

**A Survey of Buddhist Buildings in England
Project Number 6749**

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Executive Summary

A Survey of Buddhist Buildings in England

Overview

The aim of this research was to provide Historic England (HE) with information about buildings that Buddhists use in England so that HE can work with communities to enhance and protect those buildings now and in the future. It focused on three main questions:

- Where are Buddhist buildings and how many there are?
- What kinds of buildings do Buddhists communities use and what do they use them for?
- What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals?

Where are Buddhist buildings and how many there are?

Overall we found 190 'Buddhist buildings' from our desk-based mapping exercise and interviews (see appendix 5). To the best of our knowledge this is the total amount of buildings that are owned or rented long-term by Buddhist communities in England. We have not counted all the 'Buddhist groups' in England since many of these meet in people's houses or rent rooms in buildings for meetings and worship rather than having a permanent base in any particular building. Out of the 190 buildings 59 are from the Theravada tradition; 69 are from Tibetan traditions, with 39 of those from the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT); 29 are from different East Asian traditions; and 33 are what we are calling non-sectarian, with 25 of these from Triratna (previously called Friends of the Western Buddhist Order). Table 1 gives a summary of the buildings by tradition according to three factors: 1) whether they are urban, suburban or rural; 2) the numbers of listed buildings they have; and 3) whether they are in the North, South or Midlands (p. 6).

What kinds of buildings do Buddhists communities use and what do they use them for?

The functions of Buddhist buildings (see section 5.2)

The **functions** of Buddhist buildings include the following, and particular buildings may perform a number of these functions:

- A space for Buddhist practice and the celebration of Buddhist festivals
- A location where cultural and community activities for Buddhists are carried out. This is particularly important for the diaspora Buddhist communities from Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, China and Japan, and often involves activities in local languages and reflecting local customs and traditions
- A place for Buddhist monastics to live

- A place for lay Buddhist communities to live together in a communal setting
- Somewhere for Buddhists, or those interested in Buddhism, to stay in order to take part in retreats and courses, often in rural locations.
- A place for the education of children in Buddhist schools
- A space for the establishment of Buddhist businesses, where Buddhist ethical principles can be lived out
- A space where 'mindfulness meditation' is offered to non-Buddhists, sometimes upon referral from health professionals
- A space where other groups, Buddhist or not, can hire out rooms for events and workshops

Types of building used by Buddhists in England (see section 5.3)

Our research has found that there are a number of **broad types** of property/premises used by Buddhists in England.

1. 'Borrowed/hired periodically' for meetings
2. 'Teacher's houses'
3. 'Squatted or rented full-time' solely for Buddhist purposes
4. 'Purchased residential reuse and adaptation'
5. 'Purchased other reuse and adaptation'
6. 'Purpose built'
7. 'Reuse/adaptation and purpose built'

What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals?

The answers to this question are discussed in detail in section 7.5. Key points include:

- Creating community and a special place in the community, for both Buddhists and non-Buddhists
- Preserving the heritage of old buildings and adding to that heritage through a Buddhist presence
- The importance of an attractive and pleasing aesthetic as conducive to Buddhist practice
- Renovating the building as part of Buddhist practice
- Having a 'home' after spending time in rented or temporary accommodation
- The building as engendering a 'Buddhist' feeling as people enter it; having a transformative potential.
- While Buddhists ought not to be attached to material things, the building is a 'raft' or tool to help achieve the Buddhist goals
- A remarkable space matches one's spiritual aspiration
- A place for people to meet; friendships and community
- A place to learn, practice, and teach the *Dhamma/Dharma*
- As a sacred space for rituals, ceremonial, celebrations
- As a focal point for a particular ethnic community to gather together

Table 1: Location of building by tradition and how many are listed

Tradition	Urban	Suburban	Rural	Listed buildings	North	South	Midlands
Theravada (59)	2	48	9	3	15	34	10
Burmese (11)		9	2	1	4	6	1
Other (7)	1	5	1		1	4	2
Sri Lankan (24)		24		1	4	16	4
Thai (17)	1	10	6	1	6	8	3
Tibetan (69)	21	39	9	10	36	31	2
Gelug (43)							
NKT (39)	16	18	5	5	26	11	2
FPMT (3)	1	1	1	1	2	1	
Lam Rim Buddhist Centre (1)		1				1	
Kagyu (13)							
Marpa House (1)			1			1	
Drukpa Kunga Peljor (1)		1				1	
Dechen (Kagyu/Sakya) (4)		4			2	2	
Kagyu Samye Dzong (Karma Kagyu) (3)	1	2		3	1	2	
Diamond Way (Karma Kagyu) (4)	1	3		1	1	3	
Nyingma (2)							
Palyul Center UK (1)		1				1	
Rigpa (1)	1					1	
Sakya (2)							
Sakya Tubten Ling (1)		1				1	
Byoma Kusuma Sangha (1)		1				1	
Other (9)	1	6	2		4	5	
East Asian (29)	5	18	6	3	6	17	6
Fo Guang Shan (Taiwan) (2)	1	1		1	1	1	
Nichiren (Japan) (2)		1	1			1	1
OBC (Soto Zen, Japan) (7)		4	3		3	3	1
Pure Land (Japan) (3)		3			1	1	1
Rinzai Zen		2		1		2	

(Japan) (2)							
Soka Gakkai International (Japan) (4)	3		1	1		4	
Vietnamese (6)		6				3	3
Other (3)	1	1	1		1	2	
Non-sectarian (33)	17	7	9	7	8	24	1
Triratna (25)	15	5	5	4	7	17	1
Other (8)	2	2	4	3	1	7	

A Survey of Buddhist Buildings in England

1. Introduction

In 2012 English Heritage (As the predecessor to Historic England) held a series of consultations on minority heritages in order to develop a more inclusive approach to the National Heritage Protection Plan (NHPP). The research and findings presented in this report came about as a result of a consultation on faith groups and their history and heritage in England. It was made clear at that consultation that apart from in relation to Christianity and Judaism, English Heritage, as was, had very little knowledge about the heritage of the buildings of other faith groups in Britain, although a book on Islamic buildings in England is forthcoming. To begin to address this gap, the aim of this project has been to 'scope and assess current knowledge of the buildings and relevant practices'¹ of different Buddhist faith groups to:

- 'Enable HE and the sector to develop its expertise and protect [these buildings] appropriately'²
- To better understand the *heritage, nature and significance* of Buddhist buildings for their respective communities/users
- To better understand the ways in which building use reflects and enables Buddhist practice.

The research has involved two main parts: 1) a literature review and desk-based mapping of different Buddhist buildings across England, linked to various Buddhist traditions. A typology has been developed in order to organize the range of buildings identified (section 5.3); 2) a more detailed study involving qualitative research on a selection of these Buddhist buildings in both rural and urban settings: this involved face to face interviews and an online questionnaire. We have also kept a blog during the project – 'buildingbuddhism' - which is still being updated.³

Once the blog went live some people began to contact us from different Buddhist communities to question what we meant by the term 'Buddhist building'. Whilst at first the answer might seem straightforward, in actual fact, it is not. Buddhists in England use many different types of buildings. Sometimes these are in the form of monastic complexes and a few of

¹ This research lies within priority areas that EH is working in currently and is specifically mentioned under Measure 4 of the Action Plan for the NHPP

(<https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/nhpp-rep-may11mar12/nhpp-year-end-1112-activity-programme.pdf>, accessed 22 April 2016)

² *National Heritage Protection Plan 2011-15, Publication Date: 26 Apr 2012, Year-end report and Activity Programme, May 2011 - March 2012*

(<https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/nhpp-rep-may11mar12/nhpp-year-end-1112-activity-programme.pdf>, accessed 22 April 2016)

³ <http://buildingbuddhism.wordpress.com> (accessed 22 April 2016)

these are purpose-built temples. Some Buddhist buildings have residential communities living in them and some do not. Other Buddhist groups have centres in houses that they have rented or bought, or they might borrow someone's front room for a weekly meditation class. Some groups share their space with or rent rooms from other religious traditions or community groups, or may even practice in a space alongside office workers in a city-centre building. Wherever there are buildings to buy, adapt or rent we find Buddhist groups have set up centres in English villages, towns and cities. Some have even begun to construct purpose built centres and many are involved in projects to adapt and extend existing properties, bringing them into contact with heritage bodies, town planners and architects.

All these different buildings are places or spaces where Buddhist communities meet together to engage in Buddhist practice – be that meditation, teaching, chanting, community events, festivals and *pujas*. The language used to talk about these buildings is also diverse and we find the English terms 'centre', 'temple', 'monastery', 'place of worship' or 'faith building' all used to talk about these buildings as well as Buddhist terms in other languages such as *gompa*, *vihara* or *wat*. We have provided a glossary of these terms in appendix 3.

We have chosen to take a broad approach to defining what a 'Buddhist building' is whilst taking into consideration the priorities and drivers for Historic England in terms of the type of buildings that it is concerned with, particularly regarding listing and protection. Therefore, we have not focused on Buddhist groups meeting in private residential houses, or the buildings that are rented by groups that generally operate as spaces for many different communities, including. However, the mapping that we present in appendix 5 and section 6 has included private residential houses where these are rented or bought by Buddhist communities, rather than periodically used for meditation classes, courses and retreats.

The report begins with a discussion about what Historic England wants from the research (section 2). This will be followed by an introduction to Buddhism in England (section 3) and then a discussion of our research methods (section 4). The next three parts of the report all deal with different aspects of 'a survey of Buddhist buildings in England': first we look at the functions and types of Buddhist buildings (section 5); second, we map the buildings belonging to different traditions in England (section 6); third, we present a detailed thematic analysis of the buildings we visited and of the buildings used by the communities that answered our online survey (section 7). The final section of the report sums up the findings and makes a series of recommendations to HE (section 8). Our mapping of Buddhist buildings is presented in a series of tables in appendix 5.

2. What does Historic England want?

2.1 Background

As a publically funded body, Historic England has to ensure that it does not discriminate against any group in its work. Following an Equalities Impact Assessment on the NHPP it was recognised that there were key areas that required attention, and a series of ‘under-represented heritage’ consultations were set up. Regarding religious heritages in England, the majority of HE’s work to date has focused on Christian buildings since these are the most numerous and are often very old and therefore in need of protection. The Church of England, for instance, has continually occupied thousands of places of worship in England over many hundreds of years, and has a well-established working relationship with HE. This relationship ensures the protection of churches whilst at the same time makes sure that the needs of Christian communities are taken into account when they need to change or alter their often ancient places of worship.

There is much less knowledge about, or experience of, working with other faith groups as well as with some Christian denominations (e.g. Pentecostalism). HE wishes to build its capacity to work with communities from all religious traditions to help them take care of their existing buildings and also as they move into new premises. HE has very limited knowledge of where these buildings are and what changes different communities might need to make to buildings in order to render them suitable for their requirements. There has been a strengthening relationship with Jewish communities in order to protect synagogues, which in addition to churches are the most historic in terms of tangible fabric. However, there has been less focus on other faith traditions, whose buildings are generally not as old as many churches and synagogues due to relatively recent patterns of migration to England and these communities’ adaptation of existing buildings for religious purposes.

There is a need to understand how to respond to the demands of the built environment *and* the different faith communities. This requires a deepening of HE’s understanding about the significance of places of worship for different religious communities beyond Christianity. Currently the way that HE protects religious heritage has been established according to certain principles that reflect the Christian tradition. The issues and concerns associated with medieval churches, for example, may not apply to the buildings of other faith groups. Firstly, regarding principles for selection, there may be buildings from other faith traditions that should be listed for different reasons to Churches yet in order to make that judgment, HE needs to know why such buildings have an historical significance for that tradition. Secondly, regarding the protection and treatment of listed buildings now occupied by Buddhist groups, advice on protection needs to be adjusted to suit the needs of that faith tradition. There may be different

sets of protection issues for different faith communities (e.g. details on how to preserve ancient Church pews or how to decorate buildings so as to preserve original features may not be as important as they are for Christian traditions). However, currently there is a lack of knowledge about the value of these buildings to their users and this potentially undermines the ability of HE to be able to understand what factors ought to be considered when deciding whether they should be listed as well as what is permissible within an existing protected/listed building.⁴

There has been a drive within HE more broadly to protect 20th century buildings, including churches, and to increase their designation and hence access to funds for protection. HE has found that 20th century churches are under designated and that they are more likely than non-20th century places of worship to be demolished. This may well also be the case for other faith buildings that fit the designation criteria of being more than 30 years old. It is crucial that information is gathered about these buildings (as well as more recent ones) in order that they are protected and that the histories of minority faiths in England are preserved for the future. However, apart from some recent work begun on mosques, HE does not know where these other buildings are or the ways in which they are important for the histories of particular faith stories from the 20th century.

Not only is there a gap in HE's knowledge in this area, but also in scholarship. There is a large academic literature on migration and diaspora in England. However, within this literature, although buildings that have been squatted, rented, bought, adapted and built by minority faith communities are mentioned, the discussion has not been systematic nor carried out with respect to issues of heritage protection or architectural styles. There is also a small yet focused literature on planning and minority faith buildings, emerging from Leverhulme Trust-funded research project - 'Ethnicity and Cultural Landscapes' - carried out between 1998 and 2000 at the University of Oxford by Professor Ceri Peach (Peach and Gale 2003; Gale 2004, 2008; Gale and Naylor 2002; Naylor and Ryan 2010).

2.2 Specific areas where knowledge is lacking and key areas of impact

Our conversations with HE have highlighted three main areas where knowledge is felt to be lacking and which this project aims to address:

- Where are Buddhist buildings and how many are there?
- What kinds of buildings do Buddhists communities use and what do they use them for?

⁴ See document on designation and places of worship (https://content.historicengland.org.uk/images-books/publications/dlsg-places-worship/places_of_worship_final.pdf, accessed 22 April 2016).

- What is the value of these buildings to the communities and individuals?

The following areas of impact have been signaled as important for HE and have been drivers for this project.

Impact that is achieved by this project:

1. To suggest terms that can be added to the terminology that is present in the 'Thesaurus of Monument Types' so that it reflects Buddhism in England. There is a need to have a more comprehensive repository of terms so that people can access the information that they want and also so that they can use the use appropriate terms when recommending buildings for listing. Our aim is to identify key terms, including those for key architectural features of Buddhist buildings (see section 9.4 Appendix 3 – Glossary).
2. To make suggestions for new buildings that should be listed or currently listed buildings that should be upgraded.
3. To update and amend details on the 'heritage list' which do not generally reflect the reuse of listed buildings by Buddhists (see section 9.4 Appendix 4).
4. To make suggestions for relevant 'principles of selection' for the listing of Buddhist buildings as well as guidance for how to protect and treat buildings which are already listed but are now occupied by Buddhist groups (see section 8.3).
5. To create a contact list for HE to connect with relevant Buddhist organisations (websites and addresses of Buddhist centres are provided for each entry in the tables in appendix 5).
6. To develop a timeline of the history of Buddhist buildings in England (see section 3).
7. To add to the HE archive and the NHLE, including recent photographs and up-to-date information.
8. Produce data that can be used to write an 'Introduction to Heritage Assets' resource on 'Buddhist Buildings in England'. These are potted histories of England's 'heritage assets' that are relevant for the general public and other non-academic stakeholders. This could include architects and town planners who increasingly encounter the buildings of diverse religious traditions in their work.
9. To raise awareness of these buildings to the general public.

3. An introduction to Buddhism in England

3.1 Buddhism arrives in England

Buddhism first came to England in the 19th century as a product of the British colonial presence in Asia. At this time, Western 'orientalist' scholars began to collect and translate Buddhist texts, which then became accessible to the British and wider European public. For instance, in 1879, Sir Edwin Arnold compiled his epic poem *The Light of Asia*, which described the Buddha's life, and the German scholar Max Muller instigated the important *Sacred Books of the East* series in 1879, published by Oxford University Press. At this time, interest in Buddhism was primarily intellectual, driven by the translation of Pāli texts and shaped by the colonial careers of key figures such as T.W. Rhys-Davids who founded the Pāli Text Society in 1881 (Bluck 2006). Unlike other 'Western' countries (including Australia and the United States), the earliest history of Buddhism on British shores was not initially shaped by immigration, although this does have more influence at a later date. This early interest in Buddhism soon began to shift from academic focus to personal practice and the period up until the First World War sowed the seeds for the emergence of Western teachers of Buddhism in Britain (Bluck 2006: 7). The first English person to be ordained as a monk was a man called Henry Allan Bennett. He went to Sri Lanka in 1898 and took monastic vows in the Theravāda tradition in Burma in 1902, adopting the name Ananda Metteyya. Ill health forced him to disrobe in 1914, underscoring the difficulties faced by those who first attempted to establish a monastic (community) in Britain.

In 1907 the Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland was formed and in 1924 this was replaced by a new Buddhist Lodge within the Theosophical Society, under the leadership of the pioneering figure of Buddhism in Britain, Christmas Humphreys. In 1925, Christmas Humphreys supported a Sri Lankan monk called Anagarika Dhammapala to found the British Maha Bodhi Society 'with its headquarters at 41 Gloucester Avenue, to the north-east of Regent's Park.'⁵ While, in 1928, three Sri Lankan monks arrived to stay at the Maha Bodhi Society, it closed down at the outbreak of WWII in 1939. In 1943 the Buddhist Lodge became the Buddhist Society, moving to a new premises, and is still in operation today, continuing to represent Buddhists from all traditions (see box 1).

⁵ <http://vajratool.wordpress.com/2010/05/10/establishing-monastic-buddhism-in-the-uk-an-uphill-struggle/> (accessed 22 April 2016).

Box 1: The Buddhist Society

Fieldwork visit
The Buddhist Society
[Offering Incense in Eccleston Square since 1956](#)



c.1956, Copyright Buddhist Society

The Buddhist Society, an organisation that was established in 1924 by Christmas Humphreys to support interest in Buddhism in the United Kingdom, has occupied its current building in Eccleston Square, London, since 1956. The Society previously operated from several different residential houses until they were given the option to rent 58 Eccleston Square by a supportive benefactor. The building itself is Grade II listed, was originally built between 1828 and 1850, and designed by Thomas Cubitt. Prior to the Buddhist Society being given the option of renting (and then buying) this building, it was a large family home. Unlike some of the other buildings we have visited over the course of this project, 58 Eccleston Square was not derelict, and therefore required far less renovation work to make it fit-for-purpose. In fact, we were informed that aside from maintenance (which on a building of this size and age is large), there has been little renovation work done since the 1950s. The Buddhist Society has, fairly recently, put in central heating, and has also decorated the inside and repainted outside (because it was left money by a benefactor in order to cover the costs). However, like the other buildings, the upkeep and maintenance for this building is not only time-consuming, it is certainly expensive. The Buddhist Society has maintained or renovated many of the original Victorian fixtures and fittings.

The Buddhist Society currently uses its building for a number of purposes. Aside from two flats that are rented out to raise revenue, there is a large library with over 4,500 books, three different shrine rooms (one of which can be used as a room to host talks and

lectures), a kitchen and an office, and storage space. There are weekly meditation classes, with teachers from different Buddhist traditions, and also a series of lectures and talks, which both members and non-members can attend. The Buddhist Society also runs a residential summer school, although this is off-site. At the time of writing, there were 2,500 members of the Buddhist Society, although not all of these are currently living in the UK. Members all receive a copy of the journal of the Buddhist Society, the *Middle Way* (previously called *Buddhism in England*). The Buddhist Society also holds a large archive, including all the talks given at Buddhist Society events (including on reel-to-reel tapes), all the editions of the *Middle Way* journal, amongst other documents which document the social history of Buddhism in Britain.

In addition to the archive, the Buddhist Society own a number of significant items and artefacts, such as the chair that Sir Edwin Arnold used to write his famous poem, *The Light of Asia*, as well as a number of paintings and statues of the Buddha and bodhisattvas.

3.2 The post-war period to the 1960s

While the early interest in Buddhism had been in the Theravāda tradition, the publication, in 1927, of D.T. Suzuki's first series of essays on Zen Buddhism widened the scope of Buddhism in Britain and this proved to be particularly attractive to Humphries. As Bluck writes: 'The 1950s saw a move in some European countries from a 'general lay Buddhism' towards different schools with Pure Land groups in Britain and Germany, Zen students influenced by D.T. Suzuki and the German-born Lama Anagarika Govinda (1898–1985) founding a Tibetan order in Berlin' (2006: 8). Factors such as Asian immigration to Britain as well as 'decline in church attendance and increased interest in Oriental religions, an information explosion and the expansion of higher education, a new youth culture of rock music, drug-taking and permissive sexual behavior...[alongside]... the Chinese invasion of Tibet' (Bluck 2006: 10) meant that by the 1960s and 1970s, a variety of traditions had begun to appear in Britain and developed their own 'intentional spiritual communities' (Batchelor 1994: xii). Until the 1960s when Eastern religions gained popularity in the West, the number of Western converts to Buddhism remained quite small. At this point the number of Buddhists in Britain began to increase. This was partly a result of growing numbers of Westerners converting to Buddhism. Buddhism in England is remarkable for having attracted more 'white' converts than other minority faiths such as Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism. However, it was also due to the arrival of 'ethnic', 'heritage' or 'diaspora' Buddhist immigrants and refugees from across Asia who brought Buddhism to Britain.⁶ Diaspora Buddhists comprise the largest Buddhist demographic in

⁶ Each of these terms, 'ethnic', 'heritage', 'diaspora', 'convert' and 'white' have been identified by scholars as somewhat inadequate in relation to the study of Buddhism in the West. Bluck (2006:16) for example, highlights that whilst 'convert' might be appropriate for the first generation of Buddhists in Britain who were not brought up with Buddhism as the religion practiced within their family home, it is an inadequate term to use to refer to their children. In this study, whilst recognising these difficulties with terminology, we will adopt the terms 'convert' and 'diaspora'. 'Diaspora' will refer to those Buddhists who, either themselves, or their families, brought their religion to Britain from elsewhere, and 'convert' will be used to refer to those Buddhists who, either themselves or their parents, having been brought up with another religion or none, made the decision to affiliate with Buddhism, typically in adulthood.

Britain. In particular, the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950 led to thousands of Tibetans fleeing with the Dalai Lama in 1959, bringing many Lamas to the West.

Bluck tells us that, in Britain 'by 1966 there were at least 22 lay Buddhist groups, including 4 in London' and the popularity of Buddhism increased over the following decade with the 'founding of important groups and centres such as the FWBO (1967), Kagyu Samye Ling (1967), Throssel Hole Priory (1972), the Samatha Trust (1973) Institute (1976) and Ven. Sumedho's arrival at the Hampstead Vihara in 1978' (2006: 12). Bluck also notes that at the time of his writing in 2006, there were approximately 1,000 Buddhist groups and centres across the UK (Bluck 2006: 3) and the biggest groups numerically were Soka Gakkai International, Triratna (FWBO) and the New Kadampa Tradition (Bluck 2006: 16).

3.3 Buddhism in numbers

According to the 2011 census there were 238,626 Buddhists living in England and Wales, compared to 144,453 recorded in the 2001 census (Bluck 2006: 16). The data from the 2011 census has been disaggregated to provide statistics on 'Religion by Ethnic Group' and, as Table 1 illustrates, Buddhism has attracted a large percentage of 'white British' converts and this marks it out from other minority religions in Britain. For example, in relation to Islam there were 210,620 white adherents, 102, 582 mixed, 1,830,560 Asian/Asian British and 272,015 Black; for Hinduism, there were 12,026 white, 9,761 mixed, 781,199 Asian/AB and 5474 Black, and for Sikhism there were 7460 white, 5122 mixed, 368503 and 1431 Black.⁷

Table 1: Ethnicity of Buddhists in England and Wales⁸

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
White	33.76
Mixed/multiple ethnic group	3.98
Asian/Asian British	59.66
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British	1.13
Other Ethnic Group	1.47
All Buddhists in England and Wales	100.0

As Bluck (2006) points out, much of the research on Buddhism in Britain has focused on 'white' or 'convert' Buddhists and less attention has been paid to 'diaspora', 'heritage' or 'ethnic' Buddhists by comparison. Today a broad range of Buddhist traditions are present in Britain, emanating from the three main global 'denominations': Theravāda, Mahāyāna and

⁷

http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/LC2201EW/view/2092957703?rows=c_ethpuk11&cols=c_relpuk11 (accessed 22 April 2016).

⁸

http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/LC2201EW/view/2092957703?rows=c_ethpuk11&cols=c_relpuk11 ((accessed 22 April 2016).

Vajrayāna (Tibetan). However, Bluck and some other scholars also make a distinction between 'traditional Buddhism' and 'new Buddhist movements', which have separated and deviated from their traditional Asian foundations. This would include three of the largest Buddhist organisations in Britain today: Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, or FWBO (now called Triratna), SGI and NKT (Bluck 2006; 24; Bell 2000: 398). Another debate in the literature is concerned with whether a distinct form of 'Western Buddhism' is emerging. As Bluck tells us, while the

...Buddhist Society's first president, Christmas Humphreys (1901–83), claimed as early as 1958 that "a definitely Western form of Buddhism must in time emerge" others have argued that this has not happened. Instead, Batchelor, for instance, describes a "spectrum of adaptation", ranging from those holding firmly to a "pure tradition" (and who only tolerate minimal change to ensure survival) to innovators who wish to abandon all previous traditions, which they see as "weighed down with cultural burdens" (Bluck 2006: 1); Batchelor, 1994: 337, 379).

4. Research Methods

In this research, there were three principal phases, each involving different methods and each contributing to achieving the aims of the project outlined in section 1 and to fill the gaps in knowledge identified by HE in commissioning the project. The phases of the research were as follows:

1. Desk-based national mapping and information gathering about Buddhist groups in England
2. Site visits to various Buddhist buildings across England
3. Online survey, open to all Buddhist groups in England

The following section of this report will be divided into these three phases in order to discuss the research methods employed. We finish the section with a discussion of some areas of 'methodological learning' achieved during the research process and that could be useful for researchers to consider in future similar projects.

4.1 Desk-based national mapping and information gathering

We began the desk-based mapping exercise using an online database of Buddhist groups in England - [The World Buddhist Directory](#) - and the offline Buddhist Directory (2000), produced by the Buddhist Society in London. By comparing both of these sources, alongside a broader Internet search which was repeated several times over the course of the project (including looking at the websites, where available, of the buildings we identified through the directories), we compiled a series of tables of Buddhist buildings in which we categorise them according to their broad affiliation: Theravāda, Tibetan, East Asian and non-sectarian (see appendix 5).

Alongside collecting the names of the buildings and the Buddhist tradition to which they belong, we also collected, where possible, information from the websites of different Buddhist groups about the following points:

1. Building location and whether it is rural/urban/suburban
2. Its use
3. Whether the building is listed
4. Additional notes of interest
5. Website address and physical address

Most of this information was available on the Internet and within the directories, and the tables we have produced are quite detailed and comprehensive. However, there are some gaps where we were not able to find the information we needed online. In addition to using the websites of different centres, we also made use of 'google maps' and 'google street view' to find out more about building types and the location of centres. In the tables in appendix 5, we make a distinction between urban and suburban. By suburban, we mean locations that are largely residential and

are not located within major shopping and business areas. By urban, we mean locations that are more central, near major railway stations, shopping and business areas. They are more likely to be areas with a greater 'footfall', whereas the suburban locations are more hidden away. There is a degree of subjectivity in designating a location urban or suburban, and it is not always clear from the desk-based research exactly where the buildings are located. Neither was it always easy to tell from the desk-based research whether any major extensions have been added to existing buildings or new buildings have been erected at the properties.

To deepen our findings from the desk-based mapping we also selected a number of significant sites to visit in the second phase of the research, in order to address a more detailed set of questions (see appendix 2 for a list of the research questions). The research received ethical approval from the University of Leeds Research Ethics Committee in August 2013.

4.2 Site visits and how the sites were chosen

We selected fifteen Buddhist buildings in ten different geographical locations to visit in the second phase of the research. We drew on the data gathered in the mapping exercise to identify a range of Buddhist traditions, building types and styles, across various geographical regions in England. We also visited additional buildings because research participants recommended them to us. From our desk-based mapping, we ascertained that there were, to the best of our knowledge, 190 Buddhist buildings in Britain reflecting each of the major Buddhist traditions operational across the world today. Whilst it is possible that this could have been a much larger project, over a number of years, we selected these fifteen sites to offer a wide-ranging overview that was logistically possible in the time available for the research.

The site visits we undertook were:

1. London Buddhist Society (non-affiliated)
2. Amaravati Buddhist Monastery (Thai Forest Sangha, Theravāda)
3. Wat Buddhapadipa, Wimbledon (Thai, Theravāda)
4. Wat Phra Dhammakaya, Woking, (Thai, Theravāda)
5. Birmingham Buddhist *vihara* (Burmese Theravāda)
6. Jamyang London (FPMT, Tibetan)
7. Madhayamaka Centre, York (NKT, Tibetan)
8. Harewood House Buddhist Stupa (Tibetan)
9. Diamond Way London (Tibetan)
10. London Fo Guang Shan (East Asian)
11. Throssel Hole Buddhist Abbey (Order of Buddhist Contemplatives, Sōtō Zen)
12. Taplow Court (Soka Gakkai, East Asian)
13. London Buddhist Centre (Triratna, 'western'/ non-sectarian)
14. Manchester Buddhist Centre (Triratna, 'western'/non-sectarian)
15. West London Buddhist Centre (Triratna, 'western'/ non-sectarian)⁹

⁹ In addition, we also spoke to an architect's firm, who are involved in the development of the Triratna 'West London Buddhist Centre'.

We selected these sites because they were drawn from a cross-section of geographic locations across England, including urban, suburban and rural settings. Our selection of these specific sites also allowed us to reflect a range of different building types, including buildings that were adapted from a previous use and those which had been purpose built as Buddhist centres or temples (and some a combination of the two). We selected fieldwork sites that were drawn from the range of Buddhist traditions which have been established in England to date, some of which were high-profile and well-known and others which have received less attention outside their local setting, in order to fully investigate the different types, styles and uses of buildings across different Buddhist communities. These included buildings that were used by 'converts' and 'diaspora Buddhist' communities. Finally, we selected these sites to reflect the range of 'eras' in the establishment of Buddhism in England, ranging from 1950s/1960s and through to the present day. Our aim was to provide a broad picture of the range of Buddhist buildings in England to date.

Our selection criteria can be summarised as follows:

1. Geographical location (various localities in England; urban/suburban/rural)
2. Buddhist tradition (reflecting the range of traditions currently operational)
3. Building size and function (reflecting different uses, including lay centre, monastery, community hub or small group)
4. Demographic make-up of community (predominantly 'convert', but also 'diaspora', and those that reflect a combination of these)
5. Eras of Buddhist building development (1950s/1960s – present-day)

For site visits, our focus was on public-facing Buddhist buildings, rather than domestic houses or Buddhist groups who rented space in shared buildings, in order to reflect Historic England interests. However, we reflect upon the full range of different Buddhist buildings in sections 5-7.

During the site visits we used qualitative research methods, conducting semi-structured interviews, taking detailed field notes, and collecting 'grey' literature produced by Buddhist groups, as well as taking photographs of both the inside and outside of buildings, their fabric, fixtures, and fittings. The interviews, which we most often conducted with a senior member of the specific Buddhist group, usually lasted between one and two hours, and included a tour of each of the buildings in question. Each of the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed in full.

Each of the interview transcripts was analysed to draw out the key themes in line with the research questions, and the results of the site visits are presented in sections 5, 6 and 7 of this report.

4.3 Online survey and additional online research methods

Given that we identified a large (and increasing) number of Buddhist buildings across England in the mapping phase of this research, we complemented our in-depth interviews with an online survey. The aim of this was to reach a larger number of Buddhist communities, and to reflect the range and breadth of examples of buildings, thereby enhancing the reach of our research. This survey was designed using Bristol Online Surveys; a secure survey tool used regularly within the University of Leeds. We designed the survey to be completed by one person within each Buddhist group, and in relation to one building. If an organisation had several buildings, we encouraged them to complete several surveys. Questions were both 'closed' and 'open' and ranged from asking basic biographical details such as where the building was located and about Buddhist affiliation; to enquiring about the issues faced in building maintenance and upkeep. A full list of survey questions is available in appendix 2 of this report. We piloted the survey with one Buddhist group, and then subsequently made the necessary changes. The data from the small pilot is also included in the analysis.

The survey was publicised in a number of ways, including through social media (Twitter), [our research blog](#), our University website, and through an article on '[Public Spirit](#)', an online forum for discussion about religion and public life. We also publicised the survey through the [Network of Buddhist Organisations](#) (NBO) mailing list, which also generated some useful discussion about the overall project that has contributed to the conclusions that we have drawn. In addition, we directly emailed a number of Buddhist groups, finding their details via our earlier mapping exercise. The survey was completed by 24 respondents between the 27th January and 4th September 2014.¹⁰ The survey is discussed in section 7.

In addition to the online survey, we also created a [project blog](#) using wordpress. The aim of this was both to record our site visits and initial research themes to draw attention to the research, help identify participants and useful sources, and spark some debate about the significance, function, and meaning of Buddhist groups in Britain. We began the blog in December 2013, and posted at least monthly from this date. The blog is currently ongoing, as we summarise our research and continue to post. As of the 23 April 2016, the blog had received 5782 views, from 61 countries. In addition to comments posted on the blog, we also sought, at several points, online discussions about the project themes through twitter, and on one occasion, through the Network of Buddhist Organisations e-mailing list. As a result of these online activities, we

¹⁰ There were 26 respondents in total, although two were duplicates. We have merged the data from the duplicates into single responses, giving 24 individual respondents in total.

received both first-hand comments from users of Buddhist buildings about what the buildings meant to them, as well as indications about other potential buildings to visit and include. We also received information from archives¹¹ and from community groups and other academics researching various Buddhist buildings in England. This significantly improved both the reach of the project, and the data that we sourced.

4.4 Methodological Learning

Here we discuss a number of reflections about the process of undertaking research into Buddhist buildings in England that emerged during our fieldwork and the period of analysis following.

1. Whilst some Buddhist groups in England have very detailed and up-to-date websites, which include contact details (see Manchester Buddhist Centre, for one example) this is not the case across the board. As a result, it was more challenging to contact some groups rather than others within the time period available for the research. We were keen to ensure that our research represented the range of Buddhist buildings, therefore we had to adopt a 'cold-calling' approach, turning up to certain groups without a prior meeting in order to scope out their possible interest in participating in the project. Whilst this was not always effective (for example, in trying to get in contact with the Birmingham Vietnamese Temple), it worked effectively at the Fo Guang Shan temple and the Diamond Way Buddhist Centre (both in London). If we were reliant solely on those communities that had operational websites, the diversity of fieldwork sites would have been far more limited and not necessarily reflective of the variety of Buddhist buildings and communities in England today.
2. Indeed, some communities were more used to the process of research (and the types of questions that we might ask) than others, particularly when we were communicating with a participant who did not speak English as a first language. In retrospect, in this instance, it might have been more effective to employ an interpreter in order to investigate certain buildings and communities with more detail and nuance.
3. Whilst we established a clear research plan, including a list of fieldwork sites, we felt it was equally important to maintain an element of flexibility. Part of the brief was to investigate significant Buddhist buildings, and therefore whilst we were clear as to our selection criteria, we responded to our interview participants and included sites that we had not anticipated at the outset of the research. For example, when we were informed that Diamond Way was renovating a building within five minutes walking distance from one of our fieldwork sites, we included it. This did mean that other

¹¹ We were requested by the National Archives to ask about the archives that the different groups had relating to their building. This will contribute to the National Archives 'Religious Archives' project (<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/archives-sector/religious-archives-survey.htm>, accessed 22 April 2016).

sites were not included (for example, Milton Keynes Peace Pagoda) but we felt that our choice was able to reflect what our participants deemed as of 'significant' research interest within the boundaries of different Buddhist traditions.

4. However, although we widened our original brief to include more sites, and our criteria was broad enough to encompass the range of buildings, communities, and traditions currently operational in England, we both felt that 15 sites was not wholly sufficient, and we could easily have incorporated other sites as well. Whilst our use of a survey did allow for greater inclusion, as did a detailed mapping exercise, we felt that we were not able to get such a clear 'flavour' of the buildings themselves using this method, and therefore, site visits remain the most effective means of investigating these buildings.

5. A Survey of Buddhist Buildings in England: functions and types

5.1 Introduction

In this section we begin to present our main findings. We start with an outline of the functions, and then the types, of Buddhist buildings that were mapped and visited, and finish the discussion with an analysis of the ways in which building use by Buddhists in England has changed over the decades.

5.2 The functions of Buddhist buildings

Buildings that Buddhists use have a range of functions, and reflect a range of types. The *functions* of Buddhist buildings include the following, and particular buildings may perform a number of these functions:

- A space for Buddhist practice (including meditation, chanting and other devotional practices) and the celebration of Buddhist festivals, for both diaspora Buddhists and Western converts.
- A location where cultural and community activities for Buddhists are carried out. This is particularly important for the diaspora Buddhist communities from Thailand, Burma, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, China and Japan, and often involves activities in local languages and reflecting local customs and traditions.
- A place for Buddhist monastics to live, including Western converts as well as those from Asian backgrounds.
- A place for lay Buddhist communities to live together in a communal setting (e.g. this is popular within Triratna).
- Somewhere for Buddhists, or those interested in Buddhism, to stay in order to take part in retreats and courses, often in rural locations.
- A place for the education of children in Buddhist schools (e.g. the NKT's Kadampa School In Derbyshire and the Dharma School in Brighton).
- A space for the establishment of Buddhist businesses, where Buddhist ethical principles can be lived out (e.g. Windhorse Trading run by Triratna in Cambridge – although now closed-, the Buddhist charity shop 'Lama's Pyjamas' run by Triratna's London Buddhist Centre; the NKT's 'world peace cafes' and book shops; and Jamyang London's cafe).
- A space where 'mindfulness meditation' is offered to non-Buddhists, sometimes upon referral from health professionals.
- A space where other groups, Buddhist or not, can hire out rooms for events and workshops.

5.3 The types of buildings used by Buddhist communities

Most buildings used by Buddhists in England have previously been used for non-religious use and therefore there are certain rules that need to be followed for change of use. According to the 1987 Town and Country Planning Order, uses of land and buildings fall within a range of categories. Places of worship come under class D1:

D1 Non-residential institutions - Clinics, health centres, crèches, day nurseries, day centres, schools, art galleries (other than for sale or hire), museums, libraries, halls, places of worship, church halls, law court. Non residential education and training centres.¹²

Change of use normally requires planning permission unless the new function falls within the same class. Thus, to turn a residential house into a place of worship would require planning permission, but to change a library or a law court into a place of worship would not. It is also possible for places of worship to be formally 'certified' for religious worship and also for the solemnisation of marriages. According to government guidelines:

The Places of Worship Registration Act 1855 enables a place of meeting for religious worship to be recorded by the Registrar General. However, a congregation is still able to worship in a building which has not been recorded.¹³

Thus, although a community does not have to register their building as a place of worship without doing this, marriages cannot be performed. There are also financial advantages to being registered as a place of worship:

registered places of worship do not have to subject their funds to inspection, under the terms of the Charitable Trusts Act 1853, and Council Tax is not levied on their premises. This exemption has applied since 1955. Since the passing of the Local Government Finance Act 1988, places of worship have not had to pay business rates; registration under the terms of the 1855 Act, while apparently not essential to gain exemption, "is an additional piece of evidence that the property is actively used as a place of worship".¹⁴

Buddhists will generally have space to practice at home, and some have dedicated shrine and meditation rooms, that may also be used by others.

¹² <http://www.planningportal.gov.uk/permission/commonprojects/changeofuse> (accessed 23 April 2016)

¹³ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/361328/How_to_Certify_a_Building_for_Religious_Worship_and_Register_for_the_Solemnization_of_Marriages_F78L.pdf (accessed 23 April 2016)

¹⁴ http://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Places_of_Worship_Registration_Act_1855 (accessed 23 April 2016)

However, many also go outside their homes for practice and cultural activities. Our research has found that there are a number of **broad types** of property/premises used by Buddhists in England. We did not ask our interviewees about planning permission as we did not want to place them in an awkward position if any rules had been inadvertently broken:

1. 'Borrowed/hired periodically' for meetings etc. - people's houses/front rooms frequently host Buddhist groups that may eventually be able to purchase or rent a property. This has been the historical pattern but is still found today as groups within traditions already present in Britain seek to establish themselves in new towns and cities. Hired public spaces are also often used by Buddhist groups for periodic meditation classes and other forms of Buddhist practice (e.g. Friends Meeting House, community centres, healing centres, an old ship etc.). We have put these together into one type as they both involve using a building periodically rather than having a permanent presence. This would not require planning permission.
2. 'Teachers' houses' – sometimes teachers effectively and possibly 'informally' (i.e. without planning permission) turn their own homes into Buddhist 'centres'. This may be a permanent change of use for which planning permission ought to be sought.
3. 'Squatted or rented full-time' solely for Buddhist purposes - some houses were squatted by members of the FWBO in the 1970s, when squatting was not illegal, as they sought to establish Buddhist communities. Buddhist groups have also rented accommodation, usually before a period of fundraising and moving onto purchase a property.
4. 'Purchased residential reuse and adaptation' - Buddhist communities have bought houses of different types (e.g. suburban residential homes, large urban houses, manor houses and mansions in rural locations). Often these have been extended or renovated to suit the needs of the community. There is a pattern of some groups having both centres in urban locations and rural retreats (e.g. in the NKT, OBC, SGI, Triratna). This would require planning permission, as it requires a change of use from C3 (dwellinghouses) -D1.
5. 'Purchased other reuse and adaptation' - Buddhist communities have bought other buildings, including shops on high streets, different municipal buildings including libraries, swimming pools, schools, old industrial sites, other places of worship. This might require planning permission if it involves a change of class.
6. 'Purpose built' – some Buddhist groups have been able to purpose build for their use (i.e. temples in traditional style e.g. Thai, Burmese, or modern retreat centres in Triratna). This would require planning permission, as it is a new-build project.

7. 'Reuse/adaptation and purpose built' – some Buddhist centres have developed from a building that has been purchased alongside purpose built elements on the same land. This would require planning permission, as it involves is a new-build project.

When Buddhism first came to England, meetings for meditation and teaching tended to take place in people's houses or in rented rooms in community spaces. As the traditions became more established, Buddhist communities began to purchase and move into their own properties. Today many Buddhist groups continue to meet in people's houses or community spaces, either because they do not own any property (e.g. many of the Zen groups) or in addition to renting or owning actual premises solely for Buddhist purposes (e.g. Triratna and the NKT). For instance, Triratna has Buddhist centres in many English towns and cities but many more affiliated groups that meet in houses or community spaces.

While Bluck writes that 'perhaps the most obvious change...has been the emergence of Buddhist centres as a focus for activities within each tradition. There are now both large and small Theravāda, Tibetan and Zen monasteries in Britain and further lay centres' (2006: 24), raising money to support the purchase of and the upkeep of these Buddhist centres is an ongoing concern. According to Kay (2004:10), there is a need to 'attract committed supporters who will become financial sponsors' but also to undergo 'process of institutionalisation whereby an efficient legal, organisational and administrative structure is created in order to "crystallize" the more or less sporadic gatherings and to gain a lasting footing'. The way this is approached varies:

Buddhist groups develop their own unique financial mechanisms, which often reflect the nature of their tradition. The FWBO's [today called Triratna] emphasis on developing profitable businesses and Right Livelihood cooperatives, for example, reflects its lay orientation and concomitant desire to be financially self-sufficient, whilst the British Forest Sangha adopts a more traditional attitude – albeit an adapted one, since lay donations are not based on the ideology of merit-making – towards lay-monastic relations. The British Forest Sangha also receives financial support from supporters in the indigenous context of its tradition (i.e. from lay patrons in Thailand), as does Soka Gakkai International (SGI) UK (i.e. from SGI's Japanese headquarters)...For groups that do not have the good fortune of receiving such support from within their indigenous traditions, the skilful mobilisation of available resources becomes all the more crucial to their success. This could involve developing fund-raising initiatives and exploiting the financial rewards of registering as a charity, on an organisational level, to making advantageous use of the state benefits system, on an individual level (Kay 2004: 10-12).

5.4 Change and progress: Peach and Gale's four stage cycle (2003)

Our findings are broadly in line with the 'four stage cycle' outlined by Peach and Gale (2003). In this article they outline the progression of the relationship between the British planning process and minority faith groups (and how this is manifest in changing building types) as the latter establish themselves in properties to enable practice and community building (2003):

1. **'Tacit change and planning denial'**: places of worship are established in residential houses, often without planning permission since 'Faith communities were often unaware that British planning regulations require official permission to change the use of premises' (2003: 482).
2. **'The search for larger premises'**: this most frequently involves the adaptive re-use of existing buildings – 'often conversions of disused chapels of churches or the conversion of factories, cinemas, or other commercial premises to places of worship' (2003: 482).
3. **'Purpose-built premises: Hiding and Displacement'**: this involves 'hiding the buildings from public view of truncating their iconic features' (2003: 483).
4. **'Purpose-built premises: Embracing and Celebration'**: this is where the full range of architectural features are on show (2003: 484-5).

While the first two phases are very prominent amongst Buddhist groups in England, the third and fourth are less so. We did map and visit some groups who had purpose-built premises or who had built onto existing premises in ways that incorporated Buddhist/Asian styles of architecture, but these were relatively few and were not particularly prominent or visible in public spaces. The fact that Peach and Gale's focus in their study was upon Hindu, Sikh and Muslim groups could help explain this, since these groups are more numerous and possibly have access to different and more lucrative funding sources. Therefore, it is not unforeseeable that Buddhist communities may also develop in this fashion and build more Asian style prominent temples and centres in English towns and cities.

Another significant difference between Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam, and Buddhism in England is that Buddhism has attracted more Western converts, and the centres they have established tend to reflect Western styles and the reuse of existing buildings. Where we did find Asian-style temples, these were established by diaspora-dominant Buddhist communities. We did not come across a convert-dominant Buddhist purpose-built place of worship in an urban setting in an Asian style, and where Western/convert Buddhist traditions have purpose built (i.e. more typically in rural settings alongside building reuse), these appear to reflect or incorporate Western architectural styles.

Although this four-stage model can be seen as a way of articulating progressive change as communities become more established and better

off, it is also the case that particular communities may dwell within different phases at the same time. One example of this is the Western Buddhist movements the NKT and Triratna. Although these are well established, with many centres, in both rural and urban locations, they occupy different phases simultaneously as they seek to set up new centres and to establish themselves in new locations.

6. A Survey of Buddhist Buildings in England: mapping the traditions

6.1 Introduction

In this section we provide information about Buddhist buildings in England associated with different types of Buddhist tradition: Theravāda, Tibetan, East Asian and non-sectarian. Each section includes a narrative about the development of these types of Buddhist tradition in England and discusses the buildings listed in the tables in appendix 5, which includes those visited in the fieldwork and captured in the online survey. Although the focus is on Buddhist buildings in England, buildings and communities in Wales and Scotland are important for the history of some of the key organisations discussed below and some buildings in those settings will be mentioned to provide context.

Overall we found 190 ‘Buddhist buildings’ from our desk-based mapping exercise and interviews and these are all included in the tables in the appendix. To the best of our knowledge this is the total amount of buildings that are owned or rented long-term by Buddhist communities in England. There are likely to be more buildings than these, particularly of the suburban house type, which we may not have been able to find details of online or during the course of our fieldwork. Also, we have not counted all Buddhist groups that exist in England since many of these meet in people’s houses or rent rooms in buildings for meetings and worship rather than having a permanent base in any particular building. However, it is possible that we may have inadvertently counted some of these, where an address is given for a Buddhist centre but it is not clear whether it is someone’s house or actually owned by a community.

Out of the 190 buildings 59 are from the Theravada tradition; 69 are from Tibetan traditions, with 39 of those from the New Kadampa Tradition; 29 are from different East Asian traditions; and 33 are what we are calling non-sectarian, with 25 of these from Triratna (previously called Friends of the Western Buddhist Order).

6.2 Theravāda Buddhism

Box 2: Summary from Mapping Exercise of Theravada Buddhist Buildings in England

Summary from Mapping Exercise of Theravada Buddhist Buildings in England

Out of the total 59 Theravada buildings (Thai (17), Burmese (11), Sri Lankan (24) Ambedkarite (3), Samatha (1) and non-specific (4) only three are listed buildings - the London Buddhist Vihara, in Chiswick, London (Sri Lankan; grade II, list entry number 1079469), and the International Meditation Centre United Kingdom, Splatts House, Wiltshire (Burmese; grade II, list entry number 1240092); the new Dhammakaya Meditation Centre in Newcastle (Thai; grade II, list entry number: 1025195 and 1299492).

While 9 of these buildings are in rural areas, 2 are in urban settings and the vast majority (48) are located in suburban housing estates, many in semi-detached houses. We identified a strong pattern of Buddhist centres being established in suburban domestic properties, sometimes with two semi-detached houses being knocked into one property.

34 of these centres are in the South, 15 are in the North, and 10 are in the Midlands.

The Sri Lankan traditions have 24 suburban properties (including in Birmingham (x2), Oldham, Leicester (x2), Letchworth (x2), London and home counties (x12), Bristol, Nottingham, Warrington, Liverpool and Oxford.

The Burmese traditions have 5 smaller suburban properties (Purfleet, Hownslow, Colindale and Twickenham) and what appears to be a larger suburban semi-detached property in Sunderland, and larger residential suburban properties in Wembley and Salford. There is also an impressive purpose built temple in suburban Birmingham and two rural centres (Wiltshire and Herefordshire).

4 of the **Thai properties** belong to the English Sangha Trust and are linked to the Thai Forest Tradition (in Hemel Hempstead, Berkshire; Harnham, Northumberland; and Petersfield, Hampshire; Honiton, Devon). These are all rural and are well established retreat centres and monasteries that attract converts as well as diaspora Buddhists, and have adapted and built onto existing buildings. The Dharma School in Brighton, stemmed from the Amaravati annual 'family camps', and is also linked to the Thai Forest Sangha, and is located in a large suburban house. Two other centres are also linked to Thai forest traditions. The first of these is in Warwickshire, linked to a Thai Forest Tradition in the North East of Thailand and comprises a retreat centre and community in an old house in a rural setting, where additional building has taken place. The second is in Cambridge, located in a suburban bungalow. Thai traditions also have 4 suburban residential properties (Wanstead, Handsworth, Leeds and Manchester), a large rural property housing a monastery in Staffordshire and a converted pub in Runcorn. The Dhammakaya tradition has three temples/centres – one in Surrey in a converted hospital, one in Stockport in a former United Reform Church and a new centre in Newcastle, opened in 2016. Probably, the best known Thai temple in England is Wat Buddhapadipa in Wimbledon, consisting of an impressive purpose built Thai style temple and a grand old house, where the monks live. This temple is now over 30 years old and as an outcome of this project we have suggested to Historic England that it could be considered for listing.

Finally, there are 6 remaining centres in the Theravada traditions. One in urban Manchester in a former Methodist Church that teaches Samatha meditation, three centres linked the Indian reformer Dr. Ambedkar in suburban Southall and Wolverhampton (both appear to have some new buildings on the sites), as well as in Handsworth (which appears to be an old factory). There are 2 others that are not linked to any specific style of Theravada Buddhism (Oxford in two suburban semi-detached houses and a rural retreat in Wiltshire located in a former school).

Theravāda Buddhism was the first tradition to become established in England. Initial attempts to establish a western proved challenging, but in 1956 the 'English Sangha Trust' (EST) was formed by a man called William Purfurst (1906–71), who had ordained as Ven. Kapilavaddho in Thailand in 1954 and 'whose efforts finally established a Theravāda sangha in Britain 20 years later' (Bluck 2006: 10) (although as with Ananda Metteyya at the start of the 20th century, he too disrobed due to ill health in 1957). Another key institution at this time was the 'London Buddhist Vihara' opened in Chiswick 1964 with several Sinhalese (Sri Lankan) monks in residence under the auspices of the EST (Harvey 1990: 442; box 3), and also the 'Hampstead Buddhist Vihara', set up in 1962 at 131 Haverstock Hill, London, by a Thai-trained Canadian monk, Ananda Bodhi.

Box 3: London Buddhist Vihara

London Buddhist Vihara
Grade II listed, list entry number 1079469



London Buddhist Vihara

'The London Buddhist Vihara is a leading centre for Theravāda Buddhism. Founded in 1926 by Anagarika Dharmapala, the Vihara was the first Buddhist monastery to be established outside the continent of Asia. It has continued its task of disseminating the Dhamma with resident bhikkhus (monks) from Sri Lanka throughout this period, with the exception of the 1940s due to World War II. The Vihara moved to Chiswick during 1964 when the Anagarika Dharmapala Trust

¹⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:London_Buddhist_Vihara_UK.JPG (accessed 24 April 2016)

of Sri Lanka purchased the freehold property at Heathfield Gardens. In 1994 the Vihara moved to new spacious premises in The Avenue, Chiswick, London W4.¹⁶

6.2.1 The Thai Forest Sangha

In 1978 an American-born monk, who had spent almost 10 years training in the Thai forest tradition, Ajahn Sumedo, came to Hampstead Vihara - 'a small house on a noisy street' (Bluck 2006: 25) with three other Western monks, and a British Theravāda monastery was finally established. As Bluck notes: 'there were soon plans to move from London to "a place where something approximating to the atmosphere of a Thai forest monastery could be created"... and in 1979 the EST bought Chithurst House, a semi-derelict Victorian mansion in Sussex' (2006: 25) and established Cittaviveka – Chithurst Buddhist Monastery (see box 4). This marked the beginnings of a Thai Theravāda monastery in the UK, although 'the initial emphasis was often on renovation work rather than spiritual training' (2006: 25). To accommodate growing numbers of people interested in Buddhism, smaller *viharas* were opened at Harnham in Northumberland (Aruna Ratanagiri Monastery, 1980, see box 5) and Hartridge in Devon (Hartridge Buddhist Monastery, late 1980s) and in 1984 Amaravati monastery was established at a former school in Hertfordshire 'as the Forest Sangha's main centre in Britain' (2006: 25, see box 6). The Forest Sangha in Britain is part of the Theravāda Thai Forest tradition and follows the teachings and practices of Ajahn Chah and has proved popular with converts to Buddhism, as well as Buddhists of Asian background

Box 4: Cittaviveka – Chithurst Buddhist Monastery

Cittaviveka – Chithurst Buddhist Monastery

¹⁶ <http://www.londonbuddhistvihara.org/aboutus.htm> (accessed 24 April 2016)



Cittaviveka

source: Chithurst (creative commons)¹⁷

Cittaviveka is –

‘...a residence for *bhikkhus* (monks) and *siladharas* (nuns), where their life of training in ethics, meditation and renunciation can be supported in a quiet rural environment. The monastery is not a retreat centre, but a living environment of woodland, ponds, wildlife – and human dwellings. Here, through ethical guidelines, meditation and community work, we practise living in harmony.’¹⁸

‘The monastery is mostly made up of woodland and heath (Hammer Wood) which has a few *kutīs* (huts [Thai]) for monks and nuns, but communal activities, teaching and guest accommodation are situated in two adjacent houses – Chithurst House (for men) and *Āloka* Cottage (for women). Hammer Wood was given to the Sangha in 1978-9, an act which precipitated the purchase of the semi-derelict Chithurst House which stood nearby. Later in 1979, another nearby cottage was purchased. This was renamed *Āloka* Cottage...With much of the major repairs completed by 1984, more attention was given to reforestation; *bhikkhus* would also spend time on retreat in the Hammer Wood in tents and tepees or in one of two *kutīs* that had been erected there.... Work on developing the monastery continued with further *kutīs* in Hammer Wood, and then the construction of a large meditation hall (*Dhamma Hall*) on the site of a ruined coachhouse in the grounds of Chithurst House (1998–2004). In 2006, the English Sangha Trust purchased another house for nuns, situated opposite to *Āloka* and now called *Rocana Vihāra*. The nuns live there largely autonomous from the male monastic community.’¹⁹

¹⁷

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chithurst_Buddhist_Monastery#mediaviewer/File:Main_Building_Chithurst_Cittaviveka.png (accessed 24 April 2016)

¹⁸ <http://www.cittaviveka.org/index.php/about> (accessed 24 April 2016)

¹⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chithurst_Buddhist_Monastery (accessed 24 April 2016)

Box 5: Aruna Ratanagiri Monastery

Aruna Ratanagiri Monastery



Part of Aruna Ratanagiri Monastery²⁰
Source: Bill Cresswell (creative commons)

In 1980 a 'group of local yoga students [from Newcastle] tried to find a suitable cottage which they could offer as a retreat facility to the Sangha..[and]... farmer John Wake of Harnham Hall, Harnham, near Belsay responded, and they agreed to rent one of his farm cottages. In 1981 Ajahn Sucitto (now the abbot of Cittaviveka/Chithurst Buddhist Monastery) became the first bhikkhu to take up residence, and began initial renovations; on June 21, 1981 the monastery was officially opened by Ajahn Sumedho and in that same year the Magga Bhavaka Trust was established as a charitable trust in order to steward financial support for the new monastery (the monastery now has a new trust: Harnham Buddhist Monastery Trust).'²¹

According to Bluck (2006:46), 'A new Dhamma Hall was constructed, with a large Thai Buddha image and a traditional Thai temple painting of the Buddha's enlightenment. Thai iconography is augmented by donations such as a wooden Kuan Yin (Avalokiteshvara, the bodhisattva of compassion), Chinese temple dragons and a Burmese marble Buddha. A lay retreat centre is also being built at Harnham, again converted from farm buildings'.

²⁰ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Buddhist_Monastery_-_geograph.org.uk_-_261157.jpg (accessed 24 April 2016).

²¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aruna_Ratanagiri and <https://ratanagiri.org.uk> (accessed 24 April 2016)

Box 6: Amaravati

**Fieldwork visit
Amaravati Buddhist Monastery
*Building Buddhism in brightness and spaciousness***



The Library
source: authors' own

Amaravati Buddhist Monastery, in the Thai Theravāda Forest tradition, is located near Hemel Hempstead, and consists of a purpose built temple alongside buildings that were previously used for a school for children with learning difficulties (St Margaret's School), and prior to this, an (unused) summer camp. The summer camp was built with donations from the Canadian Government in 1939, but war broke out before the buildings could ever be used for their intended purpose. Instead, when children were being evacuated from London during the war, the site was used to accommodate them. As a result, there is a bunker on site, large enough for two hundred children, although this was closed up when the buildings were later requisitioned for the school.

The buildings in the monastery complex are varied, and consist of inherited and adapted Canadian cedar wood 'scout huts' (intended for the summer camp dormitories), as well as a purpose-built Buddhist temple and cloister which was completed in 1999 (see photo below).

Purpose built temple
source: authors' own



The monastic community, assisted by the English Sangha Trust (the committee of lay supporters), purchased the land that the monastery now occupies in 1983. At this time, their main community base was at Chithurst House (also known as Cittaviveka Monastery) in West Sussex. Whilst this house and site had been renovated to suit the purposes of the community, they were growing, and more space was required, including for retreats for lay people. However, it was perceived that the Local Authority might be resistant to any additional development at Chithurst, and therefore it was deemed necessary to find an additional base that was located reasonably close to London. At the time that plans were drawn up for the potential move, the vision was to set up a monastic community and retreat space with an 'ecumenical ethos', partly in response to global events (such as the Arms Race) in the early 1980s which had kindled a spiritual curiosity amongst some people, which the Abbott at the time (Ajahn Sumedho) wanted to support. St Margaret's School, which had been closed for several years, was found in 1983, and Amaravati, which literally translates as 'deathless realm', was opened to the public in 1984. As Bluck explains for Ajahn Sumedho, the founder of Amaravati:

this was neither missionary work nor 'spiritual property development' but reflected the need to balance the simple monastic life with providing lay people with 'access to spiritual teachings, and places to learn and practice meditation...Donations were invited for parts and materials costing over £700,000, though four-fifths of the overall funding came from Thai supporters (2006: 26).

Right from the first day that the community moved in there were 30-40 people living on site, in the scout huts which had not been refurbished since the closure of St. Margaret's School. As a result, all of the existing buildings on the site needed considerable attention, including in relation to the old boiler system, which was extremely expensive to run. In addition, none of the huts were insulated, and the process of insulating around 5,000 square meters of wall and roof took between six and seven years. However, as it cost a great deal of money to purchase the land, very little was left for renovation, and therefore most of the work was done slowly and on a shoe-string, by volunteers drawn from the lay

and monastic communities. Interestingly, unlike other places that we have visited, Amaravati opened its doors to visitors from the very first day they took possession of the buildings and land.

What was previously the teacher's accommodation became the *sīladharā* (nuns) residences, one dormitory block became the lay retreat centre and another became the monks' residence. The former gymnasium and assembly hall became the community's meditation space. When the community took over the buildings, they were described as rather 'utilitarian' and somewhat 'bleak'. Our informant stated:

there was this ambiance of it being like an Army barracks; or when people came up the drive, they thought "Is this the monastery?" They could see you dressed (in robes) (and they'd think) "Well, this must be a monastery, but it looks...was this a prison?"

After all the inherited buildings were renovated, in the 1990s discussions began about building a temple and meditation hall.

The community used a professional architect, Tom Hancock, who had previously built the Milton Keynes and Battersea Peace Pagodas, and who had studied architecture in both Japan and Britain. We were told that, the Abbott, Ajahn Sumedho, hoped for a temple which was a cross between Thai and English architecture, and that created an inspirational space that when people entered, helped the mind to 'go quiet'. The engineering of the temple, which was constructed using a traditional English oak frame (and no nails) was engineered by Scandinavian company, Ove Arup, and built by an English firm who specialised in building in oak. Surrounding the temple hall is an open cloister, more commonly seen in Christian monastic building, but used here for walking meditation.

The monastic community do not directly solicit donations or charge for teaching as this is a breach of the *vinaya* (monastic rules) that they follow. As a result, they were exceptionally cautious, and the temple was built and paid for in three distinct phases so that time could elapse between phases and further money could be raised without amassing debt. Donations were given for the temple from across the world and closer to home, including from Thailand, Europe and from British followers. The temple building was completed on the 4th July 1999, and subsequently dedicated and opened. As Bluck (2006:27) writes, some 2,500 lay visitors and '150 monastics of several Buddhist traditions' from many countries witnessed the opening...Sharp (1999: 7) commented that after 20 years this 'proper Buddhist temple with traditional English monastic cloisters' showed how the Forest Sangha had 'grown, flourished and taken root in the foreign land'.

However, also according to Bluck, 'while Forest Sangha monasteries are adapted from existing buildings, traditional Thai iconography appears in furnishing and decoration, often reflecting financial donations from British Thais. The exception is the new Amaravati temple, whose deliberate use of British and Thai architecture gives a visual message of the fusion of the two cultures. Artefacts used in lay groups reflect the aesthetic preferences of individuals rather than copying a Thai style...Despite its Thai iconography, the Amaravati temple is a bold attempt at British Buddhist architecture' (2006: 47-48).

Indeed, the temple is a highly significant and iconic building for Buddhism in Britain – both because of the aforementioned mixture of Thai and English architecture and imagery, and because of the effect of the temple design on the psyche. As our informant explained:

when we were just in the sheds, you know it was okay, it (had) a utilitarian quality to it, but when you're in a space that really encourages both those qualities of balance and integrity and brightness and spaciousness, then, in a very active and in a symbolic way, then it makes a big difference.



Inside the temple
source: authors' own

Amaravati is used for monastic training, as well as lay retreats, family summer camps, festivals, celebrations, teachings and public talks. There is also a large and well-stocked library. Lay support is drawn from Thai, Sri Lankan, and Cambodian communities, amongst others, as well as 'white British' Buddhist converts. The term monastery is preferred, however, in the early days, they had used the term 'centre', but the Abbott was concerned that this did not reflect the true contemplative purpose of the buildings, for the monastic community and for retreats. Therefore 'monastery' was adopted, and the central building referred to as the 'temple'.

Further work is now planned to the monastery over a thirty-year period, and includes rebuilding the 'scout huts' with more environmentally-sound structures, as well as a nursing facility that would support ageing residents, including the former Abbott, if he returns to Amaravati from Thailand.

The expansion of the Thai Forest Sangha communities marks the beginnings of the development of Buddhist buildings in England and the creation of adapted and new buildings to suit a growing Buddhist population. The Thai Forest Sangha has continued to grow and according to the mapping we carried out, it currently has the four monasteries described above which are part of a larger international network of Forest Sangha monasteries in Europe, Canada and North America, Australia and New Zealand and, of course, Thailand. As Bluck writes:

Each monastic centre and lay group has its own physical setting and its own way of using buildings, artefacts and iconography to support spiritual practice. Ajahn Samedho has encouraged people to make full use of art and symbols as well as conventions and traditions, not

superstitiously 'but with wisdom – for remembrance, for recollection, for mindfulness'...Renovations at Chithurst, Harnham and Amaravati show existing structures being adapted for Buddhist practice: an abandoned Victorian house, a derelict farm cottage, and run-down school buildings were each transformed into English versions of a Thai forest monastery (2006: 45).

However, in line with our typology of building function and type discussed in section 5, there are also a good number of lay groups that meet in rented spaces or people's houses, which are then adapted with a 'Buddha image, candles, flowers and incense, which members bring from home for the evening, evening, helping to create a feeling of the group's own sacred space. In a private house there may be a separate shrine room, used only for group meetings and daily meditation, with a similar but perhaps more elaborate shrine' (Bluck 2006: 47).

In addition to the Thai Forest Sangha of Ajahn Chah's lineage, there is another centre called the Santidhamma Forest Hermitage established in 1985 by another English monk Venerable Khemadhammo, also with links back to Thai Theravāda Buddhism and Forest Tradition of North East Thailand. This tradition has a retreat centre in rural Warwickshire, the main building of which:

was originally a pair of nineteenth century cottages which have long been converted into one. Recent modifications have provided a substantial Shrine Room. Also in the grounds is the English Shwe Dagon Pagoda, a gift from Burmese devotees and built under the guidance of Venerable Sayadaw U Thila Wunta who has built similar pagodas throughout the world. It is dedicated to the welfare and happiness of all beings.²²

6.2.2 Diaspora Theravāda Buddhists

In addition to these Thai Forest Sangha monasteries, there are a number of other Theravāda temples in towns and cities across England that cater for the needs of particular immigrant groups to England. In addition to meditation classes and teachings about Buddhism, these 'centres' or 'temples' also engage in cultural activities, including dance, language teaching and celebration of festivals. For instance we found 3 centres focusing on Ambedkar Buddhism, linked the Indian reformer Dr. Ambedkar (Southall, Wolverhampton and Handsworth) (see box 7).

²² <http://foresthermitage.org.uk/about/the-forest-hermitage/> (accessed 24 April 2016).

Box 7: Ambedkar Buddhism

Ambedkar Buddhism



Blue plaque on the site of Ambedkar's former home in Chalk Farm²³

Source: Historic England

Dr Ambedkar was an Indian politician and campaigner for the rights of *dalits* (previously called 'untouchables', members of the very lowest caste groups in India). Ambedkar was also from this caste group. A key strategy employed in his political and social struggle was to encourage and enable *dalits* to convert to Buddhism in order to at least symbolically avoid the Hindu-based caste system. He lived in London between 1921 and 1922, while studying at the London School of Economics, and a blue plaque has been established on the site of his former home in Chalk Farm.

The house is currently for sale and the government of the state of Maharashtra, in North West India, is seeking to purchase it – 'It is not a question of possession of the property. But symbolic gesture to salvage the historic house and retain its significance.'²⁴

The typical property used by these traditions tends to be suburban residential houses. This is particularly the case for the Sri Lankan Buddhist community, which appears to have rapidly established a number of temples in recent years, with 24 in total. 5 of these are branches of the Mahamevnawa Buddhist Monastery in Sri Lanka, set up in 1999 by Ven Kiribathgoda Nananada Bhikku and are called Mahamevnawa International Meditation Centres (in Stanmore and Hillingdon, Middlesex, Esher, Surrey, Billericay, Essex and Warrington, Lancashire). A number of these

²³ <http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/b-r-ambedkar-plaque-10-king-henry-road-chalk-farm-london> (accessed 17/10/14).

²⁴ <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/maharashtra-wants-to-buy-ambedkars-london-home/> (accessed 24 April 2016).

properties buck the trend of small suburban semis and several appear to have been set up in 2015. Moreover, this organization caters for the Sri Lankan community but also seeks to bring others to meditation.

Other exceptions to the predominance of small semi-detached houses within the overall cohort of Theravāda buildings, include: the Birmingham Buddhist Vihara (Burmese) which consists of two purpose built houses and a temple (box 8); the Dhamma Dipa Vipassana Centre (Burmese), Herefordshire, a 22-acre listed property – Splatts House – (list entry number: 1240092) set in rolling farmland between Hereford and Ross-on-Wye, purchased in 1991;²⁵ Wat Buddhapadipa which is a large detached house in Wimbledon with a purpose built Thai style temple or *wat*; Wat Buddhavihara, Staffordshire, housed in a grand manor house ‘Eastfield House’ (box 9); and the Dhammakaya Wats in London and Manchester, the former in converted Brockwood Hospital Chapel and the latter in what used to be Edgeley United Reform Church (box 10). Finally, Wat Phra Singh in Cheshire took over the old Waterloo Hotel in Runcorn in 2013, and is currently renovating it. Overall our mapping suggests that the Thai community has more expensive properties and has been able to undertake a greater level of renovations and purpose building. This could be for a number of reasons, including the possible higher socio-economic status of the Thai immigrant community in England; the fact that they may have been establishing Buddhist centres for longer; and the fact that they receive financial assistance from Thai donors and, sometimes, the Thai government.

²⁵ For photos see <http://www.dipa.dhamma.org/views.html> (accessed 24 April 2016).

Box 8: Birmingham Buddhist Vihara (Burmese)

Fieldwork site

[Birmingham Buddhist Vihara \(Burmese\)](#)



The pagoda

Source: authors' own

This temple caters for a relatively small and dispersed Burmese Buddhist community, members of which travel from different parts of the country for festivals and ceremonies. The site houses a large Burmese style *pagoda*, completed in 1998, and also two houses – the *vihara* (the monks' quarters) and the *dhamma* hall (where Buddhist teachings are given and there are rooms that can be hired by other groups).

The total complex was founded by a well-known Burmese Buddhist teacher and spiritual leader, Bhante Rewata Dhamma. He arrived in England in 1975 and his 'idea was to use Birmingham as a springboard to get Buddhism into the West'. In the early years he shared a house with a Tibetan centre and 'so, a couple of days a week, it was a Mahayana Temple, and a couple of days a week it was a Theravādan temple.' He approached Birmingham City Council for some land and the present site was available. However, because he had a strong Burmese following, and most of the Burmese in England are professionals, they donated quite generously and he was able to set up the *pagoda* and *vihara* on the current site.



The vihara (monks' quarters)
source: authors' own

According to the website of the community:

The pagoda is an oriental style of sacred tower. In Buddhism, it is also called a *stupa* or *caitya*. The building of pagodas dates from the time of the Buddha's passing into *nibbāna*, around the sixth century BCE. At that time, the Buddha's body was cremated and only fragments of the bones remained. These sacred relics were divided among the rulers who were his devout followers. They placed them in golden chambers in their respective countries and built pagodas over them so that people could venerate and pay homage.

The pagoda symbolises peace, compassion and other exemplary qualities of the Buddha. As such, Buddhists venerate it everywhere. With the spread of Buddhism, pagodas were built in all those countries where it became established. The pagoda is the earthly manifestation of the mind of the Buddha and, as such, stands as a prime symbol of Buddhism. The Dhammatalaka Pagoda ['reservoir of truth' Pagoda] will fulfil three purposes: it will be a shrine for Buddhists to perform their traditional ceremonies; a focus where non-Buddhists can learn about Buddhism; and a sanctuary where both may find peace and tranquillity.²⁶

The *pagoda* was the first building to be put up and is in a traditional style. It is made from pre-cast concrete that has been decorated afterwards with much of the remaining decoration (e.g. around the windows and around the top of the walls, as well as the pillars in the porch way) being made on site by two experts that came over from Burma. Our interviewee explained that 'in 16 years I think that we've repainted it four times. But recently, it was...gold leaf, yes. That didn't last very long. But we use a very expensive gold paint now. I think that it was two years ago that we painted it. And in a couple of

²⁶ <http://www.bbvt.org.uk/Introduction.asp> (accessed 24 April 2016)

years it will be needing it again.'

Box 9: Wat Buddhapadipa (Thai)

Fieldwork site
Wat Buddhapadipa (Thai)
[Thai Buddhism Comes to Wimbledon](#)



Barrogill House (the vihara, monks' quarters)
source: authors' own



The uposatha hall
source: authors' own

Wat Buddhapadipa is a Thai temple and monastery, now based in Wimbledon, which was first established in 1965. Whilst the community previously occupied a house, 99 Christchurch Road, East Sheen, they wanted to have a purpose-built temple, and therefore the decision was taken to search for property and land elsewhere. They found a house – Barrogill House, 14 Calonne Road, Wimbledon, built originally in the 1920s, which was to become the monastic residence and office, and which also had several acres of garden. They moved in in 1976. They began work building a temple in the grounds of the house in 1979, and it was completed in 1982, to coincide with the bicentenary of Bangkok. The temple itself, also known as the uposatha hall, is, as we were told, one of two 'architecturally perfect' examples of Thai building outside Thailand

(the other is in Switzerland). Funding for buying both the house and the land, and later building the temple, was granted by the Thai Government. The term 'wat' is the Thai for 'temple complex', and the uposatha hall is the consecrated 'chapel' area of ritual significance, where the principal Buddha image is kept.

According to the commemorative booklet produced for the inauguration of the 'chapel' in October 1982, the 'design and architectural drawings were prepared by Mr Praves Limparangsi, the first architect of the Fine Arts Department, Ministry of Education of Thailand, 'the structural stage being carried out by a local firm and the decorative stage by a Thai firm' (1982: 8).

The ground surrounding the uposatha is marked out by what is known as the sima boundary, and involves nine marker stones to delineate where sacred and ritual activity can occur. The principal Buddha rupa (statue), of black bronze, inside the uposatha hall is from the Sukhothai era, and is approximately 600-800 years old, and it was a donation from the Thai Government. What is notable about the temple, which adopts in entirety a Thai architectural style, is the floor to ceiling murals located inside. Whilst mural painting is a feature of Thai temples, many of those at Wat Buddhapadipa depict images that are rather closer to home. They were initiated in the 1980s, using British-Thai volunteer artists, and depict figures such as Margaret Thatcher, Colonel Gaddafi, a ninja turtle, a punk and Ronald Regan, amongst others. Although this might seem surprising, we were told that making the temple mural paintings relevant for their local audience also occurs within temples in Thailand. It is partly done to make the teachings of the Buddha that they depict pertinent for those who are likely to see them. As a result, the Wat Buddhapadipa murals were described to us as a 'time capsule of the 1980s'. For more on the Buddhapadipa murals, see Cate, 2002.

Overall, we noted that the Wat Buddhapadipa complex has several purposes. The first is to house a monastic community, of which there are currently eight Thai monks. The second is to provide a sacred space for meditation, ritual, and ceremonial occasions, which typically take place in the uposatha hall. The third is for festival and cultural events, including a Thai language Sunday school, which also utilise further buildings and space in the temple complex. Activities include meditation sessions, classes, retreats, festivals, cultural events and occasions, and celebrations such as Thai New Year. People attend the temple for meditation, for merit-making activities, to speak to the monks and to provide offerings, and also for blessings, including on special occasions such as birthdays, or anniversaries. Wat Buddhapadipa also offers temporary ordinations, for both men and women, for short periods of time which follows the Thai Buddhist tradition. Whilst the house is listed, the temple itself currently is not. The mission statement, and the purpose of the establishment of the monastic community, is, we were told, to promote Buddhism in the West. The community who use Wat Buddhapadipa are drawn from the Thai and Sri Lankan communities, and also a number of Westerners.

As with many of the other buildings we visited during our research, a key issue at Wat Buddhapadipa relates to maintenance, including with the roof tiles, and the marble used outside the uposatha hall which cracks and is highly slippery in winter - not an issue faced in Thailand given the warmer weather.

Box 10: Dhammakaya

**Wat Phra Dhammakaya, Woking
(Fieldwork Visit)**



Wat Phra Dhammakaya, Woking, London²⁷

source: Wat Phra Dhammakaya

Dhammakaya is a Thai Theravada movement that now has branches across the globe (Scott, 2009). In the UK there are temples in Manchester (2008) and London (1999) and more recently, one opened in Newcastle (2016), as well as other groups of supporters in Doncaster, Sheffield, Brighton, Worthing, Cheltenham, Kent and Swindon. The Dhammakaya temples in England are part of a network of 28 other Dhammakaya centres, in 14 different countries.

The earliest recorded interaction between Britain and the Dhammakaya tradition was in the 1950s, with the Thai monk, Thitavedo, visiting England in 1953 and his follower, British male monastic, Kapilavaddho (born William Purfurst) taking ordination at the Dhammakaya Wat Paknam in Thailand in 1954. Later, Fuengsin Trafford (1936-1995) a female lay teacher, taught Dhammakaya meditation practices at the Burmese Buddhist Vihara.²⁸ However, beyond these early, more adhoc contacts, it was as a result of larger numbers of Thais migrating to the UK from the 1980s onwards that the first group of Dhammakaya supporters began meeting weekly at a house in Bristol in 1997. In 1999, this group rented a small house near Wat Buddhapadipa in Wimbledon. Each of these locations was chosen because Dhammakaya monks were studying for post-graduate degrees at local universities, and groups of supporters arose around them. In 2002, as larger premises were required to support their growing number of supporters, another house was rented in Norbury and referred to as 'Wat Charoenbhavana London'.

However, the group then wished to have a permanent residence, and in 2004, following a Google search for available premises, they purchased the former Brookwood Hospital Chapel in Woking, Surrey, which had been unused for several years prior to the purchase and required substantial renovation work. This site was deemed suitable as it was in close proximity to transport links and to existing Thai communities and supporters, it was affordable, and also it was large enough to facilitate the growing needs of the community whilst also giving them the potential to expand. All of the funding to purchase and

²⁷ <http://www.watphradhammakayalondon.co.uk/magha-puja-day-at-wat-phra-dhammakaya-london/> (24 April 2016)

²⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhammakaya_Movement_UK (26 May 2016)

renovate the Chapel was raised from UK-based supporters. The centre and temple was opened in 2007 and is referred to as 'Wat Phra Dhammakaya London'.



Wat Phra Dhammakaya, Woking, London
source: authors' own

Between 2006 and 2007, the dilapidated chapel building was refurbished into a temple with a spacious meditation hall and several smaller shrine rooms and office facilities. The monks, who rotate across Dhammakaya temples globally, live in the former mortuary.²⁹ The Chapel had previously been part of Brookwood Hospital, a secure mental health facility, and when Dhammakaya first occupied the mortuary, they had to dispose of unused coffins, left by the previous owners. Where possible, in order to save money, the renovations and maintenance are undertaken by the resident monks (with assistance from lay supporters) but they also have a network of local builders and tradespeople to help. One of the monks that we interviewed was an engineer prior to his ordination, and therefore has been able to put these previously acquired skills to good use in his new role. We were told that the Dhammakaya communities, outside of Thailand, do not tend to purpose-build their temples and centres, instead preferring to adapt existing buildings. This is because they see this as the more cost-effective option that is easier to quickly build and maintain but whilst still allowing them the necessary space in order to provide meditation classes and activities. Both the Manchester and the Newcastle centres are in former Church buildings, and in Germany, for example, Dhammakaya have adapted a former tennis court and a hotel.

The renovation of the external fabric of the Chapel is sympathetic to the original architecture and, aside from the external signage it would be difficult to identify this building as a Thai temple. Internally, whilst Wat Phra Dhammakaya certainly adopts Thai imagery and iconography, particularly in the large, central Buddha figure in the meditation

²⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookwood_Hospital (accessed 24 April 2016).

hall, they have consciously striven to maintain the Chapel in a way that is reminiscent of its original use and surrounding environment. In fact, they have renovated large stained glass windows with Christian imagery, to act as a reminder to all of where the *wat* is located and its former purpose. Inside, the temple adopts clean lines and is immaculately cleaned and kept, although, as with other adapted buildings we visited on our fieldwork, Wat Phra Dhammakaya has suffered from a leaking roof and issues with the boiler system, and, again, on-going maintenance takes up the time of the residents and supporters.

Although we were not able to ascertain the exact number of Dhammakaya supporters in England, we were told that the number was large and growing. When discussing the success of their movement, our informants told us that 'good environment' (alongside 'good food, good people and good *dhamma*' [teaching]) were the cornerstones. For the community, the building is significant as a place of peace and calm and where people can come together to learn meditation and Dhammakaya teachings. Having a building with a pleasing aesthetic also helps attract people to the centre, and is less disturbing to neighbours and the wider community. The activities on offer at Wat Phra Dhammakaya include weekly meditation groups (conducted in English), monthly meditation events beginning at 3am (following Thai time, so that 'loving kindness' meditation can be conducted at the same time, across each of the Dhammakaya centres), 3-day retreats every three months (open to non-Buddhists), refuge ceremonies, and cultural celebrations (such as songkran or Thai New Year, Loy Kratong, and kathina, the robe-giving ceremony).

The majority of the followers of Dhammakaya in the UK have Thai heritage, although there are a number of non-Thai supporters who attend meditation classes and retreats. Indeed, Wat Phra Dhammakaya houses the 'Meditation Surrey Centre' that hosts regular retreats. There are Western monks and novices and support for school children (including scouts) that wish to visit and learn about Dhammakaya. Indeed, our informants told us that making the Dhammakaya tradition accessible to British audiences is an important motivation and they have made a number of videos about the centre and ways of practice (including one with a One Direction soundtrack, clearly situating the movement within a contemporary British cultural milieu).³⁰ Whilst Dhammakaya certainly cater to a Thai audience, they also strive to make the teachings and meditation practices available to the wider, non-Buddhist, community. Indeed, the way that they sympathetically adapt buildings in different contexts also supports, and reflects, this aim as this as they state that they want to be as open and welcoming to the indigenous population as possible. Not building a Thai-style temple is one way to enable this. This is where Dhammakaya seems to differ from some of the other diaspora-dominant Buddhist groups in this study. For example, they adapt and renovate large premises using an appealing aesthetic and do not intend to purpose-build in one architectural style; they deliberately, and consciously, renovate their premises as sympathetically as possible to their historic use; and they do this by raising funds from UK-based followers, rather than drawing from international funding. Finally, their motivation is not just to serve one particular cultural group, but also wanting to offer meditation to Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. However, they do also offer celebrations of Thai festivals and offer short-term ordination for boys, a particular Thai Buddhist tradition.

³⁰ <http://www.watphradhammakayalondon.co.uk/meditation-courses/retreat-meditation/>



Wat Phra Dhammakaya, Manchester

source: © Mike Berrell reproduced with kind permission³¹

6.2.3 Other Theravāda Centres

There are several other Theravāda centres, including the International Meditation Centre United Kingdom, in Calne, Wiltshire. This is a retreat centre for a Burmese style of *vipassana* meditation, yet from its website it appears to focus on meditation rather cultural and language based activities as it typical with the other diaspora centres. The Oxford Buddhist Vihara and the Aukana Trust's House of Inner Tranquility, Bradford Upon Avon, Wiltshire are both broadly Theravāda. According to Bluck, the 'House of Inner Tranquillity opened in 1980 as a lay *vipassana* meditation centre...the meditation centre is an extensive property (formerly a school) containing over a dozen bedrooms, offices, a library and a spacious shrine room, all set in a couple of acres of gardens' (2006: 18).

Finally, the Samatha Trust is a large lay organization, founded in 1973 and springing from Thai Theravāda Buddhism yet attracting a broader range of participants. There are active groups in 'Cambridge, London and Manchester, where a former Methodist Church was first rented and then purchased from the City Council, acting as the Trust's main centre for

³¹ Photo borrowed from http://www.churches-uk-ireland.org/images/manc/stockport/edgeley_wat.jpg (accessed 24 April 2016)

some years' (Bluck 2006: 49). In addition to the Manchester centre, in 1987 the trust bought Greenestreete, a Welsh hill farm with nearly 90 acres of land and converted it into a meditation centre. However, while there are strong connections with Thailand 'this has not produced the kind of Asian benefactors who support the Forest Sangha. The large golden Buddha in the Shrine Hall at Greenestreete was a gift from Thai Buddhists, but the purchase of the farm and land (and the Manchester Centre) was funded completely by British members' (Bluck 2006: 62)

6.3 Tibetan Buddhism

The spread of Tibetan Buddhism to England was later than Theravāda, and came about principally following the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1959 when monks and teachers fled to India and beyond. In 1961 the Dalai Lama became the Patron of the Buddhist Society and today, all four of the major schools of Tibetan Buddhist are found in Britain: Kagyu, Gelug, Nyingma and Sakya. However, Tibetan Buddhism in the West is a movement very much focusing on Western converts, owing to a relatively small Tibetan diaspora. The largest is groups are Karma Kagyu and Gelug, with Sakya and Nyingma having much lower numbers of adherents.

Box 11 Summary from Mapping Exercise of Tibetan Buddhist Buildings in England

Summary from Mapping Exercise of Tibetan Buddhist Buildings in England

69 of the buildings are from Tibetan traditions, with 39 of those from the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT). In contrast to the Theravada traditions, there are far more properties within the NKT that are in urban areas: 16 urban, 18 suburban and 5 rural. It is not true that there is no Theravada presence in urban areas, only that for Theravada this is more likely to be groups meeting in rented premises (e.g. for weekly meetings).

The NKT by contrast appears to have consciously invested in urban city/town centre properties that will be visible and will encourage passing people to come in. 5 out of the 39 properties are listed buildings: (grade II listed Bodhisattva Kadampa Buddhist Meditation Centre, list entry number 1206258; grade II listed Kadampa Primary school and Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre, list entry number 1334529; grade II* listed Madyamaka Buddhist Centre, list entry number: 1309858; grade II* listed Manjushri Centre/Buddhist Temple, list entry number: 1270176; grade II listed Vajrapani Buddhist Centre, list entry number: 1066614).

Also in contrast to the Theravada buildings, where most are in the South of England (only 2 in London), for the NKT 26 are in the North, 11 are in the south and 2 in the Midlands. We would have to carry out more research to better understand the reasons for this difference, but we can suggest that the cheaper cost of property in the North of England and the availability of premises in urban run-down areas where businesses have failed may well have been financially attractive for the NKT as it appears to have expanded quite quickly in recent years.

The urban properties include an old guest house, civic/municipal buildings, shops and office space. The suburban (in contrast to the predominance of smallish semi-detached houses in the immigrant communities of the Theravada and East Asian traditions) are mainly larger properties with a pleasing aesthetic and a former Baptist Church. The rural properties are also impressive with a stately home, former priory and large rectory.

Of the 30 other Tibetan Buddhist centres in England, 4 are Gelug (3 of these from the

Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT)), 13 are Kagyu, 2 are Sakya and 2 are Nyingma. A further 4 appear to be non-affiliated. 4 of these other Tibetan centres are urban, 17 are suburban and 4 are rural. A further 5 do not appear to fit within a particular Tibetan lineage and are part of the True Buddhism School, a modern Tibetan Buddhist sect based in Taiwan and parts of East Asia, influenced by Taoism and started by Grand Master Lu Sheng-Yen in the late 1980s.

Overall this cohort of Tibetan centres lacks the strong pattern of urban centres found in the NKT. 9 of these overall are in the North and the remaining 17 in the South, with 9 of these in London. Again this is a very different pattern to the NKT. 5 of these buildings are listed, with 3 of these belonging to the Kagyu Samye Dzung group (this comprises the totality of its buildings in England – 2 in London and one in Scarborough; all grade II listed, list entry numbers: 1385689; 1385931 and 1258289). The other 2 listed properties are Jamyang London (grade II listed, list entry number 1251239) and the London Diamond Way Buddhist Centre (grade II listed, list entry number 1358193).

The urban properties comprise shop fronts, rented office space and a former swimming baths. The suburban properties are similarly diverse, with a number of large old houses, a former courthouse, library, a school and Presbyterian Church. The rural include two old Halls, a stupa in the grounds of Harewood House and a former children's home. Again there is a certain style of property found here that contrasts with the pre-eminence of smaller suburban semis within the immigrant communities of the Sri Lankan, Burmese, Thai and Vietnamese groups.

6.3.1 Karma Kagyu and Sakya

The first Tibetan Buddhist centre in Europe was established at Samye Ling in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, in 1967 by two Tibetan Lamas, Akong Rinpoche and Chögyam Trungpa. They were both teachers within the Karma Kagyu lineage, the most widely practiced lineage of the Kagyu school of Tibetan Buddhism. Although the centre they established is in Scotland, and outside the geographical remit of Historic England, it is important to give it some attention as it is such an important part of the story of Buddhism in England. As Bluck writes:

Arriving from India in 1963 to study in Oxford, they were soon invited to give talks around the country. A dwindling Theravāda group they visited in Eskdalemuir agreed to sell them Johnstone House, and in 1967 this became the first Tibetan Buddhist centre in Europe, its name taken from 'Samyé, Tibet's first monastery and lay centre (2006: 110).

Another Karma Kagyu centre – 'Kham Tibetan House' – opened in a village called Ashdon, near Saffron Walden, Essex, in 1973, set up by the Venerable Lama Chime Rinpoche, in an old refuge for homeless children called 'All Saints Home'.³² He came to the UK in 1965 and lived with Akong Rinpoche and Chögyam Trungpa in Oxford. Renamed Marpa House, it continues as a Karma Kagyu centre.

In 1975, Kagyu Ling was set up in a large old detached house in Suburban Manchester by Lama Jampa Thaye, a Western monk who was one of the

³² <http://www.marpahouse.org.uk/marpa-house/history/> (accessed 24 April 2016)

few at the time authorized to teach Tibetan Buddhism. As Bluck explains, 'his teacher Karma Thinley Rinpoche is recognized in both Kagyu and Sakya schools, and Jampe Thaye himself taught at a Sakya centre in Bristol, confirming that even Western teachers may operate within more than one school' (2006: 20). He later founded the Dechen Community (an association of Kagyu and Sakya groups). By 1996 he was teaching at several Dechen centres, concentrating on his own text, *Diamond Sky*, composed 'in traditional style [as] a substantial introduction to Tibetan Buddhism' ('News from the Dechen Community', 1996: 138). Today there are 4 more Dechen centres in England, all in old houses in urban or suburban locations: Kagyu Dechen Dzong, Harrogate; Sakya Buddhist Centre, Bristol; Sakya Buddhist Centre, London; and Sakya Goshak Choling, Birmingham.

We have found only two centres linked to the Sakya tradition – Sakya Thubten Ling Tibetan Buddhist Centre – was set up in 2004 'on what was previously the site of a Presbyterian Church tucked away in a quiet neighbourhood of Bournemouth' (see box 12).³³ Another Sakya Centre is the Nepalese Byoma Kusuma Sangha, in Ryslip, Middlesex, although it is possible that this might not be a centre and instead a room in someone's house.

Box 12: Sakya Thubten Ling Tibetan Buddhist Centre



³³ <http://www.stl.org.uk/welcome/about-us/> (accessed 24 April 2016)

Sakya Thubten Ling

source: reproduced with permission from Sakya Thubten Ling Tibetan Buddhist Centre ³⁴

Several further centres linked to Samye Ling have been established in the Karma Kagyu tradition, another in Scotland, when in 1992 when Holy Island, off Arran in the Firth of Clyde, was purchased to develop accommodation for long-term retreats and an interfaith centre, the 'Centre for World Peace and Health', which opened in 2003. In Waterloo, London in 1998, Kagyu Samye Dzong opened in the former Holy Trinity School near Waterloo Station 'as an important urban centre for Tibetan Buddhism, with regular meditation classes, courses on both Buddhism and Tibetan culture, and short retreats for beginners and experienced practitioners' (Bluck 2006: 112). Since then the group has left this property and has purchased two buildings (see box 13). More recently, in June 2013, Kagyu Samye Dzong's charity arm the Rokpa Trust acquired Londesborough Lodge,³⁵ a grade II listed mansion (list entry number 1258289), in Scarborough via a Community Asset Transfer. Some local councilors opposed the decision to make a 'community asset transfer' of the lodge and slowed the project down. However, the trust now has ownership of the property and was due to open as a Buddhist centre in July/August 2015.

Box 13: Kagyu Samye Dzong

Kagyu Samye Dzong

³⁴ <http://www.stl.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/front-of-centre.jpg> (accessed 24 April 2016).

³⁵ <http://www.yorkshire.samye.org> (accessed 24 April 2016)



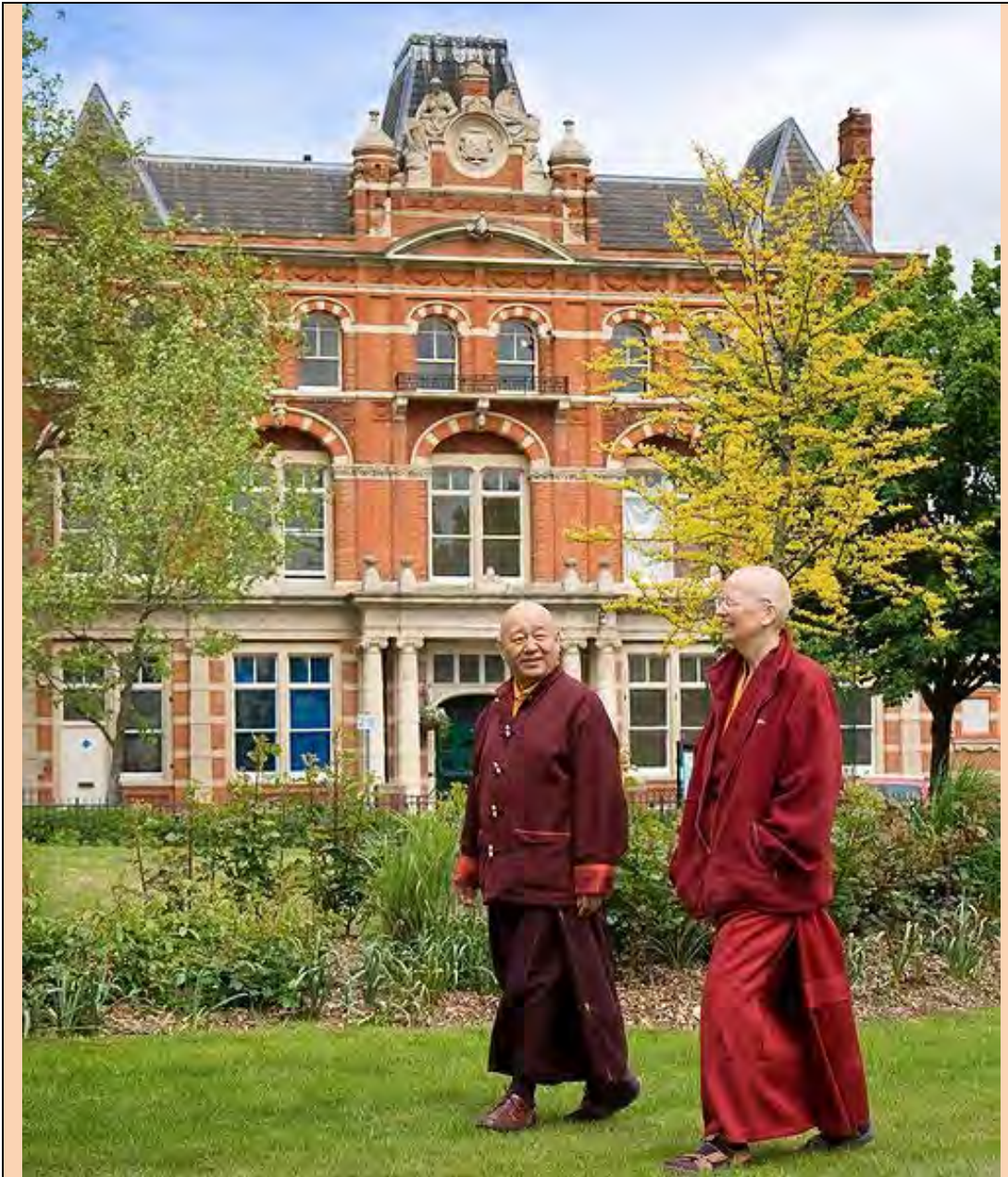
Manor Place Baths, Walworth
Grade II listed, list entry number 1385689

source: reproduced with permission from Paul Talling (www.derelictlondon.com)³⁶

In 2006, Kagyu Samye Dzong took over a Victorian bathhouse and swimming pool - Manor Place Baths in Walworth - and renovated it for their London centre. Then in 2009 the group acquired the former grade II listed Bermondsey public library in Southwark, South East London, which opened to the public in June 2010 after being renovated by a volunteer workforce.³⁷ The main centre is located at the former Library on Spa Road, and a smaller centre continues at Manor Place, Kennington.

³⁶ <http://www.derelictlondon.com/public-pools-and-baths.html> (accessed 24 April 2016)

³⁷ <http://www.resurgence.org/magazine/article3535-life-happens.html> (accessed 24 April 2016)



Lama Yeshe Losal Rinpoche and Lama Zangmo outside Kagyu Samye Dzong London in Bermondsey Former Bermondsey Library, grade II listed, list entry number 1385931

source: Gerry McCulloch (creative commons)³⁸

'The building dates from 1892 and was one of the first free public libraries in London. Dr. Alfred Salter MP and his wife Ada (the first woman mayor in London) used the library as a base from which many public health initiatives were launched. It remained in operation as a public library until the 1980s after which it was used as office space by London Borough of Southwark.'³⁹

A further Karma Kagyu movement that is not discussed by either Kay (2004) or Bluck (2006) is the Diamond Way group led by a Danish lay

³⁸

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kagyu_Samye_Dzong_London#/media/File:KSDL_Lamas_in_Spa_Gardens.jpg (accessed 24 April 2016)

³⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kagyu_Samye_Dzong_London (accessed 24 April 2016)

teacher Ole Nydahl, which suggests that at the time they researched their texts the movement was not very significant in Britain. In 1969, Nydahl and his wife Hannah became followers of the 16th Karmapa, Rangjung Rigpe Dorje, the spiritual leader of the Karma Kagyu lineage. In 1972, the first Karma Kagyu center in the West was set up by Ole and Hannah in Copenhagen, Denmark, at the request of the Karmapa, to teach Buddhism to Westerners. Upon the death of the 16th Karmapa in 1981, there were two candidates to take over his role and while most Karma Kagyu movements accept Ogyen Trinley Dorje, the Diamond Way movement accepts the other candidate Trinley Thaye Dorje.

Our mapping shows 4 Diamond Way centres - Manchester, Liverpool, Exeter and London - and many more groups that do not have permanent premises. One notable feature of the websites for Diamond Way is the explicit attention drawn to the buildings that are now occupied as centres. Regarding the Liverpool property we read that it is a 'traditional English terrace built in the 1880s which has been modernised whilst keeping many of its original features'⁴⁰ and that the Brighton centre is 'located in a shop-front premises, off Baker Street in the London Road area near the centre of Brighton.'⁴¹ Such a central focus on the nature of properties is not common in the websites we have looked at suggesting that this is important for the Diamond Way groups. The most recent and most impressive project to date has been the renovation of the Beaufoy institute in Lambeth (box 14).

Box 14: Diamond Way London and the Beaufoy Institute

Fieldwork site
Diamond Way London and the Beaufoy Institute
['A Space for Mind'; A Space for Community](#)
Grade II listed, list entry number building 1358193, list entry number gates, piers and railings 1183436

⁴⁰ <http://www.buddhism.org.uk/diamondway-buddhism/liverpool/> (accessed 24 April 2016).

⁴¹ <http://www.buddhism.org.uk/diamondway-buddhism/brighton/> (accessed 24 April 2016).



The Beaufoy Institute
Source: authors' own

The Diamond Way is a lay Buddhist group, which follows a Karma Kagyu lineage of Tibetan Buddhism. It was established by Lama Ole Nydahl in the 1970s, and now operates 640 Buddhist centres across the world including four in the UK. Diamond Way was first established in the UK in 2002.⁴²

At the time of our visit, Diamond Way London was undertaking a large-scale renovation of a Grade II listed building in Lambeth, which had been on the Historic England 'At Risk' register for some time. The large Edwardian building formerly housed 'The Beaufoy Institute' - an industrial (or 'ragged') school for poor boys, was built in 1907 by the philanthropic Beaufoy family. Prior to Diamond Way buying the building in 2011, the Beaufoy Institute had been unoccupied for 15-20 years, and was in a significant state of disrepair. The Diamond Way community in London had previously rented a smaller space, but had wanted to move to larger premises and had spent over 10 years fundraising to enable the purchase of a larger building, which they felt was more suitable for their purposes. They purchased this building in a closed bidding process from Lambeth Council, and refer to it as a Buddhist 'centre' (although also use Tibetan terms such as *gompa*, to refer to the main meditation hall/shrine room).

At the time of our visit, the renovations were underway, although not completed. In the main, the bulk of the building work was being done by volunteers, with the help of local people as well as some tradespeople. Interestingly, many of the volunteers were drawn from other Diamond Way communities outside of the UK, and they, as with other Buddhist centres we have visited, were typically living in the building whilst renovations were undertaken. Diamond Way has a long history of renovating old buildings, including a factory in Germany, and an old brewery in Budapest, and it was clear that this experience has shaped what Diamond Way London wanted to do in terms of this renovation. The ethos behind the renovation was shaped by a desire to make the building appropriate for the purposes of the Buddhist community, but not to lose the existing structure and fabric

⁴² <http://www.diamondway-buddhism.org/> (accessed 24 April 2016).

of the building. In other words, not to let contemporary needs over-ride the history of the building. As a result, in the parts of the building that had been renovated when we visited, there appeared to be an integration of the building's Edwardian shape with the Tibetan-influenced practice. In the large meditation hall (which is also a multi-purpose meeting space) Tibetan *thankas* (silk paintings of sacred images, such as *bodhisattvas*) have been hung beneath renovated Edwardian coving and ceiling decoration. Yet, we were informed that the Diamond Way 'style' of renovation was often more 'minimalist' than the traditional Tibetan, perhaps reflecting more strongly its modern European roots. According to our informant, Diamond Way UK 'expect to keep this building for a long period of time' and therefore aim to renovate it to very high standards, even if this means completing some areas of the large Institute prior to others.

One important element of this building renovation was the sense of community that such intensive work engendered. Indeed, for the Diamond Way, the renovation of a building is integrated into Buddhist practice, and the development of community spirit, which is why they divide the volunteers into teams, and many live within, or close to, the building whilst work is underway. This was also a feature in some of the other Buddhist centres we visited (including the Triratna London Buddhist Centre and Manchester Buddhist Centre) although it was very strongly articulated here. The significance of the building is encapsulated in a statement from our interview:

It's wonderful to have a home that we can do our thing in. It's like having your own home, I suppose, and not being in a rented property as you can adapt it to your real purposes.

Now completed, Diamond Way London is used for both living accommodation for a lay Buddhist community, as well as meditation classes, retreats, festivals and celebrations, and Buddhist ritual events. This building has become the national Head-Quarters of Diamond Way in the UK, and therefore the community expects to have a number of prominent visitors over the year. In addition to the 'Buddhist' activities, there are also 'non-Buddhist' functions that have taken place, or are planned for the future, including hosting a Christmas market, open to the wider community, art exhibitions, and tours of the building. Diamond Way UK has also established a 'secular' group, [The Friends of the Beaufoy Institute](#), which aims to support the redevelopment of the building and also maintain links between the building and the wider community. To this end, the Beaufoy Family has offered Diamond Way UK their archives, which provide a history of the building and the activities of the family, dating back many years.

Diamond Way UK was opened to the public in June 2014.

While Karma Kagyu is the largest Kagyu lineage, a further Kagyu lineage that has a presence in England is called Drugpa. This lineage has one centre in London, which is located in a former shop and was established in 2009.

6.3.2 Gelug: the FPMT and the NKT

According to Kay, 'the Kagyu school remained the dominant Tibetan tradition in Britain until the 1990s, when it began to be overshadowed by the Gelug through the energetic activities of Geshe Kelsang's NKT [New Kadampa Tradition]' (2004: 26). In addition to the NKT, another significant – although smaller- Gelug group in England today is the FPMT (Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahāyāna Tradition). The NKT formed in 1991 as a break away group from the FPMT.

The FPMT was founded in 1975 by two Tibetan Lamas - Lama Thubten Yeshe and Lama Thubten Zopa Rinpoche - who had been teaching Westerners about Buddhism in Nepal. Growing support amongst Western followers enabled the purchase of Conishead Priory – a neglected Victorian mansion in Cumbria – in 1976, for £70,000. Here the Manjushri Institute was established, which by 1977 had its own resident teacher, a Tibetan monk called Geshe Kelsang Gyatso (see box 15).

Box 15: Manjushri Institute

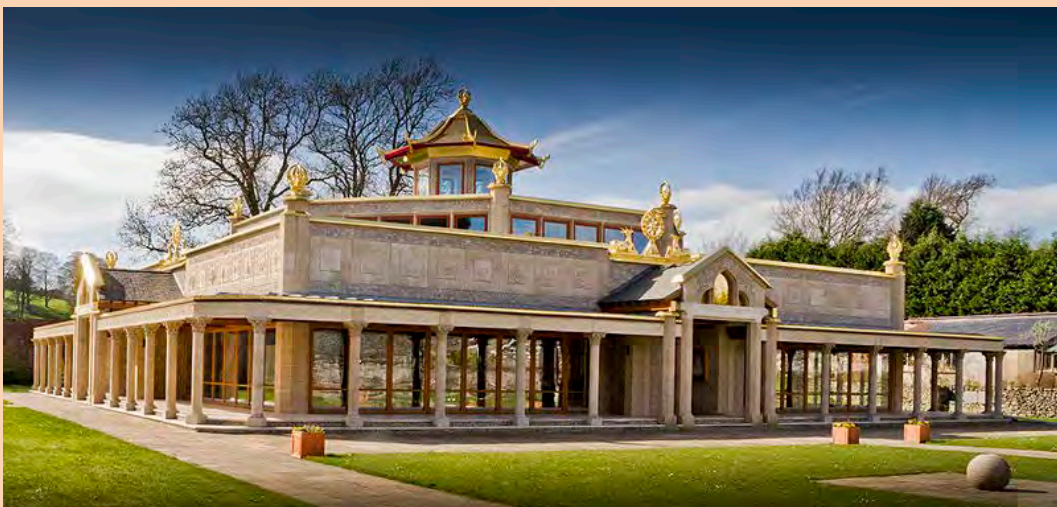
Manjushri Institute
Grade II*, list entry number 1270176



Conishead Priory

source: reproduced with permission from Manjushri Institute⁴³

'The most pressing task for the Institute's nascent community was the restoration of the building and surrounding gardens, which were in a severe state of disrepair and neglect. The centre developed a variety of business initiatives, such as a cafe, a printing press and a mail-order bookshop, as well as generating capital by renting out unused parts of the building in which other groups could conduct workshops on Buddhist and non-Buddhist subjects such as yoga, wholefood cooking, T'ai ch'i and psychotherapy' (Kay 2004: 55).



⁴³ <http://nkt-kmc-manjushri.org> (accessed 24 April 2016).

The new temple

source: Michael D Beckwith (creative commons)⁴⁴

‘...the new temple at Manjushri Centre..[has a]...three-tier design...[consisting of]...of a square main hall which can seat 700 people, an octagonal clerestory and a tall lantern. The exterior has large wooden doors on all four sides, surmounted by golden deer and Dharma wheels and a repeated frieze of traditional Tibetan ‘eight auspicious signs’ in local limestone’ (Bluck 2004: 149).

A second British FPMT centre called Manjushri London was set up in 1978 and in 1982, the centre obtained a property near Finsbury Park (10 Finsbury Park Rd, London N4) (Kay 2004: 57). In 1990 this centre changed its name to ‘Jamyang Meditation Centre’, in order to differentiate itself from the Manjushri Institute in Cumbria, which by then was under the leadership of Geshe Kelsang Gyatso who had established another movement called the New Kadampa Tradition.

Thus, Lama Thubten Zopa Rinpoche (one of the initial founders of the FPMT) set up the ‘Jamyang Meditation Centre’ in London and retained the link with the FPMT, while, the Geshe Kelsang Gyatso (who had been brought in by Lama Thubten Yeshe and Lama Thubten Zopa Rinpoche to teach at the Manjushri Institute in Cumbria) retained control of that centre, setting up the ‘New Kadampa Tradition’ (NKT). Problems had been brewing since the late 1970s when Geshe Kelsang Gyatso opened up a Buddhist centre in Hebden Bridge, West Yorkshire, under his own auspices rather than that of the FPMT (Kay 2004: 61, 68). This new centre – the Madhyamaka Centre - later moved to York, and then to the impressive Kilnwick Percy Hall, a mansion in Pocklington, outside York (see box 17). Another reason for the split was a dispute over the reliance of Geshe Kelsang upon the imagery of and devotional practice towards the ‘dharma protector’ deity Dorje Shugden. This practice has been rejected by the Dalai Lama and many other Gelug practitioners (Kay 2004: 70).

In 1996 ‘Jamyang Meditation Centre’ took over the former Kennington Courthouse in Lambeth (see box 16). Kay writes that:

the move to the Courthouse is indicative of how the FPMT’s fortunes in Britain are changing, and it is likely that as Jamyang’s activities increase it will become the basis for the creation of further satellite centres. In fact, the FPMT in Britain had already moved beyond a single locality base in 1988 when Shin Phen Thubten Choeling, a retreat centre in Herefordshire, was donated to the London centre; furthermore, a third FPMT centre was inaugurated in Leeds early in 1997 (2004: 116).

Jamyang Leeds rents rooms in a building in the city (having previously occupied other rented places) and has not yet established a permanent base that it owns. However, it is not clear from our mapping what the

⁴⁴ https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Manjushri_Kadampa_Meditation_Centre.jpg (accessed 24 April 2016).

centre in Herefordshire is currently used for. There are also 'study groups' in Bath, Coventry, Scotland, Cumbria, and Somerset.⁴⁵ In addition, there has recently developed a Jamyang group in Liverpool, who currently meet in a local hotel, and who have links to the Leeds centre.⁴⁶ The FPMT has also recently purchased Greenhaugh Hall in Northumberland, which has now been opened as a retreat centre (referred to as the 'Land Of Joy Buddhist Retreat Community'), and a monastic community.⁴⁷

Box 16: Jamyang London

Fieldwork site
Jamyang Buddhist Centre, London (FPMT, Tibetan Gelug)
[From incarceration to Liberation](#)
Grade II listed, list entry number 1251239



Jamyang Buddhist Centre
source: authors' own

Jamyang Buddhist Centre occupies a former Victorian courthouse, which has been described as 'the oldest surviving intact Victorian Police Court in London' (Jamyang Website). In the 1960s and 70s, the courthouse housed a number of high-profile, high-security IRA prisoners before their trials. The courthouse, and now Buddhist Centre which is affiliated with the Friends of the Mahāyāna Tradition (FPMT) within the Tibetan Gelug school, is located in Kennington, South London.

⁴⁵ <http://fpmt.org/centers/england/> (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁴⁶ <http://www.jamyangliverpool.com/> (accessed 24 April 2016).

⁴⁷ <http://www.landofjoy.co.uk/> (accessed 24 April 2016)



Buddha Rupa
source: authors' own

Jamyang London took over the Grade II listed building in 1995, after previously occupying a semi-detached house, also in London. After fundraising, and successfully being granted a mortgage, Jamyang bought the building and undertook large-scale renovation work to transform the courthouse into a working Buddhist Centre. This renovation work included removing bullet-proof glass from in front of what was formerly the Judge's bench, and renovating the former cells into accommodation rooms. Renovating the cells uncovered a wealth of social history, particularly in relation to the prisoners housed in the courthouse in its latter years of operation. When the radiators were removed for renovation, the team

discovered graffiti and notes, written by prisoners, including to their loved ones. These notes, and also pictures of the renovations, have been kept in an archive at Jamyang London.

Much of the fabric of the courthouse, including some fixtures and fittings, have been kept and renovated by Jamyang. The Buddhist centre has retained a number of heavy wooden doors, and also signage pointing out the solicitors' and witnesses' entrances. The renovations themselves were initially undertaken by a team of volunteers, many of whom were drawn from Jamyang's Buddhist community. However, particularly in later renovation work (including, more recently, in 2000, to the roof) Jamyang have also employed professional tradespeople.



Prison cells that are now used as guest accommodation

source: authors' own

However, although retaining many original features of the courthouse certainly motivated the renovation, Jamyang London has also made this building their own, including creating a *gompa* (or shrine room) with a large Buddha *rupa* (statue). Within the centre, in addition to the principal *gompa*, there is another, smaller shrine room, and a number of additional rooms that can be used, and hired for meetings, including a library and a café, open to the public. In addition, Jamyang also has created what is referred to as a 'secular space' which does not feature overt Buddhist imagery or iconography, and this can be hired out for 'non-Buddhist' activities, such as community group meetings.



Remaining features from the old courthouse

source: authors' own

Jamyang London serves a wide catchment area, and draws people from all over London, and beyond. Although it is a Buddhist group affiliated with the Tibetan tradition, it mostly attracts white British community members, although specific events are also run for Tibetans, as well as a growing Nepali and Mongolian community.

The terminology that is most typically used by this community to refer to their building is 'Buddhist Centre', although they also use certain Tibetan terms to describe areas of the building, such as '*gompa*' (shrine room).

Box 17: Madhyamaka Centre⁴⁸

Fieldwork Site

Madhyamaka Kadampa Meditation Centre at Kilnwick Percy Hall, York

[Stately Homes and Staircases](#)

Grade II*, list entry number 1309858

⁴⁸ http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kilnwick_Percy_Hall.jpg (accessed 24 April 2016)



The entrance to Kilwick Percy Hall

source: authors' own

The Madyamaka Buddhist Meditation Centre, part of the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT) within Tibetan Buddhism occupies the former Kilwick Percy Hall, in Pocklington, near York, and 42 acres of surrounding land. The building is predominantly Georgian, and is Grade II* listed. However, we were informed that the origins of a building on this land stretch back further into English history (and include a mention in the Domesday Book). The earliest part that is currently still standing, the basement, was built in 1574. Kilwick Percy Hall and the surrounding grounds were significantly redeveloped in 1720, and again in 1840, passing to different families during this period. The house itself was occupied by the Government during the Second World War, and as a result, was also significantly adapted. Interestingly, just prior to the Second World War, the house was again re-

modelled, including severing in two the large, central staircase, and relocating it to the side of the house. We were told that this was done to raise funds, as half of the staircase was sold locally, and made into furniture.



The impressive original staircase

source: authors' own

The NKT bought the house in 1986. It had previously redeveloped a large house in the Lake District, and was looking to open another centre. Madhyamaka is one of 1,000 NKT centres worldwide. When the NKT took over the building, it was in a significantly dilapidated state. They undertook their renovations predominantly with volunteer labour, but have worked with professionals (including heritage professionals), particularly in advising on the renovations of particular aspects of the building, including the wooden floors in the entrance hall, and the large, external stone pillars. They also use professionals for tasks such as the replacement of the sixty-year old boiler system. However, volunteer support is vital, and in order to keep up with the maintenance, the NKT run week-long work weeks, where volunteers will come and live in the building and assist with the tasks that need to be achieved.

In renovating this building for use as a Buddhist centre, the NKT placed a great deal of emphasis on sympathetic restoration of the house, including in the large former ball-room, which has particularly ornate decorative features. The house and the surrounding grounds remain open to the public, and the focus here is both on the history of the house, and it's current usage. Given the age, and historic significance of the house, an on-going issue for this community is appropriate, and skilled, maintenance and meeting the costs of heating bills, in particular. The NKT fundraise for this purpose, and also have a number of businesses integrated within the house and grounds which also provide an income, including a gift-shop, a World Peace Café, and a Bed and Breakfast.



One of the shrines
source: authors' own

The building currently has a number of uses for this community. There are approximately thirty long-term residents, both lay people and ordained monks and nuns, alongside Buddhists who also rent the flats in the building, and the three cottages in the grounds. The building hosts a number of meditation classes and courses and festivals and retreats, which attract a national and international audience. The community also has a particular focus on family involvement, running children's meditation classes, and mothers and children's groups, as well as an annual family retreat. The building is significant to the NKT as it was the second Centre that was adapted, and was referred to as a 'hub', both for activity, but also training teachers that later went on to start additional Buddhist centres and meditation groups. The community typically adopts the term 'Meditation Centre' when referring to Kilnwick Percy Hall, although occasionally use 'temple' in addition. Tibetan words such as '*gompa*' are used less frequently, and when they are, it is generally only between the residents.

Additionally, the NKT also uses the building for a number of 'non-Buddhist' purposes, including being open for people who want to walk around the grounds, see the house and use the café, regular history tours, and an annual summer fair – retaining the traditions of a large country estate. The rooms can also be hired out by non-Buddhist groups. There is a strong sense that the NKT wants the building still to be very much part of the local community, and it appears that much effort is expended to foster strong connections.

In 1991, Geshe Kelsang Gyatso formally split from the FPMT and formed the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT) with the aim 'uniting the centres already under his spiritual direction – at that time there were approximately eight residential centres and twenty nonresidential branches – within a common organization' (Kay 2004: 78). A large new temple opened at Manjushri in 1997, and in 1998 the NKT joined the Network of Buddhist Organisations (NBO) (Kay 2004: 132).

The NKT claims an ancient Tibetan lineage but also considers itself to be “a recent development”, responding to ‘the needs of the contemporary practitioner’ by enabling Westerners ‘to engage in systematic study and practice of Buddhadharma’ (Kay 2004: 48). Its rather rapid expansion would seem to support Bunting’s view that the movement aims to open ‘a centre in every major UK town’ (1996). As Kay writes, Geshe Kelsang:

created the Education Council of the NKT, the purpose of which was to provide spiritual assistance for NKT centres, ensure the purity and authenticity of their education programmes, coordinate special events, and oversee the setting of examinations. It was also to provide resources for the promotion and opening of new centres throughout the world, especially outside the United Kingdom, by operating the New Centres Development Fund, the fund-raising arm of the NKT (Kay 2004: 78-79).⁴⁹

Our mapping has revealed that in addition to 37 actual centres, there are many more groups meeting regularly in hired premises or people’s houses for evening or weekend meditation classes. In contrast to the ethnically focused Theravāda centres, which also tend to adaptively reuse properties, suburban houses in particular, NKT has centres located in grander properties in more central areas of English towns and cities. The central location of these centres means that they are accessible to people. In addition to running meditation classes and housing male and female monastics, many of the centres have ‘world peace cafes’. There are similarities with Triratna, another tradition that aims to cater for Western Buddhists (see below), in terms of style of building and location. A few exceptions to the use of urban residential housing include the Bodhisattva Kadampa Buddhist Meditation Centre, Brighton, which is in a grade 2 listed former children’s home; the Ganden Kadampa Buddhist Centre, Halifax and the Samudra Buddhist Centre, Buxton, both located in old shops; the Nagarjuna Kadampa Meditation Centre, Kelmarsh, Northamptonshire, an old rectory; the Nagarjuna Kadampa Meditation Centre, Leicester, in old mill/factory; and the Vajrapani Buddhist Centre, Huddersfield, a former Methodist Chapel.

Today the main centre for the NKT is the Manjushri Institute (see box 16) and, in addition to the Madhyamaka Kadampa Meditation Centre at Kilnwick Percy Hall (box 17), York, another flagship centre is the Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre, in the Grade II listed Ashe Hall, outside Etwell, Derbyshire (box 18). This is where the NKT also has its Kadampa Primary School, the first NKT primary school in the world that opened in 2007, and one of two Buddhist primary schools that we have found in England.

Box 18: The Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre and Kadampa Primary School

⁴⁹ <http://www.newkadampatruth.org/a-moral-discipline-guide-the-internal-rules-of-the-new-kadampa-tradition-international-kadampa-buddhist-union> (accessed 24 April).

***The Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre and Kadampa Primary School
Grade II listed, list entry number 1334529***



Ashe Hall

source: Mike Bardill (creative commons)⁵⁰

'We have as our core vision the wish to teach children from the earliest pre-school to the top of primary school the life skills of how to develop and hold contented minds, to better deal with life's problems in a way that is compassionate and constructive. Having a happy mind will aid our children to attain their academic, personal, social, emotional and spiritual potential. We want our school to be open to all: irrespective of race, religion and socio-economic circumstance.'⁵¹

According to Kay, 'the only other significant Gelug representation in Britain comprises a number of groups connected to Geshe Damcho Yonten, the earliest of which, the Lam Rim Buddhist Centre in Gwent, was established in 1978' (2004: 28). Linked to this is the 'Lam Rim Buddhist Centre' in Bristol, located in an old house in Bedminster, which runs meditation classes, devotional practices, a 'Centre for Whole Health' and has a resident monk.

6.3.3 Nyingma

The fourth school of Tibetan Buddhism with a presence in Britain is the Nyingma tradition, but this is much less well represented than the Kagyu and Gelug traditions. Kay tells us that 'this school has been represented mainly by groups connected either to the Tibetan Lama and author of The

⁵⁰ http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ashe_Hall_180435_d0492e63.jpg (accessed 24 April 2016)


⁵¹ <http://www.tarakmc.org/kadampa-primary-school-derbyshire/> (accessed 24 April 2016)

Tibetan Book of Living and Dying, Sogyal Rinpoche, or by groups associated with the British lama Rigdzin Shikpo (formerly known as Michael Hookham)' (2004: 28). While Rigdzin Shikpo's movement, called the Longchen Foundation, does not have a centre in the UK, our mapping revealed one permanent centre for Sogyal Rinpoche's movement, the headquarters of Rigpa UK, which is a converted shop in central London. Several other centres are mentioned on the website, but it is unclear if these have a permanent building.⁵² Sogyal Rinpoche Sogyal began to teach in London in 1974 at his centre which was based on a house in Kilburn 'originally called Orgyen Chöling...[and].... name later changed to Dzogchen Orgyen Chöling.'⁵³ In 1979 he set up the Rigpa Foundation, which is a global organization for spreading Buddhism across the globe.

Our mapping revealed a couple of other smaller Nyingma centres the Palyul Centre in London associated with HH Penor Rinpoche, and also the Gomde Lindholme Hall' near Doncaster (see box 19), which is also linked to the Kagyu school.

Box 19: Gomde Lindholme Hall

Gomde Lindholme Hall



Gomde Lindholme Hall

source: reproduced with permission from Gomde Lindholme Hall⁵⁴

'Situated in the centre of Lindholme Island, a 180 acre estate which lies in the heart of the Hatfield Moor National Nature reserve. The Hall is very secluded, and, as the land surrounding the island is protected, there is no local development. This creates a perfect environment for study, reflection and meditation; a refuge for contemplation away from the business of everyday life. It also offers extensive opportunities for the practice of environmental Buddhism.'⁵⁵

⁵²

https://www.rigpa.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=387&Itemid=166 (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁵³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sogyal_Rinpoche (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁵⁴ <http://www.gomde.org.uk/phpthumb/phpThumb.php?src=/userfiles/image/1316775771.jpg&w=700&h=207&zc=1&bg=5c2f2d> (accessed 24 April 2016).

⁵⁵ <http://www.gomde.org.uk> (accessed 24 April 2016)

Finally, there are a number of unaffiliated Tibetan centres in England. These include the Khandro Ling Centre, linked to the Diamond Heart Foundation, based in an old community centre in Macclesfield. Larger centres are the London Shambhala Centre in Clapham, which appears to be in a large detached house. It is part of Shambhala International, an international community of meditation centres founded by the late Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche, one of the founders of Samye Ling in Scotland.⁵⁶ We have also included in our mapping the Bhutanese Stupa built in the grounds of Harewood House in North Yorkshire (box 20).

⁵⁶ <http://palyul.eu/uk/> (accessed 24 April 2016)

Box 20: The Stupa at Harewood House

Fieldwork Site

**The Stupa at Harewood House:
'a Yorkshire—Bhutan co-production'**

Although a *stupa* might not be considered a building in the same way as a monastery, we included the *stupa* at Harewood House in our research as an example of the different types of structures that are important to Buddhists. A *stupa*, is a repository for relics and sacred items, and is a focus for veneration, respect, and meditation across the Buddhist world. Whilst *stupas* in all shapes and sizes are a common feature in Buddhist countries from Thailand to Tibet, they are far less common in England. Indeed, the *stupa* at Harewood House is likely to be the only Bhutanese *stupa* in the UK at present and is therefore worthy of focused attention.

Harewood House is a Grade I listed stately home between Leeds and Harrogate, and is the seat of the Earl of Harewood, David Lascelles. The Earl of Harewood had been interested, and involved with Buddhism for a number of years, and although he had



The stupa

source: authors' own

considered building a *stupa* since the 1980s, it was not until he first visited Bhutan in 2002 when the idea became a reality. There he met a Bhutanese skilled craftsman, in his 70s, who he invited to come to the UK and build a *stupa* in the grounds of Harewood House. A team came from Butan and building work on the *stupa* commenced in April 2004, and was completed by the end of the summer in the same year.

The *stupa* at Harewood House was constructed in a traditional Bhutanese style, although using English materials, notably Yorkshire stone despite the reservations of the Butanese builders who felt it should be whitewashed and made out of concrete as in Bhutan. It was decided that, in keeping with the environment, the stone used would be kept unpainted. Nonetheless, in all other senses it is the 'real thing' as explained to us by the Earl of

Harewood: 'somebody asked me about the process, to describe it. And they said, 'oh so you mean that it's like a folly?' And I said 'well actually, no. I may be foolish doing it, but it's not a folly, because it is the real thing.' It's absolutely done as it would be.'

Its construction consists of a series of five built-up sealed chambers, within which are placed statues, images and other blessed items, including small relics, in this case some bone fragments. Many of these items were purchased in Bhutan and Nepal, and shipped to the UK for the purpose. These ritual objects, we were told 'empower the *stupa*' and allow the benefits of the blessings to multiply and 'radiate out into the world'. Whilst the design was Bhutanese, the physical building work was completed by local builders. Running through the middle of the *stupa* is the wooden trunk of juniper tree, referred to as the 'life tree', which connects all the sealed chambers together. The *stupa* itself is located in an area of the grounds out of view of the house, which housed a number of plants native to the Himalayan region, and is called the Himalayan Garden. Indeed, the *stupa* itself, which has now been standing for 10 years, looks very much a part of the landscape.

We were told that the *stupa* is used by Buddhists, who will make circumambulations, but is also enjoyed by non-Buddhists, who visit the house and the gardens, and learn something of the teachings of the Buddha. The *stupa* is significant, we were told, because it 'embodies the enlightened mind of the Buddha...What all Buddhists aspire to'.

In addition to the Stupa there is also a small retreat centre being set up at the edge of the estate which will consist of a main building, an adaptation of an existing building, where the retreat master will live and a number of retreat huts nearby

6.4 East Asian Buddhism

Box 21: Summary from Mapping Exercise of East Asian Buddhist Buildings in England

Summary from Mapping Exercise of East Asian Buddhist Buildings in England

Overall we have found 29 buildings belonging to different East Asian traditions and only 3 of these are listed: the former house of Christmas Humphreys (one of the significant figures in bringing Buddhism to England) – comprising a large suburban semi-detached house in London (Rinzai Zen; grade II listed, list entry number 1239650; this group also has a suburban house in Luton); Soka Gakkai International, at Taplow Court, a mansion in Berkshire (grade II listed, list entry number 1165286); and the Taiwanese Fo Guang Shan, a former seminary in Central London (grade II listed, list entry number 1273611; this group also has a former technical institute and library in Old Trafford).

18 are suburban, 5 urban and 6 are rural. 17 are in the South, with 9 in London, 6 are in the Midlands, with 3 in Birmingham, and 6 are in the North. The Order of the Buddhist Contemplatives (OBC) has 7 buildings, with the main centre on a former farm in Northumberland, where significant new construction has taken place. There are also further centres in suburban areas (Reading, Norwich, Telford and Exeter) and 2 more rural locations - a rented property (Near Preston) and a caravan with small hut in Derbyshire. The Vietnamese tradition also has 6 centres all in suburban residential properties, 3 in Birmingham, 2 in London and one in Cambridge. 2 of the properties are large detached houses (in Upper Norwood and in Birmingham - on Soho Road, with significant extensions underway), while the others are smaller properties. There are 3 Pure Land centres, 1 linked to the Amida Trust (suburban house), 1 a break away from Amida (large former hotel) and another linked to the Shogyoji Temple, Japan (2 houses knocked into one). The Nichiren group of Zen Buddhism has set up 2 Peace Pagodas (Milton Keynes and London). There is a Chan centre that has a permanent space in a leisure centre in Essex, a non-affiliated Zen centre housed in an office space in Central Liverpool and a new Community of Interbeing linked to Zen Master Thich Nhat Hanh in rural Dorset in Re-use of old barn or cottage. In addition to Taplow Court, Soka Gakkai

has 3 addition urban properties in London.

While the two largest groups within East Asian Buddhism in Britain – the Serene Reflection Meditation tradition (SRM), linked to the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives (a Sōtō Zen group), and Soka Gakkai International UK (SGI-UK) - attract mainly convert Buddhists, there are some other groups that have emerged from within specific Asian countries (Bluck 2006: 18). As Kay writes, there are a number of Asian based temples in Britain and although there is overlap between their activities and those of converts to Buddhism, ‘the expression of Buddhism within Asian immigrant and refugee communities represents a phenomenon very different – religiously, culturally and sociologically – to the practise of Buddhism by British ‘converts’ (2004: 27-28). As with the Theravāda groups discussed above, ‘Asian-based temples function primarily as religious and cultural focal points within the immigrant Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean communities, and they are to be found, predictably, in the major urban areas where these Asian groupings are clustered (London, Manchester and Birmingham)’ (2004: 29). Most of these temples do not attempt to draw in Western followers and practice Buddhism in a way that does not appeal to most Westerners (i.e. with a focus on devotional chanting and ancestor worship rather than meditation and philosophical reflection) (2004: 33).

Our mapping found 6 temples from the Vietnamese community, although there are probably more: 3 in Birmingham, 2 in London and 1 in Cambridge. These do not have a strong web presence and are mostly located in suburban houses. We found two much larger temples associated with the Taiwanese Buddhist movement Fo Guang Shan. The London temple was one of the fieldwork sites and is located in a former seminary belonging to the Christian Oxford Movement in central London (grade II listed, list entry number 1273611; box 22), and the Manchester temple is located in an old library on Stretford Road.

Box 22: Fo Guang Shan

Fieldwork Site
Fo Guang Shan London (East Asian)
[A Taiwanese Temple on Oxford Street](#)
Grade II listed, list entry number 1273611



London Fo Guang Shan Temple
source: authors' own

The Fo Guang Shan temple is sited within a Gothic-style Grade II listed Victorian building, originally designed by William Butterfield in the 1860s. The building originally housed a clergy training facility, with connections to All Saints Church; an Oxford movement, high Anglican church, which is still operational, and is across the road.

Fo Guang Shan, a Taiwanese Buddhist group, bought the building in 1992, with financial support from Fo Guang Shan International in Taiwan. It is one of 23 temples across Europe, and is affiliated with a further temple in Manchester. Although it certainly did not need as much work as those sites bought by London Buddhist Centre or Jamyang London to make it fit for purpose, the building still required some adaptation to ensure that it met the needs of the community. At the time of our visit, Fo Guang Shan had support from the Heritage Lottery Fund, and was also fundraising from community members, in order to support ongoing maintenance and renovation work. Although they have worked to renovate the existing fabric of the building, including maintaining the internal exposed brick-work and archways, the fittings within the meditation hall and shrine rooms were made in Taiwan, and shipped to the UK.



A shrine room
source: authors' own

The building itself houses a small community of Taiwanese nuns, as well as activities for the lay community. There is a large meditation room, as well as smaller shrine rooms, and the types of activities that take place at the temple include meditation classes and retreats, cultural and community events, predominantly, although not exclusively, for the local Taiwanese and Chinese communities. There is a Buddhist Sunday School for children, called Little Bodhi Garden, and the building is also registered for marriages. Overall, the building itself is significant for the community principally as a centre that enables and supports cultural activities. However, Fo Guang Shan are keen to support wider community development, and are involved in several projects, including work with the homeless. In one of their published documents, they write that the reason why they chose this former Anglican training facility was a deliberate decision that 'brings us close to Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike, and allows us to connect and integrate with...community life in the UK.'

The other centres linked to East Asian traditions that we found in the mapping are those that attract Western Buddhists, some almost entirely. For instance, the Order of Inter-being has been particularly attractive in the West (its headquarters are in France) and was set up by a Vietnamese Zen Buddhist Monk and teacher - Thích Nhất Hạnh - in 1966 at the height of the Vietnam War. There is one 'Order of Inter-being' centre in England, called Being Peace Cottage, although there are many more groups. This is a rural retreat centre in Dorset making use of old farm buildings and was set up in 2008.

Another group is the Amida Trust, established by Dharmavidya (David Brazier) and his wife, Caroline, in England in 1996 (Henry, 2008:85). Previously Dharmavidya had been involved with other East Asian Buddhist groups in Britain, including the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives and the Community of Inter-being, and he had a strong interest in the relationship between Buddhism, social engagement, and psychotherapy (Henry 2008: 85-86, 96). Two years later, the couple founded the Amida Order, the associated religious community, which follows the principles of Japanese Amida Pureland. While the Amida Trust has 4 groups in England only one of these appears to have a permanent location – the new Amida Mandala Buddhist Temple in a former hotel in Malvern, having just moved from a house in London called 'Sukhavati'. In 2011, Caroline Brazier left Amida to set up another organization called Tariki Trust Buddhist House, another Pure Land Buddhist centre, located in a large old house in Narborough, Leicestershire, which was previously used by Amida Trust.

The Three Wheels Shin Buddhist House, associated with Japanese Pure Land Buddhism, initially met in the home of Mr. Kenji Toda, a Japanese businessman working in London. When he returned to Japan in 1994, a property was bought and a Zen Garden developed in the grounds. A second house was bought in Acton in 1997 and then, in 2007, the group bought the house next door as well.⁵⁷

The largest East Asian groups in England are the Serene Reflection Meditation tradition (SRM), linked to the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives (OBC) - a Sōtō Zen group, and Soka Gakkai International UK (SGI). The OBC is located within the Japanese Sōtō Zen Serene Reflection Meditation Tradition (SRM), but was established in Britain at Throssel Hole Abbey in Northumberland by Reverend Master Jiyu-Kennett (born Peggy Kennett) in 1972 (Oliver, 1979:179; see box 24). First taking ordination in Malaysia and later in Japan in the early 1960s, she travelled to the United States to establish a monastic training centre at Shasta Abbey in California in 1970 (after setting up the San Francisco Zen Mission Society) and then supported the founding of Throssel Hole Abbey two years later (Bluck, 2006:65-6, Kay, 2004:124; box 23).

⁵⁷

http://www.threewheels.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=category§ionid=5&id=31&Itemid=46 (accessed 24 April 2016)

Box 23: Throssel Hole Abbey

Fieldwork Site

Throssel Hole Buddhist Abbey, Order of Buddhist Contemplatives (Serene Reflection Meditation Tradition).

[‘Where do we start? Right here...’](#)



Extension to farm buildings at Throssel Hole, quest accommodation
source: authors' own

In 1970, the Northumberland farm buildings and land that were to become Throssel Hole Buddhist Abbey were purchased by one of Reverend Master Jiyu-Kennett's early disciples. The burgeoning Sōtō Zen Buddhist community (Serene Reflection Meditation Tradition) was initially run by American followers of Jiyu-Kennett, who had previously established a monastic training community at Shasta Abbey in California. Jiyu-Kennett, a British woman, had taken Buddhist ordination in the 1960s, first in Malaysia and then in Japan, and had spent some time in Japan training at Sojiji monastery, a principal temple in the Sōtō Zen Buddhist tradition, before returning to the West to establish the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives in the Serene Reflection Meditation tradition. The land that was purchased for the new Buddhist community had been a farm and a hippy commune, and the built structures that were there were basic (at best), and in a poor state. What was to become the monks' meditation hall, was a stone cow shed, with no windows, and also with outside stairs and which needed a complete re-build. We were told that when Reverend Master Jiyu-Kennett came to visit the site, the volunteers who were working on the buildings were slightly overwhelmed by the task ahead of them, and they asked her 'Where do we start?' In response, Kennett picked up a broom, and said 'right here', and began sweeping. In the early days, the renovation and building work was done by lay and ordained community members, and within a very tight budget. Later renovations and building work were done with an architect, drawn from the community, who helped to plan the extensions and the additional buildings that were constructed. However, the Abbot of the Abbey is a trained surveyor, and therefore was able to draw up plans for the complex. Nonetheless, both the monks (which in this community, refers to both ordained men and women) and the lay people who volunteered also learnt to undertake jobs themselves, including plumbing and bricklaying. Learning new skills and participating in the building

and renovation work was seen as integrated into the Buddhist practice of these community members, and although we were told that they 'didn't come here to build a building' but came to focus their minds on meditation, the building work itself became part of the meditation practice, and thus building and Buddhist practice, in this setting, are intricately intertwined.



Buddha shrine

source: authors' own

The land (and the farm buildings on it) was chosen partly due to reasonable cost, and partly because of its location in remote, and rural Northumberland countryside. We were told that, having a monastery removed from the urban metropolis is certainly in keeping with the idea of a Zen monastery as being located somewhere where one has to make an effort to travel to. The land itself is located in an Area of Outstanding Beauty, which was once a centre for lead mining, and also agricultural farming.

There are currently a number of buildings on the Abbey complex, including a monks' meditation hall, a main ceremonial hall, a dining room, bathrooms, and also an extension, built in the 1990s, which houses guest accommodation and a large kitchen. There are a number of former outbuildings which have also been renovated over the years, including a tool shed and work-room, and also a relatively newly constructed monks' accommodation block (which was built after the community were left a legacy), with office space and a library. Also, further away from the main buildings there is a small retreat hut. In the grounds of the Abbey, there are cemeteries (for monks, and also for pets) and also gardens. The buildings were renovated and built over a number of years, to accommodate the needs of the growing monastic community, and the lay supporters. It is fair to say that the successful development of the land and buildings at Throssel Hole has been the result of a great deal of effort, and also of vision – turning a run-down farm into a thriving Buddhist monastery. Throssel Hole keeps quite a large archive, including a number of old photographs of the buildings both before and after the various stages of renovation.

The buildings themselves are currently used to house a monastic community and to provide space for their Buddhist training as taught by Jiyu-Kennett, and this includes a number of lay people, postulants (those prior to ordination) and monks (male and female). There are retreats run almost every weekend (including annual family weekends), as well as festivals and ceremonies. The community host a number of school visits throughout the year, akin to several of the other Buddhist communities involved in this research. Most of the community members both lay and ordained, are converts to Buddhism, although, at least in the early days, the monastics also supported the Chinese community in Britain by facilitating funerals before they had established their own places of worship.

In addition to Throssel Hole Abbey there are many SRM groups in the UK that do not have a permanent base (25 are listed on the OBC website) and a number of other smaller priories and temples, typically in houses: Dragon Bell Temple, Exeter; Reading Buddhist Priory; Telford Buddhist Priory; Rochdale Zen Retreat; Norwich Zen Priory; and the new Sitting Buddha Hermitage in rural Derbyshire, consisting of a caravan and a small wooden house. This was established to 'offer to practitioners of the Soto Zen school of Buddhism the opportunity to do solitary retreat in individual hermitages in a quiet rural location with the practical support and spiritual guidance of the resident monk.'⁵⁸

While Sōtō Zen is the most popular style of Zen in the UK, there are also some Rinzai Zen centres. The key figure behind the Buddhist Society in London, Christmas Humphreys, started the London Zen Centre (grade II listed, list entry number 1239650) in the Rinzai tradition, in his own house in 1979 and it was later renamed Shobo-an.⁵⁹ Shobo-an has another property, the Fairlight Zen Centre in Luton which has been 'financed

⁵⁸ <http://sittingbuddhaheritage.fieldofmerit.org> (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁵⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zen_Centre#mediaviewer/File:Zen_Centre_Marlborough.jpeg

largely using a single legacy from a lay devotee...[but] acquired in a state of considerable disrepair from Luton District Council in 1995, and was improved by volunteers of the Zen Centre.⁶⁰

Other, smaller Zen/Chan groups can be found across England, many of which do not have a permanent premises. Exceptions are the Dari Rulai Fa Yin Temple, Essex, which follows the Chinese Hanmi Master Dechan Jeuren, of Chinese Esoteric Buddhism. This group has a temple in the Maroconi centre in Chelmsford Essex (a 'leisure centre'). Another is the Stone Water Zen Centre (under the Japanese lineage of Taizan Maezumi Roshi), which has a large studio space and a meditation room located on the top floor at 13 Hope Street, in the centre of Liverpool.

Other forms of East Asian Buddhism that also have a presence in Britain are schools of Nichiren Buddhism from Japan. The main organization within this style of Buddhism that has attracted significant followers in England is Soka Gakkai (see box 24). Also of note though are the two purpose built Peace Pagodas, in London and Milton Keynes.⁶¹

Box 24: Soka Gakkai UK and Taplow Court

Fieldwork Site
Soka Gakkai UK and Taplow Court
[A responsibility for past, present, and future](#)
Grade II listed, list entry number 1165286

⁶⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zen_Centre#cite_note-1 (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁶¹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nipponzan-Myōhōji-Daisanga#mediaviewer/File:MiltonKeynesBuddhistTemple01.JPG> (accessed 24 April 2016)



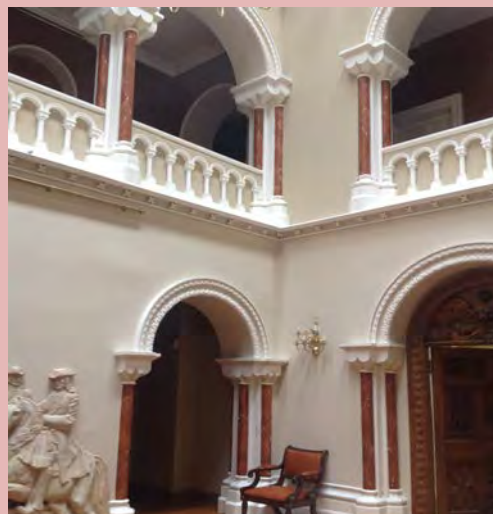
Taplow Court

source: authors' own

Taplow Court is the Head-Quarters of Soka Gakkai UK, a lay Buddhist movement following the teachings of 13th Century Japanese scholar, Nichiren. SG UK has a number of groups across the UK (and internationally) and, according to Bluck (2006:16), is one of the three most sizeable Buddhist groups operating in contemporary Britain. It has been established in Britain since the 1960s, and has grown substantially since this time. Soka Gakkai describes itself as a socially engaged Buddhist movement, and many of the activities that it runs from Taplow Court, and the associated groups across the country, are motivated by a sense of social consciousness.

Soka Gakkai UK has made Taplow Court its home since 1987. Prior to purchasing the Grade II listed stately home, it occupied a shop-front (and rooms above it) in Surrey. Members of the organization were looking for a larger space to support their growing community, and, after a major set-back - when another building they had purchased accidentally burnt-down - they acquired Taplow Court.

Taplow Court itself was, prior to Soka Gakkai's purchase, owned by a telecommunications company and was used as their offices. Prior to this, the building was used as a girl's school during World War II. However, the building itself, and its land, has a history that stretches much further back. The land where the present building now stands was originally home to a Bronze-Age settlement, an Anglo-Saxon burial mound (called Tappa's Mound), then later a Roman fort, and subsequently, a site for Christian conversion and baptism. Later, the land housed a medieval church and a priory, before a Tudor manor house was built. Although this original Tudor building was



destroyed by fire in 1617, it was reconstructed some fifteen years later, and in the 1700s became home to the Earls of Orkney. Over the next hundred and fifty years, Taplow Court was subject to multiple renovations and building projects (particularly in the 19th Century). At the turn of the Twentieth Century, whilst the house was owned by the Grenfell family and Lord Desborough, extravagant parties were held, which apparently also attracted royalty.

Like the Buddhist Society building in Ecclestone Square, Taplow Court was not in any particular state of disrepair when it was purchased by Soka Gakkai however, renovations were still necessary and a full refurbishment took two years. The renovation is certainly very sensitive to the history of the house, and this was a purposeful approach by Soka Gakkai UK. We were told that occupying such a historic space caused the community to look both to the past and to the future 'with a sense of responsibility to make a positive difference to the environment that we are in' and the building helps to foster this motivation. Indeed, a number of activities are undertaken by Soka Gakkai UK to encourage greater understanding of the history of the house, and particularly, this year, its First World War connections. Whilst the eldest daughter of Lord Desborough was stationed as an army nurse, her two elder brothers were killed in action in Flanders in 1915. By drawing on this tragic history, Soka Gakkai UK intends to provoke broader questions and discussion about peace and respect for life.

In addition to renovating the manor house, Soka Gakkai UK have purpose built a modern building in Taplow's grounds, which serves as their principal community meeting place, and the place where the *gohonzon* (a scroll, originally written by Nichiren) is housed. Soka Gakkai UK have also renovated a further outside building which used to house the tennis courts, and this now serves as a cafeteria, both for staff, visitors, and community members.

Taplow Court is currently used by Soka Gakkai UK as its administrative head-quarters, and it also hosts conferences, large meetings, and retreats for community members from across the UK and beyond. There is also a very large library. As it is part of the Historic Houses Association, it is also regularly open to the public.

Box 25: Peace Pagodas

Peace Pagodas



Peace Pagoda, Battersea Park

source: Garry Knight (creative commons)⁶²

There are two Peace Pagodas in England enshrining sacred relics of the Buddha: one in Battersea London (completed in 1985) and the other in Milton Keynes (completed in 1980). They were each built by the Nipponzan-Myōhōji Buddhist Order, a new Buddhist movement emerging from Nichiren Buddhism. By 2000 there were 80 of these Peace Pagodas across the world. The Milton Keynes Peace Pagoda is part of a Japanese style temple complex.

⁶²

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battersea_Park#mediaviewer/File:Battersea_Park_Peace_Pagoda.jpg (accessed 24 April 2016)



Peace Pagoda, Milton Keynes
source: creative commons⁶³

⁶³ <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/62/Milton-keynes-peace-pagoda.jpg>
(accessed 24 April 2016)



Japanese style temple complex, Milton Keynes
source: creative commons⁶⁴

6.5 Non-sectarian Buddhist organisations

In addition to Buddhist organisations that are oriented towards particular traditions and schools, there are a number that do not identify with any one type of Buddhism. In addition to the large organisation Triratna (formerly known as the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO) and which we return to in detail below) our mapping showed up a number of other non-sectarian centres. Already mentioned is the Buddhist Society in London (grade II listed, list entry number 1211499; section 3.1). Others include retreat centres that cater for Buddhists: Bala Brook Retreat Centre in rural Devon, which looks like a new-build or an adapted building; Gaia House also in Devon, a rural retreat in a former manor house and nunnery, West Ogwell House, which is mentioned in the in Domesday Book (grade II listed, list entry number: 1096703); the Karuna Institute, again in Devon, and situated in a former Manor house, Natsworthy Manor, similarly mentioned in the Domesday Book; and Sharpham Trust, Barn Rural Retreat Centre in Devon (grade II listed, list entry number: 1108385).

Another non-sectarian group is the Bodhayati Vihara Buddhist Centre, founded by two Western trained monks, and located in a suburban terrace house in Nottingham. It integrates 'aspects of various different Buddhist traditions including from Thai, Tibetan, Japanese, Vietnamese, Chinese

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<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/76/MiltonKeynesBuddhistTemple01.JPG/220px-MiltonKeynesBuddhistTemple01.JPG> (accessed 24 April 2016)

and Sri Lankan Buddhist systems.⁶⁵ Rather unusually according to a 2011 BBC news article the centre is planning to create a meditation cave below the property where there 'are about 450 man-made sandstone caves in Nottingham dating back to the medieval period.'⁶⁶

The Bodhi Garden Dharma Centre in Brighton is interesting for having had to give up its 'non-denominational dharma centre in the middle of the Lanes area in Brighton'⁶⁷, and to go back to renting rooms for meditation classes due to the costs of keeping the centre open being too high.

The Golden Buddha Centre in Devon consists of a meeting hall and a flat close by, with extension work currently taking place. This centre has a particular focus on 'helping the growing number of Buddhists who are looking to live a Buddhist way of life in retirement'.⁶⁸ Finally, the Buddhist Community Centre UK is a project to raise funds for a new non-sectarian centre, probably in Surrey or Hampshire.⁶⁹

Box 26: Summary from Mapping Exercise of Non-sectarian Buddhist Buildings in England

Summary from Mapping Exercise of Non-sectarian Buddhist Buildings in England

33 of the centres we found are from are what we are calling 'non-sectarian groups, with 25 of these from Triratna (previously called Friends of the Western Buddhist Order), 4 of which are listed buildings (Cambridge Buddhist Centre, grade II* listed, list entry number 1126148; London Buddhist Centre, grade II listed, list entry number 1065084; Norwich Buddhist Centre, grade II listed, list entry number 1051389; and Sheffield Buddhist Centre, grade II listed, list entry number 1270450). 15 of the Triratna buildings are in urban areas, 5 in suburban and 5 in rural, thus resembling the strong pattern of urban settlement that we also found with the NKT. As with the NKT the presence in the Midlands is weak, with only 1 centre, but in contrast to the NKT there are only 7 centres in the North and the most in the South with 17, only 3 of these in London.

There are striking similarities with the NKT in terms of the location of Buddhist centres. While the NKT is more focussed on the North and Triratna on the South, they both have more properties in urban areas than Theravadin or East Asian traditions and also tend not to be so concentrated in areas where high levels of diaspora Buddhists are located (i.e. they are not as concentrated in London or the Midlands). This fits what we know about Triratna and NKT as largely focusing on white British converts and also having a stronger 'missionary' dimension when compared to Theravadin or East Asian traditions on the whole. This explains their focus upon urban settings where they can become an established high street presence. The urban properties include shops, a renovated Georgian House and theatre, commercial properties, an old fire station and a former cotton warehouse. The suburban properties are more impressive and aesthetically pleasing than those belonging to some other Buddhist traditions suggesting a certain building type appeals to the community members seeking to establish centres. The 5 rural properties include old farm buildings that have been extended and refurbished, a Victorian rectory and country houses. We have come across two further Triratna Centres that have not been included in the database as they have not yet been completed. The

⁶⁵ <http://www.bodhayati.org.uk/about.html> (accessed 20/10/14)

⁶⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-nottinghamshire-13645404> (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁶⁷ <http://www.bodhigarden.org/geninfo.php> (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁶⁸ <http://www.goldenbuddha.org/Event=121> (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁶⁹ <http://www.bccuk.co.uk> (accessed 24 April 2016)

Southampton Buddhist Centre had plans to turn derelict pub into centre (2012; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-hampshire-18136526>) and the Worcester Buddhist Centre is fund raising for new centre.

The final 8 centres fall within the 'non-sectarian other' category. 4 of these are rural, 2 are urban and 2 are suburban. 3 of these are listed (the Buddhist Society in London, grade II listed, list entry number 1211499, Gaia House, Grade II listed, list entry number 1096703 and Sharpham Trust, Barn Rural Retreat Centre, grade II listed, list entry number 1108385).

6.4.1 Triratna

Our mapping has shown up 25 Triratna centres and around 30 more groups in England. The movement also has a tradition of people living in residential communities.⁷⁰ Triratna (which until 2010, was known as the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, or FWBO) is, according to Vishvapani (2001:5), 'a modern Buddhist movement that applies the universal insights of the Buddha in the new conditions of the modern world'. The FWBO was founded by Sangharakshita (formerly Denis Lingwood) in London in 1967. He had ordained in India in 1950 and was invited in 1963 by the English Sangha Trust to become head of the Hampstead Vihara. Then, while in India in 1966, he received a letter dismissing him from this role and he decided to set up his own movement 1967. As Vajragupta writes:

Many of those who attended the Hampstead Buddhist Vihara were unhappy with the way he had been treated, and rallied round him. Among them were Emile and Sara Boin, who ran Sakura, the 'oriental' shop in Monmouth Street, in the centre of London. They arranged for one of the basement rooms to be leased, and within two weeks of his return, Sangharakshita was running classes there. On the evening of 6 April 1967, about 24 people gathered and recited a ceremony specially written by Sangharakshita to dedicate the Triratna Meditation Room and Shrine of the Friends of the Western Sangha (2010: 6).

Following this, the first FWBO residential community was set up in 1968 at Sarum House in Purley, when some friends rented the property.⁷¹ In 1970 the lease on Sakura ended and it took 15 months of looking before 'eventually, Sangharakshita wrote to all the London boroughs asking for help. Two weeks later, in January 1972, a reply from Camden Council requested an urgent meeting' (Vajragupta 2010: 10). A small, disused factory building in Balmore Street, Highgate was offered to them and it became the Archway Centre. The movement attempted to create an 'alternative society, free from economic necessities and social expectations', with order members and others squatting in derelict houses

⁷⁰ <https://thebuddhistcentre.com/text/residential-community> (accessed 24 April 2015)

⁷¹ <http://interactivetimeline.com/546/triratna-timeline/24.php?w=480> (accessed 24 April 2015)

round the archway centre (Bluck 2006: 154). Eventually they left this centre as the area was earmarked for development and they moved to a new centre in Bethnal Green in London's East End. This became the London Buddhist Centre (box 27), which was 'converted and opened in 1978 ... with meditation, study and yoga classes, a cooperative which involved "printing, building and decorating, wholefood distribution and catering", and a residential community for 25 men' (2006: 154).

Box 27: London Buddhist Centre

Fieldwork Site
London Buddhist Centre (Triratna)
[The Lotus In the City](#)
grade II listed, list entry number 1065084



Former Bethnal Green Fire Station
source: authors' own

The London Buddhist Centre in Bethnal Green is housed within a former Victorian fire station, built in 1888-9 (grade II listed, list entry number 1065084). The Fire Station itself was affected by a large fire, and subsequently lay unused. It had become almost completely derelict by the time it was bought by the Triratna community (formerly known as the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, or FWBO) in 1975. The renovations were undertaken by members of the community.

Like Jamyang London, the London Buddhist Centre has retained a number of its original fixtures and fittings, and the renovation is certainly sympathetic to the former use and function of the Fire Station, which is a Grade II listed building. These include the bright red fire station carriage doors, the original outside gas lamps, and other features within the building itself, including a cast-iron safe, which now houses an image of a *bodhisattva* (an enlightened being). Buddhist art and iconography is integrated into the fabric of the

Fire Station in subtle ways. For example, the *tiratana* (the 'three jewels', the cornerstone of Buddhist practice, representing the Buddha, the Dharma (the teachings of the Buddha) and the Sangha (here, the Buddhist community) are pictorially represented in the high eaves of the outside of the Fire Station. Additionally, a large lotus mural has been painted on the side of the building, and Tibetan prayer flags fly in close proximity. The London Buddhist Centre is an iconic building which looms large within the Bethnal Green urban landscape, and is also surrounded by what the Buddhist centre community described as 'the Buddhist village' – a network of buildings, including a residential community, a charity shop, an arts centre, and a café which was formerly operated by the London Buddhist Centre, but which is now operated privately.

The London Buddhist Centre underwent a second phase of renovation work between 2007 and 2009 where they developed several rooms in the former coal cellar to house 'Breathing Space'; a community project to teach mindfulness meditation techniques for people suffering from depression, anxiety, and addiction. This renovation work was undertaken by professional builders, not least to ensure compliance with Disability Discrimination Act guidance on building accessibility. We were informed that the aesthetics of the building are highly important to this community, to create the most conducive environment for meditation. Indeed, as part of the 'Breathing Space' rooms, the London Buddhist Centre have come up with a creative way to make the space accessible for both Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. Using a triptych, which when opened reveals an image of the Buddha, surrounded by *bodhisattvas*, monks and nuns, and attendants, but when closed, depicts flowers; an example of contemporary art being used to change the nature of the built environment.

One particular issue that we identified at the London Buddhist Centre is the cost of building repairs, particularly significant ones, such as leaking roofs. This is certainly an ongoing problem for a number of the Buddhist centres that we visited, and occupies a great deal of community time and resources just to continue to maintain these buildings and make them serviceable and safe.

More centres opened in the mid to late 1970s in Manchester (box 28) and Norwich, and 'a building team went on from the London Buddhist Centre project to an old farmhouse in the Welsh hills, that was to become Vajraloka, a meditation retreat centre' (Vajragupta 2010:16-17). In 1976 a large property - Lesingham House - in the village of Surlingham in Norfolk became the movement's headquarters, and a men's community and retreat centre called Padmaloka opened there (2010: 72). A women's retreat centre opened in Wales in 1994 (Taraloka) and three more retreat centres have since been established: a new rural retreat centre Adhithana at Coddington Court, near Ledbury, Herefordshire, an adapted old house, which opened in 2013; Rivendell Buddhist retreat centre, in Sussex a Victorian rectory (1985); and Vajrasana, a retreat centre at Potash Farm, Suffolk.

Box 28: Manchester Buddhist Centre

Fieldwork site
Manchester Buddhist Centre (Tiratna)
[*Buddhism in the heart of Manchester*](#)



Manchester Buddhist Centre
source: authors' own

Manchester Buddhist Centre, part of the Tiratna Buddhist Community, occupies a large former cotton warehouse in the centre of Manchester's Northern Quarter. The almost derelict warehouse, built in the 1860s, was purchased in 1994. Manchester Buddhist Centre, originally established in 1977, previously owned a Victorian/Edwardian semi-

detached house in Chorlton, a Manchester suburb, but there was a strong aspiration to 'bring Buddhism into the City', and therefore, the search for appropriate, yet affordable, premises was initiated.



Buddha shrine
source: authors' own

The substantial warehouse that the community eventually bought was originally used to store cotton sent from America via Liverpool, and which was transported to Manchester on the ship canal. The community are not exactly sure what stage of the cotton manufacture process the warehouse was used for - whether it housed the cotton before or after it was woven in the neighbouring Lancashire mills - however, within the building are a number of significant features of this industrial heritage. Possibly the most fascinating of these are at the very top of the building, where the wooden beams still have the marks given to them at the dockyards, prior to being transported for building.

Although complete renovation was needed to the warehouse, the overall aim was to maintain as many original features as possible, whilst at the same time making the building serviceable for a working Buddhist Centre. In order to achieve this, the renovations were undertaken by 'stripping back' as opposed to building onto. As one of our informants told us, this was understood to be a reflection of 'a Buddhist model, a way of describing the Buddhist life, which is that you gradually remove the accretions – the dust and habit – to see the beauty'.



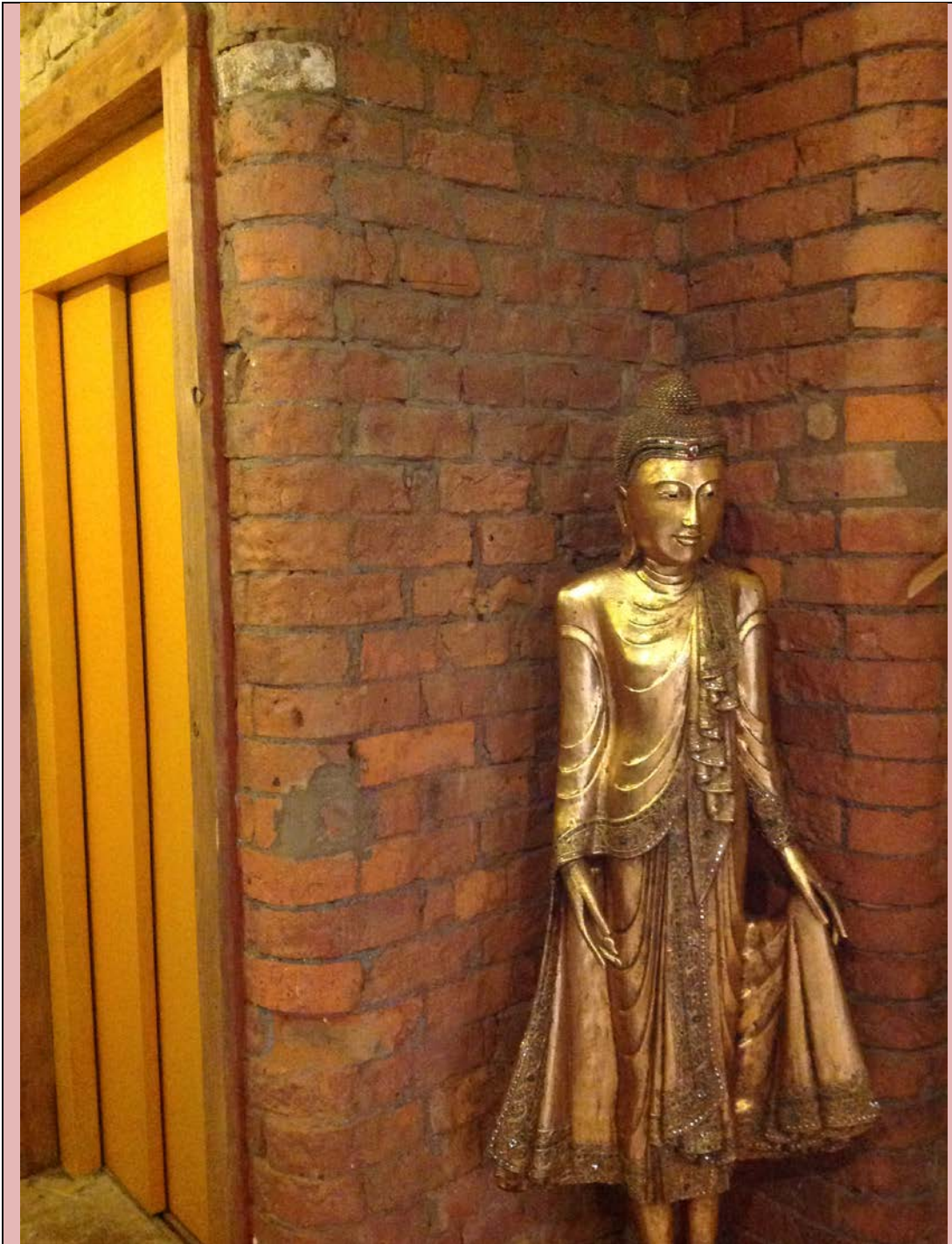
A mala (string of beads) cemented between the bricks

source: authors' own

As a result, many of these original features of the warehouse are integrated into the fabric of the Buddhist Centre, tying the building's former use and its current one together in synchronicity. The original warehouse stairs, a remarkable feature, worn down in the centre after years of use are retained, as is the Victorian fire alarm which is a feature in the principal shrine room. As one of our informants explained:

This building's not just ours, it is part of the history of Manchester, and we hold it for posterity.

The initial renovations were completed entirely by volunteers, often using recycled materials, including floorboards, which were donated by a local school. It was a highly ambitious project and conducted on a tight budget. Furthermore, it was physically arduous to undertake the renovations, including the sanding of the floors and beams, but was seen to be part of Buddhist practice and contributed to the development of a strong, and stable, Buddhist community, through the 'blood, sweat, and tears'. Manchester Buddhist Centre officially opened to the public in 1996, after two years of renovations. However, building work was ongoing after this date, notably to the Earth Café, one of the businesses housed within the Buddhist Centre. Indeed, in a building of this size and age, numerous renovations are needed on an ongoing basis, including to the roof and period windows, and this is a significant financial commitment.



A Buddha Rupa

source: authors' own

Yet, alongside retaining these original features, the community of Manchester Buddhist Centre have also integrated Buddhist objects into the fabric of the building. Again in the shrine room, people have placed Buddhist sacred objects – mala beads, *vajra* bells and semi-precious stones - into the mortar between the bricks, and under the shrine room floor there are Buddhist pictures, blessings, and mantras. This way, if the building is ever occupied by another group or community, its recent history as a Buddhist Centre will also be remembered.

Manchester Buddhist Centre is used by a large number of people each week, for different reasons, including for meditation and Buddhist courses, visiting the café or health centre,

which offers yoga and alternative therapies and a Breathworks clinic, for those suffering from chronic pain. The Buddhist Centre is also home to Clear Vision Trust which produces audio-visual materials about Buddhism, including for schools (also see Bluck, 2006:155). There is also a community of people living within the building, and there is a shop, a library, and offices for the people working in the Buddhist Centre. Furthermore, the Buddhist Centre also hire space to charities or community groups for meetings and training days. When space was allocated for these businesses to develop, it was with the intention of fostering what was called the 'dana economy'. *Dana* is a Buddhist concept meaning generosity, and, we were told, 'there was a vision attached (to the development of the building)...that was very much about trying to change society'.

For our informants, Manchester Buddhist Centre is significant for a number of reasons. The first is because it acts as 'an oasis in the heart of the city' offering an opportunity to help people with the suffering (*dukkha*) they experience in life. One informant stated:

I've heard many people say ...that nothing else helped them with the desperation that they felt. So, they may associate the building with that, and it therefore has an enormous place in their hearts.

In addition, the importance of the building lies within the fostering of community relationships:

I think that the key meaning of the building is to create community. It's a vehicle for teaching the Dharma and creating Buddhist community.

Triratna has become one of the most popular and geographically widespread Buddhist organisations in England and the heritage of its practices are rooted in different Buddhist traditions. It is commonly seen by scholars as an organisation which has undertaken some of the most 'conspicuous adaptation' of Buddhist practices to the British cultural context (Bluck, 2006: 177) including its non-sectarian approach. As Bluck writes 'Sangharakshita has encouraged disciples to form "new societies in miniature", where single-sex communities, Right Livelihood businesses and Dharma centres provide 'a radical alternative' to the family, work and leisure' (2006: 169).

The numerous Triratna centres, usually in urban locations, are seen as the main way of spreading the *dharma* (Bluck 2006: 169; box 29 West London Buddhist Centre). Many Triratna centres are located in old houses, but a number occupy more unusual premises. The Manchester Buddhist Centre (see box 28) is one example, as is the Cambridge Buddhist Centre 'formed partly of a renovated Georgian house and partly of the 'Barnwell' or 'Festival' theatre and foyer, a grade II listed building.'⁷² Bluck stresses that

The FWBO places a particularly high value on the arts, and the rich tradition of Buddhist architecture, sculpture and painting is seen as an important 'focus for devotion and inspiration'...It is thus no surprise to find FWBO centres, communities and businesses described as 'attempts to create oases of aesthetic

⁷² http://www.cambridgebuddhistcentre.com/cbc/CBC_history.php (accessed April 24 2016)

harmony amidst the deserts of discord'... Bell (1991: 110) referred to the 'uncluttered design, high quality workmanship and restrained colour schemes' often seen at FWBO centre (2006: 176).

As Bell writes in her PhD thesis (1991: 171): 'the urban location of the FWBO centres makes them accessible and apparent to large numbers of people, unlike the Theravāda monasteries which are situated outside towns and cities. The FWBO retreat centres offer a chance for those same urbanites to escape to the country. The beauty and seclusion of the surroundings of the rural retreat centres feature as an attraction in their publicity materials.'

Box 29: West London Buddhist Centre

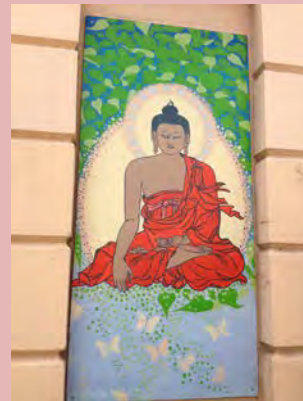
**Fieldwork Site
West London Buddhist Centre (Triratna)**



West London Buddhist Centre
source: authors' own

West London Buddhist Centre was of interest to us primarily because, at the time we visited, it was in the process of moving from a smaller, Victorian property to a modern building designed specifically for their needs. West London Buddhist Centre, affiliated with Triratna, bought its current building in Westbourne Park, West London, twenty years previously. Prior to this, the community owned another building on New Portobello Road, and before this, had rented rooms. The building currently occupied was not considered ideal when originally purchased, in the main because of its small size, and the community had made several earlier attempts to relocate, but had not found a suitable space that could also be used as a 'non-residential institution' (D1) in planning terms and which was also affordable in affluent West London.

They had begun to look further afield when the opportunity to do a property swap with a brand-new building arose. This building, which will consist of luxury flats, with a starting price of £1.6 million pounds, with a space on the ground floor for the Buddhist Centre, will be ready to move into in mid-October 2014. In fact, the proximity of the Buddhist Centre to the flats has been used as a selling point, and they even featured in the July 2014 edition of British Vogue. West London Buddhist Centre was able to complete the property swap principally because property prices in the area had risen significantly, allowing enough financial capital to participate in the transaction. However, the community has still required a substantial amount of professional assistance in negotiating, purchasing and designing the space, and has involved consultation with VAT experts, solicitors, planners, and architects.



According to our informant, designing a building from scratch is 'unprecedented in (the Triratna) movement' as more commonly, Triratna Buddhist Centres have been located in adapted existing buildings, such as the fire station in Bethnal Green for the London Buddhist Centre.

Working with a professional architects firm has allowed the West London Buddhist Centre to make its mark on the building, and enabled the community to get, as far as possible within the limits of the space, exactly what they think will suit, and reflect the needs and temperament of their community members. This has included taking a rather minimalist approach, involving more muted colour schemes, fewer images of the Buddha or Tibetan *thankas*, for example. What is most interesting is the process that West London Buddhist Centre has been through with their architects firm. It has worked together to design a building that includes an open, public, space, but that as one moves deeper into the building, the space becomes smaller, more private, and quiet, as if in an inner sanctum. It was explained to us that this mirrors the process of meditation, moving from a loud, busy mind, to one which has been quietened and stilled. However, all of these conceptual decisions, as well as the plans for decoration, have been part of a much larger process of consultation within the community, to ensure that the new building space reflects the needs of as many as possible. Furthermore, the community does not plan to only use professionals to assist them in developing the space, but also to draw on volunteers as well. We were told that this was important to build and strengthen a sense of community.



Once the West London Buddhist Centre moves into its new building, it plans to use the space to host larger events, and will have a dedicated yoga studio. The community is planning to offer a wider range of events, including a more 'secular' mindfulness course,

which, it is anticipated, will take place within the studio. The result of which will, no doubt, be a widening of its membership and a broadening of the community.

7. A Survey of Buddhist Buildings in England: thematic analysis and discussion

7.1 Introduction

Whereas section 6 outlined the history of different types of Buddhism in England alongside a detailed mapping/survey of the buildings used by Buddhists both historically and today, this section provides a thematic analysis and discussion that is oriented around the questions asked in the face-to-face interviews and the online survey.

We carried out 15 visits and in-depth interviews at a selection of Buddhist buildings in England. For these interviews we visited some of the 'iconic' examples of building reuse and new building rather than the more numerous and straight forward conversion/reuse of houses and other buildings. These are captured in the mapping and are contextualised in the discussion in section 6. As outlined in section 6 above, in addition to the Buddhist Society in London, we visited 5 Theravāda buildings, 4 Tibetan, 3 East Asian and 3 from the non-sectarian Buddhist organisation, Triratna.

In terms of the online survey, we had 24 respondents, drawn from a range of Buddhist traditions and groups, including Tibetan (Karma Kagyu, Gelug, notably the FPMT), Triratna, Pureland, Zen, Thai Theravāda, Insight Meditation Tradition, and those not affiliated with one single tradition. As can be seen from the following list, a large number of our survey respondents were affiliated with Triratna, reflecting the number of centres and groups that they have in England:

1. Wat Phra Singh UK
2. Amaravati Temple (Forest Sangha)
3. West London Buddhist Centre
4. Maitri House, Blackburn Buddhist Centre (Triratna)
5. Kagyu Samye Dzong – Spa Road
6. The Buddhist Hospice Trust
7. Manchester Buddhist Centre (Triratna)
8. Sheffield Buddhist Centre (Triratna)
9. Birmingham Buddhist Centre (Triratna)
10. Padmaloka Retreat Centre (Triratna)
11. Croydon Buddhist Centre (Triratna)
12. The Buddhist House (Tariki Trust, Pureland)
13. The Old Abbey House (Triratna, Cambridge)
14. London Buddhist Centre (Triratna)
15. Shobo-an (Zen)
16. Norwich Buddhist Centre (Triratna)
17. Lam Rim Bristol Buddhist Centre (Tibetan)
18. Gaia House (non-affiliated)
19. London Buddhist Vihara

20. Vajrasana Retreat Centre (Triratna)
21. The Barn Retreat (Insight)
22. Golden Buddha Centre (non-affiliated)
23. Jamyang Leeds (Tibetan Gelug)
24. Stonewater Zen Centre (Soto Zen)

The survey respondents were reasonably well spread in terms of geographical location, with 4 located in the North West of England, 2 in Yorkshire and Humber, 2 in the East and West Midlands, 4 in the East of England, 5 in London, 3 in the South East, and 4 in the South West. There were no survey respondents from the North East of England. The results of the survey will be integrated into the discussion below.

7.2 Finding and developing the buildings

Each site that we visited had a story to tell about the process of the arrival and establishment of their tradition or group in England, typically dating to the 1960s and 1970s. The Buddhist Society in London is much older than this and the Diamond Way more recent, but generally the groups studied fit the profile of arrival or emergence in the post-war period.⁷³ Most had also previously occupied other buildings in England, and the move to and development of the current property was part of a process of a period of settlement followed by efforts to lay down more permanent roots. Most of the buildings we visited were examples of building re-use and extension, adapting existing properties for use by different Buddhist traditions. This pattern of development was also reflected by our survey respondents. Out of 24 survey respondents, only one group existed in England prior to 1960 – the London Buddhist *vihara*, established in 1926. 17 groups were established in England between 1960 and 1980, and four emerged after this. Only 3 out of the 24 survey respondents had not occupied a different building prior to the one they were currently using, and for most, the trajectory of their establishment in England included meeting, in the early days, in a private, domestic residence. 5 survey respondents had occupied more than one building previously, some rented, some bought. Only 3 of the groups had occupied the same building since the 1970s, with eleven groups having only been in their current premises since the year 2000.

The most typical rationale given by survey respondents as to why they moved location was a need for more space to house a growing Buddhist community, and wanting a more long-term base for the community. However, subsidiary reasons included wanting to be more close to a city-centre and wanting to be able to develop a space in exactly the way that

⁷³ However, during the course of our fieldwork, we were alerted to a very early example of Buddhist building in Surrey, by John Whitbourn of the New Buddha Way group (<http://www.newbuddhaway.org/>). We were told that Henry Haversham Godwin-Austen (1834-1923), who had converted to Buddhism following a period of time spent in Burma, had constructed a shrine (likely, we were told, in or around 1900), in the Burmese style, in the grounds of his house that was 'probably made of Burmese stone'. This shrine was all but ignored until the 1960s, when the house was renovated. We did not get a chance to visit this shrine during this fieldwork, but it is important to note that this is a complement to the dominance of post-war building work we focused on.

they wanted without the restrictions inherent within a rented property. In addition, some respondents cited that the building they previously occupied was not attractive (or the landscape it was in was not attractive) and therefore they wished to move somewhere that was more aesthetically pleasing. Furthermore, for one group, they were asked to leave a rented building as it was being redeveloped for another use.

21 out of 24 survey respondents were currently using renovated or adapted buildings; 2 were using rented space in office blocks and only 1 group occupied a space built purposely for their use. For those who occupied an adapted building, the range of previous uses was remarkable, and included private houses, agricultural buildings, shops, a synagogue, a warehouse, a social club, a solicitor's office, and a dance school. One of the survey respondents highlighted that their building had had multiple previous uses, including a language school, and 18th Century gentleman's bath house, council offices and a church. Of those survey respondents whose group occupied a renovated or adapted building, the majority of these were Victorian (10). However, there were 4 groups who occupied older buildings (or parts of buildings), which originated in the 17th Century or earlier. For example, Gaia House in Newton Abbott, Devon, who occupy buildings constructed initially in 1588 (and later re-built in 1780, and the 1960s) and Triratna Cambridge who occupy the Old Abbey House, of which some parts were constructed in the 16th Century. 4 occupied renovated/adapted 20th Century buildings.⁷⁴

A vast majority (21/24) of survey respondents informed us that they currently owned, rather than rented, their buildings. Of these, only 8 of the buildings referred to in the survey were currently on the Historic England List, and this was, in all cases, as a result of previous use (i.e. they were not listed as a Buddhist Centre).

Notably, the survey respondents identified a range of ways that they initially became aware of the current building they occupied. These included, through the Local Authority, Estate Agents and official advertising, and a dedicated property search. However, some survey respondents highlighted that they had found their current property almost accidentally, through either discovering a vacant building in their local area, or being told about a potential building through 'word-of-mouth'. For some, the building that they currently occupied was previously owned by a community member or supporter. Although it is difficult to summarise quickly what is a complex and varied process for Buddhist groups, the typical process with which Buddhist groups engage in order to acquire a new building occurs over 4 stages:

⁷⁴ Some survey respondents indicated that their buildings had elements built in different eras, often having undergone renovation and adaptation over several centuries. However, here we have noted the earliest date given.

- The first, if a building was being purchased, raising money, including through donations and mortgages, sometimes from supporters in the UK, but for certain groups (notably those linked to a particular Buddhist tradition with 'Head-Quarters' located outside the UK) financial support was obtained from abroad.
- The second stage is to engage in discussion with estate agents or lease-holders.
- The third stage is to investigate planning permission, particularly if significant changes were being made to the building, or if a building was being changed to D1 usage.
- Finally, for those groups undertaking significant renovation work (or completing a purpose-built structure), consulting with architects, designers, surveyors and planners.

However, for the Stonewater Zen Centre in Liverpool, who rented space in a building, the process was slightly different. They initially shared the space with a karate *dojo* and a shiatsu school, each having the room once a week. Over a period of time, the Buddhist group began to rent the room more frequently, until the opportunity arose for them to take the lease over in entirety.

Amongst survey respondents, a range of rationales were given for selecting their current building, although **location**, **price** and **suitability** were the most frequently given answers. The first, the location of the building, was seen by many as of paramount importance. Particularly, ease of access (including by public transport) was deemed to be relevant in the decision to choose a particular building. Equally important was cost – and this was expressly mentioned by the groups who were given a building, or allowed to occupy a particular space for a reduced cost. The importance of having increased space for a growing community was an additional motivating factor that attracted groups to particular buildings. For some, the idea that a building had 'great character, and also lots of potential' was significant. However, one respondent highlighted that a building was attractive to their community because it needed little work, and was ready to move into.

Moving on to consider the field-work sites, Wat Buddhapadipa had originally occupied a house in East Sheen, with the temple or *wat* that was established there being granted Thai Royal Patronage in 1965 (see box 9). The property was paid for by 'the proceeds of public subscriptions and a grant from the Government' (1982: 26). Some alterations were made to the property so that it could accommodate Buddhist Practice, including a number of small huts that were erected in the grounds for meditation, which were 'subsequently declared by the local authorities as unfit and had to be removed' (1982: 28). Nonetheless, 'with the exception of a small signboard outside, there were no other external indications to show the existence of a Thai Buddhist Temple...[and]...Thai visitors to London calling at the Temple were somewhat disappointed' (1982: 28). This fits the profile suggested by Peach and Gale (2003) of a non-conspicuous presence of minority faith buildings in their early phases. By 1971, discussions were

underway to build a 'Thai style chapel' and plans were generated to which there were 'numerous objections based on misunderstandings and misapprehensions' (1982: 30). While plans were being discussed, including the idea to demolish the house in Sheen and build a temple anew on the site, Barrogill House in Wimbledon came up for sale with 4 acres of land. 'No obstacle' was met in the process of obtaining planning permission for the temple there, and no conditions were attached 'except for the parking requirement for such a public place' (1982: 32). Our interviewee explained that 'we had special dispensation because it was permission sought from a foreign government. So the planning was quite easy.' He also told us that the temple is one of 'only two architecturally perfect examples of Thai architecture outside Asia.' Neither Barrogill House nor the purpose built temple are listed, although being completed in 1982 the temple is old enough to be designated. However, building in a traditional style had also meant that traditional materials and design had been used which were not well suited to a British climate, with the roof tiles cracking when they froze in the winter and the marble flooring outside the temple becoming slippery and dangerous in the damp wet weather.

Another site where the focus is on a traditional structure is the Bhutanese style *stupa* in the grounds of Harewood House. However, in selecting the materials for the *stupa* the Earl of Harewood deviated from traditional materials and instead insisted on using Yorkshire stone, despite the initial reservations of the Bhutanese builders who felt it should be whitewashed and made out of concrete, as in Bhutan (see box 20).

The Buddhist Society in Ecclestone Square, Fo Guang Shan and SGI-UK, similar to Wat Buddhapadipa, had significant financial support for their establishment. This is in contrast to other places that we visited, where it was the dedication and hands-on work of community members that renovated buildings and raised money. The Buddhist Society took up its current place in Ecclestone Square, London, in 1956 in a property that had previously been a family house. As our interviewee explained, it was through 'the kindness of someone associated with the society that we had the option to rent it—well, we were able to rent it with the option to buy it...we had the option to buy it, providing it always remain as a Buddhist society.' Any major work that the house has required has been made possible via donations from benefactors, the rent from 3 flats in the building, and membership fees to the Buddhist Society. Interestingly, other Buddhist groups have also contributed to the upkeep of the building – reflecting its position as a shared resource amongst different Buddhist groups in London. Our interviewee told us that when the shrine room was recently decorated by 'Fo Guang Shan, and (Wat) Buddhadadipa paid for the wallpaper, and then re-inaugurated the room for us.' We asked if any of society members had picked up paintbrushes in the past, and were told 'back in the 60s, we had volunteers painting it, but the trouble is that they boxed in things like the fireplace.'

Fo Guang Shan, too, had outside support to establish its centre in London 20 years ago, this time from Taiwan where the headquarters of the

organisation is located (see box 22). The London temple was the first to be set up in the UK and there is now another one in Manchester located in a former library. The temple we visited is located in the heart of London, in a Grade II listed building, a former seminary of the Oxford Movement close to Oxford Street and Chinatown. From the outside of the building it is not immediately obvious that there is a temple there, and our interviewee told us that ideally 'in Europe, we also want to build a traditional Chinese temple. But most countries don't allow us to do that. Except [in] Amsterdam. So we have Chinese-style temple there.' Our interviewee, one of three nuns living there, also explained that lots of work had been done on the building since they moved in. However, they currently had a problem with the roof and Historic England had been involved in discussions about how to manage it.

Similarly, Soka Gakkai International UK had help to buy their lavish property – Taplow Court (box 24) – from the main headquarters in Japan. Our interviewee explained that,

We used to be in a building in Richmond in Surrey, which was actually a shop on a corner by the green. So we had the shop front and some rooms above, but it wasn't a big building, and the main chanting room was a little bit bigger than this building, but that was it. So we outgrew it really. That was bought when there were about 2,000 members, and we just outgrew it. So we started in 1985/6 looking for a new building, and we bought a building in Blackheath, which had been a convent. And it needed quite a lot of work doing on it. It wasn't huge, but it was a good size, and we had to take down a wall or two to make a bigger chanting room. And so on. So we were happily getting on with that and the builders were in. And one night it burnt down.

Following this set back, SGI-UK was fortunate to have support from Japan to look for another building. When they found Taplow Court they sent the details to the headquarters in Japan, thinking that it was too expensive. However, when Mr Ikeda – the leader of the organisation saw it – 'he said 'go for it—try and get it'.' They put in a sealed bid and 'we crossed our fingers and chanted lots' and they were successful even though there were higher bids. Our interviewee explained that:

I think they felt that we were going to look after the building, because the other people were hotel groups, or people wanting to convert into fancy flats or things like that. I think there was an idea to convert it into a super-duper gym type place. These types of things. And the local people didn't want any of that. They weren't sure if they wanted us either, to be honest, at the time.

In contrast to the groups discussed below, while Taplow Court was not in the best fit for purpose when SGI-UK took it over, it was not derelict. It took the organisation two years to do it up but 'we had the funds...so we brought in contractors. And we wanted to care about the building, and take

it back... Not just convert it into what we wanted, but to look at it as a building with history. And we were lucky enough to find various photographs.'

Taplow Court is the main HQ for SGI-UK and there are 3 other centres all in London, 'the Acton one is a big old double-fronted house. The Brixton building...an old building that's been renovated. And the one in King's Cross was a convent.' As SGI is a lay movement, none of their buildings house monastic practitioners. In contrast to many other Buddhist organisations SGI-UK, despite being the 3rd largest group with around 13,000 members, organises itself through local groups that tend to 'meet in people's homes. If it's a bigger study meeting, they might rent a small hall or something like that.'

In contrast to the buildings of Wat Buddhapadipa, the Buddhist Society, Fo Guang Shan and SGI-UK, the others that we visited have involved much more community-led renovation and organisation, without significant financial input from outside, particularly in the early days of the community. A number of these involved taking over large public buildings. This had an advantage for Buddhist practice, since according to our interviewees at Jamyang London,

all these building had a big hall of some kind—a big space or hall. Schools have assembly halls, the [library] in Bermondsey had an upstairs function room,⁷⁵ we have our big court-room, the swimming pool⁷⁶ is a huge space. All of these buildings have a big space, and that is obviously an attraction for a Buddhist centre because you want to have a shrine room, and lots of small spaces.

The first centre that we visited was the Jamyang Meditation Centre in London belonging to the Tibetan Gelug FPMT organisation (see box 16). Unlike the centres discussed just above, in order to buy the building they got a mortgage. We were told that they had to persuade,

108 supporters—an important Buddhist number, 108—to fund us to the extent of £1,000 each as donations, so that gave us enough money ... to get a mortgage to buy it, and we've been very fortunate that we have—so they paid that over three years I think it was...So that was enough to persuade our very kind bank, which is one of these private banks—not a regular one—and the man who ran it was very kind to us and was prepared to grant it to us given that we showed him the 108 supporters who were all signed up. So we were able to pay the mortgage off within five years.

⁷⁵ Kagyu Samye Dzong, Box 13

⁷⁶ Kagyu Samye Dzong, Box 13

Sorting out the building took about a year and ‘lots of people mucked in—volunteers. People from the local South London building college came along as volunteers because there was lots of plastering and all the kinds of trades they needed to learn to do. So they were very helpful’. A National Lottery grant of around £300,000 was secured to fix the roof, which was ‘replaced exactly as it was’ under guidance from (as then) English Heritage. We were told that,

because it was public money, it had to go out to tender, and the firm that won the tender to repair the roof turned out to be the firm that had built the building, and they were still in business. They mostly make and repair, well they mostly made churches, but they built this place. When you see the main temple, you’ll see it’s quite like a church. And they’ve been repairing churches ever since, which is an ongoing business for them, so they were still in business. That was really a surprise. That was *karma* working.

The work on the roof was not the only contact that Jamyang had with English Heritage, and our interviewees explained how the listing process had actually enabled them to buy the building rather than it being sold to a developer:

We put in a bid [in 1993] and there was a developer who put in a bid. And we couldn’t outbid the developer. But the local authority was very helpful and listed the building and wouldn’t allow a change of use...from a public building... the developer dropped out in the end and although we had to bid at an auction—and it was quite a nail-biting auction, because other charities were interested in the building as well—we were able to purchase it, and we moved in in 1995, to find that the floor was covered in lead. Our big temple floor was covered in lead, which was to stop the judges being blown up by bombs underneath... The judge’s area was surrounded by 2 inch thick bullet-proof glass, which we also had to get rid of.

Similar projects involving the renovation of public buildings were also undertaken at the Beaufoy Institute (Diamond Way) and the Triratna centres in Manchester and Bethnal Green. We first heard about the Diamond Way renovation at the Beaufoy Institute from our interviewees at Jamyang and since it was close by visited it the following day. We did not conduct our interview about this renovation until a few weeks later after making a formal appointment, but we were allowed in to look around the building upon our initial visit. At that time the building was still largely dilapidated, with holes in the floor, broken windows and sleeping bags littered around belonging to the volunteers working on the project. It is a vast building with a large hall, which was to be used as the shrine room.

Our interviewee from the Diamond Way group told us that, until finding this building, they had ‘rented properties...and met in people’s homes, met in

people's rented properties for that purpose, or hired shops or other properties, but we haven't actually bought anything until now.' He explained to us that they had been looking for properties for a while and had 'cut London up into chunks...made separate little teams who looked at the websites, who pounded the streets, and one of our community walked down the street and saw it [the Beaufoy Institute], and said 'what is that?' And then we looked into it'. He explained that,

The process started through a closed-bidding process with Lambeth council, who were selling the property in 2011. I think it was April/May 2011, and then we had a very short time to put a bid together- like one month or so...they had other plans and things, but I think the reason why we got it is because we had a business plan, and we'd worked with some guidance from the lady who helps charities put business plans together, and such like, and we had a small grant from the London development authority / agency—LDA—at one stage. So we'd kind of been through the loop of putting a professional business plan together, and it is, on our understanding of how other Buddhist centres function, that we can do it.

He emphasised a number of times that their aim was that the building should be renovated to the highest standard so that it lasted for a long time, but also that, 'we don't want to completely change it because we have some ideology behind it from the beginning, because generally the original architects have a good idea of how building should function, and they design it ever so well'. Moreover, he told us that,

we're not going to turn the Beaufoy into a Tibetan looking temple, because it's not. We're not trying to recreate something. We do have centres that look like that because they lend themselves in their architectural design, or they were built to be that. But we don't try to convert something from what it is into something else so much. Our *gompas* tend to be a lot more minimalist than Tibetans,and I love to see that in its right place, but ours will be quite simple and high quality, hopefully elegant, if we can manage it.

However, much of the work was being done by volunteers and this was not easy for them particularly during the winter when 'the main hall was 2 degrees in March inside, and the problem was that the paint stripper wouldn't work at under 4 degrees. It was bitter, really bitter. And there's no way that you can pump and heat into that space.' He also pointed out that the Beaufoy family had been in contact and had come to visit 'because they're really touched by the ethos behind what we're trying to do. Because we're repairing each individual tile in that building, and we've got people flying in from all over Europe to help us with specific skills.' We were told that,

generally we do look for properties that need a lot of renovation, because it's part of the process for us, and we like the idea of renovating old factories. So, we've got a place...in Germany called the Buddha-Factory⁷⁷ ...an old factory in Braunschweig...a huge industrial place, compared to another place, which is really the crown jewel of what we've been doing, called the Europe Centre—and you'll find it online under Europe Centre⁷⁸—and that's in the alpine foothills, and it's a grade I listed mansion built by the Martini family.

Learning from the experiences of other Diamond Way groups who had developed properties in other European countries where the movement is more established has also been key:

starting with properties in Copenhagen and grants in Austria and other places – then they've bought properties, they've renovated them, and they've got a model for what we're looking for. So, whilst we're starting completely fresh in the UK, a lot of us are very well travelled and have visited lots of Buddhist centres around the world, and we're quite clear what we're looking for. So we've been saving money and fund-raising for ten years, keeping an eye out.

The hardships and dedication necessary to renovate such buildings was also stressed at two of the Triratna places we visited. The London Buddhist Centre (LBC) is in a renovated fire station in Bethnal Green (see box 27) and the Manchester Buddhist Centre, is in an old warehouse (see box 28). As with Jamyang and the Diamond Way, the LBC community members had looked all over London for a suitable building and had previously occupied a rented place, but hoped for somewhere larger and more permanent and suitable to the growing Buddhist community. It took the LBC community three years to renovate the old fire station. According to Vajragupta (2010: 14) in a recent history of Triratna:

There, on the main road, was a huge, many-storeyed, red-brick Victorian civic building – an old fire station that had been empty for five years. Slowly but surely, it was starting to decay. It had become a den where local children and teenagers hung out. The walls and timbers were black and charred where they'd started fires. Graffiti was daubed on the walls. Someone else had painted over the graffiti: 'NO KIDS ON THE ROOF'. It stank of urine. Most of the windows had gone and were boarded over with corrugated iron, which had then been fly-postered.

In this first renovation phase, community members and volunteers undertook all of the work. Some of them lived within the building itself whilst the renovations were underway, and were exposed to rather austere circumstances, including, at one stage, when the building had no window

⁷⁷ <http://www.buddha-fabrik.de/de/> (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁷⁸ <http://europe-center.org> (accessed 24 April 2016)

glass, and was almost completely exposed to the elements. Again, according to Vajragupta (2010: 15),

A team of men moved in and started work in June 1975. They slept on the floor on sleeping bags, meditated together in the morning in the skeleton of the old fire station, worked hard all day on its renovation, studied and did *puja* in the evenings.

Some of those who did these renovations then took their skills to future renovation and building projects within the movement. Today the area round the LBC is sometimes called a 'Buddhist village' where in addition to the Buddhist centre, there is a group of houses and businesses linked to the local Buddhist community. The businesses include a charity shop (the wonderfully named Lama's Pyjamas), a vegetarian restaurant, and an arts space.

While the initial renovation work for this huge project was undertaken almost entirely by volunteers drawn from the Buddhist community and the local area, for a second round of renovations, professional builders were used (although the project was still entirely managed by Triratna members).

The Manchester Buddhist Centre is similarly located in a building that has required much volunteer labour and hardship in order to renovate it. Originally housed in an old house in Chorlton 'there was...a vision of bringing Buddhism into the city and engaging with the city more directly. So, this building was a shell effectively. It was a derelict warehouse, built in the 1860s.' The house in Chorlton was sold and the proceeds, along with a mortgage used to help purchase the warehouse:

it was a cotton warehouse...the raw cotton was shipped in from the southern states of America, from the plantations. It would have come in through Liverpool docks, up the ship canal, and probably was stored in a building like this, before being sent out to the mills in Lancashire for spinning and weaving. And then the finished cloth would come back to a warehouse like this, before being sent out for retail. So nobody knows exactly what stage of the cotton trade it was used—whether it was used for both ends of the trade, but we've been told that it was a cotton warehouse.

The building was purchased in 1994 and the community spent 2 years doing it up:

people were living on a shoe-string, and there were times that we didn't think that we had enough money to feed people...there were times when the finances were really stretched. And there was a lot of concern and worry about actually completing what we needed to do.

While much of the labour has been voluntary and the centre is financed via donations, some grants have been received, such as from English Heritage (now Historic England) to restore the windows.⁷⁹ A particular emphasis was placed by our interviewees on the importance of maintaining 'as many as the original features as possible. But, at the same time, gutting it, and converting it to be used as a Buddhist centre' and indeed throughout the building there are reminders of the building's past that have been retained. Worries over maintaining and paying for the building, however, have not subsided and we were told 'we've got a quarter of a million pounds to spend on maintaining the building, so we need to find a way of reconciling that if we want to stay here. It's just a realistic financial issue.' The problems faced are typical of many of these old buildings: roofs, windows, insulation/heating and disabled access.

Indeed, our survey responses provide further support for this claim. Although 13 survey respondents stated that they were not currently facing issues in relation to the upkeep of their existing buildings, 11 respondents claimed that they were, and that these were significant. These issues included the costs associated with on-going repairs (particularly to the roof of a building, and the addition of central heating); the costs of ensuring appropriate disabled access; and upgrades to plumbing, electrics, and sound insulation. One of the survey respondents (Triratna Vajrasana Retreat Centre in Bury St. Edmunds) informed us that their centre is currently closed from May 2014, as it is undergoing significant renovation and remodelling, in order to essentially 'purpose-build' a retreat centre 'for the 21st Century', at a cost of £4.5 million. The aim is that this retreat centre will be open in the autumn of 2015.

Both for the Manchester Buddhist Centre and the London Buddhist Centre it is a serious on-going concern to ensure that such large buildings are kept up to scratch – and the number of things that could go wrong must completely occupy the time of the involved community members. But, it is a labour of love, and of purpose. In both places we were told that the aesthetics of the building are highly important, and certainly very carefully considered, to provide the most conducive and welcoming atmosphere for meditation and Buddhist practice.

Of a much larger scale, however, than either of the two Triratna places just described, is the Madhyamaka Kadampa Meditation Centre, located in the Grade II* listed Kilnwick Percy Hall, near York. As with the Manchester centre sympathetic renovation was stressed. Again as our interviewee explained much of the work over the years has been done with volunteer labour but that today the preference was to bring in professionals to carry out work where possible (see box 17):

anybody who has skills who anybody knew... they were called in and asked to help...now I think that we would put more

⁷⁹ <http://www.manchesterbuddhistcentre.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/finance-insert-Padmarashin-with-date.pdf> (accessed 24 April 2016)

emphasis on...[getting]... contractors to do jobs. Like if we replaced the boiler in the basement, then we're not going to get volunteers to do that.... But we get quite a few volunteers coming through, and generally, as routine, I ask them 'can you do brick laying?' 'Can you do plastering?' And most of the time people can't. But when people can, you really get so much done... Like we have working weeks, where people come on working visits... So, we get fresh people each week. And you know when somebody comes who can do plastering, for example, that you're going to have a very useful week.

While the house had been purchased with a mortgage, today the costs of upkeep come from people who live there and income from meditation classes, courses, and retreats, a bed and breakfast, a café and a gift shop. In addition to renovation costs there are also huge bills to meet for gas and electricity. She explained that 'we ask for donations, but we don't put that much effort into it because, now we're open to the public, you don't want to be in-your-face asking them for money every time someone walks through the door. At the moment, we do have a bit of a fundraising thing going on to try to improve the drive[way].'

Because the building is Grade II* listed the community is restricted in the changes that they can make. For instance, they recently needed to put an extractor fan in the kitchen 'as a legal requirement, otherwise we'd get our kitchen shut down. And so the man from the council came out. And we weren't allowed to take it through the wall, but we were allowed to take it through the window. Well, we could have taken it through the wall if we'd done a listed buildings application. But they could have said no.'

This pattern of choosing reasonably priced, dilapidated properties that require lots of work was also found at Throssel Hole Abbey, in the Serene Reflection Meditation Tradition (Zen), in a remote valley near Hexham, Northumberland, belonging to the Order of the Buddhist Contemplatives (OBC). The OBC was set up in by Rev. Master Jiyu-Kennett, a female Zen teacher who had trained in Japan in the early 1960s. According to our interviewee it was the wish of Kennett's teacher 'that Buddhism would spread to the West' and when she first came to England they hired places to meet. Eventually, our interviewee explained, a 'disciple of Rev. Master Jiyu's, who was English...obviously wanted to help things along' and found the remote property where the Abbey is now located. It was an attractive location partly because it was cheap but another factor could have been that it was in the 'middle of nowhere' and 'in the East...a Zen monastery is halfway up a mountain. It takes a lot of getting to'.

When the community first arrived in 1972 there was a farmhouse and barns that had,

apparently been used as some sort of hippy commune
...everyone first of all turned up at this place, and everyone was

a bit bemused by the state of everything. It was in a mess. So they sort of said, 'where do we start?' looking a bit dismayed. And she [Jiyu-Kennett] picked up a broom, and said right here... And started sweeping on this floor... One of those typical strong people. So this has obviously now, some years later, been dry lined and all sorts of things done to it to make it stop being all leaky, like these old farmhouses are. And that's obviously ongoing—that whole process of how you deal with these old buildings that have got slightly damp tendencies.

Since then, a significant amount of renovation has been undertaken; old buildings have been rebuilt or updated, and a number of new buildings have also been put up – notably the large meditation hall and adjoining eating and guest quarters. However, our interviewee suggested that if they had been building from scratch they might have chosen to build the temple in a Japanese style, which embodied traditional symbolism to the layout of the different parts of the building. She explained that:

the buildings reflect the human body, and so ideally, if you were laying out a Buddhist temple or a Zen temple from scratch, you would have the gate at the south end—it would probably be south–north access, because traditionally, if you are doing a funeral for somebody, you always have their head towards the North... So, you've got this idea that the places in the temple are relating to the human body, so you're actually experiencing, as you live in the temple—it's almost like a microcosm of the human body.

Since most of the communities we visited had similarly 'inherited' the properties as they were, the opportunities to build in a traditional Buddhist style were limited. This may well change in the future if/when communities are able to build from scratch. This could also increase clashes with planners where the buildings do not meet the aesthetic norms of English rural and urban space.

As with many other places we surveyed, volunteers did most of the work but this was not always to the highest quality. We were told that

monks started to build...the ceremony hall building, where you have the meditation, you know, the shrine room...unfortunately, all gung-ho...they started building it, then of course they hadn't really done it well enough, so most of it had to get taken down...But what did happen later on is that we did have a member of the congregation who was an architect, who was very, very helpful with all our buildings. He was working for the local authority, and he's drawn up lots of plans, and was able to help us quite a lot. Because, as you can imagine, with a lot of these places like us, we're not all swimming in cash.

Our interviewee had been part of the later renovations and emphasised to us how demanding this had been (although less so than the demands of the early days of being a monk) but that it had also been an important part of building the community and a part of their practice of Buddhism:

I'd never done any building before...And...that ceremony hall building, or the Hall of Pure Offerings...I was involved in that one. And that was the most complex building that we ever built. A huge crane came in to put in the trusses for the roof. And we had concrete blocks for the first floor. So that it then had concrete beams, and you had these concrete blocks that went in for the first floor instead of just a wooden structure. And I remember Rev. Master Daishin, again, he basically worked it all out himself. And then we all built it. And we were a team really. And I was the only woman in the team I think... All the others were the young strapping monks—bloke monks—doing it... People learnt the plumbing, and all those elements of building were just what we learnt. And that was one of the things that I think that everyone finds, when they come here, they're quite struck at just how practical we are, and how much there was confidence that we could just learn what to do. And we did. So one monk did all the electrics. Rev. Master Daishin learnt all the plumbing and did all the plumbing, or a lot of the plumbing. And then the navvy work... some of that—I was up to doing that.

...we were the first generation Buddhists, so we didn't have our grandparents and aunts and uncles that we could sort of go to and say 'what about this?' We had to...just forge ahead. Obviously Master Jiyu was very much in the mix, with consulting with her and so on...She was so proud of the fact that they were stone buildings over here. Because she was in California, and you know how they throw things up in wood in no time at all, with pieces of 10 by 8...and then tin roofs. And she sat in a community tea over in America once, and she said 'well you know Daishin is building stone buildings over at Throssel', or something like that. And she was very proud of the fact that we had real stone buildings.

As with many of the other communities we visited, we were told that most 'western Buddhist organisations—monastic organisations have spent their first two decades, or at least their first decade, probably two, building their buildings...now we're at this stage where...we've got basically the necessary stuff built. And then more latterly, we've been able to have a legacy which enabled us to actually pay to have a building built.' Today Throssel Hole is maintained with donations and effective use is made of the 'gift aid' tax rebate system. The community has also been able to purchase an adjoining farm to their property 'Myrtle Bank', which has also now been renovated.

Another Buddhist community that took on a property that was not immediately fit for purpose is the Theravāda Thai Forest Sangha that established Amaravati Buddhist Monastery in 1984 in rural Hertfordshire. The site where the monastery is now located was originally developed as a summer camp for British children and was a gift to the British government from the Canadian government. This consisted of a number of Canadian Cedar Wood huts that were constructed in 1939. However, the Second World War broke out in 1939 and it was 'never used as a summer camp, but it was immediately co-opted for evacuee children from London'. The site also has bunkers that were used as air raid shelters 'enough to get 200 kids under concrete'. After the war the buildings were then used for children's educational camps and eventually turned into a residential school for children with learning difficulties, St Margaret's School. Until 1983/4 when the Buddhist community took it over.

For some time the community had been looking for a larger premises as

we were based in a place in Sussex, Chithurst Monastery...And they [local planners] were very, very cautious about any kind of development, and our community was increasing in size rapidly. And also, there was a keenness for meditation retreats to be held. People were very eager to have residential meditation retreats, and there was no way that the West Sussex, well, the local county council in West Sussex, was going to allow us to have the kind of accommodation you need to have a retreat of 40 or 50 people.

The leader of the Thai Forest Sangha in England, Ajahn Sumedo, also aimed that the centre should be fairly ecumenical and not 'just a Buddhist centre' but instead a 'place for teaching meditation and encouraging spirituality generally'. Our interviewee suggested that this was particularly resonant at the time with the nuclear threat during the cold war and increasing numbers of people feeling worried and challenged by modern life: 'there was a lot of fear in the air, and a lot of; and it really awakened the spiritual sense of people, like, we got to do something better than this.'

Ajahn Sumedho, the founder of Amaravati, was overheard talking about the search for a bigger property by someone visiting Chithurst, who happened to be an estate agent, and told him about an old school that had been on the market for a while:

They couldn't sell it 'cause it was these sort of decrepit scout huts, and they knew they were going to close it down since they

hadn't done any maintenance for seven years. And so no one was interested in the property and then we showed up and we said "Great, just what we need."

So that was initiated in '83, and then we moved in pretty much a year later; August the 1st, 1984. And so we just had our 30th anniversary. And, as I said, it was basically these flimsy wooden huts...prefab huts. None of it was insulated. And the whole thing was heated [by] these giant oil filled boilers that we ran for a week, and then looked at the fuel bill and shut them down. And then we just moved in and slowly refurbished the place, and so put it to our use, and so a quarter of the site is a retreat center....

...where the teachers used to live became the nuns' residences. And then one of the dormitory blocks became the retreat center. The other dormitory block became the monks' residence. And then the old gymnasium and assembly hall became our meditation hall.' ..Where the cloister is now, and the temple, the temple is where the old school gym and assembly hall was. And the cloister was the playground.

The monastery opened on day one to the public and as with the properties above, much of the renovations were done by the monastic community and other volunteers:

To begin with...a large chunk of the community from Chithurst in Sussex came, the monastics came, to live here. And then a number of laypeople came in during that summer to help start fixing the place up. So it was, I think right from the very beginning, you had 30 or 40 people living here.

Our interviewee told us that most people who came in the early days thought that it used to be an army camp or a prison because it was 'very bleak':

There was no sort of flowerbeds and things. It was all very, very utilitarian. And then slowly, as we've started up fixing up the buildings, and insulating things, and changing out the broken windows, and slowly working on it, then put in a few flowerbeds here and there. I remember the first pathway being put in with a curve in it, rather than just everything being in straight lines.

The monastery is owned by the English Sangha Trust who amassed about £200,000 of debt to purchase the property and in those early days

there was no money to spend on anything, so it was all very rough and ready. But it was fine, all very valiant, you know, just sort of [setting forward] with all the youthful energy and a lot of enthusiasm. And those first couple of winters were extremely cold, but you know, you just wrapped up and [fell] to it.

Although the site was 'very, very basic when we came here' over the past thirty years they have 'really sort of made it our own'. By around 1990 they had been through all of the buildings, taking

off all the cladding, we extended the width of the walls by a couple of inches, filled it all with rockwool and insulation, and then put the cladding back on the outer, outside, and then painted the whole thing of the huts, all the huts. It's about 5,000 square meters of wall, that we insulated, and roofs and floors and everything. So that took about 7 or 8 years just to go through and insulate the place. And then by the early '90s, the debt had been paid off.

In addition to renovation of what was already there, the community also felt that 'the place really needs a physical heart... we talked a lot about having some kind of main meditation hall, and so then the discussions about building the temple became more serious. So that really got initiated about '92, '93, '94. And finding an architect and working up the plans...' The architect they employed had also worked on the Peace Pagodas at Battersea and Milton Keynes (see box 25), Tom Hancock -

he was an old friend of the person who was the chairman of...the English Sangha Trust. So they'd known each other for some time... Tom had studied architecture in Japan as well as here in Britain. And that was why he was contracted to do the Peace Pagodas. And so he had no particular acquaintance with Thai architecture, but when it was being conjured up, then the abbot, Ajahn Sumedho, and the architect got together and he said "I would like it to have something that is a meeting place of both traditional English architecture and traditional Asian architecture." And so when people see it, they feels (sic) like it's a cross between an English barn and an Asian temple. And the other stipulation was that, that the abbot asked, was when people go into it, that it helps their minds to go quiet. And so the architect thought "Alright." But amazingly enough, he managed to draw everything together and (we?) went through various design, versions. But he came up with the design as we have it now, and he also realized he's only ever going to get to do one of these in his lifetime.

The temple was finished in 1999 and was constructed using

no nails. It's all brick and oak. There is some steel strapping in the corners that the decorum planning department required, but the engineers insisted were not necessary.... we wanted to use traditional English materials. And it just sort of happened that, at that time, a couple of companies had started reviving oak timber framing, which had almost died out. So that there was a couple of companies that had started up, and they were using these old guys, joiners and carpenters, who had done church architecture through the '30s and '40s. And they'd been able to train the younger people.

The money was raised for this via donations but our interviewee explained that 'we're kind of super-strict end of the spectrum in terms of money. So we never charge anything and we don't fundraise. So everything that comes in is completely free-will donation'. The community phased the construction and raised money for each part before moving onto the next phase and were sent 'donations from within Britain and Europe, and also from Thailand in particular. But there was no, like, one gigantic donation; it was a lot...hundreds and hundreds of small donations that funded it.'

A new subsidiary, called Amaravati Developments, has just been established to look after the rebuilding of the whole site. Over the next 30 years the community is planning to replace the wooden huts with 'purpose-built, sort of, eco-friendly, much more efficient structures that also shaped (sic) more according to our needs'. The project manager is a professional in this area but also a Buddhist. Part of the project is also to create suitable quarters for Ajahn Sumedho to stay in that will be suitable as he ages. Apart from this renovation there are no plans to buy or renovate more properties despite invitations from overseas to set centres. People have even offered properties to them for this but they are do not have enough monks to go and do the work: 'if other places do open up in Britain, it'll almost certainly just be small hermitages; like a place where nuns or...you know, one or two nuns or monks can live in a quiet, sort of low-key way.'

The final two examples that we visited are quite different to each other and to those above. The Burmese Theravāda Vihara in Birmingham was built 16 years ago from scratch on a site where previous buildings (two houses and a school) had already been demolished, and 'the land was sold (at 10% of the market value) to the Birmingham Buddhist Vihara Trust.'⁸⁰ The site today consists of two purpose built houses – one a dwelling for the monks and the other a *dhamma* centre built 13 and 6 years ago respectively – and a traditional Burmese Pagoda. As our interviewee explained:

⁸⁰ <http://www.bbvt.org.uk/Introduction.asp> (accessed 24 April 2016)

What is enshrined in the Dhammatalaka Pagoda represents a fusion of the old and new. Firstly, there are relics of the Buddha enclosed in a crystal casket. These were once in the possession of the former Royal Family of Myanmar... Many more objects have been donated by devotees following a custom that goes back to the Buddha's day. These are principally divided between the bell of the spire and a reliquary on the shrine within the Pagoda. A fascinating contemporary inclusion is a piece of the old Berlin wall that Bhante picked up when it was being demolished in 1989.

This is the only one of its kind in England (see box 9). The founder of this *vihara*, a well-known Burmese Buddhist teacher and spiritual leader, Bhante Rewata Dhamma, had approached Birmingham City Council for some land, and the present site was available. He explained that the job clearing and levelling the site fell to a group of volunteers and support from the local community, and that 'it's been like that ever since. It's a typical Buddhist thing—if you need something, and you believe in it, and the purpose is right, things do happen.'

Rewata Dhamma arrived in England in 1975 and his 'idea was to use Birmingham as a springboard to get Buddhism into the West'. In the early years he shared a house with a Tibetan centre and 'so, a couple of days a week, it was a Mahāyāna Temple, and a couple of days a week it was a Theravādan temple.' However, because he had a strong Burmese following, and most of the Burmese in England are professionals, they donated quite generously and he was able to set up the *pagoda* and *vihara* on the current site. The Pagoda was the first building to be put up and is in a traditional style. It is made from pre-cast concrete that has been decorated afterwards with much of the remaining decoration (e.g. around the windows and around the top of the walls, as well as the pillars in the porch way) being made on site by two experts that came over from Burma. Our interviewee explained that 'in 16 years I think that we've repainted it four times. But recently, it was... gold leaf, yes. That didn't last very long. But we use a very expensive gold paint now. I think that it was two years ago that we painted it. And in a couple of years it will be needing it again.' As with Wat Buddhapadipa, the traditional design had meant that it had been built with Asian conditions in mind and our interviewee stressed that,

the conditions in Burma are not the conditions in the UK. So the upkeep of it is quite expensive, because we get cold, wet weather... There were no drainpipes coming off the roof. By the time I came, the superstructure was up, and there was nothing I could do about it. But since, over the years, we've managed to get drainpipes in and so on. But, to try and get them in and still maintain some integrity of the building is very difficult.

Today the community 'survives solely on donations' and there is some concern about whether as 'the original Burmese are getting older, the

second and third generations don't practice as much as their parentage' so the community might struggle to raise money in the future. While in Asia monks go on daily alms rounds and people donate food and clothes to them, 'going out with their alms bowls wouldn't work around here. Many years ago I believe that they did do it, but they suffered so much abuse that it wasn't really worthwhile.'

The final site to be discussed here is another Triratna building – the West London Buddhist Centre in Ladbroke Grove. This community is facing quite a different scenario to any of the others that we visited and was in the process of finalising a building swap with a local developer that will see them move into the lower ground and ground floor of a new development of luxury apartments. Our interviewee explained that:

the West London Buddhist centre as such started in 1976, but initially they had rented rooms...[and]... the first building that was bought was on New Portabello Road. While they had been in their current building - 94 Westbourne Park Villas – for 20 years, the move here had been provisional as 'they weren't quite happy with it because they didn't really see it functioning as a Buddhist centre. It's not a perfect Buddhist centre at all. But it was affordable.

However, 'since then it's gone up so much in price', which explains the attraction for the developer who approached them to do a property swap. They had been looking for a new property for many years but had found nothing suitable with their search complicated by the fact that they were looking for a 'D1 location', which is 'always less expensive per square metre...[as]...it's very difficult to convert them into either office or residential. So, as you can imagine, if anything D1 comes up, everyone is....[clammering]...you don't even here about these places.'

In addition to the new property they will be moving into, the developer is giving them an additional £1 million. This will be used to cover the costs of arranging the move (e.g. for solicitors and architects). Fitting out the building is a much larger project than it would have been had they adopted the typical self-sufficient route. There is also a plan to purchase a house in a cheaper part of London that can be used as a community for female teachers to live in. During the research, we spoke to the architects that have been employed to do the work. They had been selected because one of the architects is also a local Buddhist:

he's committed to our community and he knows our practices. He's been to our retreat centre. He knows how the community uses the building centre, so that's been invaluable. He understands, you know, about the images and the whole ins and outs.

This preference for architects who understand something about the Triratna ethos is found at other centres. Our interviewee told us that 'what I

understand from the London Buddhist centre, for instance, is that they are doing a retreat centre from scratch. So their architects have been on a retreat there, just to experience.’ During our conversation with the architects working on the new West London Buddhist Centre, we were shown ‘mood boards’ that had been created and presented to the community. Our interviewee at the Buddhist centre explained that they had given a brief to the architects with their ‘requirements, what we wanted in terms of the kinds of spaces we wanted and how big they were going to be’ and that they the architects came up with ideas. In particular there is to be a focus on the

transition from outer to inner—so you’ve got the city out there, and then you’ve got a bit more of a public space inside, and then you get more of a private space, and then into more of a kind of sanctuary space. So, we’ve tried to bring in that kind of layering—so the shrine rooms we see as the most... you know...sacred kind of space...They’ve [also] thought of this concept which is a veil...the idea is that the whole of the inside of the building is encased with a veil [so] you’re entering into an enclosed space as it were, but then at the same time making it porous...So it’s not that you can’t come in, because we want people to come in obviously... I don’t know whether you’ve ever been in a Tibetan Gompa? So, you see it there as well. You get the more advanced practitioners who are far more committed being invited into the more sacred space, as it were.

Interestingly the fact that a Buddhist centre was moving into the building was being used as a selling point by the property developers, as had become apparent in the July edition of the fashion magazine *British Vogue*, where an advert had been placed and the presence of a Buddhist centre was being used to ‘enhance the value’ of the property (box 30).

Box 30: One Westbourne Gardens, W1



ONE WESTBOURNE GARDENS, W2, completed this summer, will provide nine luxury apartments and a new home for the West London Buddhist Centre that 'perfectly complements the grace and harmony of the residences above'. So says Fruition Properties (020 8965 4999), whose scheme is well placed for Hyde Park, Portobello Road, Westbourne Grove and Bayswater's £1-billion regeneration scheme, as well as Royal Oak underground and Paddington (the A40 is a five-minute drive). The apartments and duplexes, which come with basement parking, have two, three or four bedrooms and all feature a balcony,



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03/06/2014

The future home of @WLBC_Tiratna features in July edition of @BritishVogue. How amazing. Thanks Vogue!

1 FAVORITE



7.3 Buddhist Building Terminology

The second key area that we were interested in finding out about was how the different communities we visited labelled what might be generically referred to as a 'Buddhist centre'. Many of the fieldwork sites used more varied language than this, which should be reflected in the glossary of search terms used by HE, as well as in the descriptions of buildings in the

heritage listings. It is important to use the correct terminology, as the language used is not incidental and reflects the identity and self-understanding of different communities group. To use incorrect language and inaccurate descriptions will not help with improving levels of religious and cultural literacy in British public life.

Several of our informants made a distinction between the language that the community used to talk about the building and its rooms and how they talk about it to an outside audience. In addition to how the entire building is described, different words are used to refer to internal rooms according to their use. All of the centres have either a room or sometimes a separate structure that is a 'shrine room' where the main Buddha statue (*rupa*) is situated, where the rituals are carried out and where people come to meditate or chant. Often there are also one or more smaller shrine rooms. Many of the centres also have rooms that they hire out (see the following section for details). Perhaps not surprisingly the buildings that attract more Western attendees tend to use the word 'centre' where those associated with 'diaspora' communities were more comfortable with Asian terms.

The most straightforward example was the single structure Tibetan *stupa* at Harewood House, where the Tibetan word '*stupa*' was the only term used. The language used at the Buddhist Society was also quite straightforward with the building itself typically referred to as 'the Buddhist Society' but with some people also using the term temple: 'we get many people who see it as a temple—a place of worship... Someone even said, 'we like your church'. They were from Singapore.' The building also has a large lecture room/shrine room and a separate adjoining shrine room.

The three Triratna communities we visited are all commonly known as 'Buddhist centres'. At Manchester we were told that 'it's not a *vihara*, because it's not a Theravādan place. A *vihara* is a dwelling place for Theravādan monks, and we don't have any of those, so it's not a *vihara*. It's not just a temple, because we have businesses [located in the building].' Instead, the term centre was useful as it was 'multifunctional'. At the West London Buddhist Centre, the term 'Buddhist centre' was intrinsic to their formal designation in terms of the permission that they had to operate from the Local Authority. It was explained to us that they had obtained permission to use the building as a 'Buddhist centre' but not to actually permanently change the use to 'religious use' from concern that in the future another religious group might take it over that has 'some sort of worship that makes a lot of noise and attracts all kinds of people'. So the term chosen here seems to be part of the planning process.

The SGI-UK headquarters at Taplow Court is mostly referred to as a centre, but also a 'culture centre', which is 'the universal term across Soka Gakkai' as a translation of the Japanese work '*Kaikan*'. Soka Gakkai UK has also built a new building in the grounds of the house, which serves as their principal community meeting place, and the place where the *gohonzon* (a scroll, originally written by the founder Nichiren) is housed and where the chanting takes place.

Our interviewees at the Tibetan ‘Jamyang Buddhist Centre’ were also clear that for them, the correct term for the building was ‘Buddhist centre’. For instance, they would not call it a ‘retreat centre’ because even though they do retreats there this is not its primary purpose and the building is not really fit to be seen in this way. However, within the building are two meditation halls for which they use the Tibetan word ‘*gompa*’ (the main *gompa* and the small *gompa*). The Diamond Way group at the Beaufoy Institute in Lambeth similarly used Tibetan terms as well as Western terms: ‘there’s two Tibetan words. One is ‘lacon’, which is kind of like the monastery complex—the monastic complex.⁸¹ And the room where people meditate is *gompa*, so the hall...we tend to internally call ‘*gompa*’, and that’s a place to rest—rest one’s mind.’ But externally, ‘we call them centres. So, it would be the London Diamond Way Buddhist Centre, The Beaufoy, 39 Black Prince Road.’

Our interviewee at the Tibetan NKT Madhyamaka Kadampa Meditation Centre told us that, within the NKT:

the term that is used can vary from different communities, it’s just whatever works. We’re a Buddhist centre, or official title is ‘Madhyamaka Kadampa Meditation Centre’. But then a lot of people will still call it... the Buddhist Centre. Some people will just call this place Kilnwick Percy Hall, because that’s what they know it as. Some people can’t pronounce Madhyamaka centre...some people call it the meditation room, some people call it a temple.

She said that they do not tend to use Tibetan words as people do not understand what they mean, but like the Diamond Way centre ‘if we’re talking amongst ourselves, we’ll use *gompa*. But if we say, ‘Go on, go and have a look in the *gompa*’, people will be like... well, it’s a temple. So, if they’re going to call it a temple, we’ll call it a temple.’

The Sōtō Zen community at Throssel Hole refers to itself as a ‘Buddhist Abbey’ (sometimes the word ‘priory’ or ‘temple’ is also used for their smaller buildings, in other parts of the country). Our interviewee explained that the founder

Rev. Master Jiyu tried to...embody the culture that she came from. What she was familiar with, being a church organist, was the Christian tradition, so she tended to want to use English equivalent names. So a lot of our Japanese names that would have been used for things have been changed into English names. So, even things like meditation mat or meditation cushion—most people know it in Japanese as *zafu*, the little round meditation cushion, and the little mat that you sit on is a *zabuton*—but we call it a meditation mat and a cushion, just to

⁸¹ We were not able to confirm that this is the correct spelling for this term.

make it more western.... I must confess that I tend to like using their names because they are much quicker—*zendo* and *hondo*—instead of meditation hall and ceremony hall.

Also relevant here (and amongst the Theravāda groups) was the term '*kuti*' for the small meditation huts that monks and nuns often live in and which people can rent for solo retreats. She continued that

I think the thing that we'd have to say that we are—although we say abbey on the sign down there—we're actually a monastery. But then, our abbot would sometimes say 'community', because he saw it in the direction of a community of people living together, which it is essentially too. But, I think that if you say 'monastery', it is a training monastery. So, in that sense, people can come here with a view to training as a Zen monk. And it's also a retreat centre at the same time. So it encompasses a number of different things.

Our interviewee at the Thai Forest Sangha monastery Amaravati explained that although they now call it a monastery 'we started off calling it a 'Centre'. It was originally Amaravati Buddhist Centre. So the earliest literature all talks about Amaravati Buddhist Centre'. However, by the early 1990s, the monastics were

doing so much...serving so many different needs, both with classes that we had here, different functions, going out to local groups, you know, Harlow, Bedford, Cambridge, Oxford, London, all over. And we had this kind of a crisis moment where we realized that the people who went forth as nuns and monks, went forth with the idea of being contemplatives....And the whole ethic of the place had...in a way... become...handed over completely to service, and the contemplative lives of the individuals here was being neglected. And so we had this whole big re-think in about '91, probably '91, '92, and we changed the name from Amaravati Buddhist Centre to Amaravati Buddhist Monastery.

At this point they began to cut back on a lot of teaching responsibilities and serving the local groups. He also told us how when the temple was built, opening in 1999, that Ajahn Sumedho

thought long and hard about what word should be used for that building. And there were various opinions. And some people felt that the word 'temple' had too many...sort of too much sort of religiosity to it. And they wanted to call it the 'meditation hall.' Or other, more utilitarian terms. And then, he thought: "No. It's a spiritual center. It is religious."... It's okay. That's what it is. It is...and then 'temple' also because of the Latin word 'templum,' like from the original meaning of a 'templum,' which was a place...like the word 'contemplate.' ... he thought: "No, it is a

place to chant, and to rejoice, and to demonstrate your faith." And so he decided that 'temple' was the best word for that building.

Moving on to the buildings that catered mainly for diaspora communities, our Fo Guang Shan interviewee said that they use the term 'temple, and everybody knows that' (even though they will use Chinese terms amongst themselves, but these are not as widely used in the UK as the Tibetan and Theravadin terms). She explained that even though nuns were living there, they would not consider it to be 'monastery' since that would be reserved for a building that was only for nuns and monks. Our interviewee at the 'Birmingham Buddhist Vihara' explained that overall the buildings in the site overall were called the '*vihara*' although *vihara* was strictly speaking the word for where the monks live, in this case one of the two houses on the site. The temple building was called a '*pagoda*' as it would be in Burma and the second house the 'Dhamma Hall' where teaching about Buddhism took place.

Similar to the Burmese Vihara, Wat Buddhapadippa in Wimbledon is called by the Thai word for temple – '*wat*'. As our interviewee explained: 'strictly speaking, '*wat*' in Thai relates to the whole complex of buildings [but] the *Uposotha Hall*, or the chapel—it translates as 'chapel' in English because it's where the main presiding Buddha image is placed. So, that's the centre piece of the *wat* is the...It's also the ordination hall. So that's where they make the monks.' He also talked to us about the '*sima* boundaries' that mark out the sacred space within which any formal religious activities must be performed in order to be valid. At Wat Buddhapadippa this is marked by 8 pinnacles round the outside of the temple. Unlike the more Western oriented buildings it was not typical to use the word 'Buddhist centre' but they would use the term *vihara* or monastery for the main house, Barrogill House, as that is where the monks live.

The plurality of terms used to refer to Buddhist buildings in England were also reflected by our survey respondents, although the majority (14/24) referred to their building as a '*Buddhist centre*'. However, four groups used the term '*temple*' although these were typically buildings which served 'diaspora' Buddhist groups and for which this terminology was likely to be more familiar. Four used the term '*retreat centre*', as their building was used more for periods of meditation or communal retreat, rather than a weekly meditation class, for example. There were other terms, albeit less frequently adopted, such as *Place of Worship* (mentioned by the Jamyang Leeds group when schools came to visit), and *Trust Centre* (Buddhist Hospice Trust).

7.4 The function of the buildings and who uses them

A third cluster of questions were focused around the function of buildings and who uses them, including the relationship of the group to the wider community. It was striking that the 'centres' that attract more Westerners

had a focus on meditation, with some renting out rooms for non-Buddhists to use and running 'mindfulness' courses for secular bodies. Several had designated 'secular spaces' for this purpose which gave rise to interesting discussions in the interviews about the extent to which mindfulness meditation often separates out the Buddhist dimension from that which has become more acceptable in public, 'secular' contexts and whether this matters. For the temples, *viharas* and *wats* that catered more for 'diaspora' Buddhists, the building also had an important cultural function, including the celebration of festivals linked to the country or origin as well as to Buddhism.

Beginning with the Stupa at Harewood House we were told that,

It's become a bit of a destination. Not just for Buddhists. We've had a lot of Buddhist visitors, we've had a lot of Lamas visiting—Lama Zopa's going to be coming when he comes in July....[People] come and do, a little *puja*, and so on. But, of course, ...the vast majority of people that see it—just come to Harewood for the day and no nothing about Stupas and nothing about Buddhism, and just come across it...[but] I suppose—the whole thing about stupas anywhere is that [they provide] a very populist accessible approach to Buddhism, so you can come into contact with Buddha and Buddhist teachings in a very straightforward and accessible way.

The Buddhist Society in London has several functions and uses for 'a huge mixture of people, races...different traditions, some who've grown up as Buddhists, some who haven't.' It rents out three flats in the building to bring in revenue and also hosts regular teachings of different Buddhist groups as well as public lectures. The room that is used for this purpose is deliberately kept quite plain 'because many different groups use it.'

The Zen Centre located in St John's Wood runs 3 lunch-time sessions per week, which attracts local people come from nearby offices as well as some who are unemployed, Buddhist and non-Buddhist who come 'to find a place of peace and tranquillity.' Unlike some of other centres we visited which run courses and classes on 'secular mindfulness' meditation, the meditation classes at the Zen Centre were firmly located with a Buddhist context rather than stripping away the Buddhist framework in order to have a broader appeal.

The three Triratna places that we visited were quite distinctive for reaching out to the broader non-Buddhist community through teaching 'mindfulness meditation' as well as catering for a Buddhist cohort. Although the debates about whether this was problematic were also voiced. As one of our interviewees in Manchester told us:

one of the big debates in modern Western Buddhism is whether the huge growth of mindfulness and the secular attitude towards Buddhism is a really good thing, or whether in fact it really

threatens to turn Western Buddhism into a self-help...a very secular and not transcendental self-help movement. And I think it's a bit like surfing—you've got to do both really. And obviously it's absolutely great if we can help the maximum number of people to lead happier, healthier lives, basically...and also the charity commission has these new things about public benefit. So, actually, we do have to satisfy a requirement that we aren't only of benefit to people who want to be Buddhist.

At the London Buddhist Centre mediation classes, *dharma* teachings and retreats as well as a bookshop were onsite. However, the 'Breathing Space' programme that is run in the centre receives funding from the London Buddhist Centre London Borough of Tower Hamlets to provide free places for people living on a low income in Tower Hamlets on the following therapeutic courses: Mindfulness Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT) for depression course; Mindfulness Based Addiction Recovery (MBAR) for addiction course; and Mindfulness Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) course. It also runs training for teachers and health professionals in mindfulness and welcomes referrals from health professionals for people who might benefit from mindfulness training.⁸² When offering this provision the London Buddhist Centre has come up with a creative way to make the space accessible for both Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. Using a triptych, which when opened reveals an image of the Buddha, surrounded by *bodhisattvas*, monks and nuns, and attendants, but when closed, depicts flowers on a blue background; an example of contemporary art being used to change the nature of the built environment.

Our interview at the West London Buddhist Centre mainly focussed on what the new building would be used for. Our interviewee stressed that the new building was

going to make a big difference to our activities because, if we've got bigger spaces, we can organise bigger events. So, for instance, this idea to have more of an arts programme going on that we've had here...we'll have a dedicated yoga space there. We can do much more in terms of offering more secular activities, like the mindfulness. So we're thinking of doing that much more.

Regarding mindfulness she told us that, 'obviously we've been doing it from the start, but now everyone's interested in it as a tool...And it is quite successful in terms of providing people with a livelihood. And it is really beneficial in all kinds of way, as you know—recovery and pain-management, depression, anxiety—the whole thing. So, we're just hoping to be of service to the community more.' While the community did not have any formal arrangements with the NHS or other services as the LBC does through its 'Breathing Space' programme, we were told that they 'are hoping to work more with one of the bigger mindfulness organisations. But,

⁸² <http://www.breathingspacelondon.org.uk/about-Breathing-Space/how-we-are-funded> (accessed 24 April 2016)

we haven't finalised that yet.' They were also discussing having a secular space like the 'Breathing Space' at the LBC and were 'hoping to use what we now call 'the studio' for that, which doubles as a yoga space...[But] some people are insistent that there needs to be some kind of Buddha figure in that studio, and some people think that we shouldn't.'

Like the other two Triratna communities, the Manchester Buddhist Centre also houses a range of activities, including renting out rooms and spaces that are routinely used by non-Buddhists. A business is located in the building called 'Breathworks' that teaches mindfulness and was started by one of the order members. There are several other businesses in the building, a café (Earth Café), Body-Wise, a natural health centre including providing yoga and alternative therapies, Clear Vision, the in-house audio-visual project for Triratna, best known for its Buddhist materials for schools. All the businesses are separate charities or businesses. There was also, at the time of our research, a community of Buddhists and some non-Buddhists living upstairs, some of whom work in the café, a Buddhist library and a meeting space that can be hired out:

So, the library and the meeting room next to it, we've hired out to the Housing Association for away days and meetings, and the Dr Hauschka Ethical Cosmetics Company...Breast Cancer care have meetings there from time to time. So we do hire out to... and the BBC and Ofsted even. Ofsted have had a meeting in there... a training day. That's because they know us because of the Clear Vision religious education materials.

The main space that is hired out is the library, which is not a religious space *per se* (i.e. it has no Buddha *rupa*) but unlike at the LBC, the Manchester community had not made an effort to make rooms look 'un-Buddhist'. In fact one of our interviewees told us that they were keen that the building should be

a more explicitly Buddhist space... Because I think that we're unusual in being a Buddhist space in Manchester. And I would like us to not play it down, but actually play it up. Because it's why we're here. If we're not Buddhists, what are we doing here?...I want people to know that it's a Buddhist building, and that Buddhist activity goes on here. And I want to make that explicit and not tone it down in any way whatsoever.

The Manchester centre has a large group of people connected to it in some way 'probably about a couple of thousand are connected in some way with the building. But, in terms of... hundreds of people pass through the building every week. Or maybe a thousand'. It attracts school visits, and is well known amongst teachers because of its teaching materials on Buddhism. While the community has 'toddlers coming for yoga, school kids coming in for visits of the Buddhist building. We've got the young people's group. We're trying to encourage more young people to come to the building' the 'main Buddhist contingency are probably thirty-five through to

sixty-five or seventy. There's a fair few people at the top end of that age as well.' Moreover, as with Triratna across England, it typically attracts white British converts to Buddhism. Our interviewees told us that fewer diaspora Buddhists come to the centre as they have their own places

that ... function primarily as community centres for those ethnic groups. ...They don't actually have any idea why they would be outward-facing because they built them specifically for themselves. And, it's a completely different sort of orientation from us. You know, they've got their monks and their festivals and food...And they hold their marriages there. It's very, very different.

The SGI-UK headquarters at Taplow Court attempts to draw in members of the public, but not for Buddhist activities *per se*. The 'what's on' section of the SGI-UK website mentions 'Taplow Court open days' and an exhibition '1914 – Taplow Court A family Goes to War', focussing on the war-time efforts of the Grenfell family who used to own the property. Taplow Court is the main administrative centre of SGI-UK and most regular weekly events aimed at a Buddhist audience take place at the centres in London and the groups that meet ad hoc across the country. In terms of activities for Buddhists, Taplow is available for local groups to hire for courses of retreats, which are going on pretty much all of the time. There are very few Japanese people involved in Soka Gakkai in the UK and it mostly involves western converts. Unlike some of the other Buddhist groups we visited, particular the Jamyang and Triratna, SGI-UK do not hire out Taplow Court to non-Buddhists partly because they are always busy, but unlike the other groups, they appear less likely to need the income.

Moving onto the three Tibetan centres we visited, the FPMT Jamyang Meditation Centre, like the Triratna centres, runs programmes for non-Buddhist organisations, rents out rooms and has visits from schools. Our interviewee told us that they 'there's a Buddhist programme, there's a community programme [caring for the carers and MBSRP], and then we generate revenue by renting space." They continued that:

Caring for the carers is a social programme...it's respite care for carers. So they come here, and we give them a day out—we give them tea and activities. The local authority organises some back-up cover for the person they are caring for, so they get a bit of a break from their caring responsibilities. So it's a big part of our social programme...It's a programme called 'repaying the kindness'.

Box 31: What is Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction?

What is Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction?

'Dr. Jon Kabat-Zinn developed the Mindfulness Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) program at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center. Since

its inception, MBSR has evolved into a common form of complementary medicine addressing a variety of health problems.⁸³

'Kabat-Zinn was a student of Buddhist teachers such as Thich Nhat Hanh and Zen Master Seung Sahn and a founding member of Cambridge Zen Center. His practice of yoga and studies with Buddhist teachers led him to integrate their teachings with those of science. He teaches mindfulness, which he says can help people cope with stress, anxiety, pain, and illness. The stress reduction program created by Kabat-Zinn, called Mindfulness-based stress reduction, is offered by medical centers, hospitals, and health maintenance organizations.'⁸⁴

They also run a mindfulness based stress reduction programme (MBSRP, see box 31) which as with the LBC takes place in a room that 'has no religious aspects to it at all...It's a completely neutral room'. The course runs under the

branding of the London Centre for Mindfulness...an eight week programme...We run the program in operation with The Maudsley South London, Southwark and Lambeth mental health trust...we are looking to develop it to include workplace and health service stuff...in respect of a 2004 NICE recommendation that it was an intervention that was as good as and often better than drugs in preventing the recurrence of mild to severe depression...Yes, and those courses are also paid for—they're sold—whereas the Buddhist programme is recommended donation...That the Dharma's free and not sold. But selling a secular a secular course—it's sold.

We were very interested in how the term secular was being used here and asked them to elaborate:

Well the understanding of 'secular' in the MBSR context is—I suppose it's quite specific—it's saying that you're being asked, or people are asking you to give them mindfulness skills, and the way that Kabat-Zinn and others have put the course together—it's saying that here's the delivery of mindfulness skills for a particular purpose, deliberately extracted from a religious context. So, beyond maybe indicating that the techniques are more than 3,000 years old and came from South Asia...that's about as near as it gets. And that's sort of trained in quite deliberately not to do that, and also I think there seems to be a spirit—which I think is a good one—which is to say that people who do this may become interested in Buddhism, but let's not make it a sort of alpha course, which is Buddhism by

⁸³ <http://www.mindfullivingprograms.com/whatMBSR.php> (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁸⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jon_Kabat-Zinn (accessed 24 April 2016)

stealth...Otherwise, however attractive it feels, the people who come in the end will think we are being disingenuous.

The entrepreneurship of Jamyang does not end here and the Buddhist centre also runs a popular café of which 'about 70% of the use...was non-Buddhist'. However, activities for Buddhists are the core business, although these are not something that is charged for. This includes meditation classes and retreats and family days once a month. There are also some special events for the Tibetan community and a small but growing Mongolian community, which 'want to get their own *gompa*—temple—but they can't...so they regard this as their place, so we do quite a lot of rituals—*pujas*—for the dead.'

The Diamond Way also plans to draw non-Buddhists into their new building. The group has started a started 'Friends of the Beaufoy'⁸⁵ project which has four main themes looking at: the 'history of the Beaufoy Institute'; 'regeneration, renovation and refurbishment' of the building; a 'space for art'; and 'mindfulness, meditation and science'. This last theme refers to practice of secular mindfulness meditation by those who are not Buddhists but are interested in it for the benefits it can bring and the Diamond Way is interested in 'developing this theme to offer generic non-Buddhist meditation to those that would be interested in the local community'.⁸⁶ Indeed this also came up in our interviewee and we were told:

Some of our community are involved in teaching meditation-based cognitive therapy—things like that. But, it's a case of just making sure that people understand what the difference is...here's certainly a need for it, and there's certain people who will really benefit from meditation, without the Buddhist framework, so I'm totally in support of that. On the other hand, I think that the origins are in Buddhism and the teachings explain much more than the west has taken over, which would be lost if you only practiced the other stuff. So, there's an extraordinary amount of philosophy and background that gives you a much greater and deeper understanding of the nature of mind and why neuroses appear—why we're happy—that the west hasn't quite discovered yet. So we want to make sure that that's there, preserved, and kept alive.

The group envisions that part of their new 'building will be living accommodation for the Buddhist community...we're very focussed on people living together and sharing together, and having day jobs and lives...everybody has jobs and uses their evenings and weekends to practice Buddhism.' There is a community already developing around the centre and some people were living there as it was done up. We were told that,

⁸⁵ <http://www.buddhism-london.org/friends-of-the-beaufoy> (accessed 24 April 2016)

⁸⁶ <http://www.buddhism-london.org/friends-of-the-beaufoy> (accessed 24 April 2016)

we expect that when we do open, it will be instantly busy actually. So, I think that will be the Buddhist community. And then, local people will start to come. And we do want it to be quite a good offer when we open up to the local, because our experience is that people judge by their first impressions to a certain degree, so you want it to be a good impression when they come. And...there'll be devotees and people who come occasionally because it's free. We offer free meditations—it's our general principle—we have lectures with visiting Buddhist teachers, it is going to be our national HQ.

As with Jamyang, although the Diamond Way has its foundation in Tibetan Buddhism, most of those coming to the new centre were likely to be Western converts and it was felt to be 'very unlikely that there will be a lot of Tibetans, because there just aren't many around.' Moreover, 'Buddhism is a bit of a ... it's an intellectual pursuit, working with your mind, so it is a bit self-selecting. And it is a bit middle class, to be honest'.

The final Tibetan centre was the Madhyamaka Kadampa Meditation Centre near York. There is a community living there and they run a 'foundation programme' in Buddhism, drop-in classes in the mornings, lunchtime and evening. The lunch-time classes which attract more local people as they also pop into the café for lunch. The community also runs weekly meditation classes in York city in different locations. The house is situated in large grounds and some of the land is rented to a local farmer who uses it for sheep and local people come for free to enjoy the lake, the fields and the woodlands: 'the whole place is basically just used as a public service....It's free entry, and free parking, and we never really close it off. So it's kind of just for people to come and... walk their dog around the lake. And people come in to sit in the café grounds, on the lawn. The main purpose of it is just for people to come and have a nice place to be. Because that's what they want.'

Sometimes local groups have rented a space at the centre to meet in, including the local parish council and an NHS group and 'they've got the option to go for a meditation class if they want. So, sometimes they want to do that, and sometimes they're not bothered.' Events are also run for families and children, with a monthly children's class and weekly 'tots' class. These don't just attract Buddhist parents but sometimes those who 'want to have their children learn something that can... quieten them down maybe!'

Throssel Hole Buddhist Abbey, by contrast, mainly focuses on teaching people how to meditate in a Zen Buddhist style:

that's got two strands to it basically. One is the basic sitting process of just sitting still and, in essence, sitting quietly and allowing the thoughts to come and go and not getting to caught up in them, and thereby finding a way of being slightly more

detached from all the sorts of stuff that usually comes along and hits you over the head and gets you in a stew, whether it be somebody else saying something to you or your own thoughts saying something to you. So that's the basic gist... I'm putting it in rather pejorative language, but you know what I mean—the sense of what that is. And then the other part of it is learning is what is that to do that in activity. And so the essence of it is that you have 'sitting still', and then you begin to move into the question of how you then manifest sitting still internally—all that meditation is—in your daily actions. So then you have this simple situation here where people are just working. And ideally when people come, they do very simple work, like gardening, cooking, chopping vegetables, digging holes... whatever it is that you were doing....

About 20 monks were living there at the time we visited and the community also run retreats almost every weekend and a number of week-long retreats during the year. For instance, we were told that 'the one in the autumn that we do—the hungry ghosts retreat, which is for people who've died...that one is quite well attended. It's been up to over forty sometimes' whereas normally retreats attract between 12-25 people. In common though with other centres, there is some emphasis on family activities with a family weekend each year when the monks get to play football and who 'wouldn't otherwise have an excuse to play!' The abbey is also popular for school visits despite its remote location, from the local area as well as further afield. Having been there for so long people locally knew about them but 'being out in the sticks, it does mean that we're not interacting so much with the immediate local people.'

In terms of the make-up of those who come to the Abbey, our interviewee had never seen any Japanese people visiting. Those who attend 'are almost exclusively Western people, by which I mean people that have grown up in the West.' Other Buddhist communities tend to use them, for instance for funerals, 'if they haven't got anyone better to use! And that's the thing. Now, as they are getting more established, they are getting more contacts... their own little communities are getting temples with a Chinese monk or whatever, so they are not needing us so much. But in those early years, yes we were filling in for them quite a lot.'

In contrast to some of the other places we visited, this community do not have spaces that they rent to other organisations, and while their remote location could certainly be a barrier to this, they prefer to use the space that they have for their own activities. Some other places feel that they need to do this to raise much needed income; the regular series of retreats offered at Throssel Hole bring in donations that enable the community to stay afloat, although they operate on a '*dana*' or donation basis. Neither do they offer mindfulness training in a secular context, our interviewee telling us

I think that would be something that wouldn't happen with us, because I think that we're on a slightly different philosophical basis, if you can put it in those terms, to the Triratna approach, which is quite eclectic. They teach different forms of practice within their own umbrella. So you will tend to sometimes have a situation where people will start off with them and get a wonderful overview of all the different forms of Buddhist practice, but then at some point, people will often—not always, but sometimes—find that they want to actually then go and specialise in one of those, and not just stay with a more amalgamated kind of approach. There's many different sorts of people. But for us I don't think that we would be doing that.

While our interviewee at Throssel Hole told us that on the whole the people who visited and used the abbey were Western converts to Buddhism, and very few Japanese people stayed there, the situation at Amaravati was a little different. Our interviewee there told us that both Western and Asian people come to the monastery but that there had tended to be a difference in how they had used the building.

I'd say the bulk of the meditator types, if you can say that, tend to be of the middle class, educated types [but]... it's getting more and more Asian. In the beginning, it was almost entirely Westerners, and [there'd] be two or three Asians. And now it's about a third of the people on the retreats are Asian people.

In contrast the Asian visitors had tended to

come and make offerings and bring food, and the Westerners would never even think of bringing anything. And they would just expect the place to be there, you know. Sometimes, it wouldn't occur to somebody for like years that there was a means whereby the bills were paid... So traditionally, the Asian community would come and make offerings or bring food, and then the Westerners would all come for the meditation classes.

This has begun to change over the decades

whereby the Westerners... would say: "Well, these people seem to be so happy. You know, [just coming along], and cooking food, and just enjoying the place. They're not sort of all wrapped up in their self-concern like I am. Maybe I could just join in, and maybe that will be..." And then they engage in more of that practice of generosity, and more of that festive relationship to, more of a faith-based practices. And find the kind of joy that comes from that. And also, then, the ethical side of it, "Oh they keep taking the Five Precepts. Oh yeah, that might be a good idea. Yeah, this is kind of quite good, if you stop telling lies, you stop feeling so bad about yourself. Right. Right, right, yeah."

And that whole ethical side, which is a real foundation for Buddhist practice in Asia, then that filters through, "Yeah, (if) I don't have to spend so much time worrying if I live in a more skillful way." They see the relationship between meditation and ethics and generosity.

Similarly, the Asian Buddhists who might have perceived that only monks meditate and, as a result, their engagement with Buddhism has been in terms of giving alms, keeping the precepts and participating in festivals, now have also come to learn the benefit of meditation.

From the very beginning, meditation classes have been run at Amaravati and a family programme was also started with an annual family summer camp. Today there are around 5 residential events for families each year. The community also has public talks and retreats and there is a library with some rare Buddhist books that have been left to the community by people when they have died. The age range of those coming to Amaravati is broad, including people from their early 20s to early 80s, with more women coming than men. We asked if they teach MBSR and our interviewee explained, similarly to our OBC interviewee, that this would be difficult as they would feel uncomfortable about separating Buddhism from meditation:

We don't...I mean we're kind of flag-waving... We can't really avoid it. We wear our flag, you know. We wear our flag. But you know, we try to keep things non-intrusive. And so...but, you know, we're a Buddhist monastery, and so that, we don't have any spaces that are set aside with that in mind in particular; (and so) Buddhist imagery everywhere. But, it's also quite eclectic, and so, they got, you know (the) Dalai Llama over there, the statue of Guanyin over there, there's a Chinese monastery over there.

...but we do get people who are very staunchly non-religious. We get... Hindu people; there's a whole sort of cadre of Muslim people that come here quite often. Dedicated attendees (to) the meditation class and so on. From Turkey and Iran... I think it was the founding spirit of the place was to be as welcoming as possible, but also not apologizing for being Buddhist. And just having a welcoming spirit in the way that we run classes and when the nuns or monks are leading the, say, the Saturday class, which is very open, that they are [teaching] things in ways that don't presume that everybody there is particularly interested in Buddhism. But they're there to find peace of mind.

Finally, we come to the 3 diaspora-dominant Buddhist buildings that we visited. Fo Guang Shan largely caters for the Chinese Buddhist community and has a regular gathering on the third Sunday of every month, during which there is also mediation and the children's group called 'Little Bodhi Garden'. Some of the children also come to be a temporary monk for one week. Buddhist festivals are also popular and for the Buddha's birthday,

the community has 'a big ceremony in Leicester Square. We go there every year, and so many western people will come to see ...Buddhism and Chinese culture.' When we visited there were 3 nuns living there and a further 3-4 people can be accommodated when there is a festival on. Our interviewee told us that the building was 'a cultural centre for everybody' and that sometimes scholars run events there, as do interfaith groups. They ask for a donation for these events to use the room. We were told that they had not been approached by any external agencies to teach meditation, probably for language and cultural differences but they do have a lay teacher who goes into prisons.

Wat Buddhapadipa in Wimbledon had 7 monks living there at the time we visited, all from Thailand, and the Abbot has been resident since it was established in 1965. There are no programmes to offer secular mindfulness meditation and activities that connect with the broader (non-Buddhist) community are less prominent than in some of the other places we visited. However, the temple is open to everyone and aims to promote Buddhism in the West, with meditation sessions on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 7am to 9am, and weekends from 4pm to 6:30pm. There is also a Saturday and Sunday school for Thai school children to learn Thai and events to coincide with Thai New Year. People often also come for lunch at the temple bringing food to share 'when it's a birthday, or for a relative—an anniversary, a passing—just general prayer-making really...That's why the ambassador decided to have a temple rather than just having the house in East Sheen.' We were told that Thais come to 'give homage to your ancestors. To give thanks...the main focus of the Thai people is cultural, whilst the main focus for the Westerners is religious and meditative.' Some full day retreats are held throughout the year and there is some accommodation available near the *wat*, but it is too cold to stay in during the winter. There are also some opportunities for temporary ordination for boys as in Thailand, for a couple of weeks at a time, and also for women to take eight precepts, again for a time-limited period.

There was also focus at the Birmingham Buddhist Vihara upon cultural festivals and activities for the Burmese community, which is relatively small in England and hence people travel quite some distance to attend the temple. The *vihara* is also home to a number of monks and in the *dhamma* hall next door to the *vihara* here are rooms that people rent for seminars or workshops. Schools also visit a couple of times a week during term time and they teach meditation classes twice a week, but not the secular mindfulness training popular in Triratna and Jamyang. The meditation classes attract 'all sorts and not just Buddhists...it can be anything from...artists to serious professionals...[And] We have Muslims, Jews, everyone.' Although they do not formally provide meditation on behalf of statutory health providers, our interviewee told us that 'a couple of GPs...have asked me to get people to go down to the surgeries and do meditation classes for some of their elderly people...[And]... we do have contact with them, particularly in terms of chaplaincy. When they may have someone who's seriously poorly and about to pass on, or whatever, and they want to see a priest, for want of a better word, then I get telephone

calls. And it's really difficult, because they say, you know, that they're Chinese and they need a Buddhist. And you think, ok...'

The online survey respondents detailed a range of uses for the buildings that they currently occupied, reflecting the data drawn from our fieldwork visits. The most popular of these building uses given by survey respondents was for meditation or Buddhist teachings, including for both evening classes and retreats, where visitors typically stay for a weekend, or longer. However, their buildings were also used as residences (for lay or monastic practitioners), for celebration events and festivals (predominantly, although not exclusively, for groups serving 'diaspora' Buddhists), for businesses (such as charity shops, shops selling Buddhist books and other items, cafés, and also for offering alternative and complementary therapies and activities, such as yoga). However, of the survey respondents, 11 groups rented out spaces within their building, including for non-Buddhist activities such as meetings or away-days, and 13 did not. Notably, Kagyu Samye Dzong in London hired out a space in their building for a local MP to use, as his constituent surgery.

7.5 The value of buildings for Buddhists

The final area that we discussed in our interviews was the value of buildings for Buddhists in England. What is their significance? Why do they matter? What makes them 'Buddhist'? Our interview at the Manchester Buddhist Centre was particularly helpful in addressing these questions, and our interviewees had much to say on this topic, indicating the very special and place of the building in the local community, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. One interviewee stressed its uniqueness or unusualness for 'being a large Buddhist centre in the heart of a major city. Five minutes walk from the cathedral, the central library and the town hall. It puts Buddhism on the civic map, and it's very unusual.' The building played a key role in creating community where 'it's a vehicle for teaching the Dharma and creating Buddhist community. And [while] it does have multiple uses...pretty much all those uses are connected to the Dharma in some way. And they bring people into the building, and expose people to the Dharma and Buddhism. I think that's what's most important really.' We were also told that the building was significant as for some people

it's the place where they first discovered Buddhism... Buddhism changed their lives... You know, a lot of people say, 'I don't know where I'd be...'. In fact, last night, somebody even said 'I don't know if I'd be alive if it wasn't for Buddhism'...I've heard many people say that—that nothing else helped them with the desperation that they felt. So, they may associate the building with that, and it therefore has an enormous place in their hearts.

One of the interviewees also told us what the building meant to them, emphasising that

I like the fact that it's an old building that's been renovated. I like the idea of recycling the building. So this building's been put to new use, and I like that. Aesthetically, I like this building. It think what is more important to me is that this building now has a history of Buddhist use. That's what's important. And I know that a lot of blood, sweat and tears went into renovating this building, and those blood, sweat and tears were put in because there was a vision—a Buddhist vision. And there's been a continuation of that over time. That's what's meaningful for me being in this building. It is great that it's an old building.

It's got a Buddhist pedigree. And it would feel different if it was all glass and shiny and modern, although that in-itself wouldn't be a problem. But I like the fact of the effort that has gone into this building. It's here because of vision, and it's continued because of vision, and if it carries on, it will continue because of vision—a Buddhist vision. That's what's meaningful, really, for me.

We were also told how on school visits features of the building were used to illuminate Buddhist teaching:

I've been doing school visits for years and years...[and]... I always say to the children before we go upstairs... that the stairs are as old as the building...[and]...what's really unusual about them is that they are the original warehouse stairs—they're twisty. And I always say, as you go up them, try and work out what has happened to them, because it's a really good example of core Buddhist teaching. Because our stairs are completely all worn out—they've got dips. And it's not that they're bent, but that they've been worn out by the feet of hobnailed boots of people walking up and down them before we ever lived, over hundreds of years. So they're really good examples of impermanence. They're still there, so there's continuity—it's not that they don't really exist. This idea of non-self—no-fixed self. They're still there, but they've changed. So, kids, what's happened to them? And because I repeat this so often, I have a sense of these people—these men—who walked up and down the stairs in this building carrying these rolls of cloth for two hundred years.

Moreover, Buddhist teachings could be applied to how the community approached owning the building and their concerns over its upkeep:

If we see ourselves as impermanent, or that we're only borrowing this building... at some point... either because we haven't got the quarter of a million, or for some other reason, it won't be a Buddhist centre any more. And then we give it back to the history of Manchester...I definitely have a sense of this building continuing, and this wonderful image of the bee—the

honey bee—is the Victorian emblem for Manchester... the hive...And I just really love the idea that we've taken this building in this area of the city, and turned it into something so beautiful and so life-affirming, when it was built in such appalling conditions of squalor.

Finally, the very process of doing up the building as a community was also considered to be Buddhist practice and in carrying out the renovations members of the community had made subtle changes rather than dramatic ones in order to transform it into a Buddhist building:

when we were renovating the building there were various places where we had to replace the cement...because the bricks have fallen out, or for whatever reason there would have been something else in the wall there. And when they did that, they got people to come in with small things that pushes in them to embed them in the wet cement. So, upstairs in the shrine room, you can see in the wall all these little treasures that are stuck in the cement for the kids—little bits of tiger's eye and amber—you'll see them when you go upstairs. And in one place, somebody has put an entire mala—a broken mala, broken into a line of beads under the window—which is still there. And there are bits of Chinese Jade and that kind of thing. And I've been told that underneath the shrine room floor, underneath the surface here, there are lots of pictures and blessings and mantras. And the idea was to take this historic building, but also to imbue it with 'Buddhistness'. So, there's continuity of use.

Our interviewee at the Madhyamaka Kadampa Meditation Centre told us that for the NKT this was an important building as it was 'the first centre that was set up outside the Manjushri centre. So, for that reason—because a lot of things started from here, like our publishing...company—Tharpa publications...[Also] alot of teachers were initially trained in here, who then went out to the rest of the world....It started off as quite a hub. So, for that reason, it's quite important I think.' She also emphasised that the 'main thing that makes me happy about having the building is that it makes other people happy. This place benefits so many people, and the number of people who just walk in and go 'Wow. What an amazing place'. And that's the main thing, I think, because it has that benefit for others. And I think that that is the main purpose of our having a building like this—it just makes them happy.'

For the Diamond Way group, which was setting up a new centre in the Beaufoy Institute, an important value of the building was having 'a home that we can do our thing in. It's like having your own home I suppose and not being in a rented property, as you can adapt it to your real purposes'. Similar to some other interviewees he also stressed that changes happen to the building by virtue of Buddhists being in it and that blessings had been bestowed on the building by important figures in the movements. He explained that 'we have this idea of a blessing field for activity that will

build up over time. But the visits of such great masters and their activities kind of adds to that....Yes, one of main teachers, Shamar Rinpoche, asked that we meditate every day there, so it's very important that somebody's meditating there every day, so we make sure that happens.' This idea of blessings bestowed on rooms was also stressed at the Buddhist Society, where our interviewee told us that

It's kind of like the history, the flavour. All these people have meditated here, practised here. We've had the Dalai Lama here, we've had rooms blessed by people, inaugurated.... It kind of makes it a special thing...The Tibetan word for it would be 'Adistana'—'great blessings'—because you've got the karma of the people of the past. In a way, how could you ever use it as something [else]. I think that it's difficult because, I've heard people say about churches—'what do we do?' And there was a church in Islington that had been turned into flats, and people went to live there and said that there was still something of the 'churchness' about the place....

...Maybe you develop this feeling of a centre where people practice and study, you know, people walk into here and say 'it feels like a Buddhist centre, because we can always smell the incense'. And other people say 'why does this place always smell of incense?' And we say, 'because we've been burning it since 1956'. So everything is imbued by incense..."

We also asked at the Buddhist Society why it was necessary to have a building at all, for one of the key Buddhist teachings concerns the importance of non-attachment. In response, we were told that,

You need somewhere to practice. I know from other groups how lucky we are because they have an awful lot of problems with finding places...The Buddha said that the teachings of the Dharma were free. Now, in his day and age, it was a lot easier, because you could just go to a place and teach... somewhere in India. If we went to Hyde Park Corner and started teaching, we'd probably have a big problem these days...Now, we're very lucky to have this building, because it always remains as somewhere as a place of refuge, I would say. You can always find refuge here. You can find the teachings of the Buddha here.

At Taplow Court when we asked these questions about value and significance, one of our interviewees drew attention to their 'attitude towards the experience when people enter a building' and how the Buddhist attitude that they instilled in their volunteers who welcomed people into the building was to do this with 'a big smile, with a broad heart.' However, she admitted that it was actually quite hard to articulate this quality of a Soka Gakkai centre but that,

people often comment on the atmosphere in a Soka Gakkai centre. And I think that is partly to do with the building choice, and the history of the building and what has gone before, but also partly to do with the spirit of bringing a space and environment to life through people. And it's through this—the way that we interact with the building that we use, I think—that can create a really extraordinary atmosphere.

Our interviewees also emphasised that there was a 'cultural' aspect to the significance and value of buildings where, for instance,

the way that the Japanese look at buildings and the way that we look at buildings—there may be some differences... There were a group of Japanese men who came here who felt that it may be a good idea to paint the building white, because it was all brick and... you do find that most of the centres in Japan are new-ish buildings and quite sort of modern in their style... I'm involved in a Buddhist heritage project at the moment in India, and Indians don't care about their old Buddhist buildings, because they're old Buddhist buildings... But there's that whole struggle about Indian culture, which is not interested in history particularly, or historic buildings, and so the not a lot of effort is put into the upkeep of them there. And yet, there are people who really want to preserve these things.

Again in response to questions about Buddhist buildings and non-attachment, at Taplow Court we were told that 'on our experience of non-attachment, the centre that burnt down... was very interesting, you know... You've got to move on, yes. And we moved on pretty fast.' Moreover,

it's not the buildings that allow us to fulfil our aims and objectives, it's the heart, it's the life-to-life connections. That's what really makes a difference. So we could continue without this building... and like anything... There's an enlightened aspect to it, and there's a deluded aspect to it. And so we're striving to bring out the enlightened aspect of it, but it could equally become a burden, a pressure... it could easily go the other way.

At Throssel Hole we also asked about buildings and non-attachment and were told that,

we've all been brought up in Western materialist society—all of us here—and we come with various norms and ways of doing things from our backgrounds. And appreciations of things like buildings. And yet, in our tradition, of course... and one of the key members of our tradition—Greatmaster _____, who was in the 13th century... was in a long line... greatmasters [who] would say that if the rain was coming in the roof in one place, you'd move somewhere else. But you weren't going to get into

mending things and doing anything about it. Because the great matter of clarifying birth and death was so much more important than what you did with your buildings....However, there's the other side of it...that he [] raised money to build buildings for his monastic community, but his view of it was that this was something he needed to do, but it's not the absolute fundamental reason for being here. We didn't come here to build a building. And if you see it that way around, then it kind of makes sense.

However, she also emphasised that building can be seen as part of Buddhist practice where,

if meditation can never be apart from daily life, then whatever you happen to find that circumstances need at the time, well, that becomes your vehicle for practice. So, if at one point it's building buildings, well that becomes your meditation practice, and then at some other time, it becomes whatever else is going in particularly. So, seeing it that way, hopefully you keep it in a kind of place in your mind where you think, yes we want to make it nice, and we do spend some effort in seeing that things look reasonable. But then, on the other hand, when we furnish a building, we're going to go down to the second hand shop, for whatever they've got, bargains...see here we are—that's somebody's cast off sofa, which is a perfectly reasonable piece of equipment to sit on. Do you see what I mean? And, okay, yes, the other day we did go to Ikea and buy some stuff from Ikea—chairs and things for that common room—but that's the sort of thing that we do. So I think that, as always with Buddhism, it's finding that middle way.

A building, however, is necessary to make it possible to practice, as are basic facilities:

We're also very aware that if we were to go out on some strange, very extreme limb, how would people manage coming here? Actually, people have those stories of the early days, when there was virtually no hot water, showers once a week—which I remember pretty well, or perhaps twice a week... pretty basic. And a chemical loo... we used to have a chemical loo in a shed. You know, it was really, really basic. And then that old meditation hall upstairs, you know, that old barn—that used to have snow blowing in in the winter on to your sleeping bag. And I remember that it was blooming chilly. There weren't any mod cons. And it does test you on a sort of human level in a way that we just do not have an appreciation of now as a species any more. Because we've all got so used to our comfortable lives. So, in that regards, it's kind of an interesting question, that one. Because, yes, we are very conditioned, and even my mum's generation, and even when I was a child, we never had heating

in our bedrooms. And there would be ice on the inside of the window.

As with some of the other buildings our interviewee at Throssel had a strong sense of what makes a building 'Buddhist' and the role that ceremonies have played in that:

if you go up to...the ceremony hall, and you walk in the door. There's no two ways about it—that building, because it's a closed space of bricks and mortar, can hold an atmosphere, that you couldn't have if you were sat in a field...a building can actually, as it were, almost absorb, and then express, something deeper than itself, in the sense of what goes on there...So, you walk up into that room, and you feel the effect that that room... has had. People meditating in it every weekend, full-time, for the last thirty years.'

For our interviewee, the effect of a Buddhist building was also a product of people coming together as a group rather than meditating alone where

Once you get a group of about 10+ people, and you're all sitting there together, there's something bigger going on than just you individually. And I think that people want to come to that, because actually, they are plugging into a much better or more wholesome way of being, which is to be part of something much bigger. Whereas, even if you got down to it with your best friend, and two of you sat for a week, or three of you, it's not the same as getting into a group of that number.

At Jamyang we asked about the importance of the shrine room and whether this was essential for Buddhist practice. Our interviewees told us that it acted as a focus for bringing the community together but in addition they emphasised that, 'we've got some custodianship responsibilities to the building as a building.' The shrine room (*gompa*) had received certain blessings to make it 'sacred' and there was a certain etiquette for behaviour here compared to other spaces in the centre, that helped maintain that sacred space. This includes removing shoes and 'most people on entering, on seeing sight of Buddha, will make three prostrations and so on.'

At Amaravati, we asked about attachment to buildings and were told that the buildings that Buddhists use should be seen as 'rafts' or 'tools' to get the practitioner to where they wanted to be:

There's a difference between being attached and taking care. And so, non-attachment doesn't mean having no structures, or no conventions. The monastic discipline that the Buddha crafted is extremely intricate. It's a long, long, long list of 'do this, don't do that.' It's a form. If you cling to it, and you attach to it, then it becomes an obstacle...The use of structure without attachment

is like the famous simile of the raft...If you are living on the dangerous shore where there's difficulty and fear and threat, and then you see on the other shore there's safety and security. And then you gather some sticks and some vines and you put them all together, make a raft, then you paddle across the water to get to the safe shore. Then, having got to the other shore, if you then pick up the raft and say: "This raft has helped me so much; I want to keep. I love this raft. It's so great. It's got me to this safe place." Then you put it on your shoulder and you carry it wherever you go. So that would not be using the raft correctly. Now, you got across. So then you leave the raft on the bank and then you go your own way. So, that's in a little nutshell, exactly how you relate to structures, whether it's the eight-fold path, or whether it's the monastic rule, or whether it's the temple building.

Our interviewee, like others we spoke to, also pointed to the importance of the temple that had been opened in 1999 in providing 'a space within which the community can meet, and which the broader community can gather, and which has a naturally uplifting quality to it...When we were just in the sheds, you know it was okay, it was a utilitarian quality to it, but when you're in a space that really encourages both those qualities of balance and integrity and brightness and spaciousness, then, in a very active and in a symbolic way, then it makes a big difference'. He suggested that this was probably also the case for other communities and that there was 'an intangible...inexpressible quality of how the space that you're in matches your spiritual aspiration, so that...your own faith and your own commitment is echoed in the structure that you're in. And the quality of light, the quality of space, and also the quality of symmetry and form that's there all reflect that.'

He also talked about the building in terms of the Buddhist teachings about the 'triple gem' and the 'three refuges' which are used interchangeably, although a gem and a refuge are not exactly the same thing:

when we think about the triple gem or the three jewels, that quality...those qualities are also there, (that) there's a symmetry, a kind of reliability, a kind of a hardness, a strength there, there's a beauty, and a purity like in the color of the, the water of a jewel. And then a refuge, at the other end of the picture, is a safe place. It's a good, solid shelter; it's where you can get in out of the storm. It's what protects you from the sun and the wind, and it's a sanctuary. It's where the bad stuff is on the outside. And this is your safe harbor. Out there is the currents and the storm and the dangers, and this is a place of safety, it's a refuge. It's something that's got that security to it. And so, you know, I see more and more that these buildings that appear that are reflecting both of those aspects of refuge and of (the) jewel-like qualities.

There had also been debates about how to design the temple with some community members preferring a utilitarian design, a

kind of a low, sort of Scandinavian-type, unobtrusive structure. And...were appalled at the idea Ajahn Sumedho wanted something that rose, kind of, high up.... But Ajahn Sumedho felt that that was again in the spirit of the times. It was kind of what was needed, was something to help people rise up. Particularly for Westerners because we are so easily kind of buried in our own thoughts and opinions and anxieties, and that something that helps to cause you to rise up and remember that the infinite and bright, clear qualities of your own nature. And he thought it would be a terrible mistake just to go for the utilitarian.

They had also instructed the architect that they wanted to

encourage peacefulness, to encourage clarity of mind, to encourage a quality of reflection. So that...as I said, when part of the remit to the architect was to help, you walk into the building, and to help the mind become quiet. And so, the architect put a lot of thought into the audio engineering. Like the sound quality of the building, so that when you go into it, then the silence of the building helps to, (you know), bring a silence (of) the mind. You'll find out for yourself whether it works or not!

In relation to the significance and meaning of Buddhist buildings, the responses from the online survey complement those provided in the fieldwork visits, and can be divided into four key themes:

- A place for people to meet; friendships and community
- A place to learn, practice, and teach the *Dhamma/Dharma*
- As a sacred space for rituals, ceremonial, celebrations
- As a focal point for a particular ethnic community to gather together

One respondent provided more detail:

For our community, the building is a sacred space in which to gather in large numbers, to practise meditation and to hold rituals and celebrations. There is also an altruistic aspect to our Buddhist practice, in the wish to make Buddhist teachings available to others, so the building is also a teaching space for the public. Finally, it is a meeting point between the (Buddhist community) and the wider society in which it is located.

The idea of a Buddhist building being a 'hub' of activity, bringing people together, was mentioned by a number of respondents. As one respondent explains:

It is home to our community, it's a place specifically dedicated to friendship and the deepening of Buddhist practice. It provides us with a supportive environment for our personal and collective practice. It's a place where we can cultivate a caring and kind disposition towards others.

For another respondent, from the Tibetan Karma Kagyu Samye Dzung, the current meaning of their building is interconnected with its original use as a library and is used to help foster 'wisdom and understanding':

We feel our centre continues the original purpose of the building, which was the 1st lending library open to the public in this area. We feel our Buddhist courses continue this tradition of a place dedicated to the development of wisdom and understanding - open to all. In terms of Buddhist practice, the old library space is very peaceful and thus conducive to study and meditation.

However, not all survey respondents felt that the building they currently occupied was necessarily appropriate for their needs, and indeed, two respondents indicated that they were looking for a different building to move to, particularly one that might be larger or more conveniently located. As exemplified by one survey respondent:

...while (the building is at) the heart of the community's regular practice, there's also a recognition that it's not the most ideal space for us. Apart from accessibility issues (third floor, no lift...), we've long sought for something more suitable, perhaps something that would allow residence for a few lay & monastic members.

8. Conclusions and recommendations to Historic England

8.1 Introduction

In this section we sum up and provide some recommendations for Historic England according to the discussion in section 2 of this report - 'what Historic England wants'.

8.2 Summing up

Our findings are broadly in line with the 'four stage cycle' outlined by Peach and Gale (2003) that charts the progression of the relationship between the British planning process and minority faith groups (and how this is manifest in changing building types) as the latter establish themselves in properties to enable practice and community building. However, for a number of the communities we researched, all four stages are present simultaneously (and indeed some have not progressed through all four stages). While a particular Buddhist movement may be established enough to be engaging in new building and renovation projects at the same time new groups are emerging in different parts of the country that are beginning to look for properties to move into rather than meeting in people's houses or renting rooms for weekly meetings (e.g. Triratna and the NKT).

Compared to the faith traditions that Peach and Gale were focusing on (Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam) Buddhist communities in England, to date, have engaged in less purpose-building of places of worship. This may be because the Buddhist community is smaller and less well resourced than these other communities or that purpose built places of worship are seen as less important or crucial for religious practice (we will return to reasons why this might be the case below). This means that many Buddhist groups are unlikely to have been brought into direct contact with Historic England, the planning process and architects since the most common mode of building use is suburban residential houses, often with little apparent alterations. However, in addition to this type of residential house use, a good number of the Buddhist buildings that we mapped in the research involved buildings that had undergone some degree of renovation or extension. This includes residential houses, buildings within class D1 and some former shops. Where we did find Asian style temples being constructed (and to date there are very few) these tended to be within diaspora Buddhist groups who were using traditional styles from Burma or Thailand, for instance. None of these are currently listed, although as we detail at the end of this section, one of them is old enough and, furthermore, showed an interest in finding out more about the process of listing.

In contrast, the Buddhist groups that attracted more Westerners tended to prefer reusing urban buildings in town or city centres so that they could be accessible to people wanting to learn about Buddhism or meditation. One

of the core aims of many of these groups was to provide access to Buddhist teachings and practices for those who might be interested or who may benefit from mindfulness meditation, yoga and other activities directed at wellbeing. Often they choose old municipal buildings such as libraries or schools that have large spaces for communal rituals and are relatively cheap to buy. They are typically renovated with volunteer labour over a long period of time and the communities often face on-going struggles in trying to pay for the upkeep and any necessary adaptations. The communities spoke about the experience of renovating the building as having played an important role in their community building and being a means to put Buddhist teachings into practice. It was often also the case that these communities had rural retreat centres in addition to the urban centres, often reusing and extending old farm buildings, manor houses and mansions. Many of these buildings are listed but only in one or two cases is the current use by a Buddhist group mentioned in the listing details.

The groups attracting predominantly Western converts often chose to reuse old municipal buildings, town houses and also dilapidated mansions and spoke enthusiastically about 'sympathetic renovations' and not radically altering the fabric of the building, but to preserve and enhance instead. Thus, while the diaspora Buddhists were more attracted to Asian style architecture in their renovations and building projects, the Western traditions did not seem to value this in the same way or as being necessary for practice. One of our interviewees told us that building in traditional styles was not possible where buildings had been 'inherited'. Thus, the traditional symbolism of Buddhist buildings and the role that this has for practice did not emerge in our research as a strong feature of Buddhism in England.⁸⁷ The internal rooms in Buddhist centres such as Throssel Hole and Amaravati do reflect, in many ways, traditional settings for Buddhist practice with Buddhist statues and other iconography but the external architecture does not. This reflects the complexity inherent in the manner of the 'adaptation' of religions to different geographic and cultural contexts, which is reflected in wider scholarship on Buddhism in Britain (for example, Bell, 1991, Bluck, 2006, Kay, 2004, Waterhouse, 1997).

The reuse of buildings and the fact that they often look like a normal part of the British architectural landscape, however, should not be taken to suggest that these buildings are not viewed as sacred spaces in the eyes of those who use them. While traditional structures (e.g. stupas) in the very process of their construction and how they are constructed convey a sacred power to those who enter or come into contact with them, our interviewees who 'inherited' buildings talked about ways in which those buildings or rooms on them had been 'blessed' or that the very presence of Buddhist practice transformed the spaces into 'sacred' spaces. Where

⁸⁷ It is interesting to compare this with Villaromen who places greater emphasis on the importance of traditional buildings styles for minority faith groups in Australia, including Buddhists. He argues that to deny planning for traditional temples that have a symbolic role in people's religious practice could result in a denial of their right to religious freedom (2014).

traditional structures have been built these may be seen as having a benefit for Buddhist practice in themselves. As we told about the Stupa at Harewood, the ritual objects placed inside 'empower the stupa' and allow the benefits of the blessings to multiply and 'radiate out into the world'.⁸⁸

Within the existing scholarship on Buddhism in Britain (and indeed, the 'West'), criticisms have been raised at too rigid a distinction being drawn between 'convert' or 'ethnic' and 'diaspora' groups (for example, see Bell, 1991, 2000). Whilst we recognize that not all of the groups that we studied in this research fit neatly into either 'diaspora' or 'convert' categories, we did identify broad trends in relation to building design, function, and use, which should not be overlooked.

We found that a number of the diaspora groups have strong links back to Asia and had been able to raise money and get support for renovations from supporters in countries where their Buddhist groups originate, and even the government in the case of Wat Buddhapadipa. In contrast, those groups without strong links to one particular place or Buddhist tradition outside the UK, raised money typically through mortgages, donations from retreats and meditation classes and other businesses, such as book shops and cafes, and rarely had access to external pots of money. This may explain why these groups often also ran Buddhist businesses from their centres or rented out rooms in order to raise money.

There was also an important difference between convert and diaspora groups in terms of the function of the centres. For the convert groups the focus was upon meditation and teaching about Buddhism, and in particular bringing other people into a Buddhist setting, whether they planned to convert or not. By contrast, the diaspora groups also had a strong focus upon cultural events and more devotional practices, such as ritual respect for their ancestors or providing certain ritual offerings to temples, including food for monastics. We noticed different understandings of *dana* (or generosity) in relation to supporting the running of Buddhist buildings amongst the groups in this study. Whilst ritual offerings and support to monastics appeared predominant amongst diaspora Buddhists, convert Buddhists engaged in *dana* principally, although not exclusively, through donating for meditation classes and retreats (see also a discussion in Bell, 1998 in relation to merit making and *dana* in the Forest Sangha in Britain). However, this distinction cannot be firmly maintained as we were informed that this pattern of support is perhaps changing. It was suggested at Amaravati that, at present, there are more diaspora Buddhists getting involved in meditation and retreats, and more convert Buddhists providing material support to communities.

While certainly not unwelcoming, there seemed to also be less of an attempt made at the diaspora communities to bring new people into Buddhism and to physically reach out to urban locations in terms of pulling

⁸⁸ <http://fpmt.org/mandala/archives/older/mandala-issues-for-1996/january/the-benefits-of-building-stupas/> (accessed 26 April 2016).

people in through offering mindfulness and other alternative therapies, including yoga.

In terms of the language used to talk about Buddhist buildings, we found that the convert groups are more likely to adopt the word 'centre' whereas the diaspora groups prefer to use Asian terms such as *gompa*, *wat* or *vihara*. The convert groups also used these terms but were more likely to do so when talking about buildings or the rooms within buildings to members of their own community.

None of the communities we visited stated that they had faced any difficulties with being able to make any alterations to existing buildings that were essential to their practice. However, several of the communities we visited suggested that they had chosen to move location to enable more significant building alterations and development to be undertaken. Although we were not told of any large-scale rejection of explicit planning proposals in relation to a Buddhist building, there was the perception that some Local Authority areas might look on site developments more favourably than others.

Research undertaken by Villaromen (2014) in Australia suggests that planning objections to the construction of places of worship is a threat to the 'right to religious freedom' since it may restrict 'the ability of religious communities to express their beliefs through their built structures' (2014: 61). Although we did not encounter this as a direct issue in our research it may emerge in the future if Buddhists in England increase the scale of renovations and new builds that they undertake. It may be that this is more of an issue for other minority faith communities in England who have typically engaged in projects that involve greater level of interaction with planners and heritage bodies.

Although Buddhists in England have to-date tended to undertake more renovation projects than new builds, this should not be taken to imply that the material fabric that they chose to practice in is insignificant to their being Buddhist or that the buildings are unimportant. Many of the buildings may not look like Buddhist temples but have been 'blessed' in ways that make them fit for practice, often by senior figures in the tradition. A number of our informants were also clear that a building can become 'Buddhist' once people start practicing, meditating and burning incense there – as though this somehow changes the tangible fabric of the building into a 'sacred' space. In addition to the building enabling a community to emerge, both the immediate Buddhist community and also a broader community linked to the centre, the renovation of the buildings is often seen as a vehicle for Buddhist practice. Moreover, many of the communities spent years looking for suitable properties before purchasing one.

Where communities have built temples or undertaken significant renovations it is important to involve people who know what they are doing. A number of the communities, the diaspora ones in particular, brought over experts to England to help design and build the temples, stupas or

pagodas. For the convert traditions a number spoke of the benefits of finding architects or surveyors who had an understanding of Buddhism, and one centre even arranged for the architects to attend one of their retreats. Although this phase of the research did not probe in detail about how architects were selected and the outcome of this, this would be a useful area for research in the future and we intend to follow it up.

In our interviews there was a generally positive attitude towards engaging with Historic England, both on past experience and with respect to future possibilities. Many of the properties we visited were either already listed or were old enough and quite possibly significant enough to be considered for listing (e.g. Wat Buddhapadipa, the Manchester Buddhist Centre etc.). A number of the survey respondents, by contrast, had reservations about the role that HE could play or the benefits that listing might bring for their building. In our reflections on the data collected, questions around the extent to which recognition of buildings by the heritage industry (e.g. through being listed) arose and could be probed further in future research: what does a community's building being listed, or otherwise recognised as being significant for the heritage of England, mean to that community? What does it signify about the extent to which minority faith communities have become an established feature of British social life? Related to this is how the heritage of minority faith buildings is likely to be sustained and carried forward. Will this be through second and third generation Buddhists or new converts? Where is the growth likely to be in Buddhism in England – convert groups or diaspora groups - and will these communities manage and pass on their heritage in different ways?

8.3 Recommendations to Historic England

It is clear from this research that Buddhist communities in England are already making a significant contribution to heritage – particularly maintaining and renovating buildings, but also in purpose building temples/centres. Buddhism is increasingly popular in England and there is a need to improve understanding of its heritage to reflect growing interest in this religious tradition, which is likely to continue into the future.

A few of the communities we encountered during the research stated that they would benefit from support in terms of helping with maintenance and advice, particularly in relation to funding and financial support. We suggest that support organisations, such as SPAB (<http://www.spab.org.uk/>), could be provided with detailed information about Buddhist communities that are preserving and maintaining listed and historic buildings to place them in a better position to offer support to those groups. We are aware that a number of meetings have already been held with representatives of faith buildings, organised by Diana Evans, Historic England. This seems to be an initiative worth continuing with.

The centres that mentioned that they could benefit from support included:

- Wat Buddhapadipa: one particular issue raised was with respect to preserving the unique wall paintings inside the *uposatha hall* (see Cate 2003).
- Manchester Buddhist Centre: we were told that this centre needed to raise a good amount of additional funds to continue renovations and maintain the upkeep of this former cotton warehouse.
- Blackburn Triratna Buddhist Centre (Maitri House): this centre - in a questionnaire response - drew attention to the rising 'costs of repair' of the former solicitors' offices (1800s, not listed).
- Wat Phra Singh, Runcorn: in a questionnaire response we were told that their 'heating upgrade project currently 50% complete' (0s, former pub/hotel, not listed).
- Sheffield Buddhist Centre, Triratna: in a questionnaire response we were told that 'disabled access to the main shrine room is proving difficult and expensive to do in a way that's sympathetic to the building and our use of it' (former gentleman's residence (early 19th c) and church (1871) – listed building).

In response to and adding to the discussion in section 2, where we outlined the anticipated impact of this project based on what HE told us it wanted from the research, we make the following recommendations:

1. The glossary in appendix 3 includes terms that can be added to the terminology that is present in the Thesaurus of Monument Types so that it reflects Buddhism in England.
2. We came across one purpose built place of worship that is more than 30 years old and could be considered for listing: Wat Buddhapadipa.
3. While 22 of the 188 buildings that Buddhists occupy in England are listed, only one or two of the listing details mentions Buddhism. It is important that these are updated to reflect the current use in order to ensure that minority faith traditions begin to be reflected in the recording of the heritage of England. Detailed suggestions for amendments to the NHLE are made in section 9.4 Appendix 4.
4. One of our aims was to make suggestions for relevant 'principles of selection' for the listing of Buddhist buildings as well as guidance for how to protect and treat buildings that are already listed but are now occupied by Buddhist groups.

Historic England divides its listing criteria into Architectural Interest and Historic Interest, where:

- **Architectural Interest.** To be of special architectural interest a building must be of importance in its architectural design, decoration or craftsmanship; special interest may also apply to nationally important examples of particular building types and techniques (e.g.

buildings displaying technological innovation or virtuosity) and significant plan forms;

- **Historic Interest.** To be of special historic interest a building must illustrate important aspects of the nation's social, economic, cultural, or military history and/or have close historical associations with nationally important people. There should normally be some quality of interest in the physical fabric of the building itself to justify the statutory protection afforded by listing (2010: 4).

Historic England has also produced a 'designation listing guide' for places of worship (2011) but this document mainly focuses on Christian Churches, with only brief discussion of the buildings of minority traditions towards the end of the document. The document tells us that:

So far, relatively few non-Christian places of worship have been designated. Of those that have, by far the highest number comprises synagogues. *Listing is a way of capturing architectural and historic interest: while its principal aim is to inform the planning system of where special significance lies, it is also a barometer of those buildings, structures and sites which are deemed to be of 'special interest'*. As different faith groups establish themselves ever more firmly in England, the claims to the status of special interest of their places of worship become ever more valid. Early sites of a faith's worship may warrant special consideration, as well as examples manifesting high design values. This is an area in which our heritage of places of worship is set to expand (2011: 21, emphasis added).

The 'designation listing guide' (2011) puts forward a number of considerations to take on board when considering places of worship for designation. We have selected the ones most relevant for Buddhist buildings as a starting point:

- **Character:** How does the character of the place of worship differ from those in other denominations within the same tradition?
- **Intactness:** How intact is the building and its fixtures and fittings?
- **Alteration:** What alterations have taken place?
- **Fixtures, fittings and decorations:** Are these of any special interest?
- **Historic Interest:** Does the particular place of worship have a special significance for the tradition, and for its emergence in England?
- **Grading:** Is the place of worship in a listed building and what challenges does this present?
- **Local considerations:** What is the local significance of the building?
- **Group value:** What value does the place of worship have to the community who uses it?

Buddhist communities in England are varied and draw on a number of different traditions and lineages, and have each specific historical trajectories in relation to how they arose in England and how they continue to develop and grow, As a result, the style and design of the buildings that they use is also varied. It is therefore important not to compare buildings of different communities and to judge them against each other.

It is not only the structure of the building that is significant to Buddhist communities but also the fittings and art. Some buildings may contain specific works of art (e.g. murals at Wat Buddhapadipa) or particular *Buddha rupas* (statues) either brought from Asia or designed and made in the UK. Both Triratna and Jamyang London have *Buddha rupas*, as well as other statues and pictures designed/produced by British artists and which may be of great significance to communities as the years progress.

Buddhist buildings in Britain may be of traditional Asian design, but they might also take on a British flavour (e.g. Amaravati) and it is vital to recognise the adaptations to traditional architecture made here as signifying special interest.

It might not only be buildings for human occupation that become significant in the future, but other structures such as *stupas* (e.g. the *stupa* at Harewood House).

Some Buddhist buildings in England might have multiple structures on one site - it might not only be the temple or shrine room that is of significance to the community.

5. It is important that HE knows whom to contact about Buddhist buildings and traditions in England. The mapping tables in Appendix 5 include websites for most of the buildings mapped and contact details can also be found there for each of the centres. Additionally, the following information may be useful:

- The major umbrella and ecumenical organization for Buddhists in Britain is the 'Network of Buddhist Organisations' (<http://www.nbo.org.uk>).
- The Buddhist Society in London is another hub, linking Buddhists from different traditions (<http://www.thebuddhistsociety.org>).
- Another important body is the English Sangha Trust (for the Theravada Thai Forest Tradition; <http://cittaviveka.org/index.php/about/contact/1-the-english-sangha-trust-ltd>).

6. Timeline: we have presented a detailed discussion of the development of Buddhism in England, including key dates for each tradition in Section 5.

7. We have collected a large number of photographs that can be added to the HE archive. These will be put on a disk and sent to Linda Monckton.

8. The material in this report will enable the production of an 'Introduction to Heritage Assets' resource on 'Buddhist Buildings in England'. The authors of this report would be interested in producing this as a further piece of work under guidance from HE.

9. The blog that has developed from this research and the article in Public Spirit, have contributed towards raising awareness of these buildings to the general public.

9. Appendices

9.1 Appendix 1 - Interview Questions

1. Can you give us a brief history of this building, and your presence here?
2. Have you occupied other buildings/spaces in the past?
3. Why did you choose this place?
4. What activities is the building currently used for? (classes, residence for monastics?)
5. Who owns the building? Who has responsibility for upkeep? (volunteers?)
6. How do your community use this building? (regular, drop in, festivals?)
7. Who uses the building (adults, children, men, women, converts/ethnic, ages, regular, drop in?)
8. Do community members also go elsewhere for religious practice?
9. Is this purpose built, or adapted, or a mixture of both?
10. Is it listed? Does being 'listed' concern you?
11. Do you refer to it as a centre/temple/wat? Does it matter?
12. What issues do you have in relation to the upkeep of the building? (problems with regulations, issues of fundraising)
13. Do you have spaces that you rent out to the public? Are these 'secular' spaces?
14. What is your relationship with the wider (non-Buddhist community) – any issues with having a Buddhist centre located here?
15. How important do you think buildings are to Buddhists in Britain?
16. What are the key issues facing your group in relation to its building?
17. Have you seen the built landscape of Buddhism in Britain change over the years?

|

9.2 Appendix 2 - Online Survey Questions

1. What is the name of your Buddhist group/organisation
2. In what area of England is your building located?
3. Which Buddhist tradition do you affiliate with?
4. Does your organisation own or rent more than one building?
5. When was your Buddhist organisation first established in England?
6. When did you first occupy your current building?
7. How did you find out about your current building?
8. Prior to your current building, did your organisation own or rent another property?
9. What 'type' of building was this previous property? (private, owned, rented, more than one building type)
10. What were the reasons for moving?
11. Why did you choose your current building?
12. What was the process for you obtaining your current building?
13. Do you occupy an entire building, or share a building?
14. If the space is shared, who do you share with?
15. How would you describe the building your community currently occupies? (renovated/adapted, purpose built, other)
16. If you occupy a renovated/adapted building, when was it built?
17. If you occupy a renovated/adapted building, what was its previous use?
18. Is your building listed?
19. If no, would you like your building to be listed?
20. If yes, was your building listed for its previous use, or as a Buddhist building?
21. Do you own or rent your current building?
22. What is your building currently used for?
23. Do you have rooms in your building that you rent out to the public?
24. What are the hired rooms used for?
25. How do you refer to your building?
26. Who has the responsibility for building upkeep?
27. Does your building serve a particular ethnic or cultural community?
28. What is the approximate ethnic make-up of your community?
29. What is the significance and meaning of your building to your community, and to your Buddhist practice?
30. Are you currently facing issues in relation to the upkeep of your building?
31. What are the issues in relation to upkeep that you are facing?
32. What is your relationship with the wider Buddhist, and non-Buddhist communities in your area?
33. Are you currently looking to occupy a different building?
34. If yes, why do you wish to move?

9.3 Appendix 3 – Glossary: Words for Buddhist buildings or parts of Buddhist buildings

Dhamma/Dharma Hall – space in a Buddhist building that is used for teaching *Dhamma/Dharma* (teachings of the Buddha)

Gompa – Tibetan term that was used by some of our respondents for the room where the Buddha image is housed and where meditation and other rituals are carried out; can also be used to refer to an entire temple complex, including living quarters.

Pagoda – a tiered sacred tower, which may also be called a *stupa* or *caitya*. Often contains relics of the Buddha

Shrine Room – the room where the Buddha image is housed and where meditation and other rituals are carried out.

Stupa – ‘Buddhist commemorative monument usually housing sacred relics associated with the Buddha or other saintly persons. The hemispherical form of the stupa appears to have derived from pre-Buddhist burial mounds in India’.⁸⁹

Uposotha Hall - the consecrated ‘chapel’ area of ritual significance, where the principal Buddha image is kept.

Vihara – the monastic quarters

Wat – the term used in Thailand for the temple complex including the *vihara* (monastic quarters), the temple (*Uposotha Hall*) and other buildings.

⁸⁹ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/570059/stupa> (accessed 24 April 2016)

9.4 Appendix 4 – suggested amendments to the NHLE

1. International Meditation Centre United Kingdom

Splatts House, Calne, Wiltshire

List entry Number: 1240092

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1240092>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: International Meditation Centre United Kingdom, former Splatts House

The building is now used as the 'International Meditation Centre United Kingdom', a Theravada Buddhist centre for Vipassana meditation as taught by the Burmese teacher Sayagyi U Ba Khin (1899-1971).

www.internationalmeditationcentre.org/uk/introduction.html

2. London Buddhist Vihara

List entry Number: 1079469

<http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1079469>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: London Buddhist Vihara

In 1994 The London Buddhist Vihara, a Theravāda Buddhist centre, moved to this premises. The centre was first established in London in 1926 by a Sri Lankan monk called Anagarika Dharmapala and was the first Buddhist monastery to be established outside of Asia. Activities run from the centre include a monastery, library, bookstall, meditation classes, festivals and pastoral care.

www.londonbuddhistvihara.org/contactus.htm

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_Buddhist_Vihara

3. Dhammakaya Meditation Centre, Newcastle

List entry Numbers: 1025195 (St Andrews Centre - Presbyterian, the United Reformed, church) and 1299492 (St Andrews Centre - Formerly St Andrew's Church Hall, community Centre and school)

<https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/results?q=St%20Andrews%20centre&searchtype=nhlesearch>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Dhammakaya Meditation Centre, Newcastle

In 2016 a new Buddhist temple was opened here, within the Thai Theravada Dhammakaya tradition. It serves as a monastery and provides meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre and celebration of Buddhist festivals.

4. Bodhisattva Kadampa Buddhist Meditation Centre

St Anne's Convent

List entry number: 1206258

<http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1206258>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Bodhisattva Kadampa Buddhist Meditation Centre, former St Anne's Convent

Later it became Claremont School, and c1947 became a children's home in the care of the sisters of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God and then a day centre, with accommodation for homeless women. In July 1997, the Bodhisattva Kadampa Buddhist Meditation Centre (part of the New Kadampa Tradition within Tibetan Buddhism) moved to St Anne's Convent and started renovating the building and garden. This is a residential community of lay and ordained Buddhists. They run meditation courses there – half-hour sessions to month long residential retreats – as well as a café. The garden is open to the public most days of the year.

For more information, go to www.meditateinbrighton.com

5. Kadampa Primary school and Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre

Ashe Hall

List entry Number: 1334529

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1334529>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Kadampa Primary school and Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre, former Ashe Hall

The property is now owned by the Tibetan 'New Kadampa Tradition' and is used as a meditation centre - the Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre - and the Kadampa Primary School (est. 2012). Activities include meditation classes and retreats, a 'world peace café', shop, and B&B.

www.derbyshirekadampaprimary.org

www.tarakmc.org

6. Madyamaka Buddhist Centre

NKT Pocklington, York Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats Impressive large manor house; Kilnwick Percy Hall Georgian mansion Rural Yes; Grade II*; <http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1309858>

List entry Number: 1309858 Est.1986; no mention of Buddhist in listing details, www.madhyamaka.org

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Madyamaka Buddhist Centre, former Kilnwick Percy Hall

Since 1986 it has been used as the Madyamaka Buddhist Centre and owned by the Tibetan Buddhist New Kadampa Tradition (NKT). Activities include meditation classes and retreats, a world peace café and a shop, resident teacher.

7. Manjushri Centre/Buddhist Temple

Conishead Priory

List entry Number: 1270176

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1270176>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Manjushri Centre/Buddhist Temple, former Conishead Priory

Since 1976 it has been used as the Manjushri Centre, a Tibetan Buddhist temple. Today it is the main centre for the New Kadampa Tradition. Activities include meditation classes and retreats, a world peace café and a shop.

<http://nkt-kmc-manjushri.org>

8. Vajrapani Buddhist Centre

Birkby Baptist Church

List entry Number: 1066614

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1066614>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Vajrapani Buddhist Centre, former Birkby Baptist Church

Since 2008 it has been used as the Vajrapani Buddhist Centre, a Buddhist centre in the Tibetan Buddhist New Kadampa Tradition. Activities include meditation classes and retreats, a world peace café and a shop.

<http://meditateinuddersfield.org>

9. Jamyang London

Former Lambeth Magistrates Court

List entry Number: 1385689

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1251239>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Jamyang London, former Lambeth Magistrates Court

Since 1982 it has been the Jamyang Buddhist Centre, part of the Tibetan Buddhist group – the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (FPMT). It runs meditation classes, has a café and has rooms to rent out for events.

www.jamyang.co.uk

10. Kagyu Samye Dzong (1)

Former Manor Place Swimming Baths

List entry number 1385689

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1385689>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Kagyu Samye Dzong Tibetan Buddhist Meditation Centre, former Manor Place Swimming Baths

Since 2006 it has been used as a Buddhist Centre belonging to the Tibetan Buddhist group Kagyu Samye Dzong.

www.london.samye.org/about-us/centres/

11. Kagyu Samye Dzong (2)

Former Bermondsey Library

List entry Number: 1385931

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Kagyu Samye Dzong Tibetan Buddhist Meditation Centre, former Bermondsey Library

Since 2009 it has been used as a Buddhist Centre belonging to the Tibetan Buddhist group Kagyu Samye Dzong.

www.london.samye.org/about-us/centres/

12. Kagyu Samye Dzong Scarborough

Londesborough Lodge

List entry Number: 1258289

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1258289>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Kagyu Samye Dzong Tibetan Buddhist Meditation Centre, former Londesborough Lodge

Since 2015 it has been used as a Buddhist Centre belonging to the Tibetan Buddhist group Kagyu Samye Dzong.

<http://www.yorkshire.samye.org>

13. London Diamond Way Buddhist Centre

The Former Beaufoy Institute

List entry Number: 1183436

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1183436>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: London Diamond Way Buddhist Centre, the Former Beaufoy Institute

Since 2014 it has been used as a Buddhist centre - London Diamond Way Buddhist Centre, part of the Tibetan Karma Kagyu lineage.

www.buddhism.org.uk/diamondway-buddhism/london-meditation-centre/

14. Fo Guang Shan

List entry Number: 1273611

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1273611>

Suggested amendment

Add name: London Fo Guang Shan Temple

Since 1992 it has been used by the Taiwanese Mahayana Buddhist group Fo Guang Shan as a Buddhist temple, a monastery and for cultural events, meditation and devotional activities.

www.londonfgs.org.uk/cms/index.php?site_language_id=2

15. Soka Gakkai International

Taplow Court (Plessey Telecommunications Research)

List entry Number: 1165286

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1165286>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Soka Gakkai International UK Headquarters, former Taplow Court (Plessey Telecommunications Research)

Since 1987 the building has been the head quarters of the Japanese Zen organisation Soka Gakkai International. Other activities taking place there include retreats and cultural events.

<http://www.sgi-uk.org>

16. Zen Centre, Shobo-an

List entry Number: 1239650

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1239650>

Suggested amendment

Add name: Zen Centre, Shobo-an

Since 1984 this building has been the home of the Zen Centre, Shobo-an, belonging to the Japanese Rinzai Zen lineage. This was the former home of Christmas Humphreys, one of the pioneering figures who brought Buddhism to England.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zen_Centre

<http://www.rinzaizencentre.org.uk/our-lineage.php>

17. Cambridge Buddhist Centre

Arts Theatre Workshop and Store

List entry Number: 1126148

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1126148>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Cambridge Buddhist Centre, former Arts Theatre Workshop and Store

Since 1998 the building has been home to the Cambridge Buddhist centre, part of the Triratna tradition. Activities include meditation, mindfulness-based stress reduction, Tai Chi and Yoga.

18. London Buddhist Centre

Fire Station

List entry Number: 1065084

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1065084>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: London Buddhist Centre, former Fire Station

Since 1975 this has been the London Buddhist Centre, part of the Triratna Tradition. Activities include meditation, a 'breathing space' and book shop.

19. Norwich Buddhist Centre

List entry Number: 1051389

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1051389>

Suggested amendment

Add name: Norwich Buddhist Centre

This building is now occupied by the Norwich Buddhist Centre, part of the Triratna Tradition. Activities include meditation, yoga, retreats and a book shop.

www.norwichbuddhistcentre.com

20. Sheffield Buddhist Centre

St Joseph's Chapel

List entry number: 1270450

<http://list.historicengland.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1270450>;

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Sheffield Buddhist Centre, former St Joseph's Chapel

Since 2004 this has been the Sheffield Buddhist Centre, part of the Triratna Tradition. Activities include meditation, yoga and Tai Chi.

www.sheffieldbuddhistcentre.org

21. Buddhist Society

List entry Number: 1211499

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1211499>

Suggested amendment

Add name: Buddhist Society

Since 1956 the building has been home to the Buddhist Society, established by Christmas Humphreys and one of the first Buddhist centres in England.

22. Gaia House

The Convent

List entry Number: 1096703

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1096703>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Gaia House, former Convent and Manor House

Since 1996 this building has been home to Gaia House, a non-sectarian Buddhist retreat centre.

<http://gaiahouse.co.uk/about/history-building/>

23. Sharpham Trust, Barn Rural Retreat Centre

List entry Number: 1108385

<http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1108385>

Suggested amendment

Add to name: Sharpham Trust, Barn Rural Retreat Centre, former Sharpham House

Since 2003 this has been the home of Sharpham Trust, Barn Rural Retreat Centre as non-sectarian Buddhist retreat centre

<http://www.sharphamtrust.org/The-Venue>

9.5 Appendix 5 – mapping results⁹⁰

Theravada

Theravada (56 total)										
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	NAME	TRADITION	LOCATION	USE	TYPE	RURAL /URBAN	LISTED OR NOT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	WEBSITES	CONTACT DETAILS
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BURMESE (10 total)										
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1.	Birmingham Buddhist Vihara	Burmese	Birmingham	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	New build houses and temple/Pagoda	Suburban	No	Est. 1998	www.birminghambuddhistvihara.org	29-31 Osler Sreet, Ladywood, Birmingham B16 9EU. Phone: 0121 454 6591
2.	Dhamma Dipa	Burmese	Herefordshire	Retreats, residential	Some of it looks to be	Rural	No	Est. 1991; http://www.dhammadipa.org	www.dipadhamma.org	Pencoyd, St Owens

⁹⁰ Green Highlighting indicates that the building is listed.

	Vipassana Centre			courses	purpose built with older buildings that have been adapted			greenoakcarpentry.co.uk/public-projects/special-projects/chithurstmonastery/	org	Cross, Hereford HR2 8NG. Phone: 01989 730234 Email: info@dipa.dhammadma.org
3.	Dhammika Rama Vihara	Burmese	Sheffield	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Looks like block of flats	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://www.dhammadikaramavihara.co.uk/Link%20page/Donation%20information%20index.html	19 Fairbarn place, Sheffield, S6 5QG Phone: 0114-3486004 / 07729243899
4.	International Meditation Centre United Kingdom	Burmese Vipassana, Sayagyi U Ba Kin_	Calne, Wiltshire	Vipassana Meditation Centre	Splatts House	Rural	Yes grade II listed: http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1240092 ; list entry number: 1240092	Est. 1978; no mention of Buddhism in listing details; first listed in 1986, and website of centre says it was formed in 1978. This suggests that the centre	www.internationalmeditationcentre.org/uk/introduction.html	Splatts House Heddington CALNE Wiltshire SN11 0PE Phone: 01380 850 238 Email: imcuk@internationalmeditationcentre.org

								could have been based somewhere else before moving here after 1986, otherwise the fact that it is now occupied by a Buddhist group would be more likely to be mentioned in the listing details.		
5.	London Burmese Buddhist Vihara	Burmese	Wembley Park, London	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Large house	Suburban	No		http://www.myanmar.net/nibbana/london.htm	1 Old Church Lane, NW9 8TG Phone: 020 8200 6898

6.	Mogok Vipassana Centre	Burmese	Purfleet, Essex	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Smallish house in residential area	Suburban	No	Est. no details	www.mogok.co.uk	162 Water Lane, Purfleet RM19 1GU, UK Email: contact@mogok.co.uk
7.	Santisukha Vihara	Burmese	Hownslow, Middlesex	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Smallish semi-detached house, ex-local authority	Suburban	No	Est. no details	No website	269 Vicarage Farm Rd, Hounslow, Middlesex, TW5 0DR
8.	Saraniya Dhamma Meditation Centre	Burmese	Salford	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Large house, with extension/new building	Suburban	No	Est. 1986/87	www.saraniya.com/news-newbuilding-complete.html	420 Lower Broughton Road, Salford, Lancashire, M7 2GD Phone: 0161 281 6242 Email: admin@saraniya.com

9.	Sasana Ramsi Vihara	Burmese	Colindale, North London	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Smallish semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details; www.colourmylondon.co.uk/Article%20Page/culture/monestary/monestary.html - small video of monastery	No website	83 Booth Road Colindale NW9 5JU Phone: 0208 205 0221
10.	Tisarana Vihara	Burmese	Twickenham, London	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Smallish, semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	www.tisarana.info/	357 Nelson Road Whitton Twickenham London TW2 7AG Phone: 0208-898-6965; Email: info@tisarana.info
11.	Vivekarama	Burmese	Sunderland	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Large old semi-detached house	Suburban	No	They appear to have just bought it	www.vivekarama.org.uk/doku.php	Mowbray Villa, 16 St Bedes Terrace, Sunderland, SR2 8HS Phone: 01919086544

OTHER (6 total)

1.	Ambedkar Center, Buddha Vihara	Other, Ambedkar (Loose Theravada)	Southall, Middlesex	Buddhist centre for Ambedkar Buddhists of Indian Heritage	Unclear, could be house could be industrial unit	Suburban	No	Est. no details; www.facebook.com/AmbedkarHallSouthall/photos/a.325471130897623.71303.288626197915450/352356424875760/?type=1&theater	None	12, Featherstone Road, UB2 5AA. Phone: H.virdee:079 03839047, C.Gautam:07 956918053 Email cgautam@ambedkar.org ; harbans_vird ee@hotmail.com
2.	Buddha Vihara, Dr. Ambedkar Buddhist Centre	Other, Ambedkar (Loose Theravada)	Wolverhampton	Buddhist centre for Ambedkar Buddhists of Indian Heritage	New build, may include some reuse	Suburban	No	Est. 1976 Buddha Vihara at 146 Lea Road, Wolverhampton; Est. 1991 Buddha Vihara at current location and Est. 2000 Dr. Ambedkar Community		Upper Zoar Street, Pennfields, Wolverhampton WV3 0JH

								Centre & Museum and Ambedkar statue		
3.	Vaishali Buddha Vihara	Other, Ambedkar	Handsworth, Birmingham	Buddhist centre for Ambedkar Buddhists of Indian Heritage	Possibly a former factory	Suburban	No	Est. no details	No website	14 Factory Road Handsworth Birmingham, B18 5JU
4.	Manchester Centre for Buddhist Meditation	Other, Samatha	Manchester	Meditation retreats, teaching	Old Methodist Church (see Bluck 2006: 50)	Urban	No	Est. no details; www.samatha.org/manchester ; www.samattha.org/welcome/manchesterextension/mcrexcontribute ; plans to extend existing building	www.samatha.org/manchester	19 - 21 High Lane, Chorlton - cum - Hardy, Manchester M21 9DJ. Phone: 0161 8604716; Email: mcrinfo@samatha.org
5.	Oxford Buddhist Vihara	Other, Theravada (multi)	Oxford	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	2 x 1930s semi-detached houses	Suburban	No	Est. 2003	www.oxfordbuddhavihara.org.uk/about.html	356-358 Abingdon Road Oxford OX1 4TQ Phone: 01865 791591; Email: oxford_buddhavihara@yahoo.com

										oo.co.uk
6.	Aukana Monastery	Other Theravada (not affiliated)	Bradford Upon Avon, Wiltshire	Monastery/ nunnery, retreats, evening classes	Former school, several buildings	Village, rural	No	Est. 1986	http://www.aukana.org.uk/mon/mon.htm	9 Masons Lane, Bradford on Avon, Wiltshire BA15 1QN. Phone: 01225 866821 Email: info@aukana.org.uk

SRI LANKAN (24 TOTAL)

1.	Athula Dassana International Buddhist Temple (Heathrow)	Sri Lankan	Hounslow, London	Temple, resident monk, cultural centre	Flat in apartment block?	Suburban	No	Est. 1994	http://athuladassanatemple.org/profile.html#	153A Sutton Ln Hounslow, Greater London TW3 4JW Phone: 0207
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	Temple)									998 0713 Email: info@athulad assanatempl e.org
2.	Birmingham Buddhist Maha Vihara	Sri Lankan (but also says it caters for Mahayana)	Birmingham	New building will be a Buddhist Temple and Multicultural community Centre, offering teachings and sermons, meditation community service, retreats, monks' accommodation.	Old temple, looks like factory building; New Build, Sri Lankan Buddhist Architecture	Suburban	No	'Birmingham Buddhist Maha Vihara recently obtained planning permission to build the largest Buddhist Maha Vihara in Europe. The Birmingham Buddhist Maha Vihara was established in 1992'.	http://www.bbmvihara.com/bmv/	Located off Hockley Circus at 216 New John Street west Hockley Birmingham B19 3UA Phone: 01215236660 Email wkassapa@hotmail.com

3.	Bristol Buddhist Vihara	Sri Lankan	Bristol	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Semi-detached 1900 house?	Suburban	No		https://en-gb.facebook.com/BristolBuddhistVihara/	32, Avonvale Road, Bristol, BS5 9RL Phone: 0117 977 0465 or 074 291 75920 Email: bristolbuddhistvihara@gmail.com
4.	Dharmasoka Buddhist Vihara & Community Centre	Sri Lankan	Leicester	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	1930s semi (just looks like house)	Suburban	No			91 Queniborough Road, Leicester LE4 6GX Phone: 01164299118
5.	East London Buddhist Cultural Centre, Lumbini Vihara	Sri Lankan	Plaistow, East London	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Old building that has been extended. Not sure about building type.	Suburban	No	Est. no details; https://m.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=144948868866396&id=144709488890334&set=a.144948575533092.23175.144709488890334&	http://elbcc.org.uk/ElBCC%20about%20us.html	33, Maybury, Road London E13 8RZ. Phone: 02074760681 Email: info@elbcc.org.uk

								source=49&refid=13		
6.	Jethavana Buddhist Vihara	Sri Lankan	Birmingham	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Semi-detached house, looks like Edwardian era	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://www.jethavanavihara.co.uk	13 Booth Street Handsworth Birmingham B21 0NG. Phone: 0121 554 1466
7.	Ketumati Buddhist Vihara	Sri Lankan	Oldham	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Appears to be smallish semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://www.ketumati.org/index.php	3 Pretoria Road, Holins, Oldham OL8 4NH Phone: 0161 678 9726
8.	Leicester Buddhist Vihara	Sri Lankan	Leicester	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals, library	Smallish semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. 1990	http://leicesterbuddhistvihara.co.uk	9 Una Avenue Narborough Road South Leicester Leicestershire LE3 2GS Phone: 0116 282 5003 Email: Contact@LeicesterBuddhistVihara.co

									.uk	
9.	Letchworth Buddhist Temple	Sri Lankan	Letchworth, Hertfordshire	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Smallish semi-detached house, looks like ex-local authority housing	Suburban	No	Est. 2005, but from 2000 was at 69 Pix Road (See entry 10 below). Did one community move and then another take over the temple at Pix Road? Or was there a split?	http://www.letchworthtemple.com/the-temple/about-the-temple.html	32 High Avenue Letchworth Garden City Herts SG6 3QS Phone: 01462 641326; Email: info@letchworthtemple.com

10.	Letchworth Dhamma Nikethanaya	Sri Lankan	Letchworth	International Cultural Community Centre for Education, Meditation, Psychotherapy and Counselling	Semi detached house	Suburban	No	Est. 2004 by Venerable Akurala Samitha	http://www.buddhistacademy.com/Default.aspx?pid=home&tab=0	69 Pix Road, Letchworth Garden City, Hertfordshire, SG6 1PZ Phone: 01462 64 1688 Email: dhammanikethanaya@gmail.com; buddhistacademy@gmail.com
11.	London Buddhist Vihara	Sri Lankan	Chiswick, London	Monastery, Library, bookstall, meditation classes, festivals, pastoral care,	Large old house; social club for Bedford Park residents until 1939	Suburban	Yes; Grade II, http://list.historicengland.org.uk/reults/single.aspx?uid=1079469 ; list entry number: 1079469	Est. 1994; does mention 'London Buddhist Vihara' in the listing details	www.londonbuddhistvihara.org/contactus.htm ; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_Buddhist_Vihara	London Buddhist Vihara Dharmapala Building The Avenue Chiswick London W4 1UD United Kingdom. Phone: +44 (0)20 8995 9493 Email: london.vihara@virgin.net

12.	Mahamevna International Meditation Centre	Sri Lankan	Stanmore	Meditation, Dhamma talks, retreats, monastery	Semi detached house (house was donated by a Sri Lankan family)	Suburban	No	Est. 2015, http://www.newslanka.net/mahamevna_opens_its_4th_uk_branch.html	http://mahamevnaaimc.org/stanmore-branch/	Dhamma Land 56 Vernon Drive Stanmore Middlesex HA7 2BT Phone: 0203 5731969
13.	Mahamevna International Meditation Centre	Sri Lankan	Uxbridge	Meditation, Dhamma talks, retreats, monastery	Semi detached house	Suburban	No	Est. 2015 http://www.newslanka.net/stream_of_merits_surfaced_in_the_greater_london_area.html	http://mahamevnaaimc.org/uxbridge-branch/	Dhamma Land 225 Windsor Avenue Hillindon Middlesex Phone: 01895311315
14.	Mahamevna International Meditation Centre	Sri Lankan	Surrey	Meditation, Dhamma talks, retreats, monastery	Terraced house	Suburban/r ural	No	Est. no details, but after 2007	http://www.mahamevna.surrey.com	Dhamma Land 2 Arran Way Esher Surrey KT10 8BE Phone: 01372436571 Email: mahamevna wa.surrey@g amil.com

15.	Mahamevna International Meditation Centre	Sri Lankan	Warrington	Meditation, Dhamma talks, retreats, monastery	Detached house	Suburban	No	http://www.newslanka.net/mahamevna_opens_its_4th_uk_branch.html	https://www.facebook.com/MahamevnaWarrington-UK-1475609106074970/?fref=ts	98 Castle Green, Kingswood, Warrington, WA5 7XA. Phone: 01925 900155 Email: mahamevna.warrington.uk@gmail.com
16.	Mahamevna International Meditation Centre (5 branches – see below)	Sri Lankan	Basildon	Meditation, Dhamma talks, retreats, monastery, programmes in Sinhala and English, appears to be reaching out to wider community to learn about Buddhism	Large detached house with Land (http://www.echo-news.co.uk/news/local/news/9880295.Buddhists_may_be_told_to_move_out_of_house/ - details planning objections 2012)	Suburban	No	Est. 2007, first UK branch of larger organisation of Buddhist monasteries started in Sri Lanka in 1999 by Ven Kiribathgodana Nananada Bhikku – see here for info on Sri Lanka temple http://maha	mahamevnaaimc.co.uk	Dhammaland, Hardings Elms Road Crays Hill, BILLERICAY, Essex CM11 2UH Phone: 01268 533870 Email: admin@mahamevnaaimc.org

								mevnawa.lk/inenglish/about-us/		
17.	Oxford International Meditation Centre	Sri Lankan	Oxford	Meditation, dhamma teaching, monastery	Semi-detached 1930s house?	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://www.oxfordimc.net	51 Collinwood Road, Oxford, OX3 8HH England UK Phone: 00441865767456 Email: oxfordimc@btinternet.com

18.	Redbridge Buddhist Cultural Centre	Sri Lankan	Ilford, Essex	Two monks, one Sri Lankan and one English monk, the Venerable Bhikkhu Pesala meditation, monastery, teachings, festivals	Large semi-detached house	Suburban	No	RCC has been providing Buddhist spiritual care and support for over past 25 years.	http://redbridgerenet.co.uk/redbridgebuddhistcentre.html	9 Balfour Road, Ilford, Essex, IG1 4HP Phone: 020 8478 8286
19.	Samadhi Meditation Centre	Sri Lankan	Edmonton, North London	Meditation, monastery	Small terrace house, 1930s?	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://www.sesatha.co.uk/Event_News/20141025_SMC_Katina/index.htm	1, Oxford Street, Edmonton, London, N9 0LY Phone: 0208 803 7194
20.	Shanthi Buddhist Vihara and Community Centre	Sri Lankan	Nottingham	'The temple will be the central hub for all Sri Lankans; not only for the community in Nottingham but also in nearby	Large detached house	Suburban	No	Est. 2013, first Buddhist temple in Nottingham	http://www.shanthivihara.com	523, Nuthall Road, Nottingham, NG8 5DG Phone: 0115 822 4552 Email: shanthibuddhistvihara@gmail.com

				cities such as Sheffield, Mansfield, Grantham, Lincoln and Derby. It also will serve the purpose of a community centre for all Sri Lankans regardless of their religion.'						
21.	Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre	Sri Lankan	Kingsbury Green, North London	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Looks like two semi detached houses	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://homepage.ntlworld.com/ssibc/centre.JPG	309-311, Kingsbury Rd, London NW9 9PE Phone:020 8204 3301

22.	Sri Sambodhi Meditation Centre	Sri Lankan	Plaistow, East London	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Looks like large detached house on street corner	Suburban	No	Est. 2014	http://www.srisambodhiuk.com	84 Dacre Road, Plaistow E13 0PR Phone: 0208 548 1628 Email: info@srisambodhiuk.com
23.	Sri Sambuddha Viharaya Liverpool	Sri Lankan	Liverpool	'For Sri Lankan community to receive and preserve their rich Buddhist culture and pass on that adorable rich heritage to pass to the younger generation'	Looks like apartment block	Suburban	No	Est. 2014	http://www.srisambuddhaviharaya.com/the-temple.html	810 Grampian Court, Grampian Road, Liverpool, L17 0JX Phone: 0787845662; 07735058235
24.	Thames Buddhist Vihara	Sri Lankan	Croydon	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre,	Extended semi-detached house?	Suburban	No	http://www.thamesbuddhistvihara.org/about-us/ (linked to London Buddhist Vihara,	http://www.thamesbuddhistvihara.org	49 Dulverton Road, Selsdon, Surrey, CR2 8PJ Phone: 0208 657 7120

				festivals				1982)		
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THAI (16 TOTAL)

1.	Amaravati Buddhist Monastery	Thai Forest Sangha	Hemel Hempstead	Monastery, retreats, family events, festivals	Former children's summer camp, WWII evacuee camp, SEN School	Rural	No	Est. 1985 and new temple built and then opened in 1999	www.amaravati.org/	St Margaret's, Great Gaddesden Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire HP1 3BZ
2.	Aruna Ratnagiri (Harnham)	Thai Forest Sangha	Harnham, Northumberland	Monastery and adjacent lay retreat centre	Renovated farm cottage and some new building	Rural	No	Est. 1980	http://arunaratnagiri.org.uk/home	2 Harnham Hall Cottages, Harnham, Belsay Northumberland NE20 0HF Phone: 01661 881 612 Sangha Office email: sangha@arunaratnagiri.org.uk

										Monastery Secretary email: secretary@ra tanagiri.org.uk
3.	Chithurst (Cittaviveka)	Thai Forest Sangha	Petersfield, Hampshire	Monastery, does not run retreats, trains monks	Grand old mansion house 'Chithurst House' built in 1862	Rural	No	Est. 1979 (see 'Buddha Came to Sussex' on You Tube)		Petersfield, Hampshire, GU31 5EU. Phone: 01730 814986
4.	Dhammaka ya Meditation Centre, Newcastle	Thai, Dhammaka ya	Newcastle	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Former St Andrew's Church built in 1872 by shipbuilding magnate Andrew Leslie of the famous Hawthorn Leslie shipyard.	Suburban	Yes: grade 2, https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/results?q=St%20Andrews%20centre&searchtype=nhl&search	Est. 2016: http://www.itv.com/news/tyne-tees/update/2015-02-20/church-turned-into-buddhist-centre-in-500-000-refurbishment/	http://www.meetup.com/Meditation-Newcastle/	St Andrews Centre, Church Street, Hebburn, NE31 1DR

							Andrew's Church Hall. Community Centre and school, List entry number: 1299492			
5.	Dharma School	Other Theravada (stemmed from Amaravati family camps, Thai Forest Sangha)	Brighton	'Europe's only primary school based on Buddhist principles'	Large old house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	www.dharmaschool.co.uk	The White House, 149 Ladies Mile Road, Patcham, Brighton, BN1 8TB Phone: 01273 502055 Email: office@dharmaschool.co.uk
6.	Hartridge Buddhist Monastery	Thai Forest Sangha	Honiton, Devon	Monastic community (male), retreats	Former farmhouse and additional building; several <i>kutis</i>	Rural	No	Est. late 1980s; completed more building (Sept 2013)	www.hartridge monastery.org	Upottery Honiton Devon EX14 9QE Phone: 01404 891251

7.	Santidhamma Forest Hermitage	Thai Theravada Forest Tradition of N.E. Thailand	Warwickshire	Small community, lay retreats	Old house with land and additional building	Rural	No	Est. 1999	http://foresthermitage.org.uk/about/the-forest-hermitage/	Fulbrook Lane, Lower Fulbrook, Warwickshire, CV35 8AS
8.	Wat Buddha Metta	Thai Forest Tradition	Harston, Cambridge	Ordained and lay, develop and share the practice of living in Dhamma	Bungalow	Suburban	No	Est. 2009; linked Ajahn Sudhiro and the Thai Forest Tradition of Theravada Buddhism.	http://budhamettauk.blogspot.co.uk	135 High Street, Harston, Cambridge, CB22 7QD
9.	Wat Buddhapadipa	Thai	Wimbledon, London	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Purpose built wat and house (Barrogill House)	Suburban	Have recommended that it should be	Est. 1976, Wat opened in 1982	www.budhapadipa.org	14 Calonne Road Wimbledon Parkside London SW19 5HJ Phone: 020 8946 1357
10.	Wat Buddharam	Thai	Wanstead, London	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Medium size semi-detached house, 1920s?	Suburban	No	Est. no details	www.watbuddharam.org.uk	77 Blake Hall Road, Wanstead London E11 3QX

11.	Wat Buddharam	Thai	Leeds	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Former hotel	Suburban	No.	Est. 2015	http://www.watbudhdharamleeds.com	45 Cliff Road, Headingley, Leeds LS6 2ET Phone: 0113 274 1972 Email: thaitempleleeds@gmail.com
12.	Wat Buddhavihara	Thai	Staffordshire	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Grand Victorian house, Eastfield House	Rural, village	No	Est. 1994; Temple, see http://www.watthaiuk.co.uk/aboutTemple_en.html	www.watthaiuk.co.uk/contact_en.html	United Kingdom Eastfields House, Alrewas Road, Staffordshire, DE13 7HR, UK Phone: 01543 472 315; Email: watmahathatuk@gmail.com

13.	Wat Charoenbhavana London Changed name to Wat Phra Dhammakaya London and moved premises	Thai, Dhammakaya	Norbury, London Woking, Surrey	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Looks like 2 semi-detached houses (rented) Converted hospital chapel	Suburban	No No	Est. 2002; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhammakaya_Movement_UK Est. 2007; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookwood_Hospital	www.watsantiwong.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=11&Itemid=21 http://watphradhammakayalondon.co.uk/meditation-courses/retreat-meditation/	1-2 Brushfield Way Knaphill Woking Surrey GU21 2TG Phone: 01483-475757 01483-480001; Email: dhammadakaya.woking@gmail.com
14.	Wat Charoenbhavana Manchester Changed	Thai, Dhammakaya	Salford, Manchester Stockport,	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Rented converted curtain-rail factory on Cheltenham Street Old Church,	Suburban	No No	Est. 2004 Est. 2008	http://wateurope.eu/En/Temples/United%20Kingdom/Wat%20Phra%20Dhammadakaya%20Manchester.html	Edgeley Road Edgeley Stockport SK3 0TL Phone: 0161 477 4947; Email: watmanchester@hotmail.com

	name to Wat Phra Dhammaka ya Mancheste r and moved premises		Manchester		Edgeley United Reform Church				www.watmanchester.org	
15.	Wat Phra Singh	Thai	Runcorn, Cheshire	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Waterloo Hotel in Runcorn	Urban	No	Only just exchanged in 2013	http://watphrasinghuk.org/index.html	39, Latham Avenue, Helsby. Cheshire WA6 0DY Phone: 01928 723422; Than Thirasak: 07 551 941123; Email: thirasak@watphrasinghuk.org ; trustees@watphrasinghuk.org ; tony@watphrasinghuk.org

16.	Wat Santiwong saram, The Buddhist Centre	Thai	Handsworth, Birmingham	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Old House	Suburban	No	Est. no details; https://www.facebook.com/359245037429661/photos/a.359245294096302.84441359245037429661/596640610356768/?type=1&theater	http://www.watsantiwong.com	107 Handsworth Road, Handsworth, Birmingham B20 2PH Phone: 021 551-5729; 0121 523 6855
17.	Wat Sri Ratanaram	Thai	Manchester	Monastery, meditation, Buddhist teachings, community centre, cultural centre, festivals	Modern detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://www.watsriuk.org/history.html	18 Paulden Avenue, Baguley Manchester M23 1PD Phone: 0161 9984427; 077 991069210 ; Email: watsri.uk@gmail.com

Tibetan (64 total)

New Kadampa Tradition

New Kadampa Tradition (39 total)										
	NAME	TRADITION	LOCATION	USE	TYPE	RURAL/ URBAN	LISTED OR NOT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	WEBSITES	CONTACT DETAILS
1.	Akshobya Buddhist Centre	NKT	Nottingham	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Old terrace house	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	http://akshobya.com	5 Pelham Road, Sherwood Rise, Nottingham , NG5 1AP Phone: 0115 985 7356; Email: info@meditateinnottingham.org
2.	Amitabha Buddhist Centre	NKT	Bristol	Meditation classes and world peace café, book and gift shop, retreats, resident teacher	Large detached house	Suburban	No	Est.1992 in Bath and moved to current location 2007	http://www.meditationinbristol.org	Old Vicarage (next door to 237) Gloucester Road Bishopston Bristol, BS7 8NX Phone: 0117

										9745160 Email: epc@meditationinbristol.org
3.	Amoghasiddhi Kadampa Buddhist Centre and World Peace Café	NKT	Attleborough, Norfolk	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Old house, detached, cottage-like	Small town, rural	No	Est. no details.	www.amoghasiddhi.org.uk/index.html	Cyprus House Queen's Square, Attleborough, Norfolk NR17 2AE Phone: 01953 451937; Email: amoghasiddhi.enquiries@gmail.com
4.	Ashoka Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Plymouth, Devon	Meditation classes and world peace café, retreats, resident teacher	Large, double fronted old house	Urban	No	Est. no details; www.tripadvisor.co.uk/Attraction_Review-g186258-d2190550-Reviews-Ashoka_Buddhist_Centre-Plymouth_Devon_England.html	www.meditationinplymouth.org	33 Sutherland Road Plymouth PL4 6BN Phone: 01752 224137; Email: info@meditationinplymouth.org

5.	Atisha Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Darlington	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Old guest house	Urban	No	Est. 1992 but seem to have moved to current premises more recently; http://meditationindarlington.org/2011/01/01/atisha-centre-building-project/ (film about building project)	http://meditationindarlington.org	81 Victoria Road Darlington DL1 5JQ Phone: 013 25 365265; Email: info@meditationindarlington.org
6.	Bodhisattva Kadampa Buddhist Meditation Centre	NKT	Hove, Brighton	Meditation classes and world peace café, retreats, resident teacher	Former children's home	Suburban	Yes Grade II; http://list.historicengland.org.uk/results/single.aspx?uid=1206258 ; list entry number 1206258	Est. 1997; no mention of Buddhism in listing details; http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Former St Anne's Convent (now Buddhist Centre), Lansdown	http://meditationinbrighton.com	3 Lansdowne Road, Brighton, East Sussex, BN3 1DN Phone: 01273 732917; Email: info@meditationinbrighton.com

								e Road, Hove (loE Code 365581).JPG; www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-365581-st-anne-s-convent-		
7.	Buddha Land Centre	NKT	Keighley	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Looks like a civic building of some sort	Urban	No	Moved from a suburban house to current building in August 2009	http://enjoymeditation.org/index.php	1 Lawkolme Cres, Keighley, BD21 3NR, West Yorkshire, Phone: 01535 958189; Email: info@EnjoyMeditation.org
8.	Buddha Land Kadampa Buddhist Centre, Burnley	NKT	Burnley	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Looks like shop front	Urban	No	Est. 2013	http://enjoymeditation.org/burnley-centre/	59 Curzon St Burnley Lancashire BB11 1DF Phone: 01535 958189; Email: info@medit

										ationinburnley.org
9.	Chenrezig Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Lancaster	Meditation, resident teacher, retreats	Large old house	Urban	No	Est. no details.	www.meditationinlancaster.org/buddhist-centre/	93 King Street, Lancaster, LA1 1RH Phone: 01524 596108; Email: meditationinlancaster@gmail.com
10.	Compassion Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	South Gosforth, Newcastle Upon Tyne	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Old house or maybe shop front,	Urban	No	Est. no details.	www.meditation-newcastle.org/about/contact-2/	2 Station Road South Gosforth Newcastle Upon Tyne NE3 1QD Phone: 0191 284 3501; Email: info@compassioncentre.org
11.	Drolma Centre	NKT	Peterborough	Meditation, resident teacher, retreats	Large old detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	www.drolmacentre.org.uk/contact.html	260 Dogsthorpe Road Peterborough

										gh PE1 3PG Phone: 01733 755444; Email: info@drolmace@ntre.org.uk
12.	Ganden Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Halifax	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Looks like shop front	Urban	No	Est. no details.	www.worldpeacecafeh.alifax.com/contact-us/	5 North Bridge Halifax West Yorkshire HX1 1XH Phone: 01422 353 311 Email: meditateinhalifax@gmail.com
13.	Gyaltsabje Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Sheffield	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Several old houses knocked into one property	Suburban	No	Est. no details; http://enews.buddhistdoor.com/en/news/d/40662	www.meditateinsheffield.org.uk	685-691 Ecclesall Road, Hunters Bar, Sheffield, S11 8TG Phone: 0114 266 1142; E-mail: meditateinsheffield@gmail.com

14.	Heruka Centre	NKT	Golders Green, London	Meditation classes, resident teacher, retreats, book shop	Semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	www.meditateinlondon.org.uk/heruka-buddhist-centre-london.php	13 Woodstock Road, Golders Green London, NW11 8ES Phone: 020 8455 7563; Email: info@meditateinlondon.org.uk
15.	Jangchub Ling Buddhist Centre	NKT	Cradley Heath, West Midlands	Resident teacher, meditation, classes, retreats	Looks like old house	Suburban	No	Est. no details; renovation project underway http://www.meditatejlc.org/overview2.html	www.meditatejlc.org/contact	1A Sydney Road, Cradley Heath, West Midlands B64 5BA Phone: 01384 569956 Email: info@meditatejlc.org

16.	New Kadampa Meditation Centre	NKT	Birmingham	Meditation, coffee lounge, shop, resident teacher	Looks purpose built/adapted	Urban	No	Probably Est. 2015, another Birmingham centre closed recently 38 Silver Birch Road, Erdington, Birmingham B24 0AS – looks like it may have moved from suburban to urban location recently.	http://meditationinbirmingham.org	KMC Birmingham No 1, The Postbox, Commercial Street Birmingham, B1 1RS Phone: 0121 643 3335 Email: unwind@meditationinbirmingham.org
17.	Kadampa Meditation Centre	NKT	Morden, London	London, Kadampa Temple for World Peace; meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Substantial redesign of the former sports hall of the 'Endeavour Club' in Morden	Suburban	No	Est. 2015; bought in 2014 http://www.kmclondon.org/centre/temple ; used to be in large old semi-detached in Wimbledon	http://www.kmclondon.org/centre	1A Ashridge Way, Morden London SM4 4EF Phone: 020 8540 0049; Email: info@kmclondon.org

18.	Kadampa Meditation Centre Liverpool	NKT	Liverpool	Meditation, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Very large old detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	http://meditationinliverpool.org.uk	Liverpool 25 Aigburth Drive Liverpool L17 4JH Phone: 0151 726 8900; General e-mail enquiries: info@meditationinliverpool.org.uk ; Education Programme Co-ordinator: epc@meditationinliverpool.org.uk ; Admin Director: admin@meditationinliverpool.org.uk
19.	Kadampa Meditation Centre Manchester	NKT	Chorlton, Manchester	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Very large old detached house, 1920s?	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	http://meditationinmanchester.org	76 High Lane, Chorlton, Manchester, M21 9XF Phone: 01 61 861 7012;

										Email: info@kmcmanchester.org
20.	Kadampa Meditation Centre Manchester (City Centre)	NKT	Manchester	Meditation, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Ground floor space in Beaver House at 125 Portland Street (M1 4QD), just off Oxford Road	Urban	No	Est. no details.	http://kmcmanchester.org/city-centre/about-kmc-manchester-city-centre/	125 Portland Street, Manchester, M1 4QD. Phone: 01 61 861 7012; Email: info@kmcmanchester.org
21.	Kadampa Primary school And Tara Kadampa Meditation Centre	NKT	Ashe Hall, outside Etwall	School, primary. Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats, B&B	Very grand manor house	Rural	Yes; Grade II; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsin-gle.aspx?uid=1334529 ; list entry number: 1334529	Est. Sept 2012, first Kadampa primary school in world; no mention on Buddhism in listing details; video on website gives some history; http://www.derbyshirekadampapriary.org/w	www.derbyshirekadampapriary.org ; www.tarakmc.org	Ashe Hall Ash Lane Etwall South Derbyshire DE65 6HT Phone: 01283 735 254; Email: secretary@kpsd.org.uk

								p-content/uploads/2013/09/Derby-Evening-Telegraph-Article-01.pdf		
22.	Kailash Kadampa Buddhist centre	NKT	Wirral	Meditation, resident teacher, retreats	Large detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details; http://gallery.kadampa.org/Buddhist-Centres/KB-C/Kailash-Wirral-UK/old house	www.meditationinwirral.org.uk/history	74 Bidston Road Oxton Wirral CH43 6TN Phone: 0151 652 2210 Email: info@meditationinwirral.org.uk
23.	Kashyapa Buddhist Centre, Bradford	NKT	Bradford	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Large terrace house	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	http://meditation-in-bradford.org.uk	299 Manningham Ln, Bradford, West Yorkshire BD8 7NA Phone: 01274 542065
24.	Kashyapa Kadampa Buddhist centre	NKT	Bolton	Meditation, shop, resident teacher,	Smallish terrace old house	Urban	No	Est. no details.	http://meditationinbolton.org/wp/about-us/our-	14 Silverwell Street Bolton, BL1

				retreats					centre/	1PP Phone: 01204 382 807; Email: kashyapa.info@gmail.com
25.	Keajra Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Blackpool	Meditation, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Smallish terrace old house	Urban	No	Est. no details.	http://www.meditationinblackpool.org.uk	64 Holmfield Road Blackpool Lancashire FY2 9RT Phone: 01253 352721
26.	Khedrubje Buddhist Centre	NKT	Hull	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Large old house semi	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	www.meditateinhull.org.uk	196 Coltman Street Anlaby Road Hull HU3 2SQ Phone: 01482 324 940

27.	Madyamak a Buddhist Centre	NKT	Pocklington , York	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	Impressive large manor house; Kilwick Percy Hall Georgian mansion	Rural	Yes; Grade II*; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsin.ingle.aspx?uid=1309858 ; list entry number: 1309858	Est.1986; no mention of Buddhist in listing details,	www.madh-yamaka.org	Kilwick Percy Hall Pocklington York YO42 1UF Phone: 01759 304832; E-mail: info@madh-yamaka.org
28.	Maitraya Buddhist Centre	NKT	Bexhill, East Sussex	Resident teacher, meditation, classes, retreats	Shop front	Urban	No	Est. no details; www.wildmind.org/blog/s/on-practice/dispute-closes-nkts-bexhill-buddhist-centre	http://meditateinsussex.org	13 Sea Road, Bexhill-on- Sea East Sussex TN40 1EE Phone: 01424 733 761; Email: info@meditateinsussex.org
29.	Manjushri Centre/Bu ddhist Temple	NKT	Ulverston, Cumbria	Meditation, world peace café, shop, resident teacher, retreats	New buildings/ad apted house – Conishead Priory	Rural	Yes; Grade II*; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsin.ingle.aspx?uid=1270176 ; list entry	Est. 1976; listing details only tell us that it is a 'Country house, now Buddhist monastery';	http://nkt-kmc-manjushri.org	Conishead Priory Priory Road (A5087 Coast Road) Ulverston Cumbria LA12 9QQ

							number: 1270176	main centre for NKT		Phone: 01229 584029; Email: info@manjushri.org
30.	Nagarjuna Kadampa Meditation Centre	NKT	Kelmarsh, Northamptonshire	Peace café, meditation shop, meditation, retreats, resident teacher	Very large old Rectory	Rural	No	Est. no details; www2.le.ac.uk/departments/archaeology/research/projects/mapping-faith/faith-trail/nagarjunakadampabuddhist-centre	http://meditateinnorthants.com	The Old Rectory, Kelmarsh Northants, NN6 9LZ Phone: 01604 686 778; Email: info@meditateinnorthants.com
31.	Nagarjuna Kadampa Meditation Centre	NKT	Leicester	Peace café, meditation shop, meditation, retreats, resident teacher	Old School	Urban	I don't think so	Est. no details	http://meditateinleicester.org/new-rooms/	17 Guildhall Lane, Leicester, LE1 5FQ Phone: 0116 262 0317; Email: info@meditateinleicester.org

32.	Odiyana Buddhist Centre	NKT	Northwich Cheshire	Meditation, resident teacher, retreats	Very large detached house	Suburban	No	Est.1997	www.meditationincheshire.org/about-us/	163 Chester Road, Northwich, Cheshire CW8 4AG Phone: 01606 77034; Email: info@meditationincheshire.org
33.	Ratnasambhava Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Leeds	Meditation, resident teacher, retreats	Very large detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://meditationinleeds.org	Ash Mount 22 Wetherby Road Oakwood Leeds LS8 2QD Phone: 0113 265 2118
34.	Samudra Buddhist Centre	NKT	Buxton	Meditation, resident teacher, retreats	Shop front	Urban	No	Est. no details; www.derby.ac.uk/index.php?node=1134937	www.samudracentre.org	47 High Street, Buxton, SK17 6HB Phone: 01298 79777; 07527 29 29 08; Email: info@samu

										dracentre.org
35.	Shantideva Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Reading	Meditation, classes, retreats, book and gift shop	Very large detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details; www.facebook.com/ShantidevaKadampaBuddhistCentre?hc_location=timeline	http://www.learnmeditate.org/about/our-spiritual-community/	9 Bath Road, Reading, RG1 6HH Phone: 0118 959 9133, Email: info@learnmeditate.org
36.	Thekchen Kadampa Buddhist Centre	NKT	Southampton, Hampshire	Meditation, classes, retreats, book and gift shop, resident teacher	Large old semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details; www.thekchencentre.org/visiting-the-centre-and-public-service	www.thekchencentre.org	76 Whitworth Crescent Southampton SO18 1GA Phone: 02380 557 077
37.	Tsepagme Buddhist Meditation Centre	NKT	Oldham	Meditation	Terrace house	Urban	No	Est. no details	http://gallery.kadampa.org/Buddhist-Centres/KB-C/Tsepagme-Buddhist-Centre/	6 Court St, Uppermill, Oldham OL3 6HD Phone: 01457 877406

38.	Vajrapani Buddhist Centre	NKT	Huddersfield	Meditation, resident teacher, retreats	Former Birkby Baptist Church	Suburban	Yes: Grade II; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1066614 ; list entry number: 1066614	Est. 1997 and moved into current property in 2008. Used to be based in a small terraced-house in Belmont Street http://www.bbc.co.uk/broadcast/content/articles/2008/04/25/buddhism_huddersfield_feature.shtml ; no mention of Buddhism in listing details	http://meditateinuddersfield.org	Wheathouse Terrace Huddersfield HD2 2UY Phone : 01484 943119; 07917 792985; Email: admin@meditateinuddersfield.org
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39.	Vajravahai Kadampa Centre	NKT	Preston	Meditation, resident teacher, retreats	Very large Georgian town house	Urban	No	Est. no details	http://www.meditateinlancs.org.uk/sample-page/	38 West Cliff, Preston, PR1 8HU Phone: 01772-884919; Email: mail@meditateinlancs.org.uk
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Other Tibetan Buddhist Buildings

Other Tibetan Buddhist Buildings (30)										
	NAME	TRADITION	LOCATION	USE	Type	RURAL/ URBAN	LISTED OR NOT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	WEBSITES	CONTACT DETAILS
1.	Brighton Diamond Way Buddhist Centre	Karma Kagyü, Diamond Way	Brighton	Meditation classes, small library and shop	Adapted shop front	Urban	No	Est. 2003	www.buddhism.org.uk/diamondway-buddhism/brighton/	25 Baker Street Brighton BN1 4JN Phone: 0785 339 7449; E-mail: brighton@dwbuk.org
2.	Byoma Kusuma Sangha	Sakya, Nepal	London (Ruislip, Middlesex)	Lay meetings, meditation	Unclear – may be room in house?	Suburban?	No	Est. 2000	www.byomakusuma.org/Centers/UKCenter/UKCenter.aspx	24 Canfield Drive, South Ruislip, Middlesex, HA4 6QW Phone: 07985 397171; E-mail: bkuk@byomakusma.org

3.	Diamond Way Buddhist Group	Karma Kagyu, Diamond Way	Liverpool	Meditation classes	Large semi detached Victorian house	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	www.buddhism.org.uk/diamondway-buddhism/liverpool/	61 Newsham Drive, Liverpool, L6 7UQ Phone: 0151 222 3543 Email: liverpool@dwbuk.org
4.	Drukpa Kunga Peljor – the London Drukpa Centre	Kagyü, Drukpa	Primrose Hill, North London	Meditation teachings and advice, shop	Not clear	Suburban	No	Est. 2009	www.drukpa.org.uk/about-drukpa-uk/london-drukpa-centre.html	114 Harvist Road, London, NW6 6HJ Email: london@drukpa.org.uk
5.	Exeter Diamond Way Buddhist Centre	Karma Kagyu, Diamond Way	Exeter, Devon	Meditation classes, library	Traditional English terrace built in the 1880s	Suburban	No	Est. 2004	www.buddhism.org.uk/diamondway-buddhism/exeter/	Bury Meadow Cottage New North Road Exeter EX4 4HH Phone: 01392 277832; Email: enquiries@buddhism-exeter.org

6.	Gomde Lindholme Hall	Other, Tibetan	Doncaster	Small community, meditation classes and retreats	Lindholme Hall, 180 acre estate	Rural	No	Est. 2009	www.gomde.org.uk/gomde-lindholme-hall-introduction-p-4.html	Lindholme Bank Rd, Hatfield Woodhouse, Doncaster. DN7 6DT Phone: 01302 842503; Email: national@gomde.org.uk
7.	Harewood House Stupa	Other, Tibetan	Harewood	Stupa	On the estate of Harewood House	Rural	No	Est. 2004	http://harewood.org/explore/gardens-and-grounds/himalayan-garden/	Harewood House Trust, Harewood House Harewood, Leeds LS17 9LG Phone: 0113 218 1010; Email: info@harewood.org
8.	Jamyang	Gelug, FPMT,	Leeds	Meditation classes	Rented office space, central Leeds	Urban	No	Est. 1996	http://www.jamyang.co.uk	31 St Paul's Street, Leeds, LS1 2JG Phone: 07866 760460;

										E-mail: smile@jamyangleeds.co.uk
9.	Jamyang Land of Joy	Gelug, FPMT	Northumberland	Retreat centre	Land of Joy has raised the funds to purchase Greenaugh Hall	Rural	No	Est. 2014	http://www.landofjoy.co.uk/about-land-of-joy/fpmt/	Greenaugh Hall Greenaugh Hexham Northumberland NE48 1PP Phone: 01434 240412; E-mail: info@landofjoy.co.uk
10.	Jamyang London	Gelug, FPMT	London	Meditation classes, resident monk, café, secular spaces to rent out	Re-use of a former courthouse	Suburban	Yes Grade II; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1251239 ; list entry number: 1251239	Est. 1982; no mention of Buddhism in listing details	www.jamyang.co.uk	The Old Courthouse , 43 Renfrew Road London SE11 4NA Phone: 020 7820 8787; Email: admin@jamyang.co.uk, pierre@jamyang.co.uk

11.	Jen Wai Tong, True Buddha School	Other Tibetan, Taiwan born, Grand Master Sheng Yen Lu	London	Marital arts, Buddhist teachings, rituals	Not clear	Urban	No	Est. no details, teacher here is Simon W Ong	http://www.yellowdragon-buddhism.org.uk	Yellow Dragon (self defence school) Suite 7, 87, Great Eastern St, London EC2A 3HY, UK Phone : +44 (0) 7986 699 361 34 Carew Close, Chafford Hundred, Grays, Essex, RM16 6RZ. Phone: 44 (0)7985 197 464 Email: info@yellowdragon-buddhism.org.uk
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12.	Kagyü Dechen Dzong	Kagyü/Sakya, Dechen	Harrogate	Meditation classes	Old terraced house	Suburban	No	Est. 1993	www.dechen.org/centres/harrogate/	19 Granville Road Harrogate North Yorkshire HG1 1BY Phone: 01423-881647; Email: yorkshire@dechen.org
13.	Kagyü Ling	Kagyü/Sakya, Dechen	Manchester	Meditation classes	Large old house, detached	Suburban	No	Est. 1975	www.dechen.org/centres/manchester/	45 Manor Drive Chorlton-cum-Hardy Manchester M21 7QG Phone: 0161 850 4450; Email: manchester@dechen.org
14.	Kagyü Samyé Dzong (1)	Karma Kagyu	Elephant and Castle, London	Meditation classes	Former Manor Place Swimming Baths	Urban	Yes, Grade II, http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsin-gle.aspx?uid=1385689 ; list entry	Est. 2006; no mention of Buddhism in listing details	www.london.samyemong.org/about-us/centres/	33 Manor Place London SE17 3BD Phone: 020 7708 8969; Email: manorplace@samyemong.org

							number: 1385689			
15.	Kagyus Samye Dzong (2)	Karma Kagyus	Bermondse y, London	Meditation classes, resident monk, tea room, shop	Former Bermondse y Library	Suburban	Yes Grade II; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1385931 ; list entry number: 1385931	Est. 2009; no mention of Buddhism in listing details	www.london.samyedzong.org/about-us/centres/	15 Spa Road Bermondse y SE16 3SA Phone: 02 0 3327 1650; Email: ksdlondon@samyedzong.org
16.	Kagyus Samye Dzong Scarborou gh	Karma Kagyus	Scarboroug h	Meditation classes, mindfulness training	Londesboro ugh Lodge	Suburban	Yes Grade II; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1258289 ; list entry number: 1258289	Est. 2015	www.ksdscarborough.org.uk	Woodend The Crescent Scarboroug h YO11 2PW Phone: Ani Tselha 07967 118 225; Email: admin@ksdscarborough.org.uk
17.	Khandro Ling Centre, Diamond Heart Foundatio n	Other, Tibetan	Macclesfiel d	Meditation classes	Unclear	Suburban	No	Est. no details; http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/1176847 -	www.khandroling.org/About.aspx	17-27 Pierce St, Macclesfiel d, Cheshire East SK11; <i>Centre Manager:</i>

										Sue Scott 01625 421298
18.	Lam Rim Buddhist Centre	Gelug	Bedminster, Bristol	Meditation classes, devotional practices, 'Centre for Whole Health', resident monk	Old detached house	Suburban	No	Est. 1996?	http://www.lamrim.org.uk/bristol/index.html	12 Victoria Place, Bedminster Bristol BS3 3BP Phone: 0117 9639089; Email: mike@lamrim.org.uk
19.	Lei Zang Si Temple	Other Tibetan, Taiwan born, Grand Master Sheng Yen Lu	Plumstead	Dharma talks, rituals	Could be former pub?	Suburban	No	Est. no details	No website	40, Glyndon Road, Plumstead, London SE18 7PB, U.K. Phone: (44)208854 7054
20.	London Diamond Way Buddhist Centre	Karma Kagyu, Diamond Way	London	Meditation classes	Beaufoy institute, former Edwardian 'ragged' school	Suburban	Yes Grade II http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1183436 ; List entry Number:	Est. 2014; no mention of Buddhism in listing details	www.buddhism.org.uk/diamondway-buddhism/london-meditation-centre/	The Beaufoy, 39 Black Prince Road, London SE11 6JJ Phone: 020 7587 1718; E-mail:

							1183436 (railings, gates and piers); http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1358193 ; List entry Number: 1358193 (building)			london@buddhism.org.uk
21.	London Shambala Centre	Other, Tibetan	Clapham, London	Meditation, yoga	Unclear - large old house or old church hall?	Suburban	No	Est. 1985	www.shambhala.org.uk/	27 Belmont Close London SW4 6AY Phone: 020 7720 3207; Email: info@shambhala.org.uk
22.	Marpa House	Kagyu	Saffron Walden	Retreat centre	Former children's home – 'All Saints Home'	Rural	No	Est. 1973	www.marpa-house.org.uk/marpa-house/history/	Marpa House, Rectory Ln, Ashdon, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 2HN Phone: 01 799 584415;

										Email: mail @marpaho use.org.uk
23.	Palyul Center UK	Nyingma	Haggerston ,London	Meditation classes	House?	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://palyul.eu/uk/	3 Rotherfield Street, Islington London N1 3EE United Kingdom Phone: 020 7359 5964; Email: center-uk@palyul.eu
24.	Rigpa	Nyingma	Islington, London	Meditation classes	Shop front	Urban	No	Est. no details	www.rigpa.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=387&Itemid=166	330 Caledonian Road London N1 1BB Phone: 020770001 85; Email: enq ueries@rigpa .org.uk
25.	Sakya Buddhist Centre	Kagyü/Sakya, Dechen	Bristol	Meditation classes	Large modern detached	Suburban	No	Est. 1977	www.dechen.org/centres/bristol/	121 Sommerville Road St Andrews Bristol

										BS6 5BX Phone: 0117 924 4424; Email: bristol@dechen.org
26.	Sakya Dechen Ling	Kagyus/Sakya, Dechen	Notting Hill, London	Meditation classes	Large old semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. 2005	www.dechen.org/centres/london/	31A St Lukes Road Notting Hill London W11 1DB Phone: 020 7183 2109; Email: london@dechen.org
27.	Sakya Tubten Ling	Sakya	Bournemouth	Meditation classes	Old Presbyterian Church	Suburban	No	Est. 2004; want to move to a larger centre	www.stl.org.uk/our-centre/our-vision/	167 Shelbourne Road, Bournemouth, Dorset BH8 8RD Phone: 01202 538108; Email: info@stl.org.uk

28.	True Buddha School Jen Yin Temple	Other Tibetan, Taiwan born, Grand Master Sheng Yen Lu, described as 'lineage holder of Nyingma, Kagyu, Sakya and Gelug schools of Tibetan Buddhism' Modern Vajrayana sect with Taoist influences	Northampton	Dharma talks, rituals	Former shoe factory	Suburban	No	Est. 2000, but planned since 1993 when Sheng Yen Lu came to England http://www.tbsnorthampton.org.uk/english/index.htm http://www.tbsnorthampton.org.uk/english/temple.htm http://www.buildingsofnorthampton.co.uk/Northampton-Shoe-Factories/is7nc7qj	http://www.tbsnorthampton.org.uk/english/index.htm	66, St. Michael Road, Northampton NN1 3JU United Kingdom Phone: 01604627365
29.	True Buddha society Tzen Quai Tang Manchester chapel	Other Tibetan, Taiwan born, Grand Master Sheng Yen Lu	Manchester	Dharma talks, rituals	Not clear	Suburban/industrial	No	Est. no details	No website	12d Dewey Street Manchester M11 2NT

30.	True Buddha Temple Willseden	Other Tibetan, Taiwan born, Grand Master Sheng Yen Lu	Willseden, London	Dharma talks, rituals	Form a Welsh boys school	Urban		Est. mid 1990s http://willesdenherald.blogspot.co.uk/2013/06/true-buddha-temple-willesden-high-road.html https://eladenel.wordpress.com/2011/11/18/the-converted-churches-of-north-west-london/	http://www.tbtemple.org.uk/page8.htm	265 Willseden Ln, London NW2 5JG Phone:020 8451 9118
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East Asian

East Asian (29 total)										
	NAME	TRADITION	LOCATION	USE	Type	RURAL/ URBAN	LISTED OR NOT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	WEBSITES	CONTACT DETAILS
1.	Fo Guang Shan	Mahayana (Taiwan)	Central London	Monastics, cultural events, meditation, devotional activities	Former, seminary, Oxford Movement	Urban	Yes; Grade II*; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsin.ingle.aspx?uid=1273611 ; list entry number: 1273611	Est. 1992; listing details mention 'Former Parish School and Church House (now Buddhist Temple)' and 'First floor classroom now decorated as Buddhist shrine.'	www.londonfgs.org.uk/cms/index.php?site_language_id=2	84 Margaret St, London W1W 8TD Phone: 020 7636 8394
2.	Fo Guang Shan Buddhist temple of Manchester	Mahayana (Taiwan)	Manchester	Monastics, cultural events, meditation, devotional activities	Technical Institute and then became Free Library, Stretford Road, Old Trafford	Suburban	No	Est. 1996; http://manc-hesterhistory.net/manc-hester/outside/traffordlibrary.html	http://fgsman.wordpress.com/about/fgs-temple-in-manchester/	540 Stretford Road, Old Trafford, Manchester, M16 9AF Phone: 0161 872 3338; Email: man

										chesterfgs@gmail.com
3.	Peace Pagoda	Nichiren, Zen (Nipponzan Myohoji)	Willen, Milton Keynes	Monastery and Peace Pagoda	Purpose built with has Japanese style temple near by where monastics live	Rural	No	Est. 1980	http://mkbuddhism.wordpress.com	Nipponzan Myohoji Buddhist Temple Willen Road Willen Lake Milton Keynes MK15 0BA Phone: 01908 663652
4.	Peace Pagoda	Nichiren, Zen(Nipponzan Myohoji)	London, Battersea Park	Peace Pagoda	Purpose built	Suburban	No	Est. 1985; http://www.batterseapark.org/history/peace-pagoda/	None	The Hon. Secretary Friends of Battersea Park 7 Park Mansions Prince of Wales Drive London, SW11

5.	Dragon Bell Temple	OBC (Soto Zen)	Exeter	Monastics, meditation classes	House?	Suburban	No	Est. 2002	www.dragonbelltemple.org.uk/eng/The-Temple	14 Albion PI, Exeter EX4 6LH Phone: 01392 479 648; Email: dragonbelltemple@gmail.com
6.	Norwich Zen Buddhist Priory	OBC (Soto Zen)	Norwich	Monastics, meditation classes	House?	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://norwichzen.org.uk	Phone number: 01603 457933
7.	Reading Buddhist priory	OBC (Soto Zen)	Reading	Monastery, meditation classes	Semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://www.readingbuddhistpriory.org.uk	Cressingham Road, Reading, Berks. UK RG2 7LW Phone: 0118 9860750;E mail: info@readingbuddhistpriory.org.uk

8.	Rochdale Zen Retreat	OBC (Soto Zen)	Near Preston	Unclear	Spacious rented property on its own plot of land next to a corn field	Rural	No	Est. no details	None	The Briars, Grange Lane Hutton, Preston PR4 5JE Phone: 01772 612112
9.	Sitting Buddha Hermitage	OBC (Soto Zen)	Derbyshire Dales	Meditation practice with support and guidance from resident female monk	Caravan and small house/ hut	Rural	No	Est. 2013?	http://obcon.org/blog/2014/03/18/sitting-buddha-hermitage/	Cromford Derbyshire Phone:016 29 821813
10.	Telford Buddhist priory	OBC (Soto Zen)	Telford	Monastery, meditation classes	Large detached house with land	Suburban	No	Est. no details	www.tbpriority.org.uk	49, The Rock Telford TF3 5BH Phone: 01952 615574
11.	Throssel Hole Buddhist Abbey	OBC (Soto Zen)	Near Hexham, Northumberland	Monastery and lay retreats	Renovated farm buildings and new buildings	Rural	No	Est. 1970/71	www.throssel.org.uk	Carrshield, HEXHAM, NE47 8AL, United Kingdom. Phone: 01434 345204

12.	Dari Rulai Fa Yin Temple	Other, Chan (Hanmi)	Chelmsford, Essex	Meditation classes, Healing sessions and Buddhist Services	Have a space in a leisure centre - 'Marconi centre'	Suburban	No	Est. 2009; first empowered Hanmi Buddhist temple in Europe	http://medicine-buddha.com/centres-2/	Marconi Sports and Social Club Beehive Lane Gt Baddow CM2 9RX Phone: 01245 352 354; E-mail: info@wisdom-healing.com
13.	Stonewater Zen Centre	Other, Zen	Liverpool	Meditation	Large studio space (100m2) and a meditation room located on the top floor	Urban	No	Est. no details	http://www.stonewaterzen.org/stonewater/swz-centre/	13 Hope Street, Liverpool, Merseyside L1 9BH Email: randpharmsworth@aol.com
14.	Being Peace Cottage	Other, Zen Master Thich Nhat Hanh, Community of Interbeing	Dorset	Retreat centre	Re-use of old barn or cottage	Rural	No	Est. 2008, first Thich Nhat Hanh centre in the UK	http://interbeing.org.uk/centre/	Being Peace Cottage and New Barn Field Centre, Bradford Peverell, nr Dorchester, Dorset DT2

										9SD Email: russelsyden ham@gmail. l.com
15.	Amida Mandala Buddhist Temple	Pure Land	Malvern	Main office of the Amida Trust; seminars, short courses and sangha meetings; monastics live/stay there	Bredon House, Malvern, former hotel	Suburban	No	Est. Dec 2014; used to be in house in Finsbury Park called 'Sukhavati' which was sold to buy the new premises.	http://www. amidamand ala.com	Amida Mandala Buddhist Temple 34 Worcester Road Malvern WR14 4AA Phone: 01684 572444; Email: hello@amid amandala.c om
16.	Tariki Trust, Buddhist House	Pure Land (break away from Amida)	Narborough , Leicestershi re	Buddhist psychother apy, meditation courses, residential retreats	Large semi- detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	http://buddh istpsycho gy.typepad. com/tariki/tr avel-and- accommod ation.html	12 Coventry Rd Narborough LE19 2GR Phone: 0116 286 7476 Email: courses@t arikitrust.or g.

17.	Three Wheels Shin Buddhist House	Pure Land, Japanese, branch of the Shogyoji Temple, Japan	Acton, London	Priests, meditation, cultural events	Two houses and Japanese gardens	Suburban	No	Est. 1994	www.three-wheels.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=155&Itemid=46	55 Carbery Avenue Acton London UK W3 9AB Phone: 0202 8248 2542
18.	Fairlight Zen Buddhist Temple	Rinzai Zen	Luton	Religious training, practice and study of Zen Buddhism	House?	Suburban	No	Est. 1995; part of the Zen Centre in St John's Wood	http://www.fairlightzentemple.org.uk	Email: fairlightzentemple@gmail.com
19.	Zen Centre, Shobo-an	Rinzai Zen	St Johns wood, London	To promote the Zen Buddhism for the benefit of the public	Former home of Christmas Humphreys, large semi-detached house	Suburban	Yes; Grade II; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsinple.aspx?uid=1239650 ; List entry Number: 1239650; Buddhism not mentioned	Est. 1984; Not open to public, members attend meetings at the Buddhist Society; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zen_Centre	http://www.rinzaizententre.org.uk/our-lineage.php	58 Marlborough PI, London NW8 0PL
20.	Soka Gakkai International Taplow Court	Soka Gakkai, Japanese	Berkshire	Headquarters of SGI-UK, retreats, 'cultural	Impressive former mansion	Rural	Yes; Grade II; http://list.english-heritage.org	Est. 1987; Buddhism not mentioned	http://www.sgi-uk.org	Taplow Court, Cliveden Rd, Taplow, Maidenhead

				centre'			.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1165286; List entry Number: 1165286			d SL6 0ER Phone: 01628 773163
21.	SGI UK West London Centre	Soka Gakkai, Japanese	London	Shop and centre, introduction to Buddhism meetings	Large detached house	Urban	No	Est. no details.	http://www.sgi-uk.org/about-us/local-sgi-uk-centres/sgi-uk-west-london-centre	The Maples 18 High Street Acton London W3 6LJ Phone: 020-8992-1120
22.	SGI-UK South London National Centre	Soka Gakkai, Japanese	London	Shop and centre, introduction to Buddhism meetings	Large semi-detached house	Urban	No	Est. no details.	http://www.sgi-uk.org/about-us/local-sgi-uk-centres/south-london-national-centre	<i>Carlton Hall 1 Bernays Grove Brixton, London SW9 8DF Phone: 020-7978-8334</i>
23.	London Ikeda Peace Centre	Soka Gakkai, Japanese	London	Shop and centre	Large residential building	Urban		Est. no details.	http://www.sgi-uk.org/about-us/local-sgi-uk-centres/london-ikeda-peace-centre	<i>7 Wakefield Street London WC1N 1PG Phone: 020-7837-3033</i>

24.	Birmingham Vietnamese Temple	Vietnamese	Birmingham	Monastic community, meditation, festivals	Adapted house, some new building also going on as extension to house	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	www.facebook.com/pages/Vietnamese-Buddhist-Temple-Soho-Road-Birmingham/419867188071225	34 Holyhead Road, Birmingham, B21 0LT
25.	Hoi Tuong Te Phat Giao Temple	Vietnamese	Cambridge	Unclear	Semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	None	12 Radegund Road Cambridge CB1 3RL
26.	Linh-son Vietnamese Buddhist Temple; chùa Linh-son	Vietnamese	Upper Norwood, London	Unclear	Looks like large detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	None	11 Ermine Road Tottenham, London N15 Phone: 0181 809-1566
27.	Quan Am Ni Tu Temple	Vietnamese	Hackney, London	Unclear	Small terraced modern house	Suburban	No	Est. no details; http://archive.museumoflondon.org.uk/RWWC/themes/1084/1271	None	8 Fenn Street Hackney, London e9 6jn Phone: 0181 9851122

28.	Tien That Chan Nhu Temple	Vietnamese	Birmingham	Temple	Small terrace house?	Suburban	No	Est. no details	None	44 Factory Road, Handsworth, Birmingham B18 5JU Phone: 0121 5512516
29.	Tu Dam Tu Temple	Vietnamese	Birmingham	Temple	Semi-detached house	Suburban	No	Est. no details	None	49 Brecon Road, Handsworth, Birmingham B20 3RW Phone: 0121 5518614

Non-sectarian

Triratna

Triratna (25 total)										
	NAME	TRADITION	LOCATION	USE	Type	RURAL/URBAN	LISTED OR NOT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	WEBSITES	ADDRESS WITH POST CODES
1.	Adhisthana	Triratna	Coddington Court, near Ledbury, Herefordshire	Retreat centre	Old house	Rural	No	Est. 2013	http://adhisthana.org	Coddington Court, Coddington Ledbury, Herefordshire, HR8 1JL Phone: 01531 641726 Email: admin@adhisthana.org
2.	Padmaloka	Triratna	Surlingham, Norwich	Mens retreat centre	Lesingham House, old country house surrounded by farmland	Rural	No	Est. 1976	www.padmalo.org.uk	Lesingham House Surlingham Norwich NR14 7AL Phone: 01508 538112; Email: info

										@padmalo@ka.org.uk
3.	Rivendell Buddhist retreat centre	Triratna	East Sussex	Retreat Centre – yoga and meditation	Former Victorian rectory	Rural	No	Est. 1985	www.rivendellretreatcentre.com	Chillies Lane, High Hurstwood, East Sussex, TN22 4AB Phone: 01825 733 764; Email: rivendellbookings@googlemail.com
4.	Taraloka	Triratna	Shropshire	Retreat centre for women	Cornhill Farm	Rural	No	Est. 1985	http://www.taraloka.org.uk/about-taraloka/history	Bettisfield Shropshire SY13 2LD Phone: 01948 710646

5.	Vajrasana	triratna	Potash Farm, Suffolk	Retreat centre	Old farm house with grounds	Rural	No	Est. no details	http://www.ibr.org.uk/vajrasana.htm	Potash Farm Walsham-Le-Willows Suffolk, IP31 3AR Phone: 01359 259344
6.	Birmingham Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Birmingham	Yoga, meditation, library, rooms to rent	Large old house	Suburban	No	http://www.birminghambuddhistcentre.org.uk/?page_id=32	http://www.birminghambuddhistcentre.org.uk	11 Park Road Moseley Birmingham West Midlands B13 8AB Phone: 0121 449 5279; Email: info@birminghambuddhistcentre.org.uk
7.	Blackburn Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Blackburn	Meditation, book shop	Old terraced house called 'Maitri House'	Suburban	No	Est. no details.	http://www.blackburnbuddhistcentre.org.uk	Maitri House, 16 Strawberry Bank Blackburn BB2 6AA Phone: 01254 583066;

										Email: info@blackburnbuddhistcentre.org.uk
8.	Colchester Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Colchester	Meditation, yoga	Community centre/hall	Suburban	No	Est. 1999	https://thebuddhistcentre.com/colchester/opening-colchester-buddhist-centre	11 Manor Road Colchester CO3 3LX United Kingdom Phone: 01206 576 330; Email: colchester.buddhist@tiscali.co.uk
9.	Sheffield Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Sheffield	Meditation, yoga and Tai Chi	St. Joseph's Chapel, former Catholic Church (1871) and former gentleman's residence (early 19th c)	Suburban	Yes, Chapel is listed; Grade II, http://list.historicengland.org.uk/results/single.aspx?uid=1270450 ; list entry number: 1270450	Est. 2004	www.sheffieldbuddhistcentre.org	Howard Road, Sheffield, S6 3RT Phone: 0114 234 9994

10.	Shrewsbury Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Shrewsbury	Meditation, festivals	The centre is moving from the Friends' Meeting House, where they rent rooms	Suburban	No	Est. 2015; 'All Saints Hall' (looks Victorian), need money to refurbish it	http://www.meditation-in-shrewsbury.co.uk/new-centre	All Saints Hall, Queen Street, Shrewsbury, Shropshire SY1 2JU
11.	Brighton Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Bristol	Meditation, mindfulness, Yoga and Tai-Chi	Old 4-story building, hard to tell what it is	Urban	No	Est. 1974, initially operating from a room above a shop on George Street in Kemptown; www.nlcaonline.org.uk/page_id_108_path_0p5p48p.aspx ;	http://www.brightonbuddhistcentre.co.uk	17 Tichborne Street Brighton East Sussex BN1 1UR Phone: 01273 772090; Email: info@brightonbuddhistcentre.co.uk

12.	Bristol Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Bristol	Meditation, healing rooms, shop, yoga and Qigong	Looks like shop front	Urban	No	Est. 1981; https://www.flickr.com/photos/fwbo/6690358711/	http://bristol-buddhist-centre.org/contact/about-us/	162 Gloucester Rd, Avon, Bristol BS7 8NT Phone: 0117 924 9991; Email: info@bristol-buddhist-centre.org
13.	Cambridge Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Cambridge	Meditation, mindfulness-based stress reduction, Tai Chi and Yoga	Formed partly of a renovated Georgian house and partly of the 'Barnwell' or 'Festival' theatre and foyer	Urban	Yes; Grade II*listed; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsin_uk/resultsin_uk.aspx?uid=1126148 ; list entry number: 1126148	Est. 1998; no mention of Buddhism in listing details	http://www.cambridgebuddhistcentre.com/cbc/CBC_history.php	38 Newmarket Rd, Cambridge, CB5 8DT Email: info@cambridgebuddhistcentre.com
14.	Croydon Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Croydon	Meditation, yoga and wellbeing	Two shop frontages with two storeys above, including Hidden Gems charity shop	Urban	No	Est. no details	http://www.buddhistcentre.org	98 High Street Croydon CR0 1ND Phone: 0208 688 8624

					http://www.hiddengemscroydon.org					
15.	Ipswich Buddhist Center	Triratna	Ipswich	Meditation, chanting, yoga, Tai Chi and Kung Fu	Refurbished building commercial /municipal?	Urban	No	Est. 2009	www.ipswichbuddhistcentre.org.uk/history.html	4 Friars Bridge Road, Ipswich, Suffolk IP1 1RR Phone: 01473 211516; Email: enquiries@ipswichbuddhistcentre.org.uk
16.	Lamas Pyjamas Charity Shop	Triratna	Bethnal Green, London	Ethical Business	Shop front, urban	Urban	No	Est. 2010; associated with London Buddhist Centre		83 Roman Road, London, E2 0QN Phone: 020 8980 1843
17.	Leeds Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Leeds	Meditation, Breathworks	Probably rented 4th Floor	Urban	No	Est. no details	http://leedsbuddhistcentre.org	4th Floor Leeds Bridge House, Hunslet Road, Leeds LS10 1JN

										Phone: 0113 2445256; Email: enquiries@eedsbuddhistcentre.org
18.	Liverpool Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Liverpool	Meditation	Suite of basement rooms with reception room and separate meditation room, Georgian Terrace?	Urban	No	Est. 2014	www.liverpoolbuddhistcentre.co.uk	66 Rodney Street, L1 9AF, Liverpool Phone: 0161 2812291 Email: buddhashanti@supanet.com
19.	London Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Bethnal Green, London	Meditation, 'breathing space', book shop	Old fire station	Urban	Yes; Grade II; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1065084 ; list entry number: 1065084	Started work on it in 1975; no mention of Buddhism in listing details	www.lbc.org.uk	51 Roman Road Bethnal Green London E2 0HU Phone: 020 8981 1225 Email: contact@lbc.org.uk
20.	Manchester Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Manchester	Meditation, 'clearvision', café and some other businesses	Former cotton warehouse	Urban	No	Purchased in 1994	www.manchesterbuddhistcentre.org.uk	16-20 Turner Street Manchester M4 1DZ

										Phone: 0161 834 9232; Email: info@manc hesterbudd histcentre.o rg.uk
21.	Newcastle Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Newcastle	Meditation, weekend retreats yoga classes, Shi atsu activities an d the celebration of Buddhist festivals.	3 rd floor of 6 storey office building	Urban	No	Est. 2014, moving to new location	www.newcastlebuddhistcentre.org/regular/	Third Floor Broadacre House Market Street Newcastle Upon Tyne NE1 6HQ Phone: 074442818 90; Email: newcastlebuddhistcentre@gmail.com
22.	North London Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Islington, London	Meditation, yoga, mindfulness	Old house	Urban	No	Est. no details	www.northlondonbuddhistcentre.com	72 Holloway Road, London N7 8JG Phone: 020 7700 1177
23.	Norwich Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Norwich	Meditation, yoga, retreats, bookshop	Old terrace house	Urban	Yes; Grade II; http://list.english-	Est. no details; http://en.wikipedia.org/	www.norwichbuddhistcentre.com	14 Bank Street Norwich Norfolk

							heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1051389 ; list entry number: 1051389	wiki/Norwich_Buddhist_Centre ; no mention of Buddhism in listing details		NR2 4SE Phone: 016 03 627 034; Email: info@norwichbuddhistcentre.com
24.	Nottingham Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Nottingham	Meditation, festivals, retreats, room hire, yoga	Old terrace house	Urban	No	Est. no details.	www.nottinghambuddhistcentre.org	9 St Mary's Place Nottingham NG1 1PH Phone: 011 5 956 1008; Email: info@nottinghambuddhistcentre.org
25.	West London Buddhist Centre	Triratna	Westbourne Park, London	Meditation, yoga, Breathworks, room hire	Moving from old house to take over two floors in flat development, property swap	Urban	No	Est. 2014	http://westlondonbuddhistcentre.com	45a Porchester Rd, W2 5DP Phone: 020 7727 9382

Other Non-sectarian

Other Non-sectarian (8 total)										
	NAME	TRADITION	LOCATION	USE	Type	RURAL/URBAN	LISTED OR NOT	ADDITIONAL NOTES	WEBSITES	CONTACT DETAILS
1.	Bala Brook Retreat Centre	Non-Sectarian	Dartmoor, Devon	Retreat Centre – yoga and meditation	Looks like new-build, may be adaptation too	Rural	No	Est. no details; for pictures from the architect see, www.livingspacearchitects.com/?portfolio=bala-brook-budist-retreat	www.balabrook.org.uk/index.html	Bala Brook Retreat Centre South Brent Devon TQ10 9ED Email: info@balabrook.org.uk
2.	Bodhayati Vihara Buddhist centre	Non-Sectarian	Nottingham	Monastery, meditation	Terrace house (BBC article: they are developing old caves underneath as meditation space)	Suburban	No		www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-nottingham-shire-13645404	4 Derby Terrace, Nottingham NG7 1ND Phone: 07871 437965; Email: info@bodhayati.org.uk

3.	Buddhist Society	Non-Sectarian	London	Teaching, networking, events, public lectures	House, Eccleston Square	Urban	Yes; Grade II listed; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1211499 ; list entry number: 1211499	Est. 1956; listing details do not mention Buddhism	www.thebuddhistociety.org	58 Eccleston Square, London SW1V 1PH Phone: 020 7834 5858; Email: info@thebuddhistociety.org
4.	Gaia House	Non-Sectarian	Devon	Retreats/residential courses (silent, Insight Meditation)	The Convent, formerly West Ogwell House, Old Manor House	Rural	Yes; Grade II listed; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1096703 ; list entry number: 1096703	Est. 1996; mentioned in Domesday Book, but no mention of Buddhism in listing details.	http://gaiahouse.co.uk/about/gaia-house-story/ ; http://gaiahouse.co.uk/about/history-building/	West Ogwell, Newton Abbot, Devon, TQ12 6EW, England Phone: 01626 333 613; Email info@gaiahouse.co.uk

5.	Golden Buddha Centre	Non-Sectarian	Totnes, Devon	Talks, study classes, support for older Buddhists who buy houses nearby	Meeting Hall, being extended (Sept 2013)	Suburban	No	Project began 1998, purchased property 2002-2008 (as retreat centre), purchased meeting hall 2011	www.goldenbuddha.org	The Grove, Victoria Street Totnes, Devon TQ9 5EP Phone: 01803 897550
6.	Karuna Institute	Non-Sectarian	Devon	Retreat centre	Natsworthy Manor	Rural	No	Est. 1991; mentioned in the Doomsday Book.	http://www.karuna-institute.co.uk/contact-us.html	Natsworthy Manor, Widecombe-in-the-Moor, Nr. Newton Abbot, Devon TQ13 7TR Phone: 01647 221457; Email: office@karuna-institute.co.uk
7.	Sharpham Trust, Barn Rural Retreat Centre	Non-Sectarian	Devon	Retreat Centre	Sharpham House, old barns	Rural	Yes; Grade II listed; http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsin	Est. 2003; no mention of Buddhism in the listing details.	http://www.sharphamtrust.org/The-Venue	Ashprington Totnes South Devon TQ9 7UT

							gle.aspx?uid=1108385; list entry number: 1108385			
8.	The Buddhist Community Centre UK	Non-Sectarian	Hampshire	Buddhist teachings, meditation, community service, retreats	Former BT social club	Urban	No	Est. 2015; http://www.gethampshire.co.uk/news/local-news/decision-expected-buddhist-community-centre-5347562	http://www.bccuk.co.uk	8 High street Aldershot GU11 1TW Phone: 01252 338765; Email: info@bccuk.co.uk

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