

## UNVEILING A PERFORMANCE RITUAL IN THE *GOEKU*: PHOTO NARRATIVES, NARRATED PHOTOGRAPHS

DOI  
10.11606/issn.2525-3123.  
gis.2022.185832

ORCID  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6746-0464>

DOSSIER RELIGIONS: THEIR IMAGES,  
PERFORMANCES AND RITUALS

**ALEXSÂNDER NAKAÓKA ELIAS**

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, RS, Bra-  
zil, 90040-060 – ppgas@ufrgs.br

### ABSTRACT

This essay aims to reveal the nuances of the posthu-  
mous ceremonies performed by the Japanese Buddhist  
school *Honmon Butsuryu-shu* (HBS), the first to estab-  
lish itself in Brazil, in 1908. The referred rite of passage,  
called “*Goeku*”, consists in performances by priests and  
adepts (faithful), which encompass a wide spectrum  
of relationships between humans and non-humans,  
in addition to a set of symbolic elements composed of  
sacred objects, gestures, prayers, postures and musi-  
cal instruments. Therefore, I intend to elucidate such  
ceremonies based on the interlocutions established  
together with HBS, which resulted in the making of  
field notebooks and in rich oral narratives. In addition  
to verballity (oral and written), the aim will be to make  
such ceremonies visible through photographs, since  
the images stand out for their ability to capture and  
expose, through a more sensory route, the complex  
forms of expression present in rituals.

### KEYWORDS

Rite of passage;  
Posthumous  
Ceremony;  
Ancestor  
Ceremony;  
Photography;  
Performance.

### INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to reveal the nuances of the ceremo-  
nies in honor of the deceased promoted by the Japanese  
Buddhist school *Honmon Butsuryu-shu* (HBS), the first

to be established in Brazil, in 1908, with the arrival of the monk *Ibaragui Nissui Shounin*. This rite of passage (Turner, 1967; Van Gennep, 2011 [1909]) is called “*Goeku*”, and in our country it is translated as “Posthumous Ceremony” or “Ancestor Ceremony”, whose panorama is established from performances performed by priests/priestesses and (faithful) followers of the religion, covering a wide spectrum of relationships between humans and non-humans, in addition to a set of symbolic elements composed of sacred objects, gestures, prayers, postures and musical instruments.

Here, I intend to elucidate such ceremonies based on the dialogues established by me together with HBS between 2011 and 2018, which resulted in the production of field notebooks and the capture of powerful oral narratives from my privileged interlocutors (Turner, 1967; Bateson, 1936, Schumacher, 2001; Wagner, 1967), especially the Pre-pontiff (*Gon-Soudyou*<sup>1</sup>) *Nitiyuu Correia*. In addition to verbatim (oral and written), the aim will be to show such celebrations through photographs, as I start from the premise that images stand out for their ability to capture and expose, in a more sensory and sensitive way, the complex forms of expression present in these events<sup>2</sup>.

Therefore, I will present eight “visual montages” (Warburg, 2000 [1929]), here thought of as imagetic narratives of the aforementioned ritual, which will be interspersed throughout the article. The written part, therefore, aims to explain and detail the performances that make up the “*Goeku*”, taking advantage of the potential of photographs to make us narrate and thus relating image and writing, in addition to exploring the oral reports that were offered by privileged interlocutors during the research.

In Brazil, it is important to emphasize that HBS presents itself as “Buddhism for all”, a core characteristic and always emphasized in the *Okou* (ceremonies, in general). Consequently, the emphasis on practices of expansion of faith and “religious heritage” (*Hottoussouzoku*), supported by the existence of a series of adaptations, such as the ceremonies given in Portuguese (interspersed with Japanese, of course, but concomitantly during the celebrations); the incorporation of terms from a mostly Christian local culture; the emphasis given by adherents to the assertion “we are a religion”; and the movement for the conversion of new believers; already seem to have an effect, since, until a few decades, the presence of non-*decassequis* (with Japanese ancestry) was uncommon in the *Oteras*.

---

1. The monk reaches the degree of *Gon-Soudyou*, in Brazil called Pre-Pontiff, after taking expansion tests, written evaluations and interviews with superior masters, appointed by the highest authority of HBS (appointed *Gokoyuu* or Supreme Pontiff). After five years, they automatically become Pontiffs. In this article, I will also call the priest Correia by the epithets *Odoshi* (Buddhist master), Pre-Pontifical, and Archbishop.

2. I emphatically addressed issues relating to a Visual, Image and Graphic Anthropology, especially in Elias (2018, 2019, 2020 and 2021).

When analyzing the importance of the religious heritage, whether by consanguinity or by “baptism”, something that is intrinsically linked to the *Goeku*, therefore, it must be said that the “conversion” is by no means carried out in a compulsory way, since the “sympathizers” they must undergo initiation ceremonies after making explicit their desire to officially join the religion, something that will only happen when the person is 18 years or older. However, HBS do Brasil emphatically encourages the participation of children and teenagers, and their baptism may take place if there is the desire of parents who already belong to the religion. In addition, the entry of minors under 18 who are not children of the faithful, that is, do not have such a religious heritage, is allowed if the interested party is aged between 14 and 18 and expresses the desire to be part of the community. Thus, admission is made official, as long as there is the consent of the parents or guardians, through the same baptism ceremony, in which the practice of sponsorship and/or sponsorship is recurrent.

From the observation of these movements, what is common today, when a visitor arrives at an *Otera* (Temple) in Brazil, is to come across an audience made up of elderly Japanese, many descendants and a growing group of non-decasseguis, which includes priests, something unthinkable until the 1970s. According to reports collected from the community, it is estimated that HBS has about 8,000 faithful in the country, with an approximate proportion between women and men, although no more accurate census has yet been carried out. Among them, it is notable (and notorious) that approximately 85% are Japanese (*issei*) and descendants of the second (*nissei*), third (*sansei*) and even fourth generation (*yonseï*). While the more senior Japanese are retired and are characterized by having a lower level of education (up to elementary school, as they migrated in the post-World War II period and had to devote themselves mainly to agricultural practice), *issei* adults (who migrated mainly from the 80s) and descendants born in Brazil have a high educational level (complete high school, undergraduate and graduate), occupying the most varied professions (engineering, medicine, music, art, veterinary medicine, law, business administration, architecture, etc.).

Like the decasséguis, approximately 15% of the faithful who are not descendants are part of the middle and upper-middle class, having access to education and other decent socioeconomic conditions. In relation to the clerics, there are precise data regarding the number and places of their work (on a rotation system in the 16 temples), available on the official website of HBS do Brasil<sup>3</sup>. Currently, there are eighteen monks, eight of whom do not have Japanese descent; and two nuns. Besides them, there

3. Available at: <<http://budismo.com.br/bispos-e-sacerdotes-do-brasil/>>. Accessed on: June 25 2021.

are three other Brazilian priests who work in Japan and India, precisely *Jyunkei Haikawa* (the youngest son of Bishop *Nittoku Shounin*) and the two sons of *Correia Odoshi* (*Nitiyuu Shounin*), *Seigyuu Correia* and *Dyun-a Correia*.

When considering the existence of a relevant number of non-descendant faithful and priests, it is essential to note that in addition to the emphasis on converting new adherents, there is a concern to make HBS Buddhism understandable to Brazilians. Terms such as “Buddhist Pope”, “Cathedral”, “Archbishop”, “third”, “drum” and many others are incorporated into the vocabulary of the followers, in addition to the cults themselves that are carried out always mixing Portuguese and Japanese. In this way, it is possible to extend the definitions of Ana Cristina Lopes Nina (2006) that, although they deal specifically with Tibetan Buddhism and its diasporic context, can serve, here, to understand the adaptations and reformulations found by HBS to “fit” in the Brazilian sociocultural context and conquer new practitioners. This proves the cultural immersion of the religion in Brazil, in a growing quest to integrate Japanese and Brazilians, followers and heirs of the Primordial Buddha’s teachings.

... outside its original context, any culture becomes, above all, an instrument that enables communication, and that is why it is necessary to take into account what will become significant in the new context(s) (...) in which it will be inserted. For a culture to successfully perform this task, it is necessary to select, within it, those significant elements that make communication possible (NINA, 2006, p. 31-32).

**AISLE:**



The “Posthumous Ceremony” or “Ancestor Ceremony”, as the terms refer, consist of rituals performed in homage and reverence to some deceased adept, whether monk or faithful (emic term). Such celebrations take place in the Hondo (nave) of the HBS *Oteras*, normally on Sundays and after the “Morning Cult” (*Asam aeri*), being offered by family and friends of the person honored in front of the “Posthumous Altar”. In this scope, it is possible to insert another ceremony, called “Cult to the Three Great Masters” (which will be discussed in the “Second Act”), which pays reverence to the founders of *Honmon Butsuryu-shu*, namely, the monks *Nichiren Daibossatsu*, *Nitiryu Daishounin* and *Nissen Shounin*.

The Posthumous Altar consists, after the Main Altar (named *Gohouzen*) and together with the “Altar of the Great Masters”, the second main place of devotion within an *Otera*. It normally occupies the right side – from the point of view of the believer, who looks at it from the bottom to the front – of the *Hondo*, being the second altar to be revered during the *Okou*, by both priests and adepts. They are also objects of *Okyuudi* (zeal) by the monks, who clean it, decorate it with censers, flower arrangements (*ikebana*) and place offerings such as *gohan* (Japanese rice), blessed water (*Okoussui*) and fresh fruit, always using masks to prevent them from exhaling over the sacred place.

These altars are also composed of wooden plaques with the names of recently deceased followers, who are honored during the ceremonies. In a sense, the Posthumous Altars do not cease to have multiple meanings, that is, they consist of “condensed symbols”, according to the turnerian definition (1967). If, on the one hand, they re(a)represent the ancestors in rituals, with names of each honoree painted in *kanji* (Japanese ideogram) with white or black paint, the plates also renew the ideal of religious heritage, both broader, with the plates with the names of the three great masters; as for nuclear/family, through the plates with the names of deceased followers. It is interesting to think about the symbolic meanings of the names painted on the posthumous plates, in black and white. Normally, white signifies purity, kindness and peace, while black is more directly connected with mourning and bad omens. However, this color also has a “positive” meaning in Buddhism, as it consists of the joining of all other shades. The black color, as mentioned by Correia *Odoshi*, “cannot be dyed”, indicating something or someone that cannot be corrupted or tarnished.

During the posthumous ceremonies, the presence of several elements that appear, in fact, in all ritual scenarios of HBS is noticeable. The first “object” that I highlight, in this sense, is the *Odyuzu*, considered in Brazil as a type of “Buddhist rosary”. In Sanskrit, an ancient Indo-Arabic dialect of North India (where Buddhist mythology orbits), the term for *Odyuzu* is “japamala” (“japa” means “to murmur” and “mala” means “string of

beads”). Used by many schools, such as Tibetan Buddhists and various branches of Japanese Buddhism, the rosary consists of a necklace composed of beads made of different materials, usually wood, although it is also made with fruit from trees, iron, bronze, pearls, jade, crystal, plastic, glass, stones, among others.

As well as “ku-kolisha”, a fortifying medicine made from leaves and bark shavings that Victor Turner (1967) observed in the context of Mukanda<sup>4</sup>, represents important characteristics related to the material of its manufacture, such as strength, resistance, protection, purification and masculinity/femininity, the *Odyuzu* has several meanings referring to the materials that give rise to it. When it is made of a tough, opaque compound (such as iron, bronze, pearls or hard plastics), it shows characteristics such as strength and protection. If molded with translucent elements such as glass, crystals and jade, it emphasizes transparency/transcendence and purification. Furthermore, the “third” has other symbolic meanings. Its “first” function is to help perform calculations, as the term “accounts” suggests. It serves for the believer to quantify a certain religious practice, such as, for example, the number of times he prayed the *Odaimoku*, *Namumyouthourengekyou* emanation ritual, mantra, prayer, doctrine and Holy Image of HBS, the core of the religion around which they all orbit the daily activities of a temple, a kind of “total social fact” (Mauss, 1988 [1925]).

Following tradition, an *Odyuzu* has 108 small beads, which represent the 108 passions or worldly imperfections (such as greed, lying, arrogance, ignorance, anger, pride, etc.), plus four more in size and different colors, which represent the Four Primordial *Bossatsus*<sup>5</sup> (*Jyougyou*, *Muhengyou*, *Dyougyou*, *Anryuugyou*), for a total of 112 beads. There are also two even larger beads, which represent Shakyamuni Buddha (Historical Buddha, left) and Tahou (Buddha of many treasures, also known as the witness Buddha of the Lotus Sutra, right). Also according to HBS precepts, ancient Buddhists used the *Odyuzu* to “count the prayers they made in front of an image. They believed that each plea extinguished one of the worldly passions they had” (Correia, 2008).

Another important symbology of the *Odyuzu* is how it is handled. The devotee should join hands in a posture of devotion, called a Gashou. In this way, the 108 worldly passions, represented by the 108 minor beads, are crushed between the four middle beads, which represent the Primordial *Bossatsus*, and the two major beads, which represent the Buddhas.

4. Important Ndembu circumcision ritual.

5. The four Primordial *Bossatsus* are beings of exalted wisdom, appointed by the Primordial Buddha himself to spread the holy prayer *Namumyouthourengekyou* to the four corners of the universe. The Primordial Buddha is also called, in Brazil, “Buddhist God”, although the definition of deity(ies) for the HBS is quite different from the Judeo-Christian conceptions (especially, in this case, those from Catholicism and Protestantism).

By crushing them, what the faithful of HBS accomplishes, according to religious tradition, is to eliminate the desires that generate karma, which allows them to finally leave the great wheel of samsara, an almost endless cycle of rebirths and deaths by which all sentient beings are subdued. Faith in the sacred mantra *Namumyohourengekyou* would thus be able to eliminate negative karma through its incessant recitation, thus being strictly linked to the practice of the *Goeku*.

The action of the Posthumous Ceremony is aimed, according to HBS, “to offer the virtues of prayer to the souls of loved ones and, by dharmic force, to equally expand these virtues to all beings in the universe”<sup>6</sup>, so that they can be led to Enlightenment and to the Pure Land of the Primordial Buddha (or the “Buddhist Paradise”, as it is called in Brazil). Karma reflects the “law of cause and effect” by stating that any act or thought, however insignificant and harmless it may seem, will return to the individual with equal impact. In this way, if a person has a bad thought or action in relation to himself or another sentient being, activating one of the 108 mundane imperfections, it will be returned with a potency that will shake his physical, emotional and/or spiritual integrity.

Ultimately, the power of *Odaimoku* is directly associated with healing physical, spiritual and psychological ailments. This prayer thus tensions an exclusively biomedical pattern of health and disease, which reproduces a positivist ideal by imposing a closed theoretical model, in which the service user (the patient, in this case) does not actively participate in the healing process, “in addition to dissociating health and illness from the historical, social and cultural aspects and dimensions of individuals” (Santos et al, 2012, p. 13). For Maués (2012), instead of considering an exclusively biomedical health model, it is necessary to take into account a broad and complex cultural system that includes specialists not officially recognized, such as healers, healers, shamans, pastors, priests, parents of saint, among others, whose healing therapies are products of various types of bricolage that have roots in ancient practices of different philosophical, theoretical, magical and mysticism traditions.

The *Odyuzu* also has a second form of manipulation, observed during the chanting of *Namumyohourengekyou*. At these times, it is held in only one hand, usually the left, as the right is used to pace the practice of *Odaimoku*, being hit with a clenched fist on the right leg. Such positioning and hierarchy between the hands seems to have an origin in an ancient convention, as well observed by Hertz (2016 [1909]), in which dexterity, that is, the use of the right hand at the expense of the left hand in more activities important and/or considered pure, is valued. At HBS, the use of the right hand is predominant to perform the ritual gesture of prayer of

6. *BUTSURYU-SHU, Honmon. Revista Lótus, n° 90, ano 10, 2014, p. 14.*

*Namumyohourenquekyou*, as well as the use of the same hand to play different musical instruments, especially since most of the faithful and monks (as well as most of the population world) is right-handed. However, despite this custom, it is interesting to note that the priest *Nitiyuu* Correia is left-handed a of the xylophone with his left hand, without my having heard any comments or reproof (also because of the fact that he is one of the greatest authorities on religion in Brazil?) about that.

*Omamori*, on the other hand, is called in Brazil a “personal protector”, consisting of a rectangular amulet that is given to a “sympathizer” or “admirer” of HBS, at the time he makes his desire to enter the religion officially, passing through an initiation ritual called in Brazil “Batismo Budista” (emic term). Like *Odyuzu*, *Omamori* can only be acquired by a person who is or will be an adept, through a process of consecration done during some religious ceremony, as is the case with the Buddhist rosary. It serves to protect the faithful future from various evils, whether physical, psychological and/or spiritual illnesses, caused by some accumulated negative karma.

In this sense, the *Omamori* – as well as the other objects consecrated by the *Odaimoku* –, presents a kind of symbolic efficacy, in the sense that Lévi-Strauss (1975 [1949]) tells us in relation to the magical experiences of the shamans (or sorcerers<sup>7</sup>). According to the anthropologist, “there is, therefore, no reason to doubt the effectiveness of certain magical practices”. But Lévi-Strauss emphasizes that “the effectiveness of magic implies belief in magic”, a fact that is based on three aspects that complement each other: the sorcerer’s belief in the effectiveness of his techniques; the patient’s belief in the power of the sorcerer; and in the trust and demands of collective opinion, “which forms at each moment a kind of gravitation field within which the relations between the sorcerer and those he bewitches are defined and situated” (Lévi-Strauss, 1975 [1949 ], p. 195).

Although the shaman (or sorcerer) manages to cure a portion of the patients by using medicinal elements<sup>8</sup> similar to those used by so-called “civilized” doctors, Lévi-Strauss emphasizes that the essential element in symbolic efficacy resides at the other end of the system, that is, in the collective pole that includes the patient and his group. This is what I draw attention to in an analogous way, in the case of *Omamori*, whose healing and protective efficacy is not established by a shaman, but by the Primordial Buddha himself, the ultimate deity in HBS who manifests

7. Lévi-Strauss (1975 [1949]) emphasizes the existence and use of the terms “shamans” and “sorcerers”, each of which is convenient to denote the type of specific activity carried out in a certain region of the world.

8. Such as herbs, for example, from which substances that, combined, make up the remedies of Western medicine are extracted.

through the Holy Image, and, mainly, by the faith that the adepts place in this “object”.

It is also in this conception that *Okoussui*<sup>9</sup> comes into play, the “holy water” or “blessed water”, as it is called in Brazil, considered by religion as a medicine that acts through faith. Followers of the doctrine believe that, from the power of prayer, water becomes blessed, providing those who drink it countless graces, such as, for example, the cure of serious illnesses. *Okoussui* is present in small containers on all tables of the priests/priestesses on the Altar, being ingested by them during the ceremonies. It is also considered the *Namumyouhourenquekyou* in its liquid form. Therefore, *Odaimoku* is usually prayed when ingesting *Okoussui* and, according to tradition, the one who offers the “blessed water” has the duty to explain its effectiveness is associated with the recitation of the sacred mantra, a type of “magical” power -religious” similar to those observed by several important authors (Mary-Douglas, 1976; Malinowski, 1978 [1922]; Evans-Pritchard, 2005 [1937], 1993 [1940]; Mauss, 2003 [1925]; etc.).

Furthermore, the act of drinking *Okoussui* is also a ritual. It should not be used to make any other type of drink (juice, coffee or tea, for example) or to take a medicine that will help cure any disease. It should be ingested, therefore, always in its pure form, without mixing. The explanation is that by following this norm, the devotee’s faith will be 100% channelled into *Namumyouhourenquekyou*, not 50% into *Namumyouhourenquekyou* and 50% into medicine. For HBS, *Okoussui*, which must be used (drinked) to the last drop (can also wash a person’s body or be given to plants and animals), not only differs from other remedies (allopathic, herbal and/or homoeopathic), as it must, by the spiritual mode, be placed above them all. *Okoussui* is blessed water that also adds generic meanings of “goodness”, “purity”, “luck” and “vigour”. In addition, it is a “remedy that works through faith” (Correia, 2008) and cleans (or washes) the impurities and ills of those who ingest it, being made available to the faithful free of charge in small bottles, inside all HBS *Hondos*.

In *Goeku* (as in other celebrations), the use of various musical instruments is also noteworthy. It was the master *Nissen Shounin*, founder of HBS, who, in 1878, introduced the use of clubs (*hyoushiki*), metallophone (or *mokkin*, a kind of xylophone) and *taiko* (or *houko*) during ceremonies. All these instruments were suited to the main function of rhythmic concentration in prayer and mantra *Namumyouhourenquekyou*.

*Taiko*, which for Westerners would be a kind of drum, is a famous and powerful Japanese percussion instrument, played intensely with two

9. Water that becomes sacred after receiving the virtue of the prayer of *Namumyouhourenquekyou* (*BUTSURYU-SHU, Honmon. Revista Lótus: ano 6, n. 57. São Paulo, 2004, p. 20*).

drumsticks and can vary greatly in size. Its original utility dates back to feudal Japan, where it was used to motivate the Emperor's troops, set the pace on the march, and announce military commands. At HBS, it is constantly used in services because of its ability to reach a large number of people simultaneously and mark the tempo of prayers and songs.

The *mokkin* is a kind of xylophone, usually played by priests at larger celebrations, such as Morning Ceremonies, but also present at the *Okou*. It consists of two sheets of wood arranged in parallel and a stick (or stick), made of wood, rubber or other synthetic materials. Its sound is rhythmic, and like the other instruments, it accompanies the sacred prayer.

The clubs are two pieces of wood that, when they hit each other, produce a characteristic sound. They are used during services and, also, in celebrations outside *Hondo* (such as house worships and marches), due to the ease (portability) of being transported. Their sounds resemble those of *mokkin*, following the rhythm of *Namumyouhourenquekyou's* emanation.

By definition, bells (in Sanskrit, *ghanta*) were originally wooden plate used as percussion instrument. In the Buddhist religion, it was adapted as a tool to inform the weather. In China, the bell took its current form in bronze and, thus, has remained until today (Correia, 2008). At HBS, they take many forms and meanings. Residentials are called *rin*, while the *inkin* is a portable bell, used in ceremonies performed standing, where there is no base to support it. There are also larger bells (*gan*) and flat metal bells (*kei*), which are usually rung by celebrants in *Hondo's* nave. There are still some of great proportions, called *shou* or *kane*, which are placed outside the large temples, being played with a tree trunk. They all specifically have three main roles during an HBS cult. First, they serve to indicate when a ceremony or prayer begins or ends, as in the *Goeku*. They also act in the evocation of sacred entities, such as *Bossatus* and other deities, and, finally, serve as a metaphor to indicate that, like the echoing sound, the teachings transmitted by the Primordial Buddha must propagate infinitely, through faith and of the constant practice of the faithful.

### FIRST ACT

After this overview of the elements that constitute the *Goeku's* scenario, it is time to show the relationships, gestures and postures present in these ceremonies. Returning to the importance of the wooden plaques located in the Posthumous Altars and in the Altars of the Great Masters, it is noticeable that these rituals show that death is something transitory in Buddhism and that, in a way, the deceased is still there. Just as the Sacred Image *Namumyouhourenquekyou* is endowed with agency (Gell, 1998), since it not only represents the Primordial Buddha, but also consists of it, the plates made of wood – a material that in itself represents

solidity, durability and resistance – symbolically represent the death, but also life, rebirth and the strength of family and religious heritage.

In this sense, it is necessary to make a distinction in relation to traditional posthumous celebrations (funerals, Qsseventh-day masses, one-month masses, anniversary of death, etc.) of other religions. When the term “Posthumous Ceremony” is pronounced, it is plausible to imagine cemeteries, suffering and the whole repertoire of a traditional ceremony of this type. However, although all this is present, it is evident that it represents “only” the visible part of the scene, in the specific case of *Honmon Butsuryu-shu*. The word “Posthumous Ceremony” comes from the original Japanese “*Ekou*”, which means “Transfer of Virtues”. It’s the feeling you get (or should have, in theory) when you experience something you like and want to share with someone.

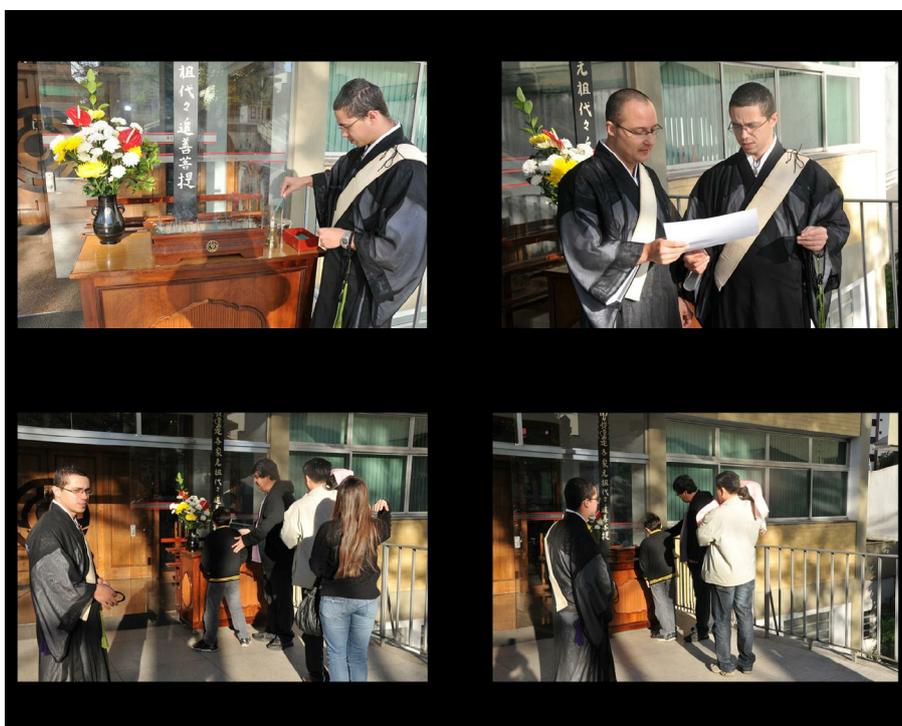
By its meaning, it is noticeable that the *Goeku*, as well as the ceremony performed shortly after the death of an adept, does not have a strictly posthumous nature, as its designation implies. The primary meaning would be to overcome the limit of death through feelings of compassion and from the spirit of faith. In it, the virtues of prayer are offered to the souls of the ones who have abandoned physical existence and, by dharmic force<sup>10</sup>, these virtues would not be limited to the scope of interaction (friends and relatives) of the deceased, being distributed equally to all beings in the universe that they may be led to Enlightenment (Nirvana) by the Holy Dharma.

For Stark (1996, p. 133-135), religious movements that are new in certain countries, such as Buddhism in Brazil, are likely to be successful “as they maintain a relative cultural continuity with the conventional faith of societies in which they seek new converts”. Thus, these new religious organizations, inserted in different cultural contexts, would reaffirm the conventional religious culture of sociability in which they appear. Ultimately, Stark (1996) tells us that these groups often add a substantial amount of conventional religious culture. In the case of Brazil, the Christian faith.

It is important to point out, in this sense, that the *Goeku*, sometimes called in Brazil the “posthumous mass”, incorporating a linguistic term from Catholicism, consists of a fundamental component of Buddhism in general, and is not exclusive to HBS. These rituals are periodically performed in memory of the deceased, each of which receives a specific name: the seventh day, for example, is called shonana, in which the deceased leaves the world we live in and continues towards a higher

10. Dharmic force refers to the term “Dharma”, which consists of the sacred teachings, a set composed of the 84,000 Sutras transmitted by the Historical Buddha.

stage. The 49th day or seven weeks is *shijuku-nichi*, in which the person who died has completed all the steps and is ready for rebirth. I witnessed a full HBS Posthumous Ceremony in 2011, held in honour of the faithful *Yuki Oikawa*'s first year of passing (this cult is called *isshuki*, meaning the end of a period of mourning for the demise), who left her physical body with over 100 years old. This ceremony, which also has a fundamental part the recitation of the *Odaimoku*, in addition to the presence of all the sacred objects and musical instruments already mentioned, follows a script that is a little different from the other *Okou*.



The ceremony was held on a Sunday, the day when the largest number of faithful goes to *Otera*. Some priests, in this case the monks Campos and Barbosa, set the final details on the event's schedule, near the Posthumous Altar placed in front of the *Hondo*'s entrance, decorated with candles and incense. Afterwards, the priest Campos organizes the line of faithful who arrive at the Temple for Morning Cult. Before entering the *Hondo*, each person must pay homage to the ancestors before the Posthumous Altar, offering an incense for this. Backstage, before entering *Hondo*, Correia *Odoshi* wears his *koromô* (cassock or *kimono*) and *kesa* (priestly sash), with the help of a lesser-ranked priest. At the time, he does not wear the *enbi* (priestly hat), an accessory that differentiates higher priests, like him, from lower ranks and *minarais* (priest apprentices).





After the entrance of the monks and the beginning of the *Goeku* (which takes place after the *Asamaeri*), the faithful pray the *Namumyouhourenguekyou* incessantly, rhythmic with the beating of the hands, with an erect posture and eyes fixed on the Holy Image located in the center of the main Altar, “the form correct to pray the *Odaimoku*” (Correia Odoshi, 2014). However, at a certain point in the ceremony, the priests go to the Posthumous Altar. In the case I witnessed, Archbishop Correia was the first, according to the strict hierarchy of HBS, as he was the celebrant of the cult and the “bishop” responsible for the *Nikkyoji* Cathedral, followed by the 4th priest *Kyougyou* Amaral, who helped him more directly in the ritual.

At this time, the faithful continue to pray the *Odaimoku*, while the two priests place an incense (each) on the Altar of the Ancestors, as a tribute to the deceased. Archbishop Correia performs a traditional gesture of reverence, bending his torso with his hands joined and the *Odyuzu* between



them, having his gesture repeated later by the monk Amaral. He then heads back to his post on the Holy Altar, his hands still tied holding the holy rosary. Afterwards, while the priests continue the mantra prayer at the *Gohouzen*, the faithful go to the Posthumous Altar to also pay homage. A great row is formed and the devotees offer incense (one per believer) and pay the same obeisances.

Afterwards, they return to their places in *Hondo*, leaving the Posthumous Altar filled with incense and with a beautiful magenta smoke, accentuated by the sun's rays. Finally, adepts and monks return to praying the mantra and recite the dharmic words, a teaching that contains the following sayings: "I deeply respect you, in no way despise, this precisely because all of you, by practicing the path of bossatsu, will certainly attain the illumination". The Archbishop gives the floor to a relative of the deceased (the requester of the ceremony), who thanks the participation of the others present. *Odoshi* then makes the final remarks, highlighting the qualities of the honored *Yuki Oikawa*, "a dedicated faithful who transmitted her devotion in the form of religious heritage to children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, also members of HBS". The priests greet the faithful with the expression "*arigatou gosaimashita*" (thanks and farewell), repeating the bending movement with the trunk, hands together and the *Odyuzu* between them, ending the Posthumous Ceremony.



As with the *Goeku*, the ritual of closing a cycle, that is, the death of the physical body, follows the same rites of homage, which culminate, however, in the burial or cremation of the deceased's body by their relatives and friends. I obtained such information through testimonies, having not witnessed any death ritual at HBS. However, it is important to mention that, in 2013, I participated in the rite of passage of my maternal grandmother, *Fumiko Nakaoka*, who belonged to the Japanese Buddhist school Pure Land, a devotee of Buddha *Amida*. This ritual is very similar to that reported by the priests and faithful of HBS, with the same sequence of homages with incense and the disposition of those present in single file.

This means that people are organized in order of seniority and kinship with the deceased, and in the case in question, the first to offer the incense was the eldest daughter, followed by the brothers, in order of age. Next

came the grandchildren, also in order of age (I was third in that row, after my sister and a cousin, who are the oldest), my niece (at the time, the only great-granddaughter present), other relatives and friends. After the tributes, a *Bonzo* (priest or monk, corresponding to *Odoshi*, at HBS) performs a brief service, explaining the physical passage in Buddhism, which represents exactly the beginning of a new cycle and not its end. In HBS there is the pronouncement of *Odaimoku* (sacred mantra *Namumyohou-renguekyou*) during the ritual, while in Pure Land Buddhism the mantra “*Namu Amida Butsu*” (“I take refuge in Amida Buddha”) is pronounced.

In addition to these posthumous ceremonies and places, there is also a room inside the Honmon Butsuryu-shu temples called *Nokotsudo*, the place that keeps the remains of the exhumed bodies of the deceased faithful. Each compartment of this kind of closet contains ashes and bones of people of the same family, and a part of these materials are used in homages in the Posthumous Ceremony. Van Gennepe (2011 [1909], p. 140) observed the rites of passage of physical life in various groups, stating that there always comes a time when the bond between the living and the dead is broken, “after having relaxed a little just now”<sup>11</sup>. However, I have noticed that in HBS (and also in Pure Land Buddhism) this bond, although it does loosen, is not completely broken, as there are Posthumous and Great Masters Altars that are daily ornamented, venerated and mentioned in ceremonies, as well as the daily tribute and memory of the ancestors of the faithful’s families, including the presence of their mortal remains.

After these services (as well as in the funeral rites, properly), there is also a “farewell meal, judging that the dead partake of it, and people leave” (Van Gennepe, 2011 [1909], p. 131). In the funeral ceremony of my maternal grandmother, for example, there was a period of the wake of the body in which, in a room next door, my family members (and me, included) offered food and drinks to those who paid homage. Afterwards, the burial continued and people returned to their homes.

This type of fraternization can be seen as a ritual of aggregation of the living (human-human) and, simultaneously, of separation (even if partial) between the living and the dead (human-non-human), in which the “deity”, in this case the Primordial Buddha (non-human), on HBS. Therefore, these communal meals serve as a pretext for the deceased’s relatives, friends and the Buddhist community involved to get together, which in fact strengthens the bonds of affinity between them at a time that still holds the mourning and, at the same time, motivates the union. In practice, an event of communion, of “gift” by the group that gathers to

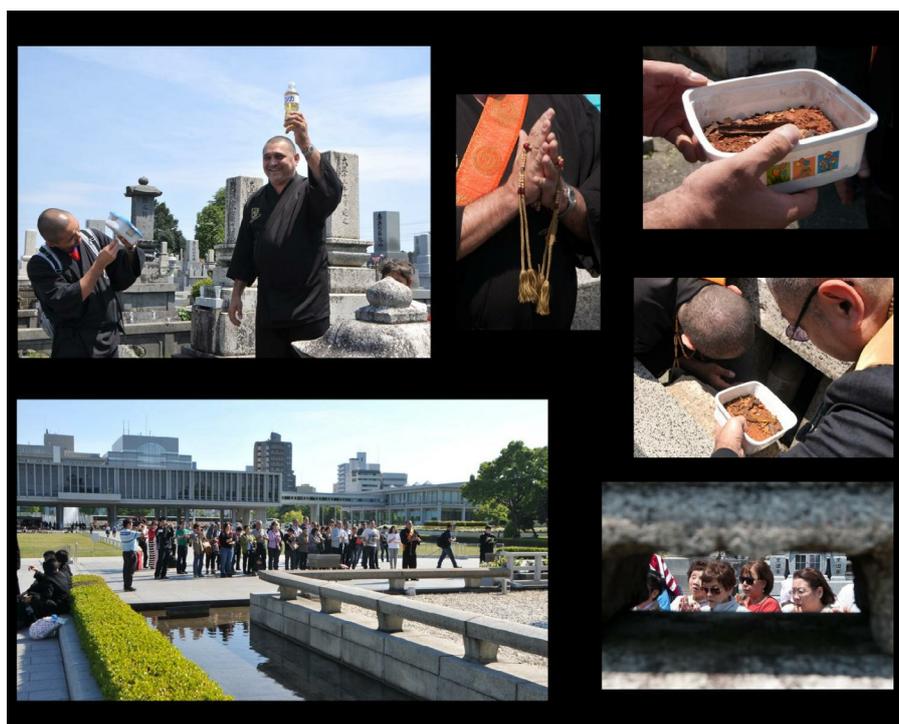
---

11. Van Gennepe thus emphasizes that there is a last commemoration or visit containing “the rites of separation from the dead and of reconsolidation of society, narrow or broad, of the living” (2011 [1909], p. 140).

remember the person who abandoned their physical body, and “counter-gift” (Mauss, 1925) by the family members who offer the food to those who attended the Ancestor Ceremony.

After the *Goeku* I described in detail above, Archbishop Correia officially started lunch by offering a prayer of gratitude for the food, accompanied in unison by the faithful, with the words: “*Negawakuba shoojioçeçe Bosatsu no doo o guioji, muhen no shujio o doshite, nagaku taiten nakaran koto o omou mononari: Namumyouhourenguekyou*”. Then, they recite the translation: “Primordial Buddha, bless this food that nourishes us, to follow the path of peace and perpetuate the Sacred Dharma: *Namumyouhourenguekyou*”<sup>12</sup>. Everyone prays, hands clasped and body bowed in gratitude. At the end, they say in chorus the expression “*Itadakimasu*”, starting the meal.

## SECOND ACT



Like the Posthumous Altar, the Altar of the Great Masters is an important target of veneration, being the third to be revered by priests and faithful during the *Okou* (just after the *Gohouzen* and the Posthumous Altar). This sacred place usually occupies the left side of the *Hondo* – from the point of view of the believer, who looks at it from the bottom to the front – and is composed of three plates in Japan and four plates in Brazil. In the above-reported *Goeku*, however, the Posthumous Altar stood outside the *Hondo*, while the Altar of the Great Masters took its place (on the right

<sup>12</sup>. This translation is in Portuguese, but here I choose a free version, in English.

side), receiving homage for the deceased (incense, prayers and ritual gestures of respect and devotion) during the ceremony.

The Altar of the Great Masters bears the names of the three forerunners of HBS, written in Japanese ideograms (*kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana*). The upper center plate is named after Master *Nichiren Daibossatsu*, the one on the left for Master *Nissen Shounin* and the one on the right for Master *Nitiryu Daishounin*. The fourth plaque, observed on altars in Brazil, bears the name of master *Ibaragui Nissui Shounin*, patron saint of religion in the country.

The founder of HBS was *Nissen Shounin*, who entered the priesthood late, at the age of 32, influenced by the work of the master *Nitiryu Daishounin*. Even with the adversities arising from the aversion of other Buddhist currents that did not accept the exclusive belief in the Primordial Lotus Sutra, the only teaching followed by this school, and with the aim of spreading and providing knowledge of the Primordial Buddha to everyone, Nissen founded it on the day January 12, 1857, to *Honmon Butsuryu-shu*. By following the Primordial Buddha's precepts, he declared himself a follower and devotee of *Nichiren* and asserted his status as the legitimate successor of *Nitiryu*.

When mentioning the "life stories"<sup>13</sup> of the founder of HBS, it is necessary to mention his two precursors, as *Nissen* is considered the rebirth of *Nitiryu*, that is, his later human life, as even these characters were not free from the samsara and the law of karma. *Nitiryu*, in turn, is claimed to be *Nichiren's* ulterior body, which was the physical body of *Bossatsu Primordial Jyogyo*. *Nichiren* is today regarded as an important Buddhist teacher and a forerunner not only of *Honmon Butsuryu-shu*, but of other schools such as *Nichiren Shu*, *Nichiren Shoshu*, Buddhism of *Nichiren*, *Soka Gakkai* Association, among many other branches.

Following the line of succession, it is still essential to tell a little about the story of master *Ibaragui Nissui Shounin*, the patron saint of HBS in Brazil. As the first monk to set foot on Brazilian soil, this character became fundamental to the religion. It all starts on April 28, 1908, when a young priest leaves the port of *Kobe*, along with 790 more Japanese, including his wife and brother. The fact of coming with family members was a requirement of the Japanese government, which gave priority to the immigration of families with at least three members.

---

13. It is essential to highlight that I choose to use the word "story", following in the footsteps of Vânia Cardoso, "by the implication of the sense of confabular, an emphasis on the productive dimension of the narrative", which is not taken as "an opposition to the 'real'" (Cardoso, 2012, p. 43). Thus, Cardoso speaks of a biographical individuation, which brings "back attention to the way in which stories emerge both in the space of ritual and in everyday life", pointing again "to the deviation of the anthropological look from stories as objects, as products, to 'telling' as acting in the world", a singularity that would affect "the way we think anthropologically about the stories that the subjects of our ethnographies tell us – and about the stories we tell about them" (2012, p. 60).

Therefore, the first Buddhist to set foot on Brazilian soil was called *Tomō-jirō Ibaragui*, and belonged to the Japanese *Mahayana* current, *Honmon Butsuryu-shu*. Thus, as Correia *Odoshi* emphasizes in the book (authored by him) entitled “What is Primordial – Buddhism 100 years” (2008), *Ibaragui* went through long paths before exercising his exclusive role as a priest. He passed away on November 1, 1971, at the age of 85 and has many thought-provoking stories. One of them, narrated by the Archbishop during a community pilgrimage that I accompanied in 2014, through Japan, India and Nepal, tells that *Ibaragui*’s wife, named *Yasumura Tiyo*, returned to her homeland before the monk and never saw him again, dying in the *Toyama* city.

When visiting the cemetery where the remains of master *Ibaragui*’s *okussan* (priest’s wife) were buried, HBS do Brasil supporters performed a ceremony that is also part of the context of the *Goeku*. On this occasion, Correia *Odoshi* tells the story of *Tiyo* and the importance of women in the life of a male priest. His relaxed appearance, with an open smile, draws attention. Although we were in a cemetery, a place commonly associated with suffering and mourning, the atmosphere was one of tranquillity and joy, as the caravan was there to pay homage to the deceased. In the image, in addition to the Archbishop who smiles and raises a bottle of sake, which would later be poured over the tomb as an offering, we have Bishop *Jyunsho Yoshikawa* (currently the priest responsible for the *Ren-tokuji* temple in Campinas/SP) holding a part of the remains exhumed from *Ibaragui Nissui Shounin*. According to the Archbishop:

Here is the tomb of master *Ibaragui*’s wife, the *okussan*, which in Brazil means “wife of a priest”. Women have an important role for the monk. Not that they are obligated to marry, there is no obligation. But it’s good to get the monk’s head in place. And another one, right? Married, it will be much easier for the monk to teach, to advise the families, since he goes through the same daily difficulties. So, this is where *Yasumura* was buried. And *Ibaragui* stayed there in São Paulo, without her, right? Only now, we took advantage of the trip and brought his mortal remains, the ashes of his exhumed remains, right? So, let’s put a part here, so they can finally get back together and be together forever. And let’s offer this sake, which is good, see people? It’s not the bum, it’s the good thing! Saquezinho of the good, the “top”, as young people say! Because in Japan people offer this, put the sake to honor the ancestors, the deceased (*Nitiyuu* Correia, May 2014).

During the posthumous ritual, the high priest *Haikawa* places a part of Master *Ibaragui*’s ashes together with the remains of the *okussan*, in a compartment at the back of the tomb, helping Archbishop Correia, who tells another little story:

So, we put the remains that are in this container back here, to be together forever. It’s a reunion right, symbolic, spiri-

tual, but a reunion. They'll stay hidden here, so no one will bother, no one will mess with them anymore. But let's just keep a part here. The other part goes with me and the people who are going to India, because we are going to put this other part in a very important place, really sacred, right, which is Pico da Águia, the place where the Historical Buddha, the famous prince Siddharta Gautama, enlightened by our Primordial Buddha, pronounced the Primordial Lotus Sutra for everyone, the *Namumyouhourenguekyou* said in Sanskrit-Pali right? Because, of course, it was the language of the region, for millennia of years, and then it was translated into Japanese (Archbishop Correia, May 2014).

In addition to this experience at *Toyama Cemetery*, the group I accompanied also held a ceremony at the *Hiroshima Peace Memorial*, in order to pay homage to the victims of the 1945 genocide. This sumptuous museum site, which houses the remains of this tragic event, unites, in the same space, the past time of the atomic bomb disaster (the remains, the stories and the surviving things) and the present time, which places it as a place of culture and tourism. In the ritual, despite the more improvised character, I observed the same sequence of gestures, prayers and offerings noted in the *Goeku* performed at the *Nikkyoji Cathedral*<sup>14</sup>.

### THIRD ACT



14. This moment brought me back to another genocidal scenario erected in the context of World War II: that of Auschwitz, the main concentration and extermination camp of Jews by the nazis, which was also transformed into a museum. In the words of Georges Didi-Huberman (2009 [2002], 2014), we have “a place of barbarism” that has been transformed into a “place of culture”. Like Auschwitz, *Hiroshima* became a large and beautiful “state museum”, a place dedicated to tourism.

Along the journey through India and Nepal, the caravan of supporters of HBS went to the region where the Historical Buddha, according to Buddhist myths, would have performed his last sermon under a huge fig tree, more specifically a *religious Ficus* (popularly known as the fig tree of the pagodas), tree of the same species as the one where the “Enlightened One” meditated until reaching Nirvana. This species of tree, according to reports heard at the site, was preferred by the Buddha because of the surplus it offers and, consequently, for its protection from the harsh sun and heat of the region, during long periods of meditation and the utterance of the Sutras. After this last teaching, the Historical Buddha would have abandoned, at the age of 80, his physical existence:

So, in *Kusinagara*, which is exactly where we are right now, the Buddha died of a food infection. He ate mushroom soup at the house of Cunda, who was a blacksmith here at the time. People used to say that he died eating wild pork, but how could that be, if he was a vegetarian? Then, when he was 80 years old, he received the offering, the food, a mushroom soup and that was bad for him, so it weakened his body and he died at 80 years old. So, the first meal after his self-mortification was hominy, and the last was this mushroom soup. But then people ask, “Ah, but he is the Buddha... If he is the Buddha, how did he die of a foodborne illness? He did not know?”. Of course, he knew! But then there’s a lot involved. First, he was already 80 years old! In the case of physical death, it was caused by a mushroom soup, but in fact the body was already weakened too, but the strongest cause was old age, someone aged 80 years. Taking into account that the average lifespan of people at that time was 35 years... Today in Brazil the average lifespan is not 80 years. In Japan, it is 92 years for women and 87 for men. Brazil has not reached 80 yet, even with medicine, health insurance and all that. So, the Buddha’s 80 years of life is further proof that he is indeed Enlightened. Having sacrificed his body of almost six feet tall, at a time when the average height was between four feet and five feet, having sacrificed his body until this age group of life. You can tell if it were today, he’d be about 140 or 150 years old. If it were today, for that alone he would be the most famous man in the entire world. Someone 140 or 150 years old today would already be on television, walking, walking, preaching lucidly and everything else, right? But of course, if he wanted to, he could have avoided, meditated and got rid of this evil. It was easy for him! But he could not refuse the offer of food from a person who followed him, as he had taken a vow of poverty. And he knew that it was time to enter Nirvana at once, what we call Nirvana Full or Parinirvana. It was about time! Then, what died was only his body. But before he died, this is where the Buddha made the last conversion, it was in this place. He preached the Dharma to a very old elderly man there. On the day of his passing, he was still converting and teaching someone far more experienced, of earthly age, than he was. It’s not because I’m a Buddhist, but looking at statistical data, miracles, these things are a piece of cake, everyone can perform their miracles, just practice their faith. So, to look at that horizon there, going back to the time he spent, he had already preached the Lo-

tus Sutra, he had already fulfilled his mission. He knew he was walking to remember humility, knowing he couldn't refuse mushroom soup offered by a believer. He weakened even more and he made his last prayer. He transmitted his last visions to his disciples and passed away (Correia Odoshi, May 2014).

After abandoning his mundane existence, Shakyamuni Buddha was taken to a dome where his cremation would have taken place. In this place, visited by the caravan, we came across a huge statue of the Enlightened One, which represents the suffering of his physical body. He is lying on his side, over his right shoulder, in a position known in HBS as "*macura*" (as if he makes a pillow with his hands, to support his head), with the left side of his chest, where the heart is located, directed upwards, making the circulation flow well. His head is pointed to the north, facing geographically towards the Himalayas, which represents the closest point to heaven and a sacred place, the abode of the Hindu's gods.

This statue makes an interesting gesture, really cool, a kind of arm pillow, with the head facing north, towards the Himalayas. After he reached Nirvana there, he was taken to another place where he was cremated and then taken to Nepal, where he was born. When entering the temple of Nirvana, which has the statue, it's good to take off your shoes. It's okay, right? You are used to it already (laughs). The temple is tiny, you won't need to walk far. So, the exact location is here. Here he was cremated, but his ashes were not left. This all lasted 21 days. There was a king who was smarter... After two days, when the ashes started to cool, he arrived and said: "It's all mine!". Then there was a sage, whom the Buddha had already warned: "The ashes will be divided into eight parts". And it was placed on a scale, in equal parts. There are some old bricks there. That whole thing over there is 500 years BC This part here was a little smaller, but then, over time, kings and kings rose to that height. And our guide also explained that in this country people are cremated because the human body is made of the five elements: earth, water, fire, wind and mind. Then, when departing from this world, you must return these five elements to nature. As the Buddha was a "superman", an Enlightened being, he had no need to let go of that. And so, they caused the parts of it to be divided and subdivided. A little of these ashes was already a reason to build a stupa or pagoda and leave them as a place of veneration. Another thing I can't leave out is that in the 18th chapter of the Lotus Sutra it says that the Buddha said that no one should worship his ashes, that's why we worship neither the body, nor the ashes, nor the statues, just the Holy Dharma (Correia Odoshi, May 2014).

After being cremated, a part of the Buddha's ashes was taken back to Lumbini (Nepal), his homeland, as mentioned in the above account. So the HBS group held a posthumous ceremony in front of the temple in which Shakyamuni, or a considerable part of his remains, would have

been deposited. Among the place where the Buddha is buried in Lumbini and the various other sacred places that would have a part of his ashes, the caravan visited the National Museum of Delhi (Mahatma Gandhi Museum), where, inside, there is a part of the exhumed remains of Siddhartha, which is considered by Buddhists to be ample proof of Gautama's physical existence. Due to the importance of this "fact", the caravan also performed, right there inside the museum, a *Goeku*.



## CONCLUSION

This article, also composed of eight visual montages elaborated as photographic essays (consisting, respectively, of 07, 04, 06, 06, 06, 06, 08 and 04 photographs), sought to show the symbolic and relational richness between human-humans (monks of varying degrees, faithful and lay) and human and non-human (Primordial Buddha and the deceased ancestors), from the ceremony entitled *Goeku* ("Ancestor Ceremony" or "Posthumous Ceremony") performed by adepts of *Honmon Butsuryu-shu*. Considering the set of elements present, such as sacred objects and musical instruments, as well as the existence of a ritual performance sequence that, as a rule, is repeated, the intention was not to limit such events as a static rite of passage. To this end, I sought to show that new situations activate the potential of these ceremonies, which have several and thought-provoking purposes (eliminating negative karma, strengthening the ties between the faithful, priests and the Primordial Buddha, emphasizing the potency of family and religious heritage, etc.).

Thus, the most elementary ritual was shown as the “first act”, which takes place in *Oteras’s Hondos*, with all the prior preparation by the priests and faithful, entitled, here, of “backstage”. Going forward, I considered as a rite of passage the ceremonial sequences in honor of the three founding masters of the religion, in addition to those directed to the monk *Ibaragui Nissui Shounin* (honored in Brazil), performed in front of a specific altar, composed of plaques that re(a)present these forerunners (as with the faithful revered at the Posthumous Altar). I also inserted, in the meantime, the ritual that took place in a cemetery in *Toyama* and a celebration at the Peace Memorial of *Hiroshima* as two *Goeku*, the first in honor of the reunion between master *Ibaragui* and his wife *Tiyo*, decades after their physical suffering; and the second offering condolences to the victims of the 1945 nuclear attack (“second act”).

Finally, I classified the posthumous rituals promoted in honor of the Historical Buddha in India and Nepal as *Goeku* (“third act”), since the ceremonies, although materially improvised (such as those that took place in *Hiroshima* and *Toyama*), also presented the same sequences, gestures, postures, sacred objects and relationships between humans and non-humans.

To elucidate the *Goeku’s* nuances descriptively and visually, I proposed the (eight) visual montages that are interspersed with the text, but that also introduces the written part graphically, also adding important excerpts from mythical narratives collected by me in more than eight years of intense and “affected” (Favret-Saada, 2005) conviviality. This is because, no matter how much I described the gestures, postures, expressions, objects and looks present in this class of ritual, I would never be able to recall and reach the power and dynamics of the performances observed without the photographs.

In the same direction, but in the opposite direction, as the other side of the same coin, the textual part plus the transcribed oral narratives are necessary in an academic work, especially one that also has the intention of describing a complex ritual practice. However, before aiming solely to illustrate the text with photographs or reduce the images to mere chronological sequences with restrictive captions, I sought to associate and explore such forms of expression in their possible intersections and tensions, investing in the narrative capacity of the images or, even, in their potential to make us remember and (re)tell the stories that took place in a more or less distant past.

**TRANSLATOR**  
Renan Moretti  
Bertho.

## REFERÊNCIAS

- Bateson, Gregory. 2006/1936. *Naven: Um esboço dos problemas sugeridos por um retrato compósito, realizado a partir de três perspectivas, da cultura de uma tribo da Nova Guiné*. São Paulo: EdUSP.
- Butsuryu-shu, Honmon. 2004. *Revista Lótus*, vol. 06, n. 57: 20.
- Butsuryu-shu, Honmon. 2014. *Revista Lótus*, vol. 10, n. 90: 14.
- Cardoso, Vânia. 2012. Marias: a individuação biográfica e o poder das estórias. In *Etnobiografia: subjetivação e etnografia*, ed. Marco Antônio Gonçalves, Roberto Marques e Vânia Cardoso. 37-60. Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras.
- Correia, Kyohaku. 2008. *O que é Primordial: Budismo 100 anos*. São Paulo: Ed. Rmc.
- Didi-Huberman, Georges. 2009/2002. *La imagen superviviente. Historia del arte y tiempo de los fantasmas segun Aby Warburg*. Madrid: Editorial Abada.
- Didi-Huberman, Georges. 2014. *Imágenes pese a todo*. Barcelona: Miracle Paidós.
- Douglas, Mary. 1976. *Pureza e Perigo*. São Paulo: Editora Perspectiva.
- Elias, Alexsânder Nakaóka. 2018. *Dupla imagem, duplo ritual: a Fotografia e o Sutra Lótus Primordial*. Tese (Doutorado em Antropologia Social) – Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47749/T/UNICAMP.2018.1045479>.
- Elias, Alexsânder Nakaóka. 2019. Por uma etnografia multissensorial. *Tessituras: Revista de Antropologia e Arqueologia*, vol. 07: 266-293. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15210/tes.v7i2.16155>.
- Elias, Alexsânder Nakaóka. 2020. Mapa Visual: A (Des)Montagem como experimentação antropológica. *Revista Iluminuras*, vol. 21: 39-66. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22456/1984-1191.100036>.
- Elias, Alexsânder Nakaóka. 2021. Glossário verbo-visual e suas múltiplas grafias. *R@U: Revista de Antropologia Social dos alunos do PPGAS-UFSCAR*, vol. 12: 156-187. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52426/rau.v12i2.352>.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward. 2005/1937. *Bruxaria, oráculos e magia entre os Azande*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar.
- Favret-Saada, Jeanne. 1990. Être Affecté. *Gradhiva: Revue d'Histoire et d'Archives de l'Anthropologie*, vol. 08: 3-9.
- Gell, Alfred. 1998. *Art and Agency: an Anthropological Theory*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Gonçalves, Marco Antonio. 2012. Etnobiografia: biografia e etnografia ou como se encontram pessoas e personagens. In *Etnobiografia: subjetivação e etnografia*, ed. Marco Antônio Gonçalves, Roberto Marques e Vânia Cardoso. 19-36. Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras.
- HBS do Brasil. Lista de sacerdotes. Disponível em: <http://budismo.com.br/bispos-e-sacerdotes-do-brasil/>. Acesso em: 25 jun. 2021.
- Hertz, Robert. 2016/1909. A preeminência da mão direita: estudo sobre a polaridade religiosa. *Sociologia religiosa e folclore*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 97-121.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1975/1949. *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. 1978/1922. *Argonautas do Pacífico Ocidental*. São Paulo: Abril Cultural.
- Maués, Heraldo. 2012. O Perspectivismo Indígena é Somente Indígena? Cosmologia, Religião, Medicina e Populações Rurais na Amazônia. *Revista Mediações (UEL)*, vol. 17: 33-61.
- Mauss, Marcel. 2003/1925. *Ensaio sobre a Dádiva*. São Paulo: Cosac Naify.
- Nina, Ana Cristina Lopes. *Ventos da Impermanência*. São Paulo: EdUSP, 2006.

- Santos, Alessandra Carla Baia dos et al. 2012. Antropologia da saúde e da doença: contribuições para a construção de novas práticas em saúde. *Revista NUFEN*, vol. 4, n. 2: 11-21.
- Schumaker, Lyn. 2001. *Africanizing Anthropology: Fieldwork, Networks, and the Making of Cultural Knowledge in Central Africa*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Stark, Rodney. 1996. *The rise of Christianity: A sociologist Reconsiders History*. Nova Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Turner, Victor. 1967. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Cornell University Press.
- Turner, Victor. 2008/1974. *Dramas, Campos e Metáforas*. Rio de Janeiro: Eduf, 2008.
- Van Gennep, Arnold. 2011/1909. *Os ritos de passagem*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Warburg, Aby. 2000/1929. *Der Bilderatlas Mnemosyne* (sob a direção de Martin Warnke e de Claudia Brink). Berlim: Akademie Verlag.

**Alexsânder Nakaôka Elias** is a postdoctoral fellow in Social Anthropology at UFRGS, doctor in Anthropology and Master in Multimeios at Unicamp. He researches topics related to art, image, Audiovisual Anthropology, rituals, narratives and Japanese culture. Currently, its focus is on the relationships between the notions of "experience" and "experimentation" and on reflections on the potential of "assembly" as a methodology in the making of anthropological knowledge. He is a member of the "Visual Anthropology Nucleus" (NAVISUAL/UFRGS), of the "Anthropological Laboratory of Graphics and Image (LA'GRIMA/Unicamp), of the "Laboratory of Teaching, Research and Production in Anthropology of Image and Sound" (LEPPAIS /UFPel) and the "Research Network in Audiovisual Anthropology" (RIAA). E-mail: alexdefabri@yahoo.com.br.

**Use license.** This article is licensed by the Creative Commons CC-BY License. With this license, you can share, adapt, create for any purpose, as long as you attribute the authorship

Submitted: 05/16/2021  
Represented: 07/12/2021  
Accepted: 09/10/2021