Abstract: The study, as part of the preparatory research of the region in the Open-air Museum of Ethnography, is a short summary of the ideas relating to a building plot from Hétfalu in Transylvania. The planned exhibition is not the scene and tool of the transmission of static knowledge but it provides the opportunity of a dynamic discourse relating to existing knowledge. Along the topic of traffic the presentation of the culture in Hétfalu is appropriate to answer recent questions such as identity preserved in a multi-ethnic environment or the cultural marks sustained even in a diaspora which, in our present day, can carry serious conflicts.

Keywords: Transylvania Hétfalu, open-air museum exhibition, interactive presentation solutions, traditional traffic and modernisation, the problem of ethnicity and identity in a museum environment

The more and more precisely shaping conception relating to the planned building complex in Transylvania1 and research supported by the National Scientific Research Basic Programs2 as part of the development program of the Open-air Museum of Ethnography in Szentendre is a Csángó3 plot from Hétfalu. In order to select the buildings and authentically furnish them and as the preparation of the exhibition to present the changing wagon lifestyle in the first third of the 1900s the workers of the Museum have done field work at the scene several times.4

1 The writings about the details of the conceptions are as follows: BALASSA M. 2007 and VASS–BUZÁS 2007 a, 2007b. Iván Balassa M. writes about Csángó people in Hétfalu with the „wagon court” who live on goods transport and make small businesses in his study which sums up the presentation methods about Transylvania. BALASSA M. 2007: 102.


3 Transylvanian Hungarian

The Hungarian population of Hétfalu situated east of Brassó are called “Csángó” by
the flanking Székely people due to their peculiar dialect and traditions. This name is used
for the people in other villages in Barcaság—Barcaújfalu, Krízba, Apáca—and the far-
ther Halmágy and Székelyzsomboor. The Csángó people in Hétfalu are likely to be the de-
scendants of the Hungarians and besenyő people who guarded the fields and passes—e.g.,
Tömősi pass—in Barcaság in the 11th c.7 The original population grew from Hungarians,
that is, Székely people who lived in south Transylvania in the early Árpád era and its basic
stratum formed before or parallel with the final settlement of the Székely population in the
first part of the 13th c.8 Hétfalu used to be royal land. Certain parts of it started to be donated
in the 14th–15th c. then Ulászló II pawned it to the town of Brassó. Following the collapse
of the royal power after the defeat at Mohács Hétfalu was not re-exchanged and despite
the opposition Brassó relegated the population of the border guard village which used to
have chartered rights into serfdom in the 16th c.9 The landlordship of the Saxon civil people
meant social, economic and clerical suppression and it left typical traces in the culture of
the Csángó people in Hétfalu, e.g., they pursued Evangelism. A big bulk of the fertile lands
became the possession of the Saxons and, moreover, they gradually became the owners of
the forests as well, therefore minimal territories were left for the settlements, which pro-
vided a rather limited living for the people.10 Having small lands the Csángó people worked
in the flanking Saxon villages and dealt with goods transport.11

The wagon routes of the people in Hétfalu enmeshed the whole of Transylvania
and when doing goods transport their regular destinations were Bukarest, Moldva and
Constantinople through the Carpathian Mountains.12 They took wagons with them to sell in
pieces too. The nearby Brassó was the most industrial and biggest merchant town not only
in Transylvania but, having diversified connections, in a lot larger area. The goods pro-
duced in the region were transported by the wagon drivers in Hétfalu in distances relating
to the commerce in Levante.13 The fundamental living of the people in Hétfalu was farming

5 Four of the originally independent settlements—Bácsfalu, Türkös, Csernátfalu, Hosszúfalu—united and
rapidly became urban under the name of Sácel (Szecsele). Tatrang, Zajzon and Pürkerec are regarded as
„Three Village” as they keep the traditions more dominantly.
6 I do not aim at an identity related analysis of the name „Csángó”, however, I emphasise that its analyti-
cal presentation is important in the regional concept. Some think that the mobile Székely people in Hétfalu
received their name „Csángó” for their wagon lifestyle. Cf. MAGYAR 2011: 285. Unlike other ethnic groups called
„Csángó” the people in Hétfalu are not ashamed of and do not deny their name; it is not diminishing for them.
7 HALÁSZ 1993: 23.
8 The people in Hétfalu have a higher opinion of themselves than other Székely people living in the vicin-
ity who proudly emphasise that „Székely people shitted Hungarians”. The people in Hétfalu look a bit down
9 For the theories relating to this see KÖNCZEI 2009: 34–37.
10 BÚZÁS 2010. The research paid less attention to the farming lifestyle of the people in Hétfalu. This may
be significantly modified by the research relating to the building complex of the museum, e.g., KISS 2011.
11 People in Pürkerec dealt with lime burning and the selling of calcinated lime. HALÁSZ 1993: 25.
The role of the wagon drivers in the shaping of the Hungarian/Székely – Saxon – Romanian ethno-cultural relations was of high importance. The Hungarian and Romanian population of Hétfalu immigrated into Old Romania in the second half of the 19th c., especially after the building of the rail roads in the 1870-80s, following the serious compulsion of the inner, autochthon migration. The Csángó from Hétfalu formed a strong diaspora mainly in Bucharest where they were the major urban transporters with rented cars and taxis until the 1930s and they also worked as servants and maids. Many people from Hétfalu worked at the building sites in Budapest and Bucharest. They used the learnt urban architectural methods and ornamental patterns back at home in Hétfalu. This is why the exhibition in the museum chose the changing of lifestyles following the building of railroads and the modification of the traditional craftsmanship in Brassó as its highlighted topic.

The ethnographic-historical literature finds the peculiar culture of the small region distinct and typical. Scholars regard the people in Hétfalu as the most important wagon drivers in the Carpathian basin as a whole. It was of high importance in the theoretical foundation of the settlement concept of the museum that the culture of Hétfalu was effected by Romanian and strong Saxon influence for centuries. The relating research emphasise the language island feature of Hétfalu. It is very important to reveal the features of the Csángó identity which remained despite the strong influences. The fact that the people belonged to the Saxon Evangelic organisation meant Saxon clerical customs and liturgy and, until the middle of the 19th c., German sermons and Saxon social institutes, e.g., reading circles. Due to the near location of Brassó the people learnt the patterns of the rational organisation of the economy too. Brassó meant an important economic background as the market of goods and services. The traditional jobs made the people open for the cultural effects and fashions. In connection with the rapidly growing civic lifestyle researchers highlighted that the proportion of the literate population was the highest among the Hungarians in Transylvania in 1873 (80-90 per cent). It is exemplary how the positive and negative effects were assessed and how well the possibilities were utilised for the community.

Approaching from the roots and rites of the ethnicity towards the cultural practice of every day and the existence of ethnic awareness the museology research deals with the most significant element of today’s European research paradigms. It is appreciated that
ethnography or European ethnology can be regarded as a science of identity. The local, regional, denominational and social identities are all part of the self-identity of the individuals, families and bigger communities. Based on the relating research we can claim that customs which bind and symbolise communities are forming even today; earlier traditions are reviving and there is a demand to make new traditions too. The open-air museums can not only document but practically form these processes.

**GENERAL FEATURES OF HÉTFALU AND ITS ARCHITECTURE**

Scroll maps have long been appreciated sources of historical and folk architectural research. To see the historical change of the settlement of Hétfalu we had better use the maps of the first military survey between 1769 and 1773. Tatrans, Pürkerec and Zajzon show typical set buildings; within the irregular plots beside the freely located residential buildings there are small independent farming buildings too. All the three villages are situated in the valley of creeks and they spread along the widening on the border of the forests. Négyfalú (Four Villages)–Bácsfalu, Türkös, Csernátfalú, Hosszúfalú–located originally along the road at the foot of the mountain used to be set. During their development they built streets along the busy road. On the maps of the first military survey several buildings perpendicular to the street are without front gardens. Every village had and Evangelic church. The map also shows relatively big orchards on the flat areas flanking the villages.

According to Balázs Orbán, the revolution and war of independence in 1848 meant a sharp borderline in the architecture of the villages. He explains the change with the destruction and the following reconstruction but he forgets to mention the effect of the serf liberation. He says that the buildings of the serfs before the war had harrow walls and two or rarely three rooms. The eaves were behind the living room with one window to the street and they were used for cooking and the third room was the pantry. The field work revealed that this type of building is very rare today. As the concept attempted to avoid a typical error of open-air museums concerning archiving, a more modern type of building was selected to be displayed.

According to the maps of the second military survey in 1869-73, the earlier orchards were replaced by streets in Négyfalú. The building form peculiar to the villages follows the main road. The villages widened towards the southern valleys too. The change was less typical for Háromfalú where they extended the buildings towards the streets with three rooms in the living area by the end of the 19th c. The eaves of the buildings retained the function of the kitchen but the size of the pantry grew that of the living room. This period earmarks a fourth room behind the living area—a storage place which was open to the yard. The research shows that the buildings were made of stone along the main streets by the beginning of the 20th c. The plaster of the facades and battlements were richly orna-

26 Juhász 2011: 345.
27 Buzás 2010: 268.
28 Orbán 1871. 139.
29 Buzás 2010: 268.
mented. The facades had two windows in Hétfalu at the beginning of the 1900s. As the influence of the qualified urban architecture of Brassó, the less well-off families had small wooden two-room buildings with Saxon type roof and wood battlements. 30

The Csángó gate in Négyfalú is distinct from the carved gates of other Transylvanian areas. 31 Unlike the Székely gate with a pigeon prop the Csángó small gate is independent from the big gate which opens into two parts. 32 This type of the small gate, which we intend to display, was popular as long as the middle of the 20th c. 33

Due to the fact that Hétfalu was the centre of the wagon drivers auxiliary buildings for the special functions had to be built and used. Big sheds were made for the drawing animals and the fodder and, as the inner plots were small, the sheds had two levels. 34

Several buildings with harrow walls and plastered facades following the stone buildings were made in the 1900s. After the turn of the century porches appeared in this region too, widening the front facade. The width of the plot made it possible that two rooms were built towards the street in Négyfalú from the 1910-20s. 35 The process of civic change can be traced in walking streets or water sewages at the very beginning of the 20th c. 36

The ethnic change of the settlements can be traced in the building structure and the type of buildings in the first third of the 20th c. Romanians settled in certain distinct parts of the villages and they partially copied the local architectural traditions and they adapted certain details to their own traditions. This way crosses started to spread on the battlements and the top of the roofs. The standard patterns on the buildings, e.g., plaster ornaments, were of Saxon influence until the middle of the 20th c. During our search for buildings to be displayed open air we discovered typical plaster ornaments in the buildings of Hétfalu where the paired concentric circles were thought to indicate the homes of the former transporters as reminiscents of the wheels. In one place the vents of the stable of Dézső Papp who comes from a transporter family were documented with wheel forms. 37

A new well-documented architectural stage came to being with the change of lifestyle and with the local industrial development and in Brassó. The new buildings were made on the empty plots beside the villages next to the rapidly growing factories. The last two decades have resulted in a rapid architectural change. The traditional architectural image is being eliminated and it is peculiar mainly to Négyfalú which has become a modern town. The changes are perceivable in the architecture of Háromfalú too but their intensity is less dynamic. An especially rapidly changing architectural element is the modernisation of the gates of the residential buildings. More and more iron gates which are produced as serial works have appeared in the last two decades. 38

31 Cf. BALASSA M., 2011.
33 For information indispensable for a faithful reconstruction on the Open-air Museum of Ethnography and the work proceedings of the preparation and the summary of the tools see SERES 1992: 100.
34 BUZÁS 2010: 269.
35 BUZÁS 2010: 270.
37 The informant’s father ordered the form shaping a wheel which is a plaster ornament of a local bricklayer recognised in building sites in Brassó and further sites. KEMECSEI 2010a.
During the preparation of the building complex the ethno-botanic research becomes prevailing at the reconstruction of the former building plots. Vegetable gardens appeared in the homes of Hétfalu though not independently but as part of the orchards. Vegetables were grown mainly in the gardens around the house but certain vegetables were planted in the fields too. The Csángó people in Hétfalu always had orchards. They were generally located in the garden behind the shed but, if the plot was wide enough, trees were planted along the wall flanking the neighbouring building. Flowers were also grown but in very small areas only, mainly in front of the house behind the fence or on the sides of the yard. 39

FEATURES OF THE BUILDINGS IN HÉTFALU

The field works and research camps of the workers of the museum have resulted in a rich architectural database. On the base of the local architectural features the building stock of the planned plot was selected. The runoff and last wave of the wagon driver lifestyle is faithfully displayed through the residential home and two-level shed at the plot to be exhibited.

The residential home is No. 40, Hosszúfalu. 40 According to the date on the special façade it was built in 1881. Its foundation was made of stone. There is a cellar under the first room which looks onto the street. The hatchway opens from the second room, that is, the eaves. There are four narrow recesses in the walls of the cellar. Above the cellar the building of 60 m² is situated with three divisions. The summer beams of the first big room have typical chicelled ornaments. Between the beams there is a demanding cartridge plank ornament. The ornament chiselled into the principal beam records the builders. The first room has 2-2 windows onto the street as well as the yard. The back small room had one window only onto the yard. The side façade in the garden has plaster ornaments around the windows. The frame between the two attick windows retained the names of the builders.

The economic building to be built on the plot is situated at 15, Lajos street in Bácsfalu. 41 It is a storage building built together with a shed. The shed is made of bricks and plastered white. The solidity of the building is provided with wooden frames. The peculiarity of the shed built in 1888 is that there are two brick vents on the 15 cm wide battlements, which verify a highly developed bricklaying technique.

The lower level of the economic building perpendicular to the shed is also brick walled. Originally, it consisted of a stable, an open coach stable and a third room with the function of a pantry. The slab above the stable had two slots to throw the hay down. The bricks in the wall are of big size. The dating–1900–is typical and it is a plaster ornament painted brick colour.

The fence and the gate were also the revelation of thorough research. The gate belong-

40 Open-air Museum of Ethnography – Hungarian Folk Architecture Archives (SZNM-MNÉA)-6158
41 SZNM-MNÉA 6153
The Plot in Hétfalu in the Building Complex of the Open-Air Museum...

ing to 334, Hosszúfalu consists of a traditional covered small gate and an uncovered big gate. Its special value is that its traditional roof structure has entirely remained intact. This is one of the last remaining pieces of the local gates.

THE FEATURES OF THE PLANNED EXHIBITION – THE FURNITURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL HOME

The exhibition of Hétfalu is intentionally concept oriented. The time of furnishing the building as an alternative occasion is adjusted to the faithful time of the local borica custom. According to the research, preceding the Romanian authoritative prohibition the Hungarian people in Hétfalu were allowed to practice the tradition the last time in 1933. The direct antecedent of this last borica, that is, the second day of 1933 is the chosen time of the presentation. The interior displays the time of the rich winter ceremonial circle. The furniture of the room includes the accessories of borica dance besides the everyday and ornamental objects.

To renew the exhibitions of open-air museums we know several methods—manned exhibitions and displays, reconstruction of situations, temporal and thematic expansion and movement towards attraction museums, e.g., the traditional interior exhibitions with modern interpretation methods with the tool stock of the traditional closed exhibitions.

We plan to apply a formerly non-used technical device in the Open-air Museum of Ethnography. Adapting to the recent and hopefully sustainably intense information and electronic processes it is advisable to employ the possibilities of the QR code. The problem of a decade or even century concerning the interior of the exhibitions is that the visitor, facing the static state of the prepared equipment, does not gain any relevant background information and only an impression and mood is generated at the sight of a well-organised exhibition. It is obvious why the interiors do not provide space and possibility for long explanation tables. Due to the methodological limitations of the illumination of the meanings behind the details the displays of open-air museums attempt to console the visitor with the experience of identification. The international practice of the open-air museums can be regarded as an interpretation experiment where films or sound materials help the visitor to recognise the messages of the pure interior. The modern QR code enables a more direct and effective message carrying channel whose application frames in museums are being looked for by international trends as well. The code, placed on either the objects of the interior or the layout sketch, does not disturb the faithful state of the interior. The visitor can read or download the information on the Internet with his own device, the smart telephone and can apply the interactive elements relating to the communication.

If we chose a form more complex than the pure text information, the content accessible with the codes will display a vivid interior with parts of films, for example. With the help of this device the virtual version of living history can be “smuggled” into the

42 SZNM-MNÉA-6162
43 The prohibition featured the early history of borica in the period preceding 1867. About the prohibitions of the Romanian authorities in the middle of the 20th c. see KÖNCZEI 2009. 91–92.
44 BÁRD–BATÁRI 2004: 43.
exhibition. The relating Internet contents are obviously capable of transmitting contents in several languages thus adapting to the needs and demands of foreign visitors. The advantage of the modern technical solution is that the institute can save the costs of the expensive, sensitive and regular maintenance and the playing devices which require regular control and can also get rid of the disturbing sight of monitors. The application of this dynamic tool of interpretation can provide several developing relations not known even today.

The equipment of the building in Hétfalu displaying states in 1933 provides excellent opportunities to present the ethnic and cultural interaction mechanisms. The sources verify the vivid existence of the institution of the genus in the selected period and mainly in Háromfalú. The social role of borica, as a ritual meeting, could be the strengthening of the genus or big family. The objects and documents—calendars, newspapers—referring to the nearly two decades of Romanian authoritative power verify the complexity of the Hungarian-Romanian-German language knowledge and language use.

The complex culture formation can be traced in segments of the changing lifestyle such as clothing in Hétfalu. The interior of the permanent exhibition displays the Saxon peasant-civic clothing which became general by the 20th c. We can excellently document the abandonment of the men’s clothing which was disdained as “oláh” gypsy by the Székely people. The spectacular women’s clothing described by several authors in ethnography is also relating to the Saxon village clothing in Barcaság. The pieces of clothes are common with other Transylvanian Hungarian clothes but they have certain elements not found in this form in Hungarian clothing. These pieces get out of the wardrobes at the time of preparation for the borica dance and they are displayed for the visitors.

The presentation of the women’s clothes provides opportunity to display the reminiscents of the transitory contract work, working as servants in big towns in the first part of the 20th c. They are the luggage, the objects—gifts—taken from Bucharest by a young girl who pays a short visit at home Christmas time; they represent the direct relations with the big town. Thus the state of the disorder while unpacking enables us to see the modern urban clothes and the pieces of the traditional ceremony mixed in the interior. Therefore the interior displays the rich winter and ceremonial folk clothing and the everyday modernising pieces which bear the effects of the Romanian-Saxon clothes. The interpretation “magic weapon” of the personal story-telling can entirely manifest building on the possibilities of the modern tools.

The pieces of furniture in the building can also be featured by the above duality. The folk art in Hétfalu in the 19th c. can be considered as of high value concerning the pieces of furniture and the dishes. The people in Hétfalu had an advanced plank carving industry in the 19th c. Mention must be made that the formation of the features of Csángó furniture was greatly effected by the interaction of the manufacturers and the order makers. This is an area where the wagon driving lifestyle is of high importance as it enabled the learning about distant lands and cultures. The blooming joining industry which was known from

45 KONCZEI 2009. 40.
47 BORSOS 2011: 482.
The second half of the 18th c. was put an end to in the first part of the 20th c. only. The pieces of furniture were taken to other distant settlements of Barcaság and Háromszék. The wagon drivers transported the goods as far as Bulgaria. The well-off peasant families had their walls entirely wooded in their highly decorated rooms from the middle of the 19th c. They had the furniture—beds, bench boxes, bowl-hangers, scarf nails—built together with the wood covering of the walls matching in colours and patterns. The newly-wed Csángó girl took modern shined furniture in the new household instead of painted pieces from the 1900s. The furniture of the kitchen and pantry is also appropriate to present the more and more civic urban kitchen culture. We can especially display the tool stock required for the ceremonial cooking and baking. As in the exhibition period the women in Hétfaalu worked not only as maids but as cooks in Bucharest, it is obvious that the contemporary urban civic kitchen culture was taken into their homes through their transmittance.

THEMES OF THE PLANNED THEMATIC EXHIBITION
– TRAFFIC CULTURE

The most important topic of the exhibition of Hétfaalu is the traditional traffic and vehicle culture and their social effects. The obvious aim of the research which builds on ethnographic fieldwork and the employment of books and archives is to faithfully present the historical features as well as the modernisation processes. Mobility and traffic, besides the direct characterisation of the peculiar societies, transmit global meanings too. They are the most rapidly forming cultural segments and this is the reason why the elaboration and presentation of the learnable lessons are emphasised.

During the preparation phase of the permanent exhibition it is important to harmonise the existing regional exhibitions of the Open-air Museum of Ethnography and the elements of the elaborated concept. Due to this it is justified to harmonise the physically distinct permanent exhibitions of the building complex from Transylvania with the exhibitions which were made even decades ago. The displayable thematic diversity and riches provide an obvious opportunity to minimalise the chances of the obligate repetitions. The regionally organised exhibitions of the Open-air Museum of Ethnography do not enable the display of traffic and transport as much as it is verified due to their importance. The exhibition possibilities of the plots and economy yards have not been utilised enough. And, although the institute possesses a quantitatively impressive collection of the folk animal-driven vehicles compared to other national collections, the majority of the pieces are not displayed for the visitors. This justifies that we are obliged to present the features of the wagon driving centre in the concept of the Transylvanian wagon centre in a complex thematic exhibition.

Adapting to the solutions applied in the last regional displays we plan to have thematic exhibitions in rooms together with interiors in the building from Hétfaalu too. In the big

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48 For the technical solutions of the painting of the furniture in Hétfaalu see SERES 1976: 105–107. This kind of information is indispensable for the making of faithful copies of works relating to the utilisation in the museum.


50 The study summing up the first partial results of the targeted field work: Kemecsi 2010a.
shed we plan to transmit the characteristic information of the wagon driving culture in Hétfalu with the help of touch monitors through an interactive multiple choice quiz game including several age groups, that is, on various levels.

As part of the presentation of the traditional vehicle culture we need to present the parts of the wagon generally used in Hétfalu. The use and function also influenced the supplementary parts of the vehicles. There was a big difference of the weight carriage of the strong transporting vehicles—even 1500 kgs—and the light wagon used at markets—300 kgs.51

The fact that the Csángó people abandoned wagon driving was explained even by the contemporaries that rail traffic enhanced in the 1870-80s. The local transporters carried sand, wood and gravel to short distances from the first decades of the 20th c. The planned permanent exhibition aims at the faithful presentation of this period. It is obvious that the transported goods and the transports themselves affected the features of the used vehicles too. The motorisation and the spread of trucks have practically eliminated short-distance transport since the last three decades of the 20th c. by today.

In the past researchers did not observe the indicators of distinct ethnic differences in the vehicles. A Csángó informant in Hétfalu remembered that „the Romanians painted their wagons green”. As the presentation of the ethnic and identity cultural elements is of high importance in the planned regional permanent exhibition, this type of data is especially relevant.

The biggest shortage of research on transport and traffic is the research of present days connected to the observation of change. There is no study on the invention that mostly modified the use of wagons, that is, the horse cart with a rotating stool in the Transylvanian area either. The effect of the spread of machinery and the modern traffic vehicles on the change of the traditional work order has not been observed by researchers.52 And while the historic change is known, the periodization of the vehicle culture in the earlier periods, in the last few decades which has taken place right before the ethnographers, the documentation and analysis of the change is missing. As partial compensation we plan to present the data of the “modernised rubber-wheel” horse-driven vehicles in Hétfalu and the typical objects as part of the thematic exhibition.

The change of the road conditions obviously modified the features of transport. The time length and the size of the carts primarily depended upon the quality of the roads. This fact verifies the legendary 10-12 horse carts used in Hétfalu in the 19th c. The latest modernisation, the building of the so-called, „stone road” took place in 1955 and it was followed by the rapid appearance of the lighter and faster rubber-wheeled vehicles in Hétfalu too. Rubber wheels were first used with land rovers or as the first tyres of tractors. The appearance of the rubber tyre itself did not modify the size of the wagon but basically influenced the wagon driving job.

It is extremely important to exhibit the typical material reminiscents of the changed vehicle culture in the shed. The exhibition about traffic and vehicles cannot ignore the research and at least partial presentation of the job of the manufacturers—wheel makers and

51 KEMECSI 2010a.
52 Cf. SZILÁGYI 2009. 28–29.
smiths—either. The manufacturers in Hétfalu and the peasants who lived at the selling area jointly formed the typical types of vehicles. The informants in Hétfalu found it important to remember the name of the manufacturers, as the indicator of their hands referring to the solution of certain parts. The knowledge and needs of the local transporters and craftsmen were formed by the traffic experiences in big towns. The people who worked as contract passanger carriers—not only in Bucharest but in Budapest too—transmitted the technical innovations back at home in Hétfalu. The application of more timely metal parts on the vehicles has speeded up in the last few decades. After the factory-made axis and rubber tyres the replacement of other parts is simpler with metal ones instead of the parts made of traditional materials and manufactured with traditional methods. Thus turners, locksmiths and mechanics all take part in the repairing of the vehicles.

The several types of wood are also important for the vehicles manufactured in Hétfalu. To present them we use interactive elements for the visitors. The research of the drawing methods of the vehicles and animal harnessing themselves are relating to a literature of a whole library. The international literature too deals with the topic of harnessing jointly with the vehicles. The objects of the tool stock of harnessing are included in the permanent exhibitions of the Open-air Museum of Ethnography as part of the interior, but their application and the features of their use are not displayed and the knowledge of the visitors is not related to the objects. We cannot rely on the “aha, yes!” feeling which was usual decades ago in connection with the tools of harnessing. The rapid decrease of carthorses can be observed in Hétfalu just like in other Transylvanian areas or in Moldva and in Hungary. Of the elements of the then everyday knowledge the horse guiding words, typical animal names and the techniques of training have practically disappeared. The thematic exhibition—emphasising the features of the linguistic and ethnical environment—is also appropriate for the modern transmittance of this information.

Besides the objects displayed in the shed the copies of the faithful tools are also important. The visitors can try these objects interactively with the help of photos, descriptions and perhaps a film when mantling or dismantling a life size light type wagon puzzle.

ALTERNATIVE PRESENTATION – BORICA DANCE

From the point of view of museum utilisation it is indispensable to reveal the cultural features besides the direct display of several topics. Science paid attention to the folk art traditions of the people in Hétfalu long ago. The presentations in the museum, alternative programs and museum pedagogy topics can rely on a rich knowledge background. The dialect, fairy tales, children’s toys and games and songs carry valuable characteristics, and, due to the relative enclosure of the area, they have retained the old elements of

54 Cf. Herrmann 1901, Kolumbán 1903, Horger 1908; Seres collected an especially rich and usable material in 1984.
the Hungarian folk culture. We know of detailed descriptions of their folk traditions like Gergely-járás, green tree setting and the carrying of wheat wreath.  

Borica is the best known and typical element of the extremely rich folk traditions in Hétfalu. This dance is know and practiced in Hétfalu only. Négyfalu abandoned the tradition in the middle of the 19th c. and it has remained in Háromfalu farther from Brassó. The fertility conjuring rite which belongs to the ceremonial circle of midwinter solstice used to be practised in the period of the carnival; since the 1870s it was danced on the second day of Christmas only or on the day of the holy innocents. Only men could take part in the tradition. Borica and the men’s circles were in close interaction with the age group cohesion and the features of the local society. The Romanian authorities banned the tradition and it could be revived in several stages in the 1980s only. The modern QR code helping the interpretation of the interior is widely usable in the alternative equipment too. By using the known archive records the visitors can see borica which is virtually displayed in the yard of the building and they can also learn background information relating to the customary events which verify its role in the preservation of the communal identity. We can perceive borica dance in Hétfalu as the peculiar preservation of the Hungarian cultural heritage as a complex phenomenon that includes concrete political content and lessons. The ritual communication as non-verbal medium–borica–is a complicated and complex group of phenomena. Thus its presentation in the museum is a relevant and significant challenge for us. It is obvious that we will need a complex application of the interpretation solutions.

**SUMMARY**

It is indispensable to let access for the visitors to the cultural traditions displayed in the exhibition and to help them have access to the collections via the means of interpretation. The then life styles and worlds are obvious topics of the research on Hétfalu as in their complexity they faithfully profess about the elements that our visitors are interested in. The planned exhibition is not the scene and tool of the transmission of static knowledge but it provides the opportunity of a dynamic discourse relating to existing knowledge.

Along the topic of traffic the presentation of the culture in Hétfalu is appropriate to answer recent questions such as identity preserved in a multi-ethnical environment or the cultural marks sustained even in a diaspora which, in our present day, can carry serious conflicts. Borica in Hétfalu as social representation and non-verbal medium carries further relevant messages. The characteristic geographical and social position of Hétfalu results in a peculiar importance. The researched settlements lie not only at the borderline of several ethnicities and their culture but at a lot more significant line of fracture. Hétfalu is an outstanding point on the borderline of western civilisation and Christianity and the
orthodox religion.\textsuperscript{62} This cultural small region used to be the borderline of Europe and the West for centuries and the new European community forming processes as a result of political decisions make the traditional frames interesting.\textsuperscript{63} It is especially important to emphasise the importance of the lessons of the conflicts peculiar to the fracture lines between civilisations and thus cultural entities. The answers that the people in Hétfalu have responded to questions relating to the relation with their environment are regarded relevant and adequate in a broader European background.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{wagon_structure.png}
\caption{Structure of the wagon in Hétfalu (Kovács, 2005: 97.)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{62} The wagon-driving people in Hétfalu had direct and successful century-long relations with the regions relating to Islamic civilisation.

\textsuperscript{63} Cf. Huntington 2008: 257–262.
Fig. 2. Wagon with rubber tyres (Türköş, 2008 author’s photo)

Fig. 3. Vent shaping a wagon wheel (Türköş, 2008 author’s photo)
Fig. 4. Farmer with his whip a wax handle (Pürkerec, 2008 author’s photo)

Fig. 5. Fa de of an economy building (SZNM MNÉA A-6166/10)
Fig. 6. Street facade of a residential building (Hosszúfalu, 2008 photo of Veronika Makkos)

Fig. 7. Typical part of the room's summer beam (Hosszúfalu, 2008 photo of Veronika Makkos)
**Fig. 8.** Yard façade of the residential building (SZNM MNÉA A-6158/5)

**Fig. 9.** Cross section of the shed (SZNM MNÉA A-6153/13)
Fig. 10. Gate of the building plot (SZNM MNÉA A-6155/4)

Fig. 11. Accessory of borica dance, the mask (Könitz, 2009: 248.)
The Plot in Hétfalu in the Building Complex of the Open-Air Museum...

Fig. 12. Traditional women’s clothing in Hétfalu (possession of a family, Hosszúfalu)

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