Japanese Religions, Calendars, and Religious Culture in Brazil

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This article analyzes some characteristics of religious culture in Brazil found in calendars collected by the author, particularly at the turn of 2006. General features of calendars in Brazil are summarized in reference to national culture, mass culture, company culture, and religious culture. Calendars issued by Japanese religious organizations are described in detail according to their affiliations, namely Shin Buddhism, the Catholic Church, Seichō-no-Ie, Perfect Liberty, and Tenrikyō.

**KEYWORDS:** calendars — Brazil — Shin Buddhism — Catholic Church — Tenrikyō — Seichō-no-Ie — Perfect Liberty

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Something so basic as a calendar can include much more information than simple dates; it can also include the movements of heavenly bodies, lucky and/or unlucky days, and much more. In short, culture in various forms, such as national, mass, popular, religious, company, community, and ethnic cultures—all can be incorporated into a calendar. In addition to this, a calendar functions as a medium broadcasting, for example, advertisements and religious messages. The calendar has traditionally been closely related to religions, and is also inseparable from political authority (that is, those who control time). Major calendars in the world such as the Jewish calendar, the Julian calendar, the Muslim (Hijra) calendar, the Gregorian calendar, the Hindu calendar, and the Buddhist calendar have been greatly influenced by their respective religions. In Japan, Emperor Jitō introduced the lunisolar calendar (borrowed from China) in 690, and the Meiji government introduced the Gregorian calendar in 1873.

By the time Japanese religions were introduced into Hawai‘i, the US mainland, Canada, and Latin America, the Japanese calendar had already been changed from the lunisolar to the Gregorian calendar. Japanese emigrants thus found little discordance between the calendar system in Japan and those in the countries they emigrated to, except the Okinawans, who tend to celebrate their traditional events according to the lunisolar calendar, both in Japan and abroad. The calendars utilized in Okinawa also describe the details for each day according to the old (that is, lunisolar) calendar.

Some emigrants celebrated Japanese national holidays such as Emperor Meiji’s birthday (3 November) during the Meiji Era and Buddha’s birthday festival (8 April) regardless of the calendar used in their country of emigration. The former, Emperor Meiji’s birthday, is now a national holiday called Culture Day, but is not celebrated by Japanese outside of Japan. The latter is a state holiday of Hawai‘i called Buddha Day (Wesak Flower Festival), celebrated on the Sunday closest to 8 April. In São Paulo, Brazil, Buddha’s birthday festival is celebrated on the Saturday closest to 8 April. Thus the identity of the Japanese people as Buddhists is highlighted.

This paper deals with the religious culture represented in a sample of calendars collected throughout Brazil. First, I will discuss calendars in Brazil at large and show the types of calendars adopted by Brazilian religious institutions. I express my sincere gratitude to Nobue Miyazaki, Américo Pellegrini Filho, Alberto Ikeda, Yasuhisa Takano, Fernando de La-Rocque Couto, Gota Tsutsumi, Masayo Nishi, Wakana Okuda, Rie Taniguchi, Keisuke Takahashi, and Momo Nakagawa for their cooperation in collecting the calendars utilized in this study.
will then explain the different calendars published by Japanese religious institutions. To conclude, I will describe the characteristics of all of these calendars.

I began collecting calendars from around the world in the early 1990s. By 2000, about one thousand two hundred calendars from about seventy countries had been collected and are now housed in the National Museum of Ethnology (Minpaku). Some ninety of them are of Brazilian origin. The collecting process continues, although they have yet to be catalogued.

There have been almost no studies conducted on calendars in Brazil. Naturally, some local researchers and even folklorists have questioned why I study calendars. The new solar calendar and the old lunisolar calendar are kept separate in Japan. Although the use of the old calendar is declining, it nevertheless still exists. It is, however, winning over devotees who have become attached to it. In Brazil, on the other hand, only the Gregorian calendar has been adopted. Japanese-Brazilians, who represent the majority of all Asian Brazilians, constitute less than one percent of the total population. There is no difference between the calendar used by Protestants and that used by Catholics.

**General Characteristics of Calendars in Brazil**

Calendars are generally divided into three broad groups: wall calendars (*calendário de parede*), desk calendars (*calendário de mesa*), and card calendars (*calendário de bolso*). In addition, block calendars (*folinha*), memorandum books (*agenda*), and almanacs are available.

Most calendars in Brazil indicate the waxing and waning of the moon: the new moon (*Nova*), waxing moon (white; *Crescente*), waning moon (black; *Minguante*), and full moon (*Cheia*) (figure 1). These calendars usually illustrate the phases of the moon. A new moon, a full moon, a waxing moon, and a waning moon are depicted as a black circle, a white circle, a white crescent, and a black crescent respectively. It is characteristic that the waxing moon and the waning moon are not half moons, but crescent moons. This may be because people are concerned about the difference between the waxing moon and the waning moon.

According to one superstition, it is good luck to get one’s hair cut, save money, or start a business during the waxing moon. In Afro-Brazilian religious beliefs, children born during a waxing moon (white) time are considered to be masculine, and that evil prevails during a waning...
moon (black) because it is related to “Exu,” an African deity of Yoruban origin. It is also important for fishermen to obtain data on the moon’s phases, although there is little folklore connected to this.

Generally speaking, wall calendars are for family use while desk calendars are placed in shops. But in offices, however, both wall calendars and desk calendars are used. That is, wall calendars are almost exclusively for family use, and in cases where the wall surfaces are large enough to accommodate them, calendars can be used for ornamental purposes in place of pictures. Desk calendars, on the other hand, are more useful in shops where the walls display goods. Moreover, some shops have no walls around the cash register, and shopping centers seldom use wall calendars. Every travel agency uses desk calendars to help its employees attend to customers. Many boutiques have no calendars—not even a desk calendar is used. To my surprise, I have been told that they use card calendars if needed. These calendars are also called “pocket calendars.”

Calendars of all types are usually obtained from independent shops, companies, or banks. A majority of the calendars available in Brazil are published by Catholic publishers and sold at their affiliated shops. Calendars with scenic landscapes and places of historic interest for tourists are sold at souvenir shops. It may be difficult to obtain other kinds of calendars at ordinary stores.

**National Culture**

“National culture” refers to the culture formed as part of national policies, directly or indirectly involved with that nation’s central government. In other words, it is the culture planned and produced by a nation with the intention of enhancing national consciousness. Currency and stamp designs are typical examples of national culture. In addition, calendars are sometimes published to promote national culture. Indonesia, for example, had calendars published with photographs of the faces of two ex-presidents, Sukarno and Suharto. These calendars were distributed through local communities. China had a military calendar with the motif of flying wild geese, which is a symbol of leadership.

It is not common in Brazil for the government and government agencies to issue calendars. The only example I encountered was a desk calendar issued by the post office. This calendar contains some photographs of local folklore in each region, but was not freely distributed to general customers. In France, the post office distributes a calendar to each family that provides various pieces of information, including bus and subway route maps, telephone area codes, and other convenient data. The French post office has distributed such calendars since the end of the nineteenth century, which is one reason why company and shop calendars are not easily available in France. These calendars issued by the French post office also carry the names of saints allocated to three hundred and sixty-five days. Some Arabic, Germanic, Celtic, Slavic, and other foreign first names
have recently been included. Calendars issued by the post office in Brazil, on the other hand, hardly contribute to the cultivation of the national consciousness.

Mass Culture/Company Culture

Mass culture is realized through mass media, including both print and electronic technology. Mass culture has two sides: on the one hand, it abolishes classes and cultural inequality, and on the other it eliminates cultural differences between countries, peoples or ethnic groups, languages, communities, and others (Konakawa 1988, 827). TV and films are the most typical form of mass culture, and calendars with photographs of singers and actors can also be considered products of mass culture.

A distinction needs to be made between mass culture and popular culture in Brazil, because popular culture, which is not conveyed by the mass media, is still in full force. Slavery and latifundism have created communities of low social mobility in Brazil, bringing about two cultures supported by distinctly different classes: popular culture and erudite culture (Mita 2005, 281). Though newspapers are included as a form of mass culture in print form, the literatura de cordel (booklet), widely read in the Northeast, is classified as orally-communicated popular culture. Public performances and festivals that are full of local color and used in calendar designs are symbols of popular culture or folk culture.

It is unknown what types of calendars are produced by newspaper companies and TV stations. Magazine stands on the streets in Brazil seldom sell wall and/or desk calendars. This is entirely different from the situation in Indonesia and the Philippines, where many roadside stands sell calendars. Magazines with calendar inserts are also popular in these two countries. In my collection, I have a calendar with a photograph of a woman in a bikini that was marketed as a free gift with the magazine “VIP” and published by Abril Publishing company, and it is these types of calendars that are currently being purchased in Brazil.

Nude calendars were once distributed to customers at gas stations, with a large number of these calendars being put on the walls of automobile dealers, tire shops, and auto-repair shops. These calendars had popular names such as folinha de mecânico (mechanic’s calendar) and folinha de borracharia (tire shop calendar), and even Brazil’s state oil company, Petrobras, once printed a number of nude calendars. Automobile and tire companies competed with each other concerning the distribution of such calendars to dealers and repair shops, where workers and customers were mostly men. However, in the last ten years, the number of female customers in automobile/tire repair shops has increased, and so the number of nude calendars has decreased sharply. In fact, the increase in demand for religious calendars, and in particular those of evangelical Pentecostals, is overwhelmingly higher than the demand for nude calendars at one leading calendar printing company (Ishi 2006, 90). Upon inquiring at tire and
repair shops in São Paulo, I found that no nude calendars had been published recently. There are also calendars produced by companies for advertisement and free distribution, which I classify as company culture.

Religious Culture

As Brazil is a former colony of Portugal, which is a predominantly Catholic country, Catholicism has traditionally been the main religion in Brazil. According to the national census of 2000, the number of Catholics has decreased to around seventy percent of the total population, though this was as high as ninety percent thirty years ago. The main reason for this is the sharp growth in the number of Protestants, especially Pentecostals, who are generally referred to as Neo-Pentecostals. However, Christmas, Carnival, Easter, Corpus Christi, Our Lady of Aparecida, and the Day of the Dead (All Souls Day) are celebrated as national holidays even though they are Catholic events.

The Catholic Church uses the Gregorian calendar. I compared calendars collected from various parts of the world, and found that the names of saints on the calendars vary depending on monastic orders, countries, and eras. Calendars with the names of saints allocated by day are widespread in France, Portugal, Austria, and northern Europe, as well as the Philippines, which has a large Catholic population. The anniversary of each respective saint’s death is generally adopted as that saint’s “day.” Recently, first names that are unrelated to saints have been added to the list in northern Europe. The date associated with a saint or an apostle is called Name Day, and those with the same Christian names as saints will celebrate with their families, relatives, and friends at work or school on their Name Day (Shōji 2003, 30). People celebrate their birthdays with much enthusiasm in Brazil, but few celebrate Name Day. Both common calendars and Catholic calendars in Brazil mention saints’ names, and the Salesian calendar in particular has a saint’s name for every day.

Some Protestant denominations also publish calendars. It is characteristic of Neo-Pentecostal and Evangelical calendars to quote Scriptures on their calendars.

I also collected Korean Catholic calendars from the church at the Kim Degun Parish, Bom Retiro, São Paulo, where many Koreans reside. The calendar is in the Korean language, but also indicates the months and days of the week in Portuguese. Important dates according to the lunisolar calendar are shown, but no names of saints are provided.

Fo Guang Shan, a Taiwanese new religion, has recently built a beautiful Buddhist temple at Cotia in a suburb of São Paulo. The Temple Zu Lai 2006 calendar has the four Chinese characters 春来福到 (“the arrival of spring is a sign of prosperity”) together with the Portuguese translation.

It appears that Muslim calendars have not yet been published in Brazil. When I visited a mosque in São Paulo in 2006 to inquire if they had Muslim calendars,
there were none, and instead I received a leaflet. It showed only the time schedule for worship for one month (thirty-one days) according to the solar calendar.

Religious Culture of the Japanese-Brazilians

About thirty Japanese religious institutions are present in Brazil. Not all institutions distribute their own calendars to their members. Among the established Buddhist sects, True Pure Land Buddhism distributes a common calendar that overlaps the sectarian differences of Higashi Honganji and Nishi Honganji temples. New religious movements also make their own calendars, although Soka Gakkai issues no calendar. Many religious institutions, however, provide their own calendars to their members, whether printed in Japan or Brazil. Catholic Panib (Pastoral Nipo-Brasileira) also issues a calendar to Japanese Catholics. Here I will take the liberty of describing some characteristics of the calendars that I have collected.

SHIN BUDDHISM

Every year, the Shinshū Kyōdan Rengō (Shin Buddhism Union) publishes a calendar that includes Dharma messages. This calendar is produced jointly by the ten sects of True Pure Land Buddhism, including Nishi Honganji and Higashi Honganji, and Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish, as well as roman characters are used on the calendar. The cover message of the 2006 calendar is by Taeko Yoshioka (1979– ), and is translated into English as follows (Figure 2):

It is not that the Light hasn’t reached up to us now, it’s merely that we haven’t encountered it yet.

And into Portuguese and Spanish as follows:

Não é que a Luz tivesse chegado agora! Eu simplesmente ainda não percebera!

No es que la Luz huviese llegado ahora! Yo simplemente todavía no la percibía!

Also explained are “Dharma Messages,” which quote “Pure Land Poems” (jōdo wasan), and next to these is the message of an artist entitled “A Painting of Me”; however, this is without Portuguese translation. On the other hand, a Dharma message is written in Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish on every month of the calendar, together with an illustration and signature. All of the writers are involved in Shin Buddhism in one way or another, and some are even theologians. The messages claim that these are not the words from a sutra, but are original quotes.

The religious events schedule in Japanese and Portuguese is included in the January 2006 calendar (Figure 3). The events in Japanese are placed in the space for each date, while the events in Portuguese are on the top part of the calendar.
Honganji/Honganjiha are active among the ten True Pure Land Buddhist sects; and 3) that two leading Japanese-Brazilian travel agencies, Tunibra and Unitour, deal with group worship to the True Pure Land Buddhist temples.

A branch of Shinshū Kyōdan Rengō was established in South America about fifteen years ago. Higashi Honganji and Nishi Honganji have taken turns every year in running this branch. In recent years, however, they have been taking turns every two years. Higashi Honganji was in charge until March 2006, and the Buddhist Institute of Missionary Studies, Nambei Honganji, was assigned to do the translations. Bumbá, a Japanese-Brazilian publishing house in São Paulo, was in charge of printing seventeen thousand five hundred copies, with a price of R$3.00 (about 180 yen).

In addition to the calendar with the Dharma messages, I obtained a calendar issued in 2002 by the Shinshū Ōtaniha Higashi Honganji to commemorate the fifty-year anniversary of the South American mission (Figure 4). It is a block calendar for one month, written in Japanese, English, Portuguese, and Spanish. Shinran’s message, for example, is on the third day and reads: “Those who have been born first guide those who come later, and those who come later follow...”
those who were born before.” The wise words of Luther and Pascal have been inserted among those of Rennyo, theologians, and congregations. For example, “Death is not the end of human life; rather it is the fulfillment of one’s life” is a quote taken from Luther, and “In actuality, we know very little about ourselves” is one from Pascal.

**CATHOLIC CHURCH**

**PANIB** issued a calendar in 2006 to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Japanese immigration to Brazil, which will come to pass in 2008. It was sold for R$13 (780 yen) at a shop in the Liberdade ward of Oriental Town, São Paulo. The calendar features a photograph borrowed from the Historical Museum of Japanese Immigration in Brazil, as well as a message in Japanese and Portuguese focusing on life at coffee plantations. Leonardo Matsuo, President of **PANIB**, states the following on the front page:

Prior to the one-hundredth anniversary of Japanese immigration to Brazil in 2008, I would like to see old photographs and review the immigrants’ journey in Brazil throughout the years. This would include their hard labor at coffee plantations and tree cutting, their colonies, and their schools. Based on the history of our pioneers, I have put words from the Bible on each page both in Japanese and Portuguese.

The calendar stood out and was well accepted, primarily because no other religious institutions or Japanese groups had issued such calendars to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Japanese immigration to Brazil.

On this calendar, a set of photographs and their explanations are arranged on a monthly basis, and so the history of immigration can be traced with each passing month. A scripture quotation has also been added to each month. For example, January has the following explanation (**Figure 5**):

January: The Kasato Maru entered Santos with the first group of 781 immigrants on 18 June 1908. The children had received a primary education on a voyage that lasted as long as two months. After leaving the ship, people headed to the immigrants’ camp in São Paulo by train, and waited there to be assigned to a coffee plantation.
March: Time to clear primeval forests. It was the time when the immigrants started to prepare the production of rice and other crops.

Scripture: Stay in this land for a while, and I will be with you and will bless you. (Genesis 26:3)

April: The construction of a colony was a kind of response to deal with harsh reality. Crops were planted and thus colonies were formed.

Scripture: You shall take possession of the land and live in it. (Numbers 33:53)

May: During the cotton harvest, the ground looked as if it was covered with snow. At one period, half of the cotton harvest was produced by Japanese colonies in São Paulo.

Scripture: Have You brought us out into this wilderness to starve this whole congregation to death? (Exodus 16:3)

June: A new family was formed. The wedding ceremony was not held at a church, but the bride celebrated a new start in her white bridal array.

By relating the history of the Japanese immigrants to the scripture, the calendar aims to make people understand the experiences of immigrants in a religious context. Immigration to Brazil is thus reinterpreted through religious idiom. February and beyond read as follows:

February: The first dream of making a fortune in a short time and going home in triumph gradually faded away during hard labor at coffee plantations.

Scripture: Get out of your homeland, “to a land” that I would show you. (Genesis 12:1)
Scripture: I am God Your Lord, who brought you out of Egypt, from the place of slavery. (Exodus 20:2)

July: From the early stages of immigration, athletic sports were popular among the immigrants. An open space was enough for practice, and no money was required.

Scripture: For six years you shall sow your land and gather its yield; but in the seventh year, you shall let it rest and lie. (Exodus 23:10–11)

August: Sumo wrestling is said to be the sport of gods and powerful, brave men. It was the sport for cultivating a bond with their homeland.

Scripture: Until the spirit be poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness be a fruitful field. (Isaiah 32:15)

September: Immigrants dressed up to celebrate the Emperor’s birthday at the assembly hall of the colonies (Japanese language school).

Scripture: They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. (Psalms 126:5)

October: It was a great pleasure for immigrants to see traveling film shows, as they were reminded of their hometowns.

Scripture: Others fell upon the good ground, and were giving fruit, some indeed a hundredfold, and some sixty, and some thirty. (Matthew 13:8)

November: The Japanese people respect the Imperial family, and immigrants to Brazil are remembered by them. The Crown Prince (the incumbent Emperor) and Princess visited Brazil, a moment of excitement!

Scripture: I have fought a good fight, I have kept the faith. (2 Timothy 4:7)

December: Whatever I plant here can be harvested, including cabbages, potatoes, and bananas. Even peace and brotherhood are available here. It really is a nice place to live.

Scripture: For the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me. (Isaiah 66:22)

As we can see, the main themes of this calendar are Japanese immigration to Brazil, hard labor at coffee plantations, the construction of colonies by the immigrant population, the cotton harvest, the birth of new families, sports, the establishment of Japanese halls and Japanese language schools, the celebration of the Emperor’s birthday, the confirmation of the bond with Japan through films, and the imperial family’s visit to Brazil, which are listed on the calendar in historical order. It concludes with words of admiration for the new homeland. Both nostalgic images commemorated by old sepia photographs and the events of the history of immigration that are linked to the scriptures reflect the publish-
ers’ intention to help their church members remember and revere the history of Japanese immigration to Brazil. This calendar is popular with immigrants due to its religion-free description of their history and the feeling that it conveys for the Imperial family. However, quoting the scriptures has given the immigration experience a sacred meaning, thus blessing the settlement.

Furthermore, this calendar provides a list of the member churches of Panib, together with the names of the priests.

**SEICHŌ-NO-IE**

For quite some time, Seichō-no-Ie in Japan has been issuing a monthly block calendar consisting of thirty-one sheets, with the same calendar being used twelve times and renewed every year. It is also used by the members of Seichō-no-Ie for missionary work. In Brazil, the Japanese version is translated into Portuguese and published independently. The message of founder Taniguchi Masaharu from the Japanese version of the previous year is used, meaning that the 2006 calendar in Brazil is a translation of the 2005 version in Japan.

The following sentence is written on the first day of the 2006 version:

My home is the dwelling of the children of God and is the Home of God.

The following sentences are quoted from Taniguchi Masaharu’s words (in *Seikyoban Zoku Shinri no Ginsho*), to explain the meaning:

We are children of God. Our house is the dwelling of the children of God. The dwelling is filled with the love of God, and the people who live there are filled with peace, delight, and security. Therefore, the light of life is abundant everywhere, and all people are full of life and are wrapped in happiness.

The first day of the 2006 Portuguese version, on the other hand, has the sentences below. The translation was overseen by the publication department and checked by the Director President in Brazil (Figure 6). The title is “Forget the past and live the present.” The explanation is as follows:

Free your mind of the past. Those who adhere to the past do not man-
age to live in the present fully. To repent does not mean to continually dwell on the past. The past has gone. Thus we progress when we press forward, overcoming the past.

The block calendar has two variations: a wall calendar and a desk calendar, with the target number of three hundred thousand copies for the former, and eighty thousand copies for the latter. The price of the wall calendar is R$10 (600 yen).

Apart from the block calendar, there is a one-sheet calendar with a list of annual seminars printed in multiple colors. It is published by the training establishment at Ibiuna, in São Paulo. Photographs of their buildings and monuments are used, with printed copies numbering five thousand.

PERFECT LIBERTY

Perfect Liberty (PL) has two types of calendars: a wall version and a desk version (FIGURE 7). These calendars are primarily used by its members, but are also used as gifts to friends, co-workers, or customers during the Christmas season. It is issued in November, and sells for R$3.50 (210 yen). One hundred thousand copies are printed. Among them, forty thousand copies have photographs depicting flowers, and sixty thousand depicting insects. A major company, Gráfica Zambereti, prints these calendars.

The calendar was originally produced by the headquarters based in Japan, and translated into Portuguese. The first day of the 2006 block calendar has the following sentences, which are neither quoted from the literary works written by the founder, nor from a leader of the religious institution:

Let’s keep chasing dreams.

A dream is a source of human energy.

Your dream will come true if you aim for it.

The telephone numbers of all of Perfect Liberty’s branches around Brazil are listed at the back of the desk calendar. Aside from the block calendar, a calendar with the annual schedule of PL-related events in São Paulo district is also issued.
Tenrikyo

Tenrikyo’s 2006 calendar uses photographs of the festival held at the headquarters of Tenrikyo in Tenri City. The catchphrase at the top of the calendar states: “True Liberty is in the sincerity of the spirit.” The expression Ano169RD, written under this catchphrase, means that one hundred and sixty-nine years have passed since the founding of Tenrikyo, with RD standing for Divine Revelation. Under this date, a Brazilian national holiday is circled in red, and a major Tenrikyo festival is circled in yellow and translated into Portuguese. The waxing and waning of the moon is also illustrated. There are ads for JAL and Tunibra in the lower section of the calendar. Tunibra’s ad reads: “Use Tunibra to return to the main sanctuary of Tenrikyo.”

The Cheerful Block Calendar, a monthly calendar whose year of production is unknown, bears a photograph of the Missionary Agency in Brazil on the front. The first day of the calendar has a photograph of the Headquarters viewed from above and the following verses both in Japanese and Portuguese, quoted from Ofudesaki (notes written by the founder of Tenrikyo).

The reason Tsukihi created human beings was the desire to see you lead a joyous life. (Ofudesaki XIV-25)

Aside from the eleven days quoting Ofudesaki, the following ten days feature verses quoted from Mikagura-uta, followed by ten days of quotes from Osashidu. (Ofudesaki is a collection of poems by the foundress Nakayama Miki. Mikagura-uta are songs that accompany the sacred dance of Tenrikyo. Osashidu contains instructions by Iburi Izo.)

Concluding Remarks

Typical types of calendars made by Japanese religious institutions in Brazil are those such as True Pure Land Buddhism’s calendar featuring Dharma messages, and the monthly block calendars made by Seicho-no-Ie and PL. These calendars have two major common characteristics: firstly, they not only provide information on events, but are also utilized to spread the teachings of their respective institutions; and secondly, both are published in collaboration with their headquarters in Japan. The texts are put together in Japan, and then translated in Brazil. Role-sharing occurs as the initiative is taken in Japan, and any adaptations are made in Brazil. Though the words of Luther and Pascal in particular are quoted, no Brazilian sayings are included, but instead the sayings and actions of the Japanese people are introduced. One example of this adaptation can be seen in the presentation of the symbols for the waxing and waning of the moon.

On the other hand, the calendar by PANIB focuses on Japanese immigration to Brazil. There are no words and photographs to indicate a collaboration with Catholic churches in Japan. As for the photographs of the Imperial family, only
those taken during their stay in Brazil are utilized, so in this sense, Japan and the Japanese people of Brazil are emphasized, and not Japan and the Japanese people of the Japanese archipelago.

Lastly, there are also economic motives behind the calendars made by religious institutions. On a special occasion, such as the fifty-year anniversary of the South American mission, or the hundredth anniversary of immigration, the commemorative calendars are issued for fund-raising purposes. Annual calendars are not distributed free of charge, but, with the exception of event calendars, are used as profit-earning activities for their respective religious institutions.

Information conveyed by these calendars provides us with some important clues as to the nature and activities of Japanese religious institutions in Brazil. It is obvious that a broad division of two groups exists pertaining to Japan.

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