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1.01 Izvorni naučni rad/Original scientific article
UDK/UDC: 94:355.4-054(497.6=163.4*3)(439)"1921" (093)
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2023.6.9.56>

BOSNIAKS IN THE 1921 UPRISING IN WEST HUNGARY

Abstract: *In the present study, I describe the struggles of the 1921. Uprising in West Hungary, and the lives and activities of the Bosnian and Albanian soldiers who took part in it. Hungary ended the First World War among the losers. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was dissolved, and Romania, Serbia, and the fledgling Czechoslovakia, among the states surrounding Hungary, made territorial claims on the Hungarian state. The nationalities living on the territory of Hungary declared their secession one after the other, and the country lost territory to neighbouring states one after the other. The territories under foreign occupation also included many Hungarian minorities, and more than two-thirds of the country's territory was under foreign occupation. The population of the country was dismayed, but when the Council of State of the former ally, Austria, announced its territorial claim to Western Hungary on 17 November 1918, the population was outraged. The Hungarian leadership attempted to negotiate with the Austrian leadership, raising the possibility of partitioning the territory, but the Austrians refused to make a deal. On 10 September 1919, the Entente approved the Austrian territorial claims in the Treaty of St. Germain. On 4 June 1920, the Treaty of Trianon was signed, in which the Kingdom of Hungary lost more than two-thirds of its territory, and the annexation of Western Hungary to Austria was confirmed. After the signing of the peace treaty, Hungary was forced to evacuate Western Hungary. The territory was divided into two parts, the so-called "A" and "B" zones. The former was today's Burgenland, the latter Sopron, and its surroundings. However, the Hungarians did not give up. In the meantime, however, the recruitment of volunteer troops had begun, the nucleus of which was the "Ragged Guard", formed on 18 April 1918. under the leadership of Iván Héjjas. The rebels were mostly made up of demobilised soldiers, farmers, students, and railwaymen, but they were also joined by Bosnian and Albanian volunteers led by Hilmi Hussein Durić, one of whom, Ahmed, was later killed in action against the Austrians. I will write in detail about the antecedents of the Uprising in West Hungary, its main leaders, Pál Prónay and Iván Héjjas, and the soldiers who fought in their units. I pay special attention to the travel of the Bosnian and Albanian soldiers*

to Western Hungary, the organisational circumstances, and the battles themselves. I have tried to identify the Albanian and Bosnian fighters involved in the uprising, using all the sources I can find. I will also write in detail about the two battles of Ágfalva and the battle of Kirchschlag and other smaller skirmishes. I will also outline the circumstances of the proclamation of "Lajtabánság" ("Banat of Leytha"), and its existence. I will also devote a great deal of attention to the aftermath of the successful uprising and the subsequent fate of the Muslim veterans. The Bosnian and Albanian Muslim fighters, veterans of the 1921. Uprising in West Hungary, kept in touch with each other and their former superiors between the two world wars and successfully integrated into Hungarian society. The focus of this paper is to present the relevant Hungarian memoir literature. In addition to these sources, I drew from the books "The Uprising in West Hungary" ("Nyugat magyarországi felkelés") by Lajos Missuray-Krug and "My Experiences of the West Hungarian War of Independence" ("Élményeim a nyugat-magyarországi szabadságharcból ") by Viktor Maderschpach.

Key words: *Bosniak, Albanian, Uprising in Western Hungary, Durić Hussein Hilmi, Pál Prónay, Iván Héjjas.*

BOŠNJACI U USTANKU 1921. U ZAPADNOJ MAĐARSKOJ

Apstrakt: *U ovoj studiji opisujem borbe ustanka 1921. u Zapadnoj Mađarskoj, živote i aktivnosti bosanskih i albanskih vojnika koji su u njemu učestvovali. Mađarska je završila Prvi svjetski rat među gubitnicima. Austro-Ugarska monarhija je raspuštena, a Rumunija, Srbija i nova Čehoslovačka, među državama koje okružuju Mađarsku, postavile su teritorijalne pretenzije na ugarsku državu. Narodnosti koje su živjele na teritoriji Mađarske su jedna za drugom proglašavale secesiju, a država je gubila teritoriju susjednih država jedna za drugom. Teritorije pod stranom okupacijom uključivale su i mnoge mađarske manjine, a više od dvije trećine teritorije zemlje bilo je pod stranom okupacijom. Stanovništvo zemlje bilo je užasnuto, ali kada je Državno vijeće bivšeg saveznika Austrije 17. novembra 1918. objavilo svoje teritorijalne zahtjeve na Zapadnu Mađarsku, stanovništvo je bilo ogorčeno. Mađarsko rukovodstvo je pokušalo pregovarati sa austrijskim rukovodstvom, podižući mogućnost podjele teritorije, ali su Austrijanci odbili sklopiti dogovor. Dana 10. septembra 1919. Antanta je odobrila austrijske teritorijalne pretenzije Ugovorom iz Sen Žermena. Dana 4. juna 1920. potpisan je Trijanonski ugovor kojim je Kraljevina Mađarska izgubila više od dvije trećine svoje teritorije, a potvrđeno je pripajanje Zapadne Mađarske Austriji. Nakon potpisivanja mirovnog sporazuma, Mađarska je bila prisiljena da evakuše Zapadnu Mađarsku. Teritorija je bila podijeljena na dva dijela, takozvane „A“ i „B“ zone. Prvi je bio današnje Burgenland, drugi Šopron i njegova okolina. Međutim,*

Mađari se nisu predavali. U međuvremenu je, međutim, počelo regrutovanje dobrovoljačkih trupa, čije je jezgro činila „Razderana garda“, formirana 18. aprila 1918. pod vođstvom Ivana Héjjasa. Pobunjenici su uglavnom bili demobilisani vojnici, poljoprivrednici, studenti i željezničari, ali su im se pridružili i bosanski i albanski dobrovoljci predvođeni Hilmijem Huseinom Durićem, od kojih je jedan Ahmed kasnije poginuo u akciji protiv Austrijanaca. Pisaću detaljno o prethodnicima ustanka u Zapadnoj Mađarskoj, njegovim glavnim vođama, Pál Prónayu i Ivanu Héjjasu, i vojnicima koji su se borili u njihovim jedinicama. Posebnu pažnju posvećujem putovanju bosanskih i albanskih vojnika u Zapadnu Mađarsku, organizacionim okolnostima i samim bitkama. Pokušao sam da identifikujem albanske i bosanske borce uključene u ustanak, koristeći sve izvore koje sam mogao da pronađem. Također ću detaljno pisati o dvije bitke kod Ágfalve i bici kod Kirchslaga i drugim manjim okršajima. Takođe ću izložiti okolnosti proglašenja „Lajtabánsága“ („Banat Leytha“) i njegovog postojanja. Također ću posvetiti veliku pažnju posljedicama uspješnog ustanka i kasnijoj sudbini muslimanskih veterana. Bosanskohercegovački i albanski muslimanski borci, veterani ustanka 1921. u Zapadnoj Mađarskoj, između dva svjetska rata održali su kontakt jedni sa drugima i svojim bivšim nadređenima i uspješno se integrirali u mađarsko društvo. Fokus ovog rada je predstavljanje relevantne mađarske memoarske literature. Pored ovih izvora, crpio sam podatke i iz knjiga „Ustanak u zapadnoj Mađarskoj“ („Nyugat magyarországi felkelés“) Lajosa Missuray-Kruga i „Moja iskustva zapadnomadžarskog rata za nezavisnost“ („Élményeim a nyugat-magyarzabórzáds“) autora Viktora Maderschpacha.

Ključne riječi: *Bošnjak, Albanac, ustanak u zapadnoj Mađarskoj, Durić Hussein Hilmi, Pál Prónay, Iván Héjjas.*

Introduction

On June 4, 1920, in Trianon, the château of Versailles near Paris, the peace treaty named after it came into force, taking two-thirds of the territory of the historic Kingdom of Hungary and annexing millions of Hungarian-speaking inhabitants to the neighbouring old (Romania) and new (Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) states. Burgenland (“Órvidék”), was annexed to Austria, one of the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which was also on the losing side. This was justified by the legislators at Trianon and in Paris because of the predominantly German origin of the local population. Preparations were made for the Austrian invasion. At that time Austria, which had become a republic, was governed by the Social Democrats. And in Hungary, with the initially tacit agreement of the government, the organisation began to take place so that this territory, which had been allocated to Austria, could be defended with arms if necessary. The organisers were made

up of the old “Szekler Division”, Kecskemét peasant farmers, students, and Bosnian and Albanian Muslim veteran First World War soldiers and officers who play a major role in my thesis. It is estimated that between 300 and 350 Albanians and Bosniaks participated in the uprising¹, which resulted first in the creation of an internationally unrecognised state, the “Lajtabánság” (“Banat of Leytha”), and then in a referendum on the status of the city of Sopron and its surroundings, called by the so-called Venice Arbitration Committee. The biggest territorial revision of the Trianon peace was achieved with this uprising, in which the Bosniaks and Albanians were major participants. The only other former Central Power to mount a similar resistance of this kind among the defeated Central Powers was Turkey, though that was much larger and more organised.

The Uprising and the armed resistance against the Austrian occupation

There were two groups of Bosniaks fighting in Hungary in 1919, which were numerically similar: one who fought under the banners of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, but who also joined the Counter-Revolutionary Government of Szeged, some of them almost from its formation, others who took up arms during the Szeged uprisings. There were also some who did not take part in the struggle of either side. After the collapse (1918), few returned home, and those who did not go back to Bosnia were officers, non-commissioned officers, or soldiers who feared the new South Slav government. We know that several of the soldiers' relatives were executed for treason, and this also deterred them from returning home. There were also some who left Hungary for the new Austria. Those who remained in Hungary hoped that the old borders would one day be restored. That is why they supported all later initiatives aimed at revision, and later in the 1930s many of them were involved in supporting the “Croatian Ustasha” and other Croatian independence movements in Hungary, and later in the fights of the “Ragged Guard” in Transcarpathia (1938).

Their past, their origins, their religion, and their role in the First World War, not to mention their role in Horthy's “National Army” and the West Hungarian Uprising, determined the fate of these men in future politics. Their anti-Serbianism drove them to the right, and their military camaraderie and obedience led to the far-right also having many of them in their ranks. However, they did not become Arrow Cross party members. That is because many were tied to Pál Prónay as their former commander, or to Iván Héjjas, with whom they also fought together, either in the mountains of northern Albania, or later on other fronts of the World War, or in “Örvidék” in 1921. Because their former military life was so decisive, they believed that they would one day be needed again in the military life of Hungary. Many of them therefore joined paramilitary formations, and most of them participated in right-wing associations such as the

¹ The total number of insurgents was estimated to be around 3,000-3,500.

Turanian Table Societies, the Turanian Association, or the Turanian Hunters' organisations. Many of them had already visited the Héjjas estate near Kecskemét around 1919-20. In their religious life, two groups emerged: one grouped around Abdul-Latif, the former Turkish imam-hodja of the First World War who had been "forgotten" in Hungary, although they were mainly of Turkish origin who had been stuck here. The other was a group of mainly Albanian-Bosnian and Hungarian Muslims, grouped around Durić Hilmi Hussein, former World War II Imperial and Royal Major, Field Imam. Durić's speech on St. Stephen's Day in 1933 is a good record of the political thinking of the Muslim community in his country at the time, which did not differ at all from the beliefs of the man in the street.²

Their association with Prónay and Héjjas was an adventurous one for the Bosniaks in Hungary. On 20 August 1921, National Police Chief Nádossy telephoned the district police headquarters with instructions to inspect trains bound for Western Hungary and to disembark any person who could not explain why he was travelling to that area. On 27 August the Minister of Trade, Hegyeshalmy, gave confidential instructions to the Director-General of Railways not to allow trains to Western Hungary to run with more coaches than usual. On 29 August a further crackdown on westbound trains, countersigned by State Secretary László Ladik, was imposed: they could only travel to western Hungary with the express orders of higher authorities or, in the case of private journeys, with the written permission of the police authorities. Police headquarters were also instructed to escort trains.³ Thus, many travelled as far as Komárom, from where they could reach the volunteers in Sopron on foot or by wagon. Prónay wrote in his diary (*My Counter-Revolutionary Diary*) that he met an acquaintance of a demobilised Bosnian soldier who was selling pipes near the Western Railway Station. He told him that he was organizing an uprising in West Hungary and that he should organize his Bosnian comrades to join him. A similar story is told by Viktor Maderschpach, although he describes the Bosnian pipe seller as a Turk (Omere Denčić). This Bosnian ex-soldier officer had already brought 50 Bosnian ex-soldiers to the Western Railway Station by mid-afternoon.⁴ They later served under Lieutenant-General Horkay in the Uprising in Western Hungary.⁵ The Hungarian government, however, made the evacuation and surrender of the "Őrvidék" (Burgenland) contingent on the withdrawal of the soldiers of the Serb-Croat-Slovenian Kingdom from Baranya, which proceeded slowly, and their withdrawal did not always reach the designated borders. The Austrian state planned to march a force of 1,500 police and gendarmes into Burgenland, without the Austrian "Wermacht" units for the time being.

² See the speech of Durics 1931 St. Stephen's Day on August 20.

³ *Francia diplomáciai iratok a Kárpát medence történetéről 1920-1921*. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest. 2006. Compiled by Ádám Magda and Ormos Mária. 215-217.

⁴ Viktor Maderschpach, *Élményeim a nyugat-magyarországi szabadságharcból*. Masszi Kiadó. 2009, 24-25.

⁵ *Ibidem*, 36.

Lajos Krug writes about the Uprising in Western Hungary, and like many other memoirs, the heroic Muslim Bosnian and Albanian fighters are mentioned here. But there is an interesting figure among them, a Turk, and in this struggle he was the only Turkish Muslim who took part in the actual fighting from the beginning, from the organisation to the actual fighting. After the uprising, he moved to his homeland, Turkey. Hussein Ibrahim Hilmi was a mining engineering student who put the “fez” hat on his head in protest when he joined to the rebels.⁶

“The insurgent council of war, sitting in the Pannonia Hotel in Sopron, declared that it would not surrender Western Hungary. If it can, it will defend it with the help of the government, or if not, - it will defend it without the government, and even against it!... I pressed my tired forehead against the gloomy glass of the window and thought ... In this small room, five or six of us »insiders« wrote the »insurgent summoners«; Elemér Székely, Leicht Ottó, the president of the circle, Pál Koller, Hussein Ibrahim Hilmi, a Turkish mining engineer student and Dr. Bokor Rezső, the secretary of the youth circle: »Dear Friend! The homeland calls! Whoever can, come voluntarily and immediately to Sopron, where we have taken care of your needs... Sopron, August 1921.«⁷ (The Turkish college student was assigned to an assault team commanded by mining engineering student Károly Obendorf, who was baptised by fire on the railway embankment at Brennerberg. He later served with the rebels in Frakno Castle.)⁸ More and more groups arrived in Sopron in response to the call, one of which featured the figure of the former Albanian sergeant major Atif, who was still Prince Wied’s bodyguard. He was accompanied by former Bosnian soldiers, platoon leaders Olčán, Omere Denčić and Passares Hassan, who left their mobile shops and took rifles instead of merchandise. They also took a circuitous route to Sopron. Atif calls his Bosniaks “my dear boys”.⁹ The insurgents were given death’s-head badges, sporting dress uniforms with a half-brimmed hat. On the lapels of the jackets was attached a cardboard plate covered with green poster (the colour of the camp hunters’ paroli)¹⁰. The college students also wore a foresters’ star or a miner’s hammer in their buttonholes.

The first and so far, only dead Muslim identified rebel, the Bosnian Ahmed, was killed in the battle of Kirchsschlag. Described in contemporary chronicles as a Bosnian fairground vendor, Ahmed had previously served in the 3rd Infantry Regiment of the Imperial and Royal Bosnia-Herzegovina in Budapest, and after the collapse, he was trapped in Hungary with hundreds of his comrades. He and his comrades were laid to rest in a mass grave with Austrian names in the Kirchschiagen cemetery. The inscription on his bronze plaque reads:

⁶ Lajos Missuray-Krug, *Nyugat magyarországi felkelés. Rötting-Romwalter Nyomda Bérlői*. Sopron. 1938, 74.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸ Comment by Zoltán Bolek.

⁹ Lajos Missuray-Krug, *Nyugat magyarországi felkelés. Rötting-Romwalter Nyomda Bérlői*. Sopron. 1938, 134-136.

¹⁰ Comment by Zoltán Bolek.

“Dem Andenken der am 5. IX. 1921 im Gefechte bei Kirchsclag gefallenen Angehörige des N. ö. Inf. Reg. No. 5: Schwarmf. Samotny Franz, Fellner Franz Wehrmann, Gruber Anton, Jirka Franz, Jung Josef, Kamper Ferdinand, Kraft Anton, Mladenka Hugo, Rosenauer Franz, Smrcka Sigmund.”¹¹

The Battle of Ágfalva was no longer fought by a single Muslim (Bosnian or Albanian)¹² insurgent, but Albanian fighters from Budapest and other parts of the country, as well as from Albanian areas - fleeing through the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes - had already arrived, supported and called by Iván Héjjas. The insurgents had trained in a planned way for the battle. “The first and second squads occupied the field between the forest edge and the railway embankment at Brennberg. It moves in a dotted line towards the village of Ágfalva. At the same time, Captain Pál Gebhardt, with a swarm of railwaymen and Bosniaks from Szombathely, breaks forward at the lower end of the village. The swarms are massing as needed. While we were making for the village on the bank of the little stream at the foot of the Hausberg, another group was pushing forward on the road to Brennberg; and the third swarm, which had suffered the heaviest losses, was positioned alongside the railway embankment.”¹³ One machine gun was given to two Bosniaks, Abdurrahman and Mehmet.¹⁴ “The Bosnian giants, loaded with machine gun and shields, whose hands are not free, are led like cows by the strap attached to their belts.”¹⁵ The Bosniaks were ordered to shoot a captured pair of robbers who had robbed a Jewish shopkeeper, as the insurgents tried to maintain order, discipline and public safety in the areas occupied by the them under all circumstances, so successfully that the German population referred to the insurgents as “Herr Bandit”.¹⁶

The Austrian gendarmes moved in and occupied the northern part of the village. They noticed the advance of the rebels and started firing. The insurgents fired volleys, which were interfered with by machine guns, and the battle began. The rebels threw everything they had into the fight. But the invaders would not give up, and the insurgents used every cover they had to attack and smoke out the resistance. The target was the village's Lutheran church, located in the village square. However, the insurgents had to return to their starting point, from where they pushed forward again in the village from a different direction. They attacked in the direction of the village school, but there they found only the cold site of the Austrian gendarmes. “Captain Pál Gebhardt arrives with an Albanian insurgent named Atif, having fought a serious battle with the Austrians. In the schoolyard, to our no small astonishment, Bosnian platoon leader Olčán and two

¹¹ Research by Zoltán Bolek.

¹² Comment by Zoltán Bolek.

¹³ Lajos Missuray-Krug, *Nyugat magyarországi felkelés. Rötting-Romwalter Nyomda Bérközi*. Sopron. 1938, 134.

¹⁴ Viktor Maderschpach, *Élményeim a nyugat-magyarországi szabadságharcból*. Masszi Kiadó. 2009, 88.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 92.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

companions roll a barrel into the middle and fire into it. The effect is great. The detonation is equivalent to the boom of a good medium-calibre cannon. The Austrian gendarmes retreated from the gendarmes to escape the insurgents' attacks.

On 28 September, rebel captain István Bachó was ordered to occupy the Brück-Lajta line and to disturb it with patrols. Similar orders were given to Captain György Winter-Latzay for the northern part of Császárkőbánya and the Lajta Hills, and Imre Sz. Tóth and Lieutenant Bodollay were assigned the northern terrain of Pándorfalu to reconnoitre.¹⁷ Hassan was also sent there, the commander of the Albanian platoon, who had brought his support troops to Hungary, and in civilian life had studied in an Islamic medrese and joined the Monarchy's army during the fighting of Iván Héjjas in Albania, along with 5,000 other Albanian guerrillas. It was in the Albanian mountains that Héjjas learned the skills of guerrilla warfare, which he also used in Western Hungary. In 1913, Iván Héjjas (born in 1870 in Kecskemét) volunteered to serve in Durazzo, supported by the Albanian princely aspirant William Wied. In the First World War he served as a field pilot on several fronts. Iván Héjjas ordered Várkonyi and Gyula Bocskay's troop to Pándorfalu for the evening. From there they will leave at midnight. After a tiring march, they reach the winding bank of the Lajta at around 3 a.m. and deploy. One part of them crosses the Lajta. As soon as they reached the southern heights of Prellenkirchen, Ivan the Héjjas immediately blocked the village's road to Haslau and flooded the surprised Austrian village with continuous fire. The Austrian defenders around Lajtakáta and Mosonújfalú were routed by Várkonyi and Ali Fasil, also a member of the 3rd Bosnian Infantry Regiment from Budapest. The Austrian Volkswehr, searching for the bridge over the Lajta, came within range of the machine guns of the valiant Bocskay and fled across the water. After a heavy firefight, the united rebels, with a new regrouping, occupied the heights 175 and 132, which dominated the Prellenkirchen-Lajtakörtvélyes road. The Austrians, fearing a flanking attack, retreated. The road was clear and in the early afternoon the rebels entered Edelsthal, which had been abandoned by the enemy. The boys were tired to death, but even at the cost of casualties, Lajtakáta-Edelsthal, the northernmost point of Western Hungary, was captured by the rebels.¹⁸ Durić Hilmi Hussein, a former Imperial and Royal Major and Imam General, mobilised Bosniaks to join the Prónay troops, about which his widow wrote in a 1941 petition to Miklós Horthy: "When we came to Hungary from Vienna in October 1920, my late husband took part in the Uprising in Western Hungary, and fed 85 Bosnian rebels with his own money."¹⁹ The Bosnian Albanian rebels served in the so-called IV Insurgent Army, commanded by Iván Héjjas "Insurgent Lieutenant-General", István Bachó "Insurgent

¹⁷ Lajos Missuray-Krug, *Nyugat magyarországi felkelés. Rötting-Romwalter Nyomda Bérlői*. Sopron. 1938. p. 263.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 209.

¹⁹ Budapest Archives. Medriczky dossier.

Captain” and Pater Bónis “Archangel”, a Franciscan friar and chaplain. Their seat was in Pándorfalu (now Pandorf, Austria)²⁰, in Moson County.²¹

After the uprising, Krug received several letters from former rebels, keeping in touch with each other as comrades. “In expressing my most grateful thanks for your kind intercession, I respectfully inform you that my naturalisation case has been settled once and for all. I respectfully request Your Excellency to kindly return my military and insurgent documents, which I have received at the time, as they are necessary for my admission to the “Front Fighters’ Association” and have been requested from me by the Presidency. For your heartfelt efforts and your effective intercession, I thank you once again. (Szombathely, 10 October 1932)”²² Hassan was a rebel of Bosnian origin. At the time of writing, he was already working as a sugar seller in Szombathely. His licence to sell was revoked because he had not been naturalised. However, Elemér Simon the Valiant, the County Government Commissioner of Sopron County, who supported the rebels, rescued the stateless Bosnian at Krug's request. “Otherwise, he would have met the same fate as his compatriot back home, who - because of the rebellion in Western Hungary - would simply have been shot in the head. He would have been shot for suspected espionage, like Humič Ottil. Hassan is now a happy man and a Hungarian citizen. He visits me at every national fair. He even got married. He is married to a pretty, refugee Szekler lady.”²³

Hilmi Ibrahim Hussein wrote a letter to Krug from Mugla, Turkey. There were two Hungarian brothers who had fled to Turkey, started a new life there, and allegedly embraced Islam. Quote from their letter: “We already had a few pounds to spare. We’ve moved on. My brother went to Bey-Bazar (Anatolia) to a modernized farm and taught the Turks how to operate tractors and other machinery. I myself became the manager of the Ermiss Confiance-Kartal cannery in Fener-Bahće, although I had never seen a cannery even from the outside. But we are Hungarian to learn. Soon everything was going well and after three weeks I was offered a voluntary pay rise. The bridges of Turkey are made by Hungarian engineers. Taximé, Minaret 12, Géza Mindek and his brother Ernő”.²⁴

This is how Lajos Krug writes about the Bosnian heroic dead: “Ahmed. His name was said to be Ahmed. He was a Bosnian fairground vendor. A true Muslim. A fearless, death-defying soldier. He also fought in the Tyrol, at the door of an Austrian comrade in arms. All that is recorded of him is: »When the last bullet of his machine-gun had run out, in a helpless rage leapt from behind his cover and, in a show of infinite contempt, showed his back to the disloyal ally.

²⁰ Comment by Zoltán Bolek.

²¹ Lajos Missuray-Krug, *Nyugat magyarországi felkelés. Rötting-Romwalter Nyomda Bérlői*. Sopron 1938, 208.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

He did not move. They shot him dead...«”²⁵ (At Kirschlag, in the West Hungarian Uprising.)²⁶

To commemorate the uprising, Pál Prónay minted a commemorative medal in 1929, one gold, which he received, 30 silver and bronze from number 31. Their owners received a medal certificate, and their personal details were entered in a register with a number. The certificates issued were valid only if signed by the “commander-in-chief” himself. The medal was designed by the sculptor Hugó Keviczky, with a portrait of the commander-in-chief in a hunting hat on one side and the coat of arms of the Lajtabánság in relief on the other. The ribbon of the medal represents the colours of the Lajtabánság: a red field with a white cross. The coins are serially numbered on the heraldic side. The Lajtabánság Commemorative Medal Certificate reads: “The coins of Lajtabánság were issued in 1921.”²⁷ I assume that Prónay wanted to strengthen his personal nimbus by issuing the commemorative medal, and that the issue of the medal also served to annoy his right-wing opponents. He wanted to permanently organise the “rebel camp”. He must therefore have been in greater correspondence with the former rebels and must have spent several months organising and travelling to them. We know that he kept an accurate record of those who had been awarded medals, and that they provided him and Héjjas with a reliable base for any subsequent actions. The Savaria Museum in Szombathely has a few handwritten letters and lists of the decorated rebels. There are 129 names on this list, but I found only one Bosnian name, namely under number 98, Pazarecz Hasszánt, born in Bosnia in 1890, registered as a street vendor and resident of Szombathely, received the medal. Born in Taslegye, Bosnia, he served in the 3rd Infantry Regiment in Bosnia and Herzegovina, taking part in the uprising without rank, serving with the 5th “Corps”.²⁸ Iván Héjjas was awarded the commemorative medal number 6, under his command the Albanians and Bosniaks fought.

Summary

As a result of the uprising, Hungary regained 267 km² with 48,191 inhabitants, and then another ten villages, 79 km² with 5050 inhabitants, by referendum. This was a huge achievement, as Hungary was surrounded by the countries (Czechoslovakia to the north, the Kingdom of Romania to the east and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia) to the south), which were referred to as the “Little Entente”. One might ask why the uprising was successful. On the one hand, although the Austrian “Wehrmacht” and the

²⁵ Lajos Missuray-Krug, *Nyugat magyarországi felkelés. Rötting-Romwalter Nyomda Bérlői*. Sopron 1938, 303.

²⁶ Comment by Zoltán Bolek.

²⁷ Lajos Missuray-Krug, *Nyugat magyarországi felkelés. Rötting-Romwalter Nyomda Bérlői*. Sopron 1938, 200.

²⁸ Savaria Museum. Szombathely. IV.78.16.1. mark no.

gendarmerie, the opponents of the rebels, were outnumbered, they were not might drive by patriotism and the defence of their homeland. The moral superiority of the Hungarians in battle was the same as that of the patriotic army of Mustafa Kemal in Turkey. Most of those fighting against the Austrian occupation had extensive combat experience from the First World War. The insurgents were also poorly equipped in terms of weaponry, but they used weapons captured from the enemy to fight.

As far as the international situation was concerned, at the end of the war, no major power was in the mood to engage in new wars, let alone a conflict that was of no interest to them. After the Great War, there was a much stronger desire for peace among the peoples of the nations, which was reflected in everyday life, both in daily life and in the press. And Italy, as one of the victorious powers, was both dissatisfied with the territory it had won and faced new competition from the South Slav state on Hungary's southern border. Thus, it supported the referendum initiative in the Sopron area. The British were indifferent to the area and viewed this struggle with more sympathy. For the French, the desire for peace was stronger than ever, and the USA was already pursuing a policy of isolation.

The patriotic nature of the uprising showed that there was no peace treaty set in stone, so Hungary was able to change its borders immediately after the Treaty of Trianon to the state in which it still stands. And in this struggle, Albanian and Bosnian Muslim soldiers also took part. During the 1921 Uprising in West Hungary, Bosnian and Albanian soldiers fought bravely and tenaciously for Hungary. Some even sacrificed their lives for the territory. The veteran Muslim insurgents were later successfully integrated into Hungarian society.²⁹ They were also able to profess their Islamic faith under the leadership of Durić Hussein Hilmi, the chief imam of Buda, in Budapest, around the Gül Baba türbe. At the same time, their leaders, Pál Prónay and Iván Héjjas, were gradually marginalised in the consolidating old-new Hungary led by Prime Minister István Bethlen (1921-1931). However, I believe that the 1921 Uprising in West Hungary was a glorious chapter in the history of Islam in Hungary as well. With my writing, I also wanted to commemorate the heroes who died in battle.

Zaključak

Kao rezultat ustanka, Mađarska je referendumom povratila 267 km² sa 48.191 stanovnikom, a potom još deset sela, 79 km² sa 5.050 stanovnika. To je bio veliki uspjeh, jer je Mađarska bila okružena državama (Čehoslovačka na sjeveru, Kraljevina Rumunija na istoku i Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (kasnije Jugoslavija) na jugu) koje su se nazivale “Mala Antanta”. Moglo bi se

²⁹ For more on the life of the Bosnian and Albanian Muslim community between the two world wars, see our previous studies: Bolek-Udvarvölgyi, 2022., Bolek-Udvarvölgyi 2017.

zapatiti zašto je ustanak bio uspješan. S jedne strane, iako su austrijski "Wermacht" i žandarmerija, protivnici pobunjenika, bili brojčano nadjačani, oni nisu mogli biti vođeni patriotizmom i odbranom svoje domovine. Moralna superiornost Mađara u borbi bila je ista kao kod patriotske vojske Mustafe Kemala u Turskoj. Većina onih koji su se borili protiv austrijske okupacije imali su veliko borbeno iskustvo iz Prvog svjetskog rata. Pobunjenici su također bili slabo naoružani, ali su za borbu koristili oružje zarobljeno od neprijatelja.

Što se tiče međunarodne situacije, na kraju rata nijedna velika sila nije bila raspoložena za nove ratove, a kamoli za sukob koji ih nije zanimao. Poslije Velikog rata među narodima je bila mnogo jača želja za mirom, što se odrazilo na svakodnevni život, kako u svakodnevnom životu, tako i u štampi. A Italija, kao jedna od sila pobjednica, bila je i nezadovoljna osvojenom teritorijom i suočila se s novom konkurencijom južnoslavenske države na južnoj granici Mađarske. Time je podržala referendumsku inicijativu na području Šoprona. Britanci su bili ravnodušni prema tom području i na ovu borbu su gledali s više simpatija. Za Francuze je želja za mirom bila jača nego ikad, a SAD su već vodile politiku izolacije.

Patriotska priroda ustanka pokazala je da nije postojao mirovni ugovor, pa je Mađarska odmah nakon Trijanonskog ugovora mogla promijeniti svoje granice u stanje u kojem se i danas nalazi. A u toj borbi su učestvovali i vojnici Albanci i bosanski Muslimani. Tokom ustanka 1921. godine u Zapadnoj Mađarskoj, bosanski i albanski vojnici su se hrabro i uporno borili za Mađarsku. Neki su čak žrtvovali svoje živote za teritoriju. Veterani muslimanski pobunjenici su kasnije uspješno integrisani u mađarsko društvo. Svoju islamsku vjeru mogli su ispovijedati i pod vodstvom Durića Huseina Hilmija, glavnog budimskog imama, u Budimpešti, oko Gül Baba turbeta. Istovremeno, njihovi lideri, Pál Prónay i Ivan Héjjas, postepeno su marginalizovani u konsolidovanoj staronovoj Mađarskoj koju je predvodio premijer István Bethlen (1921-1931). Međutim, vjerujem da je ustanak 1921. u Zapadnoj Mađarskoj bio veličanstveno poglavlje u historiji islama i u Mađarskoj. Svojim pisanjem želio sam da obilježim i heroje koji su poginuli u borbi.

Appendix

General Guillaume, Commissioner General of the Government, presented awards to the students who played an active role in the defence of Sopron. Text of the diploma for the Turkish mining engineering student:

West Hungarian High Commission
Sopron
.../105. CAT. NO. 1922
HIGH COMMISSION
ADMISSION

Mr. Hussein Ibrahim Hilmi, a student mining engineer, from 10 December 1921 to 29 December 1921, supported the West-Hungarian High Government Commission in its work. During this period, with unconditional trustworthy exemplary zeal and a deep patriotic feeling, he successfully contributed to the preparation and implementation of the referendum in Western Hungary. For these outstanding achievements, I express my grateful thanks and appreciation on behalf of the Royal Government.

Sopron, 10th January 1922. General GUILLEAUME, S.K., Commissar General, District Commander.³⁰

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³⁰ A copy of the document in the possession of the author, Zoltán Bolek.