

GERMAN LOCAL MUSEUMS AS CIVIL SOCIETIES' RESURGENT COMMUNITY SPACES IN HUNGARY

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Abstract

The Local museums have appeared as new participants from cultural point of view from the 1970s, which demonstrate the traditional material culture of nationalities living in the settlements with locally preserved and collected objects within the framework of the folk architecture. As the results of several project opportunities in the 2000s, a new wave of Local museums establishments have started. That is the reason why, nowadays, German nationality Local museums or Local museums rooms are operating at more than 120 settlements. The main target of our research is the interpretation of the tourism function in case of the German Local museums in Hungary. The Local museums can be realised at several forms; besides the traditional museum function, our investigation focus on the events and on other attractions by exploring the local activities, as well. According to the results of the investigation, we can state that the supply of the Local museums and their role of the certain settlements are already far beyond of an ordinary museum role; because they also manifest as civil communal places due to their more complex supply. Apart from the museum services, organisation of events and services provided for education came into view. The expansion of the tourism function resulted in the increase of the number of the guests, because apart from the traditional guest of the museums, the 'invisible tourism' have appeared. Especially, it means the participation at events that can be only surveyed within the framework of a local primary research. So, those Local museums are highlighted through case studies that are not only exhibitions, but also both places and spaces of local traditional preserving programmes and places of meetings for the local communities and for the tourists, as well.

Keywords local museum, german nationality, invisible tourism, traditional folk values, expansion of touristic functions, innovation

INTRODUCTION

Hungary abounds, besides natural values, in cultural historical memories, including an outstanding value: the rich supply of built and intellectual heritage related to traditional lifestyle. A "non-renewable (cultural) resource" of cultural tourism is traditional folk architecture, because the radical shift in the lifestyle of the village residents, connected to the socio-economic changes, results in the fact that no such creations are made any longer. Local museums that appeared in Hungary in the 1970s as new actors of the cultural scene demonstrate, in a folk architecture setting, the traditional culture of the ethnicities living in the respective settlement, displaying the objects preserved and collected in situ. Today we can witness a paradigm shift of the function of local museums built on the activity of local communities, as the long-term sustainability of such institutions requires the introduction of services which, beyond the demonstration of material and intellectual culture, are adapted to international trends and the needs of the local community. The enlargement of the touristic function resulted in the increase of the number of guests, as besides museum visitors "invisible tourism" appeared too: it is

participation in programmes in the first place, only detectable by primary researches made on the spot. The network of local German ethnic museums in Hungary is a unique example for the preservation, demonstration and community use of the architectural culture of an ethnic minority. This paper, in addition to giving a comprehensive analysis of local German ethnic museums in Hungary, is also a case study demonstrating the main features and touristic impacts of functional enlargement.

The literature background of the research reflects the interdisciplinary character of the study. Our starting point is to demonstrate to the present generation the possible uses (in education and tourism) of the ethnographic features of the German ethnic minority of Hungary. The complexity of the issue requires the authors of the paper to have strong foundations in the field of ethnic, historical-geographical and also ethnographic studies. Also, knowing the trends of our time, the touristic utilisation of the ethnographic values is an important part of our work.

1. RESEARCH METHODS

During the research the periods of the history of Swabian people in Hungary are analysed by the processing of literature. With a query of the data provided by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office and the Association of Hungarian Local Museums we compiled a database that served as the starting point of the primary research. The following step of the research was to conduct in-depth interviews with the leaders of ethnic minority local governments, non-governmental organisations, and local museums. Furthermore, the use of two online questionnaires gave us accurate and topical information on the present situation of local museums, their activities, the level of their recognition and their future plans.

2. A HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW OF THE GERMAN ETHNIC MINORITY IN HUNGARY

2.1. The appearance of German settlers in Hungary

Hungary suffered a serious loss of population during the time of the Ottoman Rule, so a decision of the national assembly in 1722-23 ordered the organised population of the areas depopulated (Tilkovszky 1997). German settlers arrived at Hungary in 3 waves, as a result of which the population in the southern parts of Hungary, and the region of Buda was enlarged by thousands of new inhabitants (Manherz 1998). The peak of the immigration was the period between 1676 and 1773, when the number of settlers exceeded 40,000 (Bellér 1981). Many of the immigrants were miners, stonemasons, iron- and coppersmiths who came from Styria and the Szepesség (today's Spišský region in Slovakia). In the third wave, during the so-called "der große Schwabenzug", i.e. "the great German immigration", settlers came from the Saar Region, from Hessen and from Württemberg (Manherz 2005). During this time approximately 7,600 families moved to Hungary, but it was rare to found new settlement, more typically, the population of the existing ones increased (Die Donauschwaben 1987).

2.2. The tribulations of the Germans of Hungary

The designation of the borders following the enactment of the Peace Treaty of Trianon resulted in a change in the number of Swabians living in Hungary. Before the peace treaty, approximately 2 million people of German ethnicity lived in Hungary, making 10.4% of the total population (Szenyéri 2002, 69). The redrawing of the state border decreased this number to 500 thousand, as only 27% of the Germans remained within the new borders (Schnitzler, 1928). The population census, due every ten years, was carried out in an atmosphere contradictory and turbulent both as regards politics and society. The figures of this census showed that in February 1941 the number of Germans living in Hungary was 475,491. More than one-third of the German ethnic minority in Hungary lived in the territory of South Transdanubia, often referred to as "Schwäbische Türkei", i.e. Swabian Turkey: a total of 178,076 people declared themselves as Germany by ethnicity (KSH 1941).

After the events of World War II, the first phase of the retaliations affecting the Germans living in Hungary was forced labour in the Soviet Union. The majority of those deported were transported to the mining areas of Ukraine (Miklósi 2005). The exact number of the people concerned in "malenkiy robot" is still unclear today. The comprehensive works compiled in the 1990s estimate the number of forced labourers at 65,000. On this ground then, calculating with the data of 1941, 14% of the Germans living in Hungary were deported (Szenyéri 2002, 123).

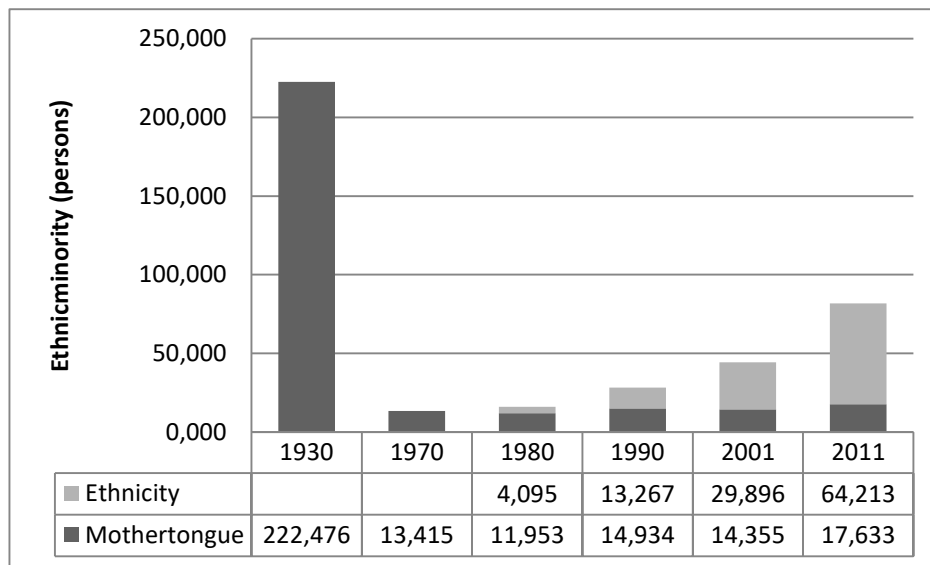
In April 1945, the situation of the German ethnicity of Hungary was further exacerbated by the infamous speech by Imre Kovács, a front leader of the National Peasant Party, in which he said that "Swabians came with one small bag and that is how they should leave" (Weidlein 1995). According to the government decree issued on 29 December 1945, "all Hungarian citizens are obliged to move to Germany who declared themselves as persons of German ethnicity or native language at the last census, or who changed their Hungarian sounding names back to German, and also those who were members in the Volksbund or any armed German forces (SS)" (Balogh 1996). According to the plans, the first train carrying 786 persons left from Budaörs on 19 January 1946, and it was followed by a number of trains filled with Germans deported from the land where they had been born (Balogh 1996). In the first half of 1946, more than 110,000 persons from 154 settlements were forced to leave their homes. The majority of exiled Germans were transported to the provinces Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria (Szenyéri 2002, 147). At the inter-party meeting held on 17 September 1946 a decision was made on the deportation of another 120-150 thousand Germans. In 1947 and 1948 another 50,000 persons were exiled from the counties of Hungary with German ethnic minority (Balogh 1996, Fehér 1988). The deportation of Germans was stopped in the autumn of 1948, with the decree of the council of ministers on the finish of the deportations of Germans, and then the German ethnic population was given back their full-right Hungarian citizenship (Balogh 1996).

2.3. The German ethnic minority in Hungary today

The Germans who had not left Hungary were given a chance from the middle of the 1950s to join back to cultural life. In 1955 their cultural association was founded, in some schools the teaching of German language was started again, the German almanac was published and the Hungarian Radio started to broadcast programmes in German language (Tilkovszky 1989). The consolidation of the situation of the German ethnic minority showed a considerable progress, but the events of the past had changed the lives of the Swabian people for ever.

It is hard to estimate the exact number of Germans living in Hungary in the 2nd half of the 20th century. The primary reason for this is that during the deportations the data of the 1940 census were also used. People, in their fear of a new retaliation, did not confess their ethnic belonging. In the decades from 1960 to 1990 the number of people with German mother tongue gradually decreased, caused by a rapid, sometimes violent assimilation (Table 1).

Table 1: Number of German ethnic minority living in Hungary, 1930–2011



Source: by the authors, using the (2011) census data of HCSO (2018)

Since the regime change (in 1990) the number of German ethnicity has been growing in Hungary. The process is due to both political actions and the boom of cultural life. The government allowed ethnic minorities to represent their interests – at local level –, and so, as a result of the minority elections of 1994, 164 German minority self-governments started their operation (Grósz, 2008, 3). This was followed by the foundation of minority self-governments and associations at county level. At the elections of 2014, no less than 406 German minority self-governments were elected. The region of South Transdanubia is one of the bases of the cultural life of Swabian minority living in Hungary, as Pécs gives home to the editorial of the German language minority radio station, as part of the

national Hungarian Radio; also, Pécs is the city where the nation-wide broadcasted German language magazine programme of the Hungarian television is made (it is called *Unser Bildschirm*). Szekszárd gives home to the only German language theatre of Hungary, the *Deutsche Bühne Ungarn*. The theatre company is responsible for cherishing German mother language, the preservation of cultural values and the mediation of universal culture. The activity of Germans, the second largest ethnic minority in Hungary, is outstanding in the preservation of traditions and strengthening of identity, which is manifested both in the field of culture and economy; so they are also active organisers of tourism attractions.

3. MOVEMENT OF LOCAL MUSEUMS IN HUNGARY

3.1. The concept and historical background of local museums

According to the Hungarian act public education, a local museum is a place of exhibition of museum character which, with the permission of the minister, is allowed to demonstrate cultural goods, archaeological sites, and also buildings or groups of buildings, together with their accessories and equipment (Act No CXL of 1997, Par. 48 § (3)). Local museums also include open-air ethnographic collections which, with the objects collected and preserved locally, demonstrate the traditional material culture of the respective settlement or micro-region, house interiors designed in buildings that are important from the aspect of folk architecture (maybe declared as folk monuments), occasionally workshops, farm buildings or simpler industrial estates (Berecki 2009, 1). Thus, in the case of local museums the exhibition is not only within the building but the building itself is also an object of exhibition, in fact, often its environment too is, due to the settlements' monument protection regulation (Balassa 1981, 1). The exhibition space is designed for the interpretation of the folk culture of the local community, the preservation of the material and intellectual values of the respective community – both for the youth living in the settlement and for tourists visiting that (Füzes 1997, 312).

The creation of the institutional system of local museum started decades ago. The idea of the creation of local museums came in the second half of 19th century, during the time when rural lifestyle, intellectual traditions, folk art and identity all became focal issues. The reconstructions following World War II were a turning point, as the rapid socio-economic transformation of villages required instant measures for the preservation of folk culture, to which the act of 1949 on the protection of monuments also contributed; the act said that architectural monuments with ethnographic significance are also eligible for monument protection (Kállai 2010, 89). In 1962 the network of county museums was built out, serving as a sort of framework for the provision of professional knowledge. With the assistance of the experts of county museums, the installation of local museums – the most valuable buildings of locally preserved folk architecture – was launched. During the renovation of the Schumacher House in Nagyvázsony (1960) as a folk monument the method of monument restoration was used for the first time, which led to the opening of the first in situ local museum, preserved in its original position, to the public (Berecki 2014). A catalyst for the establishment of the network of local museums was the decision of the Council of Ministers issued in 1974, by which a fund of 30 million Forints state support was provided for the procurement by the state, or the renovation of

in situ preserved folk monuments and for their conversion into local museums, village museums, memorial houses or open-air museums (Berecki 2009, 2). With the collaboration of the professional organisations and the Council of Ministers, dozens of local museums were established in Hungary, especially in the Great Hungarian Plain and the South Transdanubian region. Between 1974 and 1984 almost 200 local museums were opened to the public (Berecki 2014). In the creation of local museums, local society plays a decisive role, as most of the collections were made up from voluntary donations, legacies and the offerings of the local inhabitant. Museum experts responsible for the exhibitions categorised these objects and made an inventory of them. Local museums with their thematic exhibitions functioned as classical exhibition places after their opening. As in those years they had no other functions in the cultural life of the settlements than being museums, interest of the local inhabitant in them understandably declined and in many cases the annual number of their visitors did not reach or hardly exceeded 100 people (Berecki 2009, 2). The transformation in Hungary in 1990 caused a serious shock in the life of the network of local museums consisting of more than 300 members by that time. When settling ownerships, the majority of the institutions were given to the municipal self-governments, but then these institutions slowly deteriorated, due to financial or political reasons, or maybe carelessness (Balassa 1997, 15). A further problem was the practical elimination of the professional supervision and assistance formerly provided by the county museums. The changes in the ownership, the insufficient financial resources, the lack of professional embeddedness resulted in the fact that the network of local museums entered 21st century with rather run-down buildings, and with hundreds of thousands of objects which, for financial reasons, were inadequately stored, poorly reconstructed and often unrecorded (Kállai 2010, 90). The turn of the millennium saw the birth of new tendencies concerning local museums. The strengthening of local identity made a growing number of communities recognise their own cultural values, the keepers of their past. The moral support for the municipalities was accompanied by tenderable financial resources. The early 2000s saw the launch of a new wave of the establishment of local museums, in the framework of which more than 50 local museums were given licence to operate. This boom was due, in addition to economic factors, to the transformation of ownerships again. At this time it was typically minority self-governments and non-governmental organisation that became operators of local museums, but private persons were also active in the foundation and support of them (Berecki 2009, 4). Having a local museum is a sort of symbol of the local minority culture in the respective settlement. These institutions are popular among guests visiting the settlements, being fond of cultural programmes built on traditions, of the special cuisine of the ethnic minorities – and all this in an authentic setting (Kállai 2010, 96).

3.2. Hungarian Association of Local Museums

The wave of local museum foundation in the new millennium made it indispensable to create an organisation that possesses the necessary professional skills and is able to offer technical assistance to the leaders of the newly established local museums for the gathering and compilation of the collections and the management of a local museum with vision. This led to the foundation of the Hungarian Association of Local Museums on 26 November 2002. The main objective of this non-governmental organisation is the representation and articulation of the interests of legal entities and private persons; promotion of the preservation, professional restoration, maintenance and development

of the local museums; professional assistance for the creation of new local museums; and creation of a central database. The Association holds regional and national meetings several times a year, organises special courses and provides information on current legal regulations and tendering possibilities. The Association also releases an information leaflet called "Local Museum Newsletter" four times a year, serving as a kind of communication channel among the organisation, the leaders of local museums, and researchers. The newsletter report on events realised, offers a possibility of introduction for some collections and collects and disseminates tendering possibilities. The Association takes an active part in the compilation and dissemination of various general and tourism information brochures, and assists the joining to national tourism events. In addition, in order to increase the acknowledgement of the local museum movement, it has announced the award called "local museum of the year" annually since 2003, drawing attention to institutions having made outstanding achievements (Kállai 2010, 98). Since then 3 German minority local museums have been awarded this prestigious title. Another series of events of selected importance of the Association is the Day of Local Museums, organised since 2013 on the Saturday which is the closest to the day of St. George. Almost 100 local museums register for the programme annually, opening their gates to visitors. The newest organisational unit related to local museums is the Central Directorate of Local Museums founded in April 2017. This organisation is responsible for professional assistance and coordination to local museums in Hungary and their counterparts with Hungarian relevance abroad. Their activity includes the updating of the in situ preserved heritage of folk architecture; information service to and training of the operators of local museums; and creation and operation of technical assistance network. Another actor with outstanding significance in the professional coordination of local museums is the National Professional and Information Centre of German Local Museums, created by the German community in 2009. The headquarters of this institution is in the museum complex of Budaörs.

4. GERMAN LOCAL MUSEUMS IN HUNGARY AS RESURGENT CIVIL COMMUNITY SPACES

4.1. Description image of the German local museums

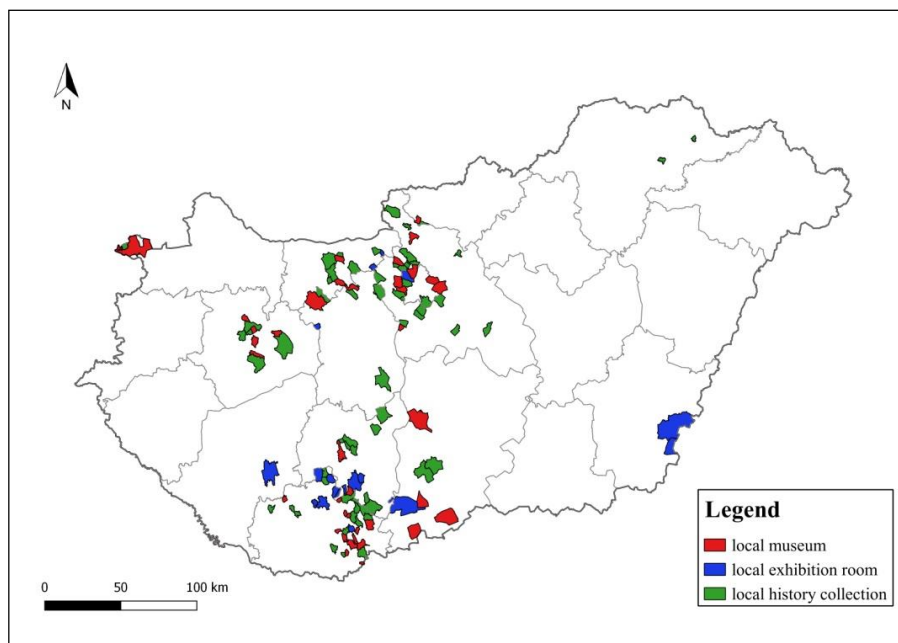
German inhabited settlements were quite different already in the 18th and 19th centuries from the villages inhabited by Hungarians or other ethnic groups, as regards their villagescape. Their villages were more planned; their houses faced the street front, one after the other; their sites were located as long stripes, divided into two by the sheds built perpendicular to the axis of the house (Manherz 1998). The structure of the sites and the peasant houses reflect the curved-yard peasant house type described by Mendöl (1963), which is also an implication to the agricultural activity of the German families. A typical Swabian residential home with its white painted frontispiece faced the street, with two windows equipped with – yellow, green or brown – painted shutters. The longitudinal side of the peasant house faces the yard that one used to enter through the street door – by now these doors have lost their functions after the renovations and reconstructions. Behind the ornamented door we find a long and wide corridor, the veranda. Entering the house, the first room is the kitchen where the major part of family life took place. A door from the kitchen opened to the street front room that served for the reception and

entertainment of guests – this is the so-called “clean room”. From the other side of the kitchen another door opens to the living and sleeping room. Behind this we find the chamber and occasionally the summer kitchen, the horse stable, and then the stable for the cows and oxen. Opposite to the house, at the other end of the yard is the sly for the pigs and the poultry, beside that a maize-barn (Mendöl 1963). The image of the Swabian settlements often reflected the place of origin of the German settlers. During the immigrations of the 18th century several German dwelling houses were built in the “fachweckt” (wooden structure) architectural style, which can be seen primarily in the villages in South Transdanubia. What does ‘fachwerkt’ actually mean? When the house is constructed, the wooden frame as the backbone of the house is built first. This is followed by the filling up of the gaps of the wooden frame with different materials: loam, wattle and daub, or bricks. This is followed by the plastering of the walls, in a way that the street and the back façades should still feature the beam structure in a visible way (Dobosyné Antal 2010).

4.2. Regional distribution of the German local museums

According to the database of the National Professional and Information Centre of German Local Museums, a total of 124 German ethnicity local museums operated in Hungary in 2017. Depending on the character and the size of the collection we can distinguish local museums, local exhibition rooms, local history collections and memorial collections.

Figure 1: Regional distribution of the German local museums in Hungary



Source: By the authors, based on the database of the National Professional and Information Centre of German Local Museums (2018)

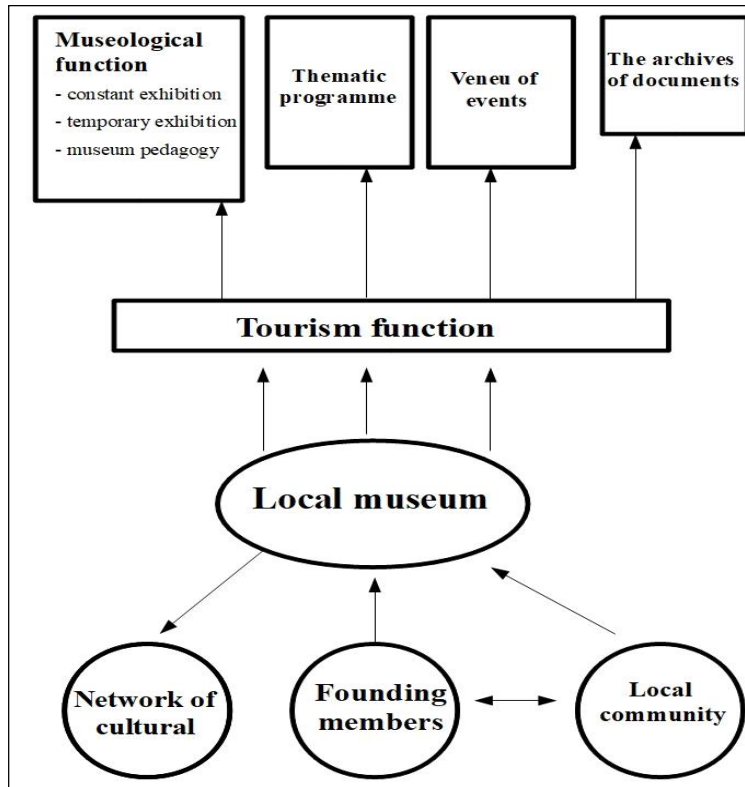
Figure 1 displays the territorial distribution of the museums demonstrating the values of the German ethnicity in Hungary, the territorial concentration of which follows the major junctions of the German ethnic minority in Hungary. The number one core area of the Germans in Hungary is South Transdanubia. Accordingly, the largest number of exhibitions can be found in the Baranya county with a significant German ethnicity population: local museums enrich the cultural lives of 37 settlements here. Baranya county boasts of several exhibitions that are outstanding not only in the region but also nationally, including among others the ethnographical collections of Mecseknádasd, Óbánya, Geresdlak and Feked. As regards the 14 such institutions in Tolna county, the Swabian exhibition room established within the Völgység Museum in Bonyhád is of special significance, as is the local museum of Nagymányok that has already been awarded the "Local Museum of the Year" title. Another major core area of the German ethnic minority living in Hungary is the southern and southwestern part of the Budapest agglomeration. Out of the 23 registered local museums of Pest county, the Budaörs based Jakob Bleyer Heimatmuseum is one of the major coordinating institutions of the German ethnic minority, but Pest county has several other local museums worth mentioning, such as the ones in Dunaharaszti, Ceglédbercel, Budakeszi and Solymár. As regards territorial distribution, Komárom-Esztergom and Veszprém counties are also important, with 10 traditional German peasant houses in each.

4.3. Functional expansion of the German local museums

The socio-economic changes encourage the repositioning of the local museums. Starting from the basic principles of museum marketing, in order for a local museum to operate as a real community space it is necessary to have an attitude that basically focuses on the needs of the visitors and the transformations of these. Besides the traditional museum function, entertainment facilities gradually appeared, together with the provisions of the services of school education, the creation of leisure time and meeting places, and the establishment of user friendly infrastructure. The findings of the primary research allowed the compilation of a model for the use of the local museums, introducing the potential elements of the functional expansion, the range of the expanded functions and the relationship system of the local museum (Figure 2).

Local museums as independent tourism attractions have museological base functions, supplemented by museum pedagogy based on the collection of the permanent or occasionally temporary exhibition made from the local material artefacts. Coupled with thematic programme supply it is part of the services with educational function. In addition, as a programme location it can further reinforce the cultural functions of the local museum. The archives of documents kept in the local museums are valuable sources for historians and ethnographers. Due to the authentic environment, sometimes professional meetings, general assemblies and association programmes are also held in the local museum, thereby the academic sector is also present in the functional expansion of these institutions.

Figure 2: A model for the utilisation of German local museums



Source: edited by the authors (2018)

5. CASE STUDIES

5.1. National German Ethnicity Museum

The German Ethnicity Museum of Tata was founded as a base museum in 1972, with the responsibility of the collection, processing and demonstration of material and intellectual culture of the German ethnic minority from all over Hungary. The museum was accommodated in a two-storey mill building, with the temporary exhibition in the basement and the permanent collection called “Us and the others” upstairs. The centre of the exhibition is the room interiors demonstrating an imprint of the Swabian culture, made up from sacral objects collected at various points in Hungary. The main topics include religion, handicrafts, household and eating habits, folk costumes and music, self-sustaining Swabian culture, and the immigration and deportation of the Germans. Moving beyond the classical showroom function, the management of the museum decided to develop education based services, and so during the reconsideration of the exhibition they intended to use interactive tools that are excellent for museum pedagogy programmes. The main objective of the programmes adjusted to different topics and age

groups is to let visitors understand who the Germans of Hungary are and what characteristic features they have. The programme packages fit into the topics of school programmes (local history, ethnography, folk music, history, folk art). The German museum expects groups from kindergarten age right up to secondary school generation with the following museum pedagogy programmes:

- *“Discovery”*: groups are given a box of treasures, containing objects of a room interior, then, using these they introduce their own exhibitions as “miniature exhibition guides”
- *“Imprint of culture”*: focus is on the teaching of the basics of dance, music and songs that are foundations of German culture
- *“Who are the Swabians?”*: goal is to look at the political actions concerning the German ethnicity and the survey of the impacts of these actions
- *“Swabian folk traditions”*: evoking the everyday life of a Swabian family from Easter to Carnival (Fasching)
- *“Mill programme”*: display a film on mill reconstruction, then watching the full process of cereal grinding, using a manual grinder
- *“Handicrafts programme”*: teaching of traditional handicrafts techniques

In the management of the programmes the employees of the museum are assisted by members of the nearby non-governmental organisations, e.g. the teachers of dance, songs and music, and craftsmen. Participants in the programme are usually pupils and students of the ethnic minority schools of the county and Budapest, visiting the museum in the framework of various projects. In 2017 almost 2000 pupils and students were introduced to German traditions, due to the programmes offered by the museum.

5.2. German Local Museum of Dunaharaszti

The old dream of many, the idea of the establishment of a German local museum in Dunaharaszti was launched on the initiative of a few dedicated young men. They founded the Heimatland Harast Traditionalist Foundation, and then purchased an original Swabian peasant house built in 1924 by Ferenc Weinber. The painstaking work of the locals restored the original condition of the building, the window blinds were removed, the walls of the house were painted white and the doors and windows were given a green paint – the house was given back the typical German look of the 1940s. Parallel to the renovations, the search for the material artefacts, their collection and restoration was started, supervised and professionally assisted by the staff of the Szentendre Open-air Ethnography Museum. The local museum was finally opened on 9 June 2007. The collection was made from the offerings of 115 families, and the former Swabian residential homes served as samples for the “clean room”, the living room, the kitchen, the summer kitchen, the stable and the cart-shed exhibited. One of the specialities of the local museum is the local history collection made in the building formerly used as stable. This is an exhibition of different documents, old photographs, the counter of a bakery and a few kit-boxes. The wall of the cart-shed is used for the display of the old tools of farming and animal husbandry. The names of the pieces of equipment can be read by the visitors in Hungarian, in German and are also written in phonotype in the local Swabian dialect (Jaszmann 2010). Due to the humble and exemplary work of the management and

the local people, the local museum was awarded in 2009 the title “The Local Museum of the year 2009”.

The management of the institutions made up an operational plan that is closely connected to the preservation of traditions and meets the Hungarian demand trends. For the long-term sustainability, the main objective of the local museum is the socialisation of the museum, strengthening of the involvement of the local community and making the institution more open. In order to achieve these goals, a great emphasis is laid on the compilation of a series of programmes that embraces traditions related to the ethnic minority and also meets the demand of the local community. During the recent years the local museum has become a venue where German culture is cherished, to which the event tent built in the yard also contributed.

Figure 3: Annual programme offer of the German local museum (2017)

| Date | Theme of the event |
|---|---|
| Easter – Holy Saturday | Easter handicrafts programme for children |
| April – Day of St. George | Series of programmes “Day of Local Museums” |
| Last Saturday of April | Erection of maypole |
| Whitsun | Polka party |
| Last Saturday of May | Dismantling of maypole, Series of programmes called “Our Day |
| 2nd weekend of June | Birthday of the local museum |
| 3 rd weekend of June | Series of programmes “Nights at the Museums” |
| July and August (every 2 nd Sunday) | Polka party |
| July and August | Special summer camps (Topics: local history, dance, songs, music, German language, theatre performances) |
| 20 August | Consecration of the new bread, saint’s day ball |
| Last Saturday of August | Gastro-court |
| September | Vintage time handicrafts programme for children |
| September | Vintage ball |
| 3rd Saturday of November | Pig-slaughter festival |
| December | Advent |

Source: edited by the authors (2018)

The broad range of programmes is also a proof that a local museum does not only operate as a museum but also plays an active role in strengthening local collaboration and is part of the tourism attractions of the settlement (Figure 3). The greatest event is the birth of the local museum, with almost 400 participants.

CONCLUSION

In the recent years the supply of local museums has moved beyond conventional museum functions, as the functional enlargement has turned them into civil community places of the cultural lives of the settlements. Local museums are not only a means promoting the survival of material culture but also a tool for the demonstration and preservation of folk habits, folk art and folk poetry through the traditionalist workshops and other community

events organised in them – and so they become keepers of the totality of ethnic culture. It is important to remark that besides the general need for the preservation of ethnic values and heritage protection, they are also irreplaceable tools for the protection of local community. Besides the classic museum functions there is a focus now on services that further reinforce the touristic functions of local museums and also satisfy the cultural needs of the local population. Although the repositioned supply increases the number of guests, visitors to the events belong to the group of invisible tourists. The programme supply of the National German Ethnicity Museum and the German Local Museum of Dunaharaszti also supports that the majority of local museums in Hungary are no longer simple exhibitions but also locations for the local traditionalist programmes and venues for encounters of members of the local society and the tourists visiting the settlements.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This publication/research has been supported by the European Union and Hungary and co-financed by the European Social Fund through the project EFOP-3.6.2-16-2017-00017, titled "Sustainable, intelligent and inclusive regional and city models".

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