

2 *gin* of oil within the city,
1 *gar* of herb beer, 5 *ga* of food for the road,
Maš, the "retainer."
They have taken (the above) to Sabum.¹

Similar entries follow these. The date is 'Month of the Festival of Tammuz.'

As there is no reference to viceroy Abušallim's provisions 'for the road,' he may have been coming to Lagas, where the tablet was found. Maš, on the other hand, required provisions, as he was going to Sabum.¹

4. Vicarious pilgrimages.—In some cases these tablets may record vicarious pilgrimages, made at the request of people who, unable or unwilling to leave their homes, sent others to represent them, and possibly to make offerings on their behalf. In all probability these journeys were in parties or caravans.

5. Later instances.—One of the most interesting visits to a holy place is that of Shalmaneser II. to Babylon, as recorded on the Bronze Gates of Balawat discovered by Hormuzd Rassam. This king relates that, after leaving Marduk-šum-iddina, king of Babylon (851 B.C.), he found 'the fulness of his heart,' and Merodach commanded him to go to Babylon and Cuthah, where the king caused offerings to be made. At É-sagila (the temple of Belus in Babylon) he directed the ceremonies and more offerings were made. Afterwards Shalmaneser 'took the road' to Borsippa, and made offerings to Nebo. Entering É-zida (the temple of Nebo at Borsippa), he caused the rites to be conducted reverently, and offered plentifully 'great oxen and fat sheep.' At both Babylon and Borsippa he made drink-offerings, and there were feasts, with food and wine. The result of all this devotion was that the gods regarded Shalmaneser, though an alien king, with joy, and heard his prayer. Two hundred years later (c. 650 B.C.), King Assurbani-apli went to Arbela to supplicate the goddess of war, Ištar of Arbela, for her divine help against the Elamites.

6. Pilgrimages in a private capacity.—These are not always certain—they may have been simply ordinary acts of worship. Thus Meissner's rendering of *ūki* (from *ālāku*, 'to go') as 'my duty'—'I am firm in my duty at É-zida with regard to my father'—makes the possibility that Bêl-nhhu (?) went on a pilgrimage to the temple of Nebo to pray for his father very doubtful. Nevertheless he did visit the temple on his father's behalf:

'The son of the temple [Nebo, the god worshipped there], when I had prayed with regard to thee, set the time for success as being until the 4th day.'

This grace applied not only to his father Kuná, but also to all his people. In no. 865 of R. P. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London, 1902) the writers' statement that 'he [the king] entered Babylon—he kissed the ground before Merodach and Zêr-panitum' (i.e. in the temple of Belus) likewise implies at least a turning aside to perform a religious duty. But more to the point, apparently, is the following (from Babylon):

'Letter from Marduk-ibni to Šišku, my brother. May Merodach and Zêr-panitum promise the prosperity and the preservation of my brother. Behold, Iddina-Bêl has gone up with me to Šunu—we made an offering there with Nergal-iddina, his brother. I am looking after your interests.'

Here, again, we have (to all appearance) the combination of business with religious duties.

7. The legend of the 'Mother of Sin'.—This is a bilingual record in which, after describing the misfortunes of the 'royal maid,' as the 'sinful

¹ As an illustration of these journeys in connexion with temples, that in which the priests (of Sippar), c. 1850 B.C., give a ½ shekel of silver to buy grain for a journey may, perhaps, be quoted (A. Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1909, no. 481, in vol. ii. p. 134). The amount was the gift of the chief singer (*náru rabú*).

mother' is called, the text, in a fresh paragraph, continues:

'Come, let us go to him, let us go to him!
As for me, to his city, let us go to him!
To the city, to the wonders, let us go to him!

To the city, to the city, to Babylon's foundation,
At the command Ištar gave,
The maid Ama-namtaga (the Mother of Sin) passed through the dust.'

Here follows a long account of Ištar's punishments, from which it would appear that not only did the 'sinful mother' make a pilgrimage to the holy places Kulliab, Erech's foundation, Zazaba's foundation, Hursag-kalama at Kis, and É-tur-kalama ('the house of the world's repose'), but she had also to do penance and submit to Ištar's punishments, performed by her servants and ministers. The record is unfortunately incomplete, but it is probable that the deity referred to by the pronoun was Tammuz, Ištar's spouse, whom the 'sinful mother' had offended in some way.

Though the records are apparently scanty and doubtful, the journeys which pilgrimages imply were far from uncommon in Assyria and Babylonia, as the fragments referring to the benefit to be gained from visits to sacred places seem to show.

LITERATURE.—M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1905 ff., i. 73, 94; T. G. Pinches, *The Amherst Tablets*, i., London, 1908, nos. 70-72, 74, 76, 77, 115, 120, etc.; *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*, no. 1915, nos. 16, 79-81, 84, 85, 91, 92, etc.; *JIP*, 2nd ser., iv. [1890] 77-79; P. Jensen, 'Assyrisch-babylon. Mythen und Epen,' *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iv. [Berlin, 1900] 116 ff.

T. G. PINCHES.

PILGRIMAGE (Buddhist).—In the earliest order and scheme of Buddhist monastic life, if the sacred books of the Tripitaka may be taken to reflect faithfully and in general the teaching of the Founder, there was no recognition of the duty or advantage of pilgrimage, and no sanction given to the practice. Gautama Buddha neither forbade nor enjoined his followers to imitate that which Hindu example must already have made sufficiently familiar—the journeyings to near or distant shrines for spiritual benefit and to render homage. It was impossible that with his views and teaching with regard to the future life he should have allowed the existence or recognized the validity of a habit founded upon the belief in the continuity and permanence of existence after death. The slight evidence available, however, indicates that very soon after the *parinirvāna*, and probably in connexion with the distribution of the relics and the building of memorial *stupas* over them, the practice arose among the adherents and friends of the Buddha of visiting the places thus consecrated by the presence of the earthly remains of their honoured teacher and guide. From this it was an easy step to a practice of pilgrimage which endeavoured at one and the same time to secure personal advantage from a visit to the shrine and to honour the saint whose name and fame were there commemorated. Whatever its origin, the habit of pilgrimage is and for many centuries has been wide-spread in Buddhism, not only in the Mahāyāna school, where it is most prevalent, but also in the Hinayāna of the south.

1. Origin.—It appears probable therefore that Buddhist usage in this respect is, in the first instance at least, imitative of Hindu practice, and grew up independently of any direct command. It is perhaps not without significance also that the Pāli form of the Sanskrit word for pilgrimage (*pravrajyā*, Pāli *pabbajjā*, lit. 'a going forth,' 'retirement from the world') should be the technical term for admission or 'ordination' to the first grade of the Buddhist monkhood. The pilgrim (*pravrajita*, *pravrajaka*, Pāli *pabbajita*) is defined in the *Dhammapada* as one who has abandoned

the world (X. i. 80); and in an earlier verse (i. 75) it is declared that the heedless pilgrim, so far from securing good, only scatters more widely the dust of his (unsubdued) passions. In these and other passages of the early literature there is no direct mention of any aim or purpose other than that of retirement from the world to assume the rank and status of a member of the Sangha. There was certainly, however, in the writer's mind the practice, wide-spread and familiar in his time, of a wandering ascetic life which was not entirely aimless, but contemplated visits to sacred temples or shrines as the profitable and meritorious end of its often toilsome and prolonged journeyings.

In all probability also the injunction laid upon Buddhist monks to adopt a wandering mode of existence without settled home or habitation contributed to the facility with which they adopted the Hindu practice of pilgrimage to the sacred places associated with their religious history and faith.¹ Only in the season of the rains, in Vassa, were they prohibited from travelling about, lest injury should be done to living creatures (*Mahāvagga*, iii.). At all other periods of the year the Buddhist monk was to be 'homeless,' possessed of no stated or fixed residence; and a habit or passion for wandering taken up as a religious duty by men to whom the idea of pilgrimage was not unfamiliar, and among a people whose nomadic mode of existence lay probably not many centuries in the past, readily developed into the practice of travel for a religious purpose to a formal and definite destination. The institution of Vassa, with its prohibition of travel, would necessarily place difficulties in the way of continuous or lengthy pilgrimages to distant shrines. In practice, however, the difficulty does not seem to have been felt. The early books and narratives, especially of the Chinese pilgrims, record prolonged journeyings in which there is no reference to interruption or delay caused by the observance of rules for retirement in the season of the rains.

In the later Buddhist literature of both the Northern and the Southern schools references to pilgrimage and the sacred places whither the pilgrims resort are not infrequent. In the *Buddha Charita* the statement recurs that purification from sin may be attained by dwelling or bathing at sacred places;² and these holy centres of pilgrimage are ladders to heaven.³ The extravagant assertion is even ventured that the Buddha himself created millions of ascetics,⁴ whose wanderings are more or less indefinite pilgrimages from shrine to shrine. Holy streams and *tirthas* are recognized in the earliest homes of Buddhism, in part no doubt derived from Hindu custom, but partly associated with Buddhist history and religious origins.⁵ Elsewhere right-minded and pious Buddhists are said to have their places of pilgrimage;⁶ it is a pious duty to build *charityas* (Pāli *cetiya*) in honour of Buddhas,⁷ where their relics are preserved, and miracles are wrought in the presence of the assembled worshippers.⁸

In the later Mahāyāna literature therefore, and in writings of the Southern school that have come under the influence of this type of thought, the Buddha himself is represented as declaring the sacred character of shrines and other places associated

with the lives of holy men and inculcating the virtue and duty of pilgrimage thereto.¹ It is hardly probable that this feature of his teaching is original. It bears rather the impress of a later practice, introduced from ancient Hindu usage, and in harmony with the natural desire to maintain communion with and do honour to the dead; and is part of the esoteric and mystical teaching which, according to Mahāyānist belief and assertion, was formulated by Gautama during the later years of his life. There is no real evidence in support of this; and in regard to the doctrine of the life after death and kindred ideas, or those which imply the possibility of relations between the living and the dead and the individual consciousness and capacity for good or evil of the latter, it is unlikely that the direct and limited teaching of his mature life, in which he refused to be drawn into discussion or to make affirmation concerning aught beyond this present world, was later exchanged for positive doctrine and directions based upon entirely different views. The uncertainty of date of the several works and strata of the Buddhist literature must not be overlooked. The Pāli Tripitaka does appear, however, to make good in most respects at least its claim to represent most faithfully the convictions and doctrine which Gautama set forth to his disciples.

2. Indian places of pilgrimage.—It is probable that the earliest centres of pilgrimage were the places most closely associated with the life and teaching of the Founder. Four of these, viz. Kapilavastu, Kuśanagara, Buddh Gayā, and Benares, were pre-eminent, and for centuries continued to be the goal to which the steps of Buddhist pilgrims were turned; two of them are venerated and resorted to by numerous Buddhist worshippers at the present day, who bring offerings from the most distant lands. Testimony to the reverential regard in which these and many other places were held is found especially in the writings of the Chinese pilgrims. In the Lumbini Grove at Kapilavastu (*q. v.*) was the birth-place of Gautama Buddha. Buried in the dense *tarai* districts of S. Nepal, the lost site of the town was re-discovered in the year 1895, and identified by a pillar and inscription recording the visit of the emperor Asoka. As a centre of pilgrimage it has for a long time been inaccessible and is so at the present time, and thus awakens little interest in Buddhists themselves. Kuśanagara (*q. v.*) also, the scene of the death of the Buddha, was visited by the same Chinese monks, to pay their homage at the sacred site. According to their testimony, Kuśanagara lay at no great distance east of Kapilavastu. The exact site, however, has not been identified.

The two remaining places that shared in all probability with the traditional scenes of Gautama's birth and *parinirvāna* the veneration of the earliest Buddhists, and which have maintained to the present day their popularity and sacred character with thousands of Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of the Buddhist world, are Buddh Gayā, six or seven miles south of Gayā (*q. v.*) in W. Bengal, where, seated under the Bo-tree in deep meditation, Gautama attained insight and the bliss of perfect knowledge; and Benares (*q. v.*), probably the most ancient sacred city in the world, the scene of the first deliverance of his message, when in the Deer-Park (Isipatana), in his first sermon addressed to the five ascetics in whose company he had previously practised fruitless austerities, he 'set in motion the wheel of the law,' and founded 'the highest kingdom of truth.'² These places possess an equal sanctity in the eyes of Hindus, and they are sought out by multitudes of pilgrim worshippers of both religions.

¹ Cf. *Mahāvagga*, i. 11. 1: 'Go ye, O Bhikkhus, wander for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of gods and men.' Then follow directions to preach, and the promise that he will himself preach the doctrine.

² *Buddha Charita*, ii. 37; the thought and even the phraseology are of Hindu conception and origin.

³ *Ib.* vii. 40.

⁴ *Ib.* xvii. 24 f.

⁵ *Ib.* x. 2, xv. 78. Those who bathe and offer their worship in the holy river and reverence the *cetiya* of the three stones become great-souled *bodhisattvas*, and obtain *nirvāna*.

⁶ *Śālistambasūtra-Sūtra*, v. 16 f.

⁷ *Pañcābhāṣā-Sūtra*, v. 27 f.

⁸ *Milinda-pāṭha*, iv. viii. 51 f.; cf. *Buddha Charita*, xv. 62 ff.

¹ Cf. *Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta*, v. 16-22: 'There are four places which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and awe, . . . the place at which the believing man can say, "Here the Tathāgata was born," . . . "Here the Tathāgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight," . . . "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata," . . . "Here the Tathāgata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind," . . . And there will come to such spots believers, brethren and sisters of the order, or devout men and devout women, . . . and they who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage shall be reborn after death, when the body shall have died, in the happy realms of heaven.'

² *Mahāvagga*, i. 6. 30.

At the death of the Buddha the relics of his body were collected from the funeral pyre, and divided into eight portions. These were distributed to the various claimants for their possession, and from them memorial *stūpas* were erected for their commemoration. The pieces thus made sacred became centres of pilgrimage, which attracted devout pilgrims from far and near, and were visited by the Chinese monks in the course of their travels through N. India.

Historical visits.—(a) *Asoka*.—The earliest historical reference to pilgrimage undertaken with religious motive is contained in the edicts of the great emperor Asoka (q.v.) in the 3rd cent. B.C. of our era. In the midst of his zealous care for the welfare of his subjects he found time and opportunity for extensive journeyings to the sacred centres of the Buddhist faith within his dominions. His chief motive was confirming and propagating the faith by his personal visits and missions he erected at these places numerous *stūpas* containing sacred relics, repairing those which had fallen into neglect or decay. For their maintenance also he provided revenues, and for his own self, according to the tradition, undertook the support and sustenance of 64,000 monks. The first of his pilgrim travels northward was the visit to the site of Kapilavastu; and here, in addition to the erection of a commemorative pillar with inscriptions, he repaired or rebuilt a *stūpa* in memory of Kanakamuni (q.v.), one of Gautama's predecessors of a bygone age. This enlargement or reconstruction he is said to have accomplished for the first time. In any case his experience and action are a sufficient proof of the existence in his day, and a considerable time previously, of sacred buildings associated with the life and deeds of holy men and teachers of old, which had already become centres or goals of pilgrimage. Certainly the visit of Kanakamuni was not a solitary instance of a commemorative erection, where offerings were presented and homage paid. There were many others, at least in the sacred country of N. India, and probably elsewhere. The edicts of Asoka clearly indicate that in his day a spirit was considered to attach to visits to such spots, and the names and memory of those in whose honour the *stūpas* had been raised were revered with veneration. The date and circumstances of his visit therefore and the motives that prompted it justify the conclusion that sacred pilgrimages became a recognized observance of the Buddhist faith not long after the death of its founder.

(b) *Fā-Hian*.—Both Kapilavastu and the scene of the Buddha's death at Kusanagara were visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fā-Hian and others in the following centuries. The former site he describes as already deserted in his day, and only by a few monks and some poor people, and it has remained ever since in the state of desolation. In the course of his travels Fā-Hian visited all the important shrines and cities in the north of India; he travelled to Ceylon, and paid his homage to the sacred relics there, including the tooth of the Buddha preserved in the island. Everywhere he found numerous monasteries with learned and pious monks; and at the sacred centres were great companies of Buddhist devotees intent on showing honour to the dead Buddha by their self-sacrificing pilgrimages.

(c) *Hsüan Tsang*.—The most important and famous Chinese traveller and pilgrim was Hsüan Tsang (Yuan Chwang (q.v.)), who followed in the footsteps of Fā-Hian at an interval of rather more than two centuries. His name and fame still survive in India, where his memory is revered as that

of a tireless working teacher and saint. His travels extended over sixteen years from A.D. 629 to 645. In these laborious journeys he covered a considerably wider area in India itself than his predecessor, but he did not visit Ceylon. He appears, moreover, to have been more interested in the present condition of Buddhism, in its doctrine, practice, and literature, than in its relics or holy places of pilgrimage, and to have been more impressed by its vitality and influence, and by the conflicts of the schools, than by the crowds of pilgrims. He visited all the great centres of the Buddhist faith, and makes frequent reference to the revival of Brahmanism, which even in Buddh Gaya had to a considerable extent supplanted its rival.

At Buddh Gaya also Hsüan Tsang describes the great temple built by Asoka, 160 ft. or more in height, of eleven storeys, each of which bore golden statues of the Buddha. Probably this building was erected on the site of a more ancient monument that soon after the death of the Buddha was placed there to commemorate the spot on which he attained emancipation and perfect wisdom. The ancient building has been many times reconstructed and restored, and the pyramidal temple with its many images that now occupies the site is rarely without its pilgrim visitors from distant Buddhist countries, who present their prayers and offerings at its sacred shrines. It is surrounded by numerous *stūpas*, ancient and modern, and is as attractive and sacred a spot to Hindu devotees as to those of the Buddhist faith.

The distinctive feature of the enclosure is the ancient Bo-tree, the sacred *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*), under the shadow of an ancestor of which in this place the Buddha established his seat. There are several *pīpal*-trees surrounding the temple, most of them not improbably descended from the original Bo-tree. The pilgrims lay their offerings and pour their libations of oil and scents at the foot of the oldest, which they regard as the identical tree of Gautama, and affix gold-leaf to the stem, and to the low stone steps by which it is surrounded.¹ It is in his account of the Bo-tree that Hsüan Tsang records the tradition of the Buddha walking on the water.

Second only to Buddh Gaya in its sacred associations is Sarnāth (q.v.), three or four miles north of Benares. It is believed to be the site of the Deer-Park (Isipatana, Skr. *ṛṣipatana*) where Gautama delivered his first address to the Hindu ascetics. The ancient *stūpa* on the site is probably the same as was seen by Hsüan Tsang in the 7th century. Fā-Hian also found a monument existing there at the time of his visit. Recent excavations at Sarnāth, conducted by the Government of India, have resulted in the discovery of numerous *stūpas*, shrines, and sculptured stones of different epochs, including two pillars erected by the emperor Asoka and many figures of the Buddha. Evidence also has been found of the existence of monastic buildings and settlements of monks at least as early as the 4th and 5th centuries of our era. The pilgrim history of the site is long and extensive, and if its record could be recovered would be of the greatest interest.²

4. Other pilgrim resorts in N. India.—A mere enumeration of the local centres of pilgrimage in N. India would not be to much profit, and a description of them all is not possible here. The narratives of the Chinese monks who travelled in India are full of notices of the sacred places where the pilgrims congregated from near and far, to

¹ See art. GAYĀ, vol. vi. p. 181 ff., and Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 390-401.
² See art. BENARES, vol. ii. p. 46; Monier-Williams, p. 401 ff.; E. B. Havell, *Benares, the Sacred City*, London, 1907.

worship the relics of the saints and to pay homage at their shrines. The impression gained is that such centres of pilgrimage were much more numerous in the early centuries than at the present day, and they were naturally more densely thronged at a time when India was to so large an extent Buddhist in faith. At or near Pāṭaliputra (Patna [*q.v.*]), his capital city, Aśoka built the first of the 84 *stūpas* which he is said to have erected over relics of the Buddha, and the town is described as containing monasteries and hospitals with thousands of Buddhist monks and pilgrims. According to Fā-Hian, at Srāvastī, the ancient capital of Oudh, identified with the extensive ruins at Sāhet Māhet in the Gonda District,¹ the first sandal-wood image of Gautama was erected; and there also stood the convent or monastery of Jetavana, an early gift by a rich merchant to the community, sanctified by the frequent presence and preaching of the Master. Later, in the time of Hiuen Tsiang, the town and monasteries were deserted and ruined. Some of the most sacred sites and pilgrim resorts were to be found at Rājagṛha (see COUNCILS [Buddhist], vol. iv. p. 182), the first metropolis of Buddhism, as it has been called, where monasteries and *stūpas* were most numerous, and where some of the ashes of Gautama's body were enshrined. Vaiśālī (*ib.* p. 183), the scene of the second Buddhist Council, Nālanda (*q.v.*), the famed university town, Ayodhyā, most holy ground to Buddhists and Hindus alike, where the Buddha is believed to have preached for many years, and numerous other places were renowned centres of pilgrim resort during the period of Buddhist ascendancy in India. Few of these have retained their attraction for Buddhist pilgrims at the present day. In the farther north-west, near Peshāwar, much interest was aroused among Buddhists a few years ago by the identification of the relic mound raised by the king Kaniṣka (*q.v.*) on the spot where four hundred years before the Buddha had stood and prophesied of his coming and reign. A few fragments of bone were discovered within a relic casket, which were generally accepted as authentic remains of Gautama himself. They were transported with much ceremony to Burma, and have been preserved in a monastery at Mandalay.

5. Pilgrim movement beyond India.—Within the more recent centuries the stream of Buddhist pilgrimage has been to a large extent diverted from India, and the sanctuaries of the country have passed into other hands or fallen into oblivion and ruin. Buddh Gayā alone has maintained its supremacy and attraction, and is still the centre and most holy place to which the heart and eyes of the Buddhist pilgrim turn with faith and affection. Outside the country of its birth the two great lands of Southern Buddhism, Ceylon and Burma, compete to draw visitors to their sacred shrines. There is constant movement and interchange between countries so closely united in sympathy and religious belief.

(a) *Ceylon.*—In Ceylon the Temple of the Buddha's Tooth at Kandy is unique in its claims on the reverence and devotion of the pilgrim. Small and unimposing as the building is, compared with the great temples of Japan, it enshrines a relic of the Buddha, recognized and honoured by all his followers of every land. The Tooth is preserved in an inner chamber of the temple, resting on a golden lotus-flower within nine caskets of gold, and is exhibited by the priests to pilgrims and visitors. The original tooth is said to have been taken to Kalinga from the funeral pyre of Gautama, and to have been kept in the temple

¹ The identification was made by A. Cunningham, and has been confirmed by recent discoveries.

at Puri for a period of about eight hundred years. Later it was transferred to Ceylon and S. India and again to Ceylon, where it is said to have been burnt by the Portuguese in order to divert the people from idolatrous worship. The priests at Kandy maintain that the true relic was concealed, and an imitation substitute given over to the Portuguese rulers and destroyed by them. The existing bone is not a human tooth, and probably not of human origin (see art. KANDY, vol. vii. p. 651 f.).

There are numerous temples and *vihāras* in Ceylon with their congregations of monks and worshippers, but the most celebrated and frequented place of pilgrimage is Adam's Peak (*q.v.*), with its sacred foot-print (*śrī-pāda*) in the rock at the summit. The worship of foot-prints is universal in the East; Muhammadans, Hindus, Jains, and others take part in this veneration, and the practice is certainly of very early date, foot-prints of the Buddha being found on the sculptured stones at Bharhut and Sāñchi as well as in various other places in India, and also in Siam, Tibet, Burma, and elsewhere. The hole or mark in the rock on Adam's Peak is the most sacred of all, and is visited by pilgrims of many faiths. Hindus believe it to be the foot-print of Siva, Christians of St. Thomas on his apostolic journey of evangelization to the island, Muhammadans of Adam or, according to others, of Ali. The pilgrims of Buddhist faith, however, greatly predominate in numbers.

(b) *Burma.*—Except in these two centres, the spirit and practice of pilgrimage are little effective in Ceylon. It is otherwise in Burma, the rival home and stronghold of Southern Buddhism. The pilgrim habit plays a much larger part in the life of the people, but, in entire accordance with their character, is undertaken less seriously, and is more a matter of sociability and holiday-making than of religious obligation or the discharge of religious duty. The custom, of more or less formal attendance at sacred shrines and fulfilment of the appropriate rites and engagements of the sacred seasons is universal; and the monks themselves connive at and even take part in the merriment and relaxation which follow upon the satisfaction of the claims of religion. The most important and celebrated of all is the Shwe Dagon pagoda at Rangoon, where crowds of pilgrims from Japan, China, and Korea jostle with worshippers from Ceylon and Siam and the more numerous natives of the country. On the various platforms of the temple are hundreds of images of the Buddha, gilded or in stone, and the summit of the building rises to the height of St. Paul's Cathedral and is crowned with the *tī*, the sacred symbol of the Buddhist faith. There are here preserved, according to the traditional belief, eight hairs of Gautama, and various relics also of the three preceding Buddhas, including the staff of Kaśyapa and the robe of Kanakamuni.

Burma is full of *dāgabas* (pagodas), many of them deserted and in ruins, but others centres of attraction to a greater or less distance throughout the surrounding country, and at the festival seasons full of a rich and varied pilgrim life. Perhaps the most renowned next to the Rangoon pagoda are those at Pegu and Prome. Within the walls of the ancient capital of Pagan are the remains of nearly a thousand such buildings; and at Mandalay itself are many *dāgabas* and temples unrivalled in their beauty and perennial fame. In the courtyard or precincts of most of these buildings is a sacred foot-print of the Buddha, which in the case of the more famous and accessible of them is rarely without its offering of fruit or flowers.

(c) *China*.—Chinese Buddhism in general has been considerably affected and modified by the native Taoist beliefs of the country; and the pilgrim customs and practice of China are in most instances, as regards both their observances and their sacred centres of pilgrimage, the survivals of earlier Taoist usage. The most sacred shrines where the pilgrims congregate are in origin antecedent to the introduction of Buddhism, in the same way as in the Near East Christian sanctuaries have been taken over and converted into Muhammadan places of worship. The hermits also, whose spirit and aspirations are in all lands closely akin to those of the itinerant pilgrims, have in China adopted the haunts and homes of their Taoist forerunners. The most holy and frequented centres of pilgrimage are the four mountain shrines of Omishan in the west in the province of Szechwan, Putoshan in the east on a sacred island in the Chusan archipelago, Wutaishan in the north in the province of Shansi, and Chiuhuashan in Nganhwei in the centre near the Yangtze river. The most popular and celebrated of these is perhaps the first named, Mount Omi, where the temples on the summit of the mountain are dedicated to Pu-hsien, the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra, an ancient bronze image of whom in one of the largest monasteries, seated on an elephant, is believed to date from the 7th century.¹ The monks of Putoshan are a sincere and religious folk who welcome yearly to their island home thousands of pilgrim-worshippers, who cross from the mainland to pay their homage at the shrines dedicated to Kwanyin, the goddess of mercy. The sanctuary on the Yangtze is the least regarded of the four, and in the Taiping rebellion many of its temples were sacked and destroyed. In the temples of Wutaishan the presiding deity and object of worship is Wenshu, the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī; situated near the Mongol border, the shrines are as much frequented by Mongol worshippers as by Chinese, and Tibetan emblems and practices are numerous.

There are many other centres of pilgrimage throughout China, often of more than local reputation; and the pilgrims journey for long distances, making offerings and burning incense at the shrines by the way. For the most part they travel in companies, in this respect following the example of the early travellers to India. Solitary ascetics, however, are not uncommon, whose journeying is a perpetual self-inflicted penance. The most celebrated monasteries are in the province of Chekiang, the stronghold of Buddhism in China. It is probably true that in every direction the hold of the ancient faith is slowly weakening, and the practice of pilgrimage is likely to fall gradually into desuetude with the extension of modern systems of education and the decay of Buddhist temples and rites.²

(d) *Tibet*.—In Tibet the most important centres of pilgrimage, where the sacred temples and shrines are to be found, are at Lhasa, the capital of the country, and at Tashi-hlungpo, the residence of the Tashi or Pañchen Lāma. The latter bears the higher repute for sanctity, for the office and functions of the Dalai Lāma at Lhasa have been to so great an extent intermingled and contaminated with political duties and intrigue that the sacredness of his person as an object of reverence has to a certain extent suffered eclipse. His misfortunes and exile during the last few years can hardly have raised his reputation in the eyes of his countrymen. Pilgrims, however, from all countries

where Lamaism holds sway turn their steps to the capital in great numbers to worship the incarnate Buddha, and to pay their devotion at the numerous sacred shrines. The quiet of Tashi-hlungpo, the 'Mount of Glory,' is undisturbed by the movements of politics, and the great temple and surrounding districts are favourite places of retirement for those who have finally renounced the world and its cares. The person and character of the present Tashi Lāma, who, as an incarnation of the *bodhisattva* Amitābha, receives the worship of all Tibetans, have made a most favourable impression on all Europeans who have come into contact with him.

Tibet is the most priest-ridden country in the world; and of its 3000 or more monasteries none is without its pilgrim visitants, the number of whom varies according to the reputation and accessibility of the temple-shrine. Itinerating bands of Lāmas also of Tibetan and Mongolian race are to be met with outside the country itself, in Central Asia and on the borders of India. Urga in N. Mongolia, the residence of the third Grand Lāma, known as the Bogdo or 'Saint' Lāma, is perhaps the most sacred place in the eyes of the Mongols. The Lāma himself, however, bears an evil reputation for worldliness and immorality. Mongol pilgrims come to worship at his feet and attend the festivals. There are numerous other centres of Lāmaist devotion in Mongolia and China, and the Grand Lāma at Peking is recognized and revered throughout all the countries where a Buddhism of this type prevails.

(e) *Korea and Siam*.—Neither Korea nor Siam, the two chief homes of the Buddhist faith other than those to which reference has already been made, adds materially to the history and records of Buddhist pilgrimage. Korean pilgrims in no great numbers make their way to the sacred places of Mongolia, N. China, and Tibet; but their native land contains no sanctuary of wide repute which attracts the worshipper from afar. In Siam, although the monasteries and temples are thronged at the many and popular festivals, and reverence is paid by all at the shrines, the festive seasons are occasions for friendly intercourse and conviviality, and there is little, as far as can be judged, of the true pilgrim spirit. Nor do Siamese monks make a habit of journeying overseas to the sacred shrines of other lands, although they may be found occasionally at Rangoon, and in the past at least have visited and exercised much influence on the Buddhist thought and observance of Ceylon.

6. *Summary*.—A brief summary, therefore, of pilgrim usage and wont in Buddhism would describe it as an almost universal practice, held in the highest esteem, which in all probability was adopted soon after the death of Gautama Buddha, the principal motive being reverence for his person and for the places where the relics of his cremated body were believed to have been preserved. To a certain extent also, which it is impossible exactly to estimate, his disciples were influenced by a more or less conscious desire to follow on the lines of ancient Hindu custom. With the earlier Hindu practice of pilgrimage they were familiar; and they seem to have wished to break as little as possible with ancestral usage. Whether the Buddha himself by his word enjoined or sanctioned the habit the uncertainty as to the dates and history of the written records makes it impracticable to decide. It is hardly probable or quite in harmony with what is known of his character and teaching to suppose that he did. If, however, the contention of the Mahāyāna school is justified that in his later life he taught a mystical and esoteric doctrine entirely different from that of his earlier years as expounded in the Pāli canonical books,

¹ See A. J. Little, *Mount Omi and Beyond*, London, 1901, p. 63 ff.

² For the pilgrim practice of Japan see art. PILGRIMAGE (Japanese).