

Japanese Religions in and beyond the Japanese Diaspora

Edited by Ronan Alves Pereira
and Hideaki Matsuoka





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Ronan Alves Pereira
and Hideaki Matsuoka

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Foreword

I am honored to have this opportunity to offer a few introductory words for this fascinating volume of essays on Japanese religion in and beyond the Japanese diaspora. The religion of Japan, or religion in Japan, has been a subject of no small interest to me, and for quite some time. One of the few vivid memories I have of my undergraduate introduction to Japanese history (I think I was a sophomore) was the declaration in lecture by Delmer Brown, the instructor, that "Shinto is the will to life"; the term "vitalism" entered my vocabulary that quarter. My master's thesis, written more than twenty-five years ago, dealt with the persecution of the Catholic missions in Tokugawa Japan. In it I explored the commitment of converts (and martyrs) as well as the ideological motivations of Tokugawa authorities in suppressing the "Kirishitan." Although I did not see it clearly at the time, what I was describing was one of the first systematic efforts to define a "national community" in Japan by positing Catholicism as an absolute "other," an identity that one could not hold while simultaneously being "Japanese." The problems and interests that arose for me then have remained with me, changing shape and hue to be sure, but still very much present.

As Ronan Alves Pereira and Hideaki Matsuoka note in their introduction, the conference on which this volume is based was held in the immediate aftermath of the attacks of September 11, 2001. As then chair of the Center for Japanese Studies, I did have to weigh with the convenors the practical and ethical issues as to whether or not to go ahead. I am glad we did go ahead. In retrospect it would have been a great abdication not to have done so. In the face of the desperately important issues of religious conflict and polarization, the political mobilization of religious identity, and the need for knowledge and understanding of the "others" out there and among "us," how could we not have gone ahead and met and talked? Lost in the gigantic shadow cast by

September 11 were the 1995 sarin gas attacks on the Tokyo subway by followers of Aum Shinrikyō, which had already highlighted—in the most extreme form—the problems of religion in contemporary Japan: to what degree was this organization, with many adherents in Japan and a very large following in Russia, a departure from “typical” patterns of religious or “new religious” organizations in Japan? It is a question as relevant, *mutatis mutandis*, as that of tracing the twisted path that ties the Jonestown cult to the history of American Protestantism in the post-Civil Rights era. Or, again *mutatis mutandis*, as that of the question of the “typically” Korean character of the Unification Church in a world where religious charisma and political authoritarianism have a global reach.

It would be a distortion, of course, to judge the significance of Japanese religion in and beyond the Japanese diaspora in terms of what are, in many ways, pathologies of religious life and experience. Religious life is also an everyday matter, a matter of the continual struggle of individuals and communities to find meaning in, or give it to, the absolutely ordinary, absolutely unavoidable, and yet absolutely unique condition of alienation that we are called on individually to face. On the other hand, it would also be a distortion to wash out of the examination of religion its collective, sociological, and historical dimensions. In between its “unimaginable” but all too real pathologies and the “unreal” everyday universal lies the specifically modern “form of life” that is the nation. It is religious experience as framed by this national (and transnational) “form of life” that this volume seeks to address. To that end, the essays adopted in this volume make use of the notion of a Japanese diaspora. Some readers, perhaps, may be caught short by this approach. The Japanese diaspora is after all one of modest proportions, compared to the Chinese or Indian—or Armenian or Jewish. Without it, however, we cannot discuss the million and a half Brazilians of Japanese heritage, for many of whom ties to Japan remain salient; similarly for the smaller number of Japanese Americans, presumed ties to Japan based on ethnic solidarity turned out to have been decisive in shaping not only the fate of their community but also that of the legal and constitutional history of the United States itself.

The Japanese diaspora—in itself and with respect to Japanese religion—is distinct, however, in having a highly articulated relation to the modern Japanese nation-state in its two great phases. The first is that of the Japanese Empire and the multiple

Foreword

destinations of the considerable labor and settlement migration from Japan from the mid-Meiji era until 1945. The Japanese diaspora in East Asia could not be sustained once the empire was lost, and either had to repatriate or relocate. Did Japanese religion leave no legacy to the postcolonial era? In the second, Japan as an economic power—Japanese capital, rather than Japanese arms and labor—underwrote the transplantation of Japanese religion. The issue of whether, how, and with what religious and social consequences Japanese religion could be detached from its ethnic integument is inseparable from this wider history. At the same time, as the chapters here show in rich detail, the multiple strands that make up “Japanese religion”—local and national Shinto, the many “established” Buddhist sects, the “new” and “new, new” religions—have left a set of highly particular traces across the societies of the Japanese diaspora. I could not help but note the contrast between Brazil, which combines a vibrant and large Japanese “diaspora” of a million and a half with a very broad transmission of “new” religion into the wider society, and the United States, with its diminishing Japanese American population and the isolation of local Buddhist “churches” alongside the virtual “naturalization” of Zen in the wider culture. Robert Bellah’s afterword to this volume is of special interest in this latter regard. Quite properly, he closes on a note of uncertainty about the future of Japanese religion in diaspora. Not as an expert, to be sure, but as an interested party, I do so as well. But I have the pleasant duty of having the final word be one of thanks, once more, to the editors and contributors for their work and patience in bringing this volume to fruition.

Andrew E. Barshay

Introduction

This volume is a collection of scholarly essays based on the international conference "Japanese Religions in and beyond the Japanese Diaspora," held on September 21, 2001, at the University of California, Berkeley. The conference was sponsored by Berkeley's Center for Japanese Studies (CJS) and supported by the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Townsend Center for the Humanities, Institute of International Studies, Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, and Religious Studies Program at the university.

We are immensely grateful to these sponsoring institutions and the support staff of CJS, particularly Ms. Keiko Hjersman. We would also like to thank Professor Andrew Barshay for his warm reception of this project and his continuing support of it. UC Berkeley's Institute of East Asian Studies publications committee and its editor, Joanne Sandstrom, must also be acknowledged for providing us with this opportunity and for the courtesy and understanding they have shown throughout the long process of getting this volume ready for publication.

The conference occurred ten days after the horrid terrorist attack in New York and other places in the United States. In this shocking atmosphere, the conference was almost cancelled, and some scholars actually were unable to attend. On this occasion, our keynote speaker, Professor Robert Bellah, delivered a profound reflection relating the catastrophic attacks to the study of Japanese religions. It was a touching and deep moment for each participant at the conference.

Unfortunately, two presenters were not able to participate in this publication with their work on the presence of Shingon and Pure Land Buddhism in America. Professor Nelson Graburn came in to complement the book with a chapter on the establishment of a Shinto shrine on the West Coast of the United States.

The conference and this book were equally conceived on the premise that Japanese religions are worthy to be academically studied not only for their relative success abroad but also because of the theoretical debates they have provoked. For instance, the study of Japanese religions challenges the definition of “new religious movements” as those created in the mid-twentieth century or at least gaining visibility during that time. As will be seen later in this Introduction, many scholars classify Japanese “new religions” as those founded since the first decades of the 1800s.

The history of overseas expansion of Japanese religions can be divided, as Professor Shimazono suggests (chapter 1), into two broad periods. The first one starts in the late nineteenth century and goes until World War II. The second one goes from WWII to the present.¹

In the first period, the diffusion of Japanese religions depended predominantly on two factors: the expansion of the Japanese Empire throughout Asia and the Pacific islands and the emigration of Japanese laborers, particularly to Hawai‘i and the Americas.

Following the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the Japanese government engaged in a modernizing project that involved the combined orientation of strengthening the economy and the army as a way to catch up with the Western powers. Thus, in 1874 the Japanese government sent military forces to Taiwan and took over the Kingdom of Ryūkyū in 1879. Subsequently, Taiwan was annexed as a result of the Sino-Japanese war (1894–95). Being also victorious in the Russo-Japanese war (1904–05), Japan became a great power in Asia and ready to expand the limits of its empire. In the following years, Japan subdued Korea and many other territories in Asia and the Pacific (Kitagawa 1966:189).

As the Japanese expeditionary forces were showing success in enlarging the limits of the Japanese Empire, Shinto shrines were built in the colonies so that colonial subjects would revere Japanese deities as a way to show their submission to imperial regime. As Helen Hardacre notes,

The great majority of colonial shrines were dedicated to Amaterasu [the Sun Goddess and allegedly imperial ancestor], other Japanese deities, and a collective designation for founding deities of the colony, Kunitama Daijin....

By 1940 there were 137 shrines in Manchuria. In Korea by 1937

¹ The history of overseas expansion of Japanese religions can be found in Inoue et al. 1990:608–57. David Reid gives a good summary of it in English (Reid 1996).

Part I

Japanese Religions in the World

ONE

The Expansion of Japan's New Religions Overseas

SUSUMU SHIMAZONO

In this chapter, I reconsider the place of Japan's new religions in the history of religions of the world. This kind of speculation is becoming more and more necessary in a world in which different cultures are encountering, fusing, and conflicting in everyday life. We need to understand why religious cultures that grew up with specific civilizations are transmitted to and received in other cultures and civilizations. One-way transmission from the West to other parts of the world was the matter of the past. We need to study more multidirectional, diverse, and complicated ways of the transmission of cultures, civilizations, and religions. The study of Japan's new religions overseas is one example of this increasingly important phenomenon of the multidirectional transmission of cultures.

The beginning of the expansion of Japan's new religions overseas goes back as far as the Meiji period (1868–1912). At first they spread to nearby colonies and among immigrants to new continents. Then war brought an end to propagation in migrant communities, and defeat in the war checked propagation in colonial territories. Most of the new religions at first restricted their postwar propagation activities to Japan. But it was not long before they were renewing their efforts in immigrant communities (Inoue 1985; Nakamaki 1986). Eventually, propagation to people of non-Japanese descent took off, using prewar propagation bases in colonial territories and immigrant communities as springboards. Following the economic boom of the 1960s, propagation within Japan eventually approached an upper limit, and there was renewed enthusiasm for overseas expansion.

This chapter was adapted from Shimazono 1991.

TWO

The Settlement of Zen in Australia

GARY D. BOUMA

Zen forms a growing and vital part of the expanding Buddhist community in Australia. Nearly 2 percent of Australians nominated Buddhism as their religion in the 2001 census. Since World War II Buddhism has moved from being practiced by a few largely isolated individuals to providing the *raison d'être* of significant communities of Australians. The spread of Japanese religious groups across the globe provides an example of the processes of globalization reshaping the human world since World War II (Robertson 1994; Beyer 1994). Australia's postwar history provides one example of the local effect of cultural and religious globalization (Bouma 1995, 1997a, 2001). This globalization has taken two primary forms: the spread of cultures, languages, and religion through the migration persons who carry them to places they were not found in strength before; and the transmission of culture and religion through the media, including the medium of missionaries. To understand the place of Zen in Australia, one needs to examine both modes of globalization, as Buddhism has arrived through both modes.

This chapter first locates the discussion of Zen in Australia through a description of the transformation of Australia's religious landscape since World War II, then examines the rise of Buddhism to become 1.9 percent of the total population in 2001 and describes the place of Zen in Australia's religious life and the motivations to adopt Zen practice in Australia. Finally, it discusses the effect on Zen of its settlement in Australia.

The research for this chapter was supported by a grant from the New Japanese Religions Project, Kings College, University of London; and a grant from the Monash University Research Fund.

THREE

Sūkyō Mahikari in Australia and Southeast Asia: A Globalized Japanese New Religious Movement outside the Japanese Diaspora

WENDY A. SMITH

This chapter focuses on the organizational structure and influence of a Japanese new religious movement, Sūkyō Mahikari, and particularly on the ethnic identities of its non-Japanese members, in order to describe the way in which the ethnic pluralities created by colonization in Southeast Asia and by post-World War II migration in Australia are being challenged by new cultural influences arising from global phenomena. The analysis is based on case material collected in Malaysia, Singapore, and Australia. Sūkyō Mahikari has established centers in major cities on all continents, and its growth in membership worldwide is not dependent on the presence of large Japanese immigrant communities in the various countries where it is active. Yet its belief system, rituals, and modes of communication are very much located within a Japanese cultural context. Becoming a member of Sūkyō Mahikari involves radically changing one's lifestyle if one is not ethnically Japanese. Hence it is significant to examine issues of identity and organizational culture in relation to the spread of a Japanese new religious movement such as Sūkyō Mahikari outside the Japanese diaspora. In light of the present interest in globalization, it is also true to say that new religious movements such as Sūkyō Mahikari are examples of the manifestation of powerful global cultural forces. Thus it is important to understand the basis of their appeal and persistence, and for this it is necessary to examine their organizational structures and corporate cultures in much the same way as these are examined for other successful global entities, such as multinational enterprises.

The Farce of the "Great Russian Salvation Tour": The Legacy of Aum Shinrikyō in Mother Russia

DANIEL A. METRAUX

Every successful new religion must develop its own value systems, concepts of authority, and ethical codes, but if it is to survive and grow, it must cultivate some degree of compromise and accommodation with the society within which it must operate. Some notoriously unsuccessful new religions, however, not only refuse or are unable to accommodate themselves, but also employ a level of violent behavior that alienates them from mainstream society.

Japan's successful new religions have made critical compromises in many of their most cherished doctrines in order to accommodate themselves to mainstream Japanese society. Several of these new religions have also flourished abroad not only because of the universal applicability of some of their doctrines, but also because of their willingness to compromise and accommodate themselves to their host societies. These religions have made significant efforts to adapt their practices and ritual for a more ethnically diverse audience.

The Sōka Gakkai, for example, once attracted considerable criticism in the 1950s and 1960s because of its severe manner of proselytization (*shakubuku*), its attacks on other sects, and its proclaimed goal of establishing a "national altar" (*kokuritsu kaidan*). Today the Sōka Gakkai has become a more established religious movement because it has abandoned *shakubuku* in favor of a gentler form of persuasion, has totally dropped the idea of a *kokuritsu kaidan*, and has opened up dialogue and contacts with other religious and political groups. The main reason that the Sōka Gakkai has succeeded in nurturing so many foreign chapters in Asia and the West and converting over two million non-Japanese

When Uchi Goes Soto: The Travels of the Gods in the Shinto Diaspora

NELSON GRABURN

Since Japanese civilization experienced an opening of the country's previously well controlled boundaries nearly a century and a half ago, it has been a truism to say that Japan has attempted to import the socio-technological forms of the West while preserving its spiritual core and expanding it to conquered neighbors. Though the latter proved impossible, as demonstrated by Japan's collapse at the end of World War II, the control of boundaries has been a continued goal throughout the recent decades of the unprecedented export of Japanese manufactures (ships, electronics, cars), Japanese cultural activities (the so-called new religions, karaoke, sushi, manga), and Japanese people (fifteen million and more overseas tourists per annum, Japanese students, Japanese businessmen, Japanese retirees, and legal and illegal wage-laborers).

I am deeply indebted to many people who, in different ways and situations, provided me with the right resources and encouragement needed in this project. I would like to especially acknowledge the Reverend Tetsuji Ochiai and Yukihiro Tsumura of Tsubaki America; Kenji Tierney, Jeffrey Hester, and Professor Emeritus Delmer Brown of the University of California, Berkeley; Dr. Hideaki Matsuoka and Dr. Takeyuki Tsuda, former doctoral students at the University of California, Berkeley; Ms. Okubo Yuko, a graduate student in anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley; Professor Shinji Yamashita of the University of Tokyo; Professor Mitsuho Ikeda of Kumamoto University; Dr. Sergei Arutiunov of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow; the Reverend Koichi Barish of Kannagara Jinja; the Reverend Alfred Tsuyuki of the First Konkō Church of Los Angeles; Eiichiro Azuma, Japanese-language curator of the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles; Professor George Williams of the Department of Religious Studies at California State University, Chico; Professor John Nelson of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at the University of San Francisco; and Professor George Tanabe of the Department of Religion at the University of Hawai'i, Honolulu.

Part II

Japanese Religions in Brazil

Japanese Religions in Brazil: Their Development in and out of the Diaspora Society

HIDEAKI MATSUOKA and RONAN A. PEREIRA

Currently there are approximately sixty branches of “Japanese religions” in Brazil. This comprehensive listing includes old and new religions, Buddhist and Shintoist groups, religious confraternities (such as Yasukuni-kō), and established religions: these religious movements were founded in Japan as well as in Brazil by Japanese immigrants (Pereira 2001:102). In this broad perspective, “Japanese religions” in Brazil can be classified into the following categories in terms of their historical and doctrinal backgrounds: (1) traditional Buddhism, (2) traditional Shinto, (3) new religions (neo-Buddhism, neo-Shintoism, Japanese-Brazilian religions, and others), and (4) miscellaneous (groups in the format of religious confraternities and ethnic-religious movements).

Buddhism and Shintoism have been principally propagated and acquired converts inside the *colônia japonesa* (Japanese Brazilian community),¹ whereas some Japanese new religions have succeeded in obtaining considerable numbers of non-Japanese Brazilian converts. Thus we can categorize Japanese religions in Brazil in terms of their followers: (1) religious groups circumscribed to, restricted to, or heavily dependent on the *colônia*—that is, religions whose followers are mostly Japanese Brazilians; (2) religions that have crossed ethnic barriers—that is, religions whose followers are generally not of Japanese descent; and (3) religions that fall between these two—that is, groups that have a balanced constituency of Japanese and non-Japanese Brazilians. Significant

¹ Among Japanese Brazilians, the term *colônia*, derived from *colônia japonesa* (lit., “Japanese colony”), refers to the Japanese immigrant community in Brazil.

The Brazilian *Imaginaire* of Zen: Global Influences, Rhizomatic Forms

CRISTINA M. ROCHA

In 1997, the glossy, up-market Brazilian magazine *Casa Vogue*, a local version of *Vogue Living*, featured as the cover story "Zen Style." The magazine invited twelve prominent Brazilian architects and interior decorators to produce designs that evoked ambiances of "Zen." Each professional was asked to define the qualities of this "Zen style." The story was reported under the heading "Zen style: More than a decorating style, it is a lifestyle." The list of attributes provided by the twelve professionals followed along the same lines:

Zen has to do with culture, refinement, and it is contemporary; it reflects a particular mood; it is poetic because it incorporates all elements of life; it is quality above all; it seeks the essence; it has to do with visual simplicity, it is functional—it is here to be used; it is monastic but not poor; it is not decorative; Zen accessories are powerful because they carry memories and stories within themselves; Zen ambiances are monochromatic. (Schneider 1997)

The cover of the magazine featured the interior design chosen as the quintessential expression of a "Zen ambience": it portrayed a grayish-white room displaying a three-dimensional white painting on the back wall, wooden sculptures resembling thin, dry tree trunks on the right-hand side, immaculate white pillows on a dark wooden Indian bed in the center of the room, some African black-and-white rugs complete with a traditional African guitar leaning on the side of the bed, and finally, on the floor, a long, shallow, dark wooden bowl containing two items: a small loaf of French bread broken into two and ruffled, recently read newspapers. Bland yellowish light fell on two particular spots: the white artwork on the back wall and the loaf of bread on the floor.

The Nationalization of Foreign Gods: Seichō-no-ie among Brazilians

LEILA M. B. DE ALBUQUERQUE

The sociological reflection on religion derives from the works of Auguste Comte, Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, and Max Weber, all of whom lived in the nineteenth century, a period of great social transformation. Although they had proposed different theories, these authors equally sustained that religion reflects history. In other words, their global theoretical endeavor necessarily included the consideration of religion. In this way, the sociology of religion was founded with concerns about social transformation and its relationship to religion. The perception of this relationship turns the sociology of religion into one of the most dynamic fields within the social sciences.

Many sociologists of religion, under the influence of Positivist thought, have argued that religion would eventually vanish during the process of modernization and secularization (see Macedo 1989:36–37). Alfredo Bosi, a Brazilian scholar, once stated that the study of religion among Brazilian scholars was marked by “necrology”; that is, some scholars thought that the urbanization and modernization of Brazilian society could enhance the rational and secular mentality, eventually leading to the disappearance of the religious manifestations, at least in the regions where those processes had developed most (Bosi quoted in Alves 1978:16).

Developments over the past four decades, however, have shown that such “scientific prophecy” was not accurate. For example, more than thirty years ago, research by Souza (1969) pointed to fact that the growth of Pentecostalism had paralleled Brazilian industrialization and urbanization. The same can be said of the Afro-Brazilian religions, which have spread across the country especially in urban areas, either in the syncretized modality of Umbanda or later in the more “genuine” form of

Elevation of the Spirit: On the Continuity and Discontinuity between the Church of World Messianity and Brazilian Religions

HIDEAKI MATSUOKA

I remember vividly a Saturday afternoon in March 1989 when I first saw a thousand non-Japanese Brazilian followers of Messianity gathered in a church in São Paulo. Since 1988 I had been taking part in a project led by Professor Susumu Shimazono of the University of Tokyo that investigated a Japanese new religion called Shūyōdan Hōseikai. I was visiting Brazil to investigate a branch in Atibaia city, near São Paulo. The branch was small, having only some fifty followers. I conducted all of the interviews in Japanese, as most of the followers were first-generation Japanese immigrants.

How Japanese new religions have been accepted in Brazil is an intriguing topic. Before the 1960s some religions such as Tenrikyō and Seichō-no-ie functioned as bonds connecting people in the Japanese Brazilian community (*colônia*) (Maeyama 1983; Mori 1985). Because I was interested in how and why non-Japanese Brazilians become followers of the Japanese new religions, I visited Messianity's headquarters in São Paulo on that Saturday. A Japanese Messianity minister had told me that there would be a *culto mensal* (monthly prayer meeting) that afternoon, and advised me to attend. I hesitated, since I did not speak Portuguese at that time. As the minister encouraged me by saying that Minister Matsui, a Japanese Brazilian who speaks Japanese, would act as a guide, I decided to go and visited the church in São Paulo.

“A Paradise of Happiness Will Unfold for You in Brazil”: Sōka Gakkai Success in and beyond the Japanese Expatriate Community

RONAN A. PEREIRA

Some of them started arriving in Brazil in the late 1950s as regular immigrants to find a better life. Many did not even know of the existence of other members of their religious group, Sōka Gakkai. Then, the newly appointed president of this religious movement decided to go to Brazil to create a formal organization in October 1960.

Following the pattern of the great majority of Japanese religions in Brazil, Sōka Gakkai was not only introduced by Japanese immigrants, but was also initially limited to the Japanese Brazilian community. In a few decades, however, this religious movement of a small group of Japanese immigrants spread to all regions of Brazil and counted more than a hundred thousand people practicing its faith in the country. What is even more amazing is that 90 percent of the Brazilians who now follow the religion have no Japanese ancestry.

The data presented here come basically from my doctoral dissertation (Pereira 2001), for which I concentrated my fieldwork in the metropolitan area of Brasília. Before that, in 1991–1992, while surveying Japanese religions in the metropolitan area of São Paulo and some cities in the northern state of Pará, I had a chance to interview some leaders of Sōka Gakkai and used questionnaires with members of this organization. The way I organize and discuss my data here received much inspiration from Shimazono Susumu (chapter 1 in this book) and Hammond and Machacek 1999:89. This chapter received generous comments from my colleagues Cristina Rocha, Wendy Smith, and Daniel Metraux, and from my attentive proofreaders Maurice and Rebecca D’Lima.

Glossary

Aum Shinrikyō. Japanese new religion founded by Asahara Shōkō (born Matsumoto Chizuo) in 1986 and disbanded after the group was found responsible for the sarin gas attacks on the Tokyo subway system in March 1995. Aum Shinrikyō was a syncretistic religion combining Buddhist, Hindu, and Daoist teachings and characterized by apocalyptic and isolationist ideas. It promised liberation from suffering through strict adherence to its teachings and yogic practices. After the demise of Aum Shinrikyō, some members reformed it under the name Aleph.

Bodhisattva. In Buddhism, a bodhisattva is a being who out of compassion postpones his or her own enlightenment in order to assist other sentient beings to reach enlightenment despite the fact that he or she has already attained the corresponding spiritual state. The ideal of the bodhisattva figures most prominently in the Mahayana branch of Buddhism and is often cited as one of its defining attributes.

bōzu-gawari. Term used within the Japanese diaspora in Brazil referring to those immigrants who, in a context of an initial absence of professional monks, would be sporadically called to act as “substitute bonzes” and read some verses of a Buddhist sutra in case of death or serious disease.

butsudan. Family Buddhist altar that normally contains mortuary tablets of deceased family members (see *ibai*).

Candomblé. A form of Afro-Brazilian Spiritism. Candomblé is a syncretistic religion that has its origins in the beliefs of the Yoruba tribe of West Africa — especially Yoruba worship of divinities called *orisha* — to which numerous Catholic elements have been added. Ritual possession by various *orisha* forms the core of Candomblé religious practice.

colônia japonesa. Literally, “Japanese colony” — i.e., the Japanese immigrant community in Brazil.

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