

The Emergence of Buddhist Monasticism in Britain

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The Emergence of Buddhist Monasticism in Britain

Buddhism has for centuries played an essential role in the religious life of Asia where its art, rituals, institutions, and philosophical schools have informed the lives of countless practitioners. In contrast, at the beginning of the twentieth century, only a few British subjects were familiar with even basic Buddhist doctrines and practices. None the less, over the course of the Twentieth century, Buddhism grew rapidly in western countries and Buddhist teachings have now diffused quite widely into Western culture, including Britain. At first glance, the British experience seems an anomaly, a peculiarly modern offshoot of traditional Buddhism as practiced in Asia. In a broader historical perspective, however, it can be seen that the transformation of Buddhism as it spreads from one culture to another has followed patterns that repeat with varying degrees of difference as Buddhism travels around the world; the process by which Buddhism has spread to Britain shares many similarities with the spread of Buddhism to various parts of Asia centuries ago. What is the historical background of the entry of Buddhism into Britain? How did the process of the transformation of Buddhism repeat itself? And, what were the key factors in the emergence of Buddhist Monasticism in Britain? In order to answer these questions, the following chapter shall first outline the historical background of the development of Buddhism in Britain and the contexts in which Buddhist monasticism has developed. By way of method, I will review the beginnings of the practice among British Buddhists. Then I will turn to the exponential growth of Buddhism since the beginning of the Twentieth century. The short introduction of the first British monks, the emergence of the monastic order and the formation of the early Buddhist Sangha in three Buddhist traditions-- namely Theravada, Zen and Tibetan traditions--are the focus of the main body of this chapter. Finally, in my conclusion I reflect on the major themes of the early development of the Buddhist monasticism in Britain.

Historical Background

It is beyond the confines of this chapter to present a detailed historical survey of the development of Buddhism in Britain; the purpose of this section is simply to sketch a broader British Buddhist landscape and the contexts in which Buddhist monasticism developed. The surprisingly rich literature—given the relatively small number of British Buddhists-- produced by scholars and writers on the history of Buddhism in Britain reflects the analytical complexities encountered in the study of the transference of

Buddhism and different Buddhist traditions into a new cultural environment (Kay, 2004: 3). Martin Baumann divided the transformation of Buddhism into five-stages including contact, confrontation and conflict, ambiguity and adaptation, reorientation, and innovative self-development (Baumann 2002: 85-90). In China, Tibet, Japan, Thailand and other Buddhist countries Buddhism took many centuries to evolve and adapt to local circumstances before it was firmly established. This model of adaptation, introduced by Baumann, was applied to countries in which Buddhism has played a crucial role (Goldberg 2006: 306). Buddhist thought, especially the rejection of a stable and unchanging subject, supports the idea that the entire Buddhist tradition is likewise subject to change and adaptation. Moreover, Buddhism was transplanted to Britain while British society was changing rapidly, including greater socio-economic mobility, the decline of church attendance, increased interest in Oriental religions and an information explosion (Bluck, 2006: 10). In short, the historical background is complex because the development of both Buddhism and British culture is complex. Both are fluid and prone to change, and face the challenge of further change in order to adapt to each other (Batchelor, 1994: xii).

A part of this context is the fact that the first British encounters with Buddhism were largely under the influence of colonialism.¹ British interest in Buddhism developed during the colonial period when a stream of officials and administrators were posted to different parts of the British Empire in Asia, and particularly to India and Sri Lanka (Lopez, 1995: 1-13). Early colonizers believed that converting Asians to Christianity was a God-given duty, and that a part of conversion involved the active suppression of other religions. The missionaries during this period often wrote commentaries that undermined Buddhism. They saw Buddhism as a 'religion of darkness', Buddhist ethics as selfish or non-operative, the Buddha as a sensible man but one who got things wrong, and all Buddhists as 'the souls of the wicked' (Harris, 2006: 54-68). Later colonizers justified imperialism as a means of spreading the Gospel (Harris, 2006: 162). The first missionaries said very little that was positive about Buddhism. According to Harris:

...their exclusivist religious convictions and an increased demand from Britain and Europe for stories about the conversion of the heathen precluded this, pushing them towards a nihilistic

¹On colonialism see A. Loomba, *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism*, London: Routledge, 1998.

interpretation that now refused even to grant moral worth to Buddhist charity. They could permit themselves neither romanticism nor the detached stance of the observer. Coupled with this they claimed the moral high ground over other interpreters of Buddhism on the pretext that they lived in closer proximity to the beliefs of the ordinary people than the majority of British expatriates.

But such views were not universal. Cultural relativism² was widely accepted in intellectual circles by the seventeenth century, and the Enlightenment shaped the encounters between Western culture and Buddhism³. A part of the Enlightenment was the attempt to liberate Western society from the control of the Catholic Church and 'institutions serving the narrow, short sighted interests of a privileged few', thus introducing the way to consideration of radically new ways of thought (Robinson, Johnson, DeGraff, 1994, 293). The Enlightenment's radical ways of thinking provided the rationale for the study of Buddhism, the excavation of Buddhist archaeological sites and the framework for understanding the resultant body of knowledge. Moreover, it opened the minds of Westerners to the possibility that an Eastern religion might form a part of their personal eclecticism. Hence Buddhism was viewed as a potential means of solving a crisis in culture in the West. Finally, it sanctioned the attitude that if Buddhism did not immediately offer the solutions that Westerners were seeking, they had the right to reform the religion in line with their own values (Robinson, Johnson and DeGraff, 1994, 293-4). These views had a strong influence on the subsequent development of Buddhism in Britain as we will see.

In contrast to the view that sees early British Buddhism as essentially a British reinterpretation of Buddhism, Harris argued that the Buddhism that emerged in the end of the nineteenth century in Britain and Sri Lanka was 'neither the creation of the West nor the East, but had developed through the interpenetration of the two, at a particular historical moment' during which Asian Buddhists were not simply the informants of

² For the crisis of cultural relativism, see Robinson, Richard H., Johnson, Willard L. and DeGraff, Geoffrey (1994) *Buddhist Religions: A Historical Introduction* (Birmingham: Windhorse Publications), p. 302-6.

³ On the Enlightenment, see Hampson, Norman, *The Enlightenment, A Cultural History of the Enlightenment*, New York, USA: Pantheon Books, 1968, Cobban, Alfred, *In Search of Humanity: the Role of the Enlightenment in Modern History*, and Dupre, *The Enlightenment And The Intellectual Foundations Of Modern Culture* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004.

Western practices (Harris 2006: 164). They were instead agents, acting albeit within the stifling power relationships of imperialism. Although, as Harris points out, Asian Buddhists have had some influence on British culture, the influence has been far greater the other way around. This is true especially for educated Westerners in their conception of the nature and aims of religious life, affecting how Buddhism was perceived in the West and how doctrines were recast in order to make them palatable to Western tastes (Hallisey: 1995, 31-53; Robinson, Johnson and DeGraff: 1994, 295). Even within Asia, the way in which Buddhism was interpreted in the West influenced the way Asian Buddhists understood their own tradition, prompting them to reform Buddhism according to the influence from the West⁴.

Rather than focus on the Western adaptation of Buddhism, Bluck suggests that the general characterization of the early period of Buddhism's history in Britain can be described as a gradual transition from academic interest towards personal involvement (Bluck, 2006: 4; Baumann, 2002: 85-6). What is the gradual transitional process that Bluck refers to, and how did academic interest shift to personal involvement? Historically, there was at least some information about Buddhism in Britain before the Eighteenth century. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives the earliest recorded usage of 'Buddha' as 1681; 'Dharma' first appeared in 1796. Gradually, more Buddhist terms came into the English language, including Buddhism (1801), karma (1827), bhikkhu (1846), sangha (1858), Hinayana and Mahayana (1868), and Theravada (1875). Through the introduction of these words, we see a progressive recognition of the biography of the Buddha, his teachings, its adherents, and finally its main schools (Bluck, 2006:4-6).

Despite this growing knowledge, Buddhism was generally condemned as 'heathen idolatry' before the late eighteenth century when rationalist views began to emerge (Batchelor, 1996, xii). In general, Buddhist texts were studied intellectually rather than practiced and there was little understanding of, for instance, meditation (Brear, 1975: 138-9; cited in Bluck, 2006, 5). Those attracted to Buddhism were mostly drawn by the desire for intellectual freedom. Despite this considerable interest, Victorians hardly ever converted to Buddhism and academics avoided personal involvement in the religion. Therefore, Buddhist scriptures were viewed as the representation of the whole religion, and Buddhism as a living religion, including the institution of monasticism, was greatly

⁴ See Harris, "Remodelling Buddhist Belief and Practice: the Dynamics of Protestant Buddhism" in *Theravada Buddhism and the British Encounter* Oxon: Routledge, 2006.

neglected (Bluck, 2006, 6).

Nevertheless, Buddhism emerged in Victorian culture as an object of discourse and was often studied from a rationalist point of view and considered a romantic, exotic oriental tradition. The East was still viewed from a position of superiority by the Victorians but religions other than Christianity began to be studied in their own right (Almond, 1988: 4).

In sum, there were two main ‘camps’ of British specialists in Buddhism: the missionaries and their associates, and those who championed ‘spirit religion’. One stressed the nihilism of Buddhism’s scriptures; the other, Buddhism’s rationalism and its challenge to self-seeking individualism (Harris, 2006: 163).

More than simply overlooking the lived tradition, because Buddhism was reified as a textual object, and Buddhist traditions, that is, the activities of living Buddhists, did not exist as an object of discourse, Westerners saw contemporary Asian Buddhism as inferior to the ‘ideal textual Buddhism of the past’ (Almond, 1988: 40; Baumann, 2002: 87). This emphasis on the textual tradition can be represented by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Pali Text Society. The Asiatic Society of Bengal (subsequently the Royal Asiatic Society) was founded by Sir William Jones (1746-94) in 1784 after which the Society began to collect and study oriental manuscripts. The earliest Buddhist texts to be studied were Mahayana Sanskrit manuscripts collected in Nepal by B. H. Hodgson (1800-94). Although Hodgson is mostly remembered today for his initial gift, the hundreds of Sanskrit and Tibetan manuscripts, to Europe, Lopez argues that the historical formation of Buddhist studies occurred under the progressively fading influence of Hodgson and that Hodgson’s research led Buddhist studies to flow into the study of colonial history (Lopez, 1995: 2-6). Nearly a hundred years later, in 1881, the Pali Text Society was founded by T.W. Rhys Davids (1843-1922), a Civil Servant in Ceylon for several years. Davids not only edited the Pali Texts in Roman characters, together with a team of scholars completing a new edition of the entire Pali canon in Roman characters within twenty years, but was also in charge of the project of translating the *Tipitaka* into English (Baumann, 2002: 87; Hallisey: 1995, 34). Along with other like-minded Western scholars⁵, he was convinced that he could define pure, original Buddhism through textual study. Such figures came to believe that they had the right and even the responsibility to re-educate

⁵ On the Orientalists constructions of Buddhism in the late 19th see C. Hallisey, ‘Roads Taken and Not Taken in the Study of Theravada Buddhism’ in *Curators of the Buddha*, ed. D.Lopez, 31-61.

Asian Buddhists in their own tradition (Hallisey: 1995, 34-8; Harris, 2006: 138).

Figure 1: T.W. Rhys Davids⁶

Another figure of the time worth noting is Robert Childers who was also a Civil Servant in Ceylon for several years. On his return to England in 1864, he compiled a Pali-English Dictionary which gave a great impetus to the study of Pali. During this period, most scholars focused on collecting Buddhist manuscripts, cataloging them and translating them into English; thus interest in Buddhism remained mostly academic, confined mainly to the university campuses. Judgement of the motivation and impact of this generation of Buddhist scholars remains mixed. Some scholars in the present climate of postcolonial theory have stigmatized a 'Pali Text mentality,' associated with some orientalists⁷, such as Rhys Davids, which 'essentialized Buddhism in terms of its 'pristine' teachings. On the other hand, Hallisey and Oldmeadow emphasize Davids' scholarly achievements and his efforts to establish the School of Oriental and African Studies, 'from which all students of Buddhism still benefit' (Hallisey quoted in Oldmeadow, 2004: 86) . However, the Pali texts became the most popular scriptures in the West and were treated as the most authentic. Theravada Buddhism was assumed to be the original and purest form of Buddhism, while Mahayana Buddhism was viewed as 'superstitious idolatry' or 'a priestly

⁶ Source:<http://www.payer.de/neobuddhismus/neobud05011.htm>

⁷ See E. Said, *Orientalism*, Z. Sardar, *Orientalism*, R. Schwab, *Oriental Renaissance* and R.King, *Orientalism and Religion*.

corruption of the original simplicity' by most scholars in this period (Bluck, 2006, 5-6).

As Bluck suggests a gradual transition from academic interest towards personal involvement is the major character of the early development of Buddhism in the U.K. The beginning of personal involvement in Buddhism can be marked in 1879, when Sir Edwin Arnold (1832-1904) compiled an epic poem, *The Light of Asia* (1879), describing the Buddha's life, which became at least as influential in Britain as the more scholarly work of Davids and Childers. *The Light of Asia*, which 'aroused a strong interest among bourgeois, educated members of upper and middle classes... glorified the Buddha and his teachings' (Baumann, 2002: 87), becoming a classic poem for British society at the time and exerted great influence on pioneering British Buddhists. As Harris suggests 'The strength of the *The Light of Asia* lay in its power to evoke. Ambiguities that would have been unacceptable within a scholarly work merge. The rationality of Buddhism is scarcely mentioned except in one significant line... And it was in this power to evoke that its influence lay, a power that spoke of insider comments...' (Harris, 2006: 100). However, according to Humphreys, the limited number of books on Buddhism available in those early years was enough to inspire a few to begin actually practicing Buddhism as a way of life (Humphreys, 1968: 10).

Figure 2: Edwin Arnold (1832-1904)

In addition to the importance given to Pali and hence the Theravada scriptures, the earliest Buddhist influence on Britain came through its imperial connections with South and South-East Asia. Thus the interest in Buddhism was almost exclusively in the

Theravada tradition during the early encounter which mainly emphasized philosophy, ethics and personal morality (Baumann, 2002: 86-93). Strangely enough, as Humphreys (1968: 10) pointed out, there were nearly as many books about the Mahayana tradition, such as Beal's *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* (1871), D. T. Suzuki's *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* (1907) and his translation of the *Awakening of Faith* (1900). Nevertheless, Mahayana thought did not have significant influence on the early development of Buddhism in England. Oldmeadow gives several reasons to explain the phenomenon of the British interest in Theravadan rather than Mahayana Buddhism:

...British colonialism had exposed many Westerners to the Theravadan cultures of Ceylon and Burma while countries such as Tibet and Japan were still comparatively remote; the Theravadan tradition was perceived to be the 'original' and thus 'purest' form of Buddhism, free of the 'corruptions' of Mahayana, and well suited to the obsessive scholarly pursuit of origins; perhaps most important of all was the appeal of Theravadan Buddhism as 'rational,' 'scientific,' 'empirical'- a 'philosophy of life' which could be reconciled with modern science and with humanistic aspirations... (Oldmeadow, 2004: 86)

However, despite the sustained interest in the scriptures and doctrines of Buddhism among scholars, at least in its Theravadan form, it was not until the final years of the nineteenth century that more personal practice started to emerge and some adventurous Brits began to search for the Buddha's teachings by travelling to Asia.

The Initiation of Buddhist Bhikkhus in Britain

Owing to the British presence in South and Southeast Asia, Theravadan Buddhism was more accessible compared to other traditions during these first encounters; consequently the first few British monks were all ordained in Theravadan Monastic orders, with the exception of Frederic Fletcher who was ordained in the Tibetan tradition in Tibet but later received full ordination in Ceylon in the Theravadan tradition (Humphreys, 1968: 30). The first British Buddhist monk, Bhikkhu Ashoka, was ordained around 1899; the second Bhikkhu, Ananda Metteyya, took his vows in 1901. Bhikkhu Silacara, J.F. McKechnie, was admitted to the Sangha in 1906. All of them were ordained in Burma. Following this

early series of ordinations, the British search for the Dharma in Asia was obstructed by two World Wars.

We know very little about the first British Bhikkhu, Ven. Ashoka, previously named Gordon Douglas, other than that he was ordained by a Siamese monk in 1899 or 1900 in Burma. Accounts of his fate differ: he either founded a school and then died in Burma in 1905 or died of cholera six months after his ordination (Batchelor, 1994: 41). The second British Buddhist monk, Ananda Metteyya⁸, Charles Henry Allan Bennett (1872 -1923), a tall, lean, ascetic looking man, was born in London on the 8th of December in 1872. Trained as an analytic chemist, he joined the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn society, focusing on spiritual growth through esoteric knowledge, and eventually obtained a reputation as a magician and a man of mystery. Later he became interested in Buddhism through reading Arnold's *The Light of Asia* (Baumann, 2002: 87). He came to believe that Western society was morally weak and spiritually impoverished, and that the force that could rescue it was Buddhism. In 1898 he left England for Ceylon with the dual purpose of intensely studying the Dharma under competent guidance and to escape the chilly English climate. Determined to spread the Buddha's teaching to England, he thought that the best way to complete such a mission was to become a monk. This led him to enter the Order, but he later confronted an obstacle when he discovered that ordination into one of the principal sects in Ceylon would tend to exclude him from free interaction with those of other sects. As the only other alternative available to him, he decided to enter the Burmese Order, where such restrictions did not prevail (Harris, 1998).

For this purpose he left Sri Lanka bound for Burma, arriving first at Akyab in Arakan, where he was ordained. At the ordination ceremony in 1903 he was given the name Ananda Maitreya, but later changed it to the Pali form, Metteyya. He delivered a long speech during the ceremony in which he noted, "Herein lies the work that is before me, to carry to the lands of the West the Law of Love and Truth declared by our Master, to establish in those countries the Sangha of his Priests" (Metteyya, 1903 quoted in Humphreys, 1968: 2). Subsequently he traveled to Rangoon where he met with favourable circumstances and was surrounded by supportive devotees such as Hla Oung, Ledi

⁸ See Harris, *Ananda Metteyya- The First British Emissary of Buddhism*.

Sayadaw, and Dr. E. R. Rost. He was only able to live in the Visuddhayama Monastery and studied Vinaya under some prominent teachers in Mandalay with assistance from Mrs. Hla Oung, wife of the Auditor-General of Burma at that time. Moreover, a leading citizen of Mandalay, U Kyaw Yan, was the sponsor of his mission to England. Having returned to London, he founded the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1907 (Baumann, 2002: 87). His output for the Mission was immense during the time he lived in London, and he collected numerous scholars who were enthusiastic supporters of his goal of bringing Buddhism to England. Although he was a poor speaker, he still gave many lectures on different occasions (Humphreys, 1968: 5). However, as Humphreys described him:

.....No sooner had the mission landed than the difficulties attended on a member of the Sangha, keeping his Bhikkhu vows in a western city, became embarrassingly apparent. He was not allowed to sleep in a house where a woman slept; hence the need for two houses at Barnes. His food could only be eaten at special hours, nothing later than noon. He slept on a bed on the floor, to avoid breaking the precept against 'high and soft beds', and in every other way tried to preserve the ascetic dignity of his adopted life. The most awkward situations, however, arose not in the house but out of it. He was not allowed to handle money, so could never travel alone. He wore at all times the bright yellow robes of the Sangha, and such a garb brought wondering crowds and ribald comment... (Humphreys, 1968: 6)

As time went by, he became more and more marginalized as asthma took an ever deepening grip on his life. On the 2nd of October in 1908, he sailed for Rangoon from Liverpool with Dr. Rost. Later, he founded the International Buddhist Society (*Buddhasasana Samagama*) in Rangoon. Although, Bennett was highly gratified with the work that had been done, Humphreys gave the following indication: 'Gratified perhaps, for much had been done- satisfied, no. His health had suffered, not improved, his money was exhausted, and the teaching had not been accepted with such enthusiasm as he had hoped' (Humphreys, 1968: 7). In 1914, ill-health compelled him to disrobe and return to the United Kingdom where he continued to promote Buddhism through his writings,

including two books: *The Wisdom of the Aryas* (1923, London) and *The Religion of Burma and Other Papers* (1929, Adyar). Bennett's final years were marked by poverty. Clifford Bax described his condition in 1918: "As a Buddhist, he was an alert and powerful personality: as Allan Bennett, a poor man, dwelling unknown in London, he was a sick creature prematurely old."⁹ He died in 1923 and was buried without a memorial stone in Morden Cemetery.

In sum, although the mission of bringing a Buddhist Sangha to Britain had not succeeded, Ananda Metteyya was much praised by Western Buddhists in the early years of the twentieth century. His eloquent writings and selfless efforts had sowed the seeds that gradually bore the fruits of the growth of Buddhism in his homeland, and his influence on Buddhism in Britain in the first decades of the twentieth century was deep (Harris, 1998).

Figure 3: Ananda Metteyya (Alan Bennett)¹⁰

The third British Bhikkhu Silacara, J.F. McKechnie, (1871-1950), was born on October 22nd in 1871 in Hull, Yorkshire. After attending school, he worked first in a clothing factory as an apprentice stock-cutter, and then immigrated to the United States to

⁹ Clifford Bax, "Ananda Metteyya" in *The Middle Way*, Vol. 43:1, May 1968.

¹⁰ Source: <http://www.payer.de/neobuddhismus/neobud0203.htm>

work on a fruit and dairy farm. In a public library, he came across the magazine *Buddhism*, edited by the Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya (Alan Bennett), around the turn of the twentieth century. He applied for a job as an editorial assistant and then travelled to Burma to work for the magazine (Humphreys, 1968: 3). After working several years for the magazine, he then was ordained by U Kumara at Kyun Daw Gone Kyaung monastery, Kemmendine, Rangoon, Burma in 1906. As Harris puts it, ‘A stereotype of Silacara would be that he stressed only the rationality of Buddhism...his pamphlet on the Four Noble Truths which stressed the realism of the Truths and the Buddha’s avoidance of metaphysical speculation’ (Silacara, 1922; cited in Harris, 1998: 217) and ‘his portrayal of the Buddha in a biography for young people showed the Buddha rejecting the use of miracles to entice followers (Silacara, 1927: 215-24; cited in Harris, 1998: 217). However, in 1925, after nineteen years of monastic life he disrobed, citing ill-health. He contracted “nervous asthma,” complicated by heart trouble. Subsequently, he returned to England in the same year, where he continued writing, lecturing and participating in Anagarika Dharmapala’s work in London. During World War II he moved to an Old Person's Home, where he died in 1950 (Bathelor, 1994: 308, 316-7). Dharmapala (1864-1933) is the first *anagarika*, a celibate, full-time worker for Buddhism and a pioneer in the revival of Buddhism in India. He visited England four times and set up the Great Britain branch of the Maha Bodhi Society, the first lay-led Theravada organization (Baumann, 2002: 88).

A unique case in the early encounter of the British and Buddhism, Frederic Fletcher, a.k.a. Lama Dorje Prajnananda, had dual loyalties to both the Theravada and Vajrayana traditions. Born in London in 1877, he read *The Light of Asia* when he studied in Oxford University. While he went on a holiday to Ceylon, he studied the Dharma under the prominent monk Aumangala and Anagarika Dharmapala. Although during the War Fletcher rose to the rank of major, the death and suffering caused by war led him to renounce the world and enter the Sangha. In 1922, he went with a British expedition to Tibet in order to study Tibetan Buddhism and one year later was ordained as a *samanera* by the Panchen Lama at Shigatse in the Gelugpa tradition under the name of Lama Dorje Prajnananda in 1923. Although he was the first Western European to receive novice ordination in a Tibetan Buddhist tradition, he nevertheless returned to Ceylon in 1924 and received full ordination in the Theravada tradition, though he retained his Tibetan Dharma name (Humphreys, 1968: 26; Bathelor, 1994: 317). The reason why he chose to receive his full ordination in the Theravada rather than Tibetan tradition is unclear.

In addition to British Buddhists who travelled to Asia, some Buddhist missionaries from Asia began to arrive in Britain. Three Bhikkhus—Pandits Parawahera Vajiranana, Hegoda Nandasara and Dehigaspe Pannasara--arrived in London in July 1928 from Ceylon. Information about their lives is sketchy. According to Humphreys they were totally unversed in British ways of thought and spoke little English. Despite learning English rapidly, only Ven. Vajiranana stayed long enough to understand the needs of Westerners with an interest in Buddhism (Humphreys, 1968: 30). Four years later, two Indian-born but Ceylon-trained Bhikkhus, Rahula Sankrityana and Ananda Kausalyana, replaced the three previous Sinhalese monks. According to Baumann, this is the first time that several Theravada monks stayed for a long period of time in England and lived according to the monastic rules (Baumann, 2002: 90). However, Humphreys commented, "...If only the former's **【Rahula Sankrityana】** dynamic energy and immense erudition could have been allied to the latter's **【Ananda Kausalyana】** more peaceful and persuasive mentality, but it was not. The opportunity was allowed to slip, and in due course they returned to the East..." (Humphreys, 1968: 36).

At the conclusion of the Second World War, spiritually enthusiastic British men once again started to search for the Dharma in Asia. Bhikkhu Nyanamoli, born Osbert Moore (1905-1960), was born in England in 1905 and graduated from Exeter College, Oxford. While serving in Italy during World War II, he discovered Buddhism by reading Julius Evola's *The Doctrine of Awakening*, later translated into English by his friend Harold Edward Musson (Harris, 1998: 217). In 1948, he met Musson who felt similarly dissatisfied in life and they both decided to go to Ceylon to become Buddhist monks. The following year, they received Novice Ordination from German Bhikkhu Nyanatiloka (1878-1957) at the Island Hermitage, an island monastery founded by Ven. Nyanatiloka in a lagoon of south Ceylon, and Higher Ordination at the Vajirarama monastery, Colombo, Burma, the next year. Both returned soon to the Island Hermitage (Harris, 1998: 217).

Ven. Nyanamoli spent eleven years in the Hermitage and translated the *Visuddhimagga* into English as *The Path of Purification*, *Nettipakarana* as *The Guide* and *Patisambhidamagga* as *The Path of Discrimination*. He also translated most of the sutras of the *Majjhima Nikaya* and several from the *Samyutta Nikaya*. He suddenly died on the 8th of March in 1960 while on pilgrimage at Majo, due to heart failure (coronary thrombosis), and was later cremated at *Vajirarama*. His original draft translation of the *Majjhima Nikaya* was posthumously edited and revised by Bhikkhu Bodhi and published

as *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha*. He is remembered for his outstanding scholarly work in translating from the Pali into lucid English some of the most difficult texts of Theravada Buddhism (Harris, 1998: 217).

Bhikkhu Nanavira, Harold Edward Musson, was born on the 5th of January in 1920, in a military barracks in England. His schooling was at Wellington College known for educating the sons of military families. He went to Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1938 and received a B.A. degree in Modern and Medieval Languages. Little can be surmised concerning his initial interest in Buddhism. The first public indication of an involvement with Buddhist thought was his translation of an Italian study, written in 1943 by J. Evola, and published in English by Luzac (London) in 1951 under the title, *The Doctrine of Awakening -- A Study on the Buddhist Asceticism*. In a letter written in 1964, he expressed "considerable reserve" about the soundness of the book. After the war, Musson found he had no special need for money and was highly dissatisfied with his life and decided to become a monk. In 1965, because of the severity of the amoebiasis and other health problems, Bhikkhu Nanavira died by his own hand when he was only 44 years old.

In conclusion, as Harris points out 'those who chose to live in Sri Lanka and draw from its wells certainly fed into the Western academic tendency to privilege the texts but they cannot be identified with it'. They did not go as far as some scholars who claim that genuine Buddhism could only be found in the Pali Tipitaka and disregarded all contemporary manifestations. As we can see in their lives they were devoted to both the texts and the living tradition. The texts fed and inspired their spiritual life as did the living tradition with which they engaged (Harris, 1998: 218).

Figure 4: The "Island Hermitage" and Bhikkhu Nyanatiloka¹¹

Figure 5: Bhikkhu Nyanamoli and Nanavira 1959

Before turning to another English Bhikkhu who attempted to establish a Theravada Sangha in Britain, brief mention should be made of some other British men who became Buddhist monks within the Theravada tradition. David Lingwood received ordination at Sarnath and became Bhikkhu Sangharakshita in 1950. Owing to dint of circumstance and predisposition, he arrived at an understanding of Buddhism that was not defined by the dogmas of any one school. He then chose to disrobe and founded The Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO), one of the largest Buddhist orders in Britain (www.fwbo.org/sangharakshita). Another British monk, Fran Allen, from the Buddhist Vihara Society took the robe as the Bhikkhu *Siri Nyana* in Ceylon, and Cyril Moore was ordained as Bhikkhu *Kevalananda* in 1953 in Rangoon, Burma. However, Humphreys notes, Bhikkhu *Kevalananda*'s early death 'robbed the Sangha and the Society of a valuable exponent of Dharma' (Humphreys, 1968: 54-5). Another ex-soldier, Lawrence Mills, was ordained as a *samanera* by Ven. *Saddhatissa* in the UK. He then went to India to teach Ambedkar's Buddhist converts and then to Thailand where he received bhikkhu ordination as Ven. *Khantipalo*. After eleven years in Thailand he went to Australia where he helped establish *Wat Buddharangsee* and later *Wat Buddha-Dhamma* in New South Wales. However, after 30 years in the Sangha, he disrobed and married a young Sinhalese

¹¹ Source; <http://www.mettanet.org/temples/ih/1929.htm>

woman. He then practised *Dzogchen*, a technique of meditation of Tibetan Buddhism (www.quangduc.com).

Figure 6: Bhikkhu Khantipalo's ordination ceremony¹²

The first English Bhikkhu to devote himself to bringing Buddhism to Britain, rather than simply for personal cultivation, was William Purfurst (1906-1989). Brought up in the atmosphere of the "ethics and standards derived from the leftovers of a late Victorian Protestantism" (Randall, 1990: 1), he became interested in Eastern philosophy when he was still a teenager and joined the Buddhist Society. In 1952, Purfurst was ordained as Samanera Dhammananda in London by the Burmese monk, U Thittila (Humphreys, 1968: 55). At the time it was still not possible to take full ordination in Britain because there were not enough monks to make up the quorum of ten that is required by the Vinaya. Two years later, in 1954, he decided to go to the East and was ordained as a samanera again in Thailand, this time taking the name *Kapilavaddho*. Rawlinson has argued that he must have disrobed in England because he was ordained as a samanera again in Thailand (Rawlinson, 1997). He may be right in his assumption. Nevertheless there is no evidence to prove this speculation and it is common in the Buddhist tradition to be ordained twice, even many times, as a samanera. When he began his training as a samanera in a distant land in 1954 William Purfurst was middle-aged and not in the strongest health. He had

¹² Source:<http://www.payer.de/neobuddhismus>

been acquainted intellectually with Buddhist teachings for many years, and gradually his 'internal longings' led him all the way to Thailand, a country which he claimed to find at once foreign and at the same time familiar. In his book, *Life as a Siamese Monk*, Purfurst explained that he suffered enormously from physical ailments and described how he saved himself from a poisonous spider and some frightening experiences in his meditation. Throughout he acknowledges the wonderful support given to him by his teacher, Luang Phor and his interpreter and companion, Thitavedo Bhikkhu, frequently offering advice and support (Randall, 1990: 9-20). Kapilavaddho was soon authorised to return to the UK to teach and bring a mission back to his motherland. In 1955, he set up the English Sangha Trust with headquarters at 50 Alexandra Road in St. John's Wood. Later that year he went to Thailand again with three samaneras who returned to the UK after receiving bhikkhu ordination in 1956. However, in the following year, owing to increasingly weak health, Kapilavaddho was compelled to disrobe, after which he remarried (Randall, 1990).

In 1967, after ten years without participating in Buddhist activities, Purfurst rejoined the order again and was known as Richard Randall; he gave no reason why he chose this name. Soon, with his wife's permission he was re-ordained as a monk at Wat Buddhapadipa in London again and took on his old monastic name then went to the Hampstead Buddhist Vihara at 131 Haverstock Hill, N.W.3. He then renamed it Wat Dhammapadipa and became its spiritual director. Actually, it was formally opened on the 28th of October in 1962 and the house next door, which also belongs to the English Sangha Trust, was divided into flats for rent in order to provide a substantial income (Humphreys, 1968:63). Because it was difficult to collect a sufficient supply of English Bhikkhus to live in the Vihara, it became a mixture of Sangha with English, Thai, Sinhalese and Tibetan monastic members, thus manifesting the international character of the Buddhist community in Britain. However, he then came to believe that the best way to convey Buddhism into the West was through lay organizations. In addition, he disrobed for the second time--possibly the third time if Rawlinson's assumption is correct--in 1970 and married for the third time, this time to a woman 40 years his junior, but died a few months later in 1971, aged 65 (Randall, 1990).

Another figure worthy of mention among the first British Buddhist monks was Ven. Pannavuddho. He was born Peter John Morgan (1925-2004) of Welsh parents on the 19th of October 1925 in South India at Kolar Gold Fields, where his father was working as a mining engineer. At the age of 7 he was sent to the United Kingdom to begin his formal

education. In his mid-teens young Peter contracted bovine tuberculosis in his right foot. Although he underwent several treatments, his ankle bones fused together, resulting in a lifelong disability. It was, perhaps, this experience that drove him to question his fate, leading him eventually to Buddhism. He read Buddhist doctrine extensively and joined several Buddhist organizations. Finally, inspired by the example of Bhikkhu Kapilavaddho, he decided to renounce the worldly life and was ordained as a samanera with two other men at the London Buddhist Vihara on the 31st of October in 1955. In the following years, two of the other Bhikkhus disrobed, leaving only the Ven Pannavuddho. He then left for Thailand and has remained there, living with the famous Ajahn Maha Boowa in his monastery in North East Thailand. In 1965, at Ajahn Maha Boowa's insistence, he re-ordained into the Dhammayuta Nikaya on June 22. He died in 2004, aged 79 (www.quangduc.com).

Figure 7: **Bhikkhu Pannavuddho** (1925-2004)¹³

In conclusion, by the end of the Nineteenth century, British Buddhists started to travel to Asia in order to receive ordination. The most common route they took was from London to their colony Sri Lanka and from there to either Thailand or Burma or both countries. A high percentage of the first British monks disrobed, but the scholarship on

¹³ Source:

http://www.forestmeditation.com/teachings/forest_tradition/panya/ajaan_panya.html

these men does not discuss why they disrobed (see Table 1). The first British Theravada monk passed away within one year of his ordination ceremony. The second and third monks both disrobed, citing illness, after several years of monastic life. The first ten monks who were ordained in Theravada monasteries were ordained in the early Twentieth century; the others were concentrated between 1940 and 1953. Five of the ten monks disrobed for various reasons and three died young; the remaining two suffered from poor health.

To speculate on the reasons why British monks disrobed, it might relate to a lack of common knowledge about the nature of Buddhist monasticism, personal will, commitments and poor health. Perhaps of even greater importance is that the social environment and religious community were not mature enough to support the mission of bringing Buddhism into a new culture. In addition, almost all Western bhikkhus had either returned to the West soon after ordination or had established their own centres in Asia where they could study and practice the Dharma in a more receptive environment (Robinson, Johnson and DeGraff, 1994, 293-4). A highly educated background is one of the characteristics of the early British monastic. Two were from Oxford University and one was from Cambridge. Not until the 1950s did British monks manage to submit themselves to long-term training under an Asian Buddhist master. In short, with great proclamations of their intentions to search for the Dharma in Asia, the first British monks quickly exhausted their lives and resources. Although nothing as dramatic as Xuanzang's pilgrimage from China to India, and though none found favour comparable to the first transmission in Tibetan Buddhism supported by King Trisong Detsen (Tsonawa, 1985: 42), still some were successful in their quest to receive ordination and training in Asia.

Table 1

	Name	Dharma name	Year of ordination	Place of ordination	Dis-robe	Ill health	Died young or soon after ordination
1	Gordon Douglas	Ashoka	1899 or 1900	Burma			▲
2	Allen Bennett	Ananda Metteyya	1901	Burma	▲	▲	
3	J.F. McKechnie	Silacara	1906	Burma	▲	▲	
4	Frederic Fletcher	Dorje Drajnanda	1923	Tibet/ Ceylon			
5	Osbert Moore	Nyanamoli	1949	Ceylon/Bur ma			▲
6	Edward Musson	Nanavira	1949	Ceylon/Bur ma		▲	▲
7	David Lingwood	Sangharakshita	1950	Sarnath India	▲		
8	Lawrence Mills	Khantipalo	1950?	UK	▲		
9	William Purfurst	Kapilavuddho	1952	UK	▲ X2	▲	
10	Fran Allen	Siri Nyana	1953	Ceylon			
11	Cyril Moore	Kevalananda	1953	Burma			▲

12	3 unknown British monks	Pannavuddho Two unknown	1955	UK/Thailand	▲▲		
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The formation of the Buddhist monasticism in Britain

The formation of Theravadan Buddhist Monasticism in Britain

The vision of establishing a Buddhist Sangha to promote the teachings of the Buddha in Britain was emerging by the beginning of the Twentieth Century (See Table 2). The attempts to establish a Theravada Buddhist monastic Sangha in England began with Ananda Metteyya, followed by Kapilavaddha, Ananda Bodhi, Sangharakshita, and other bhikkhus. For various reasons none of them fulfilled their mission (Batchelor, 1994: 39-44).

The pioneer Ananda Metteyya failed in his task owing to his illness and so did Kapilavaddha. They both disrobed before they were able to establish a substantial monastic order in the U.K. The following British monks, Ananda Bodhi and Sangharakshita, came to believe that the traditional way of the Theravada-style monastic Sangha was not suitable for western society (Batchelor, 1994: 42). They went on to pursue their own visions and their organizations have lasted until now. But these are actually lay Buddhist settings, which are known as The Crystal Mountain and The Friends of West Buddhist Order today.

These early attempts to establish a Buddhist monastic order in Britain failed for the following potential reasons: first, these pioneers actually received little or no formal monastic education before they started their mission. Take Kapilavaddho as an example. He had been ordained for only a year before he came back to England. Without enough monastic training experience and in poor health, Kapilavaddho could not sustain his commitment to set up a monastery for long. Secondly, as lineage is considered very important in Buddhist monasteries, it was crucial for these founders to clarify the origin of their adopted tradition, the roots of which could help them to recognize and transmit the practices of different traditions. Thirdly, it is possible that to start a foreign religion in a country that has been dominated by Christianity for a thousand years, experimentation was necessary before success could be achieved, and finally there was no immigrant or Buddhist community to support them to carry out their mission.

A later, successful case may support these assumptions. Ajahn Chah (1918-1992) with his western disciples established the Chithurst Buddhist Monastery in Hertfordshire

in 1977. In August 1984, some of the Chithurst Sangha took up residence in the former St Margaret's School. It was renamed Amaravati - The Deathless Realm - a verbal reminder of the highest spiritual aspiration. Ajahn Chah, the founder of the Chithurst and Amaravati, is an eminent Thai monk. He was trained under Ajahn Mun who followed the austere disciplines of the Forest Tradition, wandering through the countryside and meditating in jungles, in pursuit of the freedom of Nirvana within the confines of monastic rules. According to Batchelor, owing to his allegiance to the Forest Tradition and commitment to a full ordination lineage, Amaravati has remained prosperous until today. Ajahn Sumedho, Ajahn Chah's chief Western disciple, was vigorously healthy and firmly committed to the need for a monastic sangha, and many Thai-immigrants gave great support to make the completion of the task possible (Batchelor, 1994: 39-44).

Alongside British Buddhist pioneers, some ethnic viharas were also established by the Thais, Sri Lankans and Burmese. The Foster house at 86 Madeley Road, Ealing, was purchased by the British Maha Bodhi Society in 1926. The first Vihara was founded by Anagarika Dharmapala in Hampstead in 1928. He later bought a house at 41 Gloucester Road, Regent's park, N W 1. However, The Foster house was closed in 1939 due to the outbreak of war (Humphreys, 1968: 23, 25, 30). In 1966 the Thais, with government funding, established the Buddhapadipa temple at East Sheen. The first incumbent was Ven. Sobhana Dhammasudhi who attracted a number of western converts. He returned his ordination vow in 1971 and renamed himself Dhiravamsa, eventually traveling to the United States where he continues to teach meditation. The Buddhapadipa temple moved to Wimbledon in 1975 (Bluck, 2006, 16).

On the other hand, Sri Lankan monks made more sustained efforts to bring Buddhism into Britain. Among the first of these were the Ven. Narada, a Maha Thera of the Vajirarama Monastery in Ceylon. Lectures and study classes were held at 29 Belgrave Road, S.W.1. In 1954, the Ven. Narada established the London Buddhist Vihara at 10 Ovington Gardens, S.W.3. Knightsbridge. Intended to keep two or more bhikkhus in residence, it later moved to its present location in Chiswick (Robins, 1996: 132 and Humphreys, 1968: 51, 57, 63-64). On the other hand, the Burmese established their first vihara much later in 1978 in Birmingham. Its senior incumbent, the Ven. Dr. Rewata Dhamma, was a scholar of Theravada and a meditation instructor. Other Burmese viharas include the Tisarana Vihara and the London Burmese Vihara with Ven. U Nyanika as abbot, founded around the same time. In recent years, followers of the Mahasi Sayadaw

tradition, set up by an Indian teacher SN Goenka, have established a vihara cum meditation centre in the village of Billinge in Lancashire (Bluck, 2006, 16 -17). However, it is not a monastic setting.

Table 2

Name	Year of Establishment	Founder	Address
London Buddhist Vihara	1928	Anagarika Dharmapala	41 Gloucester Road, Regent's park, N W 1. Now: The Avenue, Chiswick, London W4.
English Sangha Trust	1955	Kapilavaddho	50 Alexandra Road, St. John's Wood
Hampstead Buddhist Vihara (Wat Dhammapadipa)	1962	Kapilavaddho	131 Haverstock Hill, N.W.3.
Wat Buddhapadipa	1966	the London Buddhist Temple Foundation	Christ Church Road, Richmond. Now: 14 Calonne Road, Wimbledon, London SW19 5HJ
Birmingham Buddhist Vihara	1978	Ven. Dr. Rewata Dhamma	41 Carlyle Road, Birmingham. Now: Osler Street, Ladywood, Birmingham.
Tisarana Vihara	1978	Ven. U Nyanika	357 Nelson Road, Whitton Twickenham, TW2 7AG
London Burmese Vihara	1978	Ven. U Nyanika	1 Old Church Lane, London NW9 8TG

The formation of Zen Buddhist Monasticism in Britain

Amongst the seminal figures in the emergence of the Zen tradition in Britain, we must first mention D.T. Suzuki (1870-1966). Born in 1870 in Kanazawa, Suzuki was associated with the foremost philosopher in modern Japan, Nishida Kitara. After studying at Tokyo Imperial University, he practiced the Rinzai method under the guidance of Imakita Kosen and Soyen Shaku for four years (Oldmeadow 2004: 169). In 1897, he visited America and developed an abiding friendship with Dr. Paul Carus for over a decade in La Salle, Illinois, where he worked with the Open Court Publishing Company from 1897-1909. He married Beatrice Lane, an American Theosophist, and author of *Mahayana Buddhism* (1938), in Japan. They moved to Kyoto where he taught philosophy of religion at Otani University and founded the 'non-sectarian Mahayana' journal, *The Eastern Buddhist* in 1921. The English publisher, Rider, published Suzuki's *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (First Series), followed shortly thereafter by the publication of a Second and Third Series, all of which secured Suzuki's reputation in England.

In addition, he gave a talk at The World Congress of Faiths in London in 1936. With his 'disarming combination of playfulness and scholarship', 'complex learning and utter simplicity', he impressed numerous readers and audiences (Fields 1986: 186). Over the course of his career, his books and lectures introduced Western readers to Zen Buddhism and had a profound effect on the development of Zen in Britain. After his first visit to the Buddhist Society there, Humphreys commented that 'an hour with a Zen master was worth weeks of literary studies' (Humphreys 1968: 41). However, Robert Sharf has argued that Suzuki constructed a new brand of Zen incorporating unorthodox, post-Meiji, modern developments, Japanese cultural chauvinism, Occidental values and assumptions

which he absorbed from Paul Carus and other Western intellectuals¹⁴. He also accused Suzuki of having diluted and compromised traditional teachings, adapting them to the tastes of Western prejudices and fashions of the moment. (Sharf, 1995: 139). Sharf also characterizes the appeal of Zen which was influenced strongly by Suzuki's interpretation for his West audiences:

Philosophers and scholars of religion were attracted to Zen for the same reason that they were attracted to the mysticism of James, Otto and Underhill: it offered a solution to the seemingly intractable problem of relativism engendered in the confrontation with cultural difference ... the Zen that so captured the imagination of the West was in fact a product of the New Buddhism of the Meiji. Moreover, those aspects of Zen most attractive to the Occident - the emphasis on spiritual experience and the devaluation of institutional forms - were derived in large part from Occidental sources. Like Narcissus, Western enthusiasts failed to recognize their own reflection in the mirror being held out to them. (Sharf, 1995: 139-140)

Suzuki quite deliberately attempted to present Zen in the way that is understandable for Westerners. He wrote in his autobiographical account:

¹⁴ Oldmeadow takes issue with Sharf's opinion, saying that his essay as a whole is 'dismissive' and 'condescending' and his 'asseverations and judgments' should be considered under the same kind of critical rigor on which such critics pride themselves (Oldmeadow 2004: 173). He argued:

...A 'radical decontextualization of the Zen tradition' might, actually, represent a healthy escape from a historicism which has oppressed the Western mind for some centuries now¹⁴. In discerning an esoteric and changeless core in Zen Buddhism we may be liberating ourselves from an Occidental prejudice which these Saidian critics, good secularists that they are, are utterly unable to recognize and which immunizes them against the very wisdom which Suzuki wishes to affirm. Empirical historicism and its unlikely accomplice, the over-valuation of Theory, can after all, only take us so far! (Oldmeadow 2004: 173)

...in order to emphasize the importance of true individuality and human creativity, I consider it necessary to write about Zen more and more. Those who are doing just that are gradually appearing, but to my way of thinking—as the chance of some of these writers causing misunderstanding is great—from here on in, it is crucial that Japanese, in particular, undertake the task of trying to clarify Zen for the West. I have my arguments for why I take this position, but I will defer their discussion to another day... if Zen is to be made comprehensible to Westerners; as a ‘skilful means,’ it is probably all right to write, time and again, in Western languages. By doing so we may even be able to view Zen anew, from a different angle. Until now we have seen Zen solely through the medium of Chinese and Japanese texts, the latter possessing many of the peculiarities of Chinese. Allow me to conclude by saying that we must now begin to consider how to interpret Zen in the context of Western thinking and feeling. (Suzuki, 1986: 24)

Furthermore, according to Fader, Suzuki was motivated by an academic spirit of inquiry, a missionary attached to Zen Buddhism and a broader desire to introduce Oriental thought to the West (Fader, 1986: 112-117). In Suzuki’s own words describing his motivation,

My decision to write in English originated as a result of my many conversations with Dr. Paul Carus, while we were translating Laozi’s Tao Te Ching and my reflections.... My conviction gradually emerged that Westerners did not understand Buddhism...Comparatively speaking, there was much in the West that was superior and which had to be introduced into Japan. Nevertheless, there was much that Japan- or the Orient- had to make known to the West, particularly in the areas of philosophy and religion. The necessity for this task to be undertaken has constituted the incentive that has motivated me up until now. (Suzuki, 1986: 24)

To sum up, Sharf has many reasons to state that Suzuki had constructed his own brand of Zen with post-Meiji, modern developments and Japanese cultural chauvinism. But such criticism cannot undermine Suzuki's profound effect on the development of the Zen tradition in the West. Of relevance here is the nature of this influence: Suzuki presented a modern version of Buddhism divorced from its traditional ritual and hierarchical context--a type of Zen that seemingly has little need for monks and nuns.

Apart from Suzuki, some senior Japanese Abbots and Roshis, Ven. Sohaku Ogata, Yasutani Roshi and Ven. Sochu Suzuki, visited England to promote both Rinzai and Soto Zen teachings (Humphreys 1968: 61, 64, and 69). It was, however, mainly through the efforts of Christmas Humphreys (1901-83) that familiarity with Zen became widespread and that the first Zen school was established in Britain. Humphreys was born in 1910 in to a lawyer's family and studied at Trinity, Cambridge. He was a sincere Christian until his brother's death in World War I, for it forced him to question his belief in a benevolent deity (Oldmeadow 2004: 91). He was drawn into Theosophy and Buddhism and combined them throughout his life. He was also interested in paranormal phenomena and believed himself to have psychic powers. Like many Theosophists, Humphreys was also optimistic about the ways that Buddhism and modern science can harmonize with each other (Oldmeadow 2004: 92). In order to practice and popularize Buddhism, he developed connections with many different Buddhist teachers and leaders in Britain and Asia. He also arranged the publication of Suzuki's books and invited him to visit England during the 1930s to 1950s. Humphreys himself also published a number of books about Zen Buddhism which, according to Kay, while 'recycling' Suzuki's interpretation of Zen, reflected his own unique approach (Kay, 2004: 29). He then renamed his meditation group the 'Zen Class' which remained the only organised Zen activity in Britain for a long period of time. However, some students eventually started to pursue Zen in a more traditional scheme by travelling to China or Japan and living in Zen temples.

On the other hand, Zen emerged in the West with its anti-intellectualism, anti-ritualism, iconoclasm, and unmediated experience of ultimate truth at the right historical moment, as these elements suited the needs of the Beat movement in the 50s and the hippie movement in the 60s¹⁵. One of the characteristics of the Beat movement was that many different cultural streams were drawn into it. Among many such sources for Beat

¹⁵ Where Zen Buddhism actually provides such solutions for the West society is another matter. The importance here is that many Westerners believe so.

inspiration, Japanese Zen was pre-eminent and some aspects of Buddhism were favoured (Oldmeadow, 2004: 245-6). Some writers such as Jack Kerouac asserted that the Beat Generation was basically a religious generation. As Tonkinson puts it:

...Not only did the Beats adapt the wisdom teaching of the East to a new peculiarly American terrain, they also articulated this teaching in the vernacular, jazzy rhythms of the street, opening up what had been the domain of stuffy academics and stiff translators to a mainstream audience...(Tonkinson quoted in Oldmeadow, 2004: 245).

In other words, the Beat movement generated a revolution in popular consciousness amongst American youth which reverberated throughout the Western world, including Britain. Furthermore, the hippie 'flower power' movement and the emergent counter-culture of the late 60s were in many ways, 'the apotheosis of the Beat movement'. The hippie movement strove to promote new arenas of spiritual consciousness, non-violence, sexual freedom, sensitivity, and the exploration of psychedelic drugs; it was identified as a reaction against the competitive materialism of conventional culture and a radical critique of scientific rationalism. At the same time, it was searching for some new routes to spiritual enlightenment by means of mind-expanding techniques and drugs (Clarke, 1994: 104).

Strongly influenced by Suzuki's interpretation of Zen, Alan Watts (1915-1973) is credited with promoting Zen in the West. He was born in Chislehurst, Kent in 1915 and grew up surrounded by eastern images given by his mother's students' missionary parents. Instead of attending university, he moved to London to frequent the Buddhist Lodge, founded by Christmas Humphreys with assistance from the Theosophical society. Before immigrating to America in 1930, he published a small booklet on Zen, a 'distillation of Suzuki's scattered writings', and took on the editorship of the Lodge's journal, *Buddhism in England* (later, *The Middle Way*) (Field, 1986:187). Hence, he was well known as an early practitioner of Buddhism, a 'popularizer of Eastern doctrines', and a 'bridge-builder between Western psychology and Eastern spirituality' (Oldmeadow, 2004: 261-9).

Roszak (1969: 174) comments that Watts expressed his thought in catchy phrases and stories, and played with philosophical ideas as an enjoyable game, but was criticised by some Zen devotees and professional philosophers for being too discursive and

philosophically naive. Conze also noted that most of his students became interested in Buddhism first through Alan Watts, who put out the net to catch them in the first place; unfortunately, still according to Conze, they then had to unlearn most of what they had learnt (Conze 1979:74).

However, Watts achieved his success for some good reasons. For example, despite a serious drinking problem and chaotic personal life, he was still an extremely hard worker and prolific writer. He published a total of 22 books and delivered countless public speeches, seminars, TV and radio shows, which covered the subjects of Christianity, Buddhism, Hinduism, Daoism, spirituality, sexuality, sensuality, and even food and clothing. His interpretation of ego, compounded with insights he claimed to have gained from taking LSD, coincided perfectly with the 'counterculture' movement in the 1960s, thus enabling him to claim status as a 'quasi-religious leader' who had a strong influence on hippie culture (Furlong, 1986).

Despite Watts' efforts in writing and lecturing about Zen, once one closely examines his life, it shows that he might have mistaken sloppy, undisciplined action and selfishness of all kinds for enlightened spontaneity. Furlong (1986) has documented how Watts' personal life was made up of romantic escapades and social blunders, such as habitually having affairs with students and various young women. While indulging in material life, he resented the pressures of a growing family, and felt no compunction in dodging chores and responsibilities. In short, he certainly did not promote a traditional Buddhist monastic ideal. However, Watts himself was well aware of his own gifts and limitations. In his autobiography, *In My Own Way*, he wrote that 'as I look back I could be inclined to think that I have lived a sloppy, inconsiderate, wasteful, cowardly and undisciplined life, only getting away with it by having a certain charm and a big gift of the gab' (Watts, 1972 :423). He died in 1973 at the age of fifty-eight. Zentatsu Baker-roshi gave him a Buddhist name, Yu Zen Myo Ko, ' Profound Mountain, Subtle Light' to which he added the title, Dai Yu Jo Mon, Great Founder, Opener of the Great Zen Samadhi Gate', which was given very rarely, once a generation or once a century (Baker quoted in Fields, 1986: 360).

In conclusion, Alan Watts' talent for popularizing Zen has brought it to the attention of millions in the West but it was as a guru of the counter-culture movement that he reached the zenith of his influence; however, his lack of moral discipline and drug and alcohol use as a means to approach Zen was highly controversial and his long list of

catastrophes and scandals in many ways left a legacy on the development of Zen Buddhism, especially the monastic form, in the West, including Britain.

Interestingly, many figures of the Beat and hippie movements made pilgrimages to the East to visit sacred locations, to receive teachings from authentic gurus, and even to experience life in monasteries, and in several cases sustained a commitment to Buddhist teaching and practices. Although the fact that the Beats and hippies turned Eastwards played a significant role in the spread of the Zen tradition, Ellwood (1979) and Kay (2004) nevertheless point out that ‘Beat Zen’, a result of the 1950s ‘beat generation’, was a highly selective creation that ignored the main body and structure, not to mention the meditative, disciplined and ritual aspects of Zen. The opposite mode—what Alan Watts famously termed ‘square Zen’¹⁶ -- which claimed to adopt Asian Buddhist forms wholesale, was equally problematic. The widespread influence from the 50s and 60s far from being beneficial to the development of monasticism was in many respects an obstacle of the establishment of monasteries.

Overshadowed by the influences of the Beat and hippie movement in the 50s and 60s, the developments of institutional Zen networks were surprisingly significant by 1970. Two former members of the Zen Class, Dr Irmgard Schloegl and Peggy Kennet, after completing long periods of training in Japanese Zen temples, returned to their homeland and started their own meditation groups. Born in Leitersdorf, Austria, Schoegl was highly educated, holding a PhD in physical sciences at Graz University. She came to Britain in 1950 to teach in mineralogy at Imperial College, London. Schoegl came to know Humphreys while attending Zen classes at the Buddhist society. She supported his activities enthusiastically and assisted in his teaching. She went to train at the headquarters of the Rinzai tradition at Daitokuji Temple in Kyoto in 1960 and spent twelve years training in a monastic environment but kept reticent about her experiences. Crook suspects the reason for this might be because her life was eased by training with the American Buddhist, Ruth Sasaki, who led Zen study groups at the monastery (Crook, 2007: 36). After coming back from Japan in 1966, Schoegl’s group was fully supported by Humphreys under the auspices of the Buddhist Society and she started the London Zen Centre in Humphreys’ house in St John’s Wood, which became the Shobo-an Temple, Hermitage of the True Dharma, in 1984 (Bluck 2006: 19). All activities at the Buddhist

¹⁶ See Alan Watts *Beat Zen, Square Zen, and Zen* New York: Pantheon Books, 1947.

Society came under the supervision of Schloegl after Humphreys died. She was later ordained as a *Rinzai* nun as Venerable Myoko-ni, mirror of the subtle, by Roshi Soko Morinaga who had been Head Monk at Daitokuji when she trained there (Crook, 2007: 37). Significantly, her ordination ceremony was held at Chithurst Monastery, with Forest Sangha monks as witnesses, in 1984. However, she retained Humphreys' emphasis on intellectual study as a preliminary to meditation practice. Her network remained small, limited to only five localities (Kay 2004: 31) in which she strictly continued Rinzai teachings and practices, insisting that 'the hardships are there to quell the fires within us'. Many of her students became monks or nuns. However, Crook comments that 'Irmgard was never very tolerant of approaches to Zen that differed from her preferred school-Rinzai' (Crook, 2007: 37), perhaps limiting the scope of her influence. She died aged 83 on the 27th of March in 2007.

Figure 8: Ven. Myoko-ni (Irmgard Schloegl) ¹⁷

Even though Peggy Kennet was never accepted as an authentic Zen master by Humphreys, her group was not only the earliest institutional establishment of Soto Zen in Britain but also the first British monastic community in the Zen tradition, and is now the largest Zen Monastery in Britain. the organization began in 1973 when a small group of

¹⁷ Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Irmgard_Schloegl.jpg

Kennett's British disciples founded the Throssel Hole Priory near Hexham in Northumberland, going on to train in Shasta Abbey in Northern California. According to Kay, it was the firm support of American followers and the emergence of alternative sites of Zen activity such as the Mousehole Buddhist Group which provided an avenue for Kenneth to visit and mobilise support in England, allowing her to successfully introduce Soto Zen to Britain. For ten years, the Throssel Hole Priory served as a retreat centre under the leadership of a rotating abbotship arranged by Shasta Abbey (Kay 2004: 119-121).

Rev. Jiyu-Kennett, formerly Peggy Kennett, was born in England in 1924 and studied medicine before she turned to music. Her initial interest was towards Theravada; however, it changed to Zen after she met D.T. Suzuki. She then encountered the chief abbot of Sojiji, Keido Chisan Koho Zenji. He invited her to visit Japan and to be trained as his disciple. She set off in 1961, stopping in Malaysia to give a lecture and to receive an award for composing a Buddhist hymn. On her arrival, she not only was troubled by the mosquitoes and the intense and unaccustomed heat but also amazed by the luxury and living standards of religious people in the East. She had come 'expecting a Spartan existence' but found 'a luxury unknown to most people in Britain' (Kennet, 2002: 4-5). According to Kennet herself, she was surprised to discover upon her arrival that arrangements had been made for her to be ordained into the Chinese Linji School by Rev. Jones She recalled her impressions:

'My reactions here were very mixed. I half wanted to be ordained in Malaysia instead of in Japan; letters between Rev. Jones and I reflected this. The only one still in my possession makes it clear that I wished the ordination to take place in Japan and that he agreed. At this distance in time this whole situation is a mess but it is possible that there had been later letters agreeing with his wishes. One thing is certain however- I did not agree to have reporters or publicity of any sort and they were never mentioned in our correspondence. That they were there shattered the beauty and purity of what was about to happen and impugned my motives.'

(Kennet, 2002: 475)

In the end, she decided to be ordained in Malaysia and she gave her reason very clearly in her diary:

‘... I did not want to be ordained here [Malacca, Malaysia] since I had arranged for it in Japan but since I hear that if I do not go through with it the Christians will make much use of my refusal to ridicule Buddhism in the press, I am willing to be ordained here provided I go on to Japan to study afterwards.’ (Kennet, 2002: 10)

On 21 January in 1962, she was ordained as a bhikkhuni by Ven. Seck Kim Seng, receiving the name Tsu-yu (True Friend). It is unorthodox for a female to be ordained by a monk and it is required by the Vinaya to be ordained by a quorum of bhikkhuni to make it legitimate. These two issues require further investigation. Later, she travelled to Japan. She docked at Yokohama on 13 April, and was received by Koho Chisan. She was finally admitted to Sojiji, and given the Japanese equivalent of her Chinese ordination name: Jiyu. However, on account of her being both a woman and a foreigner, her life was made difficult owing to the enmity of temple officers (Batchelor, 1994:131-3). Her situation is very unusual, for not many westerners have been formally ordained in both Rinzai and Soto Zen traditions and her admittance into Sojiji, an all-male Japanese monastery, was extremely unconventional (Roland cited in Kay 2004: 122).

Figure 9: Rev. Jiyu-Kennett being ordained as a Buddhist monk
by the Ven. Seck Kim Seng, in Malaysia, on January 21, 1962.¹⁸

Figure 10: Rev. Jiyu-Kennett (Peggy Kennett)¹⁹

The formation of Tibetan Buddhist Monasticism in Britain

The Zen boom of the 60s and 70s^{was} followed by a significant increase of interest in Tibetan Buddhism (Baumann, 2002: 92). There is a common saying among Tibetan Buddhists in recent years, ‘There are now more Tibetan temples operating in the West than remain standing in Tibet itself’ (Hodge quoted in Bluck 2006: 21). This is because after the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959, many Tibetans including many eminent lamas fled to India and other countries. In less than five decades, the Tibetan Diaspora has reached around the globe and established Buddhist centers in nearly every major city and area of the West (Baumann, 2002: 92). By now, the four major Tibetan schools- *Gelug*, *Kagyü*, *Nyingma* and *Sakya*- have all established centers in Britain (Bluck, 2006: 19).

¹⁸ Source: Official website of the Berkeley Buddhist Priory,

http://www.berkeleybuddhistpriory.org/_previous/05_01_02.htm

¹⁹ Source: Official website of the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives,
<http://www.obcon.org/>

However, it is important to note that the four traditions are not mutually exclusive since it is common to find lamas/teachers teaching in different schools (Batchelor 1994: 78).

The first Tibetan Buddhist tradition established in Britain was the *Karma Kagyu* branch of the Kagyu by Chogyam Trungpa and Akong Rinpoche in 1967. They founded Samye Ling Tibetan Centre, one of the first Tibetan Buddhist centers in the West, in Dumfriesshire Scotland, to promote religious, cultural and humanitarian activities (Bluck 2006: 20). Later it developed into the Shambhala Study Group, which continues to follow the methods of practice designed by Trungpa. It is comprised of groups linked to the Dechen community, an association of Kagyu and Sakya groups, founded by the English lama Ngakpa Jampa Thaye, a.k.a. David Stott; by groups affiliated to Marpa House in Saffron Walden, founded by Lama Chime Rinpoche in 1973; and is connected to the Danish teacher Ole Nydahl (Kay 2004: 26-7).

A brilliant scholar, poet and linguist, Trungpa is known for shocking his Western students with his ‘Crazy Wisdom’ antics. His Western students, commonly influenced by the 60s counter-culture, rejected societal norms and yearned for new values. Trungpa forsook his monastic vows in 1969; subsequently Samye Ling developed a reputation for the use of drugs, wild parties, and free sex. Moreover, Trungpa crashed his car one night and became incurably paralysed, yet, married a young aristocratic English woman a few months later, and then flew to North America (Batchelor 1994:104-7). Although he had some problems with heavy drinking and sexual promiscuity, he still had a great impact on the development of Buddhism in both Europe and North America. As Batchelor comments:

Trungpa evolved a style of teaching Buddhism that broke with the dry vocabulary of academia by employing colloquial terms and idioms with a poet’s gift for metaphor. He was the first Asian Buddhist teacher to plunge into the existential plight of a Western culture and to articulate a way out of that dilemma in the language of those undergoing it.

(Batchelor 1994:105)

Although Trungpa’s last few years were marked by alcohol-related illness and withdrawal from public life, he urged his followers not to quarrel or create friction but to

bring up their children in pure Buddhist fashion, and to focus on the practice of his teaching in his testament. He died on 4 April 1987. Before he died, he warned his disciples that he would be reborn only as a Japanese scientist or businessman. This leads to the ambiguity of the recognition of a young boy in eastern Tibet as the 12th Trungpa Tulku in January 1992 (Batchelor 1994:107).

Figure 11: Chogyam Trungpa - early years²⁰

Figure 12: Chögyam Trungpa and Diana Mukpo²¹

²⁰ Official website of the Shambhala Meditation Center www.shambhala.org

²¹ Official website of the Shambhala Meditation Center www.shambhala.org

Another eminent Lama, Karma Thinley Rinpoche, was recognized in both *Kagyū* and *Sakya* schools. He visited Great Britain for three months in 1973 and spent most of that time teaching at Edinburgh University and Samyeling in Scotland, as well as in England. His outstanding student David Stott, first known as Karma Thinley Rinpoche in Samye Ling, was given the Dharma name Ngakpa Jampa Thaye. Later he was appointed as a regent. He holds a PhD degree in Comparative Religion, and taught many years at the University of Manchester²². In 1989, he became ‘the first Englishman authorised to give Vajrayana initiations’ and taught at a Sakya centre in Bristol. However, the Kagyu School was the dominant Tibetan school in Britain until it was overshadowed by the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT) in the 1990s (Kay 2004: 25).

Figure 13: Karma Thinley Rinpoche and Lama Jampa Thaye²³

The first Gelug group to be established in Britain was the Manjushri Institute as part of the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT) in Ulverston in 1976. It was founded by Lamas Thubten Yeshe, along with Zopa Rinpoche. Although the FPMT is one of the major organizations in the West, owing to the conflict between Geshe Kelsang Gyatso and his students on the one hand and the central FPMT administration on the other in the 1980s, it remains small in Britain (Kay, 2004: 25-8). On the contrary, Geshe Kelsang and his students took control of the management of Manjushri Institute and created a separate network, the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT), in 1991. The NKT expanded dramatically during the 1990s and became the most dominant group promoting Tibetan Buddhism in Britain (Kay 2004: 28). According to Waterhouse (1997), the radically increasing number of Tibetan Buddhist practising groups since 1991 can be

²² www.karmathinleyrinpoche.com

²³ <http://www.karmathinleyrinpoche.com/dechen.html>

attributed mainly to the energetic expansion of the NKT. However, the Manjushri London Centre changed its name to Jamyang Meditation Centre to distinguish itself from the NKT in 1990 and thus remained as a traditional Gelug group. In 1994, Geshe Tashi was invited to Jamyang to teach and later designed a two-year course on Tibetan Buddhist teaching and practice for British students. The Centre also functions as a hosting place when the Dalai Lama and Sakya Trinzin, head of the *Sakya* School, visit U.K. (Bluck 2006: 20).

Figure 14: Thubten Yeshe and Lama Zopa Rinpoche²⁴

Figure 14: Gehe Kelsang Gyatso²⁵

According to Kay, the development of the *Nyingma* tradition has fluctuated from six groups in 1981 to only three in 1991 and sixteen in 2000 (Kay 2004:28). Sogyal Rinpoche, author of *The Tibetan Book of Living and Dying*, began to teach in 1974 in London and founded the Rigpa Fellowship in 1981. Another *Nyingma* group was founded by

²⁴ Source: www.mahamudra.org.nz/docs/about.htm

²⁵ Official website of The New Kadampa Buddhism <http://kadampa.org/>

Chogyam Trungpa in 1975 and directed by the British Lama Rigdzin Shikpo, Michael Hookham, and his wife. They attempt to present the *Nyingma-Kagyü* tradition in a style suited to Western students. The mission of the group is to promote *Nyingma Dzogchen* teachings. This mission is shared by the Dzogchen Community which was founded by Namkhai Norbu Rinpoche (Bluck 2006:20). However, none of them is a monastic order.

The least well represented Tibetan tradition is the Sakya School. All the groups in this tradition belong to the Dechen Community which was under the guidance of Ngakpa Jampa Thaye. It is worth noting that he combined *Kagyü* and *Sakya* teachings together (Kay 2004: 28). In conclusion, many lamas, teachers and groups in Britain practice different Tibetan lineage-traditions, a phenomenon that is not limited to Britain but rather reflects the traditional situation of Tibetan Buddhism since the synthetic *Rime* movement in the 19th-century (Batchelor 1994:78).

Conclusion

Buddhism was first transmitted into Britain under the influences of colonialism and post-colonialism. Ironically, Christian missionaries, Civil Servants, adventurers, travellers, and merchants played an essential role in spreading the Buddha's teachings. Some American scholars have a tendency to mark the World Religion Parliament as the beginning of development of Buddhism in the West, but this assertion holds true only for the U.S. Certainly, Buddhism was recognised at the World Religion Parliament as a world religion on a par with the likes of Christianity, Judaism, and Hinduism. However, the beginning of the development of Buddhism in Europe can be pushed back to the time when Orientalism began to prosper as an ideology.

The general characterization of the early period of Buddhism's history can be seen as a gradual transition from academic interest towards personal practice. The emergence of Buddhist Monasticism in Britain was characterized by a diversity and plurality of traditions, schools, lineages, and monastic and lay orders. Cultural idiosyncrasies have made a lasting impact on the spread and institutionalization of these traditions and lineages. Among the Theravadan, Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist traditions, Theravadan monasteries from Sri Lanka and Thailand were the first to transfer to the U.K. due to their close relationship with Great Britain. Before the two World Wars, a few British Buddhist practitioners traveled to Sri Lanka and Burma for ordination, but did not manage to build up a sophisticated Sangha. In addition, a pattern emerged of early pioneering western

Buddhist monks in the U.K. leading unsuccessful monastic lives either caused by illness, poverty or distraction. The possible reasons behind this phenomenon are many; just to name a few: first, becoming a Buddhist monk was seen as violating the social norms and conventional western values. Also, considering the difficulty of keeping the precepts in a western society, these early Buddhist monks encountered challenges in everyday life that made it difficult to maintain their status as monastic. In addition, from the perspective of Buddhist training, British monks faced a lack of constant contact with the monastery and monastic training after returning to UK. Traditionally, newly ordained monks are required to complete a long period of training to become stable and sophisticated members, something which the early pioneers were unable to do. Finally, without regular support from lay practitioners, which is a common social norm in Asian Buddhist countries, early western monks struggled to maintain their religious lives with minimal financial support.

The Japanese Zen tradition was the second Buddhist tradition to transfer to the UK, at first in the form of arts, literature and academic research. Later on, many abbots and Roshi came to Western countries to promote Buddhism. Unlike in the United States, Zen Buddhism was the least popular Buddhist tradition in the UK. In order to popularize Zen Buddhism, many Zen teachers interpreted Zen and Buddhist practice using westernized approaches, which tended to downplay the role of monasticism. Curiously, the form of Zen monasticism that was eventually promoted emphasized celibacy in contrast to the modern tradition of married Buddhist clerics in Japan. The most distinctive feature of Zen monasticism in Britain is that two of the first founders are both females who went to Japan for training and established Zen monasteries in the UK that follow the Rinzai and Soto traditions. Thus, they form the special phenomena of monasteries established by abbesses in the early transmission of Buddhism in the U.K. More significantly, it is quite likely that both of them were novice nuns, not fully ordained nuns.

Prominent Tibetan Lamas exiled to India and western countries after the Chinese invasion greatly assisted the development of Tibetan Buddhism in Britain. Although Tibetan Buddhism was the last to arrive, it has become the most popular tradition in the U.K., in part because of what were perceived to be mysterious and charismatic leaders. Tibetan Buddhism in Britain mirrored the traditional situation of Tibetan Buddhism in many ways, such as the *Rime* movement. The first Tibetan Buddhist tradition established in Britain was the *Kagyü*, followed by *Gelug*, *Nyingma* and *Sakya* School. The four major Tibetan schools all established their centers, which are not mutually exclusive, in Britain.

In comparison, scandals in this tradition were more apparent compared with the two Buddhist traditions mentioned above. Also, the majority of the Tibetan Buddhist centers were still founded or organized by Tibetan teachers. Therefore, although the audiences are mostly British, generally most of the Tibetan Buddhist centres were still profoundly influenced by Tibetan culture.

The consensus among most scholars is that the development of Buddhism in Britain relied predominantly on the efforts of lay practitioners. In fact, just as British lay trainees played a crucial role in the transmission of the Dharma to the West, British and Asian monastic played an equally important, if not crucial, role in bringing Buddhism to the U.K. None the less, at the beginning of 20th Century British Buddhist pioneers did not hesitate to invest their time, money, and even to sacrifice their lives to become monks, and train within a monastic order in Asia. Furthermore, through the efforts of the early Theravadan monastic, support from the Thai Royal family and immigrants, Theravada Buddhism continues to develop up to the present day. The development of Buddhism in the West was the result of the diligent effort of practitioners and their spirit of seeking the truth. Hence, it was a combination of Western and Asian Buddhists, both lay and monastic, which first propagated Buddhism in the western world.

The idea of early British monks going on long pilgrimages to pursue the Dharma is relatively similar to the pattern of how Buddhism started its development in Asia. However, with the globalization of and frequent cultural contact between different countries in the Twenty-first century, the obstacles that the early Buddhist monastic encountered may diminish in a modern and multi cultural British society. Still, Buddhist monasteries are facing problems such as how to raise funds for survival without a large number of lay supporters. Likewise, the early initiation of Buddhism in western society is very much connected with the idea of liberating oneself from social convention, making the imposition of monasticism--another set of tightly monitored conventions--understandably difficult. As well as this, the pattern of the hierarchical relationship between monastic and laymen and between monastic themselves in Buddhist countries may not be applicable in western society. This no doubt influenced and continues to influence the way in which lay practitioners have supported the Sangha and how monastic members have related to each other. Finally, the question of how to transfer the authenticity and authority of the Buddha's teachings and monastic training to British society has been a crucial issue for the different Buddhist traditions. All these issues

warrant further investigation. Overall, in the West, lay practice has been more popular than monastic practice. In Britain, the Buddhist monastery is still in the process of trying to develop on a larger scale, an effort that is shaped by the history of Buddhism and monasticism in Britain in the twentieth century.

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