

Al-Māturīdī i prve dvije stranice njegove knjige Kitāb al-tawḥīd.

Al-Māturīdī and the first two pages of his book Kitāb al-tawḥīd.

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 vođstvom 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-Stiftug*, *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).
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Dr. Mustafa Cerić is considered one of the most inâuential 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 ful member of the Royal Academy Al al-Bayt (Jordan), and is one of the founders and ful member of BANU (Bosnia). E-Mail: **cericmustafa@gmail.com**



DOI: https://doi.org/10.52510/sia.v5i2.78
UDK: 28:929 Abu Mansur
323.1(497.6=163.43)
Original scientific paper - Izvorni naučni rad

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REFLEKSIJA O MILENIJU MATURIDIJSKE TEOLOGIJE (944-2024)

A REFLECTION ON ONE MILLENNIUM OF MĀTURĪDĪ'S THEOLOGY (944-2024)

Sažetak

Ovaj rad obilježava više od jednog milenija godišnjicu smrti Imama Abu Manṣūra Māturīdija, nadglasavajući njegovu ključnu ulogu u oblikovanju glavnog toka sunnitske ortodoksne teologije. Rad nastoji skrenuti pažnju na značajno oživljivanje māturīdizma u smislu promoviranja racionalnog pristupa u islamskoj teologiji uz čvrsto držanje važeće tradicije. Dok nas, može biti geografska udaljenost od Samarkanda razdvaja, vremenska distanca više od jednog milenija Māturīdijska Božija mudrost (muʾtazilitska glavna tema je "Božija pravda", ašʾaritska je "Božija volja", dok je māturīdijska glavna tema "Božija mudrost"), drži nas bliže u današnje vrijeme zahvaljujući otkrivanju njegove 'filozofske teologije', koja postaje sve više i više jedna vrsta zviždača protiv očiglednog širenja bukvalizma, ekstremizam, isključivost i mračnjaštva u religijskoj misli. Prije nekoliko decenija, religiozni učenjaci i u muslimanskom svijetu i na Zapadu žalili su se na oskudnost i nemarnost u proučavanju Maturidijeve teologije unatoč činjenici da ga se smatra jednim od najvažnijih osnivača sunnitske ortodoksne teologije. Ovakvo stanje stvari se sada mijenja jer se danas mnoga istraživanja o Maturidijevoj teologiji provode kako u muslimanskom svijetu tako i na Zapadu.

Ključne riječi: *Māturīdizam, ašʾarizam, uṣūl, fiqh, kalām i Samarkand*

Abstract

This paper is marking the more than one millennium on Imām Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī's death anniversary by highlighting his pivotal role in shaping the main stream of Sunni orthodox theology. It seeks to draw attention to a significant revival of Māturīdism in terms of promoting a rational approach in Islamic theology while holding fast to the valid tradition. While the geographical distance from Samarkand may keep us apart, the time distance of more than one millennium of Matuidi's God's wisdom (Muʿtazilite's main theme is "God's justice", Ashʿarite's is "God's Will", while Māturīdī's main theme is "God's wisdom"), keeps us closer nowadays as the rediscovery of his philosophical theology is becoming more and more a kind of a whistleblower against an apparent spread of literalism, extremism, exclusivism and obscurantism in religious thought. A few decades ago, religious scholars both in the Muslim world and the West complained about the scarcity and negligence of the study of Matuidi's theology despite the fact that he is considered to be one of the most important founders of the Sunni orthodox theology. This state of affairs is changing now as many studies on Matuidi's theology are being conducted both in the Muslim world and the West.

Key words: *Māturīdism, Ashʿarism, Uṣūl, Fiqh, Kalām and Samarkand*

REFLEKSIJA O MILENIJU MATURIDIJSKE TEOLOGIJE (944-2024)

Moj susret s Imāmom Abū Manṣūrom al-Māturīdijem

Više od jednog milenijuma na godišnjicu smrti Imāma Abū Manṣūra Māturīdija (944.-2024.) pruža mi priliku da podijelim priču o mom susretu sa ovim velikim osnivačem sunnitske ortodoksne škole *Kalāma*, filozofske teologije.

Moj susret s Imāmom Māturīdijem dogodilo se u prošlom stoljeću između 1981.-1986. god. na Čikaškom univerzitetu tokom moje imamske službe u zajednici Bošnjaka muslimana u Northbrooku Velikog Čikaga. Nakon što sam 1978. god. diplomirao na Univerzitetu Al-Azharu u Kairu, upućen sam u Islamski kulturni centar u Čikagu pod uslovom da nastavim postdiplomske studije na Čikaškom univerzitetu. Imao sam sreće što sam u Čikagu zatekao profesora Fazlura Rahmana. Pakistanska konzervativna ulema nije mogla podnijeti njegov modernizam, pa je profesor Rahman morao napustiti Pakistan i preseliti se u Čikago. Ponesen iskustvom Al-Azhara, vjerovao sam da je islam već riješio sve probleme svijeta. Ostalo je malo ili ništa da se riješava. Treba samo čuvati i sačuvamo ono što je naslijeđeno od uzoritih predaka. Međutim, profesor Fazlur Rahman je osporio moje samopouzdanje, tvrdeći da ništa nije u potpunosti riješeno, već čeka na moje ozbiljno naučno istraživanje da to riješim. Mnogo je pitanja o islamu na koja moderno doba čeka adekvatne odgovore poput pitanja odnosa tradicije i razuma te pitanja odnosa između Božije objave i ljudskog iskustva i još mnogo toga.

Tako sam shvatio da čak i da imam dva života, to ne bi bilo dovoljno da završim posao. Naravno, u tom slučaju ne bi bilo dosadno živjeti ni dva života. Zaista, profesor Fazlur Rahman mi je pokazao

A REFLECTION ON ONE MILLENNIUM OF MĀTUĪDĪ'S THEOLOGY (944-2024)

My Encounter with Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī

More than one millennium on Imām Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī's death anniversary (944-2024) gives me the opportunity to share the story of my encounter with this great founder of the Sunni Orthodox School of *Kalām*, Philosophical Theology.

My encounter with Imām Māturīdi happened in the last century between 1981-1986 at the University of Chicago during my imam service in the Bosniak Muslim community in Northbrook of Greater Chicago. Having graduated at the University of Al-Azhar, Cairo, in 1978, I was appointed to the Islamic Cultural Center in Chicago to succeed late Imam Ćamil Avdić, who passed away in 1979, on the condition to continue postgraduate studies at the University of Chicago. I was lucky to meet late Professor Fazlur Rahman in Chicago. Pakistan's conservative ulema could not stand his modernism, so Professor Rahman had to leave Pakistan and move to Chicago. Driven by the Al-Azhar experience, I believed that Islam had already solved all the world's problems. There was little or nothing left to be solved. We only need to protect and preserve what was inherited from exemplary ancestors. However, Professor Fazlur Rahman challenged my self-confidence, claiming that nothing is completely solved, but is waiting for my hard scholarly research to complete it. There are many questions about Islam to which the modern age is waiting for adequate answers, such as the question of the relationship between tradition and reason, the question of the relationship between God's revelation and human experience, and much more.

So, I realized that even if I had two lifetimes, it would be not enough to finish the job. Of course, in that case it wouldn't be boring to live two lives either. Indeed, Professor Fazlur Rahman showed me the right way forward as he

pravi put naprijed jer me je upozorio na važnost razumijevanja organskog odnosa između osnova (*uṣūl*) i primjene (*fiqha*) u vjeri. Skrenuo mi je pažnju na Velikog Imāma Abū Ḥanīfu al-Nuʾmāna ibn Thābita al-Kūfija,[▾1] koji je osnove vjere nazvao *al-Fiqh al-Akbar* ("Najveće razumijevanje"),[▾2] skrećući na taj način pažnju muslimanskim učenjacima da budu svjesni razlike između fundamentalnog i aplikativnog aspekta vjere, poput razlike između fundamentalnih i aplikativnih aspekta fizike. Učenjak osnova (*al-uṣūlī*) fokusiran je na značenje univerzalnih principa, dok je učenjak primjene (*al-faqīh*) zabrinut za pravila i metode određene primjene vjere.[▾3]



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Portret Velikog Imāma Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʾmāna ibn Thābita al-Kūfija, prva polovina 8. stoljeća.
ILLUSTRATION ~ Portrait of the Great Imam Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit al-Kūfī, first half of the 8th century.. (Archive of Akšamija)

[▾1] Abū Ḥanifa al-Nuʾmān ibn Thābit al-Kūfī (um. 699.-767.) je eponim ḥanafijske škole islamskog prava - najveće od četiri osnovne sunnitske pravne škole. Rođen je u Kufi 80/699. god. za vrijeme vladavine moćnog omajadskog halife ʾAbd al-Malika b. Marwān (65.-86./685.-705.) i iračkog guvernera Ḥadždžādža b. Yūsufa. Abū Ḥanīfa je predstavljao školu *raʾya* (slobodnog pravnog rasuđivanja), Mālik je predstavljao školu strogog pridržavanja tradicije, dok je Šafija izvršio, takoreći, sintezu između tog dvoga, što je proizvelo "klasičnu" teoriju - islamsko pravo.

[▾2] Uporedi analizu značenja *al-Fiqh al-akbar* („Najveće razumijevanje") i *al-Fikh al-Afḍal* („Najbolja primjena") religije: Mustafa Cerić: „**Fundamentalno razumijevanje vjere i morala**" u Illuminatio /Svjetionik/Almanar – časopis za nove ideje, tom 2, br. 2; Godina II; Jesen MMXXI, str. 180-206. Koliko znam, do sada niko nije povukao takvu paralelu između fundamentalnog razumijevanja vjere, *al-fikh al-akbar*, i „najbolje primjene" vjere i morala u praksi, *al-fikh al-afḍal*. Možda je ova sintagma (*al-fikh al-afḍal*) naš doprinos ideji praktične primjene vjere i morala u smislu usvajanja i primjene moralnih vrlina (*faḍīlah* pl. *faḍāʾil*), vrlina koje proizlaze iz fundamentalnog razumijevanja vjere *al-fikh al-akbar*.

[▾3] Fazlur Rahman je napisao svoju knjigu: *Glavne teme Kurʾana*, na ideji univerzalnosti kur'anske poruke, a ne na posebnostima historijskih okolnosti, koje su promjenjive dok je poruka Kur'ana vječna i nepromjenjiva na temelju njenih univerzalnih načela. Vidi: Fazlur Rahman. ***Major Themes of the Qurʾan***. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2009.

alerted me to the importance of a comprehension of an organic relationship between the fundamentals (*uṣūl*) and application (*fiqh*) of faith. He drew my attention to the Grand Imām Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit al-Kūfī,[1] who called the fundamentals of faith *al-Fiqh al-Akbar* ("The Greatest Comprehension"),[2] drawing thus an attention to Muslim scholars to be aware of the difference between the fundamental and applicative aspects of faith, like the difference between the fundamental and applicative aspects of physics. The scholar of fundamentals (*al-uṣūlī*) is focused on the meaning of universal principles, whereas the scholar of application (*al-faqīh*) is concerned about the rules and methods of particular applications of faith.[3]



ILLUSTRATION ~ Abū Ṭālib Iṣfahānī, *Portraits of the Imāms Shāfiʿī and Abū Ḥanīfa, with `Abbāsid revolutionary Abū Muslim*, 1598.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Abū Ṭālib Iṣfahānī, *Portreti imama Šafije i Abu Hanife, sa `abasidskim revolucionarom Abu Muslimom*, detalj.

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[1] Abū Ḥanifa al-Nuʿmān ibn Thābit al-Kūfī (d. 699-767) is eponym of the Ḥanafī School of Islamic law - the largest of the four primary Sunni schools of law. He was born in Kūfa in the year 80/699 during the reign of the powerful Omayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65-86/685-705) and the Iraqi governorship of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Abū Ḥanīfa and his school of law represented the school of ra'y (free legal reasoning), Mālik represented the school of strict adherence to tradition, while Šāfiʿī effected, as it were, a synthesis between the two, which constituted the "classical" theory of Islamic law.

[2] Compare an analysis of the meaning of *al-Fiqh al-akbar* („The Fundamental Comprehension") and *al-Fikh al-Afḍal* ("The Best Application") of religion: Mustafa Cerić: **„Fundamental Understanding of Faith and Morals"** in *Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar – Journal for New Ideas*, Volume 2, No 2; Year II; Autumn MMXXI, pp. 180-206. As far as I know, no one has so far drawn such a parallel between the fundamental understanding of faith, *al-fiqh al-akbar*, and the "best application" of faith and morality in practice, *al-fiqh al-afḍal*. Perhaps this syntagm (*al-fiqh al-afḍal*) is our contribution to the idea of practical application of faith and morality in the sense of adopting and applying moral virtues (*faḍīlah* pl. *faḍā'il*), virtues arising from the fundamental understanding of faith *al-fiqh al-akbar*.

[3] Fazlur Rahman wrote his book: *Major Themes of the Qur'an*, on the notion of the universality of the Qur'anic message rather than on peculiarities of historical circumstances, which are changeable while the message of the Qur'an is eternal and unchangeable by its universal principles. See: Fazlur Rahman, ***Major Themes of the Qur'an***, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2009.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Na Univerzitetu u Čikagu 1986. godine odbranjena je doktorska teza na temu al-Maturidijevog istraživanja korijena sintetičke teologije u islamu. Tezu je odbranio Mustafa Cerić uz mentorstvo prof. dr Fazlur Rahmana.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Prof. Dr. Fazlur RAHMAN, University of Chicago.

ILLUSTRATION ~ A doctoral thesis on the topic of al-Maturidi's research on the roots of synthetic theology in Islam was defended at the University of Chicago in 1986. The thesis was defended by Mustafa Cerić under the mentorship of Prof. Dr. Fazlur Rahman. (Archive of Akšamija)

Abū Bakr ʾAla' al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī, pravnik i teolog ḥanafijske škole, koji je neko vrijeme živio u Halepu, gdje je postao poznat po svojoj knjizi *Tuḥfat al-fuqahāʾ*, napisao je vrijednu knjigu: *Mīzān al-natāʾidž al-uqūl* ("Osnove mjere za racionalne rezultate"), gdje je u uvodu kazao:

> "Trebalo bi da znate da je nauka o principima jurisprudencije (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) grana nauke o osnovama teologije (*uṣūl al-kalām*). Dakle, grana je ono što se grana iz svog korijena. Prema tome, ono što se ne grana iz svog korijena, nije iz svoje loze. Stoga je očigledno da se kompozicija u ovoj oblasti mora zasnivati na uvjerenju autora dotične knjige. Većina djela o principima jurisprudencije (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) mu'tazilija razlikuju se od nas u osnovama, dok se ljudi *Ḥadītha* razlikuju od nas u granama (*al-furūʾ*). Oslanjanje na njihova djela ili vodi do greške u osnovama, ili do greške u granama, a okretanje od oboje je obavezno i po *ʾaqlu* (razumu) i *šarʾu* (tradiciji).[4] Djela naših učitelja, neka im se Allah dž.š. smiluje, su u tom smislu dvojaka: (1) Tip djela koja su izuzetno dobro urađena i usavršena zato što ih je uradio onaj koji je spojio grane s korijenom te uronio u nauku prava i razuma, kao što je to urađeno u knjigama *Maʾākhidh al-sharīʾah* i *Kitāb al-džadal*[5] od strane asketskog Šeika, vođe Sunnita, Abū Manṣūra al-Māturīdije al-Samarqandija, neka mu se Svemogući Bog smiluje, i (2) slična djela njegovih učitelja i učenika, neka im se Svemogući Bog smiluje."[6]

Bio sam svjestan važnosti osnova religije (*uṣūl al-dīn*), ali nisam dovoljno cijenio ovu blisku vezu, kao ni ovu čvrstu utemeljenost osnova religije sa principima jurisprudencije (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). Upozorenje mentora Fazlura Rahmana učinilo je da pređem sa lingvistike na teologiju, *ʾilm al-kalām*. Naravno, moje poznavanje lingvistike mi je koristilo jer se *kalām*, govor o Božijoj suštini i Njegovim atributima, u osnovi odnosi na ispravno razumijevanje značenja riječi.

Pošto sam prihvatio ideju profesora Fazlura Rahmana da pređem u polje nauke *kalāma*, namjeravao sam početi moja istraživanja s Bošnjakom Ḥasanom Kāfī Āqḥiṣārijem,[7] bosanski Hasanom Kafijem

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[4] Ova izjava jednog māturīdijskog sljedbenika kao što je ʾAlaʾ al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (um. 1145.) najbolja je artikulacija srednje pozicije Māturīdijevog *kalama* između ultraracionalizma i bukvalnog tradicionalizma.

[5] Nažalost, nijedna od ove dvije knjige nije sačuvana.

[6] Al-Samarqandī, Abū Bakr ʾAlaʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad. ***Mīzān al-uṣūl fī natāʾij al-uqūl***. Ur. Muḥammad Zakī ʾAbd al-Birr, Qatar, 1984., str. 1-2.

[7] O životu i radu Ḥasan Kāfī Āqḥiṣārija (um. 1025./1616.), pogledaj njegovu autobiografiju: "**Ḥasan Kāfī Āqḥiṣārī and his Niẓām al-ʻulama ila khātam al-anbiya**ʾ". Jan Just Witkam, ur. ***Manuscripts of the Middle East*** (1989.) 4; Kātib Chelebī. ***Sullam al-wuṣūl***, v. 2, str. 19-20; Muhamed Handžić. ***al-Jawhar al-ʻasnā fī tarājim ʾulamāʾ wa shuʾarāʾ Bosnah***, Abd al-Fattah Muḥammad al-Hilw, ur. Kairo: Hajr Publishers, 1992., str. 61-71; Ḥasan Kāfī Al-Āqḥiṣārī Al-Basnawi (951.-1024.).***Nūr al-yaqīn fi uṣūl al-dīn***, uvod Zuhdija Adilović, Rijad, Maktabat al-ʻUbaykan, 1927.; 1997.; ***Hasan Kafi***

Abū Bakr ʿAla' al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Samarqandī, the jurist and theologian of the Ḥanafī school who lived for a while in Aleppo, where he became famous for his book *Tuḥfat al-fuqahā'*, wrote a valuable book: *Mīzān al-uṣūl fī natā'ij al-uqūl* ("Bases of measure for rational results"), where he said in the introduction:

> "You should know that the science of the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) is a branch of the science of the fundamentals of theology (*uṣūl al-kalām*). Thus, the branch is that which branches off from its origin. Hence, that which does not branch off from its origin is not from its lineage. Therefore, it is obvious that the composition in this field must be based on the belief of the author of book. Most of the works on the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) of the Muʿtazilites differ from us in the fundamentals, whereas the people of *Ḥadīth* differ from us in the branches (*al-furūʿ*). Relying on their works either leads to error in the fundamentals, or to error in the branches, and turning away from both of them is obligatory both by *ʿaql* (reason) and *sharʿ* (tradition).[4] The works of our teachers, may God Almighty have mercy on them, in this regard are of two types: (1) A type which was extremely well-crafted and perfected because it was issued by the one who tied the branches with origins, and delved into the sciences of the law and reason, like it was done in the books: *Ma'ākhidh al-sharīʿah* and *Kitāb al-jadal*[5] by the ascetic Sheikh, leader of the Sunnis, Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī, may God Almighty have mercy on him, and similar works by his teachers and companions, may God Almighty have mercy on them."[6]

I was aware of the importance of the fundamentals of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), but I did not appreciate enough this close relationship as well as this solid foundation of the fundamentals of religion to the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). The alert of the mentor Fazlur Rahman, made me shift from linguistics to theology, *ʿilm al-kalām*. Of course, my knowledge of linguistics benefited me because the *kalām*, speech about God's essence and His attributes, is basically about a proper understanding of the meaning of words.

Having accepted the Professor Fazlur Rahman's idea to shift to the science of *kalam*, I intended to start with the Bosniak Ḥasan Kāfī Āqḥiṣārī,[7] Bosnian Hasan Kafi Pruščak,[8] who rose to prominence in the Ottoman time,

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[4] This statement of a Māturīdite like ʿAla' al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (d. 1145) is the best articulation of the middle position of Māturīdī's *kalām* between ultra-rationalism and literal traditionalism.

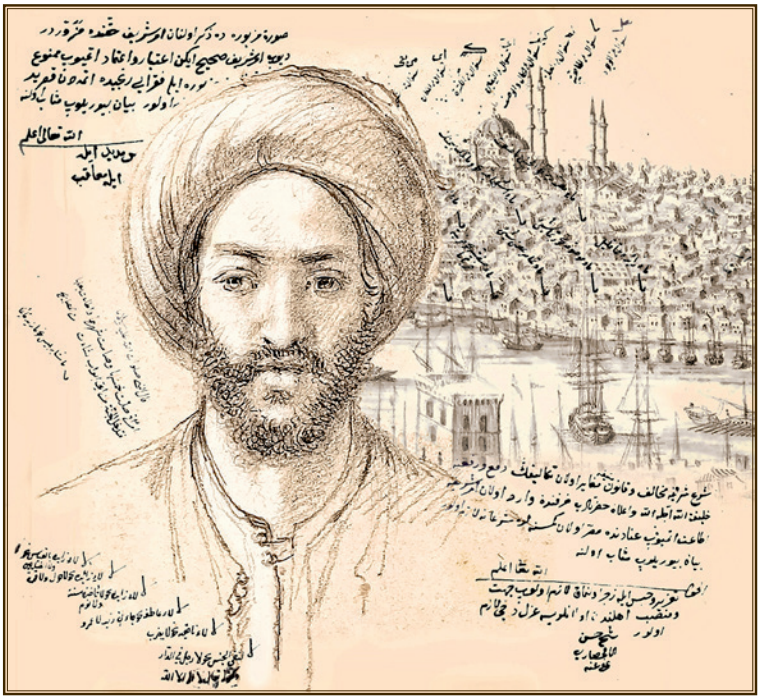
[5] Unfortunately, neither of these two books are extant.

[6] Al-Samarqandī, Abū Bakr ʿAla' al-Dīn Muḥammad: ***Mīzān al-uṣūl fī natā'ij al-uqūl***, ed. Muḥammad Zakī ʿAbd al-Birr, Qatar, 1984, pp. 1-2.

[7] On the life and work of Ḥasan Kāfī Āqḥiṣārī (d. 1025/1616), see his autobiography: **"Ḥasan Kāfī Āqḥiṣārī al-Bosnawī: Niẓām al-'ulama ila khātam al-anbiya'"**, Gazi Husrev-Begova Biblioteka, written in Prusac in 1026/1617 by Halil an-Nawabadi, Kat. Br. 896; Kātib Chelebī, ***Sullam al-wuṣūl***, v. 2, pp.19-20; Muhamed Handžić, ***al-Jawhar al-'asnā fī tarājim ʿulamā' wa shuʿarā' Bosnah***, ed. Abd al-Fattah Muḥammad al-Hilw, Cairo: Hajr Publishers, 1992, pp.61-71; Ḥasan Kāfī Al-Āqḥiṣārī Al-Basnawi (951-1024), ***Nūr al-yaqīn fi uṣūl al-dīn***, introduction by Zuhdija Adilović, Riyadh, Maktabat al-'Ubaykan, 1997, pp. 27-62; ***Hasan Kafi Pruščak***, uredili: Elvir Duranović i Sumeja Ljevaković-Subašić, Institut za islamsku tradiciju Bošnjaka, El-Kalem, 2015; Amir Ljubović, ***The Works in Logic by Bosniak Authors in Arabic***, Leiden-London: Brill, 2008, pp. 27-31.

[8] Nakičević, Omer: ***Hasan Kafi Pruščak pionir arapsko-islamskih nauka u Bosni i Hercegovini***, Sarajevo 1977.

Pruščakom,[8] koji se u osmansko vrijeme istaknuo, zauzimajući položaje *qadije* u raznim gradovima te služeći kao savjetnik kod Sultana Mehmeda III tokom vojnih pohoda.[9] Napisao je dva glavna teološka djela: *Rawḍāt al-džannāt fī uṣūl al- ʾiʾtiqādāt* ("Džennetske bašče o temeljima vjerovanja")[10] i komentar na *Taḥāwījevu ʾAqīdu* („Credo"): *Nūr al-yaqīn fi ʿuṣūl al-dīn* („Svjetlo uvjerenja u korijenima vjere").[11] Budući da je njegova knjiga *Rawḍāt al-džannāt* bila dobro prihvaćena, on je sljedeće godine napisao komentar na nju pod naslovom *Azhār al-rawḍāt fī šarḥ rawḍāt al-džannāt* ("Ruže vrtova u tumačenju džennetskih bašči").[12]



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Hasan Kafija Pruščak bio je filozof, teolog, biograf i historičar koji je studij završio u Istanbulu. (Archive of Akšamija)
ILLUSTRATION ~ Hasan Kafija Pruščak was a philosopher, theologian, biographer and historian who completed his studies in Istanbul.

Pruščak. Elvir Duranović i Sumeja Ljevaković-Subašić, ur. Institut za islamsku tradiciju Bošnjaka, El-Kalem, 2015.; Amir Ljubović. ***The Works in Logic by Bosniak Authors in Arabic***. Leiden-London: Brill, 2008., str. 27-31.

[8] Nakičević, Omer. ***Hasan Kafi Pruščak pionir arapsko-islamskih nauka u Bosni i Hercegovini***. Sarajevo 1977.

[9] Krajem 1004./1596. pridružio se osmanskoj vojsci u bici kod Hačove sa Habzburgovcima u sjevernoj Ugarskoj. Vidi: Yahya Raad Haidar. ***The Debates between Ash'arism and Māturīdism in Ottoman Religious Scholarship: A Historical and Bibliographical Study***, Teza predana za zvanje doktora filozofije na Australijskom nacionalnom univerzitetu, 2016., str. 142-143.

[10] Vidi: Hasan Kafi Al-Ākḥiṣārī. ***Meadows of Heavens in the Principles of Belief***. Engleski prijevod Ibrahim M. Zein, El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2010.; Hasan Kafi Pruščak. ***Džernnetske bašče - O temeljima vjerovanja***. Bosanski prijevod Mehmedalija Hadžić, Sarajevo, "Preporod", 1979.

[11] Završio je obje knjige 1014./1606. dok je logorovao sa otomanskom vojskom tokom opsade Esztergoma protiv Habsburgovaca u sjevernoj Mađarskoj. Vidi: Haidar. ***Op. cit.*** str. 143.

[12] Āqḥiṣārī, Ḥasan Kāfī. ***Azhār al-rawḍāt fi sharḥ rawḍāt al-jannāt, Intishārāt -i Bayn al-Milalī-i Amīn***. Teheran, 1396. [2017.].

assuming the position of *Qāḍī* in various cities and serving as an advisor to Ottoman Sultan Mehmed III during military campaigns.[9] He wrote two major theological works: *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fi 'uṣūl al-'i'tiqādāt* ("Meadows of Heavens: on the Principles of Belief")[10] and a commentary on *Taḥāwī's Creed: Nūr al-yaqīn fi 'uṣūl al-dīn* ("Light of Certainty in the Roots of Religion").[11] Because his book *'Rawḍāt al-jannāt* was well received, he wrote a commentary on it next year under the title of *Azhār al-rawḍāt fī sharḥ rawḍāt al-jannāt* ("Roses of Gardens").[12]



ILLUSTRATION ~ The work The Foundations of Wisdom on the Order of the World (1596) is a moral-political writing in which he aimed to point out negative phenomena in the state and society. Sultan Mehmed III was also interested in this work.. (Archive of Akšamija)

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Djelo Temelji mudrosti o uređenju svijeta (1596.), predstavlja moralno-politički spis kojim je želio ukazati na negativne pojave u državi i društvu. Za ovo djelo bio je zainteresiran i sultan Mehmed III.

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[9] At the end of 1004/1596, he joined Ottoman armies on the battle of Haçova with the Habsburgs in northern Hungary. See: Yahya Raad Haidar: ***The Debates between Ash'arism and Māturīdism in Ottoman Religious Scholarship: A Historical and Bibliographical Study***, A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University, 2016, pp. 142-143.

[10] See: Hasan Kafi Al- Ākḥiṣārī: ***Meadows of Heavens in the Principles of Belief***, English translation Ibrahim M. Zein, El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2010; Hasan Kafi Pruščak: ***Džernnetske bašče - O temeljima vjerovanja***, Bosnian translation Mehmedalija Hadžić, Sarajevo, "Preporod", 1979.

[11] He finished both books in 1014/1606 while camped with Ottoman armies during the Siege of Esztergom against the Habsburgs in northern Hungary. See: Haidar: ***The Debates between Ash'arism and Māturīdism***..., p. 143.

[12] Āqḥiṣārī, Ḥasan Kāfī: ***Azhār al-rawḍāt fī sharḥ rawḍāt al-jannāt***, Intishārāt -i Bayn al-Milalī-i Amīn, Teheran, 1396 [2017].

U *Azhār al-Rawḍātu*, Pruščak je naveo kratku Māturīdijevu biografiju te pokazao svoj nepopustljiv māturīdizam u suprotstavljanju Taḥawījevom mišljenju o definiciji vjere u korist Māturīdijeve doktrine.

> Mnoge hanefije, kaže Pruščak, slijedile su šejha Ṭaḥāwīju koji je rekao: "'(Vjera je) očitovanje jezikom i uvjerenjem srcem'. Ali ispravnije je čvrsto se držati doktrine Velikog Imāma Abū Ḥanīfe, doktrine koju slijedi Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, koji je tvrdio da je prava suština vjere u čovjekovom srcu o Bogu i Njegovom posljednjem Poslaniku. Dakle, pristanak (*iqrār*) jezikom je dodatni, a ne suštinski dio vjere."

Međutim, čim sam započeo svoje istraživanje o ovom velikom bošnjačkom učenjaku, shvatio sam da ne mogu razumjeti um učenika bez razumijevanja uma njegovog učitelja, i ne mogu procijeniti *kalām* sljedbenika prije nego što procijenim *kalām* njegovog učitelja. Pruščaku nije bilo teško da usvoji Māturīdijevu teologiju jer je Osmansko carstvo slijedilo Imāma Māturīdiju u *kalāmu*, teologiji, i Imāma Abū Ḥanīfu u *fiqhu*, jurisprudenciji. Otuda je Pruščak bio okosnica māturīdizama u oba pitanja – doktrinarnom i jurisprudencijalnom. Zaista, kao što kaže Yahya Haidar, "Āqḥiṣārī je smatrao da je Māturīdī savršen odraz originalne teologije Imāma Abū Ḥanīfe."[13] Osim toga, Philip Bruckmayer je citirao da je osim Āqḥiṣārija u Bosni (jugozapadno od Travnika) postojao još jedan učenjak koji se može povezati s māturīdizamom. Riječ je o Luṭfallāhu b. Šudžāʾu al-Dīn al-Āqḥiṣāriju (um. 940./1533.),[14] koji je napisao superglosu na al-Khayālijevu glosu na *Šarḥ al-ʿaqaʾid* (Tumačenje dogmi).[15] Međutim, odnos prema Māturīditima je, Bruckmayer navodi, očigledniji kod Ḥasan Kāfī Āqḥiṣārīja, koji je bio i vodeći bosanski učenjak svog vremena u pravu i teologiji, kao i dalekovidni je mislilac u političkoj sferi.[16] Iako ne piše pravo Māturīdijsko djelo, već komentar na Ṭaḥāwījevu *ʾAqīdu: Rawdāt al-džannāt fī uṣūl al-iʾtqādāt*, Pruščak kaže da je njegov susret u Mekki s primjerkom knjige *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* bio poriv da napiše ovu knjigu, što ukazuje na njegov poseban interes za teologiju Māturīdija.[17] Pruščak kaže:

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[13] Haidar: ***Op. cit.*** str. 144.

[14] Ovo ime Bosniaka Āqḥiṣārja nije na listi Hazima Šabanovićevog enciklopedijskog djela o bošnjačkim književnicima na orijentalnim jezicima. Vidi: Hazim Šabanović. ***Književnost muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima*** (*Bibliografija*). Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1973. Nedžad Grabus se pobrinuo za više informacija o māturīdizmu u Bosni svojom izvrsnom knjigom: ***Šejh-Jujino tumačenje temeljnih tema maturidijskog akaida - Glosa na Karabegijev komentar kaside el-Lamijje***. Kulturno-izobraževalni zavod - Averroes, Ljubljana, 2020.; Također, vrijedan spomena je i rad o māturīdizmu kod Bošnjaka autora Hfz. dr. Almir Pramenković. „**Uticaj učenja Ebu Mensura el-Maturidija na percepciju vjerovanja Bošnjaka sa osvrtom na Bošnjake Sandžaka**". *Islamska misao, Godišnjak Fakulteta za islamske studije*, Novi Pazar, 2024.

[15] Bruckmayer, Philip. "**The Spread and Persistence of Māturīdī Kalām and Undrelying Dynamics**". U *Iran and the Caucasus*, Brill, Leiden, 2009. str. 73. Dostupno na: https://brill.com/view/journals/ic/13/1/article-p59_2.xml.

[16] ***Ibid.***

[17] ***Ibid.***, str. 73-74.

In *Azhār al-Rawḍāt*, Āqḥiṣārī brought out a short biography of Māturīdī and showed his unyielding Maturidism in opposing Taḥāwī's opinion about the definition of faith in support of Māturīdī's doctrine.

> Many Hanafis, Āqḥiṣārī said, followed the shaykh Ṭaḥāwī who said: "'(Faith is) confession by tongue and consent by heart'. But it is more accurate to hold fast to the doctrine of the Great Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, the doctrine which is followed by Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, who maintained that the true essence of faith is in the man's heart about God and His last Messenger. So, consent (*iqrār*), is an additional and not essential part of faith'."

However, as soon as I started my research about this great Bosniak scholar, I realized that I cannot understand the mind of the student without understanding the mind of his teacher, and I cannot evaluate the *kalām* of follower before evaluating the *kalām* of his master. It was not difficult for Āqḥiṣārī to adopt Māturīdī's theology since the Ottoman Empire followed Imām Māturīdī in *kalam*, theology, and Imām Abū Ḥanīfa in *fiqh*, jurisprudence. Hence, Āqḥiṣārī was a backbone of Māturīdism in both matters – doctrinal and jurisprudential. Indeed, as Yahya Haidar said, "Āqḥiṣārī considered Māturīdī as the perfect reflection of the original theology of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa."[13] In addition, Philip Bruckmayer has quoted that besides Āqḥiṣārī in Bosnia (southwest of Travnik) there was one more scholar who can be associated with Māturīdism. Namely, Luṭfallāh b. Shujāʿ al-Dīn al-Āqḥiṣārī (d. 940/1533),[14] who wrote a super-gloss to al-Khayālī's gloss on the *Sharḥ al-'aqā'id* ("Explanation of Creeds")[15] However, the relationship to Māturīdites, Bruckmayer says, is more obvious with Ḥasan Kāfī Āqḥiṣārī, who was both the leading Bosnian scholar of his day in law and theology, as well as a far-sighted thinker in the political sphere.[16] Although not writing a Māturīdī work proper, but a commentary to the creed of Ṭaḥāwī: *Rawdāt al-jannāt fī uṣūl al-iʿtqādāt*, Āqḥiṣārī said that it was his encounter with a copy of *Kitāb al-tawḥīd in Mecca*, which instilled him with the urge to write such a book, which hints at a particular interest in the theology of Māturīdī.[17]

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[13] Yahya Haidar: *The Debates between Ash'arism and Māturīdism*...p. 144.

[14] However, this name of Bosniak Āqḥiṣārī is not on the ilist of Hazim Šabanović's encyclopedic survey on the Bosnian literati of oriental languages. See: Hazim Šabanović: ***Književnost muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima*** (Bibliografija); Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1973. Nedžad Grabus took care of more accounts about Māturīdism in Bosnia by his excellent book: ***Šejh-Jujino tumačenje temeljnih tema maturidijskog akaida - Glosa na Karabegijev komentar kaside el-Lamijje*** („Shaykh-Yuya's Interpretation of the Fundamental Themes of the Māturīdī's ʿAqā'id - Gloss on Karabay's Commentary on the Qaṣīda al-Lāmiyya"), Kulturno-izobraževalni zavod - Averroes, Ljubljana, 2020; also, worthwhile of mention is the paper on Māturīdism in Bošnjaks by Hfz. dr. Almir Pramenković, „**Uticaj učenja ebu mensura el-maturidija na percepciju vjerovanja Bošnjaka sa osvrtom na Bošnjake Sandžaka**" („The Influence of Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī's Teachings on the Perception of the Beliefs of Bosniaks with Reference to the Bosniaks of Sandžak"), Islamska misao, Godišnjak Fakulteta za islamske studije, Novi Pazar, 2024.

[15] Bruckmayer, Philip: "**The Spread and Persistence of Māturīdī Kalām and Undrelying Dinamics**" in *Iran and the Caucasus*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 73. Available at: https://brill.com/view/journals/ic/13/1/article-p59_2.xml.

[16] ***Ibid***.

[17] ***Ibid***., pp. 73-74.

"Dok sam bio u Mekki, naišao sam na *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* („Knjigu o monoteizmu"), čiji je autor šejh Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, napisanu starinskim pismom 500. god. (1107. Nove Ere) na način *ahl al-sunnata wa al-džamāʾah*, otuda sam odlučio da o ovoj nauci napišem knjigu koja je kratka i promišljena prema *sunnetu* kako bi bila od koristi laicima, posebno ljudima iz domovinske pobjede (*Dār al-naṣr*)."[18]



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Mustafa Cerić u radnom prostoru kao student poslijediplomskih studija u polju islamske teologije na Odsjeku za bliskoistočne jezike i civilizacije, Univerzitet Čikago 1981.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Mustafa Cerić in his workspace as a graduate student in the field of Islamic theology at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago 1981.. (Archive of Akšamija)

Na kraju krajeva, bio sam uvjeren da moja potraga mora početi s *kalāmom* velikog učitelja Imāma Abū Manṣūra al-Māturīdija. Prvi korak je bio uvid u *Enciklopediju islama*, gdje je Wilferd Madelung napravio koristan uvod o al-Māturīdiji i al-Māturīdiyyama.[19] Ono što me je najviše pogodilo na prvi pogled je primjetan nemar prema Māturīdījevom *kalāmskoj* misli u odnosu na preovlađujuću pokrivanost Ashʾarijevog *kalāma*, koji je bio Māturīdijev glavni rival u oblikovanju sunnitske teološke

[18] Āqḥiṣārī, Ḥasan Kāfī. ***Azhār al-rawḍāt fī šarḥ rawḍāt al-džannāt***,. zasnovano na Ms.. br. 1841, Saatsbibliothek Berlin, fol. 33b i objavljeno u Badeenu, ***Sunnitische theologie in osmanischer zeit***, str. 32. Vidi i: Haidar: ***Op. cit.*** str. 143.

[19] „**Al-Māturīdī**", *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, E.J. Brill, 1991., str. 846-848.

"While in Mecca, Āqḥiṣārī said, I came across Kitāb al-tawḥīd (the Book of Monotheism), which was authored by the shaykh Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, written in antique script in the year 500 (1107 New Era) in the method of *Ahl al-sunna wa al-jamāʿah*; from there, I decided to write in this science a book that is short and deliberated in the way of Sunna to benefit laymen, especially people of the Abode of Victory (*Dār al-Naṣr*)."[18]



ILLUSTRATION ~ Mustafa Cerić with his mentor Prof. Fazlur Rahman before the defense of his doctoral thesis at the University of Chicago on September 20, 1986.. (Archive of Akšamija)
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Mustafa Cerić sa mentorom prof. Fazlura Rahmanom pred odbranu doktorske teze na Univerzitetu u Čikagu 20. septembra 1986.

After all, I was convinced that my search must begin with the *kalām* of great master Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī. The first step was a look up in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, where Wilferd Madelung made a useful

[18] Āqḥiṣārī, Ḥasan Kāfī: ***Azhār al-rawḍāt fī sharḥ rawḍāt al-jannāt***, based on Ms. No 1841, Saatsbibliothek Berlin, fol.33b and published in Badeen, ***Sunnitische theologie in osmanischer zeit***, p. 32. See: Yahya Raad Haidar: ***The Debates between Ash'arism and Māturīdism in Ottoman Religious Scholarship: A Historical and Bibliographical Study***, a Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University, p. 143.

ortodoksije. Jedini dostupni izvorni izvor o Māturīdiju bilo je uređeno izdanje od Fathallaha Kholeifa Māturīdijevog *Kitāb al-tawḥīda*[20] te jedna vrijedna studija o Māturīdijevom životu i *kalāmskom* mišljenju od strane ʾAlī ʾAbd al-Fattāḥa al-Maghribīja.[21]

Gdje god sam tražio više podataka o Māturīdīji, naišao sam na pritužbu o nedostatku zapisa o njegovom životu i djelu. Postojala su različita objašnjenja za tu oskudicu od Abu al-Yusra al-Bazdawijeve primjedbe da je Māturīdījev arapski stil „malo zatvoren i preopširan" do najčešće opaske da je bio daleko od centra hilafeta, u Bagdadu. On je živio u Mā warā' al-nahr, Transoxiani. Međutim, iz današnje perspektive, osjećam da je Māturīdījev *kalām* donekle bio zanemaren jer:

> *Humanizam i skolastika su, kaže Makdisi, dva pokreta koja dominiraju intelektualnom historijom klasičnog islama... svaki od dva pokreta ima svoj raison d'être, različit od drugog; ali oba su proizašla iz brige za zajednički izvor: Sveto pismo. Istorija njihovog razvoja je jedna interakcija u kojoj je došlo do sukoba, ali nikada čistog prekida. Dan kada je humanizam osvanuo bilo je prije nego što je prvi vijek islama došao do kraja. Pokret je nastao zbog duboke brige za čistoću klasičnog arapskog Kur'ana kao živog jezika, kao i pobožnog jezika islama. Skolastika je svoj uspon zahvalila borbi između suprotstavljenih religijskih snaga, a sukob je došao do vrhunca u inkviziciji (miḥna) trećeg/devetog vijeka, više od jednog stoljeća nakon zore humanizma. Sukob se okrenuo oko pitanja da li je Kur'an nestvorena suvječna Božija Riječ. Oba pokreta su bila usmjerena na ordoksiju: humanizam, za 'ortodoksnost' u jeziku, sholasticizam, za ordoksnost u vjeri.*[22]

Usuđujem se sada pomisliti da je imam Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī bio skloniji pokretu humanizma u smislu 'filozofske teologije', a ne kontroverznoj Aš'arijskoj skolastici. Moglo bi se reći da je Māturīdī bio preteča ideje Muḥammada Iqbāla o *kalām džadīdu*.[23] Ramon Harvey je u pravu:

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[20] Kholeif, Fathalla. ***Kitāb al-Tawḥīd – Abū Masūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī***. Dar El-Machreq Éditeurs, Beirut, Second edition, 1982.

[21] Al-Maghribī, ʾAlī ʾAbd al-Fattāḥ. ***Imām ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamāʿah Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī wa ār'āuhu al-klāmiyyah***. Maktabah wahbah, Cairo, 2009.

[22] Makdisi, George. ***The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West***. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1990., *Preface*, str. ix.

[23] Vidi: Iqbal, Muḥammad (um. 1938.). ***The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam***. The Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 1989.; ***Obnova islamske misli u islamu***, s engleskog preveo na bosanski jezik Mehmed Arapčić. El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2000.

introduction to al-Māturīdī and al-Māturīdiyya.[19] What struck me the most at first glance was a noticeable negligence of Māturīdī's *kalām* thoughts in comparison to the overwhelming covering of the Ashʿarī's *kalām* who was Māturīdī's main rival in shaping the Sunni theological orthodoxy. The only available original source on Māturīdī was Fathallah Kholeif's edition of his *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*[20] and a valuable study on Māturīdī's life and *kalām* thoughts by ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Maghribī.[21]

Wherever I was looking up for more reports on Māturīdī, I was encountered by a complaint about the scarcity of accounts on his life and thoughts. There were different explanations for that scarcity from Abu al-Yusr al-Bazdawi's notice that Māturīdī's Arabic style was "a little closed and long-winded" to the most often remark of him being far away from the center of Caliphate in Baghdad. He lived in the Mā warā' al-nahr, Transoxiana. However, from today's perspective, I sense that Māturīdī's *kalām* was somewhat neglected because:

> *Humanism and scholasticism are, said Makdisi, two movements that dominate the intellectual history of classical Islam... each of the two movements has its raison d'être, distinct from the other; yet both sprang from concern for a common source: The Sacred Scripture. The history of their developments is one interaction in which there was conflict, but never a clean break. The day humanism dawned some time before Islam's first century came to an end. The movement arose because of deep concern for the purity of the classical Arabic of the Koran as the living language, as well as the liturgical language, of Islam. Scholasticism owed its rise to a struggle between opposing religious forces, the conflict coming to a head in the third-/ninth-century inquisition (miḥna), over a century after the dawn of humanism. The conflict turned on the question of whether the Koran was the uncreated co-eternal Word of God. Both movements aimed for orthodoxy: humanism, for 'orthodoxy' in language, scholasticism, for orthodoxy in religion.*[22]

I dare think now that Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī was more prone of the movement of humanism in the sense of 'philosophical theology' rather than the controversial scholasticism of Ashʿarī. One may arguably say that Māturīdī was a precursor to Muhammad Iqbal's idea of *kalām jadīd*.[23] Roman Harvey is right:

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[19] **„Al-Māturīdī"**, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, E.J. Brill, 1991, pp. 846-848.

[20] Kholeif, Fathalla, ***Kitāb al-Tawḥīd – Abū Masūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī***, Dar El-Machreq Éditeurs, Beirut, Second edition, 1982.

[21] Al-Maghribī, ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ: ***Imām ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamāʿah Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī wa ārʾāuhu al-klāmiyyah***, Maktabah wahbah, Cairo, 2009.

[22] Makdisi, George: ***The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West***, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1990, *Preface*, p. ix.

[23] See: Iqbal, Muhammad (d. 1938): ***The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, the Iqbal Academy Pakistan***, 1989; ***Obnova islamske***



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Prostor biblioteka na Univerzitetu u Čikagu, gdje je postdiplomac/doktorant Cerić od 1981. do 1986. godine provodio vrijeme istraživajući moguće izvore koji su ga doveli do okončanja disertacije.



ILLUSTRATION ~ The library space at the University of Chicago, where graduate/doctoral student Cerić spent time from 1981 to 1986 researching possible sources that led him to complete his dissertation.. (Archive of Akšamija)

U islamskoj misli, više od jednog stoljeća postoje pozivi da se razvije kalām džadīd (obnovljena teologija), koja odgovara uvjetima modernosti...[24] *Uzimam posebnu tradiciju kalāma, školu mišljenja, koju je inaugurirao transoksijanski teolog Abu Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (um. 333./944.), i kroz pažljivo čitanje njegovog epistemološkog pisanja tvrdim da ga, za razliku od kasnijih članova teološke škole koja nosi njegovo ime, ne treba shvatiti kao fundamentalistu. Vidim ga kao nefundacionalistu, nagovještavajući moderne filozofe kao što su Edmund Husserl, Hans-Georg Gadamer i posebno Alasdair MacIntyre, koje navodim da bi argumentirao značaj, ili čak neophodnost, samosvjesnog konstituisanja nečije racionalne aktivnosti unutar tradicije mišljenja i tako opravdam moj fokus na Māturīdijsku školu za moje vlastite teološke predloge... Predlažem da, u metaepistemološkom smislu, možemo povući razliku između otvorenog modela teologije i zatvorenog modela. Otvorenu teologiju karakterizira prijemčivost za različite izvore u svojoj teološkoj strukturi, dajući prioritet značenju iznad sistematskog, temeljnog dokaza. To je primjer al-Māturīdījeve recepcije preovlađujućih racionalnih diskursa njegovog vremena i predstavlja metodologiju koju slijedim u ovom tekstu u odnosu na savremenu misao. Zatvorena teologija isključuje koncepte koji se ne mogu temeljno opravdati, žrtvujući potpuno teološko značenje kako bi osigurali svoj sistem. Ovo je, ja ću predložiti, program u kojem su prepoznatljivi Maturidijevi koncepti i metode iz klasičnog doba - oni za koje mislim da su danas od ključnog značaja za ponovno vraćanje razmatranju.*[25]

Harveyjevo znanstveno uvažavanje Māturīdījeve 'filozofske teologije', koja odgovara istaknutim evropskim filozofima, pokazatelj je novog uskrsnuća māturīdizam kako u muslimanskom svijetu tako i na Zapadu. Ovo moderno uskrsnuće Māturīdījeve 'filozofske teologije' je reminiscencija na staro uskrsnuće, koje je inicirao veliki bošnjački učenjak iz 17. stoljeća Osmanskog carstva Aḥmad

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[24] Međutim, ideja *džadīda* ili *tadžadīda* nije naišla na plodno tlo među konzervativnom muslimanskom ulemom zato što pojam *džadīd* konotira inovaciju, koja implicira odustajanje od tradicije, koja osigurava kontinuitet pamćenja, kao osnovni čuvar identiteta. Za muslimane *džadīd* ima smisla samo ako je u duelu sa *taṣdīqom* na način kako je to uradio Božiji Poslanik, koji je obnovio, *džaddada tawḥīd* – monoteizam islama na način *taṣdīqa*, tj., afirmativne potvrde autentične *tawḥīdsko*-ademovske, nuhovske, ibrahimovske, isaovske i musaovske tradicije. Muslimani su kroz revolucionarni *tadždīd* francuske revolucije, prepoznali opasnost od brisanja tradicije islama bez koje bi oni bili neprepoznatljivi u svijetu. Dakako, muslimanima trerba *kalām džadīd*, ali paralelno uz *tasdīq*, afirmaciju historijski provjerenih tradicionalni vrijednosti na način kako je to proveo Božiji Poslanik Muḥammad Alaihisselam na način da nije rekao da od njega počinje svijet i povijest, već da on donosi novu ideja u starom primordijalnom ruhu smisla za ljudski život.

[25] Harvey, Ramon. ***Transcendent God, Rational World - A Māturīdī Theology***. Edinburgh, University Press, 2021., str. 3-5.

In Islamic thought, for over a century there have been calls to develop a kalām jadīd (renewed theology), which is fit for the conditions of modernity...[24] *I take a distinct tradition of kalām, the school of thought, inaugurated by the Transoxianan theologian Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d.333/944), and through a close reading of his epistemological writing argue that, unlike later members of the theological school bearing his name, he should not be understood as a foundationalist. I see him as a nonfoundationalist, presaging modern philosophers such as Edmund Husserl, Hans-Georg Gadamer and espacially Alasdair MacIntyre, whom I use to argue for the significance, or even necessity, of self-consciously constituting one's rational activity within a tradition of thought and so justify my focus on the Māturīdī school for my own theological proposals... I propose that, in meta-epistemological terms, we can draw the distinction between an open model of theology and a closed one. An open theology is characterised by a receptiveness to diverse sources in its theological structure, prioritising meaning above systematic, foundationalist proof. This is exemplified by al-Māturīdī's reception of the prevailing rational discourses of his day and constitutes a methodology that I follow in the present text with respect to contemporary thought. A closed theology excludes concepts that cannot be justified foundationalistically, sacrificing total theological meaning to secure its system. This, I will suggest, is the programme in which classical-era Maturidi's distinctive concepts and methods - ones that I think are crucial to revisit today.*[25]

The Harvey's scholarly appreciation of Māturīdī's 'philosophical theology', which is fit to prominent European philosophers is an indication of a new resurrection of Māturīdism both in the Muslim world and in the West. This modern resurrection of Māturīdī's 'philosophical theology' is a reminiscence of an old one that was carried by great Bosnaiak scholar of 17th century of the Ottoman Empire Aḥmad Bayāḍīzādah,[26] Bosnian

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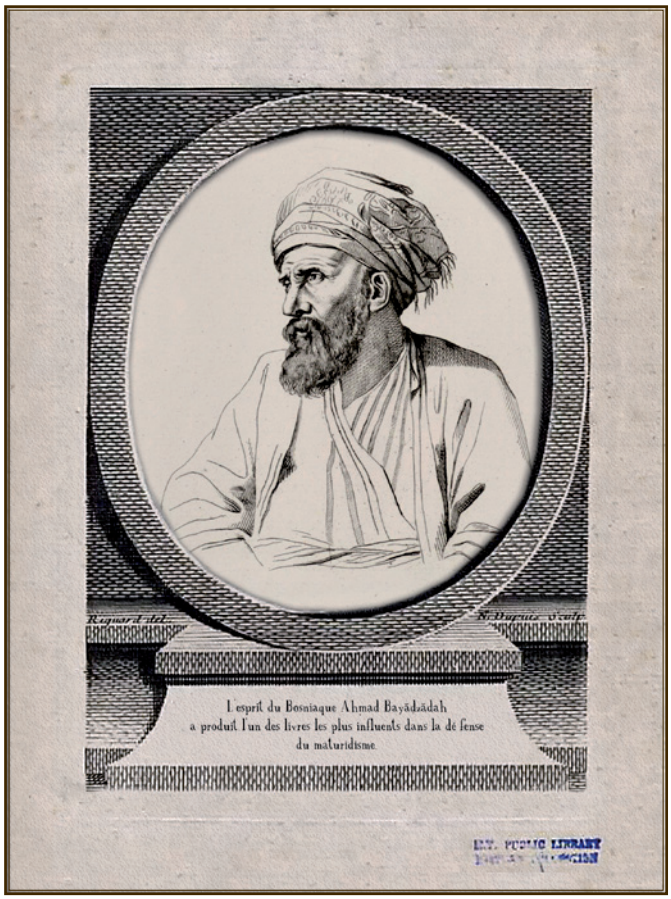
misli u islamu, s engleskog preveo na bosanski jezik Mehmed Arapčić, el-Kalem, Sarajevo, 2000. In Islamic thought, for over a century there have been calls to develop a kalam jadid renewed theology, which is fit for the conditions of modernity.

[24] However, the idea of *jadīd* or *tajdādīd* did not find fertile ground among classical Muslim ulama because the term *jadīd* connotes innovation, which implies giving up tradition, which ensures the continuity of the flame, as the basic guardian of identity. For Muslims, *jadīd* makes sense only if it is in a duel with *taṣdīq* in the sense in which the Messenger of God did that. He restored, *jaddada tawḥīd* – the monotheism of Islam in the manner of *taṣdīq*, i.e., the affirmative confirmation of the authentic *taṣdīq* of Ademic, Nohic, Ibrahimic, Isaic and Musaic tradition. Through the revolutionary *tajdīd* of the French Revolution, Muslims recognized the danger of erasing the traditions of Islam, without which they would be unrecognizable in the world. Of course, Muslims need *kalām jadīd*, but in parallel with *tasdīq*, as the affirmation of historically verified traditional values in the way that God's Prophet Muḥammad Alaihissalam carried it out, in a way that he did not announce that the world and history had begun with him, but that he had brought a new idea in an old primordial guise of meaning for human life.

[25] Harvey, Ramon: ***Transcendent God, Rational World - A Māturīdī Theology***; Edinburgh, University Press, 2021, p. 3-5.

[26] On the biography of Aḥmad Bayāḍīzādah see: Ali Ugur, ***Ottoman ulama of mid-seventeenth century***, pp.578-580; al-Muḥibbī, ***Khulāsat al-athar,*** v.1, pp.181-182; Mehmed Handžić, ***al-Jawhar al-asnā***, pp.37-39; "**Introduction**" by Al-Bosnawī, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan: ***Ishārāt al-marām min ʿibārāt al-imām***, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Mizyādī, Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, Lebanon, 2007. "**Bayāḍīzādah Ahmed Efendi**" by Ahmet

Bayāḍīzādah,[26] bosanski Ahmed Bejazić.[27] U raspravama između aš'arizma i māturīdizam, gdje je aš'arizma nekako dominirao nad māturīdizamom krajem 16. stoljeća Osmanskog carstva, um Bošnjaka Ahmeda Bejazića proizveo je jednu od najutjecajnijih knjiga u odbrani māturīdisma.[28]



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Portret Ahmeda Bejazića (Bayāḍīzādah Ahmed Efendi), francuski arhivski izvor.
Um Bošnjaka Aḥmada Bayāḍīzādaha proizveo je jednu od najutjecajnijih knjiga u obrani maturīdizma.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Portrait of Ahmed Bejazić (Bayāḍīzādah Ahmed Efendi), French archival source.
The mind of the Bosniak Aḥmad Bayāḍīzādah produced one of the most influential books in the defense of Māturīdism.

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[26] O biografiji Aḥmada Bayāḍīzādah, vidi: Ali Ugur. ***Ottoman ulama of mid-seventeenth century***. str. 578-580; al-Muḥibbī. ***Khulāsat al-athar***. v.1, str. 181-182; Mehmed Handžić. ***al-Jawhar al-asnā***. str. 37-39; Al-Bosnawī, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan. "**Introduction**". Aḥmad Farīd Mizyādī, ur. ***Ishārāt al-marām min ʾibārāt al-imām***, Dār al-kutub al-ʾilmiyyah, Lebanon, 2007.; Ahmet Zeki İzgöer. "**Beyazîzade Ahmed Efendi**". U *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 2005., vol: 6 str. 55-56.

[27] "Najznačajniji predstavnik ove porodice (Bejazić) u nauci i književnosti bio je njegov sin Ahmed Bejazić (Aḥmad Bayāḍī zādah), koji je slovio kao najjači naš predstavnik u islamskoj teološkoj književnosti... Ahmed Bejazić istakao se posebno kao znalac islamske dogmatike, šerijatskog prava i sudskog postupka. Vidi: Šabanović, Hazim. „57. Ahmed Bejazić", ***Književnost muslimana bih na orijentalnim jezicima***, Svjetlost, Sarajevo 1973., str. 319-322.

[28] Vidi: Al-Bosnawī, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan. ***Ishārāt al-marām min ʾibārāt al-imām***. Aḥmad Farīd Mizyādī, ur., Dār al-kutub al-ʾilmiyyah, Lebanon, 2007.

Ahmed Bejazić.[27] In a cliché of debate between Ashʿarism and Māturīdism, where Ashʿarism somehow was dominating over Māturīdism towards the end of 16th century of the Ottoman Empire, the mind of the Bosniak Aḥmad Bayāḍīzādah produced one of the most influential books in the defense of Māturīdism.[28]

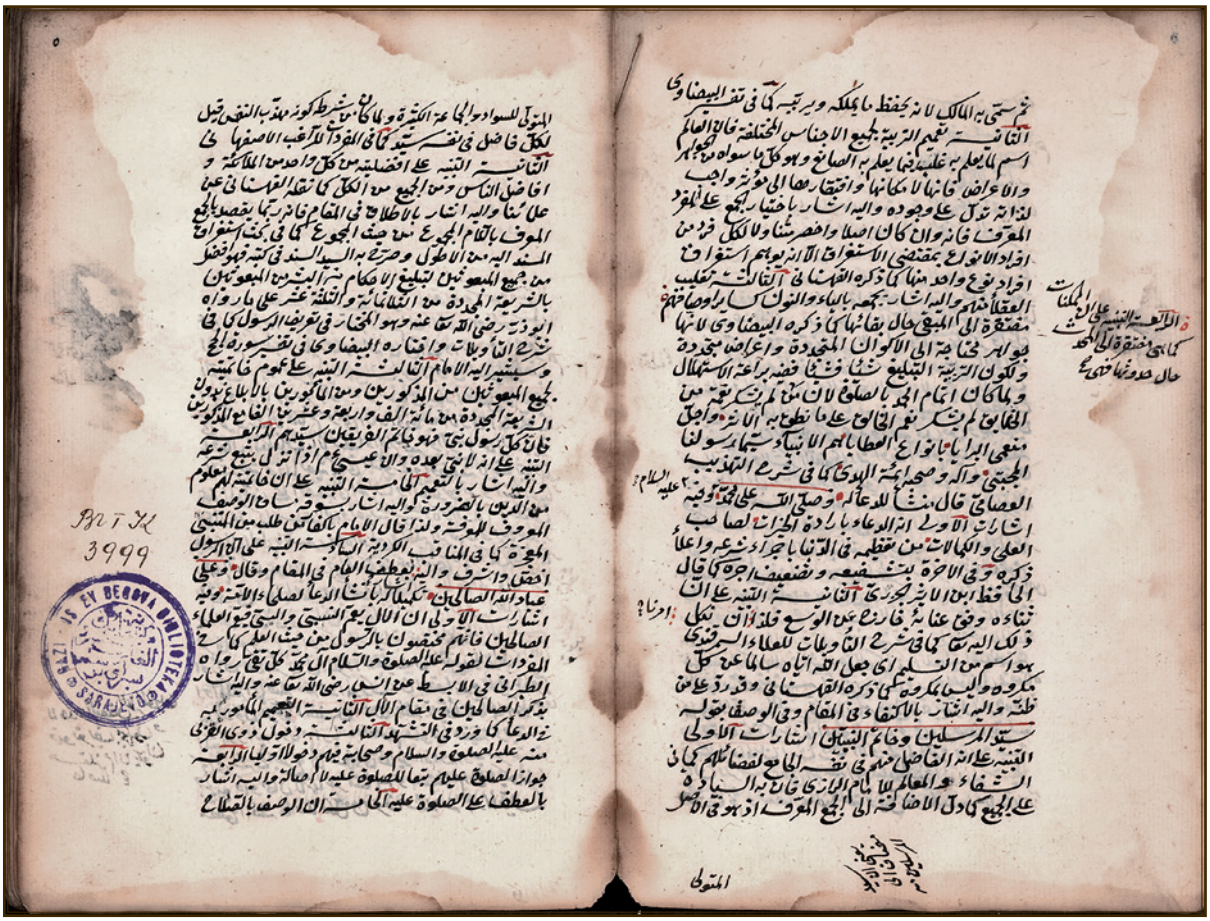


ILLUSTRATION ~ Al-Bosnawī, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan: ***Ishārāt al-marām min ʿibārāt al-imām***. GHM 3999.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Al-Bosnawī, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan: *Ishārāt al-marām min ʿibārāt al-imām*. GHM 3999.

(This book) is arguably the most extensive theological examination from a strictly *Māturīdī perspective that have reached us from post-Classical Muslim intellectual history. The book*

Zeki İzgöer in TDV, İslâm Ansiklopedisi, 2005, vol: 6, pages: 55-56.

[27] "The most significant representative of this family (Bejazić) in science and literature was Ahmed Bejazić (Aḥmad Bayāḍī zādah)... He was known as our strongest representative in Islamic theological literature... Ahmed Bejazić stood out especially as a connoisseur of Islamic dogmatics, Sharīʿa law and judicial procedure. See: Šabanović, Hazim: **„57. Ahmed Bejazić“**, ***Književnost muslimana bih na orijentalnim jezicima***, Svjetlost, Sarajevo 1973, str. 319-322.

[28] See: Al-Bosnawī, Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥasan: ***Ishārāt al-marām min ʿibārāt al-imām***, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Mizyādī, Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyyah, Lebanon, 2007.

(Ova knjiga) je nedvojbeno najopsežnije teološko istraživanje iz striktno Māturīdijske perspektive, koje je do nas došlo iz post-klasične muslimanske intelektualne historije. Knjiga predstavlja listu od preko pedeset spornih problema između māturīdisma i aš'arizma. Bejazić se zavjetovao da će kritički ispitati svaki od njih, i pomno ispitati minimalistički i previše pomirljiv pristup aš'arizma u pokušaju da povrati status Māturīdīja kao velikog učitelja Sunnī kalāma.[29]

Vrijedi napomenuti da danas širom svijeta postoje mnogi centri za proučavanje Māturīdījeve teologije kao što su: Univerzitet u Heidelbergu, Univerzitet u Freiburgu, Centar za islamske studije u Frajburgu, Berlin Freie Univerzitet, Ruhr-Universität Bochum (Njemačka); Univerzitet Cambridge, Univerzitet Oxford (UK); Univerzitet Columbia, Univerzitet Cornell, Univerzitet Illinois (SAD); Pravni i Ekonomski fakultet Univerziteta u Parizu, Univerzitet u Lionu (Francuska). Međunarodno društvo arapske papirologije u Leidenu-Holandija (Holandija) proučavalo je učenje māturīdisma, kao jedne od najaktivnijih škola u islamskoj historiji. Univerzitet u Damasku (Sirija); Univerzitet u Kairu (Egipat); Centar za islamske studije turske vjerske fondacije, biblioteka Suleymaniye, Teološki fakultet na Ankara Univerzitetu, Teološki fakultet Univerziteta u Istanbulu, Teološki fakultet Univerziteta Marmara, Islamski istraživački centar (ISAM) (Turska).

Što se tiče muslimanskog svijeta, najvažniji razvoj događaja je Māturīdījev povratak domu svome u svoje rodno mjesto Māturīd ili Māturīt, kao i u njegovo radno mjesto Samarkand u Uzbekistanu, gdje je "ponovo rođen" vodeći muslimanski mutakallim sunnitskog Ḥanafī *kalāma* - teologije. Osim što je dao organizirati nekoliko simpozija o Māturīdijevoj misli u Samarkandu, predsjednik Uzbekistana Shavkat Mirziyoyev inicirao je 2020. god. osnivanje *Međunarodnog naučno-istraživačkog centra Imama Māturīdīja*, posvećenog obnovi Māturīdījeve misli u islamskoj doktrini (*al-'aqīdah*).[30] Nadalje, u duhu dvije historijske renesanse na muslimanskom istoku - Prve u Bagdadu 900.-1200. i Druge 1400.-1600. u Samarkandu poznate kao "Renesansa Timurida", Treća istočna renesansa je proglašena je u Taškentu 28. januara 2022. Ukazom predsjednika Republike Uzbekistan Sh. Mirziyoyeva.[31]

Svjedočivši ovom ogromnom napretku otkako je objavljena moja prva knjiga na engleskom o *Māturīdīnoj sintetičkoj teologiji*,[32] ne mogu a da ne osjećam zadovoljstvo i zahvalnost na svom izboru

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[29] Haidar: ***Op. cit.*** str. 159-160.

[30] Sa čašću sam prihvatio 2021. god. da postanem član *Međunarodnog naučno-istraživačkog centra Imam Māturīdī* pri Međunarodnoj islamskoj akademiji Uzbekistana.

[31] Ukaz predsjednika Republike Uzbekistan od 28.01.2022. PF-60. https://lex.uz/docs/-5841063 na uzbečkom i ruskom. Dostupno od 18.12.2024.

[32] Ceric, Mustafa. ***Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam - A Study of the Theology of Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī (d.333/944)***.

sets out with a list of over fifty disputed problem between Māturīdism and Ash'arism. Bayāḍīzādah avowed to critically examine each one of them, and scrutinize the minimalist and overly conciliatory approach of Ash'arism in an attempt to restore the status of Māturīdī as the grand master of Sunnī kalām.[29]

It is worth noticing that today there are many centres around the world for the study of Māturīdī's theology such as: Heidelberg University, Freiburg University, Centre of Islāmic Studies in Freiburg, Berlin Freie University, Ruhr-Universität Bochum (Germany); Cambridge University, Oxford University (UK); Columbia University, Cornell University, Illinois University (USA); the Faculty of Law and Economics of the University of Paris, the University of Lyon (France). The International Society of Arabic Papyrology in Leiden-Netherlands (Netherlands) have studied the teachings of Māturīdism as one of the most active Schools in Islāmic history. Damascus University (Syria); Cairo University (Egypt); Turkish Religious Foundation Centre for Islamic Studies, Suleymaniye Library, Theological Faculty of Ankara University, Theological Faculty of Istanbul University, Theological Faculty of Marmara University, Islamic Research Centre (ISAM) (Turkiye).

As to the Muslim world, the most important development is Māturīdī's coming back home to his birthplace Māturīd or Māturīt and his working place Samarkand in Uzbekistan, where he is "born again" leading Muslim Mutakallim of the Sunni-Ḥanafī *kalām* - theology. In addition, he had organized several symposia on Māturīdi's thoughta in Samarkand, the president of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev initiated in 2020 the establishment of the Imam Māturīdī International Scientific Research Center dedicated to the renewal of Māturīdī's thought in Islamic doctrine (*al-ʿaqīdah*).[30] Furthermore, in the spirit of two historic renaissances in the Muslim East - the first being in Baghdad 900 -1200 and the second 1400 – 1600 in Samarkand known as the "Renaissance of the Timurids", the Third Eastern Renaissance was proclaimed in Tashkent on January 28, 2022 by the Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Sh. Mirziyoyev.[31]

Having witnessed this huge advancement since the first English book of mine has been published on the *Synthetic Theology of Māturīdī*,[32] I cannot but feel content and grateful for my choice to devote a great part of my

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[29] Yahya Raad Haidar: ***The Debates between Ash'arism and Māturīdism***..., pp. 159-160.

[30] I have accepted with honor in 2021 to become a member of the *Imam Māturīdī International Scientific Research Center* under the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan.

[31] Decree of the president of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated 28.01.2022 PF-60. https://lex.uz/docs/-5841063 in Uzbek and Russian. Available at 18.12. 2024.

[32] Cerić, Mustafa: ***Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam - A Study of the Theology of Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī (d.333/944)***, International Institute of Islamic Thought and civilization (ISTAC), Kuala Lumpur,1995; Bosnian translation: *Korijeni sintetičke teologije u islamu Ebu Mensur el-Maturidi (853-944)*, el-Kalem, Sarajevo, 1439/2012.

da posvetim veliki dio mog života ovom velikom muslimanskom učenjaku kojem obilježavamo godišnjicu smrti više od jednog milenijuma. Stoga, da ne ponavljam ono što sam rekao u svojoj knjizi o Māturīdīju, želio bih ovom prilikom da se osvrnem na neke važne okolnosti na drugačiji način pod kojima je Māturīdī razvio svoju teologiju.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Sa čašću je Dr Mustafa Cerić prihvatio 2021. god. da postane član *Međunarodnog naučno-istraživačkog centra Imam Māturīdī* pri Međunarodnoj islamskoj akademiji Uzbekistana.

International Institute of Islamic Thought and civilization (ISTAC), Kuala Lumpur,1995.; Bosnian translation: ***Korijeni sintetičke teologije u islamu Ebu Mensur el-Maturidi (853-944)***. El-Kalem, Sarajevo, 1439./2012.

life time to this great Muslim scholar whose more than one millennium death anniversary we are commemorating this year. Thus, not to repeat what I have said in my book on Māturīdī, I would like on this occasion to reflect on some important circumstances in a different way under which Māturīdī developed his theology.

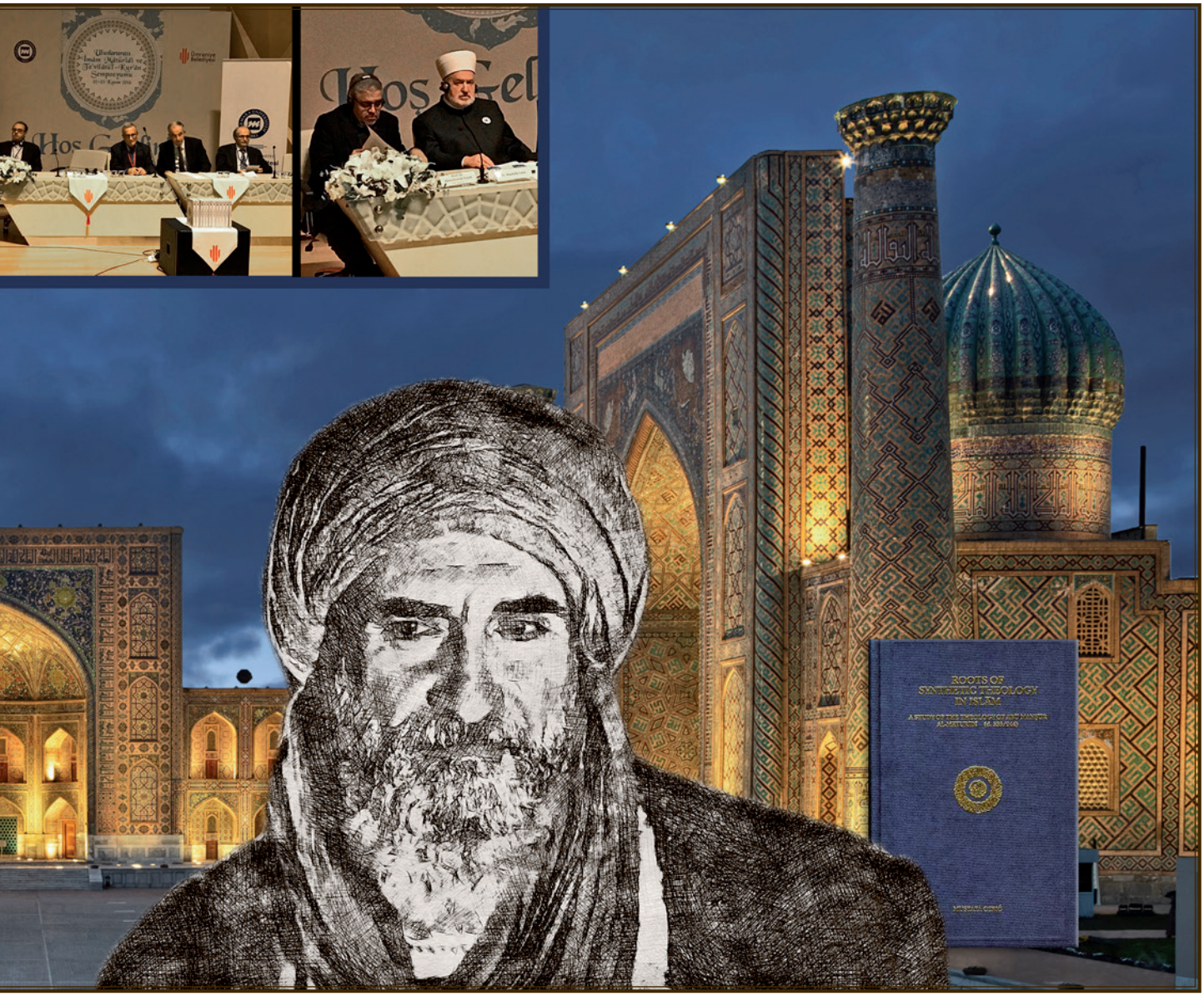


ILLUSTRATION ~ Dr. Mustafa Cerić was honored to accept in 2021 to become a member of the ***Imam Māturīdī International Scientific and Research Center*** at the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan. (Archive of Akšamija)

Rijeke kao protok i životni tok islamske civilizacije

Ebu Hurejra[33] je rekao:

Rijeke Oks (Amu-Darja), Oks, Eufrat i Nil su rajske rijeke.

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (2839)[34]

Voda je izvor života. Uistinu, sve je nastalo iz vode: - *Sve živo nastalo je iz vode!* [*Wa dža'alnā min al-mā'i kulla šay'in ḥayyan*].[35] - *Sve je stvoreno iz vode* [*Kullu šay'in khuliqa min mā'in*].[36] Voda je dokaz da postoji žeđ, a žeđ je dokaz da postoji voda kojom se utoljava žeđ tijela. Voda u vidu kiše pada s neba na zemlju. Zemlja vodu upija i vraća je na površinu kao vodene izvore od kojih nastaju rijeke, od kojih nastaju mora i okeani. Voda je zemljina krv, a rijeke su zemljin krvožilni sistem. Mora i okeani su zemljina pluća.

No, žeđ nije samo tjelesna. Žeđ je i duhovna. Štaviše, žeđ duše može biti žešća od žeđi tijela. To zna sufija čija duša je žedna, *'aṭšāna*, Istine (*Ḥaqīqat*), kao što je tijelo žedno vode; to zna sufija čije srce je žedno ljubavi za Voljenim i od Voljenog (*maḥbūb*), kao što je čovjek u pustinji žedan kap kiše. Dakle, Istina je dokaz da postoji žeđ duše, a žeđ duše je dokaz da postoji Istina (*Ḥaqīqat*) kojom se utoljava žeđ duše. *Ḥaqīqat* silazi s neba u vidu Božije riječ na čovjekovo srce. Srce čovjekovu riječ Božiju prima i pretvara u svoja dobra djela od kojih nastaje ljudska kultura i civilizacija, od koje nastaje ljudski uspjeh na zemlji i spas na nebu. *Ḥaqīqat* je srž duha u duši čovjeka, a riječ Božija je put (*ṭarīqat*) do hakikatskog *(ḥaqīqat)* izvora, gdje duša utoljava svoju žeđ. Taj hakikatski *(ḥaqīqat)* Taj *ḥaqīqatski* izvor zove se *šarī'at*, riječ koja se u Kur'anu ne spominje u ovom obliku, već u obliku *šir'atun*,[37] a znači: - Vrelo iz kojeg se pije voda bez kofe s konopcem (*al-šarī'atu: mavrid al-mā'i alladhī yustasqā minhu bilā rišāin*).[38]

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[33] Abū Hurayra 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣakhr al-Dawsī al-Zahrānī (um. 58/678.) bio je jedan od drugova (*saḥābah*) Poslanika Muhammeda, a.s., i najpouzdaniji prenositelj *ḥadītha*, (izreke Poslanika). Prenio je više od 5.000 *ḥadītha*.

[34] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* je zbirka *ḥadītha*, koju je sastavio imam Muslim ibn al-Hadždžādž al-Naysabūrī, r.a., (um. 261/ 875.). Njegova zbirka se smatra jednom od najautentičnijih zbirki sunneta Poslanika, a.s., te uz *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* čini *Ṣaḥīḥaini*, *Dva Ṣaḥīḥa*. Sadrži otprilike 7.500 *ḥadītha*.

[35] ***Kur'an***, 21:30.

[36] Hadis, kojeg prenosi Abū Hureyra (Ebu Hurejra) kao odgovor na pitanje da mu Allahov Poslanik objasni sve što postoji. Dakle, sve što postoji stvoreno je iz vode, glasio je Alejhisselamov odgovor.

[37] ***Kur'an***, 5:48.

[38] ***Al-Mu'džam al-vesīṭ***, 1/479.

Rivers as the Flow and Life Stream of Islamic Civilization

Abu Hurayrah[33] said:

The rivers Oxus (Amu Darya), Euphrates and Nile are rivers of Paradise.

Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim (2839)[34]

Water is the source of life. Indeed, everything came from water. Almighty God said: - *From water We have made everything living!* [*Wa džaʿalnā min al-mā'i kulla šay'in ḥayyan*];[35] and the Prophet Muhammad, a.s., said: - *Everything was created from water!* [*Kullu šay'in khuliqa min mā'in*].[36] Hence, water is proof that there is thirst, and thirst is proof that there is water to quench the thirst of the living body. Water in the form of rain falls from the sky to the ground. The earth absorbs water and returns it to the surface as water sources from which rivers are made, from which seas and oceans are formed. Water is the earth's blood, and rivers are the earth's vascular system. The seas and oceans are the earth's lungs.

However, thirst is not just physical. Thirst is also spiritual. Moreover, the thirst of the soul can be more intense than the thirst of the body. This is well known by a Sufi whose soul is thirsty, *al-ʿaṭšān*, for Truth (*al-ḥaqīqah*), just as the body is thirsty for water; this is known to a Sufi whose heart is thirsty for the love of the Beloved (*al-maḥbūb*), just as a man in the desert is thirsty for a drop of rain. Thus, Truth is proof that there is a thirst of soul, and the thirst of soul is proof that there is the Truth (*al-ḥaqīqah*), which quenches the thirst of soul. *Al-ḥaqīqah* descends from Heaven in the form of God's word to man's heart. The heart of man receives the word of God and transforms it into his good deeds from which human culture and civilization arise, from which human success on earth entails and salvation in heaven remains. *Al-ḥaqīqah* is the core of the spirit in the soul of man, and the word of God is the path (*al-ṭarīqah*) to the well of *al-ḥaqīqah*, where the soul quenches its thirst. This well of *al-ḥaqīqah* is called *al-sharīʿah*, a word that is not mentioned in the Qur'an in this shape, but in the shape of *shirʿatan*,[37] which means: "A spring from which to drink water without a bucket with a rope" (*al-sharīʿah: mawrid al-mā'i alladhī yustasqā minhu bilā rišāin*).[38]

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[33] Abū Hurayra ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ṣakhr al-Dawsī al-Zahrānī (d. 58/678) was one of the companions (*saḥābah*) of the Prophet Mohammad, a.s., and the most reliable narrator of *ḥadīth*, (the sayings of the Prophet). He narrated more than 5000 *ḥadīths*.

[34] *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* is a collection of *ḥadīth* compiled by Imām Muslim ibn al-Hajjāj al-Naysabūrī, r.a., (d. 261/ 875). His collection is considered to be one of the most authentic collections of the Sunnah of the Prophet, a.s., and along with *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* makes up *Ṣaḥīḥaini*, the *Two Ṣaḥīḥs*. It contains roughly 7500 *ḥadīth*.

[35] ***Qur'an***, 21:30.

[36] This *ḥadīth* was narrated by Abu Huraira in response to his question to the Messenger of Allah to explain him the source of everything that exists. So, everything that exists was created from water, was the Prophet's answer.

[37] ***Qur'an***, 5:48.

[38] ***Al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ***, 1/479.

I kao što je vodeno vrelo Zemzem provrlo iz zemlje u pustinjskoj Mekki iz kojeg je Hadžera utažila tjelesnu žeđ svom sinu Ismailu, tako je i duhovno vrelo *Šerīʾa* provrlo iz *Levh-i maḥfūza* na nebu i svoj najbistriji mlaz spustilo do pustinjske Mekke iz kojeg je posljednji Allahov Poslanik Muhammed, a.s., utažio svoju i duhovnu žeđ čovječanstva. Oba vrela, Zemzem za tjelesnu i *Šerīʾa* za duhovnu žeđ, provrla su u pustinjskoj Mekki da bi se razlikovala od svih drugih vrela na zemlji, kao i da se ne bi pomiješala s vrelima, koja čovjek zagađuje. Zemzem je nepresušno vodeno vrelo, koje izvire iz zemljine dubine, koja nije dostupna ni ljudskom oko ni ljudskoj ruci i zato je čisto i blagoslovljeno; *Šarīʾat* je vječno neiscrpno duhovno vrelo, koje izvire iz *Levh-i maḥfūza*, "Vječno čuvane ploče", gdje je sve zapisano od početka do kraja, vrelo kojeg se ne može ni zamutiti ni presušiti i zato je za čovjekovu dušu spasonosno bez obzira da li je čovjek toga svjestan ili nije svjestan.

Ako išta treba da bude svima kristalno jasno oko islamske kulture i civilizacije u geografskom i historijskom smislu, onda treba da bude jasno da se islam najbolje udomaćivao tamo gdje su se nalazili izvori vode poput Zemzema, tamo gdje su cvjetale bašče poput džennetskih, tamo gdje su ispod bašči tekle rijeke popot džennetskih… Nije to bila samo nostalgija beduina za vodom i zelenom oazom u pustinji, već je to bila i potreba za higijenom tijela putem koje se dolazi do duhovne čistoće. Abdest, pranje ruku i ostalih dijelova tijela, je uvod u namaz, molitvu kao *miʾrādž*, duhovno uzdignuće i čišćenje vjernika.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Voda je izvor života. Voda je zemljina krv, a rijeke su zemljin krvožilni sistem. Mora i okeani su zemljina pluća.

Just as the water spring of Zamzam boiled from the earth in the Mecca desert from which Hajar quenched the physical thirst of her son Ismail, so the spiritual spring *al-sharīʿah* boiled from the *lawḥ-i maḥfūz* in the heaven and descended its clearest jet to the Mecca desert from which the last Allah's Messenger Muhammad, peace be upon him, quenched his and the spiritual thirst of mankind. Both springs, Zamzam for bodily and *al-sharīʿah* for spiritual thirst, boiled in the Mecca desert to distinguish it from all other springs on earth, as well as not to mix it with springs, which pollute man. Zamzam is an inexhaustible spring of water, which springs from the depths of the earth, which is inaccessible to neither the human eye nor the human hand, and is therefore pure and blessed; the *al-sharīʿah* is an eternally inexhaustible spiritual source, which springs from the *lawḥ-i maḥfūz*, the "Eternally Preserved Record of God's words," where everything is written from beginning to end, a source that can neither be obscured nor dried up and is therefore a salvation for the human soul whether man is aware of it or not.

If anything is to be crystal clear to everyone about Islamic culture and civilization in a geographical and historical sense, it should be clear that Islam was best domesticated where there were water springs like Zamzam, where gardens like in Paradise were flourishing, where beneath the gardens were flowing rivers... It was not only the Bedouin nostalgia for water and the green oasis in the desert, but it was also the need for body hygiene through which spiritual purity is attained that attracted Muslim attention. Ablution, *abdest*, washing the hands and other parts of the body, is an introduction to prayer, *namaz*, i.e. the *Miʿrāj*, spiritual ascension and purification of the believers.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Water is the source of life. Water is the earth's blood, and rivers are the earth's vascular system. The seas and oceans are the earth's lungs. (Archive of Akšamija)

Kairo, Bagdad i Samarkand neiscrpni izvori islamske duhovnosti

bio je to Amr ibn al-ʾĀṣ (um. 664.), koji nije mogao a da ne prigrli čarobnu rijeku Bijeli i Plavi Nil u Egiptu za vrijeme drugog kalifa ʾUmara ibn al-Khaṭṭāba (Omer ibn El-Hattab) (um. 644.). Time je potvrdio tačnost *ḥadītha* da je pored Eufrata, Nil džennetska rijeka. Tako je Egipat, majka svijeta (*umm al-dunyā*) postao i majka islamske civilizacije (*umm al-ḥaḍārah al-islāmiyyah*).

Nošen istom idejom da su rijeke izvor života poput Mezopotamije,[▾39] kao i izvor svjetske civilizacije poput Babilona,[▾40] drugi abasidski kalif Abū Dža'far Al-Manṣūr (um. 775.) podigao je 762. godine grad Bagdad ("Božiji dar ") „između dviju rijeka", što znači „Mezopotamija", što ga čini središnjom tačkom islamske duhovne i intelektualne kulture i civilizacije. Za vrijeme petog abasidskog halife Hārūn al-Rašīda, Bagdad je dobio ime *Madīnat al-Salām* ("Grad mira"), gdje je doživio svoju najveću slavu, spomenutu u priči iz *Hiljadu i jedne noći*, kada je Bagdad bio jedan od najbogatijih i najvećih gradova na svijetu.[▾41]

Ali haditska predaja o tri rajske rijeke na zemlji za kojima je muslimanska duša čeznula za fizičkom i duhovnom žeđom nije bila u potpunosti ispričana sve dok Qutayba ibn Muslim[42] nije prešao rijeku

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[▾39] Mesopotamija - drevni naziv za zemlju koja leži između rijeka Tigrisa i Eufrata sjeverno od Babilona (u Iraku), od grčke riječi *mesopotamosa* (*khōra*), doslovno "zemlja između dvije rijeke", od fem. *mesopotamosa*, od *mesos* "sredina" (od PIE korijena **medhyo* - "sredina") + *potamos* "rijeka".

[▾40] Babilon - jedan od najpoznatijih gradova antike. Bio je glavni grad južne Mesopotamije (Bavilonije) od ranog 2. milenijuma do ranog 1. milenijuma prije nove ere i prestoljnica Novobabilonskog (Kaldejskog) carstva u 7. i 6. vijeku prije nove ere, kada je bio na vrhuncu svog sjaja.

[▾41] Za dalje čitanje o slavi Bagdada, pogledajte: Kennedy, Hugh. ***The Court of the Caliphs - When Baghdad Ruled the Muslim World*** („Dvor halifa - Kada je Bagdad vladao muslimanskim svijetom"). Phoenix, 2004.; Marozzi, Justin. "**Baghdad the City of Peace, City of Blood (9th Century)**" („Bagdad, grad mira, grad krvi (9. vijek)", u *Islamic Empires – Fifteen Cities that Define a Civilization* („Islamska carstva – Petnaest gradova koji definiraju civilizaciju). Penguin Books, 2020., str. 49-72.

[▾42] Qutaybah ibn Muslim (um. 715.) bio je arapski general pod halifom ʾAbd al-Malikom i ʾAbd al-Walīdom i čija su

Cairo, Baghdad and Samarkand
An Inexhaustible Wells of Islamic Spiritualty

It was Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ (d. 664) who could not but embrace the magical White and Blue Nile River of Egypt during the time of the second caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 644). By doing so he confirmed the accuracy of the *ḥadīth* that next to the Euphrates, the Nile is the river of Paradise. Thus, Egypt, the mother of the world (*um al-dunyā*) became the mother of Islamic civilization (*um al-ḥaḍārah al-islāmiyyah*) as well.

Carried by the same idea that rivers are the source of life like Mesopotamia[39] as well as the source of world civilization like Babylon,[40] the second Abbasid caliph Abū Jaʿfar Al-Manṣūr (d. 775) erected in 762 the city of Baghdad ("God's gift") "between two rivers,", meaning "Mesopotamia", making it thus the focal point of Islamic spiritual and intellectual culture and civilization. During the time of the fifth Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, Baghdad was given the name *Madīnat al-Salām* ("City of Peace"), where it experienced its greatest glory, mentioned in the story of the Thousand and One Nights, when Baghdad was one of the richest and largest cities in the world.[41]

But the *ḥadīth* narration of the four rivers of Paradise on earth for which the Muslim soul longed for physical and spiritual thirst was not fully told until Qutayba ibn Muslim[42] did cross the two rivers of Amu Dari and Oxus, where he reached the land of Transoxiana, (*Mā warā' al-nahr*), the land "behind the river." One of the rare examples of justice

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[39] Mesopotamia - ancient name for the land that lies between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers north of Babylon (in Iraq), from Greek mesopotamia (*khōra*), literally "a country between two rivers," from fem. of *mesopotamos*, from *mesos* "middle" (from PIE root **medhyo* - "middle") + *potamos* "river".

[40] Babylon - one of the most famous cities of antiquity. It was the capital of southern Mesopotamia (Babylonia) from the early 2nd millennium to the early 1st millennium BM and capital of the Neo-Babylonian (Chaldean) empire in the 7th and 6th centuries BM, when it was at the height of its splendor.

[41] For farther reading on the glory of Baghdad, see: Kennedy, Hugh: ***The Court of the Caliphs - When Baghdad Ruled the Muslim World***, Phoenix, 2004; Marozzi, Justin: **"Baghdad the City of Peace, City of Blood (9th Century)"**, in *Islamic Empires – Fifteen Cities that Define a Civilization*, Penguin Books, 2020, pp. 49-72.

[42] Qutaybah ibn Muslim (d. 715) was an Arab general under the caliphs ʿAbd al-Malik and ʿAbd al-Walīd I whose conquests in Afghanistan and Central Asia helped bring the Umayyad caliphate to the height of its power.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Pored Eufrata, Nil je dženetska rijeka, čime je Egipat, majka svijeta postao i majka islamske civilizacije.
ILLUSTRATION ~ Next to the Euphrates, the Nile is a paradise river, making Egypt, the mother of the world, also the mother of Islamic civilization. (Archive of Akšamija)

Oksus (Amu Darya), gdje je stigao u zemlju Transoxianu, (*Mā warā' al-nahr*), zemlja „iza rijeke". Jedan od rijetkih primjera pravde u odnosima s drugim narodima je priča o narodu Samarkanda, koji su se žalili omajadskom kalifu Omaru Ibn Abdul Azizu (717.-720.)[43] na nepravdu i diskriminaciju muslimanskog zapovjednika Qutaybe kada je osvojio njihovu zemlju bez ikakvog prethodno upozorenje. Omar je poslao svog sudiju da riješi stvar. Njegova odluka je bila da se Arapi moraju povući sa osvojene teritorije i vratiti u svoje logore, osim ako nije zaključen novi pakt o pomirenju ili osvajanje nije obavljeno nakon dužnog upozorenja.[44] Ova pravedna presuda muslimanskog sudije potaknula je narod Samarkanda da masovno pređe na islam. Tako je Samarkand ("Kameni grad"), poput Kaira i Bagdada, postao centar islamske duhovne i naučne inspiracije.

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osvajanja u Afganistanu i centralnoj Aziji pomogla da se Omajadski kalifat dovede do vrhunca svoje moći.

[43] Halifa 'Umar II (um. 720.) bio je pobožan i poštovan halifa koji je pokušao da očuva integritet muslimanskog omejadskog kalifata (661.–750.), naglašavajući povratak izvornim principima vjere islama.

[44] Al-Zuhili, Sheikh Wahbeh. ***Islam and international law*** („Islam i međunarodno pravo"). Međunarodni komitet Crvenog križa, sveska 87, broj 858, juni 2005.



ILLUSTRATION ~ During the reign of the fifth Abbasid Caliph, Harun al-Rashid, Baghdad was one of the richest and largest cities in the world. (Archive of Akšamija)

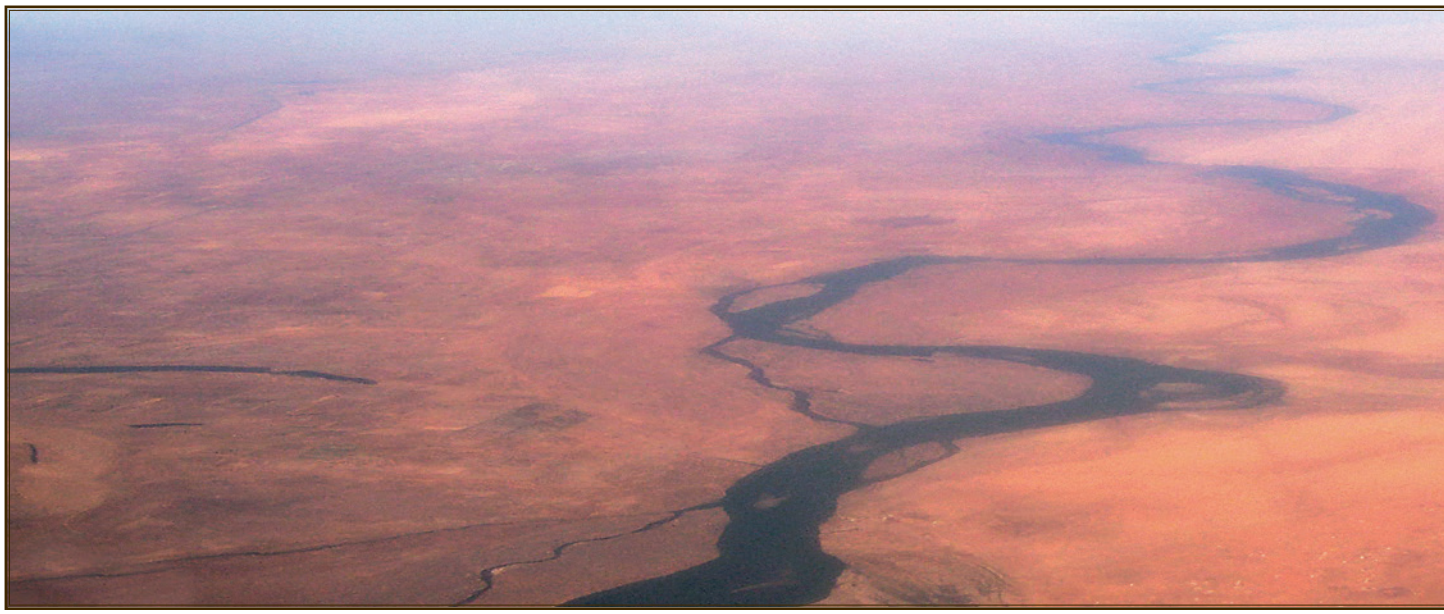
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Za vrijeme petog abasidskog halife Hārūn al-Rashīda, Bagdad je bio jedan od najbogatijih i najvećih gradova na svijetu.

in dealing with other nations is the story of the Samarkand people, who complained to the Omayyad Caliph Omar Ibn Abdul Aziz (717-720)[43] about the Muslim commander Qutayba's injustice and discrimination when he conquered their country without any prior warning. Omar sent his judge to settle the matter. His decision was that Arabs had to withdraw from the conquered territory and to go back to their camps, unless a new conciliation pact was concluded or the conquest had taken place after due warning.[44] This just ruling of the Muslim judge prompted the people of Samarkand to convert to Islam *en masse*. Thus, Samarkand ("Stone City"), like Cairo and Baghdad, became the center of Islamic spiritual and scientific inspiration.

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[43] The Caliph ʿUmar II (d. 720) was a pious and respected caliph who attempted to preserve the integrity of the Muslim Umayyad caliphate (661–750) by emphasizing a return to the original principles of the faith of Islam.

[44] Al-Zuhili, Sheikh Wahbeh: ***Islam and international law***, International Review of the Red Cross, Volume 87 Number 858, June 2005.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Rijeka Amu Darya protječući iz planina središnje Azije preko pustinje Kyzylkum ulijeva se u Aralsko more.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Qutayba ibn Muslim je prešao rijeku Oksus (Amu Darya) i stigao u zemlju Transoxianu, (*Mā warā' al-nahr*), zemlja "iza rijeke".

ILLUSTRATION ~ Qutayba ibn Muslim crossed the Oxus River (Amu Darya) and arrived in the land of Transoxiana, (*Mā warā' al-nahr*), the land "beyond the river". (Archive of Akšamija)



ILLUSTRATION ~ The Amu Darya River flows from the mountains of Central Asia through the Kyzylkum Desert and empties into the Aral Sea.



ILLUSTRATION ~ And Samarkand ("Stone City"), like Cairo and Baghdad, became the center of Islamic spiritual and scientific inspiration.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ I Samarkand ("Kameni grad"), poput Kaira i Bagdada je postao centar islamske duhovne i naučne inspiracije.

Samanidi

arapsku vlast nad Samarkandom zamenili su Samanidi[45] iz Irana (9.–10. vijek) kao i različiti narodi turskog porijekla (11.–13. vijek) pre nego što je pripojen dinastiji Khvarezm-Šah (početak 13. vijeka) i uništen od strane Mongola osvajač Džingis Kan[46] (1220.). Nakon što se pobunio protiv svojih mongolskih vladara (1365.), Samarkand je postao glavni grad carstva Timura (Tamerlana),[47] koji je grad učinio najvažnijim ekonomskim i kulturnim centrom u srednjoj Aziji.[48] Māturīdī je imao sreću da živi u vrijeme Samanida,[49] koji su vladali Khurasanom i Transoxianom (819.-1005.). Imali su veliko poštovanje prema učenjacima, među kojima je Māturīdī uživao posebno mjesto.

Otuda je islamska kultura i civilizacija zaživjela u Samarkandu, "najljepšem licu kojeg je Zemlja ikada okrenula prema suncu".[50] Unatoč mnogim izazovima, Samarkand nije mogao iskorijeniti ni nasilni mongolski Džingis-kan, koji je uništio Samarkand, kao što je kasnije njegov unuk Hulagu Khan[51] opustošio Bagdad.

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[45] *Sāmāniyān*, Samanidi (819.-999.) bili su perzijska dinastija u srednjoj Aziji i Velikom Horasanu, nazvana po svom osnivaču Samanu Khudi koji je prešao na sunnitski islam iako je bio iz zoroastrijskog teokratskog plemstva. Samanidi su među prvim domaćim iranskim dinastijama u Velikom Iranu i Centralnoj Aziji nakon arapskog osvajanja i kolapsa Sasanidskog perzijskog carstva.

[46] Džingis-kan je bio osnivač Mongolskog carstva kojim je vladao od 1206. do svoje smrti 1227. Rođen Temujin, stekao je titulu Džingis-kan, što vjerovatno znači 'univerzalni vladar', nakon što je ujedinio mongolska plemena. Potpuno nemilosrdan prema svojim neprijateljima, bezbroj nevinih je pobijeno u njegovim kampanjama terora - milioni prema srednjovjekovnim hroničarima. Vidi referencu na mongolsku istoriju: ***The Secret History of the Mongols*** ("Tajna istorija Mongola"). Prijevod i egzegetski komentar, Francis Woodman Cleanes, vol. I, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, 1982.

[47] Tīmūr bin Taraghay Barlas ili Tamerlane (um. 1405.) bio je vojskovođa tursko-mongolskog porijekla iz četrnaestog stoljeća. Osvojio je veći dio zapadne i centralne Azije i osnovao Timuridsko carstvo (1370.-1405.) u Srednjoj Aziji i dinastiju Timurid, koja je opstala u nekom obliku do 1857. Vidi: Justin Marozzi. ***Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World*** ("Tamerlan: Mač islama, osvajač svijet,"). HarperCollins, London, 2004.

[48] Vidi: Marozzi, Justin. "**Samarkand – Garden of the Soul (14th Century)**". U *Islamic Empires – Fifteen Cities that Define a Civilization*, Penguin Books, 2020., str. 173-195.

[49] Osnivač dinastije Samanida bio je Šaman-Huda, perzijskog porijekla, iz Balha. Pošto je primio islam, halif al-Ma'mun je uzeo njegova četiri sina da služe u Horasanu. U znak zahvalnosti za njihovu dobru uslugu, Nuh je imenovan za guvernera Samarkanda, Ahmed za governera Farghana, Jahja za guvernera Šaša a Iljas za guvernera Herata.

[50] Amin Maalouf. ***Samarkand***. Abacus, 1994.

[51] Hulagu Kan (um. 1265.), bio je mongolski vladar koji je osvojio veći dio jugozapadne Azije. Bio je unuk Džingis-kana i osnivač Il-kanata u Perziji, preteče dinastije Safavida, a kasnije i moderne države Iran. Hulagu je uništio grad Bagdad, centar islamske civilizacije 1258. godine i oslabio Damask, uzrokujući preseljenje islamskog halifata na ruke Mameluka u Kairu.

The Samanids

The Arab rule of Samarkand was replaced by the Samanids[45] of Iran (9th–10th century) as well as various Turkic peoples (11th–13th century) before it was annexed by the Khwārezm-Shāh dynasty (early 13th century) and destroyed by the Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan[46] (1220). After it revolted against its Mongol rulers (1365), Samarkand became the capital of the empire of Timur (Tamerlane),[47] who made the city the most important economic and cultural centre in Central Asia.[48] Māturīdī was fortunate to live in the time of the Samanids,[49] who ruled Khurasan and Transoxiana (819-1005). They had great respect for scholars, among whom Māturīdī enjoyed a special place.

Hence, the Islamic culture and civilization took roots in Samarkand, "the most beautiful face the Earth has ever turned towards the sun".[50] Despite many challenges, Samarkand could not be eradicated even by the violent Mongol Genghis Khan, who destroyed Samarkand, as it was later his grandson Hülegü Khan,[51] who devastated Baghdad.

Indeed, a strong thirst for clean water from the Euphrates, Nile and Oxus could not drive the Muslims away from Baghdad, Cairo and Samarkand. These three cities, which stretch along the banks of the three rivers

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[45] *Sāmāniyān*, the Samanids (819–999) were a Persian dynasty in Central Asia and Greater Khorasan, named after its founder Saman Khuda who converted to Sunni Islam despite being from Zoroastrian theocratic nobility. It was among the first native Iranian dynasties in Greater Iran and Central Asia after the Arab conquest and the collapse of the Sassanid Persian empire.

[46] Genghis Khan was the founder of the Mongol Empire which he ruled from 1206 until his death in 1227. Born Temujin, he acquired the title of Genghis Khan, likely meaning 'universal ruler', after unifying the Mongol tribes. Utterly ruthless with his enemies, countless innocents were slaughtered in his campaigns of terror - millions according to medieval chroniclers. See rade reference to the Mongol history: ***The Secret History of the Mongols***, translation and exegetical commentary, Francis Woodman Cleanes, vol. I, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, 1982.

[47] Tīmūr bin Taraghay Barlas or Tamerlane (d.1405) was a fourteenth-century warlord of Turco-Mongol descent. He conquered of much of Western and central Asia, and founded the Timurid Empire (1370–1405) in Central Asia and the Timurid dynasty, which survived in some form until 1857. See: Justin Marozzi: ***Tamerlane: Sword of Islam, Conqueror of the World***, HarperCollins, London, 2004.

[48] See: Marozzi, Justin: "**Samarkand – Garden of the Soul (14th Century)**", in *Islamic Empires – Fifteen Cities that Define a Civilization*, Penguin Books, 2020, pp. 173-195.

[49] he founder of the Samanid dynasty was Sāmān-Khudā, of Persian descent, from Balkh. Having embraced Islam, Caliph al-Ma'mūn took his four sons to serve in Khurasan. As a token of gratitude for their good service Noah was appointed Governor of Samarkand, Ahmed Farghan, Yahya Shash and Ilyas Herat. i

[50] Amin Maalouf, ***Samarkand***.

[51] Hulagu Khan (d. 1265.), was a Mongol ruler who conquered much of Southwest Asia. He was a grandson of Genghis Khan and the founder of the Ilkhanate or Ilkhanate or Il-khanate of Persia, a precursor to the Safavid Dynasty and later to the modern state of Iran. Hulagu destroyed the city of Baghdad, the center of Islamic civilization in 1258 and weakened Damascus, causing a shift of the Islamic caliphate to the Mamluks in Cairo.

Zaista, snažna žeđ za čistom vodom iz Eufrata, Nila i Oksusa nije mogla otjerati muslimane iz Bagdada, Kaira i Samarkanda. Ova tri grada, koja se protežu duž obala tri rajske rijeke (Eufrat, Nil i Oks), ostali su svjetionici izvornih islamsko-sunitskih misli i praksi zahvaljujući velikim muslimanskim umovima kao što je imām Abū al-Ḥasan Ismāʾīl al -Aš ʾarī[52] iz Bagdada, imām Abu Dža ʾfar al-Ṭaḥāwī[53] iz Kaira i imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdi iz Samarkanda.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Rašid al-Din, Džami al-Tawarikh: Bitka za Bagdad 1258. bila je pobjeda mongolskog vođe Hulagu Kana, unuka Džingis Kana (il. desno). Bagdad je zauzet, opljačkan i s vremenom spaljen.

[52] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash ʾarī (um. 936.) bio je teolog (*mutakallim*) poznat po svom doprinosu racionalističkoj metodologiji spekulativne teologije, gdje je napravio okvir ortodoksnog islama. U svom *Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīnu* ("Teološka mišljenja muslimana"), sastavljenom tokom njegovog ranog perioda, al-Ash ʾari je objedinio različita mišljenja učenjaka o muslimanskim teološkim pitanjima. Otprilike od 912. godine, nastavio je sa ortodoksnijim proučavanjem teologije kroz Kur'an i Sunnet. Osnovao je teološku školu koja je kasnije dobils svoje članove proslavljene autore kao što su al-Ghazālī i Ibn Khaldūn.

[53] Abū Dža'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, poznatiji kao al-Ṭaḥāwī (um. 933.) bio je sunnitski muslimanski učenjak koji je slijedio hanefijski mezheb.

of Paradise (Euphrates, Nile, and Oxus) have remained beacons of the original Islamic-Sunni thoughts and practices thanks to the great Muslim minds such as Imām Abū al-Ḥasan Ismāʿīl al-Ashʿarī[52] of Baghdad, Imām Abū Ja'far al-Ṭaḥāwi[53] of Cairo and Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdi of Samarkand.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Rashid al-Din, Jami al-Tawarikh: The Battle of Baghdad in 1258 was a victory for the Mongol leader Hulagu Khan, a grandson of Genghis Khan (ill. right). Baghdad was captured, sacked, and over time burned. (Archive of Akšamija)

[52] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 936) was a theologian (*mutakallim*) known for his contribution to the rationalist methodology of the speculative theology, where he made the framework of orthodox Islām. In his *Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn* ("Theological Opinions of the Muslims"), compiled during his early period, al-Ashʿari brought together the varied opinions of scholars on Muslim theological questions. From about 912., he pursued a more orthodox study of theology through the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. He founded a theological school that later claimed as members such celebrated authors as al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn.

[53] Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī, commonly known as al-Ṭaḥāwī (d. 933.) was a Sunni Muslim Scholar who followed the Hanafi madhhab.

Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī

Dok nas zemljopisna udaljenost od Samarkanda može držati razdvojenima, milenijska udaljenost od Māturīdījeve mudrosti danas nas drži bližima jer ponovna pojava njegove filozofske teologije postaje sve više i više zviždač protiv očitog bukvalizma i opskurantizma u religijskoj misli. Prije nekoliko desetljeća, vjerski znanstvenici u muslimanskom svijetu i na zapadu žalili su se na oskudnost i nemar u proučavanju Matuidijeve teologije unatoč činjenici da se on smatra jednim od najvažnijih utemeljitelja sunitske ortodoksne teologije. Stoga je Sulaiman Ahmed iznio pritužbu rekavši:

> *Unatoč činjenici da al-Māturīdī ima tako značajnu ulogu u islamskoj misli, bilo je malo analize njegovih ideja, iako je svoju školu osnovao prije više od hiljadu godina. Djela al-Māturīdīja nisu prevedena na engleski, a čak ni na arapskom nema djela koja su nastala na njegovim spisima. Postoje dva glavna djela na engleskom jeziku:* ***Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi*** *koju je napisao Mustafa Cerić 1995. god. (čiji sam prijevod određenih odlomaka koristio da potkrijepim svoj) i* ***Al-Maturidi i sunnitska teologija u Samarkandu****, Ulricha Rudolpha napisano 1997. god.*[54]

Naravno, slažemo se da unatoč povećanim aktivnostima na polju izdanja tokom posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća, detalji Māturīdijeve spekulativne teologije (*kalām*) još uvijek ostaju nedovoljno proučeni. Taj nedostatak odnosi se, s jedne strane, na korištenje tekstova, djelomično ili nedostupnih u tekstokritičkim i analitički usmjerenim izdanjima, i, s druge strane, ostaje duboka i goruća potreba za sistemskim istraživanjem, posebno u pogledu odnosa između maturīdizma i aš'arizma, s obzirom na to da je potonji proučavan mnogo detaljnije. Međutim, dobra vijest je da sada imamo pristup tezi Yahya Haidara za stupanj doktora filozofije, u vezi s raspravama između aš'arizma i maturirizma u osmanskoj vjerskoj znanosti.[55]

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[54] Šaykh Abu Mansoor al-Maturidi. ***The Book of Monotheism Kitaab At-Tawheed: God and the Universe - A Manual of Sunni Theology***. Prijevod i komentar Sulaiman Ahmed. Maturidi Institute, Sheffield, UK, 2019., str. iii.

[55] Vidi: Haidar: ***Op. cit.***

Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī

While the geographical distance from Samarkand may keep us apart, the time distance of more than a millennium from Māturīdī's wisdom keeps us closer nowadays as the rediscovery of his philosophical theology is becoming more and more a kind of a whistleblower against an apparent spread of literalism, extremism, exclusivism and obscurantism in religious thought. A few decades ago, religious scholars both in the Muslim world and the West complained about the scarcity and negligence of the study of Matuidi's theology despite the fact that he is considered to be one of the most important founders of the Sunni orthodox theology. Thus, Sulaiman Ahmed has expressed a complaint by saying:

> *In spite of the fact that al- Māturīdī holds such a significant role in Islamic thought, there has been little analysis of his ideas, though he established his school more than a thousand years ago. The works of al- Māturīdī have not been translated into English and even in Arabic there is limited to no work produced on his writings. There have been two main works in the English language:* ***Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abu Mansur Al-Maturidi*** *written by Mustafa Ceric in 1995 (whose translation of certain excerpts I used to help support my own) and Al-Maturidi and* ***Sunni Theology in Samarkand*** *by Ulrich Rudolph written in 1997.*[54]

Sure, it is noticeable that despite increasing activities in the field of editions during the last few decades, details of Māturīdī speculative theology (*kalām*) still remain insufficiently studied. This deficiency applies, on the one hand, to the utilization of texts, partially or not yet available in text-critical and analytically focused editions. On the other hand, a profound and pressing need for systematic research remains, particularly with regards to the relationship between Māturīdism and Ashʿarism, given that the latter has been studied in much greater detail. The good news, though, is that we have now the access to Yahya Raad Haidar's very comprehensive doctoral decertation, regarding the debates between Ash'arism and Maturidism.[55]

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[54] Shaykh Abu Mansoor al-Maturidi, ***The Book of Monotheism Kitaab At-Tawheed: God and the Universe - A Manual of Sunni Theology***, translation and commentary by Sulaiman Ahmed, Maturidi Institute, Sheffield, UK, 2019, p. iii.

[55] See: Yahya Raad Haidar: ***The Debates between Ash'arism and Māturīdism in Ottoman Religious Scholarship: a Historical and Bibliographical Study***, a thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University, 2016.

Nije nepoželjno da neko zna razlike između sunnitskog ortodoksnog *kalāma* – teologije Aš'arija i Māturīdīja, ali to su samo nijanse koje, poznavajući ih, ne čine ni boljim vjernikom, niti bolje upućenim u suštinu strogog *tawḥīda* – monoteizma kao srži ortodoksije. Na primjer, pitanje o *takwīnu* (egzistencijalnosti)[56] o kojem se najviše raspravljalo, gdje Māturīdi tvrdi da je to vječni atribut (*ṣifah qadīmah*), dok Aša'rī kaže da je stvoren u vremenu (*ḥādith*), je stvar mišljenja, koje ne povećava niti smanjuje nečija vjera u smislu prihvatanja ili odbijanja jednog ili drugog. Ipak, nijansa u vezi sa takozvanim pitanjem *al-istithnā'*, uvjetnost u očitovanju vjeri, čini značajnu razliku. Naime, Aš'arije zagovaraju uvjetnost u očitovanju vjeri, koja aludira na sumnju čak i ako se odnosi na plodove vjerovanja.[57] Dakle, ako nekoga pitaju da li je vjernik, on/ona treba da kaže: 'Da, ja sam vjernik, *inšallah*, ako Bog da'. Ovo nije prihvatljivo za Māturīdīje. Māturīdī je rekao: "Osnovni princip za nas je da definitivno očitujemo vjerovanje ... bez *al-istithnā'*, uvjetnog ako Bog dâ".[58] U ovoj konkretnoj tačci vidimo Māturīdījev hrabar i izvanredan ne samo teološki, već i filozofski um. To je razlog zašto mi, muslimani, trebamo ponovo posjetiti Māturīdījevu milenijsku teologiju iz Samarkanda i, kako je Ramon Harvey ispravno primjetio "(Māturīdī) svoj sistem, i sistem škole koja uzima njegovo ime, stavlja u živ dijalog sa modernom mišlju".[59] Māturīdijevo zalaganje i povjerenje u ljudski um nije ni opravdanje ni žaljenje kao što to vidimo kod Imāma al- Ḥaramaina al-Džuwaynīya (um. 1085.), koji je rekao da je smrtno bolestan:

> *Pročitao sam hiljade knjiga..., udaljio sam se od ljudi koji su prakticirali islam i čistu nauku islama. Jahao sam ogromnim morem i ronio u ono što su ljudi islama zabranjivali, sve to u potrazi za istinom, a u prošlosti sam bježao od taqlida, oponašanja. Ali sada sam se od svega toga vratio na riječ istine, naime trebaš slijediti religiju starih žena. Ako istina ne dođe do mene sa dobrotom svoje pravednosti - onda ću umrijeti slijedeći vjeru starih žena.*[60]

To vidimo i kod Fakhr al-Dīn al-Razīja (um. 1209.), koji je na kraju svog života proglasio um beskorisnim:

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[56] Vidi: ***Ibid***; Cijela knjiga od 430 stranica posvećena je raspravi između Asha'rīsa i Māturīdīsa o *takwīnu*. Vidi i: Mustafa Ṭāhir Riḍwān. ***Ṣifat al- takwīn bayna al-Māturidiyyah wa al-ash'ariyyah***. Dār al-imām al-rāzī li al-nashr wa al-tawzī', Cairo, 2022.

[57] Vidi: Haidar: ***Op. cit.*** str. 167.

[58] Al-Māturīdī, Abu Manṣūr. ***Kitāb al-tawḥīd***. Bekir Topaloğlu and Muḥammad Aruçi, ur. 1 izd. Istanbul, Maktabāt al-Irshād, 2003., str. 624.

[59] Harvey, Ramon. ***Transcendent God, Rational World – A Māturīdī Theology***. Edinburg University Press, Edinburg, 2021.

[60] Vidi: Ibn al-Subki. ***Tabaqat al-shafiyyah al-kubra***, 5/185; al-Zahabi. ***Siyar al-a'lam al-nubala'***, 18/471.

It is not undesirable for someone to know differences between the Sunni orthodox *kalām* – theology of Ashaʿrīs and Māturīdīs, but these are nuances only, which, knowing them, make one neither a better believer nor more knowledgeable about the essence of strict *tawḥīd* – monotheism as the core of Muslim orthodox faith. For instance, the most debated issue of *takwīn* (*existantiation*),[56] where Māturīdīs argue it is an eternal attribute (*ṣifah qadīmah*), while Ashaʿrīs say it is created in time (*ḥādith*), is a matter of opinion, which does not increase or decrease one's faith in terms of accepting or rejecting the one or the other. Nevertheless, the nuance in regard to so called *al-istithnā'*, exception in faith, makes a significant difference. Namely, the Ashaʿrīs advocate the exception in faith, which alludes to doubt even if it relates to the fruits of faith.[57] Thus, if one is asked are you a believer, he/she should say: 'Yes, I am a believer, *Inshallah*, God willing'. This is not acceptable to the Māturīdīs. Māturīdī said: "The basic principle for us is to definitively declare faith ... without an *al-istithnā'*, exception".[58] In this particular point we see Māturīdī's bold and outstanding not only theological, but also philosophical mind. This is why we, the Muslims, need to revisit Māturīdī's millennium theology from Samarkand and, as Ramon Harvey rightly said, "puts his system, and that of the school taking his name, into lively dialogue with modern thought".[59] Māturīdī's advocacy and trust in human mind is neither apologetic nor regrettable like we see it in Imam al- Ḥaramayni al-Juwaynī (d. 1085), who said his death illness:

> *I read fifty thousand in fifty thousand, then I left the people of Islam with their Islam and their pure sciences. I rode the vast sea and dived into what the people of Islam forbade, all of that in the pursuit of the truth, and I used to flee in the past from taqlid, imitation. But now I have returned from all of it to the word of truth, namely you should follow the religion of the old women. If the truth does not reach me with the kindness of its righteousness - then I will die following the religion of old women.*[60]

And like we see it in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d.1209), who, at the end of his life, proclaimed the mind to be useless:

> *The end of the mind's efforts is a shackle, and most of the world's efforts are misguidance. Our souls are in solitude from our bodies, and the result of our world is harm and calamity.*

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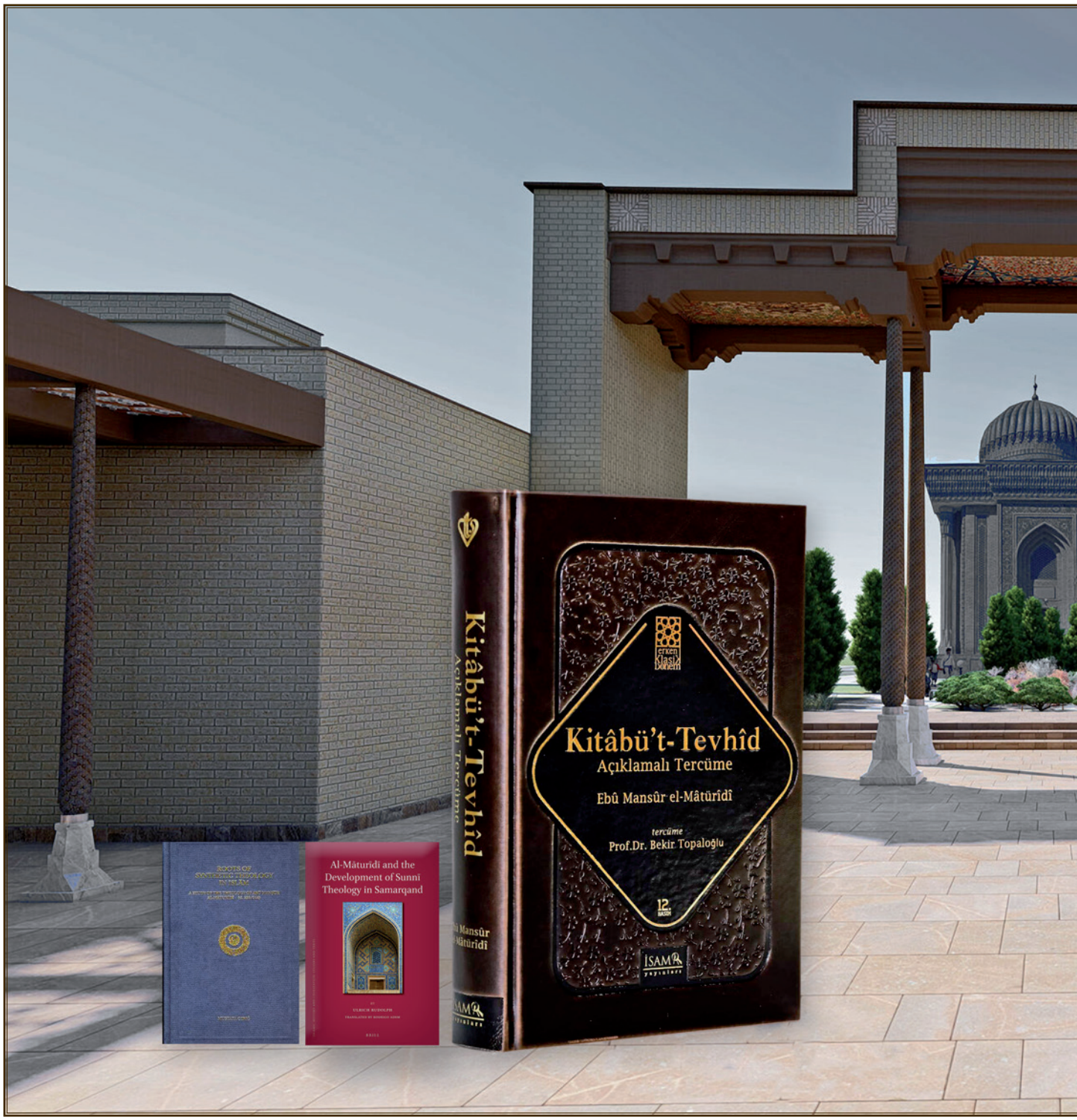
[56] See: ***Ibid***; A whole book of 430 pages is devoted to the debate between Ashaʿrīs and Māturīdīs about takwīn. See: Mustafa Ṭāhir Riḍwān: ***Ṣifat al- takwīn bayna al-Māturidiyyah wa al-ashʿariyyah***, Dār al-imām al-rāzī li al-nashr wa al-tawzīʿ, Cairo, 2022.

[57] Yahya Raad Haidar: ***The Debates between Ash'arism and Māturīdism***... p. 167.

[58] Al-Māturīdī, Abu Manṣūr: ***Kitāb al-tawḥīd***, ed. Bekir Topaloğlu and Muḥammad Aruçi, 1st edn, Istanbul, Maktabāt al-Irshād, 2003, p. 624.

[59] Harvey, Ramon: ***Transcendent God, Rational World – A Māturīdī Theology***, Edinburg University Press, Edinburg, 2021.

[60] See: Ibn al-Subki: ***Tabaqat al-shafiyyah al-kubra***, 5/185; al-Zahabi: ***Siyar al-a'lam al-nubala'***, 18/471.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Samarkand, Imam Maturidijevo turbe (u pozadini), te njegovo djelo *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* i knjige Dr. Mustafe Cerića i Ulricha Rudolpha o Maturidi.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Samarkand, Imam Maturidi's *turbe* (mausoleum in the background), and his work *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* and books dr. Mustafa Cerić and Ulrich Rudolph about Maturidi. (Archive of Akšamija)

> *Kraj napora uma je okov, a većina svjetskih napora je pogrešno usmjeravanje. Naše duše su udaljene od naših tijela, a rezultat našeg svijeta su šteta i nesreća. Nismo imali koristi od našeg istraživanja kroz život, osim što smo u njemu sakupili ono što je više puta rečeno i izgovoreno.*[61]

Isto tako, postoji sličan pad povjerenja na umu kod imama Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālīja (um. 1111.) koji je svojim učenicima u posljednjim godinama svog života preporučio da svijetleća objava i sufijsko nadahnuće, a ne čisti um ili prazna misao, je spasitelj od zabluda (*al-munqidh min al- ḍalāl*).[62]

Da, zaista, suprotno svima njima, naš imam Abu Mansur al-Māturīdī, nije se povukao iz svog zdravog uma prije svoje smrti i nije se bojao posljedica stvari zdravog i pouzdanog uma jer je bio siguran u pouzdanost svog uvjerenja da:

> *Ako bi neko tvrdio da ako je dopušteno da Bog može narediti osobi da čini ono što ne razumije koristeći svoj razum, zašto onda nije dopušteno da Bog govori osobi na način koji osoba ne razumije? Na to treba kazati da između ovog dvoga nema nikakve razlike, pa prema tome nije u redu postupati prema tome na način koji ste spomenuli, jer ne postoji ništa što bi Bog naredio [osobi], a da nije omogućio razumu da to shvati, i slično, ne postoji ništa o čemu bi Bog govorio [osobi], a da nije ustanovio način na koji [osoba] to može razumjeti. Prema tome, [ako osoba] ne razumije bît naredbe, oslobođena je obaveze. Međutim, temeljni princip tog [razumijevanja] je različit. Načini su poznati kroz naẓar (spekulativno mišljenje) i fikr (intelektualnu vježbu).*[63]

To je ono što nam je danas potrebno više od bilo čega drugog. Potrebno nam je ovo Māturīdijevo povjerenje u zdrav razum. Nije li veliki paradoks u stavu nekih učenjaka u našoj *Ummi* u prošlosti i sadašnjosti, da su muslimanima zabranili da koriste svoj um da proizvode i iznalaze svoje misli za sebe, ali im nisu zabranili da konzumiraju proizvodnju ili izume misli iz umova drugih? Ako postoji nešto vrijedno spomena i uvažavanja u teološkim mišljenjima imāma Māturīdīja, onda to je njegova svijest o važnosti praktičnog zdravog razuma kako u svjetovnim tako i u vjerskim stvarima, uz istovremeno promatranje jasnog i pouzdanog *al-sam'a* (sluha). Zbog toga, Māturīdī se nije odrekao razuma na kraju svog života. Nije želio ostaviti svoje učenike i sljedbenike u nedoumici oko toga. Zato što je Māturīdī vjerovao u moć zdravog razuma koji je Svemogući Bog dao čovjeku da bude njegov blagoslov i vodič.

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[61] al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn. ***al-Matālib al-'āliyyah min al-'ilm al-ilāhiyyh***, 4/426; Ibn al-Subki. ***Tabaqāt al- shāfi'iyyah al-kubrā***, 5/37.

[62] Al-Ghazali, Imām Abū Ḥāmid. ***al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl***. Amman, Jurdan, 2018., str. 55.

[63] Māturīdī. ***Kitāb al-tawḥīd***. str. 138.

> *We have not benefited from our research throughout our lives, except that we have collected in it what was repeatedly said and uttered.*[61]

Likewise, there is a similar decline of trust in mind in Imam Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) recommended to his disciples in the last years of his life, that the luminous revelation and Sufi inspiration, not the pure mind or empty thought, is the savior from misguidance (*al-munqidh min al- ḍalāl*).[62]

Yes, indeed, contrary to all of them our Imam, the Guide of *Hudā'*, Abu Mansur al-Māturīdī, did not retreat from his sound mind before his death and did not fear of the consequences of the matter of the sound and trustworthy mind because he was confident in the trustworthiness of his reassured self that:

> *If one were to argue that if it is permissible that God can command a person to do that which he does not understand using his reason, then why is it not permissible that God addresses a person in a way the person does not understand? Then it should be said to him that there is no difference between these two, and therefore it is not right to treat them in the way you have mentioned, because there is nothing that God would command [of a person] without God causing his reason to understand it, and similarly, there is nothing about which God would speak [to a person], unless God caused the way through which [the person] can understand it. Therefore, [if a person] falls short of understanding the foci of the command, he is excused from it. However, the fundamental principle of that [understanding] is different. These ways are known through Naẓar (speculative thinking) and Fikr (intellectual exercise).*[63]

This is what we need today more than anything else. We need this Māturīdī's trust in the sound reason. Isn't it a big paradox in the position of some scholars in our Umma in the past and present, that they have forbidden Muslims to use their minds to produce and extract their thoughts for themselves, but they have not forbidden them to consume production or extract thought from the minds of others? If there is anything worthy of mention and appreciation in the theological opinions of Imam Māturīdī, it is his awareness of the importance of practical sound reason both in worldly and religious matters, while observing a clear and reliable smaʿ (hearing) as well. This why Māturīdī did not decline from the reason at the end of his life, leaving his followers in confusion. Because Māturīdī believed in the power of the sound reason as God Almighty bestowed upon man to be his blessings and guidance.

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[61] al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn: ***al-Matalib al-aliyyah min al-ilm al-ilahiyy***, 4/426; Ibn al-Subki: ***Tabaqat al-shafiyyah al-kubra***, 5/37.

[62] Al-Ghazali, ***Imam Abu Hamid: al-Munqidh min al- ḍalāl***, Amman, Jurdan, 2018, p. 55.

[63] Māturīdī: ***Kitāb al-tawḥīd***, p. 138.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Minijatura (lijevo): Māturīdī i abasidski halifa al-Mutawakkil.
ILLUSTRATION ~ Miniature (left): Māturīdī and the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil. (Archive of Akšamija)

Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī nije živio u središtu halifine vladarske moći u Bagdadu, niti u središtu kontroverznih debata o odnosu između muʾtazilizma i antimuʾtazilizma, ali je eho događaja u Bagdadu zvučao i na dalekom istoku islamskog carstva, Samarkandu. U skoro deset decenija svog života u Samarkandu, Māturīdī je preživio dvanaest abasidskih halifa u Bagdadu od al-Mutawakkila (847.-861.) do al-Muttaqīja (940.-944.). Ali, kao što smo rekli, imao je sreću da živi u vrijeme dinastije islamskog carstva Samanida. Međutim, nije samo Samanidova sklonost ka ulemi odredila smjer teološke misli Imāma al-Māturīdīja, već je vjerovatno mnogo više od toga, geografski kontekst Samarkanda, Buhare i cijele Transoxianske regije bio važan faktor koji je oblikovao njegovu pravnu (*fiqh*) i teološku (*kalām*) misao. Samarkand se nalazio na Putu svile, između Kine i Mediterana, gdje su se sastajali svjetski trgovci, gdje su se miješale kulture, gdje su se razmjenjivale ideje i iskustva, posebno o medicini. Ovdje treba spomenuti jednog od najvećih medicinskih umova Abū ʾAli al-Ḥusaina ibn Sīnāa (um. 1037.) iz Buhare, autora *Kodeksa medicine* (*Al-Qānūn fīʾ al-ṭibb* ili *Kanon medicinae*)! Podsjetimo da je upravo on, Ibn Sīna, izumio metod izolacije od zaraznih bolesti na četrdeset dana, koji je nazvao *al-arbaʾīniyyah* [četrdeset]. Saznanje o tome prenijeli su u Evropu venecijanski trgovci i preveli to kao *quarantena*, što na italijanskom znači 'četrdeset'. Stoga je riječ karantin došla od Ibn Sināa, koji je živio u desetom i jedanaestom vijeku u Buhari. Dakle, Ibn Sinā je znao kako da se spasimo od nedavne pošasti pandemije COVID-19.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Samarkand, Imam Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī in his workplace during the Samanid period. (Archive of Akšamija)
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Samarkand, Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī u radnom prostoru za vremena Samanida.

Imam Abū Manṣūra al-Māturīdī did not live in the center of the caliph's political power in Baghdad, nor in the center of controversial debates on the relationship between muʿtazilism and anti-muʿtazilsm, but the echo of events in Baghdad had sounded in the far east of the Islamic empire of Samarkand. In almost ten decades of his life in Samarkand, Māturīdī remembered twelve Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad from al-Mutawakkil (847-861) to al-Muttaqī (940-944). But, as we said, he was fortunate to live in the time of the dynasty of the Islamic empire of the Samanids. However, it was not only Samanid's inclination toward the ʿulamā' that determined the direction of Imam al-Māturīdī's theological thought, but probably much more, the geographical context of Samarkand, Bukhara and the entire Transoxiana region had been an important factor, which shaped his legal (*fiqh*) and theological (*kalām*) thought. Samarkand was right on the "Silk Road" between China and the Mediterranean, where world traders met, where cultures mingled, where ideas and experiences were exchanged, especially about medicine. We cannot but mention here one of the greatest medical minds Abū ʿAli al-Ḥusain ibn Sīna (d. 1037) from Bukhara, author of the "Code of Medicine" ("Al-Qānūn fī'l-ṭibb") or ("Canon medicinae")! May it be recalled here also that it was he, Ibn Sīna, who invented the method of isolation from infectious diseases for forty days, which he called *Al-Arbaʿīniyyah*, [forty]. The knowledge of this was transferred to Europe by Venetian traders and translated as "quarantena", which in Italian means "forty." Hence the word "quarantine" came from Ibn Sīna in the tenth to eleventh centuries in Bukhara who knew how should we deal with the recent COVID-19 pandemic.

Pored potrebe da se raspravlja s muʾtazilskim rivalom Abu al-Qāsimom al-Kaʾbījem[64] iz Balkha, kojeg su mu'taziliti s poštovanjem proglasili „imamom ljudske rase“ („Imām ahl al-'arḍ“), imām al-Māturīdī se nije previše uključio u muslimansku kontroverznu teološku debatu, već je svoju racionalnost u argumentaciji usmjerio prema teološkim i filozofskim izazovima izvan islamskog kruga, posebno prema politeizmu, agnosticizmu, dualizmu i panteizmu. Osnovu za svoje argumente u teologiji u takvom okruženju, gdje svako ima svoju vjersku i kulturnu tradiciju na koju se poziva, imām al-Māturīdī se pozivao na zdrav razum, kao sigurnu mjeru u poimanju i ponašanju, ali se također oslanjao in na Božansku poruku, koju prenose nepogrešivi Božiji glasnici, kao osnovu za razumevanje značenja Božijeg bića, čovjekovu narav i sudbinu svijeta. Stoga, na početku svog magnum opusa *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* („Knjiga o monoteizmu“), imām al-Māturīdī postavlja načelo zdravog razuma kao osnovni kriterij za istinu u vjeri, jer vjera nije važeća ako ne može biti objašnjeno i dokazana razumom bez obzira na broj sljedbenika određene religije. Evo šta je u vezi s tim rekao imām Māturīdī:

> *Susrećemo ljude različitih manifestacija u vjeri, ali se svi slažu u jednom, a to je da je ispoljavanje jednog istinito, a da je ispoljavanje drugog laž. Također, ljudi se slažu da svako ima svog pretka, kojeg bezuslovno prati, pa nije sporno da ljudi imaju suprotne izjave o istom pitanju, iako je jedini dokaz za to broj pratilaca. Ali dokaz istinitosti manifestacije, koja se završava sa jednim (a to je Božiji poslanik) je razum i apodiktički dokaz, koji je dovoljan objektivnim umovima da priznaju da je dotakao istinu. Jer onaj ko ima razumnu potporu u vjeri, tj. oslonac koji se može dokazati razumom, u pravu je. Stoga je obaveza svih da znaju istinu, koju on s vjerom slijedi istinitim dokazima i ispravnim svjedočanstvom čak i da sam ja sam, jer njegovi dokazi tjeraju zdrav razum da mu se pokorava uprkos njihovom obilju. To je ono što sam rekao, pa neka se zna da u vjeri nije prikladno razmišljati drugačije ako je to drugačije u odnosu na racionalne dokaze nakon što se dokaže da su racionalni dokazi pobijedili, a nejasnoće i sumnje drugih su poražene.*[65]

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[64] Vidi: Racha El Umari. ***The Thoelogy of Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʾbī*** (um. 319/931.), Brill 2016.

[65] Kholeif, Fathalla. ***Kitāb al-Tawḥīd – Abū Masūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī***. Dar El-Machreq Éditeurs, Beirut, drugo izdanje, 1982., str. 3.

In addition to the need to debate with the Muʿtazilian rival Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī[64] of Balkh, whom the Muʿtazilites respectfully proclaimed as the "Imam of human race" ("Imām ahl al-'arḍ"), Imam al-Māturīdī did not engage too much within the Muslim controversial theological debate, but directed his rational argumentation toward theological and philosophical challenges outside the Islamic circle, particularly toward polytheism, agnosticism, dualism, and pantheism. The basis for his arguments in theology in such an environment, where each has its own religious and cultural tradition to which it refers, Imam al-Māturīdī invoked common sense, as a safe measure in thought and behavior, but also, he relied on the divine message, conveyed by the infallible messengers of God, as the basis for understanding the meaning of God, man and the world. Therefore, at the beginning of his magnum opus *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* ("The Book of Monotheism"), Imam al-Māturīdī sets the principle of common sense as the basic criterion for truth in faith, because faith is not valid if it cannot be explained and proved by reason regardless to the number of followers of a particular religion. Here is what Imām Māturīdī said:

> *We meet people with different manifestations of faith, but they all agree on one thing, and that is that the manifestation of one is the truth, and that the manifestation of the other is a lie. Also, people agree that everyone has their own ancestor, whom they follow unconditionally, so it is not disputed that people have opposite statements about the same issue, although the only evidence for this is the number of followers. But the proof of the truth of the revelation, which ends with one (and that is God's prophet) is reason and apodictic proof, which satisfies the object's minds to admit that he touched the truth. Therefore, the one who has a rational basis in faith, i.e., a basis that is demonstrable by reason, is in the right. Therefore, it is the duty of all to know the truth, which he follows in faith with true proofs and correct testimony, even if he were alone, because his proofs compel healthy minds to submit to him despite their number. Well, that's what I said, so let it be known that in faith it is not appropriate to think differently if it is different against the rational evidence after it has been proven that the rational evidence has prevailed, and the vagueness and doubts of others have been overcome.*[65]

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[64] See: Racha El Umari, ***The Thoelogy of Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī (d.319/931)***, Brill 2016.

[65] Kholeif, Fathalla, ***Kitāb al-Tawḥīd – Abū Masūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī***, Dar El-Machreq Éditeurs, Beirut, Second edition, 1982, P. 3.

Zaključak

ALLAH vodu s neba spusti, pa svakom udolinom poteče onoliko koliko može da prihvati i bujica nosi pjenu koja narasta. I ono što ljudi tope na vatri u želji da dobiju nakit ili oruđe ima, također, otpad, sličan pjeni. Tako Allah navodi primjer za istinu i neistinu: pjena se raspršuje, dok ono što koristi ljudima ostaje na Zemlji. Tako, eto, Allah navodi primjere[66]

Parabola ovog ajeta iz Kur'ana savršeno je primjenjiva na našeg učitelja 'filozofske teologije' - *kalāma* u islamu, Imāma Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī. Bilo je mnogo u hstoriji islamske misli moćnih i uticajnih ličnosti, ali vremenom je od mnogo njih njihova napuhana pjena nestala, dok su oni čije su riječi bile prave i uvjerljive za dobrobit ljudi ostale na zemlji više od jednog milenija kao da ih danas izgovoriaju. Kada prošlost ode, otišla je. Ne možemo je ni vratiti ni promijeniti. Možemo se samo prošlosti sjećati i to u komadima, a ne kao cijelu istinu o toj prošlosti. Jer naša istina je uvijek poluistina nikad cijela istina. Ali postoje ljudi koji su u stanju reći više od pola istine što nam pomaže priliku da zadržimo svoj dio istine vjerujući da smo na pravom putu ka cijeloj istini. Očigledno je da je naš učitelj Imām Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī posjedovao istinu, koja nije izblijedjela sve ovo vrijeme duže od jednog milenija, pomažući nam da se suočimo sa alarmantnim „likvidnim ili fluidnim životom“, u kojem ništa nije ni solidno ni stabilno, gdje je sve u tamnom fluidu naše neizvjesne situacije.

Možemo slušati Zygmona Braumana kako nam govori da je modernizam popraćen likvidnim tokom povijesti, gdje se sve mijenja prema nepoznatoj sudbini čovječanstva. Međutim, čitajući i učeći Māturīdijev *baqā'* koncept, koji se temelji na ideji održivosti i kontinuiteta našeg duha i uma u svjetlu Božije mudrosti protiv *fanā'*, čiji cilj je nihilizam mračnih sila zla, možemo ipak naslutiti smisao života. Stoga se valja prisjetiti našeg velikog učitelja koji nam iz davnog vremena daje savjet da ne padnemo u očaj, jer nam je Svemogući Bog podario svjetlo uma, svjetlo koje je direktno povezano sa Njegovom svjetlošću, a Njegova svjetlost su nebesa i Zemlja. Da, zaista, Imāma Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī nam govori da Bog Svevišnji nije stvorio ovaj svijet za *fanā'*, nihilizam, već ga je stvorio za *baqā'*, egzistencionalni kontinuitet svijeta u svjetlosti Njegove bīti i bića te u slavi Njegove apsolutne moći da stvara i održava bezgranični kozmos, u kojem je čovjek samo jedna mala (ne)zahvalna i remetilačka pojava.

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[66] ***Kur'an***, 13:17.

Conclusion

He sends down from the sky, rain, and valleys flow according to their capacity, and the torrent carries a rising foam. And from that [ore] which they heat in the fire, desiring adornments and utensils, is a foam like it. Thus Allah presents [the example of] truth and falsehood. As for the foam, it vanishes, [being] cast off; but as for that which benefits the people, it remains on the earth. Thus does Allah present examples.[66]

The parable of this Qur'anic verse is perfectly applicable to our teacher of 'philosophical theology' - *kalām* in Islam, Imāma Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī. There have been many powerful and influential figures in the history of Islamic thought, but over time many of them lost their inflated foam, while those whose words were true and convincing for the benefit of people remained on earth for more than a millennium as if they were speaking them today. When the past is gone, it's gone. We can neither return to it nor change it. We can only remember the past in pieces, and not as the whole truth about it. Because our truth is always a half-truth, never the whole truth. But there are people who are able to tell more than half the truth which helps us to keep our part of the truth believing that we are on the right path to the whole truth. It is evident that our teacher Imām Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī possessed the truth, which has not faded all this time for more than a millennium, helping us face the alarming "liquid or fluid life", where nothing is solid or stable, where everything is in the dark fluid of our uncertain situation.

We can listen to Zygmon Brauman who is telling us that modernity is in a constant liquid flow of history, where everything changes towards un unknown destiny of humanity. However, by reading and studying Māturīdi's concept of *baqā'*, which is based on the idea of the sustainability and continuity of our spirit and mind in the light of God's wisdom against *fanā'*, the goal of which is an annihilation of the world by the dark forces of evil, we can nevertheless sense the meaning of life. Therefore, it is necessary to remember our great teacher who from ancient times gives us advice not to despair, because Almighty God has given us the light of spirit and mind, a light that is directly connected to His light, and His light is the Heaven and Earth. Yes, indeed, Imāma Abū Manṣūr Māturīdī tells us that God Aalmighty did not create this world for *fanā'*, nihilism, but He created it for *baqā'*, the existential continuity of the world in the light of His essence and ezistence as well as in the glory of His absolute power to create and sustain the boundless cosmos, in which man is just one small (ungrateful) and disruptive phenomenon.

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[66] ***Qur'an***, 13:17.



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