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U SJENI KVAZI-SALAFĪ IDEOLOGIJE: POVRATAK PROSVJETITELJSKO – SUNNITSKO-SINTETIČKOJ TEOLOGIJI IMĀMA AL-MĀTURĪDJE

IN THE SHADOW OF QUASI-SALAFĪ IDEOLOGY: A RETURN TO THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF IMĀM AL-MĀTURIDĪ'S SUNNI SYNTHETIC THEOLOGY

Sažetak

Postoji konsenzus danas među muslimanskim učenjacima: muslimanska globalna nacija (*ummet*) je u velikoj krizi. Ova kriza je slična dvjema najvećim krizama u muslimanskoj povijesti: krizi pada Abbasidskog *khilāfeta* u 13. stoljeću i kriza ukidanja Osmanskog *khilāfeta* u 20. stoljeću. Trenutna kriza pak ima različite vanjske i unutrašnje uzroke. Izazov za nacije, kao i pojedince u krizi, je da otkriju koji dijelovi njihovih identiteta dobro funkcioniraju i ne treba ih mijenjati, a koji dijelovi više ne funkcioniraju pa ih treba mijenjati. Danas je muslimanskom *ummetu*, pojedinačno i kolektivno, potrebna mudrost i hrabrost da prepozna šta se mora mijenjati kako bi se nosio sa novonastalom situacijom. Ali, u isto vrijeme mora se povući crtu i naglasiti elementi, koji su fundamentalni za naše vjerske, kulturne i civilizacijske identitete, koji se ne mogu mijenjati. *Ummet* muslimanski ne treba usmjeravati prema utopijskoj ideji *ṭubāwiyyah*, tj., mjestu koje ne postoji (no-where), već ga treba usmjeravati prema ideji istinske vjeri i zdravog razuma, na način na koji ga je usmjeravao Imām al-Māturīdī u 10. stoljeću u Samarkandu. Naime, Imām al-Māturīdī ustanovio je sintezu između *Naql-a* (Tradicije) i *ʾAql-a* (Razuma) u stvarnom svijetu vjere i razuma, gdje se ne sudaraju, već se susreću na temelju uspjeha na Ovom (*al-dunyā*) i spasu na Drugome svijetu (*al-ākhirah*). U ovom radu autor osvjetljava ideju sintetičke islamske teologije Imām al-Māturīdīja u duhu sunnitsko-hanefitskog učenja, ideju koju je obradio u svojoj doktorskoj disertaciji 1986. na Čikaškom univerzitetu pod mentorstvom pakistanskog profesora Fazlura Rahmana (1919-1988). Ova ideja može odražavati značenje riječi kriza: "razdvojiti", "odlučiti", "povući razliku", a moglo bi značiti i "prekretnicu" od utopije ka stvarnosti suvremene povijesti muslimanskog *ummeta*. Dakle, započnimo iznova ovo povijesno putovanje iz Samarkanda sa duhom i umom Velikog Imām: Abū Mansūra Muḥammada ibn Muḥammada ibn Maḥmūda al-Ḥnafija al-Māturīdija al-Samarqandīja (umro 333h/944m).

Ključne riječi: *utopija, ṭūbāwiyyah, khilāfet, al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ, Imām al-Māturīdī, vjernička pokornost (ṭā'ah), objašnjenje (bajān), Nakl - ʿAkl (sukob ili sinteza)*

Abstract

There is a consensus today among Muslim scholars: the Muslim global nation (*Ummah*) is in a big crisis. This crisis is similar to the two greatest crises in Muslim history: the crisis of the fall of the Abbasid *caliphate* in the 13th century and the crisis of the abolition of the Ottoman caliphate in the 20th century. The current crisis has different external and internal causes. The challenge for nations as well as individuals in crisis, is to discover which parts of their identities are working well and should not be changed, and which parts are no longer working and should be changed. Today, the Muslim *Ummah*, individually and collectively, needs the wisdom and courage to recognize what must be changed in order to cope with the new situation. But, at the same time, we must draw a line and emphasize the elements, which are fundamental to our religious, cultural and civilizational identities, which cannot be changed. The Muslim *Ummah* should not be directed towards the utopian idea of *ṭubāwiyyah*, i.e., a place that does not exist (no-where), but should be directed towards the idea of true faith and common sense, the way it was directed by Imām al-Māturīdī in the 10th century in Samarkand. Namely, Imām al-Māturīdī established a synthesis between *Naql* (Tradition) and *ʿAql* (Reason) in the real world of faith and reason, where they do not collide, but meet on the basis of success in this world (*al-dunyā*) and salvation in the Other World (*al-ākhirah*). In this paper, the author sheds light on the idea of synthetic Islamic theology of Imām al-Māturīdī in the spirit of Sunni-Hanafi teaching, the idea he elaborated in his doctoral dissertation in 1986 at the University of Chicago under the mentorship of Pakistani professor Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988). This idea may reflect the meaning of the word crisis: "to separate", "to decide", "to draw a distinction", and it could also mean a "turning point" from utopia to the reality of the contemporary history of the Muslim *Ummah*. So, let us begin again this historical journey from Samarkand with the spirit and mind of the Great Imām Abū Mansūr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Ḥnafi al-Māturīdi al-Samarqandī (d. 333h/944m).

Key words: *utopia, ṭūbāwiyyah, khilāfet, al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ, Imām al-Māturīdī, faithful obedience (ṭā'ah), explaination (bajān), Nakl - 'Akl (coflict or synthesis)*

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I
U sjeni utopije (ṭūbawiyyah)

Muslimanski moralista Ibn Taymiyya[1] iz 13. stoljeća i engleski utopista Thomas More[2] iz 15. stoljeća nemaju ništa slično osim što je, svaki od njih, na svoj način, bio protiv postojećeg položaja življenja, tragajući za mjestom življenja, koje ne postoji u stvarnom svijetu. Ovo stanje duha i uma zove se *utopija* od grčke riječi οὐ(ou)+τόπος, koja znači „nigdje" ili „ne-mjesto". Riječ *utopija* se često uzimala da znači „dobro mjesto", jer se njen slog miješao sa grčkim *eu*, kao u *eufemizmu*, *hvalospjevu*. Kao rezultat ovog miješanja, dodana je riječ distopija, koja znači "loše mjesto". No, imaginarna "dobra" ili "loša" mjesta su utopije, tj., „nigdjestani".[3]

Thomas More nije bio prvi koji je sanjao o *utopiji*, „dobrom mjestu" za življenje. Prethodio mu je Platon,[4] sa svojim kapitalnim djelom ***Republika***, kao i Tomaso Kampanela (Tommaso Campanella)[5]

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[1] Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʾAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʾAbd al-Salām ibn ʾAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) jedan je od najuticanijih muslimanskih učenjaka, koji se, kao član ḥanbalijske škole, zalagao za povratak islama svojim izvorima: Kur'anu i Sunnetu. Ibn Taymiyya je bio inspiracija tradicionalističkog pokreta islama iz sredine 18. stoljeća. Ostavio je značajan djela – često iznova objavljivanih u Siriji, Egiptu, Arabiji i Indiji – koji su proširili i opravdavali njegove vjerske i političke angažmane. Pored bezbrojnih *fetvi* (pravnih mišljenja zasnovanih na vjerskom pravu) i nekoliko dogmatskih spisa, od kojih je najljepša *Wāsiṭiyyah*, dva djela zaslužuju posebnu pažnju. Jedno je: *Al-Siyāsat al-šarʾiyyah* („Traktat o šerijatsko-pravednoj politici") i drugo: *Minhādž al-sunnah* ("Pravi Put tradicije"). To je najbogatije djelo komparativne teologije, koje je preživjelo iz srednjovjekovnog islama.

[2] Thomas More (1478-1535) je engleski humanista i državnik. Bio je jedan od najbližih savjetnika Henrika VIII. Nije odobravao kraljev raskid s papom i protivio se zakonu kojim kralj dobiva vrhovnu vlast nad Crkvom u Engleskoj. Zbog načelnog protivljenja razvodu braka Henrika VIII. i Katarine Aragonske sukobio se s kraljem. Zbog odbijanja da položi zakletvu vjernosti Henriku VIII., kao vrhovnom poglavaru engleske Crkve, kralj ga je optužio za izdaju i dao ga pogubiti. Godine 1935. proglašen je svecem. Thomas More je bio jedan od najvećih intelektualaca svojega doba. Čuveno je njegovo glavno djelo *O najboljem uređenju države i o novom ostrvu Utopiji (De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia libellus),* poznato pod skraćenim nazivom *Utopija*, koje je štampano u Leuvenu 1516. uz pomoć prijatelja Erazma Roterdamskoga.

[3] John Carey (ed.): ***The Faber Book of Utopias***. Gardners Books, 2000., p. xi.

[4] Platon (427- 347 p.n.e.) je poznati grčki filozof. Osnovao je vlastitu filozofsku školu u gaju blizu Atene posvećenu junaku Akademu, čuvenu *Akademiju*. U svom najopsežnijem dijalogu *Država* Platon mitsko-simboličkim sredstvima pokušava prikazati kako bi trebalo živjeti na ovome svijetu. Platon misli da država ne treba da brine o dobru koliko treba da brine za dušu jer je duša sâma odslik besmrtnosti u njenoj trodijelnosti – žudne, voljne i razumske duše, pa se odgoj duše mora ogledati i u svim očitovanjima uspostave države. Platon je zagovarao da vladari i čuvari ne mogu imati ni privatno vlasništvo ni vlastitu porodicu, pa su im i djeca zajednička, a strogost i posluh u tom poretku osiguravaju eugenika i eutanazija. Time se postiže skladnost etike i politike: proizvođači utjelovljuju umjerenost, čuvari hrabrost, a vladari mudrost, a njihov međusoban sklad ostvaruje se kao pravednost – najviša vrlina države koja teži *Dobru*, jer "Dobro je dalje od bitka, te po uzvišenosti i moći više".

[5] *Usporedi,* Tommaso Campanella: ***The City of the Sun. Merchant Books***. 2010.

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I
In the Shadow of Utopia (tūbawiyyah)

The Muslim moralist Ibn Taymiyya[1] of 13th century and the English utopian Thomas More[2] (1477-1535) of 15th century have nothing similar except that, each one of them in their own terms, had been against the existing place of living, searching for or dreaming of a place of no-where, i.e., a place that does not exist in a real world. This is called *utopia* from Greek *oὐ(ou)+τόπος*, which means "nowhere" or "no-place". The word *utopia* has often been taken to mean "good place", through confusion of its syllable with the Greek *eu* as in *euphemism* or *eulogy*. As a result of this mix-up, another word *dystopia* was invented, to mean "bad place". But, strictly speaking, imaginary "good places" and imaginary "bad places" are all **utopias**, or nowhere.[3]

Thomas More was not first who dreamt of utopia, a "good place" for living. He was preceded by Plato (42-347 before Mīlād]B.M.[)[4] with his ***Republic*** as well as by Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) with his ***The City of the Sun***.[5]

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[1] Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Salām ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) is one of the most influential Muslim scholars, who, as a member of the ḥanbali school, advocated the return of Islam to its sources: the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Ibn Taymiyya was the inspiration of the traditionalist movement of Islam in the mid-18th century. He left significant works - often republished in Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and India - that extended and justified his religious and political engagements. In addition to countless *fatwas* (legal opinions based on religious law) and several dogmatic writings, the most interesting of which is the *Wāsiṭiyyah*, two works deserve special attention. One is: Al-Siyāsat al-šarʿiyyah ("Treatise on Shariah-Just Politics") and the other: ***Minhāj al-sunnah*** ("The True Path of Tradition"). This is one of the best works of comparative theology that has survived from medieval Islam.

[2] Thomas More (1478-1535) was an English humanist and statesman. He was one of Henry VIII's closest advisers. He did not approve of the king's break with the pope and opposed the law that gave the king supreme authority over the Church of England. Due to principled opposition to the divorce of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon he clashed with the king. For refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Henry VIII as the supreme head of the Church of England, the king accused him of treason and had him executed. In 1935, he was declared a saint. Thomas More was one of the greatest intellectuals of his time. His main work ***On the Best Arrangement of the State and On the New Island of Utopia*** („De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia libellus"), is famously known under the abbreviated name ***Utopia***, which was printed in Leuven in 1516 with the help of his friend Erasmus of Rotterdam.

[3] *See,* John Carey (ed.): ***The Faber Book of Utopias***. Gardners Books, 2000, p. xi.

[4] Plato (427-347 BC) is a famous Greek philosopher. He founded his own philosophical school in a grove near Athens dedicated to the hero Akademus, the famous Academy. In his most extensive dialogue, ***The State***, Plato uses mythic and symbolic means to show how one should live in this world. Plato thinks that the state should not take care of the goodness as much as it should take care of the soul, because the soul itself is a reflection of immortality in its tripartite nature - the eager, willing and rational soul, so the education of the soul must be reflected in all manifestations of the establishment of the state. Plato advocated that rulers and guardians can have neither private property nor their own family. Thus, they have common children. The strictness and obedience in that order are ensured by eugenics and euthanasia. By this way the harmony of ethics and politics is achieved: producers embody moderation, guardians courage and rulers wisdom, while their mutual harmony is realized in justice - the highest virtue of the state that strives for the *Good*, because "the Good is bigger than being (sein) and higher in nobility and power."

[5] Tommaso Campanella, ***The City of the Sun***. Merchant Books, 2010. Campanella Tommaso, talijanski filozof (Stilo, Kalabrija, 5. IX. 1568 – Pariz, 21. V. 1639)

sa svojim djelom *Grad sunca*. Međutim, Thomas More je bio prvi koji je smislio riječ *Utopija*.[6] U toj knjizi, Tomas More svojim čitaocima predstavlja idealistički prikaz nacije koja ima egalitarnu vladu. Preko svog glasnogovornika, pronicljivog Rafaela Hitlodeja (Raphael Hythloday),[7] Thomas More opisuje i procjenjuje utopijsku politiku i društvene vrijednosti, uključujući stavove prema novcu, radu, vlasništvu nad zemljom, kažnjavanju zločina i siromaštvu. *Utopija* nema advokate. Političari su poštovani, ali ne i slavljeni, a pošto nema novca ni imovine, mito je nepoznato. Utopisti gledaju na brak kao na svetu instituciju. Predbračni odnos je zabranjen i strogo se kažnjava. „Glava svakog domaćinstva traži [iz centralnih skladišta] ono što njemu ili njegovom domaćinstvu treba i osigurava njihove potrebe bez ikakve naknade ili nadoknade. Uostalom, zašto bi bilo kome uskraćivano bilo što? Svega ima više nego dovoljno i nema straha da će neko uzeti više nego što mu je zaista potrebno".[8]

Arapi su Moreovu utopiju preveli kao *ṭūbiyā* (želja, nada, čežnja) od riječi „ṭayyibah", što znači dobrota i sreća. Množina: „ṭūbā", riječ koja se spominje u Kur'anu Časnom:

Onima koji su vjerovali i radili dobra djela pripada ṭūbā, lijepo mjesto (konačnog) povratka.[9]

U *Rječniku pojmova islamskog prava*,[10] arapska riječ „ṭūbā" znači „sreća". To je ime drveta u Džennetu. „Ko god bude imao priliku da dođe do tog drveta, hodat će u njegovoj sjeni stotinu godina".[11] Nisu ni muslimanski filozofi bili bez utopijskih ideja. Najistaknutiji među njima bio je Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī[12]

Tomaso Kampanela je talijanski filozof (1568 –1639). Zalagao se za opće duhovnu, društvenopolitičku i vjersku obnovu, moralnu obnovu katoličanstva, za ostvarenje ideala jedinstvene vjere sveukupnoga ljudskog roda i političke slobode, te autentične i univerzalne, urođene naravne religije, koja svoj naravni i racionalni temelj ima u filozofiji. Te svoje ideje izlagao je u djelima *Realna filozofija u izrekama* (*Realis philosophia epistologica*, 1613), *Grad Sunca, Ideja filozofske države* (*Civitas Solis. Idea reipublicae philosophicae*, 1623) i u svojim političkim djelima.

[6] Thomas More: ***Utopia*** (Transl. Ralph Robinson). Barnes & Noble Classics, New York, 2005.

[7] U Tomas Moreovoj *Utopiji* Rafael Hitlodej je ime aluzija na arkanđela Rafaela, pronositelja istine, dok mu prezime na grčkom znači "širitelj besmisli", gdje More opisuje društveno i političko uređenje imaginarne ostrvske zemlje *Utopije*, čije samo ime sadržava igru riječi: grč. οὐ+τόπος znači ne-mjesto, a εὖ+τόπος dobro mjesto. *Utopija* se može čitati kao idealizirana oprečnost, ali i kao ljutita satira Europe Moreovog doba.

[8] More, Thomas: ***Utopia*** (Transl. Dominic Baker-Smith). Penguin Books, London, 2020.
Kur'an, 13:29.

[9] Kur'an, 13:29.

[10] ***Mu'jam al-muṣṭalaḥāt wa al-'alfāẓ al-fiqhiyyah***, Maḥmūd Abd al-Raḥmān Abd al-Mun'im, Kairo, Dār al-faḍīlah, 2002, predmet „ṭūbā".

[11] ***Ibid***, *Kalimah ṭūbā ya'nī „al-sa'ādah" wa hiya ismu šadžaratin fī al-džannah yasīru al-rākibu fī ẓillihā mi'ata 'āmin*. (Riječ „ṭūbā" znači „sreća". Tako se zove drvo u raju pod kojim će putnik, koji uđe u raj, hodati sto godina).

[12] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tarḫān al-Fārābī (870 -950) je arapski filozof i mistik turskoga porijekla. Nazvan je „Drugim učiteljem", koji je utemeljio filozofski pravac po uzoru na Aristotela, „Prvog učitelja" u filozofiji. Bio je ugledni matematičar, liječnik i muzičar. Napisao je oko 70 djela. Tri su glavne teze al-Fārābijeve filozofske misli: 1) metafizička razlika bîti i bitka kod stvorenih bića, gdje bitak nije konstitutivna značajka bîti, već njegov predikat,

However, Thomas More was the first to make the word *utopia* up for his book *Utopia*.[6] In *Utopia*, Thomas More presents to his readers an idealistic portrayal of a nation employing an egalitarian government. Through his spokesperson, the sagacious and well-traveled Raphael Hythloday, Thomas More describes and evaluates utopian politics and social values, including attitudes toward money, work, land ownership, punishment of crime, and poverty. *Utopia* has no lawyers. Politicians are respected but not venerated, and since there is no money or property, bribery is unknown. Utopians view marriage as a sacred institution. Premarital intercourse is prohibited and severely punished. "The head of each household searches out [from central warehouses] whatever he or his household needs and carries away their requirements without any payment or recompense. After all, why should anything be denied him? There is more than enough of everything, and there is no fear that anyone will take more than they really need".[7]

The Arabs have translated the More's Utopia as *ṭūbiyā* (wish, hope, yearning) from the word "ṭayyibah", which means a goodness and good luck. The plural of it is "ṭūbā", which is mentioned in the Holy Qur'an:

"Those who believed, and work righteousness *ṭūbā* (good luck)
is for them and a beautiful place of (final) return".

In the *Dictionary of jurisprudential terms*, the Arabic word "ṭūbā" means "happiness", which is the name of a tree in the *Jannah* (Heaven). "Whoever gets the chance to reach such a tree will walk in the shadow of it for a hundred years".[8] Then, neither the Muslim philosophers were without utopian ideas. The most conspicuous among them was Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (870-950) by his epochal work: ***Mabādi' āra' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍilah*** (*Principles of the Views of the Citizens of the Perfect State*).[9]

Al-Fārābī is interesting to us not only because he developed a *utopia-ṭūbawiyyah* idea of ***al-Madīna al-fāḍilah*** (*The Perfect State*), but also because his major philosophical works permeate the *utopia-ṭūbā* idea, the works such as ***Kitāb al-siyāsah al-madaniyyah*** (*The civil Politics*); ***Al-tanbīh ʿalā sabīl al-saʿādah*** (*A Reminder Toward the Road of Happiness*); and ***Fī taḥsīl al-saʿādah*** (*A Triumph of Happiness*).[10]

Al-Fārābī's utopian (*ṭūbāwiyya*) ideas are not a mere imitation of Plato's Republic, as some tend to think, but his "Virtuous City" is a structure of his theological opinions as well as his intention to make a "Perfect State", whereby a noble society may live, the society that is compatible with the demands of time in which Al-Fārābī himself had lived.

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[6] *More,* Sir Thomas: ***Utopia*** (Transl. Ralph Robinson). Barnes & Noble Classics, New York, 2005.

[7] More, Thomas: ***Utopia*** (Transl. Dominic Baker-Smith). Penguin Books, London, 2020.

[8] ***Muʿjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-fiqhiyyah:*** *Kalimah ṭūbā yaʿnī „al-saʿādah" wa hiya ismu shjaratin fī al-jannah yasīru al-rākibu fī ẓllihā mi'ata ʿāmin*. (The word "ṭūbā" means „happiness". It is the name of a tree in Paradise, under which a passenger walks for a hundred years).

[9] Richard Walzer, ***Al-Farabi on the Perfect State: Abū Naṣr Al-Fārābī's Mabādi' Ārā' Ahl Al-madīna Al-fāḍila***: a Revised Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary, Clarendon Press, 1985 - 571 pages.

[10] Jaʿfar Āl Yāsīn, *Al-Fārābī: al-a'māl al-falsafiyyah*, al-juzā al-awwal, Dār al- manāhil, Beirut1992. 454 pages.

sa svojim epohalnim djelom: *Mabādi' āra' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍilah* (*Principi poimanja građana savršene države*).[13]

Al-Fārābī nam je zanimljiv ne samo zato što je razvio ideju utopije-*ṭūbawiyyah* o *al-Madīna al-fāḍilah* (*Savršenoj državi*), već i zato što njegova glavna filozofska djela prožimaju ideju utopije-*ṭūbā*, djela kao što su: *Kitāb al-siyāsah al-madaniyyah* (*Građanska politika*); *Al-tanbīh ʾalā sabīl al-saʾādah* (*Podsjetnik na putu do sreće*); i *Fī taḥṣīl al-saʾādah* (*Trijumf sreće*).[14]



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Portret Farabija (*Alpharabius*) u Liber Chronicarum iz 1493.
Stranice iz rukopisa al-Farabijevog komentara o Aristotelovoj metafizici iz 17. stoljeća.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Portrait of Farabi (*Alpharabius*) in Liber Chronicarum from 1493.
Pages from a 17th-century manuscript of al-Farabi's commentary on Aristotle's metaphysics.

Al-Fārābijeve utopijske (*ṭūbāwiyya*) ideje nisu puka imitacija Platonove Republike, kao što neki misle, već je njegovo djelo "Savršena država" struktura njegovih teoloških mišljenja u namjeri da ponudi ideju o najboljoj država za savršeno društvo, društvo koje je kompatibilno sa zahtjevima vremena u

akcident; 2) teoriju emanacije, koja opisuje porijeklo materijalnog kozmosa. Deset intelekta ili inteligencija emanira, tj., proizlazi uzastopno iz Prvog Bića te iz svakog od njih nastaje sfera univerzuma. Prvi intelekt je stvorio najudaljeniju sferu i drugi intelekt. Iz drugog intelekta nastala je sfera fiksnih zvijezda i treći intelekt. Proces se nastavlja, kroz sfere planeta, naniže do sfere Mjeseca. Sa Mjeseca, čisti intelekt al-Fārābī definirana kao aktivnu inteligenciju, koja pruža most između neba i zemlje; 3) teorija vjerovjesništva, gdje al-Fārābī identificira Meleka Spoznaje i Melaka Objave. To je za al-Fārābija bitan preduvjet vjerovjesničke vjerodostojnosti. Njegova glavna djela su: *Mabādi' āra' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍilah (Principi poimanja građana savršene države); Iḥṣā al-'ulūm (Klasifikacija znanosti); Al-Džam' bayn ra'yayn al-ḥakīmayni (Slaganja u učenju dvojice mudraca, Platona i Aristotela).*

[13] Richard Walzer: ***Al-Farabi on the Perfect State: Abū Naṣr Al-Fārābī's Mabādi' Ārā' Ahl Al-madīna Al-fāḍila*** (revidirani tekst sa uvodom, prijevodom i komentarom). Clarendon Press, 1985.

[14] Jaʾfar Āl Yāsīn: ***Al-Fārābī: al-aʾmāl al-falsafiyyah***. Dār al- manāhil, Beirut 1992.

Indeed, Al-Fārābī"s plan for an imaginary city-state and society is at the same time a sharp critique of or opposition to the existing Muslim state and society of his time. And that is the basic idea of any utopian concept - a critique or destruction of the existing state of affairs in order to construct or reconstruct nonexistent state. In fact, by negating the existing place one wants to find or reconstruct non-existent place, if not in reality then at least in the head of protagonists of an ideal society, in the case of the contemporary Muslim affairs to reconstruct a society in accordance to the ideals of *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, the reverend and glorious forerunners of the first generation of the Prophet - the *'aṣḥāb*, then of the second generation of the Prophet and the first generation of the followers of the Prophet's *'aṣḥāb* - the *ṭābiʿūn* and then the third generation of the Prophet, the second generation of the followers of *'aṣḥāb* and the first generation of followers of the followers - *the ṭābiʿū al-ṭābiʿīn*.

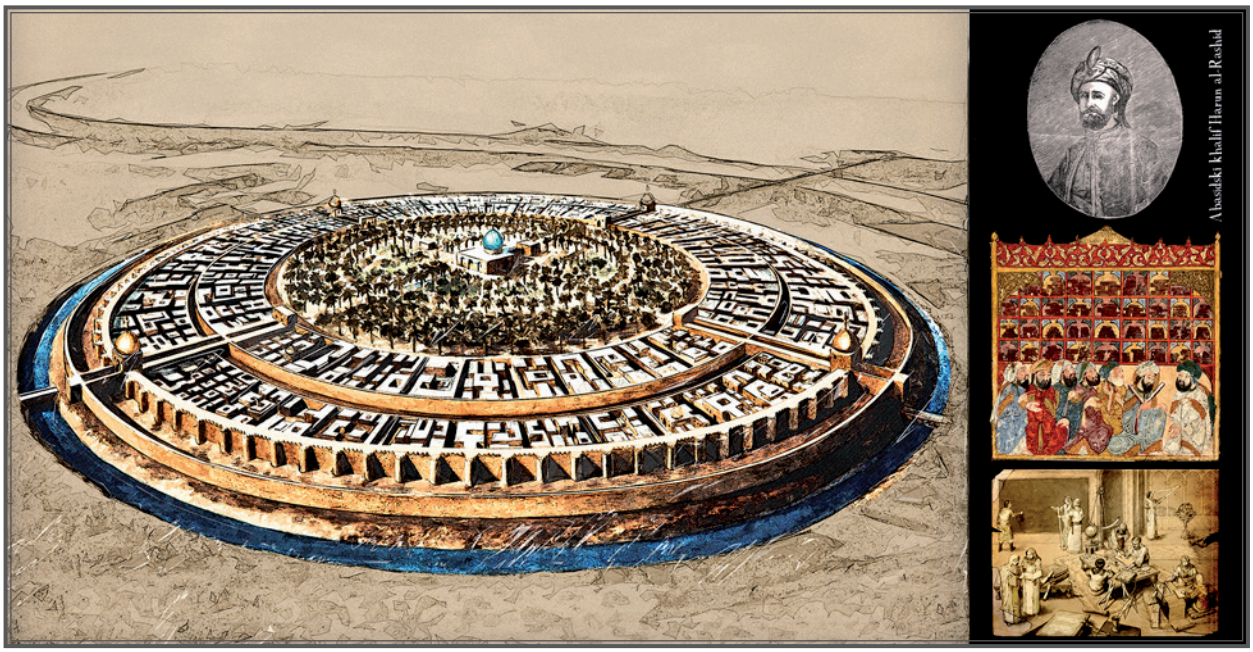


ILLUSTRATION ~ Some book covers in German, in Arabic and English, within which the work of Al-Farabi is analyzed.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Neke naslovnice knjiga na njemačkom, arapskom i engleskom jeziku unutar kojih se analizira djelo Al-Farabija.

In Europe or in the West generally the basic idea of Enlightenment (*tanwīr*) is founded on a deconstruction of existing methods in science and technology and, consequently, on the deconstruction of the existing norms in the state and society in order to construct new social norms and establish new scientific and technical methods. Here we have a movement or stride from unwanted past and present into a wanted future, while in the Muslim contemporary or modern history this movement was going the opposite way - from one unwanted preset toward a wanted past as a *ṭūbā-tree* in Heaven or utopian-*ṭūbāwian* no-wheristan. Indeed, this utopian idea, which could not originate and prevail without some theological premises, has always appeared at critical historical situations, especially when the Muslims were losing their place which they thought has belonged to them forever.

kojem je živio i sâm Al-Fārābī. Zaista, Al-Fārābījev plan za imaginarni savršeni grad-državu i društvo je u isto vrijeme oštra kritika ili suprotstavljanje postojećoj muslimanskoj državi i društvu njegovog vremena. A to je osnovna ideja svakog utopijskog koncepta – kritika ili destrukcija postojećeg stanja kako bi se konstruiralo ili rekonstruiralo poželjno nepostojeće stanje. Zapravo, negiranjem postojećeg mjesta želi se pronaći ili rekonstruirati *utopija*, poželjno nepostojeće mjesto, ako ne u stvarnosti onda barem u glavi protagonista idealnog društva. U slučaju suvremenih muslimanskih zbivanja riječ je rekonstruiranju društva u skladu sa idealima *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, „časnih i slavnih" predaka prve generacije *ʾaṣḥāba* Božjeg Poslanika, zatim druge generacije te treće generacije *ṭābiʿū-l-ṭābiʿīn*, sljedbenika sljedbenika Poslanikovih neposrednih *ʾaṣḥāba*.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ *Bayt al-Hikmah*, (*Kuća mudrosti*) kraljevska knjižnica ili glavna abasidska javna akademija i intelektualno središte u Bagdadu.
ILLUSTRATION ~ *Bayt al-Hikmah*, (*House of Wisdom*) royal library or major Abbasid public academy and intellectual center in Baghdad.

Svakako, pad Abbasidskog *khilāfeta*[▾15] u Bagdadu krajem 13. stoljeća, a potom i konačno ukidanje

[▾15] Abbasidski *khilāfet* (*al-Khilāfah al-ʿAbbāsiyyah*) je bio treći *khilāfet*, koji je naslijedio Poslanika Muhammeda a.s.. Osnovala ga je dinastija koja potiče od Poslanikovog amidže, ʿAbbāsa ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭaliba (566–653), po kojem je dinastija dobila ime. Oni su vladali kao *halife* većinu vremena trajanja *khilāfeta* iz glavnog grada Bagdada u današnjem Iraku, nakon što su zbacili Umejevićki *khilāfet* u Abbasidskoj revoluciji 750. god. Abbasidski period je obilježen ovisnošću o perzijskim birokratima, kao što je bila porodica Barmakida, kao i sve većim uključivanjem ne-Arapa u muslimansko društvo. Abbasidsko doba kulturnog preporoda i plodnosti završilo se 1258. god. sa upadom Mongola u Bagdada pod komandom mongolskog osvajača Hulagu Khana, koji je dao pogubiti posljednjeg 37. abbasidskog *halifu* al-Musta ʿṣima billah, koji je vladao od 1242. do 1258. godine.

Usporedi, Robert Canfield: ***Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective***. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, str. 5; Peter Holt, ***Some Observations on the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate of Cairo***. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London, 47 (3), 1984, str 501–507.

Certainly, the fall of the Abbaside Caliphate in Baghdad by the end of 13th century, and, then, the final abolition of the institution of the Caliphate in Istanbul by the beginning of the 20th century, marked the two most crises in the history of Islam and Muslims.[11] In the case of the former crisis it can be said that Ibn Taymiyya[12] and his pupil Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya[13] were main protagonists of a utopian idea in the sense of a reconstruction of the deconstructed idea of *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, while in the case of latter, i.e., the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, the main protagonists of the return to the path (*minhāj*) to a pure spring of pure and eternal water (*shirʿah*) was Muḥammad bin Abd al-Wahhab.[14]

In the case of the previous crisis, it can be said that Ibn Taymiyyah and his disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah were the main protagonists of utopian-*ṭūbāwiyya* thought in terms of reconstructing the deconstructed idea of *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, while in the case of the latter crisis, i.e., the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate, the main protagonist of the return to the Path (*minhāj*) of pure and eternal Norma (*shirʿah)* was Imam Muḥammad ibn Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1792). Shaykh-ul-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah was a combination of *ʿilmu-l-tawḥīd* and *ʿilmu-l-fiqh* with a certain appetite for politics, in which he was faithfully followed by his disciple Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. They both tasted prison at the same time because of it. After the death of Ibn Taymiyyah, Ibn al-Jawziyyah was released from prison. Imam Muḥammad ibn Abd al-Wahhāb is remembered more for his Puritan *ʿilm-l-tawḥīd* than for his practical *ʿilm-l-fiqh* with a special emphasis on the fight against *bidʿat (innovation*) in the *ahl al-ṣūfiyyah*. From today's distance, different assessments can be made of the role of Shaykh al-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah and Imam Muḥammad

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[11] The Abbasid *Caliphate* (*al-Khilāfah al-ʿAbbāsiyyah*) was the third *caliphate* to succeed the Prophet Muhammad a.s.. It was founded by a dynasty descended from the Prophet's uncle, ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (566–653), from whom the dynasty takes its name. They ruled as *caliphs* for most of the *caliphate* from their capital Baghdad in modern-day Iraq, after having overthrown the Umayyad *Caliphate* in the Abbasid Revolution of 750. The Abbasid period was marked by dependence on Persian bureaucrats (such as the Barmakid family) for governing the territories as well as an increasing inclusion of non-Arab into Muslims the society. The Abbasids age of cultural revival and fruition ended in 1258 with the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols under Hulagu Khan and the execution of the last 37th Abbasid *caliph* al-Mustaʿṣim billāh who had ruled from 1242 until 1258.

Compare, Canfield, Robert L.: ***Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective***. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002., p. 5.; Holt, Peter M.: ***Some Observations on the 'Abbāsid Caliphate of Cairo***. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London, 47 (3), 1984., pp. 501–507.

[12] Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328) left a considerable body of work - often republished in Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and India - that extended and justified his religious and political involvements and was characterized by its rich documentation, sober style, and brilliant polemic. In addition to innumerable fatwas (legal opinions based on religious law) and several professions of faith, the most beautiful of which is the Wāsiṭiyyah, two works merit particular attention. One is his ***Al-Siyāsat al-sharʿiyyah*** ("Treatise on Juridical Politics"). The other, ***Minhāj al-sunnah*** ("The Way of Tradition"), is the richest work of comparative theology surviving from medieval Islam.

[13] Ibn al Qayyim al Jawziyya (1292-1350), his contributions to the Islamic philosophy are extensive, and they particularly deal with the Qur'anic commentaries, and understanding and analysis of the prophetic traditions (*fiqh-u Sunnah*). On this occasion we will single out the following studies: ***Al-Kalam al-Tayyib wa-al-'Amal al-Salih*** ("The Essence of Good Words and Deeds") and Commentaries on the book of Shaikh 'Abdullah al-Ansari: ***Manazil-u Sa'ireen*** ("Stations of the Seekers"), which is considered the epitome of knowledge of sufi books.

[14] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Sulaymān al-Tamīmī (1703–1792) was an Arabian Islamic scholar, theologian, preacher, activist, religious leader, reformer, and theologian from Najd in central Arabia. Sought to revive and purify Islam from what he perceived as non-Islamic popular religious beliefs and practices by returning to what, he believed, were the fundamental principles of the Islamic religion. His works were generally short, full of quotations from the Qur'an and Hadith, such as his main and foremost theological treatise, ***Kitāb at-Tawḥīd*** ("The Book of Oneness").

institucije *khilāfeta*[16] u Istanbulu početkom 20. stoljeća, označili su dvije najveće krize u historiji islama i muslimana.

U slučaju prethodne krize može se reći da su Ibn Taymiyya i njegov učenik Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya[17] bili glavni protagonisti utopijske-*ṭūbāwiyya* ideje u smislu rekonstrukcije ideje *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, dok je u slučaju potonjeg ukidanja Osmanskog *khilāfeta*,[18] glavni protagonist povratka na „Pravi Put" (*minhāj*) prema čistom duhovnom, moralnom i pravnom izvoru (*širīʾah*) bio Imām Muḥammad bin ʾAbd al-Wahhab.[19]

Šeykhu-l-islam Ibn Taymiyya je bio spoj *ʾilm al-tawḥīda* (islamske doktrine) i *ʾilmu al-fiqha* (islamskog prava) sa određenim apetitom za politiku (*ʾilm-i siyāset*), u čemu ga je vjerno slijedio njegov učenik Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. Zbog toga su obojica istovremeno okusili zatvor. Nakon smrti Ibn Taymiyye, Ibn al-Jawziyyah je pušten iz zatvora. Imam Muḥammad ibn ʾAbd al-Wahhāb je zapamćen više po svom puritanskom *ʾilm al-tawḥīdu* nego po praktičnom *ʾilm al-fiqhu* sa posebnim naglaskom na borbu protiv *bidʾah* (izmišljanja u vjeri), posebno kod protivno *ahl al-ṣūfiyyah*, mistika ili derviša. Sa današnje distance mogu se iznijeti različite ocjene o ulozi Šeykhu-l-islama Ibn Taymiyya i Imāma Muḥammada bin ʾAbd al-Wahhaba u oblikovanju salafijske svijesti među muslimanima, ali jedno je sigurno, a to je da su se u krizi s kojom su se obojica suočili, tražili izlaz u utopijskom-*ṭūbāwiyya* povratku nazad umjesto naprijed.

Stoga se ovdje suočavamo s još jednom suštinskom razlikom između utopijske misli u Evropi i utopijske-*ṭūbāwiyya* misli kod muslimanima.[20] Naime, Evropi nije preostalo ništa drugo nego da prođe

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[16] *Khilāfet* je političko-civilno i duhovno uređenje države nakon smrti posljednjeg Božjeg Poslanika Muhammeda, a.s. (632.n.e) u Medini, Arabiji, gdje su muslimani većinsko stanovništvo različitih rasa i nacija. Pod vladavinom halife (arapski *khalīfah*, „nasljednik"), koji je imao svjetovnu, a ponekad i određeni stepen duhovne vlasti, carstvo *khilāfeta* je brzo raslo osvajanjem tokom prva dva stoljeća. Tako je carstvo *khilāfeta* uključivalo veći dio jugozapadne Azije, sjeverne Afrike i Španije. Dinastičke borbe su kasnije dovele do propadanja *khilāfeta* tako da je ta globalna muslimanska institucija prestala da postoji kao funkcionalna političko-civilna i duhovna institucija muslimana mongolskim upadom u Bagdad 1258.

[17] Šams al-Dīn Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1350) je poznat po svom doprinosu u očuvanju autohtone islamske tradiciji kroz svoje tumačenje Kur'ana te striktne analize *sunnetskih*-vjerovjesničkih predaja (*fiqh al-sunnah*). Značajna su njegova djela: *Al-Kalām al-ṭayyib wa al-ʾamal al-ṣaliḥ* („Lijepa riječ i dobar posao"); *Madāridž al-sālikīn*, što je tumačenje i komentar na knjigu: *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* od Šeykha ʾAbdullaha al-Anṣārija al-Harawija.

[18] Osmanski *khilāfet* je bio posljednji globalno priznati *khilāfet*. Ukinut je 3. marta 1924. (27. redžeb 1342. po Hidžri) dekretom Velike narodne skupštine Turske. To je bila jedna od Atatürkovih radikalnih reformi nakon ukidanja Osmanskog carstva i uspostave Republike Turske 1923. god. Ankara je te godine proglašena glavnim gradom, a 29. 10. 1923. proglašena je Republika Turska s prvim predsjednikom Kemal-pašom, koji je ukinuo šerijatske sudove i medrese te proglasio *Novi ustav*, čime je započela preobrazba Turske u sekularnu državu.

[19] Muhammad ibn ʾAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Sulaymān al-Tamīmī (1703–1792) je bio islamski učenjak, teolog, propovjednik, aktivista, vjerski vođa, reformator i teolog u Nedždu, u centralnoj Arabiji. Nastojao je oživjeti i pročistiti islam od onoga što je smatrao neislamskim narodnim vjerskim novotarijama i običajima vraćajući se na ono što je na temeljnim načelima islamske religije. Njegova djela su općenito bila kratka, puna citata iz Kur'ana i *Ḥadītha*, kao što je njegova glavna i najistaknutija teološka rasprava, *Kitāb al-tawḥīd* („Knjiga o monoteizmu").

[20] Rasprave o idealnim državama dobivaju oblik ovisno o vremenu nastanka. Platonova Država potječe iz razdoblja društvenog



ILLUSTRATION ~ Unknown Anonymous Greek artist, *Portrait of Sultan Mahmud II enthroned*. Istanbul, beginning of the 19th century.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Nepoznati anonimni grčki umjetnik, *Portret sultana Mahmuda II na prijestolju*. Istanbul, početak 19 stoljeća.

Therefore, we are confronted here with another essential difference between utopian thought in Europe and utopian-*ṭūbāwiyya* thought among Muslims.[▼15] Namely, Europe had no choice but to go through the essential catharsis of its dark medieval past, which is rightly called the "dark age", followed by the "bright age" or the Enlightenment, while for Muslims that time was and remains the "bright age" of Muslim history, which has become “dark” due to the colonization of the area, where Muslims felt safe and prosperous. For both of these great crises in Muslim history, one had to blame someone other than the colonizers themselves, for the Baghdad the Mongols and for Istanbul the Europeans, but also to find a savior who knew the way back to the lost place, where victory and glory awaited the Muslims. In this process of looking for the "culprit" and "savior" to get out of the crisis, a process that takes a long time, it is easier for some to find the culprit than the savior.

One of these culprits is Imam Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī, who was known to the great *ulamāʿ* of Samarkand in the tenth century as: *'Imām al-hudā'*, *''Alam al-hudā'*, *Imām al-mutakallimīn'*, *'Musaḥḥiḥ ʿaqā'id al-muslimīn'*, *'Raʾīs ahl al-sunnah'*.

▼15 Discussions about ideal states take shape depending on the time of their creation. Plato's State originates from the period of social disintegration after the Peloponnesian War. Therefore, its sharpness is probably partly caused by the hopeless circumstances that Plato witnessed. From Aristotle we learn about utopia, which was described by Hippodamus of Miletus, a great architect, urban planner and sociologist. He realized that a city can be more than just a group of houses, squares and temples, so he began to deal with the issue of social order. The period of disorder and violence of Thomas More, who laid the foundations for his imagined state, is similar to Plato's testimony. Utopia was a bridge by which he tried to connect the order of the Middle Ages with the new customs of the Renaissance. The utopia of the Renaissance authors arose from the great contrast of new possibilities on the other side ocean and the conditions that accompanied the collapse of the economy of medieval cities. As Plato's State, they tried to deal with the problem of transition.

Compare, Mumford, Lewis: ***History of Utopia***. Publishing house Jesenski i Turk, Zagreb, 2008, p.10; Fourier, Charles: ***Civilization and the new social world***. School book, Zagreb, 1980, p.159.

kroz suštinsku katarzu svoje mračne srednjovjekovne prošlosti, koja se s pravom naziva "mračnim dobom", nakon čega slijedi "svijetlo doba" ili „prosvjetiteljstvo“, dok je za muslimane to vrijeme bilo i ostalo "svijetlo doba" muslimanske historije, doba koje je postalo "mračno" zbog kolonizacije područja, gdje su se muslimani osjećali sigurno i prosperitetno. Za obje ove velike krize u muslimanskoj historiji trebalo je okriviti nekog drugog osim sâmih kolonizatora, za Bagdad Mongole a za Istanbul Evropljane, ali i pronaći spasitelja, koji je znao put nazad na izgubljeno mjesto, gdje muslimane čeka izgubljena slava. U ovom procesu traženja "krivca" i "spasitelja" za izlazak iz krize, procesu koji dugo traje, nekima je lakše pronaći krivca nego spasitelja.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ *Bagdad: psihološki danak najnapadanijeg grada na svijetu*. Ilustracija iz Jami al-Tawarikha Rashida al-Dina prikazuje Hulagu Khanove snage kako jurišaju na Bagdad 1258.

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rasula nakon Peloponeskog rata. Stoga je njena britkost vjerojatno dijelom uzrokovana beznadnim prilikama kojima je Platon svjedočio. Od Aristotela saznajemo o utopiji, koju je opisao Hipodam iz Mileta, veliki arhitekt, urbanist i sociolog. Shvatio je da grad može biti više od puke skupine kuća, trgova i hramova, pa se počeo baviti i pitanjem društvenog poretka. U sličnom s Platonovim svjedočenjem je i razdoblje nereda i nasilja Thomasa Morea, koji je napravio temelje za svoju zamišljenu državu. *Utopija* je bila most kojim je pokušao spojiti poredak srednjeg vijeka s novim običajima renesanse. *Utopija* renesansnih autora nastala je iz velikog kontrasta novih mogućnosti s druge strane okeana i uvjeta, koji su pratili slom gospodarstva srednjovjekovnih gradova. Kao i Platonova *Država*, pokušavali su izaći na kraj s problemom tranzicije.

Usporedi, Lewis Mumford: ***Povijest Utopija***. Naklada Jesenski i Turk, Zagreb, 2008., str.10.; Charles Fourier. ***Civilizacija i novi socijetarni svijet***, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1980., str.159.

But after more than a millennium (1108 H, 1075 M) this honorary title of Imam al-Māturīdī was annulled by Abū Abdullah Shamsuddin bin Muḥammad Ashraf (1420), known as al-Shams al-Salafī al-Afghanī of Pashtun. Namely, al-Shams al-Salafī decided to study *ʿaqīda* of Imam al-Māturīdī, which seemed to him corrupt and inappropriate to *ʿaqīdat al-salaf*. I am not omitting the attribute of *al-ṣalih* here, but it is al-Shams al-Salafī, who obviously believes that the term "*al-salafī*" means everything, especially that you are the only saved group (*al-firqah al-nājiyah*) under that name and that, therefore, you should be against (*al-* who are not *Salafis* in the al-Shams al-Salafī al-Afghani way. It does not matter whether you are *al-ṣalih* or not. What matters is that you are *Salafi* in accordance to the al-Shams al-Salafī al-Afghani's mind. He wrote his master's thesis at the Islamic University of



ILLUSTRATION ~ *Baghdad: the psychological toll of being the world's most attacked city*. An illustration from the Jami al-Tawarikh by Rashid al-Din shows Hulagu Khan's forces storming Baghdad in 1258.

Medina in 1989 under the working title: "The attitude of the Al-Māturīdiyya on the *tawḥīd* of God's names and attributes").[16] One would have hoped to learnt about the great representatives of the ***Ahl-i Sunni-Jama'ah***, the Imam al-Māturīdī, who for some reason was neglected in the *ʿaqā'īd* dispute, where the Ash'arite *ʿaqā'īd* school predominated, but al-Shams al-Salafī experiences a kind of Copernican turn, so that correct becomes incorrect in his mind, and what was considered good becomes bad. Then, al-Shams al-Salafī changed the working title of

[16] *See,* Shams al-Salafī al-Afghānī: ***'Adā' al-Māturīdiyya li al-'aqīda al-salafīyya***, 3 vols. (al-Ṭā'if : al-Ṣa'īq, 1419/1998), I: 39.

Jedan od tih „krivaca“ je Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī iz Samarkanda, koji je zasluženo dobio počasne titule: ‘*Imām al-hudā*’, (*Vođa pravoga puta*); ‘*ʾAlam al-hudā*’ (*Znak za pravi put*); *Imām al-mutakallimīn*’ (*Čelnik muslimanskih teologa*); ‘*Musaḥḥiḥ ʾaqā’id al-muslimīn*’ (*Obnovitelj muslimanskih doktrina*);‘*Ra’īs ahl al-sunnah*' (*Glava sunnitskog islama*).



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī (853.-944.) se smatra jednim od pionira islamske jurisprudencije i kuranske egezegeze.
ILLUSTRATION ~ Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī (853-944) is considered one of the pioneers of Islamic jurisprudence and Qur'anic exegesis.

Naime, nakon više od jednog milenija, tačnije hiljadu sto osam godina po *Hidžri* i hiljadu sedamdeset pet godina po *Mīlādu*, ove počasne titule Imāma al-Māturīdīja pokušao je, iz čiste pakosti, poništiti Abū Abdullah Šamsuddīn bin Muḥammad Ašraf, poznat kao al-Šams al-Salafī al-Afghānī od Paštuna. On je odlučio proučiti *ʾaqīdu* Imāma al-Māturīdīja, koju je zatim ocijenio krivom i neprikladnom za *ʾaqīdat al-salaf*. Ovdje izostavljam atribut *al-ṣāliḥ* jer al-Šams al-Salafī vjeruje da je izraz "*al-salafī*" dovoljan da znači da je neko u „spašenoj grupi“ (*al-firqah al- nādžiyah*) te da, prema tome, treba da bude protiv onih koji nisu *al-salafī* na al-Shams al-Salafī al-Afghānijin način. Stoga, nije važno da li je neko *al-ṣāliḥ* ili nije *al-ṣāliḥ*. Ono što je važno je da ima oznaku „*al-salafī*“, kako misli al-Šams al-Salafī al-Afghānī, koji je napisao svoj magistarski rad na Islamskom univerzitetu u Medini 1989. god. pod radnim naslovom: *Stav al-Māturīdiyya o tawḥīdu Božijih imena i atributa.*[▾21] Neko bi se mogao ponadati

[▾21] *Vidi,* Šams al-Salafī al-Afghānī: ***‘Adā’ al-Māturīdiyya li al-‘aqīda al-salafiyya***. 3 toma, al-Ṭā’if, al-Ṣa‘īq, 1419/1998), I: 39.

his master's thesis to the official title: ***Enmity of the Al-Māturīdiyya towards the Salafi aqīda - their history and madhhab on Divine attributes.***

The logic is clear: if you don't have an enemy, invent it. That is how al-Shams al-Salafī does it. In three large volumes, each of 600 or more pages, al-Shams al-Salafī exposes the mockery of Imam al-Māturīdī, his disciples and followers, of whom Muhammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī (1879–1952) is his favorite target because, as al-Shams al-Salafī says, al-Kawtharī[17] was the restorer (*mujaddid*) of the Imam al-Māturīdī school.[18]

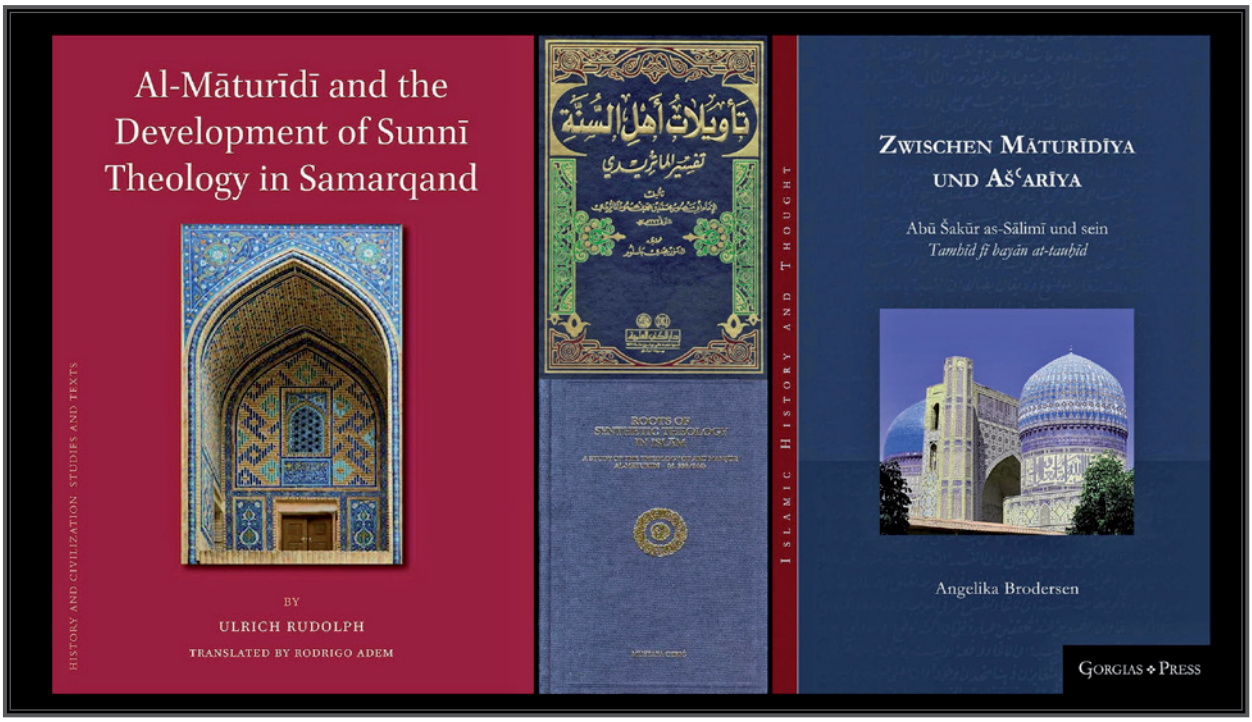


ILLUSTRATION ~ Some of the critical views on the work of Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī - Cover of al-Maturīdī's *Tafsir*.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Neki od kritičkih pogleda na djelo Imāma Abū Manṣūra al-Maturīdīja - Naslovnica knjige al-Maturīdījinog *Tafsira*.

Al-Shams al-Salafī is not only biasedly incorrect against Imam al- Māturīdī, but he is much more aggressively biased in praising himself because all failed in defending the *Salafi ʿaqīda* except him, who was chosen and called to defend the *Ummah* from the dangers of those who are called to defend Muḥammad's (a.s.) *Shirʿah* Norm and *Minhāj* the Way of life , but they are not doing so. They are, Al-Shams al-Salafī claims, more dangerous than all, even more than Jews and Christians, who are not concerned with *al-ʿaqīda* among Muslims. The fight against the *al-bidʿat fī al-ʿaqīdah*, as seen by al-Shams al-al-Salafī, is more important and valuable than *jihād* itself and that is why he left the jihād in Afghanistan and came to Medina to write his master's thesis against the al-Māturīdī *aqīda*,

[17] Muḥammad Zāhid b. Ḥasan al-Kawtharī (1879–1952) was an aide to the last Sheikh-l-Islam of the Ottoman Empire, He was a polymath.

[18] ***Ibid***, p. 20.

da bi to mogla biti ozbiljna studija o *ehl-i sunnitskoj* ortodoksnoj teologiji u misli i djelu velikog vođe Pravoga Puta za muslimane, Imāma Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdije iz Samarkanda, koji je, iz nekog razloga, bio zanemaren u *ʾaqāʾīdskim* raspravama, gdje je prevladavala *ašʿaritska ʾaqāʾīdska* škola.[22] No, al-Šams al-Salafī doživljava neku vrstu kopernikanskog obrta, tako da u njegovoj glavi to što je oduvijek u māturīdiskoj školi bilo i ostalo ispravno postaje neispravno, a ono što je oduvijek bilo i ostalo dobro i korisno postaje loše i štetno. Zbog toga, al-Šams al-Salafī mijenja radni naslov svog magistarskog rada u službeni naslov: *'Adā' al-māturīdiyya li al-'aqīdah al-salafīyyah - al-māturīdiyya wa mawqifuhum min tawḥīd al-'asmā' wa al-ṣifāt* („*Neprijateljstvo al-māturīdita prema selefijskoj ʾaqīdi (teološkoj doktrini) - njihov stav o jadnoći Božjih imena i atributa*").

Logika je jasna: ako nemaš neprijatelja, izmisli ga. Tako to radi al-Šams al-Salafī. U tri velika toma, svaki od 600 ili više stranica, al-Šams al-Salafī izlaže ruglu Imām al-Māturīdija, kao i njegove učenike i sljedbenike, od kojih mu je Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī[23] omiljena meta jer je, kako kaže al-Šams al-Salafī, bio obnovitelj (*mudžaddid*) škole Imām al-Māturīdija.

Al-Šams al-Salafī ne samo da je pristrasno netačan protiv Imām al-Māturīdīja, već je mnogo agresivnije pristrasan u hvaljenju samog sebe jer niko nije uspio obraniti *selefijsku ʾaqīdu* (dogmu) osim njega. On smatra da je pozvan da brani muslimanski u*mmet* od opasnosti onih, koji su dužni da brane Muḥammedov (a.s.) *Širʾah* (Normu) i *Minhādž* (Način života), ali oni to ne čine. Oni su, tvrdi al-Šams al-Salafī, opasniji i od Jevreja i od kršćana jer se ne brinu o stanju *ʾaqīde* među muslimanima. Borba protiv *ʾaqīdat bidʾata* (izmišljene dogme u vjeri) je važnija i vrjednija od samog *džihāda*. Zato je al-Šams al-Salafī al-Afghānī napustio *džihād* u Afganistanu i došao u Medinu da napiše svoj magistarski rad protiv *ʾaqīde* Imāma al-Māturīdīje, kao najviši čin *īmān*/vjere u borbi protiv sablasti māturīdījske *ʾaqīde*, koja kruži nad muslimanima.

Dakle, ova najnovija kriza među muslimanima liči na krizu Ibn Taymiyya i Muḥammada bin ʾAbd al-Wahhaba, ali je posebna po tome što je samo-iznuđena ili samo-promovirana kao unutrašnja kriza uma i motiv individualnih ili grupnih interesa u distribuciji naslijeđenog duhovnog blaga ili puteva do izvora ili vrela čiste i vječne riječi Božje, puteva koje interesne grupe međusobno blokiraju tako da svi ostaju i bez otvorenog puta i bez jasnog cilja ka obećanom spasenju. Zaista, bila je plemenita ideja 1960-ih godina časnih muslimanskih kraljeva, vladara i učenih umova da se osnuju tri referentna islamska univerziteta za obuku mladih ljudi, zasnovanih na autentičnoj islamskoj sunnitskoj nauci

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[22] Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ašʾarī (873-936) se smatra jednim od tri muslimanska teologa, koji su integrirali i sistematizirali racionalističku metodologiju u teološku misao islama. Druga dvojica su Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Maturīdī i Imām Abū Jaʾfar al-Ṭahāwī (843- 933). Iako među njima samima nije bilo nikakvog rivalstva, njihovi kasniji učenici i sljedbenici su često vodili polemiku između samih sebe o njihovom navodnom rivalstvu, naročito između *ašʿaritske* i maturīdijske škole unutar *ehl-i sunnetske*-ortodokne teologije, poput polemike, koju vodi Šams al-Salafī al-Afghānī.

[23] Muḥammad Zāhid b. Ḥasan al-Kawtharī al-Hanefi al-Ashʾari al-Naqshbandi (1879–1952), bio je pomoćnik *šeykhu-l-islam* Mustafi Sabriju, posljednjeg *šeykhu-l-islamu* Osmanske carevine i glavni hanefijski pravnik, kojeg je hvalio Imām Muḥammad Abū Zahrah u Egiptu, kao obnovitelja (*mudžaddida*) četrnaestog stoljeća islama.

as the highest act of *īmān/faith* for the specter of a guilty *ʿaqīda* haunting over Muslim heads. This latest crisis among Muslims bears a resemblance to the crises of Ibn Taymiyyah and Abdul-l-Wahhābi, but it is special in that it is self-extorted or self-promoted as an internal crisis of mind and motive of individual or group interests in the distribution of inherited spiritual treasures or paths to springs or springs of the pure and eternal word of God, paths that interest groups block from each other so that all remain both without an open path and without a clear goal to the promised salvation. It was, indeed, a noble idea in the 1960s from noble royal and *ulamāʿ* minds to raise three reference Islamic universities to train young people based on authentic Islamic Sunni science from the Qur'an and Sunnah in Saudi Arabia, Medina; Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur; and Nigeria, Abuja.[19]

Two projects have become successful: in Kuala Lumpur and in Medina.[20] Many of our Bosnian students also studied at the Islamic University in Malaysia and Medina. Many of them today occupy important positions in our state and society. The Islamic theological school could not, and never will be reduced to only one Path to the source or fountain of the pure and eternal word of God, but the idea of *Tawḥīd*, defined for each of you the Norma (*Shirʿah*) and the The way of life (*Minhāj*), to remain forever the same alive, as Medina will remain forever *hudā* and *nūr* for all Muslims and for all followers of Imam al-Māturīdī:

May Allah's mercy be upon him, his disciples,
his followers and all who read his noble ideas of *Tawḥīd*.



[19] In the wake of realizing the impacts left by colonialization, modernity and globalization, Islamic scholars have been continuously putting on their efforts to address the issues of contextualizing Islam in the waves of emerging novel ways of thinking and perspectives. Muslim scholars since Muhammad ʻAbduh had been looking for the ample approach to accommodate the modern thoughts within the boundaries of Islamic teachings resulting idea in the 1960s three reference Islamic universities to train young people. Although the real measurement for success of such approaches in addressing the gap between the Islamic world and the West has not been duly agreed upon, the echoes of the calls from scholars to continue marching have been resonating well within the Islamic scholarly circles. More about Muhammad 'Abduh see, Adams, Charles Clarence: ***Muhammad Abduh : Biography, in: Islam and Modernism in Egypt***, Volume 10, Taylor & Francis, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 1933.

[20] The *Islamic Science University of Malaysia* or better known as USIM is a unique public university, offering double major academic programmes from a variety of fields that integrate the *Naqli* and *Aqli* knowledge. USIM is also the only public university where Islamization of knowledge is addressed in all its academic programmes, reviving the Islamic Renaissance. The *Islamic University of Madinah*, established in 1961, is a medium-sized men only Saudi Arabian higher education institution formally affiliated with the Islamic religion. University students may study *Sharia*, *Qur'an*, *Usul al-din* and *Hadith*, while non-native speakers may also study Arabic language. The university offers Bachelor of Arts, Master's and Doctorate degrees.

na temelju Kur'ana i Sunneta u Medini, Kraljevina Saudijska Arabija, u Kuala Lumpuru, Malezija i u Abudži, Nigerija.[▾24]

Dva projekta su postala uspješna: u Kuala Lumpuru i u Medini.[▾25] Mnogi naši bosanski studenti su također studirali na Islamskom univerzitetu u Maleziji i Medini. Mnogi od njih danas zauzimaju važne pozicije u našoj državi i društvu. Islamska teološka škola se nije mogla, niti će se ikada moći svesti na samo jedan *Put ka izvoru ili izvoru čiste i vječne riječi Božije*, već je ideja *tawḥīda*, definirana za svakog od nas/vas kao „Norma" (*Širʿah*) i „Način života" (*Minhādž*), kako bi ostala živa i djelotvorna kao što će i Medina zauvijek ostati *hudā*, uputa, i *nūr*, svjetlo, za sve muslimane i za sve sljedbenike Imāma al-Māturīdīja:

Neka je Allahova milost na njega, njegove učenike,
njegove sljedbenike i sve koji čitaju njegove plemenite ideje o *Tawḥīdu*.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Međunarodni univerzitet Al Madina u Maleziji.
ILLUSTRATION ~ Al Madinah International University in Malezija.

[▾24] U svjetlu shvaćanja utjecaja kolonizacije, modernosti i globalizacije, islamski učenjaci kontinuirano ulažu napore da se pozabave pitanjima kontekstualizacije islama u talasima novih načina razmišljanja i perspektiva koji se pojavljuju. Muslimanski učenjaci od Muhameda Abduha tražili su širok pristup kako bi moderne misli smjestili unutar granica islamskih učenja, što je rezultiralo idejom 1960-ih o tri referentna islamska univerziteta za obuku mladih. Iako stvarna mjera uspjeha ovakvih pristupa u rješavanju jaza između islamskog svijeta i Zapada nije propisno usaglašena, odjeci poziva učenjaka da se nastavi marš dobro odjekuju u islamskim naučnim krugovima.

Vidi, Charles Adams: *„**Muhammad Abduh Biografija**", **Islam i modernizam u Egiptu***. Tom 10, Taylor & Francis, Abingdon, Oxfordshire, 1933.

[▾25] Islamski naučni univerzitet Malezije ili poznatiji kao USIM je jedinstveni javni univerzitet, koji nudi dvostruke glavne akademske programe iz različitih oblasti koje integriraju *Naqli* i *ʿAqli* znanje. USIM je također jedini javni univerzitet na kojem se islamizacija znanja bavi u svim svojim akademskim programima, oživljavajući islamsku renesansu. Islamski univerzitet u Medini, osnovan 1961. godine, je visokoškolska ustanova srednje veličine za muškarce u Saudijskoj Arabiji.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Madinah al Munawarah- Islamic University of Medinah.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Madinah al Munawarah - Islamski univerzitet u Medini.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Ši'īzam i sunizam se u temeljnim stvarima vjere ne razilaze, tako da nikakve razlike ne postoje oko obavljanja hadža (mjesto i vrijeme mira i tolerancije), odnosno hodočašća muslimana u Mekku.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Shi'ism and Sunnism do not differ in fundamental matters of faith, so there are no differences regarding the performance of the *Hajj* (a place and time of peace and tolerance), or the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.

II
U potrazi za al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ umjesto kvazi-selefijske ideologije

Ideja *salafa* je plemenita. Jer, bez *salafa*, tj. autohtonih predaka, *khalaf*, tj., autohtonih potomci ne bi znali svoj pravi identitet zato što je identitet „kontinuitet pamćenja", a pamćenje, posebno vjersko i duhovno, čuvaju *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, dobri i brižni preci. Dakle, *salaf*, odnosno preci kao paradigma *khalafah*, tj., potomaka, su nezaobilazni u definiranju i očuvanju unutrašnjeg i vanjskog identiteta *khalafah*, potomaka.

Dakle, niko nema monopol na *salaf* jer je to muslimansko zajedničko vlasništvo individualnog i kolektivnog identiteta kao „kontinuiteta pamćenja" načela vjere, historije, sudbine, svrhe života i kao pamćenja prava na uspjeh ovdje i sada te na spas tamo i onda. Dakle, niko ne bi trebao biti otuđen od prava da se izjasni da pripada *salafu*, kao njegovim/njezinim duhovnim zakonitim precima.

Na osnovu ove premise, svi muslimani imaju pravo tvrditi da pripadaju dobrom naslijeđu dobrog *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, ali niko nema pravo da monopolizira ovu časnu titulu izopćenjem onih koji nisu u skladu s njihovim mišljenjem o određenim pitanjima, uključujući i ona mišljenja koja se odnose na razumijevanje samog značenja *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*. Ne postoji nijedan pravi muslimanski *ʾālum*, učenjak, koji bi se svjesno odrekao svojih *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, „dobrih predaka". Naprotiv, svaki savjesni i odgovorni muslimanski *ʾālum*, učenjak, je bio a i sada je ponosan što pripada i slijedi put svojih časnih predaka, *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, vjerujući da se tako ubraja u grupu pravovjernih koju su spašeni (*al-firqah a-nādžiyah*).

Međutim, muslimanski učenjaci su danas suočeni sa kvazi-slafijskom ideologijom, koja teži da zatruje duh i tijelo originalnosti ideje *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, dobrog i pozitivnog sjećanja na salaf, kao srž muslimanskog identiteta. Zato nam je danas, potreban duh i um Imāma Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdīja, kao i duh al-Māturīdījevih učenika i sljedbenika iz prošlosti za rješenje sadašnjih duhovnih, intelektualnih i politička kriza muslimanskog *ummeta*.

Upravo je to što pokušavam u ovom radu – pokazati al-Māturīdījevu istinsku metodološku razradu sintetičke sunnitske teologije, kao i originalni epistemološki okvir za sintezu *Naql* (Tradicije) i *ʾAql* (Razuma). Stoga, ovdje donosim u italiku izvode iz moje doktorske disertacije, koju sam obranio na Čikaškom univerzitetu pred uglednim profesorom Fazlur Rahmanom 1986. god. pod naslovom

II
In the Search of al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ Instead of the Quasi-Salafi Ideology

The idea of *salaf* is a noble one. For, without a *salaf*, i.e. the autochthon ancestors, the *khalaf*, i.e. the autochthon descendants would not know their proper identity because the identity is "a continuity of memory", and the memory, especially religious and spiritual one is preserved by *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, the good and caring ancestors. Thus, the *salaf*, i.e. the ancestors as a paradigm of the *khalaf*, i.e. the descendants are indispensable in defining and keeping the *khalaf's* internal and external identity.

Hence, no one has monopoly on the *salaf* as it is a Muslim shared property of individual as well as of collective identity as "the continuity of memory" of the tenets of faith, of the knowledge of history, of the sense of destiny, of the purpose of life and of the right to a success here in this world and to a salvation in the hereafter. Therefore, no one should be alienated from the right to identify himself/herself from belonging to the salaf as his/her rightful predecessors.

Based on this premise, we all as Muslims have the right to claim that we belong to the good heritage of the good *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ,* but no one has the right to monopolize this noble title by excommunicating those who are not in the line of his/her point of you about certain issues, including those opinions pertaining to the understanding of the very meaning of *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*. There is no genuine Muslim *ʿālum*, scholar, who alienated himself from *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*. On the contrary, every ʿālum, scholar was proud to claim that he followed the path of *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* and believed that he was part of *al-firqah a-nājiyah*, the saved group.

However, the Muslim scholars are confronted today with a *quasi-slafī* ideology, which tends to poison the spirit and body of the originality of the idea of *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*, the good and positive memory of the *salaf* as the core of the Muslim identity. This is why we need today, as our remote ancestor, Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī's spirit and mind as well as the spirit of the al-Māturīdī's of teachings, i.e. the Māturīdīyyah of the past for the solution of the present spiritual, intellectual and political crisis of the *Ummah*.

This is exactly what we are trying to do in this paper - to show the al-Māturīdī's genuine methodological working out of a synthetic Sunni theology as well as an original epistemological framework for a synthesis of the *Naql* (Tradition) and *ʿAql* (Reason). Here I bring some extracts from my doctoral dissertation at the University of Chicago

„Studija teologije Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdīja".[▾26] Rezultat ove disertacije nije samo otkriće ortodoksne sunnitske teološke doktrine, koja dolazi zajedno sa al-ʾAšaʾri-jevom, kao i al-Ṭahawijevom sunnitskom teologijom, već je i smjernica za istinsku *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* teologiju protiv kvazi-*selefijske* ideologije. Ako je ova smjernica bila primjenjiva u prošlosti, to znači da može biti izvodljiva i u sadašnjosti. Razumijem da proučavanje naslijeđa duha i uma Imāma Abū Manṣūra al-Māturīdīja u Taškentu ima za cilj upravo to - promovirati sunnitsku teologiju *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* protiv kvazi-selefijske ideologije.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Memorijalni kompleks Imama al-Maturidija na groblju Chokardiza ("Chokar" znači "vojska", "Disa" znači tvrđava) u Samarkandu. Veliki imam i poznati filozof i teolog borio se za čistoću islama.

ILLUSTRATION ~ The memorial complex of Imam al-Maturidi in the cemetery Chokardiza ("Chokar" means "army", "Disa" means a fortress) in Samarkand. The grand Imam and famous philosopher and theologian fought for the purity of Islam.

[▾26] Mustafa Ceric: ***Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī (d.333/944)***. ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, 1995. Bosanski prijevod: *Korijeni sintetičke teologije u islamu: Abu Mensur el-Maturidi (853-944)*, El-kalem, Sarajevo, 1433/2012.

1986 titled **"A Study of the Theology of Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī".**[21] The result of this dissertation was not only a discovery of an orthodox Sunni theological doctrine, which comes along with al-Asha'rī's as well as al-Ṭahāwi's Sunni theology, but also it is a guideline for a genuine *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* theology against the quasi-*slafī* ideology. If this guideline was workable in the past, it means that it can be workable at the present. I understand that the study of the legacy of Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī's spirit and mind in Tashkent is aimed at promoting exactly the Sunni theology of *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* against quasi-slafī ideology.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Stone inscriptions of Imam al-Maturidi's original ideas are located inside the Imam al-Maturidi Memorial Complex at Chokardiza Cemetery in Samarkand.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Zapisi na kamenu originalnih ideja Imama al-Maturidija nalaze se unutar Memorijalnog kompleksa Imama al-Maturidija na groblju Chokardiza u Samarkandu.

[21] Mustafa Ceric, ***Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī (d.333/944)***. ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, 1995.

III
U svjetlu sinteze Imāma al-Māturīdīja između Naqla i 'Aql

1. *Vjernička pokornost (ṭā'ah)*

Premda ideja o vjerničkoj pokornosti (ṭā'ah) pretpostavlja tradicionalni pristup teološkim pitanjima, ona nije lišena razuma. Jer, čovjek mora imati razloge i za odanos tradiciji. U ranom je razdoblju islama misao o bezupitnoj pokornosti (ṭā'ah) bila prihvaćena, prvo, zato što se usmjerila na negaciju postojeće tradicije u Arabiji, i, drugo, što muslimanska zajednica još nije bila izložena ni unutarnjim nesuglasjima, niti spoljnim utjecajima. To se može objasniti činjenicom da su prve generacije u islamu vidjele hem obnavljanje zaboravljenog monoteizma hem dokidanje postojećih društvenih nepravdi. Živjeli su opravdano u nadi da će islam donijeti bolji život na ovom i osigurati sreću na budućem svijetu. Da bi se postigla ova dva cilja, trebalo je s vjerom i pokornošću prihvatiti viziju o boljem svijetu. Prema tome, već sama misao da islam dolazi iz autentičnog Božanskog izvora i da nudi drugačije i bolje pretrpostavke za jedan moralni i društveni sistem, bila je dovoljno snažna da je rana muslimanska zajednica bezupitno prihvati. Kada govorimo o ranom razdoblju islamske teologije kao pokornosti (ṭā'ah), mislimo na potpunu predanost muslimana teorijskim premisama islama, bez svjesnog propitivanja o mogućim logičkim proturječnostima. Ovo, međutim, ne znači potpunu iracionalnost, već radije prihvatanje stava da je razum nedostatan da objasni sva pitanja. Na temelju ove tvrdnje možemo objasniti i doktrinu imama Malika o suzdržanom i nepitajućem bilā kajfa načelu kojemu su sunnitski teolozi često pribjegavali kad god bi uvidjeli da nema racionalnog objašnjenja za određeno teološko pitanje.[▾27]

[▾27] Imām Mālik ibn Anas (711–795) je muslimanski *faqīh-mudžtahid*, samostalni pravnik i tradicionalni teolog. Rođen u Medini, Imām Mālik se uzdigao i postao glavni poznavatelj i prenositelj Poslanikovih *ḥadītha*, koje je nastojao primijeniti na "cijeli pravni život" kako bi napravio sistematsku metodu muslimanske jurisprudencije, koja se dalje širila. Njegovi suvremenici nazivaju ga "Imāmom Medine." Imām Mālikovi stavovi u oblasti jurisprudencije su bili veoma cijenjeni kako u njegovom životu, tako i kasnije, te je postao osnivač jedne od četiri škole sunnitskog prava.

Vidi, „***Malikije***" J. Schacht, Enciklopedija islama. Drugo izdanje, (ur.) P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online. Dostupno na: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2. Pristupljeno 21.5.2021.; Haddad, Gibril F.: ***Četiri imama i njihove škole***. Muslim Academic Trust, London, 2007., str. 121.

III
In the Light of Imām al-Māturīdī's Synthesis of Naql - 'Aql Tensions

1. *Faithful Obedience (Ṭāʾah)*

Although the idea of Ṭāʿah (obedience) assumes the traditional or irrational approach to problems, in this case to religious or theological problems, it is not completely devoid of Reason. For one must also have a justification for adopting this traditional approach of Ṭāʿah. In the case of the early stage of Islam, this Ṭāʿah was adopted, first, second, because the community was not yet exposed either to internal conflict or external influences.

This first aspect may be further elaborated by the fact that the early Muslim generations saw in Islam both the resumption of primordial monotheism and, more importantly, the removal of old social injustice. They thus lived in the hope that Islam would provide a better life both here and in the hereafter. To attain either of these two goals, one had obediently to accept the new perspective because it comes not from immediate experience but was supposed to create one. Thus, on the one hand, the very idea that Islam came from authentic divine source, and, on the other, that it was different from the existing ethical, social and political system, had enough force to gain the total acceptance of the early Muslim community.

When we speak of the early stage of Islamic theology as Ṭāʿah, we mean the total commitment of Muslims to the theoretical premises of Islam, without consciously questioning their implications or their possible logical conflicts. This, however, does not mean complete irrationality, but rather an acceptance of the idea that Reason is short of explaining everything. On the basis of this assertion we may explain Imam Malik's doctrine of bilā kayf (a non-committal or non-questioning) attitude to which the Sunni theologians often had recourse when they saw that there was no rational explanation for a certain theological proposition.[▼22]

[▼22] Malik ibn Anas, reverently known as *al-Imām Mālik* (711–795) by Sunni Muslims, was an Arab Muslim jurist, theologian, and *ḥadīth* traditionist. Born in the city of Medina, Malik rose to become the premier scholar of prophetic traditions in his day, which he sought to apply to "the whole legal life" in order to create a systematic method of Muslim jurisprudence which would only further expand with the passage of time. Referred to as the "Imam of Medina" by his contemporaries, Malik's views in matters of jurisprudence were highly cherished both in his own life and afterwards, and he became the founder of one of the four schools of Sunni law, the Maliki.

Schacht, J.: ***Mālik b. Anas***; in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second Edition, (ed.) P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Brill Online. Available at:

2. *Objašnjenje (bajān)*

Sve dok nije postojao vidljiv sukob unutar muslimanske zajednice načelo vjerničke pokornosti (ṭā'ah) bio je i razumljiv i snažan. Međutim, kada je izbio niz konflikata unutar zajednice, to načelo je izgubio svoju prvobitnu snagu. Teško je bilo bespogovorno prihvatiti umorstvo halife Osmana,[28] ravnodušno biti svjedokom bitaka kod Deve i na Siffinu,[29] te pokorno prihvatiti tragične događaje na Kerbeli.[30] Zajednica je nastavila svoj život, ali je morala naći bejān (interpretaciju) ovih događaja. To znači da je sada muslimanska zajednica stvarala svoju vlastitu tradiciju, svoju vlastitu povijest u kojoj su neki događaji bili nespojivi s temeljnim islamskim načelima. Nadalje, brzina ovih događaja nije ostavljala mnogo vremena za mirno prosuđivanje nego se tražio brz odgovor na teško pitanje: tko je kriv, a tko ispravan u ovim krvavim borbama, odnosno kakav je odnos između teorije i prakse u islamu. Prva reakcija na ovu dilemu došla je od haridžija koji su, revoltirani nepravednošću Mu'avije i uznemireni neodlučnošću Alije b. Ebi Taliba,[31] proglasili obje strane krivima te prema tome izrazili isključivu teološku presudu da musliman koji počini tečki grijeh ne može više biti legitimnim članom muslimanske zajednice. To je, dalje, otvorilo put nizu drugih isključivih teoloških stajališta. Pojavljuje se glas murdžija koji je dodatno opteretio teologiju s političkim konformizmom naspram umejevićkog režima. Gore od toga bijaše pojava Abdullaha ibn Sebe'[32] koji proglasi 'Alī ibn Ebī Tāliba kao inkarnacijom Boga.

Kao što je poznato, ekstremne su teološke grupe nestale tokom islamske povijesti posluživši ortodoksnoj teologiji samo kao loš primjer. Dvije su različite grupe, međutim, preživjele kroz cijelu islamsku povijest i još se čvrsto drže svojih ranijih razlika: riječ je o sunnitima i šī'ītima. Sunniti su uvijek predstavljale glavnu maticu muslimanske zajednice, dok su šī'īti uvijek tražili odgovarajuće mjestu u islamskom svijetu. I kao što su razvili svoju vlastitu političku misao, šī'īti su na isti način ustanovili i svoje vlastitu pravnu školu i svoje teološko učenje. Ovdje je, međutim, naša pažnja usmjerena na razvitak teološke misli kod sunnita više negoli kod šī'īta.

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[28] Vidi, Wilferd Madelung: ***Nasljedstvo Muhameda: studija o ranom kalifatu***. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997., str. 135-138.; Humphreys, R. Stephen (ur.): ***The History of al-Ṭabarī***. Tom XV, *Kriza ranog kalifata: Vladavina ʾUthmana, 644-656/H*. 24–35. SUNY serija u bliskoistočnim studijama. State University of New York Press, Albany, New York, 1990., str. 218.

[29] Bitka kod Ṣiffīna vođena je 657. između ʾAlija ibn Abī Ṭāliba, četvrtog halifa i prvog šiitskog imama, i Muʾawija ibn Abū Sufjana, pobunjenog guvernera Sirije. Bitka je dobila ime po svojoj lokaciji *Ṣiffīna* na obalama Eufrata.

[30] Događaji u Kerbeli odražava sukob dobrih i zlih, čestitih i pokvarenih ljudi, gdje su hazreti Husejn, unuk Božjeg Poslanika, i njegova obitelj ubijeni na pravdi Boga. To je, zasigurno, najveća tragedija, koja se dogodila među muslimanima poslije smrti posljednjeg Allahova Poslanika.

[31] ʾAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (600-661) je bio rođak, zet i pratilac Poslanika Muhammeda, a.s.. Vladao je kao četvrti rašidunski halifa od 656. do njegovog ubistva 661. godine. U kasnijoj islamskoj filozofiji, posebno u učenja Mullā Ṣadre (1571–1640) i njegovih sljedbenika, ʾAlijeve izreke i propovijedi sve su se više smatrali središnjim izvorima metafizičkog znanja ili "božanske filozofije".

[32] ʾAbd Allāh ibn Sabāʿ al-Ḥimyarī, bio je lik iz 7. stoljeća u islamskoj historiji povezan s grupom sljedbenika zvanim Sabaʿiyya. Prema sunnitskoj i šiitskoj tradiciji, ʾAbd Allāh ibn Sabāʿ je bio jemenski Jevrej iz arapskog plemena Himyar koji je prešao na islam za vrijeme Osmanove vladavine.

2. *Elucidation (Bayān)*

As long as there was no noticeable internal conflict within the Muslim community, this Ṭāʿah attitude was both justifiable and strong. But, when a series of conflicts erupted within the community, this collective Ṭāʿah lost its previous rationale and strength. It was, for example, hard for all Muslims to accept unquestioningly the assassination of the caliph 'Uthman,[23] *to witness indifferently the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn,*[24] *and to acquiesce obediently to the unfortunate events at Karbalā'.*[25] *Nevertheless, the community had to continue its life, and, therefore, there had to be a Bayān (elucidation or justification) of these unpleasant events. That is to say, the Muslim community had by now created its own tradition, and some events were not compatible with the fundamental principles of Islam on which this tradition was based. Furthermore, the rapidity of these events left no time for calm reasoning or reflection, but required an immediate response to the difficult question as to who was wrong and who right in these bloody struggles or, what was the relationship between Islamic theory and practice. The first reaction to this dilemma came from the Kharijites, who, revolted by the injustice of Mu'āwiya and upset by the indecisiveness of 'Ali b. Abi Ṭālib,*[26] *proclaimed both parties wrong and, consequently, came up with the extreme theological judgement that a Muslim who committed mortal sin can no longer be regarded as a legitimate member of the Muslim community. This, in turn, opened a series of other extreme theological views. In counter-reaction to this Kharijite view came the stance of the Muriji'tes, who, seeing the moral utopianism of the Kharijites, connected their theology with political conformism to the Umayyad regime. Worse than tis Abdullah b. Saba'*[27] *went so far as to proclaim 'Ali b. Ṭālib as incarnation of God.*

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https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2. Accessed 21.5.2021.; Haddad, Gibril F.: ***The Four Imams and Their Schools***. Muslim Academic Trust, London, 2007., p. 121.

[23] The situation worsened on Thursday, 16 June. As Uthman stood in his balcony, Niyar ibn Iyad Aslami, a companion of Muhammad, lectured him from outside and demanded his abdication. In response, one of Marwan's servants threw a stone killing Niyar. Outraged by Uthman's refusal to hand over the attacker, the rebels started preparations to attack. The next day, Friday 17 June, they attacked his house setting the doors on fire. Around the time of mid-day prayers, Uthman was alone inside the house. Some Egyptian rebels climbed the houses of the neighbors and then jumped into Uthman's. According to the account of al-Waqidi (d. 823), Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr held the beard of Uthman threatening to kill him. Uthman rebuked him and asked him to leave. Muhammad pierced his forehead with an arrow. However, in another report Muhammad desisted from killing Uthman after the latter reminded him of his father Abu Bakr. Muhammad then vainly tried defending him from the attackers.

Madelung, Wilferd: ***The Succession to Muhammad : A Study of the Early Caliphate***. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997., pp. 135-138.; Humphreys, R. Stephen (ed.): ***The History of al-Ṭabarī***; in: *Volume XV : The Crisis of the Early Caliphate : The Reign of ʿUthmān, A.D. 644–656/A.H. 24–35.* SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies. State University of New York Press, Albany, New York, 1990., p. 218.

[24] The Battle of Siffin was fought in 657 between Ali ibn Abi Talib, the fourth of the Rashidun Caliphs and the first Shia Imam, and Mu'awiya ibn Abi Sufyan, the rebellious governor of Syria. The battle is named after its location Siffin on the banks of the Euphrates.

[25] The events of Karbala reflect the collision of the good versus the evil, the virtuous versus the wicked, and the collision of Imam Husayn (the head of virtue) versus Yazid (the head of impiety). Al-Husayn was a revolutionary person, a righteous man, the religious authority, the Imam of Muslim Ummah.

[26] ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (600-661) was a cousin, son-in-law and companion of the Islamic prophet Muhammad, a.s.. He ruled as the fourth Rashidun caliph from 656 until his assassination in 661. In later Islamic philosophy, especially in the teachings of Mullā Ṣadrā (1571–1640) and his followers, ʿAlī's sayings and sermons were increasingly regarded as central sources of metaphysical knowledge, or "divine philosophy."

[27] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sabā' al-Ḥimyarī, was a 7th-century figure in Islamic history associated with a group of followers called the Saba'iyya. According to Sunni and Shia tradition, Abd Allah ibn Saba' was a Yemenite Jew from the Arab Himyar tribe who converted

*U početku **sunnizam** je pretpostavljao politički pozitivizam prije negoli teološki sinkretizam ili islamsku ortodoksiju. U stvari, ovaj rani **politički sunnizam** razvio se da bi suzbio **politički teokratizam** ši'ītizma. Na taj način svi oni koji su se protivili **ši'ītskom političkom teokratizmu** smatrani su sunnitima. Tek kasnije, kada je pojam **sunnizma** podrazumijevao **teološki sinkretizam u islamu**, može se govoriti o pojmu **islamske ordokosije** kojom se želilo razlikovati pravo od krivog vjerovanja unutar kruga **političkog sunnizma**.*

U stadiju bejāna najviđenija ličnost koja se zalaže za umjerenost u teologiji bio je Ebu Hanifa,[33] osnivač jedne od četiriju pravnih škola u islamu. On nije samo važan za nas zbog učitelj-učenik odnosa između njega i Maturidija, već i zato što je vjerovatno bio jedini u tom razdoblju koji se ozbiljno bavio teološkim pitanjima. U stvari, Ebu Hanifa je iza sebe ostavio više teoloških knjiga i traktata nego itko od njegovih suvremenika. Pet je njegovih teoloških traktata sačuvano:

- *el-Fiqh el-Ekber*
- *el-Fiqh el-Ebsaṭ*
- *Kitāb el-ʻĀlim we el-Muteʻallim*
- *Risālah ilā ʻUthman el-Battī*
- *el-Waṣiyyah*

O porijeklu ovih traktata koji se pripisuju Ebu Hanifi ima određenih neslaganja. Primjerice, Wensinck misli "... da djelo el-Fiqh el-Ekber zastupa poglede ortodoksije iz sredine osmog stoljeća naše ere o tadašnjim istaknutim dogmatskim pitanjima te da sadrži rasprave o hardžitima, ši'ītima i kaderitima, ali ne i o murdžitima niti o mu'tezilitima".[34] Ebu Hanifina teologija imala je, takorekavši, cilj naći umjereniji i sadržajniji teološki put, te suzbiti djelovanje isključivosti haridžita, ši'īta, kaderita, džebrita i njima sličnih. Njegova teologija nije još racionalna jer nema razrađena pravila o teološkom razmišljanju. Ali ona nije više ni tā'ah teologija jer sadrži izvjesne teološke prosudbe koje se temelje na ljudskom iskustvu prije nego li su inspiracija Božjom Objavom.

*Zato u islamskoj teologiji etapu bejāna mi nazivamo ono povijesno razdoblje kada su muslimanski teolozi odgovarali na neposredne izazove svoga vremena s namjerom da onda odbace ili opravdaju određena djla i aktivnosti iz prošlosti. Ova "**teologija interpretacije**" je u svom postupku imala racinalnih elemenat, ali je još daleko od toga da bismo je mogli nazvati racionalnom u punom smislu te riječi.*

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[33] Nuʾmān ibn Thābit ibn Zūṭā ibn Marzubān, poznatiji po svojoj *kunyi*, nadimku, Abu Ḥanīfa (699–767), bio je perzijski sunnitski teolog i pravnik, koji je postao istoimeni osnivač hanefijske škole sunnitskog prava, koju su Veliki Seldžuci, naročito, štovali i širili. Kao pripadnici osmanlijskog kulturno-civilizacijskog kruga, muslimani, Bošnjaci, u Bosni, slijede Imāma Abū Ḥanīfu u pravu i Imām al-Māturīdiju u teologiji. Motiv za to je pravno učenje Imāma Abu Ḥanife, koje se temelji na Kur'an, autentičnoj predaji Poslanikovog *Ḥadītha*, konsenzusu muslimanske zajednice (*idžmāʾ*), analogiji ili logičkom rasuđivanju (*qiyās*) te na pravnom diskreciji (*istiḥsān*) i običajnom pravu lokalnih zajednica (*ʾurf*)..

[34] A. J. Wensincjk, Muslim Creed: ***Its Genesis and Historic Development***. Franck Cass and Co. Ltd., 1932, str. 124. Više o prvom pitanju *vidi*, Ayyub ʾAli: ʾ***Aqīdāt al-Islām wa al-Imām al-Māturīdī***, Bangladesh: al-Muassasa al-Islamiyya, 1983., str. 86-135.

A is well known; all these extremist groups disappeared in the course of Islamic history and have only served orthodox theology as bad examples. Two different groups within the realm of Islamic, however, have survived throughout the whole history of Islam and still hold fast to their early difference, namely, the Sunnites and the Shi'ites. The former has always represented the main stream of the Muslim community while the latter has always tried to be duly recognized and sometimes even to dominate. Just as the Shi'ites developed their own political philosophy, they evolved their own theological one as well. Here, however, our focus is on the theological development of the Sunnites, the majority part of the Muslim world, rather than the Shi'ites.

At first, the idea of the Sunnism implied political positivism rather than theological synthesis or Islamic orthodoxy. In fact, this early political Sunnism was developed to repel the opposition of the political theocrats of the Shi'ites. Thus, in this political sense of Sunnis, all groups that objected to the idea of the Shi'ite theocracy, such as the Muriji'ites, Qadarites, Jabrites, and so on, were considered to be the Sunnites. It was only later, when Sunnism came to represent ideological or theological synthetism, that the term was reserved for Islamic orthodoxy as opposed to all extremist theological groups regardless of their political attitudes. At this point of the stage of Bayān in Islamic theology, the most visible figure of Islamic theological moderation of orthodoxy was Abu Ḥanīfah,[28] the founder of one of the four main Islamic legal schools. He is not only important for us here because he probably was the only person at this stage who dealt seriously with theological problems. In fact, Abu Ḥanīfah left behind more books or tracts on Islamic theology than any of his contemporaries. Five of these tracts have been preserved, namely:

- *al-Fiqh al-Akbar*
- *al-Fiqh al-Absaṭ*
- *Kitab al-'Ālim wa al-Muta'allim*
- *Risālah ilā 'Uthmān al-Batti*
- *al-Waṣiyyah*[29]

There are some questions as to the origin of these tracts which are ascribed to Abu Ḥanīfah. Wensinck thinks "...that it (al-Fiqh al-Akbar)[30] *represents the view of orthodoxy in the middle of the eighth century A.D. on the*

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to Islam during Uthman's reign.

[28] Nuʿmān ibn Thābit ibn Zūṭā ibn Marzubān, commonly known by his *kunya* Abū Ḥanīfa (699–767), was a Persian Sunni Muslim theologian and jurist who became the eponymous founder of the *Hanafi* school of Sunni jurisprudence, which has remained the most widely practiced law school in the Sunni tradition. The sources from which Abu Hanifa derived Islamic law, in order of importance and preference, are: the Qur'an, the authentic narrations of the Muslim prophet Muhammad (known as *ḥadīth*), consensus of the Muslim community (*ijmā'*), analogical reasoning (*qiyās)*, juristic discretion (*istiḥsan*) and the customs of the local population enacting said law (*urf'*).

[29] Wensibck, A.J.: ***The Muslim Creed***, Cambradge University Press, 1932.

[30] *See,* al-Maghnīsāwī, Abu 'l-Muntahā: ***Imām Abuū Ḥaniīfa's Al-Fiqh al-Akbar Explained*** (transl. Abdur-Rahman ibn Yusuf Mangera). With Selections from 'Ali al-Qari's Commentary Including Abu Hanifa's Kitab al-Wasiyya. White Thread Press, London, 2007. This translation of *Al-Fiqh al-Akbar* is an unprecedented contribution to the subject of *'aqida* in English. A lucid rendering, unhampered by sterile literalism,

3. *Nakl - ʿAkl (sukob ili sinteza)*

Puni razvoj islamske teologije dolazi s uvođenjem rafiniranije i sistematičnije elaborirane teološke metode. Opće uvjerenje je vladalo među islamolozima da racionalni put u islamskoj teologiji, kao i u drugim oblastima islamskih studija, upravo je rezultat uvođenja, iako indirektno grčke filozofije među intelektualni svijet islama krajem prvog islamskog stoljeća.[35] *Općenito, ova tvrdnja je tačna.*

Međutim, mislim da bi muslimani, da čak nisu ni poznavali sve pojedinosti grčke filozofije, ipak imali određenu vrstu racionalnog poticaja u svom naukovnom pristupu-postupku. Jer islam, dakle, Kurʾan i Poslanikov primjer, obiluju racionalnim premisama i racionalnim objašnjenjima. Naravno, islam je prvenstveno i iznad svega vjera, pa zato u svojoj strukturi sadrži određene bezuvjetne dogme. Međutim, za razliku od mnogih vjera, islam nije iracionalan u smislu da bi gušio Razum, pa makar i ne bio prevladavajuće racionalan u pitanjima čiste filozofije. Od svog početka islam je pretpostavljao određen stupanj racionalnosti što u fazi tāʿah nije ni bilo stvarno potrebno, pa se u razdoblju bejāna na tome nije dovoljno ni radilo.

Kao što je čest slučaj s bilo kojom religijom, tako je bilo i s islamom - došlo do sukoba između Razuma i Tradicije. Konflikt je zapavo izazvan od strane Razuma, a prvi njegovi eksponenti bile su muʿteziliti.[36] *Oslanjajući se na racionalnu stranu islama i bivši pod utjecajem grčkih filozofa, oni su bili i prvi muslimanski mislioci koji su u Razumu tražili sve moguće odgovore na teološka i druga religiozna pitanja. Ovakav čisti racionaolizam muʿtezilita nije mogao proći a da ne izazove drugu stranu islama, čistu Tradiciju. Međutim, da nije u ovoj fazi bilo miješanja države u teološka pitanja koja se blagonaklono odnosila prema Razumu, ovaj prvi sukob između naqla i ʿaqla u islamu, vjerovatno, ne bi ni imao tako velik utjecaj na dalji razvoj islamske teologije. Pa ipak, i u ovom ogledanju između naqla i ʿaqla uvijek se našlo muslimana koji su mogli jasno prepoznati izvornu islamsku nakanu i ostvariti ravnotežu između Razumom i Tradicije, pokušavajući napraviti adekvatan sistem za postizanje ovog cilja.*

Maturidi je u tom pogledu jedan od najboljih primjera, a kako će i pokazati naša studija, on je bio, svakako, jedan od najoriginalnijih ortodoksnih muslimanskih mislilaca tog ranog doba. Doista, Maturidi se, bez ikakvoga pretjerivanja, može smatrati najistaknutijim pravim osnivačem rane islamske ortodoksije. On je ne samo mogao uvijek održavati ravnotežu između Tradicije i Razuma, već je mogao pokazivati i vrijednost Tradicije i punu

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[35] ***Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy***. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, First published Mon Feb 23, 2009. Available at: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arabic-islamic-greek/. Pristupljeno 24.3.2021.

[36] *Muʾtazilah*, ("Oni koji se povlače ili izdvajaju"). *Muʾtazilti* su poznati po svom principijelnom teološkom učenju: *Ahl al-ʾadl wa al-tawḥīd* („Pristalice pravde (teodicije) i monoteizma"). Međutim, mu*ʾtazilijski* ultra-racionalizam u *kalāmu*, koji cvjeta u Basri i Bagdadu u 8-10. stoljeću nije prihvaćen kod ortodoksne muslimanske uleme, pa je taj teološki pravac vremenom izblijedio i postao primjer neprihvatljivog teološkog mišljenja u islamu.

then prominent dogmatic questions; and that it reflects the discussions of the Kharijites, Shi'tes and Kadarites, not those of the Muriji'ites, nor those of the Mu'tazilites."[31] *Our aim here is not to discuss Abu Ḥanīfah's theology per se, and the origin of his tracts, but rather to contend that they definitely represent his theological assertions and reflect, as Wensinck has rightly out it; "...the discussion of the Kharijites, Shi'ites, Kadarites, not those of the Mu'tazilites."*[32] *That is to say, Abu Ḥanīfah's theology is aimed at finding a moderate or inclusive theological way and at repelling those extreme elements of the Kharijites, the Shi'ites, the Qadarites, the Jabrites and the like. It is not yet rational in the sense that it still lacks a definite system of reasoning, and it is no longer Ṭāʿah theology because it has in itself certain theological judgements which are based on human experience rather than merely inspired by the Scripture.*

Therefore, by the stage of Bayān in Islamic theology we mean that period when the Muslim theologians were responding to the immediate challenges of their times with an intent either to condemn or to justify certain actions of the past. This "theology of elucidation" has rational elements in its procedure but is still far from the point to be called rational in the full sense of that term.

3. *Naql-ʿAql* (*Conflict and Synthesis*)

Full development of Islamic theology came with the introduction of the more refined and more systematically worked out theological method. There is a general feeling among the students of Islam that the rational way in Islamic theology, and in other fields of Islamic studies as well, came as the result of the introduction, however indirect, of Greek philosophy into the intellectual world of Islam at the end of the first century of Islam.[33] *On the whole, this assertion, of course, is true. However, I think that even if the Muslims had not known all the details of Greek philosophy, there would still have been some sort of rational impulse in their system of learning. For, Islam, i.e., the Qur'an and the example of the Prophet, is full of rational premises and rational explanations. Of course, Islam is first and foremost a religion, it is not unconditional dogma. But unlike many religions, it is not irrational in the sense of suppressing Reason, although it is not overly rational in the sense of espousing pure philosophy. Therefore, from the very beginning, Islam had assumed a certain amount of rationality which in the stage of Tāʿah was not really needed and in the stage of Bāyan was not well worked out.*

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it draws on a number of commentaries to unlock a subject that has been largely inaccessible to in English. Combining Maghnisawi's basic commentary with copious notes carefully selected from 'Ali al-Qari's super-commentary and the entire *Kitab al-Wasiyya of Abu Hanifa*, this edition promises to be an essential guide on the intellectual and rewarding journey through Islam.

[31] ***Imām Abū Ḥanīfa's Al-Fikh al Akbar*** *– Explained*, by Abū Muntahā al-Maghnisāwī, with Selections from ʿAlī al-Qārī's Commentary, Including Abū Ḥanīfa's *Kitāb al-Waṣiyyah*, Compiled and Translated with an Introduction by Abdu-Rahman ibn Yusuf, White Thread Press, 2014.

[32] ***Ibid***.

[33] ***Greek Sources in Arabic and Islamic Philosophy***. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, First published Mon Feb 23, 2009. Available at: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/arabic-islamic-greek/. Accessed 24.3.2021.

snagu Razuma u kontekstu takve islamske Tradicije. Kao što je moguće vidjeti, mnoga pitanja koja se tiču ranog i kasnijeg razvoja islamske teologije do njegova vremena, pitanja za koja se misli da su otkriće suvremene učenosti, Maturidi je već formulirao u četvrtom (desetom) stoljeću.

Nesumnjivo, Maturidijev najvažniji doprinos islamskoj teološkoj misli jest njegova razrada ***ortodoksne teorije znanja****. Značaj njegove teološke teorije znanja, mada je nisu uvijek u potpunosti priznali ni muslimanski kao ni nemuslimanski učenjaci, nije manji od značaja Šafijine* ***teorijske okosnice islamskog prava****. Štaviše, Maturidijeve znanstvene metode istraživanja, njegov smisao za temeljitu analizu, kao i njegov objektivni kritički um osigurali su mu mjesto među najozbiljnijim misliocima svih vremena. Kako je moguće vidjeti Maturidi se nije ustručavao bilo kojeg teološkog pitanja, nije se sustezao prihvatiti se bilo koje teške teme, nikad neseklon bilo kakvoj racionalnoj mogućnosti.*[▼37]



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Sukob između Razuma i Tradicije, odnosno između *naqla* i *'aqla* u islamu - sunit i ši'īt još se čvrsto drže svojih ranijih različitih stavova.

ILLUSTRATION ~ The conflict between Reason and Tradition, that is, between *naql* and *'aql* in Islam - Sunni and Shi'īt still hold fast to their earlier divergent views.

[▼37] Tekstualni sadržaj koji je dat u ovom poslednjem (trećem) poglavlju preuzet je iz: Mustafa Ceric: ***Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī (d.333/944)***. ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, 1995, pp. 9-15. Bosanski prijevod: *Korijeni sintetičke teologije u islamu: Abu Mensur el-Maturidi (853-944)*, El-kalem, Sarajevo, 1433/2012, str 23-29.

** The textual content given in this last (third) chapter is taken from: Mustafa Ceric, ***Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abū Mansūr al-Māturīdī (d.333/944)***. ISTAC, Kuala Lumpur, 1995, pp. 9-15.

As is often the case with any religion, so it was with Islam, too, that a conflict between Reason and Dogma has inevitably arisen. The first initiative of this conflict came on the part of Reason, and the first exponents of it were called the Mu'tazilites.[34] *Supported by the rational side of Islam and influenced by Greek philosophers, they were the first Muslim thinkers who saw in Reason all possible solutions for theological and other religious problems. This pure rationalism of the Muʿtazilites could not but provoke the other side of Islam, pure dogma. But probably, had it not been for interference by the state into the theological issues at this stage, which tipped the balance to favour Reason, this first conflict between Naql and ʿAql in Islam would not have had such a great impact on the subsequent development of Islam theology. Nevertheless, in this conflict of Naql and ʿAql there were always those Muslims who were able to recognise the original Islamic intent and to maintain a balance between Reason and Dogma and who tried to work out proper system for realising that goal.*

Al-Māturīdī is one of the best examples in this regard. In fact, as our study sow, he was one of the most original orthodox Muslim thinkers of the early period.[35] *Indeed, without any exaggeration, al-Māturīdī may be regarded as the most genuine founder of Islamic synthetic theology.*[36] *He was not only able always to keep the balance between Tradition and Reason, but was also he was able to sow the validity of Tradition and the full strength of Reason within the context of that Islamic Tradition. As we shall see, many points concerning the early and later development of Islamic theology up to his time, points which are thought to be the discovery of modern scholarship, had already been made by al-Māturīdī in the fourth/tenth century.*

Undoubtedly, al-Māturīdī's most important contribution to Islamic theological thought was his development of the Islamic theological theory of knowledge. The significance of his theological theory of knowledge, although not always fully recognized by either Muslim or non-Muslim scholars, is no less than that of al-Shafi'i's theoretical framework of Islamic Law.[37] *Furthermore, aal-Māturīdī's scientific way of research, his sense of thorough analysis, and his objective critical mind reserve for him a place among the most serious thinkers of all times. We will see that al-Māturīdī was not afraid of any theological question, was not reluctant to take up any difficult issue and was not disinclined to any rational possibility.***

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[34] *Muʿtazilah*, ("Those Who Withdraw, or Stand Apart") Engl. *Mutazilites*, also called *Ahl al-ʿAdl wa al-Tawḥīd*, in Islam, political or religious neutralists; by the 10th century CE the term had come to refer specifically to an Islamic school of speculative theology (*kalām*) that flourished in Basra and Baghdad (8th-10th century).

[35] *See,* Cerić, Mustafa: ***A Study of the Theology of Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī***..., p. X

[36] *See,* al-Maturidi, Abu Mansur (book ascribed): ***al-'Aqa'id***. ms. Dar al-Kutub al-Masriyyah, No. 147, Aqa'id Taymur.; al-Maturidi, Abu Mansur: ***Kitab al-Tawhid***. Eited by Fathalla Kholeif, Dar al-Mashriq, 1970.; al-Maturidi, Abu Mansur: Kitab Ta'wilat Ahl al-Sunnah. Ms. Dar al-Kutub al-Masriyyah, No. 873, Tafsir.; al-Maturidi, Abu Mansur: ***Ta'wilat Ahla al-Sunnah***. (ed.) Ibrahim 'Awadain and Sayyid 'Awadain, vol. I, Cairo, 1391/1971.

[37] Abū ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (767–820), was an Arab Muslim theologian, writer, and scholar, who was one of the first contributors of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*Uṣūl al-fiqh*). Often referred to as '*Shaykh al-Islām*', al-Shāfiʿī was one of the four great Sunni Imams, whose legacy on juridical matters and teaching eventually led to the formation of Shafi'i school of *fiqh* (or. *Madh'hab*).

See, Fadel, Mohammad: ***The True, the Good and the Reasonable : The Theological and Ethical Roots of Public Reason in Islamic Law.*** *Canadian Journal of Law and Jurisprudence*. Vol. 21, No. 1, University of Toronto, 2008.; Khadduri, Majid: ***Translation of al-Shāfi'i's Risāla – Treatise on the Foundations of Islamic Jurisprudence***. Islamic Texts Society, United Kingdom, Cambridge, 2011., pp. 8, 11–16.

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