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**THE ARCHITECTURAL
LEGACY OF THE
LUTERAN POMEREANS
IN THE COUNTRYSIDE
OF ESPÍRITO SANTO,
BRAZIL**

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Abstract: The State of Espírito Santo, especially the mountain regions in the interior, were colonized by Italian, German and Pomeranian immigrants throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. The Pomeranian immigrants began their occupation in the region of the current municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá around 1859, where they spread their culture, traditions, beliefs, customs, way of life and ways of building, at the same time that they had to adapt to the conditions places for its dissemination. Specifically in the case of architecture, the necessary adaptations to the different climate and materials available in the region consolidated a new architecture, typically Pomeranian in Brazil. The objective of this article is to identify and characterize the Pomeranian architectural typologies that spread in the interior of Espírito Santo, having the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá as the object of analysis. The theoretical-exploratory research carried out a bibliographical review on immigration, documentary research in public archives, as well as a photographic survey on the spot. The results of the research seek to contribute to the registration of Brazilian Pomeranian architecture, as well as to the preservation of its cultural heritage, a legacy of extreme value for the culture of Espírito Santo.

Keywords: Pomeranians. Immigrants. Pomeranian architecture. Santa Maria de Jetibá. Espírito Santo.

INTRODUCTION

How is the legacy of a people constituted? Legacy is something transmitted from one generation to another or from father to son, spontaneously, which gives it a unique relevance for the formation of cultural identity. Hall (2001) and Castells (2008) point out that identity is configured from movements that are produced within societies, dialogue with the cultural systems that surround us and

internalize meanings and values that may come from their cultural practices. The places in which memories are evoked characterize what Pierre Nora (1993) calls “places of memory”.

They are, this way, material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) stops where the memory of a collectivity, of a country, is solidified, places where groups or peoples identify or profile themselves, which allows the appearance of a feeling of identity, and concern (OLIVEIRA, FERREIRA, GALLO, 2017, p. 214).

In this sense, the approach to the Pomeranian culture is inherent to the Capixaba culture itself, as it encompasses actions, knowledge, customs, beliefs and values that evoke memories, rescue meanings of the Pomeranian tradition and solidify traditions.

The first Pomeranian immigrants arrived in the state of Espírito Santo in 1859. Among the factors that spurred their arrival are the political and economic instability that Pomerania has suffered for centuries, such as famine, the Black Death and the lack of prospects generated by the countless wars that the territory faced during its history. The increase in unemployment, resulting from the Industrial Revolution in Europe, as well as the scarcity of fertile land and the desire to freely profess the Lutheran faith without religious persecution, also contributed to the migration process.

Its diffusion in the state of Espírito Santo occurred in mountainous regions of the interior, along the Santa Maria da Vitória river, where they initially settled in the land located in the current municipality of Santa Leopoldina and, later, entering the forest and climbing the mountains, they occupied the region of the current municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá, located approximately 80 kilometers from the capital Vitória (Figure 1). Currently, the presence of Pomeranian

traditions and customs in the daily lives of the local population in both municipalities is notorious. The striking presence of Pomeranian architecture in the landscape is also evident, whether in typical residential buildings, churches or cemeteries.

The aim of this research is to analyze the remaining typologies that make up Pomeranian architecture in the interior of the State of Espírito Santo – a great legacy of Pomeranian culture and a strong symbol

of resistance to current hegemonic and globalizing practices. As a specific objective, the research aims to: a) understand which were the architectural references brought from Pomerania, b) identify which were the climatic and constructive adaptations carried out in the local context to consolidate a typically Pomeranian architecture in Brazil, c) evaluate the trajectory of the Pomeranians inside the state.

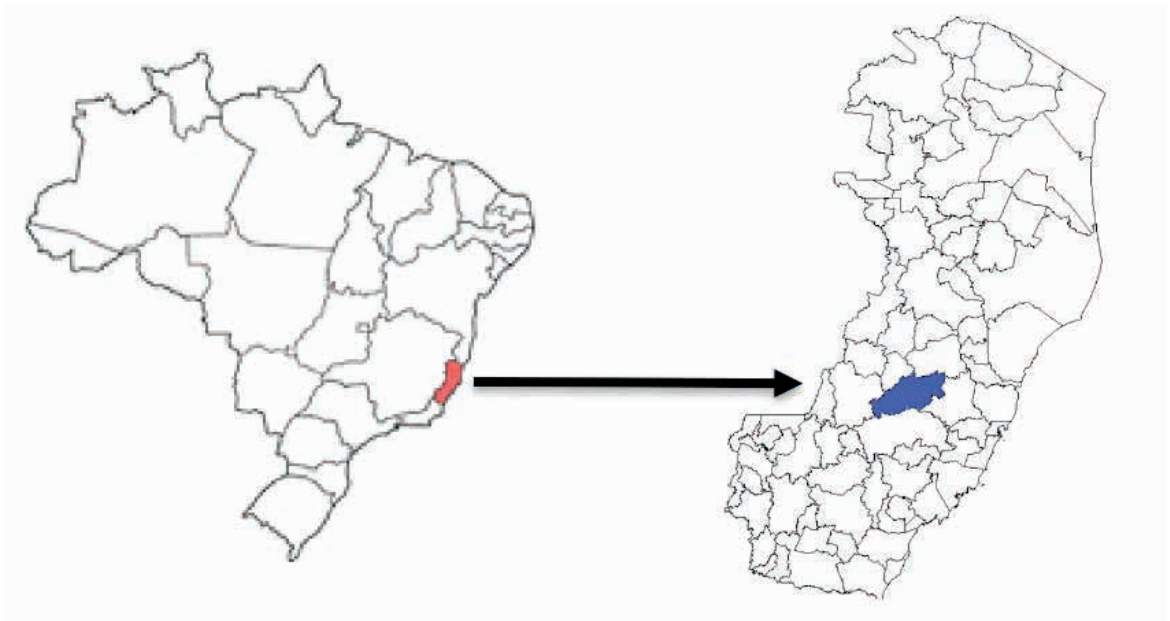


Figure 1 - Location Map of the State of Espírito Santo, Brazil (Red) and the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá (Blue).

Source: Authors, 2022

The theoretical-exploratory investigation uses bibliographical and documentary research as an investigative practice. The existing bibliography, even if incipient, supported the theoretical basis. The documentary research, carried out in the Public Archives of Santa Maria de Jetibá and the state government, in addition to the records of the local Lutheran Church, complemented the information. During the research it was verified the scarcity of scientific research referring to Pomeranian immigrants in Brazil and also in Espírito

Santo. With regard specifically to cultural heritage, there are few scientific and technical productions, which justifies the relevance of this investigation. The field research led to the execution of the photographic survey and observation in loco.

The research identified two types of characteristic architecture in the landscape of Santa Maria de Jetibá/Es, which will be addressed in this research: civil architecture - associated with typical houses and religious architecture - composed of the Lutheran

Church and cemeteries.

THE TRAJECTORY OF THE LUTERAN POMEREANS IN THE INTERIOR OF ESPÍRITO SANTO

In the 19th century, the political and economic scenario in Brazil was changing. In the year 1847, according to data from the Projeto Imigrantes/ES, a great incentive from the government for the mass immigration of Europeans began. In Espírito Santo, the then president of the province, Couto Ferraz, led this process, aiming to populate areas of the territory and develop the economy through agriculture. In 1888, with the abolition of slavery, the government replaced black labor, until then employed in the fields, by European immigrants. In addition to economic necessity, there were social objectives behind this issue. Corona (2012, p. 33) cites the existence of “a process known as whitening that consisted of lightening the skin of this population through miscegenation. It was an attempt to improve the Brazilian race”.

In Espírito Santo, European immigration had as its initial objective the settlement of the interior part of the state and the strengthening of agricultural activity. Until the end of the 1850s, the state had large areas of deserted land, concentrating its population in the coastal region and in small inland areas, such as in the municipalities of Cachoeiro de Itapemirim and Alegre. With the decline of sugar and the growth of coffee, immigration found favorable paths for its implementation. Families of various European nationalities came to Espírito Santo, such as German, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Dutch, Luxembourgish and Pomeranians. The government provided them with passage from Europe to Vitória and from there to their final destination. In the following report, it is possible to observe the difficulties faced by many families during the journey.

Our emigrants made the trip on sailboats that, depending on the wind or weather for or against, took two, four or even six months to reach the beautiful and paradisiacal port of Rio de Janeiro, the capital of the then imperial government, from where they were transported in coastal vessels to Vitória, capital of the province of Espírito Santo. The route of the trip, from the river to the arrival at the final destination, was done in a small space, many on the deck without a protective cover, for days and nights, exposed to the weather and weather (GAEDE, 2012, p. 20).

Upon arriving in the capital Vitória, the immigrants were housed at the Pedra D'Água guesthouse. According to data from the Projeto Imigrantes/ES, it is estimated that, between 1889 and 1900, the inn received more than 20,000 immigrants from various parts, mainly from Europe. Table 01 shows the number of registered immigrants according to their year of arrival. It is worth noting that only immigrants who entered the Pedra D'Água guesthouse were mentioned. Until 1889, the year of its inauguration, disembarkation took place directly through the port of Vitória and the accommodations, when they existed, were made up of improvised barracks in the vicinity of the capital. Those who arrived at the port of Vitória until 1888 or who entered directly through the waterways, such as Benevente, Itapemirim, Itabapoana and Rio de Janeiro,

Year	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Imig	2.837	383	4.454	552	3.102	4.044	4.632	3.122	113	10	6	19

Table 2 - Nation of origin and the respective number of immigrants:

Country	Austria	Germany	Belgium	Spain	France	Greece	Netherlands	Italy
Imig	143	75	9	2.480	34	2	5	18.633

Country	Poland	Portugal	Russia	San Marino	Switzerland	Ukraine	Others
Imig	92	1.219	104	363	13	70	27

Table 01 - Number of immigrants - by year and origin in Espírito Santo.

Source: Espírito Santo Immigrants Project.

After knowing the location of their lands, the immigrants would go up rivers in canoes and face dense forest until they reached the 'promised land'. Initially, they occupied the mountainous region of Espírito Santo, where the climate was cold and humid. In 1880, the process of internal migration of immigrants and their descendants towards the north of the state began. Such dispersion took place in search of new lands and better living conditions, and was facilitated by the construction of the bridge over the Rio Doce in Colatina, connecting the north region to the south region of Espírito Santo.

Each settler received from the government "a plot of land, with a thousand armfuls broken from felling trees for the first crop, a ranch for temporary housing, seeds, a couple of pigs, two chickens and a rooster" (CORONA, 2012, p.35). In exchange, the settler would have to pay these expenses within a period of four years, counting from three years of occupation of the land. The definitive title to the land was only granted after the payment of all debts to the government.

The beginning of life in the new land was not easy for European immigrant families. Without adequate support from the authorities and facing difficulties, many died early, due to hunger, animal bites and hitherto unknown diseases. During this period, a large number of stillbirths and children who died

before reaching one year of age were reported.

The first Lutheran families arrived in Brazil in 1824 and occupied the region of Nova Friburgo, in Rio de Janeiro and São Leopoldo, in Rio Grande do Sul. Only in 1846 did the first Lutherans arrive in Espírito Santo, aboard the ship *Philomena*, which departed from the port of Antwerp, in Belgium, bound for the port of Rio de Janeiro. This group consisted of 108 people. The following year, a second wave landed, consisting of 46 people and later, in the same year, a third group with 11 people, thus totaling 38 Germanic families (165 people), 16 followers of Lutheranism and 23 of Catholicism. These families were taken along the Jucu river to the colony of Santa Isabel/Campinho, where they received an area of land and an allowance in the form of a loan. This was the beginning of the Lutheran presence in Espírito Santo.

In the first forty years, the evangelical communities, which would later form the Evangelical Church of the Lutheran Confession in Brazil, were largely abandoned. They organized their communities without many formalities. From simple domestic cults, they later evolved into communities, elaborating their statutes and electing directors. In the communities, Lutherans, Reformed and United were initially living together (Portal dos Luteranos, 2022).

The first Pomeranians disembarked at the port of Vitória in 1859. It was a group of 117

people who left the port of Hamburg, Germany aboard the ship *Eleonore*. The Pomeranians inhabited Pomerania, a country located on the Baltic Sea, with Germany and Poland as territorial borders (Figure 03). They were small farmers and day laborers. Between 1872 and 1873 approximately 2,142 Pomeranian

immigrants arrived in Espírito Santo, making it the Brazilian state with the largest number of Pomeranian descendants in Brazil. Graph 01 shows the regions of the former German empire from which immigrants of Germanic origin came to Espírito Santo, with 63% coming from former Pomerania.

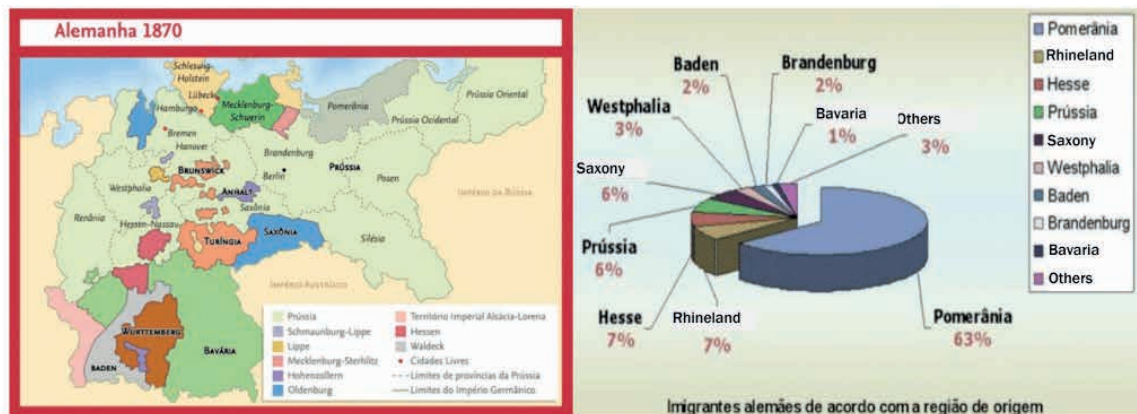


Figure 03: Location map of Pomerania in Europe; graph 01 - Regions of origin of immigrants in Germany.

Source: Immigrants Project; Manske (2016, p.108)

THE POMERAN ARCHITECTURAL LEGACY

Pomeranian architecture can be divided into two types: religious architecture, with Lutheran churches and the cemetery, and civil architecture, with typical rural houses as the main representation. According to Jacob (2010, p.43), “Pomeranian architecture results from a construction process, from a combination of forms learned in Pomerania with those learned from the environment and cultures present in the place to which they immigrated”. Upon arriving at the designated plots of land, one of the first measures adopted by the Lutheran Pomeranian immigrants was the construction of a cemetery and a school-chapel to hold their services.

The single-family houses reflected the love for the motherland on the facades, with the colors white and blue, the appreciation of nature, with floral motifs and a unique

architecture, focused on the union of the family and work in the field. They were simple buildings, using the materials available in the nature of the local context for their construction. The memories of the constructions of the old Pomerania served as a starting point for the buildings in the new land and, little by little, with the participation of the community in a joint effort, a Pomeranian architecture emerged in Espírito Santo lands.

CEMETERIES

Following the Lutheran belief in resurrection after death, cemeteries were considered sacred spaces and, therefore, must be built close to churches, in open spaces, without the possibility of shade from buildings in the vicinity. The cemeteries built by Pomeranian immigrants had unique symbologies, implanted from Lutheran dogmas and the culture of their ancestors,

the people *Wendein* Pomerania, which demonstrates the mixture of these two in the life of the Pomeranian.

The tombs are still written in German and are taken care of daily, being kept clean and decorated. Almeida (2015) states that Pomeranians consider cemeteries as sacred places. Therefore, part of the tombs have words in German (Figure 04), the language used by the church at the beginning of immigration. In addition, they were implanted in a way that they faced the rising sun, “in respect of the analogy that the sun represents God” (CORONA, 2012, p.91).

In its construction, the Pomeranians:

They paint their graves with lime, decorate them with many flowers and pine branches, weed the land around them, and preserve what they consider a monument, that is, a cultural heritage, as it is a place, par excellence, of construction. of the group's history and its mythical origin, being taken as a reference to remake the history of the Pomeranians' immigration in Brazil and their kinship ties. The importance of visiting the cemetery is not restricted to the day of the dead (ALMEIDA, 2015, p.57).

At the beginning of immigration, AMBROZIAKI; MANSKE (2021) highlight the fact that women who died during childbirth, the recovery period or individuals who committed suicide were buried differently from other members who died of “natural causes”.

The coffin of a suicide usually goes over the cemetery wall [...] being positioned transversely. According to the Pomeranians, suicide does not allow the individual to have a wake according to the Christian ritual and the burial of a suicide is based on practices that expose and condemn the act, considered impure beings. (AMBROZIAKI; MANSKE 2021 p.131)



Figure 04 - Inscription in German taken from a tomb in the cemetery of Santa Maria de Jetibá. (On the left and in the middle). To the right, suicide tomb.

Source: Authors 2022

CIVIL HOUSES

The Pomeranian house - as an important example of residential architecture - has particularities. According to Corona (2012, p. 47), “the Pomeranians who went through the immigration process did not belong to the wealthy class, but to the surviving group, who mostly worked”. Thus, the population that immigrated belonged to the class of day laborers, simple land workers who brought in their memory the housing models they knew in Pomerania, such as the feudal lord's house, the huts and their own residence.

Upon reaching the promised land, after a long journey into the wild forest and without any support structure, the immigrant needed to build a small improvised hut to spend the first nights with his family. While the permanent home was not ready, the whole family was organized in a single room in the hut, built of wood and mud walls. After building the house, hut or *backschupe*¹ would serve as a deposit for tools and production.

The residence was implanted taking advantage of the rough terrain. The ridge of the building was positioned parallel to the access road to it. Such characteristics facilitated the protection of the house against invaders. This way, the house camouflages itself and facilitates the identification of the visitor. In addition, they sought to build it

¹ Translation from Pomeranian: Place for the wood oven.

close to sources of running water.

The typical Pomeranian house used the half-timbered construction system² with straight fittings, thus having an independent structural skeleton, in which the seals had no structural role. Second Rölke, (1996), emerged in the colonies of Germanic immigration in Brazil, a new style, which added to the knowledge of half-timbered production, inherited in Germany, with the tropical reality, where they were adapted to cultural and historical schemes. The walls were made of hand-built rammed earth (clay and wooden beams), approximately 15 cm thick (Figure 05). Subsequently, they received clay-based mortar and lime-based paint. Internally, they were painted in bright colors. Externally, they are characterized by the presence of blue and white on the facades, colors that reflected the love of this people for their homeland, reproducing the colors of the Pomeranian flag in their homes. The house was a simple construction, “focused on the work ethic, especially on farming. It got better if the harvest was good” (JACOB, 2010, p. 43).

Pomeranian family homes are characterized by being germinated, with wooden frames that mark the frontal symmetry of the facade. The house was built on a level above the ground, under stone or wooden urns, in order to improve internal thermal comfort and protect against attacks by forest animals, also enabling its adaptation to the unevenness of the ground. In the basement, animals and agricultural equipment were placed. The heat generated by the animals, with the carbon dioxide released in breathing, generated hot air which, being lighter than the cold air, rose through the gaps in the floor, pushing the cold

air out of the house, thus warming its interior.

A wooden staircase gives access to the interior of the building, passing through the veranda, the Pomeranian’s socializing environment, which in turn was commonly decorated with railings, lambreques and floral motifs. Under the gabled roof, there is an oitão window or oculus, striking characteristic elements that served for the immigrant to observe, through this, who approached his home, thus serving as a form of protection for his family. Initially, the sealing of the roofs was done by handcrafted wooden tiles, the *huld schingel*³. Subsequently, it was replaced by ceramic tiles (Figure 06). The rectangular plan (Figure 07) is quite simple and comprises:

A room in the center with the other rooms arranged around it (the bedrooms); in the front part of the room, there was access to the balcony; and a bedroom, located at the front of the house, had an internal opening and another with access to the balcony, representing the courtship room⁴. This room remains inserted by custom, by tradition. Preserving itself in the buildings, even without the strategic defense functionality for which it was created in the original floor plan (CORONA, 2012, p.57).

Internally, the lining was made up of narrow planks arranged side by side. In the joints, ‘kills together’ were used, pieces positioned to hide the joints of the wood and protect against the entry of dirt and insects. They also served as the upper floor.

In addition to the house, the barn makes up the typical Pomeranian residence. It functions until the present day as an annex, being used as a deposit of tools and agricultural production. In many, there is a wood oven, used mainly to roast Brot⁵, main Pomeranian

2 OEnxaimel is a traditional European construction technique, in which a structure made of joined wood has its openings filled with stones, bricks or rammed earth.

3 Translation from Pomeranian: Wooden tile.

4 Dating room: “Bedroom located at the front of the house, it had an internal opening and another with access to the balcony. This room remained inserted by custom, even without the strategic defense functionality for which it was created in the original floor plan” (CORONA, 2012, p. 57).

5 Typical Pomeranian bread.

food. The kitchen was located separately from the main body of the house, due to the need to use firewood for cooking. This way, the smoke produced did not enter the interior

of the house and possible fires were avoided. Likewise, the restrooms were also located outside.



Figure 05- On the left construction of a half-timbered house by immigrants; On the right, hand-made Taipa wall.

Source: Pommerland: The Pomeranian saga in Espírito Santo; Authors 2022.



Figure 06 - Typical Pomeranian house.

Source: Authors 2022

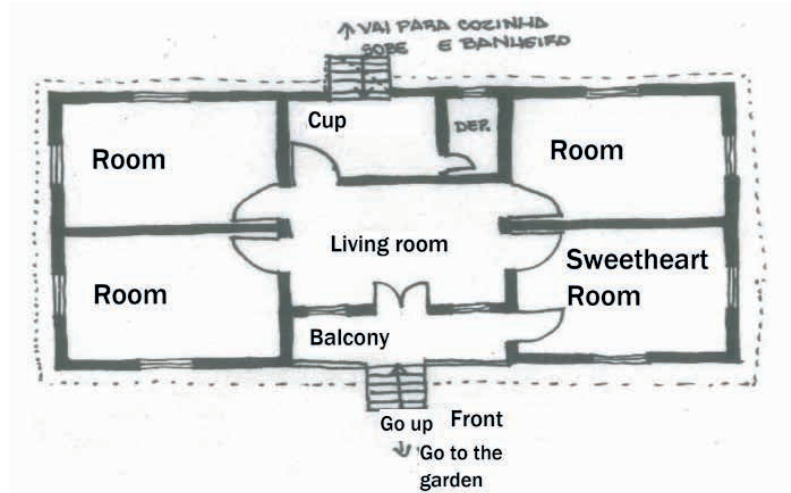


Figure 07 - Sketch of a typical Pomeranian house floor plan.

Source: Corona(2012, p.55).

CHURCHES

The Pomeranians who immigrated to Espírito Santo mostly followed the Lutheran doctrine. It was implemented in Pomerania in the 16th century, initially stronger in the cities and later entering the manors. This meant that, from 1530 onwards, “Pomerania became predominantly Evangelical/Lutheran” (RÖLKE 1996 p.29), but “without completely abandoning its primitive beliefs and rituals, such as blessings and prayers” (CORONA, 2012, p.25).

At the beginning of immigration, services were held in small chapels. With the increase in the number of immigrants arriving in Espírito Santo lands, communities grew, thus requiring a larger place for worship. In a *mutirão* regime, Lutheran men and women organized themselves and started the construction of their temple. The justments⁶ were essential for the construction of Pomeranian houses and temples. They represented Pomeranian solidarity and at the same time were a form of leisure and fraternization.

The first Lutheran chapel built in Espírito Santo lands was located in the Campinho region⁷ and was built with financial help from the Brazilian government. It was a simple and precarious construction, implanted in a land away from the settlers' house (Figure 08). After numerous requests, the government authorized the transfer of its headquarters to the center. Then began the construction of a new temple.

Inaugurated in 1866, the church of Campinho was a milestone not only for Lutheran doctrine, but for all evangelical religions. In addition to being the first **Lutheran church** in the state of Espírito Santo,

⁶ Translation: Gathering. Community fraternization, combined with unpaid work for the benefit of a particular family (GAEDE, 2012, p. 108).

⁷ The Campinho region corresponds to the current urban center of the city of Domingos Martins/ES.

⁸ Lutheran Portal <http://www.luteranos.com.br/conteudo/hi-historia-da-paroquia-evangelica-de-confissao-luterana-em-domingos-martins-es>. Accessed on June 22, 2022

⁹ Lutheran Portal <http://www.luteranos.com.br/conteudo/hi-historia-da-paroquia-evangelica-de-confissao-luterana-em-domingos-martins-es>. Accessed on June 22, 2022

it was the first non-Catholic church to have a tower in the country and in Latin America⁸. At that time, the current imperial constitution prohibited the construction of towers in non-Catholic temples. Article 5 of the imperial constitution stated: “the *Catholica Apostolica Romana* religion will continue to be the Religion of the Empire. All other religions will be permitted with their domestic or private worship in houses designated for that purpose, without the external form of a Temple⁹.” It was also restricted, in addition to the tower, the use of the cross, bells or any sacred symbol that referred to a place of worship. Even with the knowledge of the law, the pastor responsible for the community at the time ordered the construction of a tower with three bells for the community. Inaugurated on January 30, 1887, the architectural remnant is preserved to this day in the Municipality of Domingos Martins.



Figure 08 - First Chapel and Parish House of the Community of Campinho (on the left). Inauguration of the first Lutheran Church of Espírito Santo in Campinho (in the middle) Current Lutheran temple in the center of Domingos Martins (right).

Source: Portal Lutherans 2022

As another important example of Pomeranian religious architecture, the church of Luxemburgo, located in the municipality of Santa Leopoldina (Figure 09), was the first evangelical Lutheran church in the former colony of Santa Leopoldina. Considered the second oldest in the state, it was built by the first Pomeranian settlers in the region, in 1869. For its construction, materials that nature had available were used, such as wood

and pounded clay, forming the 60 cm walls that characterize the building. As usual at the time, it was built without the presence of a central tower. The wooden structure on the outside accommodated the bells donated by the imperial government. Currently, the community of Luxembourg is one of the best preserved Lutheran churches in the state (Figure 9).



Figure 09: Construction of the Lutheran community in Luxemburgo in 1869; Current building (2022)

Source: Lutheran community collection; Authors 2022

Lutheran temples mostly have a simple format, with a rectangular floor plan that reflects the three basic pillars of the liturgy of

Lutheran doctrine: “proclamation (Pulpit), sacrifice (altar) and birth of faith (baptistery)” (CORONA, 2012, p.77) (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Altar of the Lutheran community of Luxembourg -Espírito Santo

Source: Authors 2022

The altar is the main element of the church, being located in the center of the chancel. On the back of the altar, there is a cross, representing the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The baptistry is implanted next to the altar, on its left side and represents the initiation of the child in the Christian life. Baptisms are performed there, most often still in childhood. On the right side of the altar, there is the pulpit, the place for pastoral sermons, when the pastor communicates with the community. Usually, it is deployed at a high level, facilitating the visibility and propagation of the message. The biggest space in the temple is destined to the benches, accommodated in rows and that will accommodate the members for the cults.

The Pomeranian Lutheran churches, in the mountainous region of Espírito Santo, are characterized by their symmetry and the presence of a central tower with bells. These are of great importance. The bell signals and summons members to services. Even today, in the interior communities of the state, it is possible to observe the craft of the bell ringer. The entrance to the church is marked by the presence of the atrium, a meeting place for members and preparation for services. The windows on the facades are in the form of arches and are positioned in such a way as to prioritize natural lighting inside the temples, helping to transmit the ideal of the sacred to

the faithful. The gabled roof is reminiscent of European churches and civil constructions, a feature brought by immigrants.

Based on interviews with pastors from communities in the municipalities of Santa Maria de Jetibá and Vitória, it is possible to understand that the churches built here, when compared to traditional German Lutheran churches, do not follow a defined pattern. Pomeranian immigrants did not have liturgical knowledge for the execution of their temples. They were simple rural workers who relied on their memory to build their temples, bringing memories of their churches in Pomerania and building them based on the little knowledge they had. It is also known that some Lutheran temples in the municipality were built from copies of plans of German churches brought by pastors who came to the region in the 19th century to provide pastoral assistance.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Halbwachs (1990) states that the evocation of the past constitutes an extremely relevant source of testimony, as it allows the rescue of people and social facts relevant to groups and becomes essential for the constitution of individual or collective identity. In this sense, it is emphasized that architecture is an important source of memory evocation, as they have the capacity to “modify the physiological

disposition, as it can stimulate the senses and interfere with behavior, in addition to activating mechanisms in the brain capable of awakening the state of the user from the contact with the physical space” (OLIVEIRA, BITTENCOURT and PINHEIRO, 2020, p.101). That is, the Pomeranian architecture constitutes an important cultural heritage of Espírito Santo that helps to perpetuate the memory, traditions, customs and construction techniques from Europe and adapted to Brazilian climatic conditions. Furthermore, it does not only have architectural, artistic and historical value, with affective and cultural values rooted in its walls. This way, they represent a mixture of material and immaterial goods, that is, mastery of the technique associated with beliefs and rituals.

Brazil today represents the largest colony of Pomeranians in the world, with the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá, in Espírito Santo, currently being the largest nucleus of descendants of this people. The physical country Pomerania, despite being extinct after the Second World War, is still alive through the legacy perpetuated from generation to generation by its ancestors and maintained until the present day, whether in its material or immaterial representations. Bosi corroborates this discussion by highlighting that the memory is in constant evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, despite its successive deformations. Despite these transformations, the research identified that the Over the past few years, Pomeranians have kept their traditions and customs alive.

The research identified that there are not many documentary records regarding the Pomeranian architecture and its characteristics in Brazil and Espírito Santo. The greatest legacy consists of the remaining artifacts that survive in these small towns in the interior of Espírito Santo and are preserved by the local population as an expression of

their culture. Despite not receiving federal or municipal heritage, the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá encourages the maintenance of its architectural examples, with their preservation being the responsibility of the city hall/community union, a fact that undermines their maintenance.

In conversations with the community and city hall, it was found frequent abuse by local lumber companies, who approach residents offering low prices for the purchase of typical houses, with the aim of demolishing them for the removal of hardwood for the production of furniture. Today, traveling inland, many are abandoned or in a poor state of conservation.

Through actions carried out by Iphan and the City Hall in partnership with Lutheran communities and churches, there is an incentive to carry out immaterial social practices, represented through the appreciation of the Pomeranian language in the municipality, the holding of typical parties and weddings, gastronomic fairs, among others.

The Pomeranian cultural heritage, taken individually or together, express the representations of this group that formed Brazilian society, that is, they represent the Pomeranian immigrants who came to Brazil and brought their culture, customs, stories and knowledge.

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