THAI BUDDHISM
in the Buddhist World

A Survey of the Buddhist Situation
Against a Historical Background

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Sabbadānaṁ Dhammadānaṁ Jināti.

The gift of Truth excels all other gifts.

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In Appreciation

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Preface to the First Edition

This book was written ten years ago. It was originally intended for the beginners and meant to be a general survey of the Buddhist situation, not a scholarly treatment in depth of the matter. Only parts of it have been published by Mahachula Buddhist Sunday School for classes in "English Lessons on Buddhism." The rest, remaining for years in manuscript, have tended to creep out of the author's mind as he has for long been preoccupied with other writings.

When the Venerable Chao Khun Phra Thepsophon let the author know of the request of Wat Po, on behalf of the "Thun Phraphutthayotfa" Foundation to have the book published for distribution on the occasion of the cremation ceremony for Police General Prasert Rujiravong, it was only one month and a few days ahead of the scheduled date. Though there were some changes and the official occasion would come many days later than that, time was barely enough even for bringing the book through the process of printing. The author was, therefore. allowed almost no time to make a revision of the work. In spite of that, however, all the necessary changes and additions have, in the author's hope, been made to bring up to date the data and information contained therein, though it has been impossible to make an ample improvement to the degree of the author's satisfaction.

Though, due to the urgency of the publication an introduction proper has not been prepared for this first edition. The topics on the Buddha and the basic teachings of Buddhism have been utilized for it and, in a sense, they well serve the purpose.

Besides the "Thun Phraphutthayotfa" Foundation at Wat Po (The Monastery of the Reclining Buddha in Bangkok), which has the present book published specially for the mentioned occasion, several individuals and organizations have joined in sponsoring the publication of the same for academic and propagative purposes, namely:

Wat Thai of Los Angeles, through the Venerable Phra Thepsophon, its President and Abbot, (from whom the idea of publishing this book for the mentioned occasion is derived);

Ven. Phra Maha Udom Uttamavīro, Assistant Abbot of Wat Po. on behalf of the Museum Section of Wat Po;

Wat Dhammaram (The Thai Buddhist Temple), Chicago, through its President and Abbot, Ven. Phra Sudhiratanaporn;

Vajiradhammapadip Temple, New York, through its President and Abbot. Ven. Phra Visuddhisombodhi; and

Mahachulalongkorn Alumni Association, for Mahachula Bookstore.

As a general survey, this work, in an aspect, is a collection and condensation of material drawn from many sources. In other words, it is the fruit of the labors of a host of scholars of different nationalities in various countries. The names of most of these scholars will be found in the bibliography at the end of the book. The author expresses his indebtedness to all these scholars, publishers and proprietors from whose works he has quoted, drawn the material or had the photographs reprinted, and from whom the request for permission to use the material has been rendered impossible through the urgency of the publication.

The author is also indebted to Mr. Stephen E. Edwards, a former lecturer in English at Mahachulalongkorn Buddhist University, who read through the original typescript from an English-speaking teacher's point of view, and most of whose suggestions for improvement he has adopted.

Finally, the author wishes to tender words of special thanks to Mr. Cholathee Dharma-varankura who, out of his good will and courtesy, neatly typed almost the whole manuscript, to Dr. Daviras Dhanagom who removed from the author the burden of translating the words of the sponsors for the publication, and to Khun Chutima Thanapura and Khun Panita Angchandrpen who helped in proof-

reading and in supplying and selecting many of the photographs reprinted here. A number of photographs have also been provided by Ven. Chao Khun Phra Thepsophon, Ven. Phra Maha Udom Uttama-vīro and Khun Nidda Hongvivat of Muang Boran Publishing House, whom the author acknowledges with gratitude.

As a Buddhist monk is, according to the Buddha's admonition, expected to practice the gift of the Dharma for the welfare and happiness of the laity and to depend on the lay devotees for material sustenance, material necessities have, both before and during the period of preparing this book, been provided for the author by many lay supporters to whom he wishes to dedicate the work. Besides his own eldest brother, Dr. Kasem Aryankura, who has always been looking after his health with fraternal tender heart, special mention should be made of some patrons and patronesses who have been rendering regular support during the current period of time, particularly Khun Ying Krachangsri Raktakanishta, who, together with Khun Xom Raktakanishta and her intimate friend, Dr. Charoon Bholanivas, has always readily provided for him with motherly care; and Dr. Kanchana and Khun Prapat Ketsa-ard and Dr. Sumalee Tantivirasut along with their friends, who support him with regular food supply and other facilities.

All the above-mentioned persons and many others have, directly and indirectly, contributed to the completion of this work. May they all share in the merit of this gift of knowledge and flourish in the Dharma.

May whatever merit that may accrue from this work, on its completion and thus also on the fulfillment of the wish of the "Thun Phraphutthayotfa" Foundation under Royal Patronage, be extended to the late Police General Prasert Rujiravong and redound to his spiritual progress and happiness forever.

Phra Rajavaramuni (Prayudh Payatto)
June 1, B.E. 2527 (1984 C.E.)

Author's Note

Since the present work was first published in 1984 with its last impression coming out well over ten years ago, there have been numerous changes to the information contained therein. For this printing, a revision, albeit minor, was therefore in order. The author took this opportunity to have the whole book reset and, as far as possible, the inconsistencies removed, e.g. in the spelling of proper names.

Due to the author's hectic work schedule and health problems, the task of revising was voluntarily taken up by Dr. Somseen Chanawangsa, who also assisted in translating the messages contained in the front matter of the present volume. For his help, the author would like to express his appreciation.

In this impression, the following points should thus be noted.

● Pali and Sanskrit terms

Words derived from Pali or Sanskrit are usually transliterated with diacritical marks, e.g., Māgha, Atīśa, Yogācāra.

Nevertheless, familiar terms have been transliterated here in simple English without any diacritical marks, as they have been anglicized and adopted as such in most standard English language dictionaries. Thus, generally found in the present work are *Pali*, *Theravada*, *Mahayana* and *stupa*, (instead of the more precise forms of *Pāli*, *Theravāda*, *Mahāyāna* and *stūpa*).

All Pali and Sanskrit terms cited can be found in the Index, in their complete forms with diacritics. For certain proper names, the original spellings as shown in the main text will be given first, with their more precise forms given in parentheses instead.

It should also be noted that since there is no single standard of transliterating Pali and Sanskrit in the Roman alphabet, different authors might employ different systems of Romanization. Thus,

Asoka is variously spelled as *Aśoka*, *Ashoka* and *Asoka* even when taken as a Sanskrit word, e.g. in *Dharmasoka.* For the sake of consistency, only one form of such names will be used in the present volume.

● American spelling

British spelling in the previous impressions has been replaced by American spelling.

● The use of C.E. and B.E.

To be in line with the use of B.E., which stands for "Buddhist Era," the abbreviation C.E. (short for "Common Era") is used here instead of A.D.; hence also the use of B.C.E. ("Before Common Era") instead of B.C. To make it readily comprehensible to international readers, however, year references are in general given in C.E. first, mostly followed by their equivalents in B.E.

As regards the use of B.E., it should also be noted that there are two different ways of reckoning among countries in the Southern School of Buddhism. In Sri Lanka and Myanmar, the Buddhist Era starts from the date of the passing away of the Buddha. By contrast, the system adopted by Thailand starts with the first anniversary after the Buddha's passing away. Thus the year C.E. 2000 is B.E. 2543 in the Thai calendar, but B.E. 2544 in Sri Lanka and Myanmar. In the present work, the Thai system is employed throughout, except where it is specified otherwise.

● Updates of certain information

Although the text of the present work mostly remains unchanged, minor revisions, especially updates of certain information, have been made here and there, where it is felt appropriate. Most noticeable is the list of Thai temples in the U.S., the number of which grew from 12 in 1984 to 51 in 1999.

PART I

Thai Buddhism: The Overall Picture

1:
Introduction

On subduing Māra, the Tempter or the Evil One, the Bodhisatta became the Buddha. The Buddha Subduing Māra is a familiar scene for mural paintings in Thailand.

The Buddha

Buddhism is the Western term for the teaching of the Buddha or the religion founded by the Buddha. In the East it is known as the *Buddha-Sāsana*.

Buddha is not a name. It is a title, meaning "the Enlightened One or the Awakened One." The Buddha's personal name was *Siddhattha*[1] and his clan name was *Gotama*.[2] Thus he was sometimes referred to as *Siddhattha Gotama*. Few people, however, now make use of these names. They simply call him *the Buddha* or *Gotama the Buddha*.

The Buddha lived 25 centuries ago in North India. He was born a prince of the Sakyan kingdom, which was located at the foot of the Himalayas. His father, who was the king ruling over the Sakyas, was called *Suddhodana*. The Queen, who was the Prince's mother, was called *Māyā*. As a prince, he grew up in the midst of luxury, led the happy life of a privileged youth and married Princess *Yasodharā*, his beautiful cousin, who bore him a son, *Rāhula*.

The princely luxurious life, however, could not shut the eyes of a wise and thoughtful person like him from the realities of life. Thus, in spite of his father's efforts to keep his mind attached to the world and satisfied with the enjoyment of the sensual pleasures within the palace gates, he became aware of the dark side of life, the sorrows of his fellow beings and the fleeting nature of all worldly things.

This happened for the first time when he took chariot rides in the streets of his father's capital, Kapilavastu. Then he saw four sights which altered his whole life. The first three of them—a man feeble with old age, another with a grievous disease, and a corpse—filled him with a longing to find some way to help his fellow men

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[1] Skt. *Siddhārtha*.
[2] Skt. *Gautama*.

and to discover the true meaning of life. The fourth sight, a monk, gave him a hope of the possibility of learning about Truth and finding a way out of suffering.

Then, at the age of 29, Prince Siddhattha left his father's palace, left his dearly loved wife and newborn son, and led the life of a wandering ascetic, devoting himself to finding some way of overcoming suffering.

First of all, he went to two foremost Brahmin ascetics who taught him the highest stages of the Yoga mystic practices. Unsatisfied with these teachers, he went on to practice self-mortification until he realized that such practices were foolish and useless. Six years of experiment in the forest led him to the conclusion that the well-worn paths of Yoga and asceticism did not lead to wisdom. He then gave up these practices and went on his own way, applying the reflective thought of conscious meditation to a rational simple life of moderation.

At the full moon of May, 45 years before the Buddhist Era, while sitting under the Bodhi tree at Gayā, he found his answer and attained the Enlightenment. The Great Man, now known as the Buddha, went first from Gayā to Sārnāth near Benares, where he gave his first sermon in the Deer Park. From then through the remaining 45 years of his life, he wandered from place to place teaching his discoveries to all who would listen to him and organizing his followers who renounced the world to form the Sangha.

At last, at the age of eighty and in the year 543 B.C.E.[1], the Buddha fell ill while on his way to Kusinārā[2], capital of the Malla State. Even in the face of death, his mind moved towards others. He told Ānanda, his faithful attendant, to console Cunda, the poor blacksmith from whose house the Buddha ate his last meal with

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[1] Most of the modern scholars take this to be 483 B.C.E.
[2] Also known as *Kusinagara*.

indigestible pork,[1] that his food-offering was of great fruit and merit and that he should not blame himself for the food. On his deathbed under two Sal trees in the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, he explained to his disciples that they would not be left without the Teacher, for "*the Doctrine and Discipline I have taught you, that shall be your Teacher, when I am gone.*" And his last words were: "*Behold now, monks, I exhort you. Subject to decay are all component things. Work out your salvation with diligence*."

Though it is now more than 2,500 years since the passing away of the Buddha, the Dharma he taught remains our Teacher as he himself named it. The Sangha, which consists of the followers who study, practice and disseminate the Dharma, has received this torch of light from the torchbearer himself and carried it on and on to us throughout lands and centuries. The three of them—the *Buddha*, the founder; the *Dharma*, the teaching; and the *Sangha*, the Order of disciples—form the *Triple Gem*, which all Buddhists value the best of all precious things, and the *Threefold Refuge*, which guides them on the Path of the true good life. Each year on the Visākha Full Moon, throughout the world, millions of men and women gather together to commemorate the birth, enlightenment and passing away of this Great Man.

The birth reminds them of the fact that a man, by training himself through his own effort and intelligence, can achieve supreme attainments even to be a Buddha; the enlightenment, that only through the discovery of the Buddha did the timeless Dharma become known to the world; and the passing away, that though the Buddha as a person was gone, the light of the timeless Dharma will still be kept shining so long as there is a Sangha, a community of righteous followers, to carry on the torch by treading the path of self-enlightenment themselves and helping others towards the same goal.

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[1] Or, according to some scholars, poisonous mushrooms.

The Basic Teachings of Buddhism

The main ideas of Buddhism are contained in the statements known as the *Four Noble Truths* and the *Middle Way*, which the Buddha proclaimed in his first sermon at the Deer Park near Benares in the first year of his ministry.

The Four Noble Truths are:

1. The Noble Truth of Suffering. This Truth deals with all the problems of life as represented by birth, old age, disease and death, including sorrows and frustrations of every kind. Obviously, these things are unsatisfactory and people try their best to avoid them and to be free of them. However, not only these, but all conditioned things can be unsatisfactory as they are transient, conflicting and phenomenal, lacking an underlying enduring substance, and can cause sorrows and frustrations to anyone who ignorantly clings to them. For those who want to avoid and to be free from suffering, this Truth teaches that a right attitude, the attitude of knowledge and wisdom, must be maintained towards all things. One must learn to know things as they are. The unsatisfactory facts of life must be observed, located and comprehended. Beyond this, one has to proceed to other steps set forth in the other Truths.

In short, the First Noble Truth treats of the problems and problematic situations which are to be observed, located and comprehended.

2. The Noble Truth of the Origin of Suffering. In this Truth, the Buddha examines and explains how suffering arises through various causes and conditions. This Second Truth includes the profound law of causes and effects called the *Paṭiccasamuppāda* or the *Dependent Origination*, the practical part of which is the well-known *Law of Karma*. In short, the Second Truth teaches that all kinds of suffering have their origins in craving or selfish desire rooted in ignorance. Not knowing things as they are or being ignorant of their true nature, people crave for and slavishly cling to

things. Through this process, they develop three kinds of craving: craving for sensual pleasures, craving for existence and craving for self-annihilation. Through unsatisfied desire or through inadequate response, they experience sorrows and frustrations. Through the three kinds of craving, they also perform various evil actions with the body, speech and mind, which result in the suffering of both themselves and others and whereby other evils are caused to grow.

To put it simply, the Second Noble Truth deals with the examination and explanation of the origin of the problems by way of causality. It points out the causes of the problems which one has to destroy if a good life is to be experienced.

3. The Noble Truth of the Extinction of Suffering. This Third Truth deals with the goal of Buddhist endeavor. It tells us that when ignorance is completely destroyed through true knowledge and when craving or selfish desire is eradicated and replaced by the right attitude of love and wisdom, Nirvāṇa, the state of perfect peace, absence of defilements and freedom from suffering, will be realized. For those who have not completely destroyed ignorance and craving, the more ignorance and craving are diminished, the less suffering will become. The more their life is guided by love and wisdom, by knowledge and compassion, the more their life will become productive of happiness and welfare, both of themselves and others.

The Third Noble Truth serves as a prediction, a hope and an urge for the striving of the followers.

4. The Noble Truth of the Path Leading to the Extinction of Suffering. This Truth defines the Buddhist way of life and contains all the ethical teaching and practices of Buddhism. It provides the way and means to attain the goal as set forth in the third Truth. This way is called the *Noble Eightfold Path*, as it consists of eight factors, namely:

4.1 Right View or Right Understanding

4.2 Right Thought

4.3 Right Speech
4.4 Right Action
4.5 Right Livelihood
4.6 Right Effort
4.7 Right Mindfulness
4.8 Right Concentration.

According to this Fourth Truth, a good life cannot be achieved only through the control of and mastery over external factors alone, be they natural or social environments. The external control must be combined with the internal control of man's own inner nature. This means the control of internal factors according to the method prescribed under this Truth. This control is worked out by systematic training. The eight factors of the Path are therefore organized into a system called the *Threefold Training of morality* (comprising the third, fourth and fifth factors), *concentration* or *thought development* (comprising the sixth, seventh and eighth factors), and *wisdom* (consisting of the first and second factors). Simply put, these practices are sometimes summed up in the three Fundamental Principles, namely,

1. Not to do any evil,
2. To cultivate good,
3. To purify the mind.

It is this Noble Path of eight factors or Threefold Training that is called the *Middle Way*. Those who follow it avoid the two extremes of sensual indulgence and self-mortification, and live a balanced life in which material welfare and spiritual well-being go hand in hand, run parallel and are complementary to each other.

Such is the Buddhist way of life, the way that is open to all regardless of caste, sex and race. The Buddha proclaimed equality of all men. People are to be judged by action or character, by what they think and do, not by birth or color. Everyone reaps what he sows according to the natural law of cause and effect. There is no God

who created the world and controls man's destiny. Man is his own master. The way is one of self-effort, free from prayer and superstition. Men have the power to improve themselves and reach the highest goal of life through their own efforts. Even the Buddha did not claim to be a god or a savior. He discovered the Path and showed it to the people. He guides and encourages them along the way, but they themselves must tread the Path. People who have progressed farther on the way should in the same way guide and encourage others. They should be friends and help one another.

For those who are treading the path of self-purification, the Buddha prescribed knowledge and wisdom as the key virtue. Wisdom is usually developed by the method of critical reflection. This means a person has to learn to think, to investigate and to understand things for himself. Buddhist principles are things to see, not to believe. Even the words in the Scriptures are to be studied and investigated, not to be readily believed. "*Don't go by mere tradition. Don't go by mere reasoning. Don't go merely because it is the master who says this. Don't go merely because it is said in the scriptures, etc. But when you know for yourselves—these things are not good, conducing to loss and sorrow—then reject them. When you know for yourselves—these things are good, conducing to welfare and happiness—then follow them.*"

For those who have progressed farther on the Path to guide and encourage others and for those who are together on the Path to help one another, the Buddha prescribed love, compassion and good friendship. "It is the whole, not the half of the best life—this good friendship, this good companionship, this association with the good." "*Whatever living beings there may be—feeble or strong, long, stout, or medium, short, small, or large, seen or unseen, those dwelling far or near, those who are born and those who are yet to be born—may all beings, without exception, be happy.*" "*Just as a mother would*

protect her only child even at the risk of her own life, even so let one cultivate a boundless heart towards all beings."

The method of the Buddha as presented under the Four Noble Truths can be compared to that of a physician. To put them in medical terms, the four stages of the Four Truths are:

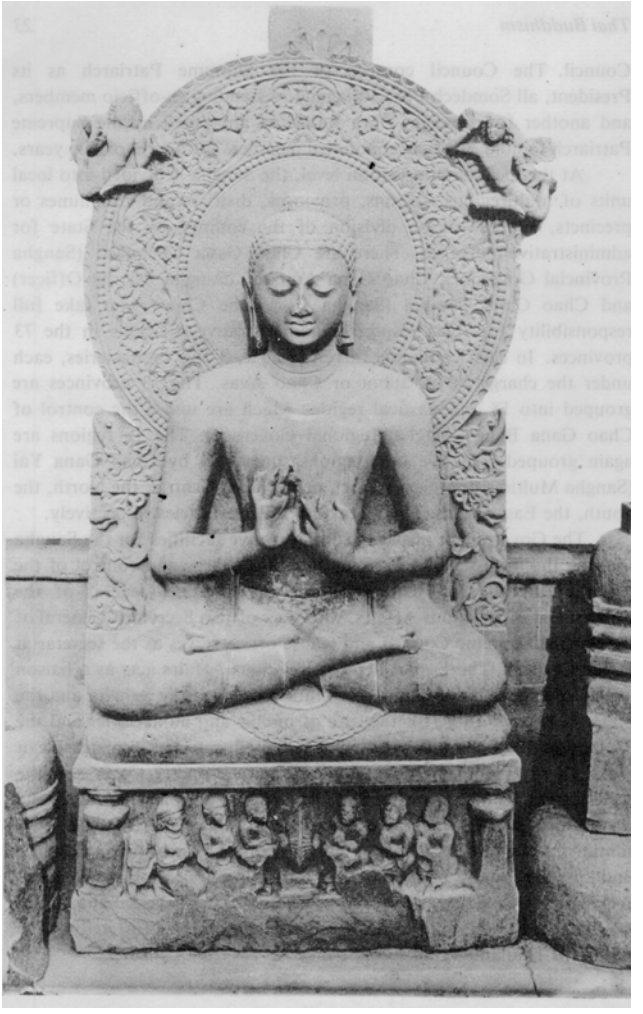
1. The statement of the disease,
2. The diagnosis of its cause,
3. The prognosis of its antidote, and
4. The prescription for its cure.

It is for this reason that the Buddha called himself a physician. He was also called a surgeon who removed the arrow of sorrow. As medicine deals with disease and its cure, the Buddha's teaching deals with suffering and the end of suffering. And as the process of medical treatment includes the prevention of disease by the promotion and maintenance of good health, the Buddhist process includes the promotion of mental health to reach perfection and freedom in the absence of defilements and suffering.

Theoretically, we can talk much more about the Buddha's teaching, surveying it and judging its value against the ground of the various branches of modern arts and sciences so that it will be an endless talk. Buddhism, however, is something to be experienced, not to be believed. It is the teaching for a practical man. Its depth can never be fathomed by argument, but by one's own experience. Therefore, what is of utmost importance is to practice it. As the Buddha himself says:

"*This doctrine is profound, hard to see, difficult to understand, calm, sublime, not within the sphere of logic, subtle, to be understood by the wise.*"

"*Well expounded is the Dharma by the Blessed One, to be self-realized, with immediate fruit, inviting investigation, leading onwards, to be comprehended by the wise, each by himself.*"

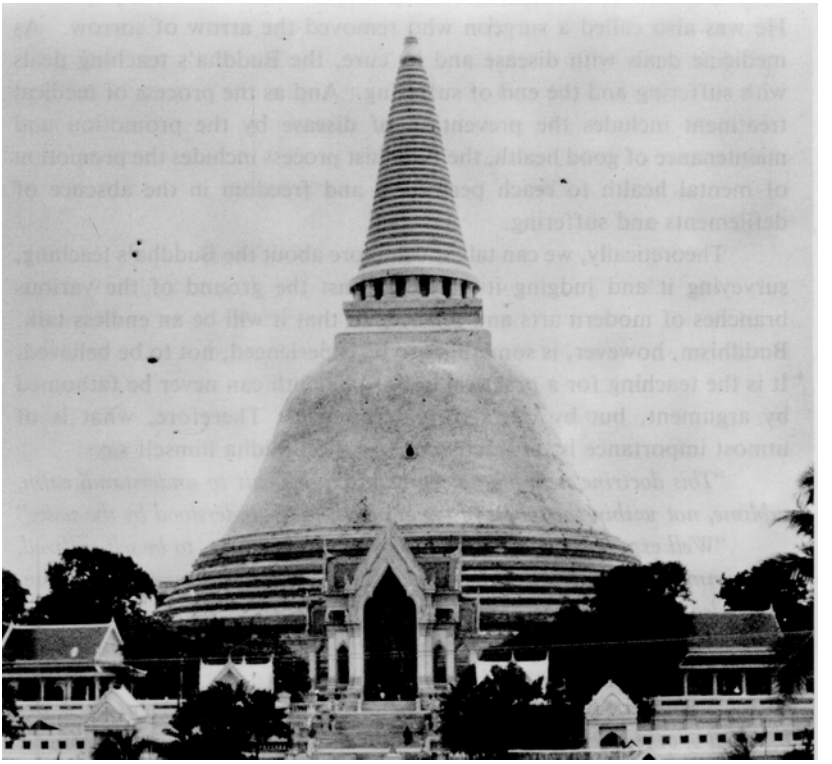


The Buddha Preaching, Sārnāth, India.

"*You yourselves must make the effort. The Buddhas only point out the Way.*"

"*Seeing one's own good, let him work it out with diligence. Seeing the good of others, let him work it out with diligence. Seeing the good of both, let him work it out with diligence.*"

2:
Thai Buddhism



Phra Pathom Chedi at Nakorn Pathom in Central Thailand is the first stupa in the Golden Peninsula and the world's tallest Buddhist monument (127 m.), with the origin traced to Asoka's time (3rd century B.C.E.).

Buddhism in Present-Day Thailand

Looking back on our history, we see clearly the close relationship between Buddhism and the Thai nation. The history of the Thai nation is also the history of Buddhism. The Thai nation originated over 2,000 years ago. Also in that same period Buddhism came and has played an important part in Thai history ever since. The Thai nation settled firmly in present-day Thailand 700 years ago. Also seven centuries ago it adopted the present form of Buddhism.

Buddhism is still the state religion of Thailand. Under the Constitution, the King, as a symbol of the nation, although protector of all religions, must be a Buddhist. According to the latest census, the total population of Thailand is over 60 million. Out of this number, approximately 93.4% are Buddhists. Buddhism has had a deep influence in Thai arts, traditions, learning and the character of the people. It has modeled their manner of thinking and acting. In short, it has become an integral part of Thai life. The charm that has earned Thailand the reputation as the "Land of Smiles" undoubtedly comes from the influence of Buddhism over her people. Realizing these facts, the Thai rulers have taken the responsibility for the protection and promotion of Buddhism.

The rulers of Thailand have encouraged and supported Buddhism by building and maintaining monasteries, by providing the monks with material necessities and facilities for performing religious duties, by patronizing their educational activities such as the Buddhist Councils for revising the Tripitaka and having the scriptures translated into Thai, and by reforming the Sangha and appointing able Supreme Patriarchs to govern the Order. Since 1903 (B.E. 2446) the State has even enacted the laws forming the constitution under which the Sangha governs itself.

The Department of Religious Affairs has been established in the Ministry of Education to achieve close cooperation between the Order and the Government and to provide a channel through which

the Sangha can communicate with government authorities and through which the State can promote the well-being of the Sangha.

Four Buddhist holy days are recognized by the Government as national holidays, namely, the Māgha Pūjā Day, the Visākha Pūjā Day, the Āsāḷha Pūjā Day and the Khao Pansa Day. Nearly all state and public ceremonies are blessed by the participation and chanting of senior members of the Order. The people also invite monks to chant the Sutras and protective formulas for their blessing and protection in all household rites such as housewarmings, birthday celebrations and weddings, and especially to conduct funeral rites and memorial services for the benefit of the deceased. Even lustral or consecrated water is used at most of the auspicious ceremonies. Other forms of animistic and Brahmanic beliefs can also be seen mingled with these popular Buddhist practices.

In Bangkok, the skyline is pierced by the spires of pagodas and stupas, especially those of Wat Arun (the Temple of Dawn) and the Golden Mount. “In the rice lands a traveler is seldom out of the sight of a phra chedi (Cetiya) or stupa towering above the village trees. In the less populous sections of the countries are sacred caves, ‘footprints’ of Buddha, and on many a steep and isolated hill a

greying cetiya visible for miles around."[1] Bronze and stone images of the Buddha are constantly found in unexpected places while digging the land for irrigation, road-construction and other purposes. Buddhism has thus become rooted in the soil of Thailand both literally and metaphorically.

The influences of Buddhism can be seen in all aspects of Thai life and culture. In the home, people keep for worship the Buddha images of various sizes on small altar-tables. While traveling, they wear small Buddha images around their necks as objects of veneration and recollection or as amulets for adornment and protection. When passing sacred places like the Royal Chapel of the Emerald Buddha, devout Buddhists never fail to pay respect to them. Many times during the year they hold and attend festivals at a monastery. Occasionally they go on a pilgrimage to some favorite shrines located in a remote place. Monastery buildings such as the Uposatha hall and the repository of Buddha images are usually the most beautiful and ornate buildings in the village. The Buddha's teachings and Buddhist literature such as the Jātaka tales have inspired Thai literature and most of the Thai art forms, especially mural paintings which cover the interior walls of most temples. Pali and Sanskrit are recognized as classical languages. A large number of Thai words, especially those used in royal language and written language are derived from Pali and Sanskrit. Scholars writing textbooks usually turn to Pali and Sanskrit roots for modern technical vocabulary.

Buddhism as lived and cherished by the Thai people

In former days, when Thai men were young, they served as temple boys in the monasteries and were given instruction in reading,

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[1] K. E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Ceremonies* (Bangkok: The Christian Bookstore, 1960), p. 5.

writing and simple arithmetic as well as in religion and morals. Through traditional ordination, which is still observed today, they are bound to the Order by ties of experience or close relationship with the monks who are their former sons, relatives or friends. At least they live in the Buddhist environment in which they are linked with the religion by ties of custom, by attending religious rites, ceremonies and temple festivals, or by benefiting, either directly or indirectly, from some activities and spiritual influence of religious institutions. Buddhism is their national heritage, the glory of their country, which they feel bound to preserve. Even those who are Buddhists merely by name benefit from, and are influenced by, Buddhism in one way or another. Their cycle of life turns around activities directly or indirectly connected with Buddhism.

Devout Buddhists may give food offerings regularly in the morning, send money contributions to their neighborhood monasteries, or contribute to some meritorious causes such as building an Uposatha hall elsewhere. Thai calendars usually show a special day of every week which is known as Wan Phra, or Buddhist holy day, when the pious are often especially active in their merit-making. They may take food offerings to the monasteries or go to hear special sermons and observe additional precepts there. There are also Buddhist discussions or sermons on the radio, which they can listen to, and Buddhist programs on television to watch on such days.

Some larger monasteries hold special programs on Saturdays and Sundays, the official holidays of the week, so that working people may be able to benefit from their service. Many boys and girls attend classes at Buddhist Sunday schools, which are conducted in monasteries both in Bangkok and in the provinces. The first of the Buddhist Sunday schools was founded at Mahachula Buddhist University in 1958 (B.E. 2501). The number of Buddhist Sunday schools has increased rapidly during the last two decades, and 297 have been founded up to the present time.

Popular Buddhism is sometimes much different from the Buddhism of the intellectuals. For a large part of the people, the religion may mean keeping some basic moral rules, observance of rituals and participation in religious ceremonies and worship. But, for some highly educated adherents, Buddhism offers a unique system of psychology and philosophy. They are proud that Buddhism is the most scientific of all religions.

Many people are interested in meditation. Famous meditation centers can be found both in Bangkok and in far provinces such as Nakorn Sridhammaraj, Suratthani, Cholburi, Udorn and Ubon. Among the people who engage in the practice at these places are both monks and laymen, both men and women, both Thais and foreigners. For these people Buddhism is a way of life and a means of finding inner peace.

In Bangkok there are two Buddhist Universities founded by King Chulalongkorn for the higher education of Buddhist monks. One is Mahachulalongkorn Rajavidyalaya, which has a total enrollment of 1,678. The other is Mahamakuta Rajavidyalaya with an enrollment of 246. The two Buddhist universities provide their students with modern educational programs and are active in encouraging Buddhist Sunday school movements, religious propagation, rural social welfare and community development programs, and in upgrading the education of provincial monks.

Lay Buddhists have also organized themselves into Buddhist Associations and Young Buddhist Associations. The Buddhist Association of Thailand was founded in 1934 (B.E. 2477) with the aims of encouraging the study and practice of Buddhism, of propagating the Buddha's teachings and of promoting and assisting in meritorious activities, social welfare work and public service. In 1950 (B.E. 2493) the Young Buddhist Association of Thailand was founded to achieve similar objectives with emphasis on Buddhist activities among young people. In 1970 (B.E. 2513) there were 73

provincial Buddhist Associations affiliated with the Buddhist Association of Thailand in Bangkok, while the YBA numbered 44,[1] one in Bangkok and 43 in the provinces.

There is still another pride of the Thai people. The World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB) was established in 1950 as an international organization to promote the Buddhist cause and to realize the Buddhist goals. At the ninth General Conference of the Organization held in Kuala Lumpur on 13–20 April 1969 (B.E. 2512) the Council adopted a resolution that the permanent headquarters of WFB be located in Thailand. At present, the headquarters in Thailand works in cooperation with 75 regional centers in 34 different countries to achieve its stated aims and objectives.

Being interdependent, Buddhism and the Thai nation are bound together by mutual responsibility to make contributions to mutual wellbeing.

Buddhist Monks and Monasteries

The Buddhist brotherhood is composed of four assemblies of Buddhists, namely, monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. Monks and nuns form the monastic section while laymen and laywomen form the lay section. The two sections follow the path of the Buddha at different levels. The monks are more devoted to spiritual development than the laymen. To minimize personal cares and worries, they shave their heads, wear only three robes and possess only a few basic necessities. They depend on the laymen for such material necessities as food, clothing, lodging and medicine, and give them spiritual advice and guidance in return.

To maintain the moral standards of the people and to make their own life favorable to spiritual devotion, the monks keep strict discipline. Although the rules are very strict, the monkhood is not

[1] The current number (1984) is 54.

separated from the lay world because the monasteries are always open to anyone who wants to retire there, either permanently or temporarily. In Thailand it is even a custom for every young man to stay for a time, long or short, in the monastery and acquire a religious training. The present King himself entered the monastery, had his head shaved and lived by alms like the other monks. This tradition is a factor which leads to the stability of Thai Buddhism and the continuing increase in monks and monasteries. Thailand's area of 200,000 square miles is thus dotted with 28,196 Buddhist monasteries where 339,648 monks and novices live.[1] Travelers from foreign countries have been impressed by these large numbers of monks and monasteries that they often call Thailand the *Land of the Yellow Robe*.

Monks form the Sangha, the third principle of Buddhism; the others being the Buddha, the Enlightened One, and the Dharma, his

[1] Source: Department of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Education, Bangkok, December 31, 1979.

teachings. The monks follow the three main virtues of the Buddha: wisdom, purity and compassion. Compassion is interpreted as social responsibility. Through this virtue and through mutual dependence for material and spiritual life, the monks and the laymen have been in close relationship since the beginning, and the monasteries have been centers of spiritual and social life of the people throughout the history of the Thai nation.

Today social roles of the monks are more obvious in the rural life of the villages than in the urban life of the capital, towns and cities. It is usually the villagers themselves who build the monastery for their own community. They feel themselves belonging to the monastery and the monastery belonging to their community. The village monastery serves as the center of social life and activities of the village, for village social life follows the Buddhist holy days, temple fairs and merit-making ceremonies. The villagers also feel very close to monks in the local monastery as the monks are in daily contacts with them and are constantly drawn into their problems, both secular and spiritual.

When a villager is in distress, when he has a dispute with his neighbor, when he seeks counsel or when he simply wants to learn, he turns to the monastery and the monks. Boys too difficult to handle at home are taken in and orphans are cared for. The temple grounds are usually the most natural location for a movie to be shown, for a lecture to be given and for polling booths to be set up for a political election. Some branches of learning have been preserved and continued in the monastery, such as architecture, sculpture, painting, carving, carpentry, and tile, brick and cement making. The monks may offer basic technical advice on these matters and offer help in organizing building projects such as building wells, dams, roads and bridges. Many social problems would be pressing upon the people in rural society due to the lack of schools, medical facilities, a police

and court system, social welfare and community services, if they were not checked by these social roles of the monks and monasteries.

Today, although the spread of the government system of education has brought modern schools to replace the traditional schools, and though fewer monks teach in schools of the new system, most government schools are still housed in monastery buildings or located in the compounds of monasteries. The abbot is still the spiritual leader of the community in whom the people put full trust and to whom they give hearty cooperation in all activities, both religious and secular. For the people it is still an honor and a means of gaining merit to do such a thing as feeding the monks or giving them other necessities of life. Usually each morning the monks still leave the monastery for the morning almsround. In the monastery, there is also a special hall where the people can make merit by offering their gifts of food, by listening to regular sermons and by performing other meritorious actions.

The condition of the monastery always reflects the economy of the community. Monasteries in the provinces are therefore often small, while those located in great cities, especially in Bangkok, are quite large. In larger monasteries there are many structures for the use of monks and sacred buildings containing Buddha statues, images and other objects of worship. An average or typical monastery contains at least two types of buildings: living quarters for monks, or dormitories, and an Uposatha hall in which the monks perform ecclesiastical acts and ceremonies. In addition to these, there may be many other buildings such as a Vihāra or repository of Buddha images, some types of stupas called Chedi or Prang, a bell tower or belfry, a square building for the Buddha's footprint, a scriptural library, a museum, a preaching and merit-making hall, a crematorium and buildings for religious studies and those for a public school.

There are usually a number of novices living with the monks in every monastery. In some monasteries there may also be a number of white-robed female devotees living in a separate section of the monastery. The numbers of monks and novices are not the same in all monasteries. In larger monasteries the number ranges from 100 to 600, but in smaller ones, especially in the far provinces, there are very few, usually fewer than ten. There may even be only one monk, or one monk and one novice. On the average, there are about eight monks and four novices in a monastery. In the whole country, the total number of monks is 233,978 and that of novices is 105,670. Most of the younger monks are students. Elder monks work as teachers on religious and some secular subjects, as meditation masters and practitioners, as preachers, and as ecclesiastical administrators, and sometimes as counselors of the villagers, especially on spiritual matters. Ninety-nine percent of the novices are students under the guidance and guardianship of the monks.

Besides the monks and novices there are also a large number of temple or monastery boys. These boys, including many young men, live under guardianship of the monks, serving as their attendants, and use the monasteries as dormitories in which to live while attending schools and universities.

There are two kinds of monasteries: the royal and the community or private ones. Royal monasteries are mostly large, having very beautiful and ornate sacred buildings and many other artistic works. Among them are Wat Po (the Monastery of the Reclining Buddha), Wat Bencha (the Marble Monastery, or popularly called the Marble Temple), Wat Arun (the Monastery of Dawn), Wat Srakes (the Monastery of the Golden Mount), Wat Phra Prathom Chedi (the Monastery of the First Stupa). Wat Phra Kaeo (the Chapel of the Emerald Buddha, or the Chapel Royal) is also a royal Wat, but it cannot be called a monastery in the full sense of the term as it is the only Wat that has no living quarters for monks. The

royal monasteries now number 186, while the number of community monasteries amounts to 28,010. By denomination, all monasteries fall under two groups, namely, Mahānikāya monasteries, numbering 26,694, and Dhammayut monasteries, numbering 1,502.

Of whichever type or in whatever part of the country the monks and monasteries may be, they play important roles in the spiritual and cultural life of Thai society and have played these roles throughout her long history of more than 700 years.

Buddhism and the Ancient Thai Nation

According to tradition, Buddhism was introduced into Thailand more than two thousand years ago, when this territory was known as Suvarṇabhūmi and was still inhabited by the Mons and Lawas. At that time, one of the nine missions sent by King Asoka of India to spread Buddhism in different countries, came to Suvarṇabhūmi. This mission was headed by two Arahants named Soṇa and Uttara and they succeeded in converting the ruler and people of the Thai kingdom to Buddhism.

Nakorn Pathom was then the capital or one of the most important cities of Suvarṇabhūmi and became an active center for the propagation of the Buddha's teachings. A great stupa was erected there to commemorate this great historic event, the adoption of Buddhism, and it was called Phra Pathom Chedi, which means the first Chedi built in this eastern country.

Some scholars say that at the time of the introduction of Buddhism into Suvarṇabhūmi, the Thais were still in the south of China. There also, through the friendly relationship with China in the reign of Emperor Mingti, the Thais were converted to Buddhism. Khun Luang Mao, who ruled over the kingdom of Ailao at the beginning of the seventh Buddhist century, was the first Thai ruler who declared himself a Buddhist and the upholder of the faith.

Later, Mahayana Buddhism flourished in India and took the place of Hinayana or Theravada Buddhism. This new school of Buddhism spread to many countries both in the north and in the south. It was introduced into Thailand by the kings of Srivijaya whose capital was in Sumatra and who ruled over the southern provinces of Thailand in the fourteenth century of Buddhism.

To the east of Thailand, the Khmer kings became powerful in Kambuja from about 1002 to 1082 (B.E. 1545–1625). During this period (usually called the Lopburi period), the Khmer empire covered the whole of northeastern and central Thailand. The Khmers were adherents of Mahayana Buddhism, which came from Sumatra and became mixed with their older faith, Brahmanism. But the Mahayana both of the Srivijaya and of the Lopburi periods did not succeed in replacing the Theravada, and the two schools flourished side by side. However, it was during these periods that Brahmanism and the Mahayana had strong influences on Thai culture. Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindus and the Mahayana, took deep root in Thai language and literature, while the Brahmanic influence can be seen even today in many Thai customs and public ceremonies.

In 1057 (B.E. 1600), while the Khmers were still very powerful in the east, Anurudh the Great, the king of Pagan or Pukam, rose to power in the whole of Burma. His kingdom extended to the Thai kingdoms of Lanna and Lanchang. A different form of Theravada called the Pukam Hinayana Buddhism was introduced into these areas and was strongly supported by King Anurudh.

Meanwhile, the Thais, who were themselves Theravada Buddhists, had settled down in Suvarṇabhūmi and come into contact both with the Mahayana and with the Pukam Hinayana. They became more and more powerful while the Pukam kingdom broke up after the reign of King Anurudh and the Khmer empire declined. Then in about 1257 (B.E. 1800) there emerged the kingdom of Lanna in the north founded by King Mengrai of Chiengsan and the kingdom

of Sukhothai in north central Thailand, founded by Phoh Khun Sri-indraditya. It was at this time that the continuous history of the Thai nation began and the Thai Buddhism took the present form.

Buddhism in Thai History

The third son of Phoh Khun Sri-indraditya, Phoh Khun Ramkamhaeng, succeeded to the throne of Thailand in 1277 (B.E. 1820) and ruled as the third king of Sukhothai. In this reign Sukhothai was at its height of power and prosperity. His kingdom extended in the north to Prae and Nan, in the east to Vientiane, in the south to the extreme end of the Malay Peninsula, and in the west as far as Hongsavadi. It was he who invented the Thai alphabet to replace the old Khmer alphabet and who introduced the present form of Theravada Buddhism to the Thai people.

By this time Buddhism had disappeared from India and the center of the religion moved to Ceylon, where, under the patronage of King Parākramabāhu the Great, who emulated King Asoka, the monks were united and the sacred texts were reestablished in their original purity. A Council generally known as the Seventh Buddhist Council was held under the presidency of Kassapa Thera in about 1176 (B.E. 1720).[1]

With the influence of this revival, Buddhist monks were sent from many countries to study the newly revised Doctrine and Discipline there. These monks were reordained and took back home the revised ordination procedure (Upasampadāvidhi) later known as Laṅkāvaṁsa. Some of them even invited Ceylonese monks to accompany them to teach the pure form of the Dharma in their countries.

In Thailand, the monks of the Laṅkāvaṁsa sect settled first in Nakorn Sridhammaraj and their fame soon reached Sukhothai. King

[1] This number is according to the Ceylonese calculation.

Ramkamhaeng then invited a dignitary called Phra Mahaswami to his capital and gave him royal support in propagating the Doctrine. It is said that the image of Phra Buddha Sihing was transferred from Ceylon to Thailand at this time.

After that the Theravada Buddhism of the Laṅkāvaṁsa tradition became popular and was more and more widely practiced in Thailand. Some of the Thai monarchs such as King Lithai of Sukhothai and King Borom Trailokanath of early Ayudhya even entered the Order and lived for some time as Bhikkhus. This later resulted in the custom of Thai youths entering the Order for at least a short period in their lives. Pali was studied and used as the fundamental language of the Scriptures instead of Sanskrit. The monks of the older sects gradually joined those of the reformed tradition into one single sect. The Mahayana Buddhism adopted under the Srivijaya and Khmer rule declined and finally disappeared. This marks the period in which all Buddhists in Thailand were unified under the one single faith of the newly revised Theravada Buddhism.

In 1350 (B.E. 1893) another Thai kingdom called Srīayudhyā was founded in central Thailand by King Uthong of the Chiengrai dynasty. By the middle of the next century, the three Thai kingdoms had been unified under the rule of Ayudhya.

During the Ayudhya period, a Buddhist Council, generally known as the Tenth Council, the first to be held in Thailand, was called by King Tilokaraj of Chiengmai in 1477 (B.E. 2020). At that time the Lanna monks were very famous in the study of Pali and many scholarly works in Pali were produced in Lanna.

In 1753 (B.E. 2296), in the reign of King Boromkos, the king of Ceylon wished to revive Buddhism in his land and sent to Thailand for Bhikkhus who could reestablish the higher ordination. A group of monks headed by Phra Upāli was sent there and the Siamese ordination has been in use in Ceylon to the present time.

There also developed a Buddhist sect called *Syāma Vaṁsa* or *Upāli Vaṁsa* or *Siyam Nikāya*, which is still the major sect in that country.

In 1767 (B.E. 2310) Ayudhya fell under the attacks of the Burmese. Though the Burmese were repelled, the country was disorganized and Buddhism declined. King Taksin and King Rama I did very much to revive the religion. The second Buddhist Council of Thailand was held in the reign of King Rama I. The Tripitaka and commentaries were collected, revised and established. The Emerald Buddha, the Buddha Sihing and many other priceless Buddha images were collected and enshrined as national treasures in various temples in Bangkok.

King Mongkut was a monk for 27 years and knew the octrine well. Seeking to give monastic life its former strictness, he founded a new movement within the Order and called it the *Dhammayuttika* sect to distinguish it from the original Sangha, which was later called the *Mahānikāya* sect. Time went on and there have been movements, changes and improvements in both sects so that at present the two sects do not differ in any substantial way from each other.

The reign of King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) marks the period of great changes and progress both in secular and in religious affairs. The third Thai Buddhist Council was held in 1878 (B.E. 2431), where the Thai alphabet was used in making copies of the Tripitaka instead of the modified Khmer script. By royal command the revised version of the Tripitaka was published for the first time in modern book form. Two Buddhist universities were founded for the higher education of Buddhist monks, Mahamakuta, in memory of the Royal Father, and Mahachulalongkorn, to perpetuate the memory of the Founder himself. In 1903 (B.E. 2446) the Sangha Administration Act of R.E. 121[1] was passed to provide officially a separate government

[1] R.E. is short for *Rattanakosin Era*, also known as *Bangkok Era*, referring to the number of years which have passed since the establishment of Bangkok as the nation's new capital in 1782 (B.E. 2325).

for the Order and to achieve perfect harmony between the Sangha and the State.

Thus has Buddhism prospered and become firmly established in Thailand.

Administration of the Buddhist Order of Thailand

For centuries, ever since Buddhism was introduced into the country, the Sangha or the Buddhist monastic order has been one of the nation's greatest institutions. Under the patronage of all the kings and with the support of the government and the people, it has even possessed the right to govern itself.

A separate government was first officially provided for the Order in 1903 (B.E. 2446) when King Rama V enacted the Sangha Administration Act of R.E. 121. Since then the State has from time to time revised it, so that to date three such laws have been passed, namely:

1. The Sangha Administration Act of R.E. 121 (1903 or B.E. 2446);
2. The Sangha Act of B.E. 2484 (1941); and
3. The Sangha Act of B.E. 2505 (1962).

By the Act of R.E. 121, there was established a Mahathera Samagom or Council of Elders (or the Sangha Supreme Council) to act as adviser to the King in all affairs concerning the religion and the administration and support of the Sangha. The Council consisted of eight members (the four Chao Gana Yai and their deputies) and was later presided over by the Supreme Patriarch. Under the Council, there were Chao Gana Mondol, Chao Gana Muang, Chao Gana Khwaeng and Chao Avas or the abbots, working at the different levels of the governmental system.

In 1932 (B.E. 2475) the civil government was changed from an absolute to a constitutional monarchy. This led to a change in the ecclesiastical government in 1941 (B.E. 2484). Under the Act of B.E.

2484, the organization of the Sangha was patterned after the parliamentary government adopted by the State. The Supreme Patriarch had very limited power. In accordance with the doctrine of the separation and the balance of powers, he had to use his power through the three organs of the Sangha, namely, the Sangha Sabha as the Legislature, the Gana Sanghamontri as the Executive, and the Gana Vinayadhara as the Judiciary. The Gana Sanghamontri, or the Council of Ecclesiastical Ministers, consisted of ten members headed by the Sangha Nayaka or the Ecclesiastical Prime Minister. Under the Sangha Nayaka were the four ecclesiastical ministers (Sangha-montri) who directed all affairs of the Sangha through the four Boards or Ministries, namely, the Board of Administration, the Board of Education, the Board of Propagation and the Board of Public Works.

The Act of B.E. 2484 remained in force for 21 years, or until 1962 (B.E. 2505). Then the Government under the premiership of Field Marshal Sarit Dhanarajt found that the ecclesiastical administration should be based on the process of centralization, not decentralization. As a result, a change in the organization of the Sangha was made by the Sangha Act of B.E. 2505, which came into force on January 1, 1963 (B.E. 2506). By this Act, the Mahathera Samagom, or the Sangha Supreme Council, was reestablished and the administration of the Sangha was to be carried out at two levels: the central administration and the local administration.

At the central administration level, the Supreme Patriarch, who is appointed by the King, as head of the Buddhist Order, is responsible for all affairs of the Sangha. He has absolute power to govern the whole monk community and to direct all ecclesiastical affairs. Under him is the Mahathera Samagom, which serves him as the Consultative Council. The Council consists of the Supreme Patriarch as its President, all Somdech Phra Rajagana as standing ex-officio members, and another four to eight Phra Rajagana appointed

by the Supreme Patriarch to hold office as nominated members for a term of two years.

At the local administration level, the Sangha is divided into local units of multiregions, regions, provinces, districts and communes or precincts, similar to the division of the country by the State for administrative purposes. There are Chao Gana Changwat (Sangha Provincial Governor), Chao Gana Amphoe (Sangha District Officer) and Chao Gana Tambol (Sangha Commune Chief), who take full responsibility for their respective administrative divisions in the 76 provinces. In each commune there are at least five monasteries, each under the charge of an abbot or Chao Avas. The 76 provinces are grouped into 18 ecclesiastical regions, which are under the control of Chao Gana Bhag (Sangha Regional Governor). The 18 regions are again grouped into five multiregions supervised by Chao Gana Yai (Sangha Multiregional Supervisor), namely, the Central, the North, the South, the East and the Dhammayuttika Ecclesiastries, respectively.

The Government provides administrative facilities for the Sangha through the Minister of Education, who has charge and control of the execution of the Act. Under him is the Director General of the Department of Religious Affairs, who is ex-officio Secretary General of the Sangha Supreme Council and whose office serves as the secretariat of the Council. The Department of Religious Affairs acts as a liaison office to achieve harmonious cooperation between the Sangha and the State. It is responsible for the care of monks and monasteries and the promotion of all religious projects, whether educational, propagative or social. It keeps record of the monastic property, oversees the ecclesiastical budget, provides financial support through the Government budget and assists the ecclesiastical officers with their administrative duties. It has a large printing plant for publishing Buddhist scriptures, textbooks and religious publications in general. Seeking to achieve the welfare and

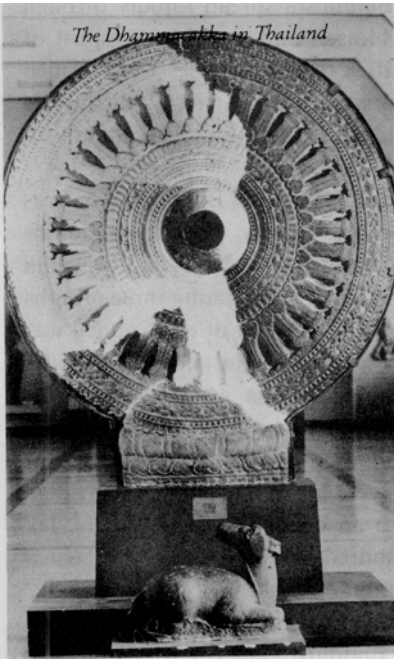
prosperity of both the Sangha and the State, it has the duty to protect the religion and to foster Buddhist culture in Thailand by all suitable means.

PART II

The Spread and Development of Buddhism

3:
Early Development of Buddhism

The Dhammacaka in Thailand



The Wheel of the Law (Dharmacakra or Dhammacakka) and a crouching deer, found at Phra Pathom Chedi, Nakhon Pathom (Stone wheel: 2.2 m. high; 8th–9th centuries C.E.). The religious flag of the Thai Buddhists bears the Dhammacakka, which symbolizes the teachings of the Buddha and the kingdom of righteousness.

The Dharmacakra in India

The Lion Capital of King Asoka's monolithic column, c. 250 B.C.E., found at Sārnāth. The Lion Capital has become the coat of arms of India, while the Dharmacakra, the Wheel of the Law, on the Lion Capital appears in the middle of the national flag of India.

Early Buddhism

"*Go ye forth, O Bhikkhus, on your journey, for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, the benefit, the bliss of gods and men*."

The above saying of the Buddha, at the time of sending out the first group of sixty disciples to propagate the Doctrine in the second year of his preaching, is an explanation of how and why Buddhism has survived for so long and succeeded in converting a large part of mankind to its cause.

During the Buddha's lifetime, Buddhism spread rapidly through the great personality of the Buddha himself and through the spirit of renunciation, self-discipline and sacrifice of the disciples, who formed the Sangha and followed the Buddha's example. After his death, the disciples, still living up to these ideals, continued to spread Buddhism far and wide.

In the first century of the Buddhist Era, two Buddhist Councils were held to protect and preserve the purity of the Buddha's teachings. The First Council was held by 500 Arahants at Rājagaha under the patronage of King Ajātasattu of Magadha three months after the passing away of the Buddha. The purpose of the Council was to fix the Doctrine and the Discipline as taught and laid down by the Buddha. At this Council the Venerable Kassapa was the president, while the Venerable Upāli and Ānanda were chosen to recite the Vinaya and the Dhamma, respectively. One hundred years later, there lived at Vesālī a large number of monks who were lax in discipline. The elders of the Order then challenged them to an open debate. After the lax monks had been defeated, 700 Arahants held the Second Council to revise and confirm the Canon.

In 326 B.C.E. (B.E. 218[1]) there came to the throne of India one of the greatest men in history, King Asoka, the first Buddhist

[1] Or, according to most modern scholars, 273 B.C.E. (B.E. 271).

emperor who ruled the Mauryan empire for 41 years. In the early years of his reign, Asoka was a fierce king. In the eighth year of his reign, he invaded and conquered Kalinga, a country of brave people in the south. The horrors of this conquest made him so remorseful over the suffering of the people that he gave up war completely. And it was at this time that King Asoka became converted to Buddhism. From this moment he adopted the policy of Dhammavijaya (conquest by righteousness or conquest of men's hearts by the Law of Duty or Piety) in place of Saṅgāmavijaya (conquest by war), and spent the rest of his life promoting the Dharma or the Law of Piety throughout his great empire. He was changed from Caṇḍāsoka, or Asoka the Fierce, to Dhammāsoka, or Asoka the Righteous, whose example all later great kings tried to follow.

In accordance with his policy of piety, King Asoka had his edicts inscribed on rocks and pillars which were scattered everywhere throughout his empire to carry his message to his people. In the 18th year of his reign, the Third Buddhist Council was held under his patronage at Pāṭaliputra (modern Patna), his capital, with the object of purging the Sangha of heretics and preserving the pure teachings. It is said that 1,000 Arahants participated in this Council and the Venerable Moggalliputta Tissa was the president.

After the Council, nine missions of elders were sent to preach the Dharma in various states and foreign countries. Of these, the first mission headed by the Elder Mahinda, son of King Asoka himself, carried the Message of Buddhism to Ceylon. The second mission headed by the Elders Soṇa and Uttara was sent to Suvarṇabhūmi, which some scholars identified with Nakorn Pathom Province in central Thailand. According to the Edicts, King Asoka also sent his messengers and ambassadors to spread his message of the Law of Piety in the kingdoms of the West in Asia, Europe and Africa such as Egypt, Cyrene and Greece.

Buddhism of the Southern School

Development in Ceylon

In Ceylon, the Elder Mahinda and his companions succeeded in converting King Devānampiya Tissa and his people to Buddhism. When some ladies there wished to join the Sangha, King Asoka sent the nun Saṅghamittā, his own daughter, to found an order of nuns in Ceylon. A shoot from the sacred Bodhi tree at Gayā was also sent with her and planted at Anurādhapura, where it still stands today as the oldest historical tree in the world. Within a short time the entire island of Ceylon became a stronghold of Buddhism, from which, in later centuries, learned monks went to neighboring countries such as Thailand, Burma, Laos and Cambodia to revive or strengthen Buddhism there.

A Council was said to be held in Ceylon soon after the arrival of the Elder Mahinda. Tradition says it was the Fourth Council participated in by 60,000 Arahants under the presidency of the Venerable Ariṭṭha, the first pupil of the Elder Mahinda. This Council is, however, not widely accepted.

The next Council of Ceylon was held by 500 monks in 112 B.C.E. (B.E. 432[1]), in the reign of King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya. The Sinhalese tradition takes this as the Fifth Council while generally it is regarded as the Fourth Council. The importance of this Council lies in the fact that the Tipiṭaka, the Pali Canon, which had been transmitted orally from the time of the Buddha was written down in books for the first time.

The Pali Canon called the *Tipiṭaka* or *Tripiṭaka* (literally, "the Three Baskets") as recorded in its present form of writings consists of three parts. The first, called the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Basket of Discipline), states the rules for the monks and consists of five books. The second, the *Sutta Piṭaka* (Basket of Discourses), contains all the

[1] Or, according to some other tradition, 30 B.C.E. (B.E. 514).

sermons or popular teachings of the Buddha and some great disciples, and is divided into five *Nikāyas* or Collections. The third, the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (Basket of Further Doctrine), deals with the Buddhist system of thought, both psychological and philosophical in character, and consists of seven books.

Four other Councils were said to be held in Ceylon in later centuries, but they are not universally accepted, except the Seventh, held in the reign of King Parākramabāhu, which had an especial connection with the history of Buddhism in Thailand.

During the first nine centuries after the arrival of the Elder Mahinda, Buddhism made rapid progress and was firmly established in Ceylon through the active support of many pious kings and the devoted faith of the people. In 311 (B.E. 855) the tooth relic of the Buddha was brought from India and enshrined in the Temple of the Tooth Relic in Kandy. In 412 (B.E. 956) Buddhaghosa, the great commentator, came to Ceylon from Gayā in northeastern India, wrote the *Visuddhimagga*, and translated the commentaries back from Sinhalese into Pali. His example was followed by Dhammapāla, who came from southern India in the next century and wrote additional commentaries, giving the final form to the commentaries as we have them today.

The next five centuries—from the 6th to 11th centuries (12th–17th centuries B.E.)—were a period of disturbances due to Indian invasions and internal wars. During this period, the capital was moved from Anurādhapura to Polonnaruwa or Puratthipura, the order of nuns ceased to exist, and the order of monks nearly perished.

In 1065 (B.E. 1609) King Vijayabāhu, having driven out the Indians, started the work of restoring Buddhism. He invited monks from Burma, then under King Anurudh the Great, to give ordination to Ceylonese people. A successor of his, Parākramabāhu I the Great, united all sects of Buddhism, appointed the first Saṅgharāja, called Sāriputta, to rule the whole Sangha, and patronized the Seventh

Council, which was held in 1176 (B.E. 1720). Then Ceylon became again the center of Buddhist studies and through its influence the Ceylonese ordination known as Lankāvaṁsa was adopted by Thailand in 1277 (B.E. 1820).

From about 1510 to 1796 (B.E. 2050–2340) Ceylon suffered foreign invasions and occupation by the Portuguese and the Dutch successively and Buddhism had to struggle hard for survival. There were two times during this period when the higher ordination nearly discontinued and had to be restored. The first time was under the Portuguese, when monks were brought from Burma. The second time was under the Dutch, when, in 1750 (B.E. 2294), ten monks headed by Phra Upāli were sent from Thailand and held the ordination ceremony at Kandy. Bhikkhu Saraṇaṅkara, one of more than three thousand persons who were ordained at this time, was appointed Saṅgharāja by the king.

Under the British rule from about 1796 (B.E. 2340) till independence in 1947 (B.E. 2491), Buddhism also suffered a lot from anti-Buddhist movements encouraged by the foreign government. This, however, made the Buddhist leaders more energetic in protecting their national religion and culture and led to the revival of Buddhism, which continues in Ceylon to the present day.

Development in Burma

In Burma, Buddhism reached its golden era in the reign of King Anurudh or Anawrata (1044–1077 or B.E. 1588–1621), when Burma was first united into one country and its capital city of Pagan became a great center of Buddhist culture. After the end of the Mongol occupation under Kublai Khan (from 1287–1301 or B.E. 1831–1845), Buddhism flourished again under King Dhammaceti (1460–1491 or B.E. 2004–2035). During the next centuries, Burmese Buddhism contributed much to the stability and progress of Buddhism. Some monks came from Ceylon to be reordained and

took the ordination procedure back to their country. The study of Abhidhamma flourished. Pali texts were translated into Burmese and a great number of Pali scriptures and books on Buddhism were written by Burmese scholars. A council called the Fifth Great Council was held in Mandalay under King Mindon in 1871 (B.E. 2415) and the Tipiṭaka was inscribed on 729 marble slabs enshrined at the foot of Mandalay Hill.

The British rule from 1886–1948 (B.E. 2430–2492) caused in the Burmese a strong feeling of nationalism which combined political independence with the protection of the national religion. After the independence, national and religious leaders were very active in supporting and encouraging the Buddhist causes and activities. In 1954 (B.E. 2498) the Burmese government in cooperation with the Burmese Sangha invited representatives of all neighboring Buddhist countries and of Buddhist groups in various countries to participate in the Sixth Great Council, which met in Rangoon to recite and revise the text of the Pali scriptures and to celebrate the 2500th anniversary of the Great Demise of the Buddha.

Development in Cambodia, Thailand and Laos

From ruins and art-objects, it is evident that Buddhism must have been introduced into the great kingdom of Founan (modern Cambodia) at least by the 10th century after the Buddha (5th century C.E.). However, little is known about this early period, except that soon after this time it lost ground to Hinduism, which flourished under a series of Hindu rulers[1] from about the 7th to the 18th century after the Buddha (2nd–13th centuries C.E.). During this Brahmanical period, Mahayana Buddhism was found existing side by side with Hinduism, and sometime before the end of this period gained ground

[1] The Hindu king Bhavavarman is said to have been responsible for the extermination of the Buddhism of the early period.

over Hinduism. The great king who first upheld Buddhism was Yasovarman who reigned from 889 to 900 (1432–1443 B.E.).

Three centuries later the ancient kingdom of Founan was at its height of power and prosperity under Jayavarman VII, who reigned from 1181 to 1220 (B.E. 1724–1763). Jayavarman was a devoted Buddhist. Trying to follow the Buddhist ideal of the righteous king, he built numerous roads, 121 resthouses, and 102 hospitals and did other meritorious deeds. The next century saw the independence of the Thais. To this there was a royal reaction away from Buddhism back to orthodox Hinduism.

After the 12th century, however, through the influence of the reform of Buddhism in Ceylon during the reign of Parākramabāhu I the Great (b. c. C.E. 1123 – d. 1186), Theravada Buddhism returned, first through Thailand and then directly from Ceylon. Within the next two centuries, it replaced Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism and became the national religion of Cambodia. As in Thailand, traces of Hinduism can be found today only in public ceremonies and customs.

In Laos the history of Buddhism followed the same line as that of Cambodia and Thailand. The Laotians have been devoted adherents of Theravada Buddhism since the introduction of the Lankāvaṁsa tradition into these regions, and follow practices which are similar to those of Thailand and Cambodia.

The Origin of Mahayana Buddhism

Buddhism spread also to countries to the north and northeast of its homeland. But there it developed into a separate form quite different from that practiced in the south. To get an idea of it, let us turn back to India, the country of its origin.

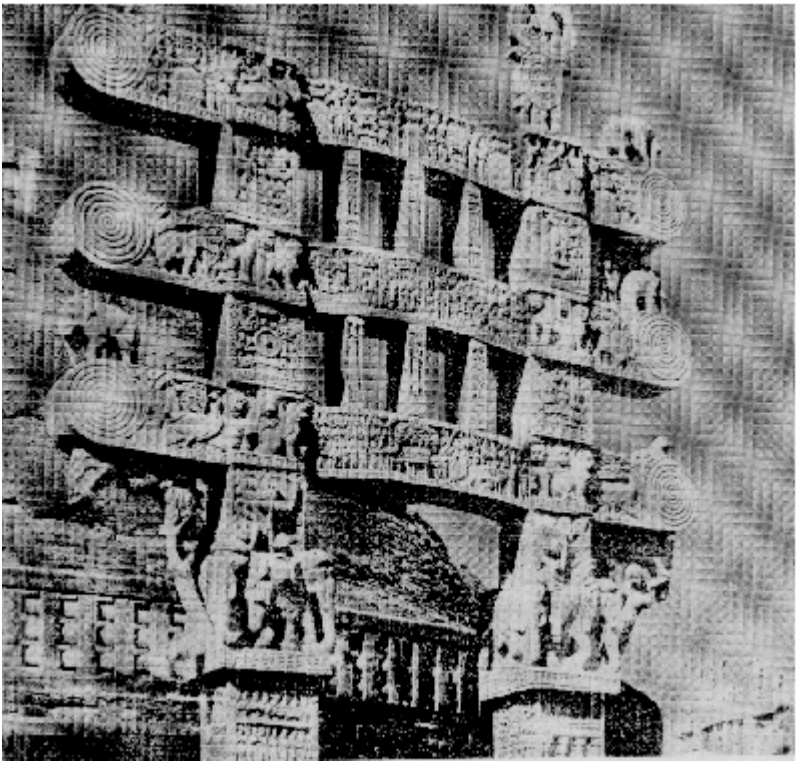
The division of Buddhism can be traced back to the time of the Second Council, a century after the Buddha, when the Sangha began to split into two groups of monks. One came to be called

Theravādins and the other, *Mahāsaṅghikas*. By the time of King Asoka in the third century B.E., there had arisen out of the two eighteen different sects: eleven out of the Theravada and seven out of the Mahāsaṅghikas. None of these sects, however, survived long except the two major sects which, about two or three centuries later, were found advancing along different courses of development, quite apart from each other.

The form of Buddhism which flourished under King Asoka was the Theravada. As this form spread to the south, it is also called the Southern School of Buddhism. The other, the Mahāsaṅghikas, later developed into the *Mahayana*, the term the later Mahāsaṅghikas call themselves. The Mahayana prevails in northern countries: Nepal, Tibet, China, Korea, Mongolia and Japan, and is, therefore, also known as the Northern School. The Mahayanists call the Theravada the *Hīnayāna*, meaning "the lesser vehicle of salvation" in contrast to their own *Mahāyāna*, which means "the greater vehicle." But the Southern School prefers to be known as the *Theravāda*, the "Teaching of the Elders," which is a more accurate and nonprejudicial term.

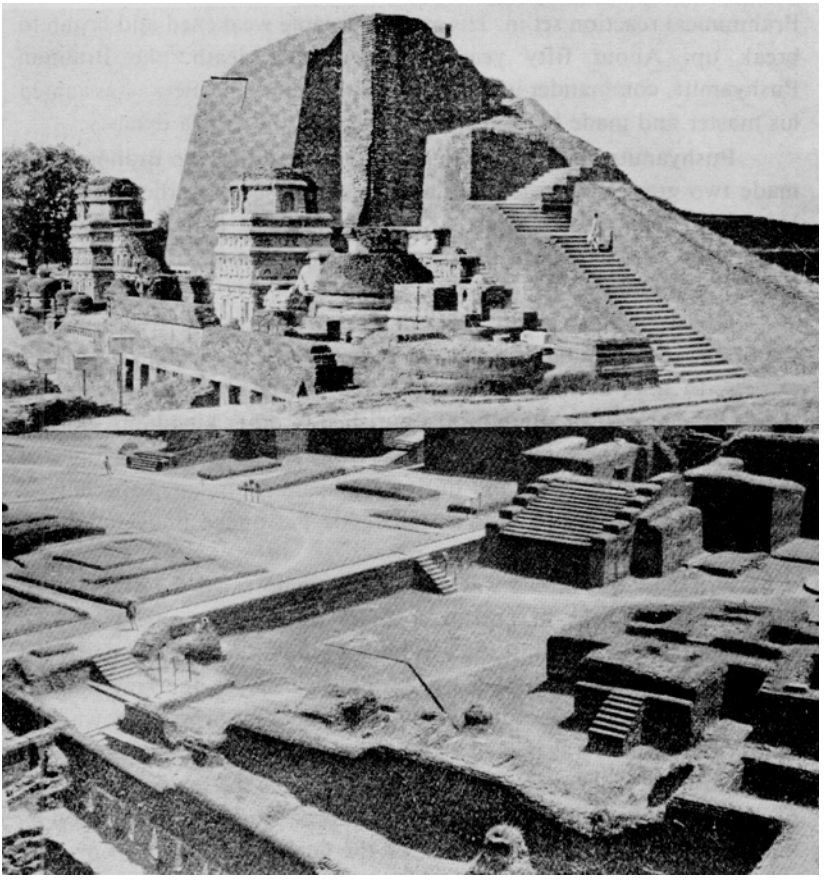
Generally speaking, the fundamental principles of the Four Noble Truths, the Noble Eightfold Path, the Dependent Origination, the Law of Karma, Nirvāṇa and the like remain the focal points of both schools. The spirit of non-violence, tolerance, liberality and friendliness are also retained. But their difference is in the emphasis and interpretation. While the Theravada keeps faithfully to the original teachings as preserved in the Pali Canon and holds together in a single unified tradition, the Mahayana has made free and varied interpretations of the Doctrine and the Discipline under differing circumstances, turned the original scriptures into Sanskrit incorporating in them later texts by later teachers, and continued to divide into many new sects and subsects.

While the Theravada is an intellectual religion that requires personal self-effort, the Mahayana believes in salvation through faith and devotion. In the Theravada, the Buddha is a discoverer who points out the Path, but in the Mahayana he becomes a savior by whose grace all beings can hope to be redeemed. The emphasis of the Theravada is on wisdom and practical insight as the key virtue on the path of self-reliance towards the ideal state of being an Arahant. The Mahayana stress is on compassion, the key virtue of the Bodhisattvas, the ideal persons who vow to save all beings and work for the good of suffering beings. Moreover, the Mahayana takes much interest in philosophical speculation and ritualism, while the original doctrine of the Theravada regards these as useless.



The East Gate, Main Stūpa, Sanchi.

4:
Indian Buddhism in Later Centuries



Remains of the great University of Nālandā (stupa, above, and monastery, below). About ten thousand monks (and laymen) lived, taught and studied here when it was burnt and destroyed by the Muslim Turks in 1197 (B.E. 1740). The burning away of the university library took several months.

Buddhism Under the Great Kings of India

By the time of Asoka, Brahmanism or Hinduism had been in the process of developing from a religion of sacrificial rituals into cults of worshipful devotion (Bhakti) to gods of various names, such as Hari, Nārāyaṇa, Vishṇu and Śiva. During his reign, though Buddhism became the ruling faith of the people, the Brahmins were still influential and formed a large part of the ruling class. As soon as Asoka died, a Brahminical reaction set in. His empire became weakened and began to break up. About fifty years after Asoka's death, the Brahmin Pushyamitr, commander in chief of the last Mauryan ruler, assassinated his master and made himself the first king of the Sunga dynasty.

Pushyamitr, in an effort to return northern India to Brahmanism, made two great horse sacrifices and began persecuting the Buddhists. He burnt their monasteries, killed the monks, and even made a declaration that he would reward anyone who presented him with the head of a Buddhist.

However, Pushyamitr was not so powerful as the great kings of the Mauryas and Buddhism did not come to an end through his hostile efforts. In spite of the persecution, most people remained devoted to their faith. Moreover, Buddhism flourished in other kingdoms, both in the north and in the south, which broke away from the former empire of the Mauryas both before and during Pushyamitr's reign. Especially in the northwest, it even found an energetic patronage under an Indo-Greek king called Menander.

Menander, or Milinda, was a great king who ruled the kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks in northwestern India during the same period as Pushyamitr. As a Buddhist, he was both a scholar and a great patron of the religion. A great dialog on Buddhism between the king and the Elder Nāgasena was recorded in the *Milindapañhā*, a well-known Pali masterpiece which was named after him. Around this time, through the Greek influence, there appeared for the first

time the making of images of the Buddha. Within a century, this practice became common in northwestern India as a development of the Gandhāra school of art and then spread and was accepted in all Buddhist lands. The creation of Buddha-images as objects of worship contributed much to the development of religious ceremonies, temples, paintings, sculptures, crafts, and music in later centuries.

Also by this time, a new movement, the so-called Mahayana, had begun to be active in northwestern India. Then and there both the Theravada and the Mahayana flourished side by side. From there they spread to Central Asia and, some time before or during the reign of King Mingti (C.E. 58–75 or B.E. 601–628), further to China. As time passed by, the centers of the Theravada moved toward the south and flourished outside its homeland. In northern India the Mahayana became stronger while the Theravada weakened. In the fourth century (the ninth century B.E.), the Theravada was so weak that the center at Buddhagayā had to send Buddhaghosa to Ceylon to translate the commentaries back into Pali and bring them back to India.

The Mahayana found great support and flourished under Kanishka, a great king who ruled the Kushan empire in northwest India and Pakistan in the early half of the seventh century B.E. (lst–2nd centuries C.E.), and can be said to have taken a separate course of history ever since.

It should be noted that of the five greatest kings of Indian history (from B.E. 1 till the British occupation in B.E. 2327 or C.E. 1784), three were devout Buddhists, one was a softened Hindu, and the other was a Muslim who sought to found a new religion of his own.

The first and the greatest of the greatest was *Asoka* (B.C.E. 326–284 or B.E. 218–260) whose devoted support to the early form of Buddhism made it spread for the first time beyond the borders of

India, become a world religion and develop into the so-called Buddhist culture of South Asian countries.

The second was *Kanishka* (C.E. 78–101 or B.E. 621–644), the great patron of Mahayana, who completed the work of Asoka and helped the northern branch of Buddhism to spread far and wide.

The third was *Chandragupta II Vikramāditya* (C.E. 380–413 or B.E. 923–956) of the Hindu Gupta dynasty, who reigned during the period when Buddhist institutions had attained great prosperity and been so influential that the Hindu rulers had to depend on Buddhists (such as their own generals or advisers) and Buddhist institutions for their own power and glory, and were forced or induced to become tolerant of Buddhism and to support the Buddhist cause or even became converted to Buddhism themselves.

The fourth was *Harsha* or *Harsha-Vardhana* or *Harsha Śīlāditya* (C.E. 606–648 or B.E. 1149–1191), the last Buddhist emperor of India, who kept the light of Indian Buddhism glowing for a short interval after it had been worn out both by foreign invasions and by internal persecution and degeneration, and before it disappeared, through the same causes, from the religious scene of India.

The fifth and last was *Akbar* (C.E. 1560–1605 or B.E. 2103–2148), who came to the throne of the Moghul empire during the Muslim period, when Buddhism had long disappeared from India, and, finding himself dissatisfied with the existing faiths, created his own religion of reason called Din llahi or the Divine Faith, which died with him.

Buddhism of the Northern School

Under King Kanishka, a great Council, not recognized by the Theravada, was held in Kashmir or Jalandhar by the Sarvāstivādins, a subsequently extinct Hinayana school. This Fourth Council of India was counted as the Third one by the Mahayanists, who did not accept the one held at Pāṭaliputra. At this Council, which was

presided over by the learned monks Vasumitra and Pārśva and attended by five hundred monks, a new set of scriptures in Sanskrit was approved together with fundamental Mahayana principles. A great scholar named Aśvaghoṣa, who was the spiritual advisor of the emperor and who took a leading part in the Council, wrote many of the first Mahayana commentaries. He was also known as the greatest poet of India before Kālidāsa. About half a century after him, Nāgārjuna, a great Buddhist philosopher, founded the Mādhyamika school of Mahayana.

Nāgārjuna was born in Āndhra, the empire of the Sātavāhana kings in central India to the south of the Kushan empire, which arose after the fall of the Mauryan empire and prospered until the third century C.E. (eighth century B.E.). He was a friend of, King Yajñaśri, who ruled the empire from C.E. 166 to 196 (B.E. 709–739), and flourished under his patronage. The Sātavāhana kings were patrons of Buddhism and spent large sums on the upkeep of great monasteries such as those at Sanchi, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and on building schools, rest-houses, wells, tanks, bridges and ferryboats.

In his capital at Purushpura, King Kanishka built a great Buddhist stupa, now ruined, measuring at the base 285 feet from side to side and 638 feet in height, which was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Under his patronage, Sanskrit literature and the Gandhāra school of art flourished. And through the influence of the Council, the works of the scholars and the encouragement of the royal patron, Mahayana Buddhism spread steadily through Central Asia to China and then to Korea and Japan, and became firmly established in these countries.

By this time a Buddhist educational center had been established at Nālandā. Nāgārjuna also spent many years of his life there. During the Gupta period (C.E. 320–467 or B.E. 863–1010) it grew both in size and in importance till it became the great university

of Nālandā, where 3,000–10,000 monks (and laymen) lived, teaching and studying, at a time, and where various subjects were taught such as Buddhism, logic, philosophy, law, medicine, philology, grammar, Yoga, alchemy and astrology. Nālandā was supported by kings of several dynasties and served as the great international center of learning until it was destroyed by the Turks in about C.E. 1200 (c. B.E. 1750). The classical Buddhist paintings in 29 caves excavated in the rock at Ajantā (about 250 miles northeast of Bombay), which dated from about 150 B.C. (c. B.E. 350), also attained their maturity during the Gupta period.

Around this time also (in the 4th century C.E. or 9th century B.E.), Asanga and Vasubandhu, the two brothers, founded the Yogācāra school of thought. As the doctrine of Śunyavāda of the Mādhyamikas is proclaimed in their chief work of the *Prajñā-pāramitās*, so is the doctrine of Vijñānavāda of the Yogācāra taught in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. These two systems of the Mahayana were influential in shaping the Buddhism of China, Korea, Japan and Tibet.

Around the year C.E. 401 (B.E. 944) Kumārajīva, the greatest of the Mahayana translators, was brought from Central Asia to China as a captive of war. After some time, he was welcomed to the Chinese court at Ch'ang-an. With the aid of his Chinese students, Kumārajīva translated a vast number of Sanskrit texts including Nāgārjuna's works into Chinese. His translations remained for centuries standard works in Chinese and he was honored by the Buddhists of China as the most trustworthy authority on the Buddhist doctrine. It was he who made Buddhism popular in China and who laid the foundation for the conversion of eastern Asia into a Mahayana land. After him, other scholars, both Chinese and foreign, translated the Yogācāra texts and made them widely known in China.

Between C.E. 401 and 410 (B.E. 944 and 953), a Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hsien, who was a student of Kumārajīva, visited India in

search of Buddhist sacred books. He wrote about the conditions in the reign of Chandragupta II, showing that Indian society had advanced greatly under the influence of Buddhism. The people were happy and prosperous. In comparison with the Roman empire and China, India was probably the most civilized region at that time. The account of Fa-Hsien's travels is one of the chief sources of Indian and Buddhist history of that period.

About a quarter of a century after Fa-Hsien's visit to Java on his way back to China, an Indian monk called Guṇavarman also visited this island. He succeeded in converting the Queen Mother to Buddhism. Then the king and the people also adopted the religion. After this, Guṇavarman was invited by the Chinese Emperor to visit China. There the monk spread the teachings of "The Lotus of the Wonderful Law," and founded an order of nuns.

In C.E. 526 (B.E. 1069), the Indian monk Bodhidharma went to China and was invited to the imperial court at Nanking and subsequently settled in Lo-yang. There he founded the Ch'an sect or Contemplative Buddhism, which in a few centuries spread all over China and about six centuries later became established in Japan as Zen Buddhism.

The Decline of Indian Buddhism

Thus had Buddhism flourished during many centuries following Asoka's time through the periods of the Bactrian Greek dynasty (3rd century B.C.E.–1st century C.E.), the Kushan emperors (1st–3rd centuries C.E.), and the Gupta's golden age (4th–6th centuries C.E.). According to, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, "The period that we are speaking of has left no trace of a building or sculpture devoted to the use of the Brahmin religion. Of course. Brahminism existed and it was probably during this period being developed into the form which it assumed in later times. But the religion certainly does not occupy the prominent position. and Buddhism was followed

by the large mass of the people from princes down to the humble workman." The period following this, however, saw the decline of Buddhism which began with the invasions of the White Huns and political unrest.

The White Huns or Hūṇas were a nomadic people of Central Asia. They brought their armies into India through her northwestern borders. At first, the Gupta empire was successfully defended against them. But, through many attacks during the period from C.E. 500 to 528 (B.E. 1043–1071), the empire became gradually weakened and finally broke up. Mihirakula, the Hūṇa king, was a Śaivite. He destroyed almost all monasteries and Buddhist places of worship in Gandhāra and Kashmir, and persecuted the Buddhists mercilessly. The great university of Taxila, which had served for centuries as one of the most famous Buddhist educational centers, was completely destroyed.

During the breaking up of the Gupta empire, many princes founded independent states. Some of them were devout Buddhists and it was through their efforts that Buddhism continued to flourish in other parts of India, especially in the west, the north and the northeast.

In the west, a general of the Guptas established at Valabhī the Maitraka dynasty around C.E. 490 (B.E. 1033). Monasteries were also built there, which within a century grew into a large center of learning called *Valabhī* or *Duḍḍā* after the name of the princess who founded it. The university of Valabhī remained for over two centuries the foremost educational center of western India, specializing in higher studies in logic, astronomy and law. It was the center of Hinayana Buddhism as Nalandā of the east was then the center of Mahayana Buddhism.

The university of Valabhī was destroyed in C.E. 775 (B.E. 1318), when the Muslims, with the advice of a Hindu merchant who

desired a rich reward, attacked the city by sea. No traces of the great university now exist, except some copperplate inscriptions.

In northern India, some short-lived dynasties grew into power and succeeded one another until they were replaced by Harsha-Vardhana in the following century. Harsha, also called Harsha Śīlāditya, founded his own empire in northern India and reigned from C.E. 606 to 648 (B.E. 1149–1191) as the last Buddhist emperor of India. Under his rule India was again at its height of culture and civilization. Following the example of Asoka, he devoted himself to the arts of peace, and as it is said, "forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works." He encouraged learning and literature and Nālandā University was under his patronage.

Indian Buddhism in China and Tibet

During Harsha's reign, the great Chinese traveler, Yuan Chwang or Hsuan-tsang, visited India and spent fifteen years there (C.E. 629–644 or B.E. 1172–1187) studying Yogācāra philosophy at Nālandā University and traveling throughout the country. He was welcomed with great honor at the imperial court in the capital city of Kanauj. The account of his travels was written by himself in the work called *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, which is regarded as one of the most valuable documents for the study of history and Asian civilization of the time.

On his return, Hsuan-tsang brought with him 600 Sanskrit texts and manuscripts, which, with the support of the Emperor Tai-tsung of the Tang dynasty, he translated into Chinese during the rest of his lifetime. His effort was partly aimed at spreading the knowledge of the Yogācāra doctrine, which he himself favored.

Also during this period, Sron-btsan-sgam-po (born in C.E. 617 or B.E. 1160), the great ruler of Tibet, married two princesses, one from Nepal and the other from China. Both queens were devout Buddhists. They converted the king to Buddhism and thus made

Tibet the last of the Mahayana countries to accept Buddhism. The king then sent a messenger called Thonmi Sambhota to India to study Buddhism and the Indian language, and to invent an alphabetic script for the Tibetan language. Thonmi was successful in the task. He then made the first Tibetan translations of Buddhist Sanskrit works and became known as the father of Tibetan literature. In spite of royal support, Buddhism did not take deep root in Tibet during the early centuries, as it had to struggle against the native animistic religion called *Bonpo*, its superstitious beliefs and strange customs and traditions. A century later, two monk-scholars were invited to Tibet to teach Buddhism. One was Śāntarakshita, the then Principal of Nālandā University, who taught the true doctrine and translated many Sanskrit scriptures into Tibetan. The other was Padma-sambhava, whom Śāntarakshita advised the king of Tibet to invite to his country to remove natural calamities by magical power, and who introduced Tantric Buddhism into that land, replacing the Bon cult with symbolic worship.

Three centuries later, in 1038 (B.E. 1581), Atīśa, the great scholar of Vikramaśilā University, was invited to live as a teacher of Buddhism in Tibet. Atīśa reformed the Tantric teachings on the basis of the Yogācāra traditions and founded the Kadampa school which stressed celibacy and strict observance of disciplinary rules, and discouraged magic practices. The Kadampa school was the basis for the Gelukpa school, which Tsongkhapa founded some time after 1357 (B.E. 1900), and to which the Dalai Lama belongs. From the days of Atīśa, Buddhism may be said to have truly become the national religion of Tibet and had an uninterrupted record throughout the later history of the nation.

The Rise of Hinduism and the Hinduization of Buddhism

To turn back to India, though Harsha was tolerant of all religions, his Brahmin ministers were displeased with his support of Buddhism. They made attempts on his life. In spite of their failure at first and being let off from death punishment, they continued their attempts till the Emperor was assassinated in C.E. 648 (B.E. 1191).

After Harsha's death, northern India broke up into a large number of separate states. Then the conditions were not favorable to the existence of Buddhism until the Pāla dynasty established itself in Bengal at the beginning of the 14th century B.E. (in the middle of the 8th century C.E.). During four centuries of their rule (from C.E. 760 to 1142 or B.E. 1303–1685), the Pāla kings were devoted to the support and protection of Buddhism. They took Nālandā University under their patronage and founded four other universities of their own, namely, Odantapura, Vikramaśilā, Somapura and Jagaddala, in the first, second, third and fourteenth reigns, respectively.

In the rest of India, however, Hinduism, by this time, had gained ground against Buddhism. There were many causes of the decline of Buddhism. Under the rule of some Hindu kings, Buddhists were persecuted. Some other Hindu rulers supported Buddhist institutions, treating them as centers of learning and culture. Since the time of King Asoka, the Sangha had become materially prosperous both through royal patronage and through the support of wealthy people. Life in the monasteries was comfortable and easy, and increasingly attracted large numbers of new members who joined the Sangha as a means of gaining a living and some of whom brought with them their old ways of thought and preached their own false theories. As these corrupt persons could not be entirely expelled from the Order, it led to the division of Buddhism, the weakness of the Sangha, and the undesirable developments of the Doctrine.

Moreover, in later days, when the Buddhist universities were prosperous, monks crowded into these centers of learning and

isolated themselves from the common people. They became used to lax and easy life and gave up the original ideals of renunciation and sacrifice. When the Mahayana became stronger, the monks were devoted more and more to philosophical speculations and religious celebrations. Hindu ideas and practices crept in. The number of Bodhisattvas, gods and goddesses increased together with various modes of worship and a new literature to explain them. Superstitious beliefs, devotionalism and the use of magical charms and rituals were encouraged while there was a decline in the importance of ethic. This unhealthy development, which was called Tantrism, took shape in the twelfth Buddhist century and became stronger in later centuries. Before very long it made Buddhism nearly indistinguishable from Hinduism.

In the meantime, Śaṅkara (C.E. 788–838 or B.E. 1331–1881), a great Hindu philosopher, made use of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra ideas of Nāgārjuna and Asanga to form his own philosophy, and borrowed from the Buddhists the idea of establishing Hindu monasteries (Maṭh or Maṭha) as centers of education, propagation and social programs as the Buddhists had done. They were at first located near famous shrines to serve also as rest-places for pilgrims. Thus while Buddhism degenerated into a Hinduized form, lost its good name and became weaker and weaker, Hinduism absorbed from it good elements and sprang again to freshness as a reformed religion. Some Buddhist monasteries were even turned into Hindu institutions.

The Rise and Fall of Srivijaya and Champa

The form of Buddhism which flourished under the Pāla kings was also the degenerate Tantric Buddhism. It was studied at the universities of Nālandā, Odantapura and Vikramaśilā. From there it spread to Tibet, Sumatra, Java and other countries.

The Indians started to migrate into Java and other islands of Indonesia early in the seventh Buddhist century. By the tenth century, a great empire called *Srivijaya* had risen to power with its centre in Sumatra. The Chinese monk-pilgrim I-tsing, on his way to India, visited this area in C.E. 671 (B.E. 1214), and recorded that Hinayana Buddhism flourished there. But from the 14th to the 19th centuries, the Srivijaya empire was ruled by the Śailendra kings who were great patrons of Mahayana. During this period, the great stupa of Borobudur, the largest Buddhist shrine in the world, was erected in central Java.

The Śailendra kings spread their influence to the Malay peninsula, southern India and Ceylon, and established colonies in Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas and the Philippines. They maintained diplomatic relations with the Pāla kings and close connections with the great University of Nālandā. And through these relations, the Tantric form of Buddhism came to Indonesia and flourished before it gradually disappeared in the Hindu form, as in India. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Srivijaya kingdom declined and was replaced in 1294 (B.E. 1837) by the Hindu Javanese kingdom of Madjapahit. The new kingdom, however, prospered for only one century before it broke up into divisions. The wars among them made Indonesia easy prey for the Arabs, who finally brought the empire to an end in the middle of the 21st Buddhist century and in turn converted the islands to Islam.

Also around the seventh Buddhist century, other Indians migrated to the eastern coast of Indochina, which is now modern South Vietnam. There a kingdom known as *Champa* (simply called *Cham*) was established and flourished until it was overrun by the Annamites in the 21st Buddhist century. In Champa Buddhism followed the line of development similar to that in Indonesia. Under the Annamites, the Chinese form of Mahayana, along with Islam, replaced the old form professed by the Chams.

The Disappearance of Buddhism from India

In India, the Pāla line was brought to an end in 1095 (B.E. 1638) by the anti-Buddhist Senas from the south. The Senas were Vaishṇavite. They revived the orthodox Vaishṇavism and supported the Tantric universities as institutions of learning and culture. The Sena kingdom of Bengal was short-lived; in 1199 (B.E. 1742) it was conquered by the Muslim Turks and Afghans. The fanatic invaders destroyed not only their political and military enemies, but all people and institutions of other faiths. Buddhist monks were mistaken as idolaters and cruelly murdered. All the shrines, monasteries, universities and schools were burnt and destroyed. At Nālandā the burning of the library continued for several months. Following are some passages from the book *Tavakata*, recorded by the Muslim historian Minhazad:

"In the middle of the city there was a temple larger and firmer than the rest, which can be neither described nor painted. The Sultan thus wrote respecting it: 'If any should wish to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending an hundred thousand red dinars, and it would occupy two hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed.' The Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and leveled with the ground."

"Many of the inhabitants of the place fled and were scattered abroad. Many of them thus effected their escape, and those who did not fly were put to death. Islam or death was the alternative that Mahmud placed before the people."

"Most of the inhabitants of the place were brahmans with shaven heads (i.e., Buddhist monks). They were put to death. Large numbers of books were found there, and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called for some persons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed."

"If they adopt our creed. well and good. If not, we put them to the sword. The Muhammadan forces began to kill and slaughter on the right and on the left unmercifully, throughout the impure land, for the sake of Islam and blood flowed in torrents. They plundered gold and silver to an extent greater than can be conceived, and an immense number of brilliant precious stones. They took captive a great number of handsome and elegant maidens, amounting to 20,000, and children of both sexes, more than the pen can enumerate."

"He fell upon the insurgents unawares, and captured them all, to the number of twelve thousand—men, women and children—whom he put to the sword. All their valleys and strongholds were overrun and cleared, and great booty captured. Thanks be to God for this victory of Islam."

"After wounding and killing beyond all measure. his hands and those of his friends became cold in counting the value of the plundered property. On the completion of his conquest he returned and promulgated accounts of the victories obtained for Islam, and every one, great and small, concurred in rejoicing over this result and thanking God."

So the monks who escaped death fled to Nepal and Tibet. With the destruction of the Sangha, the lay Buddhists were left without guidance. As there was then little distinction left between the theories and practices of the Buddhists and those of the non-Buddhists, the Buddhists were slowly absorbed in the non-Buddhist communities through the pressure of the Hindu caste system and the Muslim forceful conversion. Buddhist shrines which escaped destruction were turned into Hindu temples. Thus it was that Buddhism disappeared from India. Today only a few isolated groups of Buddhists remain in Bengal, Assam, Orissa and parts of southern India. Buddhism is almost a foreign religion in the land of its birth.

The extinction of Buddhism from India at the time of the Turkish invasion led to a usual conclusion that Muslim persecution was the major cause of the disappearance of Buddhism from its homeland. Many even take it as support to a traditional charge that Islam is a religion of the sword, which spread by the sword, and was upheld by the sword. To confirm this, they quote from the Koran (Al-Qur'ān):

"Prescribed for you is fighting, though it is hateful unto you." (2:212)

"O prophet! Strive against the disbelievers and the hypocrites! Be harsh with them. Their ultimate abode is Hell, a hapless journey's end." (9:73)

"O Prophet! Exhort the believers to fight. If there be of you twenty steadfast, they shall overcome two hundred, and if there be of you a hundred steadfast, they shall overcome a thousand of those who disbelieve, because they are a folk without intelligence." (8:65)

"Truly, those who do not believe our verses we shall fry in the fire." (4:56)

"Fight them then that there should be no sedition, and that the religion may be wholly God." (8:40)

"O ye who believe! it is only the idolaters who are unclean; they shall not then approach the Sacred Mosque after this year." (9:28)

"Fight those who believe not in God and in the last day, and who forbid not what God and his Apostle have forbidden, and who do not practice the religion of truth from among those to whom the Book has been brought, until they pay the tribute by their hands and be as little ones." (9:29)

"O Believers! Make not friends of your fathers or your brethren if they love unbelief above faith: and whoso of you shall make them his friends, will be wrongdoers." (9:23)

"Whoever fights for the way of Allah and is killed or victorious will receive a glorious reward." (4:74)

Muslim scholars, however, do not approve of this. They say the above quotations should not be made here as a support to the charge. For this, they point to at least two reasons. Firstly, some of the above quotations refer only to the early events during the lifetime of Muhammad when he fought to found the religion, and do not apply to other cases. Secondly, in other quotations, the word fighting or war is not to be interpreted as a physical fighting, but it means that of the spiritual life.

Muslim scholars further explain that the word *Islam* means "peace" or "submission to the will of God," and *Muslim*, an adherent of Islam, means "one devoted to peace." Islam teaches religious tolerance and condemns persecution. They also quote from the Koran:

"There is no compulsion in religion." (2:256)

"Defend yourself against your enemies; but attack them not first. Allah loveth not aggressors." (2:190)

"Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion." (109:6)

"So, if they hold aloof from you and wage not war against you and offer you peace, Allah alloweth you no way against them." (4:90)

"O ye who believe! When ye go forth to fight in the way of Allah, make investigation and say not unto one who offereth you the salutation of peace: Thou art not a believer." (4:96)

The Turks who invaded India and persecuted the Buddhists did so only out of the desire for power and territorial expansion. They used the religion to conceal their crimes. True Muslims or those who know the spirit of Islam would not do that. Muslim scholars say the Christian record of intolerance is greater than theirs. It was the Christians who preached the crusades and used their faith as a tool for the expansion of colonialism. It was also the Christians

who, quarreling among themselves over Christian dogma, caused innumerable religious wars and persecutions. By contrast, in Thailand, all the Muslims have lived peacefully among the friendly Buddhists throughout its history.[1]

The above explanation of Muslim scholars can be a great comfort to the world. The Turks who destroyed Buddhism while invading India were not true Muslims. True Muslims know the true spirit of Islam and devote themselves to the way of peace. We can now hope that Muslims in the future will be true Muslims and the sad and terrible history will not repeat itself.

[1] See, for example, Ibrahim Kureshi, *Islam: The Religion of Humanity* (Bangkok: Prachandra Printing Press, B.E. 2495), pp. 9–6 and 119–124.

5:
Northern Buddhism in Its Good and Hard Times

Yuan Chwang (or Hsuan-tsang) came to India in C.E. 629 (B.E. 1172) and stayed for 15 years, studying at Nālandā and other monasteries. he carried to China 657 parts of the Buddhist literature.

A Transition

In summary, the Buddhist history as told above can be roughly divided into periods of 500 years. In the first 500 years, the original Theravada tradition was strong, and the further development of Buddhism in Theravada countries is the product of this period. The second period saw the prosperity of Mahayana, the rise of its major schools of Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, and their spread to Central Asia and China, where Mahayana flourished and spread further to other northeastern countries. During the third period, the Mahayana degenerated into an unhealthy form of Tantra and lost ground in most parts of India until Buddhism was brought to an end in its homeland by the Turkish invaders in a short time following this period.

However, during the same period as the degenerate form of Tantra became influential in India, there developed in China another school of Mahayana called *Chan*, which later spread to Korea and Japan. In Japan it became known as *Zen*, which remains today a major sect of Japanese Buddhism and plays an important role in modern international Buddhism.

Thus, while Buddhism had disappeared from India early in the 18th Buddhist century, elsewhere it grew in influence, in southern countries as Theravada and in northern countries as Mahayana. Much has been told of the history of the Theravada, but some more account is needed to form a continuous history of the Mahayana.

The Emergence of Chinese and Korean Buddhism

As stated earlier, Buddhism came to China around C.E. 57 (B.E. 600). Three hundred years later, when Buddhism had been firmly established in China, Chinese monks and missionaries carried the message into Korea. In those days Korea was divided into three kingdoms: Silla, Paekche and Koguryu. Buddhism was first

introduced into Koguryu in 372 (B.E. 915), then to Paekche, and lastly to Silla 30 years later. In 668 (B.E. 1211). Silla gained control over the other two kingdoms and ruled the whole Korean peninsula until 935 (B.E.1478).

In China, the period of unity under the Sui and Tang dynasties 589–906 (B.E. 1132–1449) saw the rise and development of most of the Chinese Buddhist sects: Tien-Tai (known in Japan as *Tendai*), San-Lun (Mādhyamika), Yui-Shih (Yogācāra Vijñānavāda as spread by Hsuan-tsang), Hua-Yen (Avataṁsaka, known in Japan as *Kegon*), Chan (Dhyāna, known in Japan as *Zen*), Ching-tu (Pure Land or Sukhāvatīvyūha), Nan-shan (Vinaya sect) and King-kang-chi (Tantra). Many of these sects spread further to Korea, especially the Hua-Yen, Tien-Tai, Pure Land, Chan and Yogācāra sects. In Tang China, the Chan school spread widely and became very influential.

Under the Silla dynasty, the Buddhism of Tang China entered Korea. There the Yogācāra school spread among scholars. But it was the Chan Buddhism that gained popularity. The Silla dynasty was replaced by the Koryo dynasty in 935 (B.E. 1478). The rulers of the new dynasty were deeply devoted to Buddhism, and under them Korean Buddhism attained the height of its prosperity in the 16th Buddhist century. Then Chan Buddhism became most popular in Korea as in China. The other sects were in the course of time gradually blended into it. And it is this Chan school that remains to this day as Korean Buddhism.

When Buddhism was destroyed in India in 1199 (B.E. 1742), Chinese Buddhism was left alone and companionless in the continuation of a living tradition. Moreover, within a short time after that, in 1280 (B.E. 1823), Kublai Khan established Mongol rule both in China and in Korea. As the Mongolian rulers favored Tibetan Buddhism, Lamaism became influential in both countries and was a factor in the weakening of Buddhism there. When the local dynasties established themstelves in Korea in 1364 (B.E. 1907) and in China in

1368 (B.E. 1911), they turned to Confucianism for their nationalistic principles, and adopted the policy of suppressing Buddhism. Buddhism, regarded as the barbarian faith, was forbidden to officials and declared undesirable for the common people. Then it declined and decayed both in China and in Korea.

In Korea, Buddhist monasteries and temples were banished from the cities and the monks were forced to dwell in mountain and forest retreats. About five centuries later, Buddhism began to gain some strength again when Korea came under Japanese influence and then occupation during the period of nearly 60 years from 1885 to 1943 (B.E. 2428–2486). To spread their doctrine and activities to Korea, the Japanese Buddhist sects built temples and conducted social and educational programs there. Though their efforts did not meet with much success, they had some effects on the Korean Buddhists. The Korean Buddhist institutions began to feel the need of a revival. They, therefore, united in the task of reforming their community, especially in education and administration.

The major Buddhist sect of modern China is Chan. The other sects which also survive are Tien-Tai and Pure Land. But, as the doctrines of these sects have blended together in the Chinese belief and practice, no clear distinction can be made between them. Followers of Chan and Tien-Tai also call upon the name of Amitābha and believe in the Pure Land. The chanting of "Namo Amito-fo (Namo Amitābhāya Buddhāya—Homage to Amitābha Buddha)" is a common practice in every temple and every home of the Chinese Buddhists today.

The Ups and Downs of Japanese Buddhism

Buddhism Comes to Japan

The official history of Buddhism in Japan began on October 13, 552 (B.E. 1095) when the ruler of Paekche or Kudara, one of the

three kingdoms of ancient Korea, sent a delegation with an image of the Buddha to the emperor of Japan. Thirty-five years later, in 587 (B.E. 1130), one of the first Buddhist temples was built at Horyoji near Nara, which still stands as the oldest wooden building in the world.

In 594 (B.E.1137) Prince Shotoku, who is regarded in Japan as "the founder of Japanese civilization as well as of a united Japanese nation" and in Japanese Buddhism as "Asoka of the Land of the Rising Sun," issued an Imperial Ordinance supporting and urging the development of the Three Treasures: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha. By this Buddhism was established as the state religion of Japan. Then the Prince promulgated the first Japanese constitution, compiled the first history of Japan, lectured and wrote commentaries on Sūtras, encouraged industries, transportation and communication, founded a religious center, an orphanage, an old people's home and a hospital, and sent monks and students to the continent to study and bring back to Japan the arts and sciences and the highly developed culture of Buddhist China.

Nara Buddhism

Thus, in spite of its introduction through Korea, the further development of Buddhism in Japan went on through its close relationship with China. In 710 (B.E. 1253) Nara was established as the permanent capital. From this time to the end of the so-called Nara Period in 783 (B.E. 1326) six Buddhist sects, usually known as the Six Sects of the Nara Period, were introduced from China, namely, Sanron (the Mādhyamika Three-Treatises), Kegon (the Avataṁsaka), Hosso (the Yogācāra), Ritsu (the Vinaya School), Jojitsu (the Satyasiddhiśāstra), and Kusha (the Abhidharmakośa). Only the first four of these sects were of importance, while the fifth was closely related to Sanron and the sixth could be regarded as part of Hosso. And it was the Hosso that was most influential.

Under Emperor Shomu of Nara, Japan saw the golden period of perfect peace when political unity was strengthened by the unity of faith in Buddhism and the ideal government was carried out in accordance with the ideal of the Dharma. The Daibutsu, the great image of the Mahā Vairocana Buddha at the temple of Todaiji in Nara, erected in about 743 (B.E. 1286), is a symbol of this unity. At the ceremony dedicating this great image, the Emperor publicly declared himself the slave of the Three Treasures. His daughter, Empress Koken, even left the imperial throne for a time to live as a nun, devoting herself to the study and practice of Buddhism, and on coming again to the throne she appointed some priests as her ministers.

The Two Sects of the Heian Period

This strong support by the government and the growing influence of the monks and monasteries led to an undesirable result. A large number of people entered the monkhood only for gain and fame, and made the monkhood degenerate in moral virtues. The monks' involvement in politics made the situation even worse. This caused the downfall of the government at Nara. Then, to escape the influence of wealthy and politically powerful monks at the great Buddhist centers that had grown up around the court in Nara, the seat of the government was moved to Heian (later called Kyoto) in 784 (B.E. 1327). At the new capital, the Emperor issued ordinances again and again to rouse the monks to noble virtues and proper conduct. This encouraged the rise of two new sects, Tendai and Shingon, which grew in influence and popularity till the end of the Heian Period in 1184 (B.E. 1727), while the Six Sects of Nara waned into obscurity. During this period the conciliation between Shinto and Buddhism was strengthened by turning ancient Shinto gods into Bodhisattvas. Then Buddhism ceased to be an imported religion and

became nationalized as truly Japanese Buddhism. Thus Japan reached the classical age of its art, literature and religion.

The Tendai sect, which was based on the Lotus Sūtra (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*) and emphasized the capacity of all beings to attain Buddhahood, was founded as a synthesis of the doctrines and practices of Tien-Tai, Zen, esoteric Buddhism and the Vinaya sect. Shingon was a form of Mantrayāna, esoteric Buddhism which taught secret doctrines and mystic rituals. It taught both the spirit of the original esoteric teachings and the rituals of chanting Mantras. As these two sects were reactions against the degenerate practices of the city monks of Nara, their monastic centers were established in remote and secluded places on the mountains. Their philosophies and ceremonies were still too complex to be easily understood by the common people. Therefore, in the latter part of the Heian period, the popular doctrine of salvation by faith through devotion to Amida Buddha began to develop. As regards the two sects themselves, the common people would accept only superstitions attached to them. Shingon even degenerated into the praying cult practiced only for worldly benefits. At last the monastic centers of the two sects also became worldly and corrupt. There were even priest-warriors in leading temples, who fought against each other.

The Three Sects of Kamakura

Much warfare added by social disorder and natural disasters brought to an end the imperial rule in 1156 (B.E. 1699) and also the Heian period in 1185 (B.E. 1728). This was followed by the rise of feudalism and the Kamakura period of shogunate which lasted till 1333 (B.E. 1876). The great distress which the people suffered during the period of disorder roused the need for the simplification of religious theories and practices to suit religious needs of the common people. This led to the arising of three major forms of Buddhism which still flourish in Modern Japan.

1. Pure Land Buddhism or Amidism believes in salvation by faith. It teaches the reliance upon the grace of Amitābha Buddha to be reborn in the Western Paradise of Jodo or Sukhāvatī. This rebirth can be achieved by faith in Amida's power to save and by the calling of his name in faith, that is, the saying of the Nembutsu: "Namu Amida Butsu—Homage to Amida Buddha." Its faith is symbolized by the Daibutsu or great image of Amida Buddha erected at Kamakura in 1252 (B.E. 1795). There are two sects of this form, which were closely related historically, viz.,

1.1 Jodo, founded by Honen, who organized his followers around the recitation of the Nembutsu;

1.2 Shin or Jodo-Shin (True Pure Land), founded by Shinran, a disciple of Honen, as a reform of Jodo. Shinran emphasized the absolute reliance on the external power of Amida and the equality of all beings before the Buddha. Any practice that was a sign of trust in one's own powers and lack of trust in Amida's grace must be rejected. Therefore, the Shin sect gives up monastic discipline and all acts of self-effort such as doctrinal study, meditation and rituals, and also any concern for lucky and unlucky times, astrology and prayers. There is no division between the monkhood and the laity. Shinran and later leaders of the sect married and led ordinary lives among the people.

2. Zen is a meditative sect which emphasizes the existence of the original Buddhahood in every being and believes in the sudden enlightenment through mind-to-mind instruction without dependence on the words and letters of scriptures. Meditation practices (Zazen), moral discipline, actions in daily life and earnest work for mankind are required in order to attain Satori or the Enlightenment. Of the two chief branches of Zen, Rinzai Zen, which prescribes stricter discipline and the use of paradoxes (Koan) in meditation, has had greater appeal for members of the military and ruling class such as the samurai, while Soto Zen, which emphasizes ethical precepts,

Bodhisattva practices and silent sitting-and-waiting meditation, has had larger following among the common people.

3. Nichiren is a form of popular Buddhism. Its founder, Nichiren, was a monk of militant and nationalistic spirit. He taught that one should have absolute faith in the eternal Śākyamuni Buddha, that the only true doctrine was the teaching of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra*, and that peace and happiness both of the individuals and of the nation could be achieved only by the practice of this true teaching. Its followers are taught to keep devotion to the Sūtra and to turn the teaching into practice by repeating the words: "Namu Myo Horengekyo—Homage to the Lotus Sūtra of the Wonderful Law." Nichiren attacked all other sects by declaring their doctrines and practices to be false and dangerous to the welfare of the country. He and his sect came into violent conflict with them and suffered serious troubles through persecution. In spite of this, the sect continued to grow. Its founder and followers even believed that its teaching would be accepted all over the world.

With the rise of these new sects, Buddhism was completely accepted by the Japanese people. If the Heian period marked the nationalization of Buddhism in Japan, it was during the Kamakura period that the popularization of Buddhism was achieved. Then Buddhist temples were erected in most of the small towns and villages. Though many subsects have appeared within the old sects, especially after World War II, no new major Buddhist sect has been founded in Japan since that time.

After the Kamakura period, the seat of Shogunate was moved to Kyoto. In spite of civil wars and natural disasters, cultural leadership was maintained by Buddhist monks, especially those of Zen, and the arts flourished as never before. The influence of Zen found its expression in the development of the tea ceremony, flower arrangement, No drama, garden making, painting and other works of

art, and also of Judo, Kendo and Bushido, which is the ethical code of the samurai.

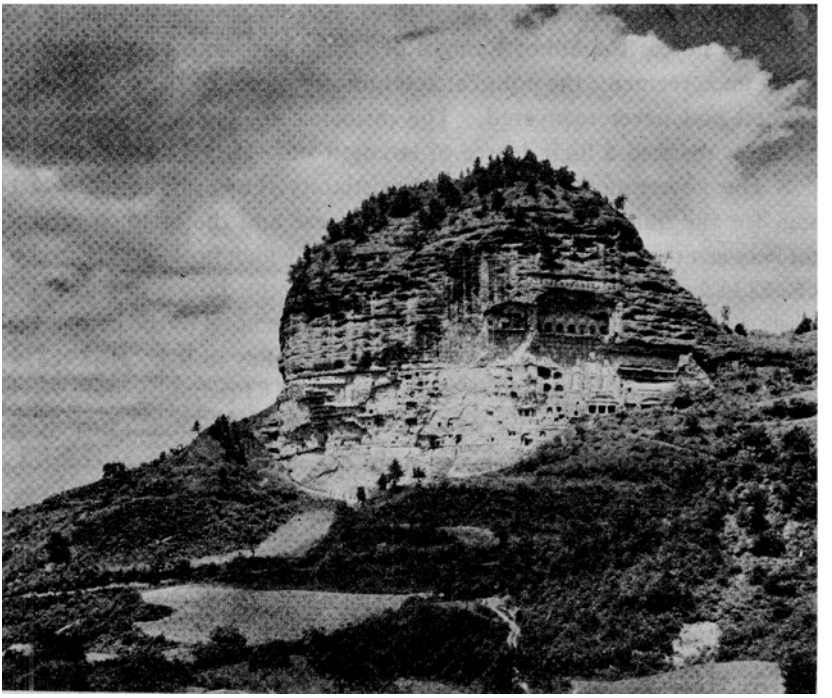
The Suppression of Buddhism

Constant internal wars and disorder during the period of about one hundred years beginning with the rebellion of 1467 (B.E. 2010) brought to an end most of the great families of the former periods and brought about the rise of some new powerful families and great social changes. Priests and monks were engaged in warfare and battle either to protect themselves or to gain power. There were also many conflicts between religious groups such as the followers of Nichiren, those of Shinran and the monk soldiers of Tendai. They even took sides with some feudal lords against the other. Therefore, when Portuguese Christian missionaries came to Japan in about 1557 (B.E. 2100), Nobunaga, then the most powerful man in Japan, encouraged their activities. Nobunaga even attacked the monastic armies on Mount Hiei, burned about 3,000 monasteries and killed all of their inhabitants. Though he could not defeat the abbot Kennyo of Osaka and both parties had to accept an agreement, the political and military power of the monasteries declined and never recovered. The influence of Japanese Buddhism has never reached a high degree of strength since then.

The government support to Christianity, however, did not last long, for the quarrels between the Portuguese and the Spanish priests and between the Spanish and the Dutch priests, which broke out between 1593 and 1611 (B.E. 2136 and 2154) made the ruler conscious of the danger of Christian priests as a political machine. This led to the persecution of the Christians and, finally, to the adoption of the exclusion policy in 1624 (B.E. 2167). In order to put an end to the influence of Christianity and to use the influence of Buddhism for its own benefit, the government turned to Buddhism, brought the Buddhist institutions under strict state control, and made

them useful in maintaining its power. Moreover, Confucianism was greatly encouraged. Thus, Buddhist institutions weakened and their intellectual activities declined. While the people turned to worldly pleasures and sought material wealth, the temples encouraged these through the rites and beliefs which satisfied worldly ends, and the monks and priests themselves adopted lives of indolence and negligence. Thus, throughout the Tokugawa or Edo period (1603–1867 or B.E. 2146–2410), during which the capital was established at Edo or Tokyo, there was no significant development in Japanese Buddhism and it was during this period that there arose a movement to make Shinto the national religion of Japan.

The modernization of Japan started with the beginning of the Meiji period in 1868 (B.E. 2411) when the power and administration was restored from the Shogun to the emperor, the policy of national seclusion came to an end, and Western culture was freely imported and imitated. Then, to affirm the supreme power of the emperor by his divinity and to strengthen nationalism, Shinto was separated from Buddhism and established as the national religion. Buddhist beliefs and worship were forbidden in the Imperial Household. There was even a movement called Haibutsu Kishaku to eradicate Buddhism in Japan. It was a time of crisis for Buddhism, though it was able to some degree to recover its strength and the government had to soften its anti-Buddhist policy.

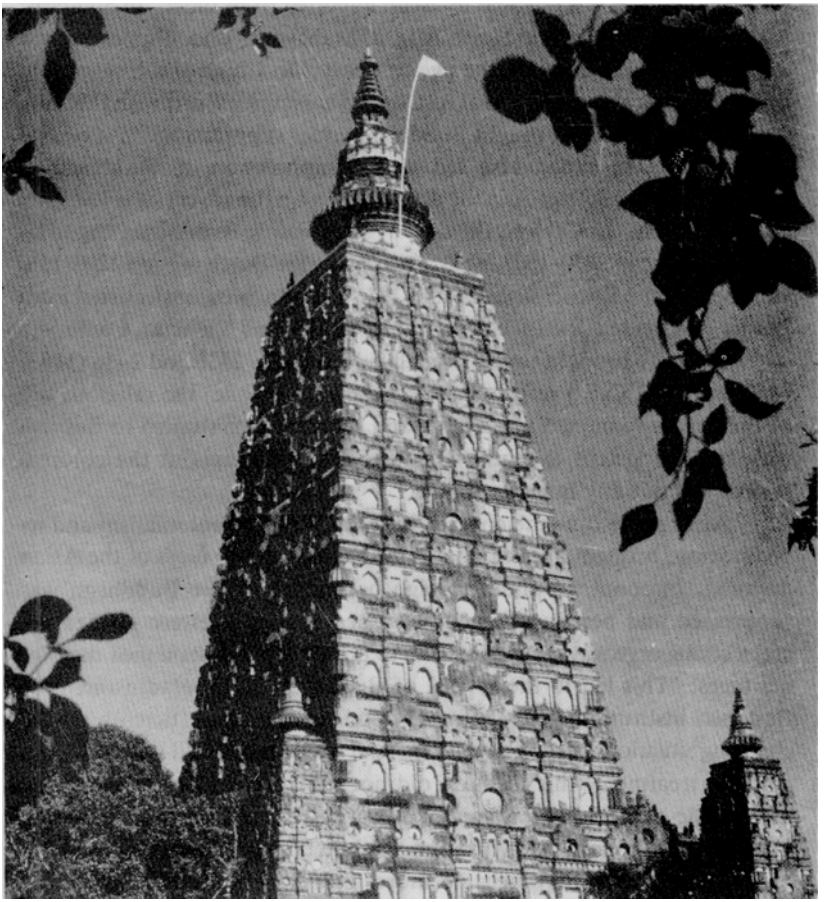


Buddhist cave-monasteries in Kansu province, China.

PART III

Buddhism in the Modern World

6:
The Revival of Buddhism in India



The Mahabodhi Temple at the site of the Buddha's Enlightenment Probably took origin in the early Gupta period. Its restoration from the Śaivite Mahanta into the hands of the Buddhists was begun by Anāgārika Dhammapāla in 1891 (B.E. 2434) and was only achieved in 1953 (B.E. 2496).

A General View of the Buddhist Situation

The light of Buddhism was extinguished in India around 1200 (c. B.E. 1700). In Malaya and Indonesia Buddhism ran the same course of decay. At first, around 1314 (B.E. 1857), it degenerated into a Hinduized form. Before the end of the fourteenth century (B.E. 1900), together with Hinduism, it was replaced by Islam imported from India. In Southeast Asia, as Theravada, and in North Asia, as Mahayana, Buddhism continued to glow. Then came again the age of decay. In China and Korea from B.E. 1900 onwards, the revival of Confucianism in accord with the state policy of nationalism brought Buddhism under suppression. The revival of Shintoism in Japan also led to the suppression of Buddhism in 1868 (B.E. 2411). In Southeast Asia the decay came with the advent of colonialism from the West. In Ceylon, the task of suppressing Buddhism, begun by the Portuguese in 1507 (B.E. 2050), was carried on by the Dutch around 1657 (B.E. 2200) and then by the British since 1797 (B.E. 2340). In Indochina, it persisted until Burma was made a British colony in 1814 (B.E. 2367), and Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were brought under French rule in 1883, 1863 and 1893 (B.E. 2426, 2406 and 2436), respectively. In Thailand alone, the religious life of the people remained unaffected and Buddhism continued to flourish with the support of the ruler and the public throughout the colonial period without any interruption.

After some time the contact with the West, its colonialism and its civilization, brought about remarkable changes in the faces of the Asian nations. In countries under foreign occupation where Buddhism was suppressed and Buddhists persecuted, people turned against Western civilization and a strong urge was aroused in them to protect and maintain their national heritages. This led to the revival of Buddhism and the adjustment of Buddhist institutions and the monkhood to function efficiently in the changing situations. However, in Thailand, where people did not experience colonial

treatment, this reaction did not take place. On the contrary, the people turned their attention towards the exciting and tempting materialism of Western civilization. While they pursued this new kind of material quest, they became more and more indifferent and cold towards their religious traditions. Buddhist institutions enjoying luxurious support fell into a kind of indulgence and did not adjust themselves to the changing conditions. Material support and cooperation continues to grow, while the intellectual and spiritual gap widens.

Western Scholars and the Buddhist Revival

After four or five centuries of stagnation, the period of revival began nearly at the same time in Japan, around 1868 (B.E. 2411), and in Ceylon, around 1871 (B.E. 2414). In Japan, the suppression and persecution during the Meiji era acted as a stimulus, while in Ceylon the revival was aroused partly by the colonial suppression and partly by the awareness of Buddhist traditions in its homeland.

In India, Buddhism was completely forgotten by the Indian people and it was not until the middle of the 18th century that there was an awareness of her existence and prosperity in the past. This awareness may be regarded as the beginning of the modern period of Buddhism.

It happened that in 1750 (B.E. 2293) a broken piece of an Asokan pillar inscription was discovered by a British official in Delhi. Then followed many other discoveries, the study of Asokan inscriptions and the interest in Buddhist traditions which increased through the years. In 1819 (B.E. 2362) the Ajantā cave was accidentally discovered by two British soldiers. The great stupa at Sanchi was discovered and in 1851 (B.E. 2394) was opened by Sir Alexander Cunningham. There were large numbers of subsequent discoveries. An active work of excavation and restoration of Buddhist archeological sites was carried on. The glorious history of

Buddhism was revealed, its greatness discovered and brought back to the interest both of India and of the world.

The work of explorers and archeologists was followed by literary activities of Western scholars from 1826 (B.E. 2369) onwards. Translations and transliterations of the Pali canonical literature, treatises, commentaries, chronicles and grammar, essays and treatises on Pali and Buddhism, and Pali dictionaries were made by scholars of different nationalities: English, French, German, Danish, Dutch, American, and others.[1] The founding of the Pali Text Society in London by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids in 1881 (B.E. 2424) was a great step forward in Pali studies. The Society has published to date nearly the whole of the Pali Canon and all the important works of the Pali non-canonical literature together with their translations (a larger number than scriptural publications in Thailand). Special mention should be made of lexicography. The well-known *Dictionary of the Pali Language* by R. C. Childers, published in London in 1875 (B.E. 2418), is regarded as the first advance in this field. When this work was found inadequate, the Pali Text Society published the *Pali-English Dictionar*y, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (1921–25 or B.E. 2464–68), which is still the main reference for all students of Pali. This was followed by *A Critical Pali Dictionary* by Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith, the first part of which was published in Copenhagen in 1927 (B.E. 2470). However, only two volumes of it in 21 parts (*a–uparima*, in 1085 pages) have been published so far. In London, Pali scholars have also been preparing for the Pali Text Society *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordanc*e, about 1340 pages (*a–pura*) of which have been published since 1952 (B.E. 2495). Great advances have also been

[1] Among outstanding names were E. Burnoff, Spence Hardy, R. C. Childers, Fausboll, Trenckner, H. Oldenberg, Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids, Prinsep, Kern, Koros, Poussin, Levi, Stcherbatsky, Miss I. B. Horner, R. Chalmers, F. L. Woodward, E. M. Hare, E. Hardy, W. Geiger, Winternitz, Warren, and E. W. Burlingame.

made in the study of Sanskrit Buddhist literature both in the original and in later versions, especially in Tibetan and Chinese. In England, Buddhist publications and researches have followed to the present an unbroken line and contributed greatly to the steady progress of Buddhist studies. France and Germany have also made considerable contributions. It is, however, the United States that is stepping forward to take the lead in Buddhist publications and research works. Rapid progress was made during recent years.

The labors of Western scholars brought about an awakening among the scholars of India. The Buddhist Text Society was founded in Calcutta in l892 (B.E. 2435) and pioneer work in the field of Buddhist studies was done in Bengal. In the course of time Santiniketan, Patna and Nālandā in eastern India and Bombay, Poona and Baroda in western India became active centers of Buddhist studies.[1] Alongside literary activities, Buddhist revival in India began as an organized movement with the founding of the Maha Bodhi Society in 1891 (B.E. 2434).

Ceylonese and Indian Contributions

The founder of the Maha Bodhi Society was Anāgārika Dharmapāla, a young Buddhist of Ceylon. Dharmapāla was born in 1864 (B.E. 2407[2]) in a wealthy and influential Buddhist family in Colombo. His personal name was Don David Hewavitharne. He was educated in a Christian missionary school. As he could not love his wine-drinking and pleasure-loving missionary teachers, he developed an attachment towards Buddhist monks who were meek and abstemious. Under the influence of Colonel Olcott and Madame

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[1] Among prominent Indian scholars, the following names should be cited: b. C. Law, Barua, N. dutt, Dharmananda Kosambi, P. V. Bapat, C. V. Joshi, P. C. Bagchi, V. V. Gokhale, a. C. banerjee, Anand Kausalyayana, S. Dutt and J. Kashyap.

[2] This is according to the Thai calendar. In the Ceylonese Calendar, this should be B.E. 2408).

Blavatsky, he took an interest in Theosophy and then adopted a life of religious dedication as an Anāgārika (literally "homeless").

In 1885 (B.E. 2428), Sir Edwin Arnold, the author of *The Light of Asia* (a long poem about the Buddha which made many converts and stimulated scholarly study of Buddhism), visited Bodh Gaya[1] which was in the hands of the Mahants, Hindu Śaivites, and was shamefully neglected. He pointed out this fact in a series of articles in the London Telegraph. Inspired by Sir Edwin Arnold's articles, Dharmapāla visited Bodh Gaya and was so shocked at what he saw that he made a vow to dedicate his life both to the task of restoring the Holy Place to Buddhist hands as a worthy place of pilgrimage, and to the revival of the Noble Dharma in the land of its birth.

Dharmapāla returned to Ceylon in May 1891 (B.E. 2434) and founded the Maha Bodhi Society in Colombo. In the same year, a mission was sent to Bodh Gaya and, then, an international conference of Buddhists was held there. In the following year a journal was launched and headquarters of the new society were set up in Calcutta. Dharmapāla visited the United States two times during the 1890's, the first time to attend the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, when he visited Hawaii, Japan, China, Thailand and Malaya on his way back, and the second time to preach Buddhism when he stayed there for one year and made several American converts. Substantial financial help came from wealthy Americans, especially Mrs. Mary E. Foster, whom he met in Honolulu and who became his most active supporter. Further branches of the Society were set up and in 1920 (B.E. 2463) a Buddhist vihāra was opened at Culcutta. The revival movement was then well founded and continued steadily. Dharmapāla entered the monkhood in 1931 (B.E. 2474) and passed away two years later, leaving his unfinished mission to be carried on by his colleagues and followers.

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[1] Or, in Pali, Buddha Gayā.

India achieved independence on August 15, 1947 (B.E. 2490). When questions arose as to what should be adopted as national symbols of free India, the Constituent Assembly ultimately turned towards the Buddhist heritage. Thus, the Dharmacakra or the Wheel of the Law came to be represented at the center of the national flag to remind the nation of the noble doctrine of the Buddha and of the Dhammavijaya or Conquest by Righteousness of Asoka, while the Lion Capital of Asoka, representing the fearless proclamation of the Dharma to the four quarters of the world, has been adopted as the official seal of the Republic. The Chairman of the Committee which drafted the Constitution was Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the leader of the untouchables who became converted to Buddhism and made the Buddhist revival a mass movement.

Two other important events increased the interest in Buddhism among the Indian masses, the home-coming of the sacred relics of the two Chief Disciples of the Buddha in 1949 (B.E. 2492) and the Buddha-Jayanti or 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, in 1956 (B.E. 2499). The relics were returned to India by the British Government to be enshrined at Sanchi, their original resting place, on the request of the Maha Bodhi Society. The enshrinement of the relics was celebrated together with the Maha Bodhi Society's Golden Jubilee and an international Buddhist conference attended by the Prime Ministers of India and Burma and world Buddhist leaders. The Indian Buddha-Jayanti celebrations commenced in May 1956 (B.E. 2499) and lasted for one full year, till May 1957 (B.E. 2500). The program of the Government of India included the publication of a Tripitaka in Devanagari script and *2500 Years of Buddhism*, a special volume which was an indication of the respect given to Buddhism by the Indian educated class.

On October 14 of the year of celebration, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar led half a million followers in a formal declaration of adherence to Buddhism. This event was followed by a rapid increase in the

Buddhist population in India, particularly through a number of similar conversions among the untouchables seeking social equality. By 1965 (B.E. 2508) there were about 4,000,000 Buddhists in India in contrast to 50,000 in 1891 (B.E. 2434). Numbers of Bhikkhus, vihāras, and Buddhist societies and organizations have also considerably increased. The study of Pali was introduced into Calcutta University as far back as the year 1908 (B.E. 2451). This example has been followed by many other Indian universities. The establishment of the Nālandā Pāli Institute (Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra) in 1951 (B.E. 2494) and the founding of the Magadh University in 1962 (B.E. 2505) are also evidences of an important place modern India has given to Pali and Buddhist studies.

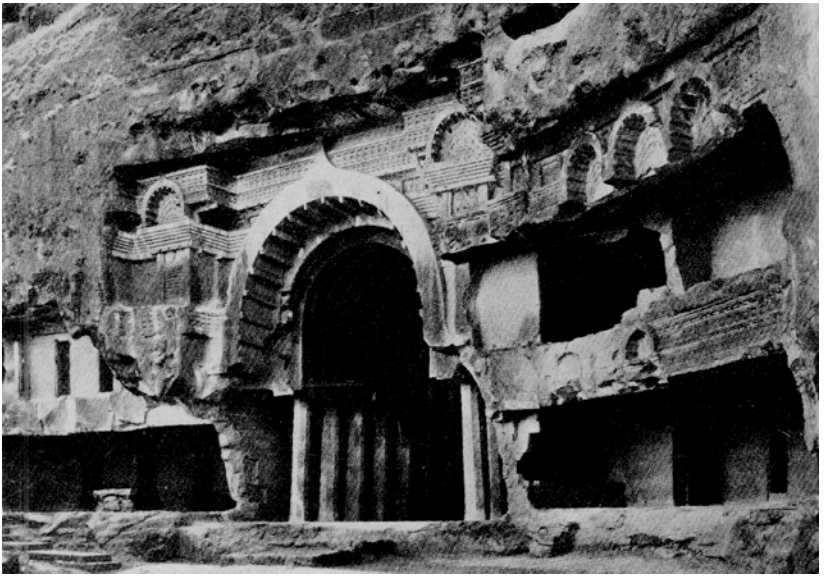
In the 1950s, when the Red Chinese overran Tibet, her people, both monks and laymen, fled to northern India and found refuge in her hill country. There, a Buddhist community is taking shape and Tibetan Buddhism may make a significant contribution to the future of Indian Buddhism.

A Thai monastery called *Wat Thai Buddha-Gayā*, which was constructed by the Thai Government at the invitation of the Government of India to celebrate the Buddha-Jayanti, was completed in 1966 (B.E. 2509). It is well known as one of the finest vihāras ever constructed in modern India. The Burmese, Japanese, Chinese and Tibetan Buddhists also have monasteries at Buddha Gayā.

Just a century ago Buddhism was unheard of in the land of its birth, as nearly every trace of the religion had been effaced from the Indian soil. Today, the seed of the Bodhi tree, deeply planted under the soil, being fed by fertilizer from abroad, has sprouted and has signs of a glorious growth.

In some border areas of India such as some parts of Assam and in Bangladesh (East Bengal), Buddhism has never entirely disappeared. There the monastic life still survives and a small Buddhist population has persisted. Notable in this way is Chittagong,

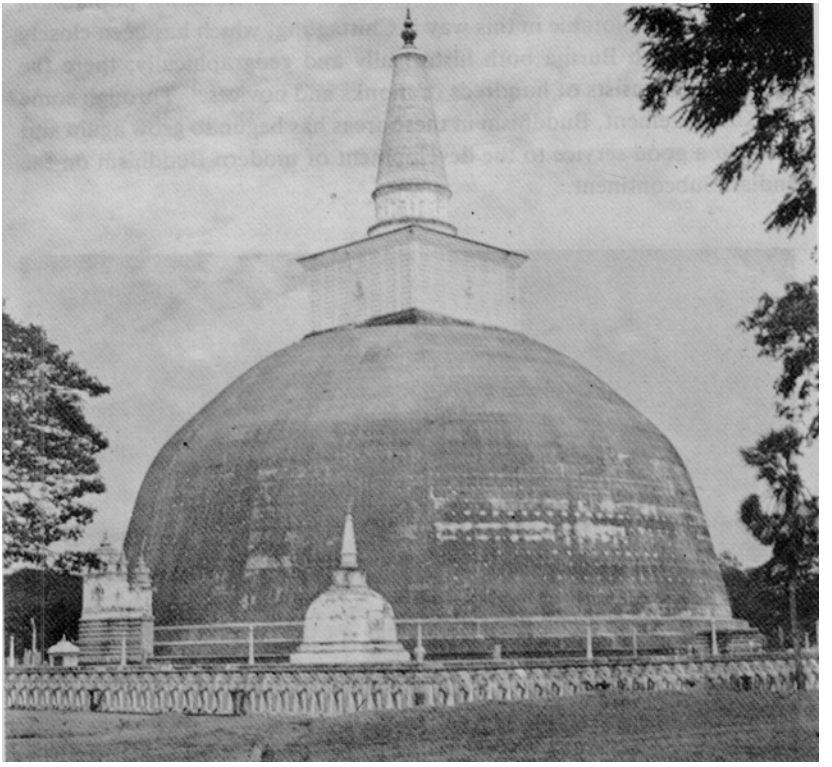
which has been closely connected with Burma both historically and geographically; there the monkhood consists of hundreds of monks and novices.[1] Through some revival movement, Buddhism in these areas has begun to grow again and may do a good service to the development of modern Buddhism on the Indian Subcontinent.



Façade of the shrine hall in a cave-monastery, India.

[1] The number of monks in Bangladesh now is about 900.

7:
From Ceylonese to Sri Lankan Buddhism



Ruvanvali dagoba (Mahāthūpa, built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇī Abhaya in the second century B.C.E., has dominated the landscape of Anurādhapura for two thousand years.

Ceylonese Buddhism out of the Colonial Period

Ceylonese Buddhism has been in close connection with Ceylonese nationalism throughout Ceylonese history. This connection was even stronger during the British colonial period. Under British rule, the monasteries lacked official status and were unable to defend their land or rights. One report claimed that 800,000 acres of temple property were confiscated. The colonial government and the Christian missionaries took the entire school system out of the hands of the Buddhists. The Buddhists became second-class citizens, while the Christians and the English-educated rose to the best positions in the colonial administration. Only Christian Sundays and feast days and the British national holidays were celebrated in this Buddhist country. There were various anti-colonialist uprisings and prominent Buddhist monks were condemned to death. Threats of religious, national and cultural effacement like these led to the Buddhist revival in Ceylon.

In 1839 (B.E. 2382),[1] a parivena[2], a Buddhist seminary or institution of higher learning, called the *Parama-Dhammacetiya Parivena*, was founded. Among the important Buddhist leaders produced by this parivena was H. Sri Sumangala Thera. In the years 1872 (B.E. 2415) and 1876 (B.E. 2419) two more parivenas were established, the Vidyodaya in Colombo and the Vidyālankāra at Kelaniya near Colombo, which were raised to the status of universities in 1959 (B.E. 2502).

Then, the learned Buddhists led by Ven. H. Sri Sumangala Thera and Ven. M. Sri Guṇānanda Thera demonstrated their opposition to Western ideas, values and social practices by arranging public disputations with Christian missionaries. In these Buddhist–Christian controversies, the Buddhists considered the utter defeat of

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[1] The Buddhist Era as shown here is according to the Thai calendar. To have the one in the Ceylonese calendar, just add one to the present number.

[2] Also called *pirivena*.

Christianity easy and certain, while the Christian missionaries could fairly estimate the difficulties of their position and day by day they had to commend themselves in prayer to God and confide in Him for wisdom and direction at every step.[1]

Reading the account of such a controversy published in the *Ceylon Times* in 1873, Colonel Henry Steel Olcott, an American Civil War officer, came to know of the Buddhist conditions in Ceylon. Then, in l880 (B.E. 2423), he came to Ceylon to take part in the defense of Buddhism. He traveled around the country encouraging the people to revive their historic religion, reorganized the Buddhist educational system on modern principles and founded the Theosophical Society of Ceylon. Within a few years he opened three colleges and 200 schools, and exercised considerable influence over the younger generation. One of the young men who came under his influence was David Hewavitharne (mentioned earlier), who later became a great Buddhist leader called Anāgārika Dharmapāla, the founder of the Maha Bodhi Society (1891 or B.E. 2434) and the Buddhist revival movement in India. The movement initiated by Col. Olcott also adopted a Buddhist flag and succeeded in making the Vesak a public holiday once more.

Meanwhile, in the field of Buddhist studies, some of the British officials who served in the Civil Service of Ceylon, through their private study and research, developed an appreciation of the Buddhist culture of Ceylon. Among these was Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, who later founded the Pali Text Society in London in 1881 (B.E. 2424) and wrote, edited and translated voluminous Buddhist literary works. By rendering the Buddha's teachings admirable in European eyes, he "gave confidence and pride to the peoples who

[1] Rev. Parsons quoted in Balding's *One Hundred Years in Ceylon*, p. 120.

had preserved them."[1] He has been one of the two Westerners especially revered in Ceylon, the other being Col. Olcott.

Among Ceylonese scholars, it should be noted that lay Buddhists have played no less important a part in Buddhist literary activities than the monks. One of the best known, or probably the best known, should be Professor G. P. Malalasekera, the compiler of *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* (1937–1938 or B.E. 2480–2481) and Editor-in-Chief of *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, the first fascicule of which was published in 1961 (B.E. 2504). The *Encyclopaedia* is a work of international collaboration and several regional committees have been set up for the better coordination of the work, the largest of these being the Japanese committee. Smaller committees also function in China, Burma, Thailand, Germany, France, Italy and the Netherlands. Some 2,000 pages of the *Encyclopaedia* have been published so far.

Among monk-scholars, the following names should be cited: Aggamahāpaṇḍita A. P. Buddhadatta, author of *Concise Pali–English Dictionary*, *English–Pali Dictionary*, *New Pali Course*, etc.; Dr. Vajirañāṇa Mahāthera, writer of *Buddhist Meditation*; Ven. Nārada Thera, an active Buddhist missionary and voluminous author; Ven. W. Rahula, author of *What the Buddha Taught* and *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Of no less importance and distinction than these scholars was Ven. Nyanatiloka, the German Buddhist monk of Island Hermitage in Ceylon who wrote *Guide Through the Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, *The Word of the Buddha*, *Buddhist Dictionary* and other valuable works in German, English and Pali. Of his pupils, Ven. Nyanaponika, a German monk learned in the Abhidhamma, and Ven. Ñāṇamoli, an English monk with voluminous translated Pali works, were among international Buddhist scholars. In presenting Buddhist teaching and practice to the modern world, these scholars

[1] R. H. Robinson, *The Buddhist Religion* (Belmont: Dickenson Publishing Co., Inc. 1970), p. 108.

were active in relating them to modern thought and much attention was paid to the Abhidhamma and meditation.

Nationalistic and International Buddhism

After independence in 1948 (B.E. 2491), the identification between Buddhism and nationalism continued and even led to the politicization of the Ceylonese Sangha. Several factors were accountable for this. Firstly, other religions, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, were imported to the island by occupying powers during various colonial periods. Secondly, the fact that, by the British constitution, the Queen of England is the head of the Anglican Church and Defender of the Faith, caused in the Buddhists opposition to Ceylon's constitution of 1946–47 (B.E. 2489–90). They would ask, "How can the Queen of England be defender of both the Christian and the Buddhist religions?" Thirdly, religious conflicts during the British colonial period increased in the Ceylonese love of their native culture, stimulated a desire to turn back to a golden past when Ceylon was under Buddhist kings, and thus led to the demand for the reestablishment of Buddhism as the state religion and the planning of educational and cultural policies under the guidance of Buddhist principles. Moreover, the fact that in Ceylon temple lands and monasteries are the private property of the monks who have interests in them may also have some connection with the matter. As a result of the politicization of the Sangha, every politician tries to win the support of the monks and the winners are those who attract the greater number of monks to their cause. Today, monks may be seen actively campaigning for a political party candidate or politicians making speeches with monks at their sides.

This politicization has, however, caused reactions, especially since the assassination of Ceylonese Prime Minister Bandaranaike in 1956 (B.E. 2499). There has been a public demand for the purifying and reforming of the Sangha. Thus, there are trends to put an end to

the politicization and secularization of the Ceylonese Sangha, and to restore it to the purely spiritual character of monasticism.

Another trend worthy of interest is the involvement of monks in community development projects and programs for rural uplift. Organizations and movements have been formed for the participation of monks in various kinds of work for the spiritual and material welfare of the people and for the improvement of the living conditions of the villagers, such as the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (organized in 1958 or B.E. 2501) and the Ceylon Farmers' Association (founded in 1966 or B.E. 2509). This trend can also be seen in other Southeast Asian countries, especially Thailand.

In 1972 (B.E. 2515), Ceylon adopted a new constitution under which the country became a republic and its name was changed to Sri Lanka.

At present, there are three main sects of the Sri Lankan Sangha: the largest and oldest, Siam Nikāya, which is divided into two principal chapters, Malwatta and Asgiriya; the Amarapura Nikāya, founded in the 19th Buddhist century with about 20% of monk population; and the Rāmañña Nikāya, founded by reformist members of the Siam sect. While the former Siam sect derived its ordination from Thailand, the latter two are the recipients of ordination from Burma. There are no fundamental or doctrinal differences between these sects.

Of the population of 15,000,000 (est. 1981 or B.E. 2524), Buddhists make up 67%, while, of the rest, 18% are Hindu, 8% Christians, and 7% Muslims. There are almost 6,000 monasteries with about 17,000 monks and 14,000 novices in residence.

Among the Theravada Buddhist countries, Sri Lanka has been the most advanced in modern Buddhist studies. Besides the two

monastic parivenas of Vidyodaya[1] and Vidyālankāra[2], which have been elevated to university status, admitting lay students as well as monks, the older secular University of Sri Lanka offers courses in Pali and Buddhist studies both for the lower and for the advanced degrees to all students, Sri Lankan and foreign, including monks.

Sri Lanka has made great contributions to the progress of international Buddhism. Besides the above-described Maha Bodhi Society, Sri Lanka gave birth to another great international Buddhist organization, that is, the World Fellowship of Buddhists (WFB) in 1950 (B.E. 2493). Professor Malalasekera who initiated the idea was elected the first president of the organization. Now the organization has its permanent headquarters in Thailand. In addition, until 1975 (B.E. 2518) Sri Lanka had sent abroad a far greater number of Dhammadūtas than any other Buddhist country, except Japan. Sri Lankan monks can be found residing in their vihāras or residences in London, Washington, West Berlin and other Western cities, as well as in India. The Buddhist Publication Society of Kandy, established in 1958 (B.E. 2501), has regularly published two useful serial publications called *The Wheel* and *Bodhi Leave*s, which have enjoyed a world-wide readership. Sri Lanka's monthly journals, such as *World Buddhism*, meet with increasing numbers of readers in the English-speaking world. So far, as Trevor Ling says in his *A History of Religion: East and West*, "Ceylon has also played a larger part than any other Buddhist country in making known to some of the non-Buddhist areas of the world the principles and practice of Buddhism."

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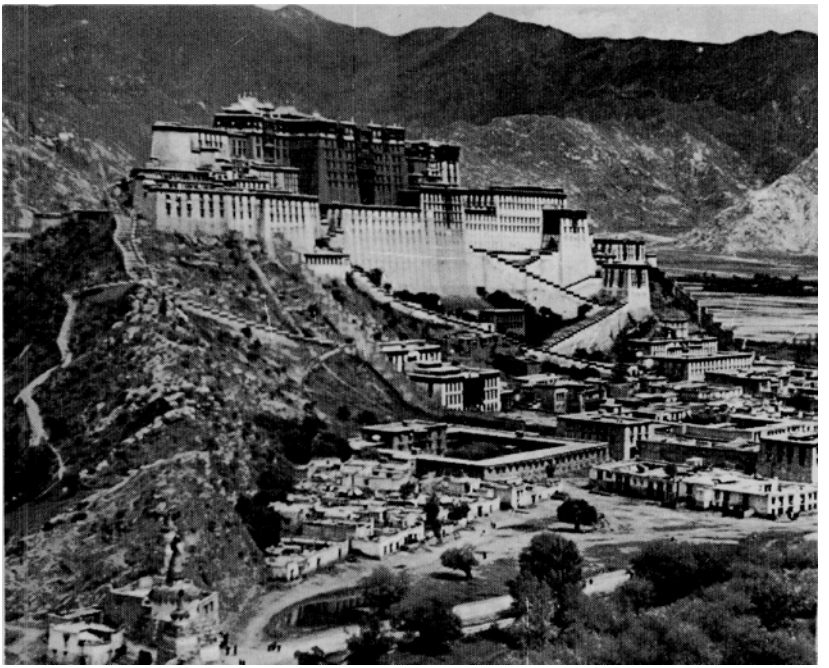
[1] At Vidyodaya, there is a fund of 5,000 rupees called "Siyāmarājatyāga" donated by King Chulalongkorn (Rama V) of Thailand for granting awards to students who get the highest marks.

[2] From 1966 (B.E. 2509) onwards, admission to Vidyālankāra has been extended to women. In 1967 (B.E. 2510), there were six Thai monks and novices taking courses at this university.



The Potala in Lhasa, Tibet, former palace of the Dalai Lama
(now a public primary school).

8:
The Buddhist Revival in Burma

Shwe Dagon pagoda in Rangoon (368 ft. or 112 m. high), the most important Buddhist shrine of Burma and perhaps the most visited Buddhist temple in the world, is covered from base to summit with gold.

Politicizing While invigorating Burmese Buddhism

Burma under British rule was not so much subject to religious suppression as Ceylon. Europeanization was not so great there as to affect much the cultural life of the Burmese, since the British administered Burma only as a part of India and the British colonial period there was much shorter than in Ceylon. There was little to be called a Buddhist revival directly resulting from the reaction to the colonial rule. Still there was an identification between Buddhism and nationalism. This was caused by an attachment to and pride in the historical religion as the national heritage on the one hand, and by political advantages on the other. There were cultural conflicts with Europeans, especially the "no footwear controversy," which led Buddhist monks to more violent political actions. However, there was a division between the monks. It was the younger monks, not the older Sayadaws, who involved themselves in politics. These monks joined in the uprisings against British rule.

Burmese political leaders, meanwhile, relied heavily on Buddhism to support their leadership and unify the country. The people of Burma belong to many races and speak many languages. Besides the Burmans and the Mons, there were such sizable minorities as the Karens, the Chins, the Kachins and the Shans, who were largely mountain people and occupied 50% of the Burmese land. These minorities made up 25% of the population, while the Burmans who lived in the other 50% formed 75%. Political leaders had to find ways of telling the people that they were a nation. As 85% of the people were Buddhists, they found in Buddhism this unifying element.

In contrast to Ceylon, Christian missionary work in Burma not directly supported by the colonial power made considerable progress among animistic tribal peoples, especially among the Karens. The conversion of these peoples even more alienated them from the Burmese majority. Postwar political events convinced the Burmese

Buddhists that Christianity was a religion hostile to the Burmese state. They believed the religion brought with it foreign intervention and caused political and economic oppression. Marxism or Communism was also condemned as state capitalism, which was far worse than ordinary capitalism. This led the leaders of the Burmese revolution to advance a form of Burmese state socialism based on the principles of Buddhism.

Although monks played a prominent part in the early days of the independence movement, they later faded into the background. On achieving independence in 1946 (B.E. 2489), the revolution leader even declared a policy of not mixing religion and politics. But in post-independence years the pongyis (monks) appeared again on the political scene as political leaders tried to win their support. By promising to amend the constitution to make Buddhism the state religion and with his program of Buddhist socialism, U Nu saw a number of pongyis actively campaigning for him and he won a landslide victory in the election of 1960 (B .E. 2503).

U Nu's great contribution to the Buddhist revival in Burma was the holding of the Sixth Buddhist Council in Rangoon in 1954–1961 (B.E. 2497–2499[1]). The World Peace Pagoda called Kabā-Aye and the Great Cave called Mahāguhā (as a reproduction of the Mahā Pāsāṇa Guhā, where the First Council met), capable of seating 10,000 people, were built along with the International Institute for Advanced Buddhist Studies[2], a new library, a publishing house and other large buildings providing lodging for pilgrims and living quarters for researchers. Among the chief purposes of the Council were to provide for the recension of the Pali texts, to have them printed and put in worldwide distribution, and to encourage missionary work by establishing a worldwide Buddhist mission and directing the work particularly to Europe and America. After

[1] Or B.E. 2498–2500 according to the Burmese calendar.
[2] Its cornerstone was laid by Prime Minister U Nu on April 3, 1954 (B.E. 2497).

opening on May 17, 1954 (B.E. 2497), the Council concluded on May 24, 1956 (B.E. 2499), the full moon day of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Great Decease. About 2,000 monks from various Buddhist countries came to attend this Council. The Council roused in Burmese Buddhists a new zeal for the restoration of religious glory and has achieved the publication in Burmese (Maramma) script of a complete set of the Pali Canon and the Commentaries, and a large number of other post-canonical works. The voluminous *Pali-Burmese Dictionary*, the biggest of the existing Pali dictionaries, is also a great achievement of the Burmese Sangha and it, too, is published by the Buddha Sāsana Council at Kabā-Aye in Rangoon. Inspired by the Council, some Burmese monks went to Thailand to preach the Abhidhamma and to teach some methods of meditation as practiced in Burma, while a number of Thai monks and novices, mostly from Wat Mahādhātu in Bangkok, came to Burma to study and practice the same.

It should be noted that Burma has been famous for the study of the Abhidhamma. The tradition of Abhidhamma studies still continues and all are encouraged to sit for government examinations in the Abhidhamma. Great emphasis has also been placed on the practice of meditation and many meditation centers for laymen have been set up, especially in Rangoon and Mandalay. Among the learned monks of Burma who have specialized in the Abhidhamma and meditation practice, the name of Ledi Sayadaw stands foremost.[1] After him, Mahāsī Sayadaw (U Sobhaṇa Mahāthera) is an international figure, well known in the meditation circle, through whose efforts the Burmese method of insight meditation (Vipassanā) has spread to Thailand (with a center at Wat Mahādhātu) and Sri Lanka.

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[1] Other notable scholars are Abhidhaja Mahā Raṭṭha-Guru Nyaungyan Sayadaw (a Sanghanāyaka), Ven. Mingun Sayadaw (U Nārada), Z. Aung, Prof. Maung Tin, and Rev. Paññāloka.

A New Trend or a Readjustment

It is said that under the monarchy of the 19th century when Buddhist studies flourished, monks were strict in discipline. The king appointed a hierarchy headed by a Saṅgharāja to regulate the affairs of the Order. Under the British rule, no new patriarch was appointed. Eventually, the British ruler made arrangements for the monks to elect a head for themselves. Since then, discipline in the monasteries has become lax. Many younger monks became involved in politics. There were even small groups of monks who formed gangs extorting money from theaters in Mandalay. The monkhood did not receive direct government support. Their influence on the political parties was the only tie they had to the state.

In August 1961 (B.E. 2504), Buddhism was made the state religion by a vote of 324 to 28. The event, however, did not please some minority groups in the hill country, especially the Kachins and the Karens who had been converted to Christianity. Uprising problems developed at the time when economic conditions had become worse. On March 2, 1962 (B.E. 2505), General Ne Win seized power, suspended the constitution and proclaimed a new anti-Communist government under a Revolutionary Council. Its policy and social and economic ideas were outlined in the document called "The Burmese Way to Socialism," in which Buddhist thought and Marxism could join. But the new leading role was to be played by the socialist military, not the pongyis. Ne Win returned to the policy of the leader of the Burmese independence movement, that is, to separate religion from politics.

In August 1964 (B.E. 2507), a number of pongyis attacked and destroyed the printing press and the office of a Mandalay newspaper which published an article "A reminder to keep the Sāsana pure." Then, the Ne Win government issued a statement, saying, "... from now onwards the revolutionary government will have to defend itself against bogus sanghas who have merely adorned the yellow robe to

oppose the government at every available opportunity." At the end of the year, senior monks agreed to formulate a new code of conduct and form a hierarchy to enforce the strict rules of monkhood.

In 1965 (B.E. 2508), young pongyis in many parts of Burma condemned the revolutionary government as anti-religious and urged its overthrow. On April 27, 92 pongyis were arrested by the government. By showing public evidence of the corruption of the arrested monks, the government prevented popular opposition and won the approval of the monkhood. As the government action proved to be an effort to purify the Sangha, the political role of the pongyis was crushed. This was followed by many meritorious activities on the part of the government to show that it supported Buddhism only in a nonpolitical role. To a great extent, the government has met with success.

The above story may be summed up in Mr. Schecter's words, "In Burma the monks have failed to serve as anything more than a critical and negative force; since their contribution to independence, they have spent their efforts in holding on to past prerogatives rather than offering initiatives ... It [the Ne Win government] has tried to apply Buddhist principles to social, economic and political change, leaving the clergy behind."[1]

To many people, however, the attitude of the Ne Win regime towards Buddhism has been negative or doubtful. At least, it is apparent that the rich government support to Buddhist activities formerly given by U Nu has been reduced to a deficiency. The majestic work of publishing Buddhist texts and translations, though not brought to a complete stop, has hardly continued. The advancement of Buddhist studies and propagation has been barely encouraged or even checked by some government restrictions, though there is now a sign of some improvement.

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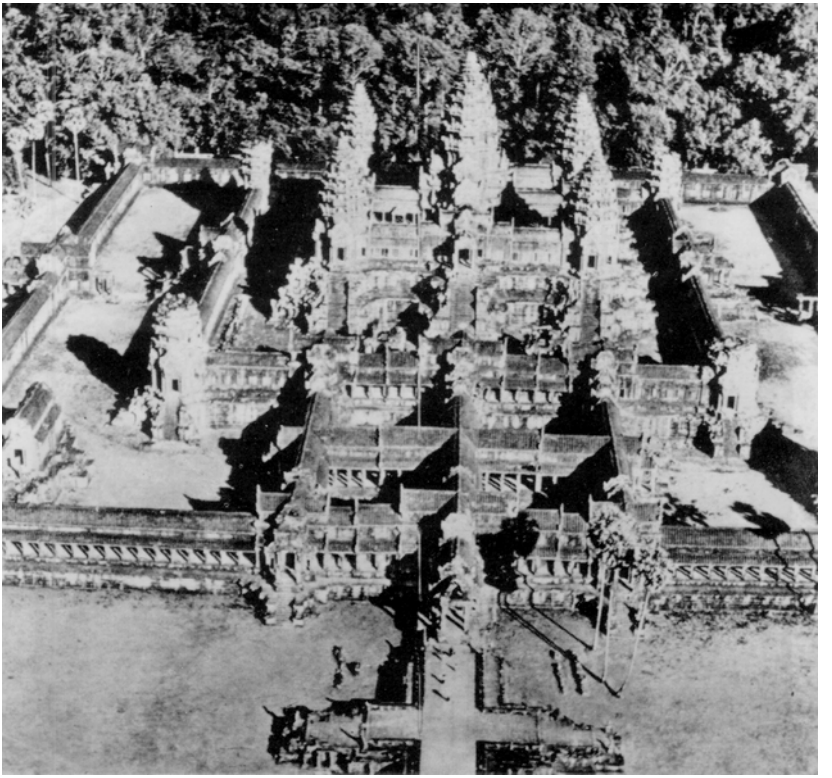
[1] Jerrold Schecter, *The New Face of Buddha* (Tokyo: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1967), pp. 128–129.

Before World War II, there were about 800,000 monks and novices in Burma. Today the number may lie between 80,000 and 120,000 or, according to some private source, 350,000. Of this number about 33,000 are novices. Among the several sects of Theravada Buddhism, the Thuddama sect is the most numerous, while the Shwegyin sect, though smaller, is an important and influential branch. Standards of monastic discipline and learning vary considerably from monastery to monastery. Since the Sixth Buddhist Council, the focus of religious life has gradually been moving from Mandalay in Upper Burma to Rangoon in Lower Burma, where Buddhist centers of higher learning have been found.

A monastery in Burma.

9:
A Double Fate of Laotian and Cambodian Buddhism



Angkor Wat, the largest and most imposing religious structure in Cambodia (9th–14th centuries), was originally intended to be Buddhist, but adapted to Śaiva usage before its completion and ultimately containing both Hindu and Buddhist statues. It was the center of the Khmer empire for six centuries before the Cambodians, declined in power, were forced to abandon it. Now, in ruins, it can at best be only a reminder of the past.

Laotian Buddhism Takes a New Turn

Though a small country with a small population, Laos was strong religiously. Before the Communist takeover in 1975 (B.E. 2518), Buddhism was the state religion under royal patronage and the Sangha was unified, with no division into sects or denominations, under the leadership of the Supreme Patriarch. In spite of the absence of current statistics, it can be said that in 1975 nearly 100% of the three million Laotians were Buddhists. They were not only unified but also strong in their faith.

Laotians were devoted Buddhists of the Theravada School. They adhered to the traditional Buddhist culture that they had shared with the traditional Thais. Laos stood at an earlier stage of modernization than Thailand and the monkhood had not been isolated from, or lost its place in, any sector of Laotian society. The monks had their rightful share in the process of development. Leadership of the monkhood was still maintained and the monks still played significant roles in public education. Ecclesiastical education was a basic part of the national system of education and enjoyed full responsibility of the secular government. In 1964 (B.E. 2507) the Institute of Buddhist Studies was established as an ecclesiastical institution under the charge of the Ministry of Education.[1] Large numbers of Laotian monks went to further their studies in Thailand and India every year and were a direct concern of the Laotian government. On graduation, they had significant places in national affairs. Ostensibly, monks in Laos were thus in a good position to find a suitable place for Buddhism in modernized society and to help the people achieve a desirable development, if they should not fall into negligence and lose the opportunity, and if political events

[1] In 1975 (B. E. 2518) the charge was transferred to the Ministry of religious Affairs.

should not interfere and put them out of action or dislocate the whole process.

However, the above promising picture of Laotian Buddhism was just the tip of the iceberg. While the country had a very backward economy and was often spoken of as the least developed of the Indochina states, the Laotian monkhood, on the whole, did more for the persistence of the status quo than for the solution of the problem. The majority of the monks and novices were, like the populace, undereducated, both in the modern sense and in the sense of monastic training. They lived in idleness and in ignorance of the real conditions of the changing society. Superstitious beliefs and practices were prevalent. Generally speaking, the Laotian monks led the masses in this deluding way rather than preach the real teachings of the Buddha to enlighten them. Undoubtedly, this state of affairs contributed to the progress of Communist ideologies among the modern younger generations and, eventually, to the final collapse of the old royal regime.

After a long civil war between the Laotian royal government forces aided by the United States and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao (The Lao People's Revolutionary Party) supported by the North Vietnamese and a long period of political instability, Laos fell completely into the hands of the Communists in 1975 (B.E. 2518). The 600-year-old monarchy was abolished on July 2, 1975 and the kingdom was turned into the Lao People's Democratic Republic. In 1977 (B.E. 2520), Vietnam and Laos signed a 25-year agreement for military and economic cooperation. The 1979 (B.E. 2522) Vietnam–Cambodia pact even says that the three countries "must unite with one another in political, military, diplomatic and other affairs."[1] A large number of refugees have fled Vietnamese-dominated Laos, draining the country of most of its elite. Laotian monk-refugees can

[1] Hammond Almanac, 1981, p. 609.

be found taking shelter in Thailand and living with Laotian communities in the United States and some European countries. The last patriarch of Laos, a respectable very old senior monk, was hospitalized and passed away in Bangkok. Because of the lack of communication, Buddhism in Laos becomes hidden away as if behind a kind of curtain. Hearsays and rumors develop abroad, including the ones that no new monks have entered the monasteries as people are not allowed to ordain while the pre-existing monks are encouraged or indirectly forced to leave the monkhood and that the monks have been utilized by the current regime as political instruments for indoctrinating the people in the new ideology.

The Break-up of Cambodia and Cambodian Buddhism

Cambodia has also shared the same Buddhist tradition with Thailand and Laos, since the beginning of her modern history. According to the statistics of a year during the 1960s, there were 2,750 monasteries with about 70,000 to 80,000 monks and novices in residence.[1] These monks and novices might be either temporary or permanent as they enjoyed the practice of freely entering and leaving the monkhood under the ordination-for-learning tradition, which was characteristic also of Thailand and Laos. As in Thailand, there were two denominations or Sub-Orders of the Cambodian Sangha. One was the original order which was later called *Mahānikāya* to distinguish it from the newly-founded denomination of the *Dhammayut*. The other, the Dhammayut, was the Sub-Order introduced from Thailand over a hundred years ago. There were two Patriarchs, one for each of the two denominations.

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[1] In 1970, Cambodia had a population of about seven million. Another source gives the number of monasteries as 3,369 (3,230 belonging to the Mahanikaya and 139 to the Dhammayut) and that of monks as 65,063 (62,678 and 2,385 affiliated with the two denominations, respectively).

The Cambodian Sangha appeared to be active in education. Efforts were made to modernize the ecclesiastical education. A Pali High School was founded in Phnom Penh in 1914 (B.E. 2457), which was later transformed into a college. Around the year 1956 (B.E. 2499), arrangements were made for the establishment of the Buddhist University of Phra Sihanu-Raja (Université Bouddhique Preah Sihanouk), which began functioning in 1961 (B. E. 2504). The Buddhist Institute of Phnom Penh was also founded to carry out the programs of propagating Buddhism and Cambodian culture. A Tripitaka Board was appointed a few decades ago for the publication of the Canon together with its Cambodian translation in 110 volumes. During the 1960s, monks were encouraged to participate in various nation-building programs. By involving monks in educational and community-welfare projects, it was hoped that the traditional leadership and teaching role of the monks would be strengthened. Primary-school instruction was provided at temple schools throughout the provinces. Monks were engaged in the improvement of village life, leading the peasants in the construction of country roads and bridges and supervising well-digging. Prince Sihanouk was then active in expounding his social gospel of Buddhist Socialism. In the early years of the 1970s, however, political unrest developed in Cambodia, monks and monasteries as well as the people suffered from battles and warfare, and the Buddhist activities were put into obscurity.

In 1955 (B.E. 2498), Prince Narodom Sihanouk abdicated the throne in favor of his father and remained premier to fill a more active political role. When his father died in 1960 (B.E. 2503), Prince Sihanouk, without returning to the throne, became the country's first chief of state. In the face of the Vietnam war, he tried to maintain Cambodia's neutrality. Then, on March 18, 1970 (B.E. 2513), while he was out of the country, his government was overthrown in a pro-Western coup led by Lt.Gen. Lon Nol. Almost suddenly began a

long war between the U.S. supplied government troops and the North Vietnamese and Vietcong (gradually replaced, from 1970 (B.E. 2513) to 1973 (B.E. 2516), by the Hanoi-backed native Cambodian Communist insurgents called the Khmer Rouge.

The five-year war ended in April 1975 (B.E. 2518) as the Government surrendered and the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh. Under a new constitution, a State Presidium was established, headed by Pol Pot. Refugees, who escaped to Thailand in thousands, reported that all cities, including Phnom Penh swollen at that time by two million refugees, had been evacuated and almost all the inhabitants were forcibly moved to rural areas and put to work in the rice fields or in the jungle where new farm settlements were to be founded. In addition to the long forced marches, they spoke of starvation and wholesale killings. From 1975 (B.E. 2518) through 1978 (B.E. 2521), about three or four million Cambodians are estimated to have died under the brutality of Pol Pot's regime. The two patriarchs of the two Sub-Orders of the Cambodian Sangha were also reported dead, though the causes of their death are still unclear.

In April 1981 (B.E. 2524), a senior Cambodian monk, who is the spiritual leader of several Cambodian communities of refugees in the United States, gave an address in the City Hall of Boston, saying, "... As you know, more than one third of Cambodia's people were killed in the past ten years, including almost all of Cambodia's 80,000 Buddhist monks...."

In 1978 (B.E. 2521), border clashes with Vietnam developed again. On January 9, 1979 (B.E. 2522), Phnom Penh fell to the Hanoi-backed People's Revolutionary Council of Cambodia headed by Heng Samrin, who took over as president of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Pol Pot forces retreated to the countryside. In Phnom Penh, a new Khmer Sangha was subsequently established.

10:
The Unconcluded Story of Vietnamese Buddhist Struggles

A milder scene in South Vietnam during its 20-year war with the Viet Cong, which ended in 1975 (B.E. 2518).

Background

The day of July 21, 1954 (B.E. 2497) marked the end of the war between the Viet Minh government and the French, the realization of Vietnamese independence and the split of Vietnam into two halves, North and South Vietnam. By a 1966 (B.E. 2509) estimate, the population of North Vietnam was 18,000,000, while that of South Vietnam was 16,000,000. About 1,662,000 Roman Catholics (three fourths of whom live in the South) formed a minority, while 80% of the Vietnamese were Buddhists. Of the 12,000,000 South Vietnamese Buddhists, about 2,000,000 were followers of Theravada Buddhism. The rest practiced Mahayana Buddhism, often mixed with Taoism and Confucianism. South Vietnamese Buddhist temples then numbered 4,856.

According to tradition, Buddhism was introduced into Vietnam in 189 (B.E. 732) when the country was under the Chinese rule, which lasted over 1,000 years, culminating in 939 (B.E. 1482). Both forms of Buddhism were preached there until the ninth century when Chinese Buddhism became predominant. The 15th century was an era of nationalistic expansion, during which the Vietnamese destroyed the ancient Cham or Champa Kingdom and pushed the Cambodians out of the southern area of what is now Vietnam. The annexation of the Mekong Delta areas was completed in the 18th century. It is in this southern part of Vietnam that the Buddhists of Cambodian origin still continue their Theravada tradition. The independence of Vietnam ended again in 1883 (B.E. 2426), when the whole country came under French control.

During almost a century of French rule, Catholicism was encouraged while Buddhism was removed from its place under state support and its development was checked. Then Vietnamese monks participated from time to time in resistance to the French and began a Buddhist revival. Both monks and laymen were active in reform programs. Then the interest in the Pure Land School was revived

while the influence of the Chan School declined. Associations for Buddhist studies were founded in Saigon, Hué and Hanoi in 1931, 1932, and 1934 (B.E. 2474, 2475, and 2477), respectively. In spite of this, however, the role of the monks remained traditional. But, under the Catholic government of Ngo Dinh Diem, the first president of Vietnam, new tensions grew and a new direction began.

In 1954 (B.E. 2497), about 400,000 refugees came to the South from North Vietnam. About 80% of the refugees were Catholic and there were charges of favoritism in giving them aid. Charges were also raised in military promotions and other affairs. A Buddhist monk said, "Diem wants to unify the country into a Catholic bloc and convert all religious sects and parties to Catholicism ... If you want to be rich and wealthy, if you want to be a high-ranking officer, you must be a Catholic."[1]

A Vietnamese Persecution of Vietnamese Buddhists

Then came in 1963 (B.E. 2506) the persecution of Buddhists and the Buddhist crisis, which turned the monks political and militant. The crisis began on the eve of the Visākha Pūjā Day, May 8, 1963 (B.E. 2506), when the police, to follow an order of the President on the use of flags, tore down some of the Buddhist flags raised for the celebrations. Then follow protests by the Buddhists and violent responses from the government to the degree of destruction and bloodshed. The monks led the people in political demonstrations, hunger strikes and sacrificial suicides by burning themselves to death. It was Thich Quang Duc, a 73-year-old monk, who first performed self-immolation on June 11, 1963 (B.E. 2506). He was followed by a number of monks, nuns and lay Buddhists. Among the five demands of the Buddhists were equality under the law for

[1] Jerrold Schecter, *The New Face of Buddha* (Tokyo: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1967), p. 172.

Buddhists and Catholics, and the free practice and propagation of the Buddhist faith. The event which started as a purely religious issue quickly turned into a test of political power. Madame Nhu, the President's sister-in-law, scorned the Buddhists and condemned them as Communists. She even said, "If another monk barbecues himself, I will clap my hands." On August 21, the Buddhists' headquarters and stronghold at Za Loi pagoda was crushed by Ngo Dinh Nhu and martial law was proclaimed. The American advice to conciliate with the Buddhists was not accepted.

At this point, the American government ordered a stop of support to Nhu and agreed to support the military men who planned to bring down the Ngo family. Then the way for a successful coup had been paved by the Buddhist opposition against the government and the Diem regime was finally overthrown on November 1, 1963 (B.E. 2506), by a military coup d'état. Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu were both killed.

Vietnamese Buddhists Reorganize

After the coup of 1963 (B.E. 2506), the Buddhists became a major force in Vietnamese politics, the third power after the Army and the Viet Cong. The military group who held power then wanted to win their support, so they approved the Vietnamese Buddhist Reunification Congress held in Saigon from December 21, 1963 (B.E. 2506), to January 3, 1964 (B.E. 2507). The major result of this meeting was the establishment of *the Unified Vietnamese Buddhist Church* (also called *United Buddhist Association*), which united the Theravada followers[1] with the Mahayana sects and which gave the

[1] The vitality of Theravada Buddhism in South Vietnam and its close relationship with Ceylonese Buddhism can be evidenced by the founding by two Ceylonese monks of a new Theravada monastery called *Jetavana* in Saigon, where a bone-relic of the Buddha was brought from Ceylon and enshrined.

Buddhists a new type of organization with an ecclesiastical hierarchy, parallel to the government structure.

The governing body at the top of the Unified Vietnamese Buddhist Church was the Assembly of Elders, consisting of about 50 to 70 respected senior monks. The Assembly was presided over by the Patriarch, who was elected to a four-year term from among the members of the Assembly. Under the Assembly was the Vien Hoa Dao, or the Council for the Execution of the Dharma, with a Chairman, three Deputies and a Secretary-General. The Vien Hoa Dao consisted of nine departments or commissions (comparable to government ministries), dealing with Sangha affairs, education, youth affairs, cultural affairs (or art and literature), government for nuns, the laity, social service, construction and finance, and the dissemination of the Dharma. The organization at the provincial and district levels followed the same structure of nine departments and was subject to an electoral system. All the key positions from the heads of the departments from the provincial level upwards were held by monks, whether Mahayana or Theravada.

In addition to these was established the Buddhist Chaplain Corps with welfare programs for soldiers' families, which in practice became a support for the Buddhist leadership within the Army. In 1964 (B.E. 2507), with the initiative of Thich Nhat Hanh, the Church also created in the Department of Education the Institute of Higher Buddhist Studies in Saigon, which was shortly afterwards, in the same year, transformed into Van Hanh University with Thich Min Chau as its first rector. In 1966 (B.E. 2509), this university had an enrolment of more than 2,000 students.

The Politicization of Vietnamese Buddhism and a New Crisis

The monks wanted for the monkhood and Buddhism the power that they saw the Catholic Church and the Catholics have

under Ngo Dinh Diem. They wanted to place their chosen Buddhist political laymen in the government, to be advisers to the government, and to gain more state patronage for Buddhism. Then they took more direct political action. With their social and political activities increasing through Buddhist organizations, they became more powerful and directed influence toward the government. They also developed tensions and even clashed with the Catholics who were afraid of being treated with the kind of religious discrimination that the Buddhists said they had suffered under the regime of Diem. When Nguyen Cao Ky established his military regime in June 1965 (B.E. 2508), there had taken place four more changes of South Vietnamese governments and the Buddhists were said to have been directly or indirectly responsible for the downfall of these governments.

In the early period of the Ky regime, the monks' overt political activities decreased due to unfavorable military and political conditions. Moreover, the split widened between the militant and the moderate monks. Under the urging of the lay Buddhists for political moderation and the building of internal strength, main efforts were directed towards more positive activities, especially Buddhist education, social welfare and youth programs. Three weekly newspapers, three monthly magazines and 25 periodicals were published to achieve propagative aims.

Then, in March 1966 (B.E. 2509), the Buddhists came again into conflict with the government. The Unified Buddhist Church wanted to establish a position of power in the new government and brought political pressure on Premier Nguyen Cao Ky. They issued a communique on March 14, calling for (1) an immediate convention to draw up a constitution, (2) national elections, and (3) the return to his post of General Thi, a military leader popular among his men and the Buddhists, who had been dismissed from his position in Hué. This led to the Buddhist crisis which lasted until September 1966

(B.E. 2509). In the process, the Buddhist movement was seriously divided between the moderates, who sought to compromise and the militants, who even turned their demands into a campaign to overthrow the Ky regime. In their internal struggle, it was the militants who defeated the moderates and dominated the actions of the Unified Buddhist Church.

The militant Buddhist students and thousands of soldiers in Hué and Danang followed the militant monks and brought the two cities to a point on the verge of rebellion. Violent protests were also held in Saigon. The government used force to put down the uprisings. As in the crisis of 1963, the Buddhists used demonstrations, hunger strikes and self-immolation as their weapons. But, this time, even their ultimate weapon of burning themselves to death did not excite the people and win popular acceptance so much as in the former crisis. The monks did not have a just cause. It was not a religious struggle to save the Buddhist Church, but a false cry without clarity of purpose. This time, it was not Ky but the militant Buddhists who were defeated. Hué and Danang were brought under government control and Ky had no need to resign.

However, even though the Buddhists failed to remove Ky from power, lost the effectiveness and credibility of their leadership, and became weakened through their internal dissension, their efforts were not altogether futile. Following pressure from them, the government was forced to hold elections for a national constituent assembly in September 1966 (B.E. 2509).

A Word of Comment and Analysis

A weakness which contributed to the failure of the Buddhists was that they were powerful only in a negative sense. They were willing to play the role of opposing the government and often adopted the role of critics without responsibility. With this kind of power, they started as a force to bring down the Diem regime.

Having once started, however, they lacked the ability to transform their power from a destructive force into an organized, disciplined constructive one. In the opposition against Diem, they succeeded because it was a purely religious struggle. Under the oppression, the Buddhists united to protect their religion and only the end of the oppression or the fall of the oppressing power was needed. Their purpose was clear and merely negative. But, in later struggles, it seemed that they wanted something more and different, while their cry and action took the same form as in the earlier struggle.

Many creative activities were, in fact, initiated, but, as the monks were given to militancy and looking for a support by political power, they were obscured by the monks' emphasis on more overt negative political actions. The monks sought from the politicians support for the Buddhists and cooperated with a rival political group in the overthrow of the government in office. But once the rival party came into power, it again disappointed the Buddhists. Things went on in the same way with government after government. Moreover, both the government and the Communists wanted to win the support of the Buddhists and both won hands of some sections of them. In this way the Buddhists themselves were subject to infiltration from outside, which divided and weakened them. The monks were also tempted to ever-increasing political activity till power was put over the religious cause. To this extent, it became unjustifiable secularization leading to the loss of the effectiveness and credibility of the monks' leadership and to their eventual failure. Through this kind of political involvement, it seems that the monks have joined forces with other groups, including the government, in weakening the structure of their own society, rather than in preventing it from happening.

Contrary to the political activity of the militant monks was the moderates' policy of reconciliation. These monks wanted the Buddhists to stand on their own feet, uniting to build internal

strength and not taking side with any political group. They believed that the Buddhists were an immense source of energy and that only a good engineer was needed to make wise use of it. The Buddhist movement should be basic, that is, only for the direct encouragement and protection of Buddhism and of peace and happiness. No energy should be wasted through such superficial, indirect activities as opposing the government or joining with political groups for or against something. They believed that some good elements could be found in any of the warring parties and they sought to reconcile them. Their emphasis was on social work and education in the form of training youth for social service in a rural society. But it was not until 1968 (B.E. 2511) after the militant monks had failed, that the moderates won and their policy and ideas met with popular acceptance. Now, a representative of these moderates can be found in the monk Thich Nhat Hanh, who has been influencing the ideas of the younger generation through his widely-read literary works. There is a fear, however, that this may be too late both for the faith and for the nation. In spite of this, the Vietnamese Buddhists still hope and are making their best efforts to realize their ideals.

It should be noted that in the September 1966 (B.E. 2509) elections the Catholics won 30 of 108 elected seats in the Constituent Assembly, while 34 of the delegates were merely nominal Buddhists and 20 were military men. No chosen representatives of the Unified Buddhist Church were elected. In the later elections for a new Assembly in October 1967 (B.E. 2510), the Catholics won a majority of the 60 Senate seats and 18 in the House of Representatives. This fact testified to the failure of the Buddhists on the one hand and the successful organization of the Catholics on the other.

The New Policy of the Vatican and the Changed Attitude of the Catholics

During the same period of time as political unrest was going on in South Vietnam, there was a great change in the Roman Catholic Church which helped the Catholics to adjust themselves to different conditions and situations more effectively. This was the result of the Second Vatican Council, which was held in Rome at Vatican City from 1962 to 1965 (B.E. 2505–2508). Among the decrees and declarations passed by the Council, the Declaration on [the Church's Attitude toward] Non-Christian Religions promulgated on Oct. 28, 1965 (B.E. 2508) is worthy of special mention here. The Declaration accepts all non-Christian religions for whatever is good and just in them. It says that in the advanced religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism the Church rejects nothing that is true and holy[1] and it reproves discrimination based on race, color, social status, or religion. The Secretariat for Non-Christians was then founded for the essential purpose of promoting contact and dialogue between Christianity and other religions.

Since the Council, the attitude of the Christians towards Buddhism and the Buddhists has greatly changed. This is evident in Thailand, where the policy of cooperation and assimilation has been adopted to replace hostility, aggressiveness, contempt and harsh verbal attacks on the Buddhist teachings. Catholic priests and nuns are instructed to adapt Christian life to the Thai environment and to adjust themselves to local culture. Today, it is natural to see a Christian priest paying respect to a Buddha-image or a Buddhist monk; Christian nuns attending a merit-making ceremony or

[1] It teaches to regard the good and just, the true and holy things to be found in non-Christian religions as "seed of the Word" and "preparation for the Gospel," arranged by God. In accordance with the new interpretation, an act of respect to a Buddha-image can be performed by a Christian, whether a layman or a priest, as the Buddha was a good teacher while God is the Holy Father.

listening to a sermon in a Buddhist monastery-hall; a bishop, in a layman's suit, participating in a social work program of Buddhist monks; or a Buddhist monk invited to teach a meditation lesson to Christian nuns in a convent, all unseen sights and impossibilities two decades ago.

The following passages from the Bulletin of the Secretariat for Non-Christians[1] will make clearer the idea behind the change:

"Even in India, the native land of the Buddhist religion, Buddhism was killed by the renewed expansion of Hinduism."

"In the countries upholding its faith, Buddhism has shaped the customs, the mentality and the culture of the people."

"But for more than a thousand years Buddhism in the Asiatic countries has stagnated in a state of habits, and at times seemed like an old garment belonging to ages past to be thrown away as soon as the people developed the conscience of changed times."

"In the early periods of the history of Buddhism, Buddhist missionary enterprises were zealous, extensive and efficacious the extent of winning almost the whole of Asia to the doctrine of Buddha. Then these activities ceased altogether. Now the Buddhists are thinking of picking up missionary activity again."

"What will our Christian attitude be, faced as we are by the rebirth and expansion of Buddhism."

"In the face of Buddhist expansion our attitude will be friendly, tending to coexistence and to collaboration. This attitude is also the fruit of the ecumenical spirit of the Second Vatican Council and of the institution of the Secretrariat for the Non-Christian Religions."

"It was a surprise for everybody when the Buddhist monks of Vietnam protested last year in a sensational and cynical manner against the Catholic oppression."

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[1] S. Lokuang, "Buddhism on the Road to Renewal," *Bulletin of the Secretarius pro non Christianis*, No. 10, March 1969, pp. 20–27.

"We are always grumbling that the faithful of other religions in Asia refuse to recognize us, putting us in the ranks of colonizers, oppressors and hated by the people. However, we too have many times disparaged Buddhist practices and beliefs as superstitions and outer darkness."

"Our missionary activity is to make ourselves known by the followers of Buddhism. This activity today calls for a renewal of method in composing the catechism, in teaching it and in the means of social communication ... a good knowledge of the religion of Buddha is necessary."

"The first collaboration can be that of arousing the religious spirit in the youth (of the country), resisting the influences of materialism and positivism."

"The second collaboration we can have with the Buddhists is that in the field of social activities which aim at the building of one's own nation and in the field of charity."

"Among the populations with a backward economy there are very many social works in favor of the poor which may and must be undertaken by our missions and by the Buddhist monks. A collaboration in this field, exercised with prudence and patience, can produce good fruits."

"But the most profitable collaboration will be the work which our experts will carry out with the texts and with the Buddhist books so as to absorb the good elements into the local Christian culture."

"In the Buddhist countries, in order to make its own cultural garment, the Church can and must take on the good elements of the Buddhist tradition and transform them giving them a Christian meaning so as to adapt them to the life of the followers of Christ."

"In the moral field many precepts of the religion of Buddha do ample justice also to Christians ..."

"In the ascetic field we have to make a great effort to learn from the Buddhist school the hopes, the inclinations and the ascetic

psychology of the local peoples in order to construct Christian ascetics ..."

"The practice of the Buddhist contemplative life has, through the centuries, fascinated many sages of China and Japan ... Why could not this [Buddhist] exercise be inserted into our meditative and contemplative life with a fitting and prudent change?"

"The whole of Buddhism is based on the four truths: sorrow, the causes of sorrow, the destruction of sorrow and liberation from sorrow. Why could not the spreading of the Gospel of Christ be summed up also in these four truths? The true sorrow of Man is sin. Jesus came to liberate Man from sorrow-sin."

"In this cultural collaboration, positive and constructive, the way to the foundation of the Catholic Church in the Buddhist countries is opened ... When the Gospel of Christ has penetrated the cultural life of the people, then the Church is founded in the midst of that people."

"So, in the face of the Buddhist expansion, which is not an expansion of conquest but an internal renewal, the Catholic mission will seek a friendly co-existence and a constructive collaboration."

It Ends only to Begin

To turn back to South Vietnam, Premier Ky was reported to have said that he believed the Buddhists were finished as a political force in South Vietnam. In saying this, Ky would have referred only to the militant Buddhists, who had failed to overthrow him. The period of Buddhist militancy was over, but the political power of the Buddhists still continued. The power of the temple remained strong and the monks still held an important place in the community. The role of the moderate Buddhists remained a key factor in Vietnamese politics. But their force changed from mobs to ideas. The most important source of their influence would be positive efforts such as those activities initiated in early 1964 (B.E. 2507) and the unifying

power of the faith that united people of different regions. It is these positive efforts and power that had been the Buddhists' lasting contribution to the nation-building of Vietnam. Their impending failure would lie in that they might have returned to the right direction when it was too late.

After 1967 (B.E. 2510), South Vietnam still fared in the period of political instability and the war continued between the South Vietnamese government backed by U.S. forces and the Viet Cong assisted by North Vietnamese troops. In 1969 (B.E. 2512), U.S. public reaction to the endless war forced a gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops till the complete withdrawal was effected in 1973 (B.E. 2516). In 1975 (B.E. 2518), North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces stepped up their offensive in the South. With unbelievable swiftness, they swept the coastal cities and took Saigon almost unopposed. The long war ended as the South Vietnamese government surrendered to the Viet Cong on April 30, 1975 (B.E. 2518). Then, on July 2, 1975 (B.E. 2518), Vietnam became officially reunified under Communist government. Saigon was changed to Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi became the capital of the reunified Vietnam.

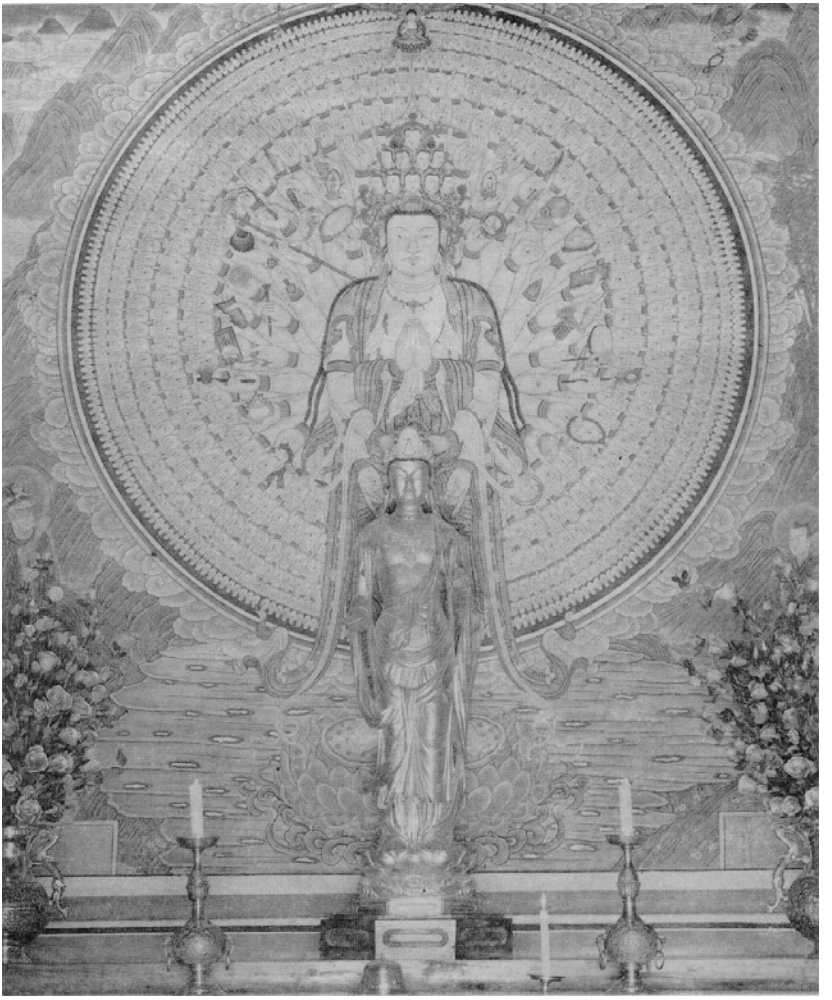
With the end of the long war, followed long years of the outflow of hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing Vietnam, especially the Vietnamese of Chinese origin. According to U.S. officials, 100,000 Vietnamese "boat people" might have died in the sea. While among these refugees who struggled desperately for life outside their country many suffered death, others survived only to further experience hard lives, and still others enjoyed better lives in some foreign countries, in their own country life is not better for most of their fellow country-people. The two decades of war left, in addition to the thousands of lost, maimed and displaced Vietnamese people, "a legacy of bomb craters, street rubble, bullet-pocked

buildings, abandoned rice fields and patches of defoliated forest,"[1] rendering the land almost uncultivatable. Moreover, while the country is facing serious food shortage and a general economic distress, hundreds of thousands of her people are inducted into armed forces as the Hanoi government is preoccupied with a continuing war in Cambodia. As regards the fate of Buddhism in today Vietnam, we know too little. Though Buddhism cannot be wiped out, it seems to have faded into obscurity. All in all, the story of Vietnamese Buddhism can teach her Buddhist friends many valuable lessons. At least, one of these lessons should be that this story should not be repeated.

A monastery in the Thai Autonomous Region in Yunnan Province, China.

[1] *The Hammond Almanac,* 1981, p. 694.

11:
A Glimpse of Buddhist Developments in China and Korea



The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who is represented in later iconography in female form (known in China as Kuan-yin and in Japan as Kwannon, the Goddess of Mercy).

A Short-Lived Buddhist Reform in China

In China, Tibet and Nepal, political events have also come into prominence and the progress of Buddhism has been checked or obscured. China, which was for long centuries a stronghold of Buddhism and the main source of the Northern School's Buddhist tradition, came into the period of decline with the end of the 13th century C.E. There were some short intervals of revival but long days of exploitation, suppression and destruction. Throughout this period, the ruling school was Chan, but it was the Chan whose practice had fallen into habit and which placed a low value on intellectual pursuits. It was just in the early part of the present century that a remarkable reform was undertaken by the modernist monk Tai-Hsu (1889–1947 or B.E. 2432–2490).

The destruction of monasteries and scriptures by the rebels who professed Christianity during the Tai-ping rebellion (1850–1864 or B.E. 2393–2407) stimulated both monks and laymen to begin a revival. But it was after the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty and the founding of the Republic of China in 1911 (B.E. 2454) that an active reform started. In response to the challenge of a new intellectual climate in which traditional and conservative ideas and institutions were rejected and Marxist ideas were introduced, the monk Tai-Hsu led his followers in a movement to defend the religion, propagate the faith, reform the order and promote education. Schools with Western-style classroom instruction were set up. Welfare and economic development work was taken up. A Chinese Buddhist Society was founded in 1929 (B.E. 2472). New contacts with Buddhists of other Asian countries were opened up. Training institutions for Buddhist leaders were founded in various parts of China. The study of Buddhist texts was revived and reformed. The number of Buddhist periodicals increased. And there was a great revival of interest in Buddhism of the Pure Land School. It is said that in 1930 (B.E. 2473) there were 738,000 monks and

nuns and 267,000 Buddhist temples in China, and about 60 or 70% of China's lay Buddhists belonged to Pure Land groups. In the meantime, Chan abbots took to traditional lines for the revival of their institutions.

The Communists took over China's mainland in 1949 (B.E. 2492) and then Buddhist activities fell into obscurity. It is said that a Chinese Buddhist Association was founded in 1953 (B.E. 2496) to bring the large Buddhist community under government control. Many monks fled to Hong Kong and Taiwan to continue their free activities. The Chinese government took measures to preserve famous and beautiful old temples, Buddhist sacred places and art works. Under the Great Cultural Revolution, however, an unrevealed number of Buddhist buildings and monuments were destroyed by the Red Guards.

In 1978 (B.E. 2521), as an attempt to render more precisely the sounds of Mandarin Chinese, China adopted a new system for spelling most Chinese names in the Roman alphabet, called the *Pinyin system*. According to this new spelling, Mao Tse-tung becomes Mao Zedong, Chou En-lai becomes Zhou Enlai, Chu Teh becomes Zhu De and Peking becomes Beijing.

Although the constitution of the People's Republic of China provides for religious freedom, religious practice is not encouraged. Under Mao, many restrictions were placed on traditional rituals and religious observances. After the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 (B.E. 2519) and under Deng Xiaoping's modernization program, many restrictions were removed and the people became much freer to observe custom and tradition. However, even though many famous old temples have been restored, foreign visitors meet with very few Chinese monks. Buddhist activities of real significance have been unheard of. To many, Buddhism in Communist China has been a kind of "Showcase Buddhism."

The Reform of Korean Buddhism

Korean Buddhism with its major sect of Chan ran the same course of development and decline[1] as in China until the annexation by the Japanese in the year 1910 (2453). Then, under Japanese rule (1910–1945 or B.E. 2453–2488), Korean Buddhism underwent a great change.

The Japanese brought with them Japanese Buddhism together with the beliefs, practices and activities of the different sects. They set up their temples and introduced social and educational programs. Buddhism seemed to be restored to life. But, to the Korean Buddhists, the Japanese brought also the worst corrupting element, that is, the practice of married monkhood, which they encouraged by policy and which completely destroyed the Korean Buddhist tradition.

Therefore, with the end of Japanese rule, leading Buddhists united in a movement to purify monastic life, to return the monks to the proper monastic discipline, and to restore their religious life and traditions. They established a well-organized celibate order of Korean Buddhist monks called the Chogye Order of Korean Buddhism and created a hierarchy of administration headed by a Patriarch or chief executive. From its headquarters at the Chogye temple, the Korean Sangha supervises all provincial councils that administer its 1,700 temples[2] in the nine provinces of South Korea.

The Korean Sangha is dedicated to education. The Dongguk Buddhist University, which in 1966 (B.E. 2509) had an enrollment of about 6,000 students, is open to both monks and lay students. The Korean Sangha also operates independent colleges, high schools,

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[1] Buddhism was introduced into Korea in 372 (B.E. 915) and molded the national culture of Korea for about 12 centuries before it entered a dark period of 500 years from the beginning of the Yi dynasty.

[2] Of this number (1967 or B.E. 2510), 1,400 were monasteries with 8,925 monks and novices (monks numbering about 7,000) and 300 were nunneries with 3,326 nuns and female novices (nuns numbering about 2,000).

middle schools and kindergartens of its own. Monks have been sent to pursue their studies in other Buddhist countries. There has been an increasing interest in Theravada Buddhism during recent years. Besides sending Korean monks to study in Theravada countries, the Korean Sangha welcomes Theravada ordination in its own country. In 1973 (B.E. 2516), a group of Theravada monks from Thailand went on invitation to hold an ordination ceremony in Seoul, admitting about 40 Korean monks into the Theravada Order.

Bulgug-sa Temple, Korea.

12:
Buddhism in Modern Japan

The bronze Daibutsu at Kamakura is the most famous great Buddha in Japan, though it is smaller than the older one in Nara, which measures 16 meters. The figure (42 ft. or 13 m. high) was erected in 1252 (B.E. 1795).

Persecution and the Modernization of Traditional Buddhism

Modern Japanese Buddhism began as a reaction against the persecution under the Shinto nationalism of the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (B.E. 2411). Under the persecution, Buddhist statues, scriptures and decorations were taken out of Shinto temples and set on fire or thrown into the water for the purpose of purifying the Shinto temples and separating Buddhism from Shinto. This was carried out at the time of the opening of Japan to the outside world. Stimulated by the danger, the Buddhists united in common action to resist and took steps to modernize. Leading monks of the various sects adopted a modern system of education and gave modern education to the younger monks. They founded schools and universities or reorganized their old temple schools and transformed them into modern Buddhist universities.

An example of this development can be found in Otani University of the Shin School in Kyoto. This institution was founded in 1655 (B.E. 2198) as a study center. After the opening of Japan, alterations and improvements were made in the curriculum and it was transformed into a modern university in 1905 (B.E. 2448). Another example is Ryokoku University of the Jodo School in Kyoto, which was founded as a temple school in 1639 (B.E. 2182), became subject to Western influences in the Meiji period, and was recognized as a university in 1922 (B.E. 2465). All the great sects of Japanese Buddhism have developed their own universities. In Kyoto, the Rinzai branch of the Zen School operates Hana-Zono University, the Jodo School runs Bukkyo University, and the Shingon Sect owns Shuchiin University. The Shingon Sect has another university on Mount Koya called Koyasan University. In Tokyo, Komazawa University of the Soto branch of Zen Buddhism was founded as a temple school in 1759 (B.E. 2302) and raised to the status of a university in 1882 (B.E. 2425). Also in Tokyo are Rissho University

of the Nichiren Sect and Taisho University, which serves the Jodo, the Tendai and the Shingon sects. Kyoto Women's University of the Shin Sect in Kyoto has been designed specially for the education of women.

Japanese Buddhist education still maintains the traditional close connection between study and meditation. Besides training monks and priests for their special roles, Buddhist universities offer courses to laymen both in the field of Buddhism and religious studies and in the field of secular studies. A number of research institutes specializing in Buddhism or in oriental studies in general have also been founded, such as the Nippon Buddhist Research Association and the Indogaku Bukkyogakukai (The Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies). With modern educational and research methods, these Buddhist universities and research institutes have been active in their task of preserving the great intellectual heritage of Buddhism, advancing Buddhist studies, and keeping for Buddhism a significant place in the modern intellectual life of the nation.

It should be noted that the persecution under Meiji Restoration could not destroy Buddhism, though its status was much affected. Moreover, the persecution did not last long and Buddhism shortly began to recover its strength. Besides reaction on the part of the monks, there was a closely related reaction against Europeanization and Christianity, which came about some time after the opening up of Japanese life to European thought, culture and religion, and which led to the reaffirming of the national religious traditions. Buddhism was then revalued as its teachings were found to be compatible with new discoveries and theories of modern science, such as Darwin's theory of evolution. Buddhism was thus reaffirmed and its status was restored. In spite of this, however, its influence on the national life of Japan was never as strong as in the earlier ages. Generally speaking, the numerous sects were still attached to traditionalism and their

main efforts were directed towards maintaining their continuity in the midst of growing secularism and the non-religious attitude of the intelligentsia. As a desirable effect, Buddhist monasteries and temples have become the stronghold for preserving the Buddhist cultural tradition and for resisting the secularizing elements of westernization. As an undesirable effect, the scientific study of Buddhist philosophy, which made remarkable early progress slowed down and became confined to leading Buddhist scholars, far beyond the understanding of the public and the interest of the highly westernized intellectuals.

Another important development after the Meiji Restoration was the practice of married priesthood. Under the disestablishment of Buddhism when support was lacking, monks were forced to struggle to earn their living and to maintain their temples. They became lax in monastic discipline. Moreover, there was a decree issued by the Meiji government allowing the clergy of all sects to marry. Today, not only priests of the Shin and the Nichiren sects but nearly all Japanese priests live married lives. Except for young monks under training, there are very few celibate monks in Japan.

Among the traditional sects, the Zen, Shin and Nichiren sects are most prominent and most advanced in activities directed towards regaining their lost position. Through their efforts, Japanese Buddhism has not only made significant scholarly achievements, become energetically involved in education, social work and humanitarian activities, and achieved an efficient confrontation with Western philosophy and modern intellectual currents, but has also returned to the West with Buddhist thought and ideas valued by and stimulating to the Western mind, and played a leading part in international Buddhist activities. The three sects can count among their followers, both priests and laymen, some of the ablest thinkers of the day. In the field of international collaboration, more, or at least not fewer, names of Japanese scholars can be found than those of any

other Buddhist country. Numerous Japanese clergymen engage in missionary activities in many countries, especially on the American continent, while a number of Japanese professors are conducting courses in Buddhist studies in American universities. More and more books and articles on Buddhism are being published in Western languages. Through his writings and lectures, Dr. D.T. Suzuki, a Japanese Zen priest and scholar, exercised on Western thought and culture a deeper and wider influence than any other individual Buddhist.

The Emergence of the New Religions

In spite of all these efforts and achievements, however, the success of the traditional sects has been confined mostly to the academic and scholarly field. In answering to the religious need of the populace, they are still at a loss. They may be well known internationally, but in their native land they fail to recover their former influence on the Japanese national life. Their position was made even more difficult by Japan's surrender in World War II when, as a reaction, a tendency was developed to reject whatever was traditional. The oldness of these sects has thus resulted in a natural loss of their appeal. It is the hope of these traditional sects that through their intellectual pursuits they will find a channel through which they can achieve the joining of the spiritual with the temporal and the revitalization of the teaching in a way more fit to cope with the general trend of the age and civilization.

The defeat of Japan in World War II in 1945 (B.E. 2488) was followed by the emperor's renunciation of his divine status and the disestablishment of Shinto as the state religion. With the allowance of religious freedom and in the face of mental crisis, the number of religious sects and subsects increased rapidly. The number registered in 1945 (B.E. 2488) was 43. By 1951 (B.E. 2494), this had increased to 720. In 1961 (B.E. 2504) the number dropped to 170. Of the

number 720 in 1951 (B.E. 2494), 260 were Buddhist sects and subsects. Again, of these 260, only five were the main sects, which had more than one million adherents, namely, Jodo, Shin, Zen, Shingon and Nichiren.

The new movements or the so-called New Religions have been a development to fill the gap left by the traditional teachings. Most of them are offshoots of the Nichiren sect. They have been rapidly attracting enthusiastic adherents. Interestingly enough, it is mainly through the practice of certain popular rituals of these new sects, and not through an intellectual role or scholarly achievements, that Buddhism remains an active religion in Japan.

Most of these new sects or religions began with a revelation and are centered on the personality of the founder or organizer. The founders are usually believed to have unusual spiritual powers in divination, sorcery, fortune-telling and healing, and to be able to work miracles. They usually teach simple doctrines which appeal most to the lower middle class and the rural populace, who are inclined to superstitious beliefs and practices. The new sects are essentially lay organizations, avoiding distinctions between lay believers and priests. They give their followers a sense of belonging and promote mutual aid and public welfare, promising actual mundane benefits here and now. Emphasis is placed on group meetings and the performance of services which are to be taken very seriously.

Among the new sects, the most prominent are the Rissho-Kosei-Kai and the Soka Gakkai. These both arose out of the Nichiren sect. The Rissho-Kosei-Kai (Society for Social Justice and Neighborly Relations) was founded by a sickly girl from a poor and lowly family who earned her living as a factory worker. It claims a membership of approximately three million. The Soka Gakkai (Value-Creating Society), which started in 1931 (B.E. 2474) and had about 500 followers in 1940 (B.E. 2483), surpassed in the 1960's all

other Japanese religious orders, both old and new, in influence and power. While among the great traditional sects, Shin Buddhism with all its ten subsects claimed the largest following of about 14 million adherents, the Soka Gakkai alone had in 1965 (B.E. 2508) 13 million members on its lists. The movement is militantly nationalistic and has political activities. As its political party called the Komeito (Party of Social Justice) has become Japan's third largest party, the Soka Gakkai has grown into a movement of great political importance.

The General Picture

On the whole, Japanese Buddhism still maintains its strength in the intelligentsia and the rural population. Zen is associated with the culture preserved among the highly cultured people, is the spiritual strength of the nation, and has a strong appeal to the intellectuals and the modern Western mind. For the rural people, the popular sects of Amida and the Lotus offer stronger appeal, especially the Shin sect, which has the greatest number of adherents. Superstitious beliefs and practices are also widely accepted. As a characteristic of Japanese modernity, the many new religions have emerged to meet the modern religious needs of the middle class.

Movements have grown among the Buddhists towards cooperation and unification, and lay Buddhists have taken a more active part in religious activities. This has resulted in the organization of the Japan Chapter of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, the All Japan Young Buddhist Federation, and the Japan Buddhist Women's Association. Representatives have been sent by the different sects to observe conditions, practices and activities in other Buddhist countries. There are many universities, colleges and schools operated or supported by Buddhist sects. Research activities have been conducted actively in universities and research institutions such as the Nippon Buddhist Research Association and the Japanese

Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies, by scholars using modern methods, in the whole field of Buddhist literature in Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese. Studies in the Indian Buddhist sources and international contacts have also inspired a strong urge to return to original Buddhism.

Statistically, with a Buddhist population of approximately 75 million, or about 85% of the whole population, and with about 80,000 Buddhist temples attended by 200,000 priests, Japan is rightly called a Buddhist country. Through the variety of Buddhist movements and efforts toward a revival, Japan of the postwar period has thus experienced Buddhist vitality in various ways. There has grown a deepened religious concern through works of Buddhist scholars devoted to the reinterpretation of Buddhist ideas. There have been increased Buddhist social and political roles through lay people taking a more active part in Buddhist organizations. With the coming of the new-born sects, there has been a reawakening to the Buddhist social ideal to make up for the faded social ethics of the old traditional sects, and a starting on a new course of the development of political power. So far, the energies of the Japanese Buddhists have been directed "not so much to the revival of the Buddhist culture as to the attempt to preserve and consolidate it amidst the essentially alien and hostile environment of modern life."[1]

Internationally, Japan's great contribution to the progress of Buddhism cannot be underestimated. Through the works of both the Japanese and the Western scholars, the message of the Buddha has been carried to the West. There, in the light of modern studies, the interest has been ever increasing, both in the doctrine and in the practice, especially in Zen psychology and meditation. If a special form of the religion called Western Buddhism is ever developing in the West, it is Japanese Buddhism that has made a great contribution

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[1] See P. V. Bapat, ed., *2500 Years of Buddhism* (Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1971), p. 401.

to the process of the development. And it is this contribution that, as a repayment, has helped to keep for Japan a dignified and respected place in the realm of international relations.

Horyuji Temple, Japan.

13:
Buddhism in Contemporary Thailand

The presiding Buddha image in walking posture at the Buddha Maṇḍala, the "Buddha's Sphere" or the memorial park dedicated to the Buddha, in Nakhon Pathom, about 16 km. from Bangkok. Made to commemorate the 2500th year of the Buddha Era, the image measuring 15.875 m. or, including the pedestal, 17.358 m. in height, was completed in 1982 (B.E. 2525).

The Beginning of a Separation in the Period of Modernization

Buddhism in Thailand reached the modern period under the warm support of the king and the people, without any interruption of colonial persecution or suppression. Side by side with the people, the monks came into encounter with Western civilization. Hand in hand with the secular government, the monkhood started on modernization. Under King Chulalongkorn (Rama V; 1868–1910 or B.E. 2411–2453), the structure of the secular government was changed to adopt a new pattern, and a modern Western system of public education was introduced. With the assistance of the King's half-brother, the Monk-prince Vajirañāṇavarorasa, who later became a supreme patriarch, an important role in public education was assigned to the monks, a new form of ecclesiastical government was established, and a foundation was laid for the modernization of ecclesiastical education. Thailand was credited with the publication of the first complete set of the Pali Canon, known as the *Royal Siamese Tripitaka*. A royal library was erected for the preservation of Buddhist sacred books and rare scriptures. Two royal Buddhist academies, Mahamakuta and Mahachulalongkorn, were founded with a plan to function in due course as Sangha colleges or universities providing for monks and novices advanced Buddhist studies along with modern higher education.

With the end of the reign of King Chulalongkorn, things changed for the worse. The process of modernization continued on the part of the secular sector, but on the ecclesiastical side it was kept going for only a short period of time and then waned. The monkhood was put in a losing position. Monks were retired from their role in public education though most of the public schools were still housed in monastery compounds and the monks still collected donations for the building of these schools. Preliminary arrangements for modern higher Buddhist education were set aside and the plans were not

undertaken. Without open suppression, there was no urge to activity. The monks fell into inactivity and became attached to traditionalism. Being deprived of their deserved responsibility, they became under-utilized and many developed the habit of idleness, living only on the rich inheritance of traditional popular support.

A Widening Gap Between the Traditional Sangha and the Modern Intellectuals

For the Thai public, an encounter with the West did not mean a reaction against it, as in the countries that were once under colonial rule. On the contrary, it meant an eagerness to learn and to imitate. Strong nationalism, with which Buddhism as a national cultural heritage is usually identified, also has not been widely developed and cannot be relied upon as a wall against Western secularism. People who first found access to modern technology of the West, usually those in urban areas and the intellectuals, identified themselves with Western thought and culture. In doing this, they gradually isolated themselves from the "traditional Thai society," which usually referred to the backward rural areas and the uneducated or the old-fashioned. One who tried not to be isolated sometimes found himself a man of twin personalities: a traditional Thai and a westernized modern Thai. For these people Buddhist institutions were associated with the traditional Thai society or, at least, the traditional personality, and Buddhism was identified with traditional cultural activities. Thus, Buddhism made itself accessible only to one part or one half of Thai society, the less privileged and waning half. Buddhism and modern Thai society gradually isolated themselves from each other. Thai Buddhism has put itself in a more and more narrowed confinement. The monkhood finds no place in the intelligentsia except for a few individual monks. They have lost intellectual leadership or leadership in the modernized sector of Thai society. Under the modern westernized system of education, Thai

youth have to a large extent been alienated from Buddhism and also, to a lesser extent, from traditional Thai culture. Thailand's modern system of education is sometimes accused of being education for westernization or education for the alienation of Thai youth.

To the traditional Thai society and to the traditional personality of a modern Thai, Buddhism usually takes the form of merit-making acts and Buddhist festivals and ceremonies. To the old-fashioned or the more traditional, this usually extends to include the faithful observance of some basic rules of morality. Few of the later traditional Buddhists, however, have intellectual knowledge of the Buddha's teachings or care to learn about them. The majority of them are given to celebrations and temple fairs and festivals. Superstition and astrology still play an important part in their lives, both individual and social. Monks themselves for the most part focus their attention only on monastic affairs inside the Wat and place emphasis on the construction of monastic buildings. They are usually seen blessing religious ceremonies by chanting or ceremonial preaching and urging the adherents to make donations for a monastic building.

A monastery in upcountry Thailand.

On the plus side, however, in rural areas, social leadership of the monks is still maintained. Monasteries remain, to a large extent, centers of social life of the communities. Monks still play traditional roles helping people towards their well-being, both spiritual and temporal. The monkhood still serves the society as a major source of social mobility and provides much for reducing the inequality of opportunity in education. But, unfortunately, these roles are rarely played on a conscious level and there is a fear of losing them.

The Inadequacy of Both the Traditional and the Modern Thai Leadership; and the Monks' Invaluable Social Role Under the "Moderenization Without Development" Circumstances

It should be noted that there is a great difference as regards the social background of the monks in the traditional Thai society in the past and that of the monks in the modern times. In the past, the monkhood was recruited from men of all classes of the society and from all parts of the country regardless of their status. As members of the monkhood, the monks formed an independent society exercising spiritual and intellectual influences on the secular society. Roughly speaking, they played the roles of the intellectuals. But in the modern times, since the monks were retired from educational responsibility on the adoption of the modern system of public education and since the traditional system of education was retained only in the monasteries, the monkhood has been recruited from the underprivileged, nearly entirely from the peasants' children. To distinguish them from those trained in the newly adopted modern system of education, the monks of modern times may be called the "traditional intellectuals." But, with an undeveloped educational system, they have lost the position of the intellectuals and fallen to the class of the common uninformed people or even the uneducated. In contrast to these outdated intellectuals recruited from the villagers

are modern intellectuals who get educated through the modern educational system. These modern intellectuals are now represented by university students who are mostly (about 75–80%) recruited from the privileged classes in towns and cities, the children of government officials and merchants. It is thus only natural that much of the part that was played by the monks in the past has been taken up by these modern intellectuals who have come to play it for the Thai society of today. However, as these modern intellectuals have been, to a large extent, alienated from the Thai culture through the modern Western system of education, they cannot well accommodate themselves to the traditional rural communities, which form the major part of about 75–80% of the Thai society. They, therefore, usually confine their services to the minor modernized urban sector of the society, leaving the major rural sector under the awkward uninformed leadership of the monks.

As noted earlier, most students in the modern secular system of education are recruited from the privileged classes. Sons of the poor peasants in remote areas find their resort in the monasteries where they study as monks and novices. Thus, in spite of the loss of intellectual leadership, the monkhood still plays an important educational role for modern society. Amidst the unequal opportunities in education, the monkhood provides a channel through which the less-privileged people who get no access to the modern educational system of the state may continue their intellectual pursuits.

Some Efforts to Fill the Gap and to Restore the Monks' Worthy Roles

In the meantime, however, strict traditionalism on the part of the Sangha and Thai society as a whole has both directly and indirectly caused reactions, conflicts and new developments in private sectors. A number of Elders, in an effort to respond to the

long-felt but ignored need to produce Buddhist monks equipped with modern knowledge relevant to the contemporary world, revived the plan for Buddhist higher education. Then Mahamakuta and Mahachula came back to life as the two Buddhist universities of Thailand in 1946 (B.E. 2489) and 1947 (B.E. 2490), respectively. Some lay intellectuals found interest in Buddhist thought through their independent study or casual reading of writings on Buddhism by Western scholars. Some of them have helped in the attempt to connect Buddhist thought and culture with modern scientific, intellectual and social developments. A number of monks, undoubtedly few, through their independent study, gained insight into a new meaning of the Buddha-Dharma through their own interpretation. They give Buddhism a new appeal, a vitality that has made it accessible to the intellectuals and university students. They have helped to reduce the widening gap between the monkhood and the modern intellectuals, and have paved the way for the regaining of the monks' spiritual leadership. Among these monks the best known was Bhikkhu Buddhadāsa of Chaiya in southern Thailand, who was claimed to be the most outstanding Buddhist thinker in the country and also a figure in international Buddhism.

Mahachulalongkorn Buddhist University, Bangkok.

In his own country, Buddhadāsa was even pictured as a revolutionary or a non-conformist because of his attacks on popular superstitious beliefs and practices and on the performance of particular ceremonies. His primary concern was, in the words of a Western scholar, "not to expound traditional teachings but to revitalize the tradition in such a manner that it becomes a vehicle rather than a block to the realization of Truth, or Buddha-Dhamma." He put into the tradition a new life and a new light, summoning those around him "to a reexamination of their religion and themselves."[1] However, it should be noted that Buddhadāsa was well known only to the intelligentsia, among whom his voice echoed strongly, while, at the popular level, he was little understood or listened to, and it is Bhikkhu Paññānanda, a younger contemporary of his, that has come to fill the gap.

Another important development in Thai Buddhism is monks' involvement in community development. Some monks have been concerned about the problems of the relevancy of Buddhism to the contemporary changing society. To these monks, and to a number of lay Buddhists, the monks' loss of leadership in the modern westernized sector of Thai society, usually represented by the urbanized communities, has affected the stability of the religion and partly accounted for the misdirected development of the society. In the modern westernized society, monks play no role of real importance or unquestionable value, and the society has reached the current stage of development without their claim to help or guidance. Modern Thailand is, however, often branded with modernization without development or with misguided development. The lack of the monks' share in the process of development must have been a factor in this undesirable result. It may be too late for the monks to take up their responsibility in such an extremely secularized society

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[1] Swearer, Donald K., *Toward the Truth* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), pp. 24–25.

and it will be difficult even to regain their status, though many monks are now much concerned about this task. In rural areas, by contrast, monastic leadership is still strong and the rural people still recognize their responsibility to the Buddhist institutions. Modernization has, however, started to run its course there and the monks, with their traditional roles of leadership, are far from prepared to apply the effectiveness of their leadership to the problems of modernization, that is, to help the rural people towards proper adjustment in the process of development. The rural monks are recruited from among the rural people, more specifically the villagers, with a very disadvantaged educational background and with experiences limited to village situations. Lacking knowledge of modern society, its problems and the gap to fill, they themselves are subject to a misdirected development. They are just as the monks in the modernized sector once were and still mostly are. There is a fear that the story will repeat itself.

Such being the case, the monks and lay Buddhists who have been awakened to the problems direct their attention to rural society. With the purpose of awakening rural monastic leaders to the same problems and helping them to adapt their leadership to the modern process of development, monastic social programs for social welfare and rural uplift have been established by the Buddhist universities and other monastic institutions. Courses in the practical aspects of community development have been included along with training for the propagation of Buddhism. Some of these programs have been criticized for secularization and some even for politicization. Apart from programs for rural monks, the two Buddhist universities annually send a number of their graduates to take teaching positions and participate in local development programs and other social, educational and Buddhist activities. It is hoped that through these programs monks will be made effective in realizing the Buddhist ideal of "going for the welfare and happiness of the many" by

helping and guiding the people through a process of right and real development, and their place of leadership will also be maintained.

In fact, these Buddhists are concerned not only about the maintenance of the monks' status in the changing traditional society, but also about the restoration of the monks to their proper place as leaders in modern society. The Buddhist Sunday school movement begun by Mahachula Buddhist University in 1958 (B.E. 2501) represents an attempt to revive Buddhist education for the younger generation and to achieve welfare and happiness both for the modernized society and for the society under the process of modernization.

In the last decade, there has been, in many parts of the country, especially in the central region, where the secular government education has been made accessible to the villagers, a sharp decrease in the number of boys entering the monasteries to study in the monastic traditional system of education. There are now, therefore, very few novices or none at all in most of the monasteries in the more developed areas of the country. Simultaneously, on the other hand, students and pupils in the secular government and private schools have been criticized for being alienated from their religious and cultural tradition and lacking adequate moral training. As a response to this situation, many monasteries and organizations throughout the country have turned to the new practice of temporary summer group-ordination or temporary hot-season group- admission to novicehood (or monkhood), now in vogue, providing the youths with religious, cultural and moral training for a short period of time, mostly for one month, during their annual long vacation. Although this practice cannot be an answer to the problem of the shortage of monastic man power in the long run, it is hoped that it will be a help in the solution of the urgent problems of juvenile delinquency and cultural alienation.

In spite of all these efforts, however, the Buddhist reformers must always bear in mind one thing: in order for Buddhism to be really relevant to the rapidly changing world in the long run they must discover which demands of such a world should be the prime concern of Buddhism, the demands that no other realm of human endeavor can treat, and be prepared to apply the Buddhist answers towards the satisfaction of these demands.

They Find the Outlets to Reach Out

As a reaction against the insufficiency of the current systems of ecclesiastical education and as an answer to the needs not met by the same, there has been during the last two decades a rapid increase in the number of young monks going, mostly on a private basis, to further their studies for modern degrees abroad, especially in Indian universities. In the same period of time, there has been a considerable expansion of Buddhist propagation abroad. The first Thai Buddhist temple (popularly called *Wat Thai*) in the West was officially established when His Majesty the King of Thailand presided over the opening ceremony of The Buddhapadipa Temple at Christchurch Street in London on August 1, 1966 (B.E. 2509), The temple was moved to the present site at 14 Calonne Road, Wimbledon Parkside, on November 17, 1975 (B.E. 2518). Now Thai monks can be found residing, mostly on temporary mission, in India, Indonesia, Australia, England, the Netherlands and, most remarkably, in the United States, where the number of Thai temples has grown much more rapidly than elsewhere and where most of the temples function mainly as religious and cultural centers for the Thai communities. In Malaysia and Singapore there are a number of Thai-style monasteries, where Thai monks or local monks of Thai origin are in residence.

In the opposite direction, a large number of Western people have come to Thailand to study and practice Buddhism during recent

years. Many of them are scholars or university students who are studying or carrying out research on the Buddhist impact on Thai culture and society. They travel and live among the rural people in upcountry villages seeking first-hand knowledge. Others are Western young people who, on rejecting the religious tradition and social values of the West and in their quest for a meaningful life, have developed an active interest in Buddhism and gained some knowledge of it through reading and independent study or taking courses in Buddhism at a college or university. Having come to Thailand to get into direct contact with the Buddhist life and to live it themselves through practice, most of them enter the monkhood and live under meditation teachers at various meditation centers in Bangkok and, for a greater number, in the forests of the far provinces. At some centers, there has also occurred a kind of two-way journeys or round-trip expeditions. To cite an example in the forest monks' circle, Ajahn Chah (or Achaan Chaa) of Wat Nong Pah Pong in Ubon Province in the northeast was one of the most respected meditation masters in contemporary Thailand. His method was followed in more than twenty branch monasteries in the country, including Wat Pah Nanachat (International Forest Monastery), also in Ubon, which was established specifically for Western bhikkhus. Under his guidance and instruction, some of his Western students were entrusted with teaching duties in different Western countries, where a number of branches have been established beginning with Wat Pah Cittaviveka or Chithurst Forest Monastery in West Sussex, England. In Thailand, the best-known forest meditation master of a generation before Ajahn Chah was Ajahn Mun. Most of the current forest meditation masters in northeastern Thailand well known to the public—the contemporaries of Ajahn Chah—were students of Ajahn Mun. It was all these meditation masters and their students that have contributed greatly to the perpetuation of the Thai Forest tradition in their native country. Now, through the efforts of Ajahn Chah's

students, this Thai Forest tradition is going to be continued in the West and it may be this group of Western monks that will first succeed in growing a Western Sangha on the Western soil.

Some Developments outside the Sangha

Concurrent with this phenomenon is the increase of interest in Buddhist teachings and practices, especially in meditation, among modern Thai people, particularly among the intellectuals. While, in this age of technological advances, the major part of the society indulges more and more in sensual pleasures and is devoted to material quest, increasingly many people become disillusioned and turn to the spiritual way. This has led to the appearance of new meditation centers and the growing number of the practitioners, the increase in the number and activities of Buddhist groups in colleges and universities, and a new trend of ordination in which more monks are recruited from modern young educated men of the privileged classes in towns and cities.

With the loss of its authority and leadership, particularly in their intellectual aspect, through its unimproved traditional system of education and the long separation between the traditional monkhood and the modern secular society, the Sangha (here, meaning especially the administration represented by the Council of Elders) cannot communicate with these modern people and is usually ignored or overlooked in their spiritual quest. Then, in their independent search of the true teachings and the correct practice, without a central authority and leadership to turn to, different teachers and different groups develop different interpretations of the Buddha's teachings and different methods of practice. Moreover, they criticize one another for misinterpretation and wrong practices. There have also developed some new monastic movements, with their own settlements, outside of the Sangha administration, the crafty actions of the perverted monks who feed on the religious faith of the populace and

other challenges to the authority of the Sangha. Thus, not only the renewed interest in Buddhism, but division, disharmony, conflict and criticisms also are characteristic of the present period of spiritual confusion.

Unfortunately, there is a tendency to go to extremes. While a number of rural poor youths who stay in the monasteries as monks and novices for education purposes are preoccupied with secular ends, making use of the monkhood solely as the channel of social mobility and neglecting religious training, many modern people who turn their backs on the worldly ways, whether young or old, both the lay and the ordained, including foreign monks, tend to go to the other extreme of isolating themselves from society, indulging in the bliss of meditation and being engrossed in other individualistic ideas and practices of the passive pre-Buddhist ascetic type. To avoid these extremes, monks should always remind themselves of the Buddha's admonition to go forth for the welfare and happiness of the many, out of compassion for the world.

Surprisingly enough, this period also witnesses a remarkable prevalence of animistic and superstitious beliefs and practices, including faith healing, spirit healing, miracle working and, most notably, mediumistic practices, which point to the inadequacy or inefficacy of modern science and technology either in solving the current human problems or in educating the people.

Apart from this practical or living Buddhism is the development of an academic Buddhism, a new growth in Thailand's secular institutions of higher learning during the past ten years. Following the American pattern of scholarly study, courses in Pali, Sanskrit, Buddhism and general religious studies at a higher-degree level have been introduced or formed into the corresponding or related departments of study in the graduate schools of some secular universities. This is a step forward which makes these secular institutions outrank all existing systems of ecclesiastical education in

form or in the academic status they can offer to their graduates, though the quality of their academic achievement in the field of specialization in comparison with that of the traditional system is still criticized. So far these postgraduate programs have not had any connection with the Buddhist Order of Thailand. Also, more people are interested in Abhidhamma studies. Classes in the Abhidhamma are held at various places even outside the monasteries and, surprisingly, more of the best-known Abhidhamma teachers are lay scholars, among whom the female seem to outnumber the male.

The Undefined Direction of Thai Buddhism

It should be noted that nearly all of the above-mentioned programs and initiatives have been the efforts of private or lay sectors. Generally speaking, the progress and success of the Thai Buddhist activities in the latter part of the modern period, both local and abroad, must be credited to private personalities and organizations.

Usually the Thai Sangha administration does not show either active support or active opposition to the initiatives and activities of the private sectors. Thus, rarely, if ever, do strong visible conflicts arise and hardly do violent challenges develop. And, it is in this way that the Sangha has maintained its power and the status quo.

Besides, the traditional Thai Sangha has a strong tie with the polity and has developed a tendency to place reliance on the secular government. Thus, usually, it readily joins or cooperates in the programs and activities that are operated or supported by the government or government agencies, although such undertakings might have a tone of some modern social or even political ideologies. This has been evident in the Dhammadūta or Dharma Messengers Project, the Dhammacārik or Dharma Wanderers Project and the presently highly-stressed training of monks in the dissemination of the Four Virtues according to His Majesty the

King's admonition to the Thai people during the Rattanakosin Bicentennial and the Five Fundamental Values enunciated by the then Prime Minister in the same period of time. In recent years, however, possibly after having been familiarized with some modern social ideas through government-supported programs and activities, some top Sangha administrators have implemented new Sangha programs of their own, namely, the Commune Unit for Public Instruction Project and the Project for Training Monks in Basic Health Care.

On the whole, the Thai Sangha is weak in its structure and in practice and action, but it finds its strength in a negative way, in inaction and the attitudes of indifference and strict traditionalism. Under such a condition, it is not difficult to begin any new endeavor without opposition from or conflict with the Thai Sangha. However, in spite of no strong visible conflicts and violent challenges, many undesirable consequences may lie in wait, particularly in the form of a vaguely unharmonious development. Neglected unsolved problems will pile up and increase in intensity. There may develop a latent or passive, not readily visible, conflict—perhaps worse than strong visible conflicts—which leads to disadvantages in the long run. This is evident in the problem of ecclesiastical education, which is a fundamental problem lying at the bottom of all other problems.

Under the attitude of strict traditionalism, the Thai Sangha takes responsibility for maintaining the traditional system of education. But, under the attitude of indifference, various modern systems of ecclesiastical education have sprung up in the presence of the old traditional one, staggering in coexistence with it and without full recognition of the Sangha. Before long, this has resulted in a significant degree of confusion and Thailand's ecclesiastical systems of education have become complicated, a tangle of systemless systems. Furthermore, there have developed latent or passive conflicts, the conflicts between the various systems themselves and

the conflicts in the monks' minds. While resistance and opposition remain passive and there is no real action towards rectification, old problems remain unsolved and new ones are on the increase, and there prevails, on the other hand, a state of uncertainty, undependability, insecurity and stagnation, and also develop the habits and attitudes of inactivity, idleness, unconcernedness, nonparticipation, noncommitment, withdrawal and defeatism. Undoubtedly, these can eventually lead to the decline and decay of Thai Buddhism.

To have a clearer picture of the situation, what has been described above can be put in other words. While the future of Buddhism depends in the first place on the good education of the monks and novices, most of the Thai monks and novices now, the great majority of whom are in rural areas, count among the less educated people of the country. Moreover, the traditional system of monastic education, the one under the charge of the Sangha, has been in a state of rapid decline. Many big Pali schools have closed, while those which continue suffer from sharply decreasing numbers of students. By contrast, modern schools for monks and novices, both those unrecognized and those passively recognized by the Sangha, including those which teach exclusively secular subjects and those run by outsiders, lay parties and even businessmen, enjoy a rapidly increasing number of monks and novices as their students to the dissatisfaction and out of the control of the Sangha administration. This well represents the many unsolved problems, the passive and indifferent attitudes and the latent conflicts prevailing in the Thai monkhood of today.

On the plus side, however, in spite of all the drawbacks and shortcomings, the Thai Sangha, in comparison with the ecclesiastical institutions in other countries, is well organized. Thousands of monasteries and over a quarter of a million monks and novices are unified under one and the same administration. With this national

organization of the Sangha, the Thai monkhood enjoys the full recognition and the official support of the state and the uniformity of all ecclesiastical affairs and religious activities such as education, ritual and observances. Under the centralized pyramidal hierarchical system, all ecclesiastical activities can be kept under close supervision, relatively good monastic discipline can be maintained, and the quick dissemination of instructions and prompt dispatch of information can be carried out between the distant local monasteries and the top administration in Bangkok. With an ecclesiastical organization and hierarchy paralleling that of the secular government, full cooperation and concord between the Sangha and the state are secured. Under these circumstances, the monks have been able to play many roles that contribute to the unity of the people and national security.

With the huge national Sangha under such a centralized administration, however, Thai Buddhism may be either very strong and steady on the move towards prosperity and the realization of its benevolent objectives, or exceedingly clumsy and sluggish to be left behind in confusion, backwardness and impotency, almost solely subject to either the effective or ineffective central administration and leadership. With the current latent conflicts unrectified under the attitude of indifference and inaction, the direction of Thai Buddhism seems unpredictable.

Concealed behind all the conflicts is the conflict between traditionalism and modernization. Strict traditionalism becomes an extreme which not only hinders effective adjustment but also causes a reaction in the form of another extreme, usually the opposite one, that is, extreme modernization. By modernization is meant good and effective adjustment to the modern changing world. But extreme modernization will go so far as to result in secularization or even politicization. In the age of social change and political instability of today, there is a fear of going from one extreme to the other. A

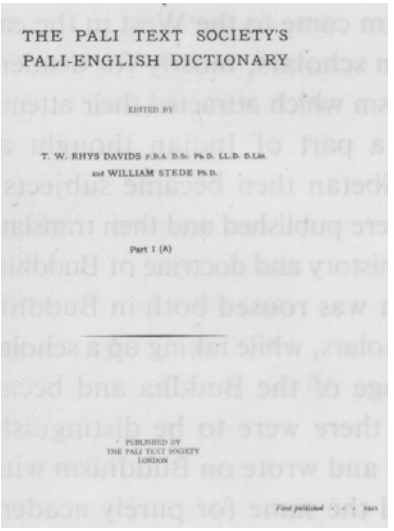
mistake of this type would mean a danger and perhaps even a discredit to Buddhism. To avoid this the Middle Way must be secured.

As is well-known to all, the Middle Way begins with Right Understanding as its first factor. To be sure, this Right Understanding involves in the first place the intellectual responsibility on the part of the Thai monkhood to define its identity and to identify its specific function that will distinguish itself from other institutions of the society. This knowledge is a prerequisite for the monks' survival and for their meaningful existence. Without it, they will not know even where to start and where to stand. Thai Buddhism is now just on the way to finding its Middle Way.

PART IV

Buddhism in the Western World

14:
The Scholarly Beginning of Western Buddhism


THE PALI TEXT SOCIETY'S
PALI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

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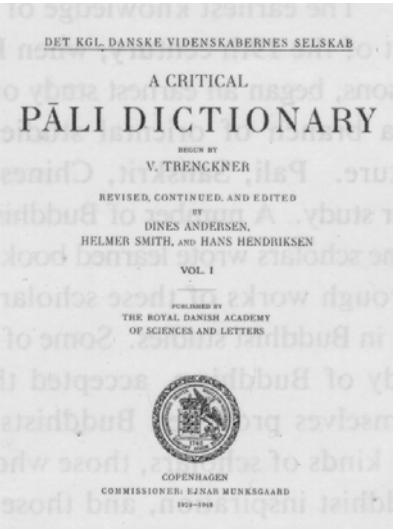
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A CRITICAL
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BEGUN BY
V. TRENCKNER

REVISED, CONTINUED, AND EDITED
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DINES ANDERSEN,
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◄ *Buddhism in England* was the monthly bulletin of the Buddhist Lodge, London (now the Buddhist Society), first published in 1926 (B.E. 2469). In 1945 (B.E. 2488), it was renamed *The Middle Way*..

How Buddhism Came to the West

It is said that at present Buddhism is firmly established in England, Germany, France, and the United States. The religion of the Buddha has taken firm roots in Western soil, and only time is needed for the roots to grow deep. And it was through the efforts of Western scholars, not Buddhist missionaries, that the seeds were sown for the growth of Buddhism in the West.

The earliest knowledge of Buddhism came to the West in the early part of the 19th century, when European scholars, mostly for academic reasons, began an earnest study of Buddhism which attracted their attention as a branch of oriental studies or as a part of Indian thought and culture. Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan then became subjects of their study. A number of Buddhist texts were published and then translated. Some scholars wrote learned books on the history and doctrine of Buddhism. Through works of these scholars interest was roused both in Buddhism and in Buddhist studies. Some of these scholars, while taking up a scholarly study of Buddhism, accepted the message of the Buddha and became themselves professed Buddhists. Then there were to be distinguished two kinds of scholars, those who studied and wrote on Buddhism with a Buddhist inspiration, and those who did the same for purely academic purposes. Moreover, having read the writings of these scholars, many Western people eventually became converted to Buddhism. This state of affairs went on in the period when Asian Buddhism was stagnating in the form of habits, or was suffering from persecution or suppression under or in the face of colonialism. With a lack of missionary activity on the part of the Buddhist communities, Buddhist books filled the role of Buddhist missions.

The Works of English Scholars

The West's greatest contribution to the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist studies has been made by England. In 1837 (B.E.

2380), the Pali text of the *Mahāvaṁsa* (the *Great Chronicle of Ceylon*) together with a translation was published by George Turner, a civil servant in Ceylon. Meanwhile (1821–1841 or B.E. 2364–2384), B. H. Hodgson collected Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and distributed them to various libraries in India and Europe. Two other civil servants of the British government came to Ceylon in 1864 (B.E. 2407) and became prominent Pali and Buddhist scholars. One was Robert C. Childers, who published in 1872–1875 (B.E. 2415–2418) his *Dictionary of the Pali Language*, a great contribution to the study of Pali.

The other, probably the most eminent contributor to Pali and Buddhist studies, was Professor T. W. Rhys Davids who founded the Pali Text Society in 1881 (B.E. 2424), and set to work in 1916 (B.E. 2459) on his most-consulted *Pali–English Dictionary*, which was to be completed by his assistant, Dr. W. Stede in 1925 (B.E. 2468). Professor Rhys Davids also wrote, translated and edited voluminous works in the field of Buddhist studies. After the death of its founder, the affairs and activities of the Pali Text Society were conducted by his wife and co-worker, Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, whose large contributions to Pali studies crowned her husband's work. The work of the Pali Text Society was continued by its devoted and energetic third president, Miss I. B. Horner, until her death in 1981 (B.E. 2524).

With the assistance of eminent Pali and Buddhist scholars of various nationalities, the Society has published the Pali texts, in Roman characters, of all the works in the Tripitaka, most of the Commentaries, and many post-canonical works. A large number of the English translations of these texts have also been published. In the field of lexicography, the *Pāli-English Dictionary*, *English–Pāli Dictionary*, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* and the *Pāli Tipiṭakaṁ Concordance* are publications of the Society. It can be said that the Pali Text Society has done the most for the spread of Theravada

Buddhism in the Western world and is surpassed by none in aiding the progress of international Buddhist studies.

Max Müller (1823–1900 or B.E. 2366–2443), the famous English philologist who was born in Germany, is regarded as the father of Indian studies in the West. Through his voluminous translations and editions, he made a substantial contribution to the progress of Pali and Buddhist studies. His edition of the 50-volume series of the *Sacred Books of the East* encouraged Professor Rhys Davids to begin the *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, a series which still continues.

It was also an Englishman, Sir Edwin Arnold, that produced the most widely known and most successful work on the popularization of Buddhism. His epic poem, *The Light of Asia*, published in 1879 (B.E. 2422), triggered off a dramatic increase in interest in Buddhism among Western people, made many converts and further stimulated scholarly study of Buddhism. Among these converts was Charlse Henry Allen Bennet, a young man of 18 years of age. Bennet went to study Buddhism in Burma, received his ordination there and devoted his life to the cause of Buddhism. As a Buddhist monk, he was known as Bhikkhu Ananda Metteyya. And it was Ananda Metteyya. that led the first Buddhist mission to England in April 1908 (B.E. 2451).

Among those who were then inspired to adopt Buddhism as their way of life, the first to be admitted were Francis Payne and his family. The beginning of the 20th century in England saw also the founding of the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland on November 26, 1907 (B.E. 2450). The Society was set up to assist the Buddhist Mission and functioned until 1923 (B.E. 2466). In 1924 (B.E. 2467), it was replaced by the present Buddhist Society, of which Mr. Christmas Humphreys was the founding President. Besides the Buddhist Society in London, there are now two Buddhist vihāras to help further the cause of Buddhism.

The Devoted Efforts of German Scholars and German Buddhists

In Germany, an early stimulation to the study of Buddhism was the works of the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860 or B.E. 2331–2403), whose thoughts were influenced to a great extent by the teachings of the Buddha. His great work, *World as Will and Idea*, served also to popularize a kind of Buddhism all over Europe. However, as his philosophy was pessimistic, his admiration for Buddhism as the key to all the problems of life and his acknowledgment of the agreement of his philosophy with the teachings of the Buddha have also given many Europeans a bad impression of Buddhism.

In 1860 (B.E. 2403), Albert Weber, a German Indologist, translated the *Dhammapada* into German, thus giving it its first appearance in a modern Western language. Hermann Oldenberg, a Vedic scholar and a contemporary of Professor Rhys Davids, edited the publication of the Vinaya-Piṭaka during the period from 1879 to 1883. Among his other works were *The Buddha*, the first Buddhist textbook in Europe based wholly on firsthand Pali sources, which was translated into English in 1882 (B.E. 2425), and many learned articles intended to show the relation between Pali literature and the Vedas.

Among German Buddhists[1] who worked hard for the cause of Buddhism, mention should be made of Dr. Paul Dahlke, a physician and student of Theravada Buddhism. Besides publishing Buddhist journals and translating Buddhist texts, Paul Dahlke wrote authoritative books on Buddhism, most of which have been translated into English by an English monk, Bhikkhu Sīlācāra. In 1924 (B.E. 2467), he founded in Frohnau, Berlin, a Buddhist House (Buddhistisches

[1] Other German scholars and German Buddhists whose names should be mentioned are: Wilhelm Geiger, Winternitz, Kurt Schmidt, George Grimm, Kurt Seidenstuecker, von Glasenapp and Waldsschmidt.

Haus), which later, after his death, was purchased by the German Dharmaduta Society of Colombo to house the Ceylon Mission.

Another was the Venerable Nyanatiloka Mahathera, who became the first person from continental Europe to be ordained as a Bhikkhu and lived the life of a Buddhist monk in Ceylon for over 50 years before he died in 1957 (B.E. 2500) at the age of 79. Besides writing numerous books in German and in English, he founded in 1911 (B.E. 2454) the Island Hermitage on a lake at Dodanduwa in South Ceylon, which has served for a long time as a training center for Western monks who studied and practiced under his guidance.

Another German Bhikkhu is his distinguished pupil, the Venerable Nyanaponika Mahāthera, an able exponent of the Abhidhamma and competent translator of Pali texts, who continued the work of his teacher at the Island Hermitage and whose contribution to the spread of Buddhism was made known through the Buddhist Publication Society of Ceylon at Kandy. Today there are Buddhist Societies in many of the larger cities of Germany. In Hamburg, members of the Buddhist Society there, probably the biggest one in Germany, support the House of Stillness, an active Buddhist study and meditation center outside the city.

Other European Contributions

In Scandinavian countries there is a long tradition of Pali and Buddhist studies and the contribution made by Scandinavians in this field is second to none in its scholarly value. It was Vincent Fausboll, a Danish scholar, who edited the publication of the *Dhammapada* with a Latin translation in 1855 (B.E. 2398), making the first transliteration of a full Pali text in Roman characters in Europe. Fausboll's greatest work was his edition of the *Jātakas* in seven volumes published between 1877 (B.E. 2420) and 1897 (B.E.

2440),[1] a noteworthy contribution to the study of popular Buddhism and Indian Buddhist culture.

Another Dane, V. Trenckner, published his edition of the *Milindapañhā* in 1880 (B.E. 2423). Trenckner, assisted by a Swedish Pali scholar named Helmer Smith, initiated the great lexicographical work, *Critical Pāli Dictionary*. Many parts of this dictionary have been published by the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen since 1927 (B.E. 2470) and the work is still being continued under the editorship of Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith. Today there are some Buddhist societies, such as the Friends of Buddhism, working to encourage the study, the practice and the spread of Buddhism.

Earlier than the work by English scholars was the beginning of Pali studies by the French Orientalist Eugene Burnouf. In 1826 (B.E. 2369), E. Burnouf and Christian Lassen published their essay on Pali in French and became pioneers in the field of Pali studies in Europe. Burnouf's *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, published in 1844 (B.E. 2387), which threw light on the relation between the Pali and Sanskrit traditions, was the first history of Buddhism. The French tradition begun by Burnouf was continued by Sylvan Levi and later eminent scholars such as Paul Demiville and Louis Renou. Under the direction of S. Levi and J. Takakusu and the editorship of Paul Demiville, an encyclopedic dictionary of Buddhism after the Chinese and Japanese sources called *Hobogirin* was started in 1929 (B.E. 2472).

There are still many other scholars of countries in Continental Europe who have made significant contributions to the progress of Buddhist studies. A Hungarian, Alexander Csoma de Koros (1784–

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[1] The English translation of the *Jātakas* was made under theeditorship of E. B. Cowell and published by Cambridge University Press in 1895–1913 (B.E. 2438–2456). A German translation of the same work was made by Julius Dutoit in 1908–1911 (B.E. 2451–2454).

1849 or B.E. 2327–2392), through his works in the field of Tibetan studies, was regarded as the inaugurator of Buddhist studies in the West. Among his works was *Tibetan–English Dictionary*, published in 1834 (B.E. 2377). A Dutch scholar, H. Kern, made an edition of the *Jātakamālā* in 1891 (B.E. 2434) and published his famous work, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, in 1896 (B.E. 2439). The Belgian Indologist Louis de La Valle Poussin, a pupil of Sylvan Levi and H. Kern, edited a number of Sanskrit texts and organized in 1921 (B.E. 2464) the Society for Oriental Studies. Among Italian scholars G. Tucci was prominent for his edition of voluminous Mahayana texts. Among Russians the name of Th. Stcherbatsky stands foremost. Besides editing and translating many Sanskrit texts, Stcherbatsky wrote a number of learned treatises on Buddhism. Among these works, *The Central Conception of Buddhism*, *The Central Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, and the two-volume *Buddhist Logic* are probably the best known.

Americans Who Work for the Buddhist Cause

In the United States, an American went to work for the revival of Buddhism in a Buddhist country before Buddhism was introduced to America. This person was Colonel H. S. Olcott, who went to Ceylon in 1880 (B.E. 2423), established the Theosophical Society, and worked for the revival of Buddhism, Buddhist culture and education in that country. His famous book *Buddhist Catechism* is a work of great clarity. In an attempt to outline the basic beliefs of the Buddhists to which the Theravada, Mahayana and all other schools could agree, Olcott wrote in 1891 (B.E. 2434) *Fourteen Basic Buddhist Beliefs*, which was accepted by Buddhist leaders of several countries at a congress in Madras.[1]

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[1] Another effort was later made by Mr. Christmas Humphreys, President of the Buddhist Society of London, who named his version *The Twelve Principles of Buddhism.*

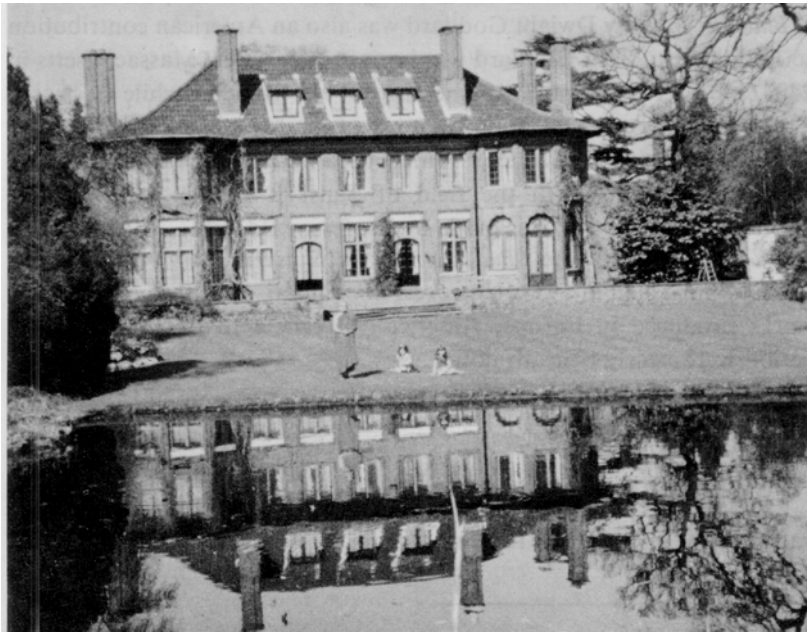
In 1893 (B.E. 2436), Anāgārika Dharmapāla of Ceylon represented Buddhism at the World's Parliament of Religions held in Chicago. It was at this time that Mr. C. T. S. Strauss declared himself a Buddhist by receiving the Threefold Refuge and the Five Precepts from Dharmapāla. Strauss was probably the first American to become a Buddhist. It was also during this same period of time that the first Japanese Buddhist Mission was said to arrive in San Francisco and commence their activities in the United States. This can be regarded as the introduction of Buddhism to the United States.

In 1884 (B.E. 2427), Dr. Paul Carus published in Illinois his famous book, *The Gospel of the Buddha*. The book has gone through many printings and over one million copies of it have been sold since its first appearance. During this time, the Harvard Oriental Series was founded by Charles Rockwell Lanman and Henry Clarke Warren. Among the works included in this series were Warren's *Buddhism in Translations* (1896 or B.E. 2439) and Eugene Watson Burlingame's *Buddhist Legends*, which is the English translation of the *Dhammapada-Commentary* (1921 or B.E. 2464).

A Buddhist Bib1e by Dwight Goddard was also an American contribution to Buddhist studies. Goddard was born in Worcester, Massachusetts in 1861 (B.E. 2404). He accepted the message of the Buddha while he was a Christian missionary in China. Later he founded a brotherhood called *The Followers of the Buddha*, which became an inspiration to other American Buddhists. In the field of Sanskrit Buddhist studies, an American contribution was made by Professor Edgerton who compiled for Yale University the *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionar*y, published in 1953. However, in comparison with the numerous works produced in Europe, American literary activities of this early period were nearly beneath notice.

A Summary

Generally speaking, it was Europe that played the central part in carrying the message of the Buddha to the West in the early period. Academic studies and scholarly research became characteristic of the Buddhist activities during these first hundred years. Names of Orientalists and Indologists, historians and philologists, along with their scholarly works, filled up the pages of the early history of Buddhism in the West. Names and titles cited above are only pioneers and some distinguished examples. A great number of other scholars, both pupils and colleagues of these leading figures, had their shares in this Western tradition of Buddhist scholarship and academic study of Buddhism. Some popular texts and works of importance have had many printings or were published in many versions. Among popular texts, the best known is the *Dhammapada*, which has been translated into many languages and of which not fewer than twenty versions have been published. Among the discourses of the Buddha, the *Kālāmasutta*, rightly called "the first charter of free thought," seems to be the best known and the most often quoted, the only possible exception being the First Sermon. Among post-canonical works, the *Visuddhimagga* and the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* are next only to the *Milindapañhā* in popularity and in publication statistics.



The Buddhapadipa Temple, London.

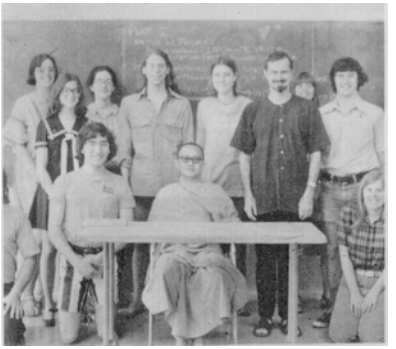
15:
Buddhism Gains Public Interest

A young American girl practicing meditation.

Academic and Practical Buddhism Making Great Strides Abreast

The scholastic character of the early period had much effect on the progress of Buddhism in the subsequent period up to the present. The wealth of Buddhist literature in Western languages makes Buddhism accessible to Western people and facilitates Buddhist study. At the same time, Buddhists in Asian countries have begun to take up missionary activity again. From time to time, Buddhist missions have come to Western countries to acquaint these people with the teachings of the Buddha. Above all, social and life conditions have now greatly changed. Amidst material and economic progress in this age of technology, more and more Western people, especially students in colleges and universities, find their religious system unsatisfying intellectually and spiritually. Buddhism, with its doctrine not overshadowed by modern thought and its meditation attractive to modern mind, has a strong appeal for these Western men and women who are in search of the meaning of life and a meaningful way of life. And, since the turn of the century, Buddhism has taken a new turn. The interest in Buddhism and Buddhist studies has grown more and more widely beyond the confines of scholars into the public. Knowledge of Buddhism is sought more from a practical standpoint. Meditation becomes the most appealing aspect of Buddhism and attracts many Western young people to Asian Buddhist countries, where many of them can be found today ordained as Buddhist monks and practicing Buddhist meditation under the guidance of local meditation-teachers.

There has been an increasing tendency for books on Buddhism to be the work of professed or practicing Buddhists. Another tendency is for Asian Buddhists to take wider and more active part in the spread of Buddhist knowledge in the West, especially through their writings.



◄ A Thai monk and an American professor with a class in Buddhism, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania 1976 (B.E. 2519).

An American monk on an almsround in England, 1982 (B.E. 1982). ►

◄ A Zen study group, England, 1983 (B.E. 2526).

Among contemporary Western Buddhists devoted to Buddhist studies, a distinguished name is the Venerable Ñāṇamoli, an English monk who was ordained in Ceylon and lived at the Island Hermitage until his death in 1960 (B.E. 2503). In the words of Miss I. B. Horner, the late President of the Pali Text Society, the Venerable Ñāṇamoli was an unusually brilliant scholar and his published translations of some of the most difficult Pali texts[1] have a healthy vitality "to inaugurate a new and valuable phase in the study and understanding of the contents of Buddhist literature."[2] The Venerable Nyanaponika, his well-known Brother-in-Order at the Island Hermitage, spoke of his translations as "remarkable achievements in quantity as well as in quality," and as "showing the highest standard of careful and critical scholarship and a keen and subtle mind, philosophically trained."[3] Other names of no less importance are, for example: the Venerable Nyanaponika himself; the Bhikkhu Sangharakshita, a Buddhist writer and poet of English origin; Francis Story, a British Buddhist through whom the Buddha's teaching was presented convincingly as being of vital significance in this modern age; Christmas Humphreys, the late president of the Buddhist Society of London and a life-long interpreter of Buddhist thought to the West; and Edward Conze, a voluminous writer and leading authority in the field of Buddhist studies. The number of authoritative writers on Buddhism is increasing both in Europe and in North America and some of the names are coming into prominence. Worthy of mention are A. K. Warder and Trevor Ling, whose authoritative works treat Buddhism not merely as a religion but as an ethical social program and a civilization.

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[1] The work referred to here are the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Khuddakapātha* with its Commentary, and the *Nettipakaraṇa*.

[2] Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *The Guide* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1962), p. LXIV.

[3] Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli, *A Thinker's Note* (Ceylon: the Forest Hermitge), p. 10.

The Contributions of Asian Buddhists

Among Asian Buddhists, Ceylonese monks such as the Venerable Narada Mahathera, the Venerable Walpola Rahula and the Venerable Piyadassī Thera were well known for their devoted efforts to disseminate the original basic doctrine of the Buddha in international public and academic circles through both literary and missionary activities. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, K. N. Jayatilleke, Dr. Jayasuriya and some other leading lay Buddhists of Sri Lanka have contributed greatly to international Buddhist scholarship, the availability of firsthand knowledge of Buddhism to Western readers and the lively interpretation of the Buddha-Dharma intelligible and meaningful to modern mind. A number of devoted Ceylonese Buddhists join as honorary workers in conducting the Buddhist Publication Society[1] at Kandy. It is said that during the last twelve years this non-profit organization has printed over a million booklets on all aspects of the Buddha's teachings and distributed large numbers of them to addresses in 71 countries.

Burmese Buddhism has been attracting Western people for a long time through its specialization in Abhidhamma studies and meditation. Burmese contributors in this field can be represented by the Mahathera Ledi Sayadaw, whose numerous writings show a deep penetration of the respective subjects derived from his meditative experience. The Burmese tradition of Abhidhamma studies is still continued and made accessible to the West by outstanding Burmese scholars, such as Mahāsī Sayadaw, U Titthila and U Nārada.

In Thailand, the Bhikkhu Buddhadāsa stimulated a growing interest in Buddhism among modern intellectuals and college

[1] This organization was begun by the Venerable Nyanaponika Thera in collaboration with two lay devotees. Among its aims is to present Buddhism in the framework of contemporary thought and to interpret man to himself in the light of a wisdom that is lacking in this materialistic age. *The Wheel* and the *Bodhi Leaves* are its main English series meant to reach a wide reading public around the world.

students. He attracted more attention from Western readers through his original interpretation of the Buddha-Dharma. His oral teaching has been published under voluminous titles and an increasing number of these titles are being translated into English. One volume, *Toward the Truth*, published in the United States, was translated by an American scholar as an attempt to contribute to an understanding of contemporary Theravada Buddhism.[1]

The Popularity of Zen

The contemporary Asian Buddhist scholar best known to the West was probably Dr. D. T. Suzuki, Zen's chief exponent in English. It was mainly through his writings that Zen gained a newborn popularity in the West. This is a rapidly growing popularity which has been clearly described in these sentences: "Rarely in modern times has an alien way of life attracted a foreign people as suddenly and as strongly as Zen has attracted Westerners in the past few years. Scarcely a decade ago the word was all but unknown. Today, the word, though certainly not its meaning, is common knowledge."[2]

"Any psychologist, even twenty years ago, would have been greatly surprised—or shocked—to find his colleagues interested in a mystical religious system such as Zen Buddhism ... The reason for this change lies in factors ... to be found in the development of psychoanalytic theory, in the changes that have occurred in the intellectual and spiritual climate of the Western world, and in the work of Dr. Suzuki, who, by his books, his lectures, and his

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[1] Donald K. Swearer, ed., *Towards the Truth* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971).

[2] Words on the back cover ofAlan W. Watts' *The Spirit of Zen* (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1960).

personality, has made the Western world acquainted with Zen Buddhism."[1]

The popularity of Zen naturally adds to the growing public interest in Buddhism and Buddhist studies in general. In fact, even among scholars, Buddhism has, since the beginning of the present century, attracted the attention not only of Philologists, Indologists and Orientalists but also of learned men of modern sciences. Some of the leading philosophers, scientists, historians, psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts of modern age, such as H. G. Wells, Albert Einstein, Aldous Huxley, Bertrand Russell, C. G. Jung and Erich Fromm, made appreciative references to Buddhism in their writings and speeches, or even accepted the superiority of Buddhism over modern science in their field of specialization.[2]

Buddhist Studies and Mediation in American Universities

A special mention should be made of developments in the United States during the last few decades. The Americans seem to have been speeding up to take the lead in the activities of spreading the knowledge of Buddhism in the West, both public and academic. The publication of books on Buddhism has continued to rise. Research scholars, serious students and ordinary practical people do not fall short of new titles to contribute to their knowledge and understanding of Buddhism. In many American universities there are departments of religion where Buddhism is one of the subjects of study. At the University of Wisconsin a program of Ph.D. in Buddhist Studies has been established with the aim "to train teachers and scholars to understand Buddhism not only as a datum of social or philosophical history but also as a profound expression of human

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[1] Erich Fromm, *Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. vii–viii.

[2] These scholars will be quoted later on in this book.

religious experience, with ramifications in art, music, literature and the lives of its followers."[1] At Columbia University, study in the special interdepartmental program in Buddhist studies is carried out in conjunction with work for the Ph.D. degree. At Harvard University, besides the Ph.D. in Sanskrit and Indian Studies, students can pursue a program for the Ph.D. in the Study of Religion in the Special Field of Buddhism. From time to time, workshops on one or another aspect of Buddhism have been held at institutions of higher learning. Speaking of the workshops in Buddhist meditation conducted under his initiative at Oberlin College in January of 1969 (B.E. 2512) and 1970 (B.E. 2513), Dr. Donald K. Swearer says:

> The project was a success in more ways than I had anticipated. It fulfilled my expectations on the levels of both personal relevance and insight gained into the nature of Buddhism.[2]
>
> The central message of Buddhism, rather than losing meaning, was enhanced. Its highest goals and ideals were appreciated and understood in some instances, perhaps, even more genuinely than among those who call themselves Buddhist.[3]

In big American cities today, and also in London, Paris and some other parts of Europe, no other aspect of Buddhism has a stronger appeal than Buddhist meditation. Meditation is becoming a fashion among younger people and those men and women who have plenty of time to spare. In the United States there are several meditation centers, two of which are particularly well known: one in Rochester, New York, headed by Philip Kapleau, and the other, a Zen center, under the charge of Suzuki Roshi. So far, among the methods of meditation the most popular one has been that of the

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[1] *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin,* Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Announcement of Courses, 1971–73.

[2] Donald K. Swearer, *Secrets of the Lotus* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), p. 10.

[3] Donald K. Swearer, *Buddhism in Transition* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1970), p. 122.

Japan's Zen school of sudden enlightenment. Modern psychoanalysts represented by Erich Fromm have engaged themselves in a study to analyze Zen meditation from a psychoanalytic perspective and showed that meditation taught by a Zen master is the Buddhist equivalent of psychoanalysis in the West. A trend has, however, developed for an increasing interest in Theravada meditation. A Western Buddhist and psychiatrist, Dr. Douglas M. Burns, through his years of experience of Theravada meditation practice in Theravada countries, has examined the medical and psychological aspects of Buddhist meditation and related it to scientific studies.

The current political importance of Southeast Asia stimulates the interest in Buddhism even more, though in different aspects and from different perspectives. Centers for Southeast Asian Studies and Southeast Asian Programs or Departments have been set up in many American universities. Buddhism has been taken up for study not only as a religion, but as a foundation of Asian thought and as a great social and cultural tradition. Many American scholars and graduate students have been actively involved in doing research in Southeast Asian countries such as Thailand and Burma. They live and travel among the villagers and tribal people in far provinces, studying among other things Buddhism as part of the common life of the people and as a cultural background of the society.

Buddhism and Science

Another aspect of long interest to the Buddhists has been the scientific nature of Buddhism. There is a usual claim, and also a pride, among the Buddhists that Buddhism is the most scientific of all religions. An instance of this can be found in the following words of U Chan Htoon, former justice of the Supreme Court of Burma:

> In the case of Buddhism ... all the modern scientific concepts have been present from the beginning. There is no principle of science, from biological evolution to the General Theory of

> Relativity, that runs counter to any teaching of Gotama Buddha.[1]
>
> There cannot be any achievement of science, no matter how revolutionary, that will ever contradict the teachings of Buddhism.[2]

Professor von Glasenapp, an eminent German Indologist, specifies the following Buddhist concepts as unchallenged by modern scientific ideas: the principle of universal order (dhamma); a positivistic denial of eternal substances; the contention that soul or self is an artificial abstraction; the recognition of a plurality of worlds; and the affirmation of the essential similarity between man and animal.[3]

As Dr. Swearer says in his *Buddhism in Transition*: "There are at least three principal ways in which the assertion of the scientific nature of Buddhism is presented: Buddhism is more scientific than other religions, especially theism (viz., Christianity); there is a general agreement between the approach or method of Buddhism and science; and, science proves or validates particular Buddhist teachings such as the doctrines of rebirth (saṁsāra) and impermanence (anicca).[4] Here, Buddhist meditation becomes the experimental laboratory where the truth of one's existence can be proved by intuitive insight, an experience of the individual, each for himself. The concept of impermanence finds its confirmation in Einstein's field theory of modern physics.

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[1] U Chari Htoon, *The Wheel*, No. 36/37, p. 52.
[2] Ibid., p. 37.
[3] Cited by Ernst Benz in his *Buddhism or Communism: Which Holds the Future of Asia?*, p. 148.
[4] Donald K. Swearer, *Buddhism in Transition* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1970), p. 79.

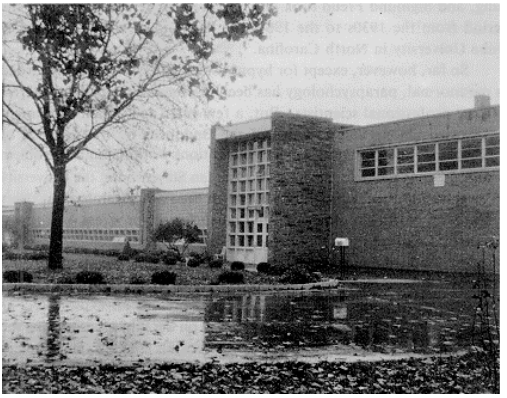
Extrasensory Perception (ESP)

Also covered in the field of scientific study of Buddhism is the research on parapsychology, especially extrasensory perception (ESP), and on the problem of rebirth. The growth of scientific interest in these ancient beliefs was evidenced by the founding of the Society for Psychical Research of London in 1882 (B.E. 2425), the American Society for Psychical Research in 1888 (B.E. 2431), and other similar societies later on in most European countries, especially in the Netherlands, France and Italy, where active work has been carried on. Stimulated by the effective work of these societies, a few universities in the United States and later in Europe have taken up psychical research as a serious subject for study. Parapsychological laboratories or research departments were opened in leading universities such as Harvard, Stanford and Duke Universities in the United States, and the University of Utrecht and Groningen University in the Netherlands. Leading psychologists like William James, William McDougall, C. G. Jung, and Sigmund Freud took an interest in the research. During the period from the 1930s to the 1960s the best-known work was that of Duke University in North Carolina.

So far, however, except for hypnotism, which is no longer regarded as paranormal, parapsychology has been of comparatively little interest to most professional scientists. But, a few years ago, much excitement was caused among some groups of the Buddhists by the research of psychologists and psychical research institutions working on the problem of remembering past existences. It was Dr. Ian Stevenson of the University of Virginia and Professor Gilbert Rhine of the Parapsychology Institute in Durham, North Carolina, that did much for the progress of study in this field. In Stevenson's *Twenty Cases Suggestive of Reincarnation*, a study is made of a number of case histories of people who remembered past lives. Joseph Head and L. S. Cranston, in their compiled and edited work *Reincarnation in World Thought*, present an exploration of what

great thinkers through the ages have said on the subject, examining the contributions made to the discussion by the world's religions, philosophies and sciences. Francis Story[1], probably the Buddhist most active in trying to prove the truth of the doctrine of rebirth, wrote a booklet entitled *The Case for Rebirth*, made an inquiry into the memory of past lives of hundreds of Burmese and Ceylonese citizens, and around the year 1968 (B.E. 2511) made a tour of the United States and Asian countries lecturing on this subject. Finding in the alien-traditioned Western hemisphere their co-believers represented by historic figures such as Pythagoras, Empidocles and Thomas Alva Edison, and their belief supported by scientific study of modern Western scholars, some Buddhists have become convinced that the truth of the doctrine of rebirth has been proved.

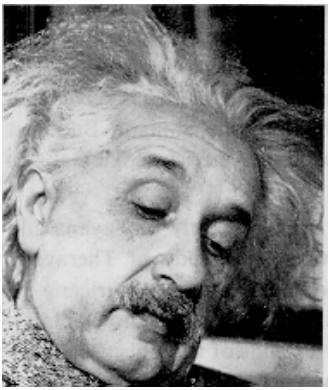
To the practicing Buddhists, however, ESP is something peripheral. The positive report on it may rouse in some people a stronger belief or a more active interest in Buddhism. But, so far as the essential aspect of Buddhism is concerned, the Buddhists realize that the attainment of the real benefit of Buddhism is dependent on their own efforts and striving, not subject to the scientific verification of ESP.



Wat Dhammaram, the Thai Buddhist Temple), Chicago.

[1] Francis Story is also known by his Buddhist name of Anāgārika Sugatānanda.

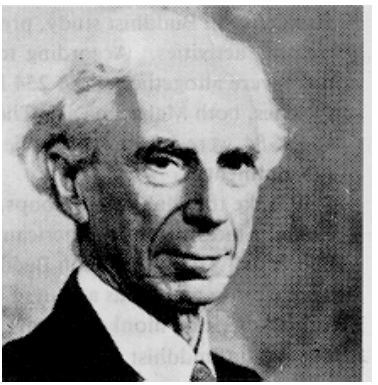
16:
Buddhism and the West:
Subsequent to a Friendly Encounter



Albert Einstein

H. G. Wells

Sir Edwin Arnold



Bertrand Russell

Buddhist Activities in and for the West: A Casual Look

It is estimated that there are now over 190,000 Buddhists in the United States. Most of these, however, are Americans of Chinese and Japanese origin who belong to the Pure Land sect and are organized under the name The Buddhist Churches of America.[1] The majority of these churches, over 50 in number, are largely in Hawaii and on the West Coast. The second largest Japanese sect is Zen, the various groups of which include the First Zen Institute of America in New York City, the World Zen Center in Virginia and the Zen Mission Society in California. Among other Japanese groups are the San Francisco Nichiren Buddhist Church, the Chicago Jodo Mission, the Shingon Buddhist Church in Chicago and the Nichiren Shoshu of America (Soka Gakkai) in Los Angeles.

Though Buddhism in the States is predominantly Mahayana and Theravada missions are smaller in number, the study of Theravada Buddhism has become increasingly popular among Americans of European origin. Theravada Buddhists are also united into societies, centers, groups and Vihāras. There are "Friends of Buddhism" groups in such cities as Washington, D.C., New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco. The American Buddhist Academy in New York City and other Buddhist groups by different names and in various places are also active in Buddhist study, propagation and, for a few organizations, training activities. According to the statistics available in 1969 (B.E. 2512), there were altogether about 254 Buddhist groups, centers, missions and societies, both Mahayana and Theravada, in the United States. Of these, about 84 were in Hawaii, while the other 170 were on the American subcontinent.

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[1] In 1970 members of the Buddhist Churches of America numbered 100,000 (*Americana Annual 1974*).

Like the Mahayana groups, a number of Theravada centers in the United States are not American organizations but activities of Asian Buddhists. The Washington Buddhist Vihāra houses a Theravada mission from Ceylon and it has a plan to establish centers in the major cities and train American monks to staff them. Thai Buddhists organized the Theravada Buddhist Center in North Hollywood in Los Angeles, which later became known as Wat Thai. Beginning with this first Thai temple in America, there are now more than a dozen of Thai temples in the States.

In Europe, while the Buddhist Society of Great Britain is still the biggest Buddhist organization, a number of local associations have been founded in cities, towns and universities in various parts of many European countries. Ceylonese Buddhists contribute to this development by supporting their mission at the London Buddhist Vihāra in England and the Dhammadūta Society (Buddhistisches Haus) in West Germany. Besides the Buddhapadīpa Temple in London, which was officially opened by His Majesty the King of Thailand on August 1, 1966 (B.E. 2509), Thai Buddhists have developed missions in some other parts of Europe such as the Dhammasucharitanucharee Temple in Waalwijk in the Netherlands, which was later changed to Wat Buddharam, and the Vipassanā Centre at Surrey in England.

In Australia, the Buddhist societies in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane are incorporated under the Buddhist Federation of Australia. Of these societies, the New South Wales Society at Sydney is noted for its most active work. A Thai Buddhist mission was invited to Melbourne in 1974 (B.E. 2517) and a Thai Buddhist Vihāra called Wat Buddharangsee was opened in Sydney in the latter part of the year 1975 (B.E. 2518).

Besides books, booklets and pamphlets, Buddhist journals and periodicals have made a great contribution to the spread of Buddhism internationally. A number of such publications issued by

Buddhist groups and organizations in America, Europe and Asia have a world-wide circulation, *World Buddhism*, printed in Ceylon, and the *WFB News Bulletin*, distributed from the WFB headquarters in Bangkok, are probably the best known and most widely read Buddhist monthly periodicals. Other publications include the *Vesak Sirisara*, the Buddhist annual of the Sri Saddharmadāna Samitiya in Ceylon; *Visākha Pūjā*, the annual publication of the Buddhist Association of Thailand; *The Middle Way* and *The Friendly Way*, quarterlies of the Buddhist Society and the Buddhapadīpa Temple in London, respectively; *The Maha Bodhi Journal* of the Maha Bodhi Society; *Voice of Buddhism* of the Buddhist Missionary Society in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; *Mettā*, the journal of the Buddhist Federation of Australia; and *The Golden Lotus*, a mimeographed magazine published in Philadelphia. It would not be practicable to name here all the Buddhist journals and periodicals issued in the various countries. In the United States alone, 23 Buddhist bulletins, newsletters, monthly magazines and annuals were on the list in 1969 (B.E. 2512).

Western Buddhism into the 80's

In March 1959 (B.E. 2502), the Chinese made an attempt to arrest the Dalai Lama, who then fled through the Himalayas to India. As Tibet was made part of China, refugees streamed to the northern borders of India and Nepal, where they established large colonies. Some of the Tibetans went further to Europe and America, where they founded monasteries and refugee communities. Tibetan meditation centers were also established for the native Western people, and since 1965 (B.E. 2508), Tibetan Buddhism has become well known to the Americans. Under competent masters (called *Rimpoche*), Tibetan meditation centers have multiplied rapidly and they are gaining new disciples every day.

Among the best-known and most influential of the Tibetan masters in America are Chogyam Trungpa Tulku and Tarthang Tulku. Chogyam Trungpa arrived in the United States in 1970 (B.E. 2513), when he founded the Tail of the Tiger community near Barnet, Vermont, in March. In November of the same year, he moved to Boulder, Colorado, where the Karma Dzong Meditation Center was organized in March 1971 (B.E. 2514) and the Naropa Institute originated in 1974 (B.E. 2517).

Tarthang Tulku arrived in the United States in 1968 (B.E. 2501). It was he who founded the first Tibetan meditation center for Americans, the Tibetan Nyingmapa Meditation Center in Berkeley, California, which was established in the spring of 1969 (B.E. 2502).

The degree of the success of Tibetan Buddhism in America is clearly indicated in the following words of Needleman: "Tibetan Buddhism will be for the West in the coming decade what Zen Buddhism has been in the last decade and ... will enrich our understanding of religion no less than Zen Buddhism has."[1]

In Britain, a number of Tibetan Buddhist centers have also been established. Among these are the Tibetan Centre at Samya Ling, the Kham Tibetan House, the Mañjushrī Institute and the College of Tibetan Buddhist Studies.

In 1976 (B.E. 2519), a group of Americans on the East Coast founded an organization to provide a place for the intensive practice of insight (Vipassanā) meditation, called the Insight Meditation Society. The IMS now operates a retreat center which is set on 80 wooded acres in the quiet farm country of Barre in central Massachusetts. Besides the unsalaried staff, the Society invites meditation teachers from other parts of America, Europe and Asia to conduct retreats at the IMS. Of the four resident teachers of the center, the first two, Jack Kornfield and Joseph Goldstein, spent long

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[1] Jacob Needleman, *The New Religions* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1970), p. 8.

years as Buddhist monks studying and practicing meditation under Southeast Asian meditation masters, especially Buddhadāsa Bhikkhu of Suan Mokh, Chaiya, and Ajahn Chah of Wat Nong Pah Pong, Ubon, both in Thailand. With this Southern Buddhist background of its ex-monk teachers, this big meditation center can be said to represent the Theravada meditation tradition in America.

Also in 1976 (B.E. 2519), Ajahn Sumedho, an American monk, was granted permission by his teacher, Ajahn Chah of Wat Nong Pah Pong, a forest monastery in Ubon Province in northeastern Thailand, to visit his aging parents in California. On his way back to Thailand, Ajahn Sumedho made a stop in London, where he came into contact with Mr. George Sharp, Chairman of the English Sangha Trust, which was established in 1956 (B.E. 2499) to provide a suitable residence for bhikkhus in England. The Trust owned the Hampstead Buddhist Vihāra, which was, in 1976 (B.E. 2519), vacant. A year later, Ajahn Sumedho accompanied Ajahn Chah to London and was left with three other Western monks, all students of Ajahn Chah, to stay at the Hampstead Buddhist Vihāra. As the site of the Vihāra was considered unsuited for forest monks and as a forest called Hammer Wood in West Sussex was donated to the Sangha, the monks headed by Ajahn Sumedho moved from London to Sussex on June 22, 1979 (B.E. 2522). There, they developed the Chithurst Forest Monastery or Wat Pah Cittaviveka, where the Thai forest Theravada tradition began to be settled in the West and the Western Sangha began to grow on the Western soil.

In another part of England, a new Buddhist movement has also developed. This is the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO), which was founded by an English Buddhist, Ven. Sangharakshita. Born in London in 1925 (B.E. 2468), he became, at the age of sixteen, a Buddhist as a result of reading some Sūtras. In 1943 (B.E. 2486) he went to India as a soldier. Some three years later, he took the Theravada lower ordination, and the higher ordination the

following year. Around 1957 (B.E. 2500), Ven. Sangharakshita founded his Vihāra (the Triyāna Vardhna Vihāra) in Kalimpong, where he worked aiding in the ex-untouchable movement of conversion to Buddhism and as editor of the *Maha Bodhi Journal*. Meanwhile, Ven. Sangharakshita received the Bodhisattva Precepts from a Rimpoche as his Mahayana ordination.

Ven. Sangharakshita paid a visit to London in 1964 (B.E. 2507) on an invitation from the Sangha Trust at the Hampstead Buddhist Vihāra and stayed there for three years. After a five-month revisit to India in 1967 (B.E. 2510), he returned to London and decided to found a new nonsectarian monastic community with a new structure and an amended code of conduct suited to the West. He began his new movement, the FWBO, in April 1967 (B.E. 2510) at Monmouth Street in London and the first twelve men and women were ordained into the Western Buddhist Order in 1968 (B.E. 2511). At the end of the year 1982 (B.E. 2525), its overall membership ran into six figures, from the 187 fully ordained members, who make up the Order, through the large number of Mitras and regular friends, to those with only occasional and peripheral contact. In addition to the ones in Norwich, Brighton, Surrey, Glasgow and in north, west and east London, permanent centers have also been established in other parts of the world, for example, in Finland, New Zealand, Australia, the United States and India.

The FWBO is the Order of Dharmachari (Dharma-farer: Upāsakas and Upāsikās in a special sense, not as usually understood in the East). It does not believe in purely informal monasticism as generally found in the East. The FWBO is "Sangha" in the meaning of the fellowship of all those who—regardless of lifestyle and background—have dedicated themselves to the attainment of Enlightenment. It is a spiritual community which takes Right Livelihood as the most cooperative way of spreading the Dharma, the development and adaptation of a westernized, fully self-sufficient

unit. Order members are scarcely laymen yet they are not isolated from the world in monastic surroundings. Readiness for ordination may take about two years. One who first encounters the FWBO and attends its activities is called a "Friend." When he has developed a definite sense of belonging, he may ask to become a "Mitra," who usually has two senior Order members as his Kalyāṇa Mitras. A period of training may be required of a Mitra before he is ordained a member of the Western Buddhist Order. The ordinee asks for the Three Refuges and the ten Upāsaka precepts. He then is given a new name, usually in Pali or Sanskrit. Thus, Order members are known as Dharmachari Atula, Dharmachari Subhuti, and so on. Some Order members may take additional vows and become known as "Anāgārika," wearing the traditional yellow robe. However, the FWBO hopes that, in time, the robe will no longer be necessary.

The above developments may represent all the various current Buddhist movements in the West, both Theravada and Mahayana, ranging from the most orthodox to the most liberal, which begin to grow after the planting has been successful. Now only time is needed before we can see which form of Buddhism best suits the West and will thus last and flourish there.

Western Buddhism and the Buddhist Revival in Asia

The growing interest in Buddhism and the progress of Buddhist studies in the West have greatly influenced the Buddhist revival in Asian Buddhist countries. As stated above, when Asia entered the modern period, Buddhism had stagnated in a state of habits and become a popular religion burdened with ceremonials and superstition. Then, in the face of Western civilization, it lost ground. But, with the rise in the interest among Western people, Asian Buddhists turned to revalue their traditional heritage. Asian interest in Buddhism, especially its intellectual aspect and meditation, then came to develop, following Western steps in many ways. What the

following Western scholars say in this connection is worth appreciative consideration.

As Dr. Ernst Benz puts it: "In all Buddhist countries the revival has been greatly sparked by the work of European scholars and educators who have come to Buddhism with the enthusiasm of discoverers, and have made it their own."[1]

In *The Buddhist Religion*, Mr. Richard H. Robinson writes: "Some decades ago, meditation was commonly neglected by Buddhists who were trying to be modern, because until recently Westerners have scorned it, alleging that quietism and subjectivism are morbid and sap the will to act ... and now that psychiatry has sparked a cult of self-awareness in the West, meditation is coming back into fashion in every part of Buddhist Asia that Marxism does not hold in thrall to 19th century European attitudes."[2]

Dr. Donald K. Swearer confirms this in his *Buddhism in Transition*: "Yet, if one could prognosticate the future, it might well be predicted that a significant dimension of a Buddhist renaissance will take shape not in Asia but in the West. There are evidences to this effect already. Most students of Japanese Buddhism, for instance, contend that the interest in Zen Buddhism in America stimulated by the English writings of D. T. Suzuki has been partially responsible for a renewed interest in Zen in Japan."[3]

And, as far as politics is concerned, the following words of observation on Asian Buddhist situations deserve much attention.

"Buddhism, inherently Asian, has provided a mirror in which the Asian can perceive his uniqueness and worth; in Buddhism he retains a tradition of individual integrity and humanist values that owes nothing to the West."[4]

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[1] The work quoted, p. 12.
[2] The work quoted, p. 116
[3] The work quoted, p. 121.
[4] Jerrold Schecter, p. 274.

"Yet in both Japan and Vietnam, as earlier in Ceylon and Burma, the political response and organization of Buddhism has Come as a result of the search for national identity. The search continues throughout Asia, and the face of Buddha will change with the challenge of modernization. Throughout history, images of the Buddha have reflected the real faces of the people who created them. The new face of the Buddha continues to change as it reflects the new face of Asia."[1]

"Yet Buddhism has shown its ability to adapt and develop. (Buddhist monks) are a powerful pressure group."[2]

"If Buddhism does not adapt, it will become a cultural fossil. If it adapts too much, it becomes adulterated and loses its essence and integrity."[3]

Thus have been described the Buddhist conditions and situations in the West today, some Western estimations of Buddhism, and the relation between Western Buddhism and Buddhist Asia. These conditions, situations and estimations can, however, be best described by Western scholars themselves or, in some cases, by international scholars. Hence the following quotations.

Buddhism and the West in the Eyes of Western Scholars

John Walters, a British journalist converted to Buddhism, writes in his *The Essence of Buddhism*: "This, in the West, is a period of gigantic material and economic progress … It is often boasted that everything in America has, with her amazing material progress, changed for the better. But what of man? Everything may appear happier; yet man himself is no happier. Today, as statistics prove, a bigger proportion of people than ever before worry

[1] [2] [3] Jerrold Schecter, pp. 277, 276, and XVIII, respectively.

themselves into insanity. Psychiatry has become a big business because of the fears of men and women that they are going mad."[1] "An increasing number of men and women, bewildered by the material and ideological chaos of today, are finding that the teaching of the Buddha brings them back to sense and clarity, to serenity and peace."[2]

Trevor Ling, Senior Lecturer at the University of Leeds, writes: "In other quarters there is a suspicion that religion in the West has betrayed man at the most important point in life, and consequently a tendency to find meaning in Eastern Religion."[3]

Vajiradhammapadip Temple, New York.

[1] John Walters, *The Essence of Buddhism* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1961), p. 119.
[2] Ibid., p. 140.
[3] Trevor Ling, *A History of Religion, East and West* (New York: harper & Row, Publishers, 1968). p. 429.

"There is plenty of evidence that in Western Europe people desire to find a coherent and meaningful system of values.... It may be that the words and the way of the Buddha have much to contribute at this moment of history to the religious life of the West."[1]

According to Dr. Donald K Swearer, "Among American college students at this time there is an active and increasing interest in Asian religions. While acknowledging the esoteric appeal of Buddhism and other Asian religions, this interest is not simply part of the youthful rebellion against the religious establishment. Rather, much student involvement in these areas reflects a genuine quest for a meaningful set of values and a viable life-style. Nor is the growing interest in Buddhism simply the preserve of the young. John Cobb, an outstanding contemporary theologian, has observed that Buddhism offers one of the most compelling religious alternatives today, and Christian ministers utilizing Buddhist insights and practices are becoming less and less rare. Indeed, a United Church minister friend of mine recently wrote requesting information on Zen Buddhism to be used in a senior high church school class."[2]

"Buddhism is becoming increasingly popular in the United States. Its popularity rests not only on the appeal it has among college students or the role it has played in influencing 'hip' culture. It offers a serious religious option for many Westerners, and it may well prove to have a significant impact on Judaeo-Christian thought and practice. Alan Watts exemplifies those whose thinking has been decisively influenced by Buddhism, and even as devout a Catholic mystic as Thomas Merton was deeply involved in Buddhism before his untimely death in Asia while visiting Buddhist centers."[3]

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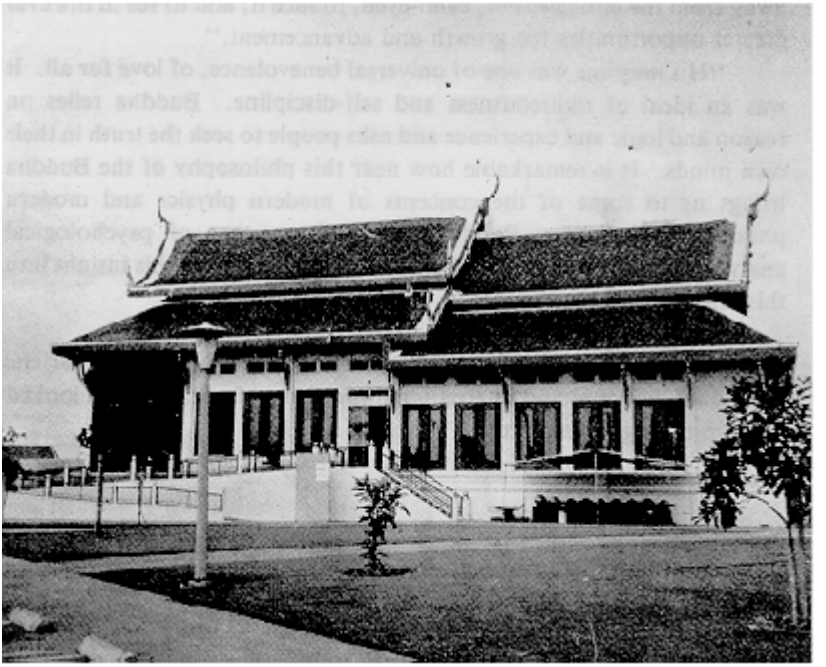
[1] Ibid., pp. 426, 429.
[2] Donald K. Swearer, *Buddhism in Transition* (Philadelphia: the Westminster Press, 1970), p. 123.
[3] Donaldl K.Swearer, *Secrets of the Lotus* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), p. 1.

"Yet, among all the varieties of Buddhism one can find in America today and all the forms of Buddhist practice, no aspect of Buddhism has a stronger appeal than meditation, especially among younger people."[1]

"Buddhist meditation is attractive for many reasons, to be sure. For some it offers a retreat from the chaos and complexity of today's world. For others it may serve as a means of introspective self understanding; and, for still others it is the means for attempting seriously to grasp the truth of Buddhism."[2]



The Thai-style main hall of Wat thai of Los Angeles.

[1] Ibid., p. 2.
[2] Ibid., p. 2.

In the words of another American writer: "Today Buddhism and Buddhist art have spread round the world, from Japan east to America, from India west to Europe."[1]

"With the advance of science and psychology many of the older faiths have suffered. Their beliefs went against the new knowledge and the new knowledge won. But in this conflict the teaching of Buddha required no adjustments. Its wisdom has encompassed everything that modern thought can devise. Over 2,500 years ago the Buddhists had already solved many of the problems that modern psychology is still discovering."

"It is perhaps significant that while mighty empires built upon greed and oppression have never lasted for more than a few centuries, the selfless life of the Buddhist community has carried it safely through 2,500 years ... Knowledge of Buddhism is being sought with increasing interest in the West, for it offers a personal philosophy to counteract the fragmented condition of Western society where many individuals no longer feel part of, or responsible for, the community in which they live. Expressions of this distress are seen in the demonstrations of students, flower people, hippies, and others who wish to drop out of, or change a society which they feel no longer supplies their needs."

As it was written by a German scholar, Ernst Benz: "Many of these European students of Buddhism became converts to the new faith. They were also active in the creation and guidance of Buddhist organizations—matters in which the Asiatic Buddhists are less inclined to engage."[4]

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[1] [2] [3] Willliam Macquitty, *Buddha* (New York: The Viking Press, 1969), pp. 123–125.

[4] Ernst Benz, pp. 13–14.

Quotations from some Great Minds and Eminent Persons

Albert Einstein, the great scientist of the atomic age, says: "The religion in the future will be a cosmic religion. It should transcend a personal God and avoid dogma and theology. Covering both the natural and the spiritual, it should be based on a religious sense arising from the experience of all things, natural and spiritual, as a meaningful unity. Buddhism answers this description." And he further says, "If there is any religion that would cope with modern scientific needs it would be Buddhism."

Bertrand Russell, one of the great minds of the 20th century, says: "Buddhism is a combination of both speculative and scientific philosophy. It advocates the scientific method and pursues that to a finality that may be called rationalistic…. It takes up where science cannot lead because of the limitations of the latter's instruments. Its conquests are those of the mind." He also writes: "There is no reason to suppose that the world had a beginning at all. The idea that things must have a beginning is due to the poverty of our imagination."

Schopenhauer, the German philosopher, says: "lf I am to take the results of my philosophy as the standard of truth I should be obliged to concede to Buddhism the pre-eminence over the rest."

Professor Carl Gustav Jung, the outstanding psychologist of Zurich, wrote: "As a student of comparative religion, I believe that Buddhism is the most perfect one the world has ever seen. The philosophy of the Buddha, the theory of evolution and the law of Kamma were far superior to any other creed."

As Dr. Graham Howe, an eminent British psychiatrist, puts it: "To read a little Buddhism is to realize that the Buddhists knew, 2,500 years ago, far more about modern problems of psychology than they have been given credit for. They studied these problems long ago and found the answers also. We are now rediscovering the ancient wisdom of the East."

H. G. Wells, a distinguished historian, says these words in praise of Buddhism: “Buddhism has done more for the advance of world civilization than any other influence in the chronicles of mankind.” He further says: “It is possible that in contact with Western science, and inspired by the spirit of history, the original teaching of Gotama, revived and purified, may yet play a large part in the direction of human destiny.”

The great poet, Sir Edwin Arnold, expressed this appreciation of Buddhism: “I have often said, and I shall say again and again, that between Buddhism and modern science there exists a close intellectual bond.”

According to Francis Story, a British exponent of Buddhism, “The doctrines of Buddha Dhamma stand today, as unaffected by the march of time and the expansion of knowledge as when they were first enunciated. No matter to what lengths increased scientific knowledge can extend man’s mental horizon, within the framework of the Dhamma there is room for the acceptance and assimilation of further discovery.”

The great Pali scholar Professor Rhys Davids spoke of his conviction in Buddhism in these words: “I have examined every one of the great religions of the world, and in none of them have I found anything to surpass the beauty and comprehensiveness of the Four Noble Truths of the Buddha. I am content to shape my life according to that path.”

Miss I. B. Horner, who succeeded Professor Rhys Davids as the President of the Pali Text Society, also says the following words of appreciation: “Many people in the West can no longer believe in a creator God who is both all powerful and all merciful for the tragic events they see all around them; the oceans of suffering and distress do not support such a hypothesis. At the same time many people have a strong wish for a rational way of life; something they can turn

to use as a barrage against the almost overwhelming materialism of our times. This is what early Buddhism gives."

Another Western writer expressed his view of Buddhism in these words: "Buddhism is a plan for living in such a way as to derive highest benefit from life. It is a religion of wisdom where knowledge and intelligence predominate. The Buddha did not preach to win converts but to enlighten listeners."

Anatole France, a famous French poet and novelist of the l9th century, made this appreciative reference to the Buddha: "It seemed that. the kindly aesthetic, eternally young, seated cross-legged on the lotus of purity with his right hand raised in admonition, answered in these two words: If you wish to escape from suffering, from fear, practice wisdom and compassion."

This beauty of Buddhism is even more stressed by Hermann Keyserling, a German philosopher, who says: "I know nothing more grand in the world than the figure of Buddha. This grandest creation of art, the figure of the Buddha, surely could not have been produced by a pessimistic religion."

Now, the last and longest quotations here will be those of Nehru, the late Prime Minister of India. As a leader of Hindu India, his impression of Buddhism is particularly interesting. In his well-known book, *The Discovery of India*, he says:

"The Buddha story attracted me even in early boyhood, and I was drawn to the young Siddhartha who, after many inner struggles and pain and torment, was to develop into the Buddha. Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* became one of my favorite books. In later years when I traveled about a great deal in my province, I liked to visit the many places connected with the Buddha legend, sometimes making a detour for the purpose."

"Was Buddhism passive and pessimistic? Its interpreters may say so ... But when I think of the Buddha no such feeling arises in me ..."

"Seated on the lotus flower, calm and impassive, above passion and desire, beyond the storm and strife of this world, so far away he seems, out of reach, unattainable. Yet again we look and behind those still, unmoving features there is a passion and an emotion, strange and more powerful than the passions and emotions we have known. His eyes are closed, but some power of the spirit looks out of them and a vital energy fills the frame. The ages roll by and Buddha seems not so far away after all; his voice whispers in our ears and tells us not to run away from the struggle, but, calm-eyed, to face it, and to see in life ever greater opportunities for growth and advancement."

"His message was one of universal benevolence, of love for all. It was an ideal of righteousness and self-discipline. Buddha relies on reason and logic and experience and asks people to seek the truth in their own minds. It is remarkable how near this philosophy of the Buddha brings us to some of the concepts of modern physics and modern philosophic thought. Buddha's method was one of psychological analysis and, again, it is surprising to find how deep was his insight into this latest of modern science."

Elsewhere he says:

"It is essentially through the message of the Buddha that the individual, national and international problems of today can be looked at from the right perspective."

APPENDIX

NOTES ON

Thai Buddhist Temples in the United States[1]

There were in 1978 (B.E. 2521) five Thai Buddhist temples functioning in different parts of the United States. Here is some introductory information about them:

1. Wat Thai of Los Angeles

Wat Thai of Los Angeles is the more familiar name of the Thai Buddhist temple in Los Angeles while it is officially called the *Theravada Buddhist Center, Inc.*

The saga of establishing Wat Thai of Los Angeles is a long and complicated one. In 1970 (B.E. 2513), a Thai Buddhist monk was invited to Los Angeles and stayed there for a while, making himself available to a large number of people. He returned to Thailand, but not before enthusiasm to set up a Thai Buddhist temple in Los Angeles had been aroused in a number of devoted Thai Buddhists in that city. In that same year, a Thai–American Buddhist Association was organized and the monk came to Los Angeles again, this time accompanied by two other Thai Buddhist monks invited by a group of devotees for the more specific declared purpose of organizing efforts to found a Thai Buddhist temple. The three monks stayed there throughout the three months of the Vassa-residence, discussed the idea more fully with the lay community and returned to Thailand.

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[1] This article was originally written in early 1978 (B.E. 2521) when the author was staying at Vajiradhammapadip Temple in New York City after the completion of the one-semester residence as a resource person for courses in Buddhism at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. The information was later revised to the year 1978 (B.E. 2521), except for that about Wat Thai of Los Angeles, which was updated to the year 1983 (B.E. 2522).

The dream came closer to reality when, concurrent with the visit of a senior monk from Bangkok, a Thai student died and the funeral services were held at a Japanese temple. This event made more Thai people determined to establish a temple of their own, and a number of them urged that action be taken to achieve this purpose. In consultation with the monk, a group of Thais held a meeting passing a resolution to the effect that two committees were to be formed, one in Los Angeles and the other in Bangkok, to work towards founding a Thai Buddhist temple in Los Angeles and to collect funds for such a purpose. Shortly afterwards, a suburban house at Sepulvada was turned into a monks' residence there on July 6, 1971 (B.E. 2514), the date unoffcially regarded as the beginning of the first Thai Buddhist temple in the United States. However, the state government would not grant permission to set up a temple there, as the site was considered legally improper for such a purpose. Thus the monks' residence at Sepulvada became only a temporary unofficial temple.

On December 22, 1971 (B.E. 2514), the so-called temple was filed under the law of the State of California as a nonprofit organization under the name of *The Theravada Buddhist Center*, *Inc*., the legal and official name of the temple according to the Certificate of Incorporation, marking the official founding of the temple.

In 1972 (B.E. 2515), the temple was moved to the present site at Cantara Street, a 2.2-acre plot of land which was purchased with funds donated by a wealthy man in Bangkok, the father of the chairman of the Temple Founding Committee in Los Angeles. A group of four monks first took residence there on May 16, 1972 (B.E. 2515). Since then efforts and energy have been concentrated, for the most part, on the work of building and construction and on the collection of funds for such purposes. The main reason for this is that it is the plan of the Committee to erect a full-fledged monastery in

the Thai traditional way, equipped with monks' living quarters, temple court and separate sacred buildings, especially the main consecrated hall in Thai style. The new location, with two or three attached antiquated buildings, was large enough to accommodate a number of religious buildings and structures as required. Most of the old buildings have been pulled down and some new buildings have been erected. However, the main hall, a two-storied Thai-style building, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1972 (B.E. 2515), remained under construction and continued for years to occupy the focus of the attention and energy of the Temple group because of its unfinished construction work. A proposal was submitted to the Center's Committee to have the name of the organization legally changed to the popular one of *Wat Thai of Los Angeles* and to make other necessary changes regarding legal regulations to turn the organization into a full-fledged ecclesiastical establishment according to the traditional standards of the Buddhist Order of Thailand.

The name of the Theravada Buddhist Center, Inc. was officially changed to *Wat Thai of Los Angeles* when the State of California granted the Certificate of Second Amendment of the Articles of Incorporation on June 11, 1979 (B.E. 2522). Shortly afterwards, the construction of the Thai-style main hall was completed and, on October 21, 1979 (B.E. 2522), the grand ceremony of mounting the gable spire (Yok Chaw Fah) was held, presided over by His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand. This main hall is called the *Uposatha-sālā* as it has been planned to be multipurpose, functioning both as the consecrated assembly hall and as the merit-making hall.

In Bangkok, towards the end of the same year, on December 26, 1979 (B.E. 2522), His Majesty the King and Her Majesty the Queen of Thailand presided over the ceremony of casting the principal Buddha image for Wat Thai of Los Angeles, held at Wat Po

(officially Wat Phra Jetubon, or the Monastery of the Reclining Buddha), and conferred on the image the name of Phra Buddhanorathepsasda Dipyanagarasathit. In fact, the initiative to have this Buddha image cast for Wat Thai of Los Angeles must be credited to General Kriangsak Chamanan, the then Prime Minister of Thailand, who conceived the idea when he came to preside over the roofing ceremony for the Main Hall of the Temple on February 13, 1979 (B.E. 2522).

The image was later transferred to Los Angeles and was installed in the Main Hall of Wat Thai of Los Angeles early in 1980 (B.E. 2523). Also enshrined in the Main Hall is the Emerald Buddha, a replica of the original image in the Chapel Royal of Wat Phra Kaeo in Bangkok, which is by far the most revered of all the countless Buddha images in the whole kingdom of Thailand.

Another grand celebration was held when His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand came again to preside over the ceremony of establishing the boundary-marking stones of the Assembly Hall and His Eminence Somdech Phra Dhīrañāṇamuni led the monks in the Sangha formal act of consecrating the Assembly Hall boundary on October 17, 1982 (B.E. 2525), rendering Wat Thai of Los Angeles a full-fledged monastery of the Sangha according to the Thai ecclesiastical legal tradition.

There were seven monks, all Thai, including a newly-ordained one, in residence at Wat Thai of Los Angeles during the Vassa (traditional continuous residence period) of the year 1977 (B.E. 2520). The number of resident monks has not changed much throughout the period of many years. In the Vassa of 1983 (B.E. 2526), five monks were in residence as incumbents, not including the four newly ordained and the seven visiting monks who stayed temporarily for three or four months.

Besides smaller merit-making ceremonies which are held frequently throughout the year on auspicious days such as birthdays

and weddings and on memorial and funeral occasions, a number of annual festivals and celebrations are regularly observed on a much larger scale on Buddhist holy days and other traditional holidays. Presently, according to the notification the Temple has made to the city government, Wat Thai of Los Angeles usually holds twelve festivals and celebrations every year,[1] viz.,

1. New Year Festival, on the first day of January;

2. Māgha Pūjā Day, on the full moon day of the third lunar month (usually in the middle of February) in commemoration of the Great Assembly of Disciples;

3. Wan Waikhru, or the day on which students show reverence for their teachers, on any Thursday in March;

4. Songkran, or Water Festival, on April 13;

5. Visākha Pūjā Day, on the full moon day of the sixth lunar month (usually in the middle or towards the end of May) in commemoration of the Birth, the Enlightenment and the Passing away of the Buddha;

6. Lawthien or Candle-Casting Ceremony, on any day of June some weeks before the beginning of the Vassa residence;

7. Asāḷha Pūjā Day, on the full moon day of the eighth lunar month (usually in the middle or towards the end of July) in commemoration of the Buddha's First Sermon;

8. H.M. the Queen's Birthday, on August 12;

9. Sārada Ceremony, on the new moon day of the tenth lunar month (usually in September) to transfer merit to the departed;

10. Ok Pansa, or the end of Vassa residence (period of retreat during the rains, or the Buddhist Lent), on the full moon day of the eleventh month (usually in the middle or towards the end of October);

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[1] Six of these (i.e., Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7 and 11) are usually observed at every Thai Buddhist temple in the U.S.

11. Tot Kathin, or the Post-Lenten Robe-Offering Ceremony, on any day during one month following Ok Pansa to present robes to the monks who have completed the Vassa residence;

12. H.M. the King's Birthday, on December 5.

Not counting the Thai people and the Americans of the Thai origin who are naturally of the greatest number, refugees from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, especially the Laotians, are the most numerous of all the participants in the religious activities of Wat Thai.

To propagate the teachings of the Buddha, Buddhist beliefs and practices, and Thai culture and to publicize its activities, the Temple publishes *Duang Pratip*, a bilingual monthly magazine, with more articles in Thai than in English. To realize Buddhist educational objectives, it runs Buddhist Sunday School classes for children who learn Thai language and culture as well as Buddhist morality, and offers regular meditation training to Thais, Americans and interested people of other nationalities. A vocational school for adults has also been opened to teach sewing, Thai cooking and the art of preparing decorative food by fruit and vegetable carving. It is notable that, as a service to the local community, the temple grounds are made use of, in the same way as in Thailand, as the location where polling booths are set up for political elections.

It is a great pleasure to the Thais that Her Majesty the Queen of Thailand has several times graced the Thai community of Southern California with her royal visits to Wat Thai of Los Angeles. With Her Majesty's four donations to the Temple, amounting to $5,000, a fund has been established to help Wat Thai of Los Angeles in the realization of its beneficial objectives.

In the latest development, Wat Thai of Los Angeles in cooperation with the Faculty of Education of Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok has launched a Research Project for Curriculum and Instruction Development in "Thai Language and

Culture." Under this project, a number of professors and lecturers from the Faculty of Education of Chulalongkorn University will come to stay for some months in Los Angeles to conduct the summer educational activities at Wat Thai, teaching Thai language and culture to a class of 30–40 young Thai students who live in the United States. The teaching, which is planned to be experimental in this first year of the Project, will last from July through September 1984 (B.E. 2527).

2. Wat Thai of Washington, D.C.

Wat Thai of Washington, D.C., is viewed as having been founded, informally, when two monks who were invited from Thailand arrived and took residence on July 5, 1974 (B.E. 2517), at a suburban house at 705 Wayne Avenue in Silver Spring, Maryland. This house was rented by the Buddhist Association in Washington, D.C., for monks' residence and for use as a seat of Buddhist activities of the Association.

The Buddhist Association in Washington, D.C., the owner of the house, is in turn the outgrowth of a Buddhist group which was formed in the middle of 1971 (B.E. 2514) to conduct Buddhist activities and to advance the cause of Buddhism. The Buddhist Association was granted a Certificate of Incorporation on November 20, 1974 (B.E. 2517), turning it into a legal entity under the District of Columbia Nonprofit Corporation Act, thus marking its official establishment. At that time, the efforts of the Association were focused on the collection of funds for the founding of a Thai Buddhist temple or, to be precise, a residence for monks who would participate in Buddhist ceremonies and services on various religious and cultural occasions and conduct other Buddhist activities. Until the coming of the two monks in July 1974 (B.E. 2517), Thai Buddhists in Washington, D.C., and nearby areas often resorted to the Washington Buddhist Vihara at 5017, 16th Street, N.W.,

Washington, D.C., and its incumbent Ceylonese monks for Buddhist observances, celebrations and religious services. The arrival of monks from Thailand made possible the performance of Buddhist activities fully in accordance with Thai cultural traditions. Due to the shortage of funds, however, the house, which was the first site of the so-called temple on an 8,618 square-foot plot of land, had to be rented for a long period of time.

In June 1976 (B.E. 2519), the Buddhist Association signed an agreement for the purchase of the house at the price of $52,500 and made a 10% deposit, turning it into the property of the Association. On July 7, 1976 (B.E. 2519), a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Buddhist Association was held and a resolution was passed to the effect that the name of the Temple be changed to *Wat Buddhamonkol*.

In 1980 (B.E. 2523), a larger house on a 31,000 square-foot plot of land at Georgia Avenue in Silver Spring was purchased at the price of $240,000 and the temple was moved to the new site on the seventh of December of the same year.

During the Vassa period of 1977 (B.E. 2520), there were two monks in residence at Wat Thai of Washington, D.C.

As the capital of the country, Washington, D.C., is the home of diplomatic officials. There are comparatively few Thai of other professions and occupations. Besides Thai diplomatic officials, those who frequent the Temple are mostly students, who, in comparison with those in other big cities, are not numerous. The Temple is quiet most of the day and on most days of the week. Its activities concentrate mainly on the observance and celebration of annual Buddhist holy days and Thai traditional holidays. The Temple also welcomes inquiries put, from time to time, by devoted lay persons and interested occasional visitors. It provides them with answers and explanations on different points of the Buddha's teaching and on meditation both in theory and in practice. The monthly magazine of

the Temple, called *Saeng Dhamma*, contains a variety of articles on the Dharma, most of which are in Thai, and news and information about the activities of the Temple.

In September 1976 (B.E. 2519), monks from Wat Thai were invited to participate in a program for oriental wives of military personnel at Dover Air Force Base in Delaware. The program was set up by the chaplain there. According to him, "there are many oriental women here, mostly Thais who are married to military personnel." Since that time, once a month, two monks from Wat Thai Washington, D.C., have conducted worship services, taught and counseled at the Dover chapel. Some 50 families have participated. At Homestead Air Force Base in Florida, a similar program has been established for Thai wives of military personnel there and other local Thai people. However, due to the distance, the monks from Wat Thai go there less frequently.

3. Vajiradhammapadip Temple. New York

Vajiradhammapadip Temple situated in West Bronx, New York City, was filed as a Not-for-Profit Organization under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York on July 22, 1975 (B.E. 2518). This founding date was both *de facto* and *de jure*. It now claims to be the first Thai Buddhist temple in the United States to be a full-fledged temple both legally and ecclesiastically. Legally, it is a legal organization established under local and national law of the country. Ecclesiastically, it conforms to the tradition of the Thai Sangha regarding the administration of monastic affairs. As prescribed in the bylaws of the Temple, the President and the Secretary of the Temple shall be its resident monks, putting executive power in the hands of the ecclesiastical section of its Board of Directors.

The origin of the Vajiradhammapadip Temple can be traced to the Buddhist Study Center, which was founded by a group of Thai

and American Buddhists in New York and was granted legal status as an association in 1965 (B.E. 2508). At the end of 1973 (B.E. 2516), the Center invited a monk from the Thai Buddhist temple in London to come to advise it concerning the establishment of a Thai Buddhist temple in New York. After that, dating from the middle of 1974 (B.E. 2517), two monks were invited to come in succession to organize Thai Buddhist cultural ceremonies and services and to conduct other activities for the Center. This period of time witnessed increased participation in the Buddhist activities of the Center and may be regarded as the crucial part of the plan for, and a big step towards, the founding of the Temple.

During the early period the invited monk had to stay at a Chinese temple called *Cittabhāvanā Temple* in New York City and all ceremonies and services were held there. On August 6, 1974 (B.E. 2517), the monk moved to a house at Anthony Avenue in West Bronx, which was rented by the Buddhist Study Center for the monks' residence and the Center's office. This marked the informal founding of a "Thai Buddhist Temple in New York," as it was temporarily called for a short while. It still had to hold its bigger ceremonies and celebrations at the above-mentioned Chinese temple.

On December 31, 1974 (B.E. 2517), the Buddhist Study Center was allowed to file, under the Religious Corporation Law, for another separate nonprofit organization under the legal name of *Buddha-Sasana Temple Buddhist Study Center, Inc.*, publicly called *Buddha-Sasana Temple*, marking the official founding of the Temple. With funds collected from donations of the people, the Center purchased the rented house on Anthony Avenue at the price of $23,373 and paid in full in February, 1975 (B.E. 2518). The house, as property of the Buddhist Study Center, Inc., simultaneously became the Center's office and the site of the Buddha-Sasana Temple.

At this point, conflict and controversy developed among committee members of the establishment concerning the legal right of ownership over the house and other property, which was held by the Center, not by the Temple. The executive power was put in the hands of a lay executive director, not the resident monks, leading to widespread dissatisfaction and criticism among the people. The temple was temporarily closed for a short period from the end of March 1975 (B.E. 2518) to the middle of May 1975, due to a leave of absence of the two resident monks; one returned to London and the other left for Los Angeles. A newly invited monk from Thailand then arrived together with the monk who returned from Los Angeles. During the very brief stay of the two monks, the conflict and controversy intensified to such a degree that activities could not continue. The monks had to leave and stay away from the Temple. Then, a number of committee members of the Temple, members of the Temple and representatives of the Thai community and other Thai associations in New York gathered together and came to a conclusion: that a new Thai Temple had to be established in New York, a temple which they hoped they could trust to be viable both legally and ecclesiastically.

Overnight, a new temple called *Vajiradhammapadip Temple* was established on 179th Street in West Bronx. The site is a house on a 4,121.5 square-foot plot of land purchased with donated funds of $43,000. The two monks moved into residence on July 21, 1975 (B.E. 2518). The following day the Temple was granted legal status and its official establishment marked. Since then it is this new temple that has been known to the public and has been serving Thai people and Buddhists of other nationalities in the Tri-State area of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut as well as in other neighboring States.

As the site of the temple was too small for the various activities of the large Thai community of the Tri-State area, it was

moved on July 17, 1983 (B.E. 2526) to the present site in Mount Vernon, a two-acre plot of land purchased at the price of $310,000.

As for the other temple, though it remained inactive for years, without monks in residence and with problems unsolved, efforts continued to bring the problems to solution. On September 12, 1975 (B.E. 2518), the Temple was granted by His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand the honorary name of *Usābudhy-āram Temple*. Finally, its executives made a decision to abolish the Buddhist Study Center, Inc.; to transfer the Center's property to the Buddha-Sasana Temple, and to hand over all activities of and executive power over the Buddha-Sasana Temple to the monks who represent, or are authorized by, the Buddhist Order of Thailand. So far the transaction has not been carried out.

During the Vassa period of 1983 (B.E. 2526), five monks resided at Vajiradhammapadip Temple, including a visiting monk. Located in the principal Atlantic port of entry to the United States, the Temple is often visited by monks and groups of monks coming to the United States, who may stay for a short or long while before resuming their travels. Moreover, as New York City is the biggest city in the U.S. with a large Thai population of various professions and occupations (medical doctors, nurses, businessmen, taxi-drivers, bartenders, students, etc.), Vajiradhammapadip Temple has become, in New York, the main center and, in the United States as a whole, a focal center of Thai religious and cultural activities. It is frequented by many people and welcomes visitors, Thais, Americans and those of other nationalities, who come from the Tri-State area, from other more distant states and from Thailand. Merit-making ceremonies and festivals have come into vogue here. Again and again, gatherings of friends and relatives are seen participating in merit-making ceremonies, held at the Temple or at the homes of the alms-givers, on auspicious occasions such as birthdays, weddings and house-blessings, and on funeral and memorial occasions. Almost all

Buddhist holy days and yearly festive occasions like New Year's Day and Songkran are observed and celebrated, being attended by such large gatherings of people that the comparatively small building of the temple can hardly accommodate them.

However, it is the Buddhist Sunday School classes (with an enrollment of about 70 in 1977 or B.E. 2520) that is the main on-going activity of the temple. In addition to lessons in the Thai language, morals and general social studies, the Temple's teaching staff, which consists of monk-residents and volunteers, offers its young students, at ages ranging from three to twelve, special lessons and training in painting, Thai dance and Thai sword play. Now and again, the Temple school is invited to send its young students to perform shows of Thai dance and Thai sword play at festivals and fairs held or sponsored by different Thai groups and associations. Classes in the Pali and Thai languages for English-speaking people are held from time to time, depending on the number of students and space in the building. The Temple library, roughly divided into English and Thai sections, plans to place its emphasis on Buddhist studies, Thai studies, Southeast Asian studies and Thai literature. Meditation training is offered only when there is a meditation-master monk in residence at the Temple or a visiting master has been invited by the Temple to hold a training session. On invitation, some monks go at times to deliver lectures and engage in discussions on Buddhism and related subjects at other religious institutions, colleges and universities. The Temple issues a periodical called *Dhammapadip*, which is published six times a year as part of the celebration on the occasion of annual Buddhist holy days and traditional Thai festivals. Books, booklets and pamphlets are also published from time to time to realize the objectives of propagating Buddhism and publicizing the activities of the Temple.

4. Wat Buddhawararam, Denver

Wat Buddhawararam of Denver, Colorado, is the only existing exception to the long process of development of Thai Buddhist temples in the United States. It came into existence almost overnight as a temple with monks in residence. Some intermediate steps, especially the organization into a Buddhist association or a Buddhist center, were passed over. This might have been mainly because this temple was established at a time when visits of monks from Thailand and the availability of Thai monks residing in some parts of the United States were no longer of extreme rarity, and when the organizers could learn much from the experience of other existing temples.

It happened that in the middle of 1975 (B.E. 2518), while a senior monk from Bangkok, accompanied by three other monks, was visiting Thai temples and Thai communities in different parts of the United States, a follower of his, who resided in Denver, invited them to make a stop at Denver. During their short stay in Denver, there was a large gathering of Thai people who, being overjoyed at the news of the arrival of a group of Thai monks, came to pay respect to the monks and participate in a merit-making ceremony. Being impressed by the faith of the people and their enthusiasm to participate in such a Buddhist religious and cultural activity, the venerable senior monk suggested the founding of a Thai Buddhist temple in Denver. The idea was warmly welcomed and the assembled people assured him of their earnest intention and cooperation. He also assured them that he would supply monks and necessary religious articles.

Shortly after the 1976 (B.E. 2519) New Year's Day celebration, a meeting of Thai people in Colorado was convened to consider the proposal for the founding of a Thai Buddhist temple in Denver and the purchase of a Salvation Army Church as the site for the temple. Positive resolutions were passed and a committee was

formed to implement the project. On March 25, 1976, the establishment of a Thai Buddhist temple with the official name of *Wat Buddhawararam of Denver, Inc*. was legalized by a Certificate of Incorporation granted under the Colorado Nonprofit Corporation Act. On March 31, 1976, a promissory note was signed for the one-year-plan purchase of the Salvation Army church on a three tenths of an acre plot of land on Julian Street in Denver at the price of $50,000. On April 13, 1976, the same day as the celebration of the Thai traditional Songkran or water-festival, Thai monks took residence at the Temple, formerly the church building, marking the beginning of the Denver Temple activities.

However, the number of the people in Denver and nearby areas is comparatively very small, around 500 or 600. The payment of $50,000 for the purchase price of the building under a one-year-contract seemed to be too heavy a burden for such a small community. Therefore, a large part of the amount had to be sought from contributions by devoted people elsewhere, especially those in Thailand and large U.S. cities like New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. After strenuous efforts had been made to raise the necessary funds to make the payment on schedule, it turned out that contributions made by devotees in Thailand exceeded by one third the total amount required.

In the Vassa of 1977 (B.E. 2520), the total number of monks in residence at Wat Buddhawararam of Denver was six.

Wat Buddhawararam is usually quiet due to the small size of the local Thai community. There are relatively few participants in day-to-day merit-making ceremonies, and at ceremonial gatherings at the Temple. Its beautiful suburban setting with a lake and a park in the foreground and the Rocky Mountains crowned with silvery snow seen from afar in the background adds to its peaceful atmosphere favorable to meditation. The only complaint may be a noisy highway just in front of the Temple. Given this background of peaceful

atmosphere and the infrequent involvement of Thai people in day-to-day activities, its monk-executives have a policy to concentrate on conducting Buddhist activities of the Temple with emphasis on offering meditation training and the propagation of the Buddha's doctrine to native Americans or English-speaking people. Accordingly, a class in Insight Meditation was opened on the first day of the first Vassa period of the Temple and, except for the celebration of some traditional holy days and holidays, was the first Buddhist activity to be held at Wat Buddhawararam. The periodical of the Temple, *Journal of Wat Buddhawararam*, cites among its objectives the encouragement of Insight Meditation Practice. Besides meditation, the Temple runs Buddhist Sunday School classes for children and Thai language classes for adults. Every three months since July 1977 (B.E. 2520), at the invitation of the Ogden Air Force Base in Utah, the Temple has been sending two monks there to conduct Buddhist services for some 300–400 Thai women who are married to US military personnel. Buddhist holy days and some Thai traditional festivals are also observed and celebrated both for religious and for cultural purposes.

5. Wat Dhammaram, Chicago

The Thai Buddhist Temple is the legal English name as it appears on the Certificate of Incorporation granted by the Department of State of Illinois to the Thai Buddhist temple in Chicago. The name came into legal effect on May 17, 1976 (B.E. 2519), which was the date of the official establishment of the Temple. Later, the Temple was granted by His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand an honorary Thai name of *Wat Dhammaram*, which the Temple usually uses as its popular name in publicizing its activities and circulating its publications in the Thai language.

The Thai Buddhist Temple in Chicago may serve as an example of the gradual development of a Thai Buddhist organization

in the United States. Like New York City, Chicago is a big city where a large number of Thai people, approximately the same number as in New York City, live, work and study. In 1969 (B.E. 2512), *The Thai Association of Greater Chicago* was founded to encourage and to coordinate the activities of Thai people and to maintain their unity. In the middle of 1972 (B.E. 2S15), some groups of Thai Buddhist monks, on the way to visit places of interest and Thai communities in the United States, arrived at short intervals in Chicago. It was the Thai Association of Greater Chicago that took the responsibility for the reception of these first monk visitors. Merit-making ceremonies, sermons and talks were held at a Japanese temple where a surprisingly large number of people came to attend. Following this, Thai people in Chicago invited a monk from the Thai Temple in Los Angeles to officiate on occasions of religious observances, ceremonies and celebrations. Lacking a place for ceremonial assembly of their own, the ceremonies and celebrations had to be held at the Japanese temple, which a number of Thai relied on for religious and spiritual purposes even before the coming of Thai Buddhist monks. At that time, Thai people in Los Angeles began to collect funds for the founding of a Thai temple there. To contribute to this meritorious effort, some Thai Buddhists in Chicago helped in collecting donations from devotees in Chicago and sent the donations to Los Angeles. All these events and activities led to more and more frequent meetings of devoted Buddhists until at last they decided that a Buddhist organization should be formed to take charge of providing arrangements, funds and other facilities for all Buddhist activities in Chicago. A period somewhat over one year from the middle of 1973 (B.E. 2516) to the later part of 1974 (B.E. 2517) saw the development of this organization from the conception of the idea through an informal organization into a legally full-fledged corporation. It was on September 13, 1974 (B.E. 2517) that the aforesaid group of Thai devoted lay Buddhists in Chicago had the

organization filed under the General Not-for-Profit Corporation Act of the State of Illinois under the name of *The Thai Buddhist Center*.

Then, the Center further developed the idea of setting up a monks' residence, a so-called temple, in Chicago. Besides providing arrangements for Buddhist activities, the Center encouraged Thai people in Chicago and nearby areas to create such an establishment and collected funds, mainly through contributions, for this purpose. After a period of about two years, in spite of the effort and a large amount of collected funds, the dream of having a Thai monks' residence remained far from reality. Then, early in 1975 (B.E. 2518), the Center invited two Thai monks who at that time were staying at Vajiradhammapadip Temple in New York to come to conduct Buddhist activities and lead the people in an effort to found a Thai temple in Chicago.

In Chicago, the two monks were accommodated in a small apartment, a temporary residence where they stayed on for about ten months before moving to the more permanent site of the Temple. The apartment which consisted of only one and, later, two rooms was far too small as it had to be used multipurposely as a living room, bedroom, dining room, office, place of worship and for chanting services, place for holding merit-making ceremonies, for printing work and so on. It was a kind of life that involved tolerance and forbearance, and exemplified the monks' personal ability, personality and maturity. Their behavior brought the monks even more sympathy and cooperation from the people. Then, the administration of The Thai Buddhist Center was transferred to the administrative authority of the monks and the Center was unofficially changed into a so-called Thai Buddhist Temple. Soon after that, on May 17, 1976 (B.E. 25I9), The Thai Buddhist Center was legally registered with the Department of State of Illinois under the name of *The Thai Buddhist Temple*, marking the legal existence of the Temple.

Since the two monks took residence in Chicago and began their religious duties, the work towards erecting the Temple progressed relatively rapidly. Contributions of funds by devoted people in the first month of the monks' residence equaled the total amount of funds collected by the Center throughout the whole period of about two years of its existence. In spite of this, however, it was not until the end of the year 1976 (B.E. 2519) that the Temple could be located at its more permanent site. Undoubtedly, the delay was not a matter only of financial problems, but of finding a suitable place and of securing the sale of the place. Meanwhile, the Temple still had to rely on the Japanese temple for a place to hold annual Buddhist holy day celebrations and Thai traditional festivals as it had previously done when it was the Center.

The new place, purchased from the Apostolic Assembly Church at the price of $63,000 consists of a big church building, which was turned into the main hall of the Temple; an apartment building, which was modified into monks' lodging, and a parking lot, all on a 7,556 square-foot plot of land. Since the Temple was moved there on December 23, 1976 (B.E. 2519), all activities of the Temple including annual celebrations and festivals were held and conducted within its premises. It should also be noted that, like Vajiradhammapadip Temple in New York, the funds for purchasing the site of the Temple were almost all collected from contributions by Thai people in the local area, no financial help having been sought from the motherland of Thailand. As the purchased buildings were old with many worn-out parts, much time and a large sum of money were spent on repair work and improvement.

The Thai name of the Temple, *Wat Dhammaram*, is an honorary name granted by His Holiness the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand as a shorter alternative for the longer one of *Wat Voradhamdhityaram*, which he himself conferred on the Temple some time before.

The Temple of Chicago has much in common with the Temple of New York. Located in a big crowded city with a large number of Thai people, it is frequented by devotees and visitors, busy with day-to-day ceremonies, and large numbers gather for religious and cultural celebrations. Although younger in years, the Temple is mature in its program initiatives. Several programs of creative Buddhist activities have been conceived and only time and ecclesiastical personnel are needed to bring them to bloom.

Buddhist Sunday School classes are now the principal regular activity of the Temple. They were inaugurated on the Visākha Pūjā Day of 1977 (B.E. 2520) as a program of teaching Thai language and culture, and Buddhism to children of Thai origin between the ages of four and twelve. The total enrollment of students in its first school year was about forty. In the long and extremely harsh winter of 1977–78 (B.E. 2520–21), however, the number of students present at school on each Sunday seldom reached a dozen.

Towards the end of 1977 (B.E. 2520), with the help of a visiting monk, the Temple initiated two more programs of significance. One was the setting up of the Temple Library with emphasis on Buddhist and Thai studies. The other was a Dharma-study class held about two or three hours a week for adults of any profession and occupation in their spare time.

On July 16, 1977 (B.E. 2520), a ceremony for the inauguration of the Temple was held. Four high-ranking monks from Thailand came as representatives of the Buddhist Order of Thailand. Presidents and abbots of all the other four Thai Buddhist temples in the United States, a number of other Thai monks such as one from London and one from Singapore, a Ceylonese monk and a representative of the Department of Religious Affairs of Thailand also came to participate. About a thousand people, over 90% of whom were Thai, attended. It was presided over, on the ecclesiastical side, by a high-ranking Venerable, a Somdech, who headed the party

of monks from Thailand and, on the lay side, by His Excellency the Thai Ambassador to the United States. The number of twenty Thai monks that took part and the number of about a thousand Thai lay people that attended were the largest gatherings, of Thai monks and of Thai laity respectively, ever held in the United States. The ceremony itself marked the completion of the major and essential parts of the work of founding the Temple both in its legal and practical aspects, that is, the incorporation of the Temple under the law of the State and the location of the Temple at a suitable site with religious buildings and other facilities modified and improved to suit Buddhist purposes. Thus, it was prepared to move forward in the direction of its set objectives. This state of preparedness led even further to the ceremony of establishing the boundary of the Uposatha or consecrated assembly hall, thus bestowing on the temple-monastery its full status according to the Thai Theravada tradition based on canonical discipline through the Sangha formal act. In possession of a sacred hall-building, the former church, already granted a zoning permit for the performance of religious services and separated from the living quarters for monks, the Temple could readily achieve that status. For this reason, the ceremony of establishing the consecrated boundary was carried out, making the inauguration that followed on one and the same day a more meaningful event. The Thai Buddhist Temple in Chicago claims to be the first Thai Buddhist temple in the United States and in the whole Occident that is fully developed whether regarded from the viewpoint of Thai ecclesiastical law or of Theravada disciplinary practices.

In a later development, towards the end of the year 1983 (B.E. 2526), Wat Dhammaram moved again to the new and present site on 75th Street, also in Chicago, a former public school on a large 10-acre plot of land. It is hoped that this very spacious new site will be

able to accommodate all the ever-growing activities of the temple during the many years to come.

The Thai Buddhist Temple issues a journal for propagating Buddhist teachings and practices and publicizing its activities called *Dhammobhas* and a newsletter called *Buddhasasana-sarn*. Booklets and pamphlets on different aspects of Buddhism are also published from time to time.

The Council of Thai Bhikkhus in the U.S.A.

In June 1976 (B.E. 2519), chief monks and representatives from the five Thai Buddhist temples in the United States came to Denver and held a general meeting at Wat Buddhawararam, having the intention to set up the means of effectively maintaining the unity and uniformity of monastic life and practices of Thai Buddhist monks amidst different environments in different parts of the United Sates; to exchange knowledge and ideas; and to achieve cooperation among themselves in the performance of Buddhist activities and their religious duties. At that meeting a resolution was passed approving the establishment of a Buddhist organization called *The Council of Thai Bhikkhus in the U.S.A., Inc.*, which became incorporated under the Colorado Nonprofit Corporation Act on October 21, 1976.

According to the Bylaws and Constitution of the Council, all Bhikkhus present in the United States for religious duties with the approval of the Buddhist Order of Thailand shall be members of the Council, and a general meeting shall be held annually in June. At present, the office of the Council is located at Wat Buddhawararam of Denver. The Council serves as a liaison between all Thai Buddhist Bhikkhus in the United States. Among its objectives are to establish policy; to further promote, amend and improve the religious and propagation practices of Thai Bhikkhus in the United States; to be a center for the exchange of knowledge, ideas and cooperation among Thai Bhikkhus in the United States and between the Thai Bhikkhus

in the United States and the Buddhist Order of Thailand; and to assist and promote activities of the Thai temples in the United States of America.

At present (1999 or B.E. 2542), there are 51 Thai Buddhist temples in the United States that send their representatives to attend the annual meeting of the Council. Listed here are the names of the temples with their addresses and phone numbers, as well as the names of the monks in charge.

1. **Wat Thai of Los Angeles**
   8225 Coldwater Canyon Avenue
   North Hollywood, California (CA) 91605-1198
   Phone: (818) 997-9657, Fax: (818) 780-0616
   Abbot: Ven. Phra Rajadharmavides

2. **Wat Thai Washington, D.C.**
   13440 Layhill Road
   Silver Spring, Maryland (MD) 20906
   Phone: (301) 871-8660, Fax: (301) 871-5007
   Abbot: Ven. Phra Widesdhamrangsi

3. **Vajiradhammapadip Temple, Ltd.**
   - 110 Rustic Road
     Centereach, New York (NY) 11720-4070
   - 75 California Road
     Mount Vernon, New York (NY) 10552-1401
     Phone: (516) 471-8006, Fax: (516) 588-2482
     Phone: (914) 699-5778, Fax: (914) 668-5054
     Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Rajkittivedi

4. **Wat Dhammaram**
   7059 West 75th Street
   Chicago, Illinois (IL) 60638
   Phone: (708) 594-8100, Fax: (708) 594-8114
   Abbot and President: Ven. Phra Debprasiddhimont

5. **Wat Buddhawararam**
   4801 Julian Street
   Denver, Colorado (CO) 80221
   Phone: (303) 433-1826, Fax: (308) 964-9924
   Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Yanyong Ṭhānavaro

6. **Wat Mongkolratanaram**
   1911 Russell Street
   Berkeley, California (CA) 94703
   Phone: (510) 849-3419, Fax: (510) 845-8150
   Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Mongkoldebmoli

7. **Wat Dhammagunaram**
   644 East 1000 North
   Layton, Utah (UT) 84041
   Phone: (801) 544-7616, Fax: (801) 543-1901
   Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Maha Thawatchai Narindo

8. **Wat Mongkolratanaram**
   5306 Palm River road
   Tampa, Florida (FL) 33619
   Phone: (813) 621-1669, Fax: (813) 626-8850
   Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Mongkoldebmoli

9. **Wat Buddhavas of Houston**
   6007 Spindle Drive
   Houston, Texas (TX) 77086-3930
   Phone: (281) 820-3255, Fax: (281) 931-9746
   Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Maha Prachan Jutindharo

10. **Wat Buddharangsi of Miami**
    15200 S.W. 240 Street
    Miami, Florida (FL) 33032
    Phone: (305) 245-2702, Fax: (305) 247-3092
    Abbot: Ven. Phra Grusripipatanaporn

11. Wat Buddhanusorn
36054 Nines Boulevard
Fremont, California (CA) 94536-1563
Phone: (510) 790-2294, Fax: (510) 796-9043
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Prasert Kavissaro

12. Wat Phrasriratanaram
890 Linsay Lane
Florissant, Missouri (MO) 63031
Phone: (314) 839-3115, 837-9717
Abbot: Ven. Phra Boonlua Sukhadhammo

13. Wat Promkunaram of Arizona
17212 West Maryland Avenue
Waddell, Arizona (AZ) 85355
Phone: (623) 935-2276, Fax: (623) 935-1174
Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Maha Winai Puññañāṇo

14. Wat Mongkoltepmunee
3304 Knight Road
Bensalem, Pennsylvania (PA) 19020
Phone & Fax: (215) 638-9755
Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Ratanamedhi

15. Wat Samakidhammaram
2625 East 3rd Street
Long Beach, California (CA) 90814
Phone: (562) 434-4343, Fax: (562) 987-0072
Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Grusamuh Tongsukh Parijāno

16. Wat Buddhajakramongkolvararam
872-A Second Street
Pearl City, Hawaii (HI) 96782
Phone: (808) 456-4176, Fax: (808) 455-1808
Abbot & President: Ven. Phra Mongkoldepmoli

17. Wat Bodhivareerangsarith
14372 Hawes Street
Whittier, California (CA) 90604
Phone & Fax: (562) 941-0322
Abbot: Ven. Phra Adirek Āraddhaviriyo

18. Wat Buddhadharma
8910 South Kingery Highway
Hinsdale, Illinois (IL) 60521
Phone: (630) 789-8866, Fax: (630) 789-8879
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Banyatti Dhammasāro

19. Wat Visalia
948 North Leslie Street
Visalia, California (CA) 93291
Phone: (559) 738-9419
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Nirut Ñāṇajoti

20. Wat Buddhananachat of Austin
8105 Linden Road
Del Valle, Texas (TX) 78617
Phone: (512) 247-4298, 247-2714, Fax: (512) 247-4505
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Teva Paññāvaḍḍhano

21. Wat Buddhavipassana
2015 West Hill Street
Long Beach, California (CA) 90810-3409
Phone & Fax: (562) 426-2326
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Pramuan Ñāṇacarī

22. Wat Dhammabhavana
738 West 72nd Avenue
Anchorage, Alaska (AK) 99518
Phone: (907) 344-9994, Fax: (907) 522-2969
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Amporn Khemāsabho

23. Wat Buddhajakramongkolratnaram
139 West 11th Avenue
Escondido, California (CA) 92025
Phone & Fax: (760) 738-6165
Abbot: Ven. Phra Mongkoldebmoli

24. Wat Phradhammakaya
801 East Foothill Boulevard
P.O. Box 1036, Azusa, California, (CA) 91702
Phone: (626) 334-2160, Fax: (626) 334-0702
Abbot: Ven. Phra Bhavanaviriyagun

25. Wat Chao Buddha
3495 Gray Street
San Bernardino, California (CA) 92407
Phone: (909) 880-2762
Abbot: Ven. Phra Grusundaradharmasadhit

26. Wat Buddhasothorn
143–145 Madison Street N.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico (NM) 87108
Phone & Fax: (505) 256-7520
Abbot: Ven. Phra Grusamuh Suntorn Candavaṁso

27. Wat Buddhamongkolnimit
224 Alcazar Street S.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico (NM) 87108
Phone: (505) 268-4983, Fax: (505) 268-0255
Abbot: Ven. Phra Charoen Sukhavaḍḍhano

28. Wat Buddhapradeep of San Francisco
310 Poplar Avenue
San Bruno, california (CA) 94066
Phone: (650) 615-9528, Fax: (650) 583-8083
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Siddhiporn Medhaṅkaro

29. Wat Phrasriratanamahadhatu
4735 North Magnolia Avenue
Chicago, Illinois (IL) 60640
Phone: (312) 784-0257, 907-0554
Abbot: Ven. Phra Ratna Ratanajoto

30. Wat Saddhadhamma
8000 F.M. 1518
Converse, Texas (TX) 78109-4506
Phone: (210) 566-5695
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Somsakdi Alīnacitto

31. Wat Mongkolratanaram
741 Mayflower Avenue
Port Walton Beach, Florida (FL) 32547
Phone: (904) 863-2906, Fax: (904) 864-4891
Abbot: Ven. Phra Mongkoldepmoli

32. Wat Somdejphramaharajamangalajarn
309 East Fairview Road
Bakersfield, California (CA) 93307
Phone: (661) 836-9940, Fax: (661) 831-9029
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Sukhum Sukhumo

33. Wat Pa Samakki of Killeen
RT. 2 Box 130 C
Killeen, Texas (TX) 76542
Phone: (817) 793-3662
Abbot: Ven. Phra Chamnian Cirasuddho

34. Wat Buddhavihara of Midwest
29750 Ryan Road
Warren, Michigan (MI) 48092-2244
Phone: (810) 573-2666, Fax: (810) 573-6661
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Chuen Jotiñāṇo

35. Wat Chairatanaram
710 S.E. 50th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (OK) 73129
Phone: (405) 634-2144
Abbot: Ven. Phra Gruvijayavorakich

36. Wat Pasantidhamma
14289 Chapman's Lane
Carollton, Virginia (VA) 23314
Phone: (757) 238-7015, 238-9479, Fax: (757) 238-3461
Abbot: Ven. Phra Adhikarn Pramoch Adhipañño

37. Wat Mungme Srisuk
128 South main Street
Spring Lake, North Carolina (NC) 28390
Phone: (910) 497-6851, Fax: (910) 497-5977
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Amporn Khemāsabho

38. Wat Dhammavihara
87-1109 Iliili Road
Waianae, Hawaii (HI) 96797
Phone: (808) 668-7367, Fax: (808) 668-2799
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Sutep Ābhākaro

39. Wat Buddhasastrakancanaram
2580 Interlake Road
Bradley, California (CA) 93426
Phone: (805) 472-9210
Abbot: Ven. Phra Bhoomsiri Bhūripañño

40. Wat Buddhawararam Oregon
8360 David Lane
Turner, Oregon (OR) 97392
Phone: (503) 391-9866, Fax: (503) 391-9807
Abbot: Ven. Phra Paladsamruai Garudhammo

41. Wat Buddhichinohill
2948 Chino Hills Highway
Chino Hills, California (CA) 91709
Phone: (909) 597-8470, Fax: (909) 606-0679
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Boonkam Ṭhitavedo

42. Wat Suddhavasa
3687 Fleming Street
Riverside, California (CA) 92509-1018
Phone: (909) 360-3495, 360-3795
Abbot: Ven. Phra Gruvichitraboonsarn

43. Wat Pabuddhayanandaram
5320 Kell Lane
Las Vegas, Nevada (NV) 89110
Phone: (702) 437-3320
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Direk Buddhyānando

44. Dhammaratanaram Temple
5233 E. 7th Street
Tucson, Arizona (AZ) 85711
Phone: (520) 514-9269, Fax: (520) 514-1097
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Amporn Khemāsabho

45. Wat Buddhadhammo
24935 Atwood Avenue
Morino Valley, California (CA) 92553
Phone: (559) 924-6039
Abbot: Ven. Phra Nicom Varadhammo

46. Wat Dhammasujit
1125 Chikasaw Road
Fawn Skin (Big Bear) California (CA)
Phone: (909) 866-9892, Phone & Fax: (909) 866-5853
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Sombut Sukkadhammo

47. Wat Buddha Udomchai
910 East Indian School Street
Banning, California (CA) 92220
Phone: (909) 849-9742
Abbot: Ven. Phra Gru Udompatanathorn Paripuñño

48. Wat Buddhapanna
1157 Indian Hill Boulevard
Pomona, California (CA) 91767
Phone: (909) 629-1771
Abbot: Ven. Phra Maha Bang Khemānando

49. Wat Atammayataram
8643 38th Avenue
Seattle, Washingtonk, (WA) 98118
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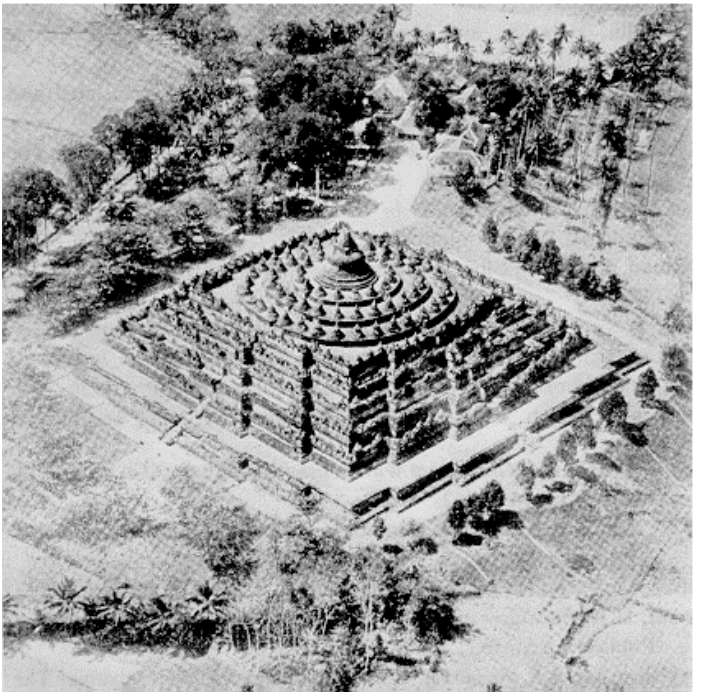

The Stupa in Borobudur, Java.

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About the Author

Ven. Phra Brahmagunabhorn, also known as P. A. Payutto (Prayudh Aryankura Payutto), was a novice when he graduated with the highest degree of the Thai traditional Pali studies, Pali IX, in 1961 (B.E. 2504). In that same year, His Majesty the King sponsored his higher ordination in the Chapel Royal (the Temple of the Emerald Buddha), in the compounds of the Grand Palace. In the following year, he obtained a B.A. in Buddhist studies with first-class honors from Mahachulalongkorn Buddhist University, which, twenty years later, granted him an honorary doctorate in Buddhist studies.

Phra Dhammapitaka began teaching at Mahachulalongkorn Buddhist University in 1962 (B.E. 2505), where he served, in 1964 (B.E. 2507), as Assistant Secretary-General and, some years later, as Deputy Secretary-General. In 1967 (B.E. 2510), under the sponsorship of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, he paid visits to institutions of higher Buddhist education in Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea and Japan. In 1972 (B.E. 2515), at the invitation of the University of Pennsylvania's University Museum, he gave a series of lectures on Buddhism and Thai Culture there. Throughout the spring semester of 1976 (B.E. 2519), he was a resident resource person for courses in Buddhism at Swarthmore College and lectured on Buddhism there. In 1981 (B.E. 2524), he was a Visiting Scholar at the Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University and taught Buddhism as a guest lecturer at the Faculties of Divinity and Arts. He received the UNESCO's 1994 Prize for Peace Education on December 20, 1994 (B.E. 2537).

Among other literary works of P. A. Payutto are: *Dictionary of Buddhism*, first published in 1972–75 (B.E. 2515–18) by Mahachulalongkorn Buddhist University; *Buddha-Dharma*, first published in 1982 (B.E. 2525) by the Dharma-satharn, Chulalongkorn University; and *Social Dimension of Buddhism in Contemporary Thailand*, first published in 1983 (B.E. 2526) by Thai Khadi Research Institute, Thammasat University.