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2600 Years of Sambuddhatva

Global Journey of Awakening

**Ministry of Buddhasasana and Religious Affairs
Government of Sri Lanka
2554-2555/2011-2012**

Buddhism in South America

An Overview with Reference to the South American Context

Frank Usarski

Introduction

Compared to research in other parts of the Western Hemisphere, Buddhism in South America¹ is still a rather unexplored issue. Except for Brazil, where there has been a steady increase of related academic activities since the late 1990s², and a handful of researchers in Argentina, Ecuador and Venezuela particularly interested in Zen and Soka Gakkai³, research on Buddhism is absent in South American universities and appears only sporadically on the agendas of associated scientific communities such as the Latin American Association for the Study of Religions (ALER)⁴, the Mercosur Religion Social Scientists Association (ACSRM)⁵ or the Latin American Association of African and Asian Studies (ALADAA).⁶

The main reason for this is that although Buddhist history dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century, and despite the presence of institutions of virtually any Buddhist branch, Buddhism continues to be a statistically modest part of South America's diversified religious field. In relation to the vast Christian, particularly Catholic majority of the population of the South American countries and their institutional predominance, Buddhism, with around 500,000 practitioners and approximately 600 groups represents a numerically insignificant segment.

Furthermore, and again with the exception of Brazil, useful official statistical data is either missing or incomplete. In most cases the national censuses do not contain any question concerning religion. If there is the rubric "religion" on the census' questionnaire, Buddhism does not explicitly appear in the results but is treated as one of several alternative minorities to the Christian mainstream and therefore subsumed under the headline "other religions"⁷.

In the face of these not very auspicious intellectual conditions, this essay is not entitled to deliver an empirically and analytically satisfactory discussion of the history and current state of Buddhism in South America. This is especially true for the first part, which offers a preliminary synoptic approach to Buddhism in South America in general. The latter part is based on a combination of different kinds of references, including academic sources⁸, official statistics of religion launched by governmental⁹ and research agencies¹⁰, Buddhist directories, estimations

of the statistical relevance of Buddhism by continent¹¹, by country¹² or in a city¹³, and homepages run by Buddhists institutions active in South America. Despite the effort to overcome the limitations of isolated sources especially as far as the Spanish speaking countries are concerned, the heuristic value of the collected material suffers from a series of uncertainties. In some cases, obviously inconsistent information makes provisional conclusions even more difficult.¹⁴

Since research on Buddhism in Brazil is well advanced, the reader can expect more details in the second part of this essay dedicated to a description and interpretation of the situation in the only Portuguese speaking country in South America.

Buddhism in South America: An Overview

There are currently around 600 Buddhist institutions of different size and scope active in South America. A closer look at the list reveals that virtually every Buddhist school has established itself in at least one of the respective countries. Besides "classical" orientated Theravada-circles, Mahayana temples with a Chinese, Japanese, Korean or Vietnamese background, and Vajrayana groups following the teachings of Nyingma-, Kagyu-, Sakya- or Gelugpa-masters, one finds centers representing more recent developments such as the New Kadampa Tradition, followers of Thich Nath Hanh, neo-Buddhist movements within the Nichiren-branch, and institutions without a definitive orientation dedicated to the study and practice of Buddhism in an "ecumenical" sense.

In systematical and geographical terms, however, the spectrum of Buddhists institutions is far from being proportionally segmented. As for systematical disproportions, the strongest divisions are that of Tibetan Buddhists groups representing approximately 27% of the total of institutions established in South America, of Soka Gakkai (25%) and of Zen (22%). On the other hand, Theravada is represented by about twenty local centers (3%). "Ecumenical" Buddhism (around ten local groups) is even less popular.

The main geographical difference consists of the numerical, organizational and substantial significance or even predominance of Brazil in comparison with the

Spanish speaking countries. Due to the existence of approximately 300 centers, dojos, groups and temples and around 230,000 self-declared Buddhists, more than 50% of the Buddhist institutions and around 47% of the South American Buddhists are located in Brazil. This tendency correlates with the fact that Brazil's population (185.7 million in 2010¹⁵) is nearly as high as the estimated population of the rest of South America.¹⁶



Zen-Meditation on the top of the Copan-Building in São Paulo

The general statistical strength of the Brazilian Buddhist institutions is reflected in a numerical overweight of certain Buddhist branches. This is true for Amida Buddhism represented in South America by eighty-four temples of which 90% are located in Brazil. Another example is the New Kadampa Tradition with followers in Brazil (more than twenty centers) and in Chile (three local institutions). More striking is the situation of Buddhist branches restricted to Brazil as in the case of Honmon Busuryushu (eleven institutions), Shingon (five) and Tendai (two).



Tendai-Temple in São Paulo, Photo: Rafael Shoji (2004)

For other branches, Brazil plays a crucial administrative and spiritual role in relation to South America as a whole. The Soto-Zen temple Busshinji in the city of São Paulo is not only the spiritual reference for local practitioners but serves as the headquarters in order to expand its activities

to neighboring countries and to coordinate the work of the associated Brazilian institutions and a temple in Peru. The same is true for the Hokekyo Temple in São Paulo, which is the South American headquarters of Nichiren-shu. In a similar way, the temple of the International Buddhist Order founded in 1996 in Foz de Iguaçu, a Brazilian city close to Argentina and Paraguay, welcomes adherents from either side of the border.¹⁷ Another example for the logistical significance of Brazil is the Latin America Study Session on Nichiren Buddhism in April 2009 held at the Daisaku Ikeda Culture Center in São Paulo and attended by more than 2,000 Soka Gakkai adherents from all South American countries.¹⁸

The importance of Brazil for South American Buddhism is also seen with regards to Tibetan Buddhist teachers who are not only venerated by their Brazilian disciples but also have adherents in other South American countries. One example is the Brazilian Gelug monk Segyu Choepel Rinpoche, founder of the Lama Je Tsongkhapa Center in Porto Alegre and a correspondent institution in Buenos Aires. A second example is the Tibetan Nyingma-master Chagdud Tulku Rinpoche, who, after moving his headquarters from California to the South of Brazil in 1994, has opened more than twenty local centers in Brazil, Uruguay and Chile. A third example is the Tibetan Gelugpa-monk Lama Gangchen, founder of the Centro de Dharma da Paz Shi De Choe in São Paulo (1988) as the very first institution of an international religious movement which also includes local groups in Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires.

About 400 of the enlisted South American institutions are run by Mahayana Buddhist branches. The great majority is associated with Japanese Buddhist schools, but there are also temples that represent Chinese or Korean tradition. This high proportion is obviously not an unequivocal indicator of the quantitative significance of the so-called ethnic Buddhism, but it is a reminder that the reconstruction of the past and present of Buddhism in South America would be incomplete without reflection upon the role of Chinese, Japanese and Korean immigration.

Although Chinese immigration to South America is already documented in the first half of the nineteenth century prior to the arrival of the Japanese, the latter have had a stronger effect on their host societies, especially in Brazil and Peru, and to a lesser extent in Paraguay, Argentina and Bolivia.¹⁹ Korean immigration is more recent and has had only a minor impact on the evolution of Buddhism in South America.

The first Japanese vessel landed in Peru in 1883. Japanese immigration to Argentina and Bolivia started in

1899 and the first arrival of Japanese in Brazil occurred in 1908.

Today, Brazil hosts the largest Japanese community outside Japan. It is estimated that currently 1.3 million Japanese immigrants and their descendants live in the country, far outnumbering Brazilians of Chinese origin (about 150,000)²⁰. Next comes Peru where around 80,000 Japanese represent the largest ethnic minority. Around 50,000 are of Chinese origin. In Argentina there currently exists a minority of about 35,000 “japo-argentinos” probably outnumbered by a fast growing Chinese colony.²¹ The Bolivian Japanese community is composed of about 12,000 individuals. In Paraguay there currently live around 50,000 Asian immigrants and their descendants, about 10,000 of Japanese origin.

If one generalizes the well-documented statistical decline of ethnic Buddhism in Brazil over the last decades and suppose that other countries have witnessed similar dynamics, then only a relatively small proportion of the enlisted Mahayana-Buddhists should be taken as an indicator of the current relevance of ethnic Buddhism in South America. On the other hand, besides more than eighty ethnic-based Shin-Buddhists communities, there is a series of ethnic Buddhists communities in the region. In this context there are traditional Zen institutions with a strong ethnic background such as the Busshinji Temple in São Paulo and Daishinji Temple in Bogota. Another example is the Tzong Kwan Temple in São Paulo, built with the extensive financial help of the Taiwanese order and the local Chinese community, and which served after its inauguration by the Buddhist master Pu Hsien in 1993 as a model for the construction of two “sister” institutions, one in Argentina the other in Paraguay.²² In a similar category falls the Fo Kuang Shan-order whose religious activities in countries such as Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Paraguay are supported by local Chinese communities.



Recitation at the Zu-Lai Temple in São Paulo

From an historical point of view the significance of Buddhist immigrants in South America is even more evident. The most obvious cases are that of Peru and Brazil, where Buddhist activities began long before Buddhism attracted a Western audience. In the face of “the tragedy of the initial immigrants”, both the Soto Zen and the Jodo branch decided to send official delegations to Peru. Consequently, “the priests, the Revs. Ueno, Masumoto [Zen] and Kinoshita [Jodo] received orders from their respective organizations to go to Peru as missionaries” and “to work in South America among the Japanese immigrants like those who had gone to Hawaii and North America.”²³ As far as Brazil is concerned, all Buddhist activities before World War Two were in Japanese “colonies” located in the Federal State of Sao Paulo. The first group that comes to mind is Honmon Butsuryū-shū, whose pioneer, Tomojiro Ibaragi, was among the immigrants that arrived on the first Japanese vessel in 1908.²⁴

While the first decades of Buddhism in the region were directly related to Asian immigration, more recent trends gained momentum through a growing number of South Americans who - from the 1960s onwards and parallel to the development in other Western countries - discovered Buddhism as an alternative to their inherited religions, mostly Catholicism. Two tendencies were mainly responsible for these dynamics. On the one hand, Buddhist institutions (for example traditional Zen temples) and movements (such as Soka Gakkai) initially firmly enrooted in a Japanese immigrant milieu, became open to a wider audience and served as a catalyst for the expansion of Buddhism into new sociological contexts. On the other hand, while traveling in the USA or Europe or experiencing workshops and lectures given by roshis and lamas who visited South America, potential converts came into contact with Buddhist approaches already adapted to the mentality and needs of Western religious seekers. Eventually, these alternative settings have given rise to a generation of converts who assumed an active role as Buddhist teachers or as “innovative” members of staff of a traditional ethnic temple or as protagonists of a “globalized” Buddhist branch whose international network of local groups includes centers in South America.

One example of the South American converts who started her career as a minister in a traditional Zen temple is the Brazilian Claudia Souza de Murayama, born in 1947. In 1960, “Monja Coen”, as she is called by the Brazilian media, went to San Francisco in order to study Buddhism at the Zen Mountain Center until she moved to Nagoya,

Japan, where she underwent long-term monastic training at the Shoboji Temple and finally gained the status of an official Soto-Zen teacher. Back in São Paulo she assumed the leadership of the Busshinji Temple, became a member of the South American Soto-Zen Council and was elected president of the Brazilian Federation of Buddhists Sects [sic!]. Being a Buddhist modernist who sympathized with the inclusion of Buddhists converts into the Busshinji community, Muruyama came into conflict with the order's conservative faction, finally left the Busshinji Temple and founded the Tenzui Zen Dojo as a more convenient



spiritual home for Buddhist converts.²⁵

Monja Coen

Densho Quintero²⁶ and Shotai de la Rosa²⁷ are two Columbian Zen protagonists at the *Daishinji* temple in Bogotá, a traditional institution related to the Soto Zen Buddhist Association of North America. Densho

Quintero was ordained as a Soto Zen monk in France in 1987. Since 1989 he has dedicated his time to the propagation of Zen Buddhism in his home country. In 2009 he received dharma tradition in Japan. Today he is the head teacher of the *Daishinji*. Shotai de la Rosa became a Zen Buddhist in 1989. From the 1990s onwards she first studied Zen under Dokusho Villalba (Spain) and Fausto Taiten Guareshiin (Italy), then in the USA and finally, like Claudia Souza de Murayama, at the Aichi Senmon Niso-doin, Nagoya, Japan.

As with Claudia Souza de Murayama and Shotai de la Rosa, Ricardo Dokyū, born in 1959 in Argentina, went to Nagoya for spiritual reasons. In Japan he was ordained as a Soto-Zen monk (1991) and received dharma transmission (2002). One year later he founded the An Raku Ji Temple in Buenos Aires as well as the Soto Zen Buddhist Association of Argentina (2007).²⁸ Two other examples in Argentina are Augusto Alcalde and Antonio Eiju Pérez. Augusto Alcalde's interest in Buddhism arose out of countercultural ambitions in the 1960s²⁹. In 1984 he joined the Diamond Sangha in Hawaii and studied Zen under Robert Aitken from whom he finally received dharma transmission. In 1986 he returned to Argentina and founded the Shobo An Zendo in Cordoba, an institution affiliated with the Hawaii

Diamond Sangha. Antonio Eiju Pérez is the founder of the Zen-Center in Mendoza. He started his career as a Zen-Buddhist in 1988. In 1997 he went to Japan where he became a disciple of Roshi Harada Tangen. In 2000 he was ordained as Soto-Zen minister Tenhsin Fletcher at the Zen Mountain Center, California.

As far as Tibetan Buddhism is concerned, an outstanding case is that of the Brazilian Michel Lenz Calmanowitz, who was still a young child when his parents founded the first Institution of the Lama Gangchen Movement in São Paulo. After Lama Gangchen had recognized the boy as a tulku, "Lama Michel" entered the Tibetan Buddhist monastic exile community of Sera Me, South-India and today plays a leading role within the movement.³⁰

Less spectacular is the history of the Argentinean convert Gerardo Abboud, born in 1945, today the resident dharma teacher of the Drukpa Kagy Center in Buenos Aires.³¹ Abboud began to study and practice Buddhism in the 1970s in India and Nepal. Since then he has dedicated himself to the tradition of Tibetan texts into English and Spanish and to the service of an interpreter on the occasion of workshops and lectures of Tibetan masters during their tours to countries such as including Argentina, Brazil and Chile. In this function he even accompanied the Dalai Lama during his visit to Latin America in 1992.

Finally, there are the considerable number of South American converts who have assumed responsibility for a local center on behalf of a Buddhist movement that operate on an international scale, such as the Association Zen Internationale and Karma Kagyu - present all over South America - the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order in Venezuela, Vipassana Meditation groups in the tradition of SN Goenka in Brazil, Peru and Venezuela or the Kwan Um School of Zen and the Order of Interbeing in Brazil.

Buddhism in Brazil: Historical and Socio-demographic Developments

The history of Buddhism in Brazil can be subdivided into four phases. The first roughly dates between 1810 and World War Two. In the respective decades Buddhism was restricted to Asian immigrants and their domestic practices according to inherited traditions. This is not only true for Japanese families who entered the country from 1908 onwards, but – according to reports indicating that the early Chinese immigrants to Brazil³² maintained their customs and continued to celebrate their annual festivities³³ - probably also for Chinese workers whose initial group had immigrated nearly a century before the vessel *Kasato Maru* with the first Japanese immigrants on board arrived at the port of Santos.

While informal religious practices and involuntary autonomy at the level of laymen and laywomen was the rule in those days³⁴, the few efforts to institutionally support the spiritual life of certain colonies must not be forgotten. The first activities that come to mind are associated with the Rev. Tomojiro Ibaragi, who according to the order of the Honmon Butsuryū-shū, was among the first wave of Japanese immigrants. In 1936 he made a name for himself as the founder of the Taisseji Temple in Lins, Brazil's very first official Buddhist institution. The construction of the temple was encouraged by the members of a local nucleus of Honmon Butsuryū-shū practitioners initiated by the layman Yoneji Matsubara in 1932. Soon thereafter, the first Shin Buddhist institution was inaugurated in the city of Cafelandia.³⁵ Further efforts related to Shin Buddhism were undertaken in the Iguape colony to which the Rev. Masumo Ikoma had been sent by the Honpa Honganji headquarters in 1928. Six years later, the Rev. Shinba introduced Shingon to Brazil.³⁶



Community of the Taisseji Temple in Lins in 1951

Two more Honmon Butsuryū-shū temples were constructed during the first phase of Brazilian Buddhism, namely the Nissenji in Presidente Prudente (1940) and the Ryushoji in Moji das Cruzes (1941).³⁷ Finally, one event of a different nature has to be mentioned in the given context: the foundation of the Buddhist Society of Brazil by the Theosophist Lourenço Borges in 1923. As the first association intentionally designed for Western Buddhists, the institution anticipated tendencies characteristic of a later period. In this sense it is paradigmatic that the Buddhist Society of Brazil in its original form was closed after few months, but revived in its current form in 1967³⁸ under different circumstances.

The second period of the history of Buddhism in Brazil took place in the post-war period and was characterized by the establishment of institutions associated with ethnic

Buddhist communities. The respective dynamics were particularly stimulated by the intention of the majority of the Japanese to stay on in Brazil. The decision not to return to their country of origin put an end to “experimental immigration” as well as to the immigrants’ idea that at home someone else was responsible for the religious affairs of the family until they returned and reassumed their duties.³⁹ In consequence, a series of Japanese Buddhist institutions was established. Honmon-Busutryū-shū expanded its network of Brazilian temples to Taubaté (1949), Londrina (1950) in the Federal State of São Paulo, and to Itaguai (1950) in the Federal State of Rio de Janeiro and inaugurated its Brazilian headquarters in the city of São Paulo (1962).⁴⁰ In the first half of the 1950s, the Tendai-shū and Ōtani branch of Jōdo Shinshū inaugurated their first temples, the Honpa branch of Jōdo Shinshū founded its national headquarters, and the Jodo, Zen, Nichiren, and Shingon sects announced the official start of their missions in Brazil. In 1958 the Federação das Seitas Budistas no Brasil established itself as a Japanese Buddhist umbrella organization.⁴¹

Stimulated by the beginning of the internationalization of its then lay-organization Soka Gakkai, and the visit of its president, Ikeda Daisaku, to Brazil, Nichiren Shōshū began to publicly articulate itself in 1960. Brazil’s first Chinese Buddhist institution⁴², the Mo Ti Temple in Sao Paulo, has existed since 1962.⁴³

From a chronological standpoint, the inauguration of the other ethnic Chinese temples, as well as of the only ethnic Korean temple, overlaps with events already characteristic of the third period. Compared to the Mo Ti Temple it took twenty-five years for the local Chinese colony to start with the construction of a second Chinese Buddhist temple, the Kuang Ying in São Paulo, and another five years until the institution opened its doors for the associated community. Only a short time before that, the Zu Lai temple in Cotia was inaugurated (1992), followed by three other Fo Kuang Shan temples in Rio de Janeiro (1996), in Recife (1999) and in Foz de Iguacu (2000).⁴⁴ As for traditional Korean Buddhism there is only the Jin Kak Temple in the city of Sao Paulo, inaugurated in 1988 and belonging to the line of Chogye-Buddhism.

The third phase of Buddhism in Brazil was marked by an intensified interest of intellectual circles in Japanese Buddhism, especially in Soto Zen. This dynamic began to articulate itself in Sao Paulo but was not restricted to this city as proved by similar, although slightly later tendencies, in Brasilia.⁴⁵

Three elements were essential for the new trend. First, one has to consider the repercussion of a positive



Minister of the Jin Kak Temple in São Paulo (Foto: Rafael Shoji 2004)

idea of the East and particularly of Japan constructed by the early writings of Brazilian philosophers, novelists, poets, and historians

who had dedicated themselves to respective topics out of enthusiasm for the exotic, a romanticizing interest in the Orient, or an intellectual curiosity in a relatively unknown part of the world⁴⁶. Thus, works of authors such as Fagundes Varela (1841-1875), Machado do Assis (1839-1908) Raimundo Correia (1859-1911), Aluisio de Azevedo (1857-1913), Farias Brito (1862-1917), Alexandre Marcos Konder (1904 -1953) or Lourival Nobre de Almeida (1906-1981)⁴⁷ had laid the foundation for a favorable image that even resisted the growing resentment of the Brazilian public against Asian immigrants before and during World War Two.⁴⁸

The second factor was the growing knowledge of Zen Buddhism due to newspaper articles and books, including DT Suzuki's Introduction to Zen, the Portuguese version of which was first published in Brazil in 1961.⁴⁹

Third, and most importantly, one has to recognize the catalyst role of Soto-Zen temple Bushinji in São Paulo, which at that time began to show greater openness towards the Brazilian public. The key figure of Soto-Zen was Rosen Takashina Roshi. In 1955, he had visited several Japanese colonies. One year later he was sent again to Brazil, this time due to his order's decision to make him the official head of the Busshinji temple. He remained in this position until 1985.

In 1961, Rosen Takashina Roshi began to organize public zazen-meetings in the Busshinji. From 1971 onwards three or four-day sesshins were periodically held at the temple. Detailed information about the composition of the group of early Western practitioners is not available, but at least some of the Brazilians who made no secrets of their passion for Buddhism are frequently cited in relevant publications. The list contains Brazilian personalities such as the writer Nelson Coelho, the poet Orides Fontela (1940-1998)⁵⁰, the physician Maria das Dores Pereira da Silva⁵¹, the psychiatrist Nise da Silveira⁵², and the

Busshinji-temple in São Paulo

university professor Eduardo Basto de Albuquerque.⁵³

Probably the most renowned representatives of the circle of early Buddhist converts are Murillo Nunes de Azevedo and Ricardo Mário Gonçalves. Azevedo, inspired not



only by Buddhism but also by Theosophy, was an engineer but also gave university courses on eastern religions and produced a series of Buddhist writings. Similar is true for Gonçalves who worked full-time as a History Professor at the University of Sao Paulo and besides his commitment to Buddhism was also a Freemason. Both Azevedo and Gonçalves played an outstanding and at the same time peculiar role for the popularization of Japanese Buddhism among a wider Brazilian audience. Due to religious careers that started with Zen, continued with their ordination as Shingon ministers, and ended up with leading positions in the Honpa Hongwanji Temple in Brasilia (Azevedo), and in the Higashi Honganji Temple in Sao Paulo (Gonçalvez), their contribution to the development of a "brazilianized" Buddhism went hand-in-hand with their work as "spiritual mediators" inside traditional Japanese Buddhist institutions.

The fourth phase, characterized by the growing emancipation of Zen from ethnic Japanese settings, as well as the multiplication and substantial diversification of institutions predominantly frequented by Buddhist converts, started in the middle of the 1970s. As in other Western countries these developments profited from spiritual orientations of the counterculture movement and a growing number of publications on Eastern religions. In many cases, the Brazilian audience came in contact with relevant ideas through translations of books from English to Portuguese.⁵⁴

A decisive figure for the sociological manifestations of these tendencies in the context of Buddhism in Brazil was Ryotan Tokuda, another official Soto Zen representative sent to Brazil by the Soto Zen order in 1968. He started his work at Bushinji but was soon dissatisfied with the conservatism of the temple's majority. In 1974 he established, together with a group of Brazilian converts, the retreat center Morro da Vargem in Ibraçú, in the Federal State of Espírito Santo. Later

Cristiano Bitti, a former participant of the “open” zazen meetings and sesshins in São Paulo, turned out to be an important figure for the Morro da Vargem. During the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s he underwent a long-term monastic Soto training in Japan. Back in Brazil he became the head of Morro da Vargem and has remained in this position until today.



Saikawa Roshi, Sōkan of the Soto School in South America, ordains three Brazilian members of the Zen Community in Florianópolis

In 1984, Tokuda inaugurated a second institution, the retreat center Pico dos Raios in Ouro Preto in the Federal State of Minas Gerais. “Continuing his missionary work among non-Japanese Brazilians,” Cristina Rocha writes, “in 1993 Tokuda founded the Zen Center of Planalto, in Brasília, the federal capital. In the following year, Tokuda and Brazilian practitioners founded the Zen Center of Rio de Janeiro. In 1998, Tokuda established the Serra do Trovaio monastery in Minas Gerais state. This monastery was established to be exclusively for the training of new monks and it holds two seven-day monthly retreats.”⁵⁵

Another key-figure for the dynamics characteristic for the fourth phase of Brazilian Buddhism was Roshi Moriyama who had been spreading Zen on the United States’ west coast before coming to Brazil. Like Tokuda, Moriyama started his spiritual work at Bushinji. Later he had to leave the temple due to incompatibilities between his “globalized” approach to Zen and the conservative attitudes of the temple’s hierarchy. From this split resulted two “modernist” Zen centers in Porto Alegre in the State of Rio Grande do Sul.

Parallel to innovative trends in the Zen sector, Soka Gakkai began to grow and evolved from about 150 members of Japanese origin in the 1960 to a geographical widespread and probably in recent times numerically most significant Buddhist branch with a high proportion of members without an ethnic Asian background.⁵⁶

Another trend constitutive for the fourth period of

Buddhism in Brazil consists in the spread and increasing attraction of Tibetan Buddhism. In 1988, followers of Tarthang Tulku inaugurated in São Paulo the very first Tibetan Buddhist institution in Brazil: the Tarthang Tulku Nyingma Center. Shortly after, disciples of the Gelugpa monk Lama Gangchen founded the Centro de Dharma Shi De Choe Tsog, also in São Paulo.

In 1993, again in São Paulo, three more Tibetan Buddhists institutions were inaugurated, namely the Thubten Dargye Ling (committed to Geshe Lobsang Tenpa), the Centro Budista Mahabodhi (New Kadampa Tradition) and the Ödsal Ling (inspired by the Nyingma master Chagdud Tulku). In 1995, disciples of Chagdud Tulku inaugurated a temple in Três Coroas, in the Federal State of Rio Grande do Sul, as the movement’s future international headquarters and permanent home of Chagdud Gonpa, he until then had lived in northern California. In the following years the Chagdud Tulku-organization established a series of local centers in



Chagdud Gonpa Khadro Ling in Três Coroas

cities such as Belo Horizonte, Florianópolis, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Goiânia.

In addition, during the 1990s a Sakya group in Rio de Janeiro, founded by Sakya Trizin, and two groups (in Cotia, near São Paulo and in the national capital Brasília), associated with the Kagyu-master Kalu Rinpoche, emerged. One of the most interesting inaugurations in the Tibetan Buddhist sector is that of the Gelugpa Centro Je Tsongkhapa in Porto Alegre (2000). Although the institution is attended by a numerically relatively insignificant group of practitioners, it deserves attention because of its founder, Lama Segyu Rinpoche. The latter is a native Brazilian and was an Umbanda medium in Rio de Janeiro until he was officially recognized as the reincarnation of a sixteenth century tantric master. Today, Lama Segyu is not only the abbot of the Tibetan monastery Sed-Gyued Datsang in Nepal, but also the director of the Healing Buddha Foundation Segyu Gaden Dhargye Ling, in Sebastopol, California⁵⁷.

Brazil is the only South American country whose national censuses contain valuable information about the status and dynamics of the religious field. The data ascertained by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE) include a series of statistics that

allow insight into the evolution and current situation of the Buddhist sector. Although the relevant material is methodologically reliable and rich in details, one has to be careful with definite conclusions since “eclecticism is deeply entrenched in the Brazilian psyche”⁵⁸ and quantitative statements about adherents are undermined by the fact that exclusive religious commitment is not the rule. With these reservations in mind, the numerical evolution of the Buddhism in Brazil can be summarized as follows.

According to the 2000 National Census 214,873 Brazilians, or approximately 0.14% of the country’s population, are Buddhists. This is a relative insignificant percentage for a religion frequently and often enthusiastically mentioned by the media even compared to religious minorities almost publicly ignored such as the Jehovah’s Witnesses ($\approx 0.6\%$) or the Seventh-Day-Adventists ($\approx 0.73\%$).

Correlation between the questionnaire’s categories “color” (= “race”) and “religion” indicate that the absolute number is composed of 81,345 Brazilians that identified themselves as having “yellow” skin and 133,528 individuals who opted for an alternative item on the respective fivefold scale (besides “yellow”, “white”, “brown”, “black” and “indigenous”).



Religious celebration of the Japanese community in São Paulo, Photo: Frank Usarski (2001)

The first observation regarding these data has to do with “ethnic” Buddhists whose negative numerical evolution becomes evident when one compares the statistic for 2000 (81,345) with the corresponding

previous figures. Compared to the results of the National census of 1950 (152,572 “yellow Buddhists”) the subfield witnessed a dramatic decline of about 47% during the second half of the twentieth century.

Complementary empirical data suggest that a strong reason for this tendency consists in the growing indifference of the second and third generation of immigrant families towards the cultural baggage brought to Brazil by their fathers. Already from the post-war years onwards this attitude was not restricted to the negligence

of the domestic religious heritage. Rather it has led a considerable proportion of the younger members of the ethnic community (characterized by socio-demographic mobility, the flexibilization of communication patterns in disfavor of the Japanese language and a growing tendency towards intermarriage) to abandon Buddhism and to nominally embrace Catholicism or to join a Protestant church.⁵⁹

In 1941, only 1.5% of Japanese immigrants had declared themselves to be Christian.⁶⁰ An empirical study conducted seventeen years later showed how strongly Japanese religions were already “affected by direct and constant contact with the predominant Brazilian religion”.⁶¹ While in 1958 the proportion of Catholics (42.8%) was almost as high as that of Buddhists (44.5%), the study indicated significant differences between age groups and in other demographical factors. 16.6% of the immigrants of the first generation born in Japan had converted to a “Brazilian religion”, the rest had remained faithful to their Japanese religious heritage. For their descendants the situation had changed dramatically. 60.7% declared themselves adherents of a “Brazilian religion”. The second generation (39.3%) was less affected than the third and fourth generation (together 70.3%). A comparison according to age groups showed similar variations. 83.3% of the Japanese older than 44 years but 32.4% of those who at that time were between fifteen and nineteen-years-old were still committed to a Japanese religion.⁶²

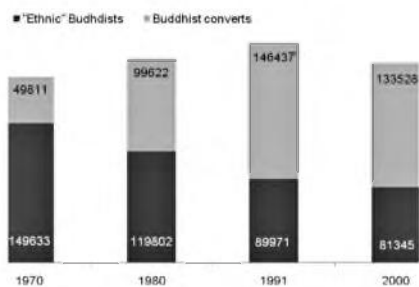
According to the trends indicated above, ethnic Buddhism in Brazil has continued to decline. After a minor loss of 2,939 individuals between 1950 and 1970, the negative numerical tendency gained momentum in the last three decades of the twentieth century during which there was a decrease of 68,288 individuals. More recently, reports about a continuous statistical decline of “ethnic Buddhism” have challenged representatives of traditional Japanese Buddhist communities to overcome the glossing over of the situation. One example of a more realistic attitude is the following question asked by Shôjo Sato, minister of the Honpa Hongwanji Temple in Brasília: “We are not in the position to claim that we have been successful in guaranteeing that our descendants, nisses e sanseis, continue to hold on to Buddhism. What should we do, then, in order to respond to the growing spiritual demand of those who suffer from fragmented, materialistic and stressful daily-life, if they are Japanese descendants or not? What exactly are the correct measures to be taken for our mission in a modern age, particularly in Brazil and in South America of today?”⁶³

Reasonable data indicating the evolution of the sub-field of conversion Buddhism are available from the 1970s onwards. While the respective national censuses suggest that the number of converts increased constantly until the beginning of the 1990s, the 2000 census showed a considerable general decline of Buddhism caused by a decrease both of ethnic Buddhists and of Buddhist converts. In the first three relevant decades Buddhism statistically uncorrelated with “yellow skin” increased from 49,811 (1970) to 99,622 (1980) and finally reached the number of 146,437 in 1991. In 2000, the total number of Buddhists had dropped from 236,408 to 214,873 including 81,345 ethnic Buddhists (8,626 less than in 1991) and 133,528 “non-yellow” Buddhists (12,909 less than in 1991).

A series of reasons is responsible for the discrepancy between the IBGE-statistics and the public image of an allegedly booming Buddhism in Brazil in terms of a religious alternative for spiritual seekers. Due to formal restrictions, only four aspects are mentioned here.

The first factor has to do with the multi-religious tendency and facility of the Brazilian people to identify a “universal essence” in the midst of phenomenological diversity and to benefit ideologically and practically from the supposed unity of all religions. This is a disposition that favors the harmonious coexistence of different kinds of spiritual approaches but does not necessarily promote a sense of superiority of one’s exclusivist religious choice or leads to long-term commitment to a certain community.

A second reason for the difficulties of Buddhism to further expand in Brazil has to do with the popularity and statistical relevance of Kardecism (or Spiritism) especially for the middle-class and higher middle-class, hence for the sociological strata from which in many countries Buddhism wins its Western converts. According to Rodney Starks “cultural-continuity” hypotheses⁶⁴, alternative religions are more likely to succeed if their teachings and practices are in tune with the society’s dominant religious tradition. Seen from this angle,



Kardecism with its combination of Christian theology, cosmology and ethics on the one hand, and elements of Eastern traditions such as karma and rebirth on the other hand, serves as a perfect “filter” for Brazilians who are still committed to Catholicism but unsatisfied with the linear time-conception and the soteriology of official Catholicism without depriving the practitioners of their Christian identity. While a conversion to Buddhism would demand the price of alienation of the dominant religious heritage, Kardecism provides – to a certain extent – similar but far “less expensive” solutions.

The third element is certainly the incapacity of traditional ethnic Buddhist institution to overcome their linguistic limitations and cultural single-mindedness in order to attract a wider audience. This is not only true for Amida-temples whose devotional, family-based Buddhism does not correspond to widespread Western ideals of an individualized meditative Eastern spirituality, but also for older Zen-temples whose rituals of ancestor worship correspond to the demands of their traditional followers but not to the needs of potential converts.

The fourth explanation for the stagnation or even downward trend of Buddhism in Brazil is the institutional undersupply in the greatest part of the country. According to the study of Shoji in 2004⁶⁵, Buddhism in Brazil is concentrated in the Federal States of São Paulo (51% of all Buddhists institutions), Rio de Janeiro (11%) and Paraná (10%). That means that the population of the majority of the twenty-seven Federal Unites is institutionally inadequately provisioned or completely deprived of the possibility to come in contact with a local dharma teacher who could convince his audience to follow in his footsteps and guarantee further spiritual assistance on the common path.

Although the number of Brazilian’s Buddhists is relatively insignificant, it would be misleading to affirm that Buddhism is an isolated and somehow “alien” religious element in the overwhelmingly Christian country. This is particularly true when one concentrates on the more indirect cultural and social effects of Buddhism. But there are also moments of direct participation of Buddhist entities in affairs of public interest in fields such as socio-politics, public health or economy. Furthermore, one must not forget the many internal activities offered by Buddhists institutions to a wider Brazilian audience.

One of many other cases that stand for the latter aspect is that of the ethnic Chinese Tzong Kwan temple in São Paulo which besides its religious service in a narrow sense offers courses in Ikebanba, Mandarin and Chinese cuisine.⁶⁶ One example for the engagement of

Buddhist institutions in affairs of public interest is that of the ethnic Chinese Buddhist Association Chi-Chie. In 1995, members who trained as medical experts joined a group of Brazilian physicians in order to provide a regular and free medical service for the poor. In 1998, the Buddhist Association even founded a diagnostic center for the needy population.⁶⁷ A more recent example is that of the Zu Lai temple, recognized by the Brazilian public for its multifold efforts not only in the field of education but also in the health sector.⁶⁸

Regarding a less evident impact of Buddhism on the wider Brazilian society one must not forget the great popularity of martial arts of Asian origin and Buddhist roots among Brazilians with or without an oriental ethnic background. A great part of the older sports academies of the respective category are historically related to Chinese,⁶⁹ Japanese and Korean⁷⁰ immigration to Brazil.

The situation is similar for the many Haiku associations in the country which, according to Eduardo Basto de Albuquerque, belong to the spectrum of “small and intersecting pathways” through which “Zen entered into Brazilian culture”. Over the years, these associations have attracted an increasing number of members outside the Japanese colony indicating an “immense appetite for haiku” among “native Brazilians”.⁷¹

Furthermore, Buddhist ideas and methods play a role in the economic sector, where companies such as Tec-toy, Lachmann and Aços Villares⁷² have organized Buddhist workshops in order to promote both harmony among employees and the increase of the firm’s productivity.

In many cases, Buddhist ideas and approaches have infiltrated the wider Brazilian society in a subtle and often unnoticeable manner. To understand these dynamics one has to bear in mind the following: one consequence of the reception of Buddhism in the West is the gradual emancipation of beliefs and practices from the institutional bodies which were actively involved in the process of transplantation of Buddhism into occidental settings. In this process, thematically relevant books, magazine articles, movies, documentaries and websites have played an additional role for the ongoing popularization of Buddhism. As a result, and similar to other Western countries, Buddhism in Brazil has in many ways transcended its former sociological boundaries and is now resonating in diffuse surroundings. The latter can be described in terms of a “cultic milieu”⁷³ or “an audience”,⁷⁴ distinct from concrete and immediately identifiable forms, such as denominations, “cult movements” or “client cults”.

From the perspective of the general public, Buddhist’s

contents, symbols and approaches originally shaped within a certain cultural context now appear as universal elements of a *perennial wisdom* ready to be spontaneously quoted and applied often without a clear notion of the systematic identity of respective ideas and methods.

One example for this diffusion is the growing number of gyms and fitness centers in Brazil that – in response to the increasing demand of new forms of “personal training” – have incorporated Zen-classes in their weekly routines.⁷⁵ Gabriela Bastos Soares goes even one step further by suggesting that Buddhism plays a significant role within the public health sector in the sense of a “tacit” impact. According to her observations, a considerable number of Brazilians engaged in the health sector are inspired by a holistic worldview which – from the standpoint of the respective individuals – is fully compatible with Buddhist principles. Thus, Buddhism is an important issue for the relevant social circles, however not explicitly or in form of a manifest spiritual preference but according to the category of an “invisible religion” introduced by Thomas Luckmann.⁷⁶

Conclusion

Rafael Shoji has argued⁷⁷ that the value of the study of Buddhism in his home country not only contributes to a more profound and realistic understanding of the history, current constitution and possible future tendencies of the national religious landscape. Rather, the conclusions drawn from research on Buddhism in a traditionally Catholic country could also play a constructive role within an international academic discourse often guided by an image of Western Buddhism contextualized within a predominantly Protestant culture. If Shoji is right, research on Buddhism in South America has an even greater heuristic potential. At least this is the prospective for the future and as long as the initial course followed in the first part of this essay is taken as a stimulus for a far more profound and detailed study of the history and current status of Buddhism in different parts of South America. This demand includes the commitment to a continuous study of Buddhism in Brazil as well as the permanent revision of conclusions according to new insights. In this sense the next challenge is already ahead: while the present essay is ready to be forwarded to the organizer of this volume, the IBGE is preparing the publication of the results of the 2010 National Census.

Notes

- 1 In tension with the geo-political reality associated with the expression “South America” (including countries such as Suriname or French Guyana) the present article concentrates on the 10 major countries, that is: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and

- Venezuela.
- 2 Cf. Usarski, Frank: O momento da pesquisa sobre o budismo no Brasil: tendências e questões abertas, *Debates do NER*: 7, n°9 (Jan/Jun) 2006, pp.129-141.
 - 3 I am referring to Caton Carini, Lucia Salinas, and Matilde Viglianchino (Argentina), Lucila Donoso Gómez (Ecuador) and María del Pilar Quintero (Venezuela).
 - 4 One rare example is the paper “Budismos ‘latinos’: la presencia del budismo en Latinoamérica y el Sur de Europa” presented by Francisco Díez de Velasco at the 13th ALER Congress (2010) in Granada, Spain [sic!].
 - 5 One rare example is the paper “Fragmentación geográfica, comunidades emergentes y globalización en el budismo argentino” presented by Catón Carini at the 14th ACSRM-Congress (2007). In Buenos Aires.
 - 6 One rare example is the paper “Encuentros y desencuentros en el diálogo cristiano-budista. La situación en Chile” presented by Gonzalo Ulloa-Rübke (Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Chile), at the 10th International ALAADA-Congress (2000), Rio de Janeiro.
 - 7 Cf. for example, CEIL/CONICET: *Primera encuesta sobre Creencias y actitudes religiosas en Argentina*, Buenos Aires: CEIL/CONICET 2008.
 - 8 Cf., for example, Shoji, Rafael: *The Nativization of East Asian Buddhism in Brazil*, PhD Thesis, University of Hannover, 2004.
 - 9 Concerning Chile, Peru and Bolivia cf. Comisión Nacional del XVII Censo de Población y vi de Vivienda: *Censo 2002. Síntesis de Resultados*, Santiago de Chile: Empresa Periodística La Nación 2003, pp.25-27; Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI): *Censo de Población y Vivienda 2007*, <http://ineiinei.gob.pe/inei/RedatamCpv2007.asp?ori=R> (accessed 22/01/2011); Ministerio de relaciones exteriores y cultos: Registro nacional de culto – asociaciones religiosas no católicas, <http://www.rree.gob.bo/webmre/documentos/servicios/d27.pdf>, (accessed 11/01/2011).
 - 10 Cf. PROLADES: *A Directory of Religious Groups in Latin America and the Caribbean: Argentina*, San Pedro: Prolades 2002.
 - 11 Cf., for example, Markham, Ian S. (ed.): *A World Religions Reader*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, pp.356-357.
 - 12 Cf., for example, http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/rel_bud_by_cou_bud_bud_tot-religion-buddhism-country-buddhist-total, accessed 23/01/2011; <http://www.budismo.com/directorios/index.php>, (accessed 23/02/2011).
 - 13 Cf, for example, Mallimaci, Fortunato; Cárdenas, Luis A. (eds.): *Guía de la diversidad religiosa de Buenos Aires*, vol.2, Buenos Aires: Biblos 2003; Costa, Néstor da; Chiappara, Carla, Albanés, Lorena (eds.): *Guía de la diversidad religiosa de Montevideo*, Montevideo: Taurus 2008
 - 14 See the dramatically discrepant numbers of Buddhist adherents in Bolivia given by worldiQ.com (8,857) [cf. http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Buddhism_by_country (accessed 15/01/2011)] and Wikipedia (23,710) [cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhism_by_country (accessed 15/01/2011)].
 - 15 According to the last census realized by the Brazilian Institute for Geographic and Statistics, cf. http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/presidencia/noticias/noticia_visualiza.php?id_noticia=1744&id_pagina=1.
 - 16 Reference:<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>, (accessed 15/01/2011)
 - 17 Cf. Shoj, Rafael: Reinterpretação do Budismo Chinês e Coreano no Brasil, *Revista de Estudos da Religião*, 3, vol 4, 2004, pp. 74-87, especially pp. 79-80.
 - 18 Cf.<http://www.sgi.org/news/events/events2009/events090412.html>(accessed 03/02/2011).
 - 19 If not indicated otherwise the following information are based on Levinson, David: *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook*. Phoenix: Oryx 1988; Sowell, Thomas: *Migrations and Cultures: A World View*. New York: Basic Books 1996; Lesser, Jeffrey: Asians in South America, in *Encyclopedia of World Cultures*, vol. VII New York/London: G.K.Hall/Prentice Hall 1994, pp.58-61; *Encyclopedia of Latin America. Volume IV: The Age of Globalization*, New York: Facts on File 2010, p.170.
 - 20 Cf. SHANG-SHENG, Chu. Imigrantes e Imigração Chinesa no Rio de Janeiro (1910-1990). *Leituras da HISTÓRIA*, no. 17 (fevereiro), 2009, pp.44-53.
 - 21 Estimations are confusing and vary between 30,000 in 2000 [cf. KUMAGAI, Satoru: *Comparing the Networks of Ethnic Japanese and Ethnic Chinese in International Trade*, IDE Discussion Paper No. 113, Institute of Developing economies 2007, <http://202.244.105.132/Engshh/Publish/Download/Dp/pdf/113.pdf>, (accessed 25/01/2011)] and 120,000 in 2010 [cf. Cf. Sánchez, Gonzalo: La comunidad china em el país se duplicó en los últimos 5 años, *portal clarin.com*, November 27th 2010, http://www.clarin.com/sociedad/comunidad-china-duplico-ultimos-anos_0_343165728.html, (accessed 25/01/2011)].
 - 22 Cf. Shoj, Rafael: Reinterpretação do Budismo Chinês e Coreano no Brasil, op.cit.
 - 23 Ota, Hirohito: The First Buddhist Missionaries in Peru – An Unknown Centennial History, *Dharma Eye*, n° 12, August 2003, http://global.sotozen-net.or.jp/pdf/dharma-eye/de12/de12_08.htm, (accessed 15/12/2010).
 - 24 Cf. Nakamaki, Hirochika: *Japanese Religions at Home and Abroad. Anthropological Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge Curzon 2003, pp.143-167.
 - 25 Cf. Roshu, Cristina: *Zen in Brazil. The Quest for Cosmopolitan Modernity*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press 2006, pp.50-54.
 - 26 Cf. <http://sweepingzen.com/2009/12/24/1470/>, (accessed 25/01/2011).
 - 27 Cf. <http://sweepingzen.com/2009/12/23/shotai-de-la-rosa-bio/> (accessed 25/01/2011).
 - 28 Cf. *Asociación Budista Soto Zen Argentina*, no1, vol.1, (August) 2009, <http://cnargentina.com.ar/files/boletin1.pdf>, (accessed 27/12/2010).
 - 29 Zen in South America - An Interview with Augusto Alcalde, Roshí by Vladimir Keremidschieff, *Moon Mind Circle*, Autumn 1992, online <ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/buddhism-zen/information/south-american-zen.txt>, (accessed 30/12/2010).
 - 30 Cf. Usarski, Frank: (Re)Making Tradition in an International Tibetan Buddhist Movement: A Lesson from Lama Gangchen and Lama Michel, in: Engler, Steven; Grieve, Gregory P. (eds.): *Historicizing “Tradition” in the Study of Religion*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 2005, pp.345-355.
 - 31 Cf. http://www.dongyuling.com.ar/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=36, (accessed 18/12/2010).
 - 32 Cf. Elias, Maria José: Introdução ao Estudo da Imigração Chinesa, *Anais do Museu Paulista*, XXIV, 1970, pp.55-100; Bussche, Eric Vanden: A Dimensão Histórica das Relações Sino-Barsileiras (Séc.: XVI-1943), *Revista Tempo Brasileira*, 137: abr.-jun., 1999, pp.85-98, especially pp.89 ff; ; Leite, José Roberto Teixeira: *A China no Brasil*, Campinas: Editora da Unicamp 1999.
 - 33 Cf. Chen, Miao Shen: *Cultura e educação dos imigrantes chineses na cidade de Cascavel: dois mundos, um mesmo objetivo*, Master Thesis. Cascavel: Universidade Estadual do Oeste do Paraná 2010, p.62.
 - 34 Cf. Handa, Tomoo: *O imigrante japonês. História de sua vida no Brasil*, São Paulo: T.A. Queiroz 1987, especially pp. 238, 359, 384, 483, 725-726.
 - 35 Cf. Gonçalves, Ricardo Mario: *Homenagem aos Imigrantes Japoneses Pioneiros do Budismo no Brasil*, 2004, <http://www.dharmanet.com.br/honganji/vesak2004.htm> (accessed 14/11/2010).

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- 37 Cf. Como foi fundada a HBS no Brasil, *Revista Lótus* n° 19 (Abril) 2001, p.6
- 38 Cf. <http://www.sociedadebudistadobrasil.org/quem-somos/historia>, accessed 25/01/2011.
- 39 Cf. Maeyama, Takashi: *Omigrante e a Religião. Estudo de uma Seita Religiosa Japonesa em São Paulo*, Master Thesis, São Paulo: Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Política 1967, pp.78 ff.
- 40 Cf. Como foi fundada a HBS no Brasil, op.cit.
- 41 Cf. Sasaki, Yomei: Palavras de Abertura, in: Comemoração do Centenário de Amizade Brasil-Japão: *Simpósio e Conferência Brasil-Japão de Budismo. A Contribuição do Budismo para a Ordem e o progresso do Brasil*, São Paulo: Federação as Seitas Budistas do Brasil 1995, p.7.
- 42 Although already founded in the 1940s, the I Guan-Tao temple of São Paulo is omitted here since its syncretic character makes her categorization as a Buddhist institution problematic. Cf. Chen, Miao Shen: op.cit. p. 99.
- 43 Cf. Yang, Chung Yuan Alexander: O Budismo entre os Chineses no Brasil, in: *China em Estudo*: vol. 2, n°2, 1995, pp.49-57.
- 44 Cf. Shoji, Rafael. Estratégias de adaptação do Budismo Chinês: Brasileiros e Chineses na Fo Kuang Shan, in: Usarski, Frank (ed.): *O Budismo no Brasil*. São Paulo, 2002, pp. 125-150.
- 45 Cf. Pereira, Ronan Alves: Instituições Ético-Religiosas Japonesas no Distrito Federal, in: Shigeru Hayashi (ed.): *Centenário as imigração japonesa no Brasil e cinquentenário da presença Nikkey em Brasília: Brasília: FEANBRA 2008*, pp.274-278, especialmente p.273.
- 46 Cf. Orientalismo na literatura brasileira, in: *Dicionário de literatura*, Porto, Figueirinhas, 1981, p.772
- 47 Cf. Albuquerque, Eduardo Basto de: Intellectuals and Japanese Buddhism in Brazil, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 35/1, 2008, pp. 61-79, especially pp.62-63.
- 48 Cf. Lesser, Jeffrey: Tornando-se japonês: literatura de viagem em busca de identidade nacional, *Estudos Ibero-Americano*: XXV, no.2, December 1999, pp.175-184.
- 49 Cf. Rocha, Cristina: All roads come from Zen, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 35/1, 2008, pp. 81–94, especially 82-83.
- 50 Cf. Os budistas procuram a paz, *O Cruzeiro*, May 15th 1969.
- 51 Cf. Gonçalves, Ricardo Mário: *Homenagem aos migrantes japoneses pioneiros do budismo no Brasil*, <http://www.dharmanet.com.br/honganji/vesak2004.htm>, accessed 25/01/2011.
- 52 Cf. Gonçalves, Mario Ricardo: A trajetória de um budista brasileiro, in: Usarski, Frank (ed.): *O Budismo no Brasil*, São Paulo: Lorosae 2002, pp.171-192, especialmente p.178.
- 53 Cf. Albuquerque, Eduardo Basto de: Um mestre zen na terra da garoa, in: Usarski, Frank (ed.): op.cit. pp.151-170.
- 54 Cf. Rocha, Cristina Moreira da: Catholicism and Zen Buddhism: A Vision of the Religious Field in Brazil, in Cusack, Carole M.; Oldmeadow, Peter (eds.): *The End of Religions? Religion in an' Age of Globalisation*, Sydney: The University of Sydney, p.249-265, especially pp.253f.
- 55 Cf. Rocha, Cristina Moreira da: Catholicism and Zen Buddhism, op.cit, p.255.
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- 58 Cf. Carpenter, Robert T.; Roof, Wade Clark: The Transplantation of Seichon-ye from Japan to Brazil: Moving Beyond the Ethnic Enclave, *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, Vol.10, No.1 1995, pp.41-54, especially p.48.
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- 62 Cf. ibid, p.123.
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- 65 Cf. Shoji, Rafael: *The Nativization of East Asian Buddhism in Brazil*, op.cit.
- 66 Cf. Shoj, Rafael: Reinterpretação do Budismo Chinês e Coreano no Brasil, *Revista de Estudos da Religião*, 3, vol 4, 2004, pp. 74-87, especialmente pp. 79-80.
- 67 Cf. Chen, Miao Shen: op.cit., pp. 99-100.
- 68 Cf. Em busca da Iluminação, *Vida Simples*, Outubro de 2003, onlineonline http://vidasimples.abril.com.br/subhomes/equilibrio/equilibrio_238191.shtml, accessed 25/01/2011.
- 69 Cf. Apolloni, Rodrigo Wolff: "*Shaolin à brasileira*". *Estudo sobre a presença e a transformação de elementos religiosos orientais no Kung-Fu praticado no Brasil*, Master Thesis: São Paulo: Pontifícia Universidade Católica 2004.
- 70 Cf. http://www.labeurb.unicamp.br/elb/asiaticas/leiamais_coreano.html accessed 2/2/2011.
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- 72 Cf. O Brasil dos Budas, in: *Isto É*, n° 1432, March 12th 1997, pp. 62-70, especially p.70.
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- 76 Cf. Soares, Gabriela Bastos: *O biopoder na contemporaneidade: o espírito do corpo e a alternativa budista*, PhD-Thesis, Rio de Janeiro: Universidade do Rio de Janeiro 2004, especially pp. 122ff.
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