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## EPISODES IN THE LIFE OF THE BOSNIAN MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN HUNGARY (1920-1945)

**Abstract:** *In this study we present an important and interesting period in the history of Islam in Hungary in the 20th century, the past of the Islamic community in Budapest between the two world wars, which was mainly composed of Bosniaks. Special emphasis will be placed on the life of the community's imam, Husein Hilmi Durić<sup>1</sup>, 'Grand Mufti' of Buda and former Military Imam, his domestic and international activities on behalf of the community, and the Hungarian supporters, friends and helpers of the Bosniaks. There is also a brief description of a few other members of the community. The Hungarian Islamic Community<sup>2</sup>, founded in 1988 and still functioning as an established church<sup>3</sup> in Hungary, claims as its legal predecessor the Independent Hungarian Autonomous Islamic Religious Community of Buda, named after Gül Baba, which operated de facto between 1931 and 1945. In our study, we describe in detail how Bosnian soldiers who fought valiantly in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy's army in the First World War found their way to Hungary after the war, how they found a new home, mostly in Budapest, how they started their lives again, choosing mostly Hungarian wives and quickly learning Hungarian language and customs. But soon the practice of Islam became indispensable for them, and that is why the first Islamic community in Hungary was founded in 1931. The adventurous life of the community's leader, Husein Hilmi Durić, is described in detail, along with his extensive activities in Hungary and his domestic and international contacts.*

<sup>1</sup> Husein Hilmi Durić (1887-1940) K. und K. military officer, Military Imam, Bosnian Muslim religious leader, Grand Mufti of Buda.

<sup>2</sup> 'Magyar Iszlám Közösség' [Hungarian Islamic Community], accessed February 14, 2022, <http://magyariszlam.hu/mikmagyar/news.php>.

<sup>3</sup> 'Bevett egyházak Magyarországon' [Established churches in Hungary], accessed February 14, 2022, <https://egyhaz.me.gov.hu/>.

Similarly, we describe the activities of influential Hungarian supporters of the community (e.g. Andor Medriczky, Gyula Germanus, István Bárczy) who selflessly helped Bosnian Muslims to practice their faith in Hungary. We look at the two major trips of the community leaders to the Middle East and India to strengthen Islam in Hungary and to raise funds for the planned mosque in Buda, which never materialised. Durić's special relationship with the Albanian King Zogu, his travels to Tirana and his programmes are also discussed in more detail. Nor can we ignore the unfortunate fact that in the 1930s and 1940s, during the Christian Nationalist Horthy era, many people did not look kindly on the activities of Bosnian Muslims living in Hungary. We then turn to the life and activities of another community leader, Mehmed Resulović, as a fencing master. We will also outline how an average Bosniak lived, what he did, how he spent his everyday life, how he dressed and how he entertained himself in Hungary in the 1930s and 1940s, far from his homeland. We also discuss, of course, how some of them became involved in Hungarian politics, as members of far-right organisations and movements, possibly because they were invited to join these circles by their former Hungarian officers and comrades in arms of First World War. Finally, we outline the life of an average Bosnian Muslim, Hasan Jamaković, who had a typical career in Hungary.

**Key words:** Bosniak, Husein Hilmi Durić, Andor Medriczky, Islam, Community, Budapest, WWI, türbe of Gül Baba.

## EPIZODE U ŽIVOTU BOSANSKE MUSLIMANSKE ZAJEDNICE U MAĐARSKOJ (1920-1945)

**Apstrakt:** U ovoj studiji predstavljamo važan i zanimljiv period u historiji islama u Mađarskoj u 20. stoljeću, prošlost islamske zajednice u Budimpešti između dva svjetska rata, koju su uglavnom sačinjavali Bošnjaci. Poseban akcenat će biti stavljen na život imama zajednice Huseina Hilmija Durića, 'velikog muftije' budimskog i bivšeg vojnog imama, njegove domaće i međunarodne aktivnosti u ime zajednice, te mađarske simpatizere, prijatelje i pomagače Bošnjaka.. Tu je i kratak opis još nekoliko članova zajednice. Mađarska islamska zajednica, osnovana 1988. godine i koja još uvijek funkcionira kao osnovana crkva u Mađarskoj, za svog pravnog prethodnika tvrdi Nezavisnu mađarsku autonomnu islamsku vjersku zajednicu Budim, nazvanu po Gül Babi, koja je de facto djelovala između 1931. i 1945. godine. U našoj studiji, detaljno opisujemo kako su bosanski vojnici koji su se hrabro borili u vojsci Austro-Ugarske monarhije u Prvom svjetskom ratu nakon rata našli put do Mađarske, kako su pronašli novi dom, uglavnom u Budimpešti, kako su ponovo započeli život, birajući uglavnom žene Mađarice i brzo učeći mađarski jezik i običaje. Ali ubrzo je praktikovanje islama postalo za njih neophodno, pa je zato

1931. godine osnovana prva islamska zajednica u Mađarskoj. Detaljno je opisan avanturistički život vođe zajednice Huseina Hilmija Durića, uz njegove opsežne aktivnosti u Mađarskoj. i njegove domaće i međunarodne kontakte. Slično, opisujemo aktivnosti utjecajnih mađarskih pristalica zajednice (npr. Andor Medriczky, Gyula Germanus, István Bárczy) koji su nesebično pomagali bosanskim muslimanima da prakticiraju svoju vjeru u Mađarskoj. Gledamo na dva velika putovanja vođa zajednice na Bliski istok i Indiju kako bi ojačali islam u Mađarskoj i prikupili sredstva za planiranu džamiju u Budimu, što se nikada nije ostvarilo. Detaljnije se govori i o Durićevom posebnom odnosu sa albanskim kraljem Zoguom, njegovim putovanjima u Tiranu i njegovim programima. Ne možemo zanemariti ni nesretnu činjenicu da su 1930-ih i 1940-ih, u vrijeme kršćanskog nacionalističkog Horthyja, mnogi ljudi nisu blagonaklono gledali na aktivnosti bosanskih muslimana koji su živjeli u Mađarskoj. Zatim se osvrćemo na život i aktivnosti drugog vođe zajednice, Mehmeda Resulovića, kao majstora mačevanja. Istaknut ćemo i kako je živio, čime se bavio prosječan Bošnjak, kako je provodio svakodnevni život, kako se oblačio i zabavljao u Mađarskoj 1930-ih i 1940-ih godina, daleko od svoje domovine. Razgovaramo, naravno, i o tome kako su se neki od njih uključili u mađarsku politiku, kao članovi ekstremno desnih organizacija i pokreta, vjerovatno zato što su ih u te krugove pozvali njihovi bivši mađarski oficiri i ratni saborci iz Prvog svjetskog rata. Na kraju, ukratko prikazujemo život prosječnog bosanskog muslimana Hasana Jamakovića, koji je imao tipičnu karijeru u Mađarskoj.

**Ključne riječi:** Bošnjak, Husein Hilmi Durić, Andor Medriczky, Islam, zajednica, Budimpešta, Prvi svjetski rat, türbe Gül Babe.

## Introduction

The emergence of Islam in the Carpathian Basin dates to the era of Hungarian conquest (895 AD). In the past millennium or so, there have almost been Muslims living in Hungary, who have professed their faith, sometimes legally, sometimes tolerated it, sometimes forbidden. In the Árpád era (1000-1301) they lived in large numbers, but later until the Ottoman conquest (1526-1699) only traders passing through or living here permanently formed the nucleus of the Islamic community in Hungary. The history of Islam in Hungary between the two world wars has been researched by few people, including the authors of this article, and some of articles<sup>4</sup> have been published since the late 1980s about

<sup>4</sup> 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; Zsolt Udvarvölgyi, 'A magyar iszlám vallásszociológiája', *M.A. Thesis* [The sociology of religion of Hungarian Islam] (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1998), Electronic version, accessed February 14, 2022, <https://terebe.hu/keletkultinfo/udvarvolgyi1.html>; Zsolt Udvarvölgyi, 'Az iszlám

Muslims living in Hungary, mainly of Bosnian origin, about the Grand Mufti Husein Hilmi Durić, who was active in Budapest, and about the Independent Hungarian Autonomous Islamic Religious Community of Buda, named after Gül Baba<sup>5</sup>. In recent years, however, we have resumed our research in this direction and have discovered new sources, making the overall picture even more complex and colorful.

We were mainly interested in what happened to the Bosnian, Albanian and Turkish World War I. veterans, their family members and later their descendants who were stranded in Hungary after the Trianon peace treaty (1920). The Hungarian Islamic Community, which was registered on 15 August 1988 and is still a recognised church, considers itself the legal successor of the organisation led by Durić, and in its application for registration it also referred to the Hungarian Act XVII of 1916 on the recognition of the Islamic religion.<sup>6</sup> In the activities, international and domestic relations, and publications of the Hungarian Islamic Community, one of the most important Islamic churches in Hungary, there is a strong reference to the history of Islam in Hungary, for example, the current headquarters of the organisation in 14<sup>th</sup> district of Budapest, Hungary, is called the '*Gyula Germanus Islamic Cultural Centre, Husein Hilmi Durić Mosque*'.

### The early years of Bosniaks in Hungary after WWI

Their past, their origins, their Islamic faith, their role in World War I, and their engagement in the 'National Army' led by Miklós Horthy<sup>7</sup> and in the West Hungarian uprising determined the fate of the Muslims who were stranded in Hungary after 1918, and their future orientation in Hungarian politics. They were clearly right-wing, nationalist, loyal to the entrenched Horthy administration and deeply anti-Serb. Many of them also shifted to the extreme right, but, as far as we know, they had no sympathies with the Arrow Cross movement and did not become members of the Arrow Cross party. Many of them had ties to Pál Prónay<sup>8</sup> as their former commander, or to Iván Héjjas<sup>9</sup>, with whom they also fought, either

*Magyarországon* [Islam in Hungary] (Budapest: adamobooks.com, 2009), accessed February 14, 2022, <https://adamobooks.com/termek-Az-izlam-Magyarorszag-4.html>; Zoltán Bolek, '*Islám Enciklopédia*' [Islamic Encyclopaedia], Budapest: Magyar Iszlám Közösség, 2005; Zoltán Bolek, '*A Monarchia muszlimjai. Avagy elfelejtett muszlim háborús hőseink*' [The Muslims of the Monarchy. Or as our forgotten Muslim war heroes], Budapest, Magyar Iszlám Közösség, 2016; Zoltán Bolek, '*Az utolsó dzsihád*' [The last jihad], Budapest, Magyar Iszlám Közösség, 2020.

<sup>5</sup> Gül Baba (d. 1541), 'Father of roses', Ottoman Bektashi dervish, poet.

<sup>6</sup> 1916. évi XVII. törvénycikk az iszlám-vallás elismeréséről. [Act XVII of 1916 on the recognition of the Islamic religion], accessed February 14, 2022, [https://net.jogtar.hu/ez-ev-torveny?docid=91600017.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fpagenum%3D38\\_](https://net.jogtar.hu/ez-ev-torveny?docid=91600017.TV&searchUrl=/ezer-ev-torvenyei%3Fpagenum%3D38_)

<sup>7</sup> Horthy, Miklós (1868-1957), naval officer, Counter Admiral, Vice Admiral, politician, governor of the Kingdom of Hungary (1920-1944).

<sup>8</sup> Prónay, Pál (1874-1946?), military officer, Lieutenant Colonel, leader of 'Lajtabánság', politician.

<sup>9</sup> Héjjas, Iván (1890-1950), military officer, one of the leaders of the 'Ragged Guard', politician, MP.

in the mountains of northern Albania or later other fronts of the World War I, and then in the Burgenland (*Őrvidék*) in 1921. Because their soldiering was so defining for them, most of them believed that they would one day be needed again in Hungary's defense. Therefore, many of them joined paramilitary units, and most of them participated in extreme right-wing associations such as the 'Turanian Table Societies', the 'Turanian Alliance' or the 'Turanian Hunters'. They also tried to practice their Islamic faith, and soon two Muslim groups - in incessant rivalry with each other - emerged in our country: one grouped around Abdul Latif<sup>10</sup>, a Turkish former World War I 'Imam Hodja' of Turkish origin who had been 'forgotten' in our country, although they were mainly believers of Turkish origin who were stuck here. The other was a group of mainly Albanian, Bosnian and Hungarian Muslims, grouped around Husein Hilmi Durić, former World War I. 'k. und k.'<sup>11</sup> Major and Military Imam. In our opinion, Durić' 1933 St. Stephen<sup>12</sup>'s Day speech, which will be discussed later, is a faithful reflection of the political thinking of the Muslim community in Hungary at that time, which did not deviate at all from the beliefs of the man in the street.

We also consider it important to further examine Durić' career, although this is covered in detail in an excellent study by György Lederer.<sup>13</sup> Moreover the so-called '*Medriczky dossier*'<sup>14</sup> in the Budapest City Archives is a good contribution to this research. Most of the press sources cited in our study were found here. Andor Medriczky<sup>15</sup> was a Budapest City Hall official, a law graduate, who returned to Hungary from Turkey in 1929, where, according to his own account, he had been on a 'study trip'. Looking at his work as an author, he was primarily concerned with tourism in Budapest and the possibility of expanding it, especially the thermal baths. He was fascinated by the Islamic religion and Kemal Atatürk's reforms. But he knew that he could not count on Ankara's support in embracing Muslims at home. From the outset, he helped Bosnian Muslims, recruiting prestigious, influential Hungarian supporters to help the small community that was forming. Durić' Hungarian patriotic 'image' was created by his Christian patrons, led by Medriczky. We should also mention Dr. István Bárczy<sup>16</sup>, who later, in 1932, became the chairman of the so-called 'Gül Baba Cultural Committee', which was in favour of Bosnian Muslims. Former Mayor of Budapest Bárczy was already in retirement, having retired from the Budapest City Hall in 1926. The press coverage of Muslims in Hungary was provided by the journalist Béla Viraág<sup>17</sup> in the popular local patriotic bi-weekly *Buda Diary*

<sup>10</sup> Abdul Latif (1886-1946), Turkish lector, imam, hodja, leader of the Turkish Muslim community in Budapest.

<sup>11</sup> German: kaiserlich und königlich [Imperial and Royal]

<sup>12</sup> Stephen I (or: King Saint Stephen), first King of Hungary (1000/1001-1038), founder of the State.

<sup>13</sup> Lederer, *A magyarországi*, I-II.

<sup>14</sup> Budapest City Archives BFL XIV:24. 'Medriczky-dossier' In later references: M.

<sup>15</sup> Medriczky, Andor (?-?), lawyer, writer, civil servant, historian.

<sup>16</sup> Bárczy, István, Dr (1866-1943), lawyer, politician, MP, mayor of Budapest (1906-1918), minister of justice (1919-1920).

<sup>17</sup> Viraág, Béla (Virág), (1863-1936), journalist, editor, founder of a newspaper.

(*'Budai Napló'*). Other contributors to the early Muslim Bosnian-Hungarian organization were retired general Tivadar Galánthay Glock<sup>18</sup> (a great friend and helper of the Turks in the war), the mufti's dress designer and many other prominent supporters. The new Mufti's Muslim aides were Mehmed Resulović<sup>19</sup>, Ismail Mehmedagić<sup>20</sup>, Atif Dsinić, Mustafa Topčagić, Haidar Hajdić, Avdo Ozmanbasić and Abid Čatić<sup>21</sup>.

In the *Buda Diary* of 2 August 1931, on page 3, there was a report about the establishment of the new Muslim congregation by the Durić, entitled '*The establishment of the autonomous Hungarian Islamic religious community*'. The founding took place at 11:00 a.m. sharp, and it referred to Article XVII of the 1916 Law. The article also recalled the 'late' Franz Joseph's Muslim subjects in Bosnia and his '*Decree Nr 1424-1910*' of 17 February 1910, countersigned by the Hungarian Prime Minister, which dealt with the status of Muslims in Bosnia. At 11.30 a.m., the assembled Muslims were led into a hall where Durić addressed them, asking for Allah's blessing on their future activities. Dr. Árpád Kiss lidértejedi<sup>22</sup>, an ecclesiastical lawyer was present as an invited guest to formalise their formation, and Mustafa Aga was the meeting's chairman. Naturally, Durić became the chairman and mufti of the congregation.<sup>23</sup> Before all this, the 'Hungarian Muslim Cultural Committee' met on 30 July 1931, where they decided on the next year's hadj, the congregation to be established and its headquarters, which was to be Durić' future residence namely a suite in the Esplanade Hotel in Buda. The committee informed and welcomed Prince Arslan Shakib<sup>24</sup>, who was then the most famous and respected Muslim leader in the world, by telegram.<sup>25</sup> On 14 September 1931, after the official establishment of the congregation, Durić delivered a commemorative speech to his followers and other invited guests at the Gül Baba türbe on the life of the saintly dervish. (According to the *Buda Diary*, this speech was also highly appreciated by Balkan Muslims.<sup>26</sup>) However, a debate and a fierce press controversy soon ensued as to who is the leader of the Muslims in the country. In its issue of 27 September 1931, *Pester Lloyd*, German-language daily newspaper in Hungary, named Abdul Latif, of Turkish origin and nationality, as the leader instead of Durić, which it corrected in its issue of 30 September.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Galánthay Glock, Tivadar (1872-1956), Major General, MP, academy teacher, painter, developer of an independent shorthand system, historian.

<sup>19</sup> Mehmed Resulović (1902-1983), military officer, fencing master, sport trainer.

<sup>20</sup> Ismail Mehmedagić (?-?), military officer, imam, muezzin, deputy mufti.

<sup>21</sup> Abid Čatić (1895-1977), soldier, private civil servant, one of the leader of the Community.

<sup>22</sup> lidértejedi Kiss, Árpád (?-?), lawyer.

<sup>23</sup> M. *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, August 2, 1931, 3-4.

<sup>24</sup> Arslan Shakib (1869-1946), Lebanese prince, politician, writer, historian.

<sup>25</sup> M. *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, August 2, 1931, 3.

<sup>26</sup> M. 'Mass pilgrimage to Buda', *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, October 3, 1931, 3.

<sup>27</sup> M. 'Islam in Buda', *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, October 6, 1931, 1.

On 6 December 1931 Durić started his cultural mission at the Esplanade Hotel, where Turkish food was served to the guests after the performance. The guests included big businessmen, military officers, other Budapest potentates and Muslim members of the community. Durić's lecture explored the historical links between Hungary and Islam, and at the end of the evening, as a curiosity, the audience was treated to a violin performance by the Turkish Topıcı Mustafa aga.<sup>28</sup> On 24 February 1932, Hungary was also abuzz with news of events in Spain, and this reached the Durić's congregation. So much so that on the same day, the *Buda Diary* published a letter of thanks from Count Ferenc Hunyady, Member of Parliament, written because the Mufti of Buda had written an open letter against the persecution of Spanish Christians.<sup>29</sup>

The following is a quote from Durić's famous and powerful St Stephen's Day speech, delivered on 20 August 1933 to his Bosnian supporters and Hungarian guests at his residence:

*'A millennium ago, the will of Allah, the Almighty and Merciful, bestowed upon the Hungarian race a great prince: the wise Saint Stephen, who created the Hungarian state, which has weathered the storms of a millennium, because the state of the great king was founded on the one God. (...) This country, of which we Hungarian Muslims are members, is not to be feared if it does not depart from the traditions of its first wise king. We will also shake off the shackles of Trianon, forged by human short-sightedness and wickedness! Allah has ordained freedom and not imprisonment for the Hungarian nation. We Slavic-speaking, but Hungarian-feeling, Hungarian Muslims are also members of the ancient Turan-Iranian common people, for a thousand years our ancestral land was the ornament and jewel of the crown of St. Stephen, we love our Hungarian homeland to our last breath, and if necessary, as we showed in the world war, we will defend it with our lives and blood. The Quran commands us to love God and our country, and we follow Allah's commandments. The faith of the living, mighty, merciful, one true God is threatened by the hordes of Satan, who want to make the people irreligious, godless, immoral, homeless, substituting machines for God, dishonesty for morality, instead of love for one's neighbour and special esteem, they proclaim inequality, instead of honour, they proclaim dreary material interests, they disrupt the traditions of family life, they incite children against parents, they disrupt the respect of authority and want to set up the kingdom of the Moscow "Dajjal" (Antichrist). They demolish mosques, churches, prayer houses, schools and build altars to immorality and blasphemy. Whether this satanic onslaught comes from the East or the West, Islam has vetoed it! We must rally around God to overthrow the power of Satan and his armies of helpers and lead the people back to the path of godliness, reverence, honour, patriotism and mercy. Without God and*

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<sup>28</sup> M. *Buda Diary* [Budai Napló], December 7, 1931, 3.

<sup>29</sup> M. 'Islam for Christianity', *Buda Diary* [Budai Napló], February 24, 1932, 1.

*against God, there is no life, no progress, no happiness! It is in Hungary's vital interest to embrace Islam in the great struggle that is about to take place, because if all those who believe in God unite, the empire of St Stephen will not be a passing phenomenon in history but will spread once again between the Carpathians and the Adriatic. We, Hungarian Muslims, bow in reverence to St. Stephen, the "peygamber" (prophet) of the Hungarian nation, and together with our Hungarian Christian brothers and sisters, we sing: "Where are you, King Stephen? A Hungarian in mournful attire desires thee. Weeping before thee!" Amin.*<sup>30</sup>

In this speech, condensed, among other things, the loyalty of the Bosnian community to the Hungarian state, the idea of Turanism, irredentism, support for revisionism, hatred of atheistic communism - and its earthly incarnation, the Soviet Union - and the urge to fight against it.

If we look back a little from the speech to the beginning, we can see that after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, more Bosnian soldiers and civilians remained in post-Trianon Hungary. So did Husein Hilmi Durić, who moved permanently from Vienna to Hungary in 1920. According to his autobiography in the *Medriczky dossier*<sup>31</sup>, he was born on 11 November 1887 in the town of Krupa in Bosnia, and his father (Mahmud Aga Durić) was the town mayor and a wealthy landowner. He graduated with distinction from secondary school (*Darul Muallimin*) and went on to obtain higher Muslim theological qualifications in Cairo and Constantinople. In addition to Hungarian and Bosnian, he is reported to have been fluent in German and Turkish, as well as Arabic and Persian. In 1910 he became director of archives at the National Museum of Bosnia. In 1914, at the outbreak of the First World War, he was called up for military service and served as a military imam in the mixed (but predominantly Muslim) Bosnian regiment. According to his autobiography, he visited all the theatres of war where the Monarchy's troops fought. In 1915, in the southern theatre of operations (at Sabać), he was badly shot in the lungs and injured his left knee. In the summer of 1915, having recovered from his wound, he was called up again as a reserve field imam and was given the rank of 'Mohammedan Chief Military Imam', a position confirmed by the Monarchy's Ministry of War and by Emperor Franz Joseph. This rank was at that time equivalent to the rank of captain. He was appointed major at the end of the World War. He also taught Muslim religious studies to his students at the Vienna Cadet School and the *Theresianum* in Vienna. At the collapse of the Monarchy, his 75-year-old father, the mayor of Bosna Krupa (for 45 years), was shot dead by the Serbs and the family land (1,040 acres) was confiscated, along with their house. In 1919, Durić married the daughter of Elek Hindy-Szabó, the older Ida, a colonel of the army, and in October 1920, resigned to the situation in Bosnia, they moved to Budapest.

<sup>30</sup> M. Buda Diary [*Budai Napló*], August 25, 1931, 1.

<sup>31</sup> M.

It was then (i.e. after the massacres by the Horthy-supporting detachments in *Siófok* and *Orgovány*) that Durics joined the Prónay detachment, together with eighty-five others. Here, in addition to his First World War medals, he was awarded the bronze commemorative medal of the West Hungarian uprising, three thousand of which were minted in the short-lived '*Lajtabánság*' by the 'head of state', Pál Prónay. He obtained Hungarian citizenship in February 1927 in Kecskemét. It may seem strange, since he lived in Budapest, in Molnár Street. But his financial situation did not allow him to pay the much higher tax in Budapest instead of the Kecskemét tax, and he also made many friends in the Prónay and Héjjas families in Kecskemét, who were predominantly farmers. He himself explains the matter in the following way, in a protocol recorded in the office of the chief notary of the city of Kecskemét on 2 March 1926 Durić, a resident of Budapest, appeared and made the following statement:

*'I have applied to the city of Kecskemét for the prospect of being admitted to the municipal ties, because in Budapest, where I live, I have to pay a huge amount of money as a fee in this matter, which, although I can support myself, I cannot afford. I chose the town of Kecskemét because I fought with my sons in Western Hungary and have good friends among them. In Bosnia I have 1,040 acres of land and a house, but I would face the death penalty if I went back. Therefore, I wish to become a Hungarian citizen. I respectfully request that my application be granted. At present I am employed as a guard at the Capital, and I can only take up a permanent position after I have been granted citizenship.'*<sup>32</sup>

Husein Hilmi Durić, an impoverished military officer who played a founding role in the modern history of Islam in Hungary, became an '*effendi*' and within a few years a world traveler and a '*Grand Mufti of Buda*', who was featured on the front page of several newspapers. His fate also marked the fate of the Muslim community in Hungary at the time. The Grand Mufti was chasing a great dream - never to be realised - of establishing an Islamic centre under his leadership on the side of the Gül Baba türbe. Over the years, he learned to speak Hungarian better and better, became a popular and sociable man, and his speeches were always characterised by the irredentist and 'Turanian' tone of the time.<sup>33</sup>

### **Conflicts, journeys, failures**

Several publications of the Christian churches tried to attack Durić. For instance, *Reformed Life* ('*Református Élet*') asked in its article: '*Who invited the effendi to Budapest?*'<sup>34</sup> The semi-official mouthpiece of the congregation, the

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<sup>32</sup> Lederer, *A magyarországi*, I, 41.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Lederer, *A magyarországi*, II, 56.

Buda Diary, reacted to these accusations on 21 September 1931, under the title 'Christians in Islam': 'The cooperation of Muslims and Christians in the committee and in the leadership of the recognized Islamic religious community has given rise to criticism from those who are not familiar with the relations. This cooperation is neither contrary to the laws and traditions of the Quran nor to the injunctions of the caliphs. The fifth surah of the Quran contains the following statement: "Moreover, you will find that for these believers (Muslims) they feel. The greatest friendship is felt by those who speak thus: We are Christians."' <sup>35</sup> The article then goes on to discuss the Islamic religion's recognition of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and gives a historical summary of the cooperation between Muslims and Christians.

Since their establishment, Husein Hilmi Durić and his congregation have received a steady stream of congratulatory letters and telegrams from the Islamic world, which they have tried to publish in the press to prove their popularity. Their Hungarian Christian supporters saw a tourist trade option in the small Muslim community. The Hungarian Muslim community had already been invited to Jerusalem, to the congress of the pan-Islamic movement, where Durić with Hajji Mehmed Dzhemaluddin Čausević travelled in November 1931. This congress also had some Hungarian-related resolutions. Thus, Durić was given the title of 'Grand Mufti' and was included in the list of Grand Muftis of the Islamic world, while the congress also decided - in principle - that a pilgrimage site should be established in Buda at the türbe, with a religious centre. <sup>36</sup>

On 5 July 1932, Gyula Germanus <sup>37</sup>, an orientalist, linguist, literary historian, professor and traveller, who had just returned from India where he converted to Islam in 1930, was invited to the meeting of the *Hollós Mátyás Society* and reported that 'the East had noticed the Muslims' organisation in Hungary'. <sup>38</sup> On 28 October 1932, a delegation led by Durić visited Jenő Kozma <sup>39</sup>, Member of Parliament, and was invited to be the patron of the Muslim community in Hungary. <sup>40</sup> The relationship with the politician was maintained, as shortly afterwards Durić was invited to the MP's birthday dinner in December 1932, along with several of his associates. <sup>41</sup> It was at this time that the Hungarian Muslim community expressed its joy at the news that Emir Arslan's Syria would be freed from French occupation. <sup>42</sup> (Which did not happen.)

<sup>35</sup> M. 'Christians in Islam', *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, August 21, 1931, 1.

<sup>36</sup> Lederer, *A magyarországi*.

<sup>37</sup> Germanus, Gyula, Hajji Abdul-Karim (1884-1979), orientalist, writer, university professor, traveller, MP. In 1930 he converted to Islam in Delhi, India. The first Hungarian to make a pilgrimage to Mecca (hajji)

<sup>38</sup> M. *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, July 6, 1932, 2.

<sup>39</sup> Kozma, Jenő (1879-?), lawyer, politician, MP.

<sup>40</sup> M. *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, November 2, 1932, 1.

<sup>41</sup> M. *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, December 7, 1932, 2.

<sup>42</sup> M. *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, December 7, 1932, 2.

Durić later decided to try to win over the Albanian King Zogu<sup>43</sup> as a supporter of his “native Islam”, and in December 1932 he set off for Tirana via Vienna and Trieste. He was reportedly greeted with great respect by the Muslims at every stopover. (Durić had been substituted in the community by Ismail Mehmedagić during this period.<sup>44</sup>) King Zogu accepted the invitation to become the patron of Muslims in Hungary, although, as we shall see, he did little for the Bosnian-Hungarian Muslim community until his downfall. He did give Durić a medal (*‘Commander's Order of the Order of the Beg Skander, with diamond stars’*) but nothing else. The Grand Mufti was received several times by the Albanian King Zogu, and before his return home, a solemn farewell service was held as part of the ceremonial farewell. At this farewell ceremony, which is further proof of the seriousness with which the Durić were taken, ministers of the Albanian government and leaders of the economic and religious life were present. King Zogu and the Albanian Bektashi Order offered thousands of gold pengő<sup>45</sup> for the construction of the mosque and medrese in Buda, which would be paid out when the foundation stone was laid. Durić was also presented with a fancy turban by the head of the Bektashi Order. At the same time, it was announced that fifty Muslim Albanian students would come to study in the new medrese, and the government indicated its intention to establish diplomatic relations with the country.<sup>46</sup>

Hungarian Muslims have also featured prominently in the Arab world press. For example, in the 23 February 1932 issue of the Baghdad newspaper *‘Sirat al Mustaqim’* (the official organ and largest daily newspaper of the Kingdom of Iraq), three lengthy articles dealt with the Hungarian Muslim community. We would like to quote from one of the leading articles:

*‘It is two hundred and fifty years since the muezzin was not uttered in Buda Castle, but the Hungarian Muslims have maned themselves and with the help of Imam Husein Hilmi effendi, a highly respected figure in the Eastern Muslim world, and some of his Hungarian friends, have restored Hungarian Islam. Hussein Hilmi effendi, who had been elected Grand Mufti, wrote to all the Muslim powers of the world and they informed their people of this welcome and momentous historic event.’ (...)* *‘The most revered leader of the world of Islam, His Highness the Emir of Islam, Emir Sektib Arslan, has accepted the supreme protectorate of Hungarian Islam.’ (...)* *‘His Highness Ibrahim, the Sultan of Johore, promised Emir Arslan the help of the Muslims of India and he also accepted the patronage.’ (...)* *‘King*

<sup>43</sup> Zogu I of Albania (1895-1961), Albanian politician, prime minister, president of the republic, king (1928-1939).

<sup>44</sup> *M. Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, December 15, 1932, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Pengő: Hungarian currency (1927-1946).

<sup>46</sup> M., Lederer, *A magyarországi*.

*Feisal, the ruler of Iraq and Mesopotamia, also called on his subjects to participate in the Gül Baba operation.*<sup>47</sup>

It is striking that almost all Muslim authorities of the time were invited to defend the cause of Hungarian Islam, and most of them gladly accepted, but no one made a financial contribution to the building of the mosque, apart from promises and polite words. All this diplomatic hustle and bustle was done to secure the financial backing, because Durić had no money for the grandiose plans. They were amply supplied with good words and encouragement by the Islamic world and their patrons at home.<sup>48</sup>

On 24 February 1932, also in the *Buda Diary*, an interview with the Grand Mufti was published on the front page, entitled '*An afternoon at the Buda Muftis*'. The article recalled Durić's military past and his participation in the West Hungarian uprising. He presented the bronze medal he received for his participation in the uprising with the sentence '*Uncle Pali*<sup>49</sup> *gave it to me!*'. The Grand Mufti estimated the Muslim community in his country, made up of ethnic Albanians, Bosniaks, Macedonians and Turks, at 3,000. He also counted the number of Muslim heroes buried in the cemetery in Rákoskeresztúr, mentioning 2,129 graves. '*...teaches our Muslims in Hungary eternal loyalty*', the article concluded.<sup>50</sup> In June 1932, King Zogu's personal envoy, Dr. Erebara Ali Bey<sup>51</sup>, visited Hungary and attended several official meetings and had personal talks with Durić, but apart from promises, the Muslims in Hungary received nothing more than that. The year 1932 seemed to be a boom year for Muslim diplomacy in Budapest, for in August Prince Shekib Arslan himself visited the city. The prince was also the president of the '*Comité Syrio-palestinien*', an organisation that worked alongside the League of Nations. The distinguished guest gave publicity to Muslims in his country in his magazine '*La Nation Arabe*'. From here we know that Mehmed Resulović, one of the leaders of the community, spoke at the European Congress of Muslims in Geneva in October 1935.<sup>52</sup> The prince attended many official meetings and spent much of his time with Durić. According to the *Buda Diary*, this was his fifth visit to Hungary. Financially, this visit did not bring the expected results for the Hungarian Muslim community, although the prince was not stingy with his promises.<sup>53</sup> On 22 November 1932, the Chief Mufti was given an important task. By '*Decree No. 199. 550/1932, X. ü. o.*', the Mayor of Budapest entrusted Husein Hilmi Durić with the supervision and care of the graves of the Muslim dead in the cemeteries of the capital.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>47</sup> M.

<sup>48</sup> Lederer, *A magyarországi*.

<sup>49</sup> Prónay, Pál.

<sup>50</sup> M. *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, February 24, 1932, 1-2.

<sup>51</sup> Erebara, Ali Bey (?-?), Albanian general, politician.

<sup>52</sup> M.

<sup>53</sup> M.

<sup>54</sup> M. *Buda Diary [Budai Napló]*, December 15, 1932, 2.

At the end of 1932, life around the Grand Mufti of Buda was again lively: he had a meeting in Rome with the head of the Senussiya Sufi Order, and from there he travelled to Tirana, where he met King Zogu again at Christmas, and presented him with a silver ornamental sword (it belonged to István Bárczy, who offered it to him). On the sword was a dedication in Hungarian and Arabic. In Albania, on Ramadan, he met the head of the Bektashi Order, who admitted Durić into the order and showered him with gifts. In Hungary, Ramadan was celebrated separately by Bosniaks and Hungarians and by Turks, led by their Imam Abdul Latif. In the 28 January 1933 issue of *Pest Diary* (*Pesti Napló*), the newspaper wrote: 'Durić held Ramadan services at his home. The grey-haired Abdul-Latif, Grand Imam, preached the truths of Allah in the Mosque street. Which of them is the true Imam, perhaps only Allah knows.'<sup>55</sup> The rift between the two communities grew deeper and deeper, with the leaders often attacking each other and their followers in various media outlets, in an un-Muslim-like manner. Public opinion mostly smiled cynically at the bickering, but Durić's past and his Hungarian citizenship gave him greater support. In all cases, Durić and his associates invoked the laws of 1895 and 1916, according to which only Hungarian citizens could be heads of churches, and the undoubtedly important fact that he had been elected by the full consensus of Muslims living in Hungary, whether Bosniaks or Albanians, all of whom - the majority - were Hungarian citizens. At the same time, the Durić rejected the claim that Muslims of Hungarian citizens were divided into two camps. In February 1932, the Durić celebrated 'Seker Bayram', the Islamic fest marking the end of Ramadan, the holy month of fasting.

The celebration took place at the Esplanade Hotel, where a suite was reserved for the Durić to receive foreign guests in a dignified manner. The ceremony was attended by several well-known figures from the local scene. It is worth noting that Professor Gyula Germanus, who was already a Muslim at the time, was also present, advocating the Bosnian community and giving a lecture to the gathering. The community, of course, also sacrificed a lamb and prayed together. All this was done at the Gül Baba türbe. The *Pest Diary*, daily newspaper reported the event under the title 'The Bayram celebration of the Hungarian Muslim Community', with pictures.<sup>56</sup> The Grand Mufti of Buda waited in vain for the promised financial aid from abroad, and the year 1932 was also a year of promises (as we will see, this was the case in later years as well). In 1933, the contemporary press once again reported abundantly on all the celebrations of the Hungarian-Bosnian Muslims, and the *Buda Diary* sang the praises of the arriving high-ranking visitors. This year, the celebration of the beginning of Ramadan caused a row between the Bosnian and Hungarian community led by Durić and the Turkish Muslims around Abdul Latif. The years flew by and none of the grand plans materialised.

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<sup>55</sup> M.

<sup>56</sup> M.

In 1934, Durić and Ismail Mehmedagić visited Egypt, Syria and Palestine. In Jerusalem, they received strong promises from the head of the Pan-Islamic Congress, Grand Mufti Hajji Amin al-Husseini<sup>57</sup> (later an ally of Adolf Hitler) but failed to get support from anyone. For the second time, they went on a bigger mission: In 1935, they embarked on another fund-raising trip on the Alexandria-Jerusalem-Damascus-Bombay-Hyderabad route. During their expedition, which lasted several months, they gave numerous lectures, the Hungarian Islamic cause were widely covered in local newspapers, and they were received by local dignitaries. In Iraq they were hosted by the King, in Hyderabad by the *Nizam*. But on their return, they had nothing to show for it except promises. 'We had no material success in Arabia.' - Mehmedagić wrote in his diary.<sup>58</sup> In fact, the intrigues of the Turkish imam at home, Abdul Latif, contributed to the failure of their journey. Relying on promises, Durić had told the press beforehand that enough money would be sent by the Muslim rulers of the East to build the Islamic centre. We know that he had to take out loans for his travels, and when he returned home, he had serious settlement problems with his creditors.<sup>59</sup>

In 1935 they tried again to get help for the planned Islam centre, this time writing a letter to the then Hungarian Prime Minister, Gyula Gömbös<sup>60</sup>. The letter was signed by Medriczky, Bárczy and György Petrichevich<sup>61</sup>. We would quote from it:

*'The recognition of the autonomous community of the Hungarian Muslims by the Hungarian authorities has not yet been possible for various reasons, and this circumstance paralyses all their capacity for action and creates various difficulties. It is also worth mentioning that the representative office of a foreign state in Budapest has been fighting hard for years to suppress this movement at the request of the clergyman of a Turkish citizen living in the country. The specific aspirations of Hungarian Muslims currently are twofold: Using the notoriously high level of sacrifice and solidarity of the orthodox Islamic world for religious purposes, they want to create the financial means to acquire ownership of the property around the tomb of Gül Baba, partly for religious purposes. They will also be able to establish a religious boarding school and a school for orthodox Muslim college students and a mosque worthy of the majestic panorama of Budapest, as well as to initiate religious academic work, for example by publishing a translation of the Quran in Hungarian. At the same time as they seek to collect voluntary donations for this purpose after securing the moral support of the most prominent Muslim personalities in the Islamic world, they also hold projected visual propaganda*

<sup>57</sup> Mohammed Amin al-Husseini (1897-1974), imam, grand mufti of Jerusalem.

<sup>58</sup> M.

<sup>59</sup> M.

<sup>60</sup> Gömbös, Gyula (1886-1936), military officer, General, politician, MP, Minister of Defence, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Hungary (1932-1936).

<sup>61</sup> Petrichevich, György (1880-1949), military officer, Colonel.

*lectures in most cities of Islam during the fundraising tour, they will also invite Muslims to Hungary who they believe will benefit from their visit in cultural, economic or tourist terms. It is now becoming timely to organise and carry out this collection in the East. We therefore respectfully request Your Excellency to grant permission to the elected "pastors" of the Hungarian Muslims, the Mufti of Buda, Hilmi Durić Hussein, a Hungarian citizen, and the Mehmed Resulović, also a Hungarian citizen, and a Hungarian military officer and sports instructor, to collect voluntary donations from Muslims abroad for the realisation of the above-mentioned aims of the Hungarian Muslim congregation and to pay these amounts into the bank account of the Gül-Baba Committee. (...) We considered it necessary to establish the Gül-Baba Committee, which would exercise a certain degree of political and moral supervision over the movement. For its part, the Gül-Baba Committee wishes to and will ensure that the funds collected are used only for the reimbursement of actual expenses incurred during the period of collection. (...) Your Excellency Prime Minister! In view of the fact that the whole movement cannot be called an everyday movement in any respect, neither in terms of its aim nor its means, and also in view of the fact that its effectiveness is within the widest possible limits, we respectfully request Your Excellency to grant the above-mentioned permission for a period of three years without any special restrictions, in view of the moral weight of the distinguished personalities participating in the Gül Baba Committee...<sup>62</sup>*

Unfortunately, Gömbös' reply, if any, has not yet come to our attention. After many failures and unsuccessful attempts, Durić again turned to the Albanian King Zogu, who was also chosen as the patron of Hungarian Islam. As a gift, he also brought the King a silver plaque depicting the mosque to be built. According to the Buda Diary, Durić blessed the marriage of King Zogu and Countess Geraldine Apponyi<sup>63</sup>, as Durić was also - allegedly - appointed by the Albanian king as his "Court Mufti". With the fall of the King and the invasion of Fascist Italy, the daring Hungarian Muslim hopes of the Albanian connection were dashed.

Andor Medriczky, tirelessly, but with less conviction due to the many disappointments he had experienced, continued to agitate for tourism and relations with the East, but Durić's name was hardly mentioned. He must also have resented him because the Grand Mufti had joined the far-right National Front, which Medriczky could not have been thrilled about, as his worldview was closer to that of the liberal Bárczy. The *Seker* and *Kurban Bayram* were still celebrated by Muslims - Bosnian-Hungarians and Turks separately - and in the 1930s, there were a series of 'educational' writings about the closeness of Christianity and Islam, and the fact that the latter is not the same as the Turks, as most people believe. Articles have urged that a mosque should be built next to the

<sup>62</sup> M., Lederer, *A magyarországi*.

<sup>63</sup> Countess Geraldine Apponyi (1915-2002), Queen of the Albanians.

Gül Baba türbe or, if that is not feasible, at least that the inappropriate Wagner Castle around it should be restored or demolished.

Durić died of lung disease on 3 February 1940 at the New St John's Hospital. He was 52 years old and passed away relatively young. His widowed wife, Ida Hindy Szabó, was in financial difficulties, despite coming from a very wealthy family before the war. They lived in Vienna until 1920, and she was a nurse in charge at the front three times, where she was wounded in the left hand by a fragment of an incoming shell on 12 August 1915, while working in the war hospitals of the Vienna clinics. The widow applied to Mrs Miklós Horthy, wife of the Governor Miklós Horthy for Christmas relief in 1941.<sup>64</sup> Durić' obituary can be read in the *Buda Chronicle* of 7 February 1940. They praised his personality, his participation in all kinds of community activities and his support for the development of tourism:

*'He was not an ordinary man. He was driven by great concepts and generous ideas. And when he set his mind to something, he carried it through. He knew no difficulties or obstacles. He travelled twice to the East to promote his great ideas for Buda through his personal agitation and the magical propaganda of his word: the construction of the Gül Baba Mosque, the establishment of a Muslim college and a cultural centre in Buda. He has been to the courts of Arab princes and kings, toured Egypt and India, urged and agitated everywhere, and achieved sums in millions will be available for these purposes once... This "once", this was the source of all his bitterness, his struggle, and his goal. The hopeless struggle of the "Don Quixotes" in the windmill is always tragic but also comic. It is, however, absolutely honourable.'*<sup>65</sup>

### About other members of the Community

We have also researched the lives of several Bosniaks who have settled in our country, and their possible political or economic involvement. In 1931, several Bosniaks were involved in a confused, complicated and provocative coup attempt in Budapest, and later in a political trial, and - in our opinion - we should not be surprised. After all, Trianon treaty, the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was also a blow to the Muslims who were trapped here. They were not allowed to return to their motherland, Bosnia-Herzegovina, because there, after 1920, Bosniaks and Croats loyal to the Monarchy were persecuted by the authorities of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and later of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Land and property confiscations were the order of the day, and several death sentences were handed down against former Bosnian officials appointed by the Monarchy. For Bosniaks in Hungary, returning home

<sup>64</sup> M.

<sup>65</sup> M. *Buda Chronicle [Budai Krónika]*, February 7, 1940, 1.

was risky, with long prison sentences and possibly death. In Hungary in 1931 there were several Bosnian defendants (Abdullah Enderić, Abid Ćatić, Salko Mulić) in the criminal case of the so-called *Vannay-Schill* coup attempt.<sup>66</sup> The political views and involvement of the Bosniak community were shaped by their past. Almost without exception, they were grouped around various parties on the domestic right at the time and were also called 'Bosniak groups' or 'Bosnian hunters'. Their strength was not negligible, as they could number in the hundreds. They were men of cohesion, solidarity, fighting spirit and martial strength, who were not afraid of their own shadow and who remained loyal to their new chosen homeland. They were also mostly anti-communist, and hundreds of them took part in the creation of the so-called National Army. Even those who had previously fought in the Red Army of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Their shattering of faith in the Communist Party may have been motivated by the withdrawal from the 'Highlands' (*Felvidék*). In the light of later data and conversations, they believed that after the occupation of the 'Highlands', they would fight to help both repel the Romanian troops and restore the territory of the old Hungary. They were disappointed. A few Bosniaks in the late 1930s and early 1940s went as far as the far right (e.g. the National Front).

The fact that most of the members of the Bosnian-Hungarian community became craftsmen and traders<sup>67</sup> points towards the creation of a peaceful civil life. Almost all Bosniaks, Albanians and many Turks had acquired Hungarian citizenship by the end of the 1930s. Those who still had a trade or small business before the war tried to continue their lives. They asked for and received help from their former military superiors in obtaining their official papers, and in the meantime, they went to the authorities to get their documents in order. All the while, they believed that one day Bosnia and Herzegovina might once again be part of a common homeland. In terms of their occupation, they were generally confectioners and shopkeepers, such as candy sellers; but they also owned bakeries; or retailers, such as pipe sellers, grocers, coffee shop owners and gardeners. Often, they were just vendors on the move, walking around the public square with a box hanging around their neck. We also know of people who have used their combat experience, such as fencing masters. We must mention the person of Mehmed Resulović, the community's notary and Durić's secretary, who was an excellent fencing master and sports instructor. He was born on 31 January 1902, and in 1939 he took part in the invasion of the Highlands as an apprentice fencing master. Between the two wars he was one of the best left-handed fencers in the country. He graduated from the Hungarian Royal Toldi Miklós Honvéd Sports Teacher and Fencing Master Training Institute. After 1945 he taught fencing at the Red Flag Sports Club. He left Hungary after the 1956 Revolution

<sup>66</sup> Budapest City Archives BFL VII. 5. c. 15207/1931.

<sup>67</sup> Budapest City Archives BFL IX. 'A budapesti kereskedelmi testület iratai 1906-1948.' 'A Budapesti Kávés Ipartársulat iratai 1875-1922.' [Documents of the Budapest Trade Board 1906-1948, Documents of the Budapest Coffee Industry Board 1875-1922]

and War of Independence. He worked as a fencing coach in Vienna and then in the Federal Republic of Germany until his death in 1983.<sup>68</sup>

The Bosnian veterans lived their lives in the capital or in large rural towns. They also often went to fairs in rural towns to make sweets, Turkish honey and candies. They had already abandoned the fez and baggy trousers in their clothing, but the fez was certainly taken out of the wardrobe for religious festivals. This can be seen in old photographs and film footage. In their homes, they kept Bosnian photos, made Bosnian coffee and drank - often from the *findsac* they had brought from home. Very few chose to live in villages. Almost all of them had Hungarian wives, but there were also Bosnian families. The Bosniaks in the capital often visited each other, but they also met in the restaurants to exchange ideas, where the main topic was current politics and nostalgia. They were fully accepted by Hungarian society at the time, even though they were Muslims and spoke Hungarian with an accent. This was not a problem in a cosmopolitan city like Budapest, where you could find, for example, market-going Swabian (German) women, Jewish merchants, Bulgarian gardeners, dressed in national costumes, with socks on their heads, in the Buda district. The Bosniaks tried to integrate, and this was tolerated by Hungarian society. Their religion was seen as a curiosity, and for the vast majority this was not ridiculous, alarming, or repulsive. Muslim confectioners not only had Bosnian customers, but most of them were Hungarian, they had a good reputation and were not expensive. Many pipers made their own, carving the pipe stems into the tins. During the economic crisis, they tried to help each other out and asked their former military superiors to intervene on their behalf. This they always received, as they were a solid base - they had already proved this in 1921 - which could form an experienced team ready for war in any future military operation in Hungary.

## Summary

To summarise our writing, we briefly present a typical career, a short biography of a Muslim Bosnian industrialist, Hasan Jamaković, who, according to the Industrial Association, ‘worked as an industrialist, became independent in 1931, lived in Budapest, born in Sarajevo in 1894. He is a skilled, educated craftsman, and has a good name in the trade. He fought on the Russian and Italian fronts from 1914-18, was wounded four times, and was decorated with the small silver and bronze.’ They were almost all like this, hard-working, industrious, family-loving veterans who lived their faith and never forgot their roots, the true pillars of Hungarian Islam between the two world wars.<sup>69</sup> We believe that the members of the Bosnian community have come to appreciate their new homeland,

<sup>68</sup> Mehmed Resulović [Rachulovics Mechmed, Reszulovics Mehmed], accessed February 14, 2022, [https://www.magyarszablya.hu/galeria/album/mesterek\\_eletrajza/slides/rachulovics\\_mehmed.pdf](https://www.magyarszablya.hu/galeria/album/mesterek_eletrajza/slides/rachulovics_mehmed.pdf)

<sup>69</sup> Magyar Ipar Almanachja 1929-1932. II. rész. Az iparos társadalom (Névjegyzék). [Hungarian Industry Almanac 1929-1932. Part II. The society of craftsmen (Register)] 318.

Hungary, and have tried to become useful members of society. Today's Hungarian Islamic Community rightly looks to them as an example to follow. In conclusion, we would like to point out that the leaders and members of the Community could always count on the support and assistance of their Hungarian officers and comrades-in-arms from the First World War, which came in handy when acquiring Hungarian citizenship, finding a job, and practicing the Islamic faith in calm circumstances. What is the reason for this? The First World War ended in 1918, and on 4 June 1920, Treaty of Trianon mutilated the thousand-year-old borders of historic Hungary. Austria also lost territory in the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, but received the Órvidék/Burgenland, part of Hungary, as "compensation". Since 1881, soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina have also served in the army of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, initially in four infantry regiments and field hunter battalions, as well as in several other joint military units, in mixed units. In 1908, the province was annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and was given a separate constitution. In the First World War, Bosnian soldiers fought so heroically that in 1914 they were described by Emperor and King Franz Joseph I himself as the bravest soldiers of all. After 1918, however, many of them had no intention of returning to the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Thus hundreds, perhaps thousands, were stranded in Hungary. Their loyalty to their new, chosen homeland was manifested by their participation in the so-called West-Hungarian Uprising, which broke out in 1921. They were Muslims, as were the Albanians who later joined the fighting and fled to Hungary at the call of Ivan Héjjas. Those who stayed in Hungary hoped that the old borders would one day be restored. Many of them were attached to Pál Prónay as their former commander, or to Iván Héjjas, with whom they had also fought together in the mountains of northern Albania. Because their former military life had been so formative for them, they believed that they would one day be needed again in Hungary's army. The group, made up mainly of Albanian, Bosnian and Hungarian Muslims, gathered around Husein Hilmi Durić. From the fighting in Western Hungary, the heroic actions of two Bosnian machine-gunners, Abdurrahman and Mehmet, Albanian insurgent Atif and Bosnian platoon leaders Olčan, Denčić and Hassán, should be mentioned. There is even a heroic death of the insurgency, that of Ahmed, a Bosnian vendor from the 3rd Infantry Regiment of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who died in battle on 5 September 1921 in the battle of Kirchsschlag.<sup>70</sup>

The Community's activities in Hungary did not pass without a trace. Durić died in 1940, and in 1946 his great rival, the leader of the Turkish community in Hungary, Abdul Latif 'Imam-Hodja', a Turkish language lecturer at the University of Budapest, died, and many others lost their lives in the Second World War. The Communist establishment did not tolerate the free practice of Islam in

<sup>70</sup> Zoltán Bolek, *'Bosnyákok és albánok a nyugat-magyarországi felkelésben 1921.'* [Bosniaks and Albanians in the West-Hungarian Uprising 1921], Budapest, Magyar Iszlám Közösség, 2021.

Hungary, which was banned from 1947 to 1988. However, there are recollections of elderly Bosniaks going up to the around of Gül Baba türbe in Buda to pray, even during the dark fifties of the Rákosi era, the period of the harshest communist repression. Unfortunately, they passed away in the 1960-1970s due to old age.<sup>71</sup> In their place came new Muslims to Hungary, mostly university scholarship students from various Arab countries, but their history and practice of Islam belongs to the pages of another chronicle.

## Zaključak

Da rezimiramo naše pisanje, ukratko predstavljamo tipičnu karijeru, kratku biografiju muslimanskog bosanskohercegovačkog industrijalca Hasana Jamakovića, koji je, prema navodima Industrijskog udruženja, 'radio kao industrijalac, osamostalio se 1931. godine, živio u Budimpešti, rođen u Sarajevu 1894. Vješt je, obrazovan zanatlija i ima dobro ime u zanatu. Borio se na ruskom i italijanskom frontu od 1914. do 1918., četiri puta je bio ranjavan, odlikovan malim srebrom i bronzom.' Gotovo svi su bili takvi, vrijedni, marljivi veterani koji su voljeli porodicu, koji su živjeli svoju vjeru. i nikada nisu zaboravili svoje korijene, prave stubove mađarskog islama između dva svjetska rata. Vjerujemo da su pripadnici bosanske zajednice počeli cijeniti svoju novu domovinu, Mađarsku, i pokušali postati korisni članovi društva. Današnja mađarska Islamska zajednica s pravom gleda na njih kao na primjer koji treba slijediti. U zaključku želimo istaći da su čelnici i članovi Zajednice uvijek mogli računati na podršku i pomoć svojih mađarskih oficira i saboraca iz Prvog svjetskog rata, što im je dobro došlo prilikom sticanja mađarskog državljanstva, pronalaženje posla i prakticiranje islamske vjere u mirnim okolnostima. Šta je razlog tome? Prvi svjetski rat je završio 1918. godine, a 4. juna 1920. Trianonski ugovor je osakatio hiljadugodišnje granice istorijske Mađarske. Austrija je također izgubila teritoriju Ugovorom iz Saint-Germain-en-Layea, ali je dobila Örvidek/Burgenland, dio Mađarske, kao "kompenzaciju". Od 1881. godine vojnici iz Bosne i Hercegovine služe i u vojsci Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, u početku u četiri pješadijska puka i poljskim lovačkim bataljonima, kao i u nekoliko drugih zajedničkih vojnih jedinica, u mješovitim jedinicama. 1908. godine, pokrajina je pripojena Austro-Ugarskoj monarhiji i dobila je poseban ustav. U Prvom svjetskom ratu bosanski vojnici su se borili tako herojski da ih je 1914. godine sam car i kralj Franjo Josip I opisao kao najhrabrije vojnike od svih. Međutim, nakon 1918. mnogi od njih nisu imali namjeru da se vrate u novoformiranu Kraljevinu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Tako su stotine, možda hiljade, nasukane u Mađarskoj. Njihova odanost novoj, izabranoj domovini očitovala se u učešću u tzv. Zapadnougarskom ustanku, koji je izbio 1921. Bili su muslimani, kao i Albanci koji su se kasnije

<sup>71</sup> 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.

uključili u borbe i pobjegli u Mađarsku na poziv g. Ivan Héjjas. Oni koji su ostali u Mađarskoj nadali su se da će se stare granice jednog dana vratiti. Mnogi od njih su bili vezani za Pál Pronaya kao svog bivšeg komandanta ili za Ivana Héjjasa, sa kojim su se takođe borili zajedno u planinama severne Albanije. Budući da im je dotadašnji vojnički život bio tako formiran, vjerovali su da će jednog dana ponovo biti potrebni u mađarskoj vojsci. Grupa, sastavljena uglavnom od albanskih, bosanskih i mađarskih muslimana, okupljena je oko Huseina Hilmija Durića. Iz borbi u zapadnoj Ugarskoj treba spomenuti herojske akcije dvojice bosanskohercegovačkih mitraljezaca, Abdurahmana i Mehmeta, albanskog ustanika Atifa i bosanskohercegovačkih vođa Olčana, Denčića i Hassana. Ima čak i herojske pogibije ustanika, Ahmeda, bosanskog trgovca iz 3. pješadijskog bosanskohercegovačkog puka, koji je poginuo u borbi 5. septembra 1921. u bici kod Kirchschlaga.

Aktivnosti Zajednice u Mađarskoj nisu prošle bez traga. Durić je umro 1940, a 1946. umro je njegov veliki rival, vođa turske zajednice u Mađarskoj Abdul Latif 'Imam-Hodja', predavač turskog jezika na Univerzitetu u Budimpešti, a mnogi drugi su izgubili život u Drugom. Svjetski rat. Komunistički establišment nije tolerisao slobodno praktikovanje islama u Mađarskoj, koje je bilo zabranjeno od 1947. do 1988. Međutim, postoje sećanja kako su stariji Bošnjaci išli na molitvu oko Gül Baba türbea u Budimu, čak i tokom mračnih pedesetih godina. Rakosijevo doba, period najžešće komunističke represije. Nažalost, preminuli su 1960-1970-ih godina zbog starosti. Na njihovo mjesto u Mađarsku su došli novi muslimani, uglavnom studenti univerziteta iz raznih arapskih zemalja, ali njihova historija i praksa islama pripadaju stranicama druge hronike.

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