



ISSN 1076-9005

Volume 4 1997:194-211

Publication date: 14 March 1997

Republished with corrections: 21 May 1995

The Dharma Has Come West:
A Survey of Recent Studies and Sources

by

Martin Baumann

University of Hannover

email: Martin.Baumann@HRZ.Uni-Bielefeld.DE

© 1997 Martin Baumann

Copyright Notice

Digital copies of this work may be made and distributed provided no charge is made and no alteration is made to the content. Reproduction in any other format with the exception of a single copy for private study requires the written permission of the author. All enquiries to jbe-ed@psu.edu.

JBE Review Article

Buddhism's dramatic growth in Western countries, observable for about the past three decades, has been accompanied by an increased number of Buddhist books and scholarly studies. Whereas the former publications focus mainly on personal experiences and religious expositions given by Buddhist practitioners, the latter historically describe and sociologically analyze developments of the transplantation and adaptation of Buddhist traditions in Western countries. This rigid division should not be taken too strictly as Western Buddhists including Paul Croucher, Rick Fields, and Stephen Batchelor have written excellent geographical accounts of Buddhist developments. Likewise, some scholars (e.g., Guiseppe Tucci) have "drifted" into the Buddhist camp as a result of their long years of study, continuing to present academic and comparative investigations. Also, an increasing number of Buddhists have become academic scholars as a result of their personal interest in Buddhism, such as Robert Thurman and Donald Lopez.

In my view, it seems almost impossible to survey the plethora of books published by practicing Buddhists living in the West. Thus, the reader is advised to take a look at the review sections of leading Buddhist journals and magazines such as *Tricycle* and *Shambhala Sun* (U.S.-based), *Dharma-life* and *The Middle Way* (U.K.-based), among others. There is, however, a growing need for an overview with regard to scholarly, historical studies, as up to now no single monograph covers the recent phase of Buddhist developments in Europe, North America, Australia, and South Africa.

This survey article will point out and discuss existing studies and sources which provide historical information of Buddhist developments in these Western, industrialized countries. The aspect of Buddhist influences on European philosophy and psychology as well as results of East-West interaction cannot, unfortunately, be dealt with here. The survey will begin by mentioning the few general overviews, followed by a stock-taking of the respective regional studies. As the growth of relevant literature is continuing, I apologize for any omissions and would

be happy to be made aware of other sources.

GENERAL STUDIES

The historical developments of Buddhism outside Asia have been sketched by some articles placed in general accounts of Buddhism. A fair start was made by Ernst Benz in 1969. The late Protestant theologian provided a learned overview of early developments in the U.S., in Great Britain, and Germany.¹

Roger J. Corless, in his contribution to Charles Prebish's *Buddhism: A Modern Perspective* (1975), provides a rather cursory survey of the development of the academic study of Buddhism (Buddhology) and of the institutionalization of Buddhism in France, the U.K., Germany, and the U.S. It also justly points to the "reverse missions" undertaken by Theosophists in South Asia around the turn of the century.²

Benz's and Corless's contributions were followed by Heinz Bechert's survey of "Buddhist Revival in East and West." Bechert rightly draws the reader's attention to the interrelation of Buddhist resurgence in South Asia and the beginnings of Buddhism in Europe and the U.S. Although the survey is strong on outlining the modernist interpretation of Buddhism as a rational way of thought, with regard to Western countries the article covers only Germany, Great Britain, and the U.S. Unfortunately, the respective histories are given no further than up to the early 1970s.³

A rather disappointing survey on "Buddhism in the West" was presented by Robert S. Ellwood in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (1987). According to this American writer, "the West" consists of the U.S., conveying a telling example of both American pride and parochialism. Whereas the history of Buddhism is sketched out up to the mid-1970s in the U.S., strangely enough, the developments in Europe seem to have ended in the 1930s.⁴

With regard to the dissemination of Tibetan Buddhism in the West since the late 1960s, attention needs to be drawn to the "Guide to Tibetan

Centers and Resources,” in the *Handbook of Tibetan Culture* (1993), edited by Graham Coleman. An “International Resources Directory” (35-204) attempts to cover all academic organizations providing research on Tibetan Buddhism (including names of scholars, their fields of research, and courses covered) and libraries, and museums. In addition, cultural organizations and Tibetan refugee aid societies and publishing companies and journals are listed. The directory provides a global survey, giving a wealth of information for each respective country. Biographies of contemporary lamas and scholars (205-74) and an extended glossary add further valuable information.⁵

Risking immodesty I should also mention my own recent attempts to survey the developments of Buddhism in Western countries. The two articles in question cover the history and contemporary state of affairs of Buddhism in Europe, the U.S., and Australia until the mid-1990s. For sake of clarity, the roughly one-hundred-and-fifty- year long history is subdivided in five chronological phases. Each phase is shaped by certain characteristics such as emphasis on a rational interpretation of Buddhism, its practical application, or stress on meditation and ritual. Pertaining to the number of Buddhists and Buddhist groups, I traced the following rough figures (see table 1 over):⁶

Table 1: *Buddhists and Buddhist Groups in the Mid-1990s*

| Country | Buddhists (sum) | Euro/Am. Buddhists | Centers | Population | % of Buddhists |
|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------|------------|-------------------|
| USA | 3-4 Mill. | 800,000 | 500-800 | 261 Mill. | 1.6 |
| Australia | 140,000 | 14,000 | 150 | 18 Mill. | 0.8 |
| South Africa | 5,000 | 2,500 | 40 | 42 Mill. | 0.01 |
| Great Britain | 180,000 | 50,000 | 300 | 58 Mill. | 0.3 |
| France | 650,000 | 150,000 | 130 | 58 Mill. | 1.15 |
| Germany | 150,000 | 40,000 | 400 | 81 Mill. | 0.2 |
| Italy | 75,000 | 50,000 | 30 | 57 Mill. | 0.1 |
| Switzerland | 20-25,000 | ? | 80 | 7 Mill. | 0.3 |
| Netherlands | 20,000 | 5,000 | 40 | 15 Mill. | 0.1 |
| Denmark | 8,000 | 5,000 | 32 | 5 Mill. | 0.16 |
| Austria | 13,000 | 5,000 | 25 | 8 Mill. | 0.16 |
| Hungary | 6,500 | 6,000 | 12 | 10 Mill. | 0.07 |
| Czech Rep. | 2,100 | 2,000 | 15 | 10 Mill. | 0.02 |
| Poland | 4,500 | 4,000 | 15 | 38 Mill. | 0.01 |
| Russia | 1 Mill. | 40,000 | 100 | 149 Mill. | 0.7 |

GEOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

I. Europe

The encounter of Buddhism and occidental intellectual life since the mid-nineteenth century has been the topic of many detailed and sometimes rather dry studies. Luckily, Stephen Batchelor recently launched a most entertaining and nevertheless sophisticated and informed account entitled *The Awakening of the West* (1994). This source not only covers the ancient and medieval periods of the “Encounter of Buddhism and Western culture,” but instructively traces much of contemporary interest and glorification of Buddhism to nineteenth-century romanticism. The book narratively introduces all major Buddhist traditions in twenty-one self-contained chapters, outlining their presence in the West (contemporary teachers, centers, activities). The book, written from an existential Buddhist point of view, covers Europe only. Whereas its successive presentation of Buddhist activities in Germany, Britain, France, and Italy (314-320) closes with the end of World War II, current developments and activities are treated abundantly in various chapters.⁷

A synoptic survey of Buddhism’s historical and contemporary developments in Europe is provided in my article “Creating a European Path to Nirvana.” The stock-taking draws together regional sources and studies, on which basis both a sketch with regard to respective countries in Europe and general features of developments are outlined. For example, in Britain, the number of Buddhist organizations tripled between 1979 and 1991. In Germany, interest in Buddhism has resulted in a five-fold increase in the number of groups and centers from 1975 to 1991. A quantitative analysis of Buddhist traditions followed is provided as well as contemporary attempts of European convert Buddhists to develop a Western form of Buddhism.⁸

Finally, an annotated bibliography on “Buddhism in Europe” was

put on the internet as a link from the home page of the “UK Association of Buddhist Studies” in 1996. The bibliography, in its updated version, contains some 270 entries and focuses on historical studies of Buddhism in respective countries in Europe. It lists academic monographs, articles, and unpublished university theses—selectively accompanied by explanatory comments and evaluations.⁹

II. Great Britain, France, Germany

With regard to both Great Britain and France, strangely enough no up-to-date monographs exist. Whereas the early phases of Buddhism in Great Britain are covered satisfactorily,¹⁰ contemporary developments can only be followed up by articles spread in various journals and books.¹¹ On the other hand, Buddhist organizations and groups are painstakingly listed in a detailed *Buddhist Directory*, compiled in its sixth edition by the Buddhist Society London.¹²

Pertaining to France, the most recent general overview I have come across is a chapter included in the book by Denis Gira entitled *Comprendre le bouddhisme* (1989). The chapter provides a useful survey of the various Buddhist traditions present in France, and provides details on the numerically strong minority communities of South East Asian Buddhists.¹³ With regard to the latter, the volume *Habitations et Habitat d'Asie du Sud-Est Continentale* (1992), co-edited by J. Matras-Guin and C. Taillard, has detailed chapters on the Laotian and Cambodian communities and their establishment in France.¹⁴

In Germany, Buddhists themselves have been eager to document Buddhist history since its inception in late nineteenth century. Hellmuth Hecker of the Hamburg Buddhist Society has built up an archive, collecting information on Buddhist developments in Germany and more generally in Europe. Apart from his detailed *Chronik des Buddhismus in Deutschland* (1985), Hecker published two outstanding volumes on the *Lebensbilder Deutscher Buddhisten* (life stories of German Buddhists, 1990, 1992).¹⁵ Based on these and further sources, I myself have done a

description and interpretation of Buddhist history and adaptation in *Deutsche Buddhisten: Geschichte und Gemeinschaften (German Buddhists. History and Communities, 1993)*. The overview and analysis is conducted from an academic Religious Studies point of view.¹⁶

Buddhists are increasingly active in many further countries of Europe. However, only with regard to the Netherlands, is one able to rely on an extended monograph, written in Dutch by Victor van Gemert.¹⁷ Relevant articles and sources pertaining to Southern and Eastern Europe and to the Nordic countries are listed on the on-line annotated bibliography.

III. United States and Canada

Buddhism in America has increasingly been the object of Buddhist and academic studies since the mid-1970s. During the subsequent two decades, a vast amount of literature appeared, resulting in the fact that “research on American Buddhism has expanded exponentially” thus developing the study of Buddhism in America “into a sub-discipline of Buddhist Studies.”¹⁸ The academic surveys and analyses of Layman, *Buddhism in America* (1976), and Prebish, *American Buddhism* (1979), were followed by the detailed “Narrative History of Buddhism in America,” told by Vajradhatu Buddhist Rick Fields in his most entertaining *How the Swans Came to the Lake* (1981).¹⁹ Another approach was taken by Don Morreale in his guide to centers, retreats, and practices in his book *Buddhist America* (1988). The book collects short Buddhist essays by leading American Buddhists and the detailed enumeration of some 490 centers in the U.S. and Canada. Although now rather outdated, Morreale’s endeavors for the first time also enabled the statistical analysis of some features of the state of affairs of Buddhism in North America.²⁰ With regard to Canada, no separate investigation of the history of Buddhism has yet been available; developments and activities there will continue to be treated in passing while dealing with the U.S. situation.

Finally, recent studies focusing on specific areas of Buddhism in

the U.S. need to be mentioned. Thomas A. Tweed superbly surveyed and analyzed the early phase of “white” Americans taking up Buddhism. His *American Encounter with Buddhism 1844-1912* (1992) serves both to retell the beginnings of Buddhist history in America and to crystallize dominant cultural features of the American Victorian age mirrored in Buddhist conversations.²¹ Paul David Numrich in his study *Americanization in Two Immigrant Theravada Buddhist Temples* (1996) justly points to the fact that most studies on Buddhism in America have focused on the “convert” Buddhists, neglecting the experiences and achievements of immigrant Asian Buddhists—a feature observable not only in the U.S., but also prevalent with regard to investigations of Buddhism in Europe and Australia.²²

Despite the above mentioned studies, to which many more may be added, including such Buddhist journals as *Tricycle* and *Turning Wheel: Journal of the Buddhist Peace Fellowship*, Prebish rightly pointed to missing data on understanding the history of Buddhism in America. Information is needed on institutional issues as well as “on the backgrounds of American Buddhists . . . their educational levels, occupations, former religious orientations, motivations for becoming Buddhists, earnings, value orientations, families . . .”²³ Pointing to such missing empirical items in research, Prebish also outlined some areas for future research.²⁴

IV. Australia

In line with other Western countries, Buddhism in Australia grew rapidly during the 1980s, both with regard to interest on the part of “white” converts and an increase in the number of Asian immigrant Buddhists. A detailed chronological description from the early developments up to the late 1980s is provided in Paul Croucher’s *Buddhism in Australia* (1989). A short, more general portrait of Australian Buddhist history from an academic point of view can be found in *The Buddhists in Australia* by Enid Adam and Philip J. Hughes (1996). This seventy-one

page book contains an instructive sociological analysis of the Buddhist “community,” based on the 1991 Census.²⁵

V. South Africa

Buddhism in South Africa has a long history, although existing on a numerically very small basis up to the early 1990s. A rather sketchy overview is provided by Louis H. van Loon’s contribution to the volume *Living Faiths in South Africa* (1995). Thus, the academic community and Buddhists await the forthcoming publication of Darrel Wratten’s Ph.D. thesis *Buddhism in South Africa: From Textual Imagination to Contextual Innovation* (1995). This detailed treatise offers a wealth of information, analyzing the developments from a Religious Studies and anthropological point of view.²⁶

VI. Internet

In addition to these printed publications one increasingly is able to trace further current information on Buddhist activities locally or globally via the internet. In addition to the recommendable page “DhammaNet International: Gateways to Buddhism” (Berkeley), the “Global Resources for Buddhist Studies” of the *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, refers the cyberspace surfer to some 170 links, ranging from the “Albuquerque Zen Centre” to “Buddhist Resources in Spain,” “Schools of Zen Buddhism” in Australia, to gopher and FTP sites and the more than twenty currently-available newsgroups. Such home pages of Buddhist centers and regional organizations provide the opportunity to investigate programs and activities, and also facilitate access to collections of data. Although this medium is presently used by a limited and selected

spectrum of Buddhist groups only, it may provide special items and updated information within a broader historical account.

RÉSUMÉ AND PROSPECTS

Buddhism has come West and set up home in many Western countries. For many Western followers the *Tipiṭaka* (the Pāli Buddhist canon), the *zafu* (the meditation cushion of Zen practitioners), or the *vajra* (an instrument used in Tibetan Buddhist ritual) have taken on a life orientating symbol and meaning. Likewise, those Buddhists arriving from Asian countries or being the children of immigrants have developed their own home away from home and have, up to now, maintained a low degree of change and adaptation.

Indisputably, the quantity and quality of research on these developments, i.e., on Buddhist activities in the West, has increased tremendously during the last two decades. Nevertheless, the necessity and importance of both geographic, country-focused and global, general surveys continues to remain as Buddhism's growth progresses during the 1990s. The basis for a comparative, analytical investigation covering the "Western world" depends on well researched country specific studies. Trans-national comparisons will be able to highlight similarities as, for example, the urban setting of most Buddhist activities, its mainly middle-class, well educated fellowship pertaining to "white" convert Buddhists. Likewise, differences will become apparent, as for example the low rate of intra-Buddhist activities in U.K. and U.S. being contrasted by the high degree of "ecumenical" achievements in Germany, culminating in a joint "Buddhist confession." In 1985, the confession on Buddhist doctrines was jointly set up by almost all Buddhist traditions present in Germany in order to meet the legal prerequisites to apply for the status of a public corporation. Many intra-Buddhist meetings and joint activities have taken place since then.²⁷

In addition, observations and insights won through the study of

Buddhist history in one country may fruitfully be transferred to another, Western context. Thus Tweed's typology of rational, esoteric and romantic Buddhists, set up for the timespan 1879-1912 in the U.S., may usefully be applied as an analytical tool for categorizing conversion motives of European Buddhists.²⁸ Or, Numrich's observation of two parallel congregations in American immigrant Theravāda temples, those of the Asian-immigrant and those of the American-convert congregation, need to be considered for similar Asian-based temples in Europe and Australia. With regard to this aspect, Prebish's strong statement that there are "two completely distinct lines of development in American Buddhism" brings to the fore an understanding of similar developments in Europe and Australia.²⁹ Prebish's differentiation also, however, invites not only a reflection on less dualistic models of categorizing Buddhists living outside Asia, but also, encourages us to look out for counter-cases such as the Thai monasteries Chithurst Forest (U.K.), Wat Puttabenjapon in Langenselbold (Germany), or the Vietnamese Vien Giac Pagoda in Hannover (Germany).³⁰

In addition to the area of geographic studies, research on the dissemination of specific traditions and schools need to be increased. In the mid-1990s, many Buddhist schools and organizations are distributed on a virtually global scale, transferring resources and teachers in an hitherto unknown speed and rate. As such, global networks have been established by Theravāda and Zen, Tibetan, and Japanese Buddhist traditions as well as by non-affiliated Western groups and orders.³¹ Further Asian Buddhist traditions increasingly become engaged in Western countries, thus increasing the heterogeneity of Buddhism in the West.³²

Finally, 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. Likewise, Buddhism may be understood and practiced from a rational, sociopolitically engaged or feminist point of view, to name but a few emphases set up by its followers.³³ The features of adaptation relate to both "white" Buddhists and Buddhists affiliated to

an immigrant temple and community. With regard to the latter, in particular but not exclusively, investigations should take into account research approaches and results gained through the study of diaspora situations. Most of the few studies on immigrant Buddhist groups appear to have failed to place the data in a theoretical context which takes account of studies on diaspora and minority issues. In this respect highly valuable observations and areas of analysis can fruitfully be transferred from the study of Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims, or Jews living for decades or even centuries in diasporic situations. Research has not yet seriously started to make use of the analytical and comparative heuristics of the diaspora concept. The reason for this may be that, with the exception of Chinese and Japanese communities in the U.S., most immigrant Buddhist diasporas are of comparatively recent origins. And, even more so, as it is apparent that now, and for the next decades (and centuries), Buddhist traditions in the West will have no alternative than to arrange to survive and develop in this diasporic environment. These and related research approaches deserve much attention.³⁴

Taking all such possible areas of current and future research, I increasingly doubt whether a single monograph will be able to sufficiently cover the history, adaptation and innovations of Buddhism in the West.

Notes

¹ Ernst Benz, "Buddhismus in der westlichen Welt," *Saeculum* 20 (1969): 355-68; repr. in *Buddhismus in der Gegenwart*, ed. Heinrich Dumoulin (Freiburg: Herder, 1970), 191-204; repr. in the English edition of the volume. See *The Cultural, Political, and Religious Significance of Buddhism in the Modern World*, ed. H. Dumoulin and J. C. Maraldo (New York: Collier Macmillan 1976).

² Roger J. Corless, "Buddhism and the West," in *Buddhism. A Modern Perspective*, ed. Charles S. Prebish (University Park, London:

Pennsylvania State University 1975), 248-54.

³ Heinz Bechert, "Buddhist Revival in East and West," in *The World of Buddhism*, ed. Heinz Bechert and Richard Gombrich (London: Thames and Hudson 1984), 273-85.

⁴ Robert S. Ellwood, "Buddhism in the West," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York: Macmillan 1987), vol. 2, 436-39.

⁵ Graham Coleman, ed., *A Handbook of Tibetan Culture. An International Resources Directory* (London: Rider 1993).

⁶ Martin Baumann, "Buddhism in the West: Phases, Orders and the Creation of an Integrative Buddhism," *Internationales Asienforum* 27/3-4 (1996): 345-62; and "Il buddhismo in Occidente," *Storia delle religioni* 4, "Religioni dell'India e dell'Estremo Oriente," ed. Giovanni Filoramo (Rome: Gius. Laterza & Figli 1996), 483-97. See also the table on page 494.

⁷ Stephen Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West. The Encounter of Buddhism and Western Culture* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, London: Aquarian, Harper Collins 1994). This book is reviewed in *JBE* 3 (1996).

⁸ Baumann, "Creating a European Path to Nirvāna. Historical and Contemporary Developments of Buddhism in Europe," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 10/1 (1995): 55-70. See also Baumann, "Der Buddhismus im Abendland. Historische Entwicklung und gegenwärtige Präsenz," *Religio. Revue pro Religionistku* (Czech Republic) 3/1 (1995): 17-42.

⁹ Baumann, comp., "Buddhism in Europe. An Annotated Bibliography on its Historical Developments and Contemporary State of Affairs." First version October 1996, update March 1997. See <http://www.sunderland.ac.uk/~osOdwe/bs10.htm>.

¹⁰ Christmas Humphreys, *Sixty Years of Buddhism in England (1907-1967): A History and a Survey*, London: Buddhist Society 1968; Ian Oliver, *Buddhism in Britain* (London: Rider & Company 1979); and Lance S. Cousins, "Theravāda Buddhism in England," in *Buddhism into the Year 2000. International Conference Proceedings* (Bangkok:

Dhammakaya Foundation 1994), 141-50.

¹¹ See the various articles in *Religion Today* (King's College London), its successor *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, and information provided in *The Middle Way* (Buddhist Society London). See also Bryan Wilson and Karel Dobbelaere, *A Time to Chant. The Soka Gakkai Buddhists in Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1994). Further studies are listed in the bibliography "Buddhism in Europe." Unfortunately, the Ph.D. theses by Philip Mellor and Sandra Bell (Durham) on aspects of Buddhism in U.K. have not become published. Two further Ph.D. theses, by Helen Waterhouse (Bath College) and David Kay (Lancaster), are currently in progress, and hopefully will be available in 1997 or 1998.

¹² *The Buddhist Directory*, ed. the Buddhist Society. 6th ed., 1994 (1st ed. in 1979), (London: The Buddhist Society). The directory lists 274 groups and centers for 1994. The multifaith directory *Religions in the UK*, ed. Paul Weller (Derby: Derby University 1993), even lists 302 groups and center in U.K. See pages 88-132.

¹³ Dennis Gira, *Comprendre le Bouddhisme* (Paris: Ed. Centurion 1989), 186-97. See also D. Gira "La Présence Bouddhiste en France (1991)," in *Documents Episcopat. Bulletin du serétariat de la conférence des évêques de France*, No. 13, Sept. 1991, 16 pages.

¹⁴ Jacqueline Matras-Guin, Christian Taillard (eds.), *Habitations et Habitat d'Asie du Sud-Est Continentale. Pratiques et Représentations de l'Espace* (Paris: L'Harmattan 1992). See especially the chapters by Catherine Choron-Baix and Ang Chouléan.

¹⁵ Hellmuth Hecker, *Chronik des Buddhismus in Deutschland*, 1973, 3rd extended ed. (Plochingen: Deutsche Buddhistische Union 1985); and Hecker, *Lebensbilder deutscher Buddhisten. Ein bio-bibliographisches Handbuch*, 2 vols., nos. 1 and 5 of the series of the research project "Buddhist Modernism," (Konstanz: University of Konstanz 1990 and 1992). For a review of the series see *JBE* 4 (1997).

¹⁶ Baumann, *Deutsche Buddhisten. Geschichte und Gemeinschaften* (Marburg: Diagonal 1993), 2nd enlarged and updated edition., 1995. There are some articles in English on the German situation. See for

example Baumann, “The Transplantation of Buddhism to Germany—Processive Modes and Strategies of Adaptation,” *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 6/1 (1994), 35-61; and Baumann, “Culture Contact and Valuation: Early German Buddhists and the Creation of a Buddhism in Protestant Shape,” *Numen* 44 (1997). (Forthcoming.)

¹⁷ Victor van Gemert, *Boeddhisme in Nederland: overzicht van boeddhistische stromingen in Nederland en België* (Nijmegen: Zen-uitgeverij Theresiahoeve 1990), updated 1993. For a reliable overview in English, see R.H.C. Janssen, “Buddhism in the Netherlands: History and Present Status,” in *Buddhism into the Year 2000. International Conference Proceedings* (Bangkok: Dhammakaya Foundation 1994), 151-56.

¹⁸ Charles S. Prebish, “Ethics and Integration in American Buddhism,” *JBE* 2 (1995):125-139.

¹⁹ Rick Fields, *How the Swans came to the Lake. A Narrative History of Buddhism in America* (Boulder: Shambhala 1981). 3rd enlarged and updated edition, 1992.

²⁰ Don Morreale, *Buddhist America: Centres, Retreats, Practices* (Santa Fe: J. Muir Publ. 1988). An update is in preparation.

²¹ Thomas A. Tweed, *The American Encounter with Buddhism 1844-1912. Victorian Culture and the Limits of Dissent* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 1992). The notion of a “white Buddhist” is taken from Rick Fields, “Confession of a White Buddhist,” *Tricycle* 4 (1994): 54-56. It was already used by him in the first edition of his *How the Swans Came to the Lake*, 1981, 83.

²² Paul David Numrich, *Old Wisdom in the New World. Americanization in Two Immigrant Theravāda Buddhist Temples* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press 1996). Reviewed in *JBE* 3 (1996):193-197.

²³ Prebish, “Ethics and Integration,” *JBE* (1995):125-139. Information on these issues have been collected with regard to Buddhists in Germany in Hecker’s *Lebensbilder deutscher Buddhisten* (1990, 1992) and sociologically analysed in Baumann, *Deutsche Buddhisten*, 1995, 233-52.

²⁴ The collection of papers of the Numata lecture series on Buddhism in America (Fall 1994) are due to be published in *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, ed. Charles S. Prebish and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Berkeley: University of California Press 1998).

²⁵ Paul Croucher, *Buddhism in Australia. 1848-1988* (Kensington NSW Australia: NSW University Press 1989); Enid Adam and Philip J. Hughes, *The Buddhists in Australia* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service 1996). The latter is reviewed in *JBE* 3 (1996).

²⁶ Louis H. van Loon, "Buddhism in South Africa," in *Living Faiths in South Africa*, ed. John W. de Gruchy and Martin Prozesky (Cape Town: David Philip 1995), 209-17; and Darrel Wratten, *Buddhism in South Africa. From Textual Imagination to Contextual Innovation* (Cape Town: Cape Town University Press 1997). (Forthcoming. To be reviewed in *JBE*).

²⁷ For details see Baumann, "The Transplantation of Buddhism to Germany," 1994, 43-44; and Baumann, *Deutsche Buddhisten*, 1995, 183-202. The application was, however, not granted.

²⁸ See Baumann, "Analytische Rationalisten und romantische Sucher. Motive der Konversion zum Buddhismus in Deutschland," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 79/3 (1995), 207-25. For Tweed's typology see Tweed, *American Encounter with Buddhism*, 1992, 48-77.

²⁹ For the parallel congregations see Numrich, *Old Wisdom*, 1996, 63-79. The quote is in Charles S. Prebish, "Two Buddhisms Reconsidered," *Buddhist Studies Review* 10/2 (1993), 206.

³⁰ Jan Nattier differentiates American Buddhist groups along the notions of elite, evangelical, and ethnic Buddhism. See her "Visible and Invisible: The Politics of Representation in Buddhist America," *Tricycle* 5/1 (1995), 42-49. For Chithurst Forest Monastery, see, among others, Batchelor, *Awakening of the West*, 1994, 36-49.

³¹ See various chapters on Buddhist traditions in Batchelor, *Awakening of the West*, 1994.

³² For the dissemination of new and "new, new" Japanese Buddhist

traditions, for example, see the special issue “Japanese New Religions Abroad,” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 18/2-3 (1991); and *Japanese New Religions in the West*, ed. Peter B. Clarke and Jeffrey Somers (Folkestone: Curzon Press 1994).

³³ For a tentative overview regarding such innovations see for example Jack Kornfield, “Is Buddhism Changing in North America?,” in *Buddhist America: Centers, Retreats, Practices*, ed. Don Morreale (Santa Fe: J. Muir, 1988), xi-xxviii; Baumann, *Deutsche Buddhisten*, 1995, 268-309; and Detlef Kantowsky, “Buddhist Modernism in the West/Germany,” in *Buddhism and Christianity: Interactions Between East and West*, ed. Ulrich Everding (Colombo: German Cultural Institute 1995), 101-15.

³⁴ The diaspora issue has gained an increasing interest in recent years, especially among political scientists, sociologists, and anthropologists. See for example Ninian Smart, “The Importance of Diasporas,” in *Gilgut*, ed. S. Shaked, D. Shulman, and G.G. Stroumsa (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 288-97; *Desh Pardesh: The South Asian Presence in Britain*, ed. Roger Ballard (London: Hurst & Company 1994); and Steven Vertovec, “Comparative Issues in the Hindu Diaspora,” *Diaspora* 1996-97 (in press).