

# MYTH OF BOSNIAK PAN-ISLAMISM

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Amir Karić

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AMIR KARIĆ

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TRANSLATED BY:  
*Amila Karahasanović*



CENTAR ZA NAPREDNE STUDIJE  
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDIES

Sarajevo, 2015.

*To my mother Mevlija and my late father Habib*

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century and its second half in particular, the political accusation of Pan-Islamism was frequently pressed into service against Yugoslav Muslims in order to discredit them. The targets were most often well-established Bosniaks from various spheres of social life. It is a matter for concern that this “imposed Pan-Islamisation” of the Bosniaks has continued into the present, rendering their position and, indeed, that of Bosnia and Herzegovina internationally that much more complex, particularly given the recent context of global relations and its increasing focus on Islam and Muslims.

In this book, I have endeavoured to gather together all the relevant facts regarding Pan-Islamism in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and to demonstrate the overall absurdity and groundlessness of these allegations.

The Bosnian-language original of this book was published in 2006. I would like to use this opportunity to extend my gratitude to all who have contributed to its translation and publication in English. The translator, Amila Karahasanović,

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*Sarajevo, 2 April 2015*

*Amir Karić*



## INTRODUCTION

Within the broader discussion of the political dimensions of Islam, few notions have remained so intriguing and so current for so long in public and political discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina as that of Pan-Islamism, which has continued to engage professional, political and general public interest over more than one hundred years.

Given the dearth of published studies exploring it in any depth in spite of the attention it has recently received, it would appear to be a matter of some importance to examine the topic and provide some sort of answer as to Pan-Islamism's real impact in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its reception by Bosniaks, with a view to eliminating prejudice and dispelling misconceptions stemming from uncritical and propagandist journalism and popular accounts.

The fundamental hypothesis of this book is that, for Bosniaks, during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Pan-Islamism referred solely to the development and fostering of a specific sensitivity towards Islamic fraternity and the promotion of an awareness of spiritual unity and of a shared religious identity, without in any way implying activities intended to prepare the

ground for Bosnia and Herzegovina's political accession to or union with a Muslim state.

It is therefore my intention in this essay to offer a definition of the notion of Pan-Islamism and describe its semantic framework, its core meaning and its socio-historical development, on the one hand, while arguing, on the other, on the basis of the facts and of a relevant theoretical framework, that the Bosniaks have never, at any point in their modern history, advocated or promoted the political Pan-Islamism ascribed to them as a constituent element of their political identity and of which they continue to be accused as part of a general, but also more specifically political process of stigmatisation.

In order to address these questions, one must first define Pan-Islamism itself and determine its semantic and substantial framework, as well as elucidating the idea of Islamic unity from a doctrinal perspective, which in turn entails a review of the notions of *Umma* and *the Caliphate* and their conceptual and historical development. These questions and the answers to them are presented in the first part of the book.

The second part focuses on a synthetic presentation of the general political circumstances in the Islamic world under which reformist trends came into being and which lead to the development of Pan-Islamism as a distinct movement. It therefore also describes the initial steps in the formulation and development of the idea and how it came to win the political support of the Ottoman state, identifying key players and pro-

tagonists in the process. Finally, it looks at the establishment of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference,<sup>1</sup> a contemporary approach to integration of the Muslim world that some authors have designated Neo-Panislamism.

In writing the first and second parts, a large number of works was consulted, the most prominent being: Abdullah Al-Ahsan, *Ummah or Nation? Identity Crisis in Contemporary Muslim Society* (Leicester, 1992); Ishtiyaque Danish, *The Ummah, Pan-Islamism and Muslim Nation-states* (New Delhi, 2001); John L. Esposito, *The Oxford History of Islam*, (New York, 1999); Fazlur Rahman, *Duh Islama (Islam)*, (Belgrade, 1983); Fikret Karčić, *Društveno-pravni aspekt islamskog reformizma*, (Sarajevo, 1990); an exhaustive study of Pan-Islamism by Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam: Ideology and Organisation* (New York, 1990); Tariq Ramadan, *Biti evropski musliman (To Be a European Muslim)*, (Sarajevo, 2002); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Heart of Islam*, (New York, 2002); al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, (Beirut, 1985); ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Sanhūrī, *Fiqh al-khilāfa wa-taṭawwuruha*, (Cairo, 1993); Mohammad Shah, *Pan-Islamism in India & Bengal*, (Karachi, 2002); Muhammad Hamidullah, *Muhamed, a. s., život i djelo (The life and work of the Prophet of Islam)*, (Sarajevo, 1983); *idem.*, *The Emergence of Islam* (Islamabad, 1999); and Peter Mandaville, *Transnational Muslim Politics: Reimagining the Umma*, (New York, 2004).

The central point of focus in this book is the impact of Pan-Islamism on Bosniak thought and its influence on the

political, social and religious life of Bosniaks during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In attempting to address this question, all the relevant facts required for a comprehensive exploration of the issue and to offer a pertinent answer have been subjected to analysis. The book presents the social and political circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, paying due attention to the potential influence of Pan-Islamism on Bosniak emigration to Turkey and the *Movement for the Autonomy of Religious and Educational Endowments*. The following works proved fundamental in writing this part of the paper (translations of the titles are given in the bibliography): Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak BiH od 1878-1914*, (Sarajevo, 1997); Ibrahim Kemura, *Uloga Gajreta u društvenom životu Muslimana*, (Sarajevo, 1986); Mustafa Imamović, *Bošnjaci u emigraciji*, (Sarajevo, 1996); Šaćir Filandra, *Bošnjačka politika u XX stoljeću*, (Sarajevo, 1998); Nusret Šehić, *Autonomni pokret Muslimana za vrijeme austro-ugarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini*, (Sarajevo, 1980); and Ferdo Hauptman, *Borba muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersku i vakufskomearifsku autonomiju* (Sarajevo, 1967).

Given that the Bosniak writers of the time produced and published a number of popular treatises on Pan-Islamism, interpreting the movement in different ways, particular attention is paid to this aspect of Bosniak attitudes towards Pan-Islamism. Also analysed are works by Bosniak authors, published in the various journals of the time or as separate

pamphlets and publications, expressing their views on issues related to Muslim unity and the Caliphate, as well as their attitudes towards general Muslim issues, i.e. their interest in other Muslim peoples, to which they were related exclusively through a spiritual connection. Following this discussion, the book then looks at criticisms of “Bosniak Pan-Islamism” made by Bosniak secular modernists, as well as polemics on the topic.

As well as using and analysing primary sources, i.e. papers and treatises produced in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the discussion draws on existing research on the topic, which has, however, dealt with it either fragmentarily or in restricted aspects.

Thus, Issue no. 20 (1982) of *Odjek*, a journal printed in Sarajevo, contained an informative article by Professor Mustafa Imamović entitled *Panislamizam i ‘panislamizam’ (Pan-Islamism and “pan-Islamism”)* in reaction to allegations of Pan-Islamism levelled at Bosniaks by nationalist intellectual circles that were unhappy with the emancipation of Bosniaks and their social, national and political affirmation. The author gives an overview of the creation and historical development of Pan-Islamism, underlining that it should be viewed in the same way as other pan-movements, like Pan-Slavism, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Americanism, Pan-Arabism and so on. He present the historical context, arguing that its emergence had been conditioned by two factors. The first was the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire, which had left many Muslim

peoples under non-Muslim government, giving rise to certain problems, insofar as religious life was increasingly reduced to individual worship and ethics, as overall social life was no longer regulated by Islamic law. Important in this regard was the provision of the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca of 1774, stipulating that the Sultan, as Caliph, retained spiritual jurisdiction over all Muslims remaining in the territories then passing under Russian rule. The second factor was the idea that achieving Islamic unity under a single Caliph might have offered a way of preventing further incursions by the European Christian powers into parts of the Muslim world. The author stresses the further important fact that “Many national movements formally declared as Pan-Islamic, but their development inexorably led to a disintegration of the Muslim world. The appeal by Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī, the most prominent ideologist of Pan-Islamism, for Muslims to liberate themselves from foreign domination and strengthen their existing states could not, under the prevailing historical circumstances, be accomplished through a Pan-Islamic movement, but only through national ones.” The author also refers to the foundation of the Pan-Islamic Society in London and the construction of the Hejaz Railway as a Pan-Islamic project of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In closing, Professor Imamović states that the Pan-Islamic movement was a general phenomenon across the Islamic world and so had not been without its impact on Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1878 and 1945. He does not, however, go into the topic any further in his paper.



Professor Fikret Karčić has also made significant contributions to the study of Islamic reformism in general and Pan-Islamism more particularly. In the above-mentioned study on *Društveno-pravni aspekt islamskog reformizma*, he lists the major reformist tendencies in the Muslim world, going on to describe their impact in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including that of Pan-Islamism. He provides an overview of the main trends in the discussion and of the polemic over reforms, the Caliphate and Pan-Islamism, identifying the views of the most prominent representatives of the three main streams of thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. the traditionalists, the religious modernists and the secular modernists. Karčić goes on to show how, during the first five decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these topics continued to attract the attention of the Bosniak public. He stresses that not only were these issues matters of general literary and journalistic interest, but they also had their place on the political agendas of various political parties. After the Yugoslav state had been formed, in 1918, the Yugoslav Muslim Organisation included in its agenda a provision calling for a constitutional guarantee of relations with the Caliphate that would be just as free as those enjoyed by Catholics with the Holy See. According to Karčić, both the religious and the secular intelligentsia were in favour of reinstating the Caliphate as an all-Islamic religious institution. Professor Karčić revisited the topic to some extent in his English-language study, *The Bosniaks and the Challenges of Modernity* (Sarajevo, 1999).

In his book, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost u doba preporoda 1887-1918*, which offers a description and analysis of the literary journals of the time, with a particular focus on *Biser*, Muhsin Rizvić scrutinises in some detail that journal's markedly Pan-Islamic character, offering possible reasons for this orientation. He notes that, within the framework of the nationalist politics and literary-cultural trends of the time, *Biser* had, since its inception, always tried to maintain a balance between a Serbo-Croatian supranational position and one that rose above contemporary political trends to promote a Muslim national unity based on traditional religious cohesion, which it tried, at the same time, to develop along the general lines of the Pan-Islamic idea. The Pan-Islamic orientation of the journal, according to Rizvić, was reinforced by the number of translations it published of treatises on Pan-Islamism, as well as the occasional Pan-Islamic editorial and the continuous promotion of works published within the *Muslimanska biblioteka* (henceforth the *Muslim Library*).

In their monograph *Biser – književno-historijska monografija i bibliografija* (Sarajevo, 1998), Lamiya Hadžiosmanović and Minka Memija analyse the contents of the full run of the journal, with a focus on its Pan-Islamic orientation. In the chapter on *Islam*, they note that it was one of the primary aims of the journal to write about Islam and publish information from the Islamic world. They further emphasise that the earliest texts in this context were those relating to Pan-Islamism, which as an idea and a movement "... attracted the interest of scholars and

writers, resulting in a number of works of varying approach and scope. The very idea, as a phenomenon occurring in the Islamic world, evoked interest in the country. Hence the numerous translations and even original texts that aimed at familiarising the Bosnian reader with the topic.” Having indicated the importance of the concept, the authors then present a content-analysis of the texts dealing with Pan-Islamism.

In the 2002 *Godišnjak [Annual]* of “Preporod,” the Bosniak Cultural Association, there is a paper by Professor Ismet Bušatlić on *Panislamizam u “Biseru” (Pan-Islamism in Biser)*, in which he analyses the Pan-Islamic orientation of the journal and the texts of Pan-Islamic provenance published in it. He stresses that “works of Pan-Islamic orientation were to be found in the Muslim press in Bosnia and Herzegovina as early as in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Such texts could subsume news of events in the Islamic world, published to foster solidarity with vulnerable Muslims as the victims of colonial conquests and the subjects of uprisings, highlight the role of the Turkish Sultan as the Caliph of all Muslims, promote undertakings serving the Pan-Islamic politics of the Ottoman government or other Islamic circles, or promote texts by authors who had joined the Pan-Islamic movement, embraced its idea and participated in its events.” *Biser* significantly strengthened such public discourse. According to Bušatlić, it brought out a number of articles on Islamic reformism and Pan-Islamism and kept up-to-date with events and literature in the Islamic world, particularly Turkey, Russia, Egypt and India.

In his book *Bošnjačka nacija* (Sarajevo, 2003), which comprises the main body of his doctoral thesis on *Bosniaks in the Light of Contemporary Theories of the Nation and the National Question*, defended at the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo on 5 April 2002, Adib Đozić tackles in sporadic fashion the issue of how Islamic modernism and Pan-Islamism affected the process of the constitution of a Bosniak nation, without exploring the topic in depth.

In his study *Hikjmet-riječ tradicionalne uleme u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Tuzla, 2004), comprising the text of his master's thesis, defended at the History Department of Sarajevo Philosophy Faculty, Adnan Jahić analyses, *inter alia*, works on Pan-Islamism printed in *Hikjmet* – a journal published in Tuzla from 1929 to 1936. The author notes that *Hikjmet's* watchwords were the need for general Muslim unity and the need to engage with general issues affecting Muslims, regardless of their national affiliation or country of origin. *Hikjmet* promoted issues of religion and education to the extent of almost ignoring economic and social circumstances in the Muslim world. Jahić's conclusion is, however, that *Hikjmet* advocated religious Pan-Islamism, while denying any possibility of pursuing it at the political level. *The authors of these works deal with the issue of Pan-Islamism to the extent that their research required them to do so. It is our belief that this book will contribute to a more profound understanding of the phenomenon and to the elimination of existing prejudice.*

## CHAPTER I

PAN-ISLAMISM AND THE CONCEPT  
OF ISLAMIC UNITYTHE ISLAMIC *UMMA* (*AL-UMMA AL-ISLĀMIYYA*)  
AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS

The Islamic *creed* of monotheism (*tawhīd*) is the determining feature of the Islamic *Umma* (*umma al-islāmiyya*), its *differentia specifica* and most distinctive characteristic.<sup>2</sup> It is expressed verbally in an act of witness (*shahāda*), as each individual professes his or her belief, laying the foundations of a global perspective on the world and life. It is of the essence of individual Muslim identity<sup>3</sup> and, so, of the identity of the *Umma* as the community of Muslims. The act of witness (*shahāda*) provides the basis for religious practice, which in turn thoroughly develops a sense of belonging to a community (*Umma*). Daily prayer (*salāt*) has the same role and is strongly related to the requirement of coming together daily to develop community spirit. A month of fasting

widens the horizons of compassion so as to include a general human community of the hungry and the infirm. The clearly and precisely defined duty of almsgiving (*zakāt*), imposed on the rich and intended for various categories of recipient, fosters and perfects a spirit of solidarity within the *Umma*. The *hajj* pilgrimage represents the crowning point of this practice.<sup>4</sup>

The concept of *Umma* implies a specific sensibility of spiritual brotherhood amongst Muslims (*al-ukhuwwa al-islāmiyya*), as well as a feeling of spiritual unity and community that transcends geographic, territorial, ethnic and linguistic identities.<sup>5</sup> The concept does not, however, cancel out or derogate individual identity, since diversity (whether ethnic, linguistic, or cultural, etc.) is a principle of universal harmony and not of conflict or confusion. This multiplicity of tribes, peoples, races and languages is the result of nothing but God's will.<sup>6</sup> The spiritual identity of the *Umma* is primary, but Islam also teaches unambiguously that, in addition to nourishing faith-based spiritual brotherhood (*al-ukhuwwa al-islāmiyya*), the Muslim is obliged by the Revelation to respect family and, by extension, wider kin and ethnic relationships.<sup>7</sup> A Muslim is so bound, however, only so long as they (kinship ties) do not lead him or her to act against faith or conscience.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, blood relations, i.e. the ethnic and national framework, have their place, but are not essential to Muslim identity. In fact, ethnicity and nationality are neither primary nor even particularly important criteria "determining and directing human relations."<sup>9</sup> These two dimensions of identity are thus not

mutually exclusive. Rather, the individual importance of each is clearly defined.<sup>10</sup>

According to Marcel A. Boisard:

It is difficult to find the exact term with which to describe the Islamic “community” because it must take into account the close association of the spiritual and the temporal as well as all the moral and juridical regulations abounding in the *Qur’an*. One can approach such a definition with the expression “a life style”, or an “organized ideological community”, if one uses the term ideology in its proper meaning of a global vision of the world and of its inception. (...) Religion was the impetus which led to the formation of such a solid, specific society that the various forces which sought to tear it apart throughout its history never succeeded in doing so. Even in our day, nationalistic tendencies notwithstanding, the believers’ sense of belonging to a community which has differentiated itself from others remains strong.<sup>11</sup>

A sense of the *Umma’s* unity has been preserved down through Muslim history, albeit at varying degrees of intensity and despite the political and cultural fragmentation of the Islamic world during the 20<sup>th</sup> century under the impact of modernity and other ideologies. A peculiar, fluid relation, centripetal in force, has nonetheless survived down to the present, to be found in “various Pan-Islamic movements,” most obviously in the domain of religion, but also in those of society and of cultural, economic and political life.<sup>12</sup>

It has already been stated that relations within the *Umma* are determined by a higher order of values and, as such, have a higher meaning than they would have as just historical phenomena. The establishment of cooperation within the *Umma*, on the one hand, and of relations with those outside of it, on the other, is always governed by principle. Indeed, practices born out of deference to the interests of the *Umma* are legitimate only insofar as they are founded upon the principle of justice, the fundamental principle of all social communication. The Muslim *Umma*, as the community of the “middle path,” must bear witness to its faith before all mankind:

...by defending and spreading justice, solidarity and values pertaining to honesty, generosity, brotherhood and love. The feeling of belonging does not signify that a Muslim is allowed to accept or support an injustice just because its author is his brother in Faith; on the contrary, in the name of his Religion and being a member of the *Umma*, he has to stop him and confront him. (...) Clearly put, a Muslim should feel that he belongs to God first and that the Creator will never accept a lie, a betrayal or injustice by an individual Muslim or a Muslim community for they should be, on the contrary, models of rectitude, honesty, justice and trustworthiness.<sup>13</sup>

*The concept of the Umma (al-umma)  
in the Constitution of Medina*

For any attempt to understand the concept of the *Umma* in the context of subsequent socio-historical development and



political and legal conditions it is vital first to investigate and explore it as it appears in the spirit and text of the Constitution of Medina.

The beginnings of Muslim society and the Islamic state lie in the “Medina period” of the Prophet’s mission. Before developing into an organised Islamic state, that is as a city-state initially, Medina had a tribal system, with no higher level of organisation. Under these conditions, the tribes warred against one another frequently and sometimes for years on end.<sup>14</sup>

The circumstances under which the political community at Medina was formed were far more complex than they might seem at first glance. At the point when the Prophet came to Medina, the population was already fragmented, as may be seen from the text and structure of the Constitution of Medina. Not all of the population had yet converted to Islam. Even though they had sworn blood-brotherhood (a somewhat specific historical phenomenon in itself), the immigrants (*Muhājirūn*) and the natives of Medina (*Anṣār*) continued to hand down different customs and retained somewhat different mentalities. The tribes of Aws and Khazraj had just ended their war with each other and were about to establish an alliance or community of sorts, with the Khazraj chief, ‘Abd-Allāh Ibn Ubayy Ibn Salūl, its likely leader. The peculiar complexity of the social structure and of political relations within it is shown by the fact that the Constitution of Medina lists the Jewish tribes included in the new state: the *Banū ‘Awf*, *Banū Najjār*, *Banū Ḥārith*, *Banū Sā‘ida*, *Banū Jusham*, *Banū ‘Aws*, *Banū*

*Tha'laba*, the *Jafna branch* and the *Banū Shutayba*. There was also the odd Christian living in or around Medina. All had their own views of how life in Medina should be organised.

It was under these circumstances that the Prophet (*s.a.w.*) summoned representatives of the various social groups living in Medina and presented his proposal for establishing a state. A majority accepted the proposal. Only four branches of the Aws tribe rejected it.<sup>15</sup>

The establishment of the Medinan city-state represented a novelty for the political practice of the time. For the first time, relations between people within a political community were governed by rules agreed on and accepted by the interested parties and set out in a written document, the Constitution (*Ṣaḥīfa*), which covers all the major issues required for the community to function, including the generic needs of a nascent political community, i.e. defence, law-making, law, etc.<sup>16</sup>

The Medinan state was a truly cosmopolitan political creation, which fully guaranteed the religious rights and freedoms of all its members, i.e. the signatories of the Constitution (Article 25a). Decisions about war and peace were the shared right of all the citizens of Medina and were vested in the central authority<sup>17</sup> represented by the Prophet (*s.a.w.*).

This document represented a revolutionary step ahead from a legal perspective as well, since the power over legal matters was no longer in the hand of individuals but was, rather, once and for all, conferred to the community, i.e. the central authority.<sup>18</sup>

The Constitution of Medina has 47 Articles (52 according to Muhammad Hamidullah). It was redrafted a number of times, as the political community developed.

Article 1 of the Constitution reads:

This is a document from Muhammad the Prophet, governing relations between the Believers (*al-mu'minn*) i.e. Muslims (*al-muslimūn*) of Quraysh and Yathrib and those who followed them and became attached to them and fought along with them.<sup>19</sup>

Article 2 reads:

They shall form a single community – *Umma (ummatun wāḥidatun)* as distinct from other people.

Article 2 of the Constitution indicates that the *Umma*, encompassing both believers (*al-mu'minūn*) and followers (*al-muslimūn*), represented the core of both the Medinan state and of Medinan society.

Article 16 reads:

Those Jews who follow the Believers shall be helped and will be treated with equality. No Jew shall be wronged for being a Jew. The enemies of the Jews who follow us shall not be helped.

This Article of the Constitution indicates that Jews did not belong to the Islamic *Umma*, but were subsumed under the

“other people” from Article 2, since there is no mention of them in the first part of the Constitution.

Article 25a reads:

The Jews of *Banū ‘Awf* shall be considered a community along with the believers. They shall be guaranteed the right of religious freedom along with the Muslims. The right shall be conferred on their associates (*Maulas*) as well as themselves.

This Article refers to certain Jews as an *Umma*, i.e. they constitute a community alongside the Believers (*ummatun ma‘a al-mu‘minīn*). Granting this status to a Jewish tribe in their relations with Muslims could, in modern terms, be called an act of peaceful coexistence and cooperation,<sup>20</sup> motivated by quite practical reasons. The factor that prevailed in favour of forging an alliance between Muslims and Jews was security, i.e. the need to secure their territory against external threats; for the Jews it was Christians to the north, for the Muslims it was the Meccan polytheist establishment to the south.<sup>21</sup> The territory is defined in Article 39 as:

The valley of Yathrib (*al-Jawf*) shall be sacred and inviolable for all that join this Treaty.

Another indicator that Jews did not form a joint *Umma* together with the Muslims is the fact that the group to which the treaty up to Article 23 (i.e. the point at which the Jews joined the alliance) applied was referred to as the Believers (*al-mu‘minūn*) or Muslims (*al-muslimūn*). After the Jews joined the alliance, they were jointly referred to as the “parties to the

treaty” (*ahl hādhibi al-ṣaḥīfa*). If all the groups or tribes whose standing within the Medinan political community was governed by the Constitution (*Ṣaḥīfa*) had constituted a single *Umma*, it would have been easier to refer to them by the expression *Umma*, rather than the longer phrase “parties to the treaty.” This suggests that the single community (*ummatun wāḥidatun*) in Article 1 of the Constitution of Medina referred only to the followers of the Prophet, i.e. those who had converted to Islam.<sup>22</sup>

## THE CALIPHATE – THE ISLAMIC POLITICAL SYSTEM

A *Caliphate* entails an Islamic political order in which a general leadership is exercised over both religious (*dīn*) and secular (*dunyā*) issues. It follows from such a definition of Caliphate that the Caliph does not assume leadership in the religious domain alone, but in both it and the political domain at the same time.<sup>23</sup> The founding of the institution of the Caliphate goes back to the election of the Prophet's (*a.w.*) successor as leader of the *Umma*, i.e. the leader of the Islamic state after the Prophet's death. It goes without saying that the Caliph was not the Prophet's successor in his prophetic mission and or in his role of delivering Revelation.

The institutions of Caliphate and Caliph symbolise the unity of the the *Umma*,<sup>24</sup> while choosing and appointing a Caliph are considered Islamic duties, as is loyalty to the Caliph's authority, so long as it is exercised in accordance with Islamic law (*Shari'a*). As already mentioned, the Prophet (*s.a.w.*) was leader of the Medinan state, but refrained during his lifetime from stipulating who should succeed him as leader after his death and from providing guidelines on how to choose the leader of the *Umma* and state.

The first four "Rightly Guided Caliphs" acceded to the position in one of two ways:

- a) By election, or
- b) By having been designated by the previous Caliph.<sup>25</sup>

The election of Abū Bakr introduced the system of choosing between two or more candidates for the position of Caliph. The designation of ‘Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb by the first Caliph, Abū Bakr, legitimised the second path to accession. Indeed, later jurists made use of the practice to legitimise dynastic succession of the Caliphate under the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties.<sup>26</sup>

Election as Caliph presupposed certain conditions for the office to be held legitimately. The conditions can be divided into extrinsic and character-based ones. The extrinsic conditions are: being male, free, of age, mentally and physically able and belonging to Islam.<sup>27</sup>

Al-Māwardī singled out the following character traits as necessary: justice, enough learning to practice *ijtihād* competently, unimpaired hearing, vision and speech, physical health, a capacity for political reasoning, courage and a genealogical relationship with the Quraysh tribe.<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, the *Shari‘a* or Islamic law limited the powers of the Caliph, who was obliged to apply and obey all its regulations, just like any other member of the Muslim community. This was a revolutionary development at the time the institution was established, considering that kings and rulers, both then and for centuries to come, were generally above the law. The Caliph did not enjoy any privileges on the grounds

of his position. Quite the contrary, he was in a certain way a “servant of the people.” Initially, the institution of the Caliphate brought together the following duties: the interpretation of Islamic law (*ijtihād*), leading joint prayers and delivering *khuṭba*, defending Islam and the Muslim community, and exercise of the judicial, executive and administrative functions in the state and military command.<sup>29</sup>

The conditions set out by the jurists as necessary for the position of the Caliph and exercising the functions of the Caliphate represented an ideal, based on *Shari‘a* and the practice of the first four Caliphs (*al-Khulafā’ al-Rāshidūn*). In practice, however, it was difficult to meet all of them. Furthermore, as the borders of the Islamic state spread and the structure of society became more complex, Caliphs transferred certain powers to individuals authorised to exercise them on their behalf. The lawyers compensated for any shortcomings in the Caliphs’ competence to practice *ijtihād* by allowing them access to the services of legal experts, while the appointment of military commanders was an adequate substitute for the personal exercise of military courage on the battlefield. Commanders, judges, *khatibs* and other officials drew the legitimacy of their activities from their investiture by the Caliph.

In the usual periodization of the Caliphate’s history, the period of *al-khilāfa al-rāshida* (632-661) is considered an integral whole. The capture of the Caliphate by force by Mu‘āwiya Ibn ‘Abī Sufyān and the subsequent establishment of a hereditary Caliphate, with the appointment of his son Yazīd as



his successor, was a turning point in its internal structure and functioning that had unavoidable implications for the subsequent development of Islamic society and the associated form of state.<sup>30</sup> In addition to this structural change, the Umayyad dynasty promoted the supremacy of Arab over non-Arab Muslims, causing a division within the *Umma* which was in contravention of the fundamental Islamic principle of Islamic brotherhood (*al-ukhuwwa al-islāmiyya*). The egalitarian society and consultative governance established and applied by the Prophet and the “Rightly Guided Caliphs” (*al-khilāfa ar-rāshida*) gradually turned into a monarchy and its rulers into absolute monarchs, regardless of their assumption of the title of Caliph. With the establishment of Umayyad dynastic rule, the quintessence of the Caliphate, as an Islamic system of government, was lost.<sup>31</sup>

### *Summary of the historical development of the Caliphate*

After the formative period of the four “Rightly guided Caliphs,”<sup>32</sup> the entire development of the Caliphate was marked by monarchy, beginning with the Umayyads, who introduced this form of political arrangement, right down to the Ottomans, whose decline brought the end of the Caliphate. This significantly contributed to the permeation of the history of the Caliphate and of the Islamic state by a constant struggle for power between the various dynasties and regional rulers of

the Muslim world, as well as within the ruling families themselves. The death of a ruler mostly brought turbulence, internal conflict and war, weakening the internal strength and power of the Muslim state. Rivalry between regional power-wielders, emirs and sultans often gave rise to absurd situations, with one side requesting help from and forming alliances with the Byzantines or the crusaders in order to neutralise their Muslim rivals.

Between 661 and 750, the position of Caliph was held by members of the Umayyad dynasty. Under their rule, the Islamic state rapidly expanded its territory, incorporating parts of North Africa, as well as the province of Khorasan to the east and Bukhara in Turkmenistan. There were also moves against Constantinople. This period was marked by a growth in power and in the administrative capacity of the Islamic state. In 750, the Abbasids, helped by Shia Muslims, deposed the Umayyads and ruled as Caliphs in their stead until 1258, when they were swept from power in their turn by the Mongols, putting an end to the Baghdad Caliphate. The fall of the Abbasid Caliphate was followed by the rise of smaller dynasties, in both the east and the west.<sup>33</sup>

The institution of the Caliphate involved real power during the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods, i.e. up until the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. After that, the Caliph's real power as ruler was significantly diminished and gradually taken over by regional commanders or rulers (*amīrs*).<sup>34</sup> Regardless of their loss of actual political and administrative power, however, the

Caliphs were still considered the “centre of prestige and power of the Islamic world.”<sup>35</sup>

The *Umma* was already politically fragmented in the early period, as a result of rival claims to the position of Caliph. The first case was the attack on the fourth Caliph, ‘Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib, by the Governor of Damascus, Mu‘āwiya Ibn Abī Sufyān, who took the title of Caliph by force of arms.

The period of Abbasid rule saw a split within the Caliphate, with the emergence of parallel systems of government and different Caliphs in different parts of the Islamic world, which was already very extensive. As is well known, in 928, a descendant of the Umayyad dynasty, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, assumed the title of Caliph in al-Andalus (Spain), while by the 10<sup>th</sup> century the Fatimids had already established an independent Shia Caliphate in Egypt,<sup>36</sup> an autonomous rival to the Sunni one in Baghdad. The title continued to be passed down among the Fatimids until the famous military commander of Kurdish origin, Ṣalāḥuddīn al-Ayyūbī, put an end to their Caliphate in 1171.<sup>37</sup> The fall of Baghdad and death of Caliph al-Musta‘ṣim in 1258 ended the Abbasid Caliphate.

Some years before the Mongol invasion and destruction of Baghdad, the Mamluks (1250-1517) had risen to power in Cairo. They agreed to give the title of Caliph to a member of the Abbasid family, who had settled there after the destruction of Baghdad. Subsequent Caliphs had a purely symbolic role, as real power was in the hands of the Mamluk sultans.<sup>38</sup> The Caliphate had become an empty shell and the Caliph had

only his title and no actual power whatsoever. This form of Caliphate lasted until 1517, when the Ottoman Sultan Selim conquered Cairo. The last Abbasid Caliph, al-Mutawakkil, is then said to have passed on the title to Selim. The Ottoman sultans had, however, already started using the title a century before that.

In the following two centuries, only two Islamic rulers were capable, in terms of power and the territories they ruled over, of “reinvigorating the title of Caliph.” These were the Ottoman sultan and the Mughal emperor of India. After the Mughal Empire fell in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottomans were sole heirs to the institution of the Caliphate,<sup>39</sup> a situation which lasted until 1924, when the Young Turks put an end to the Caliphate itself.

Notwithstanding the political struggles of regional leaders<sup>40</sup> and the coexistence of two or more Caliphs at any given time with formal authority covering vast territories,<sup>41</sup> the *Umma*'s essence and the centripetal force that preserved its spiritual coherence have remained phenomena inextricably bound into the faith of every Muslim and grounded in Qur'anic teaching. It is the brotherhood of all Muslims (*al-ukhuwwa al-islāmiyya*).

Based on his study of the history of Caliphate and the political realities of his own time, Ibn Taymiyya identified a need to distinguish between the political and social levels of unity of the *Umma*. He did not consider it a requirement for Muslims to live within the borders of a single, territorially compact

state. Consequently, it was quite legitimate for multiple Islamic political communities to coexist. The governance of any such states would, however, have to be based on *Shari'a*.<sup>42</sup> For Ibn Taymiyya, then, even if the political unity of the *Umma* was impossible, one should preserve unity at the social level and in the legal system by adhering to *Shari'a*. Following *Shari'a* is what unites all Muslims, regardless of the political order they live under.



## C H A P T E R   I I

THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF  
*PAN-ISLAMISM*POLITICAL CONDITIONS AND REFORMIST TRENDS  
IN THE MUSLIM WORLD OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

From the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the political history of the Muslim world was increasingly overdetermined by the foreign policy preferences and interests of European countries, then on the rise. The European countries had come of age and taken the initiative vis-à-vis the Muslim world, which was strategically on the defensive.

The position of the Ottoman Empire, the most powerful country in the Muslim world, was suggestive of weakness and internal crisis. The Sultan was gradually losing his real authority over powerful provincial chiefs, who had won a considerable level of independence and were, not infrequently, building entirely separate systems of government.<sup>43</sup> The Empire was too weak to resist the invasions of Russia from the north. Encouraged by its success in the Crimean war in 1779, Russia

had negotiated a secret agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Empire to push the Ottomans out of Europe entirely. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Russia expanded its territory to the Caucasus and regions in Central Asia.<sup>44</sup> In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottomans were being squeezed ever more violently out of the Balkans.

An event that shocked the Muslim world and foreshadowed a century of European colonial conquest was Napoleon Bonaparte's sudden and swift invasion of Egypt in 1798.<sup>45</sup> In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the British East India Company took control of Bengal and drove back the Mughal Empire, gradually taking over the rest of the Indian sub-continent as well. At the same time, the Dutch established their rule in Java, controlling it through the Dutch East India Company between 1600 and 1800.

In 1830, France invaded Algeria. Its aspirations did not stop there, however. In 1881, it invaded Tunisia. In both cases, military conquest was followed immediately by the settling of French nationals on the new territories. In 1882, Great Britain occupied Egypt. In 1898, Anglo-Egyptian forces took over the Sudan. Morocco suffered invasion by Spain in 1892. By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch had extended their control over Sumatra and Indonesia, Great Britain over Malaya, and Russia over the emirates of Khiva and Bukhara.<sup>46</sup> "The turn of the twentieth century saw three internationally recognised Muslim states in the vast region of the Near and Middle East, Central Asia and India: the Ottoman Empire,



Persia and Afghanistan. All the other countries were colonies, protectorates or annexed territories.”<sup>47</sup>

Muslims faced a foreign Christian world that was the dominant party. “History” was now taking place in their own countries, not somewhere far off and long ago, like Andalusia, Sicily or wherever Muslims had once appeared in force as the bearers of a more developed civilisation, culture and science. It confused them. Their success from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and their domination of the global political scene throughout that period had helped to foster a belief in the historical establishment of Islam as a confirmation of its metaphysical primacy and righteousness and in their triumphs as a confirmation of their rightly-guided belief.<sup>48</sup> The successful colonial campaigns of European countries in the east and their conquest of Muslim countries shattered Muslims’ belief in their own superiority and inspired a compelling need for self-questioning.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Muslim world saw the emergence of several movements aiming to restore faith and reform society. The well-known Pakistani author Fazlur Rahman refers to them as *pre-Modernist reform movements*.<sup>49</sup> The most influential was probably the Wahhabi Movement, which emerged in Arabia in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. The al-Idrisi and al-Sanusi movements were created in Africa, the Fulani and Mahdi in Nigeria and the Sudan. There were also strong reformist tendencies in India. In Central Asia, a reformist movement with similar intentions and orientation arose.<sup>50</sup> Although they emerged in different parts of the Muslim world,

these pre-Modernist movements shared certain similarities, indicating their common origin in the pressing need to reconsider Muslim reality and find a formula to halt regression. The pre-Modernist reform movements were primarily a reflection of the general spiritual condition of the Muslim peoples and their widespread disorientation, apathy and political inferiority. Their common denominator lay in the call to return to the patterns of life established at the time of the Prophet (*s.a.w.*) and the first four Caliphs (632-661). They insisted on unmediated reading of the *Qur'an* and the authentic Hadith and the rejection of interpretations built up over centuries.

These movements were activist in nature, with agendas of moral restoration informing political action. Their activities focused on moral, social and economic problems, rather than on eschatological considerations. They conceived the overall context of their fight for reform in terms of moral positivism and social welfare, not of spirituality.<sup>51</sup>

The movements all developed a political character, whether as a method or an ideology or both. There are two reasons for this:

- 1) The general decline of Muslim political power; and
- 2) It was natural for them to take an activist and political orientation, insofar as their paradigm, the early Muslim community, had been established on such grounds.<sup>52</sup>

The literature often refers to these movements as puritan, because of their practices, and fundamentalist, because of their ideology.

The modern discourse of reform at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>53</sup> was associated with a number of distinguished figures. The most important was Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani. His intellectual activities sent him in several directions. The primary challenge for him was, however, to offer an energetic response to the Orientalist prejudice against Islam as a retrograde religion *sui generis*, incompatible with modern times and against reason. His ultimate aim was political – the liberation of Muslims from colonialism. His speeches and written works were a powerful contribution to this end. He was perhaps somewhat inconsistent in his approach to how political relations in the Muslim world should be ordered, arguing at one and the same time for the unity of the Muslim world (Pan-Islamism) and for stronger individual states. His fundamental ideas were further worked out by his disciples, foremost among them Muḥammad ‘Abduh.

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Empire, an organisation called the Young Ottomans emerged, advocating modernisation of the Empire so as to prevent its further disintegration. There was a growing need to reform the army and loud demands were made for parliamentarianism to be introduced. The need for economic and legal reforms also loomed large, as foreign trade increased and internal circumstances with the Empire itself became increasingly complex.<sup>54</sup> As a result, some authors hold the desire to resist aggressive colonial advances to have been the motive force of the Pan-Islamist movement.<sup>55</sup>

The inferiority of the Muslim world with respect to the colonial powers revealed a pressing need for thorough political reorganisation. It seemed at first that reform of the military system would solve other problems too, but the converse turned out to be the case, namely that political reform was a prerequisite for military reform. It soon became obvious, moreover, that political reform was impossible without social and economic modernisation, which, in turn, required new legislation, which depended on the political authorities.<sup>56</sup> Piecemeal reform, which omitted any of these segments, was just not possible.

These scholars and reformists all held views that differed from each other, but what was common to them all was their attempt to interpret Islamic values in new terms, to organise the life of individuals and the community in such a way as to enable all Muslims to follow their own spirituality and Islamic practice, and to arrange their lives so as not to be in a subordinate or humiliated position. They believed their aim could be achieved through openness to new knowledge, experiences and institutions that would make the Muslim community more efficient in pursuing its goals. Muslims despised as foreign and unacceptable everything the occupation had brought. They treated both the colonisers' science and their other experiences in the same way. The reformers tried to show that modern science was compatible with Islam and, furthermore, that reason was primary in explaining the ways of the world and principles of the universe in general. There

was no good reason for Muslims to isolate themselves or accept the status of passive observers. On the contrary, they were called upon actively to reinterpret the fundamental sources of Islamic teaching (the *Qur'an* and *Hadith*) under the sign of these new times, by practicing *ijtihād*. They knew that the Muslim world could not recover from the shock of colonisation unless it reformed its political, legal and social institutions. The conditions of life within the Muslim world had completely changed and adequate responses to them were now required. Muslims found themselves in a subordinate position, under Christian rulers who brought new institutions and a new ordering of society at the political, legal, economic and societal levels. It was clear that the experience of the colonisers in the field of social organisation and institutions produced better results.

Unlike the pre-Modernist movements, the reformers believed that the setup of the Medinan community of Muslims represented an ideal rather than a pattern to follow in reforming Muslim societies. The pre-Modernist movements had striven to restore the past, while the modern reformers wanted to reinterpret the sources of Islamic teaching.<sup>57</sup>

## THE EMERGENCE OF PAN-ISLAMISM AND ITS MAIN PROTAGONISTS

In the academic community, the term Pan-Islamism was first used in 1877. Two authors introduced the expression: Franz von Werner, writing in German under the pseudonym Murad Efendi, and the Turkologist Arminius Vambery, writing in English. The term was popularised to a degree by Gabriel Charmes, a French journalist who wrote a few texts published in the *Revue des deux Mondes* magazine in the 1880s. He later republished them in a book that became a bestseller. The term Pan-Islamism began to appear frequently in the British press and elsewhere.<sup>58</sup>

The term was used in European languages in much the same way as the terms for the movements of Pan-Europeanism, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, etc.,<sup>59</sup> with which the cultured public of the time was quite familiar. The idea behind the establishment of the movement called Pan-Islamism in European languages is associated with the movement referred to as the Young Ottomans, established in 1865. The phrase *Al-Ittihad al-Islami* (Islamic unity) was used for the first time in an Istanbul newspaper, *Huriyet*, on 9 November 1868, as an equivalent for the term Pan-Islamism. The

Young Ottomans emphasised that only Islamic unity, led by the Ottomans, could save the Ottoman Empire.<sup>60</sup>

The first articulation of the idea of Pan-Islamism in Arabic appeared in the newspaper *al-'Urwa al-wuthqā* (*The Indissoluble Link*) in 1884. The newspaper was launched and edited by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad 'Abduh.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman state saw the emergence of diverse ideological and political ideas, primarily as a result of the social, political and economic stagnation of the Ottoman Empire. The champions of these ideas proposed different ways of halting regression and Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism all appeared on the scene at the same time.

The origins of Pan-Islamism, as a political movement within the Ottoman Empire whose practical aim was to gather and unite the Muslim world, are to be found in the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca of 1774 between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. The peace treaty<sup>61</sup> gave both the Russian Tsar the right to protect Christians living within the Ottoman state and the Ottoman Sultan spiritual jurisdiction over all the Muslims remaining outside the Ottoman Empire and so under Russian rule, after the Ottoman withdrawal. A century later, in 1876, this provision was incorporated into the Ottoman Constitution: "His Majesty the Sultan, as the Supreme Caliph, is the Protector of the Muslim religion."<sup>62</sup>

Pan-Islamism only became the official ideology of the Ottoman state when Sultan Abdul Hamid II assumed the throne. Although, as already mentioned, the Young Ottomans had

mooted the idea and discourse a decade earlier, only under Sultan Abdul Hamid II did Pan-Islamism receive the status of official state ideology. Prior to 1876 and again for a while after 1908, it was in evidence only within the religious community. Whatever its political ambitions during these periods, it lacked state support.

Pan-Islamism's principal champions included some of the most influential intellectuals of the day. One of the most prominent was Suleyman Hasbi (d. 1909), whose works included one, published in 1881, entitled *A treatise on unification for the well-being of Islamic people*. Namık Kemal, a prominent poet and writer from Young Ottoman circles, supported the option of Pan-Islamic unity under the leadership of the Ottoman state in his works, as a means of protection against the expansionism of the European powers.

A proponent of Pan-Islamism among the Russian Muslims was Abdul-Rashid Ibrahim (1853-1944). During his stay in Istanbul in 1897, this writer, educated in Kazan and Medina, came under the influence of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's work and thought. After leaving Russia in 1910, he travelled to India and Japan, where he continued to spread Pan-Islamic propaganda. Abū al-Hudā al-Ṣayyādī was one of the most important authors of a Pan-Islamic orientation from the Arabic world, while Abu Hassan Mirza Qajar was the leading Persian Pan-Islamic writer. The latter left Iran in 1884 and settled in Istanbul, where he wrote and spoke about the unification of *Shia* and *Sunni* Muslims under the leadership of the Ottoman



Sultan. The Persian Mirza Ali-Agha Shirazi and the Arab ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī promoted the establishment of an international Muslim parliament.

Undoubtedly the most important figure among the advocates of Pan-Islamism was, however, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. This author of unusual energy travelled extensively, visiting Iran, India, Turkey, Hejaz, Egypt, France, England and Russia. During his travels, he gave stirring speeches to revive the Islamic spirit and unite Muslims in resistance to European aggression. In this context, he devoted great attention to the issue of the unification of *Shia* and *Sunni* Muslims, as the essential question of Muslim unity. In 1892, Sultan Abdul Hamid II invited him to Istanbul, most probably to try and bring his vivacious and restless spirit under control. He spent the last five years of his life in Istanbul.<sup>63</sup>

During the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, a number of associations was formed to popularize the concept of Pan-Islamism. In 1884, al-Afghānī and ‘Abduh founded an association in Paris, aimed at the reform and unity of Islam.<sup>64</sup>

The Pan-Islamic Society was founded in London in 1886. Its goal was to develop fraternal sentiment between Muslims all over the world, with Muslim unification as the ultimate goal of all its activities.

In 1903, under the Sultan’s patronage, a society called *Pan-Islam* was founded in London, with Abdullah al-Mamun al-Suhrawardy as president. A year later, the society changed its name to *Islam*. It ceased to exist in 1907.<sup>65</sup>

The foundation of the Ottoman Red Crescent (*Osmanlı Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti*) in 1887 and the early construction of the so-called Hejaz Railway represented a major financial and material fillip to the Pan-Islamic policy of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The Ottoman Red Crescent established branches throughout the Ottoman Empire, through which Muslims supported the Pan-Islamic activities of the central government or *Diwan*. The Hejaz Railway project was in constant use for Pan-Islamic propaganda and Muslims from across the world donated money for it to be built.<sup>66</sup>

Newspapers, journals and other publications played an important role in the promotion of Pan-Islamism. Newspapers in Turkish, Arabic and Urdu were printed in Istanbul. The age of the official Pan-Islamic policy was also a period of increasing numbers of newspapers and magazines. In 1876, 107 newspapers and periodicals were published. In 1919, there were around a thousand of them.<sup>67</sup> At the same time, Pan-Islamic propaganda in European centres was inclined to interpret Pan-Islamism as an exclusively religious movement.<sup>68</sup>

Sultan Abdul Hamid II worked intensely and extensively on establishing the Pan-Islamic movement among Muslims, dispatching envoys and eminent figures to all countries where Muslims either constituted the majority or were a significant minority. His interest embraced Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, India, China, the Malay Archipelago, Japan, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, the Sudan and Arabia, as well as other less significant areas like Zanzibar.<sup>69</sup>

The promotion of Pan-Islamism as an integrationist ideology continued even after the introduction of parliamentarism in 1908 and the dethronement of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1909. During the period of the Young Turk Revolution, the Pan-Islamic idea was promoted by a number of authors, Mehmet Akif (1873-1936), Ahmet Hilmi (1865-1914), Celal Nuri, (1877-1939), Said Halim Paşa (1863–1921) prominent amongst them. The most significant publications of the period were *Sirati-Mustaqim (Straight Path)*, *Sabilur-Rashad (Path of Guidance)*, *Al-Hidayah (The Guidance)* and *Hikmet (Wisdom)*, the last of which was banned by the Committee for Union and Progress, after it had published a few powerful and passionate Pan-Islamic texts by Ahmed Hilmi. On taking power, the Young Turks faced the dilemma of whether to continue supporting Pan-Islamism, which their dethroned opponent – Sultan Abdul Hamid II – had upheld throughout his reign, or to abandon it entirely. Although there were loud voices in favour of abandoning Pan-Islamism altogether, it continued to be endorsed by the Committee for Union and Progress, acting under the influence of Muslims émigrés from Russia.<sup>70</sup>

Pan-Islamic ideas continued to receive support through WWI. A specific phenomenon of this period of Pan-Islamic propaganda and activities was that it saw the German government cooperate with the Ottoman government in the latter's declaration of a *jihād* on 11 November, 1914. A call was sent out to all Muslims in the world, inviting them to join in the fight against Russia, Great Britain and France and urg-

ing Muslims living in Russia, Serbia and Montenegro not to take part in battles against Germany and Austria-Hungary.<sup>71</sup> The German government sponsored Pan-Islamic propaganda, printing and distributing material in Muslim countries, particularly in North Africa.

A wide circle of intellectuals and public figures among Russian Muslims accepted the Pan-Islamic idea, to the extent of becoming fervent advocates. This was largely a consequence of the official policy of forcible Christianisation and Russification carried out by the Russian government. The most prominent Russian supporter of Pan-Islamism was Ismail Gasprinski (1851-1914). Gasprinski was an erudite scholar, journalist, publicist, and activist, as well as being the author of dozens of books on various subjects, and had fallen under the influence of the Young Turks and their Pan-Islamic views earlier. In addition to Pan-Islamism, his oeuvre contained Pan-Turkish ideas and he held a central position within the reform movement of *Jaddidism*, promoting changes to the curricula in traditional schools.<sup>72</sup> Gasprinski's fellow countryman, the Tatar Yusuf Akçura, was another prominent promoter of Pan-Islamism.

Pan-Islamism had its spokesman among the Azeris as well. Ahmet Ağaoğlu (1870-1938) was a journalist and publicist, who wrote in French, as well as in several other languages, arguing for Muslim unity.

Prominent figures among the Russian Muslims believed that political cooperation between Muslims in the country need to be institutionalised, so as to articulate the fight for

specific rights and freedoms through official institutions. Such intentions bore fruit in the First General Congress held in Nizhny Novgorod in August 1905. Ismail Gasprinski was one of the chairs. The Congress passed resolutions calling for: 1) the unity of all the Muslims of Russia; 2) the equality of Muslims and Russians; 3) the establishment of constitutional monarchy; 4) freedom of education for Muslims and freedom of the press; and 5) respect for private property. The Congress also decided to call a *Majlis* or Parliament to look after Muslim interests.<sup>73</sup> A Second General Congress was convened in October 1905 and a Third General Congress in August 1906. The Second Congress passed a resolution to establish a Union of Russian Muslims (*Russiya Musulmanlarinin Ittifaki*) as a central body for all Muslims living in Russia. The main conclusion of the Third Congress was to transform the Union of Russian Muslims into a political party named the Union of Muslims (*Ittifakul-Muslimin*). In 1910, Ismail Gasprinski launched an initiative in the *Terjuman* newspaper to convene a general World Muslim Convention. His idea was never translated into practice, even though he travelled to Cairo to raise support for it.

At the beginning of WWI, the Pan-Islamists in Russia faced the dilemma of which side to support: Russia out of patriotism or Turkey, i.e. their fellow Muslims, out of religious solidarity. Under the circumstances, a majority of the Muslim population supported Russia, but the Pan-Islamist leaders Akçura, Agaoglu and Abdul-Rashid Ibrahim left for

Istanbul, where they continued to promote Pan-Islamic ideas. Gasprinski died in 1914.<sup>74</sup> In 1917, an initiative for the unification of all Russian Muslims was reintroduced, leading to a convention in Moscow, attended by between 800 and 900 representatives of different groups and associations. The Second Pan-Russian Muslim Congress was held in Kazan in July 1917, highlighting the need for Russian Muslim cultural and political unity. The October Revolution, which took place the same year, shattered any hope of achieving the political unity of the Russian Muslims.

Pan-Islamism also had a considerable influence on the Muslim population of India, both as an ideology and as a movement. With the fall of the Mughal Empire and the British occupation of India, the problem of the separation of the Muslims of India from the rest of the *Umma* became their essential issue. Occupation had put an end to Muslim rule, i.e. to the Mughal Caliphate. It was a major psychological and emotional blow for the Muslims of India. In a state of confusion, they believed that the Caliph in Istanbul enjoyed, as the only remaining Muslim ruler, ultimate legitimacy as the supreme Muslim authority in the world. The *ulama* or learned Muslim community of India confirmed the legitimacy of the Ottoman Sultan's claim to a universal Caliphate.<sup>75</sup> Not all Muslims in India shared this view. The most prominent representative of a realpolitik-based view was Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–1898), a theoretician, politician and reformer and one of the most important Muslim politicians in India

at the time. He tried to convince Muslims that any reference to the authority of the Ottoman Sultan as all-Muslim Caliph or reliance on his protection belonged to the realm of fiction and political romanticism, at a time when India was both *de jure* and *de facto* ruled by Great Britain. He denied the right of Sultan Hamid II to spiritual jurisdiction over India's Muslims, arguing that political realities had to be taken into account.<sup>76</sup>

Some Indian newspapers took Pan-Islamist positions, such as *Al-Hilal* (in Urdu), *Zamindar* (in Urdu), *Comrade* (in English), and *Hamdard* (in Urdu), etc. India's Muslims founded a number of organisations to raise funds to send as aid to Istanbul. During the Turco-Italian War, medical teams of Indian Muslims travelled to Istanbul to help. In *Al-Hilal*, Abul Kalam Azad called on Muslims to boycott goods from European countries. An organisation called *Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'ba* (the Society of the Servants of the Ka'ba) was founded in 1913, with the ambitious aim of protecting the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from non-Muslim aggression.<sup>77</sup> A mass religious and political movement called *Khilafat* (Caliphate) was launched in 1919. In the early 1920s, the *Khilafat* movement extended its influence beyond India, e.g. over certain circles in Turkey and Egypt. Its influence weakened in time, however, and it ceased to exist in December 1933, when its final annual convention was held. The supporters of Pan-Islamism included distinguished figures like Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958), Muhammad Ali (1878-1932), Shawkat Ali (1873-1938) and Qayygm al-Din Muhammad 'Abd al-Bari

(1879-1926). In parallel to the Pan-Islamist activities in India, Indian Muslims living in the United Kingdom founded the abovementioned Pan-Islamic Society of London in 1906.

To sum up, Pan-Islamism is essentially a concept of the spiritual unity of the *Umma* (Muslim world), a dimension that might provisionally be called *spiritual Pan-Islamism*. On the other hand, it is also the name of a movement that arose in the Muslim world during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, aiming to unite this world and offer resistance to European colonial campaigns in Muslim countries. As such, it was still active in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This dimension might be called *political Pan-Islamism*.



## THE ORGANISATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE

The Organisation of the Islamic Conference (renamed the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation in 2011) (henceforth the OIC) is an international organisation of states whose socio-cultural and religious identity is essentially informed by Islam, without Islam necessarily being their official state religion.

The OIC was founded to promote and develop solidarity and mutual cooperation between Muslim states at the social, political, economic, cultural and other levels. It is an association of sovereign nations and, consequently, the national state, as one of the major categories of entity in international relations,<sup>78</sup> is not ignored in favour of the universal Islamic identity of its members. Rather, it is accepted as a fundamental reality of modern international relations.

Relations between OIC member states are governed by the same principles as other international organisations apply to their operations. Member states are equal in status and enjoy the right to self-determination. Becoming an OIC member does not involve any loss of sovereignty. OIC member states have no right to interfere in each other's internal affairs. Mutual disputes are resolved amicably and member states agree to refrain from using force in any way that might jeopardise each

other's political independence or territorial integrity. These are the same principles as held by the United Nations Organisation.

The ideals of Islamic unity (*al-wahda al-islāmiyya*) and Islamic brotherhood (*al-ukhuwwa al-islāmiyya*) are integral elements of the social and political philosophy of Islam. Their impact on Muslim social and political life has varied and has taken different forms through history. The OIC thus stands as a contemporary expression and political application of this ideal.

At the level of *realpolitik*, the OIC is a variation on the theme of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Pan-Islamic movement.<sup>79</sup> Both represent an attempt to connect Muslim countries, through different forms, in order to protect their interests more effectively against the growing strength and influence of Western countries. The Pan-Islamic movement has been discussed above. The following section offers an overview of initiatives finally realised within the OIC.

### *First steps - the phenomenon of the Islamic conferences*

The abolition of the Caliphate on 3 March 1924 shocked Muslims across the world, as an act that, albeit symbolically, put an end to the formal expression of their unity. The Muslim world was already so weakened that the event failed to provoke any form of serious response which might have had a concrete impact. It did, however, provide the direct occasion for convening two congresses in 1926.

At the initiative of the *ulama* of al-Azhar University, a Caliphate Congress (*Mu'tamar al-khilāfa*) was held in Cairo on 13-19 May 1926. It was opened officially by the al-Azhar Rector. Delegations from 13 countries attended. Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Nejd and the Russian Muslims did not send representatives to the Congress, however, which in any case failed to produce significant results or even agree a date for the next session. In the end, the Congress just issued an appeal to the Muslims of the world not to neglect the issue of the Caliphate.<sup>80</sup>

A few days after the Cairo Congress, on 7 June, an Islamic Congress was held in Mecca, hosted by King 'Abdul-'Azīz Ibn Su'ūd. It was attended by delegations from a number of Muslim countries.<sup>81</sup> The Congress decided to constitute a permanent organisation called the World Muslim Congress (*Mu'tamar al-'ālam al-islāmi*), with annual meetings in Mecca. The Congress was to have a Standing Committee. No annual convention was ever held, however, nor did the Standing Committee ever meet.<sup>82</sup>

The next initiative for convening an Islamic Congress came from the Jerusalem Mufti and President of the Supreme Palestinian Muslim Council, Mohammed Amin al-Husseini, in cooperation with the leader of the Indian Khilafat Committee, Maulana Shawkat Ali. The Congress was held on 26 July 1931, in Jerusalem, the aim being "to investigate the current situation of Islam and measures to be taken to defend its interests." The Congress passed two resolutions: to establish a university in Jerusalem and to convene every two years. As a

result, a Jerusalem-based committee was actually set up, with Mufti Mohammed Amin al-Husseini as its president and Muhammad Iqbal, head of the Indian delegation, as its vice-president. The decision on biennial conventions was not implemented, however, as the next international Islamic convention was held only after WWII.<sup>83</sup>

After WWII, Muslim countries recognised the mobilising power of Islam in their attempts to free themselves from colonial rule and to gain political independence. On the other hand, the development of international organisations, as a form of cooperation and a framework for achieving common interests, indicated the direction to be taken by and outlined possible formal activities for Muslim countries.

The leadership of the new state of Pakistan, which became independent in 1947, issued new incentives for connecting Muslim countries and promoting close cooperation between them. In fact, cooperation with countries of the Muslim world was the cornerstone of Pakistani foreign policy. To this end, Pakistan organised an Islamic conference in Karachi in February 1949, which, however, failed to yield the desired results. Pakistan then decided to organise a new session of the World Muslim Congress (*Mu'tamar al-'ālam al-islāmī*) on 9-11 February 1951. Delegations from all the countries with significant Muslim populations responded to the invitation, except for India and the Soviet Union. The Pakistani Prime Minister, Liaquat Ali Khan, officially opened the Congress with an inaugural speech in which he underlined the Pakistani commitment

to actively promoting cooperation between Muslim countries. The Congress was chaired by the Jerusalem Mufti Al-Husseini (al-Ḥusaynī), who endorsed the Prime Minister's appeal for unity and the formation of a Muslim bloc for cooperation in the fields of culture, the economy, politics and defence.<sup>84</sup>

Pakistan's efforts were hindered by the animosity of Arab leaders, who found it difficult to accept the leadership of a non-Arabic country regarding appeals to protect Muslim interests. Soon afterwards, however, Pakistan redefined its foreign policy priorities, with a turn towards its Western allies, and particularly the US, and accepting US military assistance in 1953, as well as joining the SEATO in 1954 and the Baghdad Pact in 1955, both of which were sponsored by the US.<sup>85</sup>

The next initiative, which also failed to produce any significant or lasting effects, came from the Egyptian President, Gamal Abdel Nasser (better known simply as Nasser), in which he called for the foundation of a world Islamic congress based in Cairo. The initiative was supported by both the President of Pakistan Ghulam Muhammad and the Saudi King Saud, who chaired the Congress. Anwar Al Sadat was Secretary General.

April 1959 was another important date on the path towards founding the OIC, as it was the date of a conference attended by a hundred delegations in Kuala Lumpur, an initiative of the Government of Malaysia. Trade and economic cooperation between Muslim countries were the focal issues discussed at the Conference, while the establishment of an

Islamic Development Bank was proposed and Israel's aggression against Jerusalem condemned.

The neo-Pan-Islamist idea found a fervent advocate in Saudi King Faisal, who came to the throne in November 1964. While still just Minister for Foreign Affairs, he had actively promoted cooperation between Muslim countries. He had sponsored the Islamic Conference in Mecca in May 1962, when the Muslim World League (*Rābiṭa al-‘ālam al-islāmī*) was founded as a non-governmental organisation for the coordination of Islamic organisations around the world.

Once he had ascended the throne, King Faisal was in a better position to invest his authority and efforts into forming a bloc of Muslim countries. His efforts met with opposition from the pro-socialist regimes, however, led by the Egyptian President, Nasser. Nasser's great reputation in the Arab world was somewhat of an obstacle to these plans. Egypt's defeat by Israel in 1967 had diminished his charisma, however. The occupation of East Jerusalem shocked the Muslim world and raised its awareness of the need to build links between Muslim countries. King Faisal (Fayṣal) undertook a specific initiative to organise an Islamic summit conference.<sup>86</sup>

Delegations from Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Somalia, Niger, Malaysia and Pakistan met on 8 September 1969 in Rabat to prepare for the Islamic Summit conference. An invitation was sent to thirty-five countries on behalf of the kings of Saudi Arabia and Morocco. The Conference was scheduled for 22 September 1969.<sup>87</sup>

At the beginning there were disagreements as to participation by the PLO. Some delegations were in favour, others against. Eventually, a compromise suggested by King Hassan of Morocco was agreed on, namely that the PLO be accorded observer status.

King Hassan proposed a charter be adopted and a general secretariat established to coordinate contacts between Muslim countries. Delegations of several countries opposed the proposal and discussion of both issues was in the end referred to the next conference of foreign ministers.<sup>88</sup>

As early as March 1970, Saudi Arabia was, in accordance with the decisions of the Rabat Summit, hosting the first Conference of Foreign Ministers, who discussed the following two issues: a) the outcomes of the Rabat Summit, and b) the establishment of a permanent general secretariat for coordinating the activities of Muslim countries. Eventually, the conference proposed that a General Secretariat should be established and based in Jeddah. Malaysia was granted the right to propose the first secretary general.

The second Conference of Foreign Ministers, held on 28 December in Karachi, accepted Malaysia's nomination of former Malaysian Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rahman for Secretary General for a two-year term. A budget of 450,000 USD was allocated for the Secretariat and its operations over the following year. The conference also broached the issue of establishing certain institutions:

- a) An International Islamic Bank of Trade and Development,
- b) An Islamic News Agency,
- c) Islamic cultural centres in different cities across the world.

These activities were followed up through expert meetings:

1. On the Islamic News Agency, held in Iran in April 1971,
2. On Islamic cultural centres; Morocco, June 1971,
3. On the draft Charter, Saudi Arabia, June 1971,
4. On an Islamic Bank, Egypt, February 1972.

The third Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in Jeddah from 29 February to 4 March 1972 adopted a Charter for the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, as its fundamental document.<sup>89</sup>

*Objectives, principles, organisational structure  
and working bodies*

The objectives and principles of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference are quoted below from Article 2 of the Charter:



*a) OIC objectives:*

1. Enhance and consolidate the bonds of Islamic fraternity and solidarity among Member States;
2. Strengthen cooperation among Member States in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and other important fields and consult Member States in international organisations,
3. Strive to eliminate racial segregation, discrimination and colonialism in any form,
4. Undertake necessary measures to support international peace and security, based on justice,
5. Coordinate efforts to secure the holy places and support the struggle of the Palestinian people, as well as empower them to regain their rights and liberate their country,
6. Strengthen the efforts of all Muslim peoples to ensure their dignity, independence and national rights, and
7. Create a favourable environment for promoting cooperation and understanding between Member States and other states.<sup>90</sup>

*b) Principles*

1. The full equality of the Member States,
2. Respect for the right to self-determination and refraining from interference in the internal affairs of other Member States,
3. Respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of each Member State,
4. Agreement to settle all disputes through peaceful means, negotiations, mediation, reconciliation and arbitration,
5. Refraining from threats or the use of force against the territorial integrity, national unity or political independence of any Member State.

*c) Bodies of the Conference*

1. The Conference of Kings, Heads of States and Governments,
2. The Conference of Foreign Ministers,
3. The General Secretariat and subsidiary bodies,
4. The International Islamic Court of Justice.<sup>91</sup>

*d) Specialised committees*

1. The Al-Quds Committee,
2. The Standing Finance Committee,
3. The Standing Committee for Economic, Cultural

and Social Matters,

4. The Standing Committee for Scientific and Technological Cooperation,
5. The Standing Committee for Economic and Commercial Cooperation,
6. The Standing Committee for Information and Cultural Affairs.

In addition to these, there are also *subsidiary and working bodies for matters pertaining to the economy and development, as well as to education and culture.*



## CHAPTER III

PAN-ISLAMISM IN BOSNIAK PUBLIC  
DISCOURSETHE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH  
THE PAN-ISLAMIC IDEA EMERGED IN BOSNIAK  
PUBLIC LIFE

For Bosnia and Herzegovina and particularly for the Bosniaks, the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and more precisely the year 1878 represented a turning point, as the life of the people deviated sharply from its previous course. The development of such millennial importance was Bosnia and Herzegovina's transition out of the political framework of the Ottoman Empire into that of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This event would certainly have been less traumatic for the Bosniaks had it not also meant a change in cultural and civilizational context and transition from an Oriental-Islamic context to a Western-Christian one. Bosnian Muslims had for four centuries been an integral part of the *Umma* and under the direct spiritual authority of the Caliph as a symbol of unity, only to be administratively and

politically ripped out of this context with the establishment of an international border and placed into a foreign and other-religious social and political context. This event, sometimes referred to as “culture shock,”<sup>92</sup> had profound consequences for Bosniak economic, cultural and political development and was an immediate cause of emigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina to territories still under Ottoman rule:

Hundreds of economic, political, cultural and psychological threads, woven and spun for centuries, connected Bosnian Muslims with distant centres of the political, religious and cultural life of the Islamic world.<sup>93</sup>

The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia abruptly severed many functional Bosniak links with Istanbul and other centres of the Muslim world. It brought along substantial changes that altered the previous system of social life, habits and views. A specific sensibility, developed over centuries, and a strong emotional bond to the Caliph, as the spiritual apex of the vertical axis of the *Umma*, nonetheless persevered for some time even after occupation.<sup>94</sup>

The process of adaptation on the part of Bosniaks to the new social, political and economic circumstances was slowed down, among other things, by the fact that, according to the provisions of the Congress of Berlin, the Caliph retained *de jure* sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina, while *de facto* sovereignty was with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The state of “dual” sovereignty, which boosted Bosniak roman-

ticist hopes of an “imminent return of Turkey,” lasted for a good thirty years, i.e. until 1908, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>95</sup> Admittedly, some Bosniak circles, which would later gather around the *Bošnjak* magazine and included some prominent figures,<sup>96</sup> voiced their agreement with the annexation. This was, however, by no means indicative of the attitude of the Bosniak grassroots.<sup>97</sup> The Bosniak masses met the annexation with astonishment and resignation, generating strong psychological tension and reopening the issue of emigration to Turkey.

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The Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina coincided in time with the Ottoman government’s attempts to reunite the Islamic world, and so with the activities of promoters of the Pan-Islamic idea. Just as the European colonisation of Islamic countries was a key reason for the emergence of Islamic reform movements, including Pan-Islamism, the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina inspired a feeling among Bosniaks of belonging to the Islamic *Umma*. The flow of ideas from Istanbul, the intellectual centre of the Islamic world, towards the provinces of the Ottoman Empire was only natural and the Pan-Islamic idea was soon reflected in intellectual trends in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## THE PAN-ISLAMIC ASPECT OF BOSNIAK EMIGRATION (*HIJRA*) TO TURKEY

From the perspective of social and political change, the main significant trend among the Bosniak population during the first two years of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina was their emigration to Turkey. A landowners' movement was later established in 1895 to express dissatisfaction at their treatment by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, while formation of the first significant political movement amongst the Bosniaks, the *Movement for the Autonomy of Religious and Educational Endowments*, began in 1899. It was a forerunner of the modern political organisation of the Bosniaks, which only began with the foundation of the Muslim People's Organisation in 1906.

Bosniak emigration to Turkey grew into a continuous process with the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia. Hundreds of families moved there each year, the number rising to the thousands in some years.<sup>98</sup> The three largest waves of emigration coincided with the introduction of conscription in 1881,<sup>99</sup> Džabić's *Movement for the Autonomy of Religious and Educational Endowments*, and the Annexation.<sup>100</sup> Although emigration was a passive expression of political dissatisfaction



with the occupation and, subsequently, the annexation,<sup>101</sup> as well as of long-lasting connection with the Ottoman Empire, in practice it meant economic decay and rapid impoverishment for Bosniaks, as they sold their property well below its real value. The Austro-Hungarian authorities were happy to issue an emigration permit to anyone applying for it. In his book, *Bošnjaci u emigraciji*, Mustafa Imamović cites Gaston Gravier, a French writer and the French-language tutor at the University of Belgrade, who wrote, in 1910, that impoverishment was the main reason for Bosniak emigration. Even the Austro-Hungarian authorities, who claimed publicly that emigration was primarily due to agitation, noted in classified documents that “the transition from an economy-in-kind to a monetary economy” was the main cause of emigration.<sup>102</sup>

Hilmi Ibn Husein Taslidžali, known as Bosnali Hilmi Baba in his hometown, now the town of Pljevlja in the Sandžak, was a leading proponent of emigration from Bosnia. After the First Balkan War, he moved to Istanbul, where he stayed for a while, before moving on to Medina, where he wrote a *Treatise on the Hijra and Muhajirin (Risāla fī al-hijra wa al-muhājirīn)*. He held that it was strictly forbidden to reside in the land of disbelief (*Dār al-kufr*) and that Muslims were obliged to live under Muslim rule.<sup>103</sup>

On the other hand, a number of distinguished Bosniaks declared unequivocally and publicly against emigration and took action accordingly. Little is known of their activities' impact on the public, however. In 1884, an eminent scholar, Hafiz

Muhamed Emin Hadžijahić,<sup>104</sup> published a series of articles in the *Vatan* magazine, appealing to Bosniaks not to leave their homeland.<sup>105</sup> In his discussion of the issue and its causes, he identifies several reasons why Bosniaks were choosing to emigrate. One was their fear that, under the new circumstances, Islam would regress, owing to a decrease in the number of religious scholars and difficulties with regard to Islamic religious instruction. This reputable religious scholar tried to convince his fellow countrymen that their perception of the situation at the time was not realistic and that they had no sound reason to emigrate.<sup>106</sup>

That same year, the Tuzla Mufti, Mehmed Teufik Azapagić<sup>107</sup> wrote a treatise in Arabic entitled *Risala o hidžri (An Epistle on the Hijra)*, in which he opposed the emigration of his fellow countrymen to Turkey. An abbreviated Turkish version of the treatise was published in *Vatan* in 1886.<sup>108</sup> Such detailed explorations of the *Shari'a* regulations on *Hijra*, *Dār al-ḥarb* (enemy lands), *Dār al-islām* (the land of Islam), and other convergent issues, arguing that there were no religious reasons for emigration, testify to the fact that Bosniaks were strongly motivated by the supposed religious grounds for emigration.<sup>109</sup>

The question of whether to stay or to emigrate to a “land of an Islamic ruler” remained open or rather was reopened for Bosniaks long after the Annexation, as is evident from the fact that, in 1909, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, the publisher and editor of the influential *al-Manār* journal, published an article in his journal on *al-Hijra wa ḥukm muslimī al-Busna*

*fiḥā* (*Hijra and its rules as they apply to Bosnian Muslims*). In fact, it was a reply to a question posed by Muhamed Tara-bar (1882-1957), a student of the Fejzija Madrasa in Travnik. The questioner had noted that, after the Annexation by Austria-Hungary, Bosnian Muslims were being stirred up by calls to *Hijra* by a Turkish preacher in sermons he was delivering in Bosnian towns, emphasising that Bosnia had become part of *Dār al-ḥarb* and that Muslims had a duty to emigrate from that territory.<sup>110</sup> In his reply, Riḍā gives a detailed explanation of the conditions that required *Hijra* and concludes that the social and political condition of Bosniaks was not such as to oblige them to emigrate. After this, no influential author suggested *Hijra* as a solution to his fellow countrymen.<sup>111</sup>

The Bosniak emigration movement emerged in the period during which Pan-Islamism was establishing itself as the official ideology and policy of the Ottoman state, adopted and implemented by Sultan Abdul Hamid II. In this regard, there was a heavy emphasis on the position of the Sultan as the Caliph of all Muslims, while the treaties signed with Russia and the Habsburgs included clauses allowing Muslims remaining outside the Ottoman borders to mention the Sultan/Caliph in their *khutbas*, thus pledging their loyalty to him.<sup>112</sup> As early as 1880, the Government in Istanbul followed a course that offered unequivocal ideological support to the immigration of Muslims from the lost Ottoman territories. In 1887, the *Shaykh al-Islam* issued a *fatwā* directly calling for Muslims from these areas to emigrate and settle within the Ottoman

state. Following this, a High Commission on Islamic Immigration was set up, under the direct supervision of the Sultan/Caliph and tasked with monitoring the Muslim migration process.<sup>113</sup>

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To sum up, one motive, albeit not the most important, influencing Bosniaks' decisions to remove to the Ottoman Empire after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia, was their conviction, based on having lived within an Islamic social milieu for centuries, that it was illegitimate and unacceptable for them, as Muslims, to live in a non-Islamic state. The written discussions of this issue, first by Bosniak *Shari'a* law experts and later by the prominent reformist thinker and author M. R. Riḍā, in his reply to a question from a Bosnian, testify to the fact that a significant section of the Bosniak public did indeed hold such views.

PAN-ISLAMISM AND THE MOVEMENT FOR THE  
AUTONOMY OF RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL  
ENDOWMENTS (1899-1909)

Immediately after their occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian authorities took firm action to separate the Bosniaks from the authority of the Sultan/Caliph and of the *Shaykh al-Islam*, as their supreme spiritual authority, making preparations for the establishment of an autonomous religious organisation for the Bosniaks. These activities culminated in 1882, when the first *Reisu-l-ulema* (*Ra'is al-'ulamā'*) was elected and the *Ulema mejlis* was formed. Minister Benjamin Kállay proposed to Emperor Franz Joseph that he appoint the Sarajevo Mufti, Mustafa Hilmi Omerović, to the position of *Reisu-l-ulema*, and nominate the members of the *Ulema mejlis*, which the Emperor did on 17 October 1882. The official inauguration of the first *Reisu-l-ulema* of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina took place on 15 December 1882 in Sarajevo.<sup>114</sup>

Activities to regulate the management of religious endowments (*waqf*) were begun in March 1883, when the Joint Ministry of Finance appointed a Provincial *Waqf* Commission for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Ten years later, the Government was

resolved to finish this work. The Provincial *Waqf* Commission drafted a proposal which provoked significant opposition, led by Mostar Mufti Ali Fehmi-efendi Džabić. This dissatisfaction peaked in 1899, with a protest nominally caused by the kidnapping of young Fata Omanović by Catholic missionaries. The true cause of the protest, however, was the autonomy advocates' distrust of government-appointed religious and *waqf* representatives. In a submission presented to Benjamin Kállay on 14 October and to Emperor Franz Joseph on 19 October 1899, together with a proposal for an autonomous statute of *waqf* and educational endowments or trusts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, they therefore requested the establishment of autonomous Islamic institutions with broad competencies.<sup>115</sup> The Government rejected Džabić's proposal and dismissed him from his position as Mufti a few months later, in April 1900.

The Austro-Hungarian regime underestimated the importance of the Movement, in the mistaken belief that it did not enjoy any significant popular support. In fact, new Movement councils sprang up in villages across the country. The Movement also took on a political dimension, when it began to cooperate with the Serb autonomous movement. Having realised that the Movement could not be ignored, Kállay received a delegation led by Mufti Džabić, on 19 December 1900. Džabić used the occasion to hand Kállay a memorandum and draft statute for the autonomous administration of Islamic religious endowments and educational affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the proposed statute, the representatives of the Movement proposed that members of the *Ulema Mejlis* and the *Reisu-l-ulema* be appointed by the *Waqf-Mearif* Assembly [Assembly to regulate Religious and Educational Endowments] and that the Emperor only appoint his choice out of a range of candidates after the *Shaykh al-Islam* had issued his *Menshūra*. The Austro-Hungarian authorities objected to any restriction of the Emperor's right to appoint the *Reisu-l-ulema* by previous approval of the *Shaykh al-Islam*. They found it unacceptable and so could not agree to the request. On the other hand, the delegation leaders and Mufti Džabić himself also refused to give way. Negotiations were broken off on 23 April, 1901. Džabić left for Istanbul in January 1902 and, on 4 March, the same year, the Government forbade his return.

There is no doubt that Bosniaks wanted to preserve and even foster relations with the Caliph in Istanbul under their new circumstances and so strengthen his powers with regard to the Muslim population in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its standing. No matter how much the representatives of the Autonomous Movement stressed the purely religious nature of the question of issuing a *Menshūra* for the *Reisu-l-ulema*,<sup>116</sup> it nonetheless had political implications, according to Ferdo Hauptmann, as a latent intention of the request was “to highlight as much as possible the link with the supreme Islamic leader, i.e. the Sultan-Caliph, and the *Shaykh al-Islam* (*Meshihat*). Therefore, it was a political move, through which

the Muslim opposition wished to strengthen the connection of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Turkish state.”<sup>117</sup>

Negotiations on issues of essential interest to the Bosniak public were reinstated in June and July 1907 by a Bosniak Delegation headed by Ali-beg Firdus, Chair of the Executive Committee of the Muslim People's Organisation. Again, the negotiations reached a dead end due to the uncompromising positions over issuing a *Menshūra* to the *Reisu-l-ulema* of both the representatives of the National Government and those of the Autonomous movement. After negotiations were broken off, two members of the Bosniak Delegation, Sulejman Šarac<sup>118</sup> and Munib Korkut, issued a Statement indicating that the desire for union under the Sultan-Caliph was still strong, even thirty years after the withdrawal of the Ottoman government from Bosnia. In their words, “Legally and in accordance with the applicable Treaty, Bosnia and Herzegovina is an integral part of the Turkish Empire. The sovereignty of His Majesty the Sultan over Bosnia and Herzegovina is inviolate till this day and guaranteed and defined in a separate agreement. On these grounds, inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina are still subjects of the Turkish Empire.”<sup>119</sup>

Throughout this period, Sulejman Šarac maintained his contacts with Bosniak émigrés in Istanbul. This and the Statement served to discredit both him and Korkut and exclude them from further negotiations with the Government, reopened on 7 January 1908. The thorniest issue was again the nomination and appointment of the *Reisu-l-ulema* and the re-



lated *Menshūra*, with both sides sticking to their guns as the third round of negotiations began.

The representatives of the Autonomous Movement proposed requesting a ruling on the issue from the *Shaykh al-Islam*, indicating that they would accept his opinion as final. The text of their submission to the *Shaykh al-Islam*, explaining how talks on the issue had developed, incorporated Sulejman Šarac's opinion that "... it is the exclusive right of the High Caliphate to nominate and appoint a *Raisu-l-Ulama* in our country." The Government representatives refused even to discuss the appointment of the *Raisu-l-Ulama* as "... the sole right of appointment belongs to His Royal Majesty the Emperor," stating that all that was being requested was an opinion on issuing a *Menshūra*.<sup>120</sup>

In the first half of 1908, the Austro-Hungarian mission to Istanbul held talks with the office of the *Shaykh al-Islam* over election of the *Reisu-l-ulema* in Bosnia and Herzegovina and issuing the *Menshūra*. During the negotiations, which lasted until 12 July, the *Shaykh al-Islam* took the position that the Islamic Electoral Curia should elect or appoint the *Reisu-l-ulema*, with the Austrian Emperor only confirming the appointment, and that issuing the *Menshūra* should be the final step in the process. The Austro-Hungarian government rejected this proposal, insisting that the Austro-Hungarian Emperor enjoyed an unconditional right to appoint the *Reisu-l-ulema*.

Finally, the *Shaykh al-Islam* agreed to a solution whereby the Islamic Electoral Curia proposed three candidates, one

of which would be appointed *Reisu-l-ulema* by the Emperor. The *Menshūra* would be issued only after the Emperor had made the appointment, with the Islamic Electoral Curia having previously lodged an application with the *Shaykh al-Islam*, through the Austrian mission to Istanbul, for a *Menshūra* to be issued.<sup>121</sup> The adoption of the Statute for the Autonomous Administration of Islamic Religious Endowments and Educational Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina on 15 April, 1909, confirming this procedure, put an end to debate between the *Movement for the Autonomy of Religious and Educational Endowments* and the occupation authorities, i.e. the National Government in Sarajevo, over the appointment of the *Reisu-l-ulema* and issuing the *Menshūra*.<sup>122</sup> It had lasted over a decade.

## XXX

Summing up our discussion, we may conclude that the institutional link between the Bosniak religious hierarchy and the Caliph, manifested in the insistence on issuing a *Menshūra* to the *Reisu-l-ulema* of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a central issue in the struggle for the autonomy of religious and educational endowments. However small its practical importance, the act was nonetheless indicative of the emotional need to retain an at least symbolic connection with the Caliph, as the Muslim spiritual axis.

## TREATISES ON PAN-ISLAMISM

Chronologically speaking the first as well as the most comprehensive work on Pan-Islamism published in a Bosnian journal was by Fehim Spaho.<sup>123</sup> It appeared in twenty instalments in *Behar*, in 1906, under the title *The Pan-Islamic Idea*. Spaho described the grounds, genesis and development of the idea of Pan-Islamism, presenting the major Muslim nations and their attitudes to Pan-Islamism and commenting on the Pan-Arabic idea, which was the main competitor to Pan-Islamism as the official political doctrine of Abdul Hamid II.

At the outset, the author explained that, on the basis of their religious beliefs, Muslims have fellow feeling for other Muslims, regardless of whatever manifest differences, ethnic, linguistic or otherwise, may exist between them, saying:

Therefore, no matter how far from each other Muslims may be, no matter that some are in the Far East and others in the Far West, and no matter what ill will may exist amongst them, their religious community will surpass it always. The joy of Muslims in any given part of the world will make other Muslims happy too. And should an affliction befall some part of them, the rest of the entire Muslim world shall readily sympathise. This religious bond between Muslims has become so strong that some would call it fanaticism.<sup>124</sup>

In presenting the main Muslim peoples, the author identified and briefly described the Arabs, the Turks, the Muslims of India and of South-East Asia, whom he termed Malays, and the African Muslims, whom he termed Ethiopians. Speaking of less numerous peoples, he mentioned the Bosniaks, the Arnauts, the Kurds and the Cherkess. Based on the statistical data available to him, which he admitted was outdated, he established a figure of 268,146,000 Muslims in the world, 14,194,000 of them resident in Europe, 156,385,000 in Asia, 66,375,000 in Africa, 31,142,000 in Oceania, and 50,000 in America. Finally, he stated that, given how outdated his data are, there were probably already more than 300,000,000 Muslims in the world by then.<sup>125</sup>

In the following instalments, Spaho reported in detail on Muslims in Russia, China, India and Africa, on newspapers around the world that promoted Pan-Islamism and on its main protagonists. He spoke at length about Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, as the founder of the Pan-Islamic idea, and about Sayyid Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, *Shaykh* of the *Shādhilī Tarīqa*, who promoted the Pan-Islamist idea in North Africa.

In Issue 16, he was full of praise for Sultan Abdul Hamid II, openly supporting him as the Caliph of all Muslims. He paid particular tribute to his role in overcoming the tensions between the Sunni and Shia Muslims, modernising and stabilising the Ottoman army, and constructing the Hejaz Railway, saying of him that:

If, after lengthy negotiations, he succeeded in making Shah Muzafferuddin visit him in the Imperial City [Constantinople], it must certainly be reckoned a success, such as no Caliph had ever had... So, according to current standards, he won a greater victory than Muhammad II, Al Fatih, Selim II, Suleyman Kanuni or, indeed, Murad IV, the conqueror of Persian Baghdad.

He invited military teachers from Europe, particularly Germany, and raised quite the modern army. What Selim III wanted to do, what Mahmud II, who abolished the Janissaries, tried to do, that is to reorganise the Turkish army, Abdul Hamid II has succeeded in doing.

Long ago the Caliph envisioned and planned a railway for hajjis to the Islamic holy places, but there were many obstacles... The only, albeit purely moral, support he has received in these endeavours is thanks – as we have already said – to the fact that Pan-Islamic thought was then still fervent, as he relied on it in his task. And he was not mistaken...<sup>126</sup>

Emphasising the scale of the celebrations organised by Abdul Hamid II in 1900 to celebrate his 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary on the throne, Spaho pointed out:

It was the first time in several centuries that the hearts and eyes of all Muslims were turned towards Istanbul, because Abdul Hamid II is not only the Ottoman sultan but also the Caliph of all Muslims...<sup>127</sup>

Spaho also pointed out the two dimensions of Pan-Islamism: its political dimension and the spiritual or religious one. He emphasised the importance of religious Pan-Islamism for

Muslims more than once, while, however, denying its political dimension, saying:

This Muslim movement is, in general, misunderstood in Europe. While it has a purely religious and educational purpose, Europe would stamp it as purely political... By doing so, the European authorities that govern countries where Muslims live prove they do not care for Muslim development or cultural growth. Muslims cannot renounce their religious community and no power will tear them from their religious centre, the Caliphate. If nowadays the Caliph is also the ruler of the most powerful Islamic state, in whose progress and development Muslims rejoice, it does not mean that Pan-Islamic thought has a political current as well. Its purpose is clear: to call on all Muslims and enable them to follow the rules of their religion, to make public deference to their religious leader, the Caliph, and mention his name in their *khutbas*, and for the *ulama* to be authorised by the Caliph to perform certain religious rituals.<sup>128</sup>

The views that Fehim Spaho expressed regarding the role of Caliph and the aims of Pan-Islam imply a certain contradiction. We have already said that he gave unequivocal emphasis only to the religious importance of Pan-Islamism and the religious function of the Caliphate. Nonetheless, he vehemently rejected the Pan-Arab idea of establishing an institution of the Caliphate separately from political government. According to the Pan-Arabists, it was not desirable for the Caliph to be a secular, i.e. political, ruler, since the political interests of Mus-

lim states differed significantly. The separation of the Caliph's religious authority from the political power would allow the religious unification of all Muslims.

Criticising the Pan-Arabists' views, Spaho stated that "according to this rule of theirs, the Caliph would be much like the Catholic pope." Champions of this idea, he said, were dreamers "who would prefer the Caliphate not to be in the hands of any given global ruler, but would rather bestow the honour upon a Quraysh, who would be established in Mecca as a purely religious leader of Muslims, but would have no secular power whatsoever."<sup>129</sup>

Regardless of the latent goals of Pan-Islamists, whom Spaho reproached with undermining the power of the Ottoman Sultan and, to this end, forming a coalition with England, his own views showed a certain inconsistency in his discussion of how the Caliphate should be organised and the Caliph's authorities and responsibilities arranged. On the one hand, he insisted on the religious function of the Caliphate, while holding, on the other, that the Caliph should not be entirely without political power either.

This explicit denial of the political aims of the Pan-Islamic movement is no doubt to be understood as editorial self-censoring, accepted under the circumstances under which *Behar* was published, generated by the Austro-Hungarian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As is well known, *Behar's* editorial orientation was determined by the decision not to publish articles with political implications. The magazine took

a position of strict political neutrality, publishing only articles of cultural, educational, religious or didactic content.<sup>130</sup>

The next time the topic of Pan-Islamism is dealt with it is in the *Gajret* magazine, whose editorial board decided to publish a translation in Issue 7-8 of 1912 of a brief text entitled *New Pan-Islamism* that had appeared previously in the German magazine, *März*. The text reads:

Pan-Islamism was formerly generally overestimated, but is nowadays rather underestimated. This movement has begun to be dangerous indeed to the European position in the Middle and Far East, as the developments that followed Abdul Hamid's dethronement in Turkey and those in Morocco, Tripoli and Persia have thoroughly stirred up the Islamic world. In India, there is almost no Muslim paper that is not filled with complaints of the injustices Muslims suffer in these countries and of the general conspiracy of Christian governments against Muslim states. They overflow with calls and appeals to assist the Turks financially in the war for Tripoli and are full of warnings of how Muslims will need to defend their faith in the future. (...) Pan-Islamism has propaganda centres in the holy places of Mecca and Medina. There travellers from across the world meet and from there it is easy to extend spiritual influence.<sup>131</sup>

The editorial board quite noticeably refrained from appending any commentary of its own or introduction to the text to explain why they had published it. Some idea may, however, be derived from the context of the *Gajret* column enti-



tled "Islamic World," also introduced in Issue 7-8 of 1910. Offering reasons for introducing a new column, the editorial board stressed its aim of enabling *Gajret* readers to follow the cultural development of Islamic peoples around the world in relation to universal Islamic brotherhood. The editorial board also added that it might be instructive for Bosniaks to take a lead from some of the examples in certain segments in their own cultural progress and in reforming their education institutions.<sup>132</sup> In the following two years, *Gajret* regularly published articles presenting various Islamic peoples.<sup>133</sup>

The Mostar magazine *Biser*, published from 1912 to 1918, with a break during World War One, was the next journal to focus on the issue of Pan-Islamism. Indeed, in terms of the number and scope of articles published, *Biser* undoubtedly led the list. Moreover, it was in order to popularise the idea of Pan-Islamism that *Biser's* founder, Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić, decided to publish related treatises separately in a special library called *Muslimanska biblioteka (The Muslim Library)*, launched by the *Prva muslimanska nakladna knjižara i štamparija (First Muslim Printing and Publishing House)*, which he also owned.<sup>134</sup>

The next to focus on the topic of Pan-Islamism was the magazine *Hikjmet*, the main media organ for traditionalist discourse in interpreting Islam and published in Tuzla from 1929 to 1936. *Hikjmet* provided updates to its readers on many developments in the Muslim world, in line with its general editorial orientation. Following this traditionalist orientation,

therefore, the magazine foregrounded topics related to Muslim religious and educational conditions, while neglecting issues of and economic and generally social nature.<sup>135</sup>

Responding to accusations regarding the *ulama's* "Pan-Islamist reveries" from the intelligentsia generally and by Mustafa Mulalić and Malik Kulenović in *Gajret*<sup>136</sup> in particular, *Hikjmet's* editor, Ibrahim Hakki Čokić,<sup>137</sup> retorted that Pan-Islamism was not like Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism or Pan-European, whatever Mulalić and Kulenović believed. He emphasised that:

The Pan-Islamic idea is not the same. It does not pursue such goals. It only strives for spiritual unification, towards an Islamic spiritual civilisation, and spiritual and moral culture. It wants Islamic peoples to have the same Islamic feelings, a genuine Islamic upbringing and views, whether or not believers live under Islamic rule and whether or not they are politically or economically in a federation or confederation...<sup>138</sup>

The *Hikjmet* editor dismissed the accusation that the *ulama* were in favour of political Pan-Islamism, i.e. the political unification of all the Muslims in the world. The idea of "unifying all the Muslims from Japan and America to the Krajina and Serhat through Africa and Madagascar is absolute nonsense and delusion."<sup>139</sup> On the other hand, forging spiritual bonds and being interested in the condition of all Muslims, wherever they may live, that was something that *Hikjmet* found natural and neither to be denied nor abandoned.

A text entitled *Panislamizam kao političko-socijalni pokret* (*Pan-Islamism as a Political and Social Movement*) and signed by a *Hikjmet* associate, Murat Šuvalić, expressed a quite opposite view of Pan-Islamism, however. The article treats the spiritual dimension of Pan-Islamism as secondary, while underlining its political aspect as central:

Therefore, the Pan-Islamist agenda is to group together all the compact Muslim peoples of South West Asia and North Africa around the metropolis, Mecca, and to form a federative kingdom able to sustain itself and eventually to become the most powerful empire in the world in both economic and military terms. (...) It is only the lost Turkish territory, lost in the Balkan Wars, which Pan-Islamism excludes from this state community. This view nonetheless takes into account the fact that a Muslim society and an environment that has retained an Islamic moral and national structure has been preserved on this territory. The future has clear colours and the protagonists of this movement certainly have a clear perspective.<sup>140</sup>

Such an interpretation of Pan-Islamism was in essential contradiction with the previously expressed views of the *Hikjmet* editor. It was somewhat odd therefore of the paper's editorial board to publish Šuvalić's text without editorial commentary or explanation. Moreover, the interpretation of Pan-Islamism given in the text differs from any other discussion of Pan-Islamism published in local papers and authored by Bosniaks. One possible explanation for this difference may be that Šuvalić was presenting the interpretation of Pan-Islamism of Es-

sad Bey, a famous European Muslim author well-known in Europe at the time, without, however, making clear that the ideas were Essad Bey's and not his.

### *The Pan-Islamic Discourse of the Muslim Library*

Pan-Islamic discourse enjoyed a broader intellectual reception amongst the circle of intellectuals gathered around *Biser* and the *First Muslim Printing and Publishing House* of Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić<sup>141</sup> in Mostar. This group of intellectuals promoted the idea of Pan-Islamism primarily by translating and publishing works of Pan-Islamic provenance, as well as extensively reporting on developments in the Islamic world. Most of the corpus on Pan-Islamism published in *Biser* was subsequently reprinted in separate books.

The first of three books on Pan-Islamism published within the *Muslim Library* was *Borba polumjeseca i krsta* by the Turkish author Halil Halid (1869-1931), a Cambridge professor. The book had been initially published in English, in London, 1907, under the title *The Crescent versus the Cross*, after which it was then published in Turkish and translated from Turkish into Bosnian by Musa Ćazim Ćatić. It was printed in Mostar in 1913.<sup>142</sup>

The book has thirteen chapters, with conclusions and excerpts from reviews published in English and French journals and magazines. In the foreword to the Turkish edition, the

author, Halil Halid, gave his motivation for writing the book, namely that the uncritical glorification of European culture was causing Muslim peoples to entertain a lack of respect for their own Islamic culture. This attitude was most prominent among intellectuals, blinded by the material, scientific and technological domination of the West over the rest of humankind.<sup>143</sup>

The first chapter, in which the notion of *culture* is explicated, opens with observations on euphemisms constructed, according to the author, by Europeans to sensitise their own, but also the Muslim public into accepting the military, political, economic and cultural presence of Europe in the Muslim world, as an expression of Christian humanitarian sentiment and a civilising mission. The author attributed such euphemistic constructs as “cultural mission,” “civilising mission,” “cultural enhancement” and the like to the European powers’ intention of maintain a high level of visibility and so disguising their exclusive intention of extending their colonies towards the East.<sup>144</sup>

Halid emphasised the distinction between two aspects of culture – its moral aspect, on the one hand, and its material aspect, on the other. He did not deny that Western civilisation had advanced to an unrivalled level, but did point out that material and technological progress were not the only dimension on which human potential is realised, stressing that “there must also be a moral side to civilization. And as far as this moral side is concerned the claim of Christendom to the

monopoly of civilization is not altogether incontestable.”<sup>145</sup> Moreover, he continued, the destruction and degradation of the culture of Eastern peoples directly contradicted any right on the part of Europeans to proclaim themselves cultured peoples.

Halid proved a very broad observer of the social and political trends of his time, identifying quite specific and politically pragmatic reasons for European colonial expansion eastwards. He cited the opening up of new markets for the products of an ever-growing industry, creating new positions for surplus clerks and securing new areas for settling a growing population as pragmatic reasons for colonial conquest.<sup>146</sup> To achieve this goal, he said, European propaganda had put to work its most significant and most influential agents, political power-holders, the press and the Church. He dealt in some depth with the role of the Church, or rather the clergy, whose missionary efforts went hand-in-glove with trade and business in bringing about economic imperialism, remarking at one point: “There he can hear some priestly dignitary emphatically declare that commercial morality, like every other fine quality, is a Christian virtue, that the Lord is sure to crown with success all the enterprises of good Christians abroad, and that, wherever the Bible is carried, thither trade will follow; in other words, the Cross is the veritable pioneer of Christian commerce.”<sup>147</sup>

Halid maintained that the activities of Christian colonial countries in the Muslim world were unlikely to yield the results they had in regions with tribal cultures and religions.

Muslims had their own religious identity and national pride and would not easily accept the social ways of the West. He pointed out that some Muslim peoples were subject to a reign of terror by their rulers, but nonetheless found it easier and more acceptable to suffer the terror of their own rulers than that of foreign ones. This is how the author describes the apparent effects of the colonial countries' "civilising mission" in the Muslim world:

In such a state of subjection, moreover, the civilizing rulers of Europe will tentatively introduce their own methods and ways into the management of the national affairs. To suppress the national independence of a people in the interests of your civilized rule; to undermine their time-honoured national institutions under the plea that they appear to you corrupt and antiquated; to disarm the people or put the existing forces of their country under your own control, and then give them freedom of speech and of the press, so that they may about out whatever criticism they like. This is the kind of freedom some of the civilized Powers of Europe bestow upon the Oriental countries which they go to rule.<sup>148</sup>

The book underlines yet another important aspect of the colonial conquest of Muslim countries, i.e. companies from Western Christian countries taking possession and exploiting natural resources. The largest share of the revenue from exploiting these resources went to the owners of the companies, while the "subject peoples" enjoyed at best some miserable benefit from it all, of absolutely negligible worth compared to the

overall damage and moral humiliation they suffered through their country's occupation. Should the local population, or indeed the workers employed within the companies become aware of this, they had none of the means of expressing their dissatisfaction that workers in these companies' countries of origin had. Any expression of dissatisfaction on the part of the local population was interpreted by the colonial authorities as rebellion, which the army then quelled by force. In addition, the Western press sided entirely with the capitalists, so that the local population, or workers, could not use it to voice their opinion either.<sup>149</sup>

As already mentioned, the author made a close study of all aspects of the relationship between the West and the Islamic world. Of particular importance for our discussion is his observation that the European elites offered a range of excuses to justify their campaign in the East and convince the domestic public of the need for it. In addition to the phrases already mentioned, like the "civilising mission", "importing culture", "cultural advancement" and the like, the European public was sternly warned against the "Pan-Islamic peril."<sup>150</sup> Any attempt to raise the self-awareness of Muslim peoples and develop their self-confidence was presented as a "Pan-Islamic peril" that jeopardised the security and interests of Europe. Asking and answering his own rhetorical question as to the meaning of the term Pan-Islamism, he said:

If the term Pan-Islamism connotes the generally received notion of an understanding existing among the more enlightened of Mussulmans throughout the East with a view



to upholding what vestige of independence the Islamic world still possesses, there is but little doubt that the necessity for such an understanding is gaining widespread recognition. Sooner or later the urgent need of taking some active precautions in this direction must seriously engage the Muslim mind. (...) This anxiety among Orientals is what prompted the professional agitators in Western Europe to prevent the "Pan-Islamic Peril."<sup>151</sup>

The author drew attention to how the European elite and all those working for its colonial interests regarded Pan-Islamism, or the "Pan-Islamic peril," from a perspective of *contraposition*, i.e. as a way of presenting Muslims as dangerous and using that fact as the rationale for their own activities in the Muslim world, while in reality it was Muslims who were being exposed to pressure and various types of exploitation. The propaganda of "half-savage Easterners" to be civilised for the sake of humanity had such a profound impact on the opinion of the European public that no one gave even a passing thought to defying the Machiavellian policy whereby these goals were to be achieved.<sup>152</sup>

The position of Muslims in Morocco and Algeria after France had "conducted its civilising mission" and that of Muslims in Crimea and Caucasus after the Russian occupation, as well as the position of other Muslim peoples who were colonised by European countries, altogether testified most eloquently to the intentions of the European powers and their cynical invention of a "Pan-Islamic peril." Faithful

to his overall train of thought, the author ended the book with the following concluding remark: “There is room for all desirable strangers in this hospitable continent of Asia, but empire-making by outsiders is henceforth forbidden!”<sup>153</sup>

The second book published within the *Muslim Library* was *Panislamizam i Evropa (Pan-Islamism and Europe)* by Refik Bey Azimzade (1865-1925). The book was translated and published in Bosnian only three years after its original printing in Istanbul in 1911, under the title *Ittihad-i Islam we Avrupa*. It was translated from the Arabic by Ahmed Rašidkadić.

The book offered a response to accusations levelled by Europe at Muslim peoples with regard to Pan-Islamism and, at the same time, presented a charge-sheet against Europe for its colonial undertakings and subjugation of Muslim and other Eastern peoples. The author pointed out the absurdity of Europe stigmatising Muslim peoples and marking them as its enemies *a priori* simply because they called for unity based on religious identity, while considering it quite natural and useful for European peoples to unite on racial grounds. The tendencies of peoples towards unification were natural and derived from attempts to preserve one’s own integrity and individuality, as well as to maintain the balance between peoples.<sup>154</sup>

The author stated quite explicitly and unequivocally that European diplomats, the European press and other agents had accused Muslims of Pan-Islamism and so of being a danger to Europe in order to justify their colonial ventures and subjugation of Muslim peoples. Once the decision was made

to occupy a country and subjugate its people, the European power-brokers would then put the press to work to denounce that people, representing it as a danger to European culture and civilisation. Under such circumstances, the public opinion would weigh in behind military efforts, aggression and the subjugation of that people.<sup>155</sup> He continues:

If we recognise the existence of an idea of Islamic unity, we shall find its cause only in the European onslaught against us. This unity of Muslims, call it Pan-Islamism or the community of Muslims, has its true meaning in the endeavour of Muslims to create an organised unity and thus strike a balance against European Christian governments, which systematically rob Islamic peoples of their human rights. (...) Why cannot those who would claim that Islamic unity represent a threat for Europe – or rather its politics of conquest in Asia and Africa – see that the Islamic peoples too are threatened by a systematically united Christian Europe, particularly as we can see it impact in practice?<sup>156</sup>

The author supported his thesis with a brief overview of political relations between Europe and the Islamic world, pointing at the Medieval Crusades and modern European colonial conquests as facts that revealed European accusations against the Islamic world and Pan-Islamism to be hypocritical and aimed at stirring up Muslim hatred. He characterised such accusations as absurd and inhumane in circumstances where the Muslim world had politically disintegrated and European powers were enslaving its peoples. Indeed, had not the Euro-

pean states concluded a number of mutual agreements with the aim of reducing the power of the Ottoman Empire and taking over its territories.<sup>157</sup>

In his analysis of the reasons for the internal weakness of the Muslim world, the author identified a number of factors. The first was the fragmentation of and internal antagonisms within the Muslim world. The absolutist rule of Muslim rulers was the cause of this fragmentation, so that absolutism was ultimately the reason for the weakness of the Muslim world.<sup>158</sup>

Muslims can understand from our discussion that the main reason for their disunity and disregard for Islamic brotherhood and community is absolutist rule in their countries, where their rulers have, unfortunately, for quite some period chosen to pursue this wrong path. These absolutists avail themselves, out of their haughty individuality, of any opportunity to assail each other, while the poor Islamic peoples, obeying their orders, are struck with the natural consequences of rift and disunion and face a dreadful fate, great danger and awful misfortune.<sup>159</sup>

A crisis of thought and a reductionist and conservative attitude to new ideas were, according to the author, the second cause of this weakness. The third was the susceptibility of the Ottoman Empire, the most powerful Muslim country, to frequent internal unrest, which drained its strength.<sup>160</sup>

Having drawn his conclusions, the author, Refik-bey Azimzade, closed his book with a sort of manifesto and a call to Muslims, as well as a message to European diplomats.

Addressing Muslims, he said:

1. “You must know that your moral life is based on knowledge and science, but political life on constitutional government.”<sup>161</sup> In accordance with his belief that absolutism was a form of rule that hindered the development of Muslim peoples and the realisation of their full potential, he called for the establishment of constitutional forms of government.
2. His next cry was: “The East for Eastern peoples.”<sup>162</sup> This slogan is not of Pan-Islamic provenance, as it calls for a gathering of all the Eastern peoples, regardless of their denomination. “Remember that the East is the common homeland to all its peoples, be they Muslim, Christian or Jewish.”
3. Next the author promoted the idea of “national sovereignty.” He stressed that, regardless of denominational, ideological or other differences, what requires development is the political unity of the people. Having urged Muslims to accept the idea of the political unity of all the inhabitants of the Muslim world, the author then issued the same appeal to non-Muslims living in Muslim countries, calling them to national unity in order to develop “national sovereignty.”<sup>163</sup>

The ideas elaborated in the book show that how familiar the author was with European political thought and to what extent he based his views of the system of social and political

relations within Muslim countries, as well as of international relations, on Western political philosophy, including such ideas as the equality of peoples, national sovereignty and constitutional government. He further stressed that one of the main reasons for the awakening of the Muslim peoples was their introduction to and acceptance of the ideal of freedom and related ideas from Western political thought.<sup>164</sup>

The same year, 1914, the *Muslim Library* published its third book, entitled *Panislamizam i panturcizam (Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism)*, translated from the French by Salih Bakamović. It is essentially an essay on Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism that offers a factual description of these movements, without characterising them in ideological terms. It promoted neither, unlike the previous works, which were Pan-Islamist in the true sense of the word and written to propagate and defend the Pan-Islamist movement.<sup>165</sup> At the end of the work, however, introducing a sort of subtext, the editorial board added a manifesto for Muslims, which included, amongst other things, the following call: “Muslim brothers, spread the Pan-Islamic idea, as therein lies salvation for all Muslims...”<sup>166</sup> This suggests that the *Muslim Library* and the intellectuals around clearly shared the aim of promoting the idea of Pan-Islamism.

The *First Muslim Printing and Publishing House*, whose *Muslim Library* published the above three books on Pan-Islamism, also printed the *Biser* magazine in Mostar, which was Pan-Islamist in origin. In 1918 (Issues 1-15/16), the magazine published instalments of a translation of a book by Celal Nuri

entitled *Panislamizam, islam u prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti* (*The Unity of Islam: Islam's Past, Present and Future*), translated from the Turkish into Bosnian by Salih Bakamović. The book presents Pan-Islamic materials and was therefore not just a book on Pan-Islamism or a mere description of the Pan-Islamic movement.

In his introduction, the author pointed out that any mention of Pan-Islamism was liable to elicit collective neurosis and odium among Europeans, even though Pan-Islamism implied nothing but Islam as such. And no one had the right to deny the legitimacy of Muslims' interest in and care for each other, regardless of what part of the world they lived in.

The main feature of Nuri's discourse was his relativisation of the importance of nationality, i.e. ethnic or national background. He held that affiliation with Islam was the essential identity of a Muslim and that any objective differences that might exist between Muslims were of no relevance whatsoever, because, according to Nuri, nationality as such does not even exist from the Muslim standpoint.<sup>167</sup>

Nuri's second typical hypothesis was that Islam had lost its political power and indeed disintegrated politically, but had not stagnated as a moral and political force. Despite its social, political, military and economic decline, Islam remained a social and moral force whose importance was indisputable for Muslim life. Moreover, according to the author, Islam's importance increased in proportion to the intensity with which European countries penetrated the Muslim world.

The spiritual strength of Muslims could not be crushed by political or military means. Spiritual states are not subject to the physical laws of the world. They are the vital essence of the people and the author asserted that it was only a matter of time before the spiritual power regained its relevance and was realised in physical or cultural form.<sup>168</sup>

Further on in the text, the author gave the reasons he had identified for the Muslim world's loss of power and inferiority. First and foremost, he made a theoretical distinction between culture, which he called "true civilisation," and civilisation, which he termed "technological civilisation." His strong stress on the difference allowed him assert that the inheritors of one aspect of civilisation did not necessarily inherit the other. "True civilisation" was an expression of spirit, while the other was an expression of the logical thinking found in "science and mathematical truths." Material progress was based on science "which is not divided into Eastern and Western." Science studies the laws of the physical world and is indivisible as such. Celal Nuri thus considered it an important, perhaps the most important, cause of the Muslim world's regression that it could not see the difference between these two aspects of civilisation and so realise that accepting material civilisation did not necessarily imply any change to the spiritual substance.

The main reason for Muslim decline lies in the fact that Muslims have believed that the old technology would suffice and so failed to become familiar with the technologically advanced parts of the world and to find the motivation behind their success. We hold the following:



for Muslims to advance, they must immediately embrace the technological civilisation of Europe. Nothing else will do.<sup>169</sup>

On the other hand, the author said, Europeans' cruel attitude towards Eastern peoples suggested that the former, no matter how advanced in their material civilisation, had not cultivated their cultural sensibility and so "do not have true civilisation."

The author found a second reason for the stagnation of the Muslim world in the inadequate interpretation of Islam. He criticised scholars for failing, in their interpretation of Islam, to differentiate between invariable principles and temporally determined rules established by Islamic scholars during the first few centuries of Islam. In subsequent periods, characterised by intellectual atrophy, these rules were accepted as principles and applied under quite new circumstances, with a paralysing impact on the cultural and social development of the Muslim world. He finished by saying that "Islam is of universal advantage and welfare: its fundamental principles and methods are general, so that rules can be derived from them, sufficient to meet the needs of any time."<sup>170</sup>

His third reason for stagnation was the abandonment of the political principles associated with Islamic government. He listed the following principles: the division of power between the executive, the judiciary and the legislature, with its function of oversight (*tashrī' wa murāqaba*); the republican form of government, i.e. the election of the Caliph; and the

duty of all citizens (*mukallaf*) to take part in political affairs (*al-amr bi al-ma'rūf wa al-nahy 'an al-munkar*). Absolutist government had reduced the Muslim world in an inferior position and a state of subordination.<sup>171</sup>

Having examined the causes of the decadence of the Muslim world, the author then outlined the most prominent features of various Muslim peoples. In spite of his earlier mention of the utterly unfavourable geopolitical position of Muslims, at the end of his work the author nonetheless took an optimistic view of the future, saying that Muslims would grow out of their inferiority to become active participants in historical events.<sup>172</sup>

## xxx

The notion of Pan-Islamism was introduced into the public discourse of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, where it remained present for the next fifty years. Pan-Islamism's fundamental property and the Bosniak authors' main intention in elaborating, interpreting and promoting it was to strengthen the spiritual bonds between Muslim peoples, while denying its political implications in the context of the political, legal and administrative position of the Bosniaks. Emphasising how unrealistic it would be to strive for political unification with other Muslim peoples, these authors nonetheless defended the right and need of Bosniaks to develop a relationship of spiritual unity with the other Muslim peo-

ples. On the other hand, there were also works translated from other languages whose authors focused on issues of a general nature and the condition of the *Umma* overall. The lack of reaction to the publication of these translations gives the impression, however, that they failed to have much of an impact on the public of Bosnia and Herzegovina or even on the Bosniak public.

## TREATISES ON THE CALIPHATE

Bosniak interest in the issue of the Caliphate<sup>173</sup> and connection with the Caliph was maintained even after the Yugoslav state was formed. The Yugoslav Muslim Organisation (YMO) made it part of its agenda to demand that the Yugoslav government ensure Yugoslav Muslims' relations with the Caliphate were just as free as those of Catholics with the Holy See.<sup>174</sup>

After the Young Turk regime led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha abolished the institution of the Caliphate in 1924, this issue became one of the most hotly debated amongst Muslim scholars throughout the Islamic world. At the same time, it excited the attention of the Bosniak intellectual public, particularly when the centres of the Muslim world initiated discussion of the need to convene an "all-Islamic congress" to resolve the issue of electing a Caliph or restoring the Caliphate, depending on the degree of consent amongst the representatives of all the Muslim peoples.

To mark the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Džabić's movement, Osman Nuri Hadžić,<sup>175</sup> a well-known cultural activist, published an in-depth article in *Gajret* entitled *Muslimanska vjersko-prosvjetna autonomija i pitanje Carigradskog Halifata* (*Muslim religious and educational autonomy and the issue of*

*the Istanbul Caliphate*), in which he first gave a brief overview of developments related to the Autonomous Movement and then presented in detail the institution of Caliphate from a historical perspective. Even though the Caliphate had been abolished, with powerful repercussions all around the Muslim world, only a year before he published his article, Hadžić did not address the issue, nor did he offer any opinion as to the need to reinstate or restore it.<sup>176</sup>

One of the first Bosniak authors to discuss the issue was Edhem Bulbulović.<sup>177</sup> At the time of the all-Islamic congress in Cairo, called by the *ulama* of the famous Al-Azhar University and scheduled for May 1926, he wrote a treatise entitled *Sveislamski kongres i pitanje hilafeta (The Pan-Islamic Congress and the Issue of the Caliphate)*, in which he gave his view of the Caliphate.

Bulbulović offered the following ideas:

- a) Islam should be seen as a religion, which governs exclusively the relationship of man to God and only that. Accordingly, *Shari‘a* should be applied only to this dimension. Bulbulović held that applying Islamic law to social relations was a fatal mistake that had hindered the progress of Muslims for centuries.<sup>178</sup>
- b) Throughout history, the Caliphate had implied the unity of spiritual and secular authority, hindering Muslim progress, in his view. Consequently, he supported the Young Turks’ decision to abolish the traditionally conceived Caliphate and argued in favour of a Caliphate with

a purely religious authority, emphasising his support for the all-Muslim connection on a spiritual level, but stating clearly that he was not a Pan-Islamist in the political sense.<sup>179</sup>

- c) Bulbulović hoped to see the Caliphate reorganised under a strict separation of the religious from the secular.

The Caliphate should exist as a spiritual centre around which all Muslims will concentrate. The Caliphate should become a living bond of Muslim spiritual unity... It is absolutely necessary for the Caliphate to be depoliticised and transformed into an exclusively religious institution. The Caliphate should by no means serve as a title for crowned heads, who may as easily be villains that will compromise it. (...) The Caliph's seat should not be in a place under the political tutelage of any state whatsoever and particularly not of a non-Muslim one. The Caliph must be independent of political influence and the diplomatic intrigues of individual states.<sup>180</sup>

- d) The Caliphate should be organised analogously with the structure of the Catholic Church:

What the Pope and Vatican represent for the Catholic faith, the Caliph and the Caliphate should represent for the Islamic one. The Caliph should have his supporting bodies: one standing council composed of the most renowned figures of Islamic theology, to be delegated by individual Islamic countries, and a single, strictly disciplined universal organisation of clerics, centralised and subordinate to the Caliphate. Such a project is hindered

by the fact that Islam does not hold with a clergy as an independent social formation and does not accept anyone's sacrosanctity, not excluding the Messenger of God himself, let alone his vice-gerent the Caliph. Though good in principle, this negation has produced many a negative result in practice.<sup>181</sup>

Bulbulović went on to support his views by arguments, suggesting that there were already certain contours of a Muslim clerical order, referring to Sufi orders (*Ṭarīqa*), and thus drawing a forced analogy.

Islam too has its clerical orders (*Tariqa*) and its monasteries (*Tekke*). The most prominent among them are the Sufis. This order represents a separate school, an academy, with its own philosophical doctrine (*Tasawuf*). From their teachings one may conclude that they have founded something that could be the Islamic equivalent to the contemporary organisation of the Catholic clergy. They have even adopted names for different organs: *Qutub*, *Gaus*, *Avtad* and *Abdal*. Alas, it has remained a mystery without practical application. It is truly a pity that we have not a *Qutub* with the authority of a pope, *Gauses* to honour like cardinals, or *Abdals* to discharge the duties of the nuncio.<sup>182</sup>

e) The convention of an all-Islamic congress was, according to Bulbulović, of “epochal importance for the entire Islamic world proach and the depoliticisation, democratisation and reorganisation of the Caliphate.”<sup>184</sup>

Edhem Bulbulović's views of the Caliphate were in line with his overall perception of Islam and its actual or potential impact on the social, moral, ethical and political life of Mus-

lims. In this regard, he supported political as well as social secularism in general, reducing the significance of religion to just the spiritual sphere or the level of the human understanding of the Transcendent, i.e. man's relationship to God.

His analysis of the issue of the Caliphate involved certain contradictions and inconsistencies. This is most evident in the following two cases. First, Bulbulović did not consider the Caliphate an essentially religious institution, but one whose existence was rather the result of the need to organise society politically and to govern. He supposed the Caliphate to have obtained this position at an early stage of Islam, but that its relevance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century should be quite other and its authority restricted exclusively to religious matters. Second, Bulbulović maintained that the Islamic rejection of a clergy was good, in itself, but that its consequences were bad. He criticised the religious organisation of Muslims, saying: "We are faced with religious anarchy and a debauched professional caste that has monopolised religion to use it for usury." The inconsistency lies in Bulbulović's failure to realise that it is exactly the absence of a clergy, which he criticises, that prevents the monopolisation of religion. In this regard, impressed with the Catholic Church's organisation, Bulbulović strongly advocated the clericalisation of the Caliphate and of Islam in general, without taking into consideration the fundamental incongruity of the concept with the very essence of Islam.

On the same occasion as Bulbulović, i.e. the Pan-Islamic Congress in Cairo, Abdulah Bušatlić,<sup>185</sup> a prominent public intel-



lectual in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, also expressed his views on the issue of restoring the Caliphate and its function in general.<sup>186</sup>

Unlike Bulbulović, Bušatlić felt that the dethronement of the Caliph by Atatürk's regime in Turkey had been detrimental to all Muslims, both to those constituting a majority in their country and to those living in non-Muslim states. All Muslims had therefore to work for its restitution and most of all in the independent Muslim states. The election of a Caliph was a pressing need, all the more so as without the authorisations the Caliph granted, said Bušatlić, some religious rituals were themselves of questionable validity, like the *Salāt al-Jum'a* and the judicial function, etc.

Drawing on classical Islamic political theories, Bušatlić pointed out that the Caliphate included both a secular (*dunyā*) and a spiritual (*dīn*) power, which were inseparable from each other. The Caliphate had to manifest itself in one person, while it was up to Muslims, Bušatlić stressed, to enable the newly-elected Caliph to hold and exercise power, as these were the essential attributes of the Caliphate. In his explication and interpretation of the exercise of these inseparable powers, Bušatlić focused on matters of a religious nature. The principal support to the Caliph would, he said, come from the *khatībs*, *imāms* and *mufītīs*, but he neglected the real complexity of the modern state and its operations, both internally and in international relations, indirectly reducing the function of the Caliphate to the level of leadership in the organisation of religious affairs.

For Bušatlić, the Caliph's main task was to safeguard the Islamic faith and to solve pressing matters in the spirit of *Sharī'a* rulings, to watch over the application of *Sharī'a*, and to appoint both governmental and purely religious officials.

Bušatlić expected to Cairo congress to elect a Caliph, with whom he believed the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes would then have to sign an agreement, analogous to the Concordat signed with the Holy See. Bušatlić was, however, not fully aware of the real state of relationships within the Muslim world and failed to take into account the fact that the Congress as convened was for Islamic scholars and not the political representatives of Muslim peoples, which is why he so firmly believed it would elect a Caliph of all Muslims.

Another brief treatise focused on the issue of the Caliphate was that written by Hafiz Muhamed Pandža<sup>187</sup> and published in *Islamski svijet (The Islamic World)*.<sup>188</sup> The author's principle conclusion was that democracy constituted the fundamental principle of Islamic society and that all citizens had a duty to participate in matters of relevance to the life of their community, i.e. in the political life of their state. This practice had originally been established when the Prophet himself was running the state and remained, as such, relevant for all subsequent generations.

After a historical overview of the Islamic state development, the author then offered his own views on the topical issue of the Caliphate, in several segments.

The restoration of the Caliphate and its proper functioning implied, according to Pandža, (i) raising the educational level of the entire Muslim population, holding an all-Islamic congress at which representatives of all the Muslim peoples would elect a Caliph, (ii) determining whether the Caliph's mandate should be either limited or for life, and (iii) that the elected Caliph be the political leader of a people and state of international importance, without, however, being under the influence of any foreign state whatsoever.

Pandža ended his presentation of how the Caliphate should be established by saying that a Caliphate without full authority or unable to carry out all the tasks that fell to it as an all-Islamic institution would be neither desirable nor acceptable.<sup>189</sup>

The *Hikmet* editorial board paid particular attention to the issue of restoring the Caliphate. It became particularly current thanks to reports on preparations for the General Islamic Congress in Jerusalem in 1931. The board inserted news stories reporting that the intention behind convening the Congress was to restore the Caliphate and then denied those stories later on. In the *Tefrika* column, in several issues, the editorial board expressed certain views on the topic, stating that any future Caliph should be based in Mecca or Medina and that the office of Caliph could be held by any Muslim with the required qualifications, which were:

- a) A higher religious education,
- b) Unsullied *Taqwallāh* (piety) and
- c) A free and courageous spirit.

The *Hikjmet* editorial board argued that the Caliph would require ancillary bodies, i.e. standing committees composed of recognised Islamic theologians and *Shari'a* law experts. In their view, the Caliphate was the “supreme religious authority” and would have to be able to rely on secular power to ensure rulings were applied in real life. *Hikjmet* also pointed out, however, that even without the support of the secular power the Caliphate would have enough moral authority to fulfil its role and carry out its mission among Muslims.

This discussion of the Caliphate from *Hikjmet's* perspective took place within a local context of confrontation and as a challenge to the modernists and reformists within the Bosniak intelligentsia. Consequently, the magazine also claimed, with regard to the Caliph's personality, that he could not possibly be a reformist and would have to rely solely on Islamic sources and *Shari'a* teachings.<sup>190</sup>

*Hikjmet* did not deal with the issue of Caliphate in a systematic manner, arguing instead, in the context of a General Islamic Congress, in favour of its own positions in an ongoing polemic with advocates of reform and more modern interpretations of certain aspects of Islam, primarily those with social implications.

Interest in the issue of restoring the Caliphate remained alive among the Bosniaks through the fifth decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Hamdija Ćemerlić<sup>191</sup> provided a well-organised and systematic overview of the historical development of the Caliphate as an institution in his article *Hilafet, vjersko jedinstvo muslimana*

(*Caliphate: The Religious Unity of Muslims*) in *El-Hidaje*.<sup>192</sup> He argued unequivocally in favour of restoring the Caliphate as the spiritual and religious community of Muslims. Unlike some of authors mentioned above, Ćemerlić did not dwell on the institution's structure or how it should be organised. Rather, in his article, he addressed the following two fundamental questions: firstly, is the Caliphate conceptually equivalent to the Church as an organisation and does the Caliph in Islam have the same function as the pope in Christianity and, secondly, is it legitimate to establish the Caliphate as a religious organisation of all Muslims without giving it political and governmental powers?

In discussing the first question, Ćemerlić refuted the thesis that the Caliphate could be identified conceptually with the Church and the Caliph with the pope.

Under the established rule, the Caliphate is a political and religious community and cannot function as a religious community alone, since Islamic law does not recognise the separation of faith from state. Many Western writers have, however, claimed, based on their study of the historical development of the Caliphate, that faith is separate from the state in Islam too and that Caliphs are entrusted only with religious affairs, governors with political ones. They use this claim to render the Caliphate comparable to the Catholic Church. But it is an invalid comparison, as Islam makes no such differentiation, so that the position of Caliph cannot be considered equivalent to that of pope. The pope is the sovereign of the Catholic Church and, as such, the interpreter of God's will on earth, while the Caliph is the head of the Muslim state. Islam does not know a clergy

in the Christian sense, who would have the exclusive right to interpret religious rulings and perform religious rites.<sup>193</sup>

Establishing the Caliphate in a reduced form, entailing a *de facto* separation of the authority for religious administration from that for government, was, according to Ćemerlić, the only possible solution given the contemporary constellation of international relations and the make-up of the international community. Although this form had previously applied in certain historical periods, Ćemerlić considered it at best a realistic expedient, and not the ideal type. In arguing for the legitimacy of his proposal to re-establish the Caliphate as a universal Muslim religious hierarchy, he said:

Since it is nowadays impossible to restore the Caliphate as construed by *Ijma*, i.e. establishing one state in which all Muslims would be involved, there arises the question whether it is possible to restore the Caliphate as a general religious community of all Muslims. We know that it was not always possible, throughout the Caliphate's existence, to apply the rule of encompassing all Muslims under a single Caliphate. Even when Muhammad (*s.a.w.*) was alive, a number of Muslims lived under the rule of non-Muslim rulers; under the Arabic Caliphs, the Caliphate split into a number of independent states and, under the last Ottoman Caliphs, many Muslim countries and Muslim groups fell under the rule of non-Muslim rulers. Therefore, for a long time the Caliphate functioned as a purely religious community and, in time, Muslims accepted and approved this understanding of the Caliphate. Thus, insofar as the Cali-

phate had previously functioned as a religious community and since the rule of the link between faith and state was arrived at by consensus (which is not inalterable), we believe it to be possible to establish a purely religious Caliphate.<sup>194</sup>

The restoration of a Caliphate, expressive and symbolising Muslim unity, was, according to Ćemerlić, surely desired by Muslim people throughout the world. The road towards that goal was, however, blocked by the interests of major powers and the egos of rulers in certain Muslim countries.

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Bosniak authors discussed the issue of the Caliphate against a background of vigorous debate on the need to adopt or discard modern Western patterns for the organisation of social life. In this regard, their attitudes towards the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924 could involve both approval and severe criticism. All these authors unanimously believed in the desirability of restoring a Caliphate, but their opinions on its role and how to organise it under the new circumstances differed considerably. They discussed the issue at both the theoretical and the speculative level, without however giving sufficient consideration to the social, political, economic and other conditions in the Muslim world that would be required as pre-conditions for establishing such an all-Islamic institution.

## BOSNIAK INTEREST IN OTHER MUSLIMS IN THE WORLD

Most Bosniak journals and newspapers published in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century paid particular attention to reporting developments in the Islamic world. We will now take a brief look at some typical examples.

In addition to the series of articles by Fehim Spaho, *Behar* published a number of further texts on the importance and the status of certain Muslim peoples, whereby the magazine showed its interest in the global condition of Muslims (the *Umma*). Thus, in Issue 24 of 15 April, 1902, on pages 369-370, the magazine published a text entitled *Islam na Istoku* (*Islam in the East*), reporting on the rapid pace at which Islam was spreading among African tribes, in comparison with Christianity, despite the greater material resources being expended by Christian missionary societies.

During its seventh year, *Behar* published two texts on Muslims around the world, one on the position of Muslims in Russia and the other about the Convention in Persia. The magazine published a text in relation to the Tsar's edict of 17 October 1905, stating that Russian Muslims had thereby gained many rights they had not previously had, noting,



however, that there was a risk it might remain a “dead letter.” The text also pointed out previous cases of Muslims being guaranteed rights and freedoms, which had turned out rather different in the practice of Russian authorities. The law allowed them to build schools and mosques and to print literary works, but they were generally prevented from doing so by civil servants. *Behar* published several items of correspondence between Russian ministers that had been published in Kazan. It was obvious from these letters that the Russian authorities had used whatever means were at their disposal to eliminate Muslims with progressive and advanced ideas from public life and office and replace them with persons of modest education, who could be counted on to be sufficiently servile to the authorities.<sup>195</sup>

To mark the opening of the Sham-Tebuk section of the Hejaz Railway, Issue 10 published a text entitled *Hidžaska željeznica “Hamidijja”* (*The “Hamidiya” Hejaz Railway*), opening with a statement about Sultan Abdul Hamid II as the Caliph of all Muslims. The article gave a detailed report on the course of railway construction, emphasising how Muslims around the world had enthusiastically welcomed the plan to build the “Hejaz Railway” and that many of them, including Bosnian Muslims, had raised funds and sent contributions for the accomplishment of this “great religious and cultural endeavour.”<sup>196</sup>

The “Hejaz Railway” project was aimed at making it easier to transport pilgrims to Mecca and Medina and was an

integral part of Sultan Abdul Hamid II's Pan-Islamic plans. Given its apolitical orientation, however, *Behar* deliberately neglected its non-religious dimensions, whether economic, communicational or political.

The text on Muslims in Iran had two sequels, describing their specific differences from *Sunni* Muslims. The immediate occasion for publishing the article was the Convention, but the author gave it scant attention, treating in detail instead the main aspects of *Shia* political and religious teachings and expressing his regret that Muslims in other countries had shown so little interest in the event in Iran and that the papers in Istanbul had not reported on the Convention at all.<sup>197</sup>

These texts in *Behar* expressing an interest in Muslims around the world included a translation of an article on *Islam u Americi (Islam in America)*, published in four instalments in Issues 10-13, 1907/8. The article was by Mirza Abdul'Rahim Tabrizi and translated into Bosnian by a translator taking the pseudonym Tešnjali Musa, presumably Musa Ćazim Ćatić. The article refers to the activities of an American consul, a contemporary of the author, who had converted to Islam. His name was Alexander Russell Webb and he had been a member of a protestant church. After his conversion, he assumed the name Mohammed and stopped working for the US diplomatic service in order to devote all his energies to conveying the Islamic message to the American people and reducing their prejudice against Muslims. One of the strongest prejudices and slurs, which, according to the

author, “Christian priests” had spread far and wide among American Christians was that “every Muslim was supposed to kill several Christians in his lifetime and those who died without fulfilling this duty were cast out of Islam.”<sup>198</sup> It is important to note that Christian prejudice against Muslims was a frequent topic in popular writings by Muslims in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, testifying to how deep-rooted and widespread such prejudice was.<sup>199</sup>

The author of the article, like many others who wrote about the spread of Islam into Europe and America, spoke of this process with considerable romantic fervour and so without the necessary self-criticism or objectivity in observing social phenomena and possible changes. In the text, he remarked:

There are many facts that suggest that Americans might take easily to Islam. One such is that, by their nature, Americans have a strong proclivity to change and novelty, while another is their aspiration to be members of a society that stands elevated above all others... Americans have difficulty accepting the burden that clergy and church hierarchy would impose on them and this fact too suggests the possibility they would gladly accept Islam, which has neither clergy nor such burdens. Moreover, Americans deeply hate the English, whose language they must speak. If they learned the Islamic truths and were a different language to be introduced into their homeland, Arabic perhaps, they might well flock into the embrace of our holy faith.<sup>200</sup>

*Behar's* interest in Muslims around the world and news from its Islamic parts ended in its ninth year,<sup>201</sup> while its Pan-Islamic interests peaked in the seventh, 1906/07, under the editorship of Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević.<sup>202</sup> Under his editorial guidance, *Behar* was published bilingually – in both Bosnian and Turkish, although the data from 1910 suggest that there were only 2,289 persons who could speak Turkish. This fact is indicative of the attempt to maintain and even strengthen Bosniak relations with the rest of the *Umma*.<sup>203</sup>

As already mentioned, in its third year of publication and more precisely as of Issue 7, *Gajret* introduced a column on *Islamski svijet* (*The Islamic World*). The same issue included a description of the Tatar Muslims from Kazan, with many details about this people, their main crafts and industries and specific customs, paying particularly close attention to levels of education before the reform process (known as the Revival) and to the reform itself. The text severely criticised the traditionalist approach in schools (*Madrasas*), as well as the fact that no social and natural sciences were taught. In particular, it was the fact that approach to education obviated any need to conduct classes in the native tongue. Educational reforms were initiated by Ismail Bey Gasprinski, one of the leading champions of the Pan-Islamic idea among Muslims in that part of the world. He encouraged a significant number of students from Kazan to study at universities in Egypt and Istanbul, where they became familiar with the reformist ideas that had already been put forward by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and

Muḥammad ‘Abduh. The conservative *ulama*, educated on the basis of a traditionalist didactic methodology, considered any change very dangerous, some even proclaiming the reforms nothing less than heresy and even apostasy from Islam. As part of the reformist wave, new primary (*maktab*) and secondary schools were opened. Particular attention was paid to female education and many schools for girls founded. There was also considerable progress in developing the fields of journalism and popular writing, as well as more serious literature. The author of the article, who signed himself Ibn Munib, noted that, while the Bosniaks had their Statute guaranteeing certain significant conditions, the Kazan Muslims had in fact achieved much faster and more substantial progress in the field of culture and education. The author closed his article with the following words: “Dear gentlemen, as many scholarships for students as possible, and a good *Dar-ul muallimin* as soon as possible!”<sup>204</sup>

The same author translated parts of the *Travels* by Abdurrešid Ibrahim and prepared them for the press. The translation was published in three instalments, offering detailed information on the Muslims of Siberia. The text explains that the Russians had penetrated the area in 1582 and exiled convicts to it, which is why the area had become a symbol of terror both for Russians and for the other peoples under Russian rule. Once the Russians had conquered the provinces of Ural and Orenburg, they exiled many Muslims to Siberia, including a number of the *ulama*. According to Abdurrešid Ibrahim, they

had introduced Islam to many of the local inhabitants and previous settlers. The local population was largely engaged in cattle breeding and hunting. They built mosques and good *madrasas*, which relied financially on *waqfs*, as was the case elsewhere.<sup>205</sup>

There was also information on the foundation and work of the University in Aligarh, which was established by a key figure in the Indian reform movement, Syed Ahmad Khan, as well as a brief piece on the foundation of a missionary academic institute in Cairo (*Dār al-da'wā wa al-irshād*). *Gajret* also published a brief review of the position of Muslims in Algeria under French rule. The text underlined that Muslims did not enjoy the same rights as the French, referring particularly to political rights.

Analysis of the texts published by *Gajret* on Muslims around the world reveals a certain degree of idealisation. By the same token, the authors were relatively critical, even pessimistic in speaking of the condition of their fellow Bosniaks in the fields of culture and education and keeping up with the general progress of civilisation.

The authors seem to want to compensate for their own resignation over their cultural inferiority in comparison to Western Christian superiority by attempting to glorify the activities of Muslims far-away, unconsciously offering a utopian solace to both themselves and their countrymen.

Of the Bosniak papers published during the Austro-Hungarian period, *Biser* stood out as the magazine with the most

marked Pan-Islamist orientation. In setting out its programmatic orientation, the editorial board pointed out that *Biser* was a “paper for education and entertainment” that would write “in a purely Islamic spirit” and would not dwell on political issues, which the editorial board said *a priori* were of less relevance than cultural and educational ones.<sup>206</sup> With regard to *Biser’s* orientation, Muhsin Rizvić has commented:

The national, political, cultural and educational platform of the *Biser* journal was not exactly homogeneous, but the link between its numerous aspects was the spiritual substratum of religion: it ranged from the feeling of Muslim national and religious singularity in Bosnia and Herzegovina to promoting connections with other nations of Islamic religion in the world. What the *Behar* journal considered to be only one of its cultural pillars and, at the time, the necessary traditional and spiritual link of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Orient, the *Biser* magazine understood to be its main purpose and goal, though to a lesser degree than the *Muslim Library*, as the other literary contents in it somewhat weakened the Pan-Islamist and ideological impression. The Pan-Islamist ideology of this journal was enhanced by a number of translated treatises in this field, as well as by occasional Pan-Islamist statements by its editorial board and the continuous promotion of works published in the *Muslim Library*.<sup>207</sup>

In line with its general orientation, *Biser* entirely abstained from all political topics. This can be seen from the fact that it makes no mention of the turmoil on the Eve of World War

I nor, after it was re-launched in 1918, of very current issues related to the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which were of extreme importance for Bosniaks too. *Biser's* lack of interest in political topics and issues related to the constitutional and national status of the Bosniaks was largely reflective of that group's overall confusion and unarticulated national awareness, however.<sup>208</sup>

An exemplary, albeit brief essay of Pan-Islamic provenance, entitled *Promjene na hilafetskoj stolici* (*Changes in the Caliph's Chair*), written by Sakib Korkut, was published on the occasion of Sultan Mehmed Khan VI assuming the throne. Korkut considered the position of Sultan exclusively from the perspective of the Caliph's prerogatives, criticising the practice of previous Sultans/Caliphs and their neglect of Muslims left outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire after its withdrawal. This led him to question, in a way, the legitimacy of their holding the title of Caliph at all, while at the same time voicing a certain scepticism regarding any future approach by the new Caliph *vis-à-vis* all the followers of Islam, i.e. the *Umma* as a whole.

Still, the scope of the *Mashihat* and the activity of its office could have been extended. The Grand Vizier and his ministers are called upon to attend to the needs of Turkey and their scope is therefore much narrower than that of the *Mashihat*. Sadly, this fact is underestimated. May God make the *Mashihat* of the new Caliph shine with a different light and become a living focus of care and hard work in the interest of the entire Muslim population.<sup>209</sup>



In accordance with its general editorial orientation and Pan-Islamic direction, *Biser* demonstrated a keen interest in Muslims in the world from its very first issue. The regular column *Iz Islamskog svijeta* (*From the Islamic World*) took up quite a lot of space in almost all issues and its content ranged rather widely. The news it covered might be classified into the following groups: current developments in the Islamic world, champions of the Pan-Islamic idea, the cultural, educational and economic situation of certain Muslim peoples, spreading Islam to non-Muslim societies, the foundation and activities of Pan-Islamic organisations, and violence against Muslim peoples committed by colonial powers.<sup>210</sup> These were mostly translations from Turkish, French, German or Arabic, with a small number of commissioned articles.

It is easier to understand *Biser's* Pan-Islamic orientation if we take into account the context of national and political relations of the time and efforts towards the nationalisation, i.e. Serbisation and Croatisation of the Bosniaks. In the absence of an articulated Bosniak national identity, the Pan-Islamic discourse supplied a supranational position for this people vis-à-vis Serbian and Croatian assimilationist aspirations and the political currents they informed.<sup>211</sup>

In August 1932, the magazine *Islamski svijet* (*Islamic World*) began to come out in Sarajevo. As early as Issue 1, an editorial entitled *Our First Word* gave a partial explanation of the motivation behind launching the magazine. Namely, it claimed that there was no Muslim newspaper in Bosnia and

Herzegovina and, moreover, that papers which claimed to be such did not deserve the epithet. The editorial objection was that such papers, not identified by name in the text, did not take a clearly articulated line to “domestic affairs” and even less of a one to “affairs in the Islamic world,” while their publishers were not trustworthy,<sup>212</sup> without however giving any reasons for such suspicions.

Setting out its goals and tasks, the board stressed that it had no intention of publishing a newspaper to deal with political topics. Its main concern was given in its title and the paper would largely confine itself to informing the local Muslim public regarding developments in the Muslim world.

The aim of our paper, under present circumstances, is above politics. First and foremost, we aspire continuously, objectively and accurately to inform Muslims in this country about developments and circumstances in Islamic countries and other Islamic peoples. No culturally aware man can object to us Muslims being interested in the life of our brethren in faith. Faith is the strongest of bonds that connects people, except perhaps for family. Regardless of nationality or even race, faith is what makes all human communities. Islam, like other religions, encompasses many peoples. Our *Devletli* [the Prophet Muhammad, *s.a.w.*, *author's comment*] ordered us to help one another, regardless of nationality or race, political views, class, position or financial situation. Precisely because it is a solemn religious duty, we are indeed interested in the fate of our brethren in faith.<sup>213</sup>

Even though the rest of the text suggests that the paper's main concern would be local Muslim realities, in fact the *Islamic World* editorial board divided its attention fairly evenly between issues related to the life of Muslims in the country and those related to Muslims living abroad.

As for local topics, the magazine largely focused on upholding the role of *Shari'a* in the regulation of Muslim life and organising the affairs of the Muslim religious community, without dwelling on other social, economic or political issues of relevance to the life of the Muslim population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As early as in the second year of publication, the editorial board decided to print several pages in Turkish and so strengthen its ties with Muslims of Turkish nationality living in Macedonia.

Another project of ours is to publish the *Islamic World* twice a week on a regular basis and in its current format, with two or three pages printed in Arabic letters and in the Turkish language, devoted to our brethren in Macedonia, most of whom speak Turkish and can read Arabic script better than the Latin alphabet. No doubt, no conscientious Muslim will fail to commend our readiness to make useful information and carefully chosen Islamic readings available to our Macedonian brethren.<sup>214</sup>

As to news from the Islamic world, there is little evidence of underlying systematic reporting or a specific intention in selecting the news. Thus, Issue 1 published a report on the opening of a university in Afghanistan, the Turco-Persian agreement, and a

Jewish world conference in Palestine. Issue 2 reported on conflicts between Jews and Arabs in Tunisia, the role and behaviour of the French colonial power in Syria and an activity undertaken by Turkish citizens to raise funds and refurbish the Turkish air force. Subsequent issues published, among other things, reports on a new rulebook on the uniform for religious officials in Turkey, a branch of the Pan-Islamic Congress in Berlin being tasked with spreading the Pan-Islamist idea, an activity undertaken by the Congress in Kudsi Sherif for the Hejaz Railway, the dissolution of Parliament in Persia, the abolition of the Bulgarian Exarchate in Istanbul and constructing a mosque in Budapest, an attempt to democratise Turkey, and preparations for convening a Pan-Islamic congress in Geneva to gather European Muslims, etc. The paper occasionally published trivial news, like that it had heavily rained several times during the month of Ramadan in Nejd and Hejaz,<sup>215</sup> and the like.

As may be seen from the previous text, these news items are mere fragments from the life of various Muslim peoples and the paper seldom or almost never offered any comprehensive analyses dealing with the state of the Muslim world and presenting it to the local Muslim public in a relevant way. This conceptual orientation was essentially expressive of the emotional bond the Bosniaks or Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina had with Muslims in the world, without any real effort to establish forms of actual cooperation or institutional association that might have an impact on real Bosniak life or the life of any other Muslim people.

The most significant newspaper in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the late 1940s and early 1950s to focus on Islam was certainly *El-Hidaje*, published by the *Organizacija ilmije Kraljevine Jugoslavije El-Hidaje* (The *El-Hidaje* Association of Islamic scholars of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). The association was founded in March 1936 and the newspaper had already published its first issue by December 1936. With a brief intermission (from November 1938 to April 1939), the paper was published over the following eight years, or more precisely till February 1945.<sup>216</sup>

Although the content of *El-Hidaje* generally dealt with topics of religious import, the first three years of the column *Iz islamskog svijeta* (*From the Islamic World*) also saw texts reporting on various events in the Islamic world. The first few issues generally published quite brief reports, with titles such as A Proclamation of King Farouk I, King Farouk's Care for his Teachers, Iraq's Note to the League of Nations on Palestine, Emir Suud on the Partition of Palestine,<sup>217</sup> A Palestinian Gift for King Farouk, The Pope Protests against the Partition of Palestine, Representatives of the Muslim Youth Society Received by King Farouk,<sup>218</sup> Primary Schools in Tunisia, Mufti Al-Husseini in Al-Quds, Hameyn, A Gathering at the Tomb of Abu Ubaidah ibn al-Jarrah, Al-Jamiatul Muhammediye in Indonesia,<sup>219</sup> etc. The same column in later volumes informed the local public at rather greater length and more trenchantly regarding the problem of Palestine, the background of the "question of Palestine" and the Balfour Declaration, the role of England, Jewish emigration to Palestine, the sufferings of

the Palestinians, both Muslim and Christian, the demolition of houses, expulsion and the resistance put up by the Arabs.<sup>220</sup> The texts include an article about the attitude of Yugoslav Jews to these issues and their support for the Jews who had emigrated to Palestine, as well as the views expressed in *Jevrejski glas* (*The Jewish Voice*). The interest of the editorial board in this topic is, as a result, quite unlike that afforded any other topic related to the Islamic world.

Issue 10 of *El-Hidaje* published a short text with a particularly Pan-Islamist tone, entitled *Islamski je svijet jedna domovina* (*The Islamic World is One Homeland*). More precisely, this was a translation from Arabic of an article lifted from the *Al-Fath* magazine, which provided the main source for *El-Hidaje's* column *From the Islamic World*. The author of the text was an Indonesian, Abdullah bin Nuh, and the translator signed as M. H., probably for Mehmed Handžić. The author called for Muslim unity, strongly opposing their fragmentation based on increasing national awareness and neglect of community spirit grounded in unity of faith.<sup>221</sup> He claimed that the Muslim *Umma* had already been significantly weakened, as a result of this process, which had to be stopped, and that it had been incomparably stronger precisely during those periods when the sense of religious identification had been dominant among Muslims of all nationalities. Moreover, the author advocated for the idea that education throughout the Muslim world should be in Arabic, to aid in spreading a stronger sense of the unity of the Islamic *Umma*.<sup>222</sup>

To close our discussion of this issue, we may conclude that a number of Bosniak papers paid considerable attention to developments in the Islamic world but without any particular discrimination. This interest was not the result of rational or pragmatic political thinking or, indeed, any other specific reasoning, being rather an expression of the general mood and an attempt to preserve spiritual ties with Muslims around the world.

## CRITICISM OF PAN-ISLAMISM

In the context of generalized polemic<sup>223</sup> among Bosniaks of different ideological and political orientations and national attitudes, Pan-Islamism was naturally also the subject of polemic and criticism. In the opening pages of Issue 9 of *Gajret*, 16 May 1932, an article appeared by a well-known *Gajret* activist, Mustafa Mulalić, entitled *Odnos uleme i inteligencije u našem vakufu* (*The Relationship of the Ulama and the Intelligentsia in our Waqf*) subtitled *Osvrt na ovogodišnje zasedanje Vakufsko-mearifskog veća u Sarajevu* (*Comment on this year's session of the Waqf-Mearif Council in Sarajevo*), printed in Cyrillic and written in the ekavian dialect. In the article, the author spoke in a severely polemical tone and divided the educated Bosniak population into the *ulama*, whom he painted as conservative, inert, dark and autistic, on the one hand, and the intelligentsia, whom he presented as *a priori* progressive, on the other.

Among the various criticisms and accusations levelled at the Bosniak *ulama*, Mulalić homed in on the allegation of encouraging Pan-Islamic sentiment among Bosniaks. To understand the tenor of this allegation properly one must first take into account how intensely informed the text as a whole



was by the issue of the national declaration of as yet undeclared Bosniaks. In setting forth the views of the intelligentsia and directly imputing the opposite views to the *ulama*, Mulalić claimed that what the intelligentsia wanted was to lead the Yugoslav Muslims towards Europeanisation as “fanatically convinced national units that will live and work for their ethnic whole, for their national state.” He continued: “Our intelligentsia will not engage in Pan-Islamic utopias because what we care about is our own homestead and no advanced Islamic people should step outside the frame of its own nationalism, as nationalism is the basis for structuring and developing that homestead. The intelligentsia will not disparage the virtue of their race, the beauty of their homeland; they do not live in the illusion of an imaginary promised land, of another unknown homeland, of some Asian wasteland, so to speak.”<sup>224</sup>

Mulalić went on to explain that what the intelligentsia wanted was to raise Muslims up towards national awareness, the advancement of “our common national culture and the strengthening of our national state. (...) For us there can be no more beautiful homeland than our own, nor can there be a dearer tongue to us than the one our mother lulled us to sleep with.”

Mulalić particularly criticised the marked interest in marginal events on the part of certain papers, which, at the same time, had a tendency to neglect issues of local importance. In this regard, he emphasised that our people should primarily

be interested in local problems of relevance to their own lives, “as it cannot be any of their business what the king of Iraq had for lunch today ... how much gold Egypt buys or how a diplomatic dispute between Yemen and Hejaz is to be resolved.”

Malik Kulenović published an article *Naši intelektualci i naši teolozi* (*Our Intellectuals and our Theologians*) in the next issue of *Gajret* (Issue 10) in much the same vein and in support of Mustafa Mulalić's views. Like Mulalić, Kulenović also filtered his criticism of Pan-Islamism through the prism of developing a Muslim national awareness. His major objection was that Pan-Islamic discourse prevented or, at least, served to slow down their becoming nationally aware. In his arguments, Kulenović invoked the process of national awakening that was taking place in the Muslim world during the same period, and called on the *ulama* to follow that example. With a degree of resignation, however, he concluded that, despite the process taking place across the Muslim world, the *ulama* in Bosnia was “groping in the mist of Pan-Islamic illusion.”<sup>225</sup>

Kulenović was especially critical of the fact that representatives of Bosnian and Yugoslav Muslims had attended the General Islamic Congress in Jerusalem, which he considered nothing but “a manoeuvre of English colonial politics.” He believed the Congress to serve no purpose, arguing from the fact that many Muslim states had decided not to send representatives and in particular that it was of no importance for the interests of “Yugoslav Muslims.” Kulenović closed his article with the following words:

Is it not high time for part of our intelligentsia to abandon the appeasement of and pandering to the base instincts of our reactionaries and ignorant masses and boldly and dashing to face the truth and start a fierce and uncompromising fight against reaction on the path towards national awareness and a cultural revival of our community?<sup>226</sup>

*Gajret* Issue no. 10 also contained an article by Edhem Miralem, entitled *Odnos uleme i inteligencije u našem vakufu* (*The Relationship of the Ulama and the Intelligentsia in our Waqf*), in response to Mulalić's text. Miralem said he only partially agreed with Mulalić in his views on Pan-Islamism. He agreed that political Pan-Islamism, or the idea of the unification of all Muslim countries, was a pure utopia and that such tendencies could only harm the interests of the Muslim peoples. He pointed out, however, that "in our country, we have few or no" political Pan-Islamists.

On the other hand, Miralem held that "a spiritual all-Islamic bond" between Muslims was very desirable. He noted that all religious traditions try to develop a greater degree of mutual affection and solidarity among their followers than towards those outside their tradition. "Roman Catholics have their Vatican and their supreme religious chieftain – the pope. The Orthodox peoples, though divided into autocephalous and national churches, have their Ecumenical Council. What about us? At the moment, we do not have such an institution! We have neither a supreme all-Islamic

institution nor a supreme leader, but should and probably will have them.”<sup>227</sup> Miralem explained his own position with regard to how such an institution should function, stating that it would be “possible, worthy and viable only if it is of a purely spiritual and religious character, without any admixture,” thereby implying a political function and powers. With regard to the delegation of Muslims from Yugoslavia that attended the General Islamic Congress in Jerusalem in 1931, he sensibly warned that “... we, the Yugoslav Muslims, should be cautious, should not be hasty, should not be deceived by the various speculative moves of colonising powers, *as was the case with the recent congress in Jerusalem, which is an act and an experiment of English colonial politics.* We, who number not quite a million, have no need to be standard bearers in it, but should rather keep vigilant watch over the actions of this cause and act cautiously. It is the great Islamic peoples that must carry this plan through.”

Miralem also took a position quite different to Mulalić's with regard to the patriotism and patriotic awareness of Bosnian Muslims. He said that many were mistaken about “our nationalism and love of this native soil of ours and our homeland.” Miralem added that the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina had many a time proved their loyalty to their homeland and awareness of their distinctiveness. He underlined that their awareness of their individuality had prevailed, despite the presence of the Ottoman state over several centuries and despite their sharing the same faith with the Ottomans. It

was, he felt, therefore, unfair to reproach them for any alleged lack of allegiance or patriotism.

Some months after Mulalić's article, *Gajret* published a sort of a reply by the *ulama*, written by Derviš A. Korkut.<sup>228</sup> He opposed the general attack on the *ulama*, whom Mulalić and Kulenović had both stigmatised as the cause for and reason why Bosniaks were generally lagging behind in development. Korkut fundamentally opposed this black-or-white perspective, saying that "not all those who have removed the fez should be termed intelligentsia," nor can all those who have "slapped a turban on their head" be called *ulama*. In support of his views, he, like a number of other authors (e.g. Čaušević, Bušatlić and Alagić), positioned himself between the traditionalists, who defended the traditional approaches to interpreting Islam and social practice, and the secular modernists, who found their role model in the social practice of West Europe.<sup>229</sup>

In response to the accusations made by Mustafa Mulalić with regard to the *ulama*'s alleged Pan-Islamic reveries, Korkut dismissed them, pointing out that the *ulama* "do not dream of a political Pan-Islamism" and, so, did not act on it either. On the other hand, he unequivocally defended the position and efforts of the *ulama* to nourish and raise the awareness of Bosnian Muslims of a spiritual Islamic bond with other Muslims around the world.<sup>230</sup>

The Pan-Islamic polemic can only be properly understood if interpreted in the context of a general polarisation of the positions held by the intelligentsia and the *ulama* with regard to modern Western patterns of life. Korkut's reaction faithfully reflected the views held by the *ulama* of the time. On the other hand, Mulalić's criticism mostly derived from his disapproval of the bias against Bosniak nationalisation that the Pan-Islamic idea in and of itself generated, as well as because Pan-Islamism relativized national identity, while foregrounding the importance of religious identity.

## CONCLUSION

At the very core of Islamic social and political teachings lies the concept of Islamic brotherhood (*al-ukhuwwa al-islām-iyya*), for which it is the religious/Islamic component that substantially informs the identity of Muslims. This concept forms the basis of the notion of the *Umma*, as a global community of Muslims, connected by spiritual and emotional threads that transcend but do not deny other identities. Blood relations or the ethnic and national framework have their place for Muslims but are not the essential determination of their identity, i.e. ethnicity and nationality are not the foremost or primary criteria in defining and directing human relations.

As a political system, the Caliphate regulated the overall course of life, i.e. religious (*dīn*) and secular (*dunyā*) issues, as well as social, economic, political and other ones. Just like any other social or historical phenomenon, it underwent changes, as the position of Caliph passed through various stages, from having enormous power and authority to complete disempowerment. In its initial stage the Caliphate was

a republic, only to turn, a mere twenty-nine years later, into a monarchic form of government, which came to an end in 1924.

The inferior international position of the Muslim world and its colonial subjugation to European countries led to the emergence of reform movements in many parts of the Islamic world. One such tendency, which aimed at uniting and liberating the Muslim world and appeared in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, was termed *Pan-Islamism* in European languages. This movement was reflected throughout the Ottoman Empire, but also amongst Muslims in other countries under Muslim and non-Muslim rule alike.

The Pan-Islamic movement also had a certain impact on the Bosniak Muslims during the final two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and this impact was dual in nature. At a practical level, echoes of Pan-Islamic ideas were evident during first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the context of Bosniak emigration to Turkey and in the *Movement for the Autonomy of Religious and Educational Endowments*. At the spiritual level, they could be discerned in the literary activity of a number of Bosniaks and the editorial orientation of several Bosniak newspapers.

Pan-Islamism, as the official policy of the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Abdul Hamid II, contributed to the migration of Muslims from the territories that the Ottoman state had lost towards the territories that had remained within Ottoman borders. In 1887, the *Shaykh al-Islam* issued a *fatwā*



calling for their *Hijra*. This policy directly affected the Bosniaks and, after Austria-Hungary took over the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, many left to country for territories still under the Ottoman government.

It was a priority for the Austro-Hungarian authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina after occupation to wean the Bosniaks off the authority of the Sultan/Caliph, under whose formal sovereignty they had remained and who still represented the supreme Muslim authority. In this regard, in 1882, Minister Benjamin Kállay made a proposal to Emperor Franz Joseph that he appoint the Sarajevo Mufti, Mustafa Hilmi Omerović, to the new position of *Reisu-l-ulema*, while also working on the establishment of an *Ulama Mejlis*. This provided the necessary environment for founding a Bosniak organisation for religious autonomy. A year later, activities were begun to regulate *waqf* administration. This was met with resistance from opposition circles, headed by the Mostar Mufti, Ali Fehmi-ef. Džabić, formally expressed through the Proposed Statute for the Autonomy of Religious and Educational Endowments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which they submitted to Benjamin Kállay and Emperor Franz Joseph on 14 and 19 October, 1899, respectively. The central issue, which the representatives of the Austro-Hungarian government in Bosnia and Herzegovina and those of the Movement failed to reach agreement over for the next ten years, concerned the procedure for electing the *Reisu-l-ulema* and issuing a relevant *Menshūra*. The Movement representatives, led at first by Mufti Džabić and then by representatives of the Muslim

People's Organisation, tried to retain as much power in the area of the religious organisation of the Bosniaks as possible in the hands of the *Shaykh al-Islam* or the Caliph. The adoption of the *Statute for the Autonomous Administration of Islamic Religious Endowments and Educational Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina* on 15 April 1909 put an end to the decade-long struggle for religious and educational autonomy.

The topic of Pan-Islamism remained current in Bosniak writing and journalism until 1945. The primary aim of texts on Pan-Islamism was to present the movement, its emergence, aims and main advocates. To describe the Muslim peoples was a significant secondary feature of most Bosniak essays, forging a spiritual bond between Bosnian Muslims and other Muslim peoples and raising awareness of the spiritual unity of the *Umma*. The third trait was an absence of political and the development of spiritual Pan-Islamism. The authors, who publicly expressed their views on Pan-Islamism to the point of advocating for it, nonetheless dismissed any possibility of establishing political Pan-Islamism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the other hand, they defended spiritual or religious Pan-Islamism as a value arising from the very essence of Islamic social teaching. They argued for the fostering of a specific sensitivity amongst Bosniaks towards other Muslim peoples and for creating an all-Muslim spiritual brotherhood that would, however, have no actual political, economic or other practical consequences for Bosniak community life.

After the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924, several Bosniak authors tackled the issue, discussing various legal, historical and social aspects of the Caliphate, as well as the status of the Bosniaks in this context.

Various magazines covered the topic of Pan-Islamism, but it was *Biser* and Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić's *Muslim Library* that provided a particular stimulus for its description, through the publication of articles by local authors and of books and essays translated from European and Eastern languages. In fact it was the latter that held the predominant position.

Discussions on Pan-Islamism took place within the wider context of Bosniak polemics over Bosniak (non-)adoption of European cultural patterns. Secular modernists accused the *ulama* of "encouraging Pan-Islamist reveries" amongst Bosniaks and so slowing down their development of national awareness. Given, however, the tendency, at the time these discussions were being held, towards the Serbisation and Croatisation of the Bosniaks and how few of them were inclined to declare themselves clearly in favour of either national course, Pan-Islamism may even have played a role in suppressing these tendencies, even if its champions never ascribed such a goal to it, insofar as the authors advocating and promoting Pan-Islamic views emphasised the importance of Islamic identity, while relativizing the issue of nationality.

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Pan-Islamism occasionally emerged as a topic within the public realm and was discussed from a specific standpoint, with stigmatising intentions and reading into it whatever meaning was necessary. The concept was again discussed in a somewhat specific way, even after a multi-party system was introduced into Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s. Finally, in 1994, Bosnia and Herzegovina was granted observer status at the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, at it then was. This book, however, covers the period up to and including the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and offers no focus on the subsequent development of the issue.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 The Organisation of the Islamic Conference was founded in 1969 in Morocco. Its membership comprises most of the states in the world with a majority Muslim population. It was relaunched as the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation in 2011. For more see its website: <http://www.oic-oci.org/oicv2/home/>
- 2 Ishtiyaque Danish, *The Ummah, Pan-Islamism and Muslim Nation-States*, Institute of Objective Studies, New Delhi, 2001, p. 4; Tariq Ramadan, *To Be a European Muslim*. In Bosnian translation: *Biti evropski musliman* Sarajevo, 2002, p. 194.
- 3 “Identity is, in fact, a very complex concept since, from an Islamic point of view, it is altogether Faith, rulings, emotions and feelings, which have to be organised, shaped and harmonised within a spiritual and active way of life.” See: Tariq Ramadan, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
- 4 See: Tariq Ramadan, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-199.
- 5 Abdo A. Elkholy, *The Concept of Community in Islam, Islamic Perspectives - Studies in honour of Sayyid Abul A’la Mawdudi*, Leicester-Jeddah, 1980, p. 173; Muhammad Iqbal says: “The essential difference between the Muslim community and other communities of the world consists in our peculiar conception of na-

- tionality. It is not the unity of language or country that constitutes the basic principle of our nationality. It is because we all believe in a certain view of the universe and participate in the same historical tradition that we are members of the society founded by the Prophet of Islam.” See: Mohammad Shah, PhD, *Pan-Islamism in India & Bengal*, Karachi, 2002, p. 18.
- 6 *The Qur'an*, Al-Hujurāt, 13.
  - 7 It is important to note here that the Islamic teaching of the brotherhood of all humankind, stemming from the primordial father and mother, Adam and Eve, excludes any form of racism or chauvinism whatsoever. All people spring from a single primordial father and primordial mother. Such a notion of community safeguarded Muslims for thirteen centuries against national divisions within the borders of a vast Muslim state. Nationalism began to rise among Muslims, i.e. in the Muslim world, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as an imported phenomenon and is contrary to their historical experience of relations among nations.
  - 8 *The Qur'an*, Al-'Ankabūt, 8.
  - 9 Tariq Ramadan, *op. cit.*, p. 196.
  - 10 The 20<sup>th</sup> century in the Muslim world was marked by an antagonism between two polarised concepts of Muslim self-understanding and self-definition, in the context of the relationship between Islam (universal identity) and nationalism (particular identity) and the issue of their subordination relative to each other. At the one pole are the nationalists, who deny any particularity to Islam and consider it purely a component of the national culture of the given nation. On the opposite pole are authors who, with a certain touch of romanticism, deny any importance to nationality or hold

a particular nationalism responsible for the fragmentation of the *Umma*. Nationalism in the Muslim world arose as a consequence of colonialism and of political opportunism and the need on the part of certain Muslim nations to act separately from one another to ensure their own liberation and independence. Nowadays, the political fragmentation of the *Umma* (the Muslim world) is a reality impossible to deny. Nevertheless, an almost mystical collective sense of belonging to a brotherly community that knows no borders, as M. A. Boisard puts it, is still very prominent and will probably never cease to influence the political behaviour of the governments of Muslim countries.

- 11 Marcel A. Boisard, *Humanism in Islam*. I used this book in Bosnian translation: *Humanizam islama*, Sarajevo, 2002, p. 154. “If we actually look not at the elite – especially if it has become influenced by the West – but at the entirety of Muslim peoples, we may be amazed at the strength of a true collective spirit in them. This does not, however, imply the absence of a personality or even individuality. A Muslim from the people preserves their abilities of deep thinking and personal reactions, but the conceptual expression that entwines them will be voluntarily integrated into a single pattern. For as long as they live in a closed society, Muslims do not suffer for it. Quite the contrary, this is where they find rest, a new form of security for this world and the other, which the *Umma* offers... Muslim solidarity encourages a believer to identify their personal drama with the primary care for and defence of the community interest. In it, we may find a possible requirement to forget oneself and establish a firmly organised community that could subject individual interests to the common good, which is its true expression.” See: Nerkez Smailagić, *Klasična kultura islama II (Classical Culture of Islam II)*, Zagreb, 1976, pp. 206-211.

- 12 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Heart of Islam*, New York, 2002, pp. 161-163.
- 13 Tariq Ramadan, *op. cit.*, p. 200-203.
- 14 Muhammad Hamidullah, *The Emergence of Islam*, Islamabad, 1999, p. 157.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- 16 Muhammed Hamidullah, *The life and work of the Prophet of Islam*. I used this book in Bosnian translation: *Muhammed a.s. - život i djelo*, Sarajevo, 1983, Vol. 1, p. 181.
- 17 Muhammed Hamidullah, *The emergence...*, p. 159.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 176.
- 19 The original text of the Constitution of Medina can be found in: *Ljudska prava u kontekstu islamsko-zapadne debate (Human Rights in the Context of the Islam-West Debate)*, ed. Enes Karić, Pravni centar Fond otvoreno društvo Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 1996.
- 20 Abdullah al-Ahsan, *Ummah or Nation? Crises in Contemporary Muslim Society*, Leiceŝter, 1992, p. 20.
- 21 Mohammad Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- 22 Abdullah al-Ahsan, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Ishtiyaque Danish, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.
- 23 "Islam knows no difference between the divine and the earthly realms, between the religious and secular domains. Both these worlds form a unity under the comprehensive authority of *Sharia*. (...) The Caliph or the Imam, as the Prophet's vice-regent, is the



- guardian of Faith, entrusted with the enforcement of regulations through protecting the welfare of believers in this world and ... ensuring their bliss in the other.” See: Nerkez Smailagić, *op. cit.*, p. 221
- 24 “... The Caliphate remained a symbol owing to which there had never been divisions at the spiritual level.” See: Marcel A. Boisard, *op. cit.*, p. 332.
- 25 The first Caliph, Abu Bakr, was elected in direct elections. The second Caliph, Umar ibn Al-Khattāb, was appointed by Abu Bakr. The third Caliph, Uthman ibn Affan, was elected indirectly by a six-member council appointed by Umar ibn Al-Khattāb. The fourth Caliph, Ali ibn Abi Talib, was directly elected. Following the reign of these four Caliphs (632-661), a system of succession was inaugurated.” See: Ahmed Abd Al-Razzaq Al-Sanhuri, *Fiqh al-Khilafa wa-Tatawwuruha*, Cairo, 1993, p. 91.
- 26 Nerkez Smailagić, *op. cit.*, pp. 232-233
- 27 Ahmed Abd Al-Razzaq Al-Sanhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
- 28 Al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya*, Beirut, 1985, p. 6.
- 29 Javid Iqbal, *The Concept of State in Islam - A Reassessment*, Lahore, p. 18-19, as quoted by Ishtiyaque Danish, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- 30 With regard to this historical fact, the famous scholar Ibn Khaldūn offered a theoretical framework for distinguishing between *siyasa diniya*, a political system based on *Sharia* and represented by the Caliph, and *siyāsa ‘aqliyya*, a political system based on laws the only source of which was reason and the representation of which was *mulk*, i.e. state power. He called the first type of political setup the Caliphate, the other *Mulk*. Ibn Khaldun emphasised that

the Caliphate managed to survive within *Mulk*, in which religion, though not as decisive an element as in the Caliphate, was always an extremely important element. For more details see: Nerkez Smailagić, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-262

- 31 Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Asad believed that, after the Prophet and the Medinan Caliphate, there never was a true Islamic state. See: Murad Wilfried Hofmann, "Governing Under Islam and the Islamic Political System," in *Znakovi vremena*, Issue 17/2002, p. 59.
- 32 The Caliphate in the era of the four al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn had three main characteristics: a) religious and political unity, implying a sound balance between the secular (*dunyā*) and the religious (*Din*), so that these two spheres were not mutually exclusive; b) strict adherence to law (*Sharī'a*); and c) the unity of the Islamic world. See: Aḥmad 'Abd Al-Razzāq al-Sanhūrī, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-264.
- 33 Detailed information about the development of the Islamic state-form under succeeding dynasties can be found in: Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*. I used this work by Hitti in translation into Bosnian: *Istoriya Arapa*, Sarajevo, 1983.
- 34 In his remarkable book *Križari u očima Arapa (The Crusades Through Arab Eyes)*, Amin Maalouf says that, after the death of Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 809), the position of Caliph began to lose importance and, around the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, the real power was with the Seljuk Turks and their sultans. The Caliph was merely a symbol and, in a way, no more than a puppet in their hands. The Caliph's loss of governing authority, which might have acted as an amalgamating element and a centre of power for all Muslims in an Islamic state, may also be seen from the fact that the leaders of the "Crusades" conquered territory bit by bit, taking advantage of clashes between local emirs, who not only failed to cooperate

with each other but often fought one another much more fiercely than they opposed the “Crusaders.” They frequently offered help to the “Crusaders” against their own Muslim rivals (See: Amin Maalouf, *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*. I used this book in Bosnian translation, *Križari u očima Arapa*, Sarajevo, 1999).

- 35 For more information see: Nerkez Smailagić, *Leksikon islama (Lexicon of Islam)*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1990, pp. 229-232.
- 36 The Fatimid Caliphate was founded in 909, with its capital in Tunisia. It was only in 973 that the Fatimids established their new capital, Cairo, where they remained till the death of their last Caliph, Al-Adid, in 1171, when Salahuddin Ayubi, the actual ruler of Egypt, terminated the Fatimid Caliphate (See: Philip Hitti, *op. cit.*, pp. 557-563; Amin Maalouf, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-262).
- 37 Philip Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 563.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p. 610.
- 39 Nerkez Smailagić, *Leksikon islama*, p. 231.
- 40 Travelling from Morocco to India between 1325 and 1333, Ibn Battuta crossed the territories of approximately twenty-two “independent” political regimes within the Muslim world, the protagonists of which recognised the legitimacy and legality of the Caliph. (See: Noor Ahmad Baba, *Organisation of the Islamic Conference, Theory and Practice of Pan-Islamic Cooperation*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 4).
- 41 Al-Mawardi does not allow for the possibility of there being two Caliphs at the same time. Al-Baghdadi, though not approving, does, provided they are sufficiently distant from each other. Thus Al-Baghdadi opts for recognising political reality at the expense of

the political ideal. There was at the time an Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad, a Fatimid one in Cairo and an Umayyad Caliph in Al-Andalus. See: Nerkez Smailagić, *Klasična kultura islama II*, p. 232.

- 42 Ishtiyaque Danish, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- 43 Joseph von Hammer, *Historija turskog/osmanskog/ carstva (History of the Turkish/ Ottoman Empire)*, Zagreb, 1979, III. p. 261.
- 44 The ambitions of the Russian Empress Catherine II were so high that she dreamed of eventually ruling over Constantinople again and restoring the Byzantine Empire or at least its former glory. See: Joseph von Hammer, *op. cit.*, III, p. 262; Fikret Karčić, *Društveno-pravni aspekt islamskog reformizma (The Socio-legal Aspect of Islamic Reformism)*, Sarajevo, 1990, p. 29.
- 45 Marcel A. Boisard, *op. cit.*, p. 310.
- 46 Elie Kedourie, "Islam do sredine XX vijeka" (Islam up until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century), in *Svijet islama. Vjera. Narodi. Kultura (The World of Islam: Faith, People, Culture)*, Belgrade, 1979, p. 345; Graham Bateman and Victoria Egan, eds., *The Encyclopedia of World Geography*. I used this book in Bosnian translation: *Enciklopedijski atlas svijeta* Rijeka, 2001, pp. 132-148.
- 47 Fikret Karčić, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- 48 Elie Kedourie, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
- 49 Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 269-291
- 50 *Ibid.*, p. 283; in addition to Fazlur Rahman's work, see further: M. M. Sharif (ed.), *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, in Bosnian translation: *Historija islamske filozofije*, Zagreb, 1988, pp. 429-454 and 509-544.
- 51 Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

- 52 *Ibid.*, p. 290.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 298.
- 54 Fikret Karčić has dealt with this issue in great detail in his book, *The Bosniaks...*
- 55 Mohammad Shah, *Pan-Islamism in India and Bengal*, Karachi, 2002, pp. 5-6; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, VOL. 17, p. 184.
- 56 Fazlur Rahman, *op. cit.*, p. 312.
- 57 *Ibid.*, p. 310.
- 58 Jacob M. Landau, *The Politics of Pan-Islam, Ideology and Organisation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990. p. 2; Naimur Rahman Farooqi, *Pan-Islamism in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 286 (as quoted in Fikret Karčić, *op. cit.*, p. 78).
- 59 ***The Pan-European movement*** was a series of attempts to express the cultural unity of Europe after the Renaissance and Reformation. The Roman Empire in antiquity, the unity of Western Christendom under the Pope and the Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages constituted or, to say the least, presented the appearance of the unity of a major part of Europe. The Renaissance brought the birth of the sovereign absolutist state, while the Reformation introduced a division of Christianity, heralding the end of the mediaeval unity of Western Christendom. Since then, there have been periodic attempts to re-establish this unity. During the Middle Ages and the early modern era, these attempts were stimulated by fear of Turko-Islamic power and conquest. *Early European unity projects:*  
Attempts to re-establish a *Respublica Christiana*, or Christian Commonwealth, were made on new grounds. In addition to defence, the

endeavours projected universal peace as well. One example was Erasmus' attempt in his *Querela Pacis (The Complaint of Peace)* of 1517. In the following century, William Penn published *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1693). Later on, Kant wrote his *Towards Everlasting Peace* (1795) and Jeremy Bentham published his *Principles of International Law*. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or more precisely in August 1849, a peace congress was held in Paris, with Victor Hugo presiding and Richard Cobden as vice-president. It advocated both universal peace and the unification of European states. After World War I, the French statesman Aristide Briand proposed the creation of a federation of European nations. Austrian Count Richard Nikolaus von Coudenhove-Kalergi founded the Pan-European union, but his activities were restricted by growing nationalism in Europe. After World War II, there was a concerted move for the establishment of institutions for European cooperation, namely the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the Council of Europe, the European Coal and Steel Community and, ultimately, the European Union.

***Pan-Germanism*** is the title of a movement that aimed to unite all the German-speaking peoples. The movement, which never received precise or authoritative definition, would occasionally proclaim the unity of all true Germans, i.e. those living in the Habsburg Monarchy, Russia (the Baltic provinces), Switzerland, France (Alsace) and the Netherlands (where Dutch and Flemish were regarded as German dialects). As such, the Pan-Germanic movement was essentially a movement of German intellectuals, writers and scholars, but failed to influence political life much before the First World War. Certain German nationalists, like the political economist Friedrich List (1789-1846) and the Orientalist Paul Anton de Lagarde (1827-1891), supported the formation of a

European confederation in Central Europe under German leadership. Pan-Germanism was not an organised movement until 1894, when Ernst Hasse, a professor from Leipzig and a member of the Reichstag from 1893 to 1903, founded the Pan-German League. Pan-Germanism ended up as Nazism and was finally defeated.

***Pan-Slavism*** is a movement for the unification of all the Slavic-speaking peoples. Even though initiatives of this sort date back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Pan-Slavism was not shaped into a movement until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only to eventually turn into pan-Russianism under Stalin's dictatorship. For more information on these movements see: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, pp. 180-182, 188; Radovan Radonjić, *Političke i pravne teorije (Political and Legal Theories)*, CID, Podgorica, 2002, pp. 249-251.

- 60 Jacob M. Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
- 61 See: Joseph von Hammer, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 252-253.
- 62 Jacob M. Landau, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- 63 *Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
- 65 *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
- 69 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-68.
- 70 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

- 71 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 72 *Ibid.*, pp. 143-149.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p. 152.
- 74 *Ibid.*, pp. 152-156.
- 75 Mohammad Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
- 77 *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.
- 78 On entities in international relations see: Radovan Vukadinović, *Međunarodni politički odnosi (International Political Relations)*, Zagreb, 1998, pp. 101-139.
- 79 Noor Ahmad Baba, *The Organisation of the Islamic Conference, The Theory and Practice of Pan-Islamic Cooperation*, New Delhi, 1994, p. 12 (Used as the main source in our discussion of the OIC).
- 80 *Ibid.*, p. 26. The Congress in Cairo captured the attention of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina and provided the immediate stimulus for the writer Edhem Bulbulović in composing his essay on *Sveislamski kongres i pitanje hilafeta (The Pan-Islamic Congress and the Issue of Caliphate)*, discussed in more detail in the second part of this book.
- 81 Alija Aganović, an Al-Azhar student, participated in the work of the Congress (See: Jusuf Ramić, *Bošnjaci na El-Azheru (Bosniaks at Al-Azhar)*, Sarajevo, 1997, p. 64).
- 82 One possible reason for the failure to implement the Congress conclusions was King Abdul-Aaziz ibn Saud's latent goal in convening an Islamic Congress of legitimising his accession to power,



which he had assumed after having expelled the Ottomans. His coronation as King of Hejaz was recognised by a number of European countries and he wanted to use this manoeuvre to gain the recognition of Muslim countries as well. Noor Ahmad Baba, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

- 83 *Ibid.*, p. 29.
- 84 *Ibid.*, p. 32. During 1952, Pakistan made a series of efforts to strengthen inter-Muslim solidarity, organising numerous meetings of representatives of the Muslim peoples. With regard to the Conference held in Karachi in mid-March 1952, where concerns were raised about the position of Muslims in Yugoslavia, the *Reisu-l-ul-ema* of the Islamic (religious) community of the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Ibrahim Fejić, released a statement, pointing out that no Yugoslav representative had been invited to the Conference, even though their position was discussed. In his statement, *Raisu-l-Ulama* Fejić rejected the positions expressed during the Conference, which claimed that Muslims' human rights were being violated in Yugoslavia. (See: *Glasnik Vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva u Federativnoj Narodnoj Republici Jugoslaviji (Gazette of the Supreme Islamic Council of the People's Federative Republic of Yugoslavia)*, Year III, 1952, pp. 13-16).
- 85 Noor Ahmad Baba, *op.cit.*, p. 34.
- 86 *Ibid.*, pp. 38-55.
- 87 *Ibid.*, p. 64.
- 88 *Ibid.*, p. 68. The date of the Rabat Summit is treated as the OIC foundation date.
- 89 *Ibid.*, pp. 71-84.

- 90 The text of the Charter is given in an appendix to the book referred to above. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-280.
- 91 The Summit held at Taif in January 1981 agreed the establishment of an International Islamic Court of Justice, as the fourth OIC body. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
- 92 Academician Muhamed Filipović describes the situation in Bosnia caused by the withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire and Oriental civilisation, on the one hand, and the subsequent Austro-Hungarian occupation and arrival of European civilisation, on the other, as follows: “One world, a world of the Orient, a world of craftsmanship, trade, Oriental lifestyle, a world of markets and bazaars, a world of town-folk, of the urban poor, of *hojas*, *hajjis*, dervishes and *tekkes*, a world of monks and friars, of distant monasteries and friaries across our provinces, a world of staleness and a sort of peace, which was more the absence of movement than peace in social and spiritual terms, a world of petty needs and great expectations, which was a colourful external curtain hiding an internal emptiness and impoverishment of real life, a world of slow moving events, a world of oblivion, began slowly but surely to disappear and fade away from the historical scene, while knocking on all doors, gushing and pouring from every crevice was a new, aggressive and dynamic world of constant movement, of work, production, a world of industry, manufacture, profit and earnings, a world of new science and modern education, a world of foreign administration and of a new and efficient but already bureaucratized government administration, of ruthless entrepreneurship and rapid enrichment, on the one hand, and of constant and steady impoverishment, on the other. This brought about the situation described by the famous phrase “Švapski adet, Bosnische vilajet / German practice, Bosnian province,” i.e. a case of an unnatural relation between the Ancient and Oriental and Modern European or,

perhaps, Central European dynamism. What came into Bosnia was the world of the already-formed global market, banks and the monetary economy, of railways, modern roads, tramcars, electric power, a strong military and infantry, of taxes on everything and anything and, most of all, of bureaucracy and clerks, i.e. of everything that Europe had in stock after its conquests and spiritual, economic, political and military subjugation or, in terms of culture and civilisation, after having “cultivated” the by European standards empty spaces in the world, after everything that was, during that epoch, understood as the colonisation and civilising of as yet uncivilised countries and peoples.” See: Muhamed Filipović: *Historija bosanske duhovnosti-epoha modernizacije (A History of Bosnian Spirituality: The Epoch of Modernisation)*, Sarajevo, 2004, pp. 122-123.

- 93 Mušafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvatak BiH od 1878-1914 (The Legal Position and Internal Political Development of BiH 1878-1914)*, Sarajevo, 1997, Second edition, p.104.
- 94 Ibrahim Kemura, *Uloga Gajreta u društvenom životu Muslimana (The Role of Gajret in Muslim Social Life)*, Sarajevo, 1986, p. 13. The attitude of Bosniaks towards the Ottoman Empire and the Sultan as Caliph is clear from the fact that, in 1900, they made preparations to celebrate Sultan Abdul Hamid II's accession to the throne. They wanted to use the occasion to foreground demonstratively the Sultan's sovereignty over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although the authorities ordered that the celebration was to take the form of a religious event, i.e. be in mosques, Sarajevo old town was decorated with lights, while over 4000 protesters ended up in a confrontation with the police. There were demonstrations in many other places as well, expressing demands for the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina (See: Mušafa Imamović, *op. cit.*, p. 94).

- 95 During the forty years of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878-1918), its political and legal status changed three times. In the first period, from 1878 to 1908, Austria-Hungary had *de facto* but not *de jure* sovereignty. The second period, comprising two years, began in 1908, when Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed to Austria-Hungary. It ended in 1910, when the Constitution was enacted. The third period followed the adoption of the 1910 Constitution.
- 96 Among the most prominent were Esad-ef. Kulović, Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak, Jusuf-beg Filipović, Mušafa Hilmi Hadžomerović, Ibrahim-beg Repovac, Ibrahim-beg Bašagić, Esad Uzunović, Mahmud-beg Fadilpašić (See: Ibrahim Kemura, *op. cit.*, p. 14).
- 97 Mušafa Imamović, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-194.
- 98 *Musavat*, Year IV, Issue 65, 1910 (as quoted in: Šaćir Filandra, *Bošnjačka politika u XX stoljeću (Bosniak Politics in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century)*, Sarajevo, 1998, p. 29). According to some estimates, approximately 150,000 Bosniaks moved to Turkey between 1878 and 1918 (See: Mušafa Imamović, *op. cit.*, p. 113).
- 99 The Military Law for Bosnia and Herzegovina, passed on 4 November, 1881, stipulated conscription. Bosniaks protested, as did the Serbs. The Austro-Hungarian authorities tried futilely to use a number of landowners loyal to the government and high-ranking religious officials to convince the Bosniak public to agree to it. In the end, it was enforcement of the Law that provoked the so-called Herzegovina Rising in 1882 (See: Hamdija Kapidžić, *Hercegovacki ustanak 1882. godine (The Herzegovina Rising in 1882)*, Sarajevo, 1973, pp. 75-85).

- 100 Describing his impressions of the scale of Bosniak emigration to Turkey following the Annexation of 1908, the well-known Serbian ethnographer and geographer Jovan Cvijić noted that “every night, before the departure of the Thessaloniki train, the Belgrade railway station was packed with Bosnian *Muhajirun*.” (Mušafa Imamović, *Bošnjaci u emigraciji (Bosniak Émigrés)*, Sarajevo 1996, pp. 56-57). More intense Bosniak emigration to Turkey took place from the Sanjak of Novi Pazar as a result of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913 (See: Šaćir Filandra, *op. cit.*, p. 30). Filipović identifies five periods of mass Bosniak emigration: 1) after the occupation in 1878, 2) following the enactment of the Military Law of 1882, 3) with the rise of Džabić’s movement, 4) following the Annexation of 1908, and 5) in 1918. See: Muhamed Filipović, *Bošnjačka politika (Bosniak Politics)*, Sarajevo, 1996, p. 65.
- 101 Šaćir Filandra, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- 102 Mušafa Imamović, *Bošnjaci u emigraciji*, p. 57.
- 103 Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks and the challenges of modernity*, Sarajevo, 1999, p. 116.
- 104 Muhamed Emin Hadžijahić was born in Sarajevo in 1837 and educated in Sarajevo and Istanbul. From 1868, he was a teacher at the Gazi Husrev-Beg Madrasa. He was also Imam and Khatib of the Careva džamija (Imperial Mosque) in Sarajevo. When the Auštro-Hungarian army converted more than twenty Sarajevo mosques into warehouses, Hadžijahić left for Istanbul to protest to the Ottoman authorities. He died in Sarajevo in 1892 (See: Esad Zgodić, *Bosanska politička misao – auštrougarsko doba (Bosnian Political Thought: The Auštro-Hungarian Period)*, Sarajevo, p. 305).

- 105 Mušafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj...*, p. 111.
- 106 In addition to this reason, he also mentioned the following: attempts on the part of “people from Lika” to spark riots and use attacks against Bosniaks to encourage them to emigrate, so as to buy their property well below price; introducing conscription and military service in the Austrian army; impediments to trade and business in general. Muhamed Emin Hadžijahić gave his views on each of these issues and denied their validity as grounds for leaving the homeland. See: Esad Zgodić, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-34. Adnan Kadrić has translated Hadžijahić’s texts, “Iseljavanje” (Emigration) and “Nekoliko riječi o domovini i iseljavanju” (A few words on homeland and emigration) and published them in *Socijaldemokrat (The Social Democrat)* magazine, Issue 9, Sarajevo, 2002.
- 107 Mehmed Teufik Azabagić was born in 1838 in Tuzla, where he went to primary and secondary school. He studied Islamic sciences in Istanbul, graduating in 1868. During his career, he served as imam, *khatib* and preacher, as well as the headmaster of the *Ruždija* (the Ottoman equivalent to European high schools) in Sarajevo and Tuzla. After the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, he was appointed Mufti of Tuzla. Thanks to his organisational skills, he was appointed Principal of the *Sharia* Law School in Sarajevo on its foundation in 1887. He was elected *Reisu-l-ulema* in 1893 and held the office until 1909, when he retired. He died on 22 May, 1918, and was buried in the graveyard of the Jala Mosque in Tuzla (Ferhat Šeta, *Reisul-uleme u Bosni i Hercegovini i Jugoslaviji od 1882. do 1991. godine (Raisu-l-Ulama in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslavia from 1882 to 1991)*, Sarajevo, 1991).
- 108 One of the reasons why appeals by eminent Bosnian religious scholars failed to yield results is that they were published in Turk-

- ish, which only a small minority of educated persons could understand.
- 109 Mehmed Teufik Azapagić, “Risala o hidžri” (“Epistle on Hijra”), in: *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke (Annals of the Gazi Husrev-bey Library)*, XV-XVI, Sarajevo, 1990, pp. 197-222, translated from the Arabic by Osman Lavić.
- 110 Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks and the challenges of modernity*, p. 115.
- 111 *Ibid.*, p. 116. For the full text of this *Fatwa* see: Fikret Karčić, *Studije o šerijatskom pravu (Studies on Sharia Law)*, Zenica, 1997, pp. 183-200. One of those opposed to the emigration of Bosniaks was Mehmed-beg Kapetanović Ljubušak (1839-1902). He supported his view against emigration with arguments built on economic reasoning, appealing to the deeply-rooted patriotic awareness of his countrymen. See: Esad Zgodić, *op. cit.* pp. 50-51.
- 112 Kemal H. Karpat, “Hidžret iz Rusije i sa Balkana: proces samodefiniranja u kasnoj osmanlijskoj državi” (“The Hijra from Russia and the Balkans: The Process of Self-Determination in the Late Ottoman State”), in: *Muslimani Balkana, istočno pitanje u XX stoljeću (The Muslims of the Balkans: The Eastern Question in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century)*, ed. Fikret Karčić, Tuzla, 2001, p. 68.
- 113 *Ibid.*, p. 74; See: Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks and the challenges of modernity*, p. 114.
- 114 Enes Durmišević, *Uspostava i pravni položaj Rijaseta Islamske zajednice u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882-1899. (Establishment and Legal Position of the Riyasat of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1882-1899)*, Sarajevo, 2002, pp. 101-114.

- 115 Mušafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj...*, pp. 116-119.
- 116 Dr Nusret Šehić, *Autonomni pokret Muslimana za vrijeme austro-ugarske uprave u Bosni Hercegovini (The Muslim Movement for Autonomy under Austro-Hungarian Rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, Sarajevo, 1980, p. 92.
- 117 Ferdo Hauptmann, *Borba muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine za vjersku i vakufsko-mearifsku autonomiju (The Struggle of the Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the Autonomy of Religious and Educational Endowments)*, Sarajevo, 1967, p. 29.
- 118 Sulejman Šarac was born in Stolac in 1850, where he attended primary school. He later studied in Istanbul, graduating in 1878. From 1879 to 1887, he held the position of Mufti of Bihać. He was appointed *Reisu-l-ulema* in 1910, immediately after passage of the Statute for the Autonomous Administration of Islamic Religious Endowments and Educational Affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and held the position until 1912. He died in Sarajevo on 27 December 1927 (Ferhat Šeta, *op. cit.*).
- 119 Dr Nusret Šehić, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- 120 *Ibid.*, pp. 267-269.
- 121 *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274.
- 122 Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks...*, p. 132.
- 123 Fehim Spaho was born on 4 February, 1877, in Sarajevo. After primary school, he attended the *Sharia* Law School. On completing his education, he worked for the civil service and the *Sharia* court. From February 1919 to October 1920, he held the rank of department head in the central government Ministry of Religions in Belgrade. For political reasons, he retired young, in 1923. After



retirement, he dabbled in translation and writing. In 1938, he was elected *Reisu-l-ulema*, which he held until his death in 1942 (Ferhat Šeta, *op. cit.*).

- 124 *Behar*, Issue 1, 1906/7, p. 3.
- 125 *Ibid.*, Issue 2, 1906/7, p. 15.
- 126 *Ibid.*, Issue 16, 1906/7, pp. 181-182.
- 127 *Ibid.*, Issue 16, 1906/7, p. 181.
- 128 *Ibid.*, Issue 20, 1906/7, p. 230.
- 129 *Ibid.*, Issue 17, 1906/7, p. 194.
- 130 The writers on Behar's editorial board were aware of the fact that only political neutrality or political "indifference" could secure the continued permission of the Austro-Hungarian administration to publish. Writing about Džabić's movement for autonomy, Edhem Mulabdić himself noted that: "*Behar* maintained neutrality in the matter, which was the only possibility and which Safet-beg and I staunchly defended, i.e. that nothing should be published about the movement in *Behar*, as we would not write negative views and nothing else was possible." See: Muhsin Rizvić, *Bosansko-muslimanska književnost u doba preporoda 1887-1918 (Bosnian Muslim Literature in the Age of Revival 1887-1918)*, Sarajevo, 1990, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, p. 191.
- 131 *Gajret*, Issue 7-8, 1912, pp. 102-103; the text is not signed by either author or translator.
- 132 *Ibid.*, Issue 7-8, 1910, p. 124.
- 133 This aspect of Gajret's literary profile is dealt with in the chapter on *Bosniak interest in other Muslims in the world*.

- 134 For more on works on Pan-Islamism published in *Biser* and in *Muslim Library*, as well as their reports on developments in the Muslim world, see under the subtitle *The Pan-Islamic discourse of Muslim Library (Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić)* and in the chapter on *Bosniak interest in other Muslims in the world*.
- 135 Adnan Jahić, *Hikjmet, riječ tradicionalne uleme u Bosni i Hercegovini (Hikjmet: Word of the Traditional Ulama in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, Tuzla, 2004, p. 176.
- 136 See the chapter on *Criticism of Pan-Islamism*.
- 137 Ibrahim Hakki Čokić was born in Brčko in 1871. He went to primary and secondary school in Brčko and Tuzla and, in 1897, graduated from the *Sharia* Law School in Sarajevo. He taught at Behram-beg Madrasa and, from 1933 to 1936, was Mufti of Tuzla. He was the owner and editor-in-chief of the *Hikjmet* magazine, published from 1929 to 1936 in Tuzla. He died on 27 February, 1938.
- 138 *Hikjmet*, IV/1932, Issue 41. p. 152 (as quoted in: Adnan Jahić, *op. cit.*, p. 176).
- 139 Adnan Jahić, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
- 140 *Hikjmet*, IV/1933, Issue 46, pp. 299-302.
- 141 Muhamed Bekir Kalajdžić was born in 1892 in Moštar, where he attended primary school and the Commercial Secondary School for two years. In 1910, he bought a bookstore and printing house from Đuro Džamonja in Moštar and founded the Firšt Muslim Publishing House, located initially in Moštar and then in Sarajevo, until 1948. It began on 1 June, 1912, to print the *Biser* magazine. Kalajdžić published a total of sixty books and papers. He died

- in 1963 in Sarajevo (Hafiz Mahmud Traljić, *Istaknuti Bošnjaci (Prominent Bosniaks)*, Sarajevo, 1998, pp. 133-135).
- 142 Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks...*, p. 143.
- 143 Halil Halid, *Borba polumjeseca i krsta (The Crescent versus the Cross)*, Moštar, 1913, p. 4.
- 144 Europe “legitimated” its colonial conquest of the Muslim world by the mission of “civilising barbaric peoples,” and it is continuing to “legitimate” its contemporary conquest of the Muslim world in terms of this world’s “liberation” from itself (for the deeper ideological roots of Europe/the West’s negative attitude towards Muslims see: Adnan Silajdžić, *Islam u otkriću kršćanske Evrope (Islam as Revealed by Christian Europe)*, Sarajevo, 2003).
- 145 Halil Halid, *op. cit.* pp. 6-8.
- 146 *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- 147 *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 31-32.
- 148 *Ibid.*, p. 162.
- 149 *Ibid.*, pp. 164-165.
- 150 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
- 151 *Ibid.*, pp. 177-178.
- 152 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
- 153 *Ibid.*, p. 201.
- 154 Azimzade Refik-bey, *Panislamizam i Evropa (Pan-Islamism and Europe)*, Moštar, 1914, p. 9.

- 155 *Ibid.*, p. 22.
- 156 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 157 *Ibid.*, pp. 26-29.
- 158 *Ibid.*, p. 55.
- 159 *Ibid.*, p. 57.
- 160 *Ibid.*, p. 26.
- 161 *Ibid.*, p. 60.
- 162 *Ibid.*, p.63.
- 163 *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
- 164 *Ibid.*, p. 72.
- 165 Since we have already provided an overview of the Pan-Islamic movement, its principal ideas and main protagonists in this book, there is no need to present the essay in more detail.
- 166 Anonymous, *Panislamizam i Panturcizam (Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism)*, Mostar, 1914, p. 61.
- 167 *Biser*, Issue 3-4, 1918, p. 34; The chapter on the *Islamic Umma* offers some explanation as to the nature of the relationship between transnational religions and particular national identities.
- 168 *Ibid.*, Issue 3-4, p. 35.
- 169 *Ibid.*, Issue 7-8, 1918, p. 99.
- 170 *Ibid.*, Issue 9-10, 1918, p. 131.
- 171 *Ibid.*, Issue 11-12, 1918, pp. 165-167.

- 172 *Ibid.*, Issue 15-16, 1918, p. 226.
- 173 *Biser*, III/1918, Issues 9-10 and 17-20, reopened this topic, but only from a historical and indeed somewhat theoretical and legalistic perspective. The text entitled *Hilafet (Caliphate)*, published in Issue 9-10, was by Abd-ul-Aziz Shawish, an Egyptian author from within the Pan-Islamic discourse, while the other texts were signed with the initials H. M. B. The most obvious feature of both texts was the attempt to justify and legitimise the monarchical form of government, which had been established by Caliph Muawiyah bin Abi-Sufyan and which prevailed until the Caliphate was abolished, even though this form of rule had no grounds in the electoral practices applied for the first four Caliphs.
- 174 Atif Purivatra, *Jugoslovenska muslimanska organizacija u političkom životu Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, Sarajevo, 1977, p. 418.
- 175 Osman Nuri Hadžić was born in Moštar on 28 June 1869. He attended Islamic primary and secondary school (*Maktab, Ruzdija, Madrasa*) in Moštar and graduated from the Sarajevo *Sharia* Law School in 1893. He studied law in Vienna and Zagreb. He was one of the founders of *Behar*. His essays were also published in *Prosvjeta, Nada* and *Vijenac*. For a number of years he was actively engaged in the social life of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He died on 23 December 1937 (Esad Zgodić, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-312).
- 176 *Gajret*, IX/1925, Issues 9-10, 11, 12.
- 177 Classifying the reformist discourse of Yugoslav Muslims in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century into three categories, namely secular modernism, religious modernism and traditionalism, Fikret Karčić allocates Edhem Bulbulović to the first, singling him out indeed,

alongside Dževad Sulejmanpašić, as its most important figure. Edhem Bulbulović's intellectual formation was influenced both by the ideas of Islamic modernism, during his education in Istanbul and Thessaloniki, and those of Marxism, as he was involved in revolutionary activities in Russia, where he was taken prisoner-of-war as an Austro-Hungarian soldier. He actively participated in the political life of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as a member of the National Assembly, to which he was elected as a Communist Party candidate. In 1921, he withdrew from the Party, following the assassination of Minister Drašković, but said he would remain loyal to Communist ideology. Seven years later, he withdrew entirely from political life and devoted himself to writing. See: Fikret Karčić, *Društveno-pravni aspekt...*, p. 213.

- 178 Edhem N. Bulbulović, "Sveislamski kongres i pitanje hilafeta" (Pan-Islamic Congress and the Issue of Caliphate), in: *Bosanske muslimanske rasprave (Bosnian Muslim Debates) IV*, ed. Enes Karić, Sarajevo 2003, pp. 9, 10, 18, 19.
- 179 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
- 180 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
- 181 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.
- 182 *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.
- 183 *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- 184 *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
- 185 Hafiz Abdulah-ef. Bušatlić (1871-1946) was a distinguished figure of his time. He was educated in his hometown of Sarajevo, at the Gazi Husrev-Beg Madrasa. He worked as a *Sharia* judge (*Qadi*). From 1929 to 1936 he held the office of supreme *Sharia* judge in

- Sarajevo. With regard to his views on the structure of social relations and the cultural changes brought about in Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Austro-Hungarian occupation, he belonged to the current of religious modernism (See: Traljić, *op. cit.*, p. 43).
- 186 Hafiz Abdulah Bušatlić, “Pitanje hilafeta i izbor halife” (The Issue of Caliphate and Election of Caliph) in: Enes Karić, *op. cit. IV*, pp. 67-79.
- 187 Hafiz Muhamed-ef. Pandža was born on 20 February 1897. He was educated in Sarajevo, where he attended Islamic primary and secondary school (*Ruzdija, Madrasa*) and the Sarajevo *Sharia* Judicial School. He co-translated the *Qur'an* with *Reisu-l-ulema* Džemaludin Čaušević. He was the owner and editor of two newspapers, *Islamski svijet* (Islamic World) (1932-1935) and *Islamski glas* (Islamic Voice) (1935-1936), and was also the first editor of the *El-Hidaje* journal. He was associated with several other papers published at the time and an active member of many fora within the Islamic Community (See: Mahmud Traljić, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-276).
- 188 Hafiz Muhamed Pandža, “Institucija Hilafeta i razvitak državnog i političkog života kod muslimanskih naroda” (Institution of Caliphate and Development of Governmental and Social Life of Muslim Peoples), in: *Bosanske muslimanske rasprave IV*, pp. 101-107.
- 189 *Ibid.*, p. 104.
- 190 Adnan Jahić, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
- 191 Hamdija Čemerlić was born on 21 March, 1905, in Janja. He attended high-school in Sarajevo and graduated from the Law School in Belgrade. He completed his master's and doctoral studies at the Sorbonne in Paris. He taught at the High *Sharia* Theological

School in Sarajevo and the Sarajevo Law School. He was Dean of the Sarajevo Law School and the Rector of the University of Sarajevo, as well as first Dean of the Islamic Theological Faculty (now the Faculty of Islamic Studies).

- 192 Hamdija Čemerlić, "Hilafet-vjersko jedinstvo muslimana" (Caliphate: The Religious Unity of Muslims), *El-Hidaje*, V, Issue 4-5, (1941), pp. 82-89.
- 193 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- 194 *Ibid.*, p. 89.
- 195 *Behar*, Issue 5, 1906/7, pp. 55-56.
- 196 *Ibid.*, Issue 10, 1906/7, pp. 109-110.
- 197 *Ibid.*, Issue 22-23, 1906/7.
- 198 *Ibid.*, Issue 11, 1907/8, p. 161.
  
- 199 The book *The Crescent versus the Cross* by Turkish author Halil Halid, presented earlier in this work, also deals with the topic extensively.
- 200 *Behar*, Issue 13, 1907/8, pp. 193-194.
- 201 On various changes in *Behar*'s editorial orientation see: Muhsin Rizvić, *Behar-književnohistorijska monografija (Behar: A Literary-History Monograph)*, Sarajevo, 1979., pp. 195-197.
- 202 Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (1870-1938) graduated from the Madrasa in Bihać and continued his education in Istanbul, where he studied Islamic and legal studies (*Hukuk Mektebi*). In 1900, he visited Al-Azhar University and attended Muhammad Abduh's



lectures for several months, becoming strongly influenced by his reformist ideas, which informed his own enlightenment and reform-oriented discourse upon his return to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Having graduated from *Maktab-i Nuwab*, he returned to Bosnia in 1903 to hold a number of positions in the field of education and within bodies of the Islamic Community. He was elected *Reisu-l-ulema* in 1914, an office he held until 1930, when he resigned due to disagreement with the Serb authorities (of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) regarding the administration of the *waqfs* and other religious matters (for more see: Enes Karić and Mujo Demirović, *Reis Džemaludin Čaušević, prosvjetitelj i reformator*, Sarajevo, 2002).

- 203 Fikret Karčić, *The Bosniaks...*, p. 145.
- 204 *Gajret*, Issue 7-8, 1910, p. 127.
- 205 *Ibid.*, Issue 11-12, 1910.
- 206 Biser Editorial Board, “Riječ-dvije o pokrenuću ‘Bisera’” (A few words on the launching of *Biser*), *Biser*, Issue 1, 1912, p. 1.
- 207 Muhsin Rizvić, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
- 208 Lamija Hadžiosmanović and Minka Memija, *Biser - književno historijska monografija i bibliografija* (*Biser: a literary-historical monograph and bibliography*), Sarajevo, 1998, p. 17-18.
- 209 *Biser*, Issue 13-14, 1918, pp. 193-194.
- 210 The titles of some of the texts may serve as illustration: The Baghdad Railway, Ismail Bey Gasprinski, The Intellectual Movement of Tunisian Muslims, The Turkish Sultan – Caliph of the Whole World, The Religious and Educational Autonomy of Chinese Muslims, The Cultural and Religious Advancement of the Russian

Muslims, The Treasures of the Sultan's Vault, The Cultural and Economic Progress of Muslims in Manchuria, The Islamic Missionary Expedition to the Philippines, The Number of Muslims in America, Aspirations and Ideals of Muslims in Tripoli and Benghazi, Complaints of Algerian and Tunisian Muslims, The Educational System in Turkey, The Massacre of Muslims in Russia.

- 211 Muhsin Rizvić, *op. cit.* p. 253.
- 212 *Islamski svijet (Islamic World)*, Issue 1, 1932, p. 1.
- 213 *Ibid.*, Issue 3, 1932, p. 1.
- 214 *Ibid.*, Issue 23, 1933, p. 1.
- 215 *Ibid.*, Issue 25, 1933, p. 3.
- 216 Osman Lavić, *Bibliografija časopisa El-Hidaje i Islamska misao (Bibliography of the El-Hidaje and Islamic Thought journals)*, Sarajevo, 2001, p. 7.
- 217 *El-Hidaje*, Issue 9, 1936/37, pp. 147-148.
- 218 *Ibid.*, Issue 10, 1936/37, p. 158; The editorial board added a note that all three pieces of news were taken over from the Arabic magazine *El-Feth*, of 12 Jumādā al-Ākhira 1356 AH.
- 219 *Ibid.*, Issue 12, 1936/37, p. 193.
- 220 After the leader of Palestine riots, Shaykh Farhan al-Saadi, was executed by the English colonial authorities, a funeral prayer (*Salat al-Janāza*) and a *Du'ā' khatm al-Qur'an* prayer were offered in Sarajevo. H. Ali-ef. Aganović spoke on behalf of the *El-Hidaje* Board about the Palestinian question and about Shaykh Farhan himself. See: *El-Hidaje*, 1938/39, Issue 2-3, p. 40.

- 221 It is somewhat surprising that the translation, which promotes a negative attitude towards the legitimacy of fostering ethnic and national identity among Muslims, is published in Issue 10 of *El-Hidaje*, i.e. during the period when the editorial board was headed by Mehmed Handžić, who held quite different views on these issues. In a text on “Patriotizam, narodnost i nacionalizam sa islamskog gledišta” (Patriotism, nationality and nationalism from the Islamic point of view), Handžić points out that, in the Islamic concept of community, the spiritual or religious component plays a significantly more important role than that assigned to ethnicity and nationality. This by no means implies that social ties and relations among people based on ethnic and national grounds are not legitimate, however. Handžić stresses that Islam “never wanted to or could neglect nationality as a reality, as a set of all the features and distinctive attributes characterising a people. Nationalism as a principle, which is not detrimental or unjust to others or to the religious bond is – I will not say ‘to be recommended’ but – tolerated in Islam.” On the other hand, Handžić does distinguish between this noble form of nationalism and extreme nationalism or chauvinism, the latter being completely inadmissible and incompatible with Islam and Muslims. “The Arabs have a term for extreme nationalism and tribal partisanship – *aṣabiyya*. Islam despises this sort of nationalism as it leads to constant conflicts between people. Wathilah ibn al-Aqsa asked the Prophet if *asabiyyah* also implied that one should love and be passionate about one’s own people. The Prophet (*s.a.w.*) answered that this was not implied by *aṣabiyya* but that *aṣabiyya* ‘means helping thine own people in an unjust cause.’” *Aṣabiyya* entails what is termed chauvinism and the definition given by the Prophet Muhammad (*s.a.w.*) is certainly the briefest and most concise definition of the phenomenon. Handžić, as a highly qualified expert in the *Qur’an* and *Hadith*, supports all his views by arguments and quotes from these two constitutive sources

- of Islamic teachings (see: *El-Hidaje*, Issue 1, 1941-42, pp. 7-16).
- 222 *Ibid.*, Issue 10, 1936/37, pp. 156-157.
- 223 The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a period of spiritual and material crisis for the Bosniaks. Decadence was evident in almost all fields of their social and political life. Many thought reform or restoration imperative, but differed significantly on the guidelines to lead towards progress, as well as in their understanding of the methods to be deployed in pursuing restoration. This caused fierce debate in the press at the time, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s. This book, in accordance with its underlying intention, focuses only on that segment of the debate that related to the issue of “Pan-Islamism,” which accounted for what was basically just a minor part of the polemics of the time. Further analysis of these debates as an early 20<sup>th</sup> century phenomenon related to the issues of *waqf*, education, the Bosniak economic question, the social status of women in Bosnian society, national identity and so forth can be found in the lengthy paper by Enes Karić on “Bosanske muslimanske rasprave, za i protiv obnove i reforme u XX stoljeću” (Bosnian Muslim Debates: Pro et Contra the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Reform and Restoration) in *Bosanske muslimanske rasprave, I*, and Enes Karić, *Prilozi za povijest islamskog mišljenja u Bosni i Hercegovini XX stoljeća (Contributions to the history of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Islamic Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, Sarajevo, 2004, pp. 267-328.

Attention has already been drawn to Fikret Karčić’s fascinating book, *Društveno-pravni aspekt islamskog reformizma (The Socio-legal Aspect of Islamic Reformism)*. After a detailed presentation of reformist trends in the Islamic world, Karčić analyses their impact on the Bosnian Muslim public. See: Fikret Karčić, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-224.

- 224 *Gajret*, Issue 9, 1932, p. 139.
- 225 *Gajret*, Issue 10, 1932, p. 159.
- 226 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
- 227 *Ibid.*, p. 162.
- 228 Derviš Korkut was born in Travnik in 1900. He was educated in Travnik, where he attended both primary and secondary school, and in Cairo, where he graduated from Al-Azhar. On returning from his studies, he served as *Imam* in Dubrovnik and Trebinje and, in 1943, took a position as teacher (*Mudarres*) in the Travnik Madrasa. He died in Travnik on 22 August, 1943. He was associated with a number of magazines, *Gajret*, *Hikjmet*, *Novi behar*, *Glasnik Islamske vjerske zajednice*, *El-Hidaje*, as well as the almanacs *Narodna uzdanica* and *Hrvat* (Hafiz Mahmud Traljić, *op. cit.* pp. 153-157).
- 229 The most prominent traditionalists were the authors gathered around the Tuzla magazine, *Hikjmet*, and the Sarajevo magazine *El-Hidaje*, while the most authentic representatives of secular modernism were Dževad Sulejmanpašić and Edhem Bulbulović; see: Fikret Karčić, *op. cit.*, pp. 211- 214, 220-224.
- 230 Adnan Jahić, *op. cit.*, p. 147.



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