

Zoltán BOLEK, PhD candidate

Chairman of the Hungarian Islamic Community, Hungary

E-mai: zoltanbolek@gmail.com

1.02 Pregledni naučni rad/Review scientific article

UDK/UDC: 94:355:323.1(497.6:439)"1919" (093)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2025.8.13.112>

BOSNIAKS IN HUNGARY DURING THE SOVIET REPUBLIC OF 1919

Abstract: *In Europe, in the penultimate year of the Great War (1914-1918), a revolution broke out in Russia, which was almost fatal for the countries of the Entente. The horrors of the war, the heavy losses, the starvation of the civilian population and the deprivation gave Marxist and anarchist revolutionary groups the right reasons to radicalise the masses. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed with the loss of the war, and no one was able to stop the revolutionary, rebellious masses and the communist politicians who fuelled them. In 1919, Hungary became the first country to form a Bolshevik government (Soviet Republic), which included in its newly formed (transformed) army the Southern Slavic (including Bosnian) soldiers of the Monarchy. In this study I will describe the situation, movements and actions of the troops fighting on the side of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, mainly Bosniaks, from April to the end of July 1919. Emphasis will be placed on the events along the Mura River, on the southern border of the country, where Bosnian troops engaged in several engagements with the forces of the Kingdom of Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia. Based on the sources found in the Hungarian Military Archives, I will examine the composition of the units, their equipment, the soldiers' situation, their equipment, their actions, the attitude of the officers towards their subordinates and the communist power. In the summer of 1919, the end of Bolshevik rule seemed to be gradually approaching, desertions increased, morale deteriorated, supplies were stagnant and then cut off, and chaos ensued in many places. The so-called South Slav Battalion and the so-called „Red Hunters” are the focus of my writing here. Bosniak troops were stationed in many parts of the country and heroically took part in the Soviet Republic's defensive fighting. Finally, I will look at the period after the fall of the Soviet Republic and how the fate of Bosnian veterans of the First World War and the later Soviet Republic subsequently unfolded under the established Horthy regime. My study sheds light on the fact that Bosnian soldiers not only fought with death-defying courage alongside their Hungarian comrades on the front lines of the First World War, but later, during a strange and terrible period, during the months of the communist takeover, they also sided with the Hungarians and actively participated in the struggle of the Soviet Republic.*

Key words: *Bolshevik, First World War, Bosnian, Mihály Károlyi, communist, Soviet Republic, South Slav.*

BOŠNJACI U MAĐARSKOJ ZA VRIJEME SOVJETSKE REPUBLIKE 1919. GODINE

Apstrakt: *U Evropi, u pretposljednjoj godini Velikog rata (1914-1918), u Rusiji je izbila revolucija koja je bila gotovo kobna za zemlje Antante. Strahote rata, teški gubici, gladovanje civilnog stanovništva i oskudica pružile su marksističkim i anarhističkim revolucionarnim grupama opravdane razloge za radikalizaciju masa. Austro-Ugarska Monarhija urušila se s gubitkom rata i niko nije mogao zaustaviti revolucionarne, pobunjene mase i komunističke političare koji su ih poticali. Godine 1919. Mađarska je postala prva zemlja koja je formirala boljševičku vladu (Sovjetsku Republiku), koja je u svoju novoformiranu (transformiranu) vojsku uključila južnoslavenske (uključujući bošnjačke) vojnike Monarhije. U ovom radu opisat ću situaciju, kretanja i djelovanja jedinica koje su se borile na strani Mađarske Sovjetske Republike, uglavnom Bošnjaka, od aprila do kraja jula 1919. godine. Naglasak će biti stavljen na događaje duž rijeke Mure, na južnoj granici zemlje, gdje su se bošnjačke jedinice u nekoliko navrata sukobile sa snagama Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Na osnovu izvora pronađenih u Mađarskom vojnom arhivu, ispitat ću sastav jedinica, njihovu opremu, položaj vojnika, njihova djelovanja, odnos oficira prema svojim potčinjenima i komunističkoj vlasti. U ljeto 1919. godine činilo se da se kraj boljševičke vladavine postepeno približava, dezerterstva su se povećala, moral se pogoršao, opskrba je stagnirala, a zatim je prekinuta te je na mnogim mjestima zavladao kaos. Takozvani Južnoslavenski bataljon i takozvani „Crveni lovci“ u fokusu su ovog mog rada. Bošnjačke jedinice bile su stacionirane u mnogim dijelovima zemlje i herojski su učestvovalе u odbrambenim borbama Sovjetske Republike. Konačno, osvrnut ću se na period nakon pada Sovjetske Republike i kako se sudbina bošnjačkih veterana Prvog svjetskog rata i kasnije Sovjetske Republike naknadno odvijala pod uspostavljenim Hortijevim režimom. Moj rad rasvjetljava činjenicu da se bošnjački vojnici ne samo da su se s izuzetnom hrabrošću borili uz svoje mađarske suborce na frontovima Prvog svjetskog rata, već su i kasnije, tokom jednog čudnog i strašnog perioda, tokom mjeseci komunističkog preuzimanja vlasti, također stali na stranu Mađara i aktivno učestvovali u borbi Sovjetske Republike.*

Ključne riječi: *Boljševik, Prvi svjetski rat, Bošnjak, Mihály Károlyi, komunist, Sovjetska Republika, Južni Slaven.*

An introduction to this period in Hungary's history

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy fell apart in the First World War, and in the autumn of 1918 the new states that were being created on its territory were organised by the rapidly forming national councils of nationalities. The Hungarian National Council was founded in Hungary on 24 October 1918. Its programmes included securing free and equal electoral rights, settling the land question and reconciliation with the nationalities. In Budapest, the crowd demanded the appointment of Count Mihály Károlyi from King Charles (Károly) IV. From 30 to 31 October, the soldiers replaced the imperial and royal coat of arms with the aster, then occupied strategic points of the capital, after which Archduke Joseph entrusted Károlyi with the formation of the government. This is how the Hungarian National Council took power, and this is when former Prime Minister István Tisza was assassinated by an armed group in his house on Hermina Street. On 16 November 1918, Károlyi and his followers proclaimed a People's Republic. The new government failed to achieve success in either domestic or foreign policy. Most of Hungary was occupied by the Entente. Later, Károlyi's government lost domestic political support due to continued failures. The Communist Party of Hungary, founded in 1918 and led by Béla Kun, won the support of the poor masses.

From March 20, 1919, according to the so-called Vix Note, the Romanian army began to advance, occupying Transylvania completely, with the aim of reaching the Tisza River. The Vix Note was considered unacceptable by the Károlyi government, but it did not order the soldiers to resist. A new socialist government was to be formed, consisting of a united social-democratic and communist party. The next day, the Social Democratic and Communist leaders proclaimed a Soviet Republic. Mihály Károlyi resigned and left the country. Then, with the support of the Entente, the Serbian, French, Romanian and Czech offensive was launched against the Hungarian territories that had not yet been conquered. On 16 April 1919, the Romanian army left the demarcation line and reached the Tisza River by the end of April, while the Czechs occupied Sátoraljaújhely and advanced towards Miskolc and Salgótarján. The Red Army, set up by the Soviet Republic, mobilised under the leadership of Chief of General Staff Vilmos Böhm and Colonel Aurél Stromfeld.

The new power did not chant Bolshevik slogans but pointed to national interests and called on the population to defend the homeland. Many officers and soldiers who had previously served in the royal (k. und k.) forces enlisted in the new Red Army, not to fight alongside the communists, but to defend their homeland. It was possible to organise somewhat adequate regular and technical formations, and to create an artillery capable of striking. The force was joined by a large number of foreigners, so-called „volontér”, who in Marxist history books were regarded as internationalist volunteers, including Poles, Russians, Germans, Ukrainians, and Southern Slavs (Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs).

On 20 May 1919, the Red Army launched a general counter-offensive. The aim was to create a wedge between the Romanian and Czech forces, to separate the two enemy armies and to recapture Miskolc and Kassa. The long-term objective was to create the possibility of future cooperation with the Soviet-Russian Red Army by approaching the Carpathians. Miskolc was recaptured, and then the so-called „Northern Campaign” began in three weeks they occupied the Highlands („Felvidék”) up to the Nitra-Zvolen- Kosice (Nyitra-Zólyom-Kassa) line and reached the Polish border at Bardejov („Bártfa”). However, the towns that were recaptured were no longer flying the Hungarian flag, but the red flag. Soon the Slovak Soviet Republic was proclaimed in the northern part of the Highlands. On 30 June 1919, the withdrawal from the Highlands began, in compliance with the Entente’s demands, but the Romanian troops did not withdraw from the Tisza.

The communists accepted the deal offered by the French, the so-called Clemenceau Note. This outraged many soldiers and a large number of senior officers. They were experienced soldiers, and they knew that the northern campaign had entailed considerable sacrifices and that giving up the northern territories, and with them the Slovak Soviet Republic, would be extremely demoralising for the army. The morally weakened army was unreliable and rebellious, and the foreign policy situation was extremely unfavourable. Some are threatening to resign or defect if the government accepts the offer. Many made good on their threats, Stromfeld resigned, and the offensive to liberate the Tisza region launched on 20 July failed. Vilmos Böhm also resigned as army commander-in-chief. Along with them, senior officers and non-commissioned officers left en masse. Many of them escaped or simply went home, the Red Army’s officer corps was weakened and the number of soldiers dwindled. As the Romanians refused to retreat, the communists forced an attack, and the enemy was outnumbered several to one. The counter-offensive beyond the Tisza collapsed in no time. The movement of Romanian troops towards the capital soon led to the fall of the Soviet Republic. Between 29 and 30 July 1919, the Romanians crossed the Tisza and moved towards Budapest. Seeing the hopeless situation, on 1 August, the party leadership and the Revolutionary Soviet Government decided to resign at a joint meeting. The Peidl government, composed of moderate social-democratic and trade-union politicians, took over. The People’s Commissars of the Government of the Soviet Republic fled to Vienna by special train.

The South Slav Battalion and other Bosnian units

Ex-Bosnian soldiers who remained in Hungary also took part in the Soviet Republic’s defensive fighting in the ranks of the Red Army. They served in the 1st Hunting Regiment and the 1st Budapest International Infantry Regiment, which also had a South Slav Battalion. Why did they join the

Communist army? On the one hand, for material reasons, which I will describe below, and on the other hand, the Bosniaks, especially during the northern campaign, saw this as a defiance of the attempt to mutilate Hungary, which they were happy to help the Hungarians with. It must be remembered that the Entente armies had already occupied nearly two-thirds of Hungary. I should note that in the autumn of 1918, friends of Count István Tisza wanted to send Bosnian soldiers to the former Prime Minister's villa on Hermina Road to protect him. In October, Mihály Károlyi feared for his revolution from the Bosnian soldiers, because he believed that they were the only troops still available to defend the Monarchy. The Bosniaks also eventually defected, as the last unit to do so, falling for the propaganda and hoping that their fate might turn out for the better.

Bosniaks also fought in the 20th Brigade, e.g. in Mursko Središće (Muraszerdahely), where they tried to stop the troops of the Kingdom of Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia on the demarcation line. Here, on 7 April 1919, the Serbs attempted to cross the Mura River. They were stopped, no Hungarian casualties, but one Serb casualty. Čakovec (Csáktornya) was still in Hungarian hands, one armoured train and one armoured car were commanded here. For the Red Army, the local directorates requisitioned buckwheat, wheat and potatoes to supply them. This front was divided into four districts, namely: Rábaszentmárton, Muraszombat, Alsólendva and Murakeresztúr. Bosnian soldiers were also stationed in the Salgótarján district, in the 1st Hunting Regiment, who took part in the „Northern Campaign” for a time. For example, the 1st Battalion consisted of 607 men, 27 horses, 7 vehicles and 8 machine guns. The financial allowances for soldiers were as follows: monthly pay of 450 crowns („Korona”) (sometimes 15 crowns/day), a „family allowance” of 50 crowns per family member, and for soldiers with families, a rent allowance of 300 crowns for six months. In addition, they also received a bonus, an allowance for secondment to the army, a clothing allowance for own clothing and a bonus. The above allowances were also a major attraction for starving and unemployed Bosnian soldiers.

Since the ranks were abolished, there were only the ranks of soldier and commander, the squad commanders were chosen by the soldiers themselves, and the platoon, company, etc. commanders were appointed from above. Several Bosnian soldiers were transferred to Gyöngyös and Nyíregyháza, but there were also some in Győr and Baranya County. The former field hunters were still assigned to hunting regiments and were called „Red Hunters”.¹ A telegram sent by a „Red Bosnian Hunter” to Salgótarján, the headquarters of the army, was typical of the way they continued to live their religion: the farewell phrase was „*Allahaemanet*”. The headquarters of the 53rd Hunter Regiment was located at 23 Szerb Street in Budapest, under the command of the 80th Brigade. The recruiting committees tried to get involved trained or untrained civilians into the Red Army. The „Red Hunters” did not have a good material situation either, as the 2nd Battalion, for example, had 569 soldiers, with 515 rifles and 60 rounds

¹ Hungarian Military Archives B/12. 1327-1342.

of ammunition each. They also had 33 horses, 3 vehicles and 8 heavy machine guns. The 616 soldiers of the 3rd Battalion had to make do with 501 rifles, also with 60 rounds of ammunition per rifle. Nevertheless, they participated in stopping the Czechs and occupying the Highlands. The above made the following telegram interesting: *...the combat value of the hunter battalions is poor, and we have little confidence in the workers' battalions.*²

The 1st Battalion was led by a former lieutenant, namely Stojakovič from Bosnia. As with other troops, they were constantly short of ammunition and for instance had to request extra telescopes, at least two per company. I came across an interesting telegram, which was also sent to the „Red Hunters”: *...card playing as a gambling game is forbidden...the political commissar is responsible.* Bosniaks were also agitated to subscribe to the „Vörös Újság” („Red Newspaper”), although very few of them spoke Hungarian, except those who had been serving in Hungary for some time. The soldiers of the Red Army, including the Bosniaks, were issued with a pass, according to which they could not requisition their homes, clothing, equipment or food, and the pass holder and their family members were allowed to shop out of turn. The cards were signed by both the corps or company commander and the political commissar.

The „First International Red Regiment”, which also included Bosniaks, was under the 80th Brigade Headquarters, with its headquarters in Salgótarján. The bravest volunteer scouts were selected from among them, who were assigned to the Czech-occupied territories according to the operational order 139/6 (25.05.1919). For example, they had to find out where and who were stationed in enemy areas, what their position was, how many guns they had, what their calibre was, what the combat value of their troops was, their discipline and combat readiness, their clothing, equipment and morale. It was considered important to find out about the mood and political orientation of the population in enemy areas, the traffic on the railways and roads.

The international forces also keep an accurate record of how many infantries, untrained combatants, cavalry, former officers, non-commissioned officers and reservists have served. Many Bosniaks, due to the lack of Hungarian, wrote their reports, requests and telegrams in German, which was not at all unusual at the time, for example in the South Slav Battalion, but usually a Hungarian translation was included. This battalion was deployed on the southern borders of Hungary, with its headquarters in Zalaegerszeg, and its forces were stationed in Bjelezna, Nagykanizsa and Zákány. On 15 May 1919, the South Slav Battalion had 572 soldiers, 572 firearms, 18 pistols (for commanders), 150 rounds of ammunition per weapon and 3 hand grenades per soldier. They also had 140,000 rounds of ammunition in reserve. The battalion is also referred to in telegrams as the „Balkan Front” or „Balkan Battalion”. The 3rd Croatian Company also served in the Battalion. The entire Battalion was commanded by a Croatian national officer, Dragutin Kovač. They played an important role in

² Hungarian Military Archives, telegram marked 124, Part III.

holding off the Serb-Croat-Slovenian royal troops at the Mura River. Several enemy attempts to cross the river were thwarted and several attacks repulsed. Fortunately for them, the enemy did not have a large force, and they established well-established defensive positions on the Hungarian side of the Mura. Despite this, they had to repeatedly ask for supplies and help. I have identified such names from the texts of contemporary telegrams sent to or from the South Slavic Battalion: Turmus Meblüt, Mustafa Mehmed, Nedjid, Dragut Demeter, Softič, Suljič, Simenovič, Petrovič, Jovanovič, Badič, Maskovič. As it turned out here, the Battalion had a mixed composition, consisting of Bosniaks, Croats and a small part of Serbs, just like in the Bosnian regiments of the k. und k. army. On March 27, 1919, a telegram with information about an infiltrating spy, together with a description of his identity, caused a minor alarm. Presumably, there were men from the South Slav Battalion on the other side of the border to issue such a wanted notice. On 15 June 1919, two patients were brought to the bind house. On the 17 June, the battalion notified the 80th Brigade Headquarters that two oxen and sheep stolen from an unnamed village had been returned, and the culprits were punished by the battalion headquarters on its own authority. Apparently, there was a catering problem, which was urgently addressed, because the next notification the same day was that they had their stock of beef for slaughter, followed by an annex showing how many people and horses had to be fed that day. On 22 June, Abdurrahmanovič Abdurrahman, the battalion's deputy commander, received permission to join the battalion from Lučenec (Losonc) with 17 of his soldiers. By the end of June 1919, it was clear that the days of the Soviet government were numbered, and it is evident from the fact that the soldiers, sensing this, began to desert.

*Red soldier Elek Bukovecz left for Budapest without the knowledge and consent of the battalion. I request that he be arrested immediately and escorted to the battalion's station - a telegram sent at 3.55 a.m. on 22 June.*³ The existing discipline and system began to loosen in the surrounding battalions, and this was also reflected in the fact that the ammunition and especially foodstuffs were given to other units, and not to the requesters. It got to the point where, for example, oil for machine guns had to be supplied in bottles. On 26 June 1919, a strict order was issued by the brigade headquarters in the district stating that it was strictly forbidden to leave the camp quarters, and that those who did so would be considered deserters and executed on the spot. Since the South Slav Battalion was the most disciplined in the district, and desertion was still minimal, and the battalion had so far successfully repelled all Serb Croat attempts to break in, Battalion 1/27 was also placed under Commander Dragutin Kovač, with the understanding that the battalion would remain a separate unit. On 27 June, a serious desertion was discovered: according to a telegram, Dr Leopold Stryer, the „medical officer” of the South Slav Battalion, had not returned to the unit on time, so he was ordered to be returned to his post under cover. According to the

³ Hungarian Military Archives, J.sz.72/1919.

order in force, he is likely to be staying at the Park Hotel in Budapest, but may be trying to travel to Vienna, which must be prevented. On the same day, more bad news came from the battalion: Izet Ribič, a red soldier, has not returned from his leave, and is to be arrested at his Budapest residence. The ferment began, the disappointment, the news of the failures of the Eastern Front and the surrender of the Highlands („Felvidék”). On July 6, 1919, a serious shortage of tobacco and cigarettes occurs on the South Slavic front, which the soldiers from Budapest urgently try to remedy. There were strong complaints and grumbling from the soldiers. In response, the quantities of fine and ordinary cigarettes and fine and ordinary pipe tobacco were determined, and it was hoped to ensure a supply of tobacco for the soldiers despite the countrywide shortage. On 9 July, the doctors asked for bandages, scabies ointment, vaseline and zinc ointment, as well as chloroform for operations, quinine for malaria, hypermanganese for disinfecting wounds, and vaccines against smallpox, which meant that there was a probability of smallpox and malaria.

As part of the discipline, on 17 July the battalion held a night exercise with the company left in reserve. Even then, many of the soldiers thought that when the war was over, they would stay in Hungary and start a family and work the land. That is why they asked Sándor Latinca, the People's Commissar, by telegram how much land a red soldier could claim after starting a family and where he could get it. To boost the fighting spirit, they asked for an answer from Budapest. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the answer. On 22 July, a company from Croatia reportedly crossed into Hungary and dispersed in three border villages. The families of the cross-border deserters were reported to be living on Hungarian territory. The Romanians were reported to have broken through on the Tisza, while the South Slav Battalion reported that the situation along the Mura River was unchanged, with Serb incursions being repulsed by heavy counterattacks. On 28 July, the battalion received a telegram that the Soviet government had handed over power to another force. The reason given for their resignation was that *the world revolution was delayed, the aid of the Russian Soviet Republic was not sufficiently emphatic, and because the sacrifices of the Hungarian proletariat were not satisfactory, they were forced to draw conclusions*.⁴

Meanwhile, Novaković became the commander of the 3rd Croatian Company. On August 1, 1919, a Bulgarian prisoner named Topka stole and escaped from the unit and was wanted. The next day, 22-year-old Andor Klein was put on the wanted list for stealing clothes and escaping. On 3 August, the battalion received a very interesting telegram: the political commissar from Nagykanizsa, Imre Hajdú, had deserted in a yellow horse-drawn carriage with two horses and the corps' money. They ordered his arrest and search. The signs of collapse were visible, as the political commissars also left their units. On the same day, the battalion commander issued the following order in Hungarian,

⁴ Hungarian Military Archives, Border Guard Headquarters, Zalaegerszeg, 48/2. 12/10.1. telegram.

German and Serbo-Croatian: *For their own sake, the soldiers must obey my orders with the utmost devotion and discipline, being convinced that all my thoughts are with my comrades...*

At the same time, he sent Matuzovič and Sulič to Budapest to negotiate with the new government and the trade union respectively. The outcome was not delayed. The battalion was later disbanded, some of its members joined the „Whites”, the Hungarian National Army, and took part in guarding the southern border, others became civilians, and a smaller number left for Austria or the new Kingdom of Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia. Of the former k. und k. ex-captured soldiers who chose to return home, the Serbs formed the 2nd Infantry Regiment in Bečej (Óbecse), which they intended to use to occupy the rest of Hungary.⁵

Another group of Bosniaks, similar in numbers to those who fought under the banners of the Soviet Republic, joined the Counter-Revolutionary Government in Szeged, some of them almost from its inception, others taking up arms again during the military movements of the National Army under Miklós Horthy. There were also some who did not take part in the struggle of either side. Many returned home after the collapse.

Summary

Bosnia and Herzegovina belonged *de facto* to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from 1878 and *de jure* from 1908, i.e. also to Hungary within the „Danube Monarchy”. I believe that these forty years, which is a short lifetime, have brought about acceptance, understanding and a sense of belonging between our peoples. The Bosniaks were more attached to Hungary than to the Kingdom of Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia, which later annexed them. The four years they fought together during the WWI, their participation in the 1919 battles, their involvement in the 1921 West Hungarian Uprising⁶ and in the 1938 Transcarpathian campaign also, are a clear proof of this. I believe that participation in the fighting of the Soviet Republic of Hungary in 1919 was only an episode in the lives of Bosnian veterans who immigrated to Hungary. In the 1920s, during the period of consolidation associated with Prime Minister István Bethlen, many of them settled permanently in their new homeland, mostly choosing Hungarian wives, but preserving their traditions, their Islamic religion, their language and their culture.

They formed a cohesive, mutually supportive community, who in 1931 founded the Independent Hungarian Islamic Religious Community of Buda, named after Baba Gül. Their leader was Hilmi Hussein Durič, a former imam of

⁵ Military History Archives, Budapest, 1st Hunter Regiment Headquarters, 1st Budapest International Infantry Regiment Headquarters. From 23 March to 8 July 1919, Southern Slav Battalion. From 16 June to 4 August 1919.

⁶ See more: Zoltán Bolek, Bosniaks in the 1921 Uprising in West Hungary, *Historijski pogledi*, vol. 6, no. 9, Tuzla 2023, 56-68. (<https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2023.6.9.56>).

the k. und. k. army, later Chief Mufti of Buda. They became respected, hard-working, law-abiding members of Hungarian society. From rubber mender to tailor, from candy maker to driver, from gardener to fencing coach, they have mastered a wide range of professions. I should note that I have written about this Bosnian Muslim community in several publications.⁷ In conclusion, I would like to say that the Soviet Republic in 1919 was a terrible and tragic chapter in Hungarian history, the Bosnian veterans were drifting with the events, ideologically they were rather right-wing, nationalist, who preferred to keep in touch with their former military officers who were connected to Miklós Horthy (e.g. Pál Prónay, Iván Hégjas). In addition to the above, the history of Bosnia and Hungary has of course been linked for hundreds of years, but I have only been concerned with the last two centuries.

Zaključak

Bosna i Hercegovina je *de facto* pripadala Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji od 1878. godine, a *de jure* od 1908. godine, tj. također i Ugarskoj u okviru „Podunavske monarhije“. Vjerujem da su tih četrdeset godina, što je kratak životni vijek, donijele prihvatanje, razumijevanje i osjećaj pripadnosti među našim narodima. Bošnjaci su bili privrženiji Ugarskoj nego Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, koja ih je kasnije anektirala. Četiri godine koje su se zajedno borili tokom Prvog svjetskog rata, njihovo učešće u bitkama 1919. godine, njihova uključenost u Zapadnougarski ustanak 1921. godine, kao i u Zakarpatskoj kampanji 1938. godine, jasan su dokaz toga. Vjerujem da je učešće u borbama Mađarske Sovjetske Republike 1919. godine bilo samo epizoda u životima bosanskih veterana koji su imigrirali u Mađarsku. Dvadesetih godina 20. stoljeća, tokom perioda konsolidacije povezanog s premijerom Istvánom Bethlenom, mnogi od njih su se trajno nastanili u svojoj novoj domovini, uglavnom birajući mađarske supruge, ali čuvajući svoje tradicije, svoju islamsku vjeru, svoj jezik i svoju kulturu.

Formirali su kohezivnu zajednicu koja se međusobno podržavala, koja je 1931. godine osnovala Nezavisnu mađarsku islamsku vjersku zajednicu u Budimu, nazvanu po Gül Babi. Njihov vođa bio je Hilmi Husein Durić, bivši imam c. i k. (carske i kraljevske) vojske, kasnije glavni muftija Budima. Postali su poštovani, vrijedni, zakonu odani članovi mađarskog društva. Od vulkanizera do krojača, od proizvođača slatkiša do vozača, od vrtlara do trenera mačevanja, ovladali su širokim spektrom zanimanja. Treba napomenuti da sam o ovoj bošnjačkoj muslimanskoj zajednici pisao u nekoliko publikacija. Zaključno,

⁷ Zoltán Bolek, Zsolt Udvarvölgyi, Episodes in the life of the Bosnian Muslim Community in Hungary (1920-1945), *Historijski pogledi*, vol. 5, no. 8, Tuzla 2022, 112-133. (<https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2022.5.8.112>); Zoltán Bolek, Zsolt Udvarvölgyi, A Unique and Great Period of History of Islam in Hungary: The Community of Bosnian Veterans (1931-1947), *Yeni Türkiye*, vol. 23, no. 97, 86-100.

želio bih reći da je Sovjetska Republika 1919. godine bila užasno i tragično poglavlje u mađarskoj historiji, bosanski veterani su bili nošeni događajima, ideološki su bili prilično desničarski, nacionalistički nastrojeni, te su radije održavali kontakt sa svojim bivšim vojnim oficirima povezanim s Miklósom Horthyjem (npr. Pál Prónay, Iván Héjjas). Pored navedenog, historija Bosne i Ugarske je, naravno, povezana stotinama godina, ali ja sam se bavio samo posljednja dva stoljeća.

BIBLIOGRAPHY/BIBLIOGRAFIJA

Unpublished sources/Neobjavljeni izvori:

1. Hungarian Military Archives B/12. 1327-1342.
2. Hungarian Military Archives, Border Guard Headquarters, Zalaegerszeg, 48/2. 12/10.1. telegram.
3. Hungarian Military Archives, J.sz.72/1919.
4. Hungarian Military Archives, telegram marked 124, Part III.
5. Military History Archives, Budapest, 1st Hunter Regiment Headquarters, 1st Budapest International Infantry Regiment Headquarters. From 23 March to 8 July 1919, Southern Slav Battalion. From 16 June to 4 August 1919.

Articles/Članci:

1. Bolek Zoltán, Bosniaks in the 1921 Uprising in West Hungary, *Historijski pogledi*, vol. 6, no. 9, Tuzla 2023, 56-68. (<https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2023.6.9.56>).
2. Bolek Zoltán, Udvarvölgyi Zsolt, A Unique and Great Period of History of Islam in Hungary: The Community of Bosnian Veterans (1931-1947), *Yeni Türkiye*, vol. 23, no. 97, 86-100.
3. Bolek Zoltán, Udvarvölgyi Zsolt, Episodes in the life of the Bosnian Muslim Community in Hungary (1920-1945), *Historijski pogledi*, vol. 5, no. 8, Tuzla 2022, 112-133. (<https://doi.org/10.52259/historijskipogledi.2022.5.8.112>);