Developments in Australian Buddhism

Facets of the diamond

Michelle Spuler

DEVELOPMENTS IN AUSTRALIAN BUDDHISM

This book addresses questions about Buddhism's development in Australia within the broader context of Buddhism's development in other Westernised countries. It reveals how Buddhism has adapted to the Australian context, illustrating both the seemingly logical adaptations as well as the incongruities. Having raised questions regarding the process that has given rise to this hybridised tradition, the book provides a history of Buddhism's development, before focusing on field-work based data on the adaptation of the Diamond Sangha Zen Buddhist groups in Australia. Michelle Spuler compares this information with the academic data on other Western Buddhist groups, and compares the adaptation process with existing models of cross-cultural acculturation. She concludes that models used for studying the adaptation of Buddhism to the West could in fact be synthesised with other approaches to provide more comprehensive understandings.

This book is timely in providing a much-needed update on Buddhism in Australia, which is vital for international comparative studies with Buddhism in other countries. As scholars begin to write about 'Western Buddhism', this book argues that it would be more useful to identify whether there are overriding themes that are common to Western countries, rather than assuming that those of North America exemplify the whole of Buddhism in the West. *Developments in Australian Buddhism* also includes previously unpublished information on the Diamond Sangha Zen Buddhist organisation – which is one of the largest Zen lineages in the West, and whose founding teacher is often cited as the key figure in the history of Western Zen. It provides valuable insights for Buddhist practitioners as well as academics both in Australia and internationally.

Michelle Spuler is the former editor of the *Journal of Global Buddhism* and has held positions at universities in the USA, New Zealand and Australia. She is widely respected as an expert on Buddhism in Australia and has presented on this topic at international forums and in leading international journals.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AZG – Adelaide Zen Group
BPF – Buddhist Peace Fellowship
CZG – Canberra Zen Group
KYMC – Kuan Yin Meditation Centre
MZG – Melbourne Zen Group
NRM – New Religious Movement
PAZG – Princeton Area Zen Group
SZC – Sydney Zen Centre
ZGWA – Zen Group of Western Australia

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Aitken, Robert: (1917–) Teacher in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage, and founder of the Diamond Sangha.

Assistant Teacher: English translation of Sensei (Japanese). Diamond Sangha teaching level below Zen Master.

Barzaghi, Subhana: (1954–) First resident Australian teacher in the Diamond Sangha lineage, authorised as a Zen master in 1996, lives in Sydney and teaches groups in Lismore, Sydney and Melbourne.

Bodhisattva (Sanskrit): According to Mahayana Buddhism, a being who seeks to attain enlightenment but renounces complete entry into nirvana until all beings are saved.

Bolleter, Ross: (1946–) Second resident Australian teacher in the Diamond Sangha, authorised as a Zen master in 1997, lives in Perth and teaches groups in Perth, Adelaide and New Zealand.

Ch'an (Chinese): Chinese form of the Sanskrit word, dhyana.

Coote, Gillian (Gilly) (1944–): Authorised as an assistant teacher in the Diamond Sangha in 1999, lives in Sydney.

Dharma Leader: A leadership role in the SZC, below that of assistant teacher.

Dharma (Sanskrit): A Sanskrit word with many meanings. In some contexts, it means 'object' or 'complex'; capitalised, it means 'Way' or 'Law', as in Buddha-Dharma.

Dojo (Japanese): Zen hall.

Dokusan (Japanese): Personal interview between a teacher and student.

Eight-Fold Path: Right view, right resolve, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration.

Four Noble Truths: 1) All existence is characterised by suffering. 2) The cause of suffering is craving or desire. 3) Suffering can be ended through the elimination of craving. 4) The means for ending suffering is the Eightfold Path.

Gassho (Japanese): Hand position in which palms are held together in a prayer-like position, used to express devotion, gratitude, or as a greeting.

Harada, Dai'un Sogaku: (1871–1961) Teacher upon whose teachings the Sanbo Kyodan was based.

Inkin (Japanese): a hand-held bell shaped like a small bowl, mounted on a handle and hit by a metal striker.

Ino (Japanese): Title given to person who leads the sutra recitation during zazen.

Jiki jitsu (Japanese): Timekeeper.

Jizo (Japanese): A bodhisattva venerated in folk belief as a saviour from the torments of hell and helper of deceased children.

Jukai (Japanese): The ceremony of accepting the Buddha as one's teacher and the Ten Buddhist Precepts as guides.

Kensho (Japanese): Zen expression for the experience of enlightenment.

Kinhin (Japanese): Formal periods of walking meditation that occur between periods of zazen.

Koan (Japanese): A teisho, phrase or episode from the life of an ancient Zen master that points to the nature of ultimate reality.

Kyosaku (Japanese): Stick of encouragement, applied to the shoulders upon request to stimulate concentration and release shoulder tension.

Mahayana (Sanskrit): 'Great Vehicle.' One of the three main Buddhist traditions today.

Mokugyo (Japanese): A small hollow wooden drum that is made in the shape of a stylised fish.

Murphy, Susan: Authorised as an assistant teacher in the Diamond Sangha in 1999, lives in Sydney.

Nirvana (Sanskrit): The ultimate goal of Buddhism: extinction of craving, liberation, enlightenment.

Oryoki (Japanese): The ceremonial use of a set of eating bowls used in sesshin.

Rakusu (Japanese): A rectangular piece of fabric worn on a cord around the neck, given after taking Jukai.

Rinzai: A school of Zen Buddhism in which koan study is the major type of meditation technique used.

Roshi (Japanese): Honorific title of an authorised teacher, or Zen Master.

Samadhi (Sanskrit): A state in which there is total absorption with the object of meditation.

Sanbo Kyodan (Japanese): Fellowship of the Three Treasures, an international Zen Buddhist organisation founded in the 1950s, a lay stream of Soto Zen that incorporates elements of Rinzai Zen.

Samu (Japanese): Work practice. Temple maintenance that is considered formal training.

Sangha (Sanskrit): Buddhist community.

Satori (Japanese): Zen term for the experience of enlightenment.

Sensei (Japanese): Title given to an Assistant Teacher in the Diamond Sangha lineage.

Sesshin (Japanese): An intensive Zen Buddhist retreat, approximately seven days in length.

Shikantaza (Japanese): The act of just sitting, resting in a state of brightly alert attention that is free of thoughts, directed to no object, and to no particular content.

Shoken (Japanese): Ceremony in which a student makes a commitment to work with a teacher, and the teacher makes a commitment to work with the student.

Shoshike (Japanese): Correctly Qualified Teacher. Part of the qualification given to Zen Masters.

Soto: A school of Zen Buddhism, which emphasises shikantaza as the major meditation technique.

Sutra (Sanskrit): Buddhist scriptures, usually sermons by the Buddha.

Tarrant, John: (1949–) First Australian teacher in the Diamond Sangha, resident in California. In 1999 he started his own lineage, the Pacific Zen Institute.

Teisho (Japanese): Presentation of the Dharma given in a public talk by a teacher.

Tenzo (Japanese): Cook.

Theravada (Pali): 'Teaching of the Elders.' One of the three main Buddhist traditions today. Also called Hinayana Buddhism.

Three Universal Characteristics: The Buddha identified Three Universal Characteristics of human existence: anicca or impermanence, the transient quality of all experiences; dukkha or suffering, that there is a general unsatisfactory nature of ordinary empirical existence; and anatta or the absence of an unchanging self.

Three Jewels/Treasures: Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. This means that in Buddhism there are three main elements: belief in the Buddha, the necessity of Sangha, and the teachings.

Transmission: Passing of the wisdom and compassion of the Buddha and his heirs to a new teacher.

Upaya (Sanskrit): Skilful or appropriate means.

Vajrayana (Sanskrit): 'Diamond Vehicle.' One of the three main Buddhist traditions today.

Vinaya-pitaka (Sanskrit, Pali): The part of the Tripitaka containing the rules and regulations for monks and nuns.

Vipassana (Pali): Meaning insight, Vipassana is a type of meditation practised in the Theravada Buddhist tradition.

Yamada, Koun Zenshin: (1907–1989) Successor of Yasutani as leader of the Sanbo Kyodan.

Yasutani, Haku'un Ryoko: (1885–1973) Founder of the Sanbo Kyodan.

Zazen (Japanese): Seated meditation.

Zen: 1. The practice of concentration and samadhi; meditation. 2. The school of Buddhism characterised by emphasis on meditation. 3. The teachings of the Zen school.

Zendo (Japanese): Zen hall or centre.

Zen Master: English translation of Roshi (Japanese). Title given to an authorised Zen teacher.

INTRODUCTION

Saturday, 7 June 1997. Gorrick's Run, near Wiseman's Ferry, New South Wales, Australia.

B-o-n-g, b-o-n-g. The gong's deep sound reverberates around the small meditation hall. The timekeeper quietly announces, 'Myth'. The twenty-two women seated around the room do not move. One of the group leaders begins to speak into the silence, explaining that for the next two hours the women are going to enact a section from the Greek myth of Demeter and Persephone. The group leader reads aloud the relevant section of the myth: the scene in which Persephone leaves her mother, Demeter, and ventures down into the underworld. When the leader concludes, the timekeeper claps a pair of wooden sticks together, the signal for the women to stand and leave the room. The women place their hands in prayer position and perform a small bow. Then they slowly unfold their legs from various meditation postures, stretch their tired muscles, shrug off blankets, neatly pile their black cushions on their black mats, and stand. The timekeeper claps once more, the women again place their hands together and bow in unison. One by one they leave the room, stopping as they go out through the doorway to bow towards the altar at the front of the room. Outside, they put on their shoes and disperse as instructed. The re-enactment takes place down near the creek, where it is dark and cool. The women move slowly and quietly. They have been directed to meditate on the myth and consider its relevance to their lives; to find themselves in the myth. Some continue to walk along the creek, others find a

> place to sit or lie, or a small waterfall to watch. After an hour the clappers are struck again, signalling the return to the meditation hall and resumption of the periods of seated and walking meditation.

The scene depicted here is a curious one. Meditation hall? Myth? Altar? Bowing? One could be forgiven for thinking this is a group of goddess-worshippers or new age therapists. In fact, these women are attending a women's sesshin, or retreat, organised by the Sydney Zen Centre. But how is it that Japanese Zen Buddhism, with its patriarchal, monastic hierarchy and emphasis on harsh discipline, is now being practised by a group of women in the Australian bush, with a psychotherapeutic slant involving Greek mythology?

Since the arrival of Buddhists in Australia over one hundred years ago, sizeable Buddhist communities have formed. In the 1996 Australian Bureau of Statistics Census almost 200,000 Australians classified themselves as Buddhist; however, the number of people with an interest in Buddhism would far exceed this number. The development of Buddhism in Australia is similar to that of many other Western countries such as America, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland and New Zealand. The adaptation of Buddhist beliefs and practices to these new cultural environments has resulted in changes ranging from the translation of scriptures to the incorporation of elements of Western psychology and democratic principles.

The process by which these adaptations take place is a complicated one. Issues include who can make changes and on what basis, to what extent changes can be made before the efficacy of the religious practice is compromised, and whether the foreignness of the tradition attracts adherents or alienates them. This book examines the models used for studying the adaptation of Buddhism to the West though analysis of the recent development of a Zen Buddhist organisation in Australia, the Diamond Sangha.

The Diamond Sangha has adapted to the Australian context in a number of innovative ways; female teachers have been appointed, new methods of teaching have been explored and new ceremonies have been developed. But the Diamond Sangha has maintained many traditions of Japanese Zen Buddhism such as: the relationship between teacher and student; the means of appointing teachers

and the formal structure of rituals. Because of this, curious anomalies often occur. For example, meals served at retreats now comprise of breakfast cereals, pasta and salad, yet the utensils issued are still chopsticks and a teaspoon; the traditional utensils for Japanese meals based around rice.

Very few studies specifically examine the process involved in Buddhism's adaptation to the West. Existing research does discuss Buddhism's adaptation to various Western countries in other contexts, including ethnographies, conversion studies, analyses of Buddhism's incorporation into mainstream culture, research on the effect of religion on immigrant ethnic identity, and examinations of Buddhism as a new religious movement. While these approaches investigate aspects of adaptation, few studies focus specifically on the process of change in theoretical terms. Scholars in the field of religious change have cited the need for this type of work. Baumann provides one such example: 'The vast field of adapting and making Buddhism indigenous, setting up new topics of interest and concern, creating adapted forms, content and even Western schools, is in need of a comparative and analytical research.'[1]

The demand for improved models about social change in religions is not specific to Buddhism. For example, King outlines the need for this type of study in her explication of the necessity of sociological studies on modern Hinduism. She argues that developments in modern Hinduism cannot be explained without sociological analysis of the factors involved in the contact between East and West, and suggests that information on the complex relationship between tradition and the continuing process of change is required. While King is advocating this need with regard to Hinduism, she notes that this process can be studied in all religions and cultures.[2] In delineating his approach to studying the transplantation of religion, Pye argues the need for studies of adaptation: 'It is essential, in my view, to raise such questions in the study of religions, since transplantation is an everpresent aspect of that which is under study.'[3]

In addition to a general lack of studies, there are other issues to consider. Studies that focus on convert or ethnic Buddhist groups usually use different approaches; convert Buddhists groups are sometimes examined as New Religious Movements, ethnic Buddhist groups within the context exist of the relationship

between religion and ethnic identity. However, the distinctions between convert and ethnic Buddhist groups can be argued to be breaking down; the slowly emerging second generation of convert Buddhists could now be called ethnic Buddhists, and increasing ethnic intermarriage has caused conversion to so-called ethnic groups. The practice of using different methodologies to examine these two groups has its advantages in some contexts, but can also be argued to be encouraging unnecessary differentiation between the two groups at other levels. The few studies that examine adaptation of Buddhism in the West do not seem to include all of the elements of the process of change that are identified by studies that examine the development of convert Buddhism as New Religious Movements, and ethnic Buddhism within the context of immigration analyse different factors. Consequently, the models of change used for studying both New Religious Movements and immigrant adaptation are also examined here.

Another problem is that almost none of the few studies on the adaptation of Buddhism to the West are based on fieldwork. Waterhouse has criticised studies that claim to examine the diversity of British Buddhism by analysing groups only at the level of public discourse. Her fieldwork-based study of six Buddhist groups from different traditions in Bath, Britain, demonstrated that individual practitioners have views different to those of the organisations,[4] indicating a need for research that investigates both personal and group experiences.

There is also a need for published information about the Diamond Sangha. The Diamond Sangha is one of the largest Zen lineages in the West and its founding teacher, Robert Aitken, is often cited as a key figure in the history of Western Zen. However, reference to the Diamond Sangha is usually confined to a brief history alongside a list of Aitken's well-known books. There is no work discussing the organisational structure and practices of the Diamond Sangha internationally, and more specifically, no research on the Diamond Sangha's history and current status in Australia.

Studies on Buddhism in Australia are also lacking. Research has tended to focus on history, statistical data, and the relationship between ethnic identity and the migrant experience. There have been no studies of the adaptation process except my own brief examination of general trends in the development of Buddhism in

Australia.[5] In his work on American Buddhism, Prebish has cited the need for basic data on Buddhist groups such as funding, key figures, administrative framework, long-range planning, publications, rituals and practices, doctrinal and ethical positions, and also the background of individuals.[6] This information is also needed for Australian Buddhism. Baumann has suggested that to understand Buddhism's development in the West, information is needed on both the growth of specific traditions and lineages, and development in different geographical areas.[7]

This book aims to add to this field by critically examining models for the adaptation of Buddhism to the West through a comparison of adaptation in Diamond Sangha Zen Buddhist groups in Australia since their formation with literature on Buddhism's adaptation to other Western countries. This study focuses on the two largest and most well-established of the Diamond Sangha groups in Australia; the Zen Group of Western Australia and the Sydney Zen Centre. Material was gained through interviews with Diamond Sangha group members, participant-observation and analysis of the groups' literature. Grounded theory provided the method and tools for analysis of this information and the resulting analysis was interpreted within a social constructivist framework. The fieldwork findings are classified into three areas: practical, sociological and ideological expressions.

It should be noted that the terminology used to discuss the adaptation of religion is problematic. Baumann notes the lack of a suitable term to refer to the process of transmitting or transferring a religious tradition from one geographical location to another.[8] The problem is exacerbated by disagreement regarding the meaning of relevant terms. For example, Barkan's study of ethnicity in American society provides a number of conflicting definitions of assimilation. Barkan concludes that the term 'has not been clearly and consistently articulated as a dynamic, complex process shaped by numerous variables and applicable to the experiences of the past and present members of diverse racial, religious, and nationality groups.'[9] To avoid problems caused by different definitions, discussion will be focused on the adaptation of religion and factors involved in the process of change in Australian Diamond Sangha groups. Reference is not made to terms such as transplantation, assimilation or acculturation, unless citing an author who uses such terminology.

1

AUSTRALIAN BUDDHISM IN CONTEXT

To understand contemporary developments in Australian Buddhism it is necessary to place the situation in context. A brief overview of Buddhism's beginnings and the subsequent development of major lineages such as Zen Buddhism demonstrate that change has long been part of Buddhism's history. This process has continued since Buddhism was introduced to the West over a hundred years ago. The evolution of the Diamond Sangha can be traced back through this period to provide an international backdrop to the Australian state of affairs.

The origins of Buddhism

Buddhism is generally accepted to have originated in the historical figure of the Buddha. Born in approximately 563 BCE in what is now southern Nepal, the Buddha was born a prince in the Sakya tribe. Legend has it that the prince led a secluded and luxurious life before one day encountering sickness, old age and death. Shocked by this, the prince left his household, wife and son, and went on a quest to learn how to end human suffering. He studied under a number of spiritual teachers and became skilful in the practices they taught, but he did not find these to be adequate solutions to the problems posed by human life. Finally he found his own path to enlightenment, becoming the Buddha, or Awakened One. What the Buddha claimed to have realised was insight into the nature of suffering; its cause and the means of ending it. The Buddha then taught his new-found knowledge as the Dharma (the 'way' or 'law') for the next forty-five years and founded a monastic order for his followers, the Sangha.

Three main Buddhist traditions have developed since the Buddha's death. The first to emerge was the Theravada tradition, also known as the School of the Elders, or Hinayana (Lesser Vehicle). Theravada Buddhism is now the main Buddhist tradition in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos and Thailand. In the first century BCE the Mahayana (or Great Vehicle) tradition emerged, and gradually spread into China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam. The third major tradition, Vajrayana (the Diamond Vehicle) developed later and in the seventh century its spread to Tibet, Nepal and Mongolia. These three major traditions developed differently in different countries, diversifying even further through the development of different groups within and across geographical regions. It is generally accepted that all Buddhists affirm a few core tenets (although they may express or emphasise these differently): the Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eight-Fold Path, the Three Universal Characteristics and the Three Jewels.[1]

Japanese Zen Buddhism

Zen Buddhism is a branch of Mahayana Buddhism that originated in India. According to myth, the Buddha established the foundations of Zen Buddhism during a discourse on Vulture Peak in which he did not speak, but simply held up a flower. Only one of the Buddha's students, Kashyapa, understood this message, and had an experience of enlightenment. Taking the honorific, 'Maha', Mahakashyapa thus became the first Indian patriarch in the Zen Buddhist lineage. Legend continues that an Indian monk, Bodhidharma, transmitted these teachings to China around 500 CE. Bodhidharma's teachings mixed with Taoism in China to form a new school of Mahayana Buddhism, called Ch'an. Ch'an is the Chinese pronunciation of the Sanskrit word, dhyana, which means meditation. Bodhidharma is considered the first patriarch of Ch'an, and the twenty-eighth patriarch in the Indian lineage. The two schools of Ch'an that became prominent in Japan, Rinzai and Soto, were introduced into Japan in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, respectively. In Japan, Ch'an became known as Zen, which is the Japanese pronunciation of Ch'an.

The aim of Zen Buddhism, as of all Buddhist traditions and lineages, is to achieve enlightenment. However, the mans to achieve this can differ greatly. Zen is often defined as follows:

1 A special transmission outside the scriptures;
2 No dependence upon words and letters;
3 Direct pointing at the human heart; and
4 Seeing into one's nature and the realisation of Buddhahood.[2]

One of the essential features of Zen is its emphasis on seated meditation, called zazen. In contrast with his contemporaries, Bodhidharma de-emphasised the existing focus on priestly ritual and chanting. While some other Buddhist schools combine meditation with other religious practices such as intellectual analysis of doctrines or devotional practices, these are not considered useful in Zen practice. Zazen is considered the core of Zen practice as this has been found to be a practical way of setting the conditions for enlightenment.[3]

While the Rinzai and Soto Zen Buddhist schools share the same goal and emphasis on meditation, the meditative techniques used differ. The meditation practices of both schools usually begin with a concentration practice such as counting or watching the breath. Generally, Soto Zen then emphasises the meditative practice of shikantaza, which involves 'resting in a state of brightly alert attention that is free of thoughts, directed to no object, and to no particular content.'[4] In contrast, Rinzai Zen emphasises the meditation technique of koan practice. Koans are paradoxical questions, phrases or stories that cannot be solved using intellectual reasoning. Well-known examples of koans include: 'what is the sound of one hand?', 'what was your face before you were born?' and 'does a dog have Buddha-nature?'

The koan tradition originated in China, where Ch'an teachers used anecdotes or scriptural quotes to provide a focus for meditation, and to test publicly students' insight. The term, 'koan' is made up of two Chinese characters: 'ko' meaning public, and 'an' meaning records or cases. These 'public cases', dialogues, questions and anecdotes began to be cultivated and handed down at approximately the turn of the ninth century, during the Tang dynasty. Koan collections were being compiled by the middle of the tenth century, sometimes including the poems and comments of the compiler. A rich literature grew, much of it drawn from the lives of the teachers of the past. From the tenth century to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, spontaneous dialogues became less important

in teaching and the use of established koans as formalised teaching devices increased.[5]

The Sanbo Kyodan

The Diamond Sangha has its origins in a school of Japanese Zen Buddhism called the Sanbo Kyodan (Fellowship of the Three Treasures).[6] The Sanbo Kyodan was founded on the teachings of Harada Dai'un Sogaku (1871–1961).[7] According to Tworkov, Harada was considered revolutionary in his time because he departed from his Soto Zen heritage to utilise both Soto and Rinzai meditation techniques; he treated monastics and lay-practitioners as equals; and he departed from the traditional Soto Zen teaching method of leaving novice monks devoid of verbal instruction with his development of introductory talks.[8] In 1954 Harada's successor, Yasutani Haku'un Ryoko (1885–1973), separated from the Soto lineage in which he had been ordained and founded a new organisation, the Sanbo Kyodan. Based on Harada's teachings, the Sanbo Kyodan is an independent lay stream of Soto Zen that incorporates aspects of Rinzai Zen.

After establishing the Sanbo Kyodan in Japan, Yasutani initiated its spread internationally. Finney suggests that Yasutani's motives for taking this direction were similar to those of other well-known Japanese Zen teachers who took their teaching to the West, such as Soyen Shaku, Dr Daisetsu Teitaro Suzuki and Nyogen Senzaki. Finney has suggested of these teachers that: 'Their efforts were a very conscious response to the decline of Zen Buddhism in Japan.'[9] Tworkov supports this, noting that most of the Japanese Zen masters whose teachings were promulgated in America had challenged and changed the Zen system as it is known in Japan.[10] Examination of the major Japanese-based Zen groups in American supports this; a number of scholars comparing Japanese and American Zen note an essential difference to be the American emphasis on daily zazen practice and intensive retreats, in contrast to the Japanese emphasis on priestly ritual such as funerals. [11] Similarly, Vasi identifies one of the characteristics of Zen in Australia as the use of orthodox Zen practices, in comparison to the emphasis in Japanese Zen on rituals such as funerals.[12]

Yasutani's successor, Yamada Koun Zenshin (1907–1989),[13] was appointed as the leader of the Sanbo Kyodan in 1973. According to one of his successors, Yamada continued to differentiate the Sanbo Kyodan from the majority of Japanese Zen organisations by continuing Harada's dissolution of traditional distinctions between monastic and lay-practitioners; emphasising the social dimension of human existence (often discussing political, social and economic issues which were not traditionally considered relevant to Zen practice); and breaking the traditional sectarian barriers that separated Buddhists and Christians.[14] By the end of Yamada's teaching career approximately one quarter of the participants at his sesshins were Christians.[15]

Kubota Akira Ji'un-ken (1932–) succeeded Yamada as head of the Sanbo Kyodan in 1989. The Sanbo Kyodan currently has its headquarters in Kamakura, Japan, and at least fifteen centres located in Japan, Philippines, Australia, Canada, America, Germany and Switzerland. At least forty people have been authorized as Zen masters in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage, many of whom are not Japanese, and a number of these have their own successors; however, it is difficult to ascertain how many of these are actively teaching in this lineage.[16] Sanbo Kyodan Zen masters are not necessarily Buddhists, and it is not uncommon that they are ordained in other religion. For example, Sanbo Kyodan Zen masters include Jesuit Priest, Hugo Makibi Enomiya-Lassalle (1898–1991) and Benedictine, Willigis Jäger (1925–).

In 1995 the Sanbo Kyodan had 2,539 registered followers in Japan.[17] Numbers of adherents in other countries total approximately 2,500. According to Sharf, the Sanbo Kyodan has been successful internationally because it reduces the complex doctrinal, devotional and ethical teachings of Buddhism to a relatively simple meditation practice, making it attractive to foreigners who lack the necessary linguistic and intellectual training to study in a traditional Japanese Zen monastery.[18]

Buddhism in the West

Good histories of Buddhism's development in America abound, and historical data is slowly being compiled on other countries.[19] Buddhist groups now exist in America, Canada, the United

Kingdom, most countries in continental Europe, Australia and New Zealand. Small numbers of groups also exist in South Africa, South American countries such as Argentina, Brazil and Chile, and in Middle Eastern countries including Israel, however, there is very little information available on these groups.[20] Table 1.1 presents Baumann's estimate of the total number of Buddhists (including how many of these are of Asian ancestry) and Buddhist centres in various countries in the late-1990s, in comparison to each country's total population.

Western Buddhism can be defined geographically as the practice of Buddhism in 'Western' countries such as America, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, Switzerland, Australia and New Zealand. This relatively simple definition is problematic owing to difficulties in defining which countries are 'Western'. Western Buddhism can be further defined sociologically as the

Table 1.1 Numbers of Buddhists in various countries in the late-1990s[21]

Country	*Buddhists (sum)*	*Buddhists of Asian ancestry*	*Centres*	*Population*	*% of Buddhists*
USA	~2.5–4 million	~2–3.5 million	~1,300	268 million	0.8–1.5%
Canada	300,000	–	700	30 million	1%
Brazil	~500,000	–	–	164 million	0.3%
South Africa	6,000	3,000	50	42 million	0.01%
Australia	200,000	~170,000	300	18 million	1.1%
New Zealand	28,000	–	60	4 million	0.8%
Europe	~900,000	~650,000	1,500	400 million	0.2%
France	~350,000	~300,000	~250	58 million	0.6%
Britain	180,000	130,000	400	58 million	0.3%
Germany	170,000	120,000	530	82 million	0.2%
Italy	70,000	~25,000	~50	57 million	0.1%
Netherlands	33,000	20,000	~60	15 million	0.2%
Switzerland	25,000	20,000	100	7 million	0.3%
Austria	16,000	5,000	50	8 million	0.2%
Denmark	10,000	7,000	~32	5 million	0.1%
Hungary	7,000	1,000	~12	10 million	0.1%
Poland	~5,000	500	30	39 million	0.02%

practice of Buddhism by Westerners. Under this definition, a distinction is made between 'convert' (also called elite or white) Buddhism, and 'ethnic' (or Asian or immigrant) Buddhism.[22] Convert Buddhists usually focus on meditation or the study of Buddhist philosophy, and often do not consider themselves to be Buddhists, or Buddhism to be a religion. Ethnic Buddhists are usually raised as Buddhists and their religion is closely linked to their ethnicity. It is often argued that for ethnic groups the social and cultural functions of Buddhist practices are more important than the religious element. For example, Nguyen and Barber note of Vietnamese Buddhists in North America:

> Vietnamese Buddhists believe that the temple is where they come to carry out their spiritual activities. Yet the temple also plays an important social role: it is the place where traditional and cultural values are preserved, where Vietnamese children come not just for Dharma but to learn something about the customs and habits of their ancestral homeland.[23]

Similarly, Mullins' study of the transmission and institutionalisation of Japanese Buddhism in Canada concludes that the Buddhist Churches of Canada is more concerned with meeting the needs of the migrant ethnic community than with missionary ideals, and is basically an ethnic religion.[24]

Some scholars further define Western Buddhism to refer to a type of Buddhism that is specific to Western countries. In this context the term does not simply mean Buddhism as it is practised in the West, or by Westerners, but a new type of Buddhism that is recognisably Western. Recent studies have examined the common characteristics of Buddhist groups in North America and Europe with the aim of defining uniquely North American and European forms of Buddhism. Studies in this genre usually focus almost entirely on convert Buddhism, although the majority of Buddhists in Western countries are ethnic Buddhists. For example, Morreale's *The Complete Guide to Buddhist America* (1998) only lists meditation centres in North America (which are mostly convert groups), despite the suggested breadth of its titling.[25] Approaches which focus on convert Buddhists ignore the substantial ethnic communities but also exclude 'black' Buddhists.[26] However, in the past few

years criticism of this biased approach has seen a rebalancing of the equation. The most recent publications on American Buddhism consider both convert and ethnic examples equally.[27]

Japanese Zen in the West

In 1893 Japanese Zen Master Shaku Soyen became the first Zen master to visit America when he attended the Chicago World Parliament of Religions.[28] In 1930 a Japanese Rinzai priest who had emigrated to America established the first Zen centre in America in New York, the Buddhist Society of America.[29] The work of authors such as D. T. Suzuki contributed to the understanding of Zen at an intellectual and philosophical level in America and Europe. However, interest in the practice of Zen meditation began later; the influence of the Beat generation in the 1950s was one reason for this. Interest in meditation increased in the 1960s with the arrival of more Japanese teachers. A generation later the first American teachers emerged. There are now indigenous Zen teachers from a variety of lineages in countries as diverse as America, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, India and the Philippines.[30]

The Diamond Sangha

The Diamond Sangha was founded by Robert Aitken (1917–), who later became a Zen master in the Sanbo Kyodan.[31] Aitken encountered Zen when he was interned in a Japanese prisoner-of-war camp in Japan with R. H. Blyth, a scholar of Japanese poetry, particularly haiku. After the war Aitken completed a Master of Arts in Hawaii that included a dissertation entitled, 'Basho's Haiku and Zen.' Aitken began practising Zen Buddhism in California in 1948 with a Japanese teacher, Senzaki Nyogen Sensei. Aitken continued his Zen training in Japan and Hawaii, studying with other Japanese Zen masters including Nakagawa Soen. Soen gave Aitken permission to establish a Zen group in America where Soen could lead annual sesshins for American practitioners, so in 1959, Aitken and his wife, Anne Aitken,[32] founded the Diamond Sangha in Hawaii.

Aitken continued his Zen practice and established a close bond with Yasutani, who was then the leader of the Sanbo Kyodan. In

1962 Yasutani began periodic visits to Hawaii to guide the Diamond Sangha members in Zen practice, and his successor, Yamada, visited the Diamond Sangha annually in the 1970s and early 1980s.[33] In 1974 Yamada authorised Aitken as a Zen master in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage. In 1983 Yamada gave Aitken an additional qualification, Shoshike (Correctly Qualified Teacher), which gave Aitken the authority to teach independently of the Sanbo Kyodan lineage if he so chose. Few teachers in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage exercise this right, but Aitken did. The Diamond Sangha formally separated from the Sanbo Kyodan and established itself as an independent lineage with headquarters in Hawaii and Aitken as its leader.[34]

Since this time the Diamond Sangha has ceased to be a hierarchical organisation with headquarters or a leader (Aitken retired in 1997), and is now an international network of affiliates. Each affiliate must adhere to the 'Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha', to which all Diamond Sangha affiliates agree, but each group is independent beyond the requirements imposed by this document.[35] The Diamond Sangha consists of at least eighteen Zen Buddhist affiliated groups located in six countries:

America:

- Denver Zen Centre, Denver, Colorado
- Empty Sky Sangha, Amarillo, Texas
- Garden Island Sangha, Kapaa, Hawaii
- Harbor Sangha, San Francisco, California
- Honolulu Diamond Sangha, Honolulu, Hawaii
- Maui Zendo, Pukalani, Hawaii
- Mountain Cloud Zen Centre, Santa Fe, New Mexico
- Ring of Bone Zendo, North San Juan, California
- Three Treasures Sangha, Seattle, Washington
- Zen Desert Sangha, Tuscon, Arizona

Australia:

- Kuan Yin Meditation Centre, Lismore, New South Wales
- Melbourne Zen Group, Melbourne, Victoria
- Sydney Zen Centre, Sydney, New South Wales
- Zen Group of Western Australia, Perth, Western Australia

Other countries:

- One Ground Sangha, Zug, Switzerland
- Maitai Zendo, Nelson, New Zealand
- Zendo Shobo An, Cordoba, Argentina
- Zen Group Leverkusen, Leverkusen, Germany

Contact details for these groups are provided in Appendix B. There are also a number of groups that are not officially affiliated with the Diamond Sangha but are still closely associated. These include one Australian group, the Adelaide Zen Group. The Canberra Zen Group was also associated with the Diamond Sangha; however, this group disbanded in 2000. The Zen Open Circle group also has some links as the main teacher, Susan Murphy, was taught by both John Tarrant (a former Diamond Sangha teacher)and Ross Bolleter (another Diamond Sangha teacher).

Aitken has authorised at least thirteen teachers in the Diamond Sangha network, who are now also appointing their own successors. In the Diamond Sangha tradition, the title 'Roshi' denotes a teacher who is an authorised Zen Master. 'Sensei' refers to an Assistant Teacher who is not yet a Zen Master.[36] The following list identifies the sixteen teachers and assistant teachers active in the Diamond Sangha network, and the country in which they currently do the majority of their teaching.

America:

- Robert Aitken Roshi[37]
- Joseph Bobrow Roshi
- Jack Duffy Roshi
- Nelson Foster Roshi
- Father Patrick Hawk Roshi
- Danan Henry Sensei
- Daniel Terragno Sensei

Australia:

- Subhana Barzaghi[38]
- Ross Bolleter Roshi
- Gillian (Gilly) Coote Sensei
- Susan Murphy Sensei

Other countries:

- Augusto Alcalde Roshi, Argentina[39]
- Reverend Rolf Drosten Roshi, Germany
- Mary Jaksch Sensei, New Zealand
- Pia Gyger (Associated Master of Diamond Sangha[40]), Switzerland
- Leonard Marcel Sensei, Saudi Arabia[41]

This list does not include authorised Zen masters who are no longer teaching in the Diamond Sangha.[42] John Tarrant is the most prominent of these; in 1999 a decision was made for his organisation, the California Diamond Sangha, and its affiliated groups, to formally separate from the Diamond Sangha and start a new organisation, the Pacific Zen Institute.

Buddhism in Australia

In comparison to Buddhism's lengthy history in many Asian countries, development in Australia has hardly begun. The major historical account of Buddhism in Australia was completed by Croucher in 1989, and provides an excellent chronology of events.[43] Since Buddhism's introduction to Australia by Chinese immigrants in 1848, a number of events heralded new stages in its development. The founding of the first documented Buddhist organisation, the Little Circle of Dharma, in Melbourne in 1925, signalled the beginning of interest by convert Buddhists. With the arrival of the first teachers, beginning with an American-born Buddhist nun, Sister Dhammadinna, in 1952, more groups formed. Resident monastics and monasteries further enriched the scene from 1971 onwards. Refugees from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam changed the demographics substantially in the mid-1970s, as did increasing visits from teachers from widely diverse lineages.

In 1996, 199,812 people, or 1.1 per cent of the Australian population, identified themselves as Buddhist in the Australian Bureau of Statistics census. Ethnic Buddhists comprise the majority of Australian Buddhists; the 1996 census showed that only 19.7 per cent of the Buddhist population had been born in Australia[44] (and a quarter of these are probably second-generation ethnic Buddhists), while at least 70 per cent were born in Asia.[45]

In 1995 Humphreys and Ward identified 156 Australian Buddhist organisations and in 1996 Adam and Hughes' estimate totalled 167.[46] In January 1998 I identified 310 Buddhist groups, almost double the 1995 and 1996 figures.[47] In June 2000 Jones provided a listing on BuddhaNet of 315 Buddhist groups.[48] The percentages of Buddhist groups represented by the main traditions and lineages that Adam and Hughes, myself and BuddhaNet identify, are shown in Table 1.2.

Despite the continuing increases in the number of Australian Buddhist groups, neither the percentage of groups representing the major traditions and lineages have changed to any great extent.

Japanese Zen in Australia

As in other Western countries, Zen was first introduced to Australians in the 1950s by authors such as D. T. Suzuki and those of the Beat generation. Max Dunn established the first Zen organisation in Australia, the Zen Institute, in Melbourne in the mid-1950s. The first lasting group to form was the Sydney Zen Centre, established in 1975. There are currently at least fifteen Zen Buddhist groups with Japanese origins, representing at least five lineages. Table 1.3 demonstrates that Diamond Sangha affiliates are the largest organisation in terms of number of groups.

A detailed listing of these groups is provided in Appendix A. Vasi examines the history and organisation of Zen in Australia, noting that in the 1991 Australian Bureau of Statistics census 1,488 people identified as Zen Buddhists, but she estimates that only a

Table 1.2 Comparison of traditions/lineages represented by Australian Buddhist Groups in 1996, 1998 and 2000

Tradition/Lineage	*Adam and Hughes, 1996*	*Spuler, 1998*	*Jones, 2000*
Theravada	29%	28%	25%
Mahayana	31%	34%	34%
Vajrayana	22%	25%	27%
Triyana (Western Buddhist)[49]	2%	2%	– [50]
Non-sectarian	13%	11%	14%
Other	3%	–	–

Table 1.3 Japanese Zen Buddhist organisations in Australia in 2000

Japanese Zen	*ACT*	*NSW*	*NT*	*Qld*	*SA*	*Tas*	*Vic*	*WA*	*Total*
Diamond Sangha	0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	5
Open Way	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ordinary Mind Zen School	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
Sanbo Kyodan	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
International Zen Assoc.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Other Japanese Zen	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	5
State Totals	**0**	**7**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**16**

third of these may be in organised groups.[51] One characteristic of Zen in the West is that those groups that are most prominent are not particularly prominent in Japan. Vasi concludes that Australian Zen is not representative of Japanese Zen as Australian groups represent reformed Zen sects such as the Sanbo Kyodan.[52] As noted already, Finney argues that many well-known Japanese Zen teachers who teach in the West are not representative of mainstream Japanese Zen lineages.

The Diamond Sangha in Australia

As mentioned above, Australia's first Zen group was the Sydney Zen Centre, formed in 1975. In the 1970s a few Australians had attended Aitken's centre in Hawaii, establishing a connection. When the Sydney Zen Centre invited teachers from a number of different lineages to come and lead sesshins for them, it was Aitken who responded and came in 1979. Aitken continued to lead sesshins in Australia annually for the next ten years. He appointed his first Australian successor, John Tarrant, as an Assistant Teacher in 1984. Tarrant then also led Australian sesshins from 1984 onwards, although he was residing in America. Tarrant was given authorisation as a Zen Master in 1988 and took responsibility for the guidance of the Diamond Sangha groups in Australia in 1988, when Aitken ceased to come on a regular basis.[53]

Throughout the 1980s a number of Zen groups developed in different Australian cities. While Aitken and Tarrant led sesshins for

some of these, they were not the only teachers providing instruction to these groups, which were not necessarily part of the Diamond Sangha network. Connections between some of the Australian Zen groups and the Diamond Sangha substantially increased in 1991, when two Australians, Subhana Barzaghi and Ross Bolleter, were appointed as Assistant Teachers in the Diamond Sangha.[54] Another Australian, Geoff Dawson, was appointed as an Assistant Teacher in the Diamond Sangha in the early 1990s, but ceased teaching in the Diamond Sangha soon afterwards. He now teaches in the Ordinary Mind School.

The appointment of assistant teachers who were resident in Australia provided the groups with a dependable teaching resource, a rarity for Australian Zen groups. Consequently, by the time Barzaghi and Bolleter were authorised as Zen Masters in 1996 and 1997 respectively, five Australian Zen groups (located in Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Lismore and Perth) had either affiliated with or were in the process of joining the Diamond Sangha network, and another group located in Canberra had close links. The histories of these six groups are given below. In 1999 two more Australians were appointed as Assistant Teachers in Sydney: Susan Murphy and Gilly Coote.

Sydney Zen Centre

The Sydney Zen Centre (SZC) was founded in 1975. It is not clear when the SZC affiliated with the Diamond Sangha, or even if formal affiliation ever occurred. However, both SZC members and other Diamond Sangha groups consider the SZC to be affiliated. Aitken and Tarrant have been the main teachers at the SZC; however, there have been occasional visits by other Zen masters, including Charlotte Joko Beck.[55] Barzaghi began teaching at the SZC after her appointment as an Assistant Teacher in 1991, and was appointed as the main teacher in 1997, although she was then living in Lismore. She moved to Sydney in 1999. In 1993 John Tarrant appointed three dharma leaders: Gilly Coote, Maggie Gluek and Tony Coote. Dharma Leader is a position below that of assistant teacher and dharma leaders have only been designated in the SZC. Another Australian teacher, Susan Murphy, was appointed as an Assistant Teacher in 1998, and began teaching in Sydney at the Zen Open

Circle and in California at the Pacific Zen Institute in 1999. Gilly Coote was appointed as another Assistant Teacher in 1999.

The SZC has approximately ninety financial members. There are approximately equal numbers of male and female members, ranging in age from early twenties to over seventy. Members are generally middle-class professionals and Anglo-Saxon in background (except for a few Chinese-Australians and the occasional Japanese).

Zen Group of Western Australia

The Zen Group of Western Australia (ZGWA) was established in 1983 after an advertisement in a local paper brought together a number of Zen practitioners, including Ross Bolleter. Some of the early members had been part of Diamond Sangha groups in America; consequently the style of Zen practice used was that of the Diamond Sangha. Aitken led sesshins in Perth in 1985 and 1987, as did Tarrant after 1984. Bolleter was authorised as an Assistant Teacher in 1991, and as a Zen Master in 1997, and is now the group's main teacher.

The ZGWA has approximately forty members. There are approximately equal numbers of male and female members, ranging in age from seventeen to over seventy. Members are mostly middle-class professionals or young people entering university, and Anglo-Saxon in background.

Melbourne Zen Group

The Melbourne Zen Group (MZG) has had an informal association with the Diamond Sangha since the MZG's inception in 1985. MZG members had been practising Zen with Aitken in Sydney for a number of years before Aitken asked them to form a Melbourne group in 1981. Diamond Sangha teachers have been leading sesshins for the group since 1990: Pat Hawk, 1990–1995; Barzaghi, 1993-present Geoff Dawson, 1993; and Augusto Alcalde, 1994.[56] The MZG was affiliated with the Diamond Sangha and appointed Barzaghi as their main teacher in 1996.

The MZG has forty-two members, who comprise twenty-three full members and nineteen newsletter subscribers. The percentage of male and female members is approximately equal, almost all

members were Anglo-Saxon in background, many are professionals (although a few practitioners were students), and the predominant age range is twenty-five to fifty.

Canberra Zen Group

The Canberra Zen Group (CZG) was formed in 1988, on the premises of the Sakyamuni Buddhist Centre. Until it disbanded in 2000, the CZG was not formally affiliated with the Diamond Sangha network but had an informal relationship with the SZC. There was some overlap of membership between the SZC and the CZG due to their close geographical proximity. The CZG did not have a formal organisational structure such as an elected committee. No sesshins were held in Canberra, but SZC teachers and Dharma Leaders provided advice and instruction.

CZG membership averaged ten people, approximately 60 per cent of the practitioners were women, 60 per cent were over thirty years in age, and 60 per cent were born outside Australia. However, those members born outside Australia were almost entirely convert Buddhists, not ethnic Buddhists.

Adelaide Zen Group

The Adelaide Zen Group (AZG) began in the 1970s, with visits from Robert Aitken and Father Ama Samy (who was a Zen Master in the Sanbo Kyodan lineage at that time). It was revitalised in 1991 after a period of decline, and since 1995 Bolleter has been leading AZG sesshins on a regular basis. In 1998 the AZG formally affiliated with the Diamond Sangha, but no longer describes itself as a formal affiliate.

The AZG has approximately twenty members and a handful of additional newsletter subscribers. Two-thirds of members are male, and members range in age from twenty-six to fifty-five. All members are Anglo-Saxon in background.

Kuan Yin Meditation Centre

The Kuan Yin Zen Centre was founded in 1993/94 by Subhana Barzaghi and a small group of friends, and affiliated with the

Diamond Sangha in 1994. Barzaghi then resided in Lismore, but since moving to Sydney has remained the group's main teacher. In 2000 the name was changed to Kuan Yin Meditation Centre because the Centre catered for both Zen and vipassana students (the latter is a type of meditation practised in Theravada Buddhism). The Kuan Yin Meditation Centre has approximately twenty members, who are mainly health or welfare professionals, or students, and are Anglo-Saxon in background.

The development of Zen in Australia can be traced historically, but this line of inquiry does not answers questions about the adaptation process. While changes in practice can be listed in historical analysis, this information does not explain why changes were made or on what authority. Thus study focuses on these issues and the larger adaptation process through examination of changes that have occurred in Australian Diamond Sangha groups since their formation in three areas: ritual, community and ideology. The adaptations that have occurred in these areas are presented in the next section.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

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2 Ursula King, 'Some Reflections on Sociological Approaches to the Study of Modern Hinduism,' *Numen* 36 (1989): 73.
3 Michael Pye, 'The Transplantation of Religions,' *Numen* 16 (1969): 239.
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5 Michelle Spuler, 'Characteristics of Buddhism in the Australia,' *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 15, no. 1 (2000): 29–44.
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7 Baumann, 'The Dharma Has Come West': 204–6.
8 Martin Baumann, 'Methodological Smugness and the Transplantation of Symbolic Systems: A Reply to Eva K. Neumaier-Dargyay,' *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 8, no. 4 (1996): 368.
9 Elliot R. Barkan, 'Race, Religion, and Nationality in American Society: A Model of Ethnicity – From Contact to Assimilation,' *Journal of American Ethnic History* 14, no. 2 (1995): 39.

1 AUSTRALIAN BUDDHISM IN CONTEXT

1 These are explained in the Glossary of Terms.
2 This description is often cited but not referenced. For example, it is contained in: Stephen Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West: The Encounter of Buddhism and Western Culture: 543 BCE–1992* (London: Aquarian, 1994), 212; Stephan Schuhmacher and Gert Werner, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion* (Boston: Shambhala, 1994), 442; and Nancy Wilson Ross, ed., *The World of Zen: An East-West Anthology* (New York: Random House, 1960), 5.

3 Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (London: University Press of America, 1982), 92.
4 Schuhmacher and Werner, *The Encyclopaedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion*, 321.
5 Susan Murcott and Deborah Hopkinson, 'The Kahawai Koans,' in *Not Mixing Up Buddhism: Essays on Women and Buddhist Practice*, eds. Deborah Hopkinson, Michelle Hill and Eileen Kiera (n. p.: White Pine Press, 1986), 31. For further information on koans refer to T. Matthew Ciolek, ed., *Zen Buddhism Koan Study Pages*, www.ciolek.com/WWWVLPages/ZenPages/KoanStudy.html, 14 June 2000.
6 Factual information for this section has been obtained from: Andrew Rawlinson, *The Book of Enlightened Masters: Western Teachers in Asian Traditions* (Chicago: Open Court, 1997); Robert H. Sharf 'Sanbokyodan: Zen and the Way of the New Religions,' *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 22, nos. 3–4 (1995): 417–58; Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West*, 205–20; Ruben L. F. Habito, 'No Longer Buddhist Nor Christian,' *Buddhist Christian Studies* no. 10 (1990): 231–37; and Yamada Koun, 'The Stature of Yasutani Hakuun Roshi,' trans. Yamada Koun and Robert Aitken, *Eastern Buddhist* 7, no. 2 (1974): 120.
7 Roshi is the honorific used to denote an authorised teacher or Zen master.
8 Helen Tworkov, *Zen in America: Profiles of Five Teachers* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1989), 13.
9 Henry C. Finney, 'American Zen's "Japan Connection": A Critical Case Study of Zen Buddhism's Diffusion to the West,' *Sociological Analysis* 52, no. 4 (1991): 387.
10 Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 4.
11 For example, refer to: Finney, 'American Zen's "Japan Connection"': 392; and Ian Reader, 'Zazenless Zen? The Position of Zazen in Institutional Zen Buddhism,' *Japanese Religions* 14, no. 3 (1986): 7.
12 Shiva Vasi, 'The Religious Settlement of Zen Buddhism in Australia: A Test Case for Stark and Bainbridge's Theory of Religious Conversion,' seminar presented at the New Zealand Religious Studies and the Australian Association for the Study of Religions joint conference, Christchurch, New Zealand, 1996.
13 Brief biographies of Harada, Yasutani and Yamada are contained in Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West*, 207–11. Information on Yasutani is also available in Yamada, 'The Stature of Yasutani Hakuun Roshi.'
14 Habito, 'No Longer Buddhist nor Christian': 234–35.
15 Sharf, 'Sanbokyodan': 439.
16 Ciolek, ed., *Harada-Yasutani School of Zen Buddhism*, www.ciolek.com/WWWVLPages/ZenPages/HaradaYasutani.html, 9 October 2000. It is likely that the total number is higher than twenty-eight, as very few Japanese successors are included in this listing.
17 Jiho Sargent, 'COMMENTS>Sambo Kyodan Statistics – Correction,' email to zenBuddhism mailing list <zenBuddhism@viva.com>, 30 May 1998.

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19 A good overview of Buddhism's history in America is provided in Charles S. Prebish, *Luminous Passage: The Practice and Study of Buddhism in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 1–50. Information on other Western countries include: Martin Baumann, *Buddhism in Europe: An Annotated Bibliography on its Historical Development and Contemporary State of Affairs*, www.rewi.uni-hannover.de/for4.htm, January 1998; and Paul Croucher, *Buddhism in Australia 1848–1988* (Kensington, New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1989).
20 Some information on Japanese Buddhism in South America is available in: Cristina Moreira da Rocha, 'Zen Buddhism in Brazil: Japanese or Brazilian?' *Journal of Global Buddhism* 1 (2000): 31–60, http://jgb.la.psu.edu/1/derocha001.html; Cristina Rocha, 'The Appropriation of Zen Buddhism in Brazil,' *Japan Studies Review* 4 (2000): 33–52; and Peter B. Clarke, 'The Cultural Impact of New Religions in Latin and Central America and the Caribbean with Special Reference to Japanese New Religions,' *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (June 1995): 117–26. Information on South American groups is available from *BuddhaNet's Buddhist Americas South American Buddhist Directory*, www.buddhanet.net/budc_sa.htm, 2000; and Cristina Rocha, *Buddhism in Brazil: A Bibliography*, sites.uol.com.br/cmrocha, n.d. The best source of information on Buddhism in Africa is M. Clasquin and J. S. Kruger, eds., *Buddhism and Africa* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 1999).
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22 The use of these terms is widespread. Prebish provides a good overview of the usage of these terms and their implications in *Luminous Passage*, 57–63.
23 Cuong Tu Nguyen and A. W. Barber, 'Vietnamese Buddhism in North America: Tradition and Acculturation,' in *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, eds. Charles S. Prebish and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 100–15.
24 Mark R. Mullins, 'The Transplantation of Religion in Comparative Sociological Perspective,' *Japanese Religions* 16 (1990): 55.
25 Donald Morreale, ed., *The Complete Guide to Buddhist America* (Boston and London: Shambhala, 1998).
26 Little work has been done on this community. Smith examines the lack of conversion by people of African, Caribbean or Asian descent (which she terms 'black people') in Sharon Smith, 'Widening the Circle: Black Communities and Western Buddhist Convert Sanghas,' *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* On-line Conference on 'Socially Engaged Buddhism,' April 7–14, 2000, http://jbe.la.psu.edu/7/smith001.html.; and Hooks discusses the racism she encounters by other Buddhists as a black Buddhist (Bell Hooks, 'Waking up to Racism,' *Tricycle: The Buddhist Review* Fall 1994: 42–5). See also Jan Willis, 'Buddhism and Race: An African American Baptist-Buddhist Perspective,' in *Buddhist Women on the Edge: Contemporary Perspectives from the Western Frontier*,

ed. Marianne Dresser (Berkeley, California: North Atlantic Books, 1996), 81–91.

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30 Ford provides a good overview of the major Zen traditions in the West (James Ishmael Ford, 'Holding the Lotus to the Rock: Reflections on the Future of Zen in the West,' www.zendo.org.nz/pages/holdingthelotus-totherock.html, 1998.)

31 Historical information has been obtained from: Rawlinson, *The Book of Enlightened Masters*, 156; Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 23–64; Robert Aitken, 'The Lay Zen Buddhist Sangha in the West,' *Mind Moon Circle* March 1984: 4; *Diamond Sangha*, ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/zen-groups/about-diamond-sangha.txt, 24 January 1992; and Robert Aitken, 'Changes: Implications of the Shoshike Status,' manuscript, 6 February 1983.

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33 *Diamond Sangha*, ftp://coombs.anu.edu.au/coombspapers/otherarchives/electronic-buddhist-archives/Buddhism-zen/zen-groups/about-diamond-sangha.txt, 24 January 1992.

34 More detailed information on Robert Aitken's biography is provided by: Tworkov, *Zen in America*, 23–64; and Rawlinson, *The Book of Enlightened Masters*, 156–58.

35 'Agreements Concerning the Structure and Function of the Diamond Sangha,' n.d. This document is contained in Appendix C.

36 Note that the application of these titles varies in other lineages.

37 Aitken officially retired from teaching in 1997 but still has an active role in the organisation.
38 In 1998 Barzaghi ceased using the title, roshi.
39 Alcalde also works with groups in Mexico and Chile, and indirectly in Uruguay.
40 This term is explained in Part Two.
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3 MODELS OF CHANGE

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Appendix A

JAPANESE ZEN BUDDHIST GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA

Adelaide Zen Group
70 Thomas Street
Unley, 5061
Adelaide, South Australia
Email: AZG@bigpond.com
Internet site: welcome.to/azg
Lineage: Diamond Sangha
Teacher: Ross Bolleter

Bellingen Zen Group
'Chrysalis'
377 Kalang Road via Bellingen
New South Wales, 2454
Contact: Sexton Bourke
Telephone: (02) 6655 2092
Email: sabell@midcoast.com.au

Clifton Hill Zendo
c/- Paul Boston
17 Clive Street
Alphington, 3078
Melbourne, Victoria
Telephone: (03) 9499 2671

Everyday Zen Group
PO Box 1626
Milton, 4064
Brisbane, Queensland
Telephone: (07) 3870 1274

Email: ezg@powerup.com.au
Internet site: www.powerup.com.au/~ezg/
Lineage: Ordinary Mind Zen School

Jikishoan Zen Buddhist Community
PO Box 234
2/23 Raleigh Street
Essendon, 3040
Melbourne, Victoria
Telephone: (03) 9370 5847
Email: tokuzen@aol.com or jikishoan@aol.com
Tradition: Soto Zen
Teacher: Ekai Korematsu Osho

Kuan Yin Meditation Centre
183 Ballina Road
Lismore Heights, 2480
Lismore, New South Wales
Telephone: (02) 6624 3355
Fax: (02) 6624 3360
Lineage: Diamond Sangha
Teacher: Subhana Barzaghi

Melbourne Zen Group
48 Glen Park Road
Eltham North, 3095
Melbourne, Victoria
Contact: David Hicks
Telephone: (03) 9439 1845
Internet site: home.vicnet.net.au/~zenmzg/
Lineage: Diamond Sangha
Teacher: Subhana Barzaghi

Mountain Moon Sangha
4 Geelong Street
East Brisbane 4169
Brisbane, Queensland
Contact: Jan Millwood
Telephone: (07) 3895 8080
E-mail: jan@thehub.com.au

Internet site: home.pacific.net.au/~jan.hub/mms/
Lineage: Sanbo Kyodan
Teacher: Roselyn Stone

Mountains and Rivers Zen Group
Room 1, 2nd Floor
71 Liverpool Street
Hobart, 7000
Tasmania
Contact: Ross Coward
Telephone: (03) 6234 9080
Lineage: Ordinary Mind Zen School

Open Way Zen Centre
PO Box 993
Byron Bay, 2481
New South Wales
Contact: Helen Burns
Telephone: (02) 6680 8782
Fax: (02) 6680 8782
Email: openway@lis.net.au
Lineage: Open Way
Teacher: Hogen Daido Yamahata

Satsuma Dojo (Zen Centre)
14 Orient Avenue,
Mitcham, 3132
Melbourne, Victoria
Telephone: (03) 9874 3537
Teacher: Andre Sollier

Sydney Zen Centre
251 Young Street
Annandale, 2038
Sydney, New South Wales
Telephone: (02) 9660 2993
Internet site: www.szc.org.au
Lineage: Diamond Sangha
Teacher: Subhana Barzaghi

The Way of Zen
GPO Box 3399
Sydney, 2001
New South Wales
Contact: Dawn Hughes
Telephone: (02) 9440 8408
Lineage: Sanbo Kyodan
Teacher: Ama Samy

Zen Group A. Z. I.
11 Linkmead Avenue
Clontarf, 2093
Sydney, New South Wales
Contact: Carole Bourgeois
Lineage: Taisen Deshimaru

Zen Group of Western Australia
PO Box 8441
Stirling Street
Perth, 6849
Western Australia
Telephone: (08) 9430 9255
Email: mferrier@space.net.au or mary@viacorp.com
Internet site: www.space.net.au/~zen/
Lineage: Diamond Sangha
Teacher: Ross Bolleter

Zen Open Circle
c/- Christopher Cormack
The Mind The Eye Publishing Group
PO Box 1065
Darlinghurst, 1300
Sydney, New South Wales
Telephone: (02) 9331 661
Fax: (02) 9331 6149
Email: chris@tmte.com.au
Lineage: Pacific Zen Institute and Diamond Sangha (through John Tarrant and Ross Bolleter)
Teacher: Susan Murphy

Appendix B

DIAMOND SANGHA AFFILIATES WORLD-WIDE

Empty Sky
c/- Judith Evans
313 Sunset Terrace
Amarillo, TX 79106
America
Telephone: (806) 373 6740
Fax: (806) 381 7814
Email: jbevans@amaonline

Garden Island Sangha
c/- Lloyd Miyashiro
6585 Waipouli Road
Kapaa, HI 96746
America
Telephone: (808) 822 4794

Harbor Sangha
1032 Irving Street
San Francisco, CA 94121
America
Telephone: (415) 241-8807
Email: dkdan@slip.net
Internet site: www.zendo.com/cds.html

Honolulu Diamond Sangha
2747 Waiomao Road
Honolulu, HI 96816
America

Telephone: (808) 7351347
Fax: (808) 739 9461
Email: hsangha@ALOHA.NET

Kuan-Yin Meditation Centre
183 Ballina Road
Lismore Heights, 2480
Lismore, New South Wales
Australia
Telephone: (02) 6624 3355
Fax: (02) 6624 3360

Maitai Zendo
4A Mayroyd Terrace
Nelson
New Zealand
Telephone/Fax: (613) 548 2602
Email: MaitaiZen@xtra.co.nz
Internet site: www.zendo.org.nz

Maui Zendo
PO Box 1947
Wailuku, HI 96793
America

Melbourne Zen Group
48 Glen Park Road
Eltham North, 3095
Melbourne, Victoria
Australia
Contact: David Hicks
Telephone: (03) 9439 1845
Internet site: home.vicnet.net.au/~zenmzg/

Mountain Cloud Zen Centre
7241 Old Santa Fe Trail
Santa Fe, NM 87505
America
Telephone: (505) 988 4396

Email: mczenctr@hotmail.com
Internet site: members.Tripod.com/~mczc/Home.html

One Ground Sangha
Lasalle-Haus
Bad Schoenbrunn
CH-6313 Edillbach/Zug
Switzerland
Telephone: (41) 757 1414
Fax (41) 757 1413

Ring of Bone Zendo
PO Box 510
North San Juan, CA 95960
America

Sydney Zen Centre
251 Young Street
Annandale, 2034
Sydney, New South Wales
Australia
Telephone: (02) 9660 2993
Internet site: www.szc.org.au

Three Treasures Sangha
PO Box 12542
Seattle, WA 98111
America
Telephone: (206) 324 5373

Zen Centre of Denver
3101 West 31st Avenue
Denver, CO 80211
America
Telephone: (303) 455 1500
Fax: (303) 455 1062
Email: office@zencenterofdenver.org
Internet site: www.zencenterofdenver.org

Zen Desert Sangha
PO Box 44122
Tucson, AZ 85733-4122
America
Telephone: (520) 327 8460
Email: zds@azstarnet.com
Internet site: www.delegation.org/lame/zds/

Zendo Shobo An
Av. San Martin y Antardida
5111 La Quebrada
Rio Ceballos
PCIA de Cordoba
Argentina
Fax: (303) 455 1062

Zen Group Leverkusen
Rolf Drosten Roshi
Wilhelm Busch Strasse 4
D 51373 Leverkusen
Germany

Zen Group of Western Australia
PO Box 8441
Stirling Street
Perth, 6849
Western Australia
Australia
Telephone: (08) 9385 6024
Email: mferrier@space.net.au or mary@viacorp.com
Internet site: www.space.net.au/~zen/

Appendix C

AGREEMENTS CONCERNING THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE DIAMOND SANGHA

I. COMMON GROUND

A. The Diamond Sangha descends from both Soto and Rinzai traditions, through the Harada-Yasutani line, and is especially faithful to the teachings of Robert Aitken, Roshi.

B. We affirm the Diamond Sangha as a lay Zen Buddhist organisation with traditional teacher-to-student transmission of the Dharma. The emphasis on lay-practice does not exclude extended residential training programs or participation by ordained members of other traditions. We seek to apply the Dharma to lay life, and strive to make our program accessible. The Diamond Sangha is egalitarian, avoids exploitation in all its forms, and encourages engagement in constructive environmental and social actions.

C. Teachers are Sangha members who have received formal permission to teach and thereafter make teaching an aspect of their practice. Teachers develop spiritual authority over time through their faithful embodiment of the precepts, the depth of their insight, and their manifest capacity to teach. Transmission is recognised as an essential step in this process.

D. Our ritual forms and procedures are a basis for continuity and common ground among the sanghas in the network. It is not intended or expected that they be performed uniformly, and we acknowledge that they will evolve in

each local sangha as appropriate to its cultural milieu. The forms and procedures referred to include (but are not limited to): zazen, interviews or dokusan, sesshin, sutras and chanting, talks or teisho, and physical settings.

II. SELECTION OF TEACHERS

A. It is the responsibility of each affiliate to engage or discharge its own teachers.

B. To be eligible as a candidate for selection to teacher status in an affiliate, one must be a Diamond Sangha Teacher, a Diamond Sangha Apprentice Teacher, or a teacher duly authorised in the larger line descended from Harada Sogaku Roshi.

C. The selection process should include definite means of ascertaining whether a teacher is acceptable to the membership of the affiliate before she/he is invited to become its teacher. There should also be a definite process of termination of a relationship with a teacher.

D. These provisions do not pertain to visiting teachers, who may be from other lines of succession.

III. ORGANISATION

A. Each local sangha shall be autonomous.

B. The term 'Diamond Sangha' designates the network of affiliated sanghas. The Honolulu group will now be known as the 'Honolulu Diamond Sangha.'

C. A Communications Office will foster communication among the affiliate sanghas. Its functions will include, but not be limited to, facilitating network decisions regarding affiliation, disaffiliation, the choice of time and place of general Diamond Sangha meetings, and communication to handle problem solving. Communication can be facilitated by the Communications Office through a variety of means including faxing, a newsletter, co-ordinating an annual retreat or conference, letters, and telephone calls.

D. The work of the Communications office will be assumed by an affiliate sangha on a voluntary basis and shared and/or shifted as needed. Costs of this office are expected to be minimal. The local sangha hosting the office may ask for financial help from the other sanghas.

IV. AFFILIATION

A. To be considered an affiliate of the Diamond Sangha, a local sangha must:

1. be formally connected with a Diamond Sangha teacher. (It is not necessary that the teacher be in residence.)
2. subscribe to all the points of common ground, listed in item I above.
3. have established a regular schedule for group practice of zazen.
4. participate in the Diamond Sangha network.

B. Individuals wishing to be members of the Diamond Sangha as a whole would need to join an affiliate.

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