack in their own, and thus strengthen the continuity of their knowledge of Islam does not imply servility and abandoning our own quest for what allows for progress and authenticity in the European environment.

¹² One must bear in mind that Bosnian Muslims, although their high religious authorities were to a great extent educated outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, developed their educational institutions based on their own needs and the circumstances in which they operated. Numerous substantial reforms were carried out in maktabs (Primary Islamic Schools) and madrasas (Secondary Islamic Grammar School), many discussions of Islamic education in Bosnia and Herzegovina were held and significant results were achieved in this respect. In this area, Muslims acted completely independently of any Muslim educational policy in the world, designed curricula, wrote textbooks and defined the content, objectives and outcomes of their educational system. It was not a concept of mere imitation or dependence on the impact of a foreign educational system; however, there was a lack of full freedom in designing their own educational concept due to the direct interference of state systems in educational concepts, or to poor economic capacities for significant investments into or reform of the Muslim educational system.



ILUSTRACIJA - Rekonstrukcija urađena na temelju izvora: Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī Maḥmūd Al-Muzahhib, *Tiranija učitelja je bolja od ljubavi oca* (Iz *Gulistana* pjesnika šejha Mušlih al-Dīna Sa'dija). Buhara oko 1560.

ILLUSTRATION - Reconstruction done on the basis of the source: Mīr Ḥusain al-Ḥusainī Maḥmūd Al-Muzahhib, *The Tyranny of Teacher Is Better Than The Love of Father* (From the *Gulistān* of the poet Shaykh Mušlih al-Dīn Sa'dī). Bukhara c. 1560.

Bitna odlika islama i njegove poruke, koja je historijski u mnogo navrata potvrđena, jeste sposobnost adaptacije u raznolikim kulturnim i civilizacijskim kontekstima. Raznolikost jezičkih i kulturnih formi ne samo da ima visoko priznanje u Božanskom tekstu – (*O ljudi, Mi vas od jednog čovjeka i jedne žene stvaramo i na narode i plemena vas dijelimo da biste se upoznali.*)¹³, – nego im je dat vrhunski legitimitet time što Allah, dž. š., Svoju poruku komunicira u jeziku i kulturi naroda kojem se obraća. Božiji poslanici donosili su objavu na jeziku naroda kojem su se obraćali i potjecali su iz sredine u kojoj su naviještali vjeru; bili su izvorni poznavatelji kulture, duhovne i intelektualne tradicije u kojoj su djelovali – (*Mi nismo poslali nijednog poslanika koji nije govorio jezikom naroda svoga, da bi mu objasnio.*)¹⁴. Prema tome, bosanska ulema i bosanski obrazovni sistem, na tragu ove usmjeravajuće kur'anske upute, imaju obavezu Božansku poruku tumačiti i prenositi na jeziku i u kulturnoj formi koja je razumljiva i prikladna savremenom čovjeku. S obzirom da u svijetu postoje različiti jezici i različite kulturne forme, onda i govor o islamu ne može biti u svakoj sredini potpuno isti, jer u toj verbalnoj istosti on u određenim kulturnim formama i jeziku neće biti prepoznatljiv, razumljiv niti prihvaćen – bez obzira što je potreba za vjerom i duhovnošću evidentna u svakoj kulturi i jeziku.¹⁵ Traganje za tim usklađivanjem i plodotvornim susretom nije bilo nikad strano muslimanima, jer su oni često nastojali uskladiti poruku islama sa zatečenim kulturama, također, nastojali su u ranijim vjerničkim tradicijama uočavati izvornu ideju Božije poruke smatrajući sebe baštinicima ukupne ideje monoteizma.

Traganje za otvorenim i dinamičnim konceptom, te usklađivanje s aktuelnim kulturnim i tehnološkim razvojem čovječanstva ima za krajnji cilj bosanski islamski obrazovni sistem dovesti u stanje u kojem će biti osposobljen pravovaljano definirati pojave i procese u svom okruženju, te na temelju toga biti proizvođač novog i autentičnog razumijevanja islama, a ne puki konzument tuđeg znanja i razumijevanja. To nalaže kreiranje novih multiperspektivnih i pluralističkih područja i znanstvenih disciplina koje nastaju iz vlastitih potreba i brige za boljitak čovječanstva. Nadalje, to što se u okviru obrazovnog sistema i rada Islamske zajednice slijevaju različite tradicije tumačenja islama i obrazovanja o vjeri iz muslimanskog svijeta kroz bosanske studente-povratnike, treba kreativno iskoristiti, odnosno intelektualno i racionalno suočiti ta znanja i tradicije jedne s drugima unutar bosanskog iskustva i tradicije, otvoriti o njima raspravu s ciljem proizvodnje novih spoznaja

¹³ Kur'an, 49: 13.

¹⁴ Kur'an, 14:4.

¹⁵ Forme i oblici religioznosti u savremenom dobu veoma su promjenljivi i fluidni, što može dovesti do pogrešnih zaključaka o rastu ili opadanju religioznosti. Peter Berger je ustvrdio kako je danas svijet vjerovatno religiozan kao i ranije, ako ne i religiozniji, međutim ta religioznost se ne manifestira na isti način i nije u istim formama kao prije. Opadanje lojalnosti tradicionalnim vjerskim zajednicama, smanjenje učesća u zajedničkim obredima ili članstva u hijerarhiziranim vjerskim organizacijama nije siguran pokazatelj smanjenja religioznosti. Berger je korigirao svoje ranije uvjerenje da modernizacija nužno vodi opadanju religioznosti. Umjesto očekivanog nestanka, religije sve više dolaze u središte političkih i javnih zbivanja i pokazuju vitalnost. Peter Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview*, in: *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*; Peter Berger (ur.), Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1999., str. 1-18.

A crucial feature of Islam and its message, which has historically been proved many times, is its ability to adapt in diverse cultural and civilizational contexts. The diversity of language and cultural forms is both highly recognized in the Divine text („O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another.“)¹³ and is given supreme legitimacy because Allah Almighty communicates His message in the language and culture of the people He addresses. God's messengers brought the Revelation in the language of the people they addressed and originated from the environment where they proclaimed faith; they were authentic experts in the cultural, spiritual and intellectual tradition in which they were active („And We did not send any messenger except [speaking] in the language of his people to state clearly for them.“)¹⁴. Thus, the Bosnian 'ulamā' (scholars) and the Bosnian educational system, adhering to this direction of Qur'an instruction, have an obligation to interpret the Divine message and communicate it in a language and cultural form which is understandable and suitable for contemporary man. Since there are different languages and different cultural forms in the world, discourse about Islam cannot be identical in each environment, since due to this verbal identity it will not be recognizable, understandable or accepted in different cultural forms and languages, regardless of the evident need for faith and spirituality in every culture and language.¹⁵ Muslims have never been strangers to the search for this harmonization and fruitful encounter, since they have often endeavored to harmonize the message of Islam with existing cultures and to discern the original ideas of God's message in former religious traditions, considering themselves to be heirs of the entire idea of monotheism.

The search for an open and dynamic concept, as well as an aligning with the current cultural and technological development of humanity is ultimately aimed at making the Bosnian Islamic educational system capable of appropriately defining the phenomena and processes in its environment and on this basis producing a new and authentic understanding of Islam, rather than being a consumer of someone else's knowledge and understanding. It requires the creation of new multi-perspective and pluralistic areas and scientific disciplines that arise from our own needs and care for the wellbeing of humanity. Furthermore, the fact that the educational system and work of the Islamic Community is experiencing an inflow of different traditions of the interpretation of Islam and education in religion from the Muslim world through Bosnian student-returnees should be made use of creatively, i.e. this knowledge and these traditions should be intellectually and rationally juxtaposed within Bosnian experience and tradition; they should be discussed to

¹³ Qur'an, 49:13.

¹⁴ Qur'an, 14:4.

¹⁵ Forms and shapes of religiosity in the modern age are very changeable and fluid, which can lead to false conclusions about the rise or decline of religiosity. Peter Berger established that nowadays the world is probably as religious as it used to be, if not more so; however, this religiosity is not manifested in the same way and is not shaped the same as before. A decrease in loyalty to traditional religious communities and a decrease in participation in common rites or membership in the hierarchized religious organizations are not a reliable indicator of the decline of religiosity. Berger corrected his previous belief that modernization necessarily leads to decline in religiosity. Instead of their expected disappearance, religions increasingly come to the center of political and public happenings and show their vitality. Peter Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview*, in: *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*; Peter Berger (ed.), Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1999, pp. 1-18.

i interpretacija, a ne pukog preuzimanja ili odabira već ponuđenog. U tom produktivno-polemičkom miješanju perspektiva, različitih interpretativnih sadržaja, u kombinaciji s bosanskim iskustvom i evropskim kontekstom, pojavit će se nove spoznaje inspirirane izvornim duhom i smislom poruke islama. Na taj način potencijalna strukturalna slabost, kako se može činiti prisustvo mnoštva obrazovnih koncepata o vjeri, može se, ustvari, pretvoriti u kreativnu priliku i prednost. Presađivanje i odvojen rast zasebnih stabala znanja, koja nemaju dodira jedna s drugim, nije u interesu bosanskih muslimana. Međutim, ta stabla međusobno okalemljena mogu davati jedinstven plod sačinjen od svih zdravih i hranljivih sokova u novom spoju i jedinjenju.¹⁶ Zato je važno da ulema i akademsko osoblje u svojoj različitosti između sebe razgovaraju, međusobno se okupljaju, zajedno rade i intelektualno i duhovno izrastaju u zdravoj i snažnoj dijaloškoj interakciji. Obrazovne ustanove su najbolje i najpodesnije mjesto za to.¹⁷

Nadalje, bosanski i evropski kontekst učenja o islamu primarno se treba voditi opredjeljenjem predstavljanja islama kao univerzalne poruke koja nudi smisao svakom čovjeku – bez obzira na njegovo prijeklo, vjeru, rasu i kulturu. Partikularnost, selektivnost, sektaški pristup su neprijatelji univerzalnosti. Po svom karakteru i suštini poruka islama je univerzalna i konačna Božanska ideja dobra za sve ljude. Inkluzivnost je u odnosu na sve druge religije najistaknutija osobina islama, jer prihvata sve Božije poslanike, sebe vidi kao vjeru koja čuva temeljnu ideju monoteizma od prvog čovjeka do danas. To je izuzetna prilika za islam i muslimane. Kada govori o islamskoj filozofiji, Seyyed Hossein Nasr ističe da su klasični muslimanski filozofi grčko naslijeđe vidjeli i dijelom kao poslaničko naslijeđe i bez puno sustezanja su ga ugrađivali u islamsku perspektivu, jer su ga smatrali poslaničkim, odnosno inspiriranim objavom. Nasr se zalaže za novu interpretaciju

¹⁶ Ovo ne znači odustajanje od vlastite tradicije i metodologije ili novi vid sinkretizma i uzimanja ponešta iz različitih muslimanskih pravnih, teoloških ili duhovnih sljedbi. Zapravo riječ je o otvorenom i kritičkom odnosu prema ukupnoj islamskoj tradiciji koja se propituje u okvirima savremenog bosanskog i evropskog konteksta kriterijima vlastite tradicije i iskustva življenja islama kako bi se u njoj otkrivala nova univerzalna značenja i zanemarene poruke. Dakle, različiti islamski obrazovni koncepti se u bosanskom kontekstu razodijevaju i oslobađaju njihove raznolike uvjetovanosti i determiniranosti mjestom, vremenom i prilikama nastanka, a njihova „ogoljena“ suština samjerava se u novom okruženju da bi u susretu s vlastitom tradicijom zadobila snagu inspirativnog i produktivnog vođenja i duhovnog usmjerenja muslimanske zajednice.

¹⁷ Sardar analizira utemeljenost i dosege projekta „islamizacija znanja“, koji je promovirao Ismail Raji al-Faruqi i Internacionalni institut za islamsku misao (IIIT), koji su u drugoj polovini 20. stoljeća uvidjeli da je moderni obrazovni sistem, prenesen i nametnut od Zapada, nagrizao sistem vrijednosti muslimanskih društava. Efekti i proizvodi zapadnjačenih univerziteta u muslimanskim zemljama bili su često blijeđe kopije svojih zapadnih savremenika i rijetko su doprinosili pozitivnom razvoju vlastitih država. Sardar konstatira da je koncept i projekat „islamizacije znanja“ bio proizvod svoga vremena i konteksta te je ostavio svoje naslijeđe, ali je danas potrebno pomjerati se od „islamizacije znanja“ prema diskursu o „integraciji znanja“, kao višegeneracijsko nastojanje, a ne jednokratna pokušaj, kreiranja novih paradigmi oblikovanja znanja utemeljenog na intelektualnoj historiji i tradiciji islama.

Vidjeti: Sardar, Hanzell-Thomas, *Preispitivanje reforme u visokom obrazovanju*, str. 103-158.

Traganje za novom paradigmom „integracija znanja“ u muslimanskim društvima u fokus stavlja ukupno znanje, s posebnim naglaskom na revalorizaciju ukupne intelektualne muslimanske tradicije i ponovnog promišljanja današnjeg koncepta i temelja društvenih, humanističkih i prirodnih nauka u muslimanskim zemljama. Međutim, fokus ovog rada je neuporedivo uži i razmatra proučavanje vjerskih znanosti, kao jednog prilično homogenog znanstvenog područja sa srodnim metodama i izvorima za koje se čini da je sinteza i sintetički pristup prikladan i sa izvjesnošću brzih pozitivnih efekata. Diskurs o „integraciji znanja“ ustvari pokazuje da islamsko obrazovanje ima stanovite teškoće u savremenom okruženju i da mora pronaći novu paradigmu – o čemu razmišljaju već dugo mnogi muslimanski intelektualci širom svijeta.

produce new insights and interpretations, rather than merely adopted or selected from those already offered. This productive polemical mingling of perspectives, of different interpretative contents, combined with the Bosnian experience and European context, will yield new insights inspired by the primordial spirit and meaning of the message of Islam. In this way the potential structural weakness, as the presence of a multitude of educational concepts of religion may seem, can actually turn into a creative opportunity and advantage. The transplantation and separate growth of individual trees of knowledge, which have no mutual touching point, is not in the interest of Bosnian Muslims. However, if these trees are mutually grafted, they can yield a unique fruit consisting of all the sound and hearty juices in a new bond and compound.¹⁶ It is therefore important for the diverse 'ulamā' (scholars) and academic staff to communicate, gather, work together and intellectually and spiritually grow in a sound and powerful interaction through dialogue. Educational institutions are the best and most suitable point for doing so.¹⁷

In addition, the Bosnian and European context of teachings on Islam should primarily be guided by the orientation to present Islam as a universal message that offers meaning to every man, regardless of his background, religion, race and culture. Particularity, selectivity, and a sectarian approach are enemies of universality. By its character and essence, the message of Islam is a universal and ultimate Divine idea of good for all people. Compared to all other religions, inclusiveness is the most prominent feature of Islam, since it accepts all God's messengers and sees itself as a faith that preserves the fundamental idea of monotheism from the first man until today. It is an exceptional opportunity for Islam and Muslims. In his discussion of Islamic philosophy, Seyyed Hossein Nasr points out that classical Muslim philosophers saw the Greek legacy partly as prophetic and without much hesitation integrated it into the Islamic perspective, since they believed it to be a prophetic, or inspired revelation, and Nasr therefore advocates a new interpretation of Islamic philosophy,

¹⁶ This does not imply abandoning one's own tradition and methodology or a new form of syncretism and taking something from various Muslim legal, theological or spiritual denominations. Indeed, it is about an open and critical attitude toward the entire Islamic tradition, which is explored in the framework of the contemporary Bosnian and European context using the criteria of one's own tradition and experience of Islamic living, so that new universal meanings and neglected messages can be discovered in it. Thus, different Islamic educational concepts are stripped in the Bosnian context and freed from the diverse conditions and determinants of the place, time and circumstances of their emergence, and their „stripped“ essence is adjusted to the new environment to provide it with the power of inspiring and productively leading and spiritually directing the Muslim community, in line with our own tradition.

¹⁷ Sardar analyzes the rationale and scope of the project „Islamization of Knowledge“, which was promoted by the International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) and Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, who, in the second half of the 20th century realized that the modern educational system, transferred and imposed by the West, was corrosive to the value system of Muslim societies. The effects and products of westernized universities in Muslim countries were often poor counterparts of their western contemporaries and seldom contributed to the positive development of their own countries. Sardar claims that the „Islamization of Knowledge“ project was a product of its time and context, and has left its heritage; however, nowadays it is necessary to move from „Islamization of Knowledge“ to a discourse on „Integration of Knowledge“, as an ongoing multi-generational endeavor, rather than simply a one-time effort, to create new paradigms of the formation of knowledge rooted in the intellectual history and tradition of Islam.

See: Sardar, Hanzell-Thomas, *Rethinking Reform in Higher Education*, pp. 88-140.

The quest for a new paradigm of the „Integration of Knowledge“ in Muslim societies focuses on the entire knowledge, particularly on the reassessment of the entire Muslim intellectual tradition and rethinking the present concept and basis of social studies, humanities and science in Muslim countries. However, the focus of this paper is far narrower, since it discusses religious studies as a fairly homogenous area of science with similar methods and sources, which seem suitable for synthesis and a synthetic approach, and which are likely to produce faster positive effects. Discourse on the „Integration of Knowledge“ actually reveals that Islamic education has certain difficulties in the contemporary environment and that it has to find a new paradigm, which has been considered by many Muslim intellectuals around the world for a long time already.

islamske filozofije, jer „izazovi zapadne zanosti zahtijevaju da autentična islamska interpretacija povijesti islamske filozofije bude predstavljena na savremenom jeziku a da ipak ostane vjerna islamskom pogledu na filozofiju i njeno porijeklo.“¹⁸ Savremena poruka islama u cjelini zahtijeva novu autentičnu interpretaciju u modernom jeziku u kojoj će do izražaja doći njena inkluzivnost i univerzalni karakter. Tradicionalna znanja i interpretacije nemaju pravu upotrebnu vrijednost ukoliko se ne mogu prenijeti na novu generaciju kojoj će dati smisao. Možda je pravo pitanje čemu znanje i kakvo je to znanje ukoliko se ne može prenijeti i plodotvorno prihvatiti u novoj generaciji? Zadatak obrazovnih ustanova je da iz jedne u drugu generaciju prenose znanje pa time i da odgovore ovoj obavezi. Muhammed Asad upozorava da kasnije, pa i sadašnje, generacije muslimana, u svom razumijevanju vjere zadovoljavaju se mišljenjem i stavovima velikih muslimanskih učenjaka iz prvih stoljeća islama, ne ulažući potrebni napor da oni sami shvate izvore islama – Kur’an i Sunnet, te na temelju vlastitog razumijevanja ovih izvora iznova tumače svijet oko sebe. Ovi muslimani se zaustavljaju na mišljenjima ranih generacija muslimanskih učenjaka i ne trude se ići dalje do samih izvora vjere, odnosno da oni razumiju izvore islama i preispitaju učenja i rješenja ranijih muslimanskih učenjaka. Na taj način mišljenja ranijih učenjaka postaju prepreka za doseganje izvorne poruke i intencija Kur’ana i Sunneta u svakom vremenu, a stavovi ranijih generacija poprimaju funkciju posrednika pa i prepreke. Za Asada je kasniji *taqlid* – slijeđenje i imitacija mišljenja drugih učenjaka bez razmatranja njihovih dokaza na kojima su gradili svoje mišljenje „antiteza obavezi muslimana da misli i promišlja, što je tako nedvosmisleno u Kur’anu“.¹⁹

Obrazovni koncept koji se ovdje zagovara, autonomna revalorizacija i sinteza ukupne intelektualne tradicije islama u bosanskim islamskim obrazovnim ustanovama, neminovno vodi prema kritičkoj analizi diskursa o islamu i na Istoku i na Zapadu. Evidentno je da su određena tumačenja islama u muslimanskim državama u suštini bila ili još uvijek jesu instrument za održavanje političke moći, odnosno da je diskurs o islamu ustvari dio ili produžetak diskursa državne moći, a zapadnjački diskurs još uvijek je opterećen stereotipima i islamofobijom. Bosanski islamski obrazovni model je danas oslobođen diskursa moći nametnutog od strane države ili bilo koje ideologije, osim ukoliko se sam ne zapetlja u administrativno-birokratskim ograničenjima i dobrovoljno se ne preda sluganstvu diskursa moći izvan sebe.²⁰ Kritička analiza postojećih zapadnjačkih i istočnih diskursa o islamu veoma je bitna,

¹⁸ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamska filozofija od postanka do danas*; Tuzla: Centar za kulturu i edukaciju „Logos“, 2018., str. 115.

¹⁹ Muhammed Asad, *Šeri’at: islamsko zakonodavstvo* (Smjernice za razumijevanje u savremenom dobu); Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2017., str. 79.

²⁰ O obrazovnim modelima za školovanje imama u Evropi i modelu Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini vidjeti: Ahmet Alibašić, *Obrazovanje imama i islamskih teologa u Evropi*; Novi Muallim, godina XX, br. 78, 2019., str. 20-29.

²¹ „Ljudi se razlikuju u količini informacija, svejedno da li su u pitanju informacije iz oblasti Šerijata ili neke druge“, piše Selman el-Avde, ističući da su se iz tih razloga razilazili i Božiji poslanici, najugledniji ashabi Muhammeda, a. s., četverica imama, kao i drugi. „Ovakvo razilaženje u osnovi je milost i širina a problem nastaje kada se tu uključe strast, lični interesi, neprihvatljivo ophođenje, pa se to pretvori u neku vrstu cijepanja, svađe i sukoba među muslimanima. Kada je neki čovjek napisao knjigu i donio je imamu Ahmedu, uz riječi:

since the „challenges of Western science require the authentic Islamic interpretation of the history of Islamic philosophy to be presented in the modern language while remaining faithful to the Islamic view of philosophy and its origin.“¹⁸ The contemporary message of Islam as a whole asks for a new authentic interpretation in the modern language, which will highlight its inclusiveness and universal character. Traditional knowledge and interpretations are not truly useful if they cannot be passed on to a new generation and give meaning to it. The true question may be what knowledge is for and what kind of knowledge it is if it cannot be passed on and fruitfully accepted in a new generation. The task of educational institutions is to transfer knowledge from one generation to another and thus fulfill this obligation. Muhammad Assad warns that the later, even current generations of Muslims, in their understanding of faith, have been satisfied with the thinking and views of great Muslim scholars of the first centuries of Islam, without making the effort to understand the sources of Islam (Qur’an and Sunnah) by themselves and, based on their own understanding of these sources, re-interpret the world around them. These Muslims stop at the views of early generations of Muslim scholars and do not attempt to go further, to the very sources of faith, i.e. to gain their own understanding of the sources of Islam and reconsider the teachings and solutions of former Muslim scholars. In this way, the views of former scholars become an obstacle for fathoming the primordial message and intentions of the Qur’an and Sunnah in any age, while the views of former generations assume the function of mediator, and even of an obstacle. For Asad, later *taqlid*, following and imitating the views of other scholars, without reviewing the evidence on which they built their views, is „an antithesis to a Muslim’s duty of thinking and reflecting which is so unambiguously stressed in Qur’an.“¹⁹

The educational concept which is advocated here, autonomous reassessment and synthesis of the entire intellectual tradition of Islam in Bosnian Islamic educational institutions, inevitably leads to a critical analysis of the discourse on Islam both in the East and in the West. It is evident that certain interpretations of Islam in Muslim countries have essentially been a means for maintaining political power, i.e. that discourse on Islam is in fact a part or extension of the discourse of state power, while Western discourse is still burdened with stereotypes and islamophobia. The Bosnian Islamic educational model is presently free from the discourse of power imposed by the state or any ideology, unless it itself gets entangled in administrative-bureaucratic restrictions and voluntarily becomes a servant to the discourse of power beyond itself.²⁰ A critical analysis of the already existing Western and Eastern discourses on Islam is crucial, while potentially diverging analytical-critical

¹⁸ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamska filozofija od postanka do danas*; Tuzla: Centar za kulturu i edukaciju, Logos, 2018, p. 115.

¹⁹ Muhammad Asad, *This Law of Ours and Other Essays*; Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001, p. 54.

²⁰ On educational models for the education of imams in Europe, and on the model of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina see: Ahmet Alibašić, *Obrazovanje imama i islamskih teologa u Evropi*; Novi Muallim, godina XX, no. 78, 2019, pp. 20-29.

²¹ „People differ in the amount of information, whether it is information in the area of Shariah companions or other“, writes Salman al-Ouda, pointing out that it was the reason for the disagreement among God’s messengers, the most respectable Sahabah of Muhammad (peace be upon him), the four imams, and others. „This disagreement is essentially grace and broadness, and the problem arises when it begins to include passion, personal

dok eventualna analitičko-kritička ulemanska razilaženja, vođena znanstvenim motivima i poštenjem, dobronamjernim razgovorom i razmjenom mišljenja da bi se shvatila vlastita pozicija i svrha življenja u svijetu, u konačnici mogu biti milost susretanja.²¹

Cjelovit sintetički obrazovni koncept isključuje površnost i selektivnost. Rizikuje se temeljna greška izvođenjem zaključaka o cjelini na osnovu spoznaje samo njenih dijelova. Znamenita je Rumijeva parabola o slonu.²² U ovoj višeznačnoj paraboli Rumi slikovito ukazuje da donošenje zaključaka i tumačenje činjenica mora biti utemeljeno na osvjetljavanju i spoznaji cjeline predmeta. Spoznaja jednog ili više dijelova ne daje ispravnu sliku cjeline. Predmet mora biti izveden na svjetlo spoznaje. S druge strane, spoznajna sredstva moraju biti adekvatna, dodir dlana u potpunom mraku jeste jedan od spoznajnih alata, ali dlan ne može obuhvatiti cjelinu slonovog tijela. Svako je dohvatio isti predmet – slona, ali na različitim dijelovima i dobio različitu spoznaju. Premda je istinita spoznaja dodirnutog dijela, zaključak o cjelini je bio neispravan. Odlično poznavanje pojedinih tokove mišljenja unutar samo jedne muslimanske sredine ili samo jednog obrazovnog koncepta, nije dovoljno za donošenje ispravnih zaključaka o cjelini islamskog mišljenja ili obrazovnih koncepata. Tu nam pomaže sinteza koja nastaje osvjetljavanjem cjeline.

Još jedna Rumijeva parabola pomaže u sagledavanju savremene kakofonije, pa i obrazovne, o islamu i na Istoku i na Zapadu.²³ Siromašni Perzijanac, Arap, Turčin i Grk, kaže Rumi, posvađali su se oko toga kako da potroše darovani dirhem; svi su željeli kupiti grožđe, ali su tu želju iskazali na vlastitom jeziku. Iako su isto željeli, kako se nisu mogli razumjeti, započeli su svađu koja se pretvorila u tuču. Mudrac koji je poznao ove jezike bijaše u mogućnosti da za isti novac, kupivši grožđe, svoj četverici ispuni želju i tako otkloni uzrok svađe i sukoba. Kako bi se eliminirala ovovremena besmislena sporenja i nadišle *verbalne tuče* o marginalijama i partikularijama, nužno je usmjerenje na razumijevanje suštine poruke islama primjerene savremenom kontekstu tako što će se u vidu imati cjelina i jezik kojim će se ona izraziti.

‘Ovu sam knjigu nazvao Knjiga razilaženja’, tada mu je Ahmed rekao: ‘Nemoj je nazvati Knjiga razilaženja, već Knjiga širine.’ Iz ovoga se vidi njegovo razumijevanje. Neki učenjak je za ashabe rekao: ‘Njihov konsenzus je neoboriv dokaz, a njihovo razilaženje je prostrana milost.’ Omer ibn Abdulaziz kaže: ‘Tako mi Allaha, ne bi mi bilo drago da se ashabi nisu razišli, jer da su se u svemu složili, onda bi neslaganje s njima bilo zabluda. Međutim pošto su se razišli, svako mišljenje je sunnet i to daje dosta prostora.’ Selman el-Avde, *Kultura razilaženja*; u: *Zajednica srednjeg puta: teorija i praksa islamske umjerenosti*, Sarajevo: El-Kalem i Centar za dijalog – Vesatijja, 2013., str. 319.

²² Parabola se nalazi u 3. svesku *Mesneviye* Muhammeda Dželaludina Rumija, počinje sa 1259. stihom, i objašnjava kako su Indijci doveli slona i smjestili ga u mračnu prostoriju. Mnogo je došlo ljudi da vidi tog velikog stvora. Kako ga očima ne mogoše vidjeti, opisuje Rumi, dlanovima su ga u mraku opipavali. Onaj što položi ruku na surlu slona, reče da sličići vodovodnoj cijevi, onaj što je uho dodirivao kazaše da sličići lepezi. Treća osoba je dotakla nogu i reče da je slon poput stuba, dok onaj što je ruku na slonova leđa stavio odgovori: „Nema sumnje, ovaj slon sličići prijestolju“. Svako ga je opisivao prema onome što je dodirnuo. Tvrdnje su im se razlikovale, a da je „svaki od njih svijeću u ruci držao, nestalo bi razlika u njihovim tvrdnjama“. Rumi zaključuje da je bit osjetila ograničena poput dlana, a cjelina slona je nedostupna dlanu. Vidjeti: Karim Zamani, *Sharh-e jame' Mathnavi-e ma'anavi*; knjiga 3, Entesharat Ettela'at, Tehran, 1377., str. 313-315.

²³ Parabola o svađi između četverice prosjaka koji su htjeli kupiti grožđe za jedan zajednički dirhem nalazi se u 2. svesku *Mesneviye*, počevši od stiha 3681, a pripovijeda kako je neki čovjek poklonio jedan dirhem četverici prosjaka. Jedan od njih je na perzijskom kazao da hoće kupiti grožđe, drugi je ljutito na arapskom kazao da se ne slaže nego da on hoće kupiti *inab* – grožđe, a treći, koji bijaše Turčin,

opinions among 'ulamā' (scholars) guided by scientific motives and honesty and benevolent discussion and exchange of views aimed at understanding one's own position and meaning of life in the world, can ultimately be the grace of encounter.²¹

A comprehensive synthetic educational concept excludes superficiality and selectivity. Drawing conclusions about a whole based on an insight only into a part carries the risk of fundamental error. There is a famous Rumi parable about the elephant.²² In this multifaceted parable Rumi vividly suggests that drawing conclusions and the interpretation of facts must be based on the clarification and awareness of the whole of an object. Awareness of one or more parts does not give a proper image of the whole. The object must be brought to the light of awareness. On the other hand, the means of cognition have to be appropriate; a touch of the palm in pitch-darkness is one of the cognitive tools, but the palm cannot grasp the elephant's whole body. Each man touched the same object (elephant), but on its different parts and got a different cognition. Although the cognition of the touched part was correct, the conclusion about the whole was false. Excellent knowledge of individual streams of thought within a single Muslim environment, or of a single educational concept, is not sufficient for drawing proper conclusions about the whole of Islamic thinking or educational concepts. This is where we get help from synthesis, which is reached when the whole is illuminated.

Another Rumi parable is helpful for comprehending the contemporary cacophony pertaining to Islam, including that on education, both in the East and in the West.²³ A poor Persian, Arab, Turk and Greek, says Rumi, quarreled about how to spend one dirhem given to them; they each wanted to buy grapes, but expressed their desire in their own language. Although they all wanted the same thing, as they could not understand each other they began a quarrel that turned into a fight. A wise man who knew all these languages was able to fulfill each one's wish for the same money, i.e. by buying grapes, and thus eliminate the cause of the quarrel and conflict.

interests and unacceptable behavior, which turn it into a kind of split, argument and conflict among Muslims. When a man wrote a book and brought it to imam Ahmed, saying: 'I entitled this book The Book of Disagreement', Ahmed told him, 'Don't entitle it the Book of Disagreement, but rather the Book of Broadness!' This shows his understanding. A scholar said of Sahabah: 'Their consensus is an irrefutable proof, and their disagreement is a vast grace.' Umar ibn Abdul Aziz says: 'I swear by Allah, I would not have rejoiced if Sahabah had not disagreed, since if they had agreed about everything, disagreement with them would have been a delusion. However, since they did disagree, each opinion is a Sunnah and it gives space.' Selman el-Avde, *Kultura razilaženja*; in: *Zajednica srednjeg puta: teorija i praksa islamske umjerenosti*, Sarajevo: El-Kalem i Centar za dijalog – Vesatijja, 2013, p. 319.

²² The parable can be found in the third volume of Muhammad Jalalu'ddin Rumi's *Mathnawi* starting from verse 1259. It explains that a Hindu brought an elephant and put it in a dark house. Many people came to see the large creature. As seeing it with the eye was impossible, narrates Rumi, each one was feeling it in the dark with the palm of his hand. The hand of one fell on its trunk, and he said that this creature was like a water-pipe. The hand of another touched its ear and he said that to him it appeared to be like a fan. The third person touched its leg and said he found the elephant's shape to be like a pillar. Another laid his hand on the elephant's back and said: „Truly, this elephant is like a throne“. Everybody described it according to what he touched. Their statements differed, and if „there had been a candle in each one's hand, the difference would have gone out of their words“. Rumi concludes that the eye of sense-perception is only like the palm of the hand: the palm does not have the power to reach the whole of the elephant. See: Karim Zamani, *Sharh-e Jame' Masnavi-ye Maanavi*; Volume 3, Entesharat Ettela'at, Tehran, 1377, pp. 313-315.

²³ The parable about a quarrel of four men who wanted to buy grapes for a common dirhem can be found in the second volume of *Mathnawi* starting from verse 3681 and narrates that a certain man gave a dirhem to four beggars. One of them said in Persian that he wanted to buy augur (grapes), the second said angrily in Arabic that he didn't agree, that he would rather buy *inab* (grapes), while the third, a Turk, said: „This money is mine, and I don't want *inab*, I want only *uzum!*“ Then the fourth, a Greek by origin, said: „Stop this talk, friends: I want *istafil!*“ And these people began fighting in contention with one another, because they were unaware of the hidden meaning of the names. In their folly and ignorance they smote each other



ILUSTRACIJA - Dželaludin Rumi, Mevlana: *Mesnevija*, 1663. godine.: Poznata priča iz *Masnavi ma'navi* (duhovna pjesma) Dželaludina Rumija koja je naslovljena kao "Slon u mračnoj sobi". (Rekonstrukcija) Detaljnije, vidi fusnotu br. 22.

ILUSTRACIJE DESNO: Naslovna stranica jednog od poglavlja *Mesneviye* s iluminiranim zaglavljem; Portret Dželaludina Rumija, Mevlane.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Maulana: *Maṣnavī-i ma'navī*, 1663. A well-known story of the *Masnavi ma'navi* (Spiritual Poem) of the Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī is entitled „The Elephant in the Dark Room“. (Reconstruction) See footnote no. 22.

ILLUSTRATIONS RIGHT: Title page of one of the chapters *Maṣnavī-i ma'navī* with an illuminated header; Portrait Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Maulana.



Poruka islama, čini se više nego prije, ima potrebu za univerzalnim jezikom koji nadilazi selektivne i ideološke jezike nacionalnih i lokalnih granica i interesa, te za mudracem koji ga zna i može iskazati.

Kontekstualni pristup

Drugi suštinski važan aspekt tumačenja islama u obrazovnim ustanovama Islamske zajednice jeste kontekstualni pristup, tj. znati u kojem širem društvenom kontekstu treba realizirati Božansku poruku kako bi ona u njemu bila ne samo normativna i formativna za muslimane nego svakom čovjeku poruka vidljive nade i spokoja, poruka duhovnog rasta, svjesnog i slobodnog izbora između svih drugih poruka sa kojima se moderni čovjek suočava. Drugim riječima kazano, proizvoditi novo znanje o vjeri koje će biti značajno u konkretnom kontekstu i okolnostima realnog života društva.

Za bosanske islamske obrazovne ustanove to je, prije svega, evropski kontekst u kojem se sve manje jasno i strogo odvajaju religijske i svjetovne sfere, gdje se svjetovno i religijsko miješaju i u različitosti koegzistiraju prelazeći nekadašnje linije razdvajanja. „U posljednjih 20 do 30 godina granice između duhovnog i svjetovnog postale su nejasne i religije mogu utjecati na javni diskurs i u pitanjima o kojima ranije nisu mogle raspravljati.“²⁴ Stoga, bosansko islamsko obrazovanje u savremenom evropskom kontekstu, za razliku od tema kojima se bavilo krajem 19. i prvih desetljeća 20. stoljeća, suočeno je s potrebom da nalazi valjane odgovore na izazove materijalističke filozofije i kulture, sekularizma i postsekularizma, virtuelne stvarnosti i umreženog društva, propituje vlastite pozicije unutar „mnogostrukih modernosti“²⁵ savremenog svijeta, razvija kredibilna načela za dijalog s ateistima,

reče: „Novac je moj, a ja neću `inab, već samo uzum želim!“ A onda se oglasi i četvrti prosjak, Grk porijeklom, pa im reče: „Prođite se, prijatelji, pustih priča: ja želim istafil.“ „I sva četverica svađu zapodjenuše, jer tajnu ovih imena ne znadoše. U neznanju i neukosti ogrezli pesnicama se udarali“, kaže Rumi i nastavlja, da se „mudrac koji tajnu pozna i govori stotine jezika tu slučajno našao, sigurno bi ih izmirio i ovako im rekao: 'Ovim ću jednim dirhemom sve vaše želje ispuniti redom. Ako mi srca neiskvarena povjerite, ovaj će vam novčić podariti sve želje. Jedan će dirhem postati četiri i četvericu dušmana ujediniti. Vaše vas riječi u svađi razdvajaju, a moj vas govor miri u sjedinjenju.“

Vidjeti: *Zamani, Sharh-e Jame'*, knjiga 2, str. 877 – 879.

²⁴ Silvio Ferrari, *Religija u evropskim javnim prostorima: pravni pregled*; Context: Časopis za interdisciplinarne studije, god. 1, br. 2, 2014., Centar za napredne studije, str. 10.

²⁵ „Mnogostruke modernosti“ ili „višestruke modernosti“ je termin koji je izraelski sociolog Šmuel Ajzenštat (Shmuel Eisenstadt) afirmirao osporavajući dominirajuću tezu da modernizacija znači „vesternizaciju“ nezapadnih društva. Zemlje u razvoju i postkolonijalne zemlje imaju svoje obrasce modernizacije koji ne moraju korespondirati sa zapadnim obrascima, čak su i antizapadni ali se za njih ne može reći da su antimoderni. Moderna nije jednoznačna, nego je zbir heterogenih, dinamičnih i pluralnih, mnogostrukih procesa i kulturnih programa što bitno preispituju simboličke i institucionalne pretpostavke zapadnih država. Modernizacija je zahvatila veći dio svijeta, ali nije dovela do nastanka samo jedne civilizacije ili jedne kulturne forme, nego se u Aziji ili Latinskoj Americi vidi nastanak više modernih obrazaca koji se različito razvijaju.

S. N. Eisenstadt, *Multiple Modernities*; Daedalus, vol. 129, no. 1, Winter, 2000, pp. 1-29, The MIT Press on behalf of American Academy of Arts & Sciences Stable, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027613>, pristupljeno: 20. 02. 2020.

Iz islamske perspektive za svaki od tih obrazaca modernosti nužno je imati adekvatan odgovor i u njega ugrađivati duhovni potencijal islamske poruke.

To eliminate the current meaningless arguments and overcome „verbal fights“ about the marginal and the particular, it is necessary to focus on understanding the essence of the message of Islam adjusted to the contemporary context, by taking into account the whole, and the language in which it will be expressed. Now more than ever, the message of Islam needs a universal language that transcends the selective and ideological languages of national and local borders and interests, and a sage who understands and can express it.

Contextual approach

The second essential aspect of interpreting Islam in educational institutions of the Islamic Community is the contextual approach, i.e. the awareness of the broader social context in which the Divine Message should be implemented, to make it not merely normative and formative for Muslims, but a message to every man of visible hope and serenity; a message of spiritual growth, and of conscious and free choice, among all the other messages that modern man is encountering. In other words, to produce a new knowledge of faith that will be significant in the actual context and circumstances of the society's real life.

For Bosnian Islamic educational institutions, this is primarily the European context, where the religious and profane spheres are separated increasingly less clearly and rigorously, where the profane and the religious mingle and coexist in their differences, transcending the previous dividing lines. „Over the last 20 to 30 years, borders between the spiritual and secular have become blurred and religions can affect public discourse even on issues that could not be discussed before.“²⁴ Consequently, as opposed to topics it dealt with in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Bosnian Islamic education in the contemporary European context is faced with the need to find proper answers to the challenges of materialistic philosophy and culture, secularism and post-secularism, virtual reality and networked society, and to question its own positions within the „multiple modernities“²⁵ of the contemporary world, as well as to develop credible principles for dialogue with atheists,

with their fists, says Rumi and he goes on to say that if a master of the esoteric had been there, a revered and multi-lingual man, he would have pacified them and he would have said: „With this one dirhem I will give all of you what you wish. When without deceit you surrender your hearts to me, this dirhem will do all this for you. Your one dirhem will become four; four enemies will become one through unanimity. What each of you says produces strife and separation; what I say brings you agreement.“ See: *Zamani, Sharh-e Jame'*, Volume 2, pp. 877 – 879.

²⁴ Silvio Ferrari, *Religija u evropskim javnim prostorima: pravni pregled*; Context: Časopis za interdisciplinarne studije, year 1, no. 2, 2014, Centar za napredne studije, p. 10.

²⁵ „Multiple modernities“ is a term promoted by Israeli sociologist Shmuel Eisenstadt challenging the prevailing proposition that modernization implies the „Westernization“ of non-Western societies. Developing countries and post-colonial countries have their own patterns of modernization, which do not necessarily correspond to Western patterns, which are even anti-Western, but they cannot be considered anti-modern. Modernism is not uniform, but rather a sum of heterogeneous, dynamic and pluralist, multiple processes and cultural programs that essentially question the symbolic and institutional assumptions of Western countries. Modernization has encompassed a large part of the world, though it has not led to the emergence of a single civilization or a single cultural form; rather, in Asia and Latin America one can observe the emergence of several modern patterns that develop differently. S. N. Eisenstadt, „Multiple Modernities“, Daedalus, vol. 129, no. 1, (Winter, 2000), pp. 1-29, The MIT Press on behalf of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences Stable, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20027613>, accessed on: 20. 02. 2020. From an Islamic perspective, it is necessary to have a proper response to each of these patterns of modernity and incorporate the spiritual potential of Islamic message in it.

agnostics and many other worldviews.²⁶ Na ravni svakodnevnog života društva, pored međuvjerskog dijaloga, vjerovatno je najvažniji izazov za ulemu dijalog s agnosticima i ateistima, suočavanje s argumentima nevjere i agnostičkog humanizma, saradnja s različitim društvenim akterima radi očuvanja zdravorazumske etike i temeljnih etičkih vrijednosti. To znači da se vrijednosti iz vlastite tradicije *prevode* u sekularni i javni jezik društva, računajući da u procesu *prevođenja* može doći do izvjesnih nesporazuma i redukcija.²⁷ U takvim društvima islamska misao i tradicija trebaju naći svoje mjesto i funkciju, te pronaći unutrašnju snagu i sposobnost dijaloškog susretanja i odmjeravanja, argumentiranog sukobljavanja i podudaranja.

U *Prilozima za povijest islamskog mišljenja u Bosni i Hercegovini* Enes Karić navodi da je jedna od karakteristika islamskog mišljenja u Bosni i Hercegovini bilo prilagođavanje. „Smatramo da je središnje mjesto u islamskom mišljenju Bosanskih muslimana krajem 19. i tokom 20. stoljeća pitanje prilagođavanja Evropi i evropskim civilizacijskim obrascima. Stoga se s pravom može kazati da je islamsko mišljenje Bosanskih muslimana podređeno mnogolikim procesima prilagođavanja. Islamski i muslimanski mislilac prilagođava i sebe i svoju vjeru, bolje kazati njeno tumačenje, novom vremenu.“²⁸ Međutim to prilagođavanje danas ne bi smjelo biti puka i inferiorna imitacija konteksta ili povodljivo nastojanje da se dopadne kontekstu nauštrb suštine poruke islama i muslimanskog identiteta.²⁹ Umjesto inferiornosti i imitacije, nužno je osposobiti bosansko muslimansko društvo da može svaki kontekst oplemeniti vlastitim vrijednostima i preraditi ga kroz vlastitu tradiciju, jer će se

²⁶ „O čemu su vođene rasprave? Kakvu školu imati? Kakvu odjeću nositi? Kakvu kapu na glavu stavljati? Smije li musliman nositi šešir? Da li žena muslimanka može otkriti svoje lice i odbaciti feredžu i zar? Da li imati savremene škole? Da li žensku djecu slati u savremene škole? Smije li muslimanka biti društveno angažirana? Smiju li se muslimani iseljavati u Tursku i da li se to može tumačiti hidžrom. Šta sa starim muslimanskim grobljima u Bosni i da li se mogu iskorištavati za stanogradnju, parkove, puteve? Kako urediti sistem vakufa? Da li je bankovna kamata isto što i *al-ribā*, o kojoj Kur'an govori, i smije li musliman poslovati preko banke? Da li je hilafet ukinut za sva vremena i trebaju li muslimani imati halifu? Ova i brojna druga slična pitanja pretežno su zaokupljala islamske i muslimanske mislioe u Bosni i Hercegovini od kraja 19. do početka druge polovine 20. stoljeća, ali u manjoj mjeri i kasnije.“

Enes Karić, *Islamski reformistički pokreti kod Bošnjaka (pregled bosanskih muslimanskih rasprava za i protiv obnove i reforme u XX stoljeću)*, u: *Zbornik radova Naučnog skupa „Islamska tradicija Bošnjaka: izvori, razvoj i institucije, perspektive“*, 14. 15. i 16. novembar 2007., Rijaset Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, 2008., str. 338-339.

²⁷ Njemački filozof Jürgen Habermas smatra neophodnim „prevođenje“ religijskog jezika u javnom prostoru u sekularnoj i svjetonazorski neutralnoj državi. Naime, vjernici i vjerske zajednice u sekularnoj državi moraju biti sposobni svoja vjerska uvjerenja, stavove i njihovo obrazlaganje prevesti u jezik koji će biti razumljiv i prikladan javnom diskursu. Potreban je obostrano razumljiv jezik, odnosno pronaći jedan zajednički jezik u rješavanju svjetovnih problema, a prevođenjem religijskih uvjerenja u jedan sekularni jezik vjerski argumenti imaju veći izgled da dobiju saglasnost opće javnosti.

²⁸ Enes Karić, *Prilozi za povijest islamskog mišljenja u Bosni i Hercegovini u XX stoljeću*; knjiga 1, Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2004., str. 38.

²⁹ U bosanskoj javnosti mnogo pažnje i suprotstavljenih reakcija jedno stoljeće u odnosu na period o kojem govori dr. Karić, izazvao je iskaz reisu-l-uleme Mustafe Cerića na svečanosti otvorenja ponovo izgrađene džamije u Hercegovini 2008. godine, kazavši tom prilikom: „Kome da se mi prilagođavamo, neka se oni nama prilagođavaju, dosta je bilo našeg prilagođavanja. Sad je vrijeme da se oni nama prilagode.“ U ovom iskazu može se uočavati stanovita ambivalentnost. S jedne strane, iskaz ukazuje na svjesnost onoga što Karić opisuje kao „prilagođavanje islamskog mišljenja“ evropskom kontekstu koje traje cijelo 20. stoljeće, i koje na kraju toga stoljeća ipak nije sačuvalo Bošnjake od stradanja i genocida, a, s druge strane, ukazuje na naraslu novu svijest i potrebu traženja vlastitog puta, a ne samo prilagođavanja, koje je u suštini inferiorni položaj i vegetiranje. Moglo bi se kazati da je to zahtjev za izlazak iz faze *prilagođavanja* i ulazak u fazu *afirmacije* i punog ili konačnog *priznavanja*.

agnostics and many other worldviews.²⁶ At the level of societal daily life, the most important challenge for the Muslim scholras, besides inter-religion dialogue, is a dialogue with agnostics and atheists, facing arguments of unbelief and agnostic humanism, and cooperation with various social players aimed at preserving common-sense ethics and fundamental ethical values. It implies the „translation“ of values from one’s own tradition into the secular and public language of the society, keeping in mind that some misunderstandings and reductions may arise in the „translation“ process.²⁷ In such societies, Islamic thought and tradition should find their place and function, and find the inner strength and ability for dialogue encounters and the testing of strength, for informed confrontation and agreement.

In *Contributions for the History of Islamic Thought in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Enes Karić claims that one of the characteristics of Islamic thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina was adjustment. „We believe that central to Islamic thinking of Bosnian Muslims in the late 19th and in the 20th century was the *issue of adjusting to Europe* and European civilization patterns. Therefore, one can rightly say that Bosnian Muslims’ Islamic thinking was subject to *multiple processes of adjustment*. The Islamic and Muslim thinker adjusts himself and his faith or, better put, its interpretation, to the new age.“²⁸ Nowadays, however, this adjustment must not be a mere and inferior imitation of context or pliable endeavor to become appealing to context at the expense of the essence of the message of Islam and Muslim identity.²⁹ Instead of inferiority and imitation, it is necessary to make Bosnian Muslim society capable of refining any context with its own values and of processing it through its own tradition, since it is only in this way that it will feel comfortable and

²⁶ „What were the discussions about? What school should we have? What clothes to wear? What cap to put on our head? Can a Muslim wear a hat? Can a Muslim woman show her face and throw away burka and hijab? Should we have modern schools? Should we send female children to modern schools? Can a Muslim woman be socially engaged? Are Muslims allowed to emigrate to Turkey and can it be considered as Hijra? What about old Muslim cemeteries in Bosnia and can they be used for residential construction, parks, roads? How to organize the waqf system? Is the bank interest rate the same as *al-ribā*, which is described in the Qur'an, and is a Muslim allowed to deal with a bank? Has the Caliphate been abolished forever, and should Muslims have a Caliphate? These and many similar questions preoccupied Islamic and Muslim thinkers in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the late 19th to the beginning of the second half of the 20th century and, to a lesser degree, later on as well.“

Enes Karić, *Islamski reformistički pokreti kod Bošnjaka (pregled bosanskih muslimanskih rasprava za i protiv obnove i reforme u XX stoljeću)*; in: *Zbornik radova Naučnog skupa „Islamska tradicija Bošnjaka: izvori, razvoj i institucije, perspektive“*, 14, 15, and 16 November 2007, Rijaset Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini, Sarajevo, 2008, pp. 338-339.

²⁷ The German philosopher Jürgen Habermas believes that it is necessary to „translate“ religious language in the public space in a secular country to be neutral in terms of worldview. Indeed, believers and religious communities in a secular country must be capable of translating their religious beliefs, their views and their justification into a language that will be understandable and suitable for the public discourse. A mutually understandable language is necessary, i.e. it is necessary to find a common language in resolving secular problems, and the translation of religious beliefs into a secular language makes religious arguments more likely to receive agreement by the general public.

²⁸ Enes Karić, *Prilozi za povijest islamskog mišljenja u Bosni i Hercegovini u XX stoljeću*; volume 1, (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2004), p. 38.

²⁹ A century after the period discussed by Dr. Karić, a lot of attention and contradictory responses in the Bosnian public followed a statement, made at the opening ceremony on the occasion of a re-constructed mosque in Herzegovina in 2008 by Raisu-l-ulama Mustafa Cerić, who said: „Why should we adjust to anybody, let them adjust to us, we have had enough of adjustment. Now is the time for them to adjust to us.“ A certain ambiguity can be discerned in this statement. On the one hand, the statement suggests the awareness of what Karić describes as „adjustment of Islamic thinking“ to the European context, which lasted throughout the 20th century and which, at the end of the century, still did not save Bosniaks from suffering and genocide. On the other hand, it points to the heightened new awareness and the need to seek their own path, rather than merely adjust, which is essentially an inferior position and vegetative state. It can be claimed that it is a request for exiting the stage of adjustment and entering the stage of *promotion* and full or ultimate *recognition*.

samo na taj način u njemu osjećati komotno i svojim. Korisno je zapažanje Fikreta Karčića da su se razlozi ograničenih dometa tanzimatskih reformi u Osmanskom carstvu sredinom 19. stoljeća, pored opozicionog djelovanja muslimana prema njihovoj implementaciji i političkog otpora nemuslimana, nalazili i u načinu na koji su one započete. „Tanzimatske reforme nisu počele sa pokušajem da se promijeni tradicionalni mentalitet muslimana Osmanlijske države tako da se oni pripreme za suočavanje sa izazovima modernih vremena. Umjesto toga, osmanlijski modernisti počeli su sa direktnim posuđivanjem evropskih karakteristika modernosti i njihovim presađivanjem u osmanlijski milje. Taj pristup doveo je do otuđivanja osmanlijske elite od običnih muslimana a nije u potpunosti zadovoljio ni nemuslimane.“³⁰ Kvalitet obrazovanja i znanja ako nije u saglasju s kontekstom u kojem se treba implementirati, neće polučiti željene rezultate. Ziauddin Sardar na primjeru odbijanja Indijanaca da prihvate ponudu vlade Virdžinije za školovanje jednog broja njihovih sinova, uprkos tome što je to bilo ispravno rezonovanje, jer su pravilno Indijanci procijenili da za njih obrazovanje Virdžinije nije bilo adekvatno, zaključuje kako to odbijanje i njihov takav izbor nije spasio Indijance i njihovu kulturu od kolonijalizma i pokoravanja. Sardar dodaje da su kasnije i muslimani na sličan način postupili znajući da koncept zapadnog obrazovanja nije adekvatan njihovom konceptu života i dugoj obrazovnoj tradiciji, međutim ni Indijanci ni muslimani nisu sebi pomogli tako što su ignorirali realno stanje stvari. Razlika u moći Indijance je dovela do izumiranja a muslimane do pokoravanja.³¹

Znanje, naročito u području društvenih i humanističkih disciplina, je kontekstualno i neodvojivo je od društvenog, kulturnog, intelektualnog i političkog ambijenta i stanja zajednice u kojoj ono nastaje. Islamsko obrazovanje za rad u evropskom kontekstu neminovno, ako hoće biti relevantno, mora staviti u fokus proučavanja ključna pitanja evropskog okruženja i nuditi na njega zadovoljavajuće odgovore. Poznato je iz kur'anskog teksta da kontekst čak provocira i direktnu Božiju reakciju i intervenciju. U tefsirskoj nauci nalaze se poglavlja o povodima objavljivanja određenih kur'anskih ajeta i sura. U njima se jasno ističu koji su konkretni događaji ili prilike bili povod za objavu tih ajeta i koja su konkretna

³⁰ Fikret Karčić, *Bošnjaci i izazovi modernosti: kasni osmanlijski i habsburšku period*; Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2004., str. 155.

³¹ „Na potpisivanju Lančesterskog sporazuma između vlade Virdžinije i Šest nacija 1774. godine u Pensilvaniji, u želji da poboljšaju uvjete autohtonog stanovništva, komesari iz Virdžinije izrazili su želju da osnuju fond za obrazovanje indijanske omladine na koledžu Williamburg. 'Ako bi Šest nacija poslalo šest svojih mladića na naš koledž', kazao je vladin glasnogovornik, 'mi bismo im osigurali obrazovanje modernog svijeta.' Indijanski glasnogovornik zamislio se se na trenutak a zatim je odgovorio: *Mi znamo da vi mnogo cijenite način obrazovanja koji se provodi na tim koledžima, a održavanje naših mladića bilo bi vam veoma skupo. Stoga smo uvjereni da nam svojim prijedlogom želite učiniti nešto dobro i srdačno vam zahvaljujemo. Međutim, vi koji ste mudri, morate znati da različite nacije imaju različite koncepcije stvari; nećete me shvatiti pogrešno ako naše razumijevanje ove vrste obrazovanja slučajno ne bude isto kao vaše. Mi imamo već neko iskustvo na tom polju. Naših nekoliko mladića prethodno je vaspitano na koledžima u sjevernim provincijama; obučavani su u svim vašim naukama, ali su, pošto su se vratili nazad nama, bili su loši trkači, ignorirali su svako sredstvo života u šumama, nisu mogli podnijeti hladnoću i glad, nisu znali sagraditi kolibu, uhvatiti jelena ili ubiti neprijatelja, govorili su naš jezik loše, pa nisu bili spremni da budu ni lovci, ni ratnici, ni vaspitači. Nisu bili dobri ni za šta. Veoma smo počastvovani vašom ljubaznom ponudom, iako je ne možemo prihvatiti. A da bismo vam pokazali da cijenimo ponudu, ako nam gospoda iz Virdžinije pošalje nekolicinu svojih sinova, pobrinut ćemo se za njihovo obrazovanje, podučit ćemo ih svemu što znamo i načiniti ljude od njih.*“ Sardar, Henzell-Thomas, *Preispitivanje reforme u visokom obrazovanju*; str. 103-104. Sardar dodaje, str. 159, da riječi indijanskog glasnogovornika navodi Benjamin Franklin u dokumentu *Remarks concerning the savages of North America*; London, 1784; citira ih Thomas Lambo, *Relevance of Western education to developing countries*; Teilhard Review 2 (1) str. 2-4 (1976).

authentic. Fikret Karčić made the useful observation that the reasons for the limited scope of the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire of the mid-20th century, besides the oppositional activity of Muslims toward the implementation of the reforms and the political resistance of non-Muslims, can be found in the way in which they were initiated. „The Tanzimat reforms did not begin with the attempt to change the traditional mindset of the Ottoman state Muslims in aiming to prepare them for facing challenges of modern times. Rather, Ottoman modernists began to directly borrow the European characteristics of modernity and transplant them into the Ottoman milieu. This approach led to the alienation of the Ottoman elite from common Muslims, and it did not fully satisfy non-Muslims either.“³⁰ If it is not in line with the context in which it will be implemented, the quality of knowledge and education will not yield the desired results. Ziauddin Sardar uses the example of the Indians' refusal to accept the offer by the government of Virginia for the schooling of a certain number of their sons, despite its good intentions, since the Indians rightly estimated that a Virginian education was not suitable for them, and concludes that this refusal and this choice did not save the Indians and their culture from colonialism and submission. Sardar adds that later on, Muslims acted in a similar way, knowing that the concept of Western education did not correspond to their concept of living and their long educational tradition; however, neither the Indians nor Muslims could help themselves by ignoring the actual state of affairs. The difference in power brought Indians to extinction, and Muslims to submission.³¹

Knowledge, particularly in the area of social studies and humanities, is contextual and inseparable from the social, cultural, intellectual and political environment and conditions in the community in which it develops. If it strives to be relevant, Islamic education, in order to work in the European context, must inevitably focus on studying the key questions of the European environment and provide satisfying answers to them. We know, from the Qur'an text, that context provokes even God's direct response and intervention. In Tafsir science one can find chapters on the motives for proclaiming some **Qur'an ayahs** (sentences) and **suras** (chapters). They clearly point out which actual events or circumstances were the motive for proclaiming these **ayahs** (sentences),

³⁰ Fikret Karčić, *Bošnjaci i izazovi modernosti: kasni osmanlijski i habsburšku period*; Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2004, p. 155.

³¹ „At the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, between the Government of Virginia and the Six Nations, the Commissioners from Virginia, motivated to improve the conditions of the indigenous people, expressed their wish to establish a Fund for Educating Indians youth at Williamsburg College. If the Six Nations would send down half a dozen of their lads to our college, the Government spokesman said, we would provide for them and ensure that they are educated in the ways of the modern world. The Indian spokesman thought for a moment, and then replied: *We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those Colleges, and the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive for you. We are convinced, therefore, that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you, who are wise, must know that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the Colleges of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences, but, when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor counsellors. They were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it. And to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.*“ Sardar, Henzell-Thomas, *Rethinking Reform in Higher Education*; pp. 103-104. Sardar adds, on p. 159, that the Indian spokesman's words were reported by Benjamin Franklin, in *Remarks concerning the savages of North America*; London, 1784; quoted by Thomas Lambo, *Relevance of Western education to developing countries*; Teilhard Review 2 (1), pp. 2-4 (1976).

pitanja rješavali. Božija objava ne ignorira kontekst, štaviše pokazuje njegovu veliku važnost. Također, muslimanska intelektualna tradicija baštini praksu primjene vjere u kontekstu, današnji muslimani su nasljednici tradicije istaknutih mislilaca koji su objedinjavali visoke domete u vjerskim i prirodnim naukama. Nasr uočava da su u klasičnom razdoblju islamske civilizacije muslimanski filozofi ustvari bili filozofi – znanstvenici; oni nisu samo filozofirali i bavili se umskom spekulacijom, nego su bili i dobri poznavaoци prirodnih nauka.³² Danas je bosanskim muslimanima potrebna ulema-kulturolozi, ulema-antropolozi, ulema-komparativisti, „ulema-evropolozi“, „ulema-okcidentalisti“ u najširem smislu, na način da uz teološko znanje ulema izvrsno kombinira dubinske uvide u savremene zapadne društvene, kulturološke, prirodne i tehničke discipline. U takvoj sintezi obrazovni muslimanski sistem može na autentičan način perspektivno artikulirati muslimanske potrebe i svjetonazor, te afirmirati univerzalnu i inkluzivnu poruku islama. Ziauddin Sardar, raspravljajući o reformi muslimanskog obrazovanja, poziva se na Etienne Wengera, prema kojem učenje, kako se navodi, „nije puko stjecanje vještina, već postajanje čovjekom – znalцем u kontekstu, gdje je ono što znači znati naučeno s obzirom na poredak kompetencija određene zajednice.“³³ Termin *znalac u kontekstu* čini se vrlo korisnim. Činjenica je da muslimani danas imaju mnogo znalaca i uleme izvan konteksta, znanja o islamu ali, ipak, izvan savremenog konteksta. Stoga se veoma dugo osjeti snažna i neodložna potreba da se u obrazovnom sistemu profilira ulema-konteksta, znalci koji uz vjerska znanja posjeduju autoritativno znanje konteksta.



ILUSTRACIJA – Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Aṣṣār Tabrīzī: *Mihr u školi* – Detalj sa stranice iz *Mihr-u Muštārī* (Sunce i Jupiter), Buhara 1523-24.
ILLUSTRATION – Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad 'Aṣṣār Tabrīzī: *Mihr at school* – Detail from the page *Mihr-u Muštārī*, Bukhara 1523-24.

³² „Ovo kombiniranje filozofije s jurisprudencijom i drugim vjerskim znanostima zanimljiv je fenomen koji se razlikuje od onog što se može vidjeti u ranoj islamskoj povijesti. Raniji slavni filozofi, poput Al-Kindija, Al-Farabija, Al-Amirija i Ibn Sinaa, znali su nešto o jurisprudenciji i drugim vjerskim znanostima, ali niko osim Ibn Rushda nije smatran autoritetom u pogledu te teme. Zapravo, većinom su to bili znanstvenici, a mnogi su se bavili praktičnom medicinom, kao npr. Razi i Ibn Sina. Od Tusija pa nadalje vidimo filozofe koji su također bili teolozi, pravnici ili oboje, što smo imali priliku ranije vidjeti u ovoj knjizi. Međutim, sve do pojave isfahanske škole mnogi filozofi i dalje ostaju biti znanstvenici, kao što su Tusi Ghiyath al-Din Dashtaki, Shams al-Din Khafri i Fath Allah Shirazi.“
Nasr, *Islamska filozofija od postanka do danas*; str. 254.

³³ Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity. Learning in Doing: Social, Cognitive and Computational Perspectives*; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, navedeno prema: Sardar, Henzell-Thomas, *Preispitivanje reforme*, 2008., str. 61.

and which actual issues they resolved. The Divine Revelation does not ignore context; on the contrary, it shows its great importance. Besides, Muslim intellectual tradition inherits the practice of the application of faith in context; today's Muslims are heirs to the tradition of prominent thinkers who integrated high achievements in religious studies and science. Nasr observes that in the classical period of Islamic civilization Muslim philosophers were actually philosopher-scientists; they did not only philosophize, nor were they involved only in mental speculation; on the contrary, they also had a sound knowledge of the sciences.³² At present, Bosnian Muslims need 'ulamā'-culturologists, 'ulamā'-anthropologists, 'ulamā'-comparativists, „'ulamā'-Europeologists“, „'ulamā'-Occidentalists“ in the broadest sense, in the way that 'ulamā' admirably combine theological knowledge with an in-depth knowledge of contemporary Western social, cultural, technical studies and science. With such a synthesis, the Muslim educational system can articulate Muslim needs and worldview in an authentic and promising manner, and promote the universal and inclusive message of Islam. Discussing the reform of Muslim education, Ziauddin Sardar refers to Etienne Wenger, according to whom learning, as cited, „is not acquiring skills and information; it is becoming a certain person – a knower in a context where what it means to know is negotiated with respect to the regime of competence of a community.“³³ The term „knower in a context“ seems to be very useful. The fact is that Muslims presently have many knowers and 'ulamā' (scholars) beyond context; with a rich knowledge of Islam, but beyond the contemporary context. Consequently, there has long been a strong and pressing need for the educational system to profile context-'ulamā' (scholars), 'ulamā' (the Muslim scholars) of context, knowers who possess both the religious knowledge and the authoritative knowledge of context.



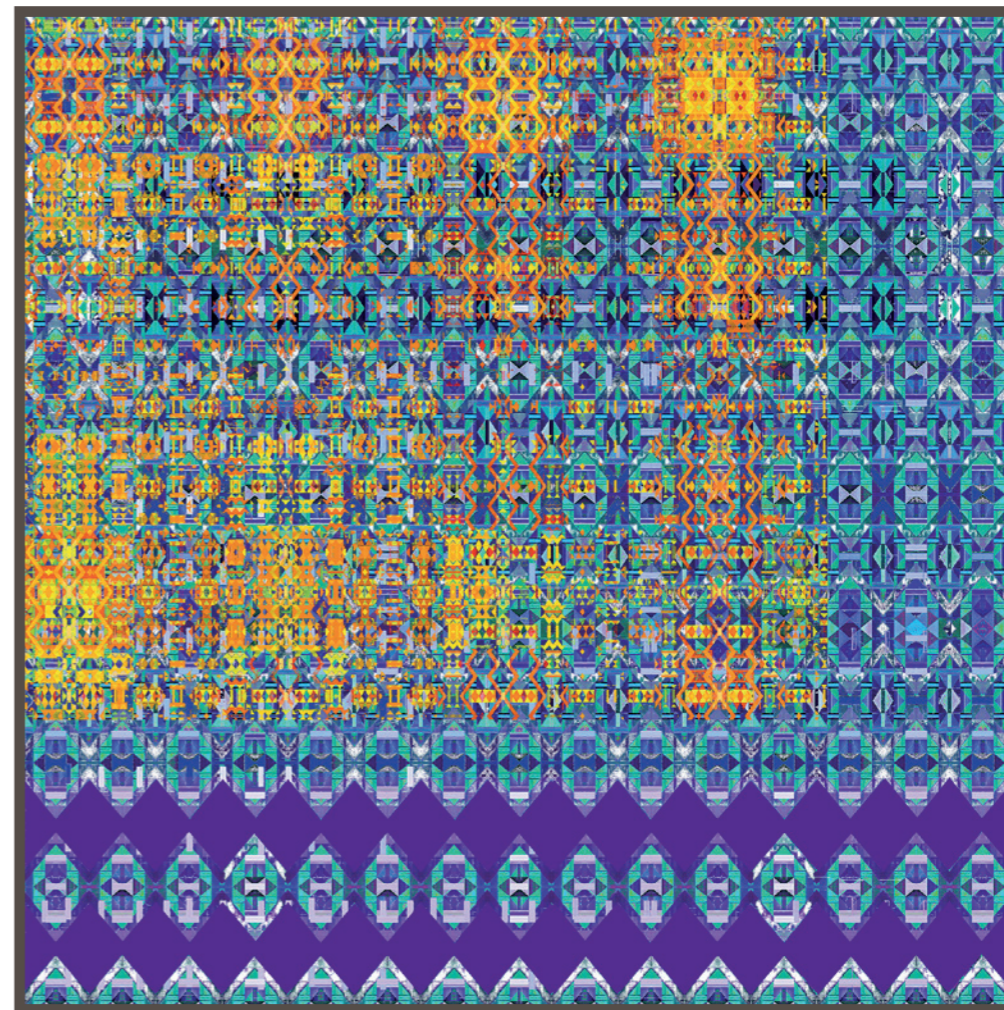
ILUSTRACIJA – Ḥusām al-Dīn Chelebī: Detail from the illustrations *A Samāc During the Leadership of Rūmī's Successor*, Iraq, Baghdad 1590s.
ILLUSTRATION – Ḥusām al-Dīn Chelebī: Detalj sa ilustracije *Rukovođenje Samāc-a – nasljednika Rumija* (Mevlevi madresa), Irak, Bagdad 1590-ih.

³² „This combination of philosophy with jurisprudence and other religious studies is an interesting phenomenon which differs from what can be observed in former Islamic history. Former famous philosophers such as Al-Kindī, Al-Fārābī, Al-Amīrī and Ibn Sīnā knew something about jurisprudence and other religious studies, but no one except Ibn Rushd was considered an authority on this topic. Indeed, they were mostly scientists, and many were involved in practical medicine, such as Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā. From Tūsī on, we see philosophers who were also theologians, lawyers or both, which we could see earlier in this book. However, until the establishment of Isfahan School, many philosophers still remained scientists as well; Tūsī Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī, Shams al-Dīn Khafri and Faṭḥ Allah Shirāzī are some of them.“
Nasr, *Islamska filozofija od postanka do danas*; p. 254.

³³ Etienne Wenger: *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity. Learning in Doing: Social, Cognitive and Computational Perspectives*; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, quoted in: Sardar, Henzell-Thomas, *Rethinking Reform*, 2008, p. 61.

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Mehmed Akšamija, Ciklus „TRAGOVI BOSNE“, *Ornamentalna kompozicija XXVII*, 1996.
Mehmed Akšamija, Art Set „TRACES OF BOSNIA“, *Ornamental Composition XXVII*, 1996.



ILUSTRACIJA – *Detalj iz Kur'ana*; Vjerovatno osmanska Turska, Edirne (Drinopolje, Odrin ili Jedrene), 1457–58. godine.

ILLUSTRATION – *Detail from the Qur'an*; Probably Ottoman Turkey, Edirne, 1457–58.

Ahmed KULANIĆ

Dr. Ahmed Kulanić diplomirao je teologiju na Fakultetu islamskih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, magistrirao na polju političkih znanosti – Odjel za društvene i političke nauke na Međunarodnom univerzitetu u Sarajevu – IUS (*International University of Sarajevo*), a doktorirao iz oblasti društvenih i političkih znanosti na IUS-u o temi: *Religija, ideološke orijentacije i stranačka sklonost Bošnjaka*. Bio je na mjestu asistenta na Filozofskom fakultetu na IUS-u, a danas je viši asistent na Katedri za društvene i političke znanosti na istom fakultetu. Posljednjih godina aktivno je sudjelovao u nevladinom sektoru u Bosni i Hercegovini, radeći na projektima iz područja religije i političkih znanosti, a također je uključen u nekoliko domaćih i međunarodnih istraživačkih projekata. Koautor je knjige *Širenje islama u Bosni pod Osmanlijama*, a objavio je i više članaka, enciklopedijskih unosa, izvještaja i analiza. Uredio je i knjigu *Bosna i Hercegovina: pravo, društvo i politika*. Trenutno je i glavni urednik časopisa *Epiphany* – časopis za transdisciplinarne studije, te koordinator za istraživanje, znanost i obrazovanje na *Institutu za bošnjačke studije* – BZK Preporod.

Dr. Ahmed Kulanić he graduated in Theology at Faculty of Islamic Studies, University of Sarajevo, he obtained his master degree in the field of Political Sciences from the Department of Social and Political Sciences at *International University of Sarajevo* – IUS, and he obtained Ph.D. in a field of Social and Political Sciences at IUS, on the topic: *Religiosty, Ideological Orientations and Party Preference among Bosniaks*. He was in the position of Assistant at the Faculty of Philosophy at IUS, and today he is a Senior Assistant in the Department of Social and Political Science at the same faculty. In the last few years, he has actively participated in the non-governmental sector in Bosnia and Herzegovina, working on several projects in the field of religion and political science, and is also involved in several domestic and international research projects. He co-authored a book entitled *Spread of Islam in Bosnia under the Ottomans* published several articles, encyclopedia entries, reports, and analysis. He edited the book *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Law, Society and Politics*. Currently, he also serves as Managing Editor of *Epiphany* – Journal of Transdisciplinary Studies, and coordinator for research, science and education at the *Institute for Bosniak Studies* – BZK Preporod.

**TEMELJNI ELEMENTI ISLAMSKJE TRADICIJE BOŠNJAKA:
stavovi, percepcije i praksa**

**THE CORE TENETS OF THE ISLAMIC TRADITION OF BOSNIAKS:
attitudes, perceptions and practices**



ILUSTRACIJA - Rekonstrukcija urađena na temelju izvora: Williama Jamesa Müllera (*Musliman u molitvi*, 1841.) i Khālida Nādžija (*Figure u molitvi unutar džamije*, oko 1910.).

ILLUSTRATION - Reconstruction done on the basis of the sources from: William James Müller (*A Muslim at Prayer*, 1841) and Khālīd Nājī (*Figures at prayer inside a mosque*, c. 1910).

Sažetak

Ovaj članak ima namjeru da prikaže studiju o glavnim specifičnim načelima islamske tradicije muslimana Bošnjaka kako ih je institucionalno definirala tradicionalna Islamska zajednica u Bosni. Također, rad nastoji osvijetliti trenutne percepcije, stavove i prakse u kontekstu sveukupne predosmanske i postosmanske vjerske tradicije Bošnjaka, povijesno poznatih kao *Bono Homini* („Dobri ljudi“). U članku je predstavljeno istraživanje o muslimanima Bošnjacima u vezi njihove islamske tradicije u Bosni, s ciljem da se utvrdi postoje li među njima regionalne, spolne i starosne razlike u pogledu njihovih vjerskih uvjerenja i praksi. Autor se koristi i doprinosima drugih istraživača na ovom području kao što su Ćimić, Karčić i Alibašić.

Ključne riječi: *islamska tradicija Bošnjaka, islamske prakse i obredi u Bosni, religija u sekularnoj državi, muslimani u Bosni, islam u Bosni, islam i sekularna država.*

Abstract

This article aims to give an overview study of the main specific tenets of the Islamic tradition of Bosniak Muslims as defined and institutionalized by the traditional Islamic Community in Bosnia. Also, it attempts to shed light on current perceptions, attitudes and practices in the context of an overall pre-Ottoman and post-Ottoman religious tradition of the Bosniak people known historically as *Bono Homini* ("the Good People"). The article provides a survey on the Bosniak Muslims in regard to their Islamic tradition in Bosnia with the purpose to reveal whether there are regional, gender and age differences among them in terms of their religious beliefs and practices. In doing so, the author was assisted by the authors in this area such as Ćimić, Karčić and Alibašić.

Key words: *Islamic tradition of Bosniaks, Islamic practices and rituals in Bosnia, religion in secular state, Muslims in Bosnia, Islam in Bosnia, Islam and secular state.*

Uvod

U svojoj hiljadugodišnjoj historiji, Bosna¹ je bila mjesto susreta različitih kultura, tradicija i religija. Zahvaljujući religijskoj raznolikosti, religija i religioznost su odigrali dominantnu ulogu unutar bosanskog društva kao cjeline, predstavljajući tako jedan od ključnih kamena-temeljaca također za bosansku etničku pluralnost. U Bosni postoje tri glavne etničke grupe: Bošnjaci², Srbi i Hrvati, koji su isto tako definirani po svojoj vjerskoj pripadnosti; Bošnjaci su uglavnom muslimani, Srbi su uglavnom pravoslavci, a Hrvati su većinom katolici. Poznata je historijska činjenica da je islam u Bosnu stigao 1463. godine sa osmanskim sultanom Mehmedom Fatihom (Fātiḥ Sulṭān Muḥammad - Mehmed 1432-1481), obično poznat kao Mehmed Osvajač.³

Dakle, prisutnost islama u Bosni potječe od sredine petnaestog stoljeća.⁴ Tokom osmanskog perioda islam je u Bosni imao status državne religije. Sudjelovao je u mnogim, ako ne i svim aspektima društvenog i kulturnog života bosanskog stanovništva. Prema osmanskom redovnom popisu stanovništva, većinsko stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine bili su muslimani (Bošnjaci),⁵ dok usljed stradanja u čestim ratovima, kao i zbog prisilne emigracije, muslimansko bošnjačko stanovništvo na

¹ Stari i historijski naziv Bosne uključuje njenu pokrajinu „Hercegovinu“, koja je sastavni dio sadašnje bosanske države, Bosne i Hercegovine. Dakle, kad god se naziv Bosna koristi u ovom tekstu, i kao domovina i kao država, podrazumijeva se i Hercegovina.

² Kada su u 3. stoljeću prije nove ere došli u Bosnu, Rimljani su bosanski narod nazvali „Bono Homini“ („Dobri ljudi“); Osmanlije i Austrijanci nazvali su ih imenom „Bošnjak“; a kada je Srbin Ilija Garašanin (umro 1874.) pisao svoje „Načertanije“ („Nacrt“ 1844.) za nacionalni program Velike Srbije, on je „Bošnjake“ označio kao jednu etničku grupu u Bosni s tri religije: pravoslavci, katolici i „muhamedanci“. Ali usljed rada srpskih i hrvatskih nacionalnih i vjerskih misionara, Srbi i Hrvati u Bosni su se odrekli svog bošnjačkog etničkog prijekla u korist srpske i hrvatske nacionalnosti, uglavnom na temelju njihove posebne vjerske srpsko-pravoslavne, odnosno hrvatsko-katoličke pripadnosti. Muslimani u Bosni ostali su vjerni svom historijskom bošnjačkom etničkom prijeklu i svom bosanskom nacionalnom i državnom identitetu. O povijesti imena, religije i karaktera „Bošnjaka“ prije dolaska Osmanlija, pogledati link: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjft7fl_OzpAhUEmIsKHxtYBa8QFjABegQIARAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fdamirnadivanu.wordpress.com%2F2018%2F10%2F08%2Fbono-homini-blog-knjiga%2F&USQ=AOvVaw1t1emAMovxb8jKrpFBaUIm. Pristupljeno, 05.06. 2020.

³ Vidjeti link:: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjvJ7Qi-3pAhWPbsAKHSIPCS_cQFjAAegQIFBAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fen.wikipedia.org%2Fwiki%2FMehmed_the_Conqueror&usq=AOvVaw1dGoVyQG02O0WVNFkOr8V5. Pristupljeno 06. 05. 2020.

⁴ Imamović, Mustafa: *Historija Bošnjaka* („The History of Bosniaks“), Sarajevo, 1997. Interesantno je primjetiti da je islam stigao u Evropu kroz dva prolaza: Iberijskog poluotoka u 8. stoljeću i Balkanskog poluotoka u 14. stoljeću.

⁵ Handžić, Mehmed: *Islamicizacija Bosne i Hercegovine i porijeklo bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Sarajevo, Islamska dionička štamparija, 1940.

Introduction

In its millennial history, Bosnia¹ has been a meeting point of different cultures, traditions and religions. Due to its religious diversity, religion and religiosity played a dominant role within the Bosnian society as a whole representing one of the key cornerstones of Bosnian ethnical plurality as well. There are three main ethnic groups in Bosnia: Bosniaks², Serbs and Croats who are defined also by their religious affiliation: the Bosniaks being mainly Muslims, the Serbs mainly Orthodox Christians and the Croats mainly Catholics. It is a well-known historical fact that Islam arrived to Bosnia via the Ottoman Turks in 1463, namely by the Ottoman Fātiḥ Sulṭān Muḥammad - Mehmed (1432-1481), commonly known as Mehmed the Conqueror.³

Thus, the presence of Islam in Bosnia both as a faith and tradition backdates to the mid-fifteenth century.⁴ During the Ottoman period, Islam in Bosnia had had the status of a state religion. It had been involved in many, if not all, aspects of social and cultural life of the Bosnian population. According to the Ottoman regular census, the majority population of Bosnia had been the Muslims (Bosniaks)⁵; however, due to the loss in frequent wars as well as a forced emigration the first census organized by Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1879, the Muslim Bosniak population had been not majority anymore, but the Orthodox-Christians.⁶ In the period of

¹ The old and historical name of Bosnia implies its province „Herzegovina“, which is a constitutive part of the present Bosnian State: Bosnia and Herzegovina. So, whenever the name Bosnia is used in this article both as the homeland and the state, it implies its province „Herzegovina“ as well.

² When they came to Bosnia in the 3rd century B. M. (Before Milād), the Romans used to call the people of Bosnia „Bono Homini“ („Good People“); when the Ottomans and Austrians came they called them „Bosniaks“; and when Serbian Ilija Garašanin (d.1874) was writing his „Načertanije“ („Draft“ in 1844) for a national program of Greater Serbia, he designated the „Bosniaks“ as one ethnical group in Bosnia of three religions: Orthodox Christians, Catholics and „Muhammadans“. But due to the Serbian and Croatian national and religious missionaries, the Serbs and Croats in Bosnia waived their Bosniak ethnicity in favor of the Serbian and Croatian nationality mainly based on their particular religious affiliation: Serb-Orthodox and Croat-Catholics. The Muslims in Bosnia remained loyal to their historical Bosniak ethnical background and their Bosnian national and state identity. On the history of the name, religion and character of the „Bosniaks“ prior to the arrival of the Ottomans, see the link available at: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjft7fl_OzpAhUEmIsKHxtYBa8QFjABegQIARAB&url=https%3A%2F%2Fdamirnadivanu.wordpress.com%2F2018%2F10%2F08%2Fbono-homini-blog-knjiga%2F&usq=AOvVaw1t1emAMovxb8jKrpFBaUIm. Checked on May 6, 2020.

³ See link available at: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjvJ7Qi-3pAhWPbsAKHSIPCS_cQFjAAegQIFBAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fen.wikipedia.org%2Fwiki%2FMehmed_the_Conqueror&usq=AOvVaw1dGoVyQG02O0WVNFkOr8V5. Checked on May 6, 2020.

⁴ Imamović, Mustafa: *Historija Bošnjaka* („The History of Bosniaks“), Sarajevo 1997. It is interesting to note that Islam has arrived to Europe by two gates: the Iberian Peninsula in 8th century and the Balkan Peninsula in 14th century.

⁵ Handžić, H. Mehmed: *Islamicizacija Bosne i Hercegovine i porijeklo bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Sarajevo, Islamska dionička štamparija, 1940.

prvom popisu stanovništva koji je organizirala Austro-Ugarska monarhija 1879. godine, više nije bilo većinsko, nego je to bilo pravoslavno.⁶ U periodu prve i druge Jugoslavije Bošnjaci su bili najveća etnička i nacionalna grupacija u Bosni, ali ih još uvijek bespravno nisu smatrali većinom u bosanskoj državi zbog specifičnih društveno-političkih okolnosti.⁷ Prema posljednjem popisu stanovništva iz 2013. godine, Bosna je imala 3.531.159 stanovnika, od čega su 50,11% Bošnjaci, odnosno 1,8 miliona, od čega su, vjerovatno, 50,7% muslimani, što znači da su oni većina u Bosni.⁸

Bošnjaci muslimani tokom duge povijesti – počevši od osmanskih vremena, preko vladavine austrougarske imperije, pa sve do prve i druge Jugoslavije i perioda komunizma – razvijali su svoj islamski identitet, kulturu i tradiciju koja je predstavljala jedinstveno iskustvo žive religije u odnosu na druge muslimanske kulture i tradicije u svijetu. Kao posljedica posljednje agresije na bosansku državu, Bošnjaci muslimani su radije migrirali na Zapad nego na Istok, u države kao što su Turska, Egipat, Saudijska Arabija itd.⁹ Stoga se opravdano može reći da Bošnjaci/Bosanci muslimani, koji predstavljaju matičnu ili autohtonu muslimansku zajednicu u Evropi, imaju svoju jedinstvenu islamsku tradiciju, kulturu i razumijevanje islama utemeljenog na bosanskom – evropskom iskustvu, ali su i potpuno svjesni pripadnosti Ummetu kao kolektivnoj svjetskoj muslimanskoj zajednici.¹⁰

Četiri glavne karakteristike islamske tradicije Bošnjaka

Prvo, islamska tradicija Bošnjaka je tradicija rutinizacije Sunneta (*Sunnah* – vjerovjesnička moralna i pravna norma) i Džemā'ata (ar. *Džamā'ah* – jedinstva muslimanske zajednice) u teološkom i društvenom ili političkom smislu. U teološkom smislu islamska tradicija Bošnjaka označava vjerovanje u šest načela vjere (*imān*) i pet načela obavezne vjerske prakse (*islām*). Šest načela vjere su: vjera u jednog Boga, meleke, Božije knjige, Božije poslanike, Sudnji dan i vjerovanje u Božiju apsolutnu volju (*qadā'*) i Božiji apsolutni dizajn (*qadar*); a pet načela obavezne vjerske prakse su: unutarne i vanjsko svjedočanstvo vjere u Boga i Njegovog posljednjeg poslanika Muhammeda, a. s. (*šahādah*), obavljanje pet dnevnih namaza, post u mjesecu ramazanu, godišnje davanje zekata (*zakāt*) i jednom u životu

⁶ McCarthy, Justin: *Ottoman Bosnia, 1800 to 1878*. U: Pinson, Mark (ed.), *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, (1996).

⁷ Filandra, Šaćir: *Bošnjačka politika u XX stoljeću*. Sarajevo, IP Sejtarija, 1998.

⁸ *Federalni zavod za statistiku: (Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2013)*, Sarajevo, FZS, 2016.

⁹ Emirhafizović, Mirza, et al. (ed.): *Migrations From Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo: Ministry of Human rights and refugees and Faculty of Political Sciences, 2013.

¹⁰ Karčić, Fikret: *What is 'Islamic Tradition of Bosniaks?'*, Sarajevo, Preporod, December 7, 2006.

the first and second state of Yugoslavia, the Bosniaks were the largest ethnical and national group in Bosnia, but still they had not been rightly considered as a majority in the Bosnian state due to specific socio-political circumstances.⁷ According to the last census in 2013 the population number of Bosnia is 3.531.159 citizens, of whom 50.11% are the Bosniaks, namely 1.8 million. Religiously they are 50.7% Muslims, which means that they are a majority in Bosnia.⁸

The Bosniak Muslims throughout their long history - from the Ottoman times through the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, then through the first and second State of Yugoslavia and the period of the Communist regime - had developed their Islamic identity, culture and tradition that represent a unique experience of living religion among the other Muslim cultures and traditions in the world. As a result of the last aggression on the Bosnian state (1992-1995), the Bosniak Muslims tend to emigrate to the West rather than to the East like Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, etc.⁹ Therefore, it is justified to say that Bosniak/Bosnian Muslims who are a native or indigenous Muslim community in Europe, have their own unique Islamic tradition, culture and understanding of Islam based on their Bosnian-European experience, while at the same time they are fully aware of their belonging to the Ummah as a univesal Muslim Community.¹⁰

Four fundamental characteristics of the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks

First, the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks is the tradition of the routinization of the *Sunnah* (Prophetic moral and legal norm) and *Jamā'ah* (the unity of Muslim Community) both in the theological and social or political sense. In the theological sense the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks implies six articles of faith (*imān*) and five obligatory religious practices (*islām*). The six creeds are: the belief in One God, Angels, the books of God, the messengers of God, the Day of Judgment and the belief in God's absolute decree (*qadā'*) and God's absolute design (*qadar*); and the five obligatory religious practices are the inner and outer testimony of trust (*shahādah*) in God and His last Messenger Muhammad, a.s., the practice of five prayers a day; the annual fasting in the month of Ramadan; giving the annual moral tax of *Zakāt*; and performing a lifetime pilgrimage (*Hajj*) to Mecca. In the social or political sense, the Islamic tradition of Bosniak maintains the idea of the

⁶ McCarthy, Justin: *Ottoman Bosnia, 1800 to 1878*. In Pinson, Mark (ed.), *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, (1996).

⁷ Filandra, Šaćir: *Bošnjačka politika u XX stoljeću*. Sarajevo, IP Sejtarija, 1998.

⁸ *Federalni zavod za statistiku: (Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in Bosnia and Herzegovina 2013)*, Sarajevo, FZS, 2016.

⁹ Emirhafizović, Mirza, et al. (ed.): *Migrations From Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo: Ministry of Human rights and refugees and Faculty of Political Sciences, 2013.

¹⁰ Karčić, Fikret: *What is 'Islamic Tradition of Bosniaks?'*, Sarajevo, Preporod, December 7, 2006.

obavljanje hadža u Meki (ar. *ḥadždž*). U društvenom ili političkom smislu, islamska tradicija Bošnjaka održava ideju ispravnog naslijeđivanja Poslanika Muhammeda, a. s., prihvatajući izbor Ebu Bekra (Abū Bakr) za prvog halifu, potom je slijed nastavljen pravednim halifama Omerom al-Hatabom ('Umar al-Khaṭṭāb), Osmanom ibn Affanom (Othmān ibn Affān) i Alijom bin Ebi Talibom (Alī bin Abī Ṭālib).

Drugo, važno obilježje islamske tradicije Bošnjaka je tradicionalno slijeđenje hanefijske (Abū Ḥanīfah)¹¹ škole islamskog prava (*ṣarī'ah/fiqh*) i maturidijske (*al-Māturīdī*)¹² škole islamske doktrine (*'aqīdah/kalām*). Oni su prednost u hanefijskoj školi pronašli u slobodnoj prosudbi (*idṭihād*) u islamskim pravnim pitanjima, a u maturidijskoj školi otkrili su snagu racionalne misli u pitanjima temeljnih načela vjere i teologije.



ILUSTRACIJA - *Reisu-l-ulema Husein ef. Kavazović*; Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka u Sarajevu – Međunarodni simpozij "Znanstvena misao imama El-Maturidija", novembar 2019. godine.

ILLUSTRATION - *Raisu-l-ulam Husein ef. Kavazović*; Gazi Husrev-bey's Library in Sarajevo – International Symposium "The Scientific Thought of Imam El-Maturidi", November 2019.

¹¹ Wensinck, A. J.: *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development*, Cambridge University Press, 1932.

¹² Cerić, Mustafa: *Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam – A Study of the Theology of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944)*, ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, 1995; Cerić, Mustafa: *Korijeni sintetičke teologije u islamu: Ebu Mensur el-Maturidi (853-944)*, El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2012; Rudolph, Ulrich: *Al-Māturīdī and the Development of Sunnī Theology in Samarqand*, translated by Rodrigo Adem, Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2015; *El-Maturidi i razvoj sunijske teologije u Semerkandu*, bosanski prijevod: Enes Karić, Centar za napredne studije – CNS, Sarajevo, 2018.

rightful succession of the Prophet Muhammad, a.s. by a consent of an election of Abū Bakr as the first Caliph followed by the righteous caliphate of 'Umar al-Khaṭṭāb, Othmān ibn Affān and Alī bin Ṭālib.

Second, the important characteristic of the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks is a traditional adherence to the Ḥanafī school of Islamic law (*sharī'ah/fiqh*) and the al-Māturīdī school in Islamic theological doctrine (*'aqīdah/kalām*). In the Ḥanafī school¹¹ they have found an advantage in the free judgment (*ijtihād*) in Islamic legal issues and in the school of al-Māturīdī¹² they have discovered the power of rational thought in matters of fundamental tenets of faith and theology.



ILLUSTRATION - Detail from an exhibition of new approaches to illuminating the translation of the Qur'an (by Mehmed A. Akšamija, author of design and illumination) – QUR'AN WITH TRANSLATION TO THE BOSNIAN LANGUAGE – the form of the book is given in the author's sheets (quire) – Tunisia 1995.

ILUSTRACIJA - Detalj sa izložbe novih pristupa iluminaciji prijevoda Kur'ana (autor dizajna i iluminacije Mehmed A. Akšamija) – KUR'AN SA PRIJEVODOM NA BOSANSKI JEZIK – forma knjige je data u autorskim arcima – Tunis 1995. godine).

¹¹ Wensinck, A. J.: *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development*, Cambridge University Press, 1932.

¹² Cerić, Mustafa: *Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam – A Study of the Theology of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944)*, ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, 1995; Cerić, Mustafa: *Korijeni sintetičke teologije u islamu: Ebu Mensur el-Maturidi (853-944)*, El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2012; Rudolph, Ulrich: *Al-Maturidi and the Development of Sunnī Theology in Samarqand*, translated by Rodrigo Adem, Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2015; *El-Maturidi i razvoj sunijske teologije u Semerkandu*, bosanski prijevod: Enes Karić, Centar za napredne studije – CNS, Sarajevo, 2018;



ILUSTRACIJA - Rekonstrukcija urađena na temelju izvora: Osman Ĥamdī-beg, Mlada žena uči Kur'an. Osmansko carstvo, Istanbul 1880.

ILLUSTRATION - Reconstruction done on the basis of the source: Osman Ĥamdī Bay, *A Young Woman Reading the Qur'an*. The Ottoman Empire, Istanbul 1880.

Treće, razlikovna karakteristika islamske tradicije Bošnjaka je u njihovom inkluzivnom pristupu i u pogledu međumuslimanskih odnosa u kojima imaju jednaku ljubav prema Ehl-i beytu (ar. *Ahlu-l-bayt*) i ashabima (ar. *Ahlu-l-aṣḥāb*), drugim riječima, oni se osjećaju kao *muslimani* prije nego što pripadaju bilo kojem ekskluzivnom *mezhebu* (školi mišljenja) bilo u pitanjima šerijata/prava (*ṣarī' ah/fiqh*) ili u pitanjima vjerovanja (*' aqīdah/kalām*); i u pogledu međureligijskih odnosa sa sljedbenicima Knjige (ar. *Ahlu-l-kitāb*), posebno Židovima i kršćanima, otvoreni su za konstruktivni dijalog u svrhu mira i tolerancije.

Konačno, četvrta karakteristika islamske tradicije Bošnjaka je njihova posvećenost srednjem putu (*Al-Wasatīyyah*) kao odgovor na sve vrste vjerskog ekstremizma i nasilja.

Islamska tradicija Bošnjaka između teorije i prakse

U istraživanju koje slijedi prikupili smo 677 odgovora u razdoblju između 15. jula i 15. augusta 2018. godine, sa 95% nivoom pouzdanosti i granicom pogreške od $\pm 3,77$ u odnosu na cjelokupno bošnjačko stanovništvo koje ima pravo glasa (18+ godina) od 1.479.135. Cilj ovog istraživanja je da se pokaže koliko se i na koji način u svakodnevnom životu primjenjuju osnovne karakteristike islamske tradicije Bošnjaka. U pogledu rodne distribucije odgovora, uzorak čine 55,2% muškaraca i 44,8% žena, kao što je naznačeno u donjoj tabeli:

Spol:	
Muškarci	55.2%
Žene	44.8%

Tabela 1: Distribucija uzorka na osnovu spola

U odnosu na dob ispitanika, uveli smo pet glavnih kategorija – i to između 18-23¹³, 24-29, 30-39, 40-49 i 50 i više godina, pored toga ispitanici u našem istraživanju u prosjeku imaju 34 godine kao što je prikazano u tabeli ispod:

Dob: (M=33.81)	
18-23 (Dejtonci)	21,4%
24-29	19,9%
30-39	30.6%
40-49	19,5%
50 i više	8,6%

Tabela 2: Distribucija uzorka na osnovu godina ispitanika

Third, the distinctive characteristic of the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks is in their inclusive approach both in terms of an inter-Muslim relationship whereby they have an equal love for *Ahl-i Bayt* and *Ahl-i aṣḥāb*, in other words they are first and foremost Muslims before being attached to any exclusive *mazhab* (school of thought) whether in matters of *sharī'ah/fiqh* or in matters of *' aqīdah/kalām*; and in terms of an interreligious relationship of *Ahl-i kitāb* (Jews and Christians in particular) they are open for a constructive dialogue for the sake of peace and tolerance.

Finally, the fourth characteristic of the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks is their commitment to the Middle Way (*Al-Wasatīyyah*) as a response to all sorts of religious extremism and violence.

The Islamic tradition of Bosniaks between theory and practice

In the following survey we have collected 677 responses in the period between June 15th and August 15th, 2018, that has 95% of the level of confidence with the margin of error of ± 3.77 in relation to the entire Bosniak population eligible to vote (18+ years old) of 1.479.135. The aim of this survey is to show how much in what way the fundamental characteristic of the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks are implemented in their daily life. In relation to the gender distribution of the answers they consist of 55.2% of male and 44.8% of female Bosniaks, as indicated in below table:

Gender:	
Male	55.2%
Female	44.8%

Table 1: Sample structure gender characteristics

In the relation to the age of respondents we introduced five major categories, namely 18-23¹³, 24-29, 30-39, 40-49 and 50 and above years old, in addition respondents in our survey are 34 years old on average as show in the table below:

Age: (M=33.81)	
18-23 (Daytonians)	21,4%
24-29	19,9%
30-39	30.6%
40-49	19,5%
50 and above	8,6%

Table 2: Sample structure by age groups

Kao što je prikazano u gornjoj tabeli, najzastupljeniju dobnu kategoriju predstavljaju oni između 30 i 39 godina, dok su najmanje zastupljeni oni koji imaju 50 i više godina.

Raspodjela upitnika izvršena je u deset glavnih regija u kojima žive Bošnjaci – sedam u bosanskom entitetu koji se zove „Federacija“, u dvije u bosanskom entitetu sa srpskom većinom i u Brčko Distriktu, a što se temelji na posljednjem popisu stanovništva iz 2013. godine. Svaku regiju minimalno su predstavljala tri ili više grada, osim distrikta Brčko i kantona Goražde u kojem se upitnik realizirao samo unutar jednog grada. Ovo daje snagu i valjanost reprezentativnosti geografske distribucije upitnika. Procenat administrativno-teritorijalne raspodjele upitnika naveden je u tabeli ispod:

Prebivalište	%
Bosansko-podrinjski kanton	2,5
Brčko district	2,5
Srednjobosanski kanton	7,7
Hercegovačko-neretvanski kanton	5,5
Bosanski entitet sa srpskom većinom	7,5
Kanton Sarajevo	21,9
Tuzlanski kanton	23,2
Unsko-sanski kanton	10,0
Zeničko-dobojski kanton	19,2
Ukupno	100,0

Tabela 3: Distribucija uzorka na osnovu mjesta prebivališta

Nadalje, tabela unakrsne tablice kao što je prikazano u nastavku daje nam uvid u strukturu uzorka na temelju dobi i mjesta prebivališta prema kojem su Dejtonci ali i sve ostale dobne skupine zastupljene u svim geografskim regijama u studiji.

Analiza glavne komponente korištenjem rotacije varimaxa i opterećenjem faktora s Eigenvalueom većim od jednog provedena je za dolje navedene čestice koje se grupiraju u dva glavna faktora a koji objašnjavaju 55% ukupne varijanse (disperzije). Među navedenim česticama dvije su imale negativan utjecaj, naime (7.13.) Proslava dana svetog Jurja – Đurđevdana u koliziji je s islamskom tradicijom; i (7.15.) hamajlija ili talisman i predviđanje budućnosti/sudbine strogo je zabranjeno u islamu u odnosu na druge čestice.

¹³ Ispitanike u dobi između 18 i 29 godina podijelili smo u dvije kategorije. Uvođenje ove dvije kategorije nalazi svoje uporište u činjenici da su oni između 18 i 23 godine rođeni nakon potpisivanja Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma (i oni će, uglavnom, prvi put učestvovati u izbornom procesu u bosanskoj državi) i stoga će od sada u studiji biti definirani kao „Dejtonci“. Nadalje, želimo vidjeti gdje postoje razlike između ove grupe u usporedbi s drugim dobnim grupama u Bosni u pogledu njihove religioznosti, ideoloških usmjerenja i stranačke pripadnosti.

As shown in the above table the most represented age category is aged between 30-39 years, while the least represented are those that are 50 years old and above.

The distribution of the questionnaire in the ten major provinces where the Bosniaks live (seven in the Bosnian entity called “Federatoin”, two in the Bosnian entity with Serban majority and the single Brčko District), that has been based on the last census from 2013. Each region was minimally represented by three or more cities (except the Brčko District and Goražde Canton in which it occurred within one city only). This gives the strength and validity to the representativeness of the questionnaire distribution. The percentage of the administrative-territorial distribution is given in the table below:

Place of Residence	%
Bosnia-Podrinje Canton	2,5
Brčko District	2,5
Central Bosnia Canton	7,7
Herzegovina-Neretva Canton	5,5
Bosnian entity with Serban majority	7,5
Sarajevo Canton	21,9
Tuzla Canton	23,2
Una-Sana Canton	10,0
Zenica-Doboj Canton	19,2
Total	100,0

Table 3: Sample Structure by Place of Residence

Furthermore, the cross tabulation table as shown below gives us the insight into the structure of the sample based on the age and place of residence according to which Daytonians, but also all other age groups are represented in all geographical regions in the study.

The principal component analysis using varimax rotation and factors’ loading with Eigenvalue greater than one was conducted for the items listed below grouped into two major factors explaining 55% of the total variance. Among the above items two had negative loading, namely (7.13.). The celebration of St George’s day is in collision with Islamic tradition; and (7.15.) Amulet or talisman and future/fortune-telling is strictly forbidden in Islam in relation to other items.

¹³ We split those aged between 18 and 19 into two categories. The reason for introducing these two categories lies in the fact that those aged between 18 and 23 are born after the signing of Dayton Peace Agreement (and therefore mostly they are for the first time participating in electoral process in the Bosnian state and, thus, from now on in the study they are defined as „Daytonians“. Furthermore, we want to see whether there are differences between this group in comparison to other age groups in Bosnia in terms of their religiosity, ideological orientations and party alignment.

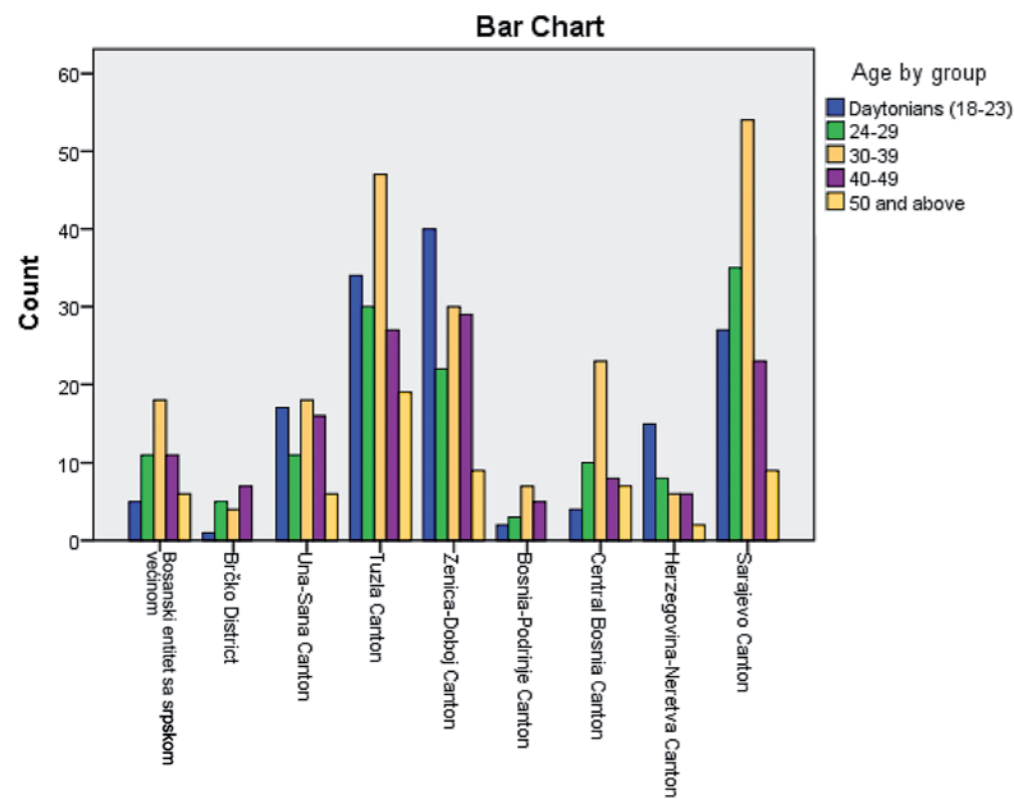


Tabela 4: Unakrsna tablica po mjestu boravka

Kada je u pitanju čestica vezana za Dan svetog Jurja – Đurđevdan, većina Bošnjaka smatra da to nije dio islamske tradicije, od kojih se 53,9% u potpunosti ili uglavno slaže s tim. Međutim, zanimljivo je da gotovo polovina njih nije sigurna (31,2%) u značenje ovog blagdana ili ga ne smatraju kolizionim s islamskim učenjem (11,4% uopće se ne slaže, a 3,4% se ne slaže).

Kada je govor o učenju *talkina*,¹⁴ većina ispitanika nije sigurna u njegov status (52,7% niti se slaže, niti se ne slaže). Također, Bošnjaci su podijeljeni kada je u pitanju obilježavanje određenih dana nakon smrti osobe, učenje *tevhida*¹⁵. Iako obilježavanje ovih dana većina ispitanika ne smatra dijelom osnovnih dužnosti prema umrlom (52% njih se nikako ne slaže), činjenica je da gotovo svaki peti

¹⁴ *Talkin (talqin)* je arapski izraz koji znači podsticanje osobe da govori ili ponavlja nečije riječi. Talkin je postao „islamska tradicija“ u Bosni jer je ulema (muslimanski učenjaci) uvela praksu pomoći umrlom neposredno nakon ukopa tako što se izgovaraju principi vjere kao odgovor na pitanja meleka Munkira i Nekira umrlom u grobu: Ko je tvoj Gospodar? „Allah“! Koja je tvoja vjera? „Islam“! Ko je tvoj Poslanik? „Muhammed“! Ko je tvoj vodič? „Kur’an“! Koja je tvoja Qibla (smjer u molitvi)? „Ka’ba“! Ta se tradicija još uvijek održava u Bosni, ali ne kao što je bila nekada, jer su neki muslimanski učenjaci doveli u pitanje njezinu pouzdanost.

¹⁵ *Tevhid (tawhid)* je arapski termin koji označava samu jezgru islamske doktrine monoteizma. On ima posebno značenje u Bosni u smislu sjećanja na umrlom sedmog i četrdesetog dana od njegove smrti, kada se rodbina i prijatelji okupe da prouče *Jāsin*, poglavlje iz Časnog Kur’ana, da prouče *Zikr-tawhid*, tj. sjećanje i ponavljanje imena Jednog Boga, Allaha i ostalih Njegovih lijepih imena, kao i zazivanje oprosta i milost za umrle. Ovu praksu su, također, osporili neki studenti koji su studirali izvan Bosne.

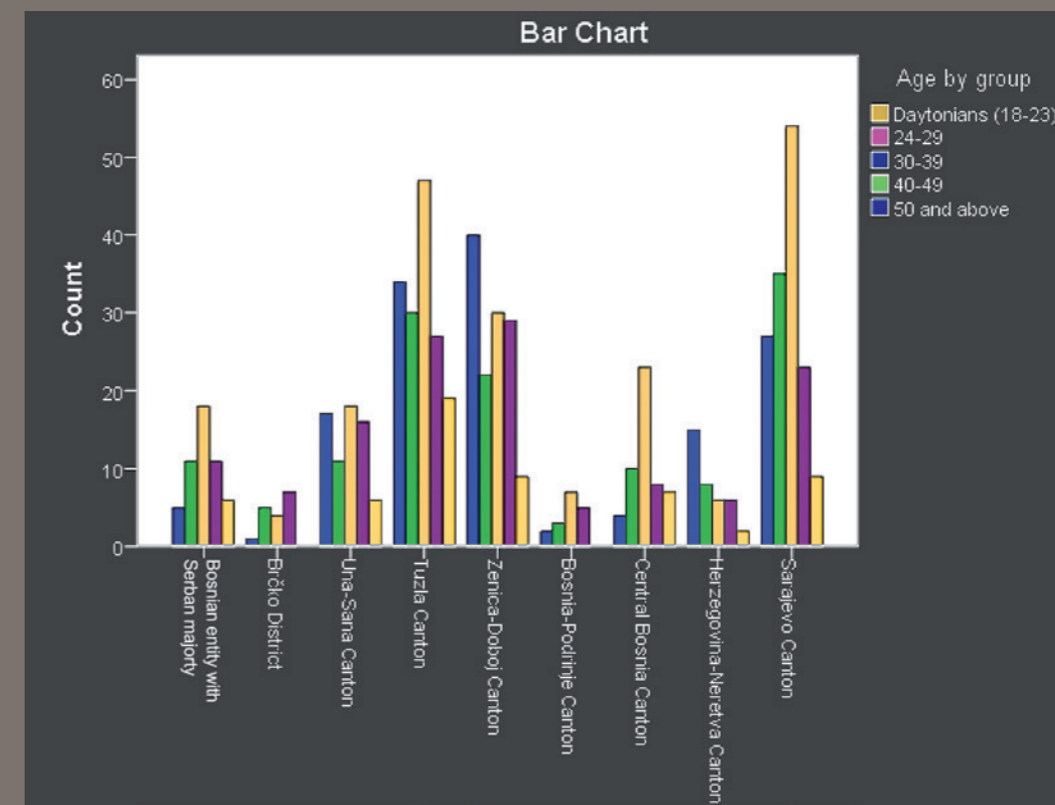


Table 4: Place of Residence

When it comes to the question related to the St George Day (Đurđevdan) majority of the Bosniaks find that this is not part of the Islamic tradition. Thus, 53.9% strongly disagreed with it. However, it is interesting that almost half are either not sure (31.2%) about the meaning of this holyday or they do not find it to be in collision with the Islamic creed (11.4% strongly disagree and 3.4% agree).

In the statement about reading “*talqin*”¹⁴ majority of the respondents are not sure about its status. (52.7% of them neither agree nor disagree). Also, the Bosniaks are divided when it comes to the marking of the specific days of the person death. Although the majority of Bosniaks do not consider the highlighting these days as the part of the memory of the dead (52% of them disagree or strongly disagree), nearly every fifth respondent was in favor of this practice. The overwhelming majority of Bosniaks (72%) find that talismans and fortune/future-telling is strictly forbidden in Islam, and around 20% of them do not know the status of it, while only 8.2% of them do not find it forbidden. The superstition about the raven and cuckoo, according

¹⁴ „*Talqin*“ is Arabic term which means an instigation for someone to speak out or to repeat someone’s dictation. The „*talqin*“ became an „Islamic tradition“ in Bosnia as the Muslim *‘ulamā’* (scholars) introduced the idea of helping the diseased in his/her immediate grave to read the articles of faith when the angels Munkir and Nakir ask him/her these questions in the grave: Who is your Lord? „Allah“! What is your religion? „Islam“! Who is your Prophet? „Muhammad“! What is your guide? „Qur’an“! What is your Qibla (direction in prayer)? „Ka’ba“! This tradition is still held up in Bosnia but not as it used to be in the past because some Muslim scholars questioned the validity of it.

ispitanik pozitivno gleda na navedenu praksu. Ogromna većina Bošnjaka (72%) smatra da su talismani i proricanje sudbine/budućnosti strogo zabranjeni u islamu, a oko 20% njih ne poznaje pravni status istog, dok samo 8,2% ispitanika ne smatra ih zabranjenim. Sujevjerje o gavranu i kukavici, prema mišljenju naših ispitanika, nije rašireno među Bošnjacima, jer se s istim slaže samo 8,2% Bošnjaka ili svaki dvanaesti. Kada je u pitanju tradicija posjećivanja dovišta, kao što su Ajvatovica, Buna itd., 25,1% Bošnjaka smatra da to nije u skladu s islamom i islamskom tradicijom, dok se u pogledu *mevluda*¹⁶ i *tevhida* kao sastvanog dijela islamske tradicije Bošnjaka, gotovo 66% ispitanika složilo ili u potpunosti slaže s navedenom tvrdnjom – njih 18,6% nije sigurno u pravni status istih. Običaj mladenke da drži Kur'an i hljeb pod rukama ponudio je najraznovrsnije i najrazuđenije odgovore kada su u pitanju naši ispitanici. Dok se 31,4% ispitanika ne slaže sa takvim običajem, 28,1% se slaže, a 40,4% niti se slaže, niti se ne slaže.

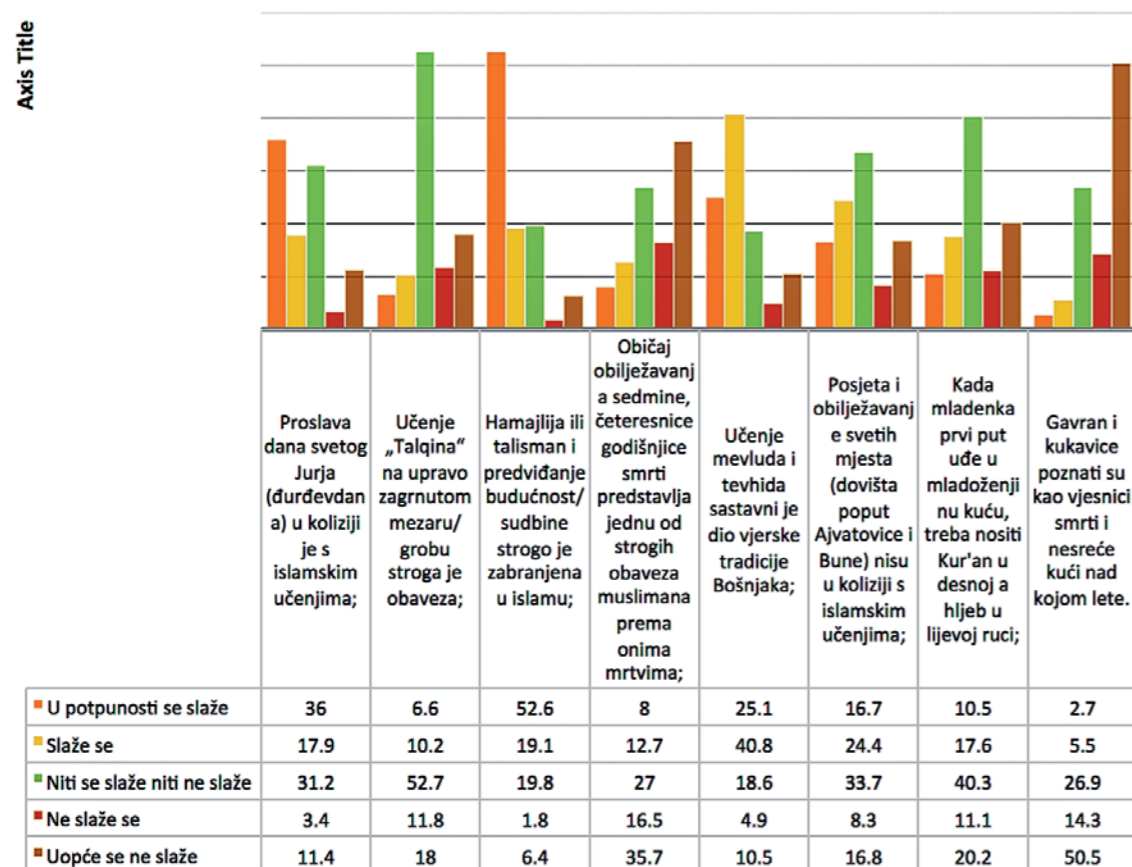


Tabela 5: Islamska tradicija Bošnjaka

¹⁶ *Mevlud* (*mawlūd*) je arapski izraz koji znači rođendan poslanika Muhammeda, a. s. Islamska tradicija u Bosni je da se obilježava Poslanikov rođendan, ne samo na tačan datum, 12. rabi' u-l-awwal, nego i u bilo kojoj radosnoj prilici poput rođenja djeteta, izgradnje kuće itd. Tu tradiciju su nedavno osporili neki studenti koji su studirali izvan Bosne.

to our respondents, is not widespread among Bosniaks as the only 8.2% of Bosniaks agree with it or every twelfth person. When it comes to the tradition of the visit to the sacred places of worship such as Ajvatovica, Buna, etc. 25.1% of Bosniaks find it not to be in the line with Islamic creed and tradition, while the *Mawlūd*¹⁵ and *Tawhīd*¹⁶ are considered to be the part of the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks as nearly 66% either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, while 18.6% is not sure about it. The custom of bride's holding the Qur'an and bread is the most diversified when it comes to our respondents. While 31.4% of the respondents disagree with such custom, 28.1% agree with the same while the 40.4% are neither agrees nor disagrees.

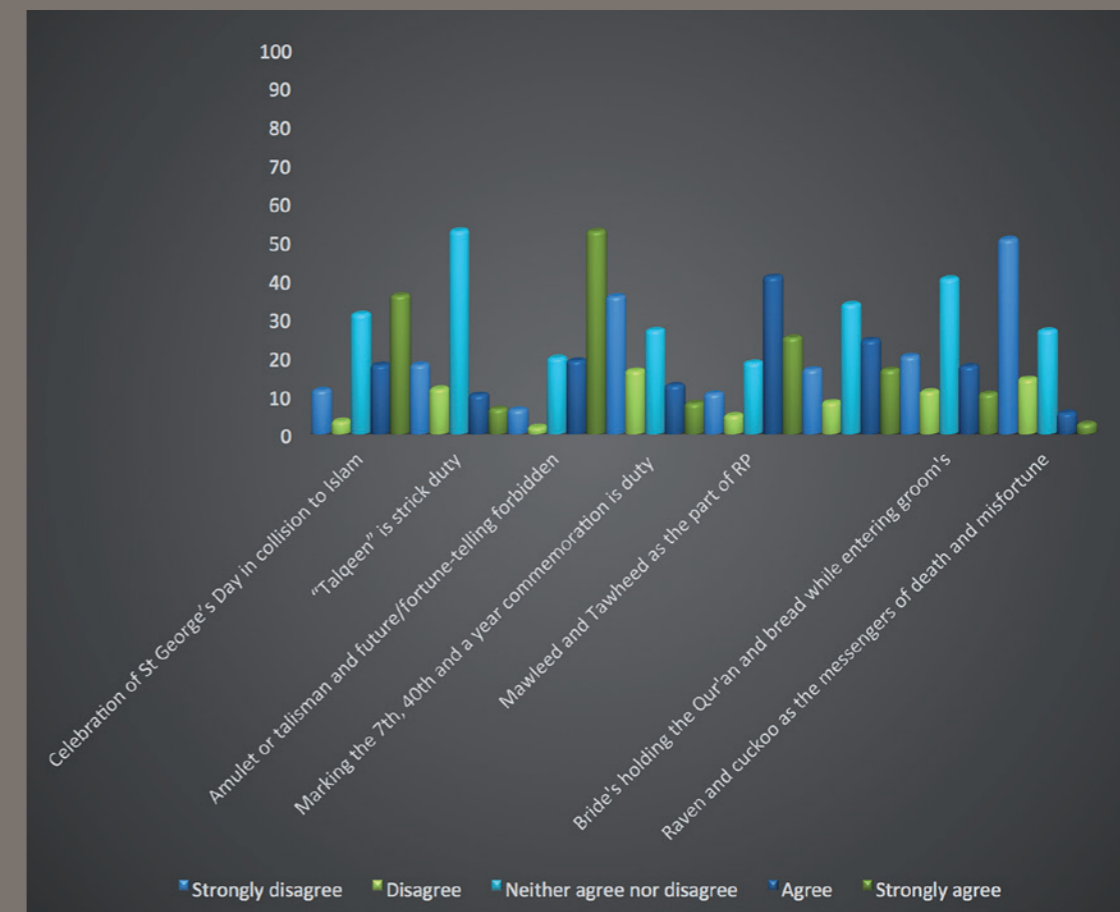


Table 5: Islamic Tradition of Bosniaks

¹⁵ *Mawlūd* is Arabic term which means the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, a.s. The Islamic tradition in Bosnia is to celebrate the Prophet birthday not only on the exact day of 12 Rabi' u-l-awwal, but also on any happy occasion like the birthday of a child, building house, etc. This tradition was recently challenged by some students who studied outside of Bosnia.

¹⁶ *Tawhīd* is Arabic term which indicates the meaning of the core of Islamic doctrine of monotheism. It has a special meaning in Bosnia in terms of a commemoration of the deceased on the seventh and fortieth day of his/her death when the relatives and friends gather to read the *Yāsīn* chapter of the Holy Qur'an and perform the *Zikr- Tawhīd*. i.e., remembering and repeating the name of One God, Allah, and His other beautiful names as an invocation for the forgiveness and mercy for the deceased in the Hereafter. This practice has been challenged as well by students who studied outside Bosnia.

Jedina čestica na kojoj se pojavila statistički značajna razlika – u pogledu tri glavna demografska obilježja, tj. spol, starost i mjesto prebivališta bila je (7.17) „Učenje *mevluda* i *tevhida* sastavni je dio vjerske tradicije Bošnjaka“, prema kojoj znatno više muškaraca nego žena smatra da su mevlud i tevhid sastavni dio vjerske tradicije Bošnjaka. Ista stavka pokazuje razliku i kada je riječ o regionalnoj distribuciji ispitanika koja pokazuje da su mevlud i tevhid smatrani integralnim vjerskim praksama najrasprostranjeniji u Tuzlanskom kantonu, dok je takvo poimanje najmanje prisutno među ispitanicima iz Bosansko-podrinjskog kantona. Međutim, kada je u pitanju starost, iako postoji osnova za dublja istraživanja kada je u pitanju navedena varijabla, bitno je istaći da ona trenutno nije pokazala statistički značajnu razliku kada je u pitanju dob ispitanika.

Nadalje, čestica o posjetama i obilježavanju dovišta poput Ajvatovice i Bune nije u koliziji s islamskim učenjima i pokazala je da postoji značajna razlika među dobnim skupinama što pokazuje da mlađe generacije Bošnjaka smatraju da su navedene prakse u koliziji s islamskim učenjima za razliku od starijih ispitanika. Prema jednosmjernoj ANOVA (F = 6.234, p = .000), postojala je značajna razlika između dobnih skupina. Tukeyov posthoc test otkriva da je značajno manja podrška posjećivanju i obilježavanju dovišta među najmlađom generacijom Bošnjaka (2,96 ± 1,2, p = .016) u odnosu na 50 i više godina (3,59 ± 1,1), dok nije bilo statistički značajne razlike između dobnih skupina između 41-49 i 50 godina starosti. (p = .547).

Zaključak

Uzimajući u obzir vanjski pritisak deislamizacije tokom komunističkog režima i nedavne unutarnje izazove njene revalorizacije od strane nekih studenata koji su studirali izvan Bosne, možemo zaključiti da je islamska tradicija Bošnjaka dokazala svoju postojanost, održivost i kontinuitet u održavanju svojih temeljnih načela i temeljnih karakteristika.

Prvo, ostala je vjerna osnovnim principima vjere i tradicionalnoj moralnoj praksi uz dobrovoljnu predanost, koja je karakteristična za mističnu sufijsko-dervišku tradiciju kombiniranu sa nekim starim praksama bosanskih narodnih običaja.

Drugo, islamska tradicija Bošnjaka njeguje *idžtihād* (ar. *idžtihād*), slobodno mišljenje u islamskom pravu i racionalnost u islamskoj teologiji (ar. *kalām*).

Treće, islamska tradicija Bošnjaka je otvorena za razvijanje i u tom procesu uzima ono što je pogodno za njenu vitalnost i opstanak u multireligioznom i multikulturalnom okruženju Bosne i Evrope, ali zadržavajući svoje Božansko porijeklo i autentično poslaničko nasljeđe.

Četvrto, islamska tradicija Bošnjaka predstavlja miroljubiv i tolerantan pravac za međureligijski i međukulturalni dijalog u kojem daje i uzima radi mira ljudskog duha i uma svih ljudi dobre volje.

The only item that reported significant difference (in all three major demographical data, i.e. gender, age and place of residence) was the (7.17) “Reading the *Mawlūd* and *Tawhīd* is integral part of religious tradition of Bosniaks”, according to which a significantly higher number of male Bosniaks found *Mawlūd* and *Tawhīd* as being the integral part of religious tradition of Bosniaks than female Bosniaks. The same item shows the difference, also when it comes to the regional distribution of respondents showing that *Mawlūd* and *Tawhīd* considered as the integral religious practices are the most widespread in Tuzla Canton, while the least in Bosnia-Podrinje Canton. However, when it comes to the age it reported no significant difference among the age groups.

Furthermore, the item on the visit and celebration at sacred places for supplication (dovišta such as Ajvatovica and Buna) is not in collision to the Islamic teachings, showed that there is significant difference among the age groups showing that the younger generations of Bosniaks find that such practices are in collision with Islamic teachings in contrast to the elderly Bosniak population. According to one-way ANOVA (F=6.234, p=.000) there was significant difference between the age groups. A Tukey posthoc test reveals that the significant lower support to the visit and celebration of sacred places is among the youngest generation of Bosniaks (2.96±1.2, p=.016) in comparison to the 50 and above (3.59±1.1), while there was no statistically significant difference between the 41-49 and 50 and above age groups (p=.547).

Conclusion

Considering the outside pressure of deislamization during the Communist regime and the recent inside challenges of its revaluation by some students who studied outside of Bosnia, we may conclude that the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks has proven its steadfastness, sustainability and continuity in maintaining its core tenets and fundamental characteristics.

First, it remains loyal to the basic articles of faith and the traditional practice of morality with an additional voluntary devotion, which is characteristic to a mystical-sufi-dervish like tradition combined by some old practices of Bosnian folk customs.

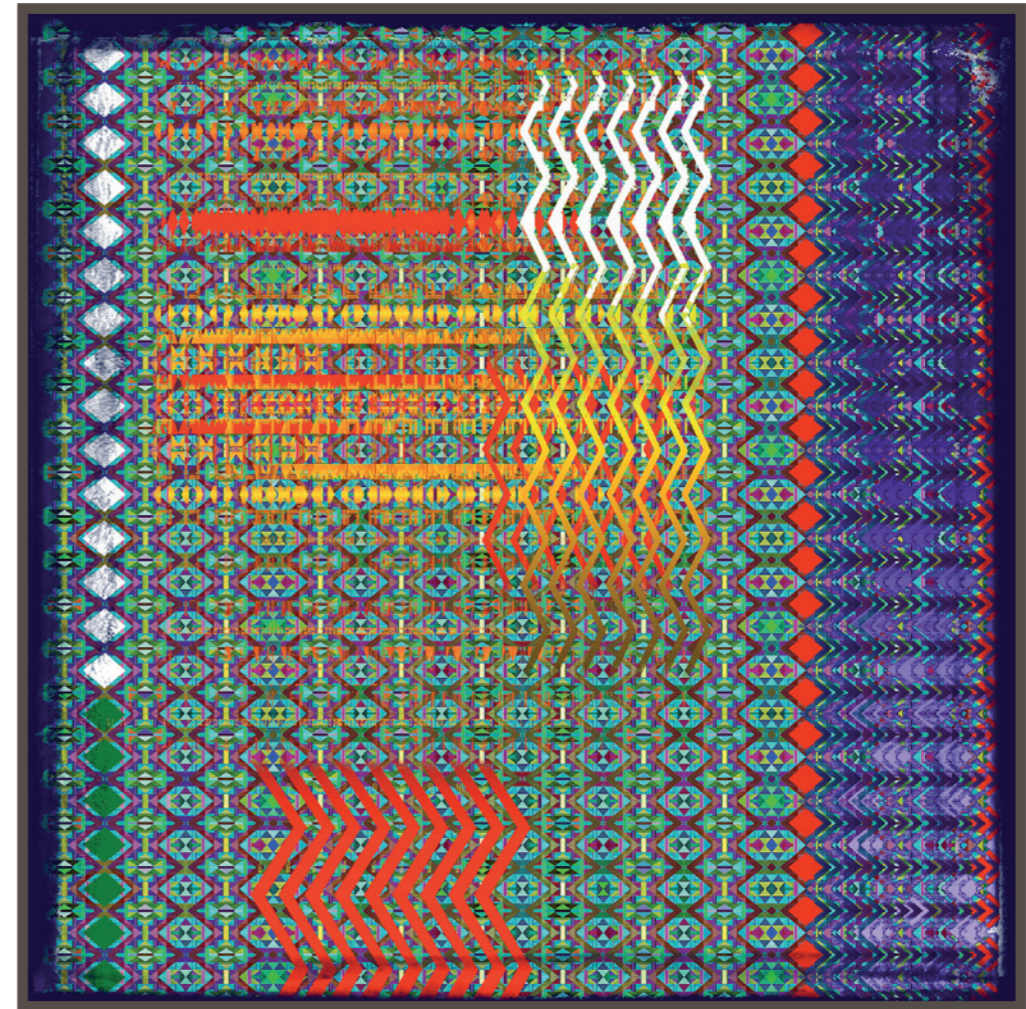
Second, the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks is both an *ijtihād* free thinking in Islamic law and a *kalām* rational reflecting in Islamic theology.

Third, the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks is an open source process development whereby it takes what is suitable for its vitality and survival in a multireligious and multicultural environment of Bosnia and Europe, but keeping its divine origin and authentic prophetic legacy.

Forth, the Islamic tradition of Bosniaks is a peaceful and tolerant course for an interreligious and intercultural dialogue whereby it gives and takes for the sake of the peace of human spirit and the mind of all people of good will.

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Mehmed Akšamija, Projekat: Ciklus „TRAGOVI BOSNE“, *Ornamentalna kompozicija XLII*, 1999.
 Mehmed Akšamija, Project: Art Set „TRACES OF BOSNIA“, *Ornamental Composition XLII*, 1999.

Mi smo politička bića čija je potraga za moći instinkt moćan kao seksualni nagon. Budući da svaka ideologija i vjera preživljava zahvaljujući moći, moramo je regulirati. Pobožna je prijevara tvrditi da bi Bog trebao jednostavno ignorirati i odreći se onoga što je Carevo. Moramo prihvatiti moć kao sredstvo u svijetu nekontroliranog konflikta. Moramo to učiniti a da to ne idoliziramo jer cilj mora ostati mir, nikada moć kao cilj sama sebi. Kur'an dopušta pomirenje s neprijateljima (Kur'an, 8:61), no s obzirom na jedinstveni standard pravde u njemu, on odbacuje mir zagađen nepravdom. Bez pravednog mira zapadnjaci i muslimani će, u oba smisla, ostati zarobljenici rata.



Shabbir Akhtar (r. 1960) profesor je na Teološkom fakultetu Univerziteta u Oxfordu. Bio je profesor na Međunarodnom univerzitetu u Kuala Lumpuru, Malezija, i na Univerzitetu Old Dominion u Virdžiniji, SAD. U okviru svoga naučnog rada posebno se bavi filozofijom religije, odnosom religije i politike i odnosom islama i kršćanstva. Nastoji doprinijeti jačanju savremenog islamskog filozofskog diskursa. Privlači pažnju neobičnim i u mnogočemu inovativnim načinom pisanja. Objavio je, između ostalih, sljedeće knjige: *Reason and the Radical Crisis of Faith* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), *Be Careful with Muhammad! The Salman Rushdie Affair* (London: Bellew, 1989), *The Light in the Enlightenment: Christianity and the Secular Heritage* (London: Grey Seal, 1990), *The Quran and the Secular Mind: A Philosophy of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2008), *Islam as Political Religion: The Future of an Imperial Faith* (London: Routledge, 2011).

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ISLAM KAO POLITIČKA RELIGIJA

Shabbir Akhtar

ISLAM KAO POLITIČKA RELIGIJA

Budućnost jedne imperijalne vjere

Shabbir Akhtar

ISLAM KAO POLITIČKA RELIGIJA

IZ SADRŽAJA KNJIGE

Niti jedna religija čiji su sljedbenici osvojili gotovo cijeli svijet, uključujući njegove nenaseljene najudaljenije krajeve, i nedavno kolonizirali dijelove svemira, u nadi da će spasiti druge (pretpostavljamo i sebe same), ne može istinski polagati pravo na indiferentnost prema moći, osim u nekom tipu internog humora. Oficijelno kršćanstvo, i katoličko i protestantsko, tokom historije tražilo je kontrolu nad svjetovnom moći.

Islam doživljava nezasluženu neprijateljsku kritiku uglavnom jer je pitanje njegove suštine, za razliku od drugih vjera, političko. Zapadni monoteizmi iskusili su interne pritiske da definiraju svoje ortodoksije. Rano kršćanstvo glasovito je po svojoj proizvodnji hereze tokom pokušaja da definiira svoju doktrinu. Islam je danas jedinstven po tome da, uz unutarnje borbe oko njegove suštine, i lica sa strane žele također oblikovati njegov izgled. Za razliku od kršćanstva, o islamu debatiraju autsajderi koji tvrde da su veći eksperti o njemu od njegovih vlastitih pripadnika. Čak i u akademskim krugovima, politički islam izložen je a priori odbijanju i odlučnom odbacivanju. Samo je apolitični islam prihvatljiv. Politički pogled smatra se nekontroverznom ako muslimani nisu dio toga.

PRIKAZ KNJIGE
BOOK PREVIEW

ILUSTRACIJA - Naslovnica bosanskog prijevoda knjige: *Islam kao politička religija: budućnost jedne imperijalne religije*.

ILLUSTRATION - Cover page of the Bosnian translation of the book: *Islam as Political Religion: The Future of an Imperial Faith*.

Ahmet ALIBAŠIĆ

NI NASILNI, NI UMJERENI, VEĆ OSNAŽENI ISLAM

Shabbir Akhtar, *Islam kao politička religija: budućnost jedne imperijalne religije*, CNS, Sarajevo, 2017., 355.

NEITHER VIOLENT NOR DOCILE, BUT AN EMPOWERED ISLAM

Shabbir Akhtar, *Islam as Political Religion: The Future of an Impirical Religion*, CNS, Sarajevo, 2017, 355.

Prof. dr. Ahmet Alibašić školovao se u Kuala Lumpuru i Sarajevu. Trenutno je vanredni profesor na Fakultetu islamskih nauka Univerziteta u Sarajevu, predaje kurseve islamske kulture i civilizacije. Također vodi *Centar za napredne studije* u Sarajevu i aktivno sudjeluje u međureligijskom dijalogu. Napisao je knjigu o islamskoj opoziciji u arapskom svijetu, više članaka i uredio knjige koje se bave islamom u Evropi, ljudskim pravima u islamu i muslimanskom svijetu, te odnosima crkve i države. Jedan je od urednika *Godišnjaka Muslimani u Evropi* i časopisa *Muslimani u Evropi* (*Muslims in Europe* - Brill, 2009/2016 do danas). Također, od 2003. godine do danas član je i redakcije revije *Novi Muallim* - bosanskohercegovački muslimanski pedagoški časopis (Sarajevo, BiH).

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NI NASILNI, NI UMJERENI, VEĆ OSNAŽENI ISLAM

Shabbir Akhtar, *Islam kao politička religija: budućnost jedne imperijalne religije*, CNS, Sarajevo, 2017., 355.

nije srpski patrijarh Irinej jedini koji misli da muslimani „kada su u manjem broju, umeju da se ponašaju i da budu korektni. Kada postanu ravni po broju, onda oni već dižu glavu, a kada postanu nadmoćni i superiorni, čine pritisak ili da se iseli ili da se priđe njima“.¹ Široko je to raširena predrasuda – ili prije svjesno podmetanje da se muslimani ne znaju ponašati kad su u većini, kad su moćni, kad imaju vlast. Djelo koje predstavljamo tvrdi suprotno. Muslimane kvvari nemoć a ne moć (335). Islam je politička, javna, ovozemaljska, tj. sekularna religija od prvog dana. Njegova angažiranost nije nikakva zloupotreba ni iskrivljavanje. Naprotiv, to što je izvorno politička vjera otežava njegovu političku zloupotrebu. Islam izvorno uči da javni vjernički angažman ne samo da ima smisla već da bez njega vjera teško može imati smisla: „Kur'an prenosi moralne probleme iz privatne etike u politiku tako da društvena pravda postaje paradigmatsko javno pitanje – ne više privatni problem humanitarnih organizacija“ (306); „Moralom limitirana upotreba moći unutrašnja je potreba sveobuhvatne vjere, a ne gubitak inicijalnog integriteta“ (321). Kur'an poziva društvenoj i ekonomskoj pravdi, poštovanju prema učenosti i ličnoj moralnoj izvrsnosti (330-1). Stoga su pojmovi „islamizam“ i „islamista“ podvala. Kad ste čuli za „kristijanizam“? (13). Ima, međutim, religijskih, privatnih religija koje kad su javne i angažirane, izdaju svoju prvotnu narav jer u počelima ne vjeruju da ima smisla popravljati ovaj svijet (309, 348).

Muslimanski problem s nemoći je što je islam stoljećima shvatan i tumačen kao religija moći. Muslimani su razvili teologiju i pravo moći (18). Međutim, već tri stoljeća muslimani žive nemoć

a i dalje čitaju literaturu koja im se obraća kao da su u poziciji moći. To ih frustrira na način na koji nemoć ne frustrira druge nemoćne zajednice. Suprotno pripadnicima privatnih religija, muslimani su bili bolji dok su bili snažni: Slab islam dao nam je terorizam; snažan islam dao nam je mir i obostranu toleranciju... (344).

Nemoć nije jedini problem savremenih muslimana. Njima se oduzima i negira pravo na moć i od Zapada i od onih koji njima vladaju. Suočeni s nemoći i s oduzimanjem prava na moć, neki muslimani i ulema pristaju na pasivnost, tj. predaju (319). Drugi se okreću agresiji, nasilju (318) tvrdeći da je nasilje izvorno islamsko. Koliko god to nasilje moglo biti razumljivo, ono niti je islamsko, niti će polučiti željene rezultate.

Akhtar je pred sebe postavio zadatak da pomoćne muslimanima da „bezbolno napuste vlastitu imperijalnu prošlost i prihvate skromnu ulogu u strukturama moći u svijetu u kojem njihove aspiracije, pa čak i životi i imetak, malo znače“ (11). Ta nova formula je ne-imperijalni ali i dalje osnaženi, reprezentativni, samosvojni islam koji se bori protiv nepravde posvuda (334) nasuprot pripitomljenom i privatiziranom islamu (22) kao privatnom izvoru utjehe i još jednoj opciji samopomoći na duhovnom tržištu (19). Osnaženi islam je legitiman (14, 325) i to je ono što obični i grješni muslimani, koji primarno zanimaju autora, žele, ali ne uspijevaju artikulirati. Legitimna je želja muslimana da odlučuju o svojoj sudbini kao što drugi narodi odlučuju o svojim sudbinama. Oni instinktivno i opravdano submisivni, pacifistički, politički impotentni, 'umjereni' islam smatraju izdajom istinske prirode islama. Nažalost, u afektu, umjesto da djeluju afirmativno, asertivno

¹ <https://www.danas.rs/drustvo/izjava-nanela-stetu-odnosima-spc-i-iz/>, pristupljeno 04. 04. 2020.

NEITHER VIOLENT NOR DOCILE, BUT AN EMPOWERED ISLAM

Shabbir Akhtar, *Islam as a Political Religion: The Future of an Imperial Religion*, CNS, Sarajevo, 2017, 355.

the Serbian Patriarch Irinej is not the only one who thinks that Muslims “when they are fewer in number, they are able to behave themselves and to be proper. As soon as they become equal in number, they dare to raise their heads; once they become superior and powerful, they exert pressure either for others to move out or for others to join them.”¹ It is a widespread prejudice (or rather conscious imputation) that Muslims do not know how to conduct themselves when they are a majority, when they are powerful, when they are in power. The work that we are reviewing claims the opposite to be true. Muslims are corrupted by powerlessness, not by power (138, 261 of the English edition). Islam has always been a political, public, worldly, i.e. secular religion, from day one. Its political involvement is neither abusive nor distorting. On the contrary, its being originally a political religion hinders its political abuse. Islam originally teaches that public religious engagement not only makes sense but that, without it, religion can hardly make sense: “The Quran transfers moral concerns found in private ethics to politics so that social justice becomes the paradigmatic public cause – no longer private concern of charitable organizations” (238); “The morally constrained employment of power is an intrinsic demand of all-encompassing faith, not a lapse from an initial integrity necessitated by later recalcitrant events” (250). The Qur'an calls for social and economic justice, respect for learning and personal moral excellence (257). Therefore, the terms “Islamism” and “Islamist” are a hoax. When have you ever heard about “Christianism”? (4). However, there are religions, private religions that, when public and engaged, betray their original nature because they do not believe in their principles that it makes sense to make an effort to repair this world (240).

The Muslim problem with powerlessness is that Islam has been understood and interpreted as a religion of power for centuries. Muslims have developed theology of power (8). However, for three centuries,

Muslims have been living powerless while continuing to read literature that addresses them as being in a position of power. It frustrates them in a way that powerlessness does not frustrate other powerless communities. Contrary to members of private religions, Muslims were better off when they were powerful: A weak Islam gave us terrorism; a strong Islam shall give us peace and mutual tolerance on equal terms. (268).

Powerlessness is not the only problem for modern Muslims. They are deprived and denied the right to power from both the West and those who rule them. Faced with powerlessness and the deprivation of power, some Muslims and Ulama agree to passivity, i.e. surrender (248). Others turn to aggression, violence (247), claiming that the violence is originally Islamic. Insofar as this violence can be understood, it is neither Islamic nor will it produce the desired results. Akhtar set out to help Muslims “move graciously from their imperial past to a modest role in the power structures of a world in which their aspirations, even lives and property, mean little” (2-3). This new formula is a non-imperial but still empowered, representative, self-contained Islam that fights injustice everywhere (260) versus a domesticated and privatized Islam (12) as a private source of comfort and another option for self-help in the spiritual market (9). Empowered Islam is legitimate (260) and this is what ordinary and sinful Muslims, who are the primary interest of the author, wish but fail to articulate. It is legitimate for Muslims to determine their own destiny as other nations determine their own destinies. They consider the instinctively and justifiably the submissive, pacifist, politically impotent, ‘moderate’ Islam to be a betrayal of the true nature of Islam. Unfortunately, instead of acting affirmatively, assertively and decisively in affect, they act aggressively and violently. Muslims cannot afford such a mistake in today's world because “Muslims cannot win in the sphere of physical power” (239).

Akhtar dispels many myths, not just the one about the corruptibility of power. Islam is, he says, an anti-

¹ <https://www.danas.rs/drustvo/izjava-nanela-stetu-odnosima-spc-i-iz/>, accessed 04. 04. 2020.

i odlučno, oni djeluju agresivno i nasilno. Takvu grešku muslimani sebi u današnjem svijetu ne mogu priuštiti jer „muslimani ne mogu pobijediti u sferi fizičke moći“. (307).

Akhtar ruši brojne mitove, ne samo onaj o koruptivnosti moći. Islam je, veli, antifatalistička vjera. Islam zahtijeva pobunu: „Stvari su tako loše da se nešto mora učiniti u vezi s tim“ (309). Elaborirajući „revolucionarni potencijal“ islama (Abdurrahim Muddathir), autor džuma-namaz vidi kao revolucionarno okupljanje i prijetnju potkupljivim vladarima (308). Zapravo, cijela knjiga je detaljan naputak za razumijevanje hadisa – koji se u knjizi ne spominje – „Jak vjernik je bolji i Bogu draži od slabog vjernika a u svakom je dobro.“

Slično Abdelwahabu El-Affendiju (Abdulwahhāb Al-Afandī), autor ima posebnu poruku za one muslimanske intelektualce koji imaju ambiciju da reformiraju islam: „Samo onaj muslimanski reformator koji se zauzima za jačanje islama, ne njegovo oslabljivanje, ima nekakvu težinu kod običnih muslimana i na Istoku i na Zapadu... protestantski reformatori pokazivali su da su istinski konzervativniji i predaniji kršćani od svojih katoličkih suparnika.“ (10)

Glavni dio knjige posvećen je elaboraciji deset karakteristika islama. Neke od njih su standardne – poslanstvo, knjiga, univerzalnost, etičnost, racionalnost, privatnost za religije. Neke su, pak, specifične za islam – političke, pravne i imperijalne. Bilo bi preambiciozno ovu originalnu „decimalnu“ karakterizaciju islama pokušati predstaviti u nekoliko paragrafa pa ćemo se sustegnuti.

Čitalac će uveliko pogriješiti ako pomisli da sad zna o čemu sve govori Akhtarova knjiga. Naprosto, ovo je toliko kondenzirano štivo da ne dopušta sažimanje. Svaka stranica obiluje dubokim mislima koje se mogu dalje obrazlagati a ne sažimati. Zapravo, glavna ideja knjige je tako konsekventno i postupno razvijana ali i snažno i, povremeno, radikalno iskazana da je to čini podatnom za pogrešno razumijevanje ukoliko je se selektivno citira uprkos jasnom zaključku da moćni islam danas ne treba biti dominirajući i hegemonistički, već islam angažiran za pravdu i prosperitet: „Muslimanski aktivizam ne predviđa teokratski fašizam... želja da se institucionaliziraju objavljene istine najkraći je put do fašizma. Univerzalna

demokracija kompatibilna je s modernim islamom, no ne i sa zapadnim imperijalizmom.“ (327)

Akhtarova misao je samouvjerena, asertivna, politički nekorektna, ponekad drska i ne šteti nikoga. Stilski, knjiga je britko napisana i majstorski prevedena. Nije običaj u prikazima, ali nalazim za shodno donijeti koji citat više umjesto da uzalud pokušavam nadići autora u iskazu. Govoreći o odsustvu izvorne teologije u islamu on piše: „Dopušteno je da znamo što treba znati, ne da znamo što bismo željeli.“ (15) Drugdje piše: „Strah od ove pravedne vjere najveća je iracionalna fobija u Doba razuma.“ (307); [...] „vjerska univerzalnost Muhammedove misije opravdava njene političke i pravne reperkusije, a ne obratno“ [...] (19); „Povećanje broja džamija danas, što se uzima kao dokaz da je islam najbrže rastuća religija, zapravo je dokaz etničkog sektaštva i nejedinstva ummeta.“ (305); „potkupljiva elita bez narodnog mandata, aktivno podupire Zapad u ime nacionalne sigurnosti i globalne stabilnosti, što je eufemizam za zapadnu ekonomsku, političku i vojnu hegemoniju“ (313); „Arapima će ponestati nafte i gotovog novca; neće im ponestati islama, njihovog pravog bogatstva i jedinog trajnog prinosa svjetskoj zalih moralnog, estetskog i duhovnog značenja.“ (315); „Trajni mir između islama i Zapada moguć je... samo ako su muslimani tretirani dostojanstveno kao jednaki.“ (316); „Muslimani žele živjeti sa Zapadom, ne pod njim. (317)“; „Islamsko jedinstvo loša je vijest samo za one koji žele održati nepravednu univerzalnu hegemoniju.“ (336); „U vrijeme mira sinovi pokapaju svoje očeve; u ratno vrijeme, pak, očevi svoje sinove.“ (340); „Odbaciti otpor zlu znači glasati za trijumf opresije.“ (340); „Deva koja pada privlači mnogo noževa, kaže beduinska poslovice. 'Ne smije se biti slab kako slabost ne bi dovela u kušnju nepravedne.“ (341); „Ovdje samo bilježimo ironiju (zapadne) civilizacije u kojoj nagrade za mir sponzoriraju trgovci barutom.“ (342); „Osim ako nije poduzeto s pravom namjerom, nenasilje je uzvišena riječ za kukavičluk.“ (342); „Danas idemo na Zapad bez obzira kuda idemo.“ (344); „Kur'an je mnogo manje kritičan prema Jevrejima nego njihovi vlastiti proroci iz srednjeg dijela Starog zavjeta.“ (346); „Izbor ovog politički indiferentnog islama sam je po sebi prepun političkih posljedica.

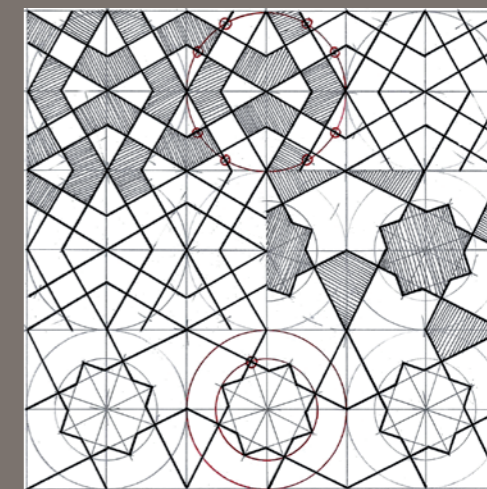
fatalistic religion. Islam demands rebellion: “Things are so bad that something must be done about it” (240-1). Elaborating on the “revolutionary potential” of Islam (cf. Abdurrahim Muddathir), the author sees the Friday prayer as a revolutionary gathering and a threat to corrupt rulers (240). In fact, the whole book is a detailed guide to understanding the hadith (which is not mentioned in the book) “A strong believer is better and more dear to God than a weak believer, and in each one there is good”.

Similar to Abdelwahab El-Affendi (Abdulwahhāb Al-Afandī), the author has a special message for those Muslim intellectuals who have the ambition to reform Islam: “Only a Muslim reformer who argues for strengthening Islam, not emasculating it, carries any weight with ordinary Muslims both in the East and West... Protestant reformers showed that they were more truly conservative and committed Christians than their Catholic opponents” (2).

The main part of the book is devoted to the elaboration of ten characteristics of Islam. Some of these are standard (mission, book, universality, ethics, rationality, privacy) for religions. Some, however, are specific to Islam: political, legal and imperial. It would be too ambitious to try to present this original “decimal” characterization of Islam in a few paragraphs, so we will refrain from it.

The reader will be greatly mistaken to think that he/she now knows what Akhtar's book is all about. Simply, this is such a condensed reading that it does not allow compression. Each page is full of deep thought that can only be further explained, rather than summarized. In fact, the main idea of the book is so consequently and gradually developed, but also strongly and, occasionally, radically expressed that it makes it easily misunderstood if read selectively, despite the clear conclusion that powerful Islam today should not be dominant and hegemonic, but rather an Islam that is engaged for justice and prosperity: “Muslim activism does not envisage theocratic fascism... the lust to institutionalize revealed certainties is the shortest route to fascism. Universal democracy is compatible with modern Islam but not with Western imperialism” (254).

Akhtar's thought is confident, assertive, politically incorrect, and spares no one. Stylistically, the book is brilliantly written and masterfully translated. It is not a custom in presentations, but I find it appropriate to bring in a quote more than try in vain to go beyond the author in a statement. Referring to the absence of original theology in Islam, he writes: “We are permitted to know what we need to know, not to know everything we wish to know” (6). Elsewhere it says: The fear of this just faith is the greatest irrational phobia



in the age of reason (239); The religious universality of Muhammad's mission justifies its political and legal repercussions, not the other way around (9); The increase in the number of mosques today, which is taken as evidence that Islam is the fastest growing religion, is in fact evidence of ethnic sectarianism and disunity of the Ummah (237); a corrupt elite without a people's mandate, actively supports the West in the name of national security and global stability, which is a euphemism for Western economic, political and military hegemony (243); The Arabs will run out of oil and cash; they will not run out of Islam, their real wealth and only enduring contribution to the world's stock of moral, aesthetic and spiritual meaning (245); Lasting peace between Islam and the West is possible ... only if Muslims are treated with dignity as equals (246); Muslims want to live with the West, not under it (246); Islamic unity is bad news only for those who want to maintain unjust universal hegemony (261); In peace time, sons bury their fathers; in war, fathers bury their sons (264); To reject the resistance to evil means to vote for the triumph of oppression (265); A falling camel draws many knives, says the Bedouin proverb. One must not be weak so that weakness does not tempt the unjust (265); Here we only note the irony of (Western) civilization in which peace awards are sponsored by gunpowder traders (266); Unless taken with the right intention, nonviolence is a lofty word for cowardice (266); Today we go to the West no matter where we go (268); The Qur'an is much less critical of the Jews than their own prophets from the middle part of the Hebrew Bible (269); The choice of this politically indifferent Islam is itself fraught with political consequences. This is not a politically neutral, but a neutralized Islam. These

To nije politički neutralan, nego neutralizirani islam. Ti pisci oblikuju islam koji pristaje interesima sveprisutnoga Zapada, što nije baš nevina ili neutralna stvar.“ (346)

Ova analiza – apel kao doprinos islamskoj teologiji oslobođenja dolazi u teško, odnosno pravo vrijeme. To, međutim, znači i da su velike šanse da bude pogrešno shvaćena od nemoćnih i pravedno shvaćena i odbačena od moćnih. Šta god bilo s muslimanima u narednim decenijama, opravdano je očekivati da islam ostane moralna supersila (308) jer pravo na slobodu i samoodređenje muslimanskih naroda sukobljava se samo sa zapadnim interesima, ne sa deklariranim zapadnim idealima. (314) I šta god mislili o ovoj knjizi, sa zaključkom se lahko složiti: „Bez pravednog mira zapadnjaci i muslimani će, u oba smisla, ostati zarobljenici rata.“ (349)

ILUSTRACIJA - Ismā'īl Mawlā, Sklop od trideset kur'anskih džuzeva, period dinastije Qing, Carstvo Velikog Qinga / Mandžurska dinastija, 18. stoljeće.



writers are shaping Islam that fits the interests of the ubiquitous West, which is not exactly an innocent or neutral thing (269-70).

This analysis-apel as a contribution to the Islamic theology of liberation comes at a difficult, i.e. the right time. However, this also means that there is a good chance it will be misunderstood by the powerless, and justly understood and rejected by the powerful. Whatever may happen with Muslims in the coming decades, it is justified to expect Islam to remain a religious superpower (244) because the right to freedom and self-determination of Muslim nations conflicts only with Western interests, not with declared Western ideals (244). Moreover, whatever one thinks about this book, I can agree with its conclusion: “Without a just peace, Westerners and Muslims shall both remain, in both senses, prisoners of war” (272).

ILLUSTRATION - Ismā'īl Mawlā, A Set of Thirty Chinese Qur'an Juz', of the Qing Dynasty, The Great Qing Empire / Manchurian Dynasty, 18th Century.





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Prikaz knjige obično sadrži između 800 i 1.200 riječi. Podnaslove treba svesti na minimum, a fusnote treba što rjeđe koristiti. Prikaz knjige treba biti naslovljen bibliografskom informacijom u skladu sa sljedećim pravopisom: Ime i prezime autora, Naslov knjige, Mjesto izdavanja: Izdavač, godina izdanja. Broj strana, ISBN Ime autora prikaza navesti na kraju rada.

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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); he 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.

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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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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.

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**CENTAR ZA DIJALOG – VESATIJJA
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Chairman of the Board: Dr. Mustafa CERIĆ
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Sekretar / Secretary: Mohamed-Suleyman TADEFI

Misiju i ciljeve **Centar za dijalog - Vesatiija** realizira kroz sljedeće aktivnosti:

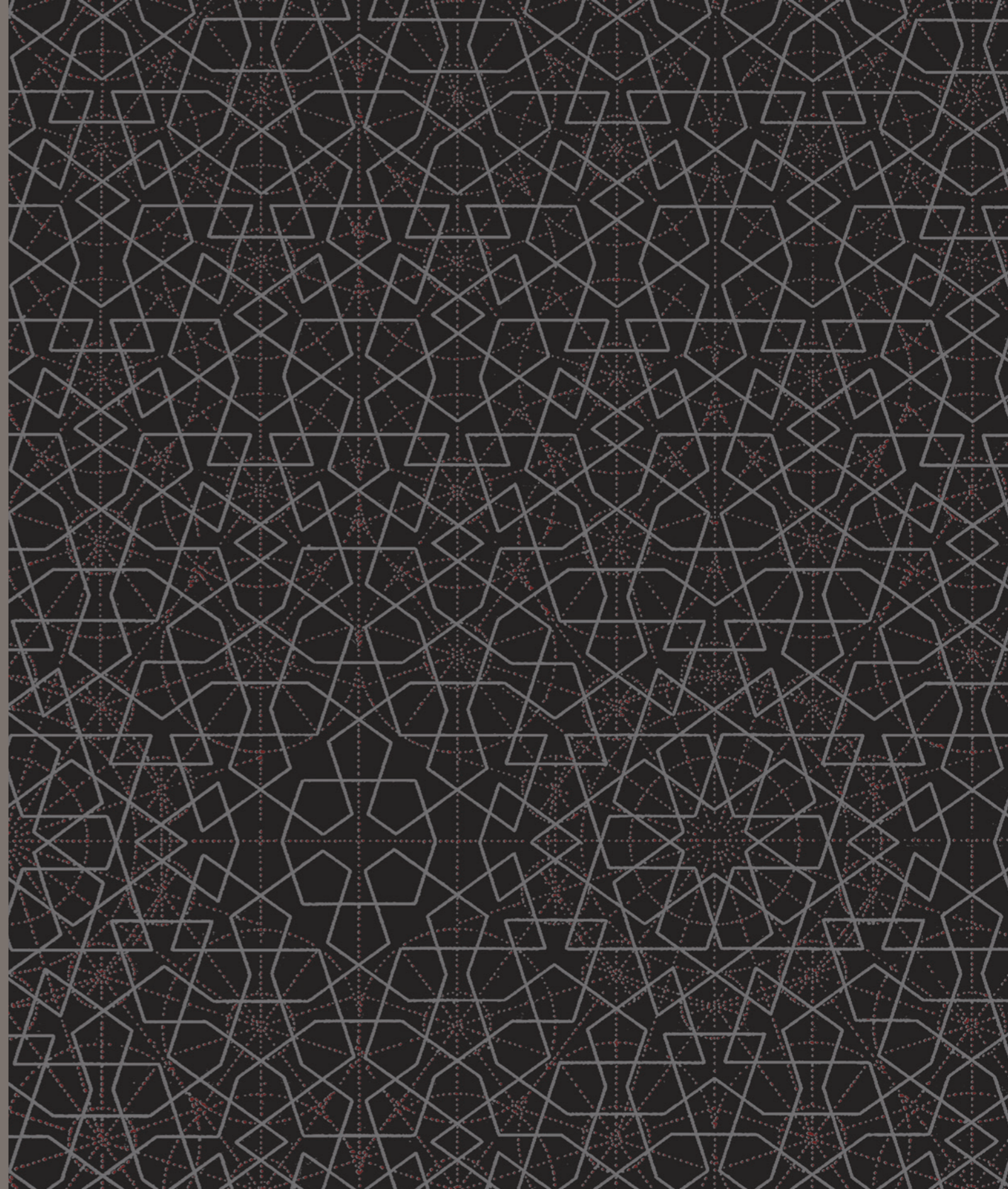
- multidisciplinarna istraživanja i studije o dijalogu i srednjem ili miroljubivom putu u islamu;
- publiciranje zapaženih ostvarenja domaćih i stranih autora o dijalogu i srednjem ili miroljubivom putu u islamu;
- organiziranje naučnih skupova, okruglih stolova, seminara, foruma i sličnih skupova na 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 (**vesatiija**).

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**).





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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 be focused on the realization of scientific-research and educational projects in the field of cultural dialogue and the promotion of the cultural dialogue.



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