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Hungarian Cultural-Ethnic Heritage in Brazil: The Hungarian Cultural Route



ABSTRACT

It is known that the colonization process in the Southern region of Brazil started through the immigration of several European groups that went to Brazil between the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1891 the settlement that today is the city of Jaragua do Sul began to be occupied through the arrival of many groups, from different ethnicities. Approximately 230 families, coming mainly from Veszprém County, and from Székesfehérvár region, settled down around the bank of the Jaraguá river. This paper focuses on the history of the colonization process of the Hungarians, through the review of the documentation found on the last visit to the research location. This paper describes how the Hungarian cultural road developed until today, based on the narratives of Hungarian descendants and pictures of the main architecture and the landscape found and built by the diaspora. This occupation is connected with the assimilation process with the other ethnic groups that also composed the mosaic of the occupation of Jaragua do Sul. The main question surrounding this work is about the main cultural elements of Hungary that are still present in their lives, through the architecture, the cultural landscape, and how the visual memory is helping to shape their identity.

KEYWORDS

cultural heritage, Hungarian diaspora, cultural route, vernacular architecture

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INTRODUCTION

Around 1808, policies began in Brazil, aiming to populate the interior of Brazil going beyond the coastal areas, with the encouragement of the arrival of foreign groups (WEISSHEIMER 2016). Officially, the occupation of the lands where today the city of Jaraguá do Sul began in 1876, but it was only in 1889, with the Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil, that the phase called “Jaraguá Colony” in fact started with the subdivisions and distributions of the lands. From 1890 the settlement of these lands began with the arrival of many groups, from different ethnicities, who were brought by colonization agencies, located in Blumenau and Joinville, neighboring towns of Jaraguá do Sul. The occupation happened only through the “formation of small agglomerations along the Joinville-Jaraguá-Blumenau path, especially close to the crossing of the rivers, then carried out by canoeists” (BERTOLI 2006). In the rural area, the families were settled on plots that followed the pattern practiced by the other companies. The plots ranged from 25 to 30 hectares, with approximately 200 meters in front, arranged parallel to each other and perpendicular to rivers and streams. This morphology aimed to guarantee and facilitate access to water, in addition to reducing the distance between the lots as a way of approaching the families and as a measure of defense against attacks from animals and native Indians (BERTOLI 2006).

The city of Jaraguá do Sul is located in the Northeast Region of the State of Santa Catarina, and today has a total area of 530,894 km², with a population of 184.579 inhabitants, according to the census of 2021 (IBGE 2021). Its colonial identity, represented mainly in cultural manifestations of material and immaterial nature, as in the still present use of language or dialects and the culinary, and through the heritage buildings that are the biggest and oldest inheritances left by European immigrants, those are located mostly in the rural area of the city. It is also in the rural area where today are the so-called cultural routes, one of them is the Hungarian one.

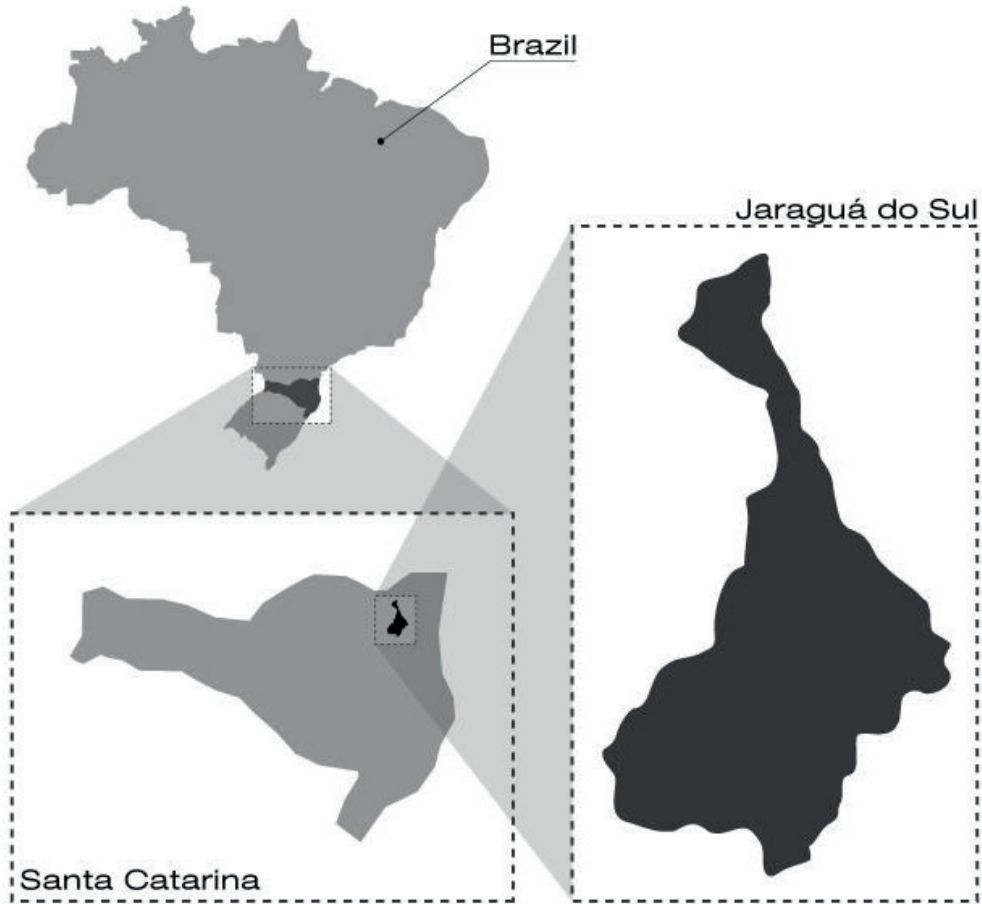


Figure 1. Location of Jaraguá do Sul. Source: by the author (2022)

According to BOGLÁR (1997), the propaganda in Hungary about Brazil was promising a plot of 120 acres, the equivalent of about 48 hectares, in addition to equipment and animals. KOSA (1957) attributes the departure of Hungarians from their homeland to the social movement that began after the abolition of serfdom and adds “From now on emigration grew in geometric progression. In the period from 1886 to 1890 an average of 22,000 persons left the country annually for overseas, and the trend was increasing” (KOSA 1957. 504). This, associated with the advertisement about the lands offered in Brazil, contributed to many families from Veszprém start looking for a new life overseas. The Hungarians settled on the bank of the Jaraguá River, which cuts through the city. Around 200 families, from Veszprém County, and 30 families from Székesfehérvár region (LOPES 2012), settled down in “Lot 84” - which nowadays is the neighborhood Jaraguá 84. A few years later, the Hungarians built the church and also schools in the region, the first ones teaching in Portuguese. At that time, the influence of German was really

big and according to BOGLÁR (1997), the Hungarians also mixed with Italians and German speakers from Austria, resulting in the assimilation between them, stimulated also by World War I, when they were isolated from any communication with their homeland, leading to the loss of the Hungarian language in their daily lives as well. BOGLÁR (1997) visited the village where the descendants of Hungarians were living in 1940, 50 years later after the arrival, when there was no concrete city of Jaraguá do Sul yet. In his reports, he mentions “how much sweat (and perhaps even tears) fell on this land until, in place of virgin forest, plowed fields appeared, green meadows and the place of the first wooden shacks were occupied by houses built of stone.” (BOGLÁR 1997. 166), depicting the early years of the Hungarians, who on their arrival had to open the virgin Atlantic forests and make their way to their plot to start building their dwellings.

It is also important to mention how the development of the city of Jaragua do Sul occurred differently from the Portuguese layout in Brazil, which prevailed in Brazilian cities. In the Portuguese layout, the city was born from a central square around which buildings were organized as the seat of government and the church, which denoted the correlation of power between the state and the religious institution. But in the case of Jaraguá do Sul, as in the colonies around it, the dominant function was the commercial one. The reason why there are cultural routes today is from where the first immigrants started the occupation of the lands. The main goal at that time was to create a commercial road, connecting the bigger colonies of Blumenau and Joinville (BERTOLI, 2006). Nevertheless, the industry’s development process associated with the arrival of the railroad at the beginning of the 20th century, connecting Jaraguá do Sul with the São Francisco do Sul Port and the city Rio Negro, made the possibility of product outlets fundamental to the city’s development. The rapid urban growth followed, which throughout the second half of the twentieth century radically transformed the urban landscape and the rural landscapes where the first immigrants settled down.

According to the documentary “*Jaraguá do Sul Yesterday and Today - 1876-1976*” by Moretti in the 1920s, Jaraguá do Sul was a district with only 12.000 inhabitants, with eighty percent of the population located in rural areas. After the arrival of the railway and the Railway Stations in 1910, its surroundings developed very quickly, which transformed it into the main nucleus of the city and started to shape the nowadays urban form of Jaraguá do Sul. The commercial center was located around the railway station, which was the point of embarkation and disembarkation of all production in Blumenau and the region, with destinations to the port of São Francisco do Sul or bigger cities of Curitiba, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro. Hotels, houses, shops, and services started to appear around the Railway Stations. The railroad became the conditioning factor of the urban land use and occupation and after the road system as well. Along the entire railway line, industries began to establish, mainly due to the facility for receiving raw materials and the flow of their products after their production (BERTOLI 2006).

The valuation of the European immigrant’s heritage in the southern region of Brazil had started and gained expression in fact, in 2007 (PISTORELLO 2018). The project called National Immigration Routes (Projeto Nacional das Rotas de Imigração) in Santa Catarina is a joint action between IPHAN - National Institute of Historical and Artistic Heritage (Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional), the FCC - Catarinense Culture Foundation (Fundação Catarinense de Cultura) and the local municipalities. This project can be understood as safeguarding the immigrant heritage of some ethnic groups considered by IPHAN as significant in the migratory

processes in Santa Catarina and which, through federal, state, or municipal protection can become tourist attractions through the institution of touristic routes (PISTORELLO 2018).

The city of Jaraguá do Sul today has three main cultural routes institutionalized, the German, the Italian, and the Hungarian route. Each route leads from the rural to the urban area of the city. In 1922, in the neighborhood called Garibaldi, the Hungarians built the Santo Estevao (Saint Stephen) Church, which today is the oldest church in the city. The church is protected by the local community seeking to preserve the heritage for future generations. According to information collected on the municipality, the first Hungarian immigrants arrived via the Hannover Ship, in June of 1891. On that ship were the many families previously mentioned, mostly coming from the County of Veszprém. Other waves of Hungarian immigration to Brazil took place, and these were divided into three more stages. The second group of migrants arrived in Brazil between 1920 and 1929. Then, as a result of the Second World War, from 1945 onwards. And finally, after the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

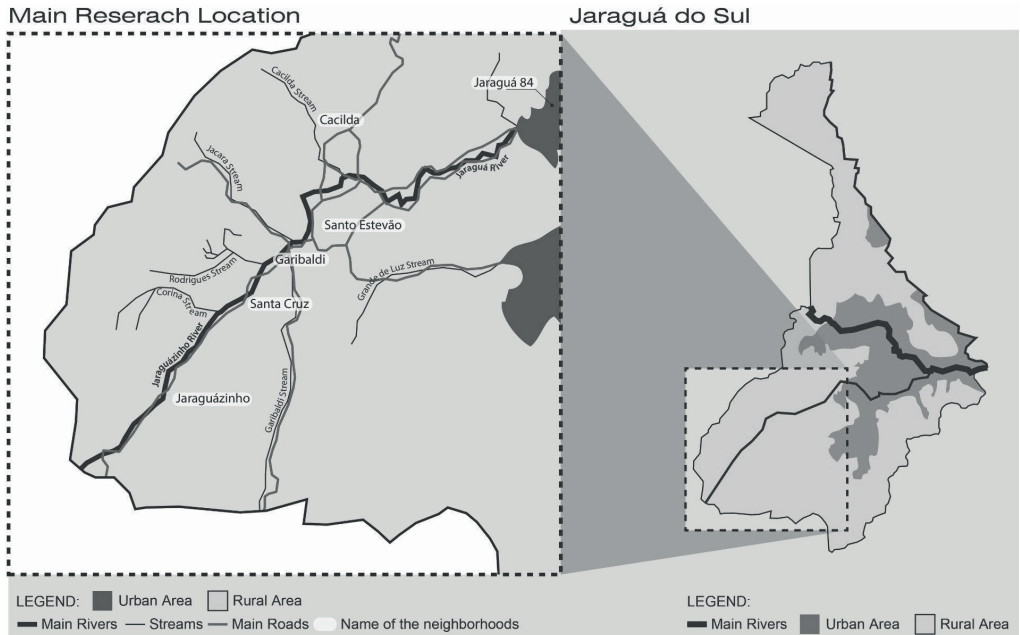


Figure 2. The Hungarian Cultural Route in Jaragua do Sul, in the rural area. Source: by the author (2022)

The German influence in the process of colonization of lands that go beyond the coastal area in southern Brazil is vast. This can largely be seen in the previous project presented, the National Immigration Routes, as well as in other research works already conducted. SEYFERTH (2011) points out that the first foreigners arriving around this region were Germans, in 1836, and it was only after 1875 that immigrants from other origins also started to arrive as well. From here, the main questions guiding this work emerged, about how the Hungarians assimilated with the

other ethnicities and the role of the architectural, and visual elements of this process, and how it helped to result in the later creation of a new townscape. Aiming to answer such questions, this paper focuses on a historical review based on the qualitative documentation found in books, where the authors make narratives based on research and their memories, correlating with photographs from the historical archive in Jaragua do Sul and observations in-loco, at the Hungarian Cultural Route nowadays.

METHODOLOGY

To start looking for the answers to the questions presented above, this paper will present a review of the process of occupation, by the Hungarians at the end of the 19th century through the lands where today the city of Jaragua do Sul is located. Such historical reconstruction used a methodology based on the narrative of Hungarians descendants and other authors, found in qualitative documentation, mainly in books and old photographs from the archives in Jaragua do Sul. Through the review of this historical process, which is focused on the cultural heritage of an already assimilated ethnic group, brings to light the main material elements representing their connection with Hungary, such as the architectural elements and the cultural landscape built by them through the occupation process. Aiming to answer the questions of which are the elements based on the narratives found in the qualitative documentation. In the work of Halbwachs, he deals with the relationship between memory and place, and for him, memory can live towards in the buildings and in the social stories. But, if the architectural heritage disappears, thus the social stories lost their anchor (HALBWACHS 1992). And for that, the question surrounding this paper, is how do all these material elements help to shape their identity in the rural area of Jaragua do Sul? In addition, vernacular space works as a mirror of the social characters of everyday life in the rural spaces, as in the city centers the planner professionals were dominant in the townscape. In the case of Jaraguá do Sul, much of the vernacular architecture of the dwellings do not exist anymore, making buildings such as the church and the school – the communal structures – buildings with an important role and more present as a scene of the collective memory (NORA 1989), as “the architectural elements may be of interest not only because of their aesthetics, but also because of their symbolism.” (TAMÁSKA 2014) and perhaps, working also as their *lieux de mémoire* (NORA 1989).

The in-loco visit will also be present, registering the situation of the houses and the existing material elements of the cultural landscape of the Hungarian Cultural Route today. Identifying how those elements helped in the construction of their identity, through the assimilation with the other ethnic groups and the new landscape.

HUNGARIAN DIASPORA IN JARAGUÁ DO SUL

HALBWACHS (1992), studied society and its relationship under the term of collective memory, also cited by Rossi in his publication *The Architecture of City*, 1984. His discussion is based on the existence of individual memory, which is part of a collective one, where memories are formed internally, to a collectivity. In other words, memories are based on the “lived past” rather

than on the “past incorporated by written history” (HALBWACHS 1992). For the author, individual memory is tied to the memory of a group, which is tied to tradition. In this sense, the city can be translated by its aesthetics and collective memory (HALBWACHS 1992). Memory itself is an important notion, to be understood in the context of this work, and its connection with places. The following historical review of the occupation process of the region where today the city of Jaraguá do Sul was based on the different individual memories tied to a collective one.

According to some narratives found mainly in the book *Colônia Hungara no Jaraguá*, by the authors, Olga Piazero MAJCHER, Alcioni Macedo CANUTO, Sidnei Marcelo LOPES (2008), one of them is the third generation of one of the Hungarian families who arrived in 1891. The authors also present research on old records of friars’ travels, mixed with old newspapers, relates from her memory, and oral reports from the community. According to MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008), the lands began to be subdivided in the Garibaldi region, at the bank of the Jaraguá River. After receiving the lands, the groups went there on foot, having to clear and open the native forest on the way to the new lands. This route taken by the families was described as a “dark and tenebrous forest” (MAJCHER – CANUTO – LOPES 2008. 75). In several moments of their narrative, MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008) comment about the landscapes found in Brazil, describing it as mountainous, where hills and valleys are interspersed, which was seen as a challenge for farming in the beginning. The lots received by the families were divided between an area intended for agriculture and another for future pastures, in addition to the house that also had a garden. It adds to the abundance of rivers and streams of the region, helping in agriculture for them. BOGLÁR (1997) also reports the transition between landscapes, pointing out the shift from grape and wine production to the abundance of fruits in Brazil.

Still, regarding the landscape, which began to be altered by the families who settled there, MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008) comment there were no roads or constructed paths. With time and the need of transit through the place, a natural path was opening and facilitating the transition and displacements through them. The opening of paths, as well as bridges, and the construction of canals, was part of the form of payment for the lands. Thus, the construction of the cultural landscape started to begin in the region of the route, made by the Hungarians who had just arrived there, probably built with the same commercial function, following the organic design of the landscape. Arising the question of native Indians’ participation in the process, as they were nomads living in that region at the time.

According to the records of Emilio SILVA (1975), 40 Hungarian families from Veszprém County, went to their lots purchased from the Government in 1891. Based on these records, Olga states that the start date of colonization of the Garibaldi lands by Hungarian families was in June 1891, as already pointed out by the records of the municipality. More families started to arrive, and from the end of 1891 to 1897, Hungarian families also occupied the regions in between, called Santo Estêvão and Jaraguá 84. The author also adds the presence of other ethnic groups during her narratives, such as the descendants of Italians. The second wave of Hungarians arrived at the beginning of the following year, 1892, and settled in Jaraguá 84. The region called Jaraguázinho received 22 families, according to descendants. One of the last waves of Hungarians in this first moment was in 1897 according to Berti in his book published in 2005 (MAJCHER – CANUTO – LOPES, 2008).

In several of these reports, and narratives it is possible to identify the importance of two main elements composing this cultural landscape: the church and the school, and also that the

occupation took place not exclusively by Hungarians. The church already received friars for the religious celebration that took place in the German language, they recorded their visits, and they would later help in the composition of the history of the development of the city of Jaraguá do Sul. Before the construction of the church, the moments dedicated to prayer took place in Professor Wendelin's chapel/school, as it was called by the community. The house was used as a school during the weekdays and as a church on Sundays until the lands reserved by the State for the construction of the church and school were officially granted to the Jaraguá Alto Catholic Community. According to publications found in the local newspaper, in 1902 the government applied the lands for the construction of the cemetery (7 hectares) - which were divided between the Catholic and Lutheran sides -, the school, and the Chapel for Catholics (4 hectares). Later, according to other records presented in the book entitled *From Jaraguá to Jaraguá do Sul - O Legislativo Catarinense Resgatando a História da Cidade* (2006), in 1951, 10,000m² of land was donated for the construction of a rural school.

The construction of the church began in 1922 and was completed in 1933. Celebrations in honor of the church's building were held, known today in Portuguese as "Kyritag", the Church Day – a word that probably came from German: Kirchentag. MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008) present in their narrative the memoirs about the rituals of the families linked to this local festivity. In the figure of the church and the celebration, is possible to see in the buildings around the church, some features that may be linked with the Hungarian style of the addition of a little house next to the main one, despite the German half-timbered.



Figure 3. The Church of Santo Estevão during the Kyritag festivity.
Source: Historical Archive of Jaraguá do Sul/Memory Fund.

The name Georg Wolf Senior is also often mentioned, as he was the leader of the occupation of the first Hungarians, his house appears as one of the important places in the process. Built in 1896, it was where the friars used to stay when they came for Mass celebrations. The same house later became an important small commerce center for the region. Emilio da SILVA completes “the commercial house dated from the first times” (1975. 123). MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008) affirm that the house was called “Gescheft” - business from the German -, where they sold a little of everything the community needed. The place also became a meeting point for locals on Saturday afternoons to buy and sell products, or receive correspondence and news, through the newspaper, arriving only there. The architectural element porch – in Hungarian: *tornác* – can be seen at the commercial house of George Worf, next to the two windows, again despite the German style of half-timbered. Both together can be understood as the assimilation process with the Germans in the region.



Figure 4. The house and the commerce of George Wolf.
Source: Historical Archive of Jaraguá do Sul/Memory Fund.

MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008) also report the changes that were made to the houses as the family grew, parts were attached. “As the families increased, and as the needs demanded and the financial situation allowed, necessary expansions and adaptations were made for better working conditions” (MAJCHER – CANUTO – LOPES 2008. 203). In Figure 5, we can see the presence of araucarias, the dominant tree species in southern Brazil, the author comments that a small araucaria forest was planted near the house, and dry branches were used in the stove to burn and warm the place, a connection with the landscape into the dwelling process. In the same picture of the first house, the *tornác* element appears again in the structure, making this characteristic a possible Hungarian influence in the cultural heritage of the neighborhood. In the following

years, more buildings were inserted in the terrain, such as a sawmill and carpentry (MAJCHER – CANUTO – LOPES 2008). After the rebuilding of the house, the architectural elements cannot be connected with the Hungarian style, which can be associated with the second part of the assimilation process.¹ The city of Jaraguá do Sul, today has industry as its main economic pillar, to this characteristic many historians adhere to the profile of immigrants from the time of colonization, which with the arrival of the train line in 1910 and the ease in the flow of goods, also were encouraged to market their products, being marketed even in the region of Curitiba and Santos. What then led them to open small businesses in the new city center of Jaraguá do Sul, in the surroundings of the Train Stations.



Figure 5. The house of George Wolf in two moments.
Source: Historical Archive of Jaraguá do Sul/Memory Fund.

It is important to note that objects that could be used today as ways of remembering their homelands, hardly survived the Nationalization Campaign in Brazil. As a result of the New State government from 1937 to 1945, foreign languages were forbidden to be spoken or taught, and objects depicting other languages, or images that referred to other countries were taken and destroyed. As described by MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008) some objects were brought from Hungary by the first families, such as teapots, plates, iron pots and pans, soap dishes, books, and some records. The author is part of the third generation of Hungarian descent, and she presents in her narratives, the memory of the habit of reading books brought from Europe that still took place on Sundays.

Finally, all the documentation points out that the occupation took place not exclusively by Hungarians. Friar Aurelio Stulzer reports in the *Livro II de Jaragua do Sul* (SILVA 1975), that he found in the records of Friar Lucinio Korte a record of the occupation of that region by Hungarians and also by the second generation of Italians from nearby regions, which suggests the process of assimilation between different ethnicities from the beginning. The interaction with the native Indians is also described by MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008) through feelings of fear. There was indeed a fear towards them, when the native Indians appeared, the family of immigrants would hide inside the ranches with the children. The Indians who lived in that region were the Xokleng, nomads who

lived of hunting and gathering fruit. When they passed through the region of immigrants in Jaraguá do Sul, they used to attack and looted the corn (MAJCHER – CANUTO – LOPES 2008). The assimilation with Germans is not appearing in a very strong way during the narratives but is possible to identify it in some of the house constructions, such as the half-timbered technique (the Fachwerk), and in the use of the language, for the mass celebrations and the one taught in the first schools.



Figure 6. The school.

Source: Historical Archive of Jaraguá do Sul/Family Alfonso Schwartz Fund.

THE HUNGARIAN CULTURAL ROUTE TODAY

When Pierre Nora presents the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, he points out an important element that is the real intention to remember, nevertheless the appearance of what is called sites of memory happens with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory anymore, that is why we create the *lieux de mémoire*, because such activities no longer occur naturally (NORA 1989). The author also attributes the concept to three main characteristics: materiality, meaning, and functionality, connecting them with the necessity of having a symbolic aura (NORA 1989).

In *Magyar hagyományalkotás Braziliában* (BOGLÁR – KOVÁCS 1999), a study stated that there is no palpable Hungarian tradition in southern Brazil. They add the Hungarian community of Jaraguá do Sul, asks a choreographer from São Paulo, stating “they said: ‘the Germans and Italians have dancing parties, and why don’t we?’ The “we” indicates the beginning of the search for ethnic identity “. (BOGLÁR – KOVÁCS 1999). “The man who finds references and knows his past will not be subject to all kinds of influence in the accelerated and globalized world, however, the man who appropriates this cultural heritage and behaves as an individual

responsible for his present and aware of his history, builds the future, and maintains strong its traditions and cultural traits.” (MAJCHER – CANUTO – LOPES 2008. 258). The authors end the book with a subchapter entitled *The Search for Ethnic Identity*, affirming the ever-existing desire to recover the connection with their homeland, given all the assimilation between the different ethnicities that has always existed since the first moments of colonization.



Figure 7. The Church of Santo Estevão and its details today.

Source: by the author (2022)

During the restoration of the Church of Santo Estevão, in 1998, documents written in Latin were found in one of its supporting columns, translated to: “To the great and maximum God, in honor of Saint Stephen, glorious king of the Hungarians” and in these documents also there is the date of laying the foundation stone of the church, in September 1922, and a list of approximately seventy names of Hungarian immigrants and their descendants, called ‘founders of the new church, which is now exposed in a frame on the church’s wall.

The majestic and well-known George Wolf house presented earlier, no longer exists. However, during empirical observations, it was possible to identify other houses that followed the extension process by adding new parts to confirm the families were growing described by MAJCHER, CANUTO, LOPES (2008), also such characteristic of *tornác* (gang), appearing again in Figure 9 made of stone or bricks. The element, which can be defined as a porch is an area built next to the facade of a residential building or, more rarely, an outbuilding, with a roof supported by columns, pillars, and arches, can be connected to the Hungarian architectural style in the region. The arches in the *tornác* of the Figure 9, is a very typical element from the region of Veszprém.

Deo optimo et Maximo
 in honorem sancti stephani, gloriosi hungarorum regis
 regnante p[ro]p[ri]o undecimo, pontifice maximo
 episcopali munere exercente iohannem dominici de oliveira
 reipublicam brasilianam administrante epistacio pessoa
 electo gubernatore sanctae Catharinae herculio da luz
 adiuvantibus christifidelibus huius regionis, m[on]as sept.
 posita petra fundamentali anno MDCCCXXII extru[ct]a
 hoc san[ct]uarium. in fide: P. Henricus Meller S.C.J.
 P. Vincentius Schmitz S.C.J.

Figure 8. Document found during the restoration of the church, in Latin.
 Source: Lopes - Toassi Kita (2012)



Figure 9. A house in the Hungarian Cultural Route.
 Source: by the author (2022)

CONCLUSION

Through time and assimilation with different ethnicities, many of its characteristics today, such as the loss of the Hungarian language, can be said to have happened through the process of assimilation with the other predominant ethnicities. The church has always played an important role for the community of Hungarian descendants, as well as the pride seen by the elders in calling themselves Hungarians and for continuing to spread collective memories to the younger ones. It continues to be protected by the local community to be passed on to future generations. As said by Rossi (1984) the continuity of architecture depends on memory, it is from the permanency that the continuity of the city is ensured, respecting the forms of the past to preserve its image “they are a past that we are still experiencing” (ROSSI 1984. 59). Norberg-Schulz complements as a role of the buildings “through buildings, man gives meaning concrete presence, and he gathers buildings to visualize and symbolize his form of life as a totality” (NORBERG-SCHULZ 1979. 32).

On the other hand, many of the houses presented in this work no longer exist, remaining only in collective memory and photographs from the historical archive. In Brazil today, there is no strong relationship with historical constructions - it can be seen in the following images - many of the houses that survived time in the rural area of Jaragua do Sul, are found in neglected and abandoned states, even though they are considered historic heritage in the city. Today, there is a great challenge in rescuing the historical and cultural traces related to the architectural heritage that survived in the city’s rural area.



Figure 10. Houses in the Hungarian Cultural Route.

Source: by the author (2022)

Architecture is a material heritage of the relationship between man, memories, time, place, and the process of assimilation, which “make the way the world touches us visible” (PALLASMAA 2017. 33), helping also in the construction of the identity. Following this work, the next steps are focusing on the individual memory – through interviews – of the community living in the rural areas of the Hungarian Cultural Route, and the descendants who lived there. Aiming to understand how the architecture and the spatiality of the room within their houses and the cultural landscape relate to their search for ethnic identity. This work is in the beginning, but it is possible to affirm the existence of a very interesting parallel form between the Hungarian origin and the host country – only as a hypothesis for the moment. An example can be taken from the church, which is for sure Hungarian, also by its name, but not in its architectural style, however, the cultural memory on it is the anchor of this structure. The following steps for this investigation will be done through comparison methods, with the German and Italian styles of the dwellings as well, according to their periods and layouts, aiming to answer what are the elements that can be truly interpreted as Hungarians, or cultural elements they brought with them or got adapted in the new landscape, if so. Later the rebuilding, as seen in the George Wolf house, can represent the assimilation process through time.

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