

**CULTURAL RESISTANCE AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY:
THE IMPACT OF NATIONALISM OF THE VARGAS DICTATORSHIP ON HUNGARIAN
HERITAGE IN JARAGUÁ DO SUL - SC**

Author:

Fernanda Lucia, Maes¹
University of Debrecen (Hungary)
(Brazil)

Reviewers:

Prof. Gábor Biczó (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

Norbert Tóth (Ph.D)
University of Debrecen

...and two other anonymous reviewers

Maes, Fernanda Lucia (2024). Cultural Resistance and Collective Memory: The Impact of Nationalism of the Vargas Dictatorship on Hungarian Heritage in Jaraguá Do Sul - SC. *Special Treatment Interdisciplinary Journal [Különleges Bánásmód Interdiszciplináris folyóirat]*, 10. (SI), 71-82. DOI [10.18458/KB.2024.SI.71](https://doi.org/10.18458/KB.2024.SI.71)

Abstract

This work encompasses an analysis of the dictatorship experienced in Brazil between 1937 and 1945, during the Estado Novo (New State), the government of Getúlio Vargas, when there was an attempt to consolidate a fictitious homogeneity in the country, especially regarding culture. In a country where layers of different cultural influences converge, making it rich, unique, and celebrated for its diversity, cultural heritage is of extreme importance. During this period, in a contradictory manner, through repression and adaptation of culture to fit the interests of the State, the period witnessed censorship and sometimes even the forgetting of cultural heritages that somewhat conflicted with the interests of the regime at the time. The issues that emerge are related to the impact of nationalism in the face of the repression of the expression of different cultures, through documentary research in primary sources, including publications in local newspapers and testimonials from descendants of the local community about the collective memory of the repression of the cultural expression of immigrants in the southern region, finally reaching the feelings generated that resonate to this day. The analysis reached a possible rupture and distortion of the collective memory, indicating how nationalism shaped and still shapes imagined communities. Amidst

¹ Fernanda Lucia, Maes Department of Ethnography, Faculty of Arts, University of Debrecen, Program of Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology, PhD School of History and Ethnography (Hungary) (Brazil). e-mail address: maes.fernandalucia@gmail.com, ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5703-6392>

a discussion that also presents an analysis of the role of nationalist discourses in architecture and its homogenization.

Keywords: memory, identity, cultural expression, repression, nationalism

Discipline: Cultural Anthropology, Ethnography

Absztrakt

KULTURÁLIS ELLENÁLLÁS ÉS KOLLEKTÍV EMLÉKEZET: A VARGAS-DIKTATÚRA NACIONALIZMUSÁNAK HATÁSA A MAGYAR ÖRÖKSÉGRE JARAGUÁ DO SULBAN - SC

A tanulmány a Brazíliában felszínre kerülő Estado Novo (Új Állam), azaz a Getúlio Vargas kormánya idején, 1937 és 1945 között tapasztalt diktatúra elemzését foglalja magában – különösen a kultúra tekintetében –, amikor az ország fiktív homogenitását próbálták megszilárdítani. A kulturális örökség rendkívül fontos egy olyan országban, ahol a különböző kulturális hatások rétegei találkoznak, ami gazdaggá, egyedivé és sokszínűségéért ünnepeletté teszi az országot. Ebben az időszakban ellentmondásos módon, az elnyomás és a kultúrának az állam érdekeihez való igazítása révén, a korszak tanúja volt a cenzúra, sőt néha még az olyan kulturális örökségek elfelejtésének is, amelyek némileg ellentmondtak az akkori rendszer érdekeinek. A felmerülő kérdések a nacionalizmus hatásaival kapcsolatosak, melyet az elsődleges forrásokban végzett dokumentumkutatáson – beleértve a helyi újságokban megjelent publikációkat és a helyi közösség leszármazottainak vallomásait, a déli régióban élő bevándorlók kulturális kifejezésének elnyomásáról szóló kollektív emlékezetéről szóló leírásokat, a keletkezett érzések megfogalmazásait – alapulnak, melyek a különböző kultúrák kifejezési módjai az elnyomással szemben, és amelyek a mai napig visszahangoznak. Az elemzés eljutott a kollektív emlékezet lehetséges töréséig és torzulásáig, jelezve, hogy a nacionalizmus hogyan alakította és alakítja még mindig az elképzelt közösségeket. Egy olyan vita közepette, amely a nacionalista diskurzusok építészetben betöltött szerepének és homogenizálódásának elemzését is bemutatja.

Kulcsszavak: emlékezet, identitás, kulturális kifejezésmód, elnyomás, nacionalizmus

Diszciplína: kulturális antropológia, néprajz

Introduction

From the beginning of the 19th century, with the opening of ports to ships and to the English trade, Brazil initiated communication with the world (Vieira Filho, 2011), leading to an intensification of the migratory processes. In 1808, a decree allowed the immigration of non-Lusitanians, marking the beginning of policies encouraging the arrival of foreign groups to populate the lands going beyond the coastal areas in Brazil (Weissheimer, 2016). This strategic and demographic process aimed to occupy the so-called "demographic voids" – inhabited by indigenous peoples -; seek free labor; and

ultimately achieve the "whitening of the race" (Vieira Filho, 2011), thus triggering the migratory process from Europe to Brazil.

Kosa (1957) attributes the departure of Hungarians from their homeland to the social movement that began after the abolition of serfdom, as a natural response to the social problems existing on the European continent at that time. After 1850, the abolition of many feudal prerogatives in Hungary allowed a class society development, thus opening new possibilities for social mobility. With little chance of acquiring sufficient land or improving their social position, the rural proletariat was

motivated to leave their homeland. Data indicates that from then on, emigration only increased (Kosa, 1957).

Thomázy (2021) categorizes the waves of Hungarian migration to Brazil into six major periods. The first, between 1818 and 1860, was also motivated by the Hungarian Revolution and the War of Independence. Then, from 1870 to 1913, characterized as the first mass migration to Brazil, the groups were mainly composed of farmers who settled mostly in the south of the country and formed colonies. The following groups of immigrants arrived in Brazil between 1919 and 1928, after World War I due to resulting economic crises, settling in major cities such as São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, and Porto Alegre, marking the largest period. Between 1947 and 1954, after World War II, and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, was characterized as the last and most prominent immigration wave. Finally, the last wave of immigration began in 1989 and continues to the present day, characterized by small numbers of intellectuals.

This study focuses on the city of Jaraguá do Sul, located in the state of Santa Catarina, one of the destinations for Hungarian families who arrived in the second wave of immigration, as mentioned above. The city is in the Northeast region of the state, with a total area of 530,894 km² and a population of 182,660 inhabitants (IBGE, 2022). The official occupation of the land where Jaraguá do Sul now stands began in 1876, but it was only in 1889, with the Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil, that the "Colônia Jaraguá" (Jaraguá Colony) phase began, initiating the process of land subdivisions and distribution of these lots to immigrant families.

The Hungarian families settled along the banks of the Jaraguá River, which cuts through the city. Approximately 200 families from Veszprém and 30 families from Székesfehérvár (Lopes, 2012) established themselves where today is the rural area of

the city. In the subsequent years, the Hungarians built churches, cemeteries, and schools. Over time, Hungarian immigrants mixed primarily with Germans but also with Italians and German speakers from Austria, initiating an assimilation process among them. This assimilation process was later reinforced by the isolation caused by World War I. It was further institutionalized through the policies of the Estado Novo in Brazil in 1937, intensifying losses, forgetting, and a possible rupture of collective memory. It is known that the German influence in the colonization process extending beyond the southern coast of Brazil is significant, which is evident in projects like the National Immigration Routes, as well as in other research projects conducted so far. Seyferth (2011) highlights that the first foreigners to arrive in this region were Germans in 1836, and only from 1875 did immigrants from other origins start arriving. From this point, the main questions guiding this work emerged within its broader scope: how did the Hungarians assimilate with other ethnicities, what role did architectural and visual elements play in this process; and how might have contributed to the subsequent development of a new cultural and rural landscape?

To address these questions, this paper focuses on the assimilation process of Hungarians through the nationalist measures imposed by the dictatorial government of Getúlio Vargas in Brazil from the 1930s onward. Through a historical review based on qualitative documentation, data analysis was developed, supported by a literature review of notions and concepts that guide the understanding of nationalism, collective memory, *lieu de mémoire*, and the importance given to codes, rituals, and symbols during the period covered by this study.

Methodology

Given that the first Hungarian families arrived and settled in the research area from 1891, the early 20th century presented challenges and had a strong

impact on the collective memory of European immigrant families in Brazil, due to the Vargas Dictatorship (1937-1945). Faced with repression and attempts to adapt culture to align with the interests of the State, the period witnessed censorship, resulting in a potential rupture of collective memory and even the forgetting of cultural heritages.

Thus, the methodology used in this work is based on the research of evidence through three main primary sources: 1) narratives presented in the bibliographic book *"Colônia Húngara no Jaraguá"* (Hungarian Colony in Jaraguá) (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008); 2) publications in the local newspaper *"O Correio do Povo"*, relating to publications in statewide newspapers; and 3) reports collected through the application of an online questionnaire in November of 2023 shared with the community if Hungarian descendants in Jaraguá do Sul. The analyses reveal what remains in the collective memory regarding a specific period that caused the repression of cultural expression among immigrants in the region, and what feelings are still resonating.

Discussion

Vargas Dictatorship and its impact

In the early 20th century, many Brazilian intellectuals were actively involved in various nationalist movements, exploring different ideas about the fundamental pillars of the nation and working to create an identity that would stand out in both the popular imagination and the global political context. Despite having a long history, it is complicated to understand the national issue comprehensively over time and reach an agreement on its foundations. The fact is that between 1918 and 1950, this phenomenon reached the peak of its political-symbolic dimension, effectively becoming a globalized mass phenomenon. In Europe, after World War I, the prestige of nationalist ideas was notably strengthened by the sense of defeat among

the losers of the conflict. Palti (2002) argues that nationalism, while a powerful sentiment, carries a void at its core (Palti, 2002), and fascism and Nazism skillfully exploited this sentiment, mobilizing the middle strata of society. Even among the workers, the adopted discourse proved effective in attributing blame to external enemies and internal traitors (Hobsbawm, 1992). Thus, the dissemination of nation and national identification ideas shared through propaganda, filled a gap left by the feelings of failure, powerlessness, and the apparent inability of other ideologies, projects, and political programs to understand human aspirations (Hobsbawm, 1992). Benedict Anderson presents a perspective on the nation by coining the term "imagined community", emphasizing the imagined and constructed nature of these entities. The author argues that the nation is an imagined social construction uniting people who have never met but share a common identity based on symbols, narratives, and rituals. Imagination is of utmost importance for the creation of national identity, allowing people of a nation to perceive themselves as part of a community. Anderson also adds that nations are constructed in specific spaces and times, often relating to events such as revolutions, uniting people around a common history.

During the 1930s, with Getúlio Vargas assuming the presidency of Brazil, the creation of a national identity for the country began to receive greater attention from the State. During this decade, the topics of nationalization and culture became central in political debates, and in 1937 it became a real State policy (Hackenhaar, 2015). The ideology of the Estado Novo – the political regime during the dictatorial rule of Getúlio Vargas from 1937 to 1945 – aimed at the homogenization of culture, attempting to delimit and define a Brazilian identity. This was undoubtedly one of the concerns of the Vargas government, which began in 1930 but intensified in 1937 with the promulgation of a new Constitution. Throughout its fifteen years in

government, the State also worked on adapting immigrants and their descendants to the values imposed by this ideology, as in nationalist projects like Estado Novo there was no room for coexistence with strong and structured foreign cultural groups like the ones in the regions of colonization" (Schwartzmann; Bomeny; Costa 1939: 91).

During this government, education plays a fundamental role in the nationalization policies. The 1934 Constitution had already dedicated a chapter to Education and Culture, expanding the scope of action of the Federal Executive power on the subject, which was further centralized with the 1937 Constitution. Subsequently, a series of decrees began to regulate the entry and stay of immigrants (Decree-law no. 2265, January 25, 1938/ Decree-law no. 406, May 4, 1938), the prohibition of foreign activities in the country, including foreigners' participation in political activities (Decree-law no. 383, April 18, 1938), as well as the use of a foreign language in public spaces and the circulation of newspapers. In this regard, it is worth noting that until 1937, part of the local newspaper, *O Correio do Povo*, circulating in the city of Jaraguá do Sul since 1921, was still printed in the German language. Following the institutionalization of decree 406, the newspaper became printed only in Portuguese language, Article 94: "In rural areas of the country, the publication of books, magazines, or newspapers in foreign languages will not be allowed without the permission of the Immigration and Colonization Council." Finally, Decree-law no. 868, November 18, 1938, aimed to define actions to be taken at the Federal, State, and Municipal levels to "fully nationalize the primary education of all population centers of foreign origin". Thus, the government's takeover of education became the clearest manifestation of the attempt to dismantle a culture that had been gradually built but no longer had a place in the new political structure. Schwartzman, Bomeny, and Costa (1984) emphasize that throughout the

formation period of colonization zones, it was convenient for the Brazilian government to leave the foreign centers on their own (1984: 171). Still, given the ideologies proposed by Estado Novo with the nationalization project, practices such as teaching a foreign language in southern schools represented a threat to their development and the formation of Brazilian patriotic consciousness. The alleged negligence of previous governments with the foreign colonies from the mid-19th century to the 1930s is evidenced by both official sources and the foreign groups themselves who advocate for the preservation of what they built without assistance or support from the government (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984).

The formation of the National State would necessarily and primarily involve the homogenization of culture, customs, language, and ideology. There was no shortage of proposals for creating plans for the "ideological unification of the country," which essentially aimed at eliminating "centers of contamination" identified either with the communists or the Nazis. Cultural standardization implied the exclusion of "foreigners," understood here as groups alien to the nationalization project. The scope of what was considered "foreign" could extend beyond a simple and direct connection to the country of origin (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984: 182).

The book titled "*Colônia Húngara no Jaraguá*" (Hungarian Colony in Jaraguá) was a source for the development of the current research. In it, the authors, Olga Piazero Majcher, Alcionei Macedo Canuto, and Sidnei Marcelo Lopes (2008), present extensive research on Hungarian immigration in the city of Jaraguá do Sul through a narrative that encompasses emotions, experiences, memory, and historical data. The excerpts presented here from this narrative cover the timeline analyzed in the present work, during the Vargas Dictatorship. In

the first pages dedicated to this subject, the authors present an excerpt stating that beyond the closure of schools in the region, aspects related to culture were also lost, "much of the immigrants' culture was lost. Classes taught in German had to be changed. Clubs, schools, shooting societies, and gymnastics societies were closed, seeking to promote the nationalization of the people" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 142).

The narratives presented in the book confirm that it was not allowed to "sing, pray, or speak" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008) in German or Italian in southern Brazil, even when the foreign language was the only one known, "(...) it was forbidden, especially in southern Brazil, to speak German and Italian. And for many - especially in the countryside - it was the only language they knew. It was difficult. Anyone caught speaking a foreign language was reported" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 143/144). The authors recount episodes that marked the arrest of individuals accused of speaking a foreign language, "Affonso Piazero, my father, often went to talk to the Police Chief, to the Judge, to have the settlers who had spoken German or Italian released from prison" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 144). The absence of the State mentioned earlier, and the independence of immigrant colonies since their arrival are also confirmed through the narratives.

(...) in the rural area, due to the lack of teachers appointed by the government, classes were taught by someone from the community: in German or Italian. (I remember my parents commenting on this detail: my father, of Italian descent, was literate in the Italian language; my mother, granddaughter, and daughter of Hungarians - who spoke German - had classes in the German language) (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 144).

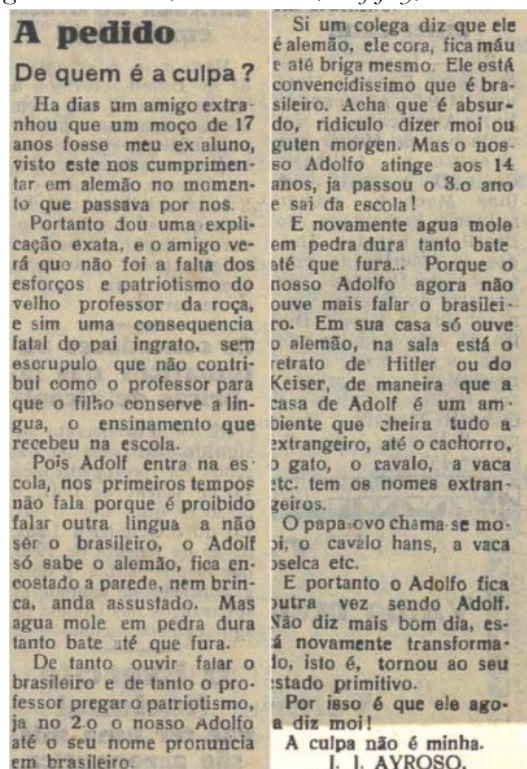
Schwartzmann, Bomeny, and Costa (1984) present three aspects of the pedagogical actions of

the Ministry at that time, in the pursuit of nationalization. The first is related to the national content that should be conveyed in schools, also emphasizing the use of the Portuguese language uniformly and steadily throughout the country. The authors further clarify that such content was not completely defined. Still, it would not incorporate that search for the deepest roots of Brazilian culture, but instead it would incorporate aspects of modernism, the mystified history of national heroes and institutions, and the worship of authorities (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984: 157). The second aspect characterized by the authors can be defined as standardization through model schools, the creation of national education plans, and mandatory minimum curriculum to be followed by schools, aiming at the ideal of homogenization and centralization. Finally, the third aspect, through the standardization of education, would deal with the "eradication of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural minorities that had formed in Brazil in recent decades, whose assimilation would become a national security issue." (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984: 142). In 1940, the National Institute of Studies and Research (INEP) developed a report that presented the results of measures related to the nationalization of education, showing that in the state of Santa Catarina, a total of 298 foreign schools were closed, and 472 national schools were opened (Schwartzman; Bomeny; Costa, 1984).

Exploring dimensions going beyond the measures of the Ministry of Education, we encounter repressive methods during the construction of Brazilian nationalism. The alleged presence of Nazis in the colonial zones of the south was used as an argument to justify the State and police actions in the region, leading to the institutionalization of repression by the government. Consequently, numerous Germans were detained, accused of Nazism or subversive activities, and were also subject to persecution, including losing jobs in public positions due to previously promulgated decrees.

In the year 1940, in edition 1036 of O "*Correio do Povo*" newspaper, dated July 6th, a local teacher published a note claiming that it was not his fault that a 17-year-old young man and his former student had greeted him in German. In the note, the teacher explains that he had indeed taught the "Brazilian" language and patriotism to the student, but in his family environment, the father did not contribute to the young man maintaining what he learned in the school environment. The teacher alleges that everything in the young man's house is related to the foreigner, and because of that, the young man is once again "transformed," returning to his "primitive state".

Picture 1. Note from a local teacher. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Catarinense, issue n. 1036, 6 of July, 1940.



In 1935, edition 791 dated July 13th presented a report referring to the celebration of July 25th in Santa Catarina, called the "Festa do Colono" (Settler Festival). The report pays homage to all

immigrants, highlighting the feeling of strangeness on the part of colony members when they received a note from the local government opposing this celebration, "Wanting to separate on this date is a very regrettable gesture" (O Correio do Povo, issue n. 791, 13 of July 1935). In the following years, the festivity was no longer reported by the newspaper.

We must bear in mind that these men, who arrived here 111 years ago from Italy, Germany, Austria, or Poland, came imbued with the idea of adopting a new homeland forever, proving with their actions that they spared no effort to be worthy of the welcome they received. It was these men who opened the native forest, battled wild beasts, and built roads, schools, churches, villages, and cities, which are the pride of their descendants, who still work the plow and continue to appreciate the good Brazilians, without foreign connections, to provide the best services to the nation (O Correio do Povo, issue n. 791, 13 of July, 1935).

In the book which was used as a source, an important sentence from the authors emphasizes that "what was sad, the people sought to forget" (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 146), bringing up a possible rupture of the collective memory, as reflected by Pollak In the text "*Memória, esquecimento, silêncio*" (1989) (Memory, Forgetting, Silence) published in Estudos Históricos 3 (1989), about how traumatic situations can affect and distort the way a community remembers and interprets the past. The author points out the difference between the dominant official memory and the "underground memories" marked by silence, unsaid, and resentment. When it comes to the unsaid, Majcher, Canuto, and Lopes (2008) add that in the period of repression, people felt a lot of insecurity. They did not like to remember, nor talk to their children about details and information from their past, fearing for their offspring. The fear produced

traumas that they avoided passing on (Majcher; Canuto; Lopes, 2008: 144).

Theoretical background

Halbwachs was the first scholar to address the term collective memory. Given that the present study focuses on the occupation and cultural expression of immigrant families in the late 19th century, this is a term constantly worked on. In this sense, Halbwachs argues that individual memory is never solely their own, as no memory can exist independently of society. With clear Durkheimian influences, transferring the phenomenon from the individual level to a sociological level by understanding it as a social fact (Casadei, 2010), Halbwachs (2004) argues that memory fades if we distance ourselves from the group to which it is linked with. He contends that without the social support of our consciousness with the memories of others, all recollection becomes impossible. Thus, individual memory is linked to the memory formed by a person's experiences in various groups over time, "the constitution of memory is, in each individual, a random combination of memories from different groups that influence him" (Casadei, 2010: 155). Memories are shaped within a social context through the groups of which the individual is part. Moreover, the author adds that memory does not create a rupture between the past and the present, keeping from the past what is still alive or can live in the consciousness of the group that holds a certain memory (Halbwachs, 1980). Therefore, nation being the most complete form of a group, national memory would be, in turn, the most complete form of collective memory.

Pollak emphasizes the characteristics of domination and symbolic violence present in collective memory, differentiating it from a Durkheimian approach. For the author, collective memory is dynamic and susceptible to changes over time, caused by different social, political, and cultural influences. In the constructivist perspective, by

privileging an analysis of minorities, for example, the importance of underground memories is highlighted, which, in turn, opposes the official memory or national memory, taking on a destructive, homogenizing, and oppressive character (Pollak, 1989). When discussing the possibility of a rupture in collective memory, the author refers to traumatic moments, political changes, technological advances, or cultural transformations, which can affect how a group remembers and interprets its past. Such memories, which the author calls "forbidden," "unspeakable" or "shameful" memories at certain moments, have shadow areas, silences, and "not-said". Thus, when there is a rupture in collective memory, how a particular group remembers and interprets past events can be reassessed, reinterpreted, or even forgotten.

Pierre Nora (1989) had already drawn attention to a characteristic of societies experiencing the process of acceleration of history, "Fear of a rapid and final disappearance combines with anxiety about the meaning of the present and uncertainty about the future to give even the most humble testimony, the most modest vestige, the potential dignity of the memorable." (1989: 13). With this, he attributes to every man the obligation to remember and the role of his own historian. Through the need for the preservation of the past and identity, it ends up composing collective experiences of man, reaffirming that identity has its construction in the past (D'Aléssio, 1992). Nora, characterizing a past that is losing its place to the eternal present, brings with it the loss of identity, suggesting, in turn, attachment to vestiges and traces as a way to counteract the destruction of contemporary speed. The author defines memory as a lived process, present in living groups. Unlike history, which represents the past, memory is a phenomenon always current and in constant evolution, and he adds, "vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived" (Nora, 1989, 8). Halbwachs

makes a clear distinction between memory and history, with historical memory being much more external and a representation of the past in a summarized and even schematic way, fragmenting time. He relates it to a cemetery, where the space is measured and "where room must constantly be made for new tombstones" (Halbwachs, 1980: 52). For the author, information from historical memory is cold and impersonal and only gains denser meaning if related to some personal experience. He states that history begins when collective memory ends and collective memory ends when it no longer has the support of a particular group.

Therefore, Nora emphasizes the existence of *lieux de mémoire*, the Places of Memory that can be defined as history that still has remnants of memory. Considering the period of the Vargas Dictatorship, a time when codes, symbols, and rituals were given central importance, especially by autocratic regimes established from the 1930s onward, to strengthen the sense of nationalism, architecture was employed as a means to represent and communicate civic and patriotic symbols, contributing to the creation of new national identities. Thus, it is understood that architecture also relates to the intention or creation of a national identity. On the other hand, architecture is inseparable from the region where it is created, from the knowledge of the community, and their lived experiences, in the form of vernacular architecture, as architecture is the material heritage of the relationship between man, memories, time, and place, making visible the way the world touches us (Pallasmaa, 2006). In addition to its traditional constructive and functional purposes, architecture has been playing an important role in embodying and symbolically representing the world of humans. Therefore, it can also be given the designation of *lieux de mémoire* in the context of the collective memory of a particular group.

Reflection on the survey data and the possible rupture of memory

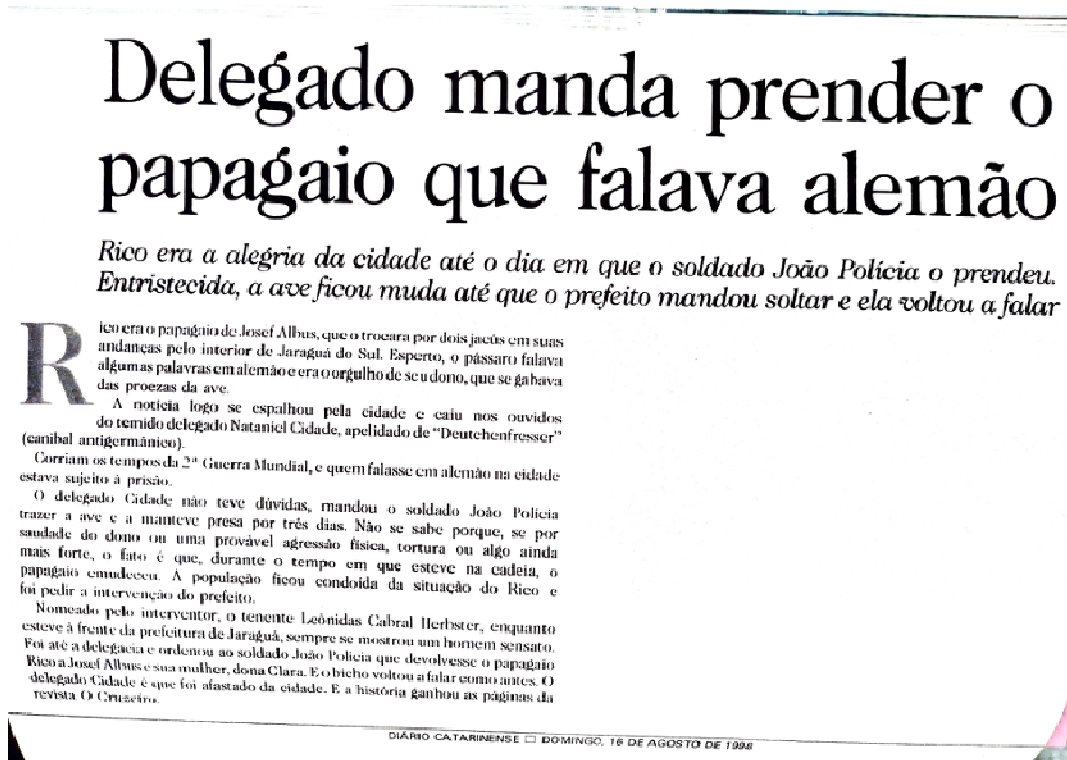
Following the theoretical background, when analyzing all the collected data, it leads to a possible rupture of memory or even its distortion. According to the online survey conducted with the community in November 2023, only 22% of respondents affirmed having collective memories of that time. Within this, only half consider them to be many memories that came from mainly grandparents.

As respondents do not remember most of the time (57.1%), they stated not having feelings associated with that period. Meanwhile, 42.9% described a feeling of repression when associated with memories from that period.

When analyzing excerpts from local and state newspapers that cover the study period, repressive measures and arrests, when transformed into cultural memories on newspaper pages, are often represented comically and hilariously. Some examples bring up reports about the temporary imprisonment of a German-speaking parrot and another about the experience of a settler who was summoned to the police station once a month to prove that he did not speak German.

When asked about the existence of any place in the city of Jaraguá do Sul that represents resistance to the repression of cultural expression during that time, from the 22% only one respondent mentioned the Santo Estevão Church, the oldest church in the city, built by the Hungarians in 1922. Finally, another respondent points out that today there is a greater appreciation of Hungarian culture, which has remained hidden for many generations. Another example of hidden architecture is the old houses still preserved in the research area, which possibly had to be covered in an attempt to hide the architectural style, which in times of repression was not acceptable for recalling a foreign architectural style.

Picture 2 - Note on the arrestment of a parrot. Source: *Colônia Húngara no Jaraguá (2008), Diário Catarinense Newspaper, 16 of August, 1998.*



Picture 3 - Note about the summons of a German immigrant. Source: *O Correio do Povo, issue n. 4235, 20 of October 1999.*

Memória Jaraguense
O que faltou para contar... (CXXIII)
Tio Eugênio
Ângelo Piazero

O colono alemão, invariavelmente, uma vez por mês, recebia a intimação para comparecer à delegacia, em dia e hora. E lá chegando, vestido com o melhor terno que deveria ter trazido da Europa, para enfrentar o inverno e de chapéu, descobria-se com a saudação — “Pom tia senhor telekate”, a autoridade já despejava uma série de impropérios e ameaçava de cadeia se não confessasse, e o colono protestava, dizendo “Eu non falar alamão, eu não falar alamão”, tirano do bolso uma cédula de vinte mil réis, daqueles do tamanho de uma folha de livro e a deitava na escrivaninha do delegado. Fazendo-se de amuado, o ‘delega’ dizia que essa vez ele deixava passar, mas que não se repetisse, porque então ia conhecer o sol nascendo quadrado.

Ângelo Piazero (neto) falava das coisas que aqui aconteciam, logo depois da instalação do executivo, legislativo e judiciário. Nei Franco era gaúcho de Porto Alegre e casava em Joinville com Edith, filha da conceituada família Cruz Lima, e era nomeado contador da Prefeitura Municipal de Joinville. Chegada a emancipação de Jaraguá, desmembrado do território joinvilense, as famílias Tavares da Cunha Mello e Cruz Lima, se mexiam para ocupar os cargos de cartórios e escritórios da comarca, cuja influência política se fazia sentir. Assim é que, quando aconteciam óbitos e se necessitava fazer inventários, Nei dava acentuada preferência aos advogados joinvilenses, drs. Paulo Medeiros, Marinho Lobo e Plácido Olímpio de Oliveira, ficando o dr. Luiz de Souza só com as sobras. Como contador que era, Nei Franco, também era procurado pelas firmas de maior projeção em Jaraguá, para atender os registros contábeis, que ele atendia, mas que eram assinados os balanços e as demonstrações por contabilistas práticos e licenciados para exercer a profissão. Voltaremos. Até a próxima.

Picture 4 - Houses in the research area. Source: By the author (2022)



Conclusion

Censorship and nationalism caused the forgetting of cultural heritages. The marks of erasure, forgetting, and even distortion were felt in this work through analyses based on concepts related to collective memory and its rupture, leading to possible places and memories. Moreover, the possible characteristic of Hungarians and their descendants being part of a culture that was hidden for a long time was brought to light, as an aspect related to the nationalization campaign during the period of the Estado Novo government and its attempt at assimilation and homogenization of the culture, but which may also be related to the strong influence of other ethnicities through time. The present study aims to continue with in-depth research and analysis to understand the role of architectural and visual elements in the settlement and assimilation process of Hungarians and their descendants in Jaraguá do Sul, and how this may have contributed to the subsequent development of a new cultural and rural landscape.

References

- Anderson, B. (2021). *Comunidades imaginadas: reflexiones sobre el origen y la difusión del nacionalismo*. Fondo de cultura económica.
- Brasil. *Decreto nº 2.265, de 25 de janeiro de 1938*. Available in: <http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1930-1939/decreto-2265-25-janeiro-1938-345763-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>. Access in: 18 Jan. 2024.
- Brasil. *Decreto-lei nº 383, de 18 de abril de 1938*. Available in: <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-383-18-abril-1938-350781-norma-pe.html>. Access in: 18 Jan. 2024.
- Brasil. *Decreto-lei nº 406, de 04 de maio de 1938*. Disponível em: <http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-406-4-maio-1938-348724-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>. Access in: 18 Jan. 2024.
- Brasil. *Decreto-lei nº 868, de 18 de novembro de 1938*. Disponível em: <http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-868-18-novembro-1938-350829-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html>. Access in: 18 Jan. 2024.
- Casadei, E. B. (2010). Maurice Halbwachs e Marc Bloch em torno do conceito de memória coletiva. *Revista Espaço Acadêmico*, 9(108), 153-161.

- D'Aléssio, M. M. (1992). Memória: leituras de M. Halbwichs e P. Nora. *Revista Brasileira de História*, 13(25/26), 97-103.
- Hackenhaar, C. (2015). A Campanha de Nacionalização em Santa Catarina (1937-1945): integração cultural e disputas políticas. *Revista Latino-Americana de História*, 4(14), 151-168.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). The collective memory (F. J. Ditter Jr., & V. Yazdi Ditter, Trans., with an introduction by M. Douglas). New York: Harper & Row. (Original work published 1950).
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*. Cambridge University Press.
- IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas. *Jaraguá do Sul*. Available in: <https://www.ibge.gov.br/cidades-e-estados/sc/jaraguado-sul.html>. Access in: 20 Jan. 2024.
- Kosa, J. (1957). A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850-1950. *American Slavic and East European Review*, 16(4), 501-514.
- Lopes, S. M.; Toassi Kita, S. R. *120 Anos da imigração húngara em Jaraguá do Sul*. 1 Ed. Letradágua, 2012.
- Majcher, O. P. ; Canuto, A. M.; Lopes, S. M. *Colônia Húngara no Jaraguá*. Jaraguá do Sul: Espaço Comunicação, 2008.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: Les lieux de mémoire. *representations*, 7-24.
- Pallasmaa, J. (2006). *Los ojos de la piel La arquitectura y los sentidos* Editorial Gustavo Gili.
- Palti, E. (2002). Emergencia y descomposición del discurso antigenealógico de la nación. *La nación como problema*. Buenos Aires: Fondo do Cultura Económica.
- Pollak, M. (1989). Memória, esquecimento, silêncio. *Revista estudos históricos*, 2(3), 3-15.
- Schwartzman, S., Bomeny, H. M. B., & Costa, V. M. R. (1984). *Tempos de Ipanema*.
- Seyferth, G. (2011). A dimensão cultural da imigração. *Revista brasileira de ciências sociais*, 26, 47-62.
- Thomázy, T. (2021). Passado–Presente–Futuro? A Manutenção Da Língua Húngara No Brasil. *Revista de Letras Norte@mentos*, 14(37).
- Vieira Filho, D. (2012). *O patrimônio cultural da imigração em Santa Catarina*. IPHAN, Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional.
- Weissheimer, M. R. (2016). Paisagem cultural da imigração em Santa Catarina. *Identidades: territorio, proyecto, patrimonio*, (6), 105-125.