



Study Book

Cross-Border Croatian Cultural Heritage and the Expertise of Community Organisers

CROSS-BORDER CROATIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE EXPERTISE OF COMMUNITY ORGANISERS

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Published by the University of Pécs

Pécs, 2022

ISBN: 978-963-429-929-5

„This document has been produced with the financial assistance of the European Union.
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Preface

Preservation of cultural heritage of ethnic groups on territorial units divided by country borders is an efficient means of activity for maintaining regional identity and the integrity of communities at different levels. Cultural heritage brings people together both in generational and spatial dimensions. Elements of cultural heritage such as language, folklore, traditions are sometimes seen as manifestations that are capable of blocking the goals of creating national level political and public administrative unity. In fact, understanding diverse cultural ways of thinking and values based on ethnicity benefits both the local and the national integrity of communities. This study book aims to introduce readers to a complex historical, social, political, economic and cultural analysis of the cross-border territorial unit of Baranya with a special focus on ethnic Croats in order to inspire utilization of the acquired knowledge in community organising, education, adult learning, and policy making.



Introduction

This book introduces a case study on ethnic integrity of a borderland area through the cultural activities of the Croatian communities living there. The research was conducted by the College of Advanced Studies on Social Inclusion, University of Pécs, Hungary. The researchers involved four civil organisations as partners into the project that are all committed to preserve and enhance Croatian cultural heritage, two from Hungary, the Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association and Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club, and another two from Croatia, HKUD „Valpovo 1905” and HKUD „Osijek 1862”, all four of them come from the historic territory of Baranya/Baranja. The research was implemented under the cross-border co-operation of the European Union's Interregional Relations Program, HUHR-1901-3.1.2-0043 CHP (Culture, heritage, and profession - Establishing a professional replenishment of heritage conservation through cultural events).

The research was built on the concept of comparative event analysis. The partners involved have had a long-time history of co-operation, therefore, each of them were asked to organize one cultural event for their own Croatian communities, to which they are supposed to invite the other three ensembles to perform. The research group set out to examine the four events held in different locations and conditions on the basis of the following aspects: the process itself and the elements of the organization of cultural community events; the impact of cultural events on the local community including both Croatians and other ethnicities; characteristics of cross-border cooperation in producing cultural and performing arts events.

The research, originally planned for one year, started in March 2020. The first meeting with all partners being present took place a week before the lockdown in Hungary in relation to the first wave of the COVID-19 pandemic. As the focus of the research was on accomplishing the four events, planning the timing of their implementation was the primary goal. At the first meeting, a draft schedule was outlined in which each participating ensemble selected a date in four different seasons in accordance with their own calendar of events. Osijek was about to start the event series in May 2020 and Vizin planned to close it in January 2021. However, considering the uncertain spread of the epidemic, the different regulations of the two countries, and the fact that for all events border crossing was necessary, made the planning process rather difficult. Finally, after several modifications and extensions, a time window opened in the autumn of 2021, that seemed appropriate for the implementation of the events. The four events were finally organized by the partners in the course of a month. This required intensive work from all participants but most of all the members of the research team had to rethink the careful design of the contentful conditions of the project and prepare much more intensely for delivering it.

The results of the research entitle us to present a good-practice of a four-staged series organization of cultural events, also to provide a social-political-economic background analysis of a territorial ethnic integrity and reveal some authentic elements of intangible cultural heritage of the Croatian communities of Baranya/Baranja borderland.

We believe, this three-lingual multiplatform cross-border project will serve a good orientation for younger generations, demonstrating an example that ethnic and cultural



identity and its expression is a crucial and valuable factor adding to the quality of life of living communities. For this reason, we aim to publish our research findings in the form of a study book, an educational film, and an outline of training for cultural sensitivity.

Basic concepts

To provide a clear understanding for core relations of a cross-border cultural landscape some basic concepts are to be introduced:

Cross-border nation – the same nation living on both sides of a border. State borders sometimes do/or do not overlap/ consistent with the geographical boundaries of a given nation.

Cross-border ethnic group – historical presence of an ethnic group in a geographical area, divided among two or more states.

Cross-border people – citizens of different countries who have common characteristics: language, culture, religion, economy, geography, history, customs, lifestyle. National level values are overruled by local identity.

Assimilation factors – social life, cultural, political and economic interactions irrespective of ethnic relations.

Nation-state – a territorially bounded sovereign polity that is ruled in the name of a community of citizens who identify themselves as a nation. Members of the dominant national group see the state as belonging to them and consider the approximate territory of the state to be their homeland. Accordingly, they demand that other groups, both within and outside the state, recognize and respect their control over the state.

Nationalization – The ideal of a state of and for a nation is reinforced not only through citizenship regimes but also through mechanisms that foster national integration and develop and sustain emotional commitment to the homeland.

Diversity management – nation-states implement policies to manage ethnic, religious, or national diversity within their borders. These policies lead to social integration instead of cultural assimilation or alienation.

Multiculturalism – it serves as an ideological framework to provide an alternative to assimilation or exclusion. In a multicultural environment ethnic minority groups flourish due to democratic guarantees such as cultural autonomy, political interest enforcement tools and deliberation mechanisms.

Cultural heritage – a continuous development supported by UNESCO, that may contain objects, monuments, as well as, living expressions of the past, oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts.

Intangible cultural heritage – is a factor in maintaining cultural diversity in intercultural, interethnic and intergenerational aspects, too. Intangible cultural heritage transmits traditions from the past, connects rural and urban practices, involves diverse cultural groups. It is inclusive as it contributes to social cohesion and continuity,



representative as it belongs to people possessing the knowledge of traditions and skills, finally, it is community-based as it is created, maintained by a community and recognized by other communities. An intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is a practice, representation, expression, knowledge, or skill considered by UNESCO to be part of a place's cultural heritage. Intangible heritage consists of nonphysical intellectual wealth, such as folklore, customs, beliefs, traditions, knowledge, and language. Intangible cultural heritage or living heritage is defined in the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. It means „the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.”¹

Intangible cultural heritage is manifested inter alia in the following domains:

- Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
- Performing arts;
- Social practices, rituals and festive events;
- Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
- Traditional craftsmanship

Tangible cultural heritage – a cultural good valued on a comparative basis such as buildings, historic places, monuments, and artifacts are physical intellectual wealth.

Cultural landscape – a geographic area including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with special historic events, activities, communities, values.

Historic vernacular landscape – a geographic area where inhabitants or part of the inhabitants speak a distinct language preserved from the past.

Ethnographic landscape – a geographic area having a distinguished ethnographic value that makes it significant to a specific ethnic group².

¹ DEACON, Harriet (et al.) (2004): The Subtle Power of Intangible Heritage: Legal and Financial Instruments for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage. In Human Sciences Research Council. p. 19-34.

² Cultural landscape, historic vernacular landscape and ethnographic landscape definitions are taken from PAGE RR, GILBERT CA, DOLAN SA (1998). A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques. Cultural Landscape Guidance Documents. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program. Washington, DC p. 24.



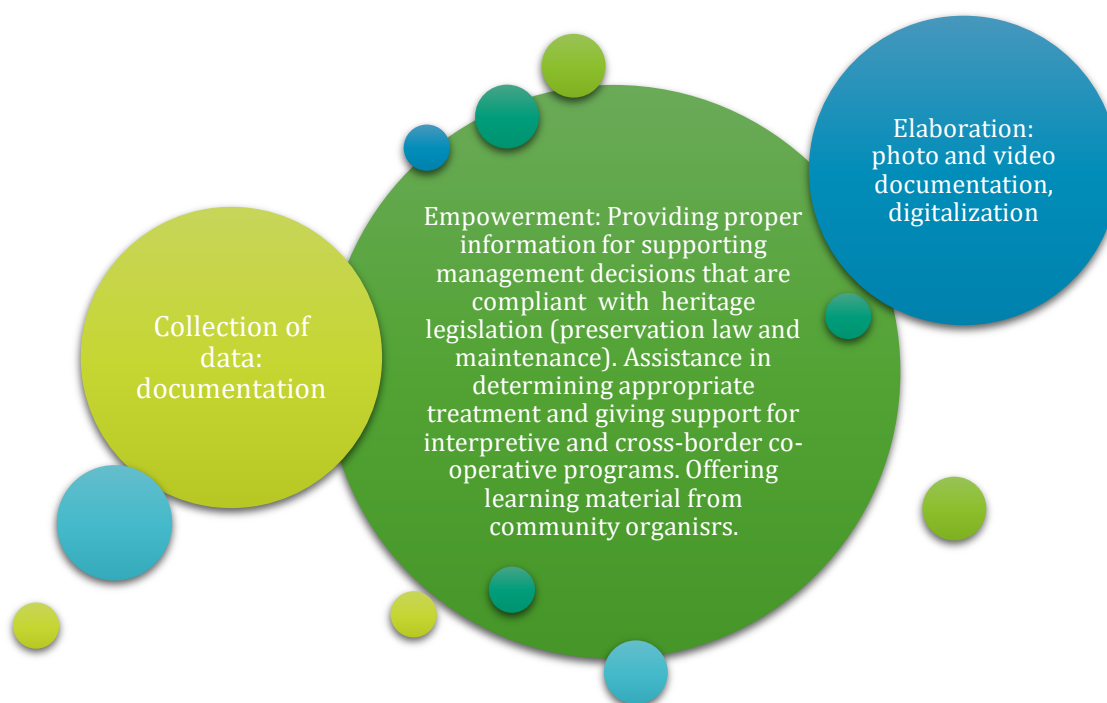
Research Methodology

The main goal of the HUHR-1901-3.1.2-004 Culture, heritage, and profession – Establishing the professional replenishment of heritage preservation through cultural events - project is to point out that borders not only divide but can connect the two neighbouring countries with the help of cultural organisations. The programme consists of not only of the College of Advanced Studies on Social Inclusion (CASSI, University of Pecs) but associations from Hungary and Croatia alike. All of our partners are historical entities, acknowledged and paired up based on their purpose and works. The researchers of CASSI – Rebeka Revesz and Mate Balogh – are exploring the technical background of our partners' events in the fields of cultural community coordination, preservation of cultural heritage and the operations of our partners' organisations. Other duties and tasks in need of helping hands are provided by Zoltan Gergely Koczian and Istvan Abraham Balint and also from the chief of research, Inez Zsofia Koller, leader of CASSI. As a result of the project, we will introduce a Studybook consisting of good practices and the outcome of our research in English, Croatian and Hungarian languages by the year 2022.

Ethnic Integrity Analysis of a Cultural Landscape

The primary role of this research focusing on a cross-border cultural landscape is to highlight the values and associations that reveal an ethnically integral community. Although, there are numerous records on intangible cultural heritage of a cross-border landscape related to the ethnic composition of the inhabitants, for the sustainable development of the landscape the first step is to systematically organise data and documentation in order to avoid dispersion of the collected documents. The proper use of modern technology and scientific research methodology will lead both to the widening of perspectives and to the knowledge of how to protect and enhance the ethnic integrity of a given cultural landscape even if it belongs to more than one country³.

³ The concept of providing a measurement tool for ethnic integrity of a cultural landscape was inspired by PAGE RR, GILBERT CA, DOLAN SA (1998). A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques. Cultural Landscape Guidance Documents. U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Park Historic Structures and Cultural Landscapes Program. Washington, DC and BUTCHER, Charity (2019): The Handbook of Cross-border Ethnic and Religious Affinities. Rowman&Littlefield Publishers.



Identification

Conducting research and preliminary field surveys will be going to determine the existence of cultural landscapes. Identifying the significant characteristics and features of a landscape involves understanding its historic development and use, modifications over time, as well as its ethnographic values and affiliations.

Documentation, Evaluation, and Registration

Documentation of cultural landscapes involves the use of primary and secondary sources, review and assessment of archeological, historical, ethnographic and modern time records to determine the extent and the actual condition of historic and contemporary landscape features. Maps, plans, drawings, photographs and video contents will be prepared as part of the baseline documentation.

The significance will be highlighted by relating a landscape and its existing characteristics and features to its ethnic context.

The landscape must be associated with:

- events, activities, or developments that were important in the past
- the lives of people who were important in the past;
- significant architectural history, landscape history,
- events, activities or developments that are important in the present shaping the lives of communities of today.

The integrity of a cultural landscape is determined by the degree to which the landscape characteristics that define its ethnic integrity are still present. Because some landscape characteristics (such as demographic changes, changes in traditions) are dynamic,



integrity also depends on the extent to which general characteristic traits are evident, and the degree to which incompatible elements found are capable of reversing.

It is important to consider how such changes affect the landscape as a whole and the degree to which they impact or obscure the landscape's character and integrity. With some ethnographic landscapes, the change itself is a significant factor and must be considered in assessing integrity.

Population characteristics

Every kind of report needs a statistical grounding. The number of people living in the measured landscape is the basis for understanding conditions and providing proactive designs. It is important to note that there may be different sources of statistical data, estimations based on different data-collection methodologies. Before using them it's wise to check and clarify divergencies.

Needed information: Age, sex, education, welfare, ethnic affiliation stratifications of the area

Ethnic composition of the local population

If available, detailed information on ethnic composition of local population is to be searched. Native language, spoken language, ethnic identity categories need to be searched for. A comparison to national level is also needed.

Ways of ethnicity identification

States need to know the exact number of their ethnic minorities in order to formulate their minority policy adapting to the use of mother tongue, like offering special education and cultural institutions in their mother tongue. States need these numbers regardless of whether they want to implement affirmative or restrictive minority policies. On the other hand, the declaration of belonging to an ethnic group is a form of collective action, although it is based on self-identification. In some types of collective action the number of participants is not a crucial one but the usefulness of the action is still there even if one person provides benefits to the others. In the case of minority self-identification the realisation of group cohesion is the ultimate aim of existing as a group.

Education

It is a key element in preserving a culture and being influential in the evolution of this culture whether it is supported by an education system or not. So, information on the type of education system is needed: repressive, integrated, bilingual, etc.

Local economic conditions

Description of the main economic fields (agriculture, tourism, manufacturing, special business inventories, etc.), productivity, unemployment rate. Are there ethnic-related businesses situated on the landscape? How are these businesses performing: leading, coincident or lagging? What does the housing construction look like in the area? Are there cross-border economic co-operations in the area? The monitoring of landscape economic conditions provides insight into growth and profitability and contributes to more reliable forecasting and strategy design.



Country level legal and political frames

There are two dimensions affecting the probability of ethnic minorities' access to the political sphere. The first dimension concerns the opportunities deriving from the actual institutional political structure. The mobilisation of ethnic minorities is significantly affected by the different laws and regulations related to the scope of citizenship rights of the bordering countries. The second dimension is related to the level of organisational capacity of ethnic groups and the way they are connected to each other. There is a theoretical distinction between ethnic and civic conceptions of citizenship. These two types of citizenship can grant different individual rights. In the light of this, an ethnic conception of citizenship grants fewer rights compared to a civic conception of citizenship and it thus constitutes a closed political context which offers few opportunities for minorities to mobilise. We can also make a distinction between a monist versus a multicultural conception of citizenship, the latter recognises and accommodates to the distinctive cultural rights of ethnic minorities. A civic and multicultural conception of citizenship presents the highest levels of political participation and mobilisation by ethnic minorities. Furthermore, in such open contexts, mobilisation of the ethnic minorities tends to be more focused on integration on national level and on the extension of their collective rights. By investigating the role played by the institutional structure through the citizenship regime, students are expected to find documents analysing the impact of the individual and collective rights granted to ethnic minorities.

Local level legal, political and administrative frames

Dense and horizontal relationships between ethnic organisations contribute to the democratisation of the wider society by diffusing rules of "civicness" and by promoting social and political trust. At the individual level, the higher the number of relationships built within "ethnic civic communities", i.e. the ties between ethnic organisations, the higher the number of individuals who vote and who are interested in politics. Developed in contexts where social organisation around ethnicity is recognised and encouraged, the role of ethnic ties among organisations is significant. Students need to search for documents on local level political civic rights of ethnic minorities.

Education for local ethnic culture

Policy makers, as well as community organisers need to gain a more general understanding of educational systems and of how they are related to the strengthening of local co-operations and to overall national development. It is prevailing in two dimensions. 1. There is a need for complex education if there are learners who speak different languages at home than at school. In a provisional education system it is the objective to raise everybody's achievement to the fullest potential possible and to eventually integrate them into one nation. 2. In cross-border settlements for cultural, economic, political and other reasons, classrooms in schools are diverse in terms of ethnic composition. Accommodating students from varied backgrounds and cultures is challenging for teachers. But it also can ground an inclusive and colourful culture from which students will benefit from when they are growing adult and enter the local work market. Students are supposed to explore information on specific local forms of education related to ethnic languages and ethnic cultural elements such as ethnic lifestyle, customs,



folk music or folk dance and get information whether there is an application of the holistic cultural landscape concept in education.

Cultural organisations for ethnic groups

Cultural organisations of ethnic minorities are sources of local public engagement. These organisations mediate the representation of aggregated cultural preferences and community interests and are resources for producing shared collective identities. Students need to identify the major and most influential ethnic-related cultural organisations of cultural landscapes and examine their local and cross-border activities.

Political organisations for ethnic groups

Participation in political processes is a fundamental human right and a crucial requirement for integration. Political participation is essential for functioning democratic systems; it is important that everyone plays an active role as a voter, a community participant, a worker, an activist and political party member. However, ethnic and religious minorities collectively are unable to exercise their political and civil rights. In an increasingly diverse society we need to focus on the political inclusion of ethnic minority groups as a means to their wider integration into society. Active participation in democracy and in decision-making is indeed a paramount, necessary condition for the integration of minority groups. This requires active measures to empower people such as providing information on how they can exercise their voting rights, how can they have their voice heard and make others appreciate the power of their vote in society⁴.

Local community areas, community spaces, community sites

Availability of local community areas represent a key dimension when dealing with topics like the enhancement and sustainability of cultural heritage. Through examining community areas, places possible lines of action can be defined more easily and effectively. Students need to identify and introduce such areas.

Stakeholders

The nature of the value of cultural heritage is multi-dimensional, also multi-subjective which makes governance and management processes more complicated given the divergent interests of actors. Students' task will be identifying and characterizing these actors in order to understand the complexity of the chosen cultural landscape such as the interaction of goods, beneficiaries, public and private organizations, communities, local and national authorities. The multi-subject interaction determines different value outcomes depending on each involved stakeholder's goals, expectations and participation in the process.

⁴ Aspects for examining the role of political organizations in relation to ethnic integrity were inspired by ZENDEROWSKI and KRYCKI (2014): Public Democracy in the Cities Divided by State Border: The Case of Cieszyn and Český Těšín. In: Barbara Curyło, Johanna Kulska, Aleksandra Trzcielińska-Polus (eds.) Open Europe: Cultural Dialogue Across Borders. New Diplomacy in Open Europe. Opole, Opole University, 139-156. pp.



Influential individuals

Influential personalities have the ability to sway or shape people. These people's opinions are respected within their communities and even beyond, their insights are valued, they are able to express the point of view of the local public and usually can influence community opinions. They can be formal leaders such as a leader of an organisation but may also be informal influencers cultivating the public's perceptions and beliefs enjoying recognition. Students need to identify and characterize some of the influential personalities related to the cultural landscape and its communities.

Tangible assets

Those physical artefacts are tangible assets that are produced, maintained and transmitted intergenerationally in a society or in a community. It includes artistic creations, built heritage such as buildings and monuments and other physical or tangible products of human creativity that are invested with cultural significance. Students are expected to identify and list those tangible assets of the cultural landscape that are related to special ethnic communities living in the area.

Intangible assets

An understanding of the intangible cultural heritage of different communities greatly helps with intercultural dialogue, and encourages mutual respect for different ways of life. The importance of intangible cultural heritage is not the cultural manifestation itself but rather the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through from one generation to the next. An intangible cultural asset can be a distinctive practice, representation, expression, knowledge, or skill, living folklore, customs, beliefs, traditions, rituals, and language. Students need to identify, characterize and list those intangible assets found within the cultural landscape that the local communities recognise as part of their cultural heritage with a special attention on performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, traditional craftsmanship and cuisine⁵.

Social impact assessment, people's perception

Valuing processes are attached to heritage making. The cultural value proposition, rather than limiting itself to the minimum degree of value, consisting of mere physical accessibility to the viewing of cultural items, must also be made cognitively accessible to a wider societal surrounding and only to some individuals. The generality of the potential participants must be addressed, all the stakeholders to be identified, segmenting the different clusters according to the interests that animate them and the personal endowments they have making use of the offering. That awareness has to be raised that values are generated from the constant exchange and need reinforcing by common perception/community use. So, students are required to examine both the identified

⁵ Wide-scale interpretations on intangible cultural heritage can be found in VRDOLJAK, Ana Filipa (2017): Indigenous peoples, intangible cultural heritage and participation in the United Nations. In: Intellectual Property, Cultural Property and Intangible Cultural Heritage. Routledge, pp. 50-66., in FARAH, Paolo Davide (2014): Desirability of Commodification of Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Unsatisfying Role of Intellectual Property Rights. Transnational Dispute Management, 11 (2.), in What is Intangible Cultural Heritage? <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003> or in The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003 <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>



tangible and intangible assets of the cultural landscape to assess how precious they are for the local communities as well as for a wider society by searching for poll and survey data and analyses on number of visits, participation and satisfaction level and other types of feedbacks.

Project effects: vulnerabilities and gains

These measures may have long-term or immediate effects. The research project is about to examine whether the already implemented measures manifested in the specific projects have really contributed to the integrity of the cultural landscape. The investigation of these measures' effects related to local ethnic groups will reveal also whether the effects have been relevant across border, too. The study needs to focus on inclusiveness (whether they contributed to social cohesion, to encouraging a sense of identity and responsibility helping individuals to feel being part of one or different communities or belonging to the society at large); representativity (how do they represent the needs of the local communities); and to what extent they are ethnic-related and community-driven. The research project needs to reflect on the learnt information whether these projects contribute to the ethnic integrity of the landscape or fail to do so.

The Ethnic Integrity Report

The Ethnic Integrity Report is a useful guiding document tool for long-term management of a cultural landscape that consists of more than one ethnic groups. The EIR continuously or periodically monitors, reports and evaluates the state of ethnic influences on a cultural landscape powerful enough to shape the preservation goals realising that the ethnic characteristics of a landscape may contribute to the uniqueness of the area. The report identifies all ethnicity-related landscape features and values that make the landscape distinctive like architecture (tangible) and folklore (intangible).

Standards

- Collects existing information about the ethnic-related history
- Records actual policies and conditions
- Based on research materials with appropriate methodologies and techniques
- Collects records, maps, techniques, photo-documentation, descriptions

Contents

- Baseline information – table contents
- Legal and institutional framework
- Tangible and intangible cultural assets with ethnic characteristics

Model outline

- Landscape history (materials, documentation)
- Existing ethnic conditions of a cultural landscape

Analysis and evaluation

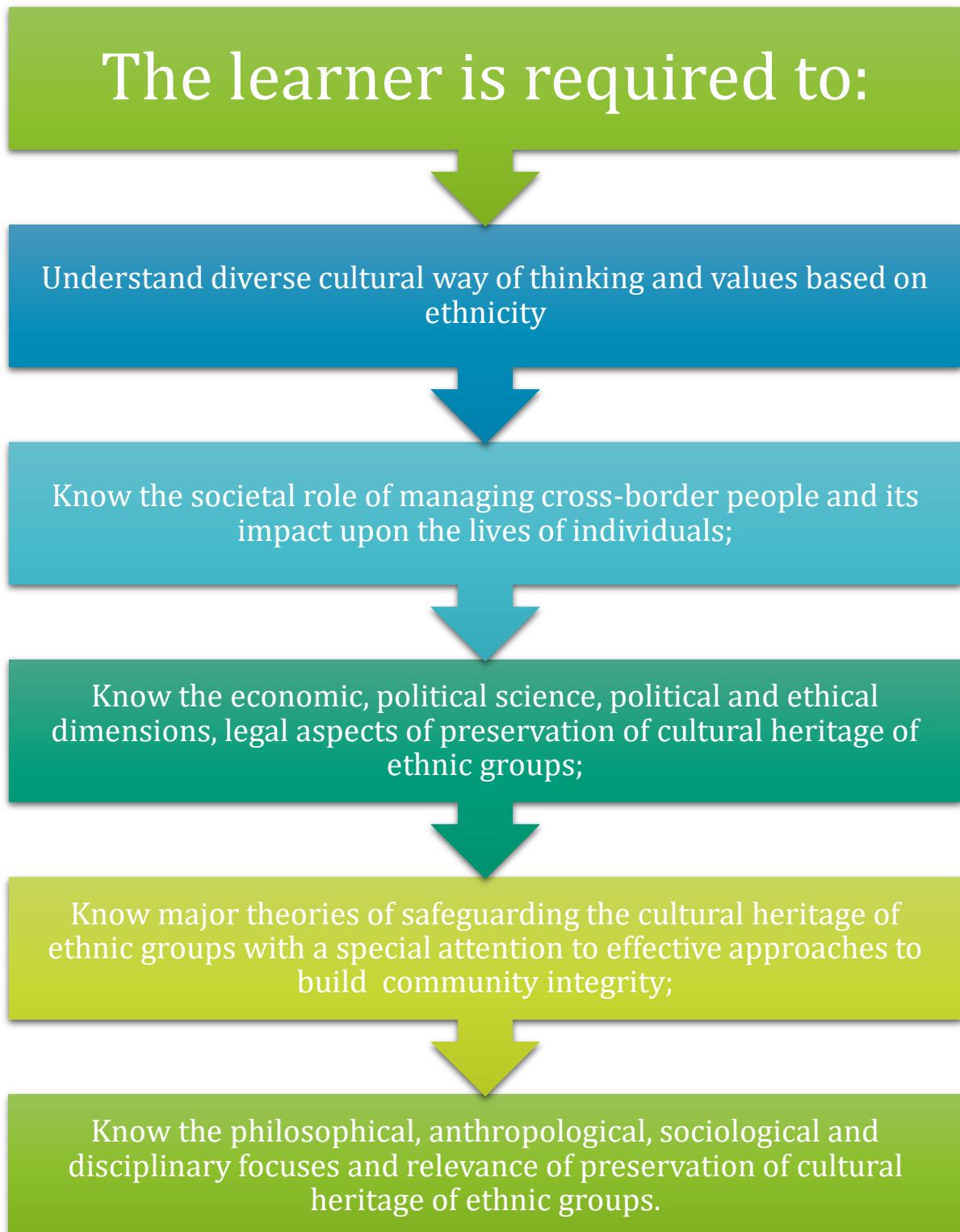


- Aspects of integrity, boundaries, definitions
- Policies, standards, operations
- Evaluation of actions



Competences, expected learning outcomes

Knowledge and understanding





Skills and abilities





Judgement and approach



Research implementation

Measurement methods

The project was based on immersive fieldwork⁶, researchers visited cultural associations in two time periods. In the first, they examined the organizational side of the associations: what is the organizational background of their cultural activities and the social-political-economic context: how they are accepted, supported by the local community, local and national level authorities.

Field trips

August 6, 2020 Valpovo, Osijek

October 2, 2020 Mohács

October 27, 2020 Pécs

Video documentation was produced, and interviews were conducted during the field trips. Later on, a 56 item- questionnaire has been filled by the associations that provided more detailed information to complement data collection for the analysis.

In the second time period researchers visited the events of the associations. The project funded the organization of Croatian cultural events for all four associations, to which the other three partners were invited to perform. Thus, researchers had four occasions to examine the process of preparation and elaboration of the organisation of a cultural event. The theme and structure of the events made possible to conduct a comparative analysis.

Cultural events

September 4, 2021 Mohács

September 19, 2021 Valpovo

September 25, 2021 Osijek

October 1, 2021 Pécs

Interviews were conducted with association members each time, immediately before and after the show. Planning and the selection of dates was rough for everyone in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Linguistic background of the research

The main working language of the research project is English, as is it sponsored by the cross-border co-operation of the European Union's Interregional Relations Program so the outputs of the resarch project are available mostly in English. However, the personal communication with the Croatian partners took place mainly in Croatian and with the Hungarian partners in Hungarian. The interviews were also recorded in the mother

⁶ Torklid Thanem, David Knights (2019). Embodied Research Methods. Chapter 4. Embodied Immersion and Ethnographic Fieldwork



tongue of the interviewees, which were later translated into Hungarian and English. The events were bilingual - Croatian, Hungarian.



Chapters Review

The first sections of this study book emphasize the importance and basics of the scientific research of the Cultural Heritage and Profession Project. As we further investigate ethnicity, cultural heritage and connecting matters, we hope we provide more specific information about the Croatian ethnicities, especially in the Baranya/Baranja cross-border cultural region.

As we begin our journey, we take a closer look at the history of the Baranya/Baranja region, the ethnicities living here and the constant shift in their life in correlation with the various historical events, religions, and regimes. This section also introduces the languages spoken in the two counties and statistical data provided by numerous sources. To provide a clear understanding of core relations of a cross-border cultural landscape some basic concepts are being proposed in this section.

In the following parts, we introduce our partners as civil organizations whose main mission is the preservation of Croatian cultural heritage. Furthermore, these associations give us a peek into their unique and distinct history, foundation, everyday life, prizes and awards they have won, work and social aspects. You will also learn more about the initiatives of said organizations and how they finance their projects and operations. We dedicated sections for outstanding members of these organizations, also important data such as the numerous groups working in these associations and their everyday activities.

This study book also contains pieces of interviews we recorded at various events and sites during the CHP Interreg project. These dialogues were compiled preserving the originality of said contents, thus the reader can feel the depth of the conversations as if they were there in person. Reading these interviews, you shall gain behind-the-scenes information about the events, the feelings of the participants, stories about the impact of COVID-19 on the performers and situations, even details on the individual performances. To keep every piece of information organised, we edited this part as all facts regarding a partner is in one section followed by connecting interviews and conversations with a member of said organization.

Speaking of scientific research, this study book contains a section dedicated to a comparative analysis on the preparation of the events. In this section, we take a closer look at the various aspects of planning and record what happened at our meetups. As a part of this section, we also analyse and measure the different planning methods used during the project by our partners. We also contrast the differences in the fields of sound and light systems used on stage, selected locations and their pros and cons, accessibility of the chosen spot and more. The schedules of the events are also available in this section, with the aid of visualised data such as spreadsheets and infographics. We also included some short interviews with the partners and staff members to conclude a clearer image of the matters and to further improve the engagement of our readers. As a connecting part, our research team put together two important units, regarding their scientific work: one on the role of folk music and folk dance events in the preservation of Croatian cultural heritage, and the other one on folk costumes appeared on events.

The following sections contain information on the preserving of cultural heritage in a multiethnic landscape, how political, economic, ethnic, and geographic factors shape the



integrity of researched cross-border lands, a part dedicated to the College of Advanced Studies on Social Inclusion (CASSI), and the Cultural Education Programs of the Institute of Human Development and Cultural Sciences at the University of Pécs, as CASSI is part of said institution.





Baranya/Baranja as a cross-border land



1. Figure - Map of Baranya/Baranja

In the South-Western pole of Hungary, Baranya/Baranja County is equipped with the possible tools for cultural dialogues across borders, for example through its colourful ethnic diversity. Though, it is not that simple. Ethnic groups living in Hungary have to face several challenges encumbering them in both intensively living their ethnic identity and building up connections with their mother countries. Certainly, there are some old lions in the way, a general precaution among older generations not to confess their ethnic identity in order to sidestep discrimination on ethnic ground by the majority of the society, or, incomplete bilateral national level agreements between the home country and

mother countries. Furthermore, they have to face modern-type challenges such as assimilation and lost ties with their mother country.

Compared to South-Tirol⁷, Baranya/Baranja has no significant political tensions among ethnic groups. The dominant culture of the state is not willing to oppress other resident cultures of its territory, although, state borders have changed several times in the past. In South-Tirol, the Austrian ethnic minority experienced the separation from its kin and disintegration of its population. Minority communities in the area have built strong political identity in their economic, social and cultural life. Oppression and assimilation of ethnic minorities was present in the past in Baranya County in Hungary, however, this tendency has changed since the early 1990s. The preservation of cultural differences of ethnic groups living in Baranya fits national level minority policy which aims exemplary treatment for ethnicity living in Hungary on the principle of reciprocity as many Hungarians live in neighbouring countries.

Compared to Silezia⁸, the difference in welfare is not significant in Baranya/Baranja as a border region having parts both in Hungary and in Croatia, this can be detected in the very low interactions in economic cross-border cooperation and relationships. There are no disparities in the socioeconomic status of Croats living in Hungary compared to Hungarians in majority, similarly, Hungarians living in Croatia live according to the same living standards as Croats in majority.

Baranya or Baranja is a County divided by state border. The Croatian side, Osječko-baranjska županija consists of the north-eastern part of Slavonia and Drávaköz, a lowland

⁷ ALCOCK, Anthony (2001): The South Tyrol Autonomy. A Short Introduction County Londonderry, Bozen/Bolzano, BELL, Bethany (2012): South Tyrol's identity crisis: Italian, German, Austrian...? BBC News.

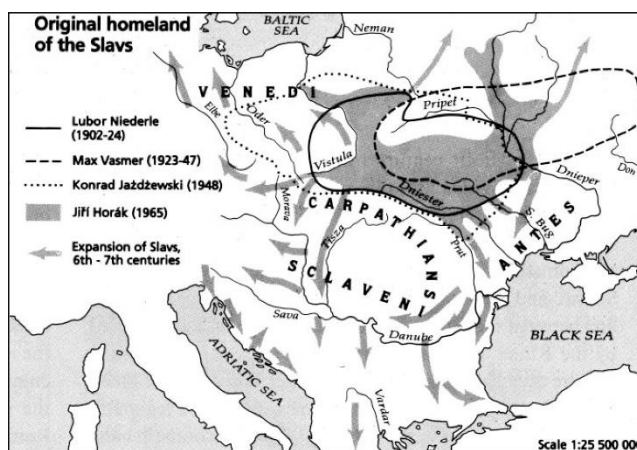
⁸ PÁSZTO, Vít, MACKŮ, Karel, BURIAN, Jaroslav, TUCEK, Pavel, PANEK, Jiri (2019): Capturing cross-border continuity: The case of the Czech-Polish borderland. Moravian Geographical Reports 27(2):122-138.

enclosed by two rivers Drava and the Danube and the state border between Croatia and Hungary. This is how it earned its name, the Baranya/Baranja triangle.

Drávaköz became part of Yugoslavia in 1920 then part of the independent Croatia in 1992. Its population is ethnically diverse, beside Croats in majority there are Serbs, Hungarians, Roma, and Germans living on its territory, in a very similar mixture than on the other side of the border having the Hungarians in majority.

Historical Baranya/Baranja

In history, a culturally significant event for all peoples is the “ethnogenesis” and the conquest - the story of the arrival and settling down, sometimes coloured with mythical elements. At least four different, partly contradictory theories have emerged over the centuries about the origins of the people now known as Croats. Hypotheses have mostly served for political-ideological goals. Some of them were used to establish territorial claims, to prove their continuous presence in the area, and others to strengthen reviving nationalism. The picture is complex as different Slavic peoples occupy a significant place in each other's history and depending on which ethnic group the historian feels closer to, interpretations may be distorted.



2. Figure - Original homeland of the Slavs

According to the most generally accepted Slavic theory, the ancestors of the Croats may have been the White Croats (Bijeli Hrvati) or Vislans (Slavs along the Vistula). The White Croats are referred to as “Horithi”⁹ by King Alfred the Great in the translation of the English work Orosius. The Bavarian Geographer also writes about the area, but he does not mention the Croats¹⁰, only the folk name “Surpi” (Serbian?).

The Croatian ethnonym may derive from Chrovatos appearing in the myth on the conquest of the Carpathian basin. What is certain is that in the middle of the 9th century, in a donation letter¹¹ of Prince Trpimir in 852, we can first find a written form of the folk name “Croatian”. Their formation existed as a Principality from 925, and as a Kingdom from 925 to 1918. For 800 years, it was a personal union with the Kingdom of Hungary from the year 1091 onwards. Saint László I “occupied” the area. His legal basis was that the Croatian king Dmitar Zvonimir, who died in 1089, was his brother-in-law and died without a son.

⁹ Ingram, James: An Inaugural Lecture on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon Literatures to which is Added the Geography of Europe by King Alfred, Including His Account of the Discovery of the North Cape in the Ninth Century. p. 60;72.

¹⁰ Bavarian geographer: Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii



Here, too, common slogans have emerged, as in the case of the Poles: “One crown, two nations. / Jedna kruna, dvije nacije.” “Brother with brother, Hungarian with Croatian. / Brat uz brata, Mađar uz Hrvata.”

Religion and Language

Religion

The Slavs were essentially polytheists, with an extensive mythological system — more or less uniting the various Slavic clans. According to modern assumptions a unified Slavic mythology could not really be established because the Slavic tribes disintegrated early on, and by the time Christianity (and the skill of writing) were adopted, they were significantly culturally distant from each other. There are therefore no own written sources from this era of supposed primeval religion¹². The ancient Slavs believed in the immortality of soul: they accommodated their dead with everything they could need on their otherworldly journey, placed food and drink on their graves at certain intervals, lit a fire in their memory to get warm by it, and its light shone upon them. [...] The cult of the stove developed by the Serbs and Croats, which manifests itself especially at Christmas and when the bride is taken home, and beliefs about the doorstep are also related to the respect of the ancestors.”¹³

The Croats were the first among the southern Slavic peoples to adopt Christianity, its Roman Catholic version. Among the Serbs, (saint) Sava received permission in 1219 to establish an independent Serbian Orthodox Church. Thus, the Serbs followed the Greek-Oriental rite, while the Croats adopted different cultural traits following the Roman Catholic rite. The majority of Slovenes were also Catholics, and the Orthodox religion became dominant among other southern Slavic nations (Bulgarians, Macedonians). In the 1200s, the Bogumil heresy swept through the area, gaining many followers from the southern Slavs. Serbs often refer to it only as a baboon heresy. According to previous interpretations, Bosnia was their main center, but their territory extended all the way to Southern Transdanubia. According to some researchers, Bogumilism, with Barcs as its center, also spread in parts of Baranya¹⁴. According to a letter dated 1134 by Archbishop Felicián of Esztergom, in the region between the Drava and Kapela mountains, the disputed Slavonian region, St. Lazarus founded the bishopric of Zagreb to bring the idolatrous local population back to the Catholic faith¹⁵. According to older theories, neither Catholics nor Orthodox could defeat the Bogumil heretic movement. However, Islam managed to convert them, and most of the Bogumils converted to Islam. They are considered to be the ancestors of Muslim Bosniaks, creating a new ethnic group in the region. It is decisive in Hungarian public opinion that the Catholic South Slavic is the Croatian, the Orthodox is the Serbian, and the Muslim is the Bosnian.

¹² A szláv ősvallás. In: Kovács Nemere(szerk.) Egyetemes vallástörténet. Kolozsvár, 2001-2002. p. 343-354

¹³ Edmund Schneeweis: Grundriss des Volksglaubens und Volksbrauchs der Serbokroaten. Celje, 1938.; Bálint Sándor: A délszláv néphit körvonalai. In: Délvidéki szemle, 2, (1943) p. 218-223

¹⁴ Hegedűs Géza: A szent doktorok tudománya. Budapest, 1990.

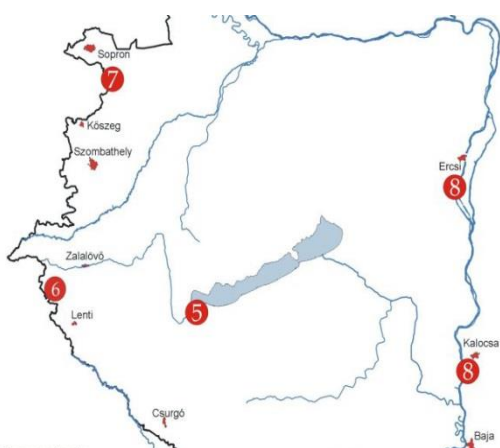
¹⁵ Georgius Györffy: Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima accedunt epistolae et actae ad historiam Hungariae pertinentiam (ab anno 1000 usque ad annum 1196). I. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992. p. 261

Language

South Slavic languages are usually divided into two major subgroups. The eastern subgroup includes Bulgarian and Macedonian. In the western group we find the Slovene, within which there are Vendian and Rézian dialects. The language group, formerly uniformly called Serbo-Croatian - which, according to the modern division, already accepts Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian and Montenegrin as separate languages. Within the Croatian language, three dialects are distinguished: štokavsko, kajkavsko, čakavsko narječje (dialects).

The "Croatian issue" concerned the public from 1790 until 1868 (the Croatian-Hungarian compromise). The reason for its explosion was that the Hungarians intended a forced introduction of the Hungarian language in Croatia in 1790. In the 1830s, the leader of the Illyrian movement (Croatian-national renewal), Ljudevit Gaj, reformed the Croatian language on the Czech model in his work „Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisana”. Later, the movement adopted the "language of the people" the Štokavsko dialect (narječje) as the basis of the common South Slavic literary language. According to Karadžić¹⁶, leading language reformer for the Serbian ethnic community, only Croats use the Čakavsko dialect (narječje) and Slovenes use kajkavsko dialect (narječje). However, Croats use all three dialects. For Serbs, nationalism was basically built on liberation from the Ottoman Empire and the creation of a nation-state – while in the case of Croats, the unification of the South Slavs was a main goal from which the movement of Illyrianism emerged, according to Karadžić. Between 1918 and 1992, the Yugoslav state was realized - it united some of the southern Slavic nations for a long time, but it did not resolve ethnic disputes, it only silenced them.

The Croatian minority community as a constituent part of the Hungarian state



3. Figure - Outlined map of Croatian communities.

(Source: Ferkov Jakab: A baranyai horvátok közművelődéstörténete a dualizmus korában (1867-1918)

In today's Hungary, Croats live in seven large areas - around Pécs, Mohács, Ormánság (along the Drava), Nagykanizsa, Várvidék and Budapest. However, this list indicates only those regions where Croats were able to preserve some of their Croatian identity. Those living nearby Pécs - who came from Bosnia but are Catholic - are also called Croatian-Bosniaks, Baranya-Bosniaks, or Catholic-Bosniaks. Even during the Turkish occupation, Croats lived in the area, but after the liberation, the Diocese of Pécs populated the dead settlements with Catholic Croats / Bosniaks in the 17th century. They lived in the vicinity of Havihegy and Tetttye in Pécs, as

¹⁶ Vuk Stefanovič Karadžić: Srbi svi i svuda. Kovčević za istonju, jezik i običaje Srba sva tri zakona. Vienna, 1849.



well as in Áta, Kökény, Németi, Pécsudvard, Pogány, Szalánta, Szemely, Szőke, Szőkéd. Today, they have been strongly assimilated. Although, Croatian culture is sustained in small local cultural associations, such as Marica Kulturális Egyesület (Szalánta), Matusek László Vegyeskórus (Kökény), Dubrava Együttes (Szemely), Tanac Kulturális Egyesület (Pécs), Baranya Néptáncegyüttes (Pécs). The Croatians along the Drava originate in Herzegovina. People living in the vicinity of Budapest call themselves Dalmatians. The people living in the vicinity of Szombathely, Kőszeg and Sopron form a cultural unity with the Croats of Burgenland (Várvidék) on the Austrian side of the border. They use mostly čakavsko dialect (narječje) while in a small number of settlements kajkavsko dialect appears in the Gradišće region. Shokats people live in Mohács, while Bunievats people in Bácska and Baja. They are initially referred to in the literature as “Christian Rác” that is “Catholic Serbian” - this presupposes their origin from Serbian territory. Nevertheless, the first political unity of the Croatians in Hungary was founded by the Bunievats’ and Shokats’. György Sárosacz, ethnographer from Mohács further granulates the groups of the southern Slavs living in Hungary.

Croatians¹⁷

I. Bunievats. They form an ethnic group and live in Baja, Bácsalmás, Csávoly, Csikéria, Felsőszentiván, Gara, Katymár, Vaskút és Mátételek.

II. Shokats. Their four ethnic sub-groups are known:

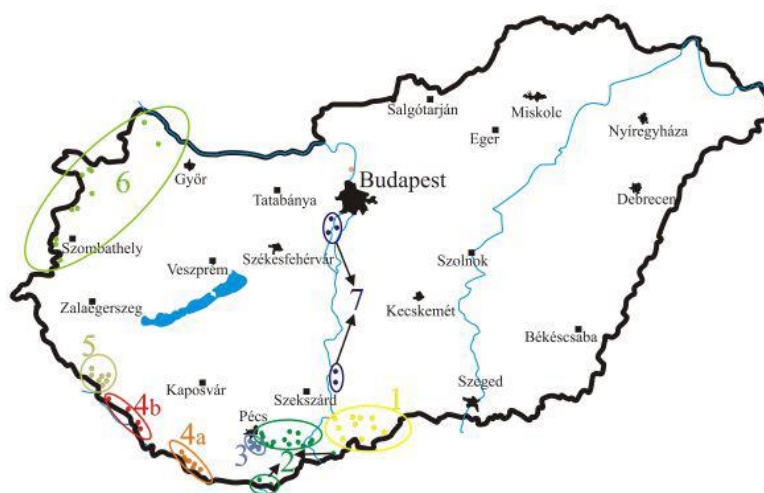
- a) Bácska Shokats: Hercegszántó (other villages belong to Serbia).*
- b) Mohács Shokats: Mohács and Mohács Island.*
- c) Village Shokats: Nagykozár, Magyarsarlós, Lothárd, Birján, Olasz, Belvárdgyula, Monyoród, Versend, Lánycsók, Töttös, Erdősmárok, Maráza, Kátoly.*
- d) Shokats along Drava: Kásád, Alsószentmárton and Beremend.*

III. Bosniaks: Áta, Kökény, Németi, Pécsudvard, Pogány, Szalánta, Szemely, Szökéd and Szőke.

IV. Other Croatian groups:

- a) Croatians along Dráva I.: Drávasztára, Révfulu, Drávakeresztúr, Felsőszentmárton, Lakócsa, Potony, Szentborbás, Tótújfalu.*
- b) Croatians along Dráva II.: Berzence, Bélavár, Vízvár, Heresznye, Babócsa, Bolhó, Tarony.*
- c) Croatians in Somogy County: Tótszentpál, .*
- d) Croatians in Muraköz: Murakeresztúr, Tótszentmárton, Tótszerdahely, Semjénháza, Petrivente, Fityeháza, Légrádhegy, Belezna, Molnári.*
- e) Western – Gradiscse Croatians I.: Narda, Horvátzsidány, Peresznye, Ólmod, Felsőcsatár, Szentpéterfa, Horvátlövő.*
- f) Western – Gradiscse Croatians II.: Bezenye, Fertőhomok, Hidegség, Horvátkimle, Kopháza, Und.*

¹⁷ Sarosácz György: Magyarország délszláv nemzetiségei (Népi Kultúra – Népi Társadalom, VII., 1973)



4. Figure - Ethnic Croatian groups living in Hungary at the end of 20th Century

All ethnic groups also bear the marks of their original homeland. Some of the South Slavs in Somogy belong to the Drava region Croats.

South Slavians in census data and other registers

In Baranya, in the years 1880-1890, "Serbo-Croatian" appears in the censuses in Ferencz Várady's "Past and Present of Baranya." Although they are listed separately in the 1891 census. According to Géza Nagy, in 1901, "The orthodox Serb, the Catholic Croatian, and the Mohammedan Bosniaks remained separate ethnic groups despite the monolingualism, while the Slovenes are more distinguished from the Croats by their dialectical differences. The largest among them is the Serbian population, which includes the Montenegrins, as well as the orthodox Dalmatians and Bosniaks. [...] Two-thirds of the South Slavs in Hungary are Serbs, Shokats and Bunievats, 1/3 Croatian and Vendian. The total number of Serbs [...] was 495105 in 1890, of which the number of Shokats and Bunievats, that is Catholic Serbs was 65801 in Bács County, 5634 in Pest County, 2857 in Baranya, 1260 in Fejér, a total of 75552. The Croats (1890: 183642) have the highest population. In Muraköz (19.7%), in Sopron 11.6, in Mosony 9.9, in Baranya 6.25, in Vas County 4.6, in Somogy 3.3%, there are even a few in Pozsony County [...] The total number of South Slavs in Hungary was 628557 in 1840, 695256 in 1880, and 749659 in 1890. At present there are 440 thousand Serbs, 194 thousand Croats, 80 thousand Shokats and Bunievats, 76 thousand Vend, a total of 790 thousand." ¹⁸

In 1960, we see the following in the census: "The so-called 'other South Slavs' includes only the number of native speakers of Bunievats, Shokats, Slovene and Vend. In the same way, speakers of these languages are considered to be speakers of 'other South Slavic' languages. Due to the uncertainty of the data declarations, in some places Croats are among the native speakers of 'other South Slavs' and."

¹⁸ Nagy Géza (1901): *Népfaajok és népek a XIX. században*. (Ötödik közlemény). *Ethnographia* 12 (6): 258–262.

In 1970: "The number of 'Serbians' includes the number of native speakers of Rác, the data of Croatian includes the number of native speakers of Bunievats and Shokats. In addition, the group of "South Slavic" includes data on Vend and Slovene native speakers."

In 1980: "Both the mother tongue and the ethnic grouping include the Bunievats and Shokats."

1990: "In comparisons of nationality and mother tongue, the native speakers of Bunievats and Shokats are considered to be the same as those of Croatian nationality." ¹⁹

The 2011 census data show a decrease compared to the previous one (9,937,628), a trend that has not stopped²⁰. At the same time, ethnic minority groups have seen an increase in both their numbers and their ethnic identity. At the time of the last census, 380,312 citizens declared themselves to belong to an ethnic minority group, 52,998 in Baranya County. They make up 24% of the County's population. Although many ethnic minority groups live in the County, three ethnicities dominate the ethnic minority population, the German, the Roma, and the Croatian²¹. The Croatian ethnic minority group is concentrated in Baranya County in the largest proportion compared to other counties. Nearly 7,200 people declared themselves Croatian in 2011, a slight decrease from the 2001 figure. Like Germans, their age is older than the total population, and their education is almost the same as the total population of the County.

¹⁹ Népszámlálási Digitális Adattár – Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Könyvtára: a magyarországi népszámlálások adatai 1784 és 1990 között.
https://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/collection/ksh_neda_nepszamlalasok/

²⁰ 9.7 million, 2021 according to latest KSH data release (KSH=Hungarian Central Statistical Office)

²¹ KOLLER, Inez Zsófia (2014): Challenges for Ethnic Minorities in the early 21st century: Towards a Diplomacy of Ethnic Minorities, the Case of Pécs. In: Barbara Curyło, Johanna Kulska, Aleksandra Trzcielińska-Polus (eds.) Open Europe: Cultural Dialogue Across Borders. New Diplomacy in Open Europe. Opole, Opole University, 173. pp.



	Only ethnicity	Only mother tongue	Combined, ethnicity, mother tongue and spoken language in community
Hungarian	32493	14114	8198171
Armenian	2092	100	257
Bulgarian	1898	1290	1054
Croatian	8034	566	10536
German	80714	2469	26170
Greek	1799	155	1333
Polish	2382	168	2130
Roma (romani, beás)	244834	1028	42631
Romanian	12615	1753	7797
Ruthenian	2330	185	527
Serbian	3316	346	2420
Slovakian	16222	840	6521
Slovenian	670	138	1244
Ukrainian	2596	461	1541
All (non-Hungarian)	380312	9499	104161

5. Figure - Ethnicity data of Hungary, 2011 (Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office)

The table shows that ethnic identity and culture are complex phenomena, ethnic identity, the mother tongue of the ethnic group and the number of languages spoken in family and friends circles are not the same. In the case of Croatian ethnic minority, the item group identity is much stronger than mother tongue. It stems from the fact that today's Croatian adults were deliberately not taught their mother tongue as a result of state assimilation efforts, out of fear, or because they felt being Croatian can cause disadvantages in social life²². In Baranya County, more ethnic minority groups, especially the smaller ones, were able to increase their number, but the number of Croats slightly decreased.

²² KOLLER, Inez Zsófia (2014): Ethnic Minorities and Censuses In: István, Horváth; Ibolya, Székely; Tünde, Székely; Márton, Tonk (szerk.) Minority Representation and Minority Language Rights Kolozsvár, Románia: Sapientia Hungarian University of Transsylvania and The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Editura Institutului pentru Studiarea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale (2014) pp. 321. pp.

Ethnic groups	Number, 2011	Ratio, compared to 2001
Bulgarian	204	237,2%
Armenian	94	268,6%
Croatian	7185	98,5%
German	25777	113,5%
Greek	149	67,7%
Polish	213	89,9%
Roma	17585	165,5%
Romanian	600	176%
Ruthenian	80	170,2%
Serbian	794	112,3%
Slovakian	182	121,3%
Slovenian	34	27,6%
Ukrainian	101	46,3%
All	52998	123,8%

6. Figure - Ethnicity data of Baranya County, Hungary 2011 (Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office)



Ethnic groups	Number, 2011	Ratio, compared to 2001
Albanian	865	99,19%
Croatian	262004	105,81%
German	813	118,57%
Hungarian	8249	118,6%
Roma	1874	52,13%
Slovakian	2293	93,9%
Serbian	23657	122%
Other	5277	183%
All	305032	92,29%

7. Figure - Ethnicity data of Baranya County, Croatia (2011)

Source: Croatian Bureau of Statistics. Population by ethnicity, by towns/municipalities. Osijek-Baranja, Census 2001.

https://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/Census2001/Popis/E01_02_02/E01_02_02_zup14.html

(Date of access: 2021.10.14.)

In Croatia, the total population is 4,284,889 of which Croats represent 90,4% as dominant ethnicity group in the country. Serbs have the largest ethnic minority group with 4,4%, all others are under one percent. In Baranja County, Croats are still in majority, however, the ethnic composition is more diverse compared to other regions. Serbian communities live in concentration in other parts of the country, mostly in territories bordering Serbia, two-third of the Hungarian communities live in Baranja County. Five villages have Hungarians living over 10 percent of the local population (13,72-38,66%, Petlovac, Ernestinovo, Draž, Bilje, Kneževi Vinogradi) and a town Beli Manastir with 8%.

Cultural and political life after the change of regime

Croats in Hungary have had their own (non-party) press and cultural institutions since 1990. The Croatian Catholic magazine Zornica has been published since 1990, and since 1991 the weekly newspaper Hrvatski glasnik of the National Croatian Self-Government and the Association of Croats in Hungary. The Croatian Theater in Pécs has been operating since 1992. Croatia Internet Radio was launched in 2005. The Croatian Cultural Center of Bácska in Baja, the Josip Gujaš Džuretin Croatian Cultural and Sports Center in Felsőszentmárton, the Croatian Cultural, Training and Leisure Center in Budapest, the Stipan Blažetin Croatian Cultural Institute in Tótszerdahely. The Christian Collection of Croats in Hungary is located in Peresznye. Croatian language education is

available in Budapest, Szombathely, Hercegszántó and Pécs. Kindergarten and primary school in all listed settlements, high school in Pécs and Budapest. The Scientific Institute of Croats in Hungary – was formed mostly by researchers connected to the University of Pécs. Croatian language and culture are taught at university level at the Croatian Department of Institute of Slavic Studies, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Pécs and at the Institute of Slavic and Baltic Philology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Eötvös Loránd. Croatian ethnic self-governments operate in eleven counties: Bács-Kiskun, Baranya, Budapest, Csongrád, Fejér, Győr-Moson-Sopron, Pest, Somogy, Tolna, Vas, Zala. In Baranya, the Committee for Ethnic Minority Groups of Pécs Municipality organizes regular meetings for the ethnic self-governments, thus providing a forum for presenting their needs and opinions, as well as assisting them through tenders. Croats has also had a national self-government since 1994.

Among the ethnic minority groups of Baranya, the Croats run several larger organizations. In addition to the aforementioned Croatian school and university training, the Croatian Theater, which was founded originally in Budapest in 1971 with the aim of satisfying the needs of Croats mainly in Baranya and as a cultural mediator of Croatian-Hungarian communities at both County and national level, stands out. In their program, they mainly play classical and contemporary Croatian pieces in Croatian. This is not always to their advantage, as there are still very few Croatian speakers. Therefore, the Croatian Theater is repeatedly set up for performances in other settlements inhabited by Croats in Hungary with the need to spread the Croatian language and culture²³. Since the change of regime, the Croatian Club August Šenoa has been trying to help the Croatian community in Pécs and Baranya through cultural events as a kind of umbrella organization. Coordinates the programs of several County associations. One of the most significant of these is the Tanac Cultural Association, founded in 1988 by József Szávai and Mihály Sárosacz. Tanac has very similar objectives and a joint history with the Vizin Cultural and Tradition Association.

The Cultural and Spare Time Center of Croats in Hungary operates in all counties where Croats live, Győr-Moson-Sopron, Vas, (Gradišće/Gardišče Croats); Zala (Croats along Mura River and Zala Croats); Baranya, Somogy (Croats along Drava river); Baranya only (Bosniak Croats and Shokats); Bács-Kiskun (Bunjevats, Shokats and Rats or Croats along Danube river). Each region has its own organizations, e.g., in Pécs, the August Šenoa Croatian Club which is a sub-unit of this organization, the Josip Gujaš Džuretin Cultural and Sports Center along the Drava. Their task is to coordinate and assist with program organization in regions where Croats live. They assist, financially support and supervise both ethnic self-governments and non-governmental organizations.

²³ KOLLER, Inez Zsófia (2014): Challenges for Ethnic Minorities in the early 21st century: Towards a Diplomacy of Ethnic Minorities, the Case of Pécs. In: Barbara Curyło, Johanna Kulska, Aleksandra Trzcielińska-Polus (eds.) *Open Europe: Cultural Dialogue Across Borders. New Diplomacy in Open Europe*. Opole, Opole University, 183. pp.



Civil organisations with the mission of preserving Croatian cultural heritage

The civil organisations involved in the research project, i.e., the Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association, the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club, HKUD „Valpovo 1905”, and HKUD „Osijek 1862” were examined first to gain insight and understand their organisational side emphasising their history of organisational development and their organisational culture.

Organisational culture depends both on economic and social factors that surround it and influence its development. These factors also shape organisational values by both visible and invisible elements. Visible aspects include the way in which organisations ensure access to material resources, their relationships with other organisations, their values, symbols, ceremonies, customs, cultural networks, stories, heroes and language. Invisible elements of organisational culture are attitudes, beliefs and feelings²⁴.

The four performing art ensembles of the four civic associations involved in the project all aim to preserve, cherish and pass on to posterity their own Croatian and Shokats traditions. During the interviews with the members, it was clear that they dance and play music from their heart, and through that a very cohesive and good community has developed within the associations. As they share a common interest, everyone does their best to perform to the fullest of their potential (both in performance and behaviour) at events, and media appearances, committed to represent the values of the association and to help the organisation to get visibility and appreciated by as many people as possible. These commonalities of the mindset, preferences, language and emotions enable them to work together effectively and make the organisation function well. Members are motivated by a strong sense of belonging and being valued. In the case of the associations in Osijek and Valpovo, the Croatian identity is self-evident, in the Mohács and Vizin associations there are many individuals who have family ties with Croatian folk culture and do have Croatian roots, but there are also members who don't possess these traits and have no particular attachment to the ethnic culture. In such cases, the motivation is different for someone whose great-grandmother danced and sewed folk costumes and, say, the current member is performing in that costume and has an important place in her family for Croatian folk culture, then for someone else who is a member more for the sake of the association and just motivated to learn about the culture. Ethnic affiliation has a stronger emotional charge and retention. It is excellent to be a member of these associations because it gives individuals a sense of belonging and an inclusive, supportive community to count on where they feel useful and truly part of a unit, not excluded or marginalised. These outstanding associations are described in more detail in the following paragraphs.

²⁴ Heidrich Balázs: Szervezeti kultúra és interkulturális menedzsment. Kiadó: Akadémia Kiadó (2017) ISBN: 978 963 454 146 2 <https://mersz.hu/kiadvany/248/dokumentum/info/> (Date of access: 2021.03.22.)

Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association

The main strength – and the speciality – of Vizin is that since their outset, the organisation has been operating continuously, also it has had the capability and the will to renew itself from time to time. The strength of the association is in recruiting and coaching the new members, passing on the accumulated traditions and their wide range of knowledge. These qualities – upon granting the persistent functioning of the organisation – have a strong impact on the structural development (which also depends on the age group of the team) and on the improvement of the musical repertoire. In 1981, when Vizin was established, the organisation counted 6-9 members, whom were the following: Antal „Antuš” Vizin, Ferenc „Kume” Dervár, Gyula Piroška, Milenko Rádity, Jován Gyorgyevics, Zoltán Szabó, Zsófia Bíró, Zsuzsanna Ozsvári and Andrea Szamek-Nagy. If we take a closer look at the different generations forming the organisation, we can only draw a soft line between the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd layers, hence at those times – among the founders – were many fresh, young musicians, who were only joining to Vizin for a short period. These newcomers were generally Hungarian students coming from Croatian minority regions studying at Pécs. Influenced by Vizin, few of these members still have a career in music but they are attached as members – or co-founders – to other traditional Croatian organisations. As a matter of fact, László Kovácsévics and Attila Kovácsévics are still active members of Orašje, located in Mohács, HUN; Jakab Tiszai is the leader of Čabar in Baja, HUN. Both these groups are strongly representing the cultural diversity and musical characteristics of their home region. A crucial character of the 2nd and 3rd generations was Andor dr. Végh, who played the bagpipes, archaic tamboura, and other folk wind instruments, also being a master craftsman making bagpipes. It is worth noting that Végh also had a huge impact on native bagpipe music and correlating ethnographic matters. Today he works at the University of Pécs and is also – with a few members of Vizin – taking part in Misina musical ensemble.

A harsh shift between generations in the life of Vizin can be defined after the 3rd generation and before the 4th one. In the beginning of the process (in the second half of the 90s) mainly the structure mentioned above was typical, but there were severe changes starting in the early years of the 3rd /current millennium. The leader of Vizin, Antal Vizin decided to retire from being a professional musician, and so did the founding members. Henceforward a completely new, 4th generation emerged, but the main goal remained the same with members like Szilveszter Bality, Milán Szabó, Márton Horváth, Zsombor Horváth, László Mészáros, and Zoltán Vízvári as the leader of the organisation. Id. József Kovács (1943-2014), a music teacher at Miroslav Krleža Croatian Educational Centre in Pécs had a great influence on the new members of Vizin: this new generation of musicians acquired their tambura skills and qualities at the above mentioned institution and got in touch with the organisation. Shortly, a new member joined the band, Richárd Patkós playing the bagpipes. After 15 years of work, the 4th generation steps down and hands over to the young. An important stage of this process happened in 2013 when Vizin ended their collaboration with Tanac Folk Dance Ensemble (the organisation was providing live music for the folk dance group). Since the ending of the partnership had not been consensual, a new – prolonged – transformation began in the life of Vizin. We could say that this became a turning point in the birth of the new, 5th generation.



The organisation today counts 9 members. As an example for continuity, we can see that members from the previous generation – Zoltán Vízvári and Márton Horváth – are still active members of Vizin today.

In the next part of transformation (in 2015) Ádám Borbás, Míra Zsivkovics, Gergő Maczkó and Máté Balogh joined Vizin. Shortly after, Márk Sándor and Kristóf Tenzlinger, then in 2017 Márk Jeránt entered the band. The musical careers of the new members – despite their young age – are quite different: the majority started in Marica Cultural Association in the village of Szalánta. The lead was taken by József Kovács, then Zoltán Vízvári. This generation introduced a new approach and a quite new nature of sonority. For the first time in the life of the organisation, there is no one playing the harmonica, although violin is included. On the other hand, if we observe from a different perspective and look at classic tamboura formation instruments, such as prim (or bisernica), bas (or berde), cello (or čelo), kontra (or bugarija), basprim (or brač) we see Vizin's current setup has four instruments from this list, assuring polyphony. Classic tamboura sonority – which is achieved via instruments mentioned above – and the attitude of the new generation makes Vizin stand out and attract attention. Of course, precision and authenticity are also important – besides good quality practice – of this new generation: just as it has been featuring since the establishment of the organisation.

Prizes and awards

In its four decades-long history, Vizin received many professional prizes and awards. In 1986 – five years after founding – the organisation earned the „The Young Master of Folk Arts (‘‘Népművészet Ifjú Mestere’’) Award. In the same year the then existing National Cultural Export/Import State Institute (Országos Rendező Iroda) issued their performer's licence and the band also won the first prize of the Serb and Croatian Folk Music Festival. Another Special Award was given them by the renowned Vujicsics family. In 1993, the two founders' individual prominent folk music activity – Antal Vizin and Ferenc Dervár – was recognized by The Young Master of Folk Arts Award. The organisation also got on the podium at the nationwide Talent Show (‘‘Ki mit tud?’’) competition in the orchestral category in 1993 and 1995. In 2007, Vizin's 4th generation received the Young Master of Folk Arts prize once again, and a year later in 2008 Ferenc Dervár accepted his own title likewise.

Growth of the organisation

From the very outset the band provided live music for the Baranya Folk Dance Ensemble. Shortly after, the organisation was named after its leader, Antal Vizin. From 1987 until 2014, the orchestra had worked with Tanac Folk Dance Group. In this period Vizin had concerts and other activities simultaneously, such as creative cooperation with cultural organisations, just as today. Previously I touched upon the process of generation-changing and how these developments have affected the culture of the organisation. As the 4th generation began its lifecycle, the need for reorganisation arose. As a result, the active members of the Vizin-band in partnership with a few founding members of the Jasen Trio jointly formed the Vizin Association for Cultural and Traditional Folk Heritage (HKUD) in 2007. The main goals of the new association have always been around researching, preserving and presenting Croatian cultural heritage – primarily songs and music-related matters – and having a key role in passing on this knowledge to younger

generations. Veszna Vélin was elected to be the first acting president along with the honorary status holder, Antal Vizin. Members consist of all Vizin associates, the new, 5th generation and a few patrons, adding up to 19 people. The longest, continuously running program of Vizin HKUD is its summer camp developing tamboura culture. The project made a debut in 2012 in Orfű immediately setting a high standard in tambura workshops across the country. Vizin HKUD in collaboration with the Zsolnay Heritage Management Ltd organises dance halls every month for regulars and newcomers who are interested in Croatian folk dances and folk music from Hungary. Members of Vizin Orchestra are proud of their four-decade history and unique heritage, that's why a special emphasis is made that every now and then reunion celebrations are held for those who were once either members of the association or somehow related to their work. In order to not to lose touch with each other and keep the community spirit soaring all year round anniversaries and jubilees are celebrated as well, adding to the purposeful Generations Meet-events that encourage fruitful connections between the past and present.

Social aspects

Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association was founded in 2007 with the help of former members of the old Vizin formation, the Jasen Trio and the two founders of Vizin: Ferenc „Kume” Dervár and Antal „Antuš” Vizin. The main focus of the new association has been presenting Croatian native culture and language, folk dances, folk music and passing this heritage on. The newly established organisation proved to be an essential milestone for Vizin as the association could build a more structured system. Accordingly, projects and operations became more fluid, and the mission of (the now 25 years old) Vizin could be accomplished more effectively and efficiently. The history of Vizin Orchestra dates back to 1981; as Antal Vizin recalls: On the 27th of August 1981 the Baranya Folk Dance Ensemble desperately needed live music for their performances, and so the founders of Vizin (consisting of Croatian-Hungarian students studying at the University of Pécs) started working together informally. Shortly after Vizin was founded with the above mentioned musicians.

The eponymous, Antal Vizin is a Bunievats Croatian musician. His love for music started at an early age: he played the tamboura and the trumpet in the nearby ethnic German orchestras. He also played the piano and started to play the harmonica without a teacher. He finished secondary school in Budapest at the Serb-Croatian Secondary School, where he first got in touch with Sebő Orchestra and – at the time popular – ethnical (Croatian) dance hall movement. During his academic years at the Teachers' Training College of Pécs, he joined the band of Baranya Folk Dance Ensemble, where he met the later founding members of Vizin. At launch the orchestra consisted of Antal „Antuš” Vizin and Ferenc „Kume” Dervár as founders and members as Gyula Piroska, Zoltán Szabó, Jován Gyorgyevics, Milenkó Rádity, Zsófia Bíró, Zsuzsanna Ozsvári and Andrea Szamek-Nagy. The formation won the „Young Master of Folk Arts” title in 1986, then made partnership with Tanac Folk Dance Ensemble until 2014. During this phase, Vizin had a few changes in its number of participants, as we mentioned above, the organisation had five generations: many talented, young musicians joined Vizin from the bank of the Dráva to Bácska, and around the millennium the orchestra was operating with its 4th generation, still under the wings of Antuš Vizin. Shortly after, the leader of Vizin retires from



professional work, but the organisation continues its work in collaboration with Tanac Folk Dance Ensemble and as an independent orchestra as well. In 2007 the organisation founded Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association with its existing members, the Jasen Trio and the previously mentioned “veterans/founders”. Upon foundation, the president of the association is Veszna Vélin with the honorary president, Antal Vizin. The constant change of generations was always a characteristic of Vizin, therefore the ability of the organisation to renew from time to time and be loyal to its original mission for almost four decades is worth appraising. From 2014 a new generation started to form: apprentices became masters and with newcomers, a new group of musicians – and a new Vizin – emerged. A fresh, fifth generation arose, counting 9 members. This new setup is still based on classic tamboura formation, with the addition of violin play. Although we see a brand-new Vizin, the original mission is still unchanged, as the band keeps respecting its 40 years’ worth of heritage and traditions, but has a much younger, alternative attitude. During rehearsals the band works with traditional Croatian songs from regions where Croatian ethnic minorities are still living. Vizin collaborates with multiple professional organisations such as August Šenoa Croatian Ladies Choir from Pécs, Marica Cultural Association from Szalánta, „Menyecske” (Unmarried girls) Choir of Pogány or Podravina Traditional Association from Barcs; these cooperations not only allow the partners to practice their choreographies and their stage performances but also support the appearance of classic tamboura compositions and traditional Croatian songs in Vizin’s repertoire. Vizin – in partnership with Zsolnay Heritage Management Nonprofit Ltd. – organises Croatian-Macedonian dance halls on the last Friday of the month in Zsolnay Cultural Quarter, Pécs and near the city where Bosniak ethnic groups live, also regions by the bank of Dráva. As a mission, Vizin aims to take an active part in the cultural life of Croatians living in Hungary; to support this objective the organisation boosts cooperation with other associations (in ways mentioned above).

Initiatives, projects

The most monumental and successful project of Vizin is its yearly summer camp called Summer Tamboura Camp started in 2012 on Orfű. The camp favours young musicians who wish to further devote energy to tamboura music or require professional help from experts all around Croatia. During the one week of the camp, participants have the opportunity to practice, play collectively and learn new pieces. It is crucial for young musicians to get in touch with their peers and to build valuable relationships or even friendships. The camp is also an effective way of practising the native language for everyone, as during the various programmes all participants communicate in Croatian. As the association realised the success and importance of Summer Tamboura Camp, a new initiative was started called Tamboura Orchestra of Croatians living in Hungary. The main goal of the new project is to establish and maintain a brand new, permanent tamboura orchestra with more participants than ever before.

Finances

As Vizin’s foundation charter says, all members must pay an annual membership fee of 2000 HUFs. For the everyday operation of the organisation, the Ministry of Human Resources (EMMI) is responsible. The ministry is in touch with Bethlen Gábor Alapkezelő Zrt. (responsible for managing a government fund) as it manages all financial resources



related to ethnic civil organisations and Vizin finances its expenses via tenders from the fund manager. All other activities – cultural events, camps, and such – are all paid from financial support from the Csoóri Sándor Programme.



Pieces of interviews

Máté Balogh, member of Vizin Orchestra

„We are the hosts of tonight’s event, which is the fourth concert in the research project, taking place here in the assembly hall of Miroslav Krleža Croatian Education Centre. The location for tonight’s event was agreed upon about a month ago. The band arrived here at 4 pm and started with putting up some decorations and rearranging the aula. The audio engineering team got here at the same time and



started setting up the speakers and microphones. A dinner takes place in the canteen, provided by the school’s staff. Before the main part of tonight’s event – which started at 6.30 pm – our band had a microphone test at 6 pm. We wanted to welcome our guests as warmly as possible, so we improvised a little welcome concert by the entrance of

the building. I must say that I was a bit sceptical about tonight’s concert because I was afraid that due to the pandemic the event might be cancelled but I am glad it was not the case and I think we can all agree that tonight’s event (based on feedback from the audience) was a success. As I saw this project from more than one perspective, I am confident in saying I got a positive opinion of the whole process. It was quite challenging to balance between the performer and researcher tasks also to give the maximum in reflection of time management and work quality but as we can see, tonight’s event is a good example of that.”

8. Figure - Máté Balogh, member of Vizin

Zoltán Vízvári, leader of Vizin Orchestra

„We have two blocks for today: the first one contains songs especially from Mohács and its neighbouring regions. As you may know, there was a famous musician, Antal Kovács



(aka “Toncsi bácsi”) who was a master of playing the tamboura in Mohács, so we specially picked songs from his repertoire. Also, we’ve put together an assortment of songs from the Baranya region. We had a rehearsal this week and in just a few hours we finalised the list of songs we wanted to play here at Mohács. We picked songs, motives and themes that are typical for this region. We always run a brainstorming session during our rehearsals, which usually has two possible outcomes: we all agree on the matter, or some members disagree, and we must come to a consensus. Either way, this mechanism ensures that the final decision is the reflection of the qualities of our team. We are the only

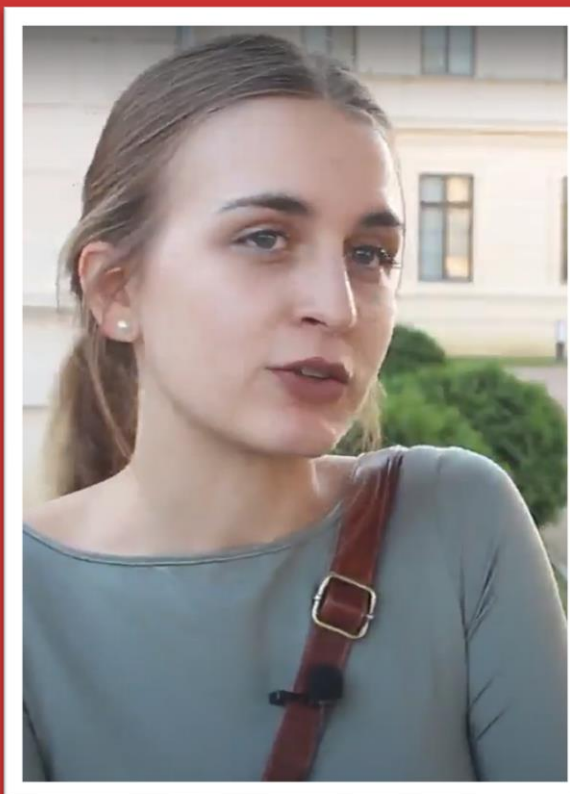
orchestra, that will play individually and not just for a dance group. We have been in touch with the dance groups for a long time now and we have learned what kind of music to offer them.

Well, the worst thing about COVID was that almost all cultural institutions had to close, so we had no place to hold our rehearsals and to perform. Luckily, we came up with a solution and created our own environment. Also, a huge downside of COVID was that we nearly forgot the bulk of our repertoire, but I would like to note that after being able to make a new schedule we created a fresh, new, 30 minutes long compilation. As restrictions are being lifted, I think we all experience the opposite of what we had during the last year or so: we are fully booked on the weekends, we have concerts, dance halls, also we have invitations to accompany dance ensembles and choirs.”

9. Figure - Zoltán Vízvári, leader of Vizin

**Míra Zsivkovics, member of Vizin Orchestra**

„We have a fresh new performance in which the boys will be singing for us today. Recently I have been ill, so I could not make it to the last concert or rehearsals, and now I have a sore throat. Anyways, today we will play songs from the Croatian Baranya and Drava regions. We hardly had any problems during rehearsals, but as I said I could not attend many of them, so my opinion might not be accurate, but I am sure the boys worked hard on today's performance. We took the trip early, so we arrive on time. Fortunately, there was no problem at the border: we all had our IDs and Immunity Cards ready, so the whole process didn't take more than a few minutes or so. Today I will only play the violin (hence my aching throat), so I am quite relaxed. Of course, a little stage fright is always there, especially when performing to larger crowds, for example at the Eucharistic Congress in Budapest, but today I feel confident... It is always a huge honour to perform in front of many people, as in the past years – due to COVID – we hardly had any chance of playing on stage and for Croatian audiences. I hope that in the future we can come to visit more often as I love being here and for some reason, I feel like I am someone who belongs/lives here. The reception here is always warm and the people are friendly, it is almost like we are performing at home.”



10. Figure - Míra Zsivkovics, member of Vizin

Veszna Vélin, president of Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association

„We are a rather small association, to be honest, the smallest one participating in this research project, but I think we went beyond our own and the crowd’s expectations as



well. We are grateful to all helpers for their support; today’s event would not be possible without them. Special thanks to the Scientific Institute for the Croatians living in Hungary, to the Tanac Cultural Ensemble with József Szávai, to the Radó Winery, to the beekeeping workshop of Ádám Borbás and Andrea Szemelyácz for the breath-taking decoration, also to the

students of the University of Pecs and to you Inez, Rebi, Máté, Ábris and Zoli for your assistance during these events. I think we should be thankful for our amazing audience too: it was nice to see and hear the communication between the performers and the spectators. As we are speaking there is a dinner at the canteen provided by the school’s staff, give a shout-out for their work as well.

As a warming gift, we greeted our guests with live music and some quality wine provided by the Radó Winery. It is almost a tradition – but might be a novelty to our partners – that we always play a kolo and invite our audience for a little dance as a closing act at the end of our concerts. It was nice to see that this element met with a warm response as even youngsters joined the dance.

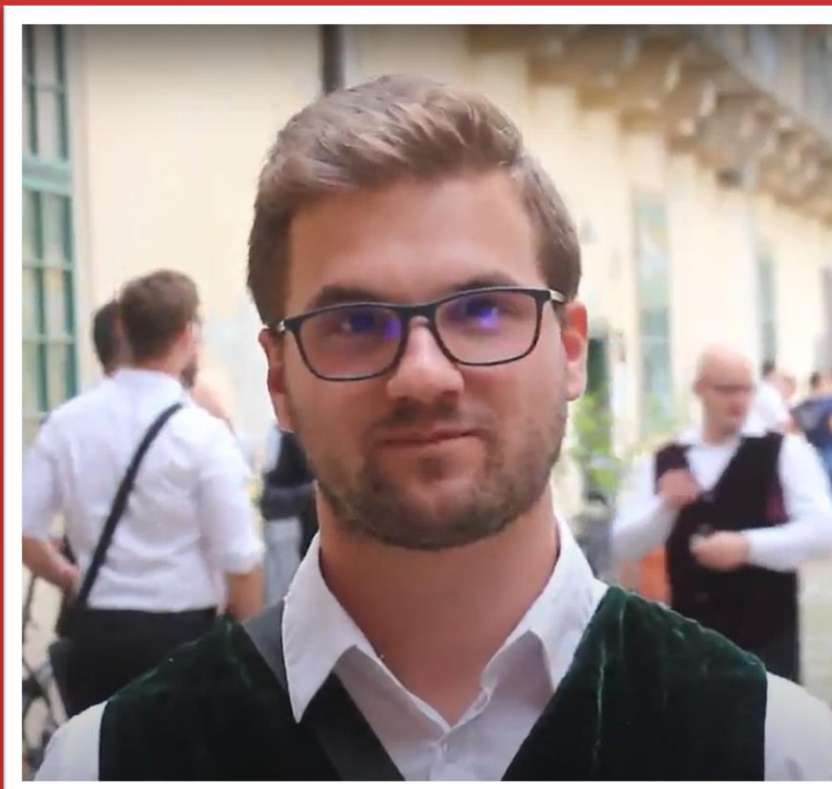
I am also grateful for the flexibility displayed by our guests as our spokesperson had reported being sick just hours before the event and so I had to undertake his responsibility. The audience was supportive all the way through, they responded positively, also reacted to the various performances with singing along, a few teardrops and at the end with a spontaneous dance.”

11. Figure - Veszna Vélin, president of Vizin



Gergő Mackó, member of Vizin Orchestra

„We are here in the beautiful city of Valpovo and will be performing shortly. You will be listening two main segments in our performance. The whole aim of the project was to show cultural heritage and related songs, so our first block will consist of songs in connection with folk dances. When we arrived here at the local castle, we got a room for our equipments and other belongings, which was apparently the rehearsal room for a local underground band. The whole atmosphere was a



bit suffocating by the way, as in Croatia there is no law against smoking indoors. Then staff members complained as we were filling their expensive instruments with food, but after a brief talk, I have resolved the misunderstanding which is quite funny because I am the only member who does not speak Croatian. If I am correct, the adjustment of microphones is almost complete, and if so, our hosts will begin their performance shortly, and later our band will join. hoping that will bring you enormous enjoyment.

12. Figure - Gergő Mackó, member of Vizin

Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club

To this day, the name of the ethnic group Shokats (Sokac) and the place of origin have not been determined with certainty. The best-known interpretation of the term is given by Jablan Sokcsevis, who in his 1825 study for the Croatian calendar derived the name Shokats from the word šaka, meaning palm. The Greek Orthodox Serbs crossed three fingers, the Catholic Shokats the whole palm, and Jablan believed that the Serbs called the Shokats people "palmer" in mockery. The most reasonable interpretation is given in the 1948 Osječki zbornik J.B. essay "Where the name Shokats comes from". In Bosnia, a mine in the area of the Só Bánság was called the salt well by the Hungarians. The Catholics who lived there fled northwards to escape the Turkish invasion, the Hungarians called the settlers 'people from Só,' according to their former place of residence, while the Slavs called the settlers 'sókutac'. Just like the origin of the name, we do not know the exact origin of the Shokats people living in Mohács today, only theories exist. Some people believe that these people are descendants of the Slavs who were in Mohács at the time of the conquest and who have lived here continuously ever since. Others believe that the group of people settled in the last centuries. The Shokats people came to Mohács during the Turkish occupation, like the other Croatian ethnic groups. Their earliest settlement is thought to exist between 1687 and 1690.

During the second wave of migration, probably in the late 1690s, people fled from Bosnia to Mohács. In 1726, the chronicler of the province of Bosnia-Herzegovina recorded important moments of the sad fate of the Bosnian convents and the flight. Two fathers stayed behind to guard the convent of Srebrenica, eventually had to abandon their church and fled with their parishioners to Mohács. They settled on the banks of the Danube in the south of the city. According to a 16th-century table, 4,000 people fled to Hungary, 150 of them Srebrenica believers who settled in Mohács. Kalkán, Balatinác, Putics, Anekics, Palikucsa, Tedona, Vidák, Sikuzla, Kustura, Lovák, Kersity, Vukovics, Bubreg, Kesics, Szidonya, etc.

It is considered the third wave of migration of the Shokats, when people from White Croatia, the Belovar-Radar-Lika counties and northern Bosnia settled between 1730 and 1741. As a result of these three migration waves, the Shokats population of Mohács was formed, which was made up of Bunievats, Bosniak and Shokats people. Today, the Shokats population in Mohács has diminished, but they are still living as close as they can to each other, they try to maintain and cultivate their culture and traditions, they are active and a bright spot in the life of Mohács.

The history of the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club

In the years after the Compromise of 1867, the economy and society of Mohács changed dramatically with the emergence of an industrial and merchant bourgeoisie and an increasing number of intellectuals. Various associations and corresponding societies were formed, and most of the different strata and classes had their own associations. The booming social life attracted the interest of the Shokats people of the time, so much so that they set up their own corresponding society on 25 June 1905 under the name of the Shokats of Mohács Corresponding Club. The first president of the association was József



Jágics, a lawyer. It took a long time to start because there was no teacher or other educated person among the Shokats living in Mohács who would have been suitable to lead the group. Thus József Jágics, who did not speak the language of the association, but was able to make himself accepted by the Shokats community that time, was put in charge. The members of the club rented two small rooms in Tomori Street for 32 years. The Shokats people were the first national corresponding club in Mohács, so the opening of the first one on 1 October 1905 was a special event in the life of the town. The list of the founding members has disappeared over the years, the club started with 60 founding members and had a membership of around 200 at the beginning. The authorities refused to grant the Club a licence to operate because of its name, so after an extraordinary general meeting the word „Hungarian” was added to the name of the Club, and on 16 July 1906 the Ministry of the Interior approved the corrected statutes, so the Club continued to operate under the name of the Hungarian Corresponding Club of the Shokats. From the beginning, balls, events and dance parties were an important part of the club's life, which were also reported in the press of the time. Their first major event was the carnival in 1907, when they organised the Shokats ball, which still attracts many visitors and is a tradition in the club. In addition to the entertainment, lectures were often held to increase the knowledge of the members.

The effects of the First World War were felt, but the members of the Mohács Club tried to maintain it. Dr. Tamás Prakatur, a lawyer, became president after the death of József Jágics. Between 1918 and 1921 the club was inactive due to the Serbian occupation, but it did not officially cease to exist during this period. At this time the Serbs renamed the club Šokačka čitaonica (Shokats corresponding club).

Dr. Tamás Prakatur died on March 15, 1929, and for more than a year after the death of the president, the members were unable to elect a new leader because they could not find anyone suitable to represent them. In 1930, a new president was elected. After about 25 years, the members of the Club had forged a community, and the Corresponding Club was so popular among Shokats people that there was a demand for a new headquarters. In 1936, the board began to meet this need by buying a dilapidated house in the part of town where Shokats people lived, and the members demolished it with their own hands so that construction of the headquarters could begin. This process was supported by the members financially as they could afford. The new house was dedicated on 1 August 1937. Several generations worked together in the work of the Club, the young people exposed to „inheriting” traditions, folk dances and folk songs from their parents.

During the Second World War, the club was understandably less active, but it did not stop, even though many other corresponding societies were closed and meetings could only be held with a permission from the police. Even in difficult times, the members of the Club fostered perseverance, keen to preserve the values that their ancestors had left them.

After 1945, the Minister of the Interior reviewed corresponding societies and ordered their dissolution, so the Corresponding Club of the Shokats was dissolved on 11 September 1946. The members of the association were saddened by the news and found the decision difficult to accept. Before the headquarters and the movables were inherited by the city, the members hid some objects for posterity, and the original blue silk flag was

preserved. The city ran the property as a pub, but members still used to come to their former headquarters to chat and play cards, because the Club was family, a home away from home, and a community they enjoyed. In 1955, the members tried to revive the club, but the town did not want to keep the property, but due to regulations it could not be given away free of charge, so the local farmers' cooperative bought it and ran it for the members.

In 1992, the Club bought back the property and the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club was revived with 47 founding members. The members also brought back the following traditions into the life of the circle: holy mass in Croatian, Shokats balls, and the St. Anthony's Day farewell. Since then, the Corresponding Club has been active and currently has 95 members, a children's dance group, a tamboura band and a traditional folk dance group. They also offer classes in Croatian language. The number of groups is as follows: kindergarten group: 12, school group: 20, youth group: 16, traditional group: 18, "Glasovi" orchestra: 7, Šokadija orchestra: 5.

Groups of the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club

Mohács Shokats Club
Traditional folk dance group

The group was founded in 2007 to preserve the traditions, dances and music of the Shokats. Their repertoire includes Croatian dances as well as Shokats. The members of the group are heterogeneous in age, ranging from 20 years old to



13. Figure - István Bubreg in front of the Shokats House

over 50 years old. The group has had many successful performances, and apart from Hungary they have performed in Croatia, Serbia, Transylvania, Switzerland and Germany. The folk dance group is led by István Bubreg.

The dance rehearsals usually take place in the building of the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club. They have 5-6 choreographies, which are about 10 minutes long and include improvised elements. Several choreographies of the traditional dance group are created to present a Croatian tradition: the Mohács Buso dances, Pranje (Danube washing), Shokats feast. In addition to the Shokats dances, the group also has Bunievats and Serbian dances, and has been in the process of learning dances from other Croatian regions. Their rehearsals are held weekly, usually on Friday evenings, as many people are not in Mohács on weekdays for studies or work, so weekends are the only time suitable for dance rehearsals. Their rehearsals consist of practising steps or learning new dances. While learning a new dance, they may also talk about its history.



They are always accompanied by the Glasovi orchestra and almost always dance to live music at rehearsals. When they are about to perform a big show, they usually have extra rehearsals. In such cases, they also tend to gather on weekdays, and Friday night rehearsals are also extended. Group members do not pay membership fees and do not receive a salary.

Children and Youth Dance Group

The group has been active since 2006, and members from the age of three to university students can learn about Croatian/Shokats folk dance, folk songs and folk music. The group performs at various cultural events in several places in the country and throughout Croatia. In 2018, the youth group travelled to Turkey for a children and youth folk dance festival, where they presented Shokats culture to locals and tourists. The group is usually accompanied by the Glasovi orchestra, led by Beáta Jankovits.

The research team had the opportunity to talk to Beata during the site visit to Mohács (2 October 2020) and learned: the dance group currently has three subgroups, Beata has a kindergarten group, a primary school group and a high school/college/university group. There are around 60 participants, and the young people may learn and get to know Croatian folk songs and dances, and the music that accompanies them. Rehearsals are weekly, meeting once a week. The younger children learn dance in a playful way, while the older ones have more serious rehearsals, starting with a warm-up, then practising dance steps and motifs, and then either repeating choreographies or learning new ones. Typically, the young people who dance in these groups continue to do so when they grow up, they can be found in the adult or youth groups in the reading circle. Some, of course, do not continue dancing when they grow up, but there are also some highly engaged who are joining to more serious dance groups.

Orkestar Glasovi (The Glasovi Orchestra)



14. Figure - The members of Glasovi orchestra

The band was formed in 2013, when it was still called Mladi Orkestar (young orchestra) named after the young people who were members of the club. They were eager to learn and preserve the music of the Shokats. They used to accompany the living performances of folk dance groups. They still regularly perform at events in Mohács and the surrounding area, such as the Busó March at the annual Festivity and the Shokats bean-cooking festival. They have performed several times in Sveti Filip i Jakov, Osijek, Zagreb, Belgrade and Cluj-Napoca. After minor changes, the orchestra has been known since 2019 as Orkestar Glasovi, led by Damir Bubreg.



15. Figure - Damir Bubreg

The orchestra consists of eight members, playing the following instruments: prime tamboura, bass prime tamboura, tamboura bass, tamboura bass, tamboura guitar, flute and accordion.



16. Figure - The members of Glasovi Orchestra

Friday of every month they hold a dance party attracting an enthusiastic crowd and the music they enjoy mostly is Serbian and Macedonian, to which they prefer dancing the most. According to Zsanett, the most rewarding experience for her as a musician is when she is playing music that evokes emotions in the room and people are dancing their heart out, it is a great pleasure for everyone.

The band was formed in 2006, mostly by young people from Mohács. The formation plays folk music from Shokats, Serbian and Macedonian, also Hungarian, Romanian and Turkish songs. They are regular performers at local Croatian events and have played in the surrounding area of Mohács and abroad. They also accompany dance groups, women's choirs and religious masses. The aim of the ensemble is to cultivate and contribute to maintaining the traditions of the Shokats culture of Mohács.



17. Figure - Zsanett Horváth

During the aforementioned visit to Mohács, Zsanett Horváth, the only female member of the orchestra, who plays flute and saxophone, was interviewed. The latter instrument has an important role to play providing excellent colour to the southern Slavic melodies. Every Friday of the week they rehearse for two to three hours, and on the third

The Shokats House

As part of the Sokci project, the previously dilapidated and neglected building next to the Club in Mohács was renovated in 2019. An interactive exhibition was put together and placed in the venue serving as a community site, where visitors can be introduced to the Shokats traditions and cultural heritage of Mohács. The building itself preserves the features of the traditional Shokats house, visitors can observe the original architecture, furnishings and utensils of the past, offering learning possibilities interactively about Shokats folk customs, folk dance, folk costumes, costume making, folk music, typical instruments used in bands, crafts and gastronomy. (The different artefacts are housed in different thematic rooms) In one of the rooms, visitors can learn about the history of the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club and the history of the Shokats people through a timeline. The exhibition offers guided tours and printed information for self-guiding visits, the rooms can be visited in any order, they are not connected, but a recommended route is indicated in the information material and map when entering the house. Some

rooms are not always open to the public, as there are also workshops, music rehearsals and other activities taking place in the venue. The Shokats House has a variety of uses and offers an interesting exhibition for almost all generations, which can be visited individually, in groups, as part of a study visit or as a family, and it takes only 1-2 hours to go through everything. The language of the exhibition can be chosen in advance, Hungarian, English, German and Croatian are available. The folk costumes of the folk dance groups of the Club are also on display in the Shokats House, these are the folk costumes of Shokats, Bunievats, Podravine and Gradišće to observe.

Almost all the members of the group have their own folk costumes, most of which are original pieces inherited from their parents or grandparents. Beáta Jankovits, for example, inherited it from her paternal great-grandmother, who made the Shokats dress herself. Those who do not have their own costumes are given ones from the ensemble's wardrobe for performances. They also have more rare, more special pieces, including old wedding costumes. They also have Bunievats folk costumes, which are owned by the association. Most of the dancers strive to wear authentic pieces when performing, their costumes from Podravina are imported from that region and their Bunievats costumes are sewn from an original dress. Fortunately, there are still elderly people alive and well with the skill to make the original costumes, which are having a value beyond any price.



18. Figure - Shokats House, Mohács



István Bubreg

István Bubreg is the present president of the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club, the leader and choreographer of the traditional group. He has been the president for 4 years, before that he was vice president for 8 years. He has been a member of the association



19. Figure - István Bubreg

since the re-establishment of the Corresponding Club in 1992, and has accompanied its development over the years, including the creation of the present programmes. Later on, he was a member of TANAC and the Baranya Folk Dance Ensemble for a short time. He is the leader of the traditional ensemble, where both young and older age groups take part in the joint work, here István handles the activity at rehearsals and the organisation of events. He says the ensemble works like a big family. Every year, the ensemble organises a 3-day family team-building camp on the banks of the Danube, as well as a monthly dance festival. The community is very close-knit and together they feel can manage everything.

Unfortunately, there were no gatherings and rehearsals during the coronavirus epidemic, which the group misses very much, so they get together on certain occasions (e.g. doing social work). In Mohács, the Croatian, Shokats culture is really popular, the audience is grateful. The Beans Cooking Festival and the Danube Wash have also gained fame and popularity, and the smaller events of the Club are usually full. The recruitment/selection process of the association works by adopting an approach that two existing members recommend a new candidate to be taken on as a probationary member for a period of one year. At the end of the one year, the activity of the member is evaluated and the leadership decides whether to grant the permanent membership. He has been leading the dance rehearsals of the Traditional Folk Dance Group since 2005. Previously, he also taught folk dance at art school, in addition to his current main job. In his opinion, the activity and attitude had been constant and unchanged previously the pandemic, but after a long break due to the first wave of the coronavirus, he noticed a renewed enthusiasm among the group members. his choreographies were based on his own collection. Before the second wave of the coronavirus, he planned to enlist the help of a guest choreographer to explore Croatian dances from other regions. For him, it is paramount to preserve and cherish authentic traditions, original steps, melodies and folk costumes. Up to now, all age groups - kindergarten, primary, lower and upper primary school and secondary school - have had a Shokats choreography to dance. In recent months, the teaching of Croatian dances of



Bunievats, Gradišče and Muramente region has begun, which unfortunately came to an end with the second wave of the coronavirus. The organisation and planning of their various festivals and cultural events need to be prepared at least a year before their implementation. The association's leadership and members always provide assistance in the implementation of events.



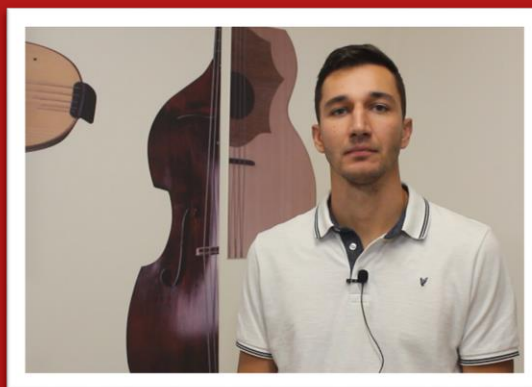
Pieces of interviews

Lili Egri is 23 years old, she started dancing in 2006 in the children's group of Shokats Club, and since the spring of 2014 she has been a member of the Traditional Dance Group.

"Dancing plays an important role in my family life, of course we also dance at balls and other events. Besides the love of dancing, for me it is the community that is perhaps even more important. It's a good feeling to have a group to belong to. The Croatian traditions are part of my life, almost all the members of the dance group cherish the traditions, they are embedded in everyone's life. We can collaborate well together, it's easy to work together because we have developed into a very close-knit group."

Máté is 26 years old, member of the Glasovi Orchestra.

"Croatian traditions are important to me, I try to continuously expand my knowledge on my cultural ties, my family and I celebrate the Shokats holidays and customs, we are active participants in the local culture, and I am even a member of the Croatian self-government of the Municipality of Mohács.



There is a constant desire to learn in the orchestra, too, and we try to search for old traditions, to revive them and keep them alive. "

20. Figure - Máté Kollár

„I'm Krisztián Kapcsa, the vice-president of the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club. We are very happy to be here and we have received a very warm welcome from our partners here in Osijek, so we are really looking forward to the show. Today's repertoire includes Bunievats dances and Shokats dances from Mohács. Luckily crossing the border went smoothly so we got across relatively quickly and arrived on time. In this project we had to provide four performances. There are some common choreographies that we have performed elsewhere but we always try to add a bit of colour and new ones.”



21. Figure - Krisztián Kapcsa, member of Shokats Mohács Corresponding Club



„I'm Kata Egri, a member of the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club, I dance in the traditional dance group. Today's performance was special for me because I was able to perform in my former school, where I graduated last year. Tonight, we danced



Shokats and Bunievats dances as we did in the previous events. I had a good time during the performance, and based on the feedbacks I think the audience liked it. Today was a little bit of a challenge because it was Friday and some people were working until 6 pm, so it was a little bit difficult to get here at 7 pm, but other than that there were no obstacles. At first we thought there will be a

stage at our disposal, but since there wasn't it was a little bit more dangerous because these white floors were a little bit slippery. I liked the project itself, even though it was a bit busy [the schedule] with activity every weekend, but apart from that I was happy with the venues and the audience. Everything was good.”

22. Figure - Kata Egri, member of Shokats Mohács Corresponding Club

„I'm Ivett Bubregné Kanizsai, member of the Traditional Dance Group of the Shocats Corresponding Club of Mohács. Today we arrived in Valpovo at 3:45 and the group felt lucky enough to arrive. We came through the border crossing at Udvar. Our group was



prepared for the border crossing, so everyone had their EU digital covid ID card and all our members registered on the site required for staying in Croatia. There were actually no problems, we were able to cross the border without any difficulties and the journey went smoothly. Here we were met by our hosts, a lady escorted us in where we were given a room where we could get dressed, after that the group went to see the stage we had a stage tour then together we went for a walk downtown, we had a walk, we had just arrived back when we girls started to get dressed and get our hair done.”

23. Figure - Ivett Bubregné Kanizsai, member fo Shokats Mohács Corresponding Club



HKUD „Valpovo 1905”

HKUD „Valpovo 1905” is a Croatian cultural and artistic association with an impressive history: the collective carries on the traditions and heritage of „Katančić Choir and Tambura Orchestra” formations, also „Baloković Cultural and Artistic Ensemble” (which was founded after World War II). The main aim for HKUD „Valpovo 1905” upon founding was to support amateur musicians and performers, later the association added helping dancers and artists in the fields of literature as their mission as well.

As of today, the organisation has more than 100 members in various sections, such as folklore, tamboura orchestra and a junior team. As needed, the association can perform with a female, a male, or a mixed voice choir. With roughly 40 events/performances yearly, we can say the organisation is a main player in the cultural scene not only in Valpovo, but in the neighbouring parts of Slavonia. HKUD „Valpovo 1905” can be seen frequently at many stages such as worldwide folklore events or even amateur writers’ summits. Besides its Croatian programmes, the organisation performed in Hungary, Germany, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Poland, Austria and even Serbia. The team also entertained Dutch, Romanian, Slovenian, Italian, Montenegrin, Macedonian, Turkish and Albanian folklore lovers, and folk music enthusiasts too with its world-famous performances. Many radio programmes, TV appearances, also newspapers and other offline sources indicate the success of the company.

HKUD „Valpovo 1905” works with experts all around Croatia. As a result of their cooperation, more than 20 choreographies were given birth from moves and motives collected from all regions of Croatia and from lands where Croatian ethnicities live today. The organisation has more than 200 full sets of traditional costumes and amid its 600 pieces of sheet music are musical settings and songs especially (re-)made for performances of the association. HKUD „Valpovo 1905” has already published a poetry collection, and for the company’s centenary, a monography was also released written by Duško Topić. A typical day of the association consists of regular practices. The folklore section has 7 sessions (two hours each) per week: at these times members practice dance moves and the different choreographies. The orchestral department contains appr. 15 members playing the tamboura. They regularly rehearse the materials needed for the dancers and singers, also tamboura music compositions and other musical pieces that can be played as an independent orchestra on stage. The junior team is divided into two groups: a younger (with children up to elementary school age) and an older one (with members up to secondary school-aged pupils); these children have rehearsals all year round except for the summer school holiday. If we dive into yearly statistics, we can say the organisation has more than 250 rehearsals, but if we take tours and events into account, this number is skyrocketing.

For their one-of-a-kind work, HKUD „Valpovo 1905” got many awards and prizes. The organisation has many awards such as “The Golden Coat of Arms of Valpovo” and the cultural award of Osijek-Baranya County. Five years ago, at the Đakovo Folklore Festival the association won a prize in the best choreography category, in 2018 at the National Folklore Festival in Croatia they came in 3rd place. HKUD „Valpovo 1905” also won many special awards for best singing, for most authentic delivery, and for the best musical performance at various events. All the effort and hard work put into the performances

mentioned above show just how much HKUD „Valpovo 1905” does to its hometown and community, also for its cultural well-being and growth.

Besides its success, HKUD „Valpovo 1905” had to interrupt its operation on multiple occasions. The reasons behind these intervals were both inner and external factors: for example, the World Wars of the 20th century or the Yugoslav Civil War. After thorough research, we can say the modern era of the organisation dates back to 1983 (since then HKUD „Valpovo 1905” has been running constantly). For more than 26 years the president of the organisation has been Berislav Brkić. In an interview, he emphasized those who made (or still make) an immense impact on the works of the organisation, such



24. Figure - Berislav Brkić

as Josip Štefić, choreographer and Mirela Zimmerman-Markota, leader of the juniors. A central figure of the organisation is Duško Topić, secretary, head of art division and the concertmaster of the association. He is a well-known professional across Croatia, who also endorses other cultural organisations with his knowledge such as HKUD „Osijek 1862”. The concertmaster of HKUD „Valpovo 1905” has been devoted to tamboura music and related art and ethnic fields for 30 years. In 2005 – in the centenary of the company – the publishing of the photo monography mentioned above was possible on the grounds of his ethnographical and historical research findings on the subject.

The modern times in the history of HKUD „Valpovo 1905”

On 2nd March 1993 at Park restaurant in Valpovo, the members of HKUD „Đuro Salaj” had an informal meeting. Those members, who wanted to continue their artistic works in the organisation voted for the change of the company’s name. It was also important, that the reformed organisation wanted to secede itself from everything in connection with Yugoslavia ideology. Members had to choose between many name alternatives and for 5 years a few of them were even used by cultural associations in Valpovo. The secretary of the organisation – Duško Topić – suggested that the name should contain a word regarding the community or a region-specific word (ex.: Valpovo, Karašica, Slavonija) or something in connection with folk art (ex.: tamboura, tkanica, lira). The suggestion was approved and the president of the association – Damir Uranjek – posed the idea of having „Valpovo” in the name of the newly reformed organisation. Then, as Antun Sauer recommended, the year 1905 was inserted in the name as it was the founding date of the legal predecessor, „Katančić” (a Croatian band consisting of singers and tamboura music). The members of the new organisation thought that the uninterrupted working of a tamboura orchestra was a valid reason to include the date of establishment of Katančić in their name. Shortly after, the prefix „Hrvatsko” (meaning Croatian) was added as



members felt its necessity and so the name – HKUD “Valpovo 1905” – known today was born.

Events

The cultural and artistic activities of HKUD “Valpovo 1905” are famous in Slavonia and across Croatia alike. The organisation is a crowd-favourite at many festivals and folklore events and also plays an active and remarkable role in the cultural life of Valpovo. Before the pandemic, the association had around 5-6 concerts per year. At these performances, they made effort to give their audience a diverse and fresh programme every time.

Finances

In contrast with the Hungarian funding system for civil and cultural organisations, the Croatian government has no plan of supporting such associations. Sadly, even a well-known and widely recognised organisation – such as HKUD “Valpovo 1905” – is not independent regarding its finances and own tangibles. The financial background of these organisations is backed by local governments, and on many occasions by companies, corporations, and patrons. In this case, HKUD “Valpovo 1905” is backed by the city of Valpovo.

Pieces from interviews and photos attached

Duško Topić

HKUD “Valpovo 1905” – one of the oldest Croatian traditional ensembles – is celebrating its 115th anniversary. The association operates – like any other cultural organisation – a tamboura orchestra, a choir, and an acting division as well. Our association was running with smaller suspensions in its history, but from 1980 we have been a regular and crucial actor in the cultural life of our beloved city (Valpovo)”



[..] and this building is also the headquarters for our organisation, HKUD Valpovo 1905. We have our rehearsals here and store our folk costumes, our instruments, music sheets and all things necessary for our performances. We meet up here every week for 3+4 occasions and we organise (and have) our concerts here as well. I am confident in saying that our local community loves folklore and enjoys our events.

I have been working with traditional music for my whole life. I also research the field, and involved in studying the different songs, traditions and dances, and I also re-form and adapt these materials for stage performances. My works are mainly from the Baranya region, but there are some from Slavonia and other parts of Croatia as well.

This one here is called samica. This musical instrument was the predecessor of tambouras.

We perform locally, nationally, Europe-wide and globally as well more than 35-40 times every year. We have performed in roughly 20 different countries around the world and have won many international prizes and professional titles by now. It is important to mention that we not only preserve our cultural heritage with music and dances but also with traditional costumes, instruments and traditions/customs.

25. Figure - Duško Topić



Josip Štefić

We are standing in the auditorium now, where we have our usual rehearsals. Both adult and junior divisions practice here two times a week. In the past few months we have not been able to meet here due to COVID-19, so standing here – even just speaking and not dancing with my team – makes me glad and cheerful. Sometimes when we have a rehearsal, there are often more than 40-50 people (musicians, singers, and dancers) performing on stage.



Let me say that standing here always has a special feeling to it, due to the way you can communicate with the audience. We can see – and almost feel – the energy of the crowd making it receptive and embracing the message of our performance. Also, I think this phenomenon is responsible for the warm reception we get from the audience. The room [where we are standing] has really good acoustics, almost like a theatre. Thanks to its circular form all sounds – and yes, even false notes – can travel freely to all points of the space. Below the auditorium is where our wardrobes are located, where we store our costumes, so

please follow me, and take a closer look!

Now we are standing in the room where we store our men's costumes. These clothes are mostly replicas and are custom-made for our members. We have all kinds of costumes corresponding to the different regions of Croatia and lands where Croatian ethnicities live.

26. Figure - Josip Štefić

Josip Štefić is the director and choreographer of HKUD „Valpovo 1905“. On the third stage of the concert series, he reported on the following: „Together we have been rehearsing continuously since July, mostly preparing for concerts related to this project. We would like to present during the performances all the folk costumes that we have been able to acquire from this joint project, which we are very happy about“. During the concert in Osijek, they performed „local“ dances from the Valpovo region and the Baranja region. Fortunately - thanks to due diligence - the ensemble avoided all the problems and difficulties we are all struggling with these days. The Artistic Director thanked the members of the ensemble for returning to work with renewed vigour after a year and a half break due to the epidemic. It's nice to work with an ensemble, it's fine to work with young people who are engaged and love to work and capable of showing their skills on stage. It's even more rewarding to do it in clothes that are new - but we also value the old, original costumes. It's really fruitful to meet other bands during the project, to get to know each other, to show what we can do, to see the level where others are at“.

Mirela Zimmerman Markota

This costume here is a piece of an original outfit from the Baranya region. It might be familiar for Hungarians as well because the Baranya cultural region is divided by the Hungarian-Croatian border. These [slippers] are also originals from a town called Bizovac. This little village is located in our cultural region and is famous for its traditional costumes.

In the repertoire of the association are roughly 20 choreographies, with corresponding traditional costumes. Just imagine how many costumes we are working with if all choreographies have a full 20 sets of men's and women's clothes as well!

Hi everyone! We are standing in the women's wardrobe of HKUD Valpovo! My name is Mirela Zimmerman-Markota, dancer and leader of the junior division. We have a complete set of women's clothing for 15 choreographies covering all cultural regions of Croatia. As you can see, these costumes are here behind me. For example, this here is a set from the Baranya region, and here is a familiar piece from Valpovo: underskirt, red vest, and a red skirt with lace accents, also there is a matching apron. One might say it is a rather simple, more urban-style version.

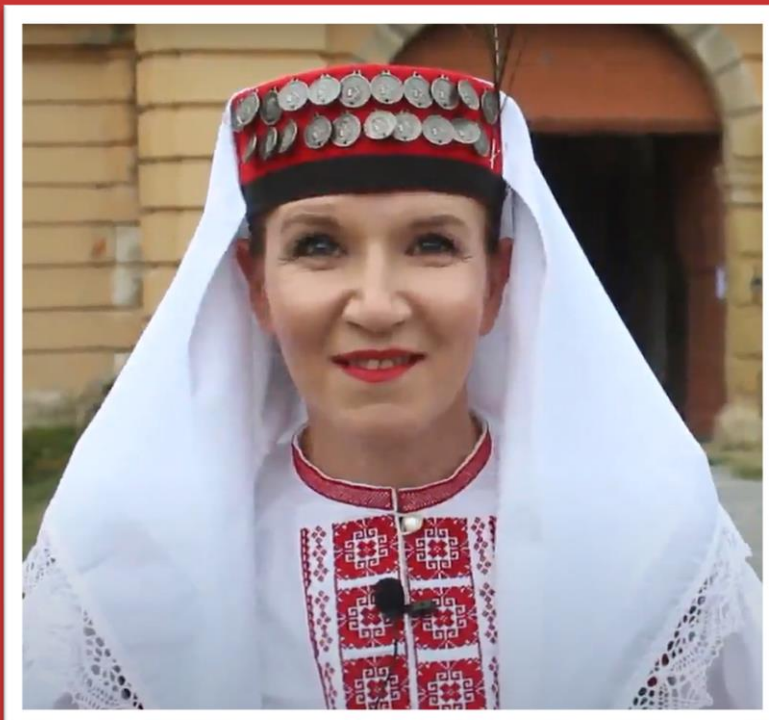


Mirella Zimmerman-Markota is a dancer in HKUD „Valpovo 1905” - in previous interviews we learned that she also leads the children’s group. At the closing event of the concert series in Pécs, we asked her about her experiences during the project. She said that she was very happy to have participated in this project, and that the series of concerts would

end with many experiences and fond memories for her. The Valpovo team prepared and presented themselves for the last concert, albeit out of necessity, but with a completely different concept. „We too were caught up in this COVID-19, the pandemic, which was not very relaxing for anyone. A large number of the association’s members were forced to quarantine themselves at home, some of them were infected. As they were thus out of work, we had to act quickly, in a few days, to think through the programme presented here. Fortunately for us, it turned out that the „older” female members of the band were all vaccinated, so we were able to form a choir, a female choir and perform three song compositions today”. The border crossing went off without a hitch for them, they only asked for minimal directions in the city on the Pécs leg of the journey and despite all the language barriers, they arrived successfully and on time at the concert venue. „It was a pleasure for me to participate in this project. Three times as a dancer and this time as a singer, they were all great occasions. I got to meet many new people, even from the Osijek team - although we have been working with them for a long time - especially the younger generation, who were less known to me. Of course it was a special pleasure to meet you from Hungary. It is indeed a great pleasure for me. Our band was just as happy to have the opportunity, as these are our first performances after almost a year’s absence due to the pandemic. Being together, working and practising together means a lot to all of us”.

27. Figure - Mirella Zimmerman-Markota

Danijela Krznarić was our interlocutor on the event in Valpovo, on behalf of the host team. We got a lot of interesting information from her, especially about the everyday life and work of the band. „I have been an active member of the band for thirty years. Last year I received my award for that. As I mentioned, I’ve been dancing for a long



time, I love being with the other members of the association, travelling together, having fun. - I love doing it all.” On the day, HKUD „Valpovo 1905” performed three choreographies, one of which presented dances from the intact Valpovo region. Here’s what we learned about the preparations: The HKUD „Valpovo 1905” is constantly rehearsing, we regularly practise our choreographies – you

could say that the ensemble is actually always ready to perform. Of course, when we know the performance dates in advance, we work harder in the rehearsals beforehand and put even more energy and attention into rehearsals. This is also the case with the current joint project.” The hosts did their pre-show preparations at the Matija Petar Katančić Cultural Centre, where they got dressed. It is here that they store their very large collection of folk costumes, which provides the right stage look for each dancer in the ensemble’s 20 or so choreographies.

28. Figure - Danijela Krznarić



HKUD „Osijek 1862”

Cultural and artistic activities have always been constant features in the association's life expressing belonging to Croatian and Central European civilisation and the need for cultural, musical and social activity. Over the years the name of the association and its activities have adapted to the changing contemporary needs. The primary aim of the association has not changed over time, it has always been the cultivation of Croatian national identity.

In 1862 the first singing group in Osijek was founded as the First Osijek Singing Association (FOSA), which according to one of the leaders, Tihomir Slivka, is considered to be the starting point of artistic and cultural activities in the town. An anecdotal story explains the beginning like this: The parish priest said, "All right, people, but who's going to pay you for this?" The answer came: 'We don't need to be paid, the singing itself should be beautiful and clear giving ourselves pleasure, it is our choice to spend our leisure time this way. "So since this year, the association has been cultivating its folk traditions, Croatian heritage culture and transmitting the ethnocultural values Croatia is very rich of. At present, they are still introducing these values to the world, ranging from retirement homes in Osijek to distant continents and seas, where they are welcomed with great joy and high attendance rates.

In 1885 the name changed from FOSA to Sloga (Harmony), and in 1907 again: The new name taken was the Kuhač Croatian Singing and Music Association. After the Second World War, the association ceased to exist, but a youth cultural and artistic society was founded under the name Milica Križan, focusing on amateur folk music and singing. This name was used until 19th November 1991, when the association was renamed HKUD „Osijek 1862” (HKUD = Hrvatsko Kulturno Umjetničko Društvo ~ Croatian Cultural and Artistic Society).

The organisation's cultural, artistic and social activities involve students from schools in Osijek and from the suburbs, university students and young people in employment. The association has been engaged in cultivating traditional folk dance and folk music from Slavonia and other Croatian regions. The association aims at raising young people's awareness about the importance of cultural and artistic activities and the stake in preservation of traditions.

All choreographies feature popular customs from Croatian folklore, original songs and folk instruments. These are combined with the excellent level of dancing and singing technique of the members, the great work of the professional orchestra and sound technicians, so that beautiful melodies, sounds and lyrics can be heard in superior quality at the performances. The dance ensemble is a welcome guest at many festivals in Croatia and abroad. Numerous concerts throughout Croatia have enabled the association to be appreciated by experts and the general public alike in traditional Croatian culture. The association has performed in Italy, Hungary, the Netherlands, Brazil, Belgium, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Sweden, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, the Netherlands, the USA, Canada, Luxembourg, Greece, Slovenia, France, Switzerland, Egypt, the Vatican, Spain, Bosnia, China, Malaysia, India, and Austria. HKUD „Osijek 1862” is a

regular guest on Croatian radio and TV programmes, they are also frequently featured in the media abroad.

One of the most famous Croatian ethnologist, choreographer and researcher Dr. Ivan Ivančan was the artistic mentor of the association, the choreographer and dance director of the association is Damir Doležal, the music director is Duško Topić, the vocal director is Prof. Dinko Fio. Their professional, artistic and pedagogical advice and ideas are shared by 60 members (dancers, singers and musicians) in group A and about 70 active members in other groups (B and C). Every year a membership recruitment is held, usually in September, and the association is divided into 3 sections (groups A, B, C). Most often members are sought for group B, when they are sufficiently prepared, they move to group A, where the more experienced dancers are. Group A is the unit that the association goes to perform with, they go on tours and they take part in various traditional events. Group B is for high school age, with 30 active members rehearsing twice a week on Mondays and Fridays. New members and dancers from Group A need additional practice. Group C is divided into two subgroups, C1 and C2. In the former group, children aged 6 to 8, in the latter group, those aged 9 to 12 dance once a week. In both groups, children learn the basics of singing and breathing techniques, develop their coordination and practise rotation techniques. They usually learn counting songs and rhymes, children's games, folk songs and children's dances. Sometimes they also practise folk traditions that children used to participate in. They perform at least twice a year, and in February they traditionally hold a carnival party, where children can attend with their parents. The basic idea behind the creation of Group C was to develop in children the love of Croatian culture and also social skills that emphasise the importance of folk ensembles and the significance of belonging to a group. Digital platforms, social media, TV, radio and outdoor advertising are used to recruit new members. Members also advertise their membership openings in their schools, at work and among their colleagues.

The association has its headquarters, where they keep their rehearsals, folk costumes, instruments and memorabilia from various performances. They hold their dance, singing and music rehearsals on a stage located in the headquarters. Most of the time, the band is on one side of the stage, while the dancers occupy the middle part of the stage. An interesting feature of the stage is that every year the association holds its traditional Christmas concert here, which is always for those closest to them, their family and friends. The auditorium has a capacity of 300 people, but during their Christmas concert, the hall is so full that some from the audience have no seats. They hold dance rehearsals on Mondays and Fridays and singing rehearsals on Wednesdays, rehearsing the songs in their choreography and other repertoire. (Group A) They warm up their muscles first, then sing along and start rehearsing their choreography. They have dances from almost all parts of Croatia, and they keep performing them all. The ensemble has about 15-20 choreographies, most of them are 7-8 minutes long. All of them are composed in a planned fashion, but certain freedom is given there to improvise on the spot in unexpected situations. Members work easily together in the ensemble, many make lifelong friendships and many of the members even find love. The musicians always accompany the dancers on concerts and tours, and they practise choreography to live music during rehearsals. If they have an hour-and-a-half show to perform, they usually start rehearsing



a month in advance. They have a membership fee, which they pay once a year (200 kuna ~ 9 445 HUF), a symbolic amount, they don't get any kind of remuneration after the performances.

What was very memorable for me when we visited the association was that they also have a "happiness wall" in their headquarters, where 52 couples who are now husband and wife can be seen. They met within the association, danced, sang, played music, fell in love and after falling in love they got married. The first couple is from 1946 and the secretary and producer of the association, Tihomir, told us that one of the pictures depicting a couple is of his parents' photo from the 1960s.



29. Figure - Tihomir Slivka showing pictures of former members at Osijek



The ensemble uses musical instruments made by Lajos Boczán. To this day they are excellent instruments. "They have heart and soul and if you add your own talent, as our excellent musicians do, including the youngest of course, then it's what it should be." (Tihomir Slivka)



30. Figure - Tihomir Slivka showing off instruments

In the communal area of the headquarters, where members can gather, there is a large glass case containing memorabilia from almost all of their major performances, where they have been welcomed guests in America, across Europe, in countries such as Italy, Germany, Tunisia, Egypt, China and India. These are not just memories for them, the association has also an 'exhibition' to show visitors who they are.

The association has 378 sets of about 500 pieces of mostly original folk costumes from many regions of Croatia and the Croatian diaspora. Some pieces are over 100 years old. They find that fewer and fewer members want to wear the originals, but the organisation has found a way to acquire new costumes that are authentic copies of the original garments. They are constantly working to expand their collection, creating a rich treasure trove of folk costumes for the next generation to enjoy. They also have more special pieces, such as a handmade folk costume from the village of Dolnji Andrijević, in the Brod region, its uniqueness manifests in its rich decoration with gold. Its significance lies in the fact that it is a ceremonial costume worn on festive occasions. They have a costume from the island of Krk, this particular costume is made of leather and fur, it is very rare and they are very happy to have received one, it is also an authentic copy of the original. Especially precious is their original handmade Bizovac leather skirt with unique patterns. In addition, only one skirt with the same pattern exists. There is another set to be highlighted, a beautiful Bunjevac folk costume that is more than 100 years old and cannot

be restored or remade. The French silk factory in Lyon that made the silk for the dress no longer exists. Folk costumes become dirty from frequent use (performances) and tend to be ruined from frequent washing. When they are purchased, obtaining authentic copies is preferred. Copies can be obtained from various folk costume shops and from individual entrepreneurs. Most of the folk costumes that the association owns have been sourced from different regions, few have been purchased from shops. The budget for purchases is self-financed by the association through grants, donations and various projects and programmes.

The vast majority of their collection is original, but what is original and what is a copy? Everything they acquire from new sources is authentic. For example, the new Baranese men's costumes were handmade by a Baranese aunt from original linen, so we can consider this to be original in some way, too.

Tihomir Slivka, secretary and producer of the association

Secretary and producer of the association for the last 9 years. Before that, he was a member of HKUD „Osijek 1862” from 1982 to 1983 and then of HKUD Milica Križan. He is



31. Figure - Tihomir Slivka

still a board member of the Croatian Music Association and for 25 years Tihomir has been also the president of the Slavonia and Baranja branch.

Asked about the leader's views on the generational differences in the life of the association, he said, "Of course

there is a generational

difference, because we are living a different life, we are operating differently than 30 years ago. I could say that we then lived in analogue times and now we're living in a digital world." Every year a team building workshop is held at their resort in Merkur, Orahovica. "It's a place where everyone has a great time during the 3 days we spend there practicing, and taking time for ourselves. Everyone can experience how much they can develop in such a short time, from dancing, singing and playing the tambourine to developing personal relationships and feeling belonging somewhere." The outbreak of the coronavirus meant in the life of the association that rehearsals could not take place, of course, and performances were also cancelled. Tihomir says: "In short, during the coronavirus period, culture has been on life support." On the issue of the band's audience and its attractiveness, the leader says. "Our existence has been attracting audiences for decades thanks to the high level of organisation and the quality of our productions. This audience attracts new people to our performances." In Hungary, the issue of attracting audiences is more difficult. For example, Croatian events in Baranya are not very well attended, and "tourists" other than family and people of the same ethnicity are not very likely to attend a folk dance group's performances. The ensemble in Osijek, on the other



hand, usually gives sold-out concerts, which is why it was interesting for us to discuss this issue.

Tihomir says about the members of the association, "As I expressed at the beginning, our association is really like a big family. Like all of us, the association has its ups and downs. Fortunately, there are fewer of the latter. There is social life and fun among the members even after rehearsals. Our members are very good kids and together we all strive to be good people. "

"We are basically a happy team, how can we be sad? Our Croatian traditions don't allow that" - Tihomir Slivka

Damir Doležal, choreographer of the association

He has been a dancer with the association since 1977 and has been the team leader and choreographer since 1997. He believes that the members are very nice young people who show interest in cultural traditions. Despite their other commitments and activities, they always make time for rehearsals of singing, dancing and playing music. This is one of the reasons why he has great respect and support for young people. We also wanted to know his view on the generational differences, Damir has been following this field since 1977, he believes that there are significant differences between generations in terms of activities, attitudes, responsibility. The reasons for this, he believes, are the inevitable changes that are taking place in the social, economic and political spheres, the technological advances that are making the flow and exchange of information much faster. In his opinion, previous generations were able to focus much more on association activities and received more support from the social environment (school, university, workplace), which they needed when time was requested for performance-related duties. Today's generation takes part in classes in the evenings, when rehearsals would be over, and various activities have to be carried out demanded by the university and their jobs. Of course, Damir is aware that for dancers, school and work come first and it is obviously important to make a living. These absences from rehearsals and performances are the biggest problem for him. In order to have a good rehearsal or a good performance, all members need to be present. When creating new choreography it is very important to be authentic, it is important to have authentic material that you can examine from footage, from different areas.

Aiming to plan a cultural event well, you need to start organising it early. The most important thing is to ensure that all the necessary technical conditions are optimal in the chosen location. (stage, dressing rooms, lighting, sound system, etc.) The association has 20 people working in the different areas of the cultural event organisation process. The key people are responsible for different tasks of the organisation. These people are: organisers, who are in charge of the arrangement of the programme, reception, location, catering. They are also responsible for information transfer, advertising, management, marketing and communication with the media. The technicians deal with the stage,

dressings rooms, lights, sound, photography and recording. Preparations usually start at least six months before the event.

Iva Bugarin, 24, is a dancer and singer with the association. She has been dancing for 17 years, her mother heard about this folk group and took her to rehearsals when she was 7 years old, in the first grade of primary school. She has been dancing with the association ever since:

"Dancing is important to me because through choreography we are able to show people multiple perspectives of traditions. (dances, songs, costumes, clothing) I think being part of a folk ensemble is one of the best ways to learn, preserve and present cultural heritage."

Pieces of interviews

Jana Doležal, 22, is a dancer and singer in the band. She started dancing in the ensemble 6 years ago, in 2014, then she wanted to find a hobby, her grandmother recommended her this activity, as she used to visit the concerts of the association..



"Folk dancing is important to me because it's a lot of fun and I've met and still have a chance to meet with a lot of great people. We cannot but learn a lot about Croatian traditions and history. I think it's important to know some traditional folk songs and dances and young people should be taught them at school." "I have made some very good friends in the community, I think I have a relationship that will last for the rest of my life."

32. Figure - Jana Doležal



Vjeran, 24, is a dancer in the ensemble. He has been dancing for 17 years, 14 of them with HKUD Osijek 1862. He started dancing in primary school, the teacher who held the folk dance rehearsals was also dancing with the ensemble and he told him to join.

"Dancing keeps me fit, both physically and mentally, it allows me to spend quality time with friends and gives me the opportunity to meet new people and visit new places. Croatian traditions are broken down into different regions and include dances, folk costumes, food and the distinct ways of life in different regions. When we take a dance from a new region, we learn about its history and about the dance itself.





Preparation for the events – comparative analysis

The first time period of the fieldwork took place between August and October 2020. During this period, the research team visited all the four associations.

6 August 2020 Valpovo, Osijek



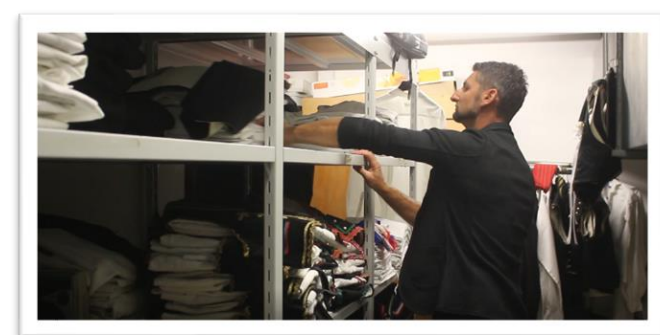
33. Figure – Inside Matija Petar Katančić Cultural Centre

On 6 August 2020, we visited our Croatian partners in person. The primary purpose of our visit was to re-establish personal contact and to take advantage of the fact that we could visit the border without restrictions, as the restrictions caused by the coronavirus epidemic had made this impossible before and shortly afterwards. We arrived in Valpovo at around 10 am. Our hosts welcomed us in the meeting room of the local town hall. On behalf of HKUD „Valpovo 1905” the secretary of the association Duško Topić, choreographer Josip Štefić and section leader Mirela Zimmerman-Markota were present.

After a brief introduction, the project leader Inez Koller presented the action plan of the research project, with special emphasis on the tasks that are important for the partners needing to be carried out. The tasks and requests related to the research were also specifically addressed. Afterwards, we were guided to the Matija Petar Katančić Cultural Centre, the home of the ensemble. This is the city cultural centre that hosts the ensemble. Our hosts gave us a tour of the facilities they



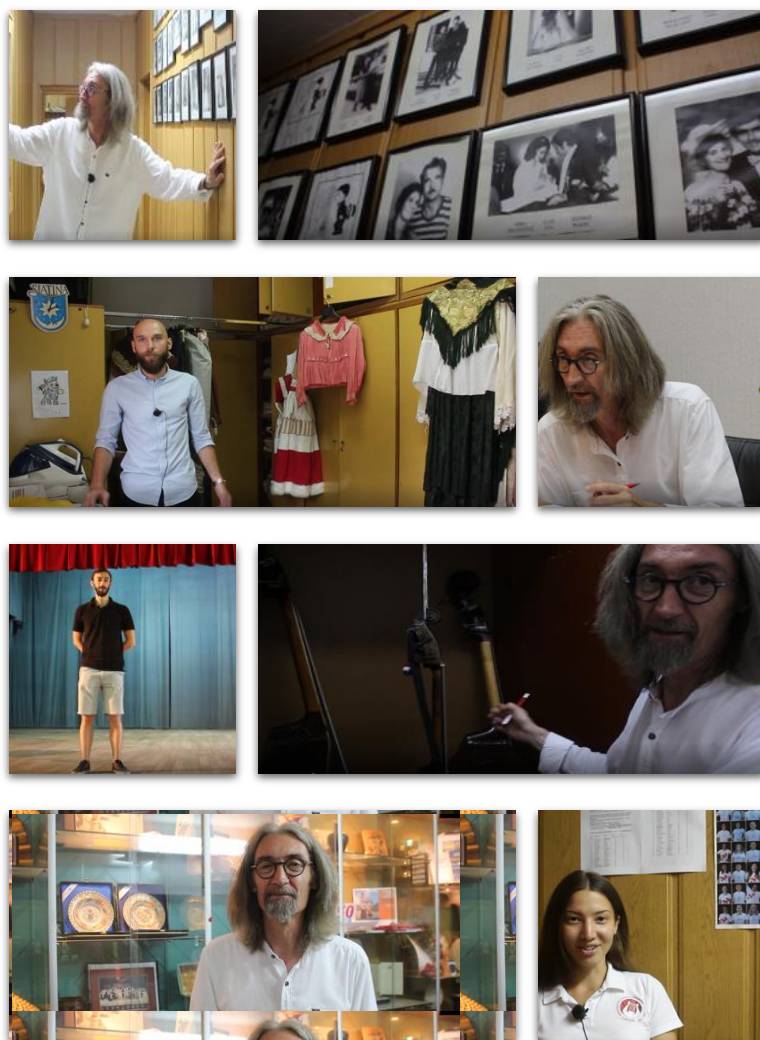
35. Figure - Matija Petar Katančić Cultural Centre



34. Figure - Josip Štefić showing off one of the rooms in Matija Petar Katančić Cultural Centre

use in their daily work: they showed us the large concert hall where they perform and gave us a look at their dressing rooms. We also had the opportunity to see the instruments and music scores owned and used by the musicians. Prior to our visit, we asked each of our project partners to provide us with video material that we could use for a short film to present the project. Our partner in Valpovo was

unable to comply with this request, but the face-to-face meeting generated some very informative discussions, so we decided to record everything in video interviews.



36. Figure – HKUD „Osijek 1862”

On the same day, we also visited our partner in Osijek. In the early afternoon we arrived at the front facade of the Osijek Sugar Factory, the home of HKUD „Osijek 1862”. We were welcomed by the then Secretary and Producer. Tihomir Slivka and Bruno Andrianić, representing the ensemble. In the meeting room of the Sugar Factory of Osijek we briefly introduced ourselves and outlined to our partners from Osijek the planned implementation of the project and their tasks. Afterwards we walked through the complex of buildings on the factory premises, which provides the headquarters for the association. Here we were joined by some additional members of the ensemble.

Although a video material had been received before

from HKUD „Osijek 1862” we also conducted interviews here in the light of our experience in Valpovo. The president of the organisation presented the history of Croatia’s oldest continuously operating amateur art ensemble, which has been existing for a century and a half, has collected many artefacts, has enriched the lives of the people with the repertoire of the ensemble and the folk music played by the authentic instruments. The members of the ensemble presented the concert hall, the community rooms, shared information on the annual programme of the ensemble, the daily work and the education of the young musicians. We also visited the ensemble’s wardrobe room, where we learned about the special folk costumes they own. In the late afternoon, after a smooth crossing of the border, we arrived back in Pécs. Our professional visit was an absolute success in terms of networking and getting information. In our experience, the personal presence



and verbal communication in Croatian moved the project forward by orders of magnitude compared to the previous online communication in English.



37. Figure – Dance steps performed by assemble members of HKUD „Osijek 1862”

2 October 2020 Mohács



38. Figure – Partners meeting in Mohács

The next stop on our field trip was Mohács. On 2nd October 2020, at 5 pm, we arrived at the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club building on Mihály Táncsics Street. István Bubreg, the president of the Corresponding Club, Beáta Jankovics, the leader of the youth

group, Ivett Bubregné Kanizsai, a member of the ensemble, and three members of the accompanying orchestra of the dance group, Zsanett Horváth, Máté Kollár and Damir Bubreg, were present at the meeting. After mutual introductions, we presented the relevant details of the project and learned that the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club had already completed the purchase of an instrument for the project. They told us about their experience and invited us to the brand new building of the Shokats House, which is a museumsite for showcasing the culture of the Shokats Croats living in Mohács in an interactive way. Starting from the Croatian experience, and following the description of the methodology developed for the new building, we recorded everything in video

interviews. The president of the organisation outlined the history of the Club, which goes back more than a hundred years, highlighting the community's capacity for self-organisation and the strength of its unity. Beáta Jankovics introduced the dance groups within the association and also spoke about the peculiarities of folk costumes. The members of the accompanying orchestra spoke about the beginning of their own musical career, the repertoire of the orchestra and presented the sound of the tamboura orchestras typical of Mohács on the platforms provided by the interactive showroom of the Shokats House.

27 October Pécs

We closed our visits by meeting the Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association on 27 October 2020. We visited the rehearsal of the Vizin orchestra, that represents the smallest and youngest organisation participating in the research project. We arrived late in the afternoon at the orchestra's rehearsal room, which was converted from the basement of the orchestra leader's house in Pécs. We had a video interview with the president of the association, Veszna Vélin, who briefly introduced the history, operation and aims of the association and also talked about the projects that were running at the time. Then, the leader of the orchestra, Zoltán Vízvári introduced the fifth generation of the orchestra, the instruments played by the orchestra and outlined the orchestra's repertoire. He spoke about how music is integrated into the everyday life of today's ethnic community. The members of the orchestra - Míra Zsivkovics, Márk Sándor, Kristóf Tenzlinger, Gergő Maczkó and Máté Balogh - recalled their first experiences with tambourine, how they came to play in the Vizin Orchestra and what instruments they play. Some of them described their instrument in more detail, and its function in the orchestra. All of the interviewees mentioned one of the association's best-known and longest-running projects, the Summer Tamboura Camp.

Written interviews

An online questionnaire was sent to the partners in December 2020 during the project, consisting of 5 sections of questions to be answered. We asked 9-10 members from the associations to answer our questions. In total, we raised 50 questions to association members and leaders. The first part was optional for association members with questions about Croatian culture, Croatian identity and the role of the association in preserving traditions. The questions covered the changes in the preservation of national culture throughout history, the influences of the state and local government and the support for the organisation. We were also interested in the association's relationships with other Croatian organisations and other national associations, and their role in promoting Croatian identity in the local community or in raising awareness of Croatian culture. The second part was filled in by dancers of associations. We asked them for a brief introduction and about their connection to dancing and the association itself, their family's relation to Croatian culture, folk dance and traditions, as well as about the association's activities, choreographies, rehearsals, folk costumes, performances and joint work. The third section was to be completed by the leader of the associations, where we asked for answers on: his/her history as a leader, his/her relationship with the association and folk dance, intergenerational differences, team builders, the association's community from the leader's perspective, the impact of the pandemic, the association's



audience and recruitment of new members. The fourth part was dedicated to the associations' choreographers. Questions were asked about how long they have been leading rehearsals, what they think about the attitude of members towards rehearsals, what it is like for them to work with the dancers, how they tend to create new choreography and what it is like to organise a cultural event. The fifth and final part was for the associations' musicians. We asked them what instruments they played, why they started playing, how they got involved in the association, whether anyone had influenced their musical career, and what the technical equipments of the associations were like.

Online interviews

A month before the first event, in early August 2021, we conducted a short interview with each association, asking about specific programme plans, organisation processes, current status and next steps. István Bubreg, host of the first event in Mohács, told us the followings: The venue, the concert tent and the stage had been roughly planned. His organising tasks included deciding who would be exhibiting at the event, which arrival time should be proposed for the participants and what amount of financial contribution would be requested. He needed to investigate opportunities for the staff costs to be covered from the research grant. He then started to put together the programme. He then had to find out what publicity material and logos he would need to display at the concert venue. He had to find sound engineers and a presenter for hosting the event.

The Valpovo association was totally prepared with their show for the event in Mohács, they had already practised their choreographies. They danced Valpovo and Baranja dances. For their own event, they started to think about the proper venue, they had to choose from two options depending on the expected number of spectators. The next steps in the organisation were to organise technical issues, sound and lighting. The following phase was to design the reception of guests and the organisation of dinner. Naturally the performance itself had to be practised in addition to solving the organizational tasks.

At the beginning of August, the Osijek association asked several concert organisers to submit proposals for the following: event insurance taking into account the restrictions caused by the epidemic, space rental, online invitations for guests, attendance sheets, documentation in photo and video formats, advertising the event (TV, radio, newspaper), reception and catering of guests, sound and stage lighting, ticket printing. The next step for them was then to review and evaluate the bids, and once the best one was selected, a contract was signed with the bidder.

The Pécs association, who held their event in early October, did not have a specific programme ready at the beginning of August. However, a lot of time had been spent on discussing the organisation and running of the event, but everything seemed uncertain due to the epidemic situation hindering planning 2-3 months before the event. The matter of potential venues have been talked over. The next step of organising was to select the venue and organise the sound and catering.



Comparative Analysis on Events

The second time period of on-site research followed events organized by the four associations during September and October, 2021.

Events undertaken for organising in the framework of the project started in Mohács (17000 inhabitants) on the first Saturday of September. Members of CASSI arrived at the site of the event, Deák Square at 3 pm. By that time, a huge, covered stage had been already set up on the square for previous events organised by the city of Mohács. In front of the stage, on both sides of the square, wooden booths were equipped by local producers, folk craftsmen to sell their products thus preparing for a fair, a suitable side event of the show.



Mohács, 4th September



János Trunk:

“I was invited by the Mohács Shokats Club to cook traditional shokats beans. This is a very ancient peasant dish, long ago before our ancestors went out to the fields, they had put beans into a small clay pot like this by the fire which practically cooked itself during the day nicely leaving the farmers to do their duties in the vineyard, in the cornfield where there was work to attend to. When the pot was cracked spinning could have arisen resulting that the food would not flow out or be lost. If that was the case, the poor peasants tried to replenish it again as a way of fixing the crack for one or two days. The pot was made of a special clay to withstand the heat of the free fire because the temperature is different there. One side of the pot is colder than the other and the contents are constantly circulating on their own not needing human stirring. Well, in the old times the pot was put on the floor, it was cold from the floor and such a cycle started, which is getting harder now because today's cooks make more of these dishes and there is more meat put in it.”



39. Figure - János Trunk

Endre Rosta, folk craftsman, the leader of the bus yard and the president of the Shokats circle in Mohács.



40. Figure - Endre Rosta

Before the pandemic 10-12 thousand visitors arrived a year, so even that fact made us getting up worthwhile almost every day of the year. It is immensely fortunate that we live with this organic folk tradition, that Mohács is very proud of. It's our intention to enrich the children living here in

Mohács with the experience of

being dressed in folk costumes, being skilled in dancing, performing, and singing and that's the reason the Buso school has just settled out here. The locals respect and celebrate as their own the unique Carnival custom, the Buso festivities of the Shokats tradition. The number of participants dressed up as Busos wearing masks usually amounts to 500-600. In 2009 UNESCO inscribed the Buso Festivities of Mohács on the representative list of intangible cultural heritage.

The Mohács busó mask is originally carved from red wood, nowadays they are made of other wood that is much easier to get access to like the lime tree or the willow tree. The latter favours floodplain-terrain and the alluvium of rivers to grow. It is a kind of loose-fiber softwood, a lot could have been found around the Danube. This is not the case now, as the management of the Danube - Drava National Park has taken over the control of the area. Today we have to buy the material and the most preferred recently has become the linden tree. Its spreading has been boosted by the beekeepers's interest in Hungary. Our wood carving workshop can get them easier. Our workshop is still covering the mask with smeared blood like the old ones. So I learned myself to do it either with pig or cattle blood but we prefer to use pig's. So the mask is made from softwood linden wood, smeared with blood and as you can see animal horns attached to it. we are putting ram goat or cow or racka horns on it, for example, for kids. The buso mask made in Mohács is originally smiling because it depicts a human face and it's a fun holiday for people, it's a merry holiday. The closure is the furskin of racka sheep or the fur coat of Merino and the mustache is a plain tow or ponytail."

The stage sound and light system had been already installed hours before the start by a responsible agent for this task. A huge LED-wall stood at the backwall of the stage running short animations about the performing organisations. During the ongoing arrival of performers sound tests also started. The location of the event was easily approachable for buses carrying performers as the city's bus station is located next to the Deák Square. Hostesses of the event guided all performers to the cinema building at a 50 meter distance from the square where changing rooms with refreshments were prepared for them. Host



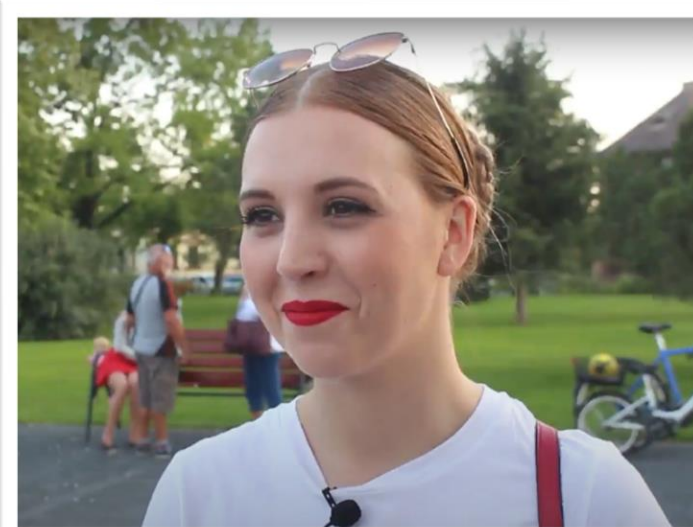
performers changed their clothes in the building assigned to them (a five minute walking distance from the square.) Visitors, mainly local families started to fill the square and seats in front of the stage. Some seats were reserved for special guests such as the town mayor who also participated at the event. Leaders of performing organisations had previously agreed on the order of the show program taking into consideration the time spent with changing clothes for different coreographies. The program started at 6 pm. The host performers danced at first and then at last to make a frame for this cultural program.

The host presenter of the event was Tamás Fűri, member of the Croatian language editorial staff of the Hungarian National Television, television and radio broadcaster. The welcoming of visitors, the introduction of performers went bilingually, in Croatian and Hungarian during the whole program.

As the event was an outdoor event, organizers had to plan an inside location for the event in case of bad weather. This location was the cinema, fortunately, that day was shiny and

warm. The Deák Square had already proved for several times its suitability for hosting mass cultural events. The square has been the central location for Busó Carnivals for many years. Its functionality was strengthened in 2018 by the reconstruction of the square.

The program started as planned without delay, after the ceremonial opening the children's group of the Corresponding Society of Mohács (the Shokats Club) stood on stage first. They



41. Figure – Iva Bugarin HKUD „Osijek 1862” in Mohács

were followed by dancers of HKUD „Osijek 1862” and HKUD „Valpovo 1905”. The first block ended with Vizin Band while the second block followed the same order but this time bringing the adult group of Mohács on the stage who also closed the program. The ceremonial closure of the event was led by the mayor who acknowledged the artistic works by awarding leaders of the performers.

After the show ended, performers changed their clothes and walked together to the headquarters building of the Shokats Club of Mohács in Táncsics street where the main hall had already been furnished for a buffet dinner.

The last program of the event started at 9 pm on Deák Square. Music band of the Shokats Club of named Glasovi performed live music to accompany mass dance of people being present on the square constituting of both performers and visitors of the event. Special music tunes were selected from the city of Mohács and Baranya County and a space for the dance was redesigned in front of the stage where dancing people formed circles holding each other's hands. Among performers, remarkably

several performers joined the dance circles and a striking number of visitors danced alongside them. For many visitors the dance steps were clearly familiar that demonstrated the living presence of Croatian culture in Mohács.

Valpovo – 19th September

The series of events continued in Valpovo on Sunday, September 19, 2021. This time, the Hungarian participants of the project crossed the border, which required prior information in connection with the regulations on travel abroad introduced due to the pandemic. With the necessary documents - the European Union COVID Passport - the border crossing went smoothly for all travellers. Around 3 pm, all ensembles arrived at the Prandau-Normann castle in the centre of Valpovo. The castle is located in a large park, so it was only accessible on foot, parking was available about 300 meters away. The firsts to arrive found the castle building closed. It was possible to enter the courtyard of the baroque complex after a short wait. Our research team was welcomed by the vice-president of the host ensemble to the venue of the event, where the packing of sound equipments had just begun.

At the time of the opening of the gate of the castle and the arrival of performers, the installation of stage sound system began inducing a significant time lag and soon it had become clear that there would be no possibility for sound tests.



42. Figure - The stage at Valpovo (daytime)



43. Figure - Partners performing on stage in Valpovo (daytime)

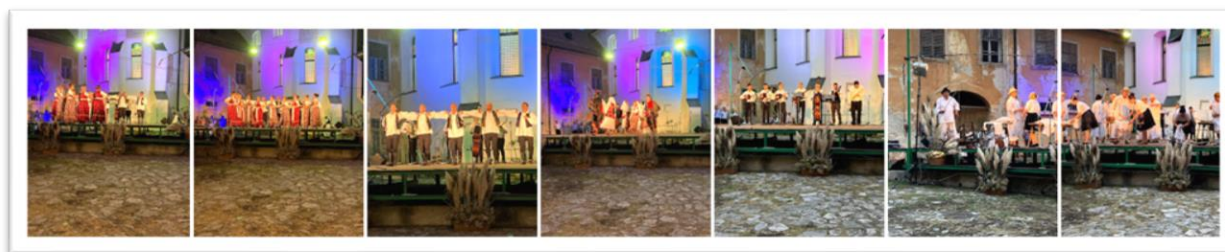
After the somewhat cumbersome entrance, each ensemble was given their own locker room for dressing and preparation, opened from the courtyard. In the locker rooms, teams were greeted with snacks and refreshments. Some of these rooms that were planned to serve as locker rooms for the duration of the event are used by local groups, bands on a daily basis. The common locker room of the Vizin Orchestra and CASSI is used by a rock band of local young people who were not notified about the event that day and were

surprised to find that their rehearsal room was occupied by strangers. The lack of information flow caused some inconvenience, but the incident did not affect negatively the event.



Guests were able to occupy their seats after registration. We haven't been informed about the presence of special guests or local representatives, nevertheless, the presidency and membership of the host association were almost fully present. We've found that many in the audience know each other.

In the program, performers followed each other in the following order: the performance was started by HKUD "Valpovo 1905", followed by the dance ensemble of the Mohács Shokats Club, followed by HKUD "Osijek 1862" and was closed by the Vizin Orchestra. Each ensemble performed two tracks, at the end of the second round hosts took the stage again and ceremonially closed the program by inviting and greeting representatives of the consortium partners on stage.



44. Figure - Partners performing on stage in Valpovo (nighttime)

Following the cultural program, the reception of performers was in the event hall of a nearby restaurant. The guests could take a seat at tables for ten, have conversations and networking before dinner. The best moment of the evening was that some members from Osijek and Valpovo sang a table blessing before dinner.

According to the original plans of the organizers, the event would have taken place in the main hall of the Matija Petar Katančić Cultural Center, but in the meantime two problems had been arisen: the building could not provide enough changing rooms for the four ensembles, on the other hand, the epidemiological restrictions had come into force in Croatia for limiting the number of people in enclosed spaces that would have drastically reduced the number of spectators. So, they decided to move the event to an open-air location.

Osijek – 25th September



45. Figure - Watermill by the Drava, Osijek

At the request of our hosts, we arrived at the venue at 4 pm, from where the Drava River is about a five-minute walk away. As the official start of the program, the performing bands were welcomed at the watermill floating on the river with snacks and drinks and authentic bagpipe music. After brief conversations, and mutual greetings performers walked back to the concert venue and began their preparations, rehearsals.

During the stage tests and sound rehearsals, it was revealed that the performances were to be placed into a conference room with an installed audio technology. The auditorium of the hall is slightly semicircular with ascending design, in front of the rows of chairs there is a medium-sized flat area covered with carpet. These special conditions and the number of instruments and singers - did not require added sound equipments.

There was a separate changing room on the first floor of the building for each participating partner, where water and soft drinks were prepared for them. The host ensemble, on the other hand, had to dress in a separated part of the lobby close to the concert hall, as there were not enough separate rooms for all performers.



47. Figure –
Preparations in the Cultural Centre of Osijek

The third event of the concert series was held in Osijek on September 25. Barely a week has passed since the concert in Valpovo, but due to the frequent changes in epidemiological regulations, the Hungarian partners had to get informed about the conditions for crossing the border. No substantial change was introduced within that week, so in the possession of an identity document and a European Union COVID card, the departure took place without any unexpected events.



46. Figure - By the watermill,
Osijek

Several local representatives were invited to the show, which started at 6 pm. After entering the building, all visitors arrived at the registration desk, where everyone was notified to comply with epidemiological regulations - including hand disinfection as well as mandatory mask wear. In accordance with the epidemiological regulations in force



in Croatia at the time of the event a random check by the police took place but no deficiencies or irregularities were found.



**48. Figure -
Matija Petar Katančić Cultural Centre**

The order of the program did not differ significantly from the previous ones. The show was opened by the host HKUD "Osijek 1862", then the dancers of the Mohács Shokats Club took the stage, then the HKUD "Valpovo 1905". The block was closed by Vizin Orchestra. The second block followed the same concept and the program was closed by the host in this case as well.

The evening was hosted by Vladimir Zobundžija, President of HKUD "Osijek 1862". During the program, Croatian partners also sought to implement bilingualism. As before in Valpovo, short speeches were given introducing the ensembles first in Croatian then in Hungarian. At the end of the cultural program, representatives of the partners were invited to the stage together and the hosts handed over their symbolic gift packages to each of them.

Following the program, a buffet reception awaited performers and guests in the lobby of the building.



**49. Figure - Vladimir
Zobundžija**

Pécs – 1st October



50. Figure - Veszna Vélín on stage at Pécs

The series of events included in the project to be implemented was closed on October 1, 2021 by the event organized in Pécs by Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association. During the planning period of the event and before the start of its implementation, the organizing association monitored epidemiological regulations for similar events in Hungary. It was difficult to label the event due to constant changing variables in parameters of the event. During the one-month stream of events, there were weekly border crossings, but as at previous events, none of the partners experienced any disruptions or difficulties during their cross-border travels.

The venue of the event was the auditorium of the Miroslav Krleža Croatian Education Centre in Pécs. On-site preparations began around 4 pm.

Being a teaching day, there were still a few children in the building at that time. Members of Vizin Association and their helpers started making the decoration of the hall, delivering the drinks and cakes previously purchased to the site. As part of the program, a book presentation and wine tasting took place at the same time.

In the first hour of the preparations, the installation of the sound system of the hall also started. The Vizin Orchestra has been working with the sound service provider for a long time. After a preliminary field tour, the sound system was put together using the microphones provided by the sound service technician, the band's amplifier, sound transport and the school's own speakers.



51. Figure - Miroslav Krleža School Centre



The performers involved in the project started arriving at the venue around 5 p.m. The buses of Croatian partners parked at a nearby bus station a 5 minute walking distance from the school, from where performers had to reach the location on foot. Members of the host association guided them all the way to their locker rooms, where they were greeted with snacks, water and soft drinks. During their preparations, they had the time for the sound setups. The band of the Mohács Shokats Club arrived a little late due to work commitments, but the program could start just in time.

Drago Horvat, the Consul of the Republic of Croatia in Pécs, accepted the invitation to the event. The program was also honored by the leaders of the Croatian Education Centre Miroslav

Krleža. As the only orchestra among the consortium partners, Vizin tried to turn advantage of this at its own event: they welcomed the audience to the program right at the entrance of the school building with music and a glass of wine to tune them in to the rest of the evening.

The order of the performers changed somewhat compared to previous events. Exceptionally, it was not the host ensemble to open the program, but a female choir, composed of ensembles from Osijek and Valpovo, who greeted the audience. After that, the dance ensembles from Osijek and then from Mohács took the stage. The first part was closed by Vizin with melodies from Baranya. The second block was repeated in the same order.

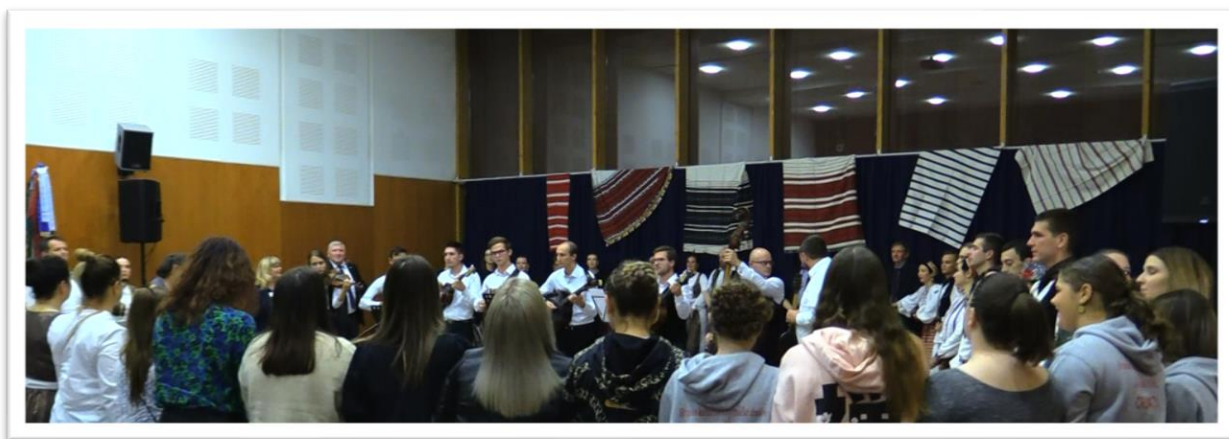
The compere of the evening became Veszna Vélin, president of Vizin as a last minute solution (the original presenter cancelled his participation at noon that day due to illness), but she coped with the sudden task in a very professional way, conducted the program in two languages, being both informative and entertaining at the same time.

After the show, the symbolic gift packages were handed over to the participating partners and all the prominent persons.

Afterwards, at the end of the program and the event phase of the project, all participants were invited to a joint circle dance, in which dancers and members of the audience danced together.



52. Figure - Vizin Cultural and Traditional Association performing at Pécs



53. Figure - Circle dance in Pécs, Miroslav Krleža Education Centre

The last element of the program was a buffet dinner. Dinner was prepared at the event venue by the school's restaurant staff and was served in the school's dining room. The invited guests and the leaders of the ensembles were hosted in a separate room.



Analysis

In this section the four events are to be compared. The following viewpoints will be covered: the selection of venue, the reception of partners and guests, the editing of the program, and the conditions for providing the technical conditions to support the performance.

Selection of the venue

Venue	Advantages	Disadvantages
Mohács	outdoor originally designed as an event location easy access, central location more favourable regulation in the epidemiological situation	less limited outsized
Valpovo	representative iconic event venue easy access well demarcated well utilized can be used in accordance with epidemiological regulations	general condition of the building unfavourable acoustic conditions
Osijek	easy access modern infrastructure well-designed interior spaces	not specifically designed for performing art activities there is no stage carpet on the floor
Pécs	good infrastructure high capacity well demarcated yet transparent multifunctional spaces	inconvenient access unfavourable acoustic conditions

When choosing location, all partners had to make a decision based on a complex set of criteria. In that period of 2021, the primary and ultimate factor was to adapt to epidemiological restrictions in force for the events. From this point of view, the venue in Mohács was the most fortunate choice, as it was an outdoor event and epidemiological restrictions did not make the implementation of the event significantly more difficult.

Besides, the early fall date was absolutely perfect for a pleasant atmosphere outdoor event. Along the same lines, Vizin was in the most difficult situation, as the date at the

beginning of October no longer made it possible to hold an open-air concert. Added to this, they needed a venue with adequate capacity.

The same thoughts keep appearing from the interviews with the Croatian partners. Compliance with the current legal provision played a significant role in the selection of both venues. Consequently, each venues were representative locations for the local community. Deák Square is in the centre of Mohács, the Prandau-Normann castle in Valpovo is an iconic architectural symbol of the city. The City Cultural Centre in Osijek is a new and popular venue, and in addition to its role in education, the Croatian Education Centre in Pécs is a very important centre not only for the Croatian community in Pécs or Baranya, but also for the entire Croatian community in Hungary.

Reception of partners and guests

Venue	Advantages	Disadvantages
Mohács	outdoor easy access	spatially fragmented
Valpovo	the added value of the iconic site atmosphere	significant time lag
Osijek	experience factor added by destination precise and consistent hospitality	timing of the partners' reception
Pécs	musical welcome, musical closure	separation of guests at dinner

The reception of partners and guests as being the first contact at an event has high importance to both the host and the guests. At the events implemented during the project, partners were observed to put great emphasis on strengthening their relations and paid special attention to the transmission of ethnocultural values to the public.

During the „Shokats Autumn” in Mohács, decades of experience and routine, as well as the natural hospitality of the hosts was felt in every program detail of the event. Transmission of values to guests manifested in the mass dance organized as the closing of the event, during which all visitors could become an active part of the traditions previously seen on stage. At the Valpovo event entitled “Kolo kraj Karašice”, it was the spirit and atmosphere of the castle that added a unique value to the program, both for the performers and the audience. On the National Day of Croatian Culture in Osijek, the exceptional experience on



the Drava watermill for guest performers grounded the good spirit for the whole event. The high quality in hospitality, the well-organized and smooth resolution of administrative tasks and regulations made in connection with the pandemic can also be emphasized.

The special feature of the event in Pécs, "Oj jesenske duge noći", was the hospitality of the host that made all guests feel included immediately from the start and provided the sense of being part of a community by the common mass dance circle at the end of the show.

In the case of Mohács, the big area of the outdoor event had some disadvantageous elements, too, as its more functional spaces were separated. In Valpovo, the significant time lag slightly overshadowed the event. The extraordinary reception of guest performers in Osijek jeopardized the exact start - the partners did not start with the preparations in time. In Pécs, the serving of dinner went separately for protocol persons and the rest of the guests that failed to build the common spirit.

Programming

The main supposition in planning the program of the cultural events was that choreographies, music and songs would represent the treasures of Croatian folk art, folk dance and folk songs of Baranya. The program of the events was composed by the artistic directors of the participating ensembles who constantly were communicating with each other during the whole project, updated each other frequently and held informal meetings during the events.

Continuous communication was essential especially for the three dance ensembles to rule out overlapping motives and dances in the program.



54. Figure - HKUD „Osijek 1862” in Pécs



The single orchestra in the project was in easier situation being informed about the upcoming choreographies. In planning the show and in the selection of choreographies they concentrated on smaller units of Baranya on both sides of the border. In addition, the length of the compilations was an important aspect, both for the program as a whole and for the next performers. This became practically important for the time spent on clothes change between different choreographies in the two blocks. The single orchestra could offer a solution to this difficulty as they didn't need dressing time, so they could provide valuable minutes for other partners almost anytime.

As mentioned earlier, the program of the events was intended mainly to represent the diversity of Croatian culture in Baranya, but also choreographies from other regions were presented, e.g. dances from the island of Pag, Bunievats dances from the Hungarian side and melodies along the Drava River.

The hosts, the comperes of the programs, were important actors in the implementation. In the case of Mohács, this task was performed by a professional, in Pécs, by the president of the host association, both speaking fluently in Croatian and in Hungarian. In the case of Croatian partners, the striving for bilingualism manifested in reading aloud introductions of performers in both Croatian and Hungarian, however other Croatian oral contents were not translated to Hungarian.



Technical conditions to facilitate presentation

Venue	Advantages	Disadvantages
Mohács	large, covered stage Led Wall	sound technology
Valpovo	large stage	sound technology
Osijek	advantageous interior design	lack of stage carpeting
Pécs	well utilisable interior space good sound system	poor acoustic conditions

In discussing stage productions, services and activities related to various kinds of performances, that assist performers in the interpretation of a given cultural production, cannot be ignored either of the elements. At the first event, the huge routine of the Mohács Shokats Club in organizing events can be highlighted again.

This was reflected in the quality of the stage used during the event, with the LED wall included. In the city of Mohács, performing arts are closely intertwined with the culture of local ethnic diversity. The quality of sound of the event was good and enjoyable for the audience. However, from the performers' point of view, the positioning of the control speakers on the stage were not appropriate, the number of microphones for the performers were also not optimal. At the second event, a large podium served as stage for the performers, it was well-equipped in all respects. Listening from the audience's side, the sound was of good quality, along with the fact that the audience and the performers had to live with the echo of the enclosed courtyard. Listening to and experiencing the sound from the performers' side, the sound system needed some refining.

The one and only reason for this was the significant time lag that accumulated during the installation of the sound equipments and did not leave time for sound tests before the start. In essence, the first block of the concert served as a rehearsal, the experience of which was interpreted by all the performers to the technicians, who were largely able to correct these errors for the second block. In Osijek, the choice of the venue was commendable, the show took place in an auditorium with good acoustic conditions. The characteristics of the auditorium did not require more added sound system, so the event was implemented in a simpler way and excluding a possible error. As for the great advantage of the place in terms of singing and music, it caused the least inconvenience to the dancers.

Due to the rising design of the auditorium, the installation of a stage was not necessary, besides, the area functioning as a stage had a soft, textile floor covering. After the performance, several dancers noted the negative effect of this kind of surface, most of them complained that they could not dance really dynamically on the soft material, the



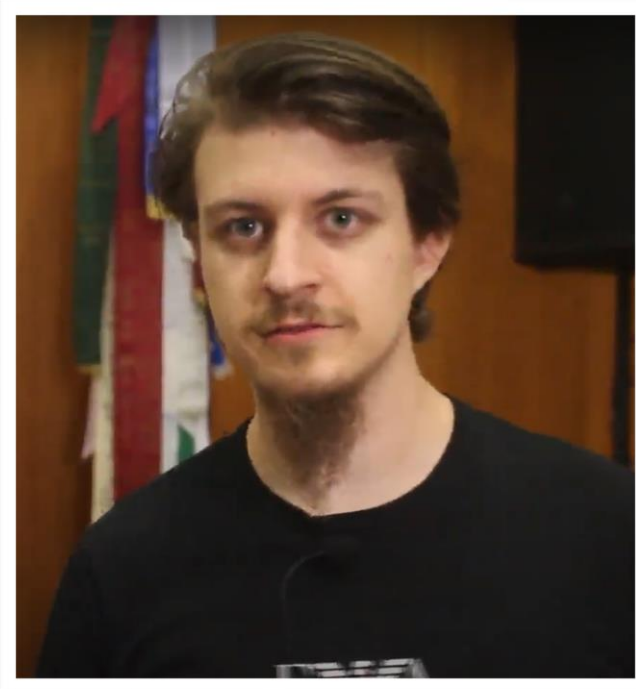
knocks and pounding were lost. In the case of Pécs, the spatial conditions offered by the venue were well utilized by the organizers. There was a book presentation and wine tasting in the back of the hall behind the auditorium, while the ensembles performed opposite them. Although there was no stage on site, the surface of the floor did not hinder the dance productions.

Although the auditorium had fundamentally poor acoustic conditions, Pécs still had the least problems with the sound system during the event series. There are several factors behind the positive outcome: on the one hand, the long-standing professional cooperation and mutual trust with the sound service provider, on the other hand, the information gathered during the preliminary site visit and the technical equipments adapted to the nature of the site. Thanks to these and the thorough settings before the event, the acoustic experience was satisfying for both the audience and the performers.

In sum, all the partner organizations and all events were held professionally and with an outstandingly high standard in terms of performance. Without exception, all programs showed a high degree of professionalism, precision and a deep respect and commitment to their cultural assets, as a result of which the organizations participating in the project deserve the support and recognition of their own communities and the wider societies.



Kornél Budai
sound technician



It is difficult to provide appropriate sound technology for a tamboura orchestra. You can turn on the microphone, but for prime tamboura, bass primes – that is, for members of the tamboura family adjusting the tone is not an easy task. Especially if the acoustic environment is not ideal. In case of the school it is a noisy, echoing hall. There are different surfaces in the hall – wood, metal, glass, stone

can be found and although the audience is in fact a sound-absorbing surface – that somewhat improves the conditions, the situation is far from optimal. The rich overtones

generated by tambourines can reflect from plenty of spaces causing a disturbing sound effect.

To eliminate this, sound technicians use deep and high cuts. That means that during sound settings on a mixer certain frequency values are filtered, too high and too low frequency sounds are cut out. Depending on the site environment there may still be high-frequency sounds — that the technicians filter out, in our case these frequencies are 500 Hz, 800 Hz, 1500 Hz, and 8000 Hz.

In case of tamboura orchestras, the deep cut is especially important - it can crawl up to 250-300 Hz.

From a sound technician's point of view, the event had a "special feature", a violin beside the tambourines which required even more attention and precision by the technical staff.

Kornél Budai believes, based on his long-standing knowledge and personal experience, that if the function of musical instruments in an orchestra are understood it is much easier to do the sound mixing. In this case, there is a need to build on the bass prime tamburas in three voices, on the softness of tamboura cello, on the tamboura contra and on the tamboura bass and interpret the prime tamboura and the violin as „background” it will result in giving a full value and a pleasant sound complex.

55. Figure - Kornél Budai

Feedbacks from participants

Danijela Krznarić (Valpovo) 19th September

"I've been an active member of the ensemble for thirty years. Last year, I was awarded for that. I really like being together with other members of the ensemble, travelling together, to have fun. - I love doing this all." HKUD "Valpovo 1905" performed three choreographies, one of which is exactly from Valpovo. „HKUD „Valpovo 1905 "is constantly rehearsing, pursuing the practice of our choreographies regularly - we can say that the ensemble is actually always ready to perform. Of course, if we know the time of the performances in advance, at the rehearsals we work more seriously and pay even more energy and attention to practice. This is the case also for the current joint project. " Pre-performance preparations are hosted by Matija Petar Katančić Cultural Centre, where they dress and store a significant folk costume collection that provides for the ensemble's roughly 20 choreographies a suitable stage appearance for every dancer.

Mirella Zimmerman- Markota – Pécs 1st October

Mirella Zimmerman-Markota is a dancer at HKUD "Valpovo 1905". She's also the leader of the children's group. She is very happy to be involved in this project, with a lot of experiences and a lot of beautiful memories in the series of events. The Valpovo team is completely different from the last event, the change in members modified the concept. "Many of us were also not-so-lucky with the the pandemic. A significant number of members of the association have been forced into quarantine at home, some of them became infected. Because they dropped out so fast we had only a few days to rethink what will be presented here. Luckily, it turned out that all "older" ladies have been vaccinated so we were able to form a choir, a female choir and we performed today three song compositions. " They managed to cross the border without any problems, during the trip to Pécs they asked for minimal guidance in the city and despite all language barriers they arrived at the concert venue successfully and on time. "It was a pleasure for me to be able to participate in this project. For three times I took the stage as a dancer, this time as a singer. I have met many new people, even from the Osijek team, albeit with them we have been working together for a long time - especially the members of the younger generation were less known for me. Of course, it is a special pleasure to get to know you, too, from Hungary. It is a real pleasure for me. I am also happy for the opportunity as due to the pandemic, almost after one year of skipping, these are our first performances. What we can do together, common work and practice, means a lot to all of us. "



Josip Štefić, leader and choreographer of HKUD "Valpovo 1905" 25th September, Osijek

"Our ensemble had practised since July onwards, mostly related to this project we were preparing for events. We would like to present proudly the folk costumes purchased from this joint project during the performances, we are very happy for them." In Osijek, "homeland" dances from Valpovo and Baranja were performed. Fortunately, the members avoided all those difficulties that we are all struggling with these days. The artistic director thanked the members that after a year and a half of absence due to the epidemic they got back to work with the same full swing. "Working with the team is a nice thing, also with young people among them who want and love to work and show their skills on stage as well. Even more happiness can be gained from the fact that we do this in clothes that are new, however we also really like to wear the old, original costumes. Also, we do appreciate meeting other ensembles during the project, the chance of getting to know each other, and showing them what we know, and seeing the level where others are."

Duško Topić – Mohács, 4th September

At the first event in Mohács, we asked Duško Topić, first of all, about their experiences of crossing the border, what additional tasks travelling abroad meant during the epidemic? He explained in detail that the day before the performance, the underage members of the band, who had not yet been vaccinated had to undergo the necessary tests. Once the band had acquired all the necessary permits and papers, they could arrive in Mohács without any problems.

„Today we've performed two choreographies, a show of dances from the Valpo region, our locality. These are the main items of the repertoire of the ensemble, based on our own collections, that have been adapted and choreographed. The other pieces in our programme were dances from Baranya. They make also a key part of our long-standing repertoire, the choreography is dynamic - enjoyable for dancers and audience alike." The Mohács event featured the ensemble's currently active dance and tamboura section. „The tamboura section is one of the most important unit of our ensemble, which has developed an initiative that can be called a tamboura school – attracting musicians to be constantly coming. There is also a primary music school in Valpo offering learning tamboura. Talented pupils keen on playing music thanks to the cooperation - can come to us. So, the recruitment for the orchestra rather easy. Thank God, there has never been a time in the recent history of the ensemble when we have not been able to put out a great orchestra, not only to accompany our dancers, but also to perform with choirs, singers and in concerts. In 1905, as the predecessor of HKUD „Valpovo 1905”, a singing and tamboura ensemble was formed, and we the tamboura players of the present are practically preserving this century-old continuity”.

Berislav Brkić – Valpovo, 19th September

We talked to the president of HKUD „Valpovo 1905” before the concert in Valpovo, and we got a lot of information about the organisation. The association has a history of 116 years, but due to the storms of history, its continuous operation dates back only to 1983. „At the moment I am the president of the association. This phase has been going on for 26 years.....”. We learnt that our hosts are not only the largest association in the town, but over the years they have also become a kind of „folklore brand” of Valpovo and its surroundings. The work of the association is supported by many excellent professionals. The work of those who help the ensemble behind the scenes, such as the maintenance of the folk costumes, is also worth mentioning. They have been the cornerstones of our work together for more than two decades. During the pandemic, the ensemble was tempted to suspend its performances, but artistic work has continued as far as possible. He hopes that in the time to come, there will not be as many uncertainties and unforeseen difficulties as there have been since the beginning of the project, when the pandemic hit.

„A rich heritage, favourable working conditions, a new cultural centre with its own premises, instruments and good quality costumes. Everything is in place to do a good job, as long as the world returns to normal, as it was before the coronavirus epidemic. - as an illustrious association of the city - we receive a lot of help from the city of Valpovo. They provide us with essential help in implementing and funding our programmes. But this project is different, I am sincerely glad that we were able to realize this cross-border cooperation with our partners from Osijek, Mohács and Pécs and I hope that after the end of the project we will not lose contact and we will meet again at home or elsewhere”.

Duško Topić – Valpovo, 19th September

Duško Topić, Secretary of HKUD „Valpovo 1905” was interviewed before the start of their own event - mainly about the choice of venue and the details of the preparation of the event. The venue was the Prandau-Normann Castle in the heart of Valpovo. One of the reasons for this is that it is the most iconic building in the town, an authentic Valpovo event venue. The other reason was more rational, and that was the pandemic regulations in force in Croatia during the concert. The organisers were hoping for a larger audience to appear in an outdoor location. Their own auditorium was not suitable for this purpose, while at the same time complying with the restrictive measures. Duško Topić expressed his pleasure that HKUD „Valpovo 1905” could be part of the project and welcomed the fact that two Croatian ensembles from Hungary would be invited to perform. „I hope that we can continue working together again next time, we can come together in this form. We share common cultural values and we, amateur ensembles, are working to preserve these values for the generations to come”.



The role of music and dance events in preserving Croatian cultural heritage

The events examined in the research and all those with similar themes play a significant role in the preservation of identity of Croatian communities living in the Hungarian country. These events aim to contribute to the strengthening and preservation of the community in the broadest possible way - in this sense, the themes of these cultural attractions can be very diverse, depending on local needs, opportunities, conditions and other external and internal factors. In terms of their target group, these programmes can be divided into two categories, depending on whether they are primarily aimed at members of the community or outsiders. For example, the Pécsvárad Girls' Fair (Leányvásár) in Pécsvárad or the Buso Festivities (Busójárás) in Mohács are larger-scale, festival-like events. In addition to their content and importance for local communities, these events also attract loads of visitors interested in heritage tourism for outsiders, such events can at best be an aesthetic experience, but for community members and those with the right background knowledge, they have a much more complex meaning. The role of religion is of paramount importance in the preservation of the identity of national communities, especially Croatian communities in Hungary. Sacrality is inherent in the folk culture of Croatian Hungarians, and the shared practice of a common religion in the mother tongue is therefore a priority in programmes aimed at preserving today's cultural heritage. Many of the cultural programmes are linked to religious festivals - recalling the customs and traditions associated with the celebration. These programmes often actively seek to involve the community of a particular part of the municipality or the whole municipality, most often through a parade, a music and dance cavalcade, and then a cultural show, where the values of folk art such as folk dance, folk music and folk songs are again presented, but in a stylised, choreographed form. An excellent example of this is the Busójárás, where visitors can get to know the Shokats culture of Mohács by entering from the street, from the living tradition through stage productions in different locations. It also illustrates the duality of the values of a small community and heritage tourism.

Examples of local communities and small rural communities' efforts to preserve cultural values are to be found in Croatian villages along the Drava, such as Easter traditions and the customs associated with Midsummer's Day. These programmes have been created specifically for the local community, with the aim of both keeping heritage alive and passing on and re-learning traditions that have almost been forgotten. The use of the mother tongue is a fundamental element of all such programmes and events, and is given special attention. The programme varies from place to place, some of them exclusively in Croatian, others in Hungarian. An important aspect in the organisation of these events is the conscious strengthening of links between different regions. By getting to know each other's cultures and differences, they try to bring the whole Croatian community closer together.





The Ethnic Integrity Report of the Croatian Community in Baranya/Baranja as a Cultural Landscape

Baranya/Baranja, being a cross-border land, as it is situated both in Hungary and in Croatia, can be defined as a cultural landscape that has a strong ethnic integrity of its Croatian communities on both sides of the border. The research findings underpin the presence of ethnic integrity based on a detailed analysis of cross-border activities of cultural associations pursuing the preservation practices of cultural heritage. Therefore, the question arises, on what basis can we measure the ethnic integrity of a landscape? The nature of the valuing ethnic cultural heritage is multi-dimensional, and also multi-subjective which makes identification and understanding the phenomena more complicated.

Actors – leaders and members of all the four cultural associations share mutual interests, through their combined efforts they are capable of strengthening each other. Nevertheless, there are marked differences coming from the positions within their respective social-political environment, i.e. two of them are considered to be parts of an ethnic minority in Hungary, one is located in a small town, the other is in the centre of the County; while the other two settled in Croatia, do represent the dominant culture and also one is located in a small town and the other one is from the centre of the County. The systems view approach of the research helps to develop a comprehensive framework of the issue at hand not only by offering a good description of the investigated ethnic integrity through cultural events and highlighting key elements of their event organising but also by guiding an interpretation of their multiple interconnections. Moreover, the systems view allows the relevant implications of the subjectivity that characterizes any multi-stake-holder phenomenon to be considered.

Population characteristics, ethnic composition of local population

Baranya/Baranja is a cross-border land as it belongs to two neighbouring countries. The Croatian part of the geographical area is 4155 km², called Osijek-Baranja County, the centre is Osijek, with 290000 inhabitants, while the Hungarian part covers 4430 km², involving Baranya County with its 360000 inhabitants and Pécs city as the centre. Both sides show several similarities in territory, in ethnic composition, age pyramid, educational level, and economic development. Cross-border ethnic groups live in this geographic area, Hungarians in Croatia and Croatians in Hungary. People of the area are frequent border crossers for short family visits, or seeking shopping, cultural and leisure programs, using the available transport facilities, i.e. seven drive ways, three trailways, and two river border crossings along 105 km. However, national level values are not overruled by local Baranya/Baranja identity.

As it was detailed in chapter „Baranya/Baranja as a cross-border land” populations of both sides of the landscape show a diverse ethnicity map with one dominant and several minority ethnic groups living together. Although, proportions are very similar, the case of ethnic affiliation is different in the two countries. In census questionnaires, the Hungarian

form handles ethnicity among those questions to be answered voluntarily, the Croatian questionnaire places questions on ethnic affiliation in a separate block, together with questions related to citizenship and religion. Both include direct questions on ethnic identity and mother tongue, however, only the Hungarian one offers more specific questions on ethnicity, including 18 ethnic group-related items, while the Croatian one enables but does not specify other options.

Local economic conditions

In history, the economy of Baranya County²⁵ was dominated by mining, today, the multinational high-tech industry, the meat-processing plant, the porcelain factory, the brewery and the textile manufacture are the main contributors but the largest employer is the university in the County. The centre, Pécs is connected to the national transport system through a highway and railways. In the Croatian part, entrepreneurial activity is dominant, as the chemical factory, the brewery, the sugar factory, or the brush factory demonstrates in the centre, Osijek, while in surrounding settlements agriculture takes the lead. The region's transportation is increased by the Osijek's airport and the river port at the Drava.²⁶ Tourism and cultural industry have emerging shares in both sides.

Legal, political and administrative frames

The Hungarian state ensures social participation of ethnic minorities by recognising all ethnic minorities as part of the Hungarian nation in the national constitution. The institutional political structure enables Croats living in Hungary to form their own local self-governments and a national-level self-government serving as an umbrella organisation of all local level organisations belonging to the same ethnicity. Compared to this, in Croatia ethnic minorities have political, linguistic, educational and religious rights. According to the Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities that enables the representation of national minorities in local and regional governments, and in minority councils²⁷.

Both in Hungary and in Croatia the ethnic conception of citizenship is accepted, instead of the civic concepts that mean in these countries political rights such as participation in national and local level elections are far less guaranteed compared to endorsing cultural rights.

Ethnic organisations greatly contribute to diversity and democratisation of their respected societies mainly through their cultural activities. The level of organisational capacity of ethnic groups and their network of relations indicates the cohesion of their communities.

²⁵ Baranya County – PécsEconomy. (n.d.). Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Pécs-Baranya. <https://pecseconomy.eu/baranya-County/> (Date of access: 2020.10.22.)

²⁶ Economy. (n.d.). Investment Guide - Osijek-Baranja County. http://www.obz-invest.hr/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=31&Itemid=88 (Date of access: 2020.10.22.)

²⁷ Minority Rights Group International. (2003). Minorities in Croatia. Minority Rights Group International.



Nowadays, funding is available through state tenders to enhance organising events, programs. Local governments and ethnic self-governments also provide assistance to ethnic organizations by both financial support and coordinating cooperation. In Croatia, state or municipality grants are mostly manifested in financing of various projects or marketing promotion of ensembles.

Education for local ethnic culture

Croatian language education is available not in every settlement where Croatians live, there is only one high school for Croatian students, in Pécs, although, all three educational levels in Croatian is present. At Mohács Shokats Club members learn about Croatian/Shokats traditions, folk dances, folk songs and folk music from the age of 3. For many years, Croatian language education was not part of general local government-run primary school education programs, so it took place at ethnic minority associations such as the Mohács Shokats Club. In Croatia, cultural associations do not have to take the burden of language education as in Hungary, but these associations also have institutional relations with local schools as they undertake cultural education in their local communities providing insight into folk traditions. At cultural events, Croatian ensembles, orchestras present the culture, folk costumes, music, dances, even their traditional dishes from the predecessors to the descendent local communities. as well as to tourists.

Cultural organisations for ethnic groups

Croatians in Hungary have established their own press and cultural institutions since 1990. There are magazines, weekly newspapers, radio, theatre and some dedicated cultural centres in settlements where Croatians live in concentration in all mentioned regions not just in Baranya County.

In modern times, there has been a growing awareness that the ancestors' way of living, dance, music, cooking beans in a pot, washing on the Danube, making folk costumes, etc. have almost forgotten, so in 1992 the Shokats Club set a goal to preserve these traditions for future generations. The association has a long history. At the end of the 19th century, people became aware of the importance of preserving values and traditions in our increasingly changing world. Ethnic clubs were also formed. After World War II, the political atmosphere in Hungary did not support ethnic differentiation, ethnic associations were also ceased to exist (among all civic formations), ethnic communities embarked on the route for assimilation. After the change of regime, state regulations paved the way for reorganizing ethnic associations and ethnic self-governments were established. So, the Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club was founded in 1905, then re-established in 1992, and the Mohács Croatian Local Government was launched in 1990. While in Croatia, political changes (Croatia has gained its independence a couple of decades ago and joined the European Union in 2013) and economic changes (the restoration after the South Slavic war and the efforts taken to fulfil the EU enlargement criteria) greatly affected the preservation of national folk culture. Cultural associations defined their missions and strategies in a changing environment. During the hectic political changes, it was extremely difficult to deal with the preservation of traditions, but

even that time they did not give up working and cultivating the valuable heritage of their ancestors.

Cultural associations have built a rather extended net of cooperation with other organizations having a similar profile both in Hungary and in Croatia. These relationships are stronger based on ethnic ties, however, they maintain relations with other ethnicity organisations, as well. In case of the associations involved, all four have relations in both countries. In Hungary, both associations have personal ties or at least contacts with nearly every other Croatian organisations in the country thanks to the Croatian Club August Šenoa which serves as an umbrella organisation for the Croatian community. Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club has already visited many places, many partnerships have been established with other Hungarian cultural organisations, too. They visit each other's events, perform at each other's programs and celebrate together. In addition to relations with Croats they have good relations with other ethnic communities living in Hungary, they have performed several times at Swabian events, and have been an appreciated participant in several events and programs of the Serbian Banat Association in Deszk (Hungary). The Mohács Shokats Club has maintained meaningful relationships with two associations in Croatia, the Čepin Cultural Association and the Sveti Filip i Jakov Cultural



56. Figure - Cultural organisations for the Croatian community



Association for several years. In the case of both organizations, Mohács hosted their folk dance groups and choirs, and in 2014 they even signed a twin-cities agreement with Sveti Filip i Jakov. Mohács Shokats Club also had the opportunity to introduce themselves several times in Croatia. Vizin Orchestra has more relations outside of Pécs, due to both their uniqueness as an independent tamboura band and to the saturation of cultural associations in Pécs. HKUD Valpovo, very similar to Mohács Shokats Club, has mainly relations in the local area but their artistic mission is well-known across Croatia. HKUD Osijek has a strong network of cooperation with the Croatian National Theatre in Osijek and other local cultural organisations. They also have established cooperation with the Croatian Theatre in Pécs.

Political organisations for ethnic groups

How do political, economic, ethnic diversity and geographic factors shape the integrity of these cross-border lands? Today, political parties based on ethnicity are not relevant actors in Baranya/Baranja. However, in history, during the time of nation-state-building movements Croats demanded political independence based on their linguistic and cultural distinction. Count Janko Drašković was one of the leaders of the movement. In his leaflet, „Disertatia iliti razgovor” the unification of Croatia-Slavonia with Dalmatia, the Határőrvidék and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Styria, Carniola and Carinthia were proposed to form Great-Croatia. Croats themselves were not united on the issue, by the 1840s they had split into two parties. The Croatian-Hungarian Party envisioned its future together with Hungary, while the Illyrian Party wanted an independent, Croatian state. In 1848, the Illyrian Josip Jelačić Bužimski played a major role in the suppression of the Hungarian War of Independence, which also led him not being able to fight for Croatian independence. After the events of 1848 subsided, the “Serbian question” emerged as another problem. Namely, for Serbs living within Croatia to be recognized as an independent nation²⁸. This grounded and strengthened the Serbian and Croatian opposition. Many historians today believe that a common/similar language was not enough to maintain unity, as Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks differed in many ways due to their culture shaped by their religion and historical background. The fact that the Yugoslav state could only suppress these contradictions is also clear from the events of the South Slav wars.

Today in Hungary, there are 31 Croatian ethnic self-governments in Baranya, in those settlements where more ethnic self-governments operate belonging to different ethnicities, committees are established for the sake of ethnic interest enforcement. Croats have had a national-level self-government since 1994. In Croatia, Hungarian associations form political parties and they have a special representative to the Croatian Parliament. Today, it is the Democratic Union of Hungarians of Croatia that delegates their member to the Parliament, the organisation is headquartered in Osijek.

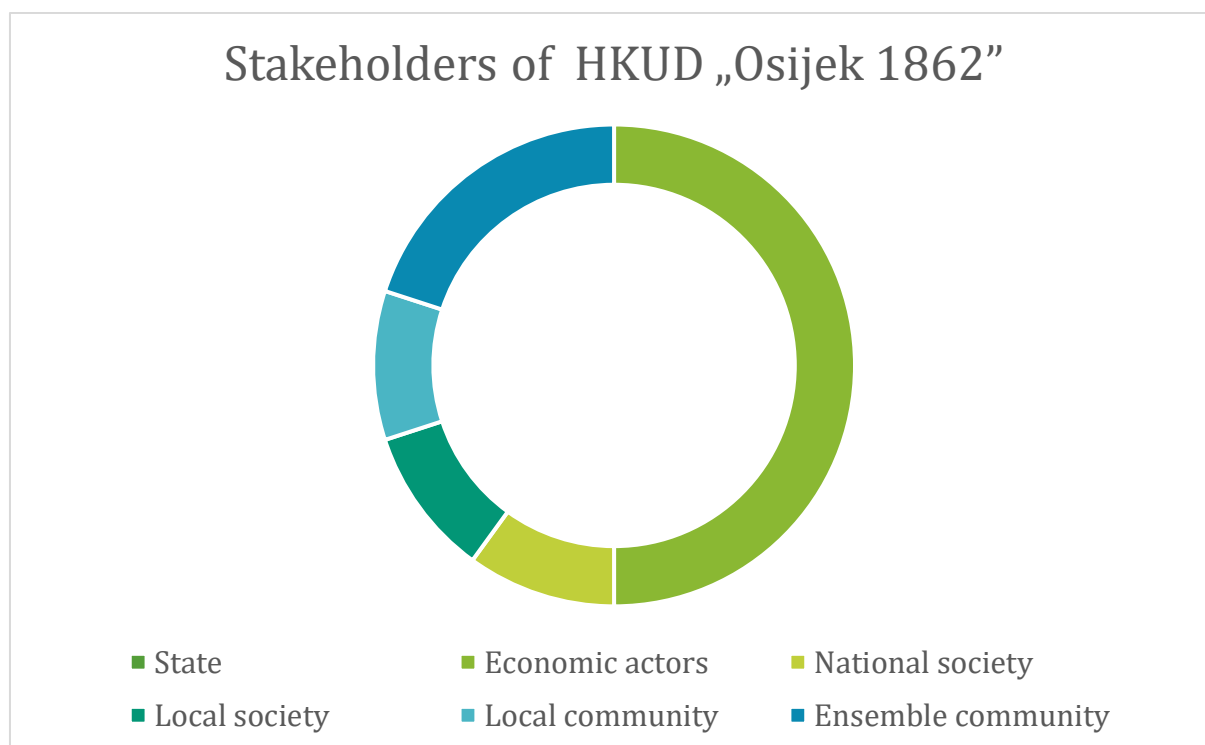
²⁸ László, Heka (2010). A délszláv népek nemzetiségi mozgalmak a 19. században. Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. [1-64. pp.] [299-324. pp.]

Stakeholders of the cultural associations

The notion of value of cultural heritage, indeed, is significantly affected by the multi-stakeholder nature that characterizes cultural heritage. Value, in fact, is not objectively intrinsic to goods, but dynamically emerges from the context of the interaction of goods, beneficiaries, public and private organizations, communities, local and national authorities. The multi-subject interaction determines different value outcomes depending on each involved stakeholder's goals, expectations and participation in the process. In other words, the value of an asset, even of a cultural nature, is to be understood as utility with respects to a need or goal. It is therefore not intrinsic to the object, but determined by the benefits that result from it. There is a whole range of value potential inherent in the cooperation of different parties in systemic or accidental relationships. Political and economic determinants play essential role in shaping activities of cultural organizations. They support, donate ensembles whose expenditures many times cannot be covered by member contributions, the growing awareness of the necessity of financial support of these community-based activities providing values are gradually accepted by the national and local players.

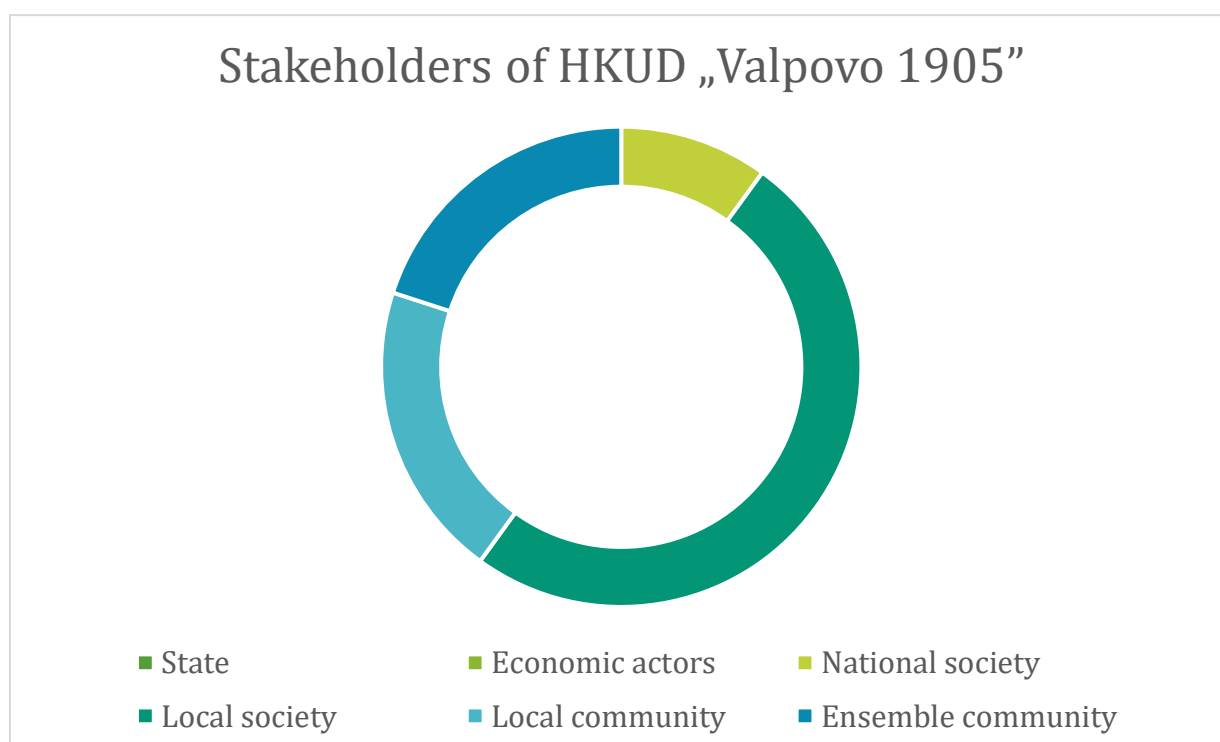
All the ensembles participating in the research project had a very high capacity to preserve Croatian culture and identity. All of them have common roots in traditions and cultural values of Croatian ethnicity which is one of the thirteen ethnic nationalities on the one side of the border and a relatively young dominant group on the other side of the border.

Although, it is undeniable that they are all equally important and valuable to their local communities, the four cultural associations have completely different backgrounds – HKUD “Osijek 1862” - the oldest amateur folk art ensemble in Croatia that has been operating continuously - is supported by an economic actor, the Osijek Sugar Factory, in the case of HKUD “Valpovo 1905” by the host city. In accordance with Hungarian conditions, the Mohács Shokats Correspondence Club gains its financial resources through tenders, but in accordance with the city of Mohács, it operates almost in symbiosis with the city. The youngest association from the most populous city, Pécs, Vizin, on the other hand, does not enjoy the support of an external sponsor or the city, and they make up their own resources only through their own revenue and tenders.



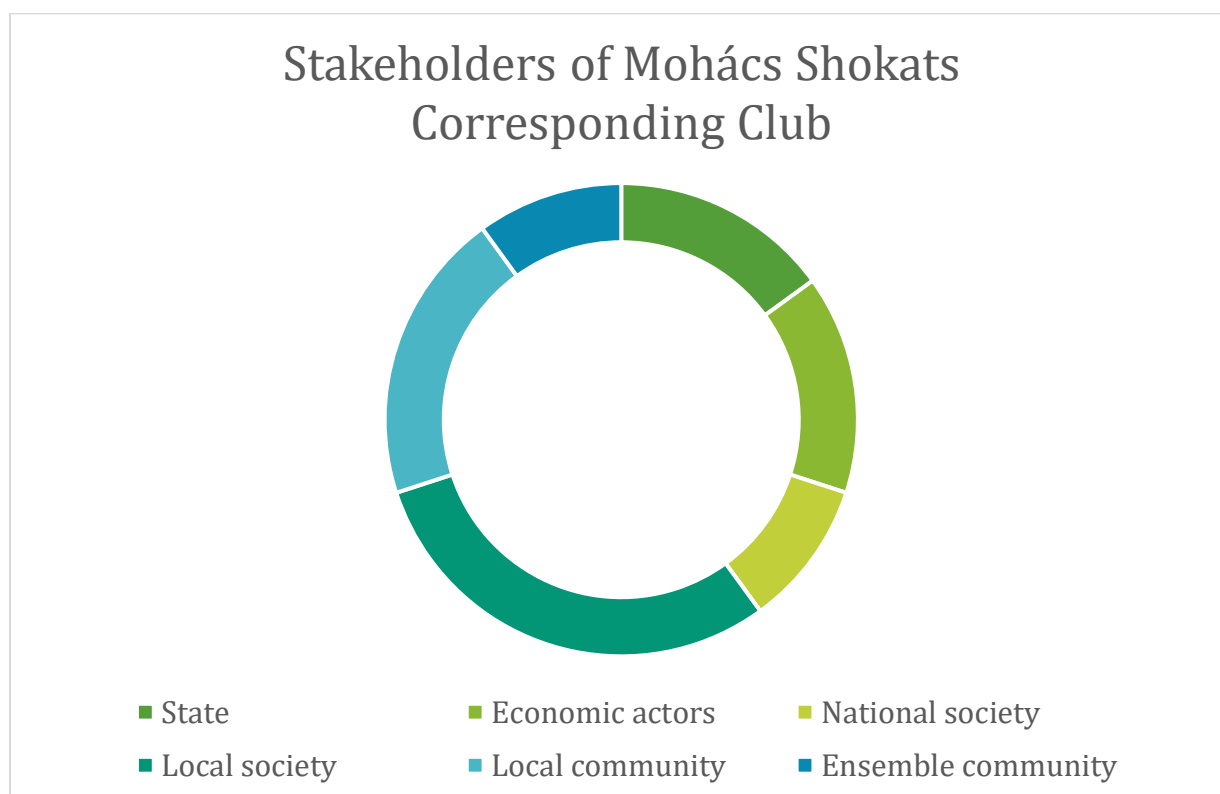
57. Figure - Stakeholders of HKUD "Osijek 1862"

It has no state support or significant local government funding, and its revenues are made up of performance fees and sponsorships from local economic actors, of which the local sugar factory donates most of their activities.



58. Figure - Stakeholders of HKUD "Valpovo 1905"

The local municipality is the main supporter of the association. The municipality of Valpovo provides the headquarters for them and financial support for its operation. Being a small-town organisation, the ensemble is an integral part of the local society, and the majority of its members and their audience are local residents. The association thus represents not only local values but also the city itself at home and abroad.



59. Figure - Stakeholders of Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club

The most versatile organisation of the four. It can build on state and local grants, but it also has significant revenues of its own, and maintains close ties with local economic actors, other local ethnic associations, and the local government.



60. Figure - Stakeholders of Vizin Orchestra

The orchestra finances its activities mainly from state grants, grants of the national level Croatian self-government, these are supplemented by fees from contracted performances, as a band they are invited to many ceremonies and weddings all over Hungary, to settlements inhabited by Croats. The local government of Pécs municipality also provides a financial support to its ethnic minorities, but they have to compete with nine other ethnic groups for funding.

Influential individuals

Influential individuals have the ability to induce more people to actively participate in the activities of communities committed to preserve ethnic folk culture or to be involved in more events, programs aiming to enhance ethnic integrity. These people's opinion is respected within their communities and even beyond, their insights are valued, they are capable of expressing the point of view of the local public and usually have some influence in shaping discourses and community opinion. There were outstanding influential personalities identified in all four associations who were perceived as accepted leaders and members of their own organisational communities, their local societies, also well-known and respected by the wider Croatian community in Baranya/Baranja. Namely, Antal Kovács tamboura player from Mohács, Antal Vizin, founder of Vizin Orchestra, István Bubreg, leader of Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club, Duško Topić, secretary of HKUD „Valpovo 1905”, also arts director of several folk dance ensembles in the area, and Tihomir Slivka, former leader of HKUD „Osijek 1862”, also a board member of the Croatian Music Association.

Tangible assets

The research focused on folk costumes as tangible assets. Folk costumes are indispensable items of all three ensembles involved in the research project. Our Croatian partners spent the main part of their grant budget on purchasing new costumes for their performers. Through the event performances several distinct folk costume areas were highlighted within Baranya/Baranja.

Folk Costumes that were displayed in the events

All three dance ensemble partners performed two choreographies per program during the events. The folk costumes worn during the choreographies will be presented below. The first event took place in Mohács. The ensemble of HKUD „Valpovo 1905” was represented by 30 members and performed Valpovo and Baranja dances. The Valpovo men’s folk costume consisted of a white shirt, vest, white trousers with fringes, scarf, hat and boots. The Valpovo women’s costume consists of a red skirt, apron, petticoat, braid, red waistcoat, tulle scarf, lace collar, ducat necklace, flower decorations on the head, white socks and black shoes. Elements of the Baranjese male costume: white or coloured shirt, decorated waistcoat, shawl, white linen trousers, hat and „tshizma”. Components of the Valpovo women’s costume include embroidered dress, woven apron, plaited headband, red socks and stockings. The ensemble of HKUD „Osijek 1862” performed dances from Slavonia and the Valpovo region. Their Valpovo female folk costume consists of traditional female folk robes from Bizovac, silk shirt with wide sleeves that is covered with silk scarf decorated with gold embroidery. On top of even five underskirts goes pleated skirt and apron. Feet are covered with knitted socks and sandals with gold embroidery, and wreath on the head. Parts of traditional folk robes for men: Pleated shirt with traditional lace (šlingana košulja), pleated pants with traditional lace and vest. Traditional shoes and a hat. A Slavonian women’s folk costume emphasizes an embroidered dress from linen, pleated, red head scarfs and weaved apron. Head covered with weaved scarf. Traditional shoes. The men’s folkwear includes pleated shirt with traditional lace, pleated pants with traditional lace and vest. Traditional shoes and a hat. Mohács Shokats Club, the host ensemble performed Bunievats and Shokats dances. Bunievats girl’s costume included: character shoes, Bunievats shirt, Bunievats dress, apron, vest. Elements of men’s costume: leather boots, black riding trousers, white men’s Bunievats shirt, waistcoat.



61. Figure - HKUD „Valpovo 1905”



62. Figure - HKUD „Osijek 1862”



63. Figure - Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club



The second event was hosted by the HKUD „Valpovo 1905” association. They prepared three choreographies, which differed from their repertoire performed at the previous event. Their set of choreographies came from three regions, Bizovac, Vrlika and Brodsko Posavlje. The male parts of the Bizovac costume are trousers with a blue belt, a white shirt with gold embroidery, a vest of different colours, a hat and sandals. The elements of the women’s costume are head wreath, collar, ducats, red ribbon, silk scarf with fringes, wide bracelet, apron, skirt, coloured socks, slippers decorated with gold and leather. Men’s folk costume from Vrlika consists of the following parts: gold embroidered shirt, crocheted waistcoat with embroidery, jacket, trousers, braided belt, braided socks, black embroidered hat and sandals. Womenswear components: red embroidered shirt, waistcoat, red belt, hat, scarf, apron woven from variegated wool, knitted socks and sandals. The men’s costume in Slavon consists of a white shirt, waistcoat, velvet trousers, hat and a „tshizma” (boot). Women’s clothing lists an embroidered dress, a woven apron, socks, slippers and a shawl. HKUD „Osijek 1862” introduced dances from Posavina and Baranja. Parts of women’s traditional folk costumes from Baranja: Skirt and weaves wool apron. Braids on head and red socks and ankle socks. Parts of the man’s traditional folk robes: skirt, pants, vest, neck scarf, boots on feet. Parts of the women’s folk robes from Posavine: Skirt and apron from red wool. Corals around neck. Hair decorated with braids containing red bows or head ornament. Traditional shoes. The parts of the men’s costumes: Linen shirt, pants, red vest, traditional shoes. By Mohács Shokats Club local dances were performed. The parts of the women’s Shokats costume: high five, petticoat, casual Shokats top skirt, casual Shokats apron, short sleeve white Shokats shirt. Elements of men’s Shokats costume: Shokats bocskor, ordinary Shokats pants, Shokats shirt, straw hat.



64. Figure - HKUD „Valpovo 1905”



65. Figure - HKUD „Osijek 1862”



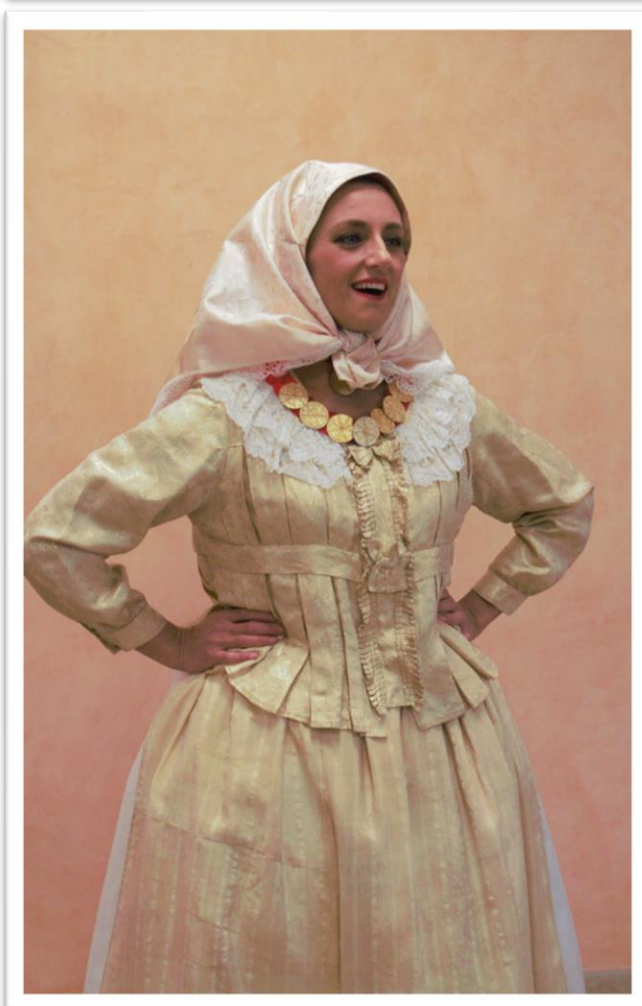
66. Figure - Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club



The third event took place in Osijek. HKUD „Valpovo 1905” prepared for a Baranja chronography, which was also previously performed in Mohács and brought a new one from the Valpovo area. The elements of men’s folk costume for the new choreography are white shirt, vest, white trousers and a „tshizma”. The elements of the women’s costume are red skirt, apron, petticoat, red waistcoat, shawl, lace collar, floral decorations, white socks and black shoes. HKUD „Osijek 1862” performed a choreography already listed in former venues. Mohács Shokats Club performed local dances, their costume was a festive Shokats costume, the women’s folk costume contained a bow tie, a stocking with a bell, a petticoat, a velvet top skirt, a woven apron, an embroidered sequined shirt. The men’s costume included: leather boots, decorated sock pants, white sock shirt, decorated waistcoat, embroidered shirt front, decorated black hat.



67. Figure - HKUD „Valpovo 1905”



68. Figure - HKUD „Osijek 1862”



69. Figure - Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club

The fourth and last event was held in Pécs on 1 October 2021. The Valpovo association had to come with a choir because of the epidemic situation, they were in Valpovo folk costume while singing. The ensembles of Osijek and Mohács also danced choreographies that were mentioned at previous events.



70. Figure - HKUD „Valpovo 1905” and HKUD „Osijek 1862”



71. Figure - HKUD „Osijek 1862”



72. Figure - Mohács Shokats Corresponding Club



Locations, buildings

Locations, buildings are also tangible assets. The research project identified some that play influential role in the preservation of Croatian cultural heritage.

Deák Square, Mohács: The Deák Square in Mohács is a large, partly paved and partly grassy area. At the eastern corner there is the Heroes' Monument, a four-column gate-shaped monument for the dead of the two world wars. Opposite, in the centre, there is a fountain, which was not filled with water during the event. It contained benches for the public to sit on. A covered stage was set up between the fountain and the monument. Next to it, on two sides, were the stalls of the flea market. The performers were changing and preparing for the performance in the cinema next to the square. The open space made it easy for many people to fit comfortably in the square.

Prandau-Normann Castle, Valpovo: The castle was built in the mid-1400s. It has a residential tower, a chapel, an economic building, an inner courtyard and a museum (the museum is unfortunately not in operation today). We entered the inner courtyard through a bridge and a large gate, where the stage was set up for the event, with chairs in front of it. On the arrival of the partners, the hosts escorted the members to the castle buildings where they could change and get ready to perform. The setting and the open air provided a pleasant atmosphere for the event.

Arts Centre, Valpovo: Musicians and dancers hold their rehearsals, and store their instruments, and folk costumes in this building. The centre has an indoor stage and an auditorium where performances are held. The building is also a good place for members to spend time together after rehearsals thanks to the communal spaces. The centre is a recently renovated modern space.

The Mill of Osijek²⁹: The mill was built within the framework of the Mill Road project, which, in addition to presenting technical and historical curiosities, aims to show the common history and cultural solidarity of the people of the region and contributes to strengthening cultural tourism between the Croatian municipality of Osijek-Baranja and the Hungarian County of Baranya. In the middle of the mill there is a huge wheel that rotates the building, is free to walk around. Project participants were welcomed here, hosts played music and offered drinks and pastries.

Osijek Event Centre: The building is located in a small park area. There was no built-in stage on site, the event was held in a conference room with built-in seating. Upon entering the building, there is a large hallway that open into various rooms. On the ground floor, there is the conference room where the performance took place, on the first floor there are different rooms designated for the performers to prepare. After the event, the dinner was held for the participants in the hall.

Miroslav Krleža School Centre: The integrated school centre runs a kindergarten, a primary school, a high school, a dormitory, it contains a large courtyard and a canteen. The programme took place in the auditorium of the building. There was no built-in stage,

²⁹ Eszéken található a legnagyobb vízimalom Horvátországban. (2015). Turizmus.com - A turizmus forrása. <https://turizmus.com/utazas-kozlekedes/eszeken-talalhato-a-legnagyobb-vizimalom-horvatorszagban-1133172> (Date of access: 2020.10.22.)

the chairs for spectators were placed in front of the dance floor. The stage area was fenced off with plants and autumn ornaments. In the classrooms, which were close to the auditorium, the performers could change. The hosts welcomed their guests with music and pastries. The dinner for the participants was held in the canteen.

Intangible assets

Intangible cultural heritage contributes to strengthening ethnic communities across borders and encourages mutual respect for other ethnicities of the area. More manifestations of intangible cultural heritage were examined during the research project: folk music, folk dance specially characteristic for the area, the commitment of communities in the examined cultural organisations how they practice, perform and transmit values to their local communities, to the wider Croatian community in both Croatia and Hungary. All ensembles introduced before, represent inherited traditions from the past that they mediate to older generations to strengthen their Croatian identity through shared memories and pass on to younger generations in order to build commitment and identity through the newly acquired and shared knowledge and skills. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) lists all activities detected both during the preparation, and the event elaboration periods of the research project: performing arts, knowledge (historical roots, customs, interpretations) and skills (songs, choreographies, traditional craftsmanship).

Songs

Two Croatian folk songs from Hungary that were performed during the events represent intangible cultural assets of Baranya/Baranja cross-border land.

„Holnap megyek zabkaszálni” (Tomorrow I’m going to mow oats field with a scythe)

This melody originates from the Drava river area, it was recorded in Tótújfalu by the famous folk song collector Tihamér Vujicsics in 1954. The real curiosity of the short, eight-cadenced tune is its lyrics. The song is divided into two verses, with four lines per verse. The first line is in Hungarian, the second in Croatian and so alternately until the end of the song. Lines in different languages are to be interpreted together. The lyrics of the song, in Hungarian and in Croatian:

Holnap megyek zabkaszálni,
sutra pojdem vezat.
Ha még egyszer ott talállak,
onda ću te svezat.

Befűtöm a kemencémet,
tamo ću te bacit'
Ha tudsz szépen könyörögni,
onda ću te pustit'.

This short song is a good example of how ethnic groups living side by side affect each other's culture. In this case, the Hungarian influence affected the folk song of the Croats along the Drava. Among the six regions inhabited by Croats in Hungary, mainly the Drava river area provides evidence of this mutual dynamics. Croatian dances through the Drava river area, called 'Križanje', is a dance similar to „ugrós” (jumping) with paired and cross steps. Another, even more unique example of the relationship between cultures is that „boot-

knocking” appears exclusively in the dances of the Croats living in the Drava river area in Hungary, which is clearly a Hungarian influence.



Tončikino kolo

During the interviews recorded during the events, Zoltán Vízvári, the leader of the Vizin orchestra, highlighted the following melody as a defining and characteristic piece of the orchestra's program. This piece was added to the orchestra's repertoire in Mohács and was performed more times during the event series. The song is a newly adapted melody with Serbian origin. The original title of the song: "Stara vlajna". The name on it is familiar in the region - mainly in the vicinity of Mohács - is derived from the famous prime tamboura player of Mohács, Antal Kovács - "Tonči". It is no coincidence that he was nicknamed the "mali vrag" (little devil) even in Vojvodina - this indicated his unique virtuosity. The piece attached below preserved by sound recording was named after him. In sum, both songs serve as examples of the fact that the traditions and elements of cultures of peoples living side by side in the Carpathian Basin have been and are in a dynamic relationship with each other to this day and mutually enrich each other.

Social impact assessment, people's perception

The preservation of identity is an even more important factor in the survival of the small communities we study. An excellent practical means of doing this is to learn about folk culture, to preserve, disseminate and possibly re-introduce traditions back to a community. It is important, however, to distinguish between them on the basis of the socio-cultural context in which they live. Thus, in our case too, although we are looking at the relationship between Croatian folk culture and communities in all cases, we must distinguish between Croatian communities in Hungary and those in the mother country. The Croatian population in Hungary is scattered over a large area, living in island-like blocks in the countryside bordering the mainland. As a result, the cultural habits, traditions, folk music, dances, songs, costumes and dialects of the different regions differ from one another and are quite colourful.

For the small local communities, mainly living in villages, national programmes, local attractions and events dealing with different folk cultures are of particular importance. Sometimes they are the last link between the past values and the present of a community. Generally speaking, looking at national trends, these events are attended by a higher proportion of older people. A possible reason for this may be that the music, dances and songs seen choreographed and performed on stage have been organic part of the everyday life of the elderly previously. For younger age groups, the level of attendance is lower, as the level of active involvement is, but it is important to note that this can vary from community to community, as exemplified by the Shokats Circle in Mohács, which also surfaces among the partners. Among a narrower group of young adults, a renewed sense of identity can be observed - most notably in families with young children, where children are enrolled in national education, thus formally encountering the dominant language and culture. The primary aim of Croatian cultural events in Hungary is to preserve identity based on culture and the common use of language, building on local communities and strengthening the sense of belonging of the entire Croatian community in Hungary. It is an opportunity for members of the community to re-live their own culture (especially for older people), not letting it fade. For the younger generations, a process of

re-learning is taking place. It is also a targeted process of acquaintance and networking between regions and Croatian ethnic groups. The will and activities to preserve and re-introduce traditions and cultural values are also supported with commitment at state and national political level. In the mainland, the relationship between cultural preservation and communities is different from the grassroots level. While in our country, Croatian culture is just one of many, beyond the border all layers of folk culture are a natural means of cultivating the nation's identity, self-esteem and self-valuation. Small communities, even small villages, preserve their unique cultural heritage. This is a deep-rooted process: folk costumes, folk music, folk songs, folk dances and even sacrality are all present on these occasions. Together, these can provide a sense of identity at national level that, given Croatia's recent history as a young nation-state, is much needed by the community.

Project effects: vulnerabilities and gains

Immediate effects of the research project were that the four association involved have even tighter relations both in cooperation in artistic performances and as members of a wider Croatian community across borders. All are located not more than 50 kms from the borderline between Croatia and Hungary. This enabled frequent personal contacts during the preparation depending on the epidemic regulations. Main beneficiaries of the project were local Croatians who had access to the event series on Croatian heritage of folk music and dance across borders, so Croatian communities and local communities in Hungary were brought closer. Risk factors were identified with partner associations which are nonprofit organisations from the cultural sector with relatively low annual budgets that made it difficult for them to provide advanced payments for the project events even if they were refunded in the end of the project. This kind of risk was highly dependent on the annual budget of the associations. This problem affected especially the Croatian ensembles. Further risk factor was the number of visitors at the events and workshops as all of them were in vulnerable position with the constantly changing national epidemic regulations in both countries. Fortunately, publicity channels and social capital of all participating organisations helped to reach a relatively high number of visitors.

Long revealing effects may benefit from the growing interest of events related to Croatian cultural heritage and also a growing level of acknowledgement of the professional expertise that needs to underpin these events. As this study book is written in English, the whole research project can be placed in a wider, global context through the prevailing of values and the insight for comparisons with other cross-border lands.



73. Figure - Figure Final circle in Pécs

Educational film

For educational purposes, findings of the research needed to be interpreted in a more understandable, still complex, audiovisualised form, too. That reason led to an educational film based on the study book.

Language and target audience

The educational film was prepared in three languages with subtitles: 1. Croatian – as the focus of the book is on Croatian cultural heritage, overwhelming part of participants, interviewees were Croatian citizens or people with Croatian identity. Furthermore, the film was prepared primarily for young students living in Hungary and studying Croatian language and adults living in Hungary and having not regular access to cultural information in Croatian. The educational film itself provides authentic Croatian both for learners and Croatian speaking viewers. 2. Hungarian – as most Croats living in Baranya county on the Hungarian side have already lost their native language due to assimilation, for them information also available in Hungarian is useful for understanding both in sound materials and in subtitles. Besides, there are many Hungarians, especially in Baranya county who are interested in Croatian folk arts and do not speak Croatian. This way the film serves both educational and cultural sensitivity goals. 3. English – as language of the project and also for cultural sensitivity goals as English being a universal language provides accessibility globally for those who do not speak the languages of the region but are interested in the cultural heritage of Baranya /Baranja as a cross-border landscape.

Structure

Aspects in forming the structure of the educational film were: 1. Timing – has an important role in education. A film has to be tailored for lecture time units, that needs time both for the teaching material, our film in this case, and time for processing and understanding. Therefore, we aimed to create 20-30 minutes video materials suitable for a 45 minutes lecture used in the Hungarian education system to save enough time for discussion and interpretation. The film was prepared in three versions (in three languages) with slightly different time durations, all within 25-26 minutes. 2. Representativity – as the project has followed the principle of representativity since the beginning by involving two cultural associations from Hungary and two from Croatia, it was important in the editing phase to provide proportional appearances for all four associations both in the event programs and in the interviews. 3. Storyline – in educational films there is a need to produce an easy-to-follow structure with more clearly separated units, a linear storytelling and emphasis, sometimes repetition of more important information. In order to satisfy these needs, the film was structured in two units: in the first unit the the programs of the events were presented in time order while in the second unit background information gained floor – conditions of sound technique, handling the pandemic, insights of rehearsals, reflections from performers on how they prepared for the events and they felt themselves during the events. All these interviewees were already



familiar for the audience from the first unit. 4. Dynamism – there are special techniques to raise and also to maintain the attention of the audience. For this reason, the length of program units had to be cut. Each events contained two performances of four performers, so the four events with eight subunits of performances had only 5-10 seconds to keep proportionality. As it was also important to provide some extra content for educational and professional reasons, the second unit consisted of mixed interviews containing special information on the programs, the contributing associations and the pandemic and also, personal reflections from the participants inducing motivation and emotional connection.

Content

Aspects in the selection of contents were: 1. Cast of the film – it is important to deploy as many participants of the project as possible who contributed in the events to picture the complexity and emphasize the meaningfulness of cultural heritage preserving. Following this aim association leaders, performers, members of technical support were interviewed at all four events. 2. Venues – during the project cultural centres of local Croatian communities were introduced with the aim to raise attention to the role of these venues in cultural activities, and to show their advantages and setbacks for various types of cultural events. 3. Events – all four events were presented in time order from the arrival of the researchers to the event venues till the closure of the events. The documentation of the programs can later serve as reference for future researches, organisation projects in cultural heritage. 4. Sound technique – for performing arts, it is crucial to provide eligible conditions for an optimal perception and experience for both the audience and the performers themselves. We intended to introduce different conditions and their technical solutions. 5. Intangible elements of Croatian cultural heritage – all three ensembles and the orchestra deployed a wide spectrum of melodies, dances and costumes from the sub-regions of both parts of Baranya/Baranja reaching out to further Croatian-speaking territories of Hungary to provide as full list of special folk arts of the region as possible. 6. Cultural and professional information – the aim of the film was to introduce special cultural information on Croatian folk art, to document the present state of cultural heritage preserving ways and methods, to inform the broader public about Croatian cultural heritage of the region in a cross-border perspective and to promote those associations whose mission is to preserve artistic and cultural heritage, the living customs of Croatian communities of Baranya/Baranja cross-border landscape.





Academic framework for the research

Introducing CASSI

The College of Advanced Studies on Social Inclusion (CASSI) – as it is known today – was (re)established in 2016. Our values are the same as before: we focus on social inclusion, anti-discrimination and equal opportunity, but on new advanced levels. Our society concentrates more on shaping attitudes of younger generations by using varied methodological tools. Our main goal is to introduce the issues of disadvantaged groups or marginal communities and contribute to forming attitudes and behaviours towards inclusion regarding these vulnerable groups heavily using interactive forms and techniques of edutainment.

Our organisation consists of subunit research groups, working on multiple projects as equal partner contributors or – sometimes – by following the advice of the project leader. Those who are newcomers are helped by our mid- and long-term members. They help in pilot testing, picking up roles in experiments (such as being game masters in board game researches) or brainstorming. As of today, we operate seven research groups in different fields of research.

Members of the research group for the interrogation of Croatian culture in the borderland of Baranya/Baranja are members of Croatian cultural organisations of Pécs at the same time, so they are actors pursuing the cultivation of Croatian traditions and besides this they have a growing academic and professional knowledge in community organising, a sharper view on the process of preserving culture



74. Figure – Partners meeting in Osijek Sugar Factory

Their aim and short term perspective of the project was to extend and strengthen their knowledge.

Name Máté, Balogh

Degree, affiliation

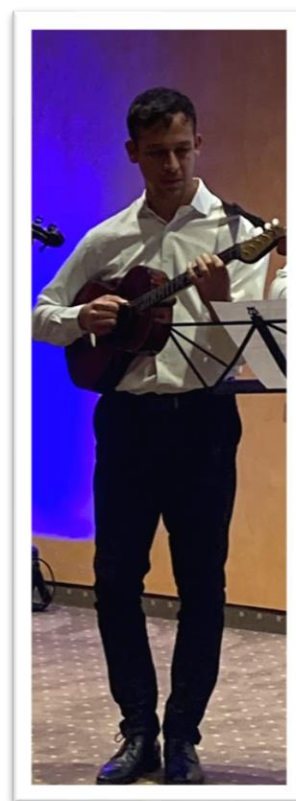
Community organiser, BA

Research Field

Croatian cultural heritage, especially in the reflection of folk music

Role in the research project

Keeping in touch with partners, planning forms, interviewing the members of our partners, multilingual communication during the project (in Croatian, Hungarian and English), documenting background tasks, cooperation in the making of the study book, participation in meetings and meetups, translation of project documentation and other materials to Croatian and Hungarian, cooperating in the making of the promo film and the educational film, assemble of reports, presenting accomplishments.



75. Figure -
Máté Balogh



Name Rebeka Veronika, Révész

Degree, affiliation

Community organiser, BA;
human development major

Research Field

HR, ethnic cultures, social sciences, psychology

Role in the research project

Keeping in touch with partners, planning forms, interviewing the members of our partners, multilingual communication during the project (in Croatian, Hungarian and English), documenting background tasks, content generating for the CHP Facebook page and communicating with the marketing team, cooperation in the making of the study book, participation in meetings and meetups, translation of project documentation and other materials to Croatian, cooperating in the making of the promo film and educational film, assemble of reports, presenting accomplishments.



76. Figure - Rebeka Veronika Révész

Name Zoltán Gergely, Kóczyán

Degree, affiliation

Photographer; Ethnology, BA;
Library and Information Science, BA;
Library Science, MA

Research Field

photo history, history of pharmacy,
genealogy research, press folklore

Role in the research project

Literature review, photo and video-
documentation of events, photo and
video editing, documentation and
digitalisation of recorded materials, cooperating in the making of the promo film and
educational film, assemble of reports, cooperation in the making of the study book,
participation in meetings and meetups, writing materials for the historical background
of Baranya/Baranja region.



77. Figure - Zoltán Gergely Kóczyán



Name István Ábrahám, Bálint

Degree, affiliation

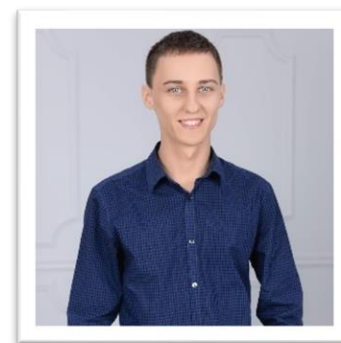
Library and Information Science, BA;
Commerce and Marketing, BSc

Research Field

sensitivity training design, edutainment

Role in the research project

Preparations for meetings and meetups, documentation and digitalisation of recorded materials, editing the e-book and online platforms related to the project. Translation of research materials, coordinating workflow. Altering output in correlation with the leader of the project.



78. Figure -
István Ábrahám Bálint

Name Inez Zsófia Koller, Ph. D.

Degree, affiliation

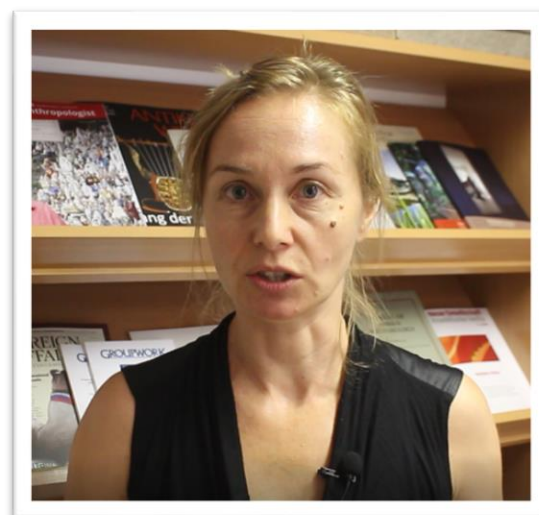
Assistant professor, University of Pécs,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
Institute of Human Development and
Cultural Sciences,
leader of the College of Advanced Studies on
Social Inclusion

Research Field

Philosophical and social aspects of groups
and communities, ethnicity, inclusion,
discrimination

Role in the research project

Leader of research team, planning, written and photo content editing of the study book, audio, language and video content editing and supervising of promo film and educational film, supervising students' contributions: interviews, written materials, thesis works, organising and leading dissemination activities: webinars, workshops, conference, organise and lead cooperation with research members, partners and other contributors: offline and online meetings, field trips, cultural events.



79. Figure - Inez Zsófia Koller, Ph. D.



Cultural Education Programs of the Institute of Human Development and Cultural Sciences at University of Pécs

There is a constant challenge for higher education institutions to cope with social-economical changes and provide education programs that prepare new professionals for knowledge and skills the society and the labour market both require and can place in their systems. The community organiser (BA), cultural heritage studies (MA) and cultural mediation (MA) education programs run by the Department of Cultural Science, Institute for Human Development and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, at University of Pécs aim exactly to educate people for this reason. While, on the other hand, cultural associations that aim to preserve folk culture by continuous artistic representation, need to recruit committed and competent members who have the desperate desire to do something for maintaining cultural institutions and associations and also are capable for background activities like organising, fund raising, financial monitoring.

The Bachelor education program of Community Organiser and the Master education program of Cultural Mediation require case studies on cultural events and/or cultural groups, surveys on cultural communities, project designs of cultural events, strategy analysis of cultural institutions/organisations. The Institute of Human Development and Cultural Studies has been continuously establishing joint researches and workshops on cultural heritage, such as the ERASMUS Intensive Programme lead by Teréz Kleisz on the insights of cultural heritage landscapes, European cultural management policies and practices for the creative use of cultural heritage; the research on cultural activities, cultural mediation and community life of nationalities through a representative survey of ethnic local governments and ethnic civil organizations of Baranya county lead by Zsuzsa Koltai and supported by the Hungarian National Institute of Culture; or this joint international research lead by Inez Zsófia Koller and supported by the cross-border co-operation of the European Union's Interregional Relations Program. Our town, Pécs is home for several ethnic communities, moreover it has developed an extensive network with neighbouring countries, especially with Croatia which is the closest country to Pécs (within 50kms). These conditions enable to enrich the profile of the education program with an ethnicity aspect as well as our graduated students will work at a good chance at local or county-level (Baranya) cultural institutions of ethnic communities or will be involved in cultural policy making.

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Appendix

Tončičino kolo

♩ = 84

Bis. I

Bis. II

Brac. I

Brac. II

Brac. III

Celo

Bugarija

Berde

A E E7 A A A7 Dm H7 E E7 A E

10

Bis. I

Bis. II

Brac I

Brac II

Brac III

Celo

Bugarija

Berde

19

D.C.

3

Bis. I

Bis. II

Brac I

Brac II

Brac III

Celo

Bugarija

Berde

27

Bis. I

Bis. II

Brac I

Brac II

Brac III

Celo

Bugaria

Berde

E E7 Am Am E E7 Am Am E Am E

36

Bis. I

Bis. II

Brac I

Brac II

Brac III

Celo

Bugaria

Berde

Am Am F E E7 Am Am E Am E E7 Am

45

Bis. I

Bis. II

Brac I

Brac II

Brac III

Celo

Bugaria

Berde

Am F E E7 Am E H H7 E F# H H7 E

54

Bis. I

Bis. II

Brac I

Brac II

Brac III

Celo

Bugarija

Berde

Chord markings in Bugarija staff: H, F#, F#7, H, E, H, H7, E.

60

Bis. I

Bis. II

Brac I

Brac II

Brac III

Celo

Bugarija

Berde

Harmonic markings in Celo staff: H, H7, E, H, F#, F#7, H

Harmonic markings in Bugarija staff: H, H7, E, H, F#, F#7, H

Bis. I

Tončikino kolo

13

♩ = 84

25 D.C.

37

49

57

Bis. II

Tončíkino kolo

Handwritten musical score for "Tončíkino kolo". The score is written on five staves, each beginning with a treble clef and a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The tempo is marked as $\text{♩} = 84$. The piece is divided into measures, with measure numbers 13, 25, 36, 48, and 56 indicated at the start of their respective staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Trills are marked with 'x' above the notes. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a key signature change to two flats (Bb, Eb).

Brac I

Tončikino kolo

$\text{♩} = 84$

13

25 D.C.

37

49

57

Brac II

Tončikino kolo

$\text{♩} = 84$

13

25 D.C.

37

49

57

Brac III

Tončikino kolo

$\text{♩} = 84$

14

25 D.C.

39

49

57

Celo

Tončikino kolo

$\text{♩} = 84$



13



D.C.

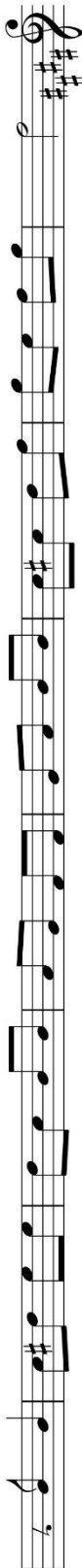
25

8



12

49



57



Bugarija

Tončikino kolo

A ½ = 84

12 H H7 E H F# F#7 H E H H7 E F#7 H

23 F# F#7 H D.C. Am E E7 Am E E7 Am E E7 Am

34 E Am E Am Am F E E7 Am Am E Am E E7 Am Am

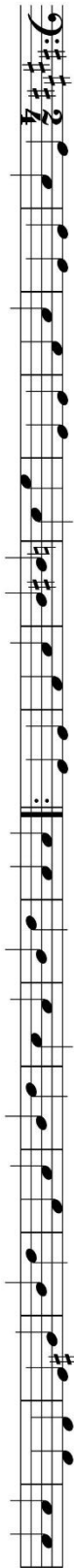
46 F E E7 Am E H H7 E F#7 H H7 E H

55 F# F#7 H E H H7 E F#7 H H7 E F#7 H

Berde

Tončičino kolo

$\text{♩} = 84$

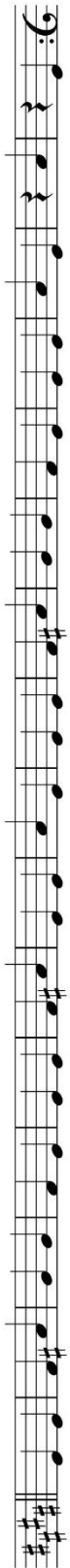


18

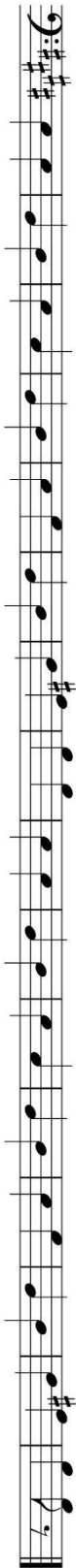
D.C.



33



49



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This project is co-funded by the European Union and implemented through the INTERREG V-A Hungary-Croatia Crossborder Co-operation Programme 2014-2020.

A cross-border region where rivers connect, not divide