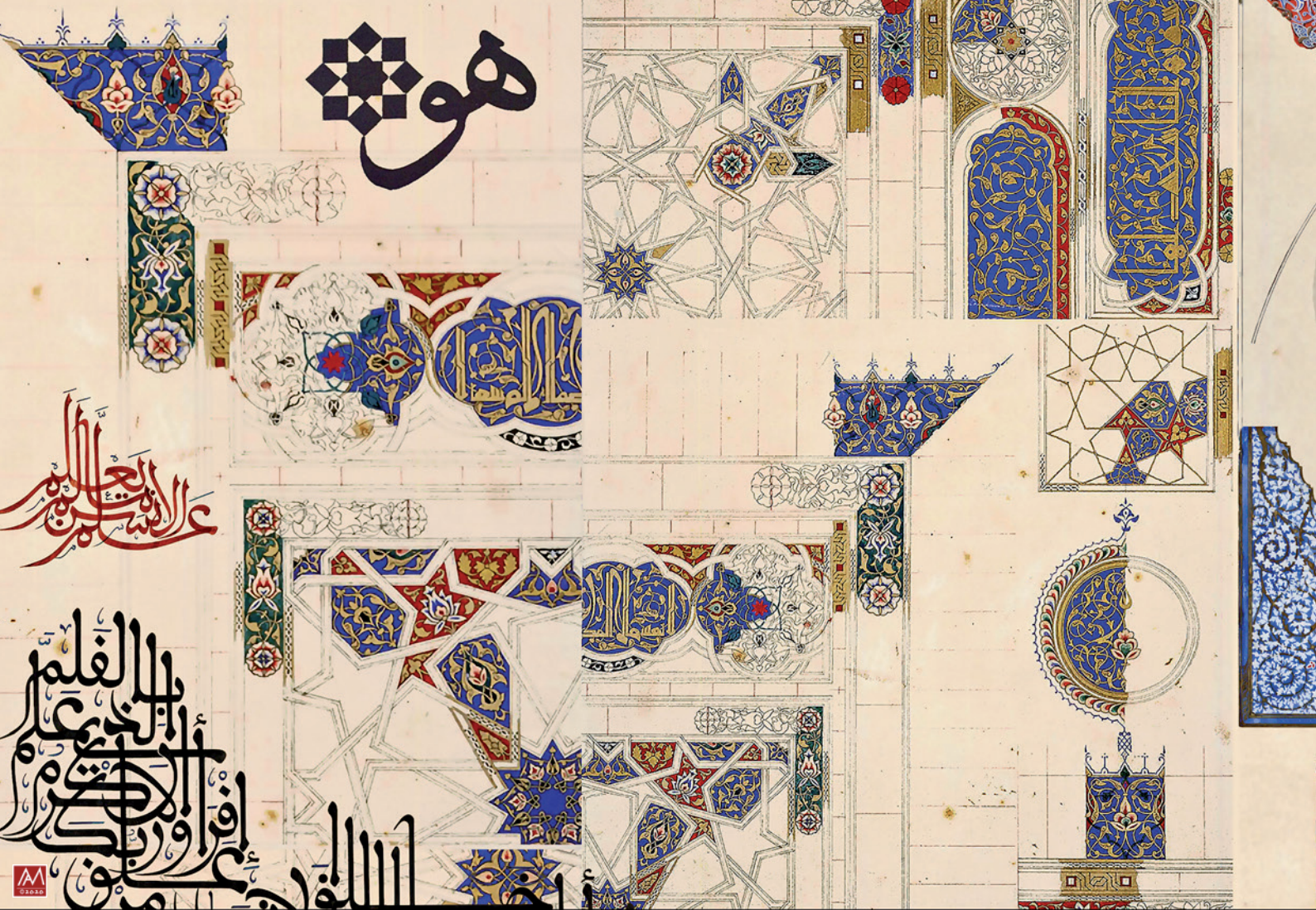


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QADAR/ṢINĀ´AT – karakterizacija nekih suštinskih okcidentalno-vesterniziranih pogleda na tradicionalni islamski kreativni izraz

QADAR/ṢINĀ´AT – characterization of some essential Occidental-westernized views on traditional Islamic creative expression

Sažetak

Namjera ove analize je nastaviti već započetu raspravu (iz prethodnih brojeva) o nekim dijelovima povijesti onog što se deklarira ili titulira kao „islamska umjetnost“ u kritičnom okviru kako okcidentalno-vesterniziranih tako i nekih muslìmānskīh teorijskih pogleda. Analizom i postavljanjem granica u skladu s prevladavajućim autoritetima, pridonijet će se vitalnim modalitetima diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata*, koji su rezolutno ***ìslāmskī*** i u skladu s izvorištem (ar. *al-mardžaʾ* ili *al-maṣdar*). Posebno se želi skrenuti pažnja na zalaganje za različitost, upravo zbog okcidentalno-vesterniziranog akademskog nastojanja da se zanemari **duh jedinstva** i **autorefleksivnost islamskih konstanti** karakterističnih diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata* uz nametanje umjetne dihotomije sakralnog i profanog, te paradigmatskih pogleda na vrednovanje estetiziranog postignuća začetnika/dizajnera reprezentacije, odnosno *homo islamicusa*, kao apsolutnog zapadnjačkog vlasništva (*western ownership*).

Na koncu mora se primjetiti da okcidentalno-vesterniziran način akademskog razmišljanja u ovoj oblasti, te bilo kojih drugih teorija koje djeluju unutar granica indeksnog poretka i taksonomije, uključujući i koncept današnje globalizacije, također predstavljaju sistemske obrasce autoriteta, kontrole i vrednovanja, a time i isključenosti prema drugima.

Međutim, takva forma nametanja linearnog ili cikličkog načina tumačenja, se ipak suočava sa vrlo stvarnim izazovima svojstvenim pisanju globalne „historije umjetnosti“ i potpunim odsustvom razumijevanja drugih i drugačijih formi kreativnog izražavanja.

Ključne riječi: *ìslām, islamska civilizacija, islamska kultura, umjetnost, homo islamicus, qadar/ṣināʾat, globalizacija kulture.*

Abstract

The intention of this analysis is to continue the discussion (from the previous issuees) of some parts of the history of what is declared or titled „Islamic art", within the critical and theoretical framework of both Occidental-Western and (some) Muslim perspectives. The analysis and establishments of limits in line with the prevailing authorities will contribute to the vital modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse which are resolutely ***Islamic*** and in line with their source (ar. *al-marjaʿ* or *al-maṣdar*). Particular attention is drawn to advocating differences, due to Occidental-westernized academic efforts to ignore the ***spirit of unity and the self-reflective Islamic constants*** of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourses and impose the artificial dichotomy of the sacral and profane, and due to paradigmatic views on the evaluation of the aestheticized achievement of the originator/designer of representation, (i.e. *homo islamicus*) as absolute *western ownership*.

Finally, it should be noted that the Occidental-westernized manner of academic thinking in this area, and of any other theories applied within the borders of index order and taxonomy, including the concept of current globalization, also represent systematic patterns of authority, control and evaluation, and thus exclusion of others.

However, such a form of imposing a linear or cyclic way of interpretation still faces very real challenges typical of writing a global "history of art" and the complete absence of understanding other and different forms of creative expression.

Key words: *ìslām, Islamic civilization, Islamic culture, art, homo islamicus, qadar/ṣināʿat, globalization of culture.*

QADAR/ṢINĀʿAT – karakterizacija nekih suštinskih okcidentalno-vesterniziranih pogleda na tradicionalni islamski kreativni izraz

Ukoliko se dodatno osvrnemo na okcidentalno-vesternizirana akademska kazivanja i nastojanja, čini se da je u jednom momentu sve činjeno kako bi u potpunosti zaživjela kodifikacija „novog duha“ (njem. *Geist*) i „nova okcidentalna suština ìslāmskog kreativnog izraza“. Nažalost, skoro sve što je činjeno bilo je usredotočeno na zanemarivanje, odnosno nepoštivanje duhovne inicijacije začetnika/dizajnera,[1] to jest na nerespektiranje *qadar/ṣināʿata*[2] kao mogućeg oblika diskursâ djelanja upravo karakterističnog za estetizirano djelanje/*ṣināʿat*[3] *homo islamicusa*. **

> Suzanne Marchand (rođ. 1961.), američka intelektualka i povjesničarka kulture moderne Evrope jasno je pokazala u svom članku o popularizaciji Orijenta (u značenju sintetičkog pojma ‘istočnog ìslāmskog svijeta’) u okviru njemačkih intelektualnih konteksta s kraja 19-og i početka 20-og stoljeća, da je postojala snažna želja za nadziranjem ogromnog broja artefakata prilikom sortiranja i karakterizacije novih arheoloških dragulja koji potječu iz ìslāmskog svijeta. Naime, riječ je o nečemu što akademska zajednica iz čvrsto branjenih okcidentalnih uvjerenja unutar

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[1] Termin *začetnik/dizajner* estetizirane reprezentacije koristimo za one osobe koje se bave kreativnom estetizacijom i ujedno su iskreni sljedbenici ìslāmskog puta, odnosno sljedbenici Kíble (ar. *ahl al-qiblah*). To su osobe koje su sposobne kontrolirati vlastitu sudbinu i životnu sredinu kao rezultat korištenja određenih alata na osnovu osobnih spoznaja (ar. *al-maʿrifah*) i uvjerenja (ar. *al-iʿtiqād*) na realitetu koherentnog vjerovanja (*cohaerentia religare*), ugrađujući ih u instituciju jedinstvene povijesti (*historiae autonoma*). Narav takvog pregalaštva odgovara bîti stvari, tj. svaki *homo islamicus* – ***začetnik/dizajner*** u svojoj angažiranosti slijedi onaj put, što mu ga propisuje njegova bît. U skladu s tim živi i djela u cjelovitoj harmoniji s načinom života, ponašanjem i idealom koji je Poslanik Muḥammed (ar. *Muḥammad*) stavio pred njega, nastojeći da poštuje i izvršava uputu za vlastiti i društveni život ùmme (ar. *al-ummāh*).

O definiranju i korištenju termina *homo islamicus* – *ìslāmskī čovjek*, odnosno *začetnik/dizajner*, vidjeti Akšamija, A. Mehmed: ***Analiza korištenja terminoloških odrednica ‘umjetnost islama’ i ‘islamska umjetnost’***. Časopis *Illuminatio-Svjetionik-Almanar*, svezak 1, №. I, Sarajevo, proljeće 2020., str. 62, fus. 8 i 68, 70, fus. 15, 16, 17 i 18.

[2] Šire obrazloženje i korištenje termina *qadar/ṣināʿat*, vidjeti ***Ibid.***, str. 38-101.

[3] *Djelanje* – prez. *-ām*, pril. sad. *-ajūći* za razliku od *djelovanja*, odnosno *djelovati*, dakle podrazumijeva određenu čovjekovu spontanu svjesnu angažiranost koja je u potpunosti postala svjesna sebe nasuprot nečega što je činjeno u zbilji zbog potrebe činjenja, odnosno ostvaren određeni karakter i učinak predviđene vrste rada. Djelanja (ar. *ṣināʿat*) nema bez svijesti o pregalaštvu i *qadara* koje začetnik/dizajner estetizirane reprezentacije smatra i realnim u skladu sa širinom i dubinom svoje pronicljivosti u Suverenost Svevišnjeg.

** Crvenom bojom su označeni izrazi, pojmovi i riječi koje predstavljaju transliteraciju arapskih pojmova prema metodologiji IJMES-a u bosanski jezik i dati su u kurzivnoj varijanti korištene tipografije (*italic*).

Plavom bojom su označeni izrazi, pojmovi i riječi koje predstavljaju transliterane izraze iz perzijskog, osmansko-turskog i novo-turskog jezika. Pored označenosti bojom svi korišteni izrazi su dati u kurzivnoj varijanti korištene tipografije (*italic*).

Drugim tonalitetom plave boje su označene adrese izvora na internetu.

QADAR/ṢNĀ'AT – characterization of some essential Occidental-westernized views on traditional Islamic creative expression

If we take an additional look at Occidental-westernized academic narratives and endeavors, it seems that at one moment everything was done for the codification of the „new spirit" (Ger. ***Geist***) and the „new Occidental essence of Islamic creative expression" to become reality. Unfortunately, almost everything that was done focused on ignoring, or disrespecting, the spiritual initiation of the originator/designer[1], i.e. disrespecting ***qadar/ṣināʿat***[2] as a possible form of the action discourse characteristic of *homo islamicus's* aesthetic actions/***ṣināʿat***[3]. **

> Suzanne Marchand (b. 1961), U.S. intellectual and historian of the culture of modern Europe, in her paper on the popularization of the *Orient* (in the meaning of the synthetic concept of the *'Eastern Islamic world'*) in German intellectual contexts of the late 19th and early 20th century, clearly showed that there was a strong desire for supervising the organization and characterization of the huge number of artifacts when of new archeological artifacts originating from the Islamic world. Indeed, it is something that the academic community of the time could not accept as an expression of *homo islamicus's*

[1] The term *originator/designer* of aestheticized representation is here used for persons who are involved in creative aestheticization and are at the same time sincere followers of the Islamic road, i.e. followers of *Qiblah* (Ar. *ahl al-qiblah*). They are persons who are able to control their own destiny and life environment as a result of using certain tools based on their own insights (Ar. *al-maʿrifah*) and beliefs (Ar. *al-iʿtiqād*) in the reality of coherent faith (*cohaerentia religare*), fitting them in the institution of a unique history (*historiae autonoma*). The nature of such zeal corresponds to the essence of things, i.e. each *homo islamicus – originator/designer*, in his engagement, follows the road prescribed by his essence. In line with this, he lives and works in full harmony with the way of life, behavior and ideal that Prophet Muhammad laid before him, striving to respect and carry out instructions for his own life and the life of his people (Ar. *al-ummāh*).

For the definition and use of the term *homo islamicus*, that is, the *originator/designer* see: Akšamija, A. Mehmed: ***An analysis of the use of terminological determinants 'Art of Islam' and 'Islamic Art'***. *Illuminatio/Svjetionik/Almanar*, Al-Wasatiyya Center for Dialogue, Sarajevo, Spring 2020., Volume 1, №. 1, p. 63, fn. 8 and pp. 69, 71, fns. 15, 16, 17 and 18.

[2] For the reasons and use of the term *qadar/ṣināʿat*, see ***Ibid.***, pp. 39-102.

[3] *Actions*, i.e. *act*, as opposed to *doing*, i.e. *do*, implies man's certain spontaneous conscious engagement that has become fully self-aware as opposed to something which was done in reality due to the need to be active, i.e. it is the achievement of the particular character and effect of an anticipated kind of work. There is no action (Ar. *ṣināʿat*) without the awareness of zeal and *qadar* that the originator/designer of aestheticized representation also considers real in line with the breadth and depth of his insight into the Sovereignty of the Almighty.

** Expressions are marked in red, concepts and words transliterated from Arabic terms according to IJMES methodology to English; they are written in the *italic* of the used font.

Expressions are marked in blue, concepts and words that are transliterated expressions from Persian, Ottoman-Turkish and New-Turkish. In addition, all the expressions used are written in *italic* of the font used.

A shade of blue signifies web addresses of sources.

dane oblasti, u tom vremenu nije mogla prihvatiti kao izraz svjesnog estetiziranog djelanja/ *ṣināʾata homo islamicusa*. Iz tog razloga, dio analiziranog ìslāmskog svijeta je ili populariziran ili shvaćen na, kako to navodi Suzanne, ...'*pojednostavljen način*' na koji je jedna koherentna vena interpretacije ipak dana cjelini „novog duha".[4]

Zapravo, potrebno je kazati kako je upotreba njemačke riječi *Geist* prethodno poslužila u evropskim raspravama o očuvanju romantičarskog duha u doba masovne proizvodnje. Visoka evropska kultura nesumnjivo je imala ambiciju ponuditi se kao „paket" ***moralnog uvjerenja***, u čemu je ipak bilo skriveno i ***ideološko oruđe***, nasuprot nastojanju da se dokaže suprotno.

U ovoj složenoj matrici, ìslāmskī estetizirani izrazi su tako definirani kao „polje" i dobili *svoj vlastiti okcidentalni Geist*, kako bi se, ipak, bar prividno podržala moguća monolitnost, bez uvažavanja jedinstvene ìslāmske kulturne vrijednosti bazirane na dimenziji tevhída (ar. *al-tawḥīd*), odnosno autorefleksivnih ìslāmskīh konstanti (ar. *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah*). Ovakav stav i odnos doprinijeli su formuliranju navodnog *obuhvatnog pojma* koji legitimira nazivlje „islamska umjetnost" – ukorijenjeno u tradicionalne okcidentalno-eurocentrične obrasce mišljenja koji se tiču „drugog" ali, nažalost i „nas". Čini se da ova dijalektika iskonstruiranog, ali i neutemeljenog monolitnog kreativnog izraza *homo islamicusa* daje, dakle, jasnu razliku između onoga što okcidentalno-eurocentrična perspektiva naziva *progresivnim* i *racionalno-sekularnim*, te *regresivnim svijetom* koji je još uvijek u mogućim povojima viđenog ìslāmskog estetiziranog djelanja – *ṣināʾata*. Bjelodano je da ova teza nastoji brzo i snažno izbaciti esencijalističko nazivlje poput leksema *'ìslām'* iz vlastitog akademskog vokabulara, i kao rezultat toga, neprestano biti u potrazi za '*suptilnijim*', ali udaljenijim i ne prihvatljivijim terminološkim diferenciranjem. Pa ipak, kao što primjećuje Shalem prisutna akademska anksioznost doprinijela je do „fraktalizacije jedinstvenog ìslāmskog pȍlja" u svijet potkategorije pôljā.[5]

Naime, izraženi aspekt novije fraktalizacije moguće je bilo uočiti poslije 2000-te godine sa početkom porasta broja publikacija o modernim, suvremenim i tadicionalnim problemima u „islamskoj umjetnosti", ali sa značajno manjim brojem akademskih povijesnih pozicija koje osiguravaju skromni, moderni nezapadni ali i muslìmānskī stavovi, pogledi i putevi, nasuprot permanentno aktivnih – okcidentalno-vesterniziranih. Razdvajanje predmodernog od okcidentalno-vesternizirano modernog utemeljeno je na pretpostavci da prijelaz na forme nadahnute zapadnjačkim uzorima signaliziraju šire usvajanje postojećih zapadnih

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[4] Marchand, Suzanne: ***Popularizing the Orient in Fin de Siècle Germany***. Intellectual History Review, svezak 17, br. 2, Taylor & Francis, Oxford, 2002., str. 175-200.

[5] Vidjeti Shalem, Avinoam: ***What do we Mean When We Say 'Islamic Art'? A Plea for a Critical Rewriting of the History of the Arts of Islam***. *Journal of Art Historiography,* Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, no 6 (6-AS/1), Birmingham, June 2012., str. 13 i fus. 45;
Vidjeti i, Rabbat, Nasser: ***What's in a Name***. *Artforum* – International Magazine, Soho Press, New York City, January 2012; Lewis, J. Michael: ***Islam by Any Other Name***. *New Criterion* – Literary magazine, Foundation for Cultural Review, New York, decembar 2011; Häntzschel, Jörg: ***Nicht jede Glaskaraffe hat religiöse Bedeutung : Umbenannt, umgebaut : Die 'islamische' Kunst im Metropolitan Museum in New York in völlig neuer Präsentation***. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Monday 21 November 2011., str. 12.

> conscious aestheticized actions/*ṣināʿat*, due to the strongly advocated Occidental beliefs within the given area. For this reason, part of the analyzed Islamic world is either popularized or understood, according to Suzanne, in ... '*a simplified way*' in which a coherent vein of interpretation was still given to the entirety of the „new spirit".[4]

Indeed, it should be noted that the use of the German word *Geist* had previously been useful in European discussions on maintaining the Romanticist spirit at the time of mass production. High European culture doubtlessly had the ambition to offer itself as a „package" of ***moral conviction***, which still also concealed the ***ideological tool***, despite attempts to prove otherwise.

In this complex matrix, Islamic aestheticized expressions were therefore defined as a „field" and were assigned *their own Occidental* ***Geist***, to at least seemingly imitate a possible **monolithic character**, without respecting the unique Islamic cultural value based on the dimension of *Tawhid* (Ar. *al-tawḥīd*), i.e. self-reflective Islamic constants (Ar. *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah*). Such a view and attitude contributed to the formulation of an allegedly *encompassing concept* which legitimizes the term „Islamic art" – rooted in the traditional Occidental-Eurocentric patterns of thought concerning both „the Other" and, unfortunately, „Us" as well. It seems that this dialectic of the constructed, though unfounded monolithic creative expression by *homo islamicus* thus provides a clear distinction between what an Occidental-Eurocentric perspective termed as *progressive* and *rational-secular*, and the *regressive world*, which is still in the possible infancy of the observed Islamic aestheticized actions – *ṣināʿat*. It is evident that this thesis attempts to rapidly and powerfully discard essentialist terms such as the lexeme '*Islam*' from its own academic jargon and, as a result, constantly search for a *'more subtle',* though more distant and less acceptable terminological difference. Still, as Shalem observes, the present *academic anxiety* contributed to the „fractalizing of the unified Islamic field" into a world of subfields.[5]

Indeed, a prominent aspect of more recent fractalizing could be observed after 2000, with an increasing number of publications on modern, contemporary and traditional issues in „Islamic art", though with a significantly smaller number of academic historical positions that are ensured by modest modern non-Western as well as Muslim attitudes, views and paths, against the permanently active – the Occidental-westernized ones. The separation of the postmodern from the Occidental-westernized modern is based

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[4] Marchand, Suzanne: ***Popularizing the Orient in Fin de Siècle Germany***. *Intellectual History Review*, volume 17, no. 2, Taylor & Francis, Oxford, 2002, pp. 175-200.

[5] See Shalem, Avinoam: ***What do we Mean When We Say 'Islamic Art'? A Plea for a Critical Rewriting of the History of the Arts of Islam.*** *Journal of Art Historiography*, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, no 6 (6-AS/1), Birmingham, June 2012, p. 13 and footnote 45;
See also, Rabbat, Nasser: ***What's in a Name***. *Artforum* – International Magazine, Soho Press, New York City, January 2012; Lewis, J. Michael: ***Islam by Any Other Name***. *New Criterion* – Literary magazine, Foundation for Cultural Review, New York, December 2011; Häntzschel, Jörg: ***Nicht jede Glaskaraffe hat religiöse Bedeutung: Umbenannt, umgebaut : Die 'islamische' Kunst im Metropolitan Museum in New York in völlig neuer Präsentation***. *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Monday 21 November 2011, p. 12.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Publikacije sa modernim, suvremenim i tradicionalnim problemima u „islamskoj umjetnosti" – primjeri permanentno aktivnih okcidentalno-vesterniziranih stavova, pogleda i puteva.

kulturnih normi, povezujući stoga '*umjetnost zapadnog stila*' s trijumfalnom sekularnom modernizacijom. Međutim, kako pojedini autori nastavljaju inicirati diskusiju o višestrukim i često sukobljenim odnosima između one, kako je na Zapadu nazivaju *elitne* i *popularne* kulture, vjerskog i svjetovnog izražavanja i razgraničenja tradicije (ar. *al-sunnah*) i baštine (ar. *al-turāth*), tako postaje sve očiglednije da se unutar kulturne produkcije, uključujući i produkte *qadar/ṣināʿata* rekognitivne[6] i kognitivne[7] unutaranje asimilacije *homo islamicusa*, javlja latentna potreba o promatranjima u terminima interkulturnih pregovora, transponiranja karakterističnog nazivlja, prilagođavanja i moguće reinterpretacije, ali ne samo kao sredstva hegemonijske dominacije. Međutim, dualna suočenost s raširenim generalizacijama o islámu, koja islām, s jedne strane navodno *ograničava* na porijeklo i pravovjerje, a s druge nastoji izbrisati religijsku esencijalizaciju i ekskluzivizam implicitne riječi '*islāmski*', upravo je doprinosila daljnjem ostvarivanju novih formi kontradiktornih stavova. Ono što na Zapadu predstavlja „islamska historija umjetnosti" moglo bi biti upotrijebljeno kao razumijevanje za raznoliko viđenje *ìslāmskīh subjektivnosti* izraženih u modernim ìslāmskīm društvima, te da ujedno uključi raspravu o unutarnjim i međusobno referentnim diskursima neraskidivih vjerskih i kulturnih značenja, poštujući i, pak, nezanemarujući ono vjersko (ar. *al-dīnī*). Uvjereni smo da porad razdvajanja kulture (ar. *al-thaqāfah*) i neizostavno prisutne tradicije vjerovanja (ar. *al-sunnah*) u razmatranju „islamske umjetnosti", javna akademska sučeljavanja bi mogla imati potencijal *otvaraju vrata* za razumijevanje isláma. Time bi bile ostvarive suštinske konceptualne podloge kroz koje se može razumjeti višestruka subjektivnost definiranog i funkcionirajućeg muslìmānskog svijeta, kako prošlog tako i aktualnog, kao i koncepcije prisutne unutar konzervativnog, tradicionalnog i modernog likovnog izraza.

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[6] Inače pod terminom *rekognitivno* podrazumijevamo mentalne procese u funkciji prepoznavanja pojava i formi, a koje su u iskustvenom i reproduktivnom smislu vezane sa produktivno-refleksivnu karakterizaciju asimilacijskog karaktera začetnika/dizajnera reprezentacije; mogu biti jednostavne i složene a uključuju i ilustriranje, argumentiranje, istraživanje i objašnjavanje.
Šire vidjeti Akšamija, A. Mehmed: ***Analiza korištenja terminoloških odrednica*** ..., str. 62-64.

[7] Pod terminom *kognitivan* podrazumijevamo sve psihičke procese koji se nalaze u osnovi ponašanja *homo islamicusa*, a koji su u vezi sa produktivno-refleksivnom reprezentacijom kolaborativne orijentacije ili dispozicije – vid informativne inicijacije (suradnje) radi postizanja određenog sadržajnog cilja *qadar/ṣināʿata*.
Šire vidjeti ***Ibid***.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Publications with modern, contemporary and traditional problems in "Islamic art" - examples of permanently active Occidental-Westernized attitudes, views and ways.

on the assumption that the transition to forms inspired by Western models signalize a broader adoption of the existing Western cultural norms, thus associating *'Western-style art'* with the triumphant secular modernization. However, as some authors continue to initiate discussion of the multiple and often conflicting relations between, as called in the West, *elite* and *popular* culture, religious and secular expression and the demarcation of tradition (Ar. *al-sunnah*) and heritage (Ar. *al-turāth*), it becomes increasingly obvious that within cultural production, including products of *homo islamicus's qadar/ṣināʿat* recognitive[6] and cognitive[7] inner assimilation, a latent need arises to observe them in terms of intercultural negotiation, translation of characteristic terms, and adjustment and possible reinterpretation, but not only as a means of hegemonic domination. However, the dual encounter with widespread generalizations about Islam which, on the one hand, *limit* Islam to origin and orthodoxy and, on the other, attempt to erase the religious essentialization and exclusivity of the implicit word *'Islamic'* contributed to the further creation of new forms of opposing views. What „Islamic history of art" means for the West could be used as an understanding of diverse views on *Islamic subjectivities* expressed in modern Islamic societies, and at the same time it could include a discussion of inner and mutually referent discourse of unbreakable religious and cultural meanings, respecting and not ignoring the **religious** (Ar. *al-dīnī*). We are convinced that, instead of separating culture (Ar. *al-thaqāfah*) and the inevitably present tradition of believing (Ar. *al-sunnah*) when discussing „Islamic art", public academic encounters could have the potential to *open the door* to understanding Islam. It would create the essential conceptual backgrounds through which one could understand the multiple subjectivity of the defined and functioning Muslim world, both that of the past and of the present, as well as the conceptions existing within conservative, traditional and modern visual expression.

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[6] Otherwise, the term *recognitive* refers to mental processes aimed at recognizing phenomena and forms, which in terms of experience and reproduction are related to the productive-reflective characterization of the assimilative character of the originator/designer of representation; they can be simple and complex, and also include illustrating, argumentation, research and explanations.

For more, see Akšamija, A. Mehmed: ***An analysis of the use of terminological determinants***..., pp. 63-65.

[7] In this paper, the term *cognitive* refers to all psychic processes which are the basis of *homo islamicus's* behavior, and which are related to the productive-reflective representation of the collaborative orientation or disposition – a kind of informative association (collaboration) aimed at attaining a particular substantive goal of *qadar/ṣināʿat*.

For more, see ***Ibid***.

Zbog *mira u kući*, čini se potrebnim pokušati dati odgovor i na potenciranu aktualnu problematiku navodnog *muslìmānskog svođenja kulture na religiju;* mada je ona bila prisutna u onim djelatnostima i vremenu kada se takva prisutnost smatrala prirodnim stanjem, što čak ni danas nije moguće isključiti u pojedinim slučajevima. Ne vidimo ništa problematično i da se utvrdi realna složenost *mogućih etničkih i kreativnih doprinosa* kulturama pod bivšim ili sadašnjim ìslāmskīm utjecajem, kao i drugih kultura u odnosu na njihov generalni upliv na ìslāmsku kulturu i civilizaciju, te i na kreativni doprinos unutar samog *qadar/ṣināʾata*.

Studije Gustavea E. von Grunebauma (um. 1972) o traženju objašnjenja duhovnog razvoja fenomena čovjeka i čovječanstva općenito, dokazuju kako je ìslāmska povijest bila *ogledalo svijeta*. Prilikom jedne od panel rasprava, koje je von Grunebaum držao na Univerzitetu u Chicagu (1945), govorio je o islámu koji je uspostavljen kao vjera, kultura i državno uređenje, različitim uglovima doticaja obilježja muslìmānskog srednjovjekovlja, prezentirajući pogled na ìslāmskī koncept i područja koja ga okružuju, njegovo izvorno i preuzeto od drugih, i što je najvažnije, ìslāmske motivacijske vrijednosti. Na kraju je zaključio da je srednjovjekovno svođenje vjere, kulture i društvenog uređenja vodilo napretku kako ìslāmskog svjeta, tako i evropske civilizacije:

> *'... ne postoji polje ljudskog iskustva u kojem ìslām nije sudjelovao i s njim obogatio nasljeđe zapadnih tradicija. Uzmimo za primjer hranu, piće, lijekove, oružje, oklope s njihovim natpisima; umijeće proizvodnje, trgovinu i pomorsku plovidbu, umjetnički senzibilitet i tematska usmjerenja, a da ne spominjemo ogroman terminološki rječnik astronomije i matematike. Sve u svemu, popisivanje ìslāmskih doprinosa u svim tim poljima moglo bi potrajati na mnogo stranica, ali nikako ne bi bilo potpuno.*[8] *Postojanje ìslāmskog svijeta samo je po sebi igralo veliku ulogu u preoblikovanju evropske civilizacije i povijesti. Na mnogo načina križarski ratovi su bili najveća i najučinkovitija avantura koju je čovječanstvo napravilo u srednjovjekovnom dobu. Ipak, Ìslāmske pripovijesti, pjesnička mašta, filozofija nevidljivog i odvažna sufijska doktrina ostavile su traga na zapadnim zemljama u srednjovjekovnom periodu. Bez sumnje, najveći evropski srednjovjekovni teolozi i pjesnici duguju islámu najveće zasluge za nadahnuće i sadržaj'.*[9]

Pitamo se šta bi to moglo biti loše u *homogenizaciji* pojavnih oblika uopće u okviru bilo koje civilizacijske strukture, pa i samog *qadar/ṣināʾata* nasuprot heterogenizacije kulturnih praksi kroz temporalnu dimenziju empirijskih stvari – vrijeme ili zèmān (ar. *al-zamān*) i prostor (ar. *al-makān*), ukoliko su korijeni uniformnih karaktera inkorporirani s tradicionalnim poimanjem kreativnosti, na čemu

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[8] Usporedi, 'Isa, Ahmad Muhammad: ***Islamic Art Terms : Lexicon, Explained and Illustrated = Muṣṭalaḥāt al-fann al-Islāmī***. Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, Istanbul, 1994; ***Dictionnaire des arts de l'islam*** (ur. Roux, Jean-Paul). Réunion des musées nationaux : Fayard, Paris, 2007; Bloom, M. Jonathan i Blair, S. Sheila: ***The Grove encyclopedia of Islamic art and architecture***. Oxford University Press, Oxford : New York, 2009.

[9] Grunebaum, Gustave Edmund von: ***Medieval Islam : A Study In Cultural Orientation***. University of Chicago Press, 5th Impression edition, Chicago, 1962., str. 342. Prvo izdanje navedenog djela objavljeno je 1946. godine.

For the purpose of *peace at home*, it seems necessary to attempt to also provide an answer to the accentuated current issue of the alleged *Muslim reduction of culture to religion*, although it was present in those activities even at the time when such a presence was considered the natural state, which cannot be denied in some cases even today. We do not object to establishing the realistic *complexity of possible ethnic and creative contributions* to cultures under past or present Islamic influence, or of other cultures in relation to their general impact on Islamic culture and civilization, and the creative contribution within the *qadar/ṣināʿat* itself.

Studies by Gustave E. von Grunebaum (d. 1972) on the search for the explanation of the spiritual development of the phenomenon of man and mankind in general prove that Islamic history was a *mirror of the world*. During one of the panel discussions led by von Grunebaum at the University of Chicago (1945), he spoke about Islam as having been established as a **religion**, **culture** and **state organization** and about different angles of contact of the features of medieval Islam. He presented his own original view on the Islamic concept and the areas that surround it and views taken from others. Most importantly, he spoke about **Islamic motivational values**. In the end, he concluded that the medieval reduction of religion, culture and social organization led to the progress of both the Islamic world and European civilization:

> *'... there is no area of human experience wherein Islam did not participate and thus enrich the heritage of Western traditions. Take for example food, drink, medicines, weapons, armor with their inscriptions; the artistry of manufacturing, trade and navigation, artistic sensitivity and thematic orientations, never mind the huge terminology of astronomy and mathematics. Altogether, the list of Islamic contributions in all these areas could be many pages long, but would never be complete.*[8] *The very existence of the Muslim world has done much to mold European history and European civilization. The Crusades were, in many ways, the greatest and most consequential adventure on which medieval man embarked. Muslim narrative and poetical imagery, Muslim eschatology and the boldness of Muslim mysticism, all have left their traces on the medieval West. Without doubt, the greatest theologian and greatest poet of the European Middle Ages are deeply indebted to Islam for inspiration as well as material.'*[9]

We wonder what could be bad in the *homogenization* of manifest forms in general within any civilizational structure, even within *qadar/ṣināʿat* itself compared to the heterogenization of cultural practices through the temporal dimension of empirical things – time or *zèmān* (Ar. *al-zamān*) and space (Ar. *al-makān*), if the roots of uniform characters are incorporated with the traditional understanding of creativity, in which

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[8] Cf., 'Isa, Ahmad Muhammad: ***Islamic Art Terms: Lexicon, Explained and Illustrated = Muṣṭalaḥāt al-fann al-Islāmī***. Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, Istanbul, 1994; ***Dictionnaire des arts de l'islam*** (ed. Roux, Jean-Paul). Réunion des musées nationaux: Fayard, Paris, 2007; Bloom, M. Jonathan and Blair, S. Sheila: ***The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic art and architecture***. Oxford University Press, Oxford: New York, 2009.

[9] Grunebaum, Gustave Edmund von: ***Medieval Islam : A Study In Cultural Orientation***. University of Chicago Press, 5th Impression edition, Chicago, 1962, p. 342. The first edition of the work was published in 1946.

homines islamici istrajavaju? Pogrešno je mišljenje da oni zajedno sa ostalim muslimánima *nastoje da zaustave vrijeme*, već naprotiv, unutar vlastitog opredjeljenja bez prisile i bilo kakvog sugestivnog utjecaja samo pokušavaju da u bilo kom vremenu slave Svevišnjeg; takvo opredjeljenje neopravdava postojanje mogućeg *vremenskog anakronizma;* suodnos između krutog, odnosno nepromjenljivog i promjenljivog za *homo islamicusa* bio je i jeste paralelizam između protivrječnog (ar. *al-taʾāruḍ al-lafẓī*) i nespojivog (ar. *ghayr al-mutawāfiq*).[10]

Unatoč navedenom, određene neinventivne okcidentalno-vesternizirane alternative predlažu da se kovanica „islamska umjetnost" ukloni iz bilo kojeg suvremenog kulturnog konteksta i smjesti u

Islāmske motivacijske vrijednosti koje su obogatili naslijeđe zapadnih tradicija.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Ibn Sina (Avicena), ***Kanon medicinske znanosti*** – *Faksimilno izdanje*, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, MS 2197. Desno, naslovna stranica *Avicenna Arabum medicorum principis*, Venecija 1608.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Inb Sina (Avicenna) Inb Sina, ***The Canon of Medicine – Facsimile Edition***, Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, MS 2197. Right, title page of *Avicenna Arabum medicorum principis*, Venice 1608.

[10] Tolerancija *homo islamicusa* i njegov otvoren stav prema mogućoj uvezenoj formi ili izrazu, te njegova sposobnost asimilacije vjerojatno mogu stvoriti pogrešan dojam da mu nedostaje inovativno rješenje. Međutim, potrebno je kazati da se čak može i originalnost estetiziranog djelanja/*ṣināʾata* očitovati u njegovoj sposobnosti da se formalno prilagodi takvoj unesenoj formi, kako bi mu ona služila vlastitim potrebama. Ustvari, on ponovno gradi novu estetiziranu pojavnost, odnosno formu kako bi je kvalificirao sa svojim jedinstvenim karakterom u okviru autorefleksivnih ìslāmskīh konstanti i, istovremeno, odbacio sve neprilagodljive elemente.

homines islamici persist? It is wrong to think that they, together with other *Muslims, endeavor to stop time*; on the contrary, within their own orientation, without coercion or any suggestive influence, they only attempt to celebrate the Almighty at any given time. Such an attitude does not justify the existence of a possible *temporal anachronism*; for *homo islamicus*, the mutual relationship between the rigid, i.e. invariable, and the variable has been a parallelism between the contradictory (Ar. *al-taʿāruḍ al-lafẓī*) and the incompatible (Ar. *ghayru mutawāfiq*).[10]

Despite the above description, some uninventive Occidental-westernized alternatives propose that the coinage „Islamic art" **be removed** from any contemporary cultural context and be placed in the historical



OPTICAE
THESAVRVS.
ALHAZENI
ARABIS
libri septem, nunc primùm
editi.
EIVSDEM liber DE CREPVSCVLIS
& Nubium ascensionibus.
ITEM
VITELLONIS
THVRINGOPOLONI
LIBRI X.
Omnes instaurati, figuris illustrati & aucti, adiectis etiam iis
Alhazenum commentarijs,
A
FEDERICO RISNERO.
Cum priuilegio Cæsareæ & Regiæ Gallie ad trennium.
BASILEAE,
PER EPISCOPIOS. M D LXXII.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Ibn al-Haytham, Abu 'Ali al-Hasan (Alhazen) – Opticae thesaurus, ***Kitab tanqih al-manazir li dhawi al-absar wa'l-basair*** / *'The Book of Correction of Optics for those who have Sight and Mind'* (autograph copy, 1309) and ***Kitab al-Manazir*** (latine).

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Ibn al-Haytham, Abu 'Ali al-Hasan (Alhazen) – sinonim za optiku, ***Kitab Tanqih al-Manazir li dhawi al-absar wa'l-basair*** / *'Knjiga ispravljanja optike za one koji imaju vid i um'* (kopija s autogramom, 1309.) i ***Kitab al-Manazir*** (latinski).

[10] *Homo islamicus*'s tolerance and his open attitude toward the possibility of imported form or expression, and his ability to assimilate can probably create the wrong impression that he lacks an innovative solution. However, it should be noted that even the originality of aestheticized actions/*ṣināʿat* can be manifested in his ability to formally adjust to such imported forms, to use them for his own needs. In fact, he again builds a new aestheticized manifestation, i.e. a form which he qualified with his unique character within self-reflective Islamic constants and, at the same time, rejected all unadjustable elements.

historijski dinastički kontekst; sudar s estetskom romantizacijom političkog prevrata protiv diktatura s dugom poviješću zapadne potpore. Naprimjer, takav stav satkan permanentnim repetiranjem dugogodišnje opozicije između Istoka i Zapada, objašnjava jedan od prisutnih akademskih pogleda na ovakvu situaciju:

> *'... da bi se shvatila islamska estetika, zapadnjaci moraju podržati svoj osjećaj ukrašavanja kao manje umjetnosti... Određeni ambijentalni užici stapaju se sa svetošću u muslìmānskīm stilovima'* (akcentirao aut.), čime se autoritativnim samopotvrđivanjem bitna udaljenost čini još izražajnijom između Istoka i Zapada. Stoga, taj isti autoritet iznosi mišljenje kako „islamska umjetnost" nudi *'avanture u različitosti'* što dovodi do osviještenja *'potonjih potomka renesansnog vjenčanja grčke i rimske s judeokršćanskim tradicijama'.*[11]

Pomenuta *akademska anksioznost* izrodila je i druge izraze kao što je ***islamicate***,[12] te doprinijela da eurocentrični historičari umjetnosti i nadalje, posredstvom „nove" metode, utječu na „razbijanje" jedinstvenog polja *'islāma'* u moguća podpolja. Obrazloženje za ovakvu formu *'doprinosa'* je navodno satkano posredstvom *originalnog termina* kojim treba opisivati kulturne manifestacije proizašle iz arapske i perzijske pismene tradicije. U nastojanju da se pronađe moguće opravdanje za takvo postupanje, naglašeno je da se korištenje ovog izraza ne odnosi direktno na *ìslāmsku religiju*, već na *socijalni i kulturni kompleks koji je u povijesti povezan s ìslāmom i muslimánima, kako među samim muslimánima, tako i čak i kada se nađeno pojavi među nemuslimánima*,[13] ali se, u svakom slučaju vjerska komponenta isključuje. Unatoč povećanoj pažnji prema takozvanim regionalnim oblicima i praksama

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[11] Vidjeti Schjeldahl, Peter: ***Old and New : the Reopening of the Islamic wing at the Met***. Sedmični časopis *The New Yorker*, New York, US, 7.11.2011., str. 88-89.

[12] Postoje tvrdnje kako izvjesni Marshall Hodgson polaže pravo na plasiranje ovog pojma u uvodu svoje povijesti, ***The Venture of Islam***. Volume 1: *The Classical Age of Islam*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975.

[13] ***Ibid.***, str. 59.

Na primjer, Hodgson je tvrdio da postoje razni *umjetnički, arhitektonski i književni stilovi* indikativni za navodnu kulturu *islamicate*. Iznio je i tvrdnju da bez obzira gdje se ovi *estetski stilovi* nalaze, posredstvom ovog izraza bi bila moguća *očigledna njihova identifikacija*, t.j. da potječu, ne od *ìslāmskīh već islāmiziranih kulturnih kompleksa*, pa i onda kada ih je moguće identificirati među muslimánima ili nemuslimánima.

Potrebno je upozoriti da ***stil*** (lat. *stilus* od gr. *stylos* — držak, pisaljka) je način izražavanja u značenju individualnosti koja se očituje u rukopisu i djelima neke osobe, „umjetničke škole", pravca ili „umjetničkog smjera" (za koji je i sinonim), kao i „umjetničkog razdoblja" u smislu njihove diferencijacije u sadržajnim i povijesnim uvjetima. Takav slučaj je bio sa renesansom, romanikom, gotikom, barokom, rokokom, neoklasicizmom, kubizmom, fovizmom, ekspresionizmom, orfizmom ili suprematizmom, a unutar „islamske umjetnosti" takav vid označavanja nije uopće poznat niti primjenljiv. Tako, govoriti o *stilu* u bilo kom značenju unutar modalitetâ diskursâ *qadar/ṣinā'ata* nije opravdano, ali je apsurdno.

Također, atributi poput *klasične, srednjovjekovne, suvremene ... 'umjetnosti'* su po komparativnom mišljenju, vodećeg marokanskog historičara i stručnjaka za političku teoriju Abdullaha al-Urvīja (Laroui) besmisleni i nepotrebni. Ne postoji razlika između „klasične islamske umjetnosti" i „srednjovjekovne islamske umjetnosti" i samog isláma, kao i *'umjetnosti'* bez ikakvih atributa s vremenskim značenjem.

Laroui, Abdullah: ***Pour une méthodologie des études islamiques : l'Islam au miroir de Gustave von Grunebaum***; u: *Diogène*, br. XXXVIII, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1973., str. 30-41.

dynastic context; a collision with the aesthetic romanticization of political upheaval against dictatorship with a long history of Western support. One such view permanently repeats the opposition between the East and the West and explains one of the existent academic views of such a situation:

> *' ... to grasp Islamic aesthetics, Westerners must upend their sense of ornamentation as a* ***minor art****... Certain ambient pleasures merge with sanctity in* ***Muslim styles****'* (emphases by the author), and thus, by authoritative self-confirmation the essential distance between the East and the West seems even more prominent. Therefore, the same authority expresses the opinion that „Islamic art" offers *'adventures in difference' which leads to the awakening of 'latter-day scion(s) of the Renaissance wedding of Greek and Roman with Judeo-Christian traditions'.*[11]

The described *academic anxiety* has also given birth to other terms such as ***islamicate***,[12] and has pressed Eurocentric art historians to 'break' the single field of *'Islam'* into possible subfields, by means of a „new" method. Rationale for such a form of *'contribution'* has allegedly been woven by means of an *original term* that should describe cultural manifestations resulting from the Arabic and Persian written tradition. In the efforts to find a possible justification of such a procedure, it was pointed out that the use of this term does not pertain directly to the *Islamic religion* but rather to the *social and cultural complex which was historically associated with Islam and Muslims, even when what was found appeared among non-Muslims*,[13] though, in any case, the religious component is excluded. Despite the increased attention to the so-called regional forms and practices in studying „Islamic art", a general consensus seems to have

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[11] See Schjeldahl, Peter: ***Old and New: The reopening of the Islamic wing at the Met***. Weekly The New Yorker, New York, US, 7.11.2011, pp. 88-89.

[12] There are suggestions that Marshall Hodgson lays claim to launching this concept in the introduction to his history, ***The Venture of Islam***. Volume 1: *The Classical Age of Islam*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1975.

[13] ***Ibid***., p. 59.

For example, Hodgson claimed that there are different *artistic, architectural and literary styles* indicative of the alleged culture *Islamicate*. He also asserted that regardless of where these *aesthetic styles* are found, this term would allow their obvious identification, i.e. that they originate not from Islamic but rather from **Islamicated** cultural complexes, even when they can be identified among Muslims or non-Muslims.

It should be noted that *style* (Lat. *stilus* from Gr. *stylos* — writing implement) is a way of expression, i.e. individuality, that is manifested in manuscripts and works by a person, „school of art", trend or „artistic movement" (for which it is a synonym), as well as an „artistic age", in the sense of their differentiation in terms of content and history. This was the case with Renaissance, Gothic, Baroque, Rococo, Neoclassicism, Cubism, Fauvism, Expressionism, Orphism and Suprematism, while within „Islamic art" such signification is neither generally known nor applicable. Thus, to speak about style, in any meaning, within the modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse is not justified; it is absurd.

Besides, attributes such as classical, *medieval, contemporary etc. 'art'*, according to the comparative opinion of leading Moroccan historian and expert in political theory Abdullah al-Urvī (Laroui), are meaningless and unnecessary. There is no difference between „classical Islamic art" and „medieval Islamic art" and Islam itself, nor (any difference) between *'art'* with no attributes of temporal meaning.

Laroui, Abdullah: ***Pour une méthodologie des études islamiques: l'Islam au miroir de Gustave von Grunebaum***; in: *Diogène*, no. XXXVIII, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1973, pp. 30-41.

u proučavanju „islamske umjetnosti“, čini se da je uspostavljen opći konsenzus da raznolike vizualne kulture grupirane usvajanjem kulturnih oblika nastalih u muslìmānskom svijetu, neovisnih o vjerskim identitetima iako na mnogo načina imaju zajedničku pripadnost. Takva pojavnost je vidljiva posebno unutar okcidentalnog akademizma, koji se bavi mogućom interkulturalnom recepcijom *'umjetničkih oblika i praksi'* što su nastali u muslìmānskoj civilizaciji. Izazov je, dakle, objasniti transregionalne i transtemporalne aspekte *'umjetničke proizvodnje'* u muslìmānskīm zemljama, istovremeno uzimajući u obzir i naglašavajući povijesne i regionalne razlike. Mišljenja smo da bi eventualni pristup opisivanja kulturnih manifestacija proizašlih iz ìslāmske tradicije (ar. *al-sunnah*) mogao biti i opravdan, pod uvjetom da se ne ignoriraju ili zaobilaze temelji autorefleksivnih ìslāmskīh konstanti (ar. *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah*).[14] Nažalost, za mnoge okcidentalno-vesternizirane akademske strukture odgovor na takvo pitanje leži jedino u potrebi priznavanja dijalektike između transregionalnih i regionalnih, kao i dijakronijskih i sinkronijskih *'umjetničkih oblika'* i praksi, te produktivne napetosti koja ne dotiče utemeljenost autorefleksivnih ìslāmskīh konstanti. Baveći se objašnjavanjem geografske i historijske faktografije, osvjetljava se priznavajuća postojanost određenih *'umjetničkih formi'* bez njihovog stvarnog utemeljenja i karakterizacije kulturne prakse kroz vrijeme i prostor. Ustvari, moglo bi se tvrditi da je potreba za arbitražnim procesima između lokalnog i translokalnog, već ranije proživljeno iskustvo i ideal tako strukturirane „novopridošle islamske zajednice“ s pokušajima globalnih dosega, navodno dosljednih karakteristika različitih muslìmānskīh kultura. Uvjereni smo ukoliko se unutar ovakvih okcidentalno-vesterniziranih pokušaja ne osmisli uistinu originalna, nadgrađena alternativa koja će uvažiti neophodno potrebnu karakterizaciju i objašnjenja, da će ovakav oblik usvajanja kulturnih oblika nastalih u muslìmāskom svijetu, unatoč navodno uspostavljenom općem konsenzusu, ipak, morati biti zanemaren. Zapravo, ustupanje mjesta „islamskoj umjetnosti“ kao okcidentalno-vesterniziranom kulturnom posredniku u međunarodnoj areni, bar za okcidentalno-vesternizirani prostor čini se neminovnim.

Ipak, ostaje otvorena mogućnost da je osporavanje regionalnih oblika i praksi grupiranim usvajanjem kulturnih oblika nastalih u muslìmānskom svijetu, ustvari svoje osnovno utemeljenje pronašlo u trojezičnoj monografiji objavljenoj u Istanbulu (na osmansko-turskom, francuskom i njemačkom jeziku) povodom *Svjetske izložbe* u Beču, održane 1873. godine,[15] ili u kratkotrajnom dvojezičnom

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[14] Između ostalih, a po mišljenju Terry Allena, bilo koji svjesni *homo islamicus* unutar modalitetâ diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʿata* poštuje autorefleksivne diskurse unutar tradicionalnog ìslāmskog poimanja.

Usporedi, Allen, Terry: ***Five Essays on Islamic Art***. Solipsist Press, Sebastopol 1988., str. 30.

[15] U Katalogu izložbe u Beču iz 1873. godine vidjeti raspravu, Bozdoğan, Sibel i Necipoğlu, Gülru: ***Entangled Discourses : Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies in the Architectural Historiography of the 'Lands of Rum'***; u: Bozdoğan, S. i Necipoğlu, G. (ur.): *Historiography and Ideology : Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum'*. Muqarnas, An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World, svezak 24, str. 1–6, Brill, Leiden, 2007. Dostupno na: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Heghnar_Watenpaugh/publication/315622631_AN_UNEASY_HISTORIOGRAPHY_THE_LEGACY_OF_OTTOMAN_ARCHITECTURE_IN_THE_FORMER_ARAB_PROVINCES/links/5a3a8cb1a6fdcc3d07afa6a4/

been achieved that diverse visual cultures grouped by adopting cultural forms created in the Muslim world, independent of religious identities, still have the same affiliation in many ways. Such manifestation is particularly visible within Occidental academism, which deals with the possible inter-cultural reception of *'artistic forms and practices'* that appeared in the Muslim civilization. The challenge is, thus, how to explain transregional and transtemporal aspects of *'artistic production'* in Muslim countries, taking into account and highlighting the historical and regional differences. We believe that a possible approach to describing cultural manifestations resulting from Islamic tradition (Ar. *al-sunnah*) could even be justified, under the condition of not ignoring or bypassing the foundation of self-reflective Islamic constants (Ar. *al-thawābit al-islāmiyyah*)[14]. Unfortunately, for many Occidental-westernized academic structures the answer to this question lies only in the need for recognizing a dialectic between transregional and regional, as well as between diachronic and synchronic *'artistic forms'* and practices, and the productive tension which has nothing to do with the foundation of self-reflective Islamic constants. Dealing with the explanation of geographic and historical factography illuminates the recognized persistence of certain *'artistic forms'* without their true foundation and characterization of cultural practice through time and space. Indeed, one could claim that the need for arbitration processes between the local and trans-local is the already lived experience and the ideal of such a structured „newcomer Islamic community" attempting a global reach, with the allegedly consistent characteristics of different Muslim cultures. Unless such Occidental-westernized attempts conceive a truly original, built-on alternative which will take into account the necessary characterization and explanations, we are convinced that such a form of adopting cultural forms created in the Muslim world will still have to be ignored, despite the allegedly established general consensus. But in fact, giving way to „Islamic art" as the Occidental-westernized cultural intermediary in the international arena seems inevitable, at least for the Occidental-westernized space.

Still, there remains an open possibility that challenging regional forms and practices by the grouped adoption of cultural forms created in the Muslim world actually found its basic grounds in the trilingual monograph published in Istanbul (in Ottoman-Turkish, French and German) on the occasion of the *World Exhibition in Vienna* held in 1873[15], or in the short-lived bilingual journal in French and Ottoman Turkish titled *Le Miroir de l'art Musulman* („The Mirror of Muslim Art") or, with a somewhat different title in Ottoman-Turkish *Mir'āt-i ṣanaỹ ī-i Islaṁiye* („The Mirror of Islamic Art").[16] Indeed, the use of the adjectives *'**Islamic**'*

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[14] Among others, and according to Terry Allen, any conscious *homo islamicus* within the *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse modality respects self-reflexive discourses within the traditional Islamic understanding.

Cf., Allen, Terry: ***Five Essays on Islamic Art***. Solipsist Press, Sebastopol 1988., p. 30.

[15] In the exhibition in Vienna of 1873, see the treatise Bozdoğan, Sibel and Necipoğlu, Gülru: ***Entangled Discourses: Scrutinizing Orientalist and Nationalist Legacies in the Architectural Historiography of the 'Lands of Rum'***; in: Bozdoğan, S. and Necipoğlu, G. (ed.): *Historiography and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the 'Lands of Rum'. Muqarnas*, An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World, volume 24, pp. 1–6, Brill, Leiden, 2007. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Heghnar_Watenpaugh/publication/315622631_AN_UNEASY_HISTORIOGRAPHY_THE_LEGACY_OF_OTTOMAN_ARCHITECTURE_IN_THE_FORMER_ARAB_PROVINCES/links/5a3a8cb1a6fdcc3d07afa6a4/AN-UNEASY-HISTORIOGRAPHY-THE-LEGACY-OF-OTTOMAN-ARCHITECTURE-IN-THE-FORMER-ARAB-PROVINCES.pdf. Accessed on: 20.2.2016.

[16] Türker, Deniz: ***Hakky-Bey and His Journal Le Miroir de l'art musulman, or, Mir'āt-i ṣanāyī-i Islāmiy***e (1898). *Muqarnas*, An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World, volume 31, no. 1, Brill, Leiden 2014, pp. 277–306. Available at: https://archnet.org/

časopisu na francuskom i osmansko-turskom jeziku pod naslovom *Le Miroir de l'art Musulman* („Ogledalo muslìmānske umjetnosti“), ili sa nešto drugačijim naslovom na osmansko-turskom jeziku kao *Mirʿ āt-i ṣanāyī ʾ-i Islamīye* („Ogledalo islamske umjetnosti“).[16] Naime, upotreba pridjevâ *'islāmskī'* i *'muslìmānskī'* u oba primjera predstavljanja ukupnosti estetizacije šarolikih vizualnih kultura sa svojim raznolikim fuzijama transregionalnih i regionalnih elemenata, koje je proizašlo iz polaganja prava osmanskog sultanata na univerzalni hilāfet (ar. *hilāfat*), što u principu dodatno može usložnjavati stanje pretpostavke da je izraz *islamicate* bio samo izum evropskih orijentalista.

Primjer terminološkog definiranja djelanja/*ṣinā'ata homo islamicusa*, odnosno „umjetnosti“ u islāmskom svijetu / An example of the terminological definition of the actions/*ṣinā'at* of *homo islamicus*, i.e. "art" in the Islamic world.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Dvojezični časopis na francuskom i osmansko-turskom jeziku ***Le Miroir de l'art Musulman***/*Ogledalo muslìmānske umjetnosti* ili ***Mirʿ āt-i ṣanāyī ʾ-i Islamīye***/*Ogledalo islamske umjetnosti*.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Bilingual magazine in French and Ottoman-Turkish ***Le Miroir de l'art Musulman/Mirror of Muslim Art*** *or* ***Mir'āt-i ṣanāyī'-i Islamīye***/ *Mirror of Islamic Art.*

Međutim, svojevremeno vođene rasprave oko novog imena *Galerije islamske umjetnosti*, kao posebnog krila u Metropolitan muzeja u New Yorku – MET, najboljim su svjedokom tome, kao i potpore nekih autora i njihovih (muslìmānskīh) pobornika, koji su nesebično prihvatili takav vid substitucije prilikom objašnjavanja ìslāmskīh fenomena (ar. *al-zawāhir al-islāmiyyah*) iz ove oblasti.[17] Naime, desilo se favoriziranje ljepote nad

AN-UNEASY-HISTORIOGRAPHY-THE-LEGACY-OF-OTTOMAN-ARCHITECTURE-IN-THE-FORMER-ARAB-PROVINCES.pdf. . Pristupljeno 20.2.2016.

[16] Türker, Deniz: ***Hakky-Bey and His Journal Le Miroir de l'art musulman, or, Mirʿ āt-i ṣanāyī-i Islāmiye (1898.)***. *Muqarnas*, An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World, svezak 31, br. 1, Brill, Leiden 2014., str. 277–306. Dostupno na: https://archnet.org/publications/14146. Pristupljeno 22.2.2016.

[17] Naime, umjesto ranijeg naziva „Galerije islamske umjetnosti – MET“, službeni naziv preuređenog prostora je preimenovan u „Galerija za umjetnost arapskih zemalja, Turske, Irana, Srednje Azije i kasnije Južne Azije“ *(The Galleries for the Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia)*. Obrazloženje za takav čin promjene,

and *'**Muslim**'* in both cases of presenting the entirety of the aestheticization of diverse visual cultures with their varied fusions of transregional and regional elements, which resulted from the Ottoman Sultanate's laying claim to the universal *caliphate* (Ar. *al-khilāfah*), can generally further complicate the state of the assumption that the term ***islamicate*** was only the invention of European Orientalists.

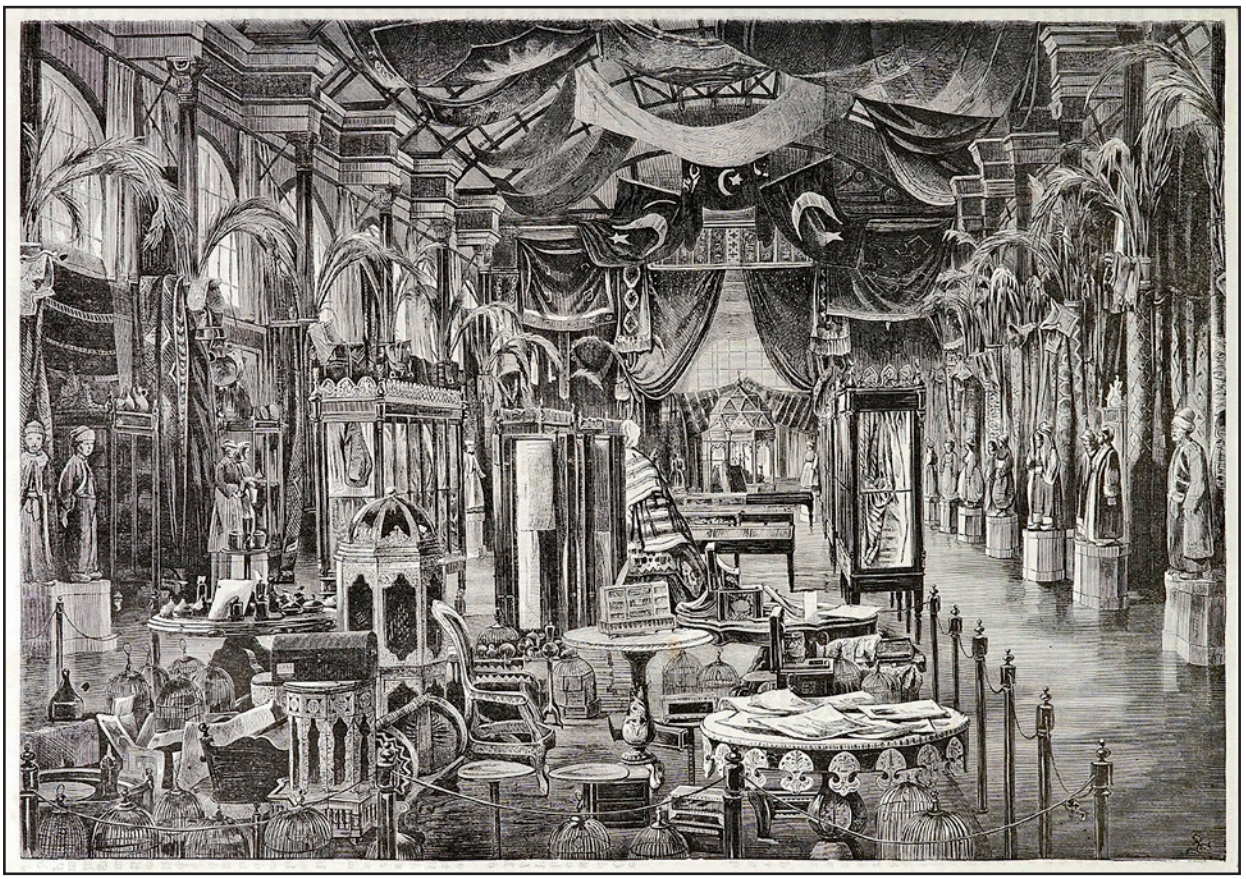


ILLUSTRATION ~ Part of the interior of the Ottoman pavilion at the World Exhibition in Vienna in 1873.
ILUSTRACIJA ~ Dio interijera osmanskog paviljona na Svjetskoj izložbi u Beču 1873. godine.

However, discussions on the new name of the *Gallery of Islamic Art* as a separate wing of the Metropolitan Museum in New York (MET) are the best evidence and support for some authors and their (Muslim) supporters, who selflessly adopted this kind of substitution when explaining Islamic phenomena (Ar. *al-zawāhir al-islāmiyyah*) of this area.[17] Actually, it was favoring **beauty** over **meaning** and blurring

publications/14146. Accessed on: 22.2.2016.

[17] Actually, instead of the previous name „Gallery of Islamic Art – MET", the official name of the rearranged area was changed to *The Galleries for the Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia*. According to Nasser Rabbat, tThe curators justified such an act of the change saying that it was done to *... convey the variousness of Islamic art and its geographically distinct expressions, as well as to deemphasize the religious identity associated with the old name, since Islamic art, like any other art, has many nonreligious manifestations. He goes on to say that... This rationale seems sound enough and resonates with the prevalent*

značenjem i zamagljivanje prisustva procesa vjere i vjerovanja u pokušaju ustoličenja nerazumijevanja islāma kao jedinstvenog okvira, namećući formu vrednovanja posredstvom neutemeljene mogućnosti zajedničke judeokršćansko-grčko-rimske baštine;[18] uvođenje *regionalizma* s uspostavljanjem novog naziva odjela, te koristeći osjećaj ugode kao dio odgovarajuće scene za poticanje *uvjerenja orijentalne fantazije gledatelja*. Između ostalog, ali i radi toga Wendy Shaw, profesorica *Historije umjetnosti ìslāmskīh kultura na Freie Universitätu* („Slobodni univerzitet") u Berlinu inzistira na ponavljanju upravo onih tropova koji su uzrokovali eliminiranje izraza '*ìslām*' iz naslova galerije, što je navodno nastao pod paravanom '*neophodnog poboljšanja značenja*'.[19] Međutim, nama se čini da se sve to desilo više pod paravanom geopolitike i nevidljivog sponzorstva. Sadržaj „islamske umjetnosti" pod novim nazivom: „Galerija za umjetnost arapskih zemalja, Turske, Irana, Srednje Azije i kasnije Južne Azije" – (ALTICALSA), nažalost, ne postaje sredstvo za razumijevanje druge kulture. Ovim gestom dešava se potvrđivanje oblika kulturnog narcizma u kojem se kolektivno „ja", prepuno složene baštine, postavlja protiv pojednostavljene različitosti u kojoj je obećan navodni *osjećaj ugode*; pri čemu nužno nema nikakvog oblika zajedničke ìslāmske i judeokršćansko-grčko-rimske baštine.

Bez obzira na validnost jedne od prethodno naznačenih motivacija, prelazak na fragmentarnije regionalne taksonomije postavlja pitanja: ... koja je nit, koja prolazi kroz '*umjetnost*' svih ovih regija

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navodni kustosi obrazlažu da je to učinjeno kako bi ... *prenijeli različitost islamske umjetnosti i njene različite geografske sredine porijekla, kao i da bi istakli vjerski identitet povezan sa starim imenom, budući da islamska umjetnost, kao i svaka druga umjetnost, sadrži mnogo nereligijskih manifestacija*. Zatim se dodaje kako im se čini ... *da je ovo obrazloženje dovoljno zvučno i da rezonira s prevladavajućom nelagodom s pojmom islamska umjetnost, koju mnogi znanstvenici smatraju ograničenom i ograničavajućom* – premda nijedna druga akademska ili kulturna institucija nije poduzela tako hrabar korak da takvo nazivlje u potpunosti izbaci.

Rabbat, Nasser: ***The New Islamic Art Galleries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art***. *Artforum International Magazine*, New York, januar 2012., Nstr. 75-78. Dostupno na: https://www.artforum.com/print/201201/the-new-islamic-art-galleries-at-the-metropolitan-museum-of-art-29813. Pristupljeno 4.3.2014.

Vidjeti i, Carey, Moya i Graves, S. Margaret: ***Introduction: the historiography of Islamic art and architecture***. *Journal of Art Historiography,* Number 6 June 2012., str. 3, gdje je posebno naznačeno da pojam „islamska umjetnost" definitivno dostiže apoteozu u preimenovanju ...

Metropolitan Museum to Open Renovated Galleries for the Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia. Opened: November 1, 2011. Dostupno na: https://www.metmuseum.org/press/exhibitions/2011/renovated-galleries-for-the-art-of-the-arab-lands-turkey-iran-central-asia-and-later-south-asia. Pristupljeno 4.3.2014.

[18] Ìslāmska vizija svijeta i kao duhovnog i kao civilizacijskog izraza, sa svojim skoro petnaest stoljetnim procesima čudesnog preplitanja i prožimanja duhovno-vjerskog i socijalno-političkog naslijeđa, bila je i ostala, kroz cijelu epohu srednjovjekovlja, duhovna vizija. Naravno, po prirodi stvari, niti je bila niti je mogla postojati u primordijalnom, odnosno neopterećenom stanju kao dio istočnog svijeta. Protokom vremena i dodirima sa drugim kulturama, primala je i druge misaone utjecaje. Iako se razvijao i kretao pod pritiskom različitih utjecaja, ovaj nazor na svijet je, onoliko koliko je to moguće, ipak samosvojan, određen svojim sopstvenim prirodno-socijalnim okvirima i konstituiran na originalan način. Istina, nastajale su epohe u kretanju tog nazora kada su neki uvezeni utjecaji (npr. elementi antike ...) uzimali manje ili više maha, ali su se ipak ranije ili kasnije gubili u kontinuitetu izvorne ìslāmske vizije svijeta, ostavljajući u njoj manji ili veći trag ali nikad radikalno ne ugrožavajući njene bitne odrednice tako da je njena duhovna priroda ipak ostala dominantna. Pri tome treba istaći da su određeni elementi judeokršćansko-grčko-rimske baštine mišljenja ostali ili marginalizirani, na spoljnjem planu, na nivou informacije ili su se, pak, '*prosijali*' i izgubili u beskrajnoj širini i toku ìslāmskog mišljenja.

[19] Shaw, M. K. Wendy: ***The Islam in Islamic art history***. *Journal of Art Historiography*, Glasgow Iss. 6, (Jun 2012), str. 12.

the presence of **faith** and **believing** in the attempt to inaugurate the non-understanding of Islam as a unitary frame, imposing a form of evaluation by means of the unfounded possibility of a shared Judeo-Christian-Graeco-Roman heritage;[18] the introduction of *regionalism* through establishing a new name for the department, and using **pleasure** as a stage-set for the *viewer's Oriental fantasy*. Among other things, but for this reason as well, Wendy Shaw, a professor of the *History of Art of Islamic Cultures* at *Freie Universität* (The Free University) in Berlin insists on repeating the very tropes that caused the elimination of the term ***'Islam'*** from the title of the gallery, which was supposedly created under the cover of '*necessary improvement of the meaning*'.[19] However, it seems to us that it was done rather under the cover of geopolitics and invisible sponsorship. The content of the „Islamic art" under the new title: „The Galleries for the Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia" – (ALTICALSA), unfortunately does not become a means for understanding another culture. This gesture reaffirms a form of cultural narcissism in which the collective „self", replete with a complex heritage, is set against the simplified alterity in which it takes its *pleasure* – and in which the possibility of a shared Judeo-Christian-Graeco-Roman heritage is necessarily nowhere to be found.

Regardless of the validity of the previously described motivations, the shift to a more fragmented regional taxonomy leads to the question: what is the thread that permeates the *'art'* of all these regions, one that could tie or integrate them or, if there is no coexistence between them, no dialogue, system of values, discourse, worldview, why does *'art'* created in all these *diverse regions* have a separate gallery space, and why are all of them, within this and such a space, presented together? Besides respect for the character of a possible answer, we would like to say that such an act could be considered as a return to

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unease with the term Islamic art, which many scholars find both limited and limiting – although no other academic or cultural institution has taken such a bold step to jettison the phrase entirely.

Rabbat, Nasser: ***The New Islamic Art Galleries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art***. *Artforum* International Magazine, New York, January 2012, pp. 75-78. Available at: https://www.artforum.com/print/201201/the-new-islamic-art-galleries-at-the-metropolitan-museum-of-art-29813. Accessed on: 4.3.2014.

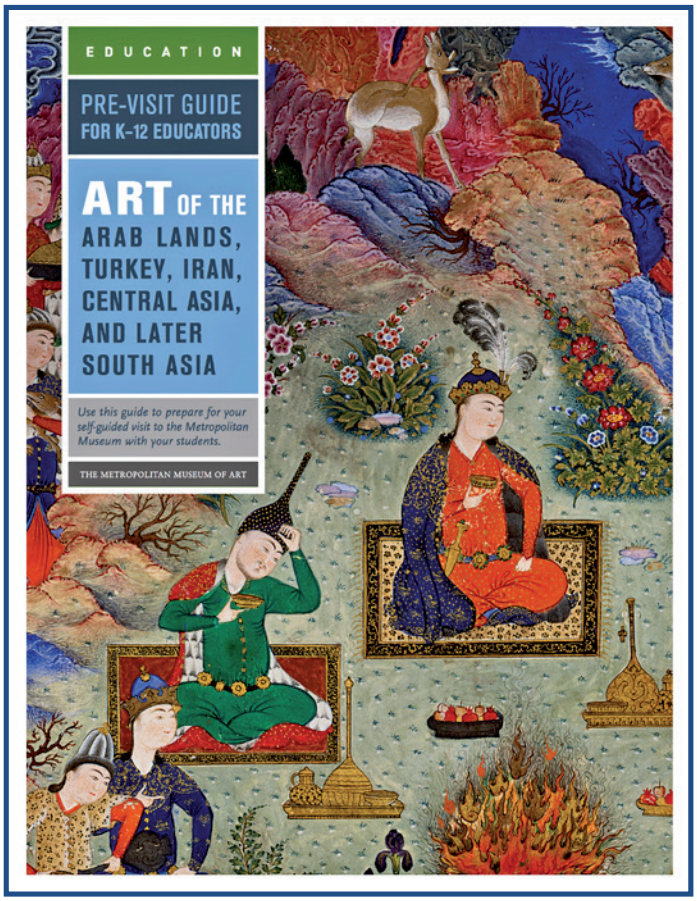
See also, Carey, Moya and Graves, S. Margaret: ***Introduction: the historiography of Islamic art and architecture***. *Journal of Art Historiography*, Number 6 June 2012, p. 3, where they point out that the concept 'Islamic art' definitely reaches apotheosis in the renaming.

Metropolitan Museum to Open Renovated Galleries for the Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia. Opened: November 1, 2011. Available at: https://www.metmuseum.org/press/exhibitions/2011/renovated-galleries-for-the-art-of-the-arab-lands-turkey-iran-central-asia-and-later-south-asia. Accessed on: 4.3.2014.

[18] The Islamic vision of the world as both a spiritual and civilizational expression, with its almost fifteen centuries-long processes of wondrous intertwining and permeation of spiritual-religious and socio-political heritage, remained a **spiritual vision** throughout the Middle Ages. Naturally, in the nature of things, it was not and could not exist in the primordial, i.e. unburdened, condition as part of the eastern world. During the passage of time and contact with other cultures it assumes other mental impacts. Although it developed and proceeded under the pressure of different influences, this worldview is, as far as possible, still **distinct**, defined by its own natural-social frameworks and constituted in an original way. Indeed, there have been epochs in the evolution of this worldview when some imported influences (e.g. elements of the Ancient Age) were more or less widespread; however, they still disappeared sooner or later in the continuity of the original Islamic vision of the world, leaving in it a smaller or greater trace but never radically threatening its essential determinants, and therefore its spiritual nature still remained dominant. It should also be noted that some elements of the Judeo-Christian-Graeco-Roman heritage remained either marginalized, external, at the information level, or else were *'sifted'* and disappeared in the endless breadth and flow of Islamic thinking.

[19] Shaw, M. K. Wendy: ***The Islam in Islamic art history.*** *Journal of Art Historiography*, Glasgow Iss. 6, (Jun 2012), p. 12.

što bi ih mogla povezati ili inegrirati, odnosno ako među njima ne postoji suživot, dijalog, vrijednosni sistem, diskurs, svjetonazor, zašto *'umjetnost'* proizvedena u svim tim *raznolikim regijama* ima poseban galerijski prostor, kao i zašto se sve one unutar tog i takvog prostora ipak prezentiraju zajedno? Pored respekta na karakter mogućeg odgovora, želimo kazati da bi se takav čin mogao smatrati vraćanjem na ranija razdoblja u povijesti pôljā kada su pojmovi poput „arapske" ili „perzijske umjetnosti" prethodili univerzalnijim kategorijama „muhamedanske" ili „islamske umjetnosti". Hoćemo kazati, kako je, ipak, potaknuta povijesna nelagoda s vjerskim implikacijama *'isláma'* u „islamskoj umjetnosti". Čini se da prezentirani ìslām kroz formu „islamske umjetnosti" pod prenamijenjenim nazivom galerije, koji za razliku neophodnog gledanja na Istok gleda na Zapad, najbolje bi se mogao shvatiti kao predodređena praznina protiv koje vesternizirani Zapad može potvrditi vlastiti **unitarni identitet**. Jednostavno kazano, riječ je o rastućem trendu prema tumačenju fenomena predmetnosti u smislu povijesne kontekstualizacije, a ne prvenstveno formalnih svojstava.



ILUSTRACIJA~ Metropolitan muzej, *Galerije za umjetnost arapskih zemalja, Turske, Irana, Centralne Azije i Kasnije Južna Azija*. 1. novembra 2011.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Metropolitan Museum, *The Galleries for the Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and Later South Asia*. November 1, 2011.

past epochs in the history of the field, when terms such as „Arabic" and „Persian art" preceded the more universal categories of „Muhammadan" or „Islamic art". We believe that it still spurred the historical unease with the religious implications of *'Islam'* in „Islamic art". It seems that Islam, presented through the form of „Islamic art" under the changed name of the galleries, which instead of the necessary view towards the East looks to the West, could best be understood as a predetermined void against which the westernized West can reaffirm its own **unitary identity**. In simple terms, it is an increasing trend toward interpreting the phenomenon of materiality in terms of historical contextualization, rather than primarily in terms of formal properties.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Highlights of the collection include: ***the Damascus Room*** in Metropolitan Museum. Originally constructed in between 1119 and 1707, this is a residential winter reception chamber, typical of the Ottoman Empire.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Posebnosti kolekcije uključuje ***sobu u Damasku*** u Metropolitan muzeju. Prvobitno izgrađena između 1119. i 1707. godine, ovo je rezidencijalna zimska prijemna soba, tipična za Osmansko carstvo.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Na'im al-Din Ahmad: *Šahnama* (*Knjiga o kraljevima*) od Firdawsija (detalj). Safavidski period, 1518, Iran, Širaz.
Arthur M. Sackler Galerija, acc. br. S1986.58.1.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Na'im al-Din Ahmad: *Shahnama (Book of kings)* by Firdawsi (detail). Safavid period, 1518, Iran, Shiraz. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, acc. num. S1986.58.1.

U očiglednim estetskim kanoniziranim povezanostima „islamske umjetnosti“, u širokim vremenskim i prostornim lokacijama i područjima isključivo zasnovanim na materijalnosti kulturne razmjene (bez neminovno potrebnih hermeneutičkih ključeva), evidentno je umanjena složenost mreže svih ostalih oblika kulture koje su služile, pripadale, omogućavale ustoličenje i razvoj koncepta klasičnog muslìmānskog svijeta, pa samim tim i modalitetâ diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata*. Polje „islamske umjetnosti“ je kroz neprihvatljivu epistemološku strukturu, u sklopu evidentno tako povijesno prezentirane vrijednosti isláma izgrađene i definirane po načelima vlastite zapadne historiografije, nemoralno ali i apsurdno prelomilo i sâm ìslām kroz sekularno očište.

Također i nastojanje da „islamske kulture“, a ne jedinstvena ìslāmska kultura, postoje u vlastitom vremenu (ili čak po malobrojnim i izvan vremena) jedan je od glavnih faktora koji je motivirao tradicionalnu segregaciju „islamske umjetnosti“ od suvremenih post-srednjovjekovnih razdoblja u istraživanjima *‘globalne historije umjetnosti’*. Ovo poricanje istovjetnosti ne samo da je evidentno u istraživanjima „svjetske umjetnosti“ u izostavljanju ìslāmskīh estetiziranih djela nastalih u 18. ili početkom 19. stoljeća, već i u anahronoj medievalizaciji remek-djela iz ranog modernog razdoblja. Stoga se potonja djela često svrstavaju u poglavlja o srednjovjekovlju, umjesto da im se da hronološko pripadanje.[20]

Za razliku od ovakvog diskursa, kasnoantičko i srednjovjekovno razdoblje tradicionalno se u okviru okcidentalno-vesterniziranog promatranja tretira kao *ravnopravno* u obiteljskom odnosu sa zapadnim shvatanjem tradicije (bizantikom, romanikom i gotikom). Čini se da je integriranje ranonovovjekovne „islamske umjetnosti“ u eurocentrične historiografske debele knjižne forme globalne „historije umjetnosti“, ipak predstavljalo određeni problem *iza kulisa*. Interesantno je da je takav problem ugrađen i u sumnjivo stajalište 19. stoljeća, odnosno da je klasična mediteranska „umjetnička baština“, zajednička tzv. ranoj i srednjovjekovnoj „islamskoj umjetnosti“, postala ekskluzivni rezervat Evrope nakon renesanse. Evidentno je da u korijenu problema *iza zastora*, ipak leži ona tradicionalna konceptualizacija renesansnog humanizma, kao obilježavanje velikog kulturnog prekida između kršćanske Evrope i njenih ìslāmskīh susjeda, jedinstveni fenomen *sui generis* koji je modernost, zanemarujući Istok, usmjerio samo u pravcu Zapada. Ipak, u posljednje vrijeme, zahvaljujući revizionističkim pristupima evropskih znanstvenika koji pokušavaju „preusmjeriti“ renesansu između Istoka i Zapada, prethodno akademsko postupanje ipak je dovodeno u pitanje.[21] Iako se više ne može sumnjati u sudjelovanje ìslāmskog svijeta

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[20] Različiti kriteriji za sheme periodizacije u okcidentalno-vesterniziranoj historiji umjetnosti, uključujući političke, geografske, kulturne i umjetničke, raspravljaju se u časopisu *Perspective : La revue de l'INHA* iz 2008. godine. Hronologija „islamske umjetnosti“, s njenim problematičnim izostavljanjem modernog razdoblja, predstavljena je u tom dijelu časopisa, vidjeti Volait, Mercedes: ***L'art islamique et la problème de périodisation***; u: *časopisu Perspective : La revue*, Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA), br. 4, Paris, 2008., str. 783-786. Dostupno na: https://journals.openedition.org/perspective/2726. Pristupljeno 20.1.2020.

[21] Alexander Nagel koristi se renesansnom slikom Andree Mantegne, koja prikazuje poštivanje Magova, kako bi pokazao kako je moguće informirati naše znanje o terminima „antika“ i „istok“. Šta je bila antika u razdoblju renesanse i kako se shvaćalo ono istočno? Tvrdi da tragom ova dva pojma možemo ne samo pročistiti što bi „renesansa“ mogla značiti, već i

The obvious aesthetic canonized connections of „Islamic art" across broad temporal and spatial locations and regions exclusively based on the materiality of cultural exchange (without the inevitably needed hermeneutical keys) evidently decrease the complexity of the network of all other forms of culture they served and belonged to and allowed the inauguration and development of the concept of a classical Muslim world, and thus the modalities of the *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse. Through an unacceptable epistemological structure, within the value of Islam evidently historically presented in this way, which was built and defined according to the principles of its own Western historiography, the field of „Islamic art" both immorally and absurdly refracted Islam itself through a **secular point of view**.

Besides, the endeavor to present „Islamic cultures", rather than a **unitary Islamic culture**, as existing in their own time (or even, according to a few, beyond time as well) is one of the main factors that motivated the traditional segregation of „Islamic art" by contemporary post-medieval epochs in studies of the *'global history of art'*. This denial of equivalence can clearly be seen in studies of „world art", in omitting Islamic aestheticized works created in the 18th or early 19th century, as well as in anachronous medievalization of masterpieces of the early modern period. Therefore, the latter works are often included in chapters on the Middle Ages, instead of being provided with the chronology to which they belong.[20]

Unlike this kind of discourse, the Occidental-westernized view traditionally treats late Antiquity and the Middle Ages as *equal* in the family relationship with the Western understanding of tradition (Byzantium, Romanesque and Gothic). It seems that the integration of the early centuries of „Islamic art" in the Eurocentric historiographic thick-book forms of the global „history of art" was nevertheless a certain problem *behind the scenes*. Interestingly, such a problem is also incorporated in the dubious viewpoint of the 19th century that the classical Mediterranean „artistic heritage", the so-called common to early and medieval „Islamic art" became the exclusive reservation of Europe after the Renaissance. Evidently, the root of the problem *behind the scenes* is the traditional conceptualization of Renaissance humanism as a mark of the great cultural breakup between Christian Europe and its Islamic neighbors, a unique phenomenon *sui generis* which ignored the East to direct modernity only toward the West. Still, recently, due to the revisionist approaches by European scholars who attempt to „redirect" the Renaissance between the East and the West, the former academic procedure was challenged.[21] Although one can no

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[20] Different criteria for the schemes of periodization in Occidental-westernized history of art, including political geographic, cultural and artistic, are discussed in the journal *Perspective: La revue de l'INHA* of 2008. The chronology of „Islamic art", with its problematic omittance of the modern period, is discussed in this part of the journal.

See Volait, Mercedes: ***L'art islamique et la problème de périodisation***; in: the journal *Perspective*: *La revue* de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art (INHA), no. 4, Paris, 2008, pp. 783-786. Available at: https://journals.openedition.org/perspective/2726. Accessed on 20.1.2020.

[21] Alexander Nagel uses a Renaissance painting by Andrea Mantegna which depicts the adoration of the Magi to show that it is possible to inform our knowledge of the terms „Antiquity" and the „East". What was antiquity in this period and how was *eastern* understood? He claims that tracing these two terms not only refines what „Renaissance" might mean but also illuminates how the designation „Europe" came into being, that is, how a geographical destination was transfigured into a cultural identity.

See Nagel, Alexander: ***Some Discoveries of 1492 : Eastern Antiquities and Renaissance Europe*** (Volume 17 of Gerson Lectures).

u evropskoj „renesansi“, globalne rezonancije „islamske umjetnosti“ izvan njenog odnosa s Evropom prije i poslije 1250. godine trebaju se detaljnije proučiti. Zapravo studije slučaja su u toku i obećavaju da će proširiti svjetske horizonte i izvan njegovog tradicionalnog eurocentričnog fokusa.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Andrea Mantegna, *Poklonstvo mudraca*, 1460., Muzej J. Paul Getty, Los Angeles.

Mantegnina slika smještena je u **antičko doba**. Ipak, ništa prikazano na slici ne može se strogo identificirati kao antičko. Mudraci koji stoje nose turbane poznate po suvremenoj osmanskoj nošnji. Markiz od Mantove Francesco Gonzaga, Mantegnin zaštitnik, posjedovao je takav turban, koji mu je poklonio osmanski sultan Bayezid II. Mnogi su talijanski umjetnici koristili pseudoarapsko pismo u svojim slikama svetih likova, ali ovdje se čini da Mantegna oponaša specifično sirijska pisma usporediva s onima pronađenima u biblijskim rukopisima. Najstariji kralj, u konačnici, nudi porculansku šoljicu koja se proizvodila u Kini u petnaestom stoljeću. Porculan je bio relativno nedavni izum i tek je počeo dospijevati u zapadne zbirke, a ipak je ovdje u rukama biblijskog mudraca. Tako imamo scenu smještenu u antičko doba, ali ispunjenu predmetima iz mnogo kasnijih stoljeća, proizvedenih na mjestima koja se protežu od Kine do Mediterana.

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rasvijetliti kako je nastala oznaka „Evropa“, odnosno kako je geografska oznaka preobražena u kulturni identitet. Vidjeti Nagel, Alexander: ***Some Discoveries of 1492 : Eastern Antiquities and Renaissance Europe*** (Sveska 17 iz Gerson Lectures). The Gerson Lectures Foundation, Groningen, 2013. Dostupno na: https://books.ugp.rug.nl/index.php/ugp/catalog/view/18/17/82-1. Pristupljeno 26,12.2018.

Istražujući prema vani potvrdu o tome ko su *oni* i što ih se definiralo kao „civilizirane“, Evropljani su se susreli s povratnim pogledom onoga što se danas naziva *Istokom*, posebno s pažnjom moćnog Osmanskog Carstva. Forma prijenosnih artefakata pružila je snažne alate za istraživanje kulturnih strujanja koje su proticale između Istoka i Zapada. U konačnici, njihova studija nudi radikalno i široko preispitivanje renesansne umjetnosti.

Vidjeti Jardine, Lisa, i Brotton, Jerry: ***Global Interests : Renaissance Art between East and West***. Reaktion Books, London, 2005.

Primjer gdje autori propituju ono što se prečesto može činiti riješenom sigurnošću, poput razlike između Istoka i Zapada, nepromjenjivog sukoba između isláma i kršćanstva i „ponovnog rađanja“ evropske civilizacije iz korijena u klasičnoj Grčkoj i carskom Rimu. Vidjeti MacLean, Gerald (ur.): ***Re-Orienting the Renaissance : Cultural Exchanges with the East***. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, England, 2005.

Povjesničarka Deborah Howard tvrdi da su mnogi Venecijanci stekli uvid u ìslāmsku kulturu osobnim kontaktima sa svojim muslìmānskīm trgovinskim partnerima. Na temelju opsežnih multidisciplinarnih istraživanja, ona ispituje mehanizme koji su upravljali razmjenom vizualne kulture preko ideoloških granica prije doba tiska.

Vidjeti Howard, Deborah: ***Venice and the East : The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500***. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000.

longer doubt the participation of the Islamic world in the European „Renaissance", global resonances of „Islamic art" beyond its relationship with Europe before and after 1250 should be studied in more detail. Indeed, case studies are in progress and promise to broaden world horizons even beyond its traditional Eurocentric focus.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Andrea Mantegna, ***Adoration of the Magi*** (detail), 1460, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Mantegna's painting is set in **antiquity**. Yet nothing shown in tl1e painting can be strictly identified as an antiquity. The standing Magi wear turbans familiar from con-temporary Ottoman dress. The Marquis of Mantua Francesco Gonzaga, Mantegna's patron, owned such a turban, given to him by the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid Il. Many Italian artists used pseudo-Arabic script in their paintings of holy figures, but here Mantegna seems to be emulating specifically Syriac scripts comparable to those found in biblical manuscripts. The eldest king, finally, proffers a porcelain cup of a type produced in fifteenth-century China. Porcelain was a relatively recent invention and just beginning to reach western collections, yet here it is in the hands of the biblical Magus.Thus we have a scene set in antiquity but filled with items from much later centuries, produced in locales stretching from China to the Mediterranean.

A similar issue pertained to the theorizing of Islam as a civilization which is „intermediated", imprisoned in the „Middle Ages" between classical Antiquity and its „re-emergence" thanks to the early definition of modern European humanists. It leaves „Islamic art" (if not Islamic culture in general as well) permanently

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The Gerson Lectures Foundation, Groningen, 2013. Available at: https://books.ugp.rug.nl/index.php/ugp/catalog/view/18/17/82-1. Accessed on 26.12.2018.

While searching abroad for confirmation of who *they* are and why they were defined as „civilized", Europeans came across the rearview of what is nowadays called the *East*, with particular attention to the powerful Ottoman Empire. Portable artefacts provided a form of powerful tools for studying cultural currents between East and West. Ultimately, their study offers a radical and broad rethinking of Renaissance art.

See Jardine, Lisa, and Brotton, Jerry: ***Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West***. Reaktion Books, London, 2005.

An example where authors discuss what can too often seem as a resolved certainty, such as the difference between East and West, the unchanging conflict between Islam and Christianity and the „rebirth" of European civilization from its roots in ancient Greece and imperial Rome.

See MacLean, Gerald (ed.): ***Re-Orienting the Renaissance : Cultural Exchanges with the East***. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, England, 2005.

Historian Deborah Howard claims that many Venetians gained an insight into Islamic culture through personal contact with their Muslim trade partners. Based on extensive multidisciplinary studies, she researches the mechanisms that governed the exchange of visual culture through ideological borders before the age of the printing press.

See Howard, Deborah: ***Venice and the East : The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100-1500***. Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000.

Srodno pitanje bilo je teoretiziranje isláma kao civilizacije koja je „inter posredovana“, zarobljena u „srednjovjekovlju“ između klasične antike i njenog ponovnog „pojavljivanja“ zahvaljujući ranom određenju modernih evropskih humanista. To ostavlja „islamsku umjetnost“ (ako ne i ìslāmsku kulturu općenito) trajno fiksiranom i potpuno nesposobnom da prevaziđe već priznati kreativni zenit u srednjovjekovnom razdoblju. Primjer institucionaliziranja ìslāmskīh studija u Njemačkoj predstavljao je jednu od progresivnih formi integracije isláma u Evropu, ali samo kao jedino moguće „srednje karike“ globalne povijesti.[22] Ipak, bila je to forma perspektivnog značaja gdje se potvrđivao renesansni humanizam kao trajni kulturni prekid između zapadne Evrope i ìslāmskog svijeta.[23] Ovakva perspektiva i danas je prisutna u prostorima i među zbirkama muzeja *Pergamon* u Berlinu.[24] Takozvano *ìslāmsko krilo* muzeja zauzima fizički posrednički položaj između drevne arheologije i kasne antike do srednjovjekovnih zbirki, koje kulminiraju u modernom razdoblju.[25] Moguće je zaključiti kako ideja takozvanog samoodređenja pôljā pripadnosti „islamske umjetnosti“ kao *‘srednjovjekovne umjetnosti’*, konzekventno favorizira formativno porijeklo nad procesima evidentnog historijskog razvoja.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Prikaz ptice, crtež Merjeme/Marije i Isaa/Isusa te kineskog mitskog stvorenja Qilina na ukrašenim drvenim pločama sobe u Alepu. Muzej islamske umjetnosti, Berlin (1601.–1603.). Foto: Georg Niedermeiser.

ILLUSTRATION~ Depiction of a bird, drawing of Maryam/Maria and Isaa/Jesus and The Chinese mythical creature Qilin on the decorated wooden panels of the Aleppo Room. Museum for Islamic Art, Berlin (1601-1603). Photo: Georg Niedermeiser.

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[22] Jedan od vodećih zagovornika te pozicije bio je Carl Heinrich Becker (um. 1933), orijentalista koji je institucionalizirao ìslāmske studije u tadašnjoj Njemačkoj, te osnovao još uvijek utjecajni časopis *Der Islam*. U svom hijerarhijskom poretku civilizacija, Becker je ìslām smjestio ispod Evrope a iznad Afrike, dodijelivši mu centralno mjesto u njegovom poimanju svjetske povijesti, odnosno ìslām je dobio funkciju posrednika između Istoka i Zapada.

[23] Detaljnije o Beckerovoj teoriji civilizacija, vidjeti Haridi, Alexander: ***Das Paradigma der ‘islamischen Zivilisation’ – oder die Begründung der deutschen Islamwissenschaft durch Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) : eine wissenschaftsgeschtliche Untersuchung***. Ergon, Würzburg, 2005. Dostupno na: https://search.proquest.com/docview/214034699?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true. Pristupljeno 23.5.2016.

[24] Naime, premještanjem zbirke muzeja Kaiser Friedrich (danas muzej Bode), osnovanog 1904. godine, u muzej *Pergamon* u Berlinu, svečano otvorenom 1932. godine, novoformirana cjelokupnost srednjovjekovne ìslāmske zbirke utemeljena je takvom pozicijom.

[25] O Beckeru i muzeju *Pergamon,* vidjeti Necipoğlu, Gülru: ***The Concept of Islamic Art : Inherited Discourses and New Approaches***; u: Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber i Gerhard Wolf (ur.): *Islamic Art and the Museum*. Saqi, London, 2012., str. 17-23. Dostupno na: https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/necipogludoc.pdf. Pristupljeno 10.10.2018.

fixed and completely incapable of overcoming the already recognized creative zenith in the Middle Ages. The example of institutionalizing Islamic studies in Germany was one of the progressive forms of integrating Islam into Europe, though only as a possible „middle link" in the global history.[22] Nevertheless, it was a form of promising significance where Renaissance humanism was reaffirmed as a permanent cultural breakup between Western Europe and the Islamic world.[23] Such a perspective is still present in the spaces and among the collections of the *Pergamon* Museum in Berlin.[24] The so-called *Islamic wing* of the museum physically occupies an intermediary position between ancient archaeology and the late antique to medieval collections, which reach a climax in the modern age.[25] It can be concluded that the idea of the so-called self-determination of the fields of „Islamic art" affiliation as *'medieval art'* consequently favors formative origin over the processes of evident historical development.



ILLUSTRATION ~ Aleppo Room.
© Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin –
Photo: Georg Niedermeiser.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Soba u Alepu.
© Muzej islamske umjetnosti u Berlinu –
Foto: Georg Niedermeiser.

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[22] One of the leading advocates of this position was Carl Heinrich Becker (d. 1933), an Orientalist who institutionalized Islamic studies in Germany at the time, and founded the still influential journal *Der Islam*. In his hierarchical order of civilizations, Becker positioned Islam below Europe and above Africa, assigning it a central position in his notion of world history; i.e. Islam was assigned a position of intermediary between East and West.

[23] For more details on Becker's theory of civilizations, see Haridi, Alexander: ***Das Paradigma der 'islamischen Zivilisation' – oder die Begründung der deutschen Islamwissenschaft durch Carl Heinrich Becker (1876-1933) : eine wissenschaftsgeschtliche Untersuchung.*** Ergon, Würzburg, 2005. Available at: https://search.proquest.com/docview/214034699?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true. Accessed on 23.5.2016.

[24] Actually, by moving the collection of the museum of Kaiser Friedrich (now the Bode Museum), founded in 1904, to the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, opened by a ceremony in 1932, the newly formed entirety of the medieval Islamic collection was founded on such a position.

[25] On Becker and the Pergamon Museum, see: Necipoğlu, Gülru: ***The Concept of Islamic Art : Inherited Discourses and New Approaches***; in: Benoît Junod, Georges Khalil, Stefan Weber and Gerhard Wolf (ed.): *Islamic Art and the Museum*. Saqi, London, 2012, pp. 17-23. Available at: https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/necipogludoc.pdf. Accessed on 10.10.2018.

Na način prethodno pomenutih formi pristupa došlo je do odumiranja nesumnjivo utemeljene uzročne matrice djela „islamske umjetnosti“, kako se ne bi realizirala pojava u otkrivanju odgovarajuće izražajnosti intelektualnih sposobnosti iskrenog procesa vjerovanja mnogih, čak i onih anonimno prisutnih začetnika/dizajnera estetizirane reprezentacije, posredstvom prisutnih oblika *qadar/ṣināʾata*. Ovakav način poricanja vjerskog konteksta, moglo bi se tvrditi da proizvodi bitnu deintelektualizaciju povijesne ìslāmske kulture (ar. *al-thaqāfah al-islāmiyyah*). Ovaj model diskursa ne samo da podupire zapadne hegemonističke norme razumijevanja drugih vizualnih kulturnih tradicija kroz denaturirane estetizirane tropove, koji su instalirani nasuprot vjere kao *statičnog carstva* u kojem, navodno, nema *kreativnosti*. Stoga je ìslām, kako tvrdi i Wendy Shaw, sveden na *'statičnu regresiju'* do porijekla,[26] jer se na sve načine umanjuje i kulturna tradicija nastala nakon pokušaja integracije klasične grčke filozofije u ìslāmsku kulturu; zaboravlja se da je ìslāmska civilizacija i kultura nekoliko stoljeća bila najnaprednija svjetska civilizacija, i da je upravo taj pokretački duh pomogao i Zapadu da prevaziđe svoju hiljadugodišnju zaostalost. Muslìmáni s ovim učinjenim humanim gestom ne upozoravaju Zapad kako je njihov razvojni fundament boljitka, ipak, uspostavljen zahvaljujući prenesenom i integriranom znanju i umijeću ìslāmske civilizacije i kulture. U skladu s tim, podizanje svijesti *religioznosti* kao informiranja konzumentne pozicije unutar koje se ìslām bavi vizualnom kulturom, nameće se upućivanjem poziva primordijalnom muslìmānskom glasu iz prošlosti: glasu onih koji su u formi narudžbe, izradili ili koristili djela nastala temeljem odgovarajučih modalitetâ diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata*, ali čiji je interpretativni svijet postao podzeman kroz prakse zapadne historije *'umjetnosti'* i aktualnih shvatanja.

Također i osporavanje odgovarajućeg modaliteta diskursa *qadar/ṣināʾata* atemporalne kategorije (ar. *al-sarmad*), ustvari je čin koji predstavlja suprotstavljanje esencijalizaciji isláma u suštini, prijeteći samoj opoziciji između Istoka i Zapada što se na sve načine pokušava riješiti bez zastoja i sukoba. Umjesto da se bave fundamentalnom složenošću isláma na čemu pak inzistira Wendy Shaw,[27] nove, čak i nezgrapnije *'regionalističke etikete'* vraćaju se izvornim geografskim i etničkim terminima. U takvoj situaciji *'umjetnost'* muslìmānskīh zemalja kategorizirana je krajem 19. stoljeća, kada su okcidentalno orijentirani historičari umjetnosti prvi put počeli prikupljati i razmišljati o materijalnoj kulturi Istoka pod rubrikom *'umjetnosti'*.[28] Poseban oblik karakterizacije prisutan je tretiranjem isláma kao *'lažne'* i *'degenerirane religije'*, a problematika slikovnog predstavljanja začetnika/dizajnera kakva je evidentno konstruirana u ranoj ìslāmskoj historiografiji, bila je i dalje sporna tačka unutar akademskih shvatanja. Problem, naravno, nije u tome što nije ispravljena ovakva zabluda na samom

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[26] Volait, Mercedes: ***L'art islamique et la problème de périodisation***..., str. 783-786.

[27] ***Ibid***., str. 13.

[28] Blair, S. Sheila i Bloom, M. Jonathan: ***The Mirage of Islamic Art : Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field***. The Art Bulletin, College Art Association, New York, svezak 85, br. 1, mart 2003., str. 153.

The previously described forms of approach led to the withering away of the undoubtedly grounded causal matrix of works of „Islamic art" so as to prevent the discovery of the corresponding expression of intellectual abilities of a sincere process of belief by many, even the anonymously present originators/designers of aestheticized representation through the existent forms of *qadar/ṣināʿat*. This denial of religious contexts can be argued to produce an essential de-intellectualization of historic Islamic culture (Ar. *al-thaqāfah al-islāmiyyah*). Not only does this model of discourse support Western hegemonic norms of understanding other visual cultural traditions through denatured aestheticized tropes that are set in opposition to religion as a *static realm* allegedly absent of *creativity*. As claimed by Wendy Shaw, Islam has thus been reduced to a *'static regression'* to its origins,[26] since all methods are used to downplay the cultural tradition that emerged after attempts to integrate Classical Greek philosophy into Islamic culture; it is forgotten that Islamic civilization and culture was the most progressive world civilization for several centuries, and that it was this very driving spirit that helped the West to overcome its thousand-year long backwardness. With a humane gesture, Muslims do not warn the West that their developmental foundation of prosperity was nonetheless established thanks to the transferred and integrated knowledge and artistry of Islamic civilization and culture. Consequently, raising awareness of *religiosity* as informing the consumer position within which Islam deals with visual culture is imposed by calling up the primordial Muslim voice from the past: the voice of those who may have commissioned, made or used works based on the corresponding modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse, but whose interpretative world became underground through practices of western history of *'art'* and current understandings.

Besides, challenging the appropriate modality of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse as an atemporal category (Ar. *al-sarmad*) is actually an act which stands against the essentialization of Islam, threatening the very opposition between East and West which underpins so many contemporary stalemates and conflicts. Rather than engaging with the fundamental complexities of Islam, which Wendy Shaw insists on,[27] the new, even more unwieldy *'regionalist labels'* revert to the original geographic and ethnic terms. In such a situation, the *'art'* of Muslim countries was categorized in the late 19th century, when Occidentally-oriented art historians first began to collect and reflect on the material culture of the East under the rubric of ***'art'***.[28] A separate form of characterization is present in treating Islam as a *'false'* and *'degenerate religion'*, while the issue of the originator/designer's visual representation as constructed in the early Islamic historiography remains a point of contention within academic conceptions. Of course, the problem is not that such a misconception was not corrected at the very beginning of its active

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[26] Volait, Mercedes: ***L'art islamique et la problème***..., pp. 783-786.

[27] ***Ibid***., p. 13.

[28] Blair, S. Sheila and Bloom, M. Jonathan: ***The Mirage of Islamic Art : Reflections on the Study of an Unwieldy Field***. The Art Bulletin, College Art Association, New York, volume 85, no. 1, March 2003, p. 153.

početku njenog aktivnog označavanja,[29] već to što višegodišnje oživljavanje ovog pitanja odražava trajnu neusklađenost okcidentalno-vesterniziranih pretpostavki o modalitetima diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata* i praksama razvijenim u okviru ìslāmskog svjetonazora.

Da ne bi ostalo otvoreno pitanje šta je uzrokovalo prvi pomak s regionalne na religijsku terminologiju, čija su značenja urodila promjenjivom terminologijom, navest ćemo stav Wendy Shawe, kako pažljivo i odgovorno ispitivanje historiografske faktografije može omogućiti da ponovno procijenimo suvremene pristupe temama isláma unutar historije „islamske umjetnosti".[30]

> Kada je već riječ o tome kako je izvršena kategorizacija termina '*umjetnost*', za materijalnu kulturu muslìmānskīh zemalja, potrebno je napomenuti kako je prvi korišteni termin u upotrebi „muhamedánska umjetnost"[31] bio aktualan već 1910. godine u Evropi. Moguće je pretpostaviti, kako je ustvari on poslužio kao korektiv za uvođenje pojma „ìslāmska likovna umjetnost" (osm.-tur. *Sanâyi-i Nefîse-i İslâmi*) što je bio upotrijebljen već 1889. godine, u osnivačkim dokumentima Carskog muzeja Osmanskog Carstva (tur. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*), prije nego što je unutar Evrope bila upotrijebljena *oznaka* „islamska umjetnost".[32] Također moguće je bilo se susresti i

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[29] O navedenim zabludama, vidjeti Arnold, Thomas: ***Painting in Islam : A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture***. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928. (reprint New York : Dover, 1965.); Creswell, Keppel Archibald Cameron: ***The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam***. *Journal Ars Islamica*, University of Michigan Press, svezak 11/12, 1946., 159-166. Dostupno na: https://www.jstor.org/stable/4515631?seq=1. Pristupljeno 22.3.2015.

[30] Shaw, M. K. Wendy: ***The Islam in Islamic Art History*** ..., str. 13.

[31] U Minhenu je 1910. godine održana izložba *Die Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst* („Majstorska djela muhamedanske umjetnosti") i odigrala je ključnu ulogu u uvođenju i cementiranju sekularne kategorizacije polja, obima predmeta, regija i interesa koje su na taj način bile označene. Kustosi su promovirali *'umjetničko-nadahnut'* stav prema izloženim djelima karakteriziranim posredstvom ograničavajućih tekstualnih informacija kao *umjetnost čaršijskih zanata i dekadentnog ornamentalizma*. Estetizacija predmeta bila je predstavljena kao rijetkost sa dodatno egzotiziranim mjestima porijekla kao tajanstvenim i nepoznatim izvorima predmeta, koji su u muzejskom kontekstu funkcionirali kao *'čista zanatska umjetnost'* upripitomljena izvan svog dalekog porijekla. Ne samo da se estetski naglasak izložbe podudarao sa tadašnjim suvremenim zanimanjem za „islamsku umjetnost" kao izvor dizajna, već je poslužio i kao opravdanje za svoju prisutnost u promoviranom zapadnom kontekstu u kojem se *'predmet suočavao sa svojim promatračem kao čisti eksponat'.*

Ipak, takav način prezentacije predstavljao je pomak s do tada prisutne kvazi-etnografske na onu koja privlači formalne kvalitete djela. Upravo je takav način izbjegavanja pitanja konteksta i ikonografije omogućio selektivno *'uzdizanje'* ìslāmskih artefakata, da se smjeste uz bok kanonskim djelima okcidentalno-vesterniziranog modernizma na reciprocitetu formalizma.

Usporedi, Troelenberg, Eva-Maria: ***Framing the Artwork : Munich 1910 and the Image of Islamic Art***; u: Andrea Lerner i Avinoam Shalem (ur.), *Islamic History and Civilization : After One Hundred Years*, Brill, Leiden : Bosnon, 2010., str. 38;

Vidjeti i, Kröger, Jens: ***The 1910 Exhibition 'Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst' : Its Protagonists and its Consequences for the Display of Islamic Art in Berlin***; u: Andrea Lerner i Avinoam Shalem (ur.), *After One Hundred Years : The 1910 Exhibition 'Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst' Reconsidered*, Leiden : Brill, 2010., str. 67.

[32] Cezar, Mustafa: ***Sanatta Batiya Açilis ve Osman Hamdi***. *Erol Kerim Aksoy*, zaklada za kulturu, obrazovanje, sport i zdravlje, Istanbul, 1995., str. 548.

Među mnoštvom muzeja koje je razvila vlada kasnog Otomanskog carstva, oni koji su se bavili „islamskom umjetnošću" odražavali su izgradnju nacionalističkih vizija koje su odgovarale na sporo rasturanje carstva i nagovještale otomansko-turske nacionalističke odgovore na vjersku prošlost. Dok su, s jedne strane, eksponati koji su označeni kao *ìslāmskī*, a ne kao *otomanski*, religiju preoblikovali u pripadnost carstvu, a ne Arapima, s druge strane, isti izlažu dekontekstualizirane predmete iz svog predanog konteksta i na taj način otvoraju put sekulariziranoj viziji vjerskog identiteta. Ipak, moguće je kazati kako je zbirka „islamske umjetnosti" u *Carskom muzeju* prva izravno pokazala suvremeni identitet.

significance,[29] but that perennial resuscitation of the issue reflects an ongoing misalignment between Occidental-westernized assumptions about the modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse and practices developed within the Islamic worldview.

Not to leave open the question as to what caused the first shift from **regional** to **religious terminology**, and what meanings this shifting terminology engendered, we will present Wendy Shaw's view on how examining the discipline historiographically can enable us to re-evaluate contemporary approaches to themes of Islam within „Islamic art" history.[30]

> When speaking about how categorization of the term ***'art'*** for the material culture of Muslim countries was conducted, it should be noted that the first term used, **„Muhammadan art"**[31] was current in Europe as early as in 1910. It can be assumed that it actually served as a corrective for introducing the term **„Fine Islamic Arts"** (Ott.-Tur. *Sanâyi-i Nefîse-i İslâmi*), which had been employed as early as in 1889 in the founding documents of the *Ottoman Imperial Museum* (Tur. *Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*), before the *label* **„Islamic art"** was used in Europe.[32] One could also encounter the frequent use of the term **'*Mussulman*'** at exhibitions of the modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse in France and Algeria between 1893 and 1907. Instead of the already active „Oriental" or regional terms, it underscored French imperial

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[29] On the described misconceptions, see Arnold, Thomas: ***Painting in Islam : A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture***. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928. (reprint New York: Dover, 1965); Creswell, Keppel Archibald Cameron: ***The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam***. *Journal Ars Islamica*, University of Michigan Press, volume 11/12, 1946, pp. 159-166. Available at: https://www.jstor.org/stable/4515631?seq=1. Accessed on 22.3.2015.

[30] Shaw, M. K. Wendy: ***The Islam in Islamic Art History*** ..., p. 13.

[31] In Munich in 1910, the exhibition *Die Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst* („Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art") was held, and it played a crucial role in introducing and cementing the secular categorization of the field, and the scope of objects, regions and interests which this designated. Curators promoted an *'artistic-reverential'* attitude towards the exhibited works, which were characterized with limiting textual information as *art of marketplace crafts and decadent ornamentalism*. The aestheticization of the objects was presented as a rarity by further exoticizing their place of origin as mysterious and unknown sources for objects that, in the museum context, functioned as *'pure craft art'*, tamed from their distant origins. Not only did the aesthetic emphasis of the exhibition coincide with a contemporary interest in „Islamic art" as a source for design, but it also served to justify its presence in a Western context in which the *'object faces its beholder as pure exhibit'*.

Still, such a mode of presentation was a shift from the previous quasi-ethnography to one that attracts the formal qualities of a work. It was this way of avoiding issues of context and iconography that allowed the selective 'elevation' of Islamic artefacts, placing them side by side with canonic works of Occidental-westernized modernism on the reciprocity of formalism.

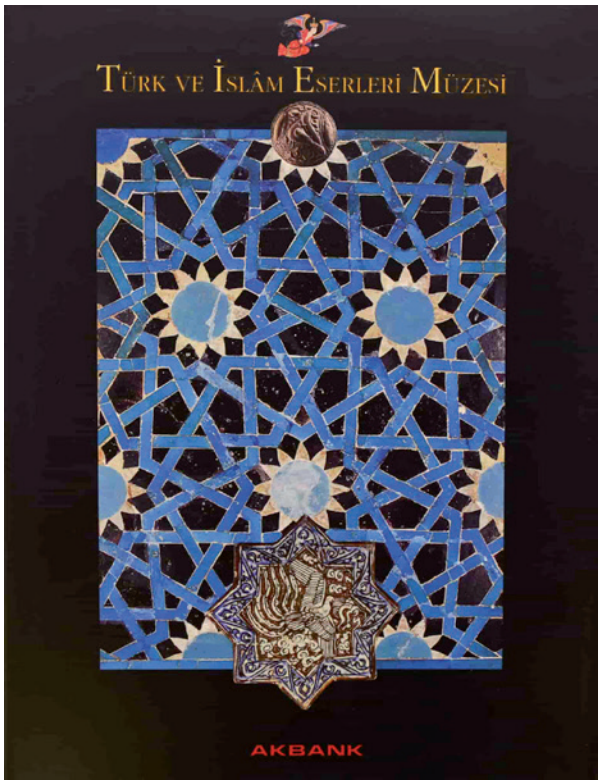
Cf., Troelenberg, Eva-Maria: ***Framing the Artwork : Munich 1910 and the Image of Islamic Art***; in: Andrea Lerner and Avinoam Shalem (ed.), *Islamic History and Civilization : After One Hundred Years*, Brill, Leiden: Bosnon, 2010, p. 38;

See also, Kröger, Jens: ***The 1910 Exhibition 'Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst' : Its Protagonists and its Consequences for the Display of Islamic Art in Berlin***; in: Andrea Lerner i Avinoam Shalem (ed.), *After One Hundred Years : The 1910 Exhibition 'Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst' Reconsidered*, Leiden : Brill, 2010, p. 67.

[32] Cezar, Mustafa: ***Sanatta Batiya Açilis ve Osman Hamdi***. *Erol Kerim Aksoy*, endowment for culture, education, sports and health, Istanbul, 1995, p. 548.

Among many museums developed by the government of the late Ottoman Empire, those that were involved with „Islamic art" reflected the construction of nationalistic visions that responded to the slow dispersal of the empire and heralded Turkish nationalistic responses to its religious past. While, on the one hand, exhibits designated as *Islamic* rather than *Ottoman*, transformed religion into belonging to the empire, rather than to Arabs, on the other hand the exhibited, decontextualized objects were shown out of their given context and in this way opened the way to a secularized vision of religious identity. Still, it can be claimed that the collection of „Islamic art" in the *Imperial Museum* was the first to directly show a contemporary identity.

s čestom upotrebom izraza '*mussulmán*' na prezentacijama modaliteta diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata* održanim u Francuskoj i Alžiru između 1893. i 1907. Tu se, umjesto tada već aktivnih „orijentalnih" ili regionalnih izraza, naglašava francuska imperijalna ambicija da prednjači u razumijevanju isláma i *ispravnog razvoja modernog, civiliziranog i kolonijalnog muslìmānskog svijeta*.[33] Međutim, pojava znanstvenog proučavanja takozvane „umjetnosti islamskog svijeta" datira, kako je već kazano, s kraja 19. stoljeća okupljajući stariju disciplinu „filološkog orijentalizma" s neofitskom disciplinom „evropske historije umjetnosti". Jedan od inicijatora bio je i Henri-Michel Lavoix, čuvar kovanica i medalja u Louvru, koji je ipak sugerirao središnju formu kontradikcije između isláma i okcidentalnog shvatanja umjetnosti.[34]



ILUSTRACIJA~ U osnivačkim dokumentima *Carskog muzeja Osmanskog Carstva* (*Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*) pojam „ìslāmska likovna umjetnost" (*Sanâyi-i Nefîse-i İslâmi*) je bio upotrijebljen već 1889. godine, znači prije nego što je unutar Evrope bila upotrijebljena oznaka/termin „islamska umjetnost".

ILLUSTRATION ~ In the founding documents of the *Imperial Museum of the Ottoman Empire* (*Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi*), the term "Islamic fine art" (*Sanâyi-i Nefîse-i İslâmi*) was used as early as 1889, that is, before the label/term "**Islamic art**".

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[33] Stephen Vernoit (ur.): ***Discovering Islamic Art : Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850-1950***. I.B. Tauris, London, 2000., str. 20.

[34] Lavoix, Henri: ***Les arts musulmans : de l'emploi des figure***. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, J. Baer, Paris, avgust-novembar 1875., str. 100; Vidjeti i, Lavoix, Henri: ***Les arts musulmans : de l'ornementation arabe dans les ouvres des maitres italiens***. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts : la doyenne des revues d'art*, Paris, 1877., str. 15-29. Dostupno na: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/gba1877_2/0021. Pristupljeno 19.4.2015.

ambition to lead in the understanding of Islam and the *development of a properly modern, civilized, and colonial Muslim world*.[33] However, the advent of the scientific study of the so-called „art of the Islamic world", as has already been said, dates to the late 19th century, bringing together the older discipline „philological Orientalism" with the neophyte discipline of „European art history". The initiators included Henri-Michel Lavoix, keeper of coins and medals in the Louvre, who still proposed a central form of contradiction between Islam and the Occidental understanding of art.[34]



ILLUSTRATION ~ The catalog ***Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art*** (*Die Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst*, Munich 1910) whose key role was in introducing and cementing the secular categorization of "Islamic art".

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Katalog ***Majstorska djela muhamedanske umjetnosti*** (*Die Meisterwerke Muhammedanischer Kunst*, Minhen 1910.) čija je ključna uloga bila u uvođenju i cementiranju sekularne kategorizacije „islamske umjetnosti".

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[33] Stephen Vernoit (ed.): ***Discovering Islamic Art : Scholars, Collectors and Collections, 1850-1950***. I.B. Tauris, London, 2000, p. 20.

[34] Lavoix, Henri: ***Les arts musulmans : de l'emploi des figure***. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, J. Baer, Paris, August-November 1875, p. 100; See also, Lavoix, Henri: ***Les arts musulmans : de l'ornementation arabe dans les ouvres des maitres italiens***. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*: la doyenne des revues d'art, Paris, 1877, pp. 15-29. Available at: https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/gba1877_2/0021. Accessed on 19.4.2015.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Stranica Dastana Amira Hamze – *Hamzanama*. Mughal (detalj), oko 1567-1582.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melburn, ev. br. AS12-1978.

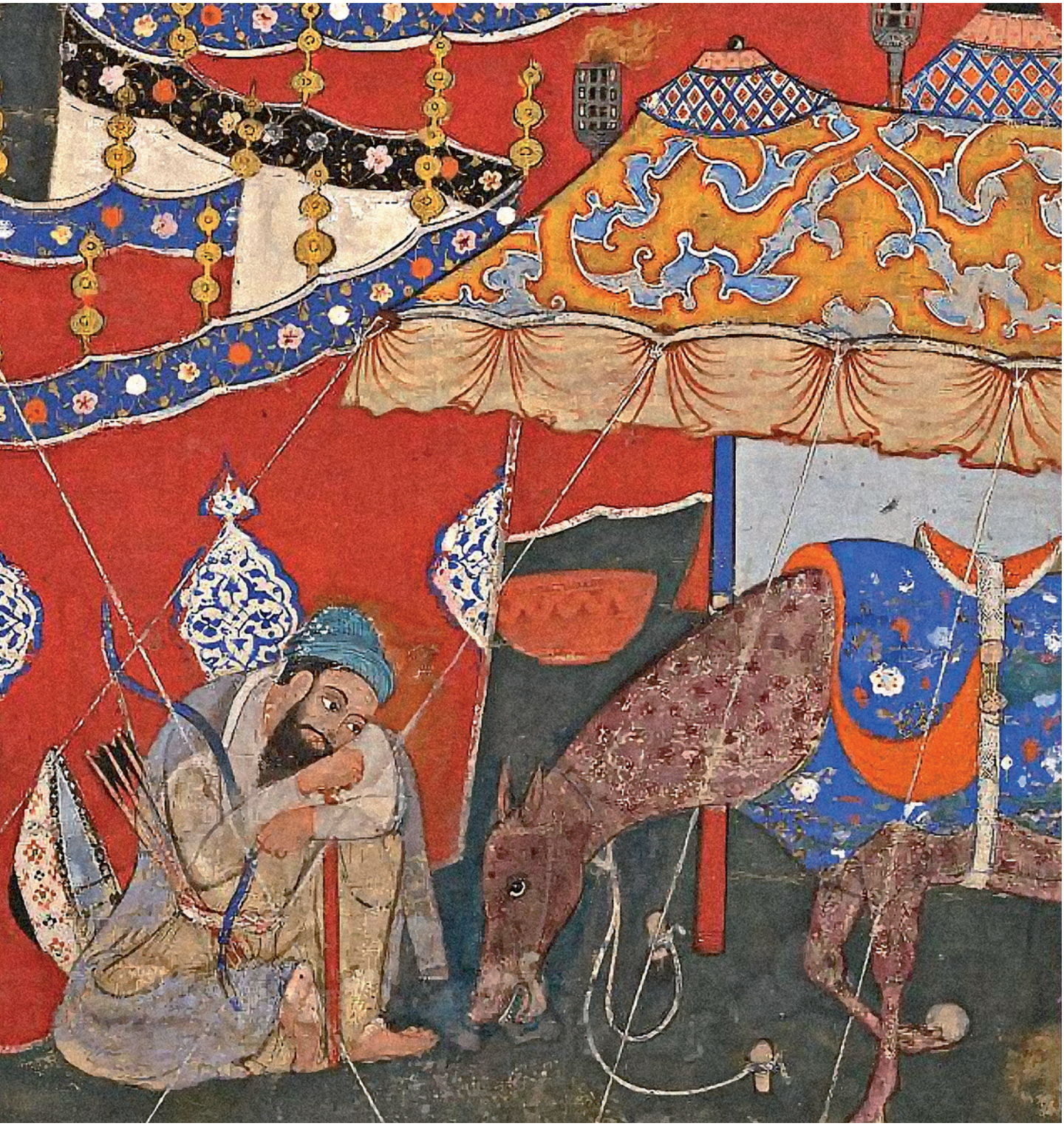


ILLUSTRATION ~ A page of the Dastan-i Amir Hamza – ***Hamzanama***. *Mughal* (detail), c. 1567-1582.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, acc. num. AS12-1978.

Nažalost, posredstvom novouspostavljene karakterizacije u zapadnoj historiji umjetnosti i tadašnjem širem kršćanskom diskursu, ìslām i modaliteti diskursâ *qadar*/*ṣinā'ata* su postali povijesnom civilizacijskom kategorijom koja se razlikovala od bilo kojeg pristupa moguće interpretacije religije i estetiziranog djelovanja – *'umjetnosti'*. Ustvari, zastupano je mišljenje da zato što ìslām ne uspijeva vizualizirati teološke predmete poput *božanstva* na način shvaćen kroz kršćanski aspekt (*deus* od lat. riječi *deitas*), zato što se tvrdilo da se ìslām i u samoj slikovnoj predstavi bilo kojeg karatera *inherentno suprotstavlja*, smatrano je da su postojale potrebne pretpostavke za takozvani „univerzalni ìslām i njegovu umjetnost" viđenu kroz očište tadašnjeg zapadnog mišljenja i razumijevanja. Naime, takozvana *povijesna kritika* više se nije provodila prema nekom pitanju ili samom tekstu, već je odabrana kao princip *genealoškog provođenja teksta*. Na taj način desio se radikalizirani pristup razdvajanja islāma kao principa i kao povijesnog teksta. Ìslām u svojoj obimnoj sadržajnosti bio je oslobođen historicizma, utoliko što je, po takvom mišljenju, sama povijest jedino nudila *hermeneutičke podloge za religiozno iskustvo* (znanje) kao osjećaj doživljavanja transcendencije. Kanonski su tekstovi izuzeti iz povijesne kritike i izvršena je njihova rekonceptualizacija.[35] U ranom evropskom 20. stoljeću, ovakva situacija imala je dubok utjecaj na ukupnost okcidentalno-vesterniziranih akademskih pogleda na sâm ìslām; tumačenje osnovnih principa na osnovu rekonceptualiziranih prijevoda Kur'āna. Paradigmatični primjer bio je prvi filološko-akademski prijevod Kur'āna, koje je poduzeo mađarski poznavalac i navodni poštovalac isláma Ignáz Goldziher (um. 1921),[36] ali u skladu s biblijskim nàukom tog doba.[37] Ìslām koji je „otkrio", po mišljenju američkog historičara kulture i književnosti Sandera L. Gilmana (rođ. 1944), postao je uzor za *novi duh hebrejstva* krajem devetnaestog stoljeća.[38] Međutim, zahvaljujući Goldziherovom pristupu favoriziranja povijesnog i kulturnog nad duhovnim, odnosno perceptivnom analizom Kur'āna došlo je do pojave izražene *doktrine podređivanja* izvornih tekstova unutar prijevoda Kur'āna i tumačenja hadísa (ar. *al-ḥadīth*). Naravno, nisu ostavljene po strani ni sve ostale sinkretične prakse koje su bile sastavni dio kulturnog obilja muslìmānskog svijeta, uključujući sufijske, regionalne i narodne prakse.

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[35] Schulze, Reinhard: ***Islamwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft***; u: Graf, Friedrich Wilhelm i Voigt, Friedemann (ur.: *Religion(en) deuten Interpreting Religion(s) : Transformationen der Religionsforschung.* De Gruyter, Berlin, 2010., str. 96.

[36] Uz Nijemca Theodora Nöldekea i Nizozemca Christiaana Snoucka Hurgronjea, Goldziher se smatra utemeljiteljem *modernih ìslāmskīh studija* u Evropi.

Goldziherova djela su u novije vrijeme dobila obnovljenu pažnju zahvaljujući kritičnim pogledima na Edwarda Saida u njegovoj knjizi *Orijentalizam*. Goldziherovo djelo bilo je iznimka u tome što je cijenio *ìslāmsku toleranciju prema drugim religijama*, premda je njegova nesklonost bila potkopana posredstvom tumačenja antropomorfizma u mislima Poslanika Muhammeda (ar. *Muḥammad*), kao i onog što Said naziva „previše vanjskom ìslāmskom teologijom i jurisprudencijom".

Vidjeti Said, Edward: ***Orientalism*** ..., str. 18 i 209.

[37] McAuliffe, Jane Dammen: ***Introduction***; u: McAuliffe, Jane Dammen (ur.): *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'an (Cambridge Companions to Religion),* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006., str. 9.

[38] Gilman, Sander: ***Can the Experience of Diaspora Judaism Serve as a Model for Islam in Today's Multicultural Europe?***; u: Schenker, Hillel i Ziad, Abu Zayyad (ur.): *Islamophobia and anti-Semitism*. Markus Wiener, Princeton : New York, 2006., str. 59-74.

Unfortunately, through the newly established characterization in Western history of art and broader Christian discourse of the time, Islam and the modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse became a historical civilizational category which differed from any approach of possible interpretation of religion and aestheticized activity – *'art'*. In fact, it was proposed that because Islam fails to visualize theological objects such as *deity* in the way understood through the Christian aspect (*deus* from Latin word *deitas*), and because it was claimed that Islam *inherently opposes* the visual representation of any character, it was believed that there were necessary assumptions for so-called „**universal Islam and its art**" – viewed through the lens of Western thinking and understanding of the time. Actually, the so-called *historical criticism* was no longer guided by an issue or a text itself, but was rather chosen as a principle of *genealogical derivation of the text*. This radicalized the separation being drawn between Islam as a **principle** and as a **historical text**. In its extensive contents, Islam was freed from history since, according to such an opinion, history itself only offered *hermeneutical underpinnings for religious experience* (knowledge) as a sense of experiencing transcendence. Canonical texts were thus excused from historical critique and were re-conceptualized.[35] In the early European 20th century, such a situation had a profound impact on the totality of Occidental-westernized academic views of Islam itself; the interpretation of basic principles based on re-conceptualized translations of the Qur'an. The paradigmatic example would be the first philological academic translation of the Qur'an, which was undertaken by the Hungarian connoisseur and alleged admirer of Islam, Ignáz Goldziher (d. 1921),[36] though in line with Biblical scholarship of the time.[37] The Islam that he 'discovered' became – in the opinion of American historian of culture and literature Sander L. Gilman (b. 1944) – the model for the *new spirit of Hebraism* of the late 19th century.[38] However, Goldziher's approach, which favored the historical and cultural over the spiritual, or perceptual analyses of the Qur'an, led to the emergence of the prominent *doctrine of subordination* of original texts within translation of the Qur'an and interpretation of *Hadith* (Ar. *al-ḥadīth*). Of course, it did not leave aside all the other syncretic practices that were a constituent part of the cultural plenitude of the Muslim world, including Sufistic, regional and folk practices.

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[35] Schulze, Reinhard: ***Islamwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft***; in: Graf, Friedrich Wilhelm and Voigt, Friedemann (ed.): *Religion(en) deuten Interpreting Religion(s) : Transformationen der Religionsforschung*. De Gruyter, Berlin, 2010, p. 96.

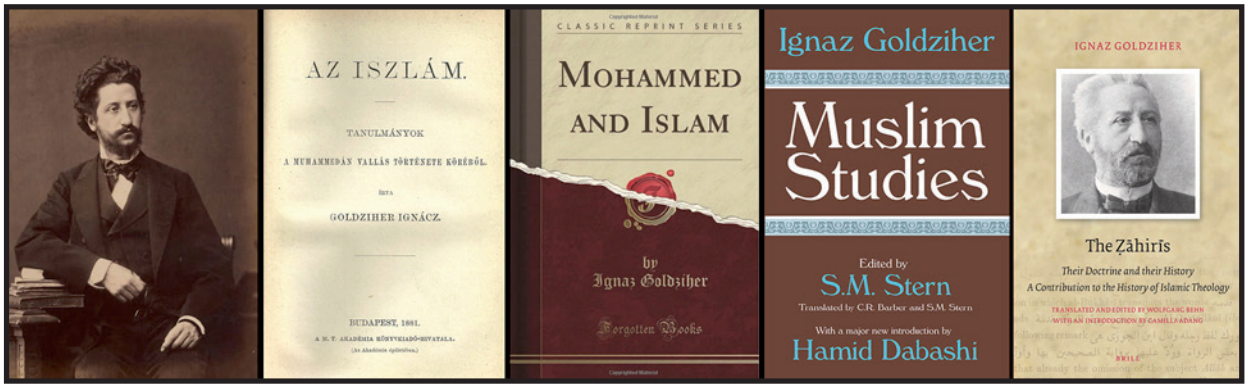
[36] Together with German Theodor Nöldeke and Dutch Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, Goldziher is considered the founder of *modern Islamic studies* in Europe.

Goldziher's works have recently received renewed attention due to the critical views of Edward Said in his book Orientalism. Goldziher's work was an exception in that he appreciated the Islamic tolerance towards other religions, although his aversion was undermined by the interpretation of anthropomorphism in the Prophet Muhammed's thinking, as well as of what Said calls „too external Islamic theology and jurisprudence".

See Said, Edward: ***Orientalism*** ..., pp. 18 and 209

[37] McAuliffe, Jane Dammen: ***Introduction***; in: McAuliffe, Jane Dammen (ed.): *The Cambridge Companion to the Qur'an (Cambridge Companions to Religion)*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, p. 9.

[38] Gilman, Sander: ***Can the Experience of Diaspora Judaism Serve as a Model for Islam in Today's Multicultural Europe?***; in: Schenker, Hillel and Ziad, Abu Zayyad (ed.): *Islamophobia and anti-Semitism*. Markus Wiener, Princeton: New York, 2006, pp. 59-74.



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Neka od Goldziherovih djela koja su u novije vrijeme dobila obnovljenu pažnju.

Prihvatanjem Goldziherovog pristupa favoriziranja povijesnog i kulturnog nad duhovnim došlo je do pojave raznih okcidentalno-vesterniziranih akademskih diskursa i tumačenja isláma. Bila je to forma analogije (*analogia legis*), koja nikad do tada nije postojala s potpunim nedostatkom epistemologijske pozitivne klasifikacije, što ih je eventualno mogla ili pokušala definirati. Popratna pojavnost ovakvih ekscesnih pristupa i njihova determinirnost u sveukupnoj prisutnosti karakterizacije i klasifikacije kulture isláma, za koju se implicitno ili čak izričito navodilo kako je do toga došlo samo zahvaljujući prisutnoj *degenerizaciji* i napuštanju *vlastitih religijski ideala*, ustvari je, po njihovom mišljenju time prerasla u *snažnu sekularističku paradigmu.*[39] Nažalost, tu se odigravala cijela tragedija datosti okcidentalno-vesterniziranih institucionaliziranja navodne *'sterilne sekularizirane vjere i njene umjetnosti'* u pred globalnom dobu. Tada su takvim navodnim *'opredjeljenjem'* neosporno i ìslām i *qadar/ṣinā'at* obznanjeni unutar okcidentalno-vesterniziranog akademizma kao *kompenzacijski placebo* bez ikakvih emancipatorskih nakana.

Ukoliko dodatno potražimo obrazloženje na čemu su, pored navedenog, konstruirani i načinjeni takvi ili slični odnosi prema islámu, doći ćemo do čudesno dojmljivih obrazloženja kako je navodno riječ o *statičnoj religiji* i njenim bitnim načelima koja nisu bila podložna propitivanju i promjenama, odnosno *interpretacijskim varijacijama*;[40] potrebi redefiniranja *'umjetnosti'* kao dijela kulturne produkcije, a ne vjerske prakse; germanskoj sferi potrage za izvornom religijom (*Urreligion*); proučavanju *'mitologije'* odvojeno od racionalizirane znanosti o religiji – shematiziranost kroz epistemološki model koji nudi lingvistika;

[39] Ovakav odnos pretpostavljenih kontradikcija između *'isláma i njegove umjetnosti'* funkcionirao je tokom 19. stoljeća u formi *lažne sekularizirane religije*, koja je ujedno služila i za definiranje njene *'umjetnosti'*. Osnov ovakvog konstrukta vezan je za saznanja kako su prve halīfe (ar. *al-khilāfah*), Poslanikovi pratioci, uzeli njegov strogi život kao uzor, te da su njihove vrline podsjećale na njegovu skromnost, koju su budući sultáni i emíri, bez obzira na kùr'ānska upozorenja koncipirali u čudesan luksuz posuđa i vaza od najdragocjenijih metala u svojim palačama. Dodatno se ističe kako su dobročinstvo Abū Baqra i poniznost 'Alīja bili samo dio tradicije bez prisile koja, u kasnijem vremenu nije pronašla sljedbenike. Tako definirana kao oksimoron u odnosu na ìslāmsku ortodoksiju *'umjetnost'* predstavlja, kako je smatrano *urođenu degeneraciju isláma*, što je bilo, po danom mišljenju moguće karalterizirati kao vid *sekularizma*.
Ibid.

[40] Schulze, Reinhard: ***Islamwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft***; u: Graf, Friedrich Wilhelm i Voigt, Friedemann (ur.): *Religion(en) deuten : Transformationen der Religionsforschung*, De Gruyter, Berlin , 2010., str. 90.

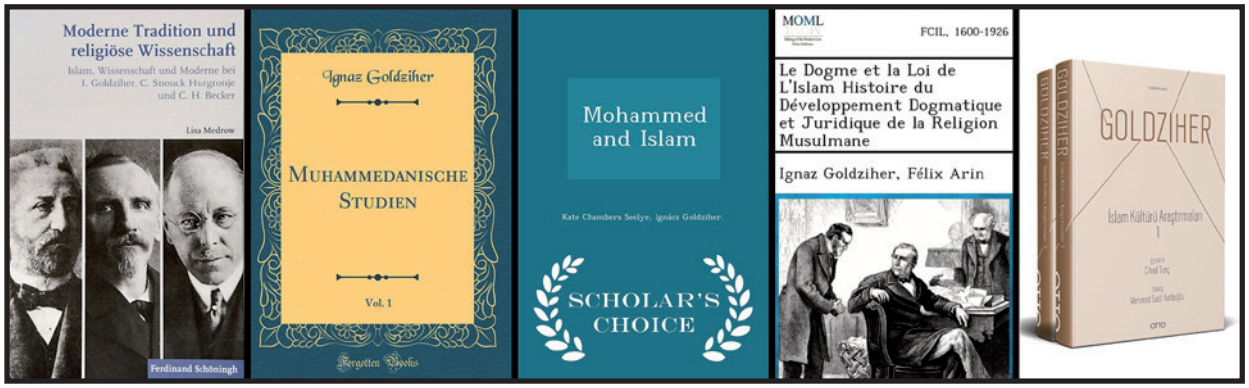


ILLUSTRATION ~ Some of Goldziher's works that have recently received renewed attention.

Acceptance of Goldziher's approach of favoring the **historical and cultural** over the **spiritual** led to the emergence of various Occidental-westernized academic approaches and interpretations of Islam. It was a form of analogy (*analogia legis*), which had never before existed, with a complete lack of epistemological positive identification which could, or could attempt to, define it. The accompanying manifestation of such excess approaches and their determination in the overall presence of the characterization and classification of the culture of Islam, which was implicitly or even explicitly said to have emerged only due to the existent *degeneration* and abandoning of *own religious ideals*, actually became a *powerful secularistic paradigm*.[39] Unfortunately, this is where a great tragedy of the reality of Occidental-westernized institutionalization of the alleged *'sterile secularized religion and its art'* in the pre-global era occurred. At the time, this alleged *'orientation'* of Occidental-westernized academism doubtlessly made both Islam and *qadar/ṣināʿat* known as a *compensating placebo* without any emancipating intentions.

If we look for an additional rationale of how else those and similar attitudes toward Islam were constructed or made, we will encounter wondrously impressive explanations about how it is allegedly a *static religion* and that its essential principles were not subject to questioning and change, i.e. to *interpretive variance*;[40] about a need to redefine *'art'* as part of cultural production rather than religious practice; about the Germanic sphere of the search for the original religion (*Urreligion*); about the study of *'mythology'* separated from the rationalized science of religion – a schematization through an epistemological model offered by linguistics; about the idealized origin of religion – considering all

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[39] In the 19th century, such a relationship of the assumed contradictions between „Islam and its art" functioned in the form of f*alse secularized religion*, which also served to define its *'art'*. The basis of this construct is related to the insight that the first *khalifs* (Ar. *al-khilāfah*), the Prophet's companions, took his austere life as a role model, and that their virtues were reminders of his modesty, which future sultans and emirs, regardless of Qur'anic warnings, conceived in a wondrous luxury of dishes and vases made of the most precious metals in their palaces. It is also pointed out that Abū Baqr's charity and 'Alī's humility were no more than a tradition without potency, which did not find followers in later times. Thus defined as an oxymoron in relation to Islamic orthodoxy, *'art'* comes to represent, as was believed, the *inherent degeneracy of Islam*. According to the given opinion, it could be characterized as a form of secularism.
Ibid.

[40] Schulze, Reinhard: ***Islamwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft***; in: Graf, Friedrich Wilhelm and Voigt, Friedemann (ed.): *Religion(en) deuten : Transformationen der Religionsforschung*, De Gruyter, Berlin, 2010, p. 90.

idealiziranom porijeklu vjere – sva kasnija praksa tretirana je kao odstupanje od izvornog modela; historiziranju proučavanja islāma – distanciranje od proučavanja diskurzivnog značenja u korist proučavanja porijekla; razvijanju nacionalističke jednačine etničke pripadnosti unutar jezičkog rekonceptualiziranja – ideja o „jezičnim plemenima" postala je metaforom za „kulturna plemena"; radikalizaciji razdvajanja religije kao principa i kao povijesnog teksta ...

Međutim, da bi se došlo do prethodno navedenih stavova, opravdanost utemeljenja, između ostalog moguće je pronaći u vezanosti određenih pojava u samom islámu. Naime, postoje tvrdnje kako je iskustvo preporoditeljskog pokreta u islámu [koji se slobodno nazivaju *vehabìzmom* (ar. *al-wahhābiyah*) i *salafizmom* (ar. *al-salafiyyah*)] i njihova rekonceptualizacija isláma u potrazi za „istinskim" islámom, ustvari, ponajviše doprinijelo prethodno navedenim stavovima. Paralelno s ovom pojavom traženja uporišta za vlastite stavove, tretirani su i aktualni preporoditeljski odgovori protiv moderne zapadnjačke inkluzije (bilo da su je provodile kolonijalne sile ili lokalne, zapadnjački orijentirane muslìmānske sekularizirajuće elite), što je često činjeno složenom kombinacijom zapadnjačkih pozitivističkih metodologija i ìslāmskīh interpretativnih okvira. Uglavnom, sve što je činjeno bilo je u funkciji predstavljanja degeneracije tradicionalnog isláma i ìslāmskog prava šerìjáta (ar. *al-šarīʾah*), zamišljeno kao stanje u mirovanju (*statična religija*). Takvo gledište doprinijelo je i ograničenju samog geografskog obuhvata ìslāmskog svijeta na Arapski poluotok, čiju su dodatnu formu nadgradnje činili Osmanlije, Turci, turkijski narodi, Perzijanci, Afganistanci, jugoistočni Azijati, Indonežani, Malezijci, filipinski i korejanski muslìmáni, pa su se u suvremenom svijetu tu pronašli i izdejstvovali svoje mjesto evropski sljedbenici.[41]

Budući da se ideja o jedinstvu '*više*' nije mogla uzimati zdravo za gotovo (*praesumo presumo*), odnosno da je stečeno tradicionalno ìslāmsko znanje (ar. *al-ʾilm*) o određenim činjenicama i materijalnim predmetima, drugim spoznajama i prošlim događajima, unutar bilo kojih pokušaja postavljanja kriterija takvog znanja bilo kao *conscientia* ili *scientia* – a u skladu s tom činjenicom ono više nije bilo validno (*commonsensism*, „kritički kognitivizam") – to je značilo da je čitavo „pȍlje" historije estetiziranog djelanja/*ṣināʾata* bilo u datom momentu dekonstruirano na postmodernistički način; načelno se odnosilo na kritiku apsolutnih ìslāmskīh istina (ar. pl. *al-ḥaqāʾiq*), identiteta (ar. *al-huwiyyah*), diskursâ (ar. *al-ḥiwār*) i glavnih vrednota ustanovljenih neizostavnim slijeđenjem tradicije (ar. *al-taqlīd*). Također ovim nastojanjem, odnosno eurocentričnim „umjetničko-historijskim" pristupom svi oblici kreativnih aktivnosti, pa samim tim i *ṣināʾata* kao djelanja, pozicioniraju se prema *obasjanim središtima* evropske kulturne moći, koja zbog vlastite akademske narcisoidnosti je u mogućnosti dosezanja periferije svojim '*zrakama utjecaja, tumačenja i verifikacije*'. U takvoj konstalaciji interesa marginalni status bilo

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[41] Usporedi, Albertini, Tamara: ***The Seductiveness of Certainty : The Destruction of Islam's Intellectual Legacy by the Fundamentalists***. Philosophy East and West, svezak l. 53, br. 4, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu : Hawaii, 2003., str. 455-470.

later practices as aberrant from the original model; about historicizing the study of Islam – moving away from the study of discursive meaning in favor of the study of origins; about developing a nationalistic equation of ethnicity within language reconceptualization – the idea of „linguistic tribes" became a metaphor for „cultural tribes"; about the radicalization of the separation of religion as a principle and as a historical text, etc.

However, to reach the above listed views, the rationale for their foundation can, among other things, be found in the relations between some phenomena in Islam itself. Indeed, there are claims that the experience of revivalist movements in Islam [which are loosely referred to as *Wahhabism* (Ar. *al-wahhābiyyah*) and *Salafism* (Ar. *al-salafiyyah*)] and their reconceptualization of Islam in the search for the „true" Islam, were actually what contributed most to these views. In parallel to this phenomenon of seeking a stronghold for their own views, they also considered current revivalist responses against modern Western inclusion (whether it was conducted by colonial powers or local West-oriented Muslims secularizing elites), which was often done by a complex combination of Western positivist methodologies and Islamic interpretive frameworks. All in all, everything that was done represented the degeneration of traditional Islam and Islamic law – *Shari'a* (Ar. *al-sharīʿah*), imagined as fixed (*static religion*). Such a view also contributed to limiting the very geographical scope of the Islamic world to the Arabic peninsula, with the additional form of a superstructure consisting of Ottomans, Turks, Turkish peoples, Persians, Afghans, Southeast Asians, Indonesians, Malaysians, Filipinos and Korean Muslims, and in the contemporary world European adherents also found and secured their place.[41]

Since the idea of **unity** could *'no longer'* be taken for granted (*praesumo presumo*), the acquired traditional Islamic knowledge (Ar. *al-ʿilm*) of certain facts and material objects, other minds and past events, within any attempt to set the criterion for such knowledge either as *conscientia* or *scientia*, was no longer valid in line with this fact (*commonsensism*, „critical cognitivism"). It meant that, at a given moment, the entire „field" of the history of aestheticized actions /*ṣināʿat* was deconstructed in a postmodernist way; generally, it pertained to the critique of absolute Islamic truths (Ar. *al-ḥaqīqah*, pl. *al-ḥaqā'iq*), identity (Ar. *al-huwiyyah*), discourse (Ar. *al-ḥiwārāt*) and main values established by the unavoidable following of the tradition (Ar. *al-taqlīd*). Besides, this endeavor, i.e. the Eurocentric „art-history" approach, positioned all forms of creative activities, and thus *ṣināʿat* as actions as well, according to the *illuminated centers* of European cultural power which, due to their own academic narcissism, could reach the periphery with their *'rays of influence, interpretation and verification'*. In such a constellation of interests, the marginal status of any modality of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse can look only like an echo of some *'artistic creations'* which are defined in the centers, while within

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[41] Cf., Albertini, Tamara: ***The Seductiveness of Certainty : The Destruction of Islam's Intellectual Legacy by the Fundamentalists***. Philosophy East and West, volume l. 53, no. 4, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, Hawaii, 2003, pp. 455-470.

kojeg modaliteta diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata* može izgledati samo kao odjek nekih *'umjetničkih kreacija'* koje se definiraju u centrima, dok unutar ovog hibridnog prijenosnika značajna mjesta moći igraju glavnu ulogu u viđenju aktualiziranih kreativnih izraza i opravdanih načina karakterizacije, te svrstavanja u, po njima, definiranim '*izmima*', oblicima, etnicitetima, '*stilovima*' (ar. *al-uslūb*, mn. *al-asālīb*)...[42] Međutim, produkti estetiziranog djelanja, konstruirani u mnogim takozvanim *'rubnim'* područjima, iako nisu *obasjani*, ipak otkrivaju činjenicu da je često *'margina'* ona koja pokreće i usmjerava vodeću estetsku ulogu. Evidentan slučaj je sa modalitetima diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata*, pa u tom slučaju nametanje *'rubne umjetničke produkcije'* ili *'rubne posebnosti'*, odnosno statusa *potčinjenosti* takozvanim centarima, čini da bi ovu paradigmu ne samo trebalo preispitati, već u potpunosti ignorirati.

> Mišljenja smo, da nije pretjerano zaključiti kako su različiti nivoi odnosa središta (*viscus*) i periferije (*peripherīae*) zaokupljali mnoge okcidentalne pristupe *'historiji umjetnosti'*, kao eurocentrične znanstvene discipline veći dio 20. stoljeća. Geografski, nacionalni i svakako religiozni pristupi[43] bili su jedni od osnovnih polazišta, neizbježno u svim pokušajima identificiranja središta i periferije u određenom historijskom razdoblju, a zatim i tumačenja njihovih estetiziranih tekovina, te njihovog međuodnosa. Latentno ili eksplicitno prisutan u mnogim metodološkim usmjerenjima filozofije, *'historije umjetnosti'* i kulture, fenomen dimenzija – od Herdera, Hegela, Schnaasea i Tainea na primjer, zatim Riegla, Dvořáka i drugih pripadnika *Bečke škole historije umjetnosti*, do Focillona, Kublera, Pevsnera i Białostockog – tako je bitno određivao tumačenja pojedinih razdoblja kreativnih aktivnosti, korpusa, oblikovnih i *'stilskih'* (*stilus*) usmjerenja, ili pak pojedinačnih opusa i spomeničnih vrijednosti.[44]

Središte (*centrum*) i ***periferija*** (lat. *peripheria* od st.-gr. περιφέρειν = *periphéreia*) bili su ključni pojmovi kako u tumačenjima modernizma i avangarde, a posebno u pokušajima *tkanja* pripovijesti o kreativnim djelovanjima i djelanjima/*ṣināʾata* kulturnih sredina koje su iz pozicije središta smatrani rubnima, bez obzira na kategorizaciju fenomena (grčki: φαινόμενο = *phainómenon*), a u skladu s time

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[42] Vidi fusnotu 13.

[43] U tom smislu vrijedi spomenuti koncept „geohistorije umjetnosti" Thomasa DaCoste Kaufmanna objavljenog u u zborniku: *Time and Place*. ***The Geohistory of Art***, (ur. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann i Elizabeth Pilliod), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005; Model „horizontalne povijesti umjetnosti" Piotr Piotrowski je razrađivao u više tekstova, među kojima izdvajamo, Piotrowski, Piotr: ***On the Spatial Turn, Or Horizontal Art History***. *Umění/Art*, br. 5., časopis Ústavu dějin umění Akademie věd České republiki, Prag, 2008., str. 378-383. Kasnije je isti članak objavljen i na poljskom ***O horyzontalnej historii sztuki***. *Artium Quaestiones XX*, Instytut Historii Sztuki UAM, Poznań, 2009, 59-73; Zatim isti autor je objavio i postkolonijalnu teoriju u studijima vizualne kulture, Piotrowski, Piotr: ***East European Art Peripheries Facing Post-Colonial Theory***; u: *Non-site.org*, br. 12 , 2014., str. 62-76,

Dostupno na: http://nonsite.org/article/east-european-art-peripheries-facing-post-colo-nial-theory. Pristupljeno 18. 10. 2019.

[44] Povijesni pregled fenomenologije ideja u filozofiji i okcidentalnoj historiji umjetnosti, odnosno konkretnu svojevrsnu kratku povijest geografije umjetnosti, vidjeti Kaufmann, Dacosta Thomas: T***oward a Geography of Art***. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2004., str. 17-104.

this hybrid transmission the significant places of power play the main role in seeing updated creative expressions and justified ways of characterization, and in making classifications according to '***isms***', forms, ethnicities, '***styles***' (Ar. *al-uslūb*, pl. *al-asālīb*)[42] defined by themselves. However, products of aestheticized actions constructed in many so-called *'marginal'* areas, though not *illuminated*, still expose the fact that it is often the *margin* that takes the leading aesthetic role. It is evident in the case of the modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse, and in this case the imposition of the *peripheral artistic* production' or *'peripheral particularity'*, i.e. the status of *subordination* to the so-called centers makes it necessary both to challenge this paradigm and completely ignore it.

> We believe that it is not too exaggerated to conclude that different levels of the relationship between the **center** (*viscus*) and the **periphery** (*peripherīae*) occupied many Occidental approaches to the *'history of art'* as a Eurocentric academic discipline for the most part of the 20th century. Geographic, national and certainly religious approaches[43] were some of the basic starting points, inevitably, in all attempts to identify the center and the periphery in a given historical period, and then interpretations of their mutual relationship. Latently or explicitly in many methodological orientations of philosophy, *'history of art'* and culture, the **phenomenon of dimensions** – from Herder, Hegel, Schnaase and Taine, for instance, then Riegl, Dvořák and other members of the *Vienna School of Art History*, to Focillon, Kubler, Pevsner and Białostocki – essentially defined the interpretation of individual periods of creative activities, corpuses, orientations of form and *'style'* (*stilus*), or individual opuses and monumental values.[44]

Center (*centrum*) and ***periphery*** (Lat. *peripheria* from Old-Gr. περιφέρειν = *periphéreia*) were the key concepts both in interpretations of modernism and the avant-garde and in attempts to *weave* the narration of creative activities and actions/*ṣināʿat* of cultural environments that were considered peripheral to the position of the center, regardless of the categorization of the phenomenon (Gr. φαινόμενο = *phainómenon*), and accordingly, of inferior value. In this case, in the mid-20th century the „Western" perspective on 'art historiography' was notably established, which highlights the transnational quality of „Islamic art history". Of course, it does not bypass the current modernism and historical

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[42] See footnote 13.

[43] In this sense, it is worthwhile to mention the concept „geohistory of art" by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, published in the collection of papers: *Time and Place*. ***The Geohistory of Art***, (ed. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod), Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005; Piotr Piotrowski developed the model of „horizontal history of art" in several papers, including Piotrowski, Piotr: ***On the Spatial Turn, Or Horizontal Art History***. *Umění/Art*, no. 5, journal Ústavu dějin umění Akademie věd České republiki, Prague, 2008, pp. 378-383. The same paper was later published in Polish: ***O horyzontalnej historii sztuk***i. *Artium Quaestiones XX*, Instytut Historii Sztuki UAM, Poznań, 2009, 59-73; This author also published a postcolonial theory in the studies of visual culture: Piotrowski, Piotr: ***East European Art Peripheries Facing Post-Colonial Theory***; in: *Non-site.org*, no. 12, 2014, pp. 62-76,
Available at: http://nonsite.org/article/east-european-art-peripheries-facing-post-colo-nial-theory. Accessed on 18. 10. 2019.

[44] For the historical overview of the phenomenology of ideas in philosophy and Occidental history of art, i.e. an actual distinctive brief history of the geography of art, see: Kaufmann, Dacosta Thomas: ***Toward a Geography of Art***. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2004, pp. 17-104.

i vrijednosno inferiornim. U ovom slučaju, sredinom 20. stoljeća dolazi do izražaja uspostavljena „zapadna" perspektiva *'umjetničke historiografije'* koja ističe transnacionalnu kvalitetu „islamske historije umjetnosti", podrazumijeva se ne zaobilazeći aktualni modernizam i povijesnu „zapadnu" avangardu, ali ih sve zajedno razumijeva na ograničen način, ponajprije afirmirajući koncepte *'umjetničkog napretka'* i emisije „progresivnih" tendencija iz središta prema periferiji. Takva perspektiva postaje dominantna uspostavljanjem *'umjetničkih kanona'* transnacionalne kvalitete, te ima privilegij u vrijednosnom i svemu ostalom. *'Umjetnost'* zapadnog kulturnog kruga, sa izričitim redefeniranjem fenomena što se naziva „islamska umjetnost", upravo potiskuje one forme u kojima su lokalne posebnosti kreativne produkcije više dolazile do izražaja. Iako su prvenstveno te „rubne posebnosti" bile garant navodne transnacionalnosti kao osnovnog obilježja „islamske umjetnosti", ali i srednjoevropskog i istočnoevropskog modernizma i avangarde, obrada kanoniziranih kreativnih pojava i osobnosti nije ostavljala mnogo mjesta za drukčiju valorizaciju *'umjetničkih prinosa'* koji su nastajali izvan aktualnih središta.

Jednu od potvrda ovakvog stava moguće je pronači i u analizi prof. Rudolfa Kleina (rođ. 1930) sa Harvardskog univerziteta, koji iznosi mišljenje o izraženim tenzijama između centra i periferije, odnosno projekcije Zapada na Istok, a poslije i dekonstrukcije tih pojmova:

> *... Devetnaesto stoljeće koristilo je istočnjački stil (a ujedno i čitav Orijent) kao 'tutti frutti', svojevrsnu mješavinu, spram koje se jasno potvrđuje suverenost okcidentalne umjetnosti (i civilizacije). No u stvarnosti Zapad se pretvorio u 'tutti frutti', a periferija je ostala još neko vrijeme kompaktna, kako su to otkrili strukturalisti sredinom 20. stoljeća. Poststrukturalizam dovodi u pitanje valjanost pojma centra i periferije te nastaje opća zbrka koju zovemo* ***globalizacijom kulture***[45] (akcentirao aut.).

Ako se već nastoji umijećem kreativne aktivnosti, odnosno odgovarajućim modalitetima diskursa *qadar/ṣināʿata homo islamicusa* promovirati estetizacija unutar onog što se titulira kao *'umjetnost'*, te na predviđen način označiti zajedničkim „svijetom života", shvaćeno kao „vladavina izvornih očiglednosti", a nesumnjivo to nije slučaj, onda skrivena razlika unutar onog dijela *'umjetnosti'* koju je ona „prevladala", *isijava* užasavajućim zračenjem njegovog „ignoriranja, odnosno postojanja". Iz rakursa *'onog drugog u umjetnosti'* moglo bi se opisati kao kolektivna posebnost, a *homo islamicus* kao pojedinac koji bi joj eventualno mogao biti zanimljiv u specifičnom odnosu prema univerzalnom, odnosno upotpunjavanju *Geista.*[46] Njegova individualnost (bez duha inicijacije) bi tada mogla biti

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[45] Klein, Rudolf: ***Ludwig Försterov Dohány-Tempel u Pešti : Maurska katedrala za 'Azijate Europe' = Ludwig Förster's Dohány Tempel in Pest : Moorish Cathedral for the 'Asiates Of Europe'***. *Prostor* – Znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam / A Scholarly Journal of Architecture and Urban Planning, 17 [2009], 2 [38], Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Arhitektonski fakultet / University of Zagreb, Faculty of Architecture, Zagreb, 2009., str. 225.

[46] *Geist* na njemačkom jeziku znači „duh, duhovitost, um, oštouman, biti razborit" ... Pojmom „duh" u većini jezika označuje se misaoni sadržaj, a sa psihološke strane označuje onaj dio ljudskog života tj. onaj sadržaj koji se nalazi u razumu ili umu kao i promišljanje na razuman način.

Nažalost, podrazumijevajući ono što je u evropskoj tradiciji nazivano *Geistom*, visoka kultura nesumnjivo je imala

„Western" avant-garde but understands all of them in a limited way, primarily affirming the concepts of *'artistic progress'* and emission of „progressive" tendencies from the center to the periphery. Such a perspective – which becomes dominant when establishing *'artistic canons'* of transnational quality – has a privilege in terms of value and everything else. *'Art'* of the Western cultural circle, as well as the explicit redefinition of the phenomenon which the West calls „Islamic art", specifically of the forms where local particularities of creative production were more prominent, were designated/defined by inappropriate valorization of emanating values. Although it was these „peripheral singularities" that primarily guaranteed the alleged transnationality as the basic feature of „Islamic art", as well as of Central-European and Eastern-European modernism and avant-garde, the processing of canonized creative phenomena and identities did not leave much space for a different evaluation of *'artistic yields'* from beyond the **current centers**.

Some evidence of such a view can also be found in the analysis of Prof. Rudolf Klein (b. 1930) from Harvard University, who presents his opinion on the prominent tensions between the center and the periphery, i.e. of the projection of West toward East, and then the deconstruction of these concepts:

> *... The 19th century used the Oriental style (as well as the entire Orient) as a 'tutti frutti', a distinctive concoction against which the sovereignty of Occidental art (and civilization) was clearly confirmed. In reality, however, it was the West that turned into a 'tutti frutti' while the periphery remained compact for some time longer, as was discovered by structuralists in the mid-20th century. Poststructuralism challenged the validity of the terms center and periphery, which led to the general confusion that we call the* ***globalization of culture****.*[45] *(emphases by the author).*

If the artistry of creative activity, i.e. the suitable modalities of *homo islamicus's qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse, endeavor to promote aestheticization within what is titled 'art' and, in an anticipated way, to designate it as a shared „world of life" understood as the „rule of original obviousness", which is certainly not the case, then the hidden difference within the part of *'art'* which it has „overcome" *exudes* the horrifying radiation of its „ignoring, or existence". From the angle of *'the other in art'* it could be described as a collective singularity, and *homo islamicus* as an individual who could possibly be interesting in a particular relationship with the universal, i.e. in supplementing *Geist*.[46] His individuality

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[45] Klein, Rudolf: ***Ludwig Försterov Dohány-Tempel u Pešti: Maurska katedrala za 'Azijate Europe' = Ludwig Förster's Dohány Tempel in Pest: Moorish Cathedral for the 'Asiates Of Europe'***. *Prostor* – Znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam / A Scholarly Journal of Architecture and Urban Planning, 17 [2009], 2 [38], Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Arhitektonski fakultet / University of Zagreb, Faculty of Architecture, Zagreb, 2009, p. 225.

[46] *Geist* means „spirit, wit, mind, shrewd, reasonable" in German. In most languages, „spirit" refers to mental content, while from the psychological aspect it signified the part of human life, i.e. the content that is found in reason or the mind, as well as thinking in a reasonable way.

Unfortunately, implying what was called *Geist* in the European tradition, high culture doubtlessly had the ambition to offer itself as a „package" of moral belief, which certainly concealed an ideological tool, although it assures us that it is free from it.

„medij univerzalnog“, i u hodu bi premostila posebnosti, na kojima inzistira *'umjetnost'*. Dok su za *'umjetnost'* one identificirane i personalizirane slučajnosti, za modalitete diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata* su naprotiv, skoro pa sve anonimne „činjenice života“, garantirano „ne slučajne“ već svjesno opredjeljene na tom putu u *dunjáločkom*[47] prostoru i vremenu.

> Poznata je činjenica u ranosrednjovjekovnom razdoblju rijetkog i jedinstvenog izraza namjere *homo islamicusa*, odnosno potvrđivanja autorstva vlastoručnim pisanim prikazom imena na ostvarenjima ornamentalnog i kognitivnog usmjerenja *qadar/ṣināʾata*, kojim se potvrđuje njegov identitet u funkciji autograma. Nažalost, postoje i takve pretpostavke kako je riječ o nesklonosti začetnika/dizajnera estetizirane reprezentacije da potpišu svoja djela, odnosno da su *homines islamici* u „ìslāmskīm zemljama“ uglavnom bili ***nepismeni radnici***, odsječeni od konteksta intelektualnog okruženja visoke kulture koja ih je obasjavala. Nejasno je kako su takve konstatacije mogle biti uopće zapisane, unatoč prisutnosti potpisa ali i nepotpisanih radova na srednjovjekovnim ostvarenjima (što je, ipak, u skladu s utvrđenim tropom u vezi sa nesklonošću *homo islamicusa* da potpišu svoja djela; uvjerenje i svjedočenje da je sve u našem univezumu stvorio Bog) ili dokazima da su srednjovjekovni keramičari sastavljali stihove koje su upisivali u svoja estetizitana djela.[48]

Primjeri autoriziranih djela / Examples of work authorization



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Kaligraf `Umar Aqta': *Dio iz rukopisa Kur'ana*, prije 1405.; Iluminator Zain al-'Abidin al-Tabrizi: *Iluminirana prednja stranica rukopisa Mantiq al-Tayr (Jezik ptica)*, oko 1600.; Iluminator Muhammad ibn Aibak ibn 'Abdallah: *Stranica iz rukopisa Kur'ana*, 1307–8.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Calligrapher by `Umar Aqta': *Section from a Qur'an Manuscript*, before 1405.; Illuminator by Zain al-'Abidin al-Tabrizi: *Illuminated Frontispiece of a Manuscript of the Mantiq al-Tayr (Language of the Birds)*, ca. 1600.; Illuminator by Muhammad ibn Aibak ibn 'Abdallah: *Folio from a Qur'an Manuscript*, 1307–8. © The Met Fifth Avenue.

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ambiciju ponuditi se kao „paket“ moralnog uvjerenja, u čemu je dakako skriveno ideološko oruđe, iako nas uvjerava da je od njega oslobođena.

[47] *Dunjáluk* – ar. *dunyā* (*al-dunyā, addunyā*) + osm.-tur. suf. *-lik* – u značenju „ovaj svijet“, „zemaljski svijet“.

[48] Vidjeti Mayer, Leo Ary: ***Islamic Architects and Their Works***. Albert Kundig, Geneva, 1956. = *The Art Bulletin*, The Bulletin of the College Art Association, svezak 38, br. 4, CAA, 1956. Dostupno na: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00043079.1956.11408344. Pristupljeno 30.11.2016.

Na Međunarodnom kongresu orijentalista u Istanbulu 1951. godine Mayer je izvijestio kako identificira stotine pojedinačnih umjetnika i obrtnika, iznoseći na vidjelo imena ranije anonimnih *homo islamicusa*. Vidjeti i, Blair, Sheila S.: ***A Brief Biography of Abu Zayd***. *Muqarnas, an Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World*, svezak 25, br. 1, Brill, 2008., str. 155–176. Dostupno na: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261776583_A_BRIEF_BIOGRAPHY_OF_ABU_ZAYD. Pristupljeno 30.11.2016.

(without the spirit of initiation) could then be a „medium of the universal" and it would bridge the singularities which *'art'* insists on in the process. While for *'art'* they are identified and personalized coincidences, for modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse, on the other hand, almost all, even the anonymous „facts of life" are certainly „not accidental" but consciously determined on this road in earthly – *dunjálučki*[47] space and time.

> In the early Middle Ages, it was a well-known fact that *homo islamicus* had a rare and unique expression of intention, i.e. of confirming his authorship with his personally written name on the creations of ornamental and cognitive *qadar/ṣināʿat* orientation, which confirmed his identity in the form of an autograph. Unfortunately, there are also assumptions about the unwillingness of the originator/designer of aestheticized representation to sign their works, i.e. that *homines islamici* in „Islamic countries" were mostly ***illiterate laborers***, cut off from the context of the intellectual environment of high culture that illuminated them. It is unclear how such claims could be recorded at all, despite the presence of signatures, but also of unsigned works on medieval creations (which is nevertheless in line with the established trope related to *homo islamicus's* unwillingness to sign their works – the conviction and testimony that everything in our universe was created by God) and evidence that medieval tile setters created verses which they inscribed in their aestheticized works.[48]

Examples of work authorization / Primjeri autoriziranih djela



ILLUSTRATION ~ Illuminator by **Muhammad ibn Taj al-Din Haidar Muzahhib Shirazi**, 1562–83.; Painting attributed to **Bihzad**, ca. 1480.; Calligrapher and painting by **Maulana Azhar**, ca. 1430.; Painting by **Riza-yi 'Abbasi**, 1630.; Painting by **Shaikh Zada**, 1524–25.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Iluminator **Muhammad ibn Taj al-Din Haidar Muzahhib Shirazi**, 1562–83.; Slika koja se pripisuje **Bihzadu**, ca. 1480.; Kaligraf i iluminator **Maulana Azhar**, ca. 1430.; Slika **Riza-yije 'Abbasija**, 1630.; Slika **Shaikha Zade**, 1524–25. © The Met Fifth Avenue.

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47 *Dunjáluk* – Ar. *al-dunyā* + Ott.-Tur. suf. *-lik* – meaning „this world", the „earthly world".

48 See Mayer, Leo Ary: ***Islamic Architects and Their Works***. Albert Kundig, Geneva, 1956. = The Art Bulletin, The Bulletin of the College Art Association, volume 38, no. 4, CAA, 1956. Available at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00043079.1956.11408344. Accessed on 30.11.2016.

At the International Congress of Orientalists in Istanbul in 1951, Mayer reported that he was identifying hundreds of individual artists and craftsmen, revealing names of previously anonymous homines islamici. Also see: Blair, Sheila S.: ***A Brief Biography of Abu Zayd***. *Muqarnas*, an Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World, volume 25, no. 1, Brill, 2008., pp. 155–176. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261776583_A_BRIEF_BIOGRAPHY_OF_ABU_ZAYD. Accessed on 30.11.2016.

Primjer autorizacije djela, datiranja i posvete /
Example of work authorisation, dating and dedication



ILUSTRACIJA ~ Mu'in Musavvir, *Portret homo islamicusa Reze Abbasija*, potpisan i datiran 1673. godine, zbirka Garrett, Sveučilišna knjižnica Princeton, inv.br. 95G.

ILLUSTRATION ~ Mu'in Musavvir, *Portrait of the homo islamicus Reza Abbasi*, signed and dated 1673 AD, Garrett Collection, Princeton University Library, inv.no. 95G.

Prava bît stvari jest upravo u tome što okcidentalno-vesternizirana sadržajnost *'umjetnosti'* koristi posebno i pojedinačno, a diskurs *qadar/ṣināʾata* samo ono posebno (ar. *al-khāṣ*) kao nositelja univerzalnog (ar. *al-kullī*), i tako bi *'umjetnost'* svjedočila o zajedničkom duhu ali bez prisustva općeg duha inicijacije *homo islamicusa*. Ako bi se individualnost *homo islamicusa* uzdignula iznimno do njegove evropske bîtnōsti, što ipak nije opravdano, univerzalnost bi se neminovno oslobodila apstraktnosti, ali i njegove iskrene duhovne potpore (ar. *al-madd al-rūḥī*) za svjesno estetizirano djelanje/*ṣināʾat* unutar modalitetâ diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata*. Čini se nužnim kazati kako neuvažavanje, kojeg se nije lahko osloboditi, unosi pukotinu u moguće univerzalističke „pretenzije" s jedne strane, te s druge strane totalizaciju univerzalističkih pretenzija. Izgleda da je nužna diferencijacija akademske okcidentalno-vesternizirane sadržajnosti *'umjetnosti'*, ne radi „pokopa" sekularnosti, nego radi „činjenične" ravnopravnosti *'umjetnosti'* i modaliteta diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata* s obzirom na evidentno stanje *na terenu*. Tek se naime s diferancijom (fr. *différance*), odnosno kroz igru tragova, kao takva ocrtava i prisutna disproporcija različitih znakovnih jedinica.

Inscription (confirmation of authorship):

"The likeness of the one who takes refuge in [God's] mercy and forgiveness, the deceased, the one whose abode is paradise, my master **Reza, the 'Abbasi painter,** God's mercy and forgiveness be upon him. [It] was copied [from an original drawn] in the year 104[?] and was completed on the ffth of the month of Safar of the year 1087, which concluded in success and victory, as a keepsake (?) for insertion in an album, may it be blessed.

Drawn by Mu'in Musavvir, may God forgive his sins."

Natpis (potvrđivanje autorstva)

„Sličnost onoga koji se utječe [Božijem] milosrđu i oprostu, umrli, onaj čije je boravište džennet, moj gospodar **Reza, 'Abbasi slikar**, Božija milost i oprost neka je na njega. [To] je kopirano [iz originala nacrtanog] 104.[?] godine i dovršeno je petog u mjesecu Safaru 1087. godine, koja je završila uspjehom i pobjedom, kao uspomena (?) za umetanje u albumu, neka je blagoslovljen.

Nacrtao **Mu'in Musavvir**, Allah mu oprostio grijehe."



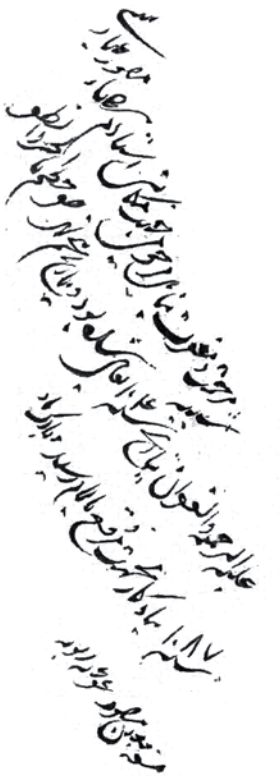


ILLUSTRATION ~ Portrait of the *homo islamicus* Reza 'Abbasi by **Mu'in Musavvir, Isfahan**, Iran, signed and dated 5 Safar Ah 1087/19 April 1676 AD. © Christie's Images Ltd 2018.

ILUSTRACIJA ~ Portret *homo islamicusa* Reze 'Abbasija od **Mu'ina Musavvira**, Isfahan, Iran, potpisan i datiran 5. Safar Ah 1087./19.04.1676. © Christie's Images Ltd 2018.

The true essence of the issue is that the Occidental-westernized content of *'art'* uses the **particular** and the **individual**, while the *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse uses the **particular** (Ar. *al-khāṣ*) only as a carrier of the **universal** (Ar. *al-kullī*), and in this way *'art'* would testify to the common spirit, but without the presence of the general spirit of *homo islamicus's* initiation. If *homo islamicus's* individuality were elevated in a particular way to his European essence, which is still not justified, universality would inevitably be freed from his abstraction, as well as from his sincere spiritual support (Ar. *al-madd al-rūḥī*) to conscious aestheticized actions/*ṣināʿat* within the modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse. It seems necessary to note that **disrespect**, which is not easy to get rid of, makes a crack in possible universalist „pretensions" on the one hand, and the totalization of universalist pretensions on the other. It seems that the **differentiation** of Occidental-westernized academic content of *'art'* is necessary, not for the purpose of „burying" secularity but for the purpose of the „factual" equality of *'art'* and the modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse, keeping in mind the obvious conditions *in the field*. Indeed, it is only by différance (Fr. *différance*), i.e. through a game of traces, that the present disproportion of different sign units is outlined.

Usprkos svemu, ne treba garantirati nikakvu apsolutnu privilegiju kriteriju diferancijacije u *'umjetnosti'* nauštrb ***vjernosti*** uopće. Radi se o drugoj vjernosti, te o prosuđivanju i procjenjivanju između dvije vjernosti. Čini se da bi se *'umjetnost'* morala potruditi i biti što je moguće vjernija. Ne zbog brige oko proračunljive tačnosti, nego zato što će se pozvati da slijedi i zakon drugog načina vjernosti određenog estetiziranog izraza, njegovom nalogu, njegovom identitetu, njegovom tekstu, tog drugog događaja utoliko što se već prije desio i što bi se na njega trebalo odgovoriti. Modaliteti diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata* su tu i potrebno ih je bilo analizirati, proučiti, istražiti, sagledati, prije nas, ali ne vidimo razloga zašto ne i danas pred i sa „nama". Antonimija je spremna uvažiti zakon drugoga, ne tako što će mu se pasivno pokoravati nego što će ga supotpisati u svoj njegovoj specifičnoj prouzročenosti, kako bi mogla respektirati autentifikaciju estetiziranog djelanja bilo kog *homo islamicusa*. Nažalost, situacija izgleda posve drugačije. Po svemu sudeći, ne postoji akademsko opredjeljenje da se navodno „nesumjerljivi" modaliteti diskursâ *qadar/ṣināʾata*, na određen način usuglase sa *'umjetnošću'* i eventualno *ovjeri* specifična situacija „zakona drugog". Zasigurno bez toga nemoguće je uspostaviti odnos sa bilo kojim drugim estetiziranim djelovanjem, ili čak djelanjem/*ṣināʾataom* kao takvim. Radi se o napetosti između strategije *qadar/ṣināʾata homo islamicusa*, s jedne, i gotovo *'svete vjernosti umjetnikove umjetnosti'*, s druge strane. Ova napetost je na djelu u većem obimu akademskih anksioznih razmišljanja prilikom prikaza, iščitavanja, tumačenja, sagledavanja iz vana, ona je čak prisutna i kao vokabularna identifikacija. Takva razmišljanja treba pustiti da traju, shvaćajući ih, približavajući im se i eventualno ukazujući im i po potrebi objašnjavajući fundamentalnu problematiku nutarnjosti *homo islamicusovog* djelanja/*ṣināʾata*, a ipak pri svemu tome ostavljajući ih nedirnutim u njihovoj anksioznosti. *Homines islamici* preferiraju teozofsku mudrost (mistična ili ezoterična gnoza) koja teži nutarnjoj kontemplativnoj vizualizaciji (ar. *al-mušāhadah*), koja se ne zadobija ni puninom definicija ni izražajnošću silogizama, već snagom istočne svjetlosti (ar. *al-išrāq*) koja se rađa na Istoku duše. Poznata je činjenica da su znanje (*doctrina*), pa čak i apodiktični argumenti utemeljeni na svjedočenju (*martyrium*). Slijed dokazivanja u svim znanostima, kako tvrdi Derrida *pretpostavlja neki sloj vjere.*[49] No, nad tim bezdanim temeljem moćna gradnja je ipak konstruirala uvjete postojane autonomije onoga što se titulira kao *'umjetnost'*.

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[49] ***Fidélité à plus d'un : Derrida, Celan, Brenner, Cixous, Blanchot***. Érudit Journals, *Spirale* magazine culturel inc., br. 195, Montréal (Québec), mart–april 2004; Dostupno na: https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/spirale/2004-n195-spirale1057121/. Pristupljeno 20.4.2020. = *Vjernost 'više nego jednom' : Zaslužiti nasljeđivanje tamo gdje genealogija manjka* (s francuskoga preveo Ugo Vlaisavljević. *Tvrđa*, časopis za književnost, umjetnost, znanost, Hrvatsko društvo pisaca, Ivanić-Grad 2011., 1/2, str. 11-46. Dostupno na: https://katalog.kgz.hr/pagesResults/bibliografskiZapis.aspx?&currentPage=1&searchById=30&sort=0&spid0=30&spv0=ljudsko+tijelo+-+umjetni%C4%8Dke+teme+i+motivi&selectedId=245003966&nbf=1. Pristupljeno 20.4.2020. Prijevod, autorski rukopis, str. 49.

Nevertheless, one should not guarantee any absolute privilege for the criterion of différance in *'art'* detrimental to ***fidelity*** in general. It is another fidelity and evaluation and assessment between two fidelities. It seems that *'art'* should try and be as ***true*** as possible. The reason is not a caring for calculable accuracy, but that it will be called upon to also follow the law of another way of fidelity to a particular aestheticized expression, to its commission, to its identity, its text, to the other event inasmuch as it has already happened and should be responded to. Modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse are here and they should be analyzed, studied, investigated, perceived, before us, although we cannot see the reason why not also today, in front of and with „us". Antonymy is willing to accept the law of the other, not by passively yielding to it but by cosigning it in its **distinctive causation**, so as to be able to respect the **authentication of aestheticized actions** of any *homo islamicus*. Unfortunately, things seem to be completely different. By all accounts, there is an academic orientation to align, in some way, the allegedly „incommensurable" modalities of *qadar/ṣināʿat* discourse with *'art'*, and possibly *certify* the distinctive situation of the „law of the other". It is certainly necessary for establishing a relationship with any other aestheticized activity, or even with actions/*ṣināʿat* as such. It is the tension between *homo islamicus's qadar/ṣināʿat* strategy on the one hand, and the almost *'sacred fidelity of the artist's art'* on the other. This tension is at work in most academic anxious thoughts when reviewing, perusing, interpreting, viewing from the outside, it is even present as vocabulary identification. Such thinking should be allowed to last, and one should understand it, get closer to it, possibly indicate it and, if needed, explain the fundamental issue of the inside of *homo islamicus's* actions/*ṣināʿat*, while still leaving it intact in its anxiety. *Homines islamici* prefer theosophic wisdom (mystic or esoteric gnosis) which strives toward inner contemplative visualization (Ar. *al-moshāhadah*), and which is not achieved by the totality of definitions or expressiveness of syllogisms, but rather by the power of eastern light (Ar. *al-ishrāq*) which is born in the East of the soul. It is a well-known fact that knowledge (*doctrine*) and even apodictic arguments are based on testimony (*martyrium*). The sequence of arguments in all sciences, as Derrida claims, *assumes some layer of faith*.[49] However, over this abysmal foundation, a powerful construction has nonetheless built the conditions for a stable autonomy of what is titled '*art*'.

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[49] ***Fidélité à plus d'un: Derrida, Celan, Brenner, Cixous, Blanchot.***Érudit Journals, *Spirale* magazine culturel inc., no. 195, Montréal (Québec), March–April 2004; Available at: https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/spirale/2004-n195-spirale1057121/. Accessed on 20.4.2020. = *Vjernost 'više nego jednom' : Zaslužiti nasljeđivanje tamo gdje genealogija manjka* (translated from French by Ugo Vlaisavljević). *Tvrđa*, časopis za književnost, umjetnost, znanost, Hrvatsko društvo pisaca, Ivanić-Grad 2011, 1/2, pp. 11-46. Available at: https://katalog.kgz.hr/pagesResults/bibliografskiZapis.aspx?&currentPage=1&searchById=30&sort=0&spid0=30&spv0=ljudsko+tijelo+-+umjetni%C4%8Dke+teme+i+motivi&selectedId=245003966&nbf=1. Accessed on 20.4.2020. Translation in author's manuscript, p. 49.

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