

Macho Buddhism: Gender and Sexualities in the Diamond Way

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Abstract

Western Tibetan Buddhist movements have been described as bourgeois and puritanical in previous scholarship. In contrast, Ole Nydahl's convert lay Karma Kagyu Buddhist movement, the Diamond Way, has drawn attention for its apparently hedonistic style. This article addresses the wider issues of continuity and change during the transition of Tibetan Buddhism from Asia to the West. It analyses views on and performances of gender, sexual ethics and sexualities both diachronically through textual-historical source and discourse analysis and synchronically through qualitative ethnography. In this way the article demonstrates how the approaches of contemporary gender and sexualities studies can serve as a way to question the Diamond Way Buddhism's location in the 'tradition vs modernity' debate. Nydahl's pre-modern gender stereotyping, the hetero-machismo of the Diamond Way and the mildly homophobic tone and content of Nydahl's teaching are interpreted in light of Indian and Tibetan Buddhist sexual ethics and traditional Tibetan cultural attitudes on sexualities. By excavating the emic genealogy of Nydahl's teachings, the article suggests that Nydahl's and the Diamond Way's view on and performance of gender and sexualities are consistent with his propagation of convert Buddhist neo-orthodoxy.

Keywords

Tibetan Buddhism, Buddhism in the West, Ole Nydahl, Diamond Way, Buddhism and homosexuality, Buddhism and sexuality, Buddhism and gender

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Introduction

This article addresses the view and the performance of gender and sexuality in the postcolonial context of the globalization of Tibetan Buddhism. It focuses on a particular Western lay convert Buddhist movement, the Diamond Way – part of the global Karma Kagyu (*bKa' brgyud*) school of Tibetan Buddhism, under the guidance of the Danish Buddhist master, Lama Ole Nydahl. Concentrating on sexual ethics, gendered normativities and sexual diversity, three intersecting questions are investigated with methodological pluralism. Approaches of historical-textual Tibetan Buddhist studies serve to demonstrate how Nydahl's teachings are located in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Qualitative ethnographical approaches and discourse analysis elucidate Nydahl's own performance and understanding of gender and sexualities and how Nydahl's example shapes normativities within the Diamond Way. Finally, Nydahl's chosen location within the Tibetan Buddhist tradition in the context of Buddhist modernity is critiqued from the perspective of 'Buddhist Theology' or Buddhist Critical-constructive Reflection, informed by Queer Theory.

The combination of historical, sociological and theological approaches promises new insights in the multifaceted intersection of religion (Buddhism) and gender. Thus, issues of gender, sexual ethics and sexualities serve as a way to question the location of this contemporary Tibetan Buddhist movement in the 'tradition vs modernity' debate.

The globalization of Tibetan Buddhism(s) developed its specific dynamics from the exile and diaspora experience of the majority of its spiritual and political elite after the communist Chinese occupation of Tibet in the 1950s. The initial impulse for organizational restructuring and spiritual centralization and unification of the Tibetan Buddhist community in exile gradually ebbed away and contemporary Tibetan Buddhism

emerged in its full diversity in the global village. In particular, from the late 1960s onwards, immigrant or ethnic or 'baggage'¹ Tibetan Buddhism was complemented by 'import,' 'elite'² or convert³ Buddhism. Tibetan Buddhism also developed missionary features⁴ and can be partly described as 'evangelical' or 'export' Buddhism in Nattier's terminology.⁵ Tensions have arisen between yogic, decentralized and eclectic tendencies on the one hand, and monastic, centralised and traditionalist currents on the other.⁶ Unsurprisingly, Buddhist modernism with its emphasis on detraditionalization, demythologization and psychologization⁷ features strongly in contemporary convert Tibetan Buddhism. However, any dichotomist typology of contemporary Tibetan Buddhism along the line of convert vs immigrant or modernist vs traditionalist⁸ falls short. 'Adherents' and 'sympathizers'⁹ of contemporary Tibetan Buddhism form a patchwork of hybrid religious identities. The retention of the 'convert' as a meaningful category of the sociological approach to global Tibetan Buddhism is still justified; Tibetan Buddhist convert movements are less successfully categorized into modernist or traditionalist.

Nydahl's Diamond Way movement illustrates this point: the Diamond Way is a 'world-affirming' group in Wallis' typology of new religious movements,¹⁰ whose packaging of Tibetan Buddhism is

¹ J. Nattier, 'Who is a Buddhist? Charting the Landscape of Buddhist America' in C. S. Prebish and K. T. Tanaka (eds.), *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, Berkeley: University of California Press 1998, 183-195, 189.

² Ibid.

³ Cf. M. Baumann, 'Protective Amulets and Awareness Techniques, or How to Make Sense of Buddhism in the West' in C. S. Prebish and M. Baumann (eds.), *Westward Dharma: Buddhism beyond Asia*, Berkeley: University of California Press 2002, 51-65, 54.

⁴ Cf. L. Obadia, 'Tibetan Buddhism in France: A Missionary Religion?' in *Journal of Global Buddhism* 2 (2001), 92-122 and B. Scherer, 'Interpreting the Diamond Way: Contemporary Convert Buddhism in Transition' in *Journal of Global Buddhism* 10 (2009), 17-48, 27.

⁵ Nattier, 'Who is a Buddhist?', 189-190.

⁶ Cf. G. Samuel, *Tantric Revisionings: New Understandings of Tibetan Buddhism and Indian Religion*, New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 2005, 324-329.

⁷ D. L. MacMahan, *The Making of Buddhist Modernism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2008, 42-59.

⁸ Baumann, 'Protective Amulets', 54-59.

⁹ Cf. T. Tweed, 'Who Is a Buddhist? Night-Stand Buddhists and Other Creatures' in C.S. Prebish and M. Baumann (eds.), *Westward Dharma: Buddhism beyond Asia*, Berkeley: University of California Press 2002, 17-33.

¹⁰ J. H. Anderson, 'Tibetansk Buddhisme i Danmark' in *Chaos: Dansk-Norsk Tidsskrift for Religionshistoriske Studier* 20 (1994), 138-154, 152.

modernist, but whose 'content', that is its teaching, is mostly traditional.¹¹ It can be described as 'neo-orthodox' in Peter Berger's terms.¹² In contrast, another contemporary 'world-affirming' lay Karma Kagyu group, Chogyam Trungpa's Dharmadhatu and his Shambhala lineage can be described as neo-traditionalist in form, but iconoclastic and post-Buddhist in content.¹³ Both movements illustrate that any binary categorization of Western Buddhist convert movements along the modern vs traditional axis is too simplistic in the postcolonial context of globalization. Rather, 'tradition' and 'modernity' can only serve as one set of poles in a multi-polar continuum of individual expressions and performances, which illustrate different modes and degrees of hybridity. In the case of the Diamond Way, Nydahl's and his followers' view and performance of gender and sexualities are a point in case.

The founder of the Diamond Way, Ole Nydahl, born in 1941, is both a charismatic and controversial figure. Born into an educated Danish middle-class household, Nydahl was a drug-smuggling hippie when he met Tibetan Buddhism in Nepal and became a reformed character. He became a devoted student of the Sixteenth Karmapa hierarch of the Tibetan Karma Kagyu school. This branch of Tibetan Buddhism traces back to the unconventional practitioners of the Yoginī Tantras of late-medieval India, the Mahāsiddhas, and is characterized by its emphasis on meditation and close teacher-student relationship.¹⁴ Since the 1970s Nydahl has established more than six hundred lay Buddhist centres worldwide, including a considerable number of centres in the Global South, in particular in Central and South America. After the death of the Sixteenth Karmapa in 1981 and the subsequent schism within the Kagyu community over the recognition of the Seventeenth Karmapa in the early 1990s, Nydahl supported the highest lineage authority of the school – Shamar Rinpoche – against the other lineage holders. He established himself as an authenticated lay teacher and Lama as well as a key political factor on that side of the schism.¹⁵

¹¹ Cf. Scherer, 'Interpreting the Diamond Way', 36-39.

¹² Cf. E. Saalfrank, *Geistige Heimat im Buddhismus aus Tibet: Eine empirische Studie am Beispiel der Kagyüpas in Deutschland*, Ulm: Fabri Verlag 1997, 224-228.

¹³ See B. Scherer, 'The Globalization of Tibetan Buddhism: Contemporary Karma bKa' brGyud Movements between Modernism and Tradition', paper presented at the *Globalization of Contemporary Buddhism Conference*, Minzu University, Beijing, 18-20 December 2009.

¹⁴ Scherer, 'Interpreting the Diamond Way', 21-23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

Nydahl's teachings and lifestyle have attracted criticism from Tibetan Buddhists and scholars.¹⁶ Still, these criticisms regularly do not take emic Tibetan Buddhist paradigms into considerations. From a 'hermeneutics of recovery' (in Ricœur's terminology),¹⁷ most of Nydahl's activities can be meaningfully interpreted as authentic, traditional, and occasionally as an expression of the typically Kagyu 'crazy wisdom'.¹⁸

Sexual Ethics in the Diamond Way

The Diamond Way is clearly 'sex-positive':¹⁹ Nydahl propagates a self-proclaimed 'non-neurotic approach' to sexuality: while celibacy pertains to monks, it is not for a lay person like himself.²⁰ Nydahl was happily married to his wife Hannah until her death in 2007. Nydahl was also openly promiscuous, sleeping with many female students during his earlier teaching tours in the 1970s and 1980s. In 1990 he committed himself to a steady second intimate partner, Caty Hartung, a relation which lasted for fourteen years. Nydahl is propagating healthy and joyful (hetero-)sexuality and an unabashed hetero-machismo.²¹

Traditional Indian and Tibetan lay Buddhist sexual ethics regarding promiscuity is ambiguous and heterosexist, privileging the male lay person and providing ample loopholes.²² In this context, Nydahl's promiscuity is not completely modernist. Nydahl states publicly that he has a strong personal libido and sees sexual activity as an important part of a full, mentally healthy life.²³ He also frames this joyfully lived (hetero-)sexuality and his frequent sexual innuendos and jokes as part of his missionary work: by his rationale, this keeps neurotic and difficult people away from his

¹⁶ Ibid., 25, 30, 35-39.

¹⁷ Ibid., 31. For Ricœur's hermeneutics, see A. Scott-Baumann, *Ricoeur and the Hermeneutics of Suspicion*, London: Continuum 2009.

¹⁸ Ibid., 23, 33-35.

¹⁹ This term was coined within the context of second-wave feminism in the 1980s. See G. Becker, 'The Social Regulation of Sexuality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective', in *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* 5 (1984), 45-69.

²⁰ See a recent interview with Christopher Kelleher, dated 6 January 2008, but actually conducted end of November 2007 in Minneapolis, USA <http://www.rakemag.com/multimedia/video/pure-light>, accessed August 2008.

²¹ O. Nydahl, 'Wo steht der Diamantweg' in Buddhismus?' *Heute* 44 (2007), 7-8.

²² See P. Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000, 72.

²³ O. Nydahl, 'Der heiße Thron' in *Kagyü Life* 23 (1997), 21-39, 32; cf. O. Nydahl, 'Keeping Buddhism Alive' in *Buddhism Today* 4 (1998), 33.

centres.²⁴ This psychologization is clearly not traditionalist and (hetero-) sexual libertinism is hardly characteristic for Tibetan Buddhist convert groups in the West, where a rather puritanical atmosphere usually prevails. Robert Thurman noted how Western teachers promote a new puritanism in Tibetan Buddhist groups²⁵ and Geoffrey Samuel aptly summarizes: 'In fact ... Tibetan Buddhism in its Western varieties does not have much to do with sexuality except perhaps at the level of imagery and symbolism. The general atmosphere of a Dharma group is if anything rather puritanical, especially in the more traditionalist and conservative groups.'²⁶

Nydahl also views another aspect of lay Buddhist sexual ethics as outdated cultural baggage: prohibitions against oral and anal sex. In the highly influential tradition of the 4th century scholastic compendium, the *Abhidharmakośa* and its auto-commentary by Vasubandhu, Tibetan Buddhism has generally rejected any form of oral and anal intercourse on the grounds that it be sexual misconduct.²⁷ Nydahl interprets such teachings as being culturally and historically restricted and mainly a result of hygienic conditions.²⁸ With this interpretation, Nydahl is in line with other Tibetan Buddhist teachers in the West, including the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, probably the highest representative of Tibetan Buddhist orthodoxy.²⁹

Important insights into Nydahl's lifestyle can be found in his recently published book *Der Buddha und die Liebe* (Buddha and Love)³⁰ which places love, sexuality and gender into the broader context of the Great Seal teachings of the Karma Kagyu tradition. *Der Buddha und die Liebe* proves to be a partnership and human development guide for the Diamond Way (heterosexual) lay practitioner and expands considerably on

²⁴ Nydahl, 'Der heiße Thron', 31-32.

²⁵ See J. W. Coleman, *The New Buddhism: The Western Transformation of an Ancient Tradition*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001, 181.

²⁶ Samuel, *Tantric Revisionings*, 329.

²⁷ Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*, 72-73.

²⁸ See, e.g. O. Nydahl, *Glubina slavyaskogo uma: Byddizm v voprosakh i otvetakh. Tom II (The Profundity of Slavic Mind: Buddhism in Questions and Answers. Vol. 2)*, Moscow: Almazny Put', 213-214 (transcript of an answer given in Ulan Ude, February 2006).

²⁹ See A. E. Richardson, 'How My Teacher Taught Me Tibetan Buddhism: A Gay Practitioner Remembers' in W. Leyland, *Queer Dharma: Voices of Gay Buddhists. Vol. 2*, San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press 2000, 161-182, 178 and Harvey, *Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*, 432-433.

³⁰ O. Nydahl, *Der Buddha und die Liebe*, Munich: Knauer MensSana 2005; translations into a dozen languages including Polish, Hungarian, Russian, Italian, Spanish and Dutch have been published, while the English edition is still under preparation.

the rather simple but poignant interpretation of Buddhist sexual ethics as ‘not harming sexually and not breaking hearts unnecessarily.’³¹ The book is both traditional and modernist, catering for the needs of convert Western lay people. By placing questions of love and partnership in the context of tantra, it provides numerous clues to Nydahl’s own lifestyle. He sees himself in the tradition of the aforementioned Mahāsiddhas: these precursors of the Tibetan Kagyu tradition and their ‘crazy yogi’ successors in Tibet used a panoply of transgressive and unconventional methods, including sexuality, in their teachings, which also characterizes modern-day ‘crazy yogi’s’ such as Chogyam Trungpa (1939-1987).³² Although Nydahl makes it clear that he does not teach sexual tantra as such and that, when he and a female student sleep together, they do so as equals, the tantric yogi template provides a readily available emic paradigm for the reading of Nydahl’s sexualized teaching and life style. On the other hand, several convert Tibetan Buddhist groups have been marred by scandals concerning abuse of power. Allegations of sexual abuse of students have been made against Trungpa, Kalu Rinpoche, Sogyal Rinpoche, just to name a few. Nydahl displays high awareness of these issues, frequently commenting on these scandals, for instance those involving Kalu Rinpoche, Lama Monlam (Switzerland),³³ Sogyal³⁴ or Trungpa.³⁵ Consistent with universally accepted Buddhist sexual ethics, Nydahl condemns any form of coercion.³⁶ In the minutes of the German-speaking centre meeting, October 2006, allegations of unwished for intimacy and sexual bullying in a few Diamond Way Centres are referenced. Nydahl and the organization have taken these allegations very seriously.

Nydahl’s overt and self-described ‘non-neurotic approach’ to (hetero-)sexuality is only partially modernist, although his personality and style certainly attract less traditional students as Buddhist converts.

³¹ Cf. Nydahl, *Der Buddha und die Liebe*, 61.

³² See Scherer, ‘Interpreting the Diamond Way,’ 23 and Scherer, ‘The Globalization of Tibetan Buddhism’.

³³ Nydahl ‘Der heiße Thron’, 27.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

³⁵ O. Nydahl, ‘Verrückte Weisheit und der Stil des Verwirklichers’ in *Buddhismus Heute* 47 (2004), 48-57, 49; intriguingly, the section is omitted in the abridged English version of this ‘Crazy Wisdom’ interview. See O. Nydahl, ‘Crazy Wisdom’ in *Diamond Way Time* 1 (2003), 48-54. The infamous 1975 Merwin scandal, on which Nydahl comments, is depicted in more detail by J. Paine, *Re-enchantment: Tibetan Buddhism Comes to the West*, New York: Norton 2004, 100-101.

³⁶ Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*, 72.

Hetero-machismo

Nydahl combines yogic unconventionality and his 'non-neurotic approach' to sexuality with the traditional hetero-machismo which underlies both his own upbringing in the 1950s in Denmark and the Tibetan cultural background. Strikingly, despite the tantric dissolution of gender binaries in advanced meditation practice³⁷ and the acknowledgment of the fluid middle in Tibetan Medicine,³⁸ Nydahl retains a thoroughly hetero-normative outlook on sex and gender. Although tantric meditation both deconstructs and acknowledges 'male' and 'female' as inner polarities rather than outer realities, Nydahl follows mainstream Tibetan and pre- or rather counter-feminist Western gender stereotyping. He combines this essentialist interpretation of gender binaries and differences³⁹ with popular pseudo-scientific evolutionary-biological views, attributing to males the tunnel vision of the Neolithic hunter while the female 'remained in the caves and cared for the offspring.'⁴⁰ However, Nydahl's propagation of a counter-feminist, extremely conservative gender stereotype can be interpreted as consistent with hetero-normative elements of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition.⁴¹ His personal admiration of and praise for the opposite sex has also a Buddhist doctrinal level, since in particular in the tradition of the *Yoginī tantras*, which are held in highest esteem in all Kagyu traditions, the female enlightened principles in the form of *dākinī*'s are seen as the source of deepest inspiration and even hold the key to the development of the (male heterosexual) practitioner.⁴² Additionally, the initiations (*abhiṣeka*) into the Yoginī tantric systems, which are an intrinsic part of the more advanced Karma Kagyu practices, come with promises (*samaya*),

³⁷ See e.g. B. Scherer, 'Gender transformed and meta-gendered enlightenment: Reading Buddhist narratives as paradigms of inclusiveness' in *Revista de Estudos da Religião* 6.3 (2006), 65-76, 74.

³⁸ J. Gyatso, 'One Plus One Makes Three: Buddhist Gender, Monasticism, and the Law of the Non-Excluded Middle' in *History of Religions* 43 (2003), 89-115, 100-104.

³⁹ Nydahl, *Der Buddha und die Liebe*, 154-161.

⁴⁰ See O. Nydahl, 'Frauen' in *Buddhismus Heute* 42 (2006), 26-33, 29.

⁴¹ See Nydahl's teaching on gender in Nydahl, *Der Buddha und die Liebe*, 151-196.

⁴² See the following benchmark studies: M. Shaw, *Passionate Enlightenment: Women in Tantric Buddhism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1994; A. Herrmann-Pfandt, *Dakinis: Zur Stellung und Symbolik des weiblichen im tantrischen Buddhismus*, Marburg: Indica et Tibetica ²2001; S. Young, *Courtesans and Tantric Consorts*, London: Routledge 2004. The role of female inspiration is, however, overstated by J. Simmer-Brown, *Dakini's Warm Breath: The Female Principle in Tibetan Buddhism*, Boston: Shambhala 2002, cf. J. Willis, 'Review of J. Simmer-Brown, *Dakini's Warm Breath*' in *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 23 (2003), 161-164.

which include the vow to see every female being on the highest level as a *ḍākinī* and to never speak badly to or about a woman. Clearly, Nydahl takes these 'highest yoga' promises very seriously and his views on gender and sexuality are to be interpreted in this context. He is clearly not prepared to leave the tantric understanding of gender and sexuality on a mere symbolic and archetypal level – as did his wife Hannah.⁴³

Nydahl himself projects a hypermasculine image befitting his self-identification as a dharma-protector.⁴⁴ Critics of the Diamond Way linked to the 'counter-cult' movement of the Protestant Churches in Switzerland and Germany⁴⁵ have not only taken offence at his high-libido sexual activities, but also at his persistent (albeit merely rhetorical and metaphorical) linking of high-adrenaline sports such as motorcycling, bungee jumping and sky diving and of sexuality to experiences of enlightenment. A hermeneutics of suspicion can easily see here the encouragement of a general hedonism, sexual (hyper)activity and extrovert masculinity/femininity. Nydahl's hypermasculinity and hetero-machismo seem to have promulgated a peculiar type of Diamond Way style. Already in the 1980s, Nydahl's followers appeared conspicuously distinct from their fellow Western Kagyu converts: recounting tensions at a large Kagyu course in Germany in 1985, Nydahl humorously characterizes his students as 'former troublemakers and hard cases' in contrast to another Lama's 'Bhagwanese and flower children'.⁴⁶ More recently, Nydahl explicitly acknowledged the problematic perception of Diamond Way hetero-machismo and links this issue to the important student-teacher relationship and guru devotion.⁴⁷ When asked why there is a preference for and predominance of 'young macho he-lions' in the Diamond Way, Nydahl answers:

⁴³ Asked about male-female, Hannah Nydahl declared 'that they are mere archetypes, not to be taken so literal' (personal communication, May 2005, Karma Guen/Spain).

⁴⁴ Scherer, 'Interpreting the Diamond Way', 25, 34-35.

⁴⁵ E.g. G. Schmid, 'Verschmelzen mit Karmapa: Faszination und Dynamik des Karma-Kagyü-Buddhismus' Rütli: Evangelische Informationsstelle: Kirchen - Sekten – Religionen 1998, <http://www.relinfo.ch/kagyu/infotxt.html>, accessed June 2011; C. Ruch, 'Buddha, Bungee, Bettgeschichten: Der Lifestyle-Buddhismus von "Lama" Ole Nydahl' in U. Dehn and C. Ruch (eds.), *"Wenn Eisenvögel fliegen...": Der Tibetische Buddhismus und der Westen*, Berlin: Evangelische Zentralstelle für Weltanschauungsfragen EZW (Pamphlet Nr. 185) 2006, 32-36; for a good overview and critique of counter-cult see G. D. Chrystides, *Exploring New Religions*, London: Continuum 1999, 342-365.

⁴⁶ O. Nydahl, *Riding the Tiger: Twenty Years on the Road - Risks and Joys of bringing Tibetan Buddhism to the West*. Grass Valley: Blue Dolphin 1992, 264.

⁴⁷ Nydahl, 'Wo steht der Diamantweg' in *Buddhismus?*, 7-8.

Every teaching and teacher attract their own people. Our special merit is giving access to many fresh minds which would probably not otherwise be attracted to the Dharma. Other religions should be glad that we take the difficult non-sheep! Also we are not the only Kagyus. People who wish to become monks and nuns may go to France and receive excellent training.

By the way: Caty [and eighteen further names] and a dozen other of our exciting power-ladies would enjoy finding themselves within this category [of 'macho lion'].⁴⁸

From the perspective of the hegemonic discourses within counter-cult movements, the deep devotion that Nydahl inspires in his students must seem alarming. To the outsider, the level of personal loyalty shown to Nydahl can appear as a direct contradiction to the prevailing rhetoric of criticality which is supposed to characterize Buddhism(s), and which Nydahl himself utilizes as a tool for detraditionalization, for instance when he calls his students 'non-sheep' and 'fresh minds':

Where but in Buddhism, however, shall sharp and critical people find the same transparency and effectiveness in their practices as from their computer? Those who will only trust what they can analyze logically and are embarrassed by exotic lifestyles especially need us to be bright. We simply have to keep a level of mental freshness these people can identify with, because where else can they go? It is always a pity when people end up with Nihilism, political correctness or drugs because they cannot find a spiritual way they can trust. [I]t is a healthy sign that my students think ever more independently and become increasingly critical towards any spirituality which is artificial and sugar-sweet. This ensures a clear and unshakable development and will attract other fresh minds.⁴⁹

However, when uncritically imitating the lama's 'style', Nydahl's 'fresh minds' can appear distinctively less fresh and independent. However, from a hermeneutics of trust, the tantric/mahāsiddhic guru devotion tradition of

⁴⁸ Author's translation from the German. 'Jede Belehrung und jeder Lehrer ziehen ihre eigenen Leute an. Unser besonderer Verdienst ist, vielen frischen Geistern einen Zugang zum Diamantweg zu geben, die sonst vielleicht nie einen Zugang zu letztendlichen Belehrungen gefunden hätten. Andere Religionen sollten eigentlich froh sein, dass wir die schwierigen Nicht-Schafe nehmen! Außerdem sind wir nicht die einzigen Kagyüs. Leute, die lieber Mönche oder Nonnen sein wollen, können in Frankreich vorzügliche Belehrungen dazu bekommen. Übrigens hätten Caty ... und ein Dutzend anderer unserer spannenden Power-Ladies Spaß daran, sich in dieser Gattung zu finden' (Nydahl, *Wo steht der Diamantweg in Buddhismus?*, 8).

⁴⁹ Nydahl, 'Keeping Buddhism Alive', 33.

Tibetan Buddhism provides the interpretative frame even for hetero-machismo when imitating the lama: the 'root' or 'heart lama' (Sanskrit *mūla-guru*, Tibetan *rtsa ba'i bla ma*) is seen as the sole source of spiritual development comprising blessing (the living authentic transmission), method (the tantric means), and protection (holding the view and applying it in daily life).⁵⁰ Especially Gampopa (sGam po pa 1079-1153), the founding father of the whole Dagpo Kagyu (*Dwags po bKa' brgyud*) tradition, which includes the Karma Kagyu, emphasized guru-devotion as the 'single white panacea' (*dkar po chig thub*) for spiritual development.⁵¹ Although it is generally seen as a sign of immaturity to imitate the teacher to the degree of copying his/her personal traits, it is normally accepted as a transitory stage in the personal development. The enthusiasm which Nydahl inspires in his followers can be seen as evidence that identification as a developmental trick works. The productivity of transitional, uncritical devotion and hypertrophic hetero-machismo depends on the dynamic of the resultant spiritual transformation. Within this tradition, one can argue that the Karma Kagyu path offers the gradual way of spiritual development, and, with more meditation experience, the sharpest edges of machismo are bound to disappear.

Queer as Kagyu?

In questions of diversity of sexualities and gender, Nydahl's view remains completely hetero-normative. In relation to gay and lesbian sexuality he simply states: 'homosexual relationships I cannot fathom.' However, he relates this assertion to his own lack of experience.⁵² Stating that his few gay students are 'often gifted,' but 'do not have an easy life',⁵³ Nydahl echoes the popular post-enlightenment Western stereotyping of the gifted,

⁵⁰ On the guru/teacher in tantra, Vajrayāna and especially in Karma Kagyu see J. Rheingans, 'The Eighth Karmapa's Life and his Interpretation of the Great Seal', PhD thesis, University of the West of England, collegiate Bath Spa University 2008, 231-235. For a broader emic discussion see A. Berzin, *Wise Teacher, Wise Student: Tibetan Approaches to a Healthy Relationship*, Ithaca: Snow Lion 2010.

⁵¹ See D. Jackson, *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan Controversies on the 'Self-Sufficient White Remedy' (dkar po chig thub)*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Klasse Denkschriften. 615; Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens. 12) 1994, 150-151.

⁵² O. Nydahl, 'Love & Partnership' in *Buddhism today* 1 (1996), 26-30, 30. A Polish edition appeared the same year in *Diamantowa Droga* 15 (Winter 1996), http://diamantowadroga.pl/dd15/milosc_i_partnerstwo, accessed June 2011; the English was reprinted in *Buddhism today* 14 (2004), 37-40, 40.

⁵³ Nydahl, 'Der heiße Thron', 32.

but tragic homosexual connected to the pathologization of same-sex desire and the invention of essentialist 'homosexuality' in the 19th century.⁵⁴ He also speculates about the prevalence of strong jealousy in same-sex relationships and the assumed ego-enhancing quality of same sex desire.⁵⁵ This would allegedly constitute a clear obstacle for Buddhist practice, which aims to weaken and dissolve the 'ego' into the experience of non-duality. Unwittingly, Nydahl seems to echo Fritz Morgenthaler's mid-20th century psycho-analytical theory on homosexuality as privileging 'autonomy' vs 'identity' or 'integration,' which underlies heterosexual relationships.⁵⁶

Nydahl admits feeling uncomfortable with the idea of 'two gentlemen kissing.'⁵⁷ In his auto-hagiographical account *Riding the Tiger*, which recounts the early charismatic, missionary phase of the Diamond Way movement, Nydahl utilizes 'homosexuality' as a narratorial punchline in order to exemplify the confused state of mind of the (post-)hippie generation. In the contexts of his travels with the Sixteenth Karmapa in the US in 1976, Nydahl recounts how the audience of Trungpa's students included Allen Ginsberg, who wanted to talk with Karmapa about 'homosexuality and pollution,' which in Nydahl's judgement were questions 'with little substance' and 'up in the air, like a cup of thin new-age tea.'⁵⁸ Nydahl further recalls that he and his students clearly upset a 'sour intellectual newspaper' associated with 'communists and homosexuals' in 1981 in Denmark, which again was clearly not his cup of tea.⁵⁹ Nydahl's homophobic subtexts are consistent with his projection of hyper-masculinity and his counter-feminist heterosexism. Yet they are surprisingly unbecoming to the great emphasis he places in his teachings on the importance of Western democracies and Human Rights, especially when criticizing non-democratic and oppressive religious expressions.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Cf. I. Marsh, 'Queering Suicide: The Problematic Figure of the "Suicidal Homosexual" in Psychiatric Discourse' in B. Scherer (ed.), *Queering Paradigms*, Oxford: Peter Lang 2010, 141-159, 141-145.

⁵⁵ Nydahl, 'Der heiÙe Thron', 32.

⁵⁶ See F. Morgenthaler, *Homosexualität, Heterosexualität, Perversion*, Frankfurt: Fischer 1987 [1961. 1980], 95-139.

⁵⁷ O. Nydahl, 'Was sagt der Buddhismus zu Homosexualität' in *Fragen an den Lama*, blog archive, 19 March 2008, <http://www.lama-ole-nydahl.de/fragen/?p=163>, accessed 6 October 2008.

⁵⁸ Nydahl, *Riding the Tiger*, 93.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁶⁰ See, e.g. Nydahl, 'Der heiÙe Thron', 22-25 and O. Nydahl, 'The Changing Face of the Sangha' in *Buddhism Today* 7 (2000), 31-33.

Nydahl's modernist (and potentially colonialist) recourse to secular, universal rights and values seems to be in contradiction with his squeamishness about homosexuality, since LGBTIQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer/questioning) rights could be argued to be an integral part of what Nydahl essentializes as Human Rights.

Still, Nydahl's views on homosexuality have adapted over the years from more or less overtly homophobic statements to his current neutral acceptance of homosexuality with implicit mildly homophobic undertones. He admits that he used to think homosexuals to be 'a bit funny'.⁶¹ 'When I was younger I thought that sexual orientation was the most important factor in shaping the character.'⁶² From the end of the 1990s, however, Nydahl stresses that he does not consider the issue of sexual orientation as terribly important anymore.⁶³ Still, in a question-and-answer-book published in Hungary in 1998, he more or less equates homosexuals with 'sexual extremists'.⁶⁴ And in 2001, in an interview given to a German language magazine in Los Angeles, Nydahl states that homosexual relationships are 'not advised' in Buddhism since 'they seem to bring more suffering, disease and disturbing emotions than normal relationships.'⁶⁵ (the usage of the heterosexist qualifier 'normal' is noteworthy). Even in more recent statements, Nydahl continues homophobic stereotypes when warning against 'them' spreading diseases⁶⁶ or even 'chasing kids',⁶⁷ assuming the popular conflation of homosexuality with paedophilia. On the other hand, he is clearly attempting to communicate his newly-found

⁶¹ O. Nydahl, *Bungee mądrości: Buddyzm Diamentowej Drogi w pytaniach i odpowiedziach*, Gdąnsk: Czerwony Stoń 2003, 107.

⁶² 'Когда я был моложе, я считал, что сексуальная ориентация является самым главным фактором формирования характера' (Nydahl, *Glubina slavyaskogo uma II*, 191; transcript from teachings in March 2005, Ulyanovsk); cf. 'Als ich jünger war, fand ich, die sexuelle Einstellung sei der Knackpunkt, der alles andere im Leben färbt.' (Nydahl, 'Was sagt der Buddhismus zu Homosexualität').

⁶³ Cf. e.g. O. Nydahl, *Glubina slavyaskogo uma: Byddizm v voprosakh i otvetakh. Tom I* (The Profundity of Slavic Mind: Buddhism in Questions and Answers. Vol. 1). Kiev: Dialog Press 2005, 284 (answer transcript August 1999, Novosibirsk).

⁶⁴ O. Nydahl, *Egy Jogi 109 Válasza: Válogatás, Láma Ole Nydahl tanításaiból*, Budapest: Gyémánt Út Buddhista Közösség 1998. ³2004, 47; Cp. Nydahl, *Glubina slavyaskogo uma II*, 216.

⁶⁵ 'Man empfiehlt sie nicht im Buddhismus. Sie scheinen mehr Leid, Krankheit und Störgefühle auszulösen als normale Verbindungen.' In M. Zemlicka, 'Ein Interview mit Lama Ole Nydahl' in *Buddhismus Heute* 32 (2001), 14-23, 20.

⁶⁶ Zemlicka, 'Ein Interview', 20 and Nydahl, 'Was sagt der Buddhismus zu Homosexualität'.

⁶⁷ Nydahl, *Glubina slavyaskogo uma I*, 284.

neutrality on the issue when he states that 'the Buddha was clever enough to broadly steer clear of our bedrooms.'⁶⁸

At the doctrinal dimension, Nydahl explains the genesis of homosexuality as the result of either aversion to the opposite sex in previous lives or strong partnership (karmic) bonds from previous lives, which are maintained even after the partners find themselves in the same sex/gender in their current lives.⁶⁹ As not unusual within Tibetan Buddhism, these dharma explanations are attributed to the historical Buddha although no evidence for this claim can be adduced. Moreover, no pre-modern Tibetan source seems to contain such explanations, which is not surprising given the lack of any identitarian concept of 'homosexuality' in pre-modern Tibetan thought. It is reasonable to assume that Nydahl would have received these or similar explanations from his traditional Tibetan Buddhist masters such as the Sixteenth Karmapa or Kalu Rinpoche, who had to react to new sets of questions raised in contact with Western modernity and the globalization of Tibetan Buddhism.

Nydahl's mild homophobia is largely consistent with mainstream Tibetan Buddhism. Any conclusions about the sexual tolerance within the Tibetan cultural sphere based on the apparently condoned same-sex relations reported in some ethnographic accounts relating to the *ldab ldob* (warrior monks)⁷⁰, and on practices in Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, would be premature.⁷¹ On a doctrinal level, Tibetan Buddhist sexual ethics clearly condemns same-sex activity as 'sexual misconduct' (*log g.yem*). The genealogy of this sentiment shows that the Tibetan assimilation of Indian Buddhism has possibly mainstreamed existent notions about same-sex desire. Factually, it is within the Tibetan culture, that same-sex sexual contacts are prohibited as breach of celibacy for monks and nuns, along with any other sexual activity. However, there is no evidence that same-sex sexuality between laypersons was prohibited in early Buddhism and

⁶⁸ 'Buddha war klug genug, sich weitgehend aus unseren Schlafzimmern herauszuhalten' (Nydahl, 'Was sagt der Buddhismus zu Homosexualität').

⁶⁹ Nydal, 'Was sagt der Buddhismus zu Homosexualität'; Zemlicka, 'Ein Interview mit Lama Ole Nydahl', 20; Nydahl, *Bungee mądrości*, 107-18.

⁷⁰ See M.C. Goldstein, 'A Study of the Ldab ldob', in *Central Asian Journal* 9 (1964), 123-141; J. Cabezón, 'Homosexuality and Buddhism' in A. Swidler (ed.), *Homosexuality and World Religions*, Valley Forge: Trinity Press International 1993, 81-101, 93; Harvey, *Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*, 424-425.

⁷¹ On negative attitudes towards same-sex desire in contemporary Tibetan communities in exile, see P.C. Klieger, 'Engendering Tibet: Power, Self, and Change in the Diaspora' in P.C. Klieger (ed.), *Tibet, Self, and the Tibetan Diaspora: Voices of Difference*, Leiden: Brill 2002, 139-154, 151.

references to the condemnation of intra-gender sexuality begin only after (and possibly because) Indian society was exposed to the sexually less liberal views during the rule of the Central Asian Kushans in the 1st until 4th centuries CE. For instance, Buddhaghosa (early 5th century CE), in his *Commentary to the Dīghanikāya* (DA 853), classifies same-sex sexual activity as sexual misconduct (Pali *kāmesu micchācāra*). The aforementioned *Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu (4th century CE), which is seen as the normative source of scholastic views in the Tibetan monastic traditions, prohibits opposite-sex anal and oral sex. Vasubandhu does not explicitly refer to same-sex intercourse, but same-sex anal and oral sex seems to be prohibited by analogy. The prohibition of same-sex intercourse is only made explicit in the Tibetan tradition by Gampopa (12th century CE) in his 'spiritual path teachings' (*lam rim*). Gampopa's foundational text on the Dagpo Kagyu Buddhist path, his *Jewel Ornament of Liberation* (*dam chos yid bzhin gyi nor bu thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*, short *Thar rgyan*) elaborates on sexual activities involving the prohibited orifices by including male-male sexuality: 'Inappropriate (sexual) conduct is constituted by force, male-male or male-third gender oral or anal intercourse.'⁷²

The contemporary, globalizing Tibetan Buddhist tradition can still be interpreted as mainly homo- and transphobic and has only slowly adapted to the Western concepts of sexual orientation and gender identities in this regard. This process of reluctant adaptation is exemplified in the Dalai Lama's change in teaching style after the outcry he provoked by his traditional homophobic teachings in San Francisco in the late 1990s and his subsequent meeting with representatives of LGBT activism and queer Buddhists.⁷³ Within this ongoing process of adaptation, Nydahl admits to remaining 'old-fashioned';⁷⁴ he appears to be more hesitant and conservative than for instance Chogyam Trungpa was in the 1970s and 1980s. Trungpa did not have any reservations about gay students and even appointed a bisexual student as his Vajra regent. This regent subsequently behaved irresponsibly in his sexuality and proved to be uncontrollable, having unprotected sex with both male and female students, although he

⁷² rigs pa ma yin pa ni/ brdeg cing spyod pa'o// yang na po'ang/ ma ning gi ga'am du spyod pa'o// (sGam po pa, *Thar rgyan*. Edited by Khenpo Sonam Gyatso, Benares: Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies 1999, 74).

⁷³ See D. Conkin, 'The Dalai Lama and Gay Love' in W. Leyland (ed.), *Queer Dharma: Voices of Gay Buddhists*, San Francisco: Gay Sunshine Press 1998, 351-356 and Harvey, *Introduction to Buddhist Ethics*, 432-433.

⁷⁴ 'altmodisch' (Nydahl, 'Was sagt der Buddhismus zu Homosexualität').

was clearly aware of his HIV-positive status.⁷⁵ Nydahl uses Trungpa's tribulations in order to justify the turnaround in his own promiscuous behaviour when entering into a more mellow ménage à trois in the 1990s:

But then Aids arrived on the scene; as a teacher I just had to set an example. There was a well known Buddhist group, Dharmadhatu, whose bisexual teacher knew since 1983 that he was HIV positive. But he didn't tell his students until 1988 and didn't protect them. Some became sick and some died. It was a terrible scandal. When this became public, I knew that something like this must never happen to the Diamond Way. Hence I became more settled. It is going very well with Hannah and Caty [his now deceased wife and his then second intimate partner].⁷⁶

Clearly, the negative experience within Trungpa's Vajradhatu influenced Nydahl's view on his performance of gender and sexuality, while it also seems to have reinforced some of his prejudices against non-heterosexualities.

Nydahl's rather limited capability to comprehend the diversity of human sexualities and gender identities leads one to question if he is thereby limiting insight into the fluidity of reality, which includes gender and sexualities and is crucial for Buddhist thought and can provide many liberating social impulses.⁷⁷ In line with Buddhist fluid interpretation of human identities, Nydahl expresses the view that sexual preference can change, but uses this only to reinforce his hetero-normative stance. He admits, for instance, to being glad whenever one of his students changes his non-heterosexual preference to heterosexuality.⁷⁸ Nydahl assumes that he has only very few gay and lesbian students,⁷⁹ and Diamond Way courses have only marginal LGBT visibility. Still some of Nydahl's closest students are openly gay and travel in his name to his centres throughout the world as so-called International Travelling Teachers.

⁷⁵ See Scherer, 'The Globalization of Tibetan Buddhism', 4-5.

⁷⁶ Author's translations. 'Doch dann kam Aids, und da musste ich als Lehrer einfach ein Beispiel setzen. Es gab eine bekannte buddhistische Gruppe, Dharmadhatu, deren bisexueller Lehrer seit 1983 wusste, dass er HIV-positiv war. Trotzdem hat er bis 1988 seinen Schülern nichts gesagt und sie nicht geschützt. Einige wurden krank und sind gestorben – er selber auch. Es war ein furchtbarer Skandal. Als dies bekannt wurde, habe ich gewusst, dass so etwas niemals dem Diamantweg zustoßen darf. Daher wurde ich bürgerlicher. Es geht sehr gut mit Hannah und Caty' (Zemlicka, 'Ein Interview mit Lama Ole Nydahl', 21), cf. Nydahl, 'Der heiße Thron', 21.

⁷⁷ See Scherer, 'Gender transformed and meta-gendered enlightenment.'

⁷⁸ Zemlicka, 'Ein Interview mit Lama Ole Nydahl', 20.

⁷⁹ Nydahl, 'Was sagt der Buddhismus zu Homosexualität.'

As previously seen, Nydahl's heterosexist and binarist view on gender identity and performance is consistent with the prevalent androcentrism and heterosexism of Tibetan Buddhist orthodoxy. He is clearly not prepared to transfer and adapt Tibetan Buddhist tantric teachings to queer identities – as, for instance, Jeffrey Hopkins did.⁸⁰ He firmly states that tantric sexual union practice is not for gay practitioners.⁸¹ However, it is noteworthy that Nydahl does not transmit these highly advanced practices to any of his students.

Another issue of contention is gay marriage. In those countries which recognize the Diamond Way as a church or official religion (Denmark, Austria, Poland, Hungary and Russia), Nydahl is legally authorized to officiate at weddings. However, he refuses to officiate at same-sex civil partnership ceremonies (which would be legally possible in Denmark and Austria). He also regularly conducts informal Buddhist wedding ceremonies at his courses around the world according to Buddhist tantric (heteronormative) ritual. All these tantric ceremonies are open to heterosexual couples only; however, Nydahl offers and frequently conducts informal partnership blessings for his gay and lesbian students. He explains the difference in treatment of heterosexual and non-heterosexual couples with his own lack of understanding of gendered roles within same-sex relationship. In his view, the embodiment of polar gender roles is central for the tantric rite he uses for heterosexual couples (personal communication, September 2011).

While there is evidence for the interpretation of Nydahl's current views on non-heterosexualities as reluctantly neutral or only mildly homophobic, the hetero-machismo attitude among a large part of his studentship especially in Central and Eastern Europe is still creating a difficult and occasionally openly homo-/transphobic atmosphere in the Diamond Way. This can be exemplified by the fate of a tiny LGBT group, which formed in 2008 on an internal virtual platform, <http://virtualsangha.ning.com>. In its short, two-year existence, it counted only forty-two members (= 0.44 per cent of total members of the Virtual Sangha) and attracted homophobic cyber bullying, pre-emptive self-censoring, displayed discussion strings burdened by queer angst and shame, and was finally removed from this Diamond Way social networking

⁸⁰ J. Hopkins, *Sex, Orgasm, and the Mind of Clear Light: The Sixty-Four Arts of Gay Male Love*, Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books 1998.

⁸¹ O. Nydahl, 'Dakini to żeńska zasada oświecenia' in *Diamantowa Droga* 23 (1999), http://diamantowadroga.pl/dd23/dakini_to_zenska_zasada_oswiecenia, accessed June 2011.

site in 2010. Lost in Kagyu cyberspace, the queer Diamond Way voice seems to have fallen silent.⁸²

Conclusion

The diachronic and synchronic approaches to gender and sexualities in the Diamond Way serve to locate this particular Tibetan Buddhist convert movement between traditionalism and modernism. Nydahl's view on and performance of gender and sexualities are consistent with his propagation of convert Buddhist neo-orthodoxy/praxy. Further, the Diamond Way's hybrid and in part paradoxical responses to modernity illustrate the need to question (or even to queer) the binary of 'modernism vs traditionalism' categorizations of Western Buddhist convert movements and, by extension, of New Religious Movements in the postcolonial context of globalization. Clearly, negotiating issues of gender and sexualities and, more broadly, negotiating religious identities in the contemporary global village and spiritual supermarket creates different shades of institutional and individual hybridity and eclecticism.

Nydahl's choices within the space that both the Tibetan Buddhist tradition and the modern discourses afford to him exhibit the peculiar tension in which the Diamond Way navigates (post-)modernity. This tension is exemplified by Nydahl's combination of sex-positivity and hetero-machismo. Feminist critiques of Buddhism(s) successfully inform contemporary global Buddhist movements (in particular Socially Engaged Buddhism)⁸³ in questions of gender and sexualities. Nydahl's neo-orthodox/neo-orthoprax dharma, on the other hand, moves firmly and rather unimaginatively within traditional Tibetan Buddhist parameters, with the exception that the Diamond Way assumes a decisively sex-positive, non-puritanical position. However, Nydahl's self-proclaimed non-neurotic approach to sex is intermingled with his own overt hetero-machismo and with the pre- or counter-feminist gender stereotyping

⁸² See B. Scherer, 'Queer Voices, Social Media and Neo-orthodox Dharma: A Case Study', paper presented at the *Association for Asian Studies*, Annual Meeting, Honolulu 31 March 2011.

⁸³ See in particular the work of Rita M. Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy*, Albany: SUNY Press 1993; *Soaring and Settling*, London: Continuum 2000; *A Garland of Feminist Reflections*, Berkeley: UCL Press 2009 and Karma Lekshe Tsomo (ed.), *Buddhist Women across Cultures*, Albany: SUNY Press 1999; *Buddhist Women and Social Justice*, Albany: SUNY Press 2004. However, the orientalist perspective of Western feminism has been criticized, e.g., by Wei-Yi Cheng, *Buddhist Nuns in Taiwan and Sri Lanka: a Critique of the Feminist Perspective*, New York: Routledge 2007.

consistent with both his own post-war upbringing in Denmark and traditional Tibetan traditional cultural sentiments. Although Nydahl's teachings on the subject of sexuality can be broadly viewed as sex-affirmative and emancipating, they support and favour hetero-machismo and seem to privilege Nydahl's own gender performance of hyper-masculine hetero-bravado. Nydahl's meandering and squeamishness in LGBT matters exhibit a strained LGBT neutrality or mild homophobia and result in the prevalence of queer invisibility among his students in the Diamond Way.

From the position of 'Buddhist Theology' or Buddhist Critical-constructive Reflection,⁸⁴ Nydahl's self-confessed old-fashioned attitudes and his uneasiness about non-heterosexualities and non-binary gender identities and performances appear as a missed opportunity. In many Buddhist movements in the West, LGBT practitioners successfully claimed and/or created a queer space.⁸⁵ In fact, Queer Theory with its emphasis on the fluidity of identities, ideally converges with Tantric technologies of the Self and the fluid constructions and deconstructions of identity in Tantric Buddhist philosophy and practice. One can argue that acknowledging the kinship between Tantric Buddhist philosophy and Queer Theory, and incorporating queering and queered paradigms into the Buddhist convert discourses, would clearly retain the authenticity of the teachings while adapting Buddhism for the West in a truly inclusive way.

⁸⁴ See R. Jackson and J. Makransky (eds.), *Buddhist Theology*, London: Curzon Press 2000.

⁸⁵ See, e.g., W. Cage, 'Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Buddhist Practitioners' in S. Thumma and E.R. Gray (eds.), *Gay Religion*, Walnut Creek: Altamira Press 2005, 139-151; Roger Corless' articles including 'Coming Out in the *Sangha*: Queer Community in American Buddhism', in C. S. Prebish and K. T. Tanaka (eds.), *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, Berkeley: UCL Press 1998, 253-265; 'Gay Buddhist Fellowship' in C. S. Queen (ed.), *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, Boston: Wisdom 2000, 269-279; and 'Analogue Consciousness Isn't Just for Faeries: Healing the Disjunction between Theory and Practice' in G. Storhoff and J. Whalen-Bridge (eds.), *American Buddhism as a Way of Life*, Albany: SUNY Press 2010, 183-194; and finally the already mentioned anthologies edited by Winston Leyland, *Queer Dharma* and *Queer Dharma 2*.