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BOSNIAN MUSLIMS IN HUNGARY AFTER 1945

Abstract: *In this study¹ I present a less researched and less known period of the history of Bosnian Muslims living in Hungary, the period after World War II. After the First World War, hundreds of Bosnian soldiers and officers who had been sent to Hungary from Bosnia and Herzegovina or from the fronts, who had recovered from their wounds or had fled here, remained mostly in Budapest. In 1931, together with members of their Hungarian families, they founded the Independent Hungarian Autonomous Islamic Religious Community of Buda, named after Gül Baba, which operated de facto between 1931 and 1945. The Community was led by Husein Hilmi Durić (1887-1940) K. und K. military officer, Military Chief Imam, who later became Grand Mufti of Buda in our country. After the Second World War, the position of Islam in Hungary became more difficult and from 1947, the domestic practice of Islam was not acceptable, and its adherents were generally subjected to discrimination and some persecution. Yet, even in the darkest years of communist oppression of the fifties, these hard-working, battle trained, ageing, cohesive, mutually supportive Bosnian Muslim believers secretly went up and down to the Gül Baba Tomb at the Rose Hill of Buda, to pray. One focus of the paper is the Tomb ("Türbe") itself, which was the main sacral place of Islam in Hungary even during the period of illegality. In this study I would like to show how the Bosnian believers and their family members who survived World War II in Hungary lived in the 1950s and 1960s, what their fate was, what they did, how they were controlled and harassed by the communist regime. I would like to put special emphasis on the life and activities of the Bosnian Muslims buried in the 124th Muslim plot of the New Public Cemetery in Rákoskeresztúr. Of particular note are the lives of*

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Mustafa (Mujaga) Topčagić, Hajdar Hajdić, Avdo Ozmanbašić, Salko Mulić, Ismail Mehmedagić, Hassan Jamaković, Abdullah Endrenić, among others. I would also like to present the carrier of one of the most renowned Bosnian Muslim leaders, Mehmed Resulović, who left for the Vienna after the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, and then moved to Federal Republic of Germany to continue his successful profession as a fencing coach. The last Bosnian veteran, Abid Čatić, died in April 1977 in an elderly home in Újpest, Budapest. The time frame of the research and study is therefore between 1945 and 1977. Unfortunately, the finite human lifespan, and the fact that wives, children and grandchildren mostly did not follow the Islamic faith, put an end to the "Bosniak" chapter of the history of Islam in Hungary. In the first chapter I will write about the Muslims clustered around Gül Baba Türbe, in the second part I will outline the lives and fates of a few Bosnian Muslims in Hungary, mostly post-WWII, mainly based on press sources.

Key words: Muslim, Islam, Bosniak, Budapest, Gül Baba Tomb (Türbe), Hungary, state security, Muslim plot.

BOSANSKI MUSLIMANI U MAĐARSKOJ NAKON 1945. GODINE

Apstrakt: U ovoj studiji predstavljam manje istraženo i manje poznato razdoblje u historiji bosanskih muslimana koji žive u Mađarskoj, period nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Nakon Prvog svjetskog rata, stotine bosanskih vojnika i oficira koji su u Mađarsku upućeni iz Bosne i Hercegovine ili sa ratišta, koji su se oporavili od svojih rana ili su ovdje izbjegli, ostali su uglavnom u Budimpešti. Godine 1931, zajedno sa članovima svojih mađarskih porodica, osnovali su Nezavisnu mađarsku autonomnu islamsku vjersku zajednicu u Budimu, nazvanu po Đul Babi (Gül Baba), koja je de facto djelovala između 1931. i 1945. Zajednicu je predvodio Husein Hilmi Durić (1887–1940), austrougarski (K. und K) vojni oficir i vrhovni vojni imam, koji je kasnije postao veliki budimski muftija u našoj zemlji. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata položaj islama u Mađarskoj postao je teži, a od 1947. godine praktikovanje islama u zemlji više nije bilo prihvatljivo, dok su njegovi sljedbenici uglavnom bili izloženi diskriminaciji i određenom progonu. Ipak, čak i u najmračnijim godinama komunističkog ugnjetavanja pedesetih godina, ovi vrijedni, borbeno iskusni, ostarjeli, kohezivni i međusobno solidarni vjernici bosanski muslimani tajno su odlazili do turbeta Đul Babe na budimskom Brdu ruža (Rózsadomb) kako bi se molili. Jedan od fokusa rada je samo turbe („Türbe”), koje je bilo glavno sakralno mjesto islama u Mađarskoj čak i tokom perioda ilegalnosti. U ovoj studiji želim prikazati kako su bosanski vjernici i članovi njihovih porodica, koji su preživjeli Drugi svjetski rat u Mađarskoj, živjeli tokom 1950-ih i 1960-ih godina, kakva je bila njihova sudbina, čime su se bavili te kako ih je komunistički režim kontrolisao i uznemiravao. Poseban naglasak želim staviti na život i aktivnosti bosanskih muslimana

sahranjenih na 124. muslimanskoj parceli Novog javnog groblja u Rákoskeresztúru. Između ostalih, posebno se ističu životi Mustafe (Mujage) Topčagića, Hajdara Hajdića, Avde Ozmanbašića, Salka Mulića, Ismaila Mehmedagića, Hasana Jamakovića, Abdullaha Endrenića i drugih. Također želim predstaviti karijeru jednog od najuglednijih bosanskih muslimanskih vođa, Mehmeda Resulovića, koji je nakon Mađarske revolucije i borbe za nezavisnost 1956. godine otišao u Beč, a potom se preselio u Saveznu Republiku Njemačku kako bi nastavio svoju uspješnu karijeru mačevalačkog trenera. Posljednji bosanski veteran, Abid Čatić, preminuo je u aprilu 1977. godine u domu za stara lica u Újpeštu u Budimpešti. Vremenski okvir istraživanja i ove studije je, dakle, između 1945. i 1977. godine. Nažalost, ograničeni ljudski životni vijek, kao i činjenica da supruge, djeca i unučad uglavnom nisu praktikovali islamsku vjeru, stavili su tačku na „bošnjačko” poglavlje u historiji islama u Mađarskoj. U prvom poglavlju pisat ću o muslimanima okupljenim oko turbeta Đul Babe, dok ću u drugom dijelu, uglavnom na osnovu novinskih izvora, prikazati živote i sudbine nekolicine bosanskih muslimana u Mađarskoj, većinom iz perioda nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.

Ključne riječi: Musliman, Islam, Bošnjak, Budimpešta, turbe Đul Babe, Mađarska, državna sigurnost, muslimanska parcela.

Introduction

As I have pointed out in several of our previous studies² and other Hungarian researchers³ have also dealt with this issue, after the First World War, many Bosnian veterans, privates, non-commissioned officers and officers who could not or dared not return home, chose Hungary, mostly Budapest, as their new home. In 1931, an Independent Hungarian Autonomous Buda Islamic Religious Community, named after Gül Baba, was founded, which de facto functioned until 1945.

² Zoltán Bolek, Zsolt Udvarvölgyi, 'A Unique and Great Period of History of Islam in Hungary: The Community of Bosnian Veterans (1931-1947)'. *Yeni Türkiye* 23/97 (2017), 86-100; Zoltán Bolek, Zsolt András Udvarvölgyi, 'Episodes in the life of the Bosnian Muslim Community in Hungary (1920-1945)'. *Historijski pogledi*, Vol. 5, No. 8, Tuzla 2022, 112-133. (<https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2022.5.8.112>); Zsolt Udvarvölgyi, 'Az iszlám Magyarországon' [Islam in Hungary], Adamo Books, Budapest 2009. Accessed February 14, 2022, <https://adamobooks.com/termek/Az-izslam-Magyarorszagon-4.html>.

³ György Lederer, 'A magyarországi iszlám újabb kori történetéhez' I-II. [To the recent history of Islam in Hungary], *Keletkutatás [Orientalism]*, Autumn (1988), 29-49, Spring (1989), 53-72; György Lederer, 'Islam in Hungary', *Central Asian Survey*, 11 (1992), 1-23; Zoltán Bolek, 'Iszlám Enciklopédia' [Islamic Encyclopaedia], Magyar Iszlám Közösség, Budapest 2005; Zoltán Bolek, 'A Monarchia muszlimjai. Avagy elfelejtett muszlim háborús hőseink' [The Muslims of the Monarchy. Or as our forgotten Muslim war heroes], Magyar Iszlám Közösség, Budapest 2016; Zoltán Bolek, 'Az utolsó dzsihád' [The last jihad], Magyar Iszlám Közösség, Budapest 2020.

Much less is known about the history of Islam after 1945. Even film footage of the funeral of Hilmi Durić Hussein in February 1940⁴ has survived and newspapers have published obituaries⁵. György Lederer also deals with this period in his pioneering, thorough and excellent study. At the end of his two-part study on this period, published in *Keletkutatás* [Orientalism], which is still niche piece and a fundamental work⁶, he writes: “In February 1940, Hussein Hilmi Durić died of a lung disease in the János Hospital (...), and in September 1946 Abdul-Latif⁷ closed his eyes for ever. The two opponents are buried in plot 124 of the New Cemetery in *Rákoskeresztúr*, just a few steps away from each other.” The author later concludes his study in this way: “In 1949, a period begins in the history of our country and of the people’s democracies in general, in which the circumstances are not favourable to the development of the churches and the unfolding of religious life. This is even more, true for the smaller congregations with an unclear status than for the large churches, although they too are emerging from the ordeal. Yet the Legislature of the Hungarian Republic abolished the distinction between established and recognised denominations in 1947.”⁸ Speaking in Parliament on this occasion was the Minister of Religion and Public Education, Gyula Ortutay⁹:

“I must also mention, as a curiosity, Article XVII of Law 1916, which, apparently in connection with the political necessities of the First World War, declared the Islamic religion a recognised denomination in Hungary, which at that time had about 300 members, and this recognition has not made it necessary or possible for a recognised religious denomination of Islam to be established here in Hungary. This fact also shows how in the relations between church and state the churches have often been shamed by this dependence on the state, which some of them have so willingly assumed and even demanded for themselves.”¹⁰ Lederer aptly observes in his paper that, “there are those who dispute how much this “dependency” was in reality reduced by the mere passage of Act XXXIII of 1947, one thing is certain: domestic practice of Islam was not acceptable from 1947 onwards, its adherents were generally subjected to discrimination and some degree of persecution. Despite this, Bosnian Muslims in the capital occasionally gathered in secret to pray at the Gül-Baba Tomb (*Türbe*) in the 1950s. Mehmed

⁴ Magyar Világhírado [Hungarian World News] 834. 1940. február: ‘Huszein Hilmi temetése Rákoskeresztúron.’ [Funeral of Huszein Hilmi in Rákoskeresztúr.] in: Filmhíradók [Film News] Online. <https://filmhíradokonline.hu/watch.php?id=3665>, accessed May 8, 2024.

⁵For example: [N. A]: ‘Eltemették a budai nagymuftit’ [The Grand Mufti of Buda is buried] in: *Magyarság* [Hungarianness] 21/30 (1940), 8.

⁶ G. Lederer, *A magyarországi*, II, 65.

⁷ Abdul Latif (1886-1946) was a Turkish lector, imam, hodja, leader of the Turkish Muslim community in Budapest.

⁸ G. Lederer, *A magyarországi*, II, 67.

⁹ Gyula Ortutay (1910-1978), ethnographer, academic, politician, director general of MTI [Hungarian News Agency] (1945-1947), Minister of Religion and Public Education (1947-1950).

¹⁰ *Hansard of the Hungarian Parliament 1947-51*. 24-25. II. 31. 4 December 1947, Athenaeum, Budapest 1948.

Resulović's son, *András Reszulovics* recalled seeing groups of 150-200 people gathering at that time there, but most of the children were no longer following the faith of their fathers, or at least were not fervent Muslims, and so human mortality slowly ended the continuity of Islam in Hungary."¹¹

In another interview, historian Zoltán Bolek, the current president of the Hungarian Islamic Community, stated that the Durić-led Islamic community was dissolved by the authorities in 1948, and it was only re-established in 1988 under the name Hungarian Islamic Community.¹²

In fact, Bosniaks and their families who remained in Hungary practised their faith illegally from 1947-1948 onward. The Bosnian, Turkish and Albanian Muslims living in Hungary, most of whom were born at the end of the 19th century or around the turn of the century, mostly chose Hungarian wives who either converted to Islam or remained with their own religion, and so the widows were often not buried in the Muslim plot next to their husbands. „Some of the Bosnian-Hungarian Muslims emigrated before 1948, others went abroad after the 1956 revolution, such as Mehmed Resulović who worked as a fencing coach in Vienna and the FRG until his death in 1983. The last of those who stayed in Hungary, Abid Ćatić closed his eyes for ever in a social home in Újpest in April 1977. There was no one to recite the Fatiha over his grave, as he had paid his last respects to his brothers in faith who had passed away a few years earlier, Hajdar Hajdić, Muharem Slatinović, Zuko Suleiman and others.”¹³ For more than thirty-five years, Hungarian historians, sociologists, Muslim believers, imams, or journalists who have been dealing with the history of Islam in Hungary after 1945 have almost exclusively shared this - undoubtedly important and relevant - information in their own writings, and have not - to my knowledge - undertaken any deeper research. Therefore, in this paper I will attempt to enrich the history of domestic Islam between 1945 and 1988 with new facts and data. The scope of this paper does not allow me to cover the fate of all Bosniaks after 1945, so I will focus on the most important and, in my opinion, the most interesting life stories. I would like to express also that in another paper I would like to show how the Bosniaks came into the view of state security, based on sources found in the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (*ÁBTL*), but this part did not fit into the scope of the current study.

¹¹ G. Lederer, *'A magyarországi, II, 68.*

¹² József Botlik, 'Kis egyházak Magyarországon. Magyar Iszlám Közösség' [Small Religious Communities in Hungary: The Hungarian Islamic Community]. in: *Magyar Nemzet [Hungarian Nation]* 60/157 (1997), 7.

¹³ G. Lederer, *'A magyarországi, II, 68.*

In the pull of the Gül Baba Tomb

Based on my research so far, it is reasonable to assume that from 1947 there was no functioning Islamic church or association legally registered in the country or tacitly acknowledged by the authorities, no public place of worship or functioning mosque. Although it is interesting to note that the Article XVII of 1916 on the recognition of the Islamic religion¹⁴ remained formally in force, it was not abolished, and later it provided the legal basis for the organisation and registration of the Hungarian Islamic Community in 1988. According to historian Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics, “the Muslim community of Budapest did not formally dissolve even after 1945. This is the reason why the Hungarian state accepted the status of the Hungarian Islamic Community in 1988, on the basis of the 1916 Reception Act, which was confirmed in 1990 and 2012, and the fact that this church is the successor of the Gül Baba Islamic Community, which was active between 1931 and 1945.”¹⁵ Furthermore, after 1946, there were no imams working in Hungary, it was no longer possible to collect the Zakat, to teach Islamic religious instruction to Muslim students in schools, to translate the Quran, and finally, since diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia were established only in April 1995, it became almost impossible for the handful of Hungarian citizen Muslims who remained in Hungary to make pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. It should be mentioned that an exception to all this was Professor Gyula Germanus (1884-1979), aka Hajji Abdul-Karim Germanus, an Arabist, writer, literary historian, traveller, university professor and briefly member of parliament (1958-1966). He and his second wife, Kató Kajári (Ayse), also a convert to Islam, went to Mecca in 1965 at the invitation of the Saudi king and made an attempted pilgrimage, which was interrupted for health reasons. He was considered the so-called “official Muslim” of the country, and I have explored his life in several other studies.¹⁶

The “Iron Curtain” between the eastern and western sides of Europe was closed, and travel in and out of Hungary became extremely difficult, if not impossible. Muslims in Hungary who had left for the West had no chance to visit relatives left in the motherland, to come home for a funeral or wedding, or to

¹⁴ 1916. évi XVII. törvénycikk az iszlám-vallás elismeréséről. [Article XVII of 1916 on the recognition of the Islamic religion], <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torveny?docid=91600017.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei/%3Fpagenum%3D38>, accessed November 25, 2024.

¹⁵ Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics, ‘Több, mint száz éve lett törvényesen elismert vallás az iszlám Magyarországon’ [Islam became a legally recognised religion in Hungary more than a hundred years ago.], in: transtex.ro October 27, 2024. 08:17. <https://transtex.ro/kultura/2024/10/27/magyarország-islam-vallas>, accessed November 25, 2024.

¹⁶ For more on the life of Germanus, see: Zsolt András Udvarvölgyi, ‘A journey with experiences of a lifetime. The adventures of Gyula Germanus in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1902.’ *Historijski pogledi*, Vol. 6, No. 10, Tuzla 2023, 52-71. (<https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2023.6.10.52>).

bring religious literature to Hungarian believers. The authorities have similarly censored mail and parcels. For the Muslims in Hungary, the land of their ancestors became inaccessible too: The entry to Tito¹⁷ Yugoslavia, especially during the “chain dog” period (Tito was labelled “the chain dog of imperialism” by the Hungarian communist dictator Mátyás Rákosi¹⁸), also became more difficult, and it is also worth noting that the communist state leadership in Yugoslavia preferred not Bosnian Muslims but rather Serbs and Croats in its “cadre policy”. Nor have I yet found any source that Bosniaks from Bosnia and Herzegovina settled in Hungary during this period, or that anyone from Hungary moved to their ancestral land. Relations with Enver Hoxha¹⁹’s atheist Albania, suffering from a terrible communist reign of terror, also became impossible, although in the 1930s, especially after the marriage of Count Apponyi Geraldine²⁰ to King Zogu I of Albania²¹ (27 April 1938), Hungarian-Albanian relations were very fruitful, from which the Hungarian Islamic community also benefited. As the Republic of Turkey joined the Western power bloc, it entered NATO in 1952 and thus became an “enemy”, which had a negative impact on Hungarian-Turkish relations.

Unfortunately, we do not have official statistics on exactly how many Muslims, and within that how many Bosniaks, lived in Hungary after 1945. During the relevant period, too, there may have been more men among Muslims in Hungary, because the wives of Bosniaks, Albanians and Turks did not always convert to Islam. Estimates, recollections and biographical data from the gravestones in the “Muslim” plot 124 of the New Public Cemetery indicate that even after 1945 there was a Muslim colony in Hungary of between 100 and 300, mostly in Budapest. They are only mentioned in sporadic press articles, which are mainly about the Gül Baba Türbe.

The World Youth and Students’ Meeting, or World Youth Meeting (“VIT”), was held in Budapest in August 1949. This was the second VIT and there were around 20,000 participants from 82 countries. The Roman Catholic weekly, *Új Ember* article on the event is an interesting addition to the history of the Türbe: “The fact that one of the most famous “saints” of the Muslim world is buried in the Hungarian capital is almost forgotten. Gül Baba, the “Father of Roses”, founded a dervish monastery in Buda during the Turkish occupation and introduced rose gardening, the memory of which is now only preserved in the

¹⁷ Tito, Josip Broz (1892-1980) was a Yugoslav communist revolutionary, marshall, politician, Prime Minister (1945-1963) and President of Yugoslavia (1953-1980).

¹⁸ Rákosi, Mátyás (1892-1971) communist politician, General Secretary (later: First Secretary) of the Hungarian Communist Party (1945-1958) and Hungarian Working People’s Party (1948-1956). Prime Minister of Hungary (1952-1953).

¹⁹ Hoxha, Enver (1908-1985) was an Albanian communist revolutionary, politician and First Secretary of the Party of Labour of Albania.

²⁰ Countess Geraldine Apponyi (1915-2002) was a Hungarian aristocrat and a Queen of the Albania.

²¹ Zogu I of Albania (1895-1961) was an Albanian politician, prime minister, president of the republic, King of Albania (1928-1939).

name of the Rose Hill (“*Rózsadomb*”). Buried here, on the eastern slope of the Rose Hill, is the octagonal tomb chapel of the Muslim saint, one of the few Turkish architectural monuments in Buda. It is currently cared for by the caretaker of the villa built around it, and can be visited with his guidance. We learnt from him that the siege of Gül Baba’s tomb was not spared, it was shot, but the damage has been repaired. Immediately after the siege, Abdul Latif, the “high priest” of some 3,000 Muslim believers in Hungary, died, and since then this small tomb chapel, once the centre of Muslim religious life in Budapest, has been quite overrun. Today it is more of a tourist attraction than a religious shrine. It has been visited by a large number of visitors during the Student Youth Meeting and most recently by members of the Egyptian Embassy.”²²

In 1950, one of the darkest years of communist repression, a small article entitled “The Disappearing Turkish World in Buda” was published. According to the journalist, “the true believers still climb the Mosque Street during the fast of Kurban bayram and Ramazan, take off their shoes and face east, but they no longer roast sheep under the rose trees, the green flag of the Prophet does not fly on the crescent tower, Abdul Latif, the last Imam of Pest, passed away three years ago and his widow has also died.”²³ But who were these “true believers” during the harshest period of the Hungarian Stalinist regime? This question will also be answered later: “In the east window, the Quran rests in a dusty white silk sack, last opened in the spring by four visitors from the Egyptian colony who sat here, kneeling in stockings on the floor. The last Muslim visitors wrote their names in the visitors’ book, for the Gül Baba, Father of Roses had a reputation as a polite, gentle man and still keeps a record of his visitors. With fountain pens, the *effendis* wrote their names in the guest book in classical Arabic characters, then they took up their shoes in the garden, got into their Packard (note: it was an American luxury car) and drove off. Since then, only a few “*giaours*” like me have disturbed Gül Baba’s dream of deep peace and tranquility.”²⁴ And finally, there is also some Bosniak relevance in the writing: “The columnist finds a small picture leaning against the coffin, picks it up, and under three lines of Arabic letters, in fading ink, it reads: in memory of Esef Garmić, 3rd K. u. K. Bosnian Infantry Regiment, 12 March 1916. He then asks the rhetorical question with some emotion: “Who brought here this prayer in ink in memory of the Bosnian warrior Esef Garmić and where did he cross the seventh heaven in defence of the Austrian Emperor?”²⁵ Unfortunately, I have not come across the name of the Bosnian fighter in any other source yet.

²² K. Gy, ‘Mohamedán zarándokok katolikus pártfogói’ [Catholic patrons of Muslim pilgrims]. in: *Új Ember* [New Man] 6/36 (1949), 3.

²³ [N. A], ‘Tűnő törökvilág Budán’ [The Disappearing Turkish World in Buda]. in: *Kis Újság* [Small Newspaper] 4/253 (1950), 8.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

From time to time, the glorious history and sad present of the Türbe comes up in articles. The famous Hungarian journalist and reporter Péter Ruffy²⁶ lamented in a 1957 article: “Gül Baba Street is a symbol of something that is gone forever. It is over. It is not. (...) And what is left? His green post turban »around his happy head«. The turban is still there. It is no longer green. It is grey. His red prayer mat is still there. No longer red. Rusty, torn. And in 1946 Abdul Latif, the last imam of Buda, who guarded the ashes of Gül Baba, died. He was also recently succeeded by his true-believing widow, Aunt Nezike, once a Hungarian girl from Bars County. Before she died, she could not even heat a stove. She had nothing. Yet Baba Gül was still warming himself by the flames of Buda. Thus, quite unnoticed, the Turkish world in Buda came to an end after four hundred and sixteen years.”²⁷

Also in 1957, an article was published, which paints a sad and depressing picture of Türbe and its surroundings: “The Türbe stands in the courtyard of a building declared a ruin. Since 1946, when Abdul Latif, the last imam of Buda, died, no one has cared for the building or the tomb. The path to the tomb is lined with weeds the size of children’s weeds, the mosque’s windows are missing, and the courtyard is littered with brick and stone rubble from 1944. The Türbe’s memorial book is crumpled and dirty. The shrine is visited by every Muslim who visits Budapest. And thinks something to himself.”²⁸

In the course of my research I found the last Bosnian Muslim of Buda, Jusuf Esen, who was the subject of a charming little portrait article in left-wing daily *Népszava* in 1959. So at this time, a Bosnian still practice his faith and visited the Türbe regularly. Unfortunately, I have not heard of his potential fellow believers yet. I anticipate that the life of Jusuf Esen will disappoint many readers. I think it is appropriate to quote the article in almost full because of its style and content:

“In Buda, there is a street with a Muslim “hell” at one end and a Muslim »heaven« at the other. The gates of Muslim hell open from the old wine bar that has been serving thirsty people for so long that legend has it that under its shady strawberry trees, the true-believing janissaries of the last Buda pasha used to tap their cups of “*Sashegyi*” (Eagle Mountain) wine, violating the Prophet Muhammad’s most stringent laws and opening the gates of hell. Above the wine pub is the gateway to Muslim heaven, namely the Türbe of the Muslim saint Gül Baba, in which the holy rose gardener is said to rest in person. (...) Though there are few true-believing Turkish “*Effendi*” in the *Viziváros* (Water City) since Abdul Latif, the last imam of Buda, died, and the green silk turban of the holy rose gardener used to be dusted off by a *giaour* woman before Muslim holidays.

²⁶ Ruffy, Péter (1914-1993) was a Hungarian journalist and writer.

²⁷ Péter Ruffy, ‘Pest Buda felfedezése. Gül Baba utca’ [Discovering Pest Buda. Gül Baba street]. in: *Érdekes Újság* [Interesting Newspaper] 2/7 (1957), 17.

²⁸ (bajor): ‘Egy járókelő jámbor észrevételei a modern Pest-Buda néhány különlegességéről’ [A passerby’s pious observations on some of the peculiarities of modern Pest-Buda]. in: *Hétfői Hírek* [Monday News] 1/14 (1957), 2.

The only true-believing janissary scion who still picks up the Quran and utters a *sura* about Allah's infinite power and wisdom is "*Gül Papa*" (Daddy Gül), whose existence was once reported by the bartender of the pub, shouting this: "A big spritzer for *Gül Papa*!" And he slammed the slender glass in front of a round-faced, gentle and pious-looking man, who raised his hand to his forehead and lips to thank him for the spritzer, but first removed his hat. We were in the middle of a crowded wine-tasting room and we came to a table with the *Effendi* who was clutching his glass of spritzer. I asked him: - Are you a Muslim? He replied: - By the grace of *Allah*... - And the wine? I understand that Muhammad has forbidden it? He smiled gently and took a big sip: - The wine is excellent, and *Allah* is far away... We were in complete agreement on that.

Gül Papa, so named because of the bartender's jocularly, was indeed born in the Muslim faith. His father was a Bosnian Muslim warrior - his name was Jusuf Esen - who was seriously wounded in the First World War. He was treated in Pest, but died after bringing his wife and son from Sarajevo to say goodbye. This Bosnian lad was today's Gül Papa, who learned to garden before his mother passed away. Jusuf, who had no intention of returning home, learned mainly about flower gardening. He married in Buda, but they had no children, and his Hungarian wife died later. Gül Papa grafted roses. He was the rose expert in the rose gardens in *Rózsadomb* (Rose Hill), and the skinny counts and fat bankers kept him busy until the rose-loving lords left *Rózsadomb*²⁹, but Gül Papa kept on tending the gardens. But, he planted more and more vineyards instead of aged rose bushes, and in some places he planted such a good vineyard that a single vineyard could produce a hectare of wine if the year is good. Even now, he was clutching a kind of rooted grapevine his arm as he drank the spritzer, and when I pointed out the certain damnation of the Muslim faith, he smiled and showed me the clutch of grapevine: "This, sir, is a "true believer" grapevine... Look at the name. Its name is Afuz Ali... For Allah is great and his humble servant is not to be feared."³⁰ Of course, after all these years, we cannot judge how much Jusuf Esen was a wine lover and how much of the story is just an exaggeration by the journalist.

After 1959 I did not come across any Bosniaks around *Türbe* in the sources I researched, but I did find several references to other Bosniaks, about whom I will write in the next chapter.

²⁹ Here, the journalist refers to the fact that wealthy garden owners fled Buda during and after the Second World War.

³⁰ Géza Baróti, 'Gül Papa mestersége' [Papa Gül's craft]. in: *Népszava* [The Word of the People] 87/80 (1959), 2.

What the Muslim plot and contemporary press sources tell us

First of all, in the following I will write about the Bosniaks resting in the 124th Muslim plot of the Rákoskeresztúr New Public Cemetery of Budapest. Mustafa (according to some sources Mujaga) Topčagić (1883- September 11, 1953), or as he was known to almost everyone in Budapest at the time, “Csocsó bácsi” (Uncle Csocsó) was a notorious figure not only in the Bosnian Muslim community, but also in the nightlife of Budapest and the national, “awakening” far-right in the 1920-30s. In the 1920s, he ran a thriving pub in downtown Budapest, which became a favourite haunt of the “awakening” Hungarians. According to the author of the article, the owner of the pub was also a nationalist and a fan of Kemal Atatürk, which is a bit unusual for a Bosniak. The “awakening” nationalist and anti-Semitic youths gathered in Uncle Csocsó’s pub, from where they started to insult Jews, beat them up and cause other scandals. In 1923, they even organised an attempted coup in the pub, although it could not be considered serious. Later, with the economic consolidation, the awakening Hungarian’s star faded, the pub went bust and the compromised Uncle Csocsó went bankrupt.³¹ He later worked as a garden guard in the capital.

Mustafa Topčagić’s son, Assir, has been in the press since he was a boy: “On Easter morning in 1934, a hundred Hungarian Muslims gathered in a room of the Esplanade Hotel, which had been decorated for the occasion as a Muslim mosque. The chief imam, Hussein Hilmi Durić, in a white turban and green caftan, led the service. After that, the youngest member of the Community, 10-year-old Topčagić Assir, gave a poetic welcome speech, then a blessing followed, and then the congregation marched to the grave of Gül Baba. Here they present a lamb sacrifice.”³² In 1936, during the Seker Bayram celebration, Assir, a young Muslim boy born in Hungary, recited a poem written for the occasion by Daniel Gegus, a retired deputy chief of police. Although not without some hiccups, the performance was nonetheless a great success.³³ Later he was a talented teenager who excelled in sports, for example, in 1942 he came second in the junior “*levente*” runners’ competition, the field race.³⁴ Unfortunately, he drifted to the far right, and is also on the list of Arrow Cross party members in Budapest’s 5th district. At that time he lived on the *Újpest* quay and was listed by profession as a dance master.³⁵

Zuko Suleiman’s name is linked to a very adventurous incident that took place in 1942. Born in Cetinje, Zuko Suleiman, a resident of the Bosnian

³¹ Jenő Széll, ‘Belváros, kisváros’ [Downtown, small town]. in: *Budapest* 14/3 (1976), 19.

³² [N. A.], ‘A budapesti mohamedánok húsvétja’ [The Easter of Budapest’s Muslims]. in: *Az Est* [The Evening] 25/69 (1934), 8.

³³ [N. A.], ‘Seker Bajram, a szeretet ünnepe egy budapesti szállodában’ [Seker Bajram, the Festival of Love at a Budapest Hotel]. in: *Esti Kurír* [Evening Courier] 14/290 (1936), 2.

³⁴ [N. A.], ‘Testedzés’ [Physical Exercise]. in: *Szebb jövőt!* [A better future!] 2/18 (1942), 15.

³⁵ [N. A.], ‘Az V. kerületi nyilas párttagok listája’ [List of Arrow Cross party members in District V]. in: *Világ* [World] 1/19 (1945), 2.

municipality of Visegrád, a Muslim Croatian citizen (I assume he was Bosniak), tried to escape to Hungary on 19 January 1942 near *Gyékényes*. However, he was apprehended and detained by police at the border. During his interrogation, he said that after his house was set on fire by the Chetniks, his wife, Mária Szabó, came to Hungary and he wanted to follow her. However, he did not receive a passport at the embassy in Zagreb and decided to try to enter the country illegally. Zuko Suleiman was prosecuted for illegal border crossing and sentenced to 14 days imprisonment at the Kaposvár Royal Court. The sentence was final.³⁶ I think this little inconvenience was worth it, as he then lived out his life peacefully in Hungary and is buried in Muslim plot 124. He passed away at the age of 80.

It is also important to mention the name of Ismail Mehmedagić (1882–1962), who is buried in the Muslim section as well. He served as the Community’s imam and muezzin, and was also the deputy to Grand Mufti Durić. In fact, he was the second most prominent and respected leader of the Bosniak Muslims from the very beginning. In February 1940, he also conducted Duric’s farewell according to Islamic rites at the New Public Cemetery in *Rákoskeresztúr*.³⁷ Subsequently, he assumed de facto leadership of the community until its eventual dissolution.

Salko Mulić (1893–1956) and his wife, “Mrs. *Juliska*” (1895–1968), rest in a shared grave. Mulić was likely a comradely, restless, and courageous man; he actively participated in the so-called “Vannay-Schill coup attempt” of 1931 and was even arrested during the investigation. Mulić, who was in his forties at the time and worked as a driver, was interrogated. It emerged that he acted as an intermediary who handed over the list of his Bosniak comrades to the organizers of the coup. The trial turned out to be more fuss than substance; many details of the confused coup attempt remained unclear, and Mulić was not convicted. He did not appear at the trial despite being summoned. According to the records, at that time he was an unemployed driver who declared that he felt no guilt in the matter. In 1927, he joined the “*Turáni Vadászok*” (Turan Hunters Society), where the organizer repeatedly urged him to encourage his Bosniak comrades to join the hunting association. Mulić handed over the list of his comrades. He also attended one meeting but was not active afterward.³⁸ The interrogation had no further consequences for him.

Perhaps the most remarkable case after World War II is that of Hassan Jamaković, a tire repairman, who also rests in the Muslim plot together with his wife. There is a separate file in the Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (*ÁBT*L) regarding the trial of “Hassan Jamakovics and his associates”,

³⁶ [N. A.], ‘Egy mohamedán vallású horvát állampolgár útlevél nélkül akart Magyarországra szökni, elítélte a bíróság’ [A Muslim Croatian citizen tried to flee to Hungary without a passport, convicted by court]. in: *Új-Somogy* [New Somogy] 24/147 (1942), 2.

³⁷ [N. A.], ‘Eltemették a budai nagymuftit’ [The Grand Mufti of Buda was buried]. in: *Magyarság* [Hungarianness] 21/30 (1940), 8.

³⁸ [N. A.], ‘Vallomások a puccsisták szervezkedéséről’ [Confessions about the Coup Plotters’ Organization]. in: *8 Órai Újság* [8 O’Clock Newspaper] 18/52 (1932), 2.

which I plan to examine in detail in a separate study. In summary, the available sources suggest that Jamaković, a hardworking and diligent master craftsman who ran a successful tire repair shop, had a reputation for being outspoken, quarrelsome, and hot-tempered. In July 1945, several people reported him for allegedly denouncing Jews during the Arrow Cross regime and for making antisemitic remarks. The case was brought before the National Council of People's Courts (*NOT*), which heard numerous witnesses who testified both for and against him. After a chaotic, tangled trial marked by personal attacks, Jamaković was cleared of all charges and acquitted by the court on July 26, 1945.³⁹ Based on the documents, I personally believe that the Bosniak veteran - who spoke Hungarian with difficulty and often expressed himself clumsily - was likely innocent. Jamaković passed away in 1958, followed by his wife in 1971.

I could find almost nothing about the life of Jusuf Emin, except for the memoirs of one of his grandchildren. In the spring of 2018, photographer Endre Kovács⁴⁰ traveled to Bosnia with his poet friend Ottó Fenyvesi⁴¹. The poet later wrote about the trip, the memories of which were published in a photo-illustrated travelogue titled "*Mély vizek, magas hegyek*" (Deep Waters, High Mountains). In this work, the author summarizes the experiences of their Balkan journey, which they undertook as a group of five. Although they set out for Bosnia, their route eventually included Montenegro, Albania, and North Macedonia as well, covering several thousand kilometers in five days. In this book, Kovács - who unfortunately did not live to see its publication - also mentions his grandfather, Jusuf Emin (1896-1960). His grandfather relocated from Ipeg (Peć) in Kosovo to Budapest at the end of the 19th century. During that period, conflicts and strife were frequent in the region, and Emin migrated to Hungary hoping for a more peaceful life.⁴² Based on his name and his origins in Kosovo, Jusuf Emin is presumed to have been Albanian.

Hajdar Hajdić (1881–1973), a Bosniak Islamic community's influential, respected, and active member, was a male tailor who lived a long life of 92 years. Interestingly, a joint photo of him and his wife is also found on their grave. His wife's name is inscribed there as well, but only with her birth year: Hajdić Hajdarné (1903–). Moreover, the inscription on the tombstone includes a touching note from her: "She happily lived with her dear husband for 54 years and will be buried here as well when she passes." However, her date of death is missing. A brief biography of Hajdić is also included in the Almanac of Hungarian Industry: Hajdar Henrik Hajdić is a male tailor, lives in *Bulcsú* Street 19. Budapest. He was born in 1892 in Bosnia and completed his tailoring apprenticeship there in 1909. He spent his apprenticeship period working in

³⁹ HU- ÁBTL-3.1.9. – I. s. – V-92748 Jamakovics Hassán és társai ["Hassan Jamakovic and his associates"].

⁴⁰ Kovács, Endre (1947-2020) was a Hungarian photographer and director.

⁴¹ Fenyvesi, Ottó (1954-) is a Hungarian poet, writer and editor.

⁴² Ottó Fenyvesi, 'Mély vizek, magas hegyek' [Deep Waters, High Mountains]. in: *Kortárs [Contemporary]* 66/7-8. (2022), 107, 109.

workshops in Zagreb and Budapest. In 1928, he established his own workshop, producing first-rate work. He employs one assistant. During the First World War, after a short period of frontline service on the Russian front, he was taken prisoner of war; he returned home after three and a half years. His wife's name is Mária Árba.⁴³ The Hajdić family was still living in their apartment building on *Bulcsú* Street during the 1944–1945 siege of Budapest. Writer Rudolf Ungváry⁴⁴ remembered them as follows:

“The street-level façade was lined with shops, including the gentlemen's tailor shop of Hajdár Hajdić, who had remained here after coming from Bosnia. The family spent their lives in the cramped space above the shop.”⁴⁵ Unfortunately, I have not yet found any sources regarding how Hajdić's life unfolded after the World War II. I presume he may have been part of the community that visited the *Türbe* illegally during that period.

The most famous of those who died abroad was Mehmed Resulović (Reszulovics Mehmed or Rachulovich Mechmed) (1902–1983), a veteran soldier, fencing master and later sports instructor, was also a pillar member and one of the leaders of the Independent Hungarian Autonomous Islamic Religious Community of Buda, named after Gül Baba. Resulović was born on 31 January 1902. After the First World War, he graduated from the Royal Hungarian *Miklós Toldi* Honvéd Sports Teacher and Fencing Master Training Institute. From 1935 to 1936 he was a fencing coach at the Ludovica Academy, and between the two world wars he was one of the best left-handed fencers in the country. In 1939 he took part in the invasion of the Highlands (“*Felvidék*”). After 1945 he taught fencing at the Red Flag Sports Club (“*Vörös Lobogó SE*”). He left Hungary after the suppression of the 1956 Revolution and War of Independence and worked as a fencing coach in Vienna and later in the FRG until his death in 1983.⁴⁶ After emigration, Resulović became a well-known and respected coach in German fencing circles. Italian fencing master and coach Stefano Gardenti also remembered his former master fondly in his writing: “Because of my job, I worked in Düsseldorf from April to October 1963 and took lessons from Master Resulović at RFKD⁴⁷. He had a rounder build and his neck was already wrinkled. He shook his head when he corrected a wrong move. Even at sixty, he was lightning quick with the blade and mercilessly stabbed me back when he was

⁴³ Miksa Ladányi, (ed), *A magyar ipar almanachja. II-II. rész. Az iparos társadalom (Névjegyzék) [The Almanac of Hungarian Industry, Vol. II, Part II: The Artisan Society (Directory)]*. Magyar Ipar Almanachja Kiadóhivatala, Budapest 1930, 170.

⁴⁴ Ungváry, Rudolf (1936 -) is a Hungarian mechanical engineer, writer, journalist and critic.

⁴⁵ Rudolf Ungváry, Egy bérház élménye 1944/1945 fordulóján [The Experience of a Tenement House at the Turn of 1944/1945]. in: *Jelenkor [Present Day]* 57/78 (2014), 771.

⁴⁶ Rachulovics Mechmed (Reszulovics Mehmed) vívómester, sportoktató [fencing master, sport instructor]. in: Magyar Szablyavívó Iskola [Hungarian Sabre Fencing School], Pécs honlapja [website].http://magyarszablyapecs.hu/galeria/album/mesterek_eletrajza/slides/rachulovics_mehmed.pdf, accessed May 8, 2024.

⁴⁷ Rheinischen Fechtclub Düsseldorf

defending my amateur attack.”⁴⁸ Resulović chose a Hungarian wife too; the marriage register attests that in Kőszeg, on 22 December 1944, Mehmed Reszulovics, a fencing master of the Muslim religion, a resident of Kőszeg, born on 31 January 1902 in Trebinje, Bosnia and Herzegovina (parents: the late Ahmed and Dérka Reszulovics), married Erzsébet Toporci of the Reformed faith, a teacher at a civil school in the capital, resident of Kőszeg, born on 6 May 1919 in Brasov (parents: the late János Toporci and Erzsébet Bokor). Under the heading of the marriage declarations, possible remarks before signing, the parties stipulated that “by agreement, all children of both sexes from this marriage will follow the religion of the mother, i.e. the Reformed religion, according to the decision of the official notary of Kőszeg, No. 67/944. Thus, in this case, the requirement of Islamic family law, the Sharia, that the children should inherit the religion of the Muslim father, did not apply. There is also a subsequent entry No. 40/1947, which I assume refers to the divorce of the couple. Based on information received from Tiborné Tóth Marianna Márkus, whose primary school teacher at the Elementary School in *Köztársaság* square, Budapest, between 1960 and 1964 was Mehmedné Reszulovics Erzsébet Toporci, and to whom she also attended private German lessons at their apartment in *József* bld. 69, it can be stated that she was already divorced from Reszulovics at that time and that she was raising her son, András. According to the death certificate of Mrs. Reszulovics, she died on 8 October 1970 in Budapest, in the *Péterfy Sándor* Street Hospital, and her marital status was already divorced. It is therefore clear that neither she nor his son András converted to Islam.⁴⁹

The “last Mohican” of the Bosnian community between the two world wars, as I mentioned earlier, was Abid Čatić (Csátics), who passed away on April 13, 1977, at the Elderly Home on *Baross* Street in Budapest’s 4th district. Čatić was born in Travnik, Bosnia, on January 2, 1895. He served in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I, and after the Treaty of Trianon, he remained permanently in our country along with several hundred fellow “reservists.”⁵⁰ The young, hot-tempered, and passionate Čatić committed a terrible crime in 1921 and became a murderer. The contemporary press reported the incident as follows: “Abid Čatić, a resident of Budapest who had been married for 13 years but was planning to divorce his wife, intended to marry Jozefin Láng, with whom he had been involved for some time. On the night of April 22, he came home drunk. In the early morning, while he was asleep, Jozefin Láng appeared at his apartment. Čatić sent his wife to the market, and while

⁴⁸ Gardenti, Stefano: Meine Fechtmeister- und trainer. in: <https://www.passionescherma.it/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/meine-fechtmeister-und-trainer-biographie.pdf>, accessed September 18, 2024.

⁴⁹ On 26 January 2025 I received the two birth certificates in an e-mail message from Tiborné Tóth Marianna Márkus. I thank her for her help and information.

⁵⁰ Zsolt Udvarvölgyi, ‘Csátics Abid, az utolsó bosnyák muszlim, aki a Baross utcai otthon lakója volt’ [Abid Čatić, the last Bosnian Muslim resident of the Elderly Home of Baross Street]. in: *Baross Híradó* [Baross Gazette]. 25/1 (2017), 12.

staying with Jozefin, during a conversation, he asked her if she would love others besides him. The woman replied yes, and repeated her answer when he asked a second time. In a fit of rage, the man drew his revolver and shot her, killing her instantly. Čatić was brought before a summary court.”⁵¹ A later report titled “The Bosniak in love” presented the tragedy in a more detailed and sensational, tabloid style, and also informed about the verdict: After hearing several witnesses, the court sentenced Abid Čatić to one and a half years in prison.⁵²

However, the real adventures for him began only then: The Bosniaks, together with their leader, Hussein Hilmi Durić, who had previously served as a military chief imam, took part in the battles in Western Hungary. They actively participated in the proclamation of the “*Lajtabánság*”, proved to be loyal comrades of Pál Prónay⁵³, and thanks to them, a referendum was held in Sopron and its surroundings, through which the city remained part of Hungary. Čatić was present throughout these events, and later, proud of his religion and nationality as a Bosnian Muslim, he also took part in the founding of the first Hungarian Islamic community in 1931. Durić was the head of the community, but he was also part of its leadership. In the autumn of 1931, the restless Čatić and other Bosniak associates actively participated in a far-right armed coup attempt organized by retired and active soldiers, police officers, and gendarmes, known as the so-called “*Vannay-Schill*” coup, which ultimately failed. Čatić was also accused of conspiracy, but the charges against him were dropped during the trial. In the court documents, his occupation is listed as “agent”. It is assumed that he might have been involved in trade, possibly as a peddler, but no clear sources confirm this. He may have been among those who, even in the 1950s, secretly visited the tomb of Gül Baba to pray. Since Čatić married a Hungarian woman, his children were no longer Muslim. In 1926, he had a daughter named Alija, but sadly, she passed away on January 20, 1927, at the age of seven months. He moved into the Elderly Home at 100 *Baross* Street on February 4, 1977. According to the inventory of his estate, he died practically penniless, leaving behind only one month’s pension, some cash, and clothing. Due to his daughter Zsófia’s illness, his grandchild arranged his burial in the Muslim section of the New Public Cemetery in *Rákoskeresztúr*. There was no one to give him a proper Muslim farewell according to tradition, by reciting the Fatiha (the first chapter of the Quran).⁵⁴

⁵¹ [N. A.], ‘Féltékenységből lelőtte a szeretőjét. (A rögtönítélő bíróság mai tárgyalása)’ [He shot his lover out of jealousy. (Today’s trial at the summary court)]. in: *Kis Újság* [Small Newspaper] 34/110 (1921), 4.

⁵² [N. A.], ‘A szerelmes bosnyák’ [A Bosniak in love]. in: *8 Órai Újság* [8 O’Clock Newspaper] 7/257 (1921), 4.

⁵³ Prónay, Pál (1874-1946?), military officer, Lieutenant Colonel, leader of ‘Lajtabánság’, politician, party leader.

⁵⁴ Z. Udvarvölgyi, *Ibidem*.

Summary

Based on my research so far, I conclude that in the 1950s and 1960s, Bosniaks who remained in Hungary practiced their faith around the Gül Baba Türbe, came here on Fridays to pray, and celebrated major Islamic holidays here - together with other nationalities of the Islamic colony in Budapest, such as Arabs, Turks, Albanians, Afghans. Muslim tourists visiting Budapest, businessmen, students studying here or diplomats working here were also familiar with the Türbe and occasionally visited the building, which was then still in a state of disrepair and neglect.

As I mentioned earlier, the descendants of Bosnian Muslims in Hungary have mostly stopped following the faith of their fathers. This fact is also confirmed by the fact that in 1988, when a handful of Hungarian Muslims, led by Balázs Mihálffy⁵⁵, an agricultural engineer who became the Community's sheikh, started to organise the Hungarian Islamic Community, they were not primarily based on the descendants of Bosniaks. Mihálffy, who became the founding president of the Community, said that he read the names from the headstones of Muslim plot 124 and used them to contact the families. Unfortunately, few took up their faith, so the Community was formed from the Hungarian wives of Arabs living here and from returnees who had converted to Islam as Hungarians on postings to Arab countries.⁵⁶ But it should be noted that there were Bosniaks among them. In her study, Szilvia Köbel quotes the September 1988 Information of the State Office for Church Affairs (*ÁEH*), according to which "in 1931, an autonomous Hungarian Muslim congregation named after Gül Baba was founded, which was forgotten due to changes caused by the Second World War and the extinction of its members. In the last decade, however, Islam has been revived in Hungary. Muslims are basically divided into three groups: Bosniaks and their descendants still living today, those born of mixed marriages, and converts from other religions." According to the *ÁEH*, in September 1988, the number of Muslims holding Hungarian citizenship in Hungary was about 200, including family members, and about 500.⁵⁷ It is also worth noting that Mihálffy had previously painted a more favourable picture of the Bosniaks, stating in 1988 that "after their Community became a legal entity, their membership now numbers several hundred believers. The nucleus is made

⁵⁵ Mihálffy, Balázs (Abdurrahman) (1955-) is a Hungarian agricultural engineer, the first president and sheikh of the Hungarian Islamic Community in 1988, one of the Hungarian translator of the Quran and public writer.

⁵⁶ [N. A], 'Magyar muszlimok. A föld gömbölyű' [Hungarian Muslims. The earth is round]. in: *Reszpublika [Republic]* 1/31 (1994), 68-69.

⁵⁷ Szilvia Köbel, „Nem elsősorban egyházpolitikai kérdésről van szó...” Az iszlám és a pártállam – állambiztonsági iratok tükrében' ["It is not primarily a question of church politics..." Islam and the single-party state - in the light of state security documents]. in: *Betekintő [Insight]* 11/2 (2017), 3.

up of descendants of former Bosnian-Herzegovinian families.”⁵⁸ Unfortunately, since I was born in 1973 and have only been researching the history of Islam in Hungary since 1997, I have not had the opportunity to meet any Bosnian Muslims in Budapest. Therefore, I kindly ask that if anyone - whether in Bosnia and Herzegovina or elsewhere - reads my writing and has information about members of the Bosnian Muslim community who lived in Hungary between the two World Wars, please contact me.

Zaključak

Na osnovu mog dosadašnjeg istraživanja, zaključujem da su Bošnjaci koji su ostali u Mađarskoj tokom 1950-ih i 1960-ih godina praktikovali svoju vjeru oko turbeta Đul Babe, dolazili ovdje petkom na molitvu i tu slavili velike islamske praznike – zajedno s drugim nacionalnostima islamske kolonije u Budimpešti, poput Arapa, Turaka, Albanaca i Afganistanaca. Muslimanski turisti koji su posjećivali Budimpeštu, biznismeni, studenti koji su ovdje studirali ili diplomate koji su tu radili također su bili upoznati s turbetom i povremeno su posjećivali objekat, koji je u to vrijeme još uvijek bio u trošnom i zapuštenom stanju.

Kao što sam ranije spomenuo, potomci bosanskih muslimana u Mađarskoj većinom su prestali praktikovati vjeru svojih očeva. Ovu činjenicu potvrđuje i to što se 1988. godine, kada je nekolicina mađarskih muslimana, predvođena poljoprivrednim inženjerom Balázsom Mihálffyjem (koji je postao šejh zajednice), počela organizovati Islamsku zajednicu Mađarske, oni nisu prvenstveno oslanjali na potomke Bošnjaka. Mihálffy, koji je postao osnivač i predsjednik Zajednice, izjavio je da je imena pročitao sa nadgrobnih spomenika (nišana) na muslimanskoj parceli 124 te ih iskoristio kako bi stupio u kontakt s porodicama. Nažalost, malo ko se vratio vjeri, pa su Zajednicu zapravo formirale mađarske supruge Arapa koji su ovdje živjeli, te povratnici koji su kao Mađari prešli na islam tokom službovanja u arapskim zemljama. Ipak, treba napomenuti da je među njima bilo i Bošnjaka.

U svojoj studiji Szilvia Köbel citira Informaciju Državnog ureda za crkvena pitanja (ÁEH) iz septembra 1988. godine, prema kojoj je „1931. godine osnovana autonomna mađarska muslimanska zajednica nazvana po Đul Babi, koja je pala u zaborav uslijed promjena uzrokovanih Drugim svjetskim ratom i izumiranjem njenih članova. U posljednjoj deceniji, međutim, islam je u Mađarskoj doživio oživljavanje. Muslimani su u osnovi podijeljeni u tri grupe: Bošnjaci i njihovi potomci koji i danas žive ovdje, osobe iz mješovitih brakova te konvertiti iz drugih religija.“ Prema ÁEH-u, u septembru 1988. godine broj

⁵⁸ [szia-]: 'A magyar sejk a hazai iszlám közösségről. Zarándokút Mekkában' [The Hungarian sheikh on the domestic Islamic Community. Pilgrimage in Mecca]. in: *Magyar Hírlap* [Hungarian Newspaper] 21/252 (1988), 6.

muslimana s mađarskim državljanstvom u Mađarskoj bio je oko 200, odnosno oko 500 uključujući članove porodica. Također je vrijedno napomenuti da je Mihálffy prethodno oslikao povoljniju sliku o Bošnjacima, izjavivši 1988. godine da, „nakon što je njihova zajednica postala pravni subjekt, njeno članstvo sada broji nekoliko stotina vjernika. Jezgro čine potomci nekadašnjih bosanskohercegovačkih porodica.“

Nažalost, budući da sam rođen 1973. godine i da historiju islama u Mađarskoj istražujem tek od 1997. godine, nisam imao priliku upoznati nijednog bosanskog muslimana u Budimpešti. Stoga vas ljubazno molim da me, ukoliko iko – bilo u Bosni i Hercegovini ili drugdje – ko pročita ovaj rad, ima informacije o članovima zajednice bosanskih muslimana koji su živjeli u Mađarskoj između dva svjetska rata, kontaktira.

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