

Faxian and the Establishment of the Pilgrimage Tradition of *Qiufa* (Dharma-searching)

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Abstract: The present article starts by evoking various forms of pilgrimage in major world religions and the religious needs that could be fulfilled through pilgrimage, including purification of the soul, communion with the divine and worship of sacred lands. Under this general context, the article delves into pilgrimage in Chinese Buddhism regarding its spread into China, and its rise and historical development. Faxian, as the first India-bound Chinese Buddhist who wrote a travelogue, exerted clear influences on later pilgrims as an exemplary pilgrim. In particular, we should pay attention to Faxian's intention of pilgrimage, which bears on the search of canonical *Vinaya* texts rather than the fulfilment of abstract religious needs such as salvation. After Faxian, numerous pilgrims have undertaken pilgrimages to the Western Regions, including Xuanzang, Yijing and monks recorded in *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 by Yijing 義淨 and *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 by the Japanese monk Ennin 圓仁. Regardless of the historical reality, we could at least observe, on the textual level, that *qiufa* (the search of Dharma) represents the main objective for Chinese pilgrims. This

characteristic sets Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage apart from other religions and even from Tibetan Buddhism, for which *qiufa* is never a common goal. Does this imply that *qiufa* was the mainstream form of pilgrimage in Chinese Buddhism and in other Buddhist traditions in East Asia influenced by Chinese Buddhism (e.g. Korean and Japanese Buddhism)? Could there be a difference between an elite and a non-elite form of pilgrimage? The present article will investigate the influence of the *qiufa* tradition that was inspired by Faxian's travelogue; and through this discussion, reveal some traits about Chinese Buddhism in general.

I. Pilgrimage: What is it for?

Be it a local cult or an institutionalized religion, as long as a group is deemed sacred by its followers, it can be associated with certain locations. This could be a place where the founder or the early disciples travelled, performed miracles or experienced transformations; or a place significant for the doctrine or other elements of that religion. Throughout history, the sacred status accorded to such places has attracted a great number of followers who, through rituals or practices, would attempt to enter into communion with the site. We can find this phenomenon in medieval Europe, but also in Far East and pre-Columbian America. It is a religious phenomenon common to humankind and present in every social group that has reached a certain degree of development.¹ Literature is also brimming with references to sacred sites and their legends. *The Canterbury Tales* by Geoffrey Chaucer (1342–1400)² or *Pilgrim's Progress* penned by John Bunyan (1628–1688) are just two examples. In this last work, the protagonist undertakes a pilgrimage that symbolize the spiritual purification of Christianity, as the protagonist experiences repentance, conversion, and eventually redemption.³ For modern scholars, these sites are valu-

¹ Turner, *Image*, xxix–xxx.

² For more on this topic in Chinese, please see Huang, *Kanteboli gushi ji*.

³ *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a Christian allegory and one of the earliest Western

able sources to study the ritual, doctrine and history of a religion.⁴ In China, for instance, mountains are a common object of worship for Buddhists, Daoists and folk religious followers.⁵ By studying their behaviours, especially through anthropological methods, we can tap into a new perspective to study the ancient pilgrimage from China to India. We can also use this new perspective in our reading of the pilgrimage writing and discover nuances that we are prone to ignore.

I.1 Faxian and His Legacies

Foreign missionaries from the Indian subcontinent played a vital role in transmitting Buddhism to China, but Chinese Buddhists had also been travelling in the reverse direction, namely, towards Central

novels translated into Chinese. It played an important role in the transmission of Christianity during the late Qing period. For the studies of its Chinese translation, see Wu, *Yingguo chuanjiaoshi. The Pilgrim's Progress* also bears a number of similarities with the Chinese classic *Journey to the West*. For comparative studies, see Chen, *Pingxing bijiao*. Also see Pang, *Jingshen zhihui*.

⁴ There is plenty of research in Chinese that bears on the Christian and Middle-Eastern pilgrimage: Huang, *Tanwei*; Wang, *Chaosheng xing*; Zhang, *Shehui gengyuan*; Jia, *Cishan yuanzhu*, chapter one. There are relatively few studies that compare Buddhist pilgrimage with the pilgrimage in Western European and Middle Eastern religions, but there are comparative studies that involve Asian folk religions, such as: Huang, *Chaosheng yu jinxiang*. For Buddhist pilgrimage among Yunnan ethnical minorities, see Zhang and Gao, *Jinggu 'foji'*.

⁵ In the past decade, there has been an increasing amount of research on popular rituals, including incense-offering at sacred mountains. For instance: Zhang, *Jingxiang*. On the mountain worship in the same area and its characteristics, see Wu, *Miaofeng shan*. Zhang, *Wubui Yanjiu*; Zhang, *Zhongguo shehui jiegou*. For the incense-offering in Central China, see Can, *Jinxiang zhi lu*. For pilgrimage rituals in Tai Mountain, see Meng, *Dili*; Liu, *Miaohui*. For pilgrimage rituals in Southern Fujian, see Fan and Lin, *Ming Tai gongmiao*; Lin, *Mazu*; Yao, *Mazu*. For the mountain incense-offering in E'mei Mountain in Southwest China, see the studies on the incense fair in Baoguo Monastery, included in Fan, *E'mei shan*.

Asia and India, in search of the Buddhist teachings. Zhu Shixing 朱士行 (203–282),⁶ a monk from China proper, is the earliest recorded Chinese pilgrim who reached Central Asia or India. According to the anonymous *Fangguang jing ji* 放光經記 (Record on *Sutra of the Emission of Light*), Zhu Shixing travelled to the Kingdom of Khotan in 260 in his quest for the ninety-volume *Fangguang banruo jing* 放光般若經 [Light-Emitting Prajñā Sūtra].⁷ It is noteworthy that Zhu Shixing seems keener on seeking Buddhist scriptures than visiting sacred sites. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 observantly pointed out that this peculiarity about Zhu Shixing's journey may have influenced the future Buddhists—at least certain groups of Buddhists—in the way they perform pilgrimages.⁸

As Tang Yongtong suggested, Zhu Shixing was the original paragon who inspired later Buddhist elites to travel to India and search for Buddhist scriptures. The figure with an even greater influence, however, was Faxian 法顯 (trad. 337–ca. 423) born a century after Zhu Shixing. Let us now look at Faxian's pilgrimage. In the process, I want to point out some features about his pilgrimage that have thus far been somehow overlooked.

We know little about Faxian's family background.⁹ It is said

⁶ Zhu Shixing is a monk but is not known for his monastic name, because early monastics did not yet have the tradition of acquiring a monastic name in China. See Yan, *Faming*, 88. For Zhu Shixing's biography, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2149, 55: 7.47c11–25.

⁷ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2149, 55: 7.47c11–25. For Zhu Shixing's achievement, see Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 86–87.

⁸ Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 86–87. Tang Yongtong writes, 'Shixing is called "fofa zhe" (a man of Dharma) because of his scholarly achievement. He did not follow the tradition of the Eastern Han Dynasty [that emphasized] fasting and rituals. Four hundred years later, Xuanzang disregarded the danger and travelled to the West in pursuit of *Shiqi di lun* (Skt. *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra*). [Shixing and Xuanzang] differed in their achievements but their spirit and aspiration indeed match with each other.'

⁹ For Faxian's biographical sources, see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2149, 55: 15., 111b–112b. Also see *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 3.337b–338b. For Faxian's

that he entered the monastery at the age of three and became fully ordained at twenty. Faxian's life would have been quite uneventful if not for his great journey to India and the adventurous episode recorded in his biography.¹⁰ We also know from his travelogue¹¹ that he went to India because he 'lamented over the inadequacy of *Vinaya* texts [in China]' 慨律藏殘闕.¹² In other words, Faxian shared a similar sense of mission with Zhu Shixing, in that both were searching for a particular collection of Buddhist texts.

Tang Yongtong proposed to divide the early pilgrimages into four categories: the pilgrims searching for Buddhist texts (e.g. Zhi Faling 支法領 [active: 392–418]); those who aspired to study after great Indian masters (e.g. Yu Falan 于法蘭, Zhiyan 智嚴); the pilgrims with a goal to visit sacred sites (e.g. Baoyun 寶雲, Zhimeng 智猛), or those who wanted to invite masters to China to spread the Dharma (e.g. Zhi Faling)¹³. We can simply conflate four categories into two: the search for teachings (either through Buddhist text or discipleship) and the worship of sacred sites. In Faxian's case, if we disregard his occasional visits to sacred sites in India, he would roughly fall into the first category.

The first kind of pilgrimage has inspired generations of Buddhists.

biographical studies, see Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 212–214; Zhang, *Faxian*, 1–4; Hu-von Hinüber, *Faxian*, 150–52.

¹⁰ For the original record of this anecdote, see *Faxian zhuan* in *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2149, 55: 15.111c6–11.

¹¹ Many researchers have investigated the title of Faxian's travelogue. See Zhang, *Faxian*, 5–8; Guo, 'Faxian', 201–06. For the sake of convenience, I will only cite passages from the most commonly used *Foguo ji* rather than *Faxian zhuan* included in *Gaoseng zhuan*, which draws heavily from *Foguo ji*; see my work for elaboration: Ji, *Huijiao*, 156–59.

¹² *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 1.857a6. This passage originally came from *Faxian zhuan*, the fifteenth *juan* of *Chu sanzang ji ji*, which says '常慨經律舛闕' (T no. 2145, 55: 15.111c12). The source from which the *Gaoseng zhuan* borrowed is unknown. This article uses *Foguo ji*. Huijiao's later work *Gaoseng zhuan* includes an expanded record of Faxian; see my work on *Gaoseng zhuan*: Ji, *Huijiao*, 159.

¹³ Tang, *Fojiao shi*, 210.

Shi Fayong 釋法勇, for instance, traveled to India with his twenty-five companions. He not only safely returned to China but continued translating Buddhist texts upon his return and wrote a travelogue (now lost). Shi Fayong's original inspiration was precisely Faxian.¹⁴ Likewise, Tang Dynasty monks Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664) and Yijing 義淨 (635–713) also revered Faxian as their inspiration.

According to *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty]. Xuanzang travelled to India not only to seek *Yogācārabhūmi-sāstra* 瑜伽師地論 but also, in Xuanzang's own words, follow the tradition started by Faxian and other like-minded pilgrims.¹⁵ In another case, according to Zhisheng's 智昇 (active circa 730) record, the famous pilgrim Yijing, as a teenager, greatly admired Faxian and Xuanzang and vowed to 'seek the Dharma' (*qiufa* 求法) one day in the Western Regions.¹⁶

What are the commonalities that connect these three famous pilgrims? First of all, like Zhu Shixing, they all wanted to contribute to Buddhism by bringing back Buddhist texts. Secondly, they were all scholar-monks and—with the exception of Faxian—all descended from a family of scholars.¹⁷ Their family background influenced

¹⁴ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 15.113c18–19: 常聞沙門法顯實雲諸僧躬踐佛國。

¹⁵ *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2053, 50: 1.222c6–8: 昔法顯、智嚴亦一時之士, 皆能求法導利群生, 豈使高跡無追, 清風絕後? 大丈夫會當繼之。

¹⁶ *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, T no. 2154, 55: 9.68b7–8: (義淨) 年十有五志遊西域, 仰法顯之雅操, 慕玄奘之高風。This same passage is also recorded in *Song gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 1.710b10–11. But two texts do not agree on Yijing's age when he decided to travel; see Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 4–5.

¹⁷ Yijing's great-great grandfather was the governor of the commandery of Dongqi; see Emperor Zhongzong's 'Longxing sanzang shengjiao xu' 龍興三藏聖教序, Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, 3. Xuanzang also descended from a family of Confucian scholars; see Ji, *Xiyu ji*, 103–04, where Ji Xianlin pointed out, 'Xuanzang completely inherited the family tradition of Confucian learning, unlike later monks who entered the monastic order due to the family poverty.'

their education and worldview, but also determined their financial capacity. Thirdly, all three eventually returned to China and used their proficiency in Indic languages to translate Buddhist scriptures and help develop the Chinese Buddhist canon.¹⁸ Lastly, they all left a travelogue.¹⁹ These commonalities are noteworthy because they are deeply embedded in the popular representation of Indian-bound Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. According to this representation, a pilgrim travels to search for Buddhist texts and ‘authentic texts’ (*zhenjing* 真經); ideally, he should also return to China and become a translator. Therefore, the Chinese word for ‘pilgrimage’ (*chaosbeng* 朝聖) became gradually replaced by the word ‘the search of Dharma’ (*qiufa* 求法). In other words, *qiufa seng*, or ‘dharma-seeker monk’ gradually became the standard representation of a pilgrim, shaped by the unique cultural conditions of Chinese Buddhism at the time. It represents a pilgrim who is determined to search for ‘authentic texts’, resists the temptation to remain in the sacred land of India, and returns to China to start a career of translation. If possible, he would also write a travelogue.

Returning to our previous discussion, we can now see that as far as intellectual elites and their writings are concerned, *qiufa* seems to have developed into a standardized religious ritual and behavior, pioneered by Faxian. Faxian’s goal, as mentioned earlier, was to search for a particular type of Buddhist texts. We can find passages in *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 [Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian] in which Faxian explicitly states that his goal was to

¹⁸ For studying the trade route between China and India, the following three sources are the most important and also the most convenient references (in addition to Faxian’s *Foguo ji*): Xuanzang, *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, T no. 2087 (for the annotated version, see Ji, *Xiyu ji*); Yijing, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*, T no. 2125 (for the annotated version, see Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan*); and Yijing, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066 (for annotated version, see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*).

¹⁹ Xuanzang and Yijing are acknowledged as the master translators in China, but Faxian also made his contribution to the scriptural translation; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 48–51.

‘seek Dharma’.²⁰ But it is Xuanzang who fully embodied the ideal of a *qiufa* monk. A standard biography for Xuanzang records that when his mother gave birth to him, she saw a Buddhist master dressed in white and traveling westward. The monk said he was ‘travelling to seek Dharma’ 為求法故去.²¹ In addition, whenever Xuanzang was asked about his identity, he invariably said he came for ‘seeking Dharma’ (and not for pilgrimage or other reasons).²² This response reflects a clear identity with which Xuanzang associated himself.

From this perspective, we can better appreciate Yijing’s decision to title his book *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Great Tang Chronicle of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma), a collection of biographies of Chinese monks who have been to the Western Regions. Additionally, the ideal of *qiufa* monk later spread to Korea and Japan.²³

This particular tradition of pilgrimage, started by Faxian and fostered by later travelers such as Xuanzang and Yijing, conveys an idealistic vision about pilgrimage, though it may not be fully accurate. On the one hand, this tradition inspired a great number of Buddhist monks to join the cause, but at the same time, it overshadowed non-

²⁰ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 866a4–5.

²¹ *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2019, 50: 1.222c14–15. The same passage is recorded in his ‘conduct account’ (*xingzhuang* 行狀). See *Da Tang gu sanzang Xuanzang fashi xingzhuang*, T no. 2052, 50: 214c15–18.

²² *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2019, 50: 1.215c27–28; 216a8; 223a10; 223b26–27; no. 50: 234a24–25; no. 50: 273c4. Emperor Taizong also said Xuanzang travelled to the West for ‘*qiufa*’ and not for other reasons (T no. 50: 253a13–14).

²³ Gakhun 각훈 (覺訓, active in early thirteenth). *Haedong goseungjeon* 海東高僧傳. T no. 2065. In this work, Gakhun commented on a number of monks travelling to China or India for ‘*qiufa*’. Examples could be found in: T no. 2065, 50:2.1020a23–24, 1020b16, 1022a28. Similar instances could be found in the Japanese work: Ennin 円仁 (Jikaku Daishi 慈覺大師, 794?–864), *Nittō Gubō Junrei Kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記. For the academic studies on Ennin’s text, see Katsutoshi, *Nittō Gubō Junrei Kōki*.

elite Buddhists who pilgrimed for various other reasons. Non-elite pilgrimages, however, were in reality more common and dynamic than their elite counterpart.

I. 2 A Wider Context: Dharma-Seeker Monks during the Jin and Tang Dynasty

Mingseng zhuan 名僧傳 [Biographies of Famous Monks], composed by the famous monk Baochang 寶唱 (465?-?) during the Southern Dynasties (420–589), is no longer extant, but thanks to the Japanese monk Sōshō 宗性 (1202–1278) who took some excerpts from the *Mingseng zhuan* in 1235²⁴, we could still glimpse its twenty-sixth chapter titled ‘Austere Practices of Dharma-Searching and Translating’ 尋法出經苦節. The chapter contains the biographies of eleven *qiufa* monks who reached the Western Regions during the Eastern Jin (265–420) and Qi Dynasty (479–502).²⁵ The fact that ‘*qiufa* monks’ stands alone as a separate theme seems to acknowledge that *qiufa*, as an ascetic practice, had already become a recognizable tradition. On the other hand, *Biographies of Eminent Monks* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks] composed by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) during the Liang Dynasty (502–557), though based on *Mingseng zhuan*, intriguingly chose to omit the category of ‘*qiufa* monks’. We can attribute this omission to Huijiao’s decision to simplify the taxonomy,²⁶

²⁴ The catalogue is included in *Manji Dai Nippon zoku zōkyō* 卅字續藏經, no. 77. But this edition contains numerous mistakes, as pointed out by Ding, ‘Mingseng zhuan’.

²⁵ These monks are: Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 from Chang’an during Jin; Faxian 法顯 from Daochang Monastery during Jin; Zhu Fawei 竺法維 from Andong Monastery during Jin; Sengbiao 僧表 from Tongxuan Monastery during Jin and Wu; Zhiyan 智嚴 from Zhiyuan Monastery during Song; Baoyun 寶雲 from Daochang Monastery during Song; Zhimeng 智猛 from Dingling Shang Monastery during Song; Fayong 法勇 from Huanglong during Song; Daopu 道普 from Gaochang during Song; Fasheng 法盛 from Qichang during Song; Faxian 法獻 from Dingling Shang Monastery during Qi. X no. 77: 350a14–20.

²⁶ Ji, *Huijiao*, 118–12; 210–15. *Gaoseng zhuan*’s structure is also largely influ-

but perhaps it also reflects his differing attitude from Baochang *vis-à-vis* the *qiufa* practice. But Huijiao, as much as we can know about him from the available sources, is relatively unknown compared to the prolific and distinguished Baochang.²⁷ This disparity perhaps also suggests that Buddhists with different social status and knowledge structure may harbor different attitudes towards the *qiufa* model. I will elaborate on this point later on.

By skimming through the biographies in *Mingseng zhuan*, we can see that not all monks are concerned with seeking Dharma or translating scriptures. In fact, if we do a comprehensive survey on Buddhist pilgrims during the Jin and Tang Dynasty who travelled to the Western Regions (see Appendix I), we can discover a multitude of reasons for pilgrimage. The present survey includes twenty-six monks. Thirteen among them show a clear or ambiguous goal to seek Buddhist scriptures and teachings; five visited sacred sites, two of which overlap with the first category; six are unknown for their motivation. The survey reveals that *qiufa* monks occupy almost half of all cases, but the pilgrims who visited sacred sites also feature prominently in the survey. In particular, Fasheng 法盛²⁸ and Faxian 法獻²⁹ stated respectively that they were inspired by Zhimeng 智猛 and Sengmeng 僧猛, suggesting that they were following a tradition that existed separately from the *qiufa* tradition.

In the record by Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing, we find numerous references to their pilgrimage in sacred sites, but we also have records of pilgrims with less stature who also participated in worship rituals during their pilgrimage, such as Sengbiao 僧表 and Hulan 慧攬(覽) who practiced the alms-bowl offering.³⁰

enced by *Mingseng zhuan*, though it simplified the structure and removed several categories.

²⁷ Ji, *Huijiao*, 36–40.

²⁸ *Meisō den shō*, X no. 77: 1.358c17–18: 遇沙門智猛, 從外國還. 述諸神迹, 因有志焉.

²⁹ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 13.411b28–29: 先聞猛公西遊, 備矚靈異. 乃誓欲忘, 身往觀聖迹.

³⁰ *Meisō den shō*, X no. 77: 1.358, b13–16: 聞弗樓沙國有佛鉢, 鉢今在罽賓臺

There are certainly more reasons to start a pilgrimage. For instance, some travelers harboured the wish to meet prominent masters in the Western Regions, including Zhiyan 智儼, Zuqu Jinsheng 沮渠京聲 (?–464) and Huilan 慧覽 (d.u.); these last two respectively became the disciple of Buddhasena 佛陀斯那 (d.u.) and Damo Biqu 達摩比丘 (d.u.). There is another kind of motive recorded in Baoyun's 寶雲 (376–449) biography in *Meisō den shō*. Baoyun went on a pilgrimage because he had killed a calf when he 'carried stones and worked the earth' (負石筑土). His 'remorse and melancholy' 慚悵悵 pressed him to travel to India so that he could 'witness miracles and perform repentances' (眼睹神跡, 躬行懺悔).³¹

This last motive may seem rare, especially among elite Buddhists, but it reflects the ritual aspect of Buddhism that emphasizes repentance and abstinence. Its popularity among non-elite Buddhists far exceeds what we tend to believe. For proof, it suffices to regard contemporary Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhists whose pilgrimage invariably has to do with repentance and salvation. But this motive is seldom written down in both official and popular record. What this suggests is that there is not only a gap that divides the popular and the official representation of Buddhist pilgrimage, but also between the popular record and the historical reality itself.

Repentance is also an important theme in the novel *Journey to the West* 西遊記. For instance, the protagonist Tangseng, Xuanzang's fictional counterpart, used to be a monk named Jinchanzi in his previous life. Jinchanzi once 'listened mindlessly to Buddha's sermon' and as a consequence, he is reborn as Tangseng and has to overcome countless obstacles for repenting the past sin.³² His disciples also committed transgressions in one way or another: Sun Xingzhe 孫行者 ravaged the Heavenly Palace; Zhu Wuneng 豬悟能 flirted with Chang'e; Sha Seng 沙僧 broke the precious glazed lamp while the

寺, 恒有五百羅漢供養鉢。鉢經騰空至涼洲。有十二羅漢隨鉢。停六年, 後還罽賓。僧表恨不及見, 乃至西踰蔥嶺, 欲致誠禮。

³¹ *Meisō den shō*, X no. 77: 1.358c8–11. Also see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 48–50.

³² Li, *Xiyou ji*, 203.

White Dragon Horse 白龍馬 set a precious pearl on fire. Their pilgrimage, therefore, is tantamount to a journey of repentance and represents a common type of pilgrimage in China. It is only in the elite writing that repentance becomes stripped of its importance.

We should also be mindful that the survey only used a limited sample group. For instance, Shi Fayong travelled with twenty-five companions and Shi Fasheng with twenty-nine fellow travelers, but among them only a handful returned to China and left evidence of their journey. Most travelers, however, did not even reach India. They either died from illness or abandoned their journey for miscellaneous reasons. But even among the travelers who reached India, many chose to remain in India rather than return to China, which is perceived as the borderland in the Buddhist world. We could not know the exact motive behind each pilgrimage, but it is perhaps plausible to assume that pilgrims who visited sacred places outnumber those who searched for the Buddhist teachings. After all, Buddhism is a religion that demands faith and comprises more Buddhists who perform rituals than those who study and translate Buddhist texts, as it is case among Mongolian and Tibetan pilgrims today. But without sufficient evidence, we shall leave this matter aside for now.

I. 3 A Larger Context: Dharma-Seeker Monks in Tang

The Tang Dynasty saw two great monk-travelers who followed Faxian's footsteps: Xuanzang and Yijing. They were among an increasing number of monk-travelers that flourished during this period, thanks to the improved means of transportation between India and China. We have biographies of these traveler-monks in *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (Great Tang Chronicle of Eminent Monks who Traveled to the West Seeking the Dharma), which includes sixty monks who travelled to the Western Regions, India or Southern Sea. By examining closely these precious records (see Appendix II), some surprising discoveries could emerge from the seemingly banal details.

I. 3.1 The Forgotten *Qiufo* Monks

In the popular culture, Xuanzang stands as the singular icon for all Buddhist pilgrims. In academia, scholars hardly know better than the general public and are familiar only with such famous pilgrims as Faxian and Yijing. But these figures, even though familiar to us, are the rarest cases. In reality, the percentage of pilgrims who safely returned to China is staggeringly low. For every twenty or thirty pilgrims, only one or two returned to China. It is even rarer to find returned pilgrims who would translate scriptures and write about their journey. Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing are only the visible tip of a colossal iceberg composed of countless pilgrims who never accomplished their goal and sank to the oblivion of history.

We can find many ‘failed’ pilgrims in Yijing’s record. For instance, Daosheng 道生 (d.u.) traveled through Tibet and reached India during the last year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 era (627–649). After visiting sacred sites in India, Daosheng commenced his studies at the Nālandā University. He was known for his erudition and impressed even the king Bhaskaravarman.³³ Daosheng later settled down in a Theravada monastery and spent years studying foundational Buddhist doctrines. When Daosheng decided to return to China, he brought along many scriptures and intended to translate them upon his return. Unfortunately, when Daosheng passed through Nepal, he caught a disease and died at the age of fifty. If a master such as Daosheng had returned to China, his outstanding education would have prepared him to become an important translator and a prominent figure in the history of Buddhism.

Another lamentable traveler is Xuanhui 玄會 (d.u.). He came from a prestigious family and was still young when he reached India. In India, his scholarship won the admiration of kings from several kingdom. Like Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–413?), Xuanhui was superbly gifted and knowledgeable. He was fluent in Sanskrit and planned to bring back Buddhist texts and translate

³³ Seventh century King of the Kingdom of Kāmarūpa; see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, 50.

them. But unfortunately, he passed away in Nepal and was barely thirty years old!

The *Vinaya* scholar-monk Huining 會寧 (d.u.) also passed away young. Huining entered the monastery as a child where he received an excellent education. He later traveled to the Kingdom of Heling 訶陵國 in Southeast Asia and translated a Buddhist *sūtra* in collaboration with a foreign monk. He later continued his travel towards India, but we do not have any record about his subsequent journey. At the time, he was only thirty-four or thirty-five years old.

Among all the cases in Yijing's record, Xuanzhao 玄照 (620?–682?) stands out as perhaps the most regrettable case. Xuanzhao met all the prerequisites to becoming a great master but an incident abruptly ended his brilliant career. Let us take a closer look at his biography, recorded at the beginning of Yijing's text. Xuanzhao came from an aristocratic family and received a good education. During the Zhenguan reign (627–649), Xuanzhao learned basic Sanskrit with Xuanzheng 玄證 (d.u.) in the Da Xingshan Monastery 大興善寺.³⁴ It is probably during this time that Xuanzhao made the resolve to search for the Dharma in India. He first reached Central Asia before heading south to Tibet where he met Princess Wencheng (625–680). The princess subsequently arranged Xuanzhao's journey to Northern India. Xuanzhao arrived in the Kingdom of Shelantuo 闍闍陀國 and stayed for four years with the financial support from the king, where he continued the studies of Sanskrit. Xuanzhao then arrived at the Mahābodhi Monastery 大菩提寺 in Bodh Gaya where he stayed for another four years and resumed his studies of *Abhidharmakośakārikā* 俱舍論. Xuanzhao finally arrived at the famous Nālandā University and studied exegeses with great masters such as Jinaprabha 勝光 (active in the second half of the seventh century) and Ratnasimha 寶師子 (active

³⁴ On Xuanzheng and Da Xingshan Monastery, see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qifafa gaoseng zhuan*, 14. Not much is known about Xuanzheng, but regarding Da Xingshan Monastery, it was an important centre for Tantric Buddhism, the practice of which required a basic knowledge of Sanskrit alphabet. For more on this monastery, see Chou, *Tantrism in China*, 294 and footnote 52.

in the second half of the seventh century). Xuanzhao studied at the university for three years with the sponsorship from the king. In his return journey, Xuanzhao passed again through Nepal and Tibet, and met again with Princess Wencheng. Sometime during the Lingde 麟德 reign (664–665), Xuanzhao returned to the eastern capital Luoyang. At the time of his return, he was still in his most vigorous years. We can calculate his age at the time based on a number of biographical information. First of all, when Xuanzhao became Xuanzheng's disciple, he was barely twenty years old. More precisely, this discipleship happened in the last year of the Zhengguo 正觀 reign, based on the timing of Xuanzhao's encounter with Princess Wencheng. Additionally, according to Yijing, Xuanzhao died in Central India at over sixty years old (when Xuanzhao deceased, Yijing was present at the Nālandā University where he left in 685). From these biographical data, we could determine that Xuanzhao was born around 620, so when he returned to the capital, he should be just over forty years old.

By now, a number of similarities should have emerged clearly between Xuanzhao and other prominent pilgrims, including Xuanzang. Like his predecessors, Xuanzhao received the necessary training for becoming a master translator: he acquired language skills and mastered Buddhist doctrines. Most importantly, he safely returned to China. It only awaited him the actual work of translation. Perhaps he would also record his journey in India, thereby completing what would have been a brilliant career.

As for Xuanzhao himself, he was ready to dedicate himself to translation. Upon his return to the eastern capital Luoyang, he arranged a meeting with local Buddhist masters and received fervent requests to translate *Mūlasarvāstivādinayayasangraha* (*Sapoduo bu lüshe* 薩婆多部律攝). If history had continued as such, we would have seen another great translator. But unfortunately, an imperial decree came and squandered all the knowledge that Xuanzhao had painstakingly acquired.

The decree sent Xuanzhao on a diplomatic mission, which required him to travel immediately to the Kingdom of Kaśmīra 羯濕彌囉國; the goal was to search for the long-lived Brahman Lokāditya (Lujiayiduo 盧迦溢多) who supposedly held the secret

of longevity.³⁵ Following the order, Xuanzhao left his Sanskrit texts in the capital and departed for North India. Xuanzhao relived the dangerous journey through Tibet before he arrived in his destination where he met Lokāditya who was heading towards China with a Tang emissary. Lokāditya, in turn, told Xuanzhao that he could find the longevity elixir in West India. Xuanzhao then had to undergo another dangerous trip to the kingdom. Xuanzhao stayed in the kingdom for four years before obtaining the elixir and getting ready for his return journey. On the way, he encountered Yijing who was studying at the Nālandā University. But the remaining trip to China turned out to be extremely difficult as the route through Nepal and Tibet was obstructed. Xuanzhao tried the northern route through the Kingdom of Kāpiśa 迦畢試國 in North India but failed again. Xuanzhao had no choice but to remain in Central India where he eventually died from illness.

While we could say that an untimely death was the cause that ended the brilliant career of these masters, we should also bear in mind that there was a cultural undervaluation of pilgrimage, which was caused by the writing of the elites who depicted pilgrimage as an exclusive activity. The consequence is that a pan-religious behavior became reduced to a narrow religious-cultural phenomenon.

I. 3.2 Pilgrimage is Optional

There are signs that Yijing deliberately degraded the *chaosheng* (versus *qiufa*) pilgrimage in his *Chronicle*. A case in point is the biography of Siṃha 僧訶 at the end of the book. His biography includes no mention at all of his pilgrimage activity. The biography is concerned exclusively with his honorific name (and whether he had a Sanskrit name), his place of origin, the places he visited, his knowledge of Sanskrit and Buddhist texts as well as the location of his death.

³⁵ According to *Tang shu* 唐書 and *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, Lokāditya was known for his occult ability and caught the attention of the Civilizing General during Gaozong's reign; see Wang, *Nanhai jigui neifa zhaun*, 29 and footnote 42. For more on the long-lived Lokāditya, see Takata, *Baramon*; Chen, *Śākyamitra*.

Chaosheng pilgrimage, commonly featured in monastic biographies, becomes only an optional piece of information in Yijing's writing.

The same pattern repeats in the biography of Cittavarman (Zhiduobamo 質多跋摩). Yijing knows little about him but still records his travel motive and that he disappeared during his return journey to China via the northern route. In particular, the biography includes an elaborate episode about Cittavarman being forced to eat meat in India. It is surprising that Yijing would allocate much more space to this episode regarding Cittavarman's vegetarianism, than to the information about pilgrimage. This discrepancy is jarring and warrants our attention. Yijing omits pilgrimage again in his writing of two Tibetan pilgrims, and only records their age, family background, Sanskrit level and the monasteries in India in which they have studied.

The biography of Yunqi 運期 (d.u.) is even more interesting. Yunqi is from Jiaozhou (Vietnamese: Giao Châu) 交州 and travelled to Southeast Asia to study local dialects, Sanskrit and Buddhist doctrines. After he became a layman, he continued spreading Dharma. Interestingly, during his entire career, he never once considered travelling to the Western region. For Yunqi, pilgrimage was less important than the responsibility to learn and spread the Dharma. Yunqi's biography is a telling example of the elite attitude towards pilgrimage.

Yihui 義輝 also bears a number of resemblances with Xuanzang. Yihui was a scholar-monk and went to the Western Regions because he also encountered difficulties with comprehending certain doctrines. In his own words, 'because doctrines contain differences, I feel conflicted emotionally and desire to investigate Sanskrit texts and listen to the subtle teaching in person.'³⁶ The entire biography, however, does not mention that Yihui bore any thought or performed any action to worship sacred sites. Such omission repeats in other biographies, including the biography of Huiyan 慧琰, Lingyun 靈運 and Sengzhe 僧哲.

Some biographies do include passages on *chaosheng* pilgrimage, but they are short and apparently not the focus of the biography.

³⁶ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.5a7-8: 但以義有異同, 情生舛互, 而欲思觀梵本, 親聽微言.

For instance, the biography of Daolin 道林, included in the second volume, starts by introducing his clerical title, hometown and family background before explaining that Daolin travelled to India because China lacked dhyana and *Vinaya* texts. Daolin first travelled to Southeast Asia where he was cordially received by the king and stayed for a couple of years. He then headed to the Kingdom of Tāmralipti 耽摩立底國 in India. He stayed in the kingdom and studied esoteric mantras and the *vinaya* texts of *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* (*Shuoyiqieyou bu lü* 說一切有部律). But in the entire 725-words text, there is only one sentence which bears on his pilgrimage experience (‘Afterwards, [Daolin] pilgrimed in North-Central India and paid homage to the royal throne of vajra and the divine appearance of bodhi’).³⁷ Subsequently, Daolin spent years at the Nālandā University studying *Mahāyāna* scriptures and treatises and the Theravada text *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (*Jushe lun* 俱舍論). Daolin then continued his studies in West and South India. At this point in the biography, Yijing interjects an elaborate introduction to the esoteric mantra. Yijing even made a personal remark about his own unfulfilled desire to learn the mantra when he was a student at the Nālandā University. Yijing concluded the biography by writing that Daolin arrived in North India to learn meditation and search for *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, but was never heard back from since, except two men from Central Asia who may have told Yijing about Daolin’s whereabouts. The meticulous record on Daolin’s studies forms a salient contrast with the cursory mention of his pilgrimage in sacred sites. From this contrast, we could sense Yijing’s bias towards *chaosheng* pilgrimage.

Yijing’s book may mislead us to believe the majority of traveler-monks did not travel for the sake of *chaosheng*, but this is not the case. We will look at another survey on *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*. Despite the word ‘*qiufa*’ in the title, the text does not only include *qiufa* monks. Among sixty monks in this survey (see Appendix II), nineteen of them have an unknown reason for travel; twenty travelled for *chaosheng*; only three were *qiufa* monks. As for those who travelled for both *chaosheng* and *qiufa*, we can count only six

³⁷ T no. 2066, 51: 1.6c16–17: 後乃觀化中天, 頂禮金剛御座、菩提聖儀。

cases.³⁸ By any standard, *chaosheng* pilgrims outnumber any other type of pilgrim.

We should also realize that Yijing himself falls under the category of *qiufa* monk. He was already biased in his choice of monks. In reality, there may be more *chaosheng* pilgrims than what his writing includes. In other words, his writing is already influenced by the elite perception of *chaosheng*. Yijing, as an aspirant towards the ideal of the *qiufa* monks, he imposed this ideal on his representation of pilgrims. In this process, Yijing obscured the rich assortment of motives behind pilgrimage and, either consciously or unconsciously, overlooked or debased activities that involved any worship ritual. But as Émile Durkheim reminds us, ‘religion is a whole composed of parts—a more or less complex system of myths, dogmas, rites and ceremony’.³⁹ Ritual and ceremony are integral elements of a religion, but in the eyes of Yijing and other Buddhist elites, ritual and ceremony only come second in importance to the Buddhist doctrine.

In Yijing’s record, but also in monastic biographies in general, we can detect another phenomenon; namely, it is not necessary that a *qiufa* monk returned to China. After all, the Western Regions is the land where Buddha lived and preached. As far as the early Buddhist texts are concerned, China is considered a borderland. We can sense this attitude in the following passage, in which Faxian describes his travel companion Daozheng 道整 (d.u.):

(In India), he witnessed the monastic regulations and the dignified demeanors of monks, which he could observe everywhere. He deplorably recalled the borderland of Qin with the lacunary and faulty precepts and disciplines practiced by the monks there. Therefore, he took the oath: ‘From this time forth until I reach the state of

³⁸ Another category is those who accompanied their masters to the Western Regions; eight monks fall under this category. There are also those with unclear motives. For instance, according to the biography of Yunqi 運期, he learned Buddhist teachings in countries in Southeast Asia, but never expressed the desire to seek scriptures or worship sacred sites in the Western Regions.

³⁹ Durkheim, *Elementary*, 33.

Buddha, I vowed not to be reborn in a borderland'. He consequently remained (in India) and never returned to China.⁴⁰

沙門法則，眾僧威儀，觸事可觀。乃追歎秦土邊地，眾僧戒律殘缺，誓言自今已去至得佛，願不生邊地，故遂停不歸。

In Yijing's record, there are many travelers who died during the travel, but we also find other travelers who remained and died in India by their own choice or due to external circumstances. Dashengdeng 大乘燈 is one such example. He learned from Xuanzang for several years and probably because of the latter's influence, he longed to travel to the Western Regions. He took the sea route and arrived in Sri Lanka where he paid homage to the relic of Buddha's teeth. He then travelled to India where he remained for twelve years. During this time, he mastered Sanskrit and could recite and read Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures. Later with Yijing, they together went on a pilgrimage in various places in India. According to the biography, Dashengdeng said that he feels compelled to stay in India and could only expect to return to China in the next life. Dashengdeng eventually passed away at the Parinirvāṇa Monastery 般涅槃寺 in Kushinagar 俱尸城⁴¹. Dashengdeng represents many Chinese monks in India who, after enduring numerous hardships, felt compelled to remain in India. Their decision to stay thus ended their prospect for becoming a great translator. Sengzhe and his disciples are among these expatriated monks.⁴² They broke away from the tradition established by Faxian and other *qiufa* monks.

II. External Points of Reference: Pilgrimage in Tibet and Mongolia

In Religious Studies in the West, Pilgrimage Studies is a vibrant discipline. In comparison, Pilgrimage Studies in China is yet to emerge as

⁴⁰ *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, T no. 2085, 51: 1.864b29–c3.

⁴¹ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.4b18–c10.

⁴² T no. 2066, 51: 2.8b25–c17.

a well-developed field. Regarding pilgrimage as a pan-religious practice, V. W. Turner made an analysis and proposed that all pilgrimages share the following features: (1) The pilgrimage site is often located in a mountain or a forest far away from the residence of the pilgrim and generally far away from the city; (2) pilgrimage is perceived as outside a regular livelihood, the fixed social system and the secular world; (3) all marks of stratification, such as social or moral status, are temporarily erased; all pilgrims are equal; (4) pilgrimage is a personal choice but also a religious behavior that involves faith and asceticism; (5) pilgrims share a common matrix of values that transcend the regulations of religion and transcend even the political and ethnical demarcations.⁴³ In the case of Buddhism, Turner's observation does not seem entirely suitable, but we should keep in mind that our knowledge about Chinese pilgrimage came from Chinese Buddhist sources whose accuracy in regard to reality should be put into doubt. We should also analyze the cultural factors that influenced the Buddhist authors to intentionally distort the reality of pilgrimage.

Tibetan Buddhists are the most numerous among Buddhist pilgrims. In our studies of Chinese pilgrims, they could serve as a point of reference.⁴⁴ A large number of Western scholarships on Tibetan pilgrimage has revealed that despite modernization, Tibetans retain their earlier Buddhist paradigm relatively well and continue to value pilgrimage as a duty and an aspiration in their life.⁴⁵ Each pilgrimage is a significant life event that involves years of preparation with the entire family. Each year, over a million Tibetans will expend a costly sum of their savings in order to travel to Lhasa and other sacred places.⁴⁶ During the pilgrimage, a Tibetan would perform a number of rituals, including reciting mantra, hanging prayer flags and pros-

⁴³ Turner, *Ritual*, 166.

⁴⁴ According to the 2001 population census, there are 5.41 million Tibetans in China. In addition to a small number of Tibetans who hold Bon, Muslim and Christian faith, the majority are Buddhists; see Zeng, 'Baogao'.

⁴⁵ For an overview of the Western scholarship on the topic, consult this Chinese article: Cai, 'Fenxi'.

⁴⁶ Muchi, 'Xianzhuang'.

trating. Tibetan pilgrimage, comparing to that of other kinds, is more demanding physically, psychologically and financially.⁴⁷ Besides, as a Tibetan, one is deeply influenced by one's religious environment and has internalized two existential needs: the need to repent in order to overcome the difficulties in life and the need to accumulate merit which prepare for their eventual enlightenment. Pilgrimage, in the mind of Tibetan, is the most effective means to fulfill both needs, which explains why pilgrimage is the most commonly practiced ritual in Tibetan Buddhism.⁴⁸

II.1 Causes behind the Separation of Two Pilgrimages: Social Class, Pilgrimage Distance and Finance

With Tibetan pilgrimage and other forms of pilgrimage as our point of reference, we can now return to the pilgrimage tradition established by Faxian and his followers and ask some essential questions: what intention did they bear in mind when they started the journey? In other words, what were the needs, the motives and the causes behind the pilgrimage? What spiritual experiences did they undergo? What personal transformation has occurred by the end of their journey? What was their gender, age, origin, religious sect, social status and intellectual disposition, etc.; and how did these factors influence the way they chose the site for pilgrimage? How did the style of the pilgrimage (timing, material condition, pattern of movement, etc.) differ from those of other religious groups? If we take into account the above questions in our studies of the tradition established by Faxian, Yijing and Xuanzang, we should be able to see the differences that set Chinese pilgrimage apart from its foreign counterparts.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Chen, 'Xinli', 18–20.

⁴⁸ Chen, 'Xinli', 13.

⁴⁹ I will not venture deeper into this topic for the time being, but hope that others could. At least on the surface, we could see a number of differences between two forms of pilgrimages. For instance, Mongolian and Tibetan pilgrims pursue the singular goal of pilgrimage; and do not aspire to learn Buddhist teachings nor to retrieve texts, unlike *qiusfa* monks such as Faxian. For them,

The anthropologist of religion, Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) has made the following remark about religion:

Religious beliefs proper are always shared by a definite group that professes them and that practices the corresponding rites. Not only are they individually accepted by all members of that group, but they also belong to the group and unify it. The individuals who comprise the group feel joined to one another by the fact of common faith.⁵⁰

Interestingly, in the case of Faxian, Xuanzang and Yijing, even though their tradition is biased towards the ritual aspect of pilgrimage, they created their own ‘ritual’ through the writing and inspired later Buddhists to imitate their ‘ritual’. From this perspective, we can say that pilgrimage is not only about religious faith but represents a way to reinforce one’s religious and social identity. By imitating a role model, one inherits one’s tradition. In Faxian’s case, we can thus say that Faxian was a model later imitated by Xuanzang, Yijing and other scholar-monks. As the tradition was repeated and reinforced by more travelers in history, it eventually morphed into a part of the collective memory shared by both Chinese Buddhists and laymen.

repentance and transformation are at the heart of the pilgrimage experience, which are not obvious components of Chinese pilgrimage. In terms of gender and age, Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrims show a wider spectrum than their Chinese counterparts, since pilgrimage encompasses almost the entire population in Mongolia and Tibet. In Chinese Buddhism, pilgrims were mostly young men, even though there were occasionally senior pilgrims such as Faxian (his age, however, is still debatable). In regard to the social and education level, Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrims also show more diversity than Chinese pilgrims. Besides, they also prefer more arduous mode of pilgrimage, such as prostration and walking, whereas Chinese pilgrims prefer the convenient means of transportation. In other words, Chinese pilgrims were not concerned with increasing the difficulty of travel as a means to satisfy their religious need. As for other more subtle differences between Tibetan and Chinese Buddhists, a more nuanced analysis would be required.

⁵⁰ Durkheim, *Form*, 41.

It is also important to realize that two kinds of pilgrims—the elite monks (e.g. Faxian, Xuanzang, Yijing) and non-elite Buddhists—both view their respective pilgrimage as honorable. Each pilgrimage evolved to become a micro-culture within the general Buddhist culture and served as a ritual to reinforce a collective identity.⁵¹ This is not only true for mass believers who strengthened their Buddhist identity through pilgrimage, as exemplified by Tibetans, but it is also true for Buddhist elites who cemented a common identity by pursuing the goal of *qiufa*.

For Faxian and other elite Buddhists, their pilgrimage seems like purely an intellectual pursuit, but some subtle motives were involved at a deeper level, such as faith, repentance and the longing for religious protection. These motives, however, gradually lost their relevance in the writing. As this happened, the pattern of pilgrimage in China and India also shifted. In other words, intellectual elites reduced the sacredness and the ritual function that tended to be associated with India (though it is impossible to completely efface its sacredness; it is only relatively weakened in comparison to Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism). The elite representation of pilgrimage in turn influenced the non-elite population and compromised the general perception of India as being sacred. As Indian sacredness decreased, the sacred sites within China rose to prominence and filled the vacuum of sacred geography now unsatisfied by India. Cultural factors such as the cultural and ethnical pride and identity further fostered this rise of Chinese sacred geography.

II.2 Causes Underlying the Differences: Factor of Social Class, Geographical Distance and Wealth Transfer in Pilgrimage

We should also be mindful that the participants of the *qiufa* tradition belong to a specific social class and that the *qiufa* tradition involves a secular dimension in addition to the sacred one. On this point, we can compare Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims. In her studies on Mongol pilgrims in Mount Wutai, Isabelle Charleux pointed out

⁵¹ Chen, 'Xinli', 82. Chen commented on the collective identity among Tibetan pilgrims.

that not only Mongolian aristocrats and lamas travelled to Mount Wutai, but so did Mongolian commoners.⁵² What caused this difference between Tibetan and Chinese pilgrimage? First of all, the Buddhist population in Tibet and Mongolia is broader than in China. In Chinese Buddhism, even at its peak of popularity, the percentage of Buddhist followers in relation to the overall Chinese population still lagged far behind the percentage in Tibet; and as for (historical) Mongolia, Buddhism encompassed almost the entire population. Even in modern times, the majority of Tibetans and Mongolians still remain Buddhists, at odds with the situation in ancient China where only elite Buddhists possess the financial and material means and the will to travel to India. Isabelle Charleux, after a meticulous historical and anthropological investigation, concluded that '[Buddhism] played a more important role than what we have previously thought [in Mongolia]'.⁵³ This popularity of Buddhist faith in Mongolia fostered the popular participation in pilgrimage among all Mongolians. On the other hand, even though Chinese Buddhists continuously travelled to India during the several hundred years lasting from the Six Dynasties period to the end of the Northern Song Dynasty, the popularity of pilgrimage never reached the same extent as in Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism.

When we study the pilgrimage phenomenon, we should place the *qiu fa* tradition within a large context that includes other Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions. At the same time, we should also investigate the act of pilgrimage itself and discover its various dimensions. After all, pilgrimage is not only a performance of rite or a pursuit of intellect; it also involves the consumption and transference of a large sum of wealth. Mongolian pilgrimage, for example, always required the transference of commerce, wealth and commodities.⁵⁴ Besides, different routes of pilgrimage demand different levels of material preparedness. The varying demands, as a result, stratifies Buddhist pilgrims according to their ability to fulfill them. On this last point,

⁵² Charleux, *Nomads*, 4.

⁵³ Charleux, 60.

⁵⁴ Charleux, 40.

we could still consult Charleux's studies. She concluded that all Mongolians, regardless of the social class, could go on a pilgrimage, but Charleux also pointed out that the pilgrimage destination varied. For Mongolian lamas, devout laymen and businessmen, they were willing to undertake a long journey, but the general population and women preferred nearby sites. Women, especially, were limited by their physical stamina so they favored Mount Wutai.⁵⁵ In short, pilgrimage requires varying degrees of financial fitness. This reality stratified pilgrims according to their social status.

Bearing the above discussion in mind, we can detect a pattern in Chinese pilgrimage: India-bound Chinese pilgrims generally travelled a longer distance than their Tibetan and Mongolian counterparts, even when compared to Mongolians who travelled to Lhasa. Since longer travel demanded more physical stamina, religious devotion, Buddhist knowledge and financial capitals, pilgrimage in China necessarily remained the privilege of the elites who, in their turn, dictated the ideal of pilgrimage in their writing and influenced the future pilgrims. Lastly, it is worth pointing out the domestic pilgrimage in China differed from the elite-centered international pilgrimage. Domestic pilgrimage required less physical, financial and intellectual capacity, and therefore bears more similarities with the Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrimage.

Conclusion: How Faithful is the Written History to History Itself?

Pilgrimage is not a phenomenon tied to a particular Buddhist tradition and pervades other Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions. Chinese pilgrimage, however, is somewhat unusual. It is a pilgrimage tradition with extensive written records which, through writing, morphed into a rigid form and influenced the way later Buddhists performed pilgrimage. It is an elitist vision of pilgrimage that emphasizes the goal of seeking the Buddhist teaching. The present study has closely analyzed the sources that bear on the monks during the

⁵⁵ Charleux, *Nomads*, 62.

Jin and Tang Dynasty; and also established Tibetan and Mongolian pilgrimage as the point of references to study Chinese pilgrimage. By now, hopefully it has become clear that Faxian, Xuanzang, Yijing and other *qiufo* monks have created their own tradition of pilgrimage which they established through the authority of their writing. The tradition is also responsible for concealing the true complexity of Chinese pilgrimage, chiefly due to the overpowering cultural trend dictated by Buddhist elites, but also due to Indian and Chinese geography. In short, this tradition, as well as the written records that it spawned, only reflects the elite perception of history rather than the actual history.

Even among the elite pilgrims who subscribed to the *qiufo* ideal, they still showed substantial differences in the style of their pilgrimage, because of their diverse cultural and social backgrounds (e.g. financial capacity). In the analysis of the Jin and Tang pilgrims, we discovered that some lesser-known pilgrims broke away from the tradition pioneered by Faxian. In fact, they shared more similarities with general Buddhist followers. At this point, we need to ask an apparent question: to what extent does the mainstream history of Buddhism, authored by Buddhist elites, reflect the true picture of Buddhist activities at the time?

Even among Buddhist elites who shared a common vision of pilgrimage, their actual pilgrimage still differed due to the differences in their culture and financial capacity. We could identify a number of *qiufo* monks during Jin and Tang whose pilgrimage seemed quite different from Faxian, Xuanzang and other Buddhist elites, and shared more similarities with non-elite Buddhist pilgrims. Given these jarring observations, we have to question the accuracy of the historical account, written by Buddhist elites, in relation to the reality. Some studies have compared inscription with elites' writing and revealed the discrepancy between the two.⁵⁶ The present study focuses on the representation of pilgrimage in the Buddhist elite writing and discovers a similar deviation from reality. Then how much faith could we still place on the narrative in the Buddhist texts? This is a question that needs further meditation.

⁵⁶ Hou, *Zaoxiang ji*.

Appendix I

Qiufa Monks During Jin and Tang

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
1	朱士行	誓志捐身, 遠迎《大品》	不明, 學問僧 ⁵⁷	不明	到達西域, 未返	無	皆無
2	竺法護	求大乘佛經 ⁵⁸	月氏人, 學問僧	精通 ⁵⁹	到達西域, 又返回了中原	無	大譯經師, 無行記
3	康法朗	西天朝聖 ⁶⁰	不明	似通西域文字 ⁶¹	到西域折返	無	皆無
4、 5、 6	慧常、 進行、 慧辨	似為取經 ⁶²	不明	不明	曾到西域, 似返回了中原 ⁶³	不明	慧常曾筆受《比丘尼戒本》 ⁶⁴

⁵⁷ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 13.97a21–22: 常謂入道資慧, 故專務經典。

⁵⁸ T no. 2145, 55: 13.97c25–26: 方等深經蘊在西域。護乃慨然發憤, 志弘大道。遂隨師至西域。

⁵⁹ T no. 2145, 55: 13.97c27–28: 外國異言三十有六, 書亦如之。護皆遍學, 貫綜古訓, 音義字體, 無不備曉。

⁶⁰ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 4.347a28–b2: 嘗讀經見雙樹鹿苑之處, 鬱而歎曰: “吾已不值聖人, 寧可不覲聖處。”於是誓往迦夷, 仰瞻遺迹。

⁶¹ T no. 2059, 50: 4.347a28b15: 唯朗更遊諸國, 研尋經論。

⁶² These three figures are not recorded in monastic biographies but are only mentioned in some catalogues; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 13.

⁶³ Huichang was involved in translating *Bhikṣuṇīs Precepts* 比丘尼大戒; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 11.81b24.

⁶⁴ T no. 2145, 55: 11.81b24.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
7、 8	僧純、 曇允	似為取 經 ⁶⁵	不明	不明	曾到西域， 後返回 中原	無	皆無 ⁶⁶
9、 10	法領、 法淨	受命取 經 ⁶⁷	不明	不明	曾到西域， 後返回 中原	無	皆無 ⁶⁸
11	曇猛	不明	不明	不明	曾到中印 度，并返 回中原 ⁶⁹	無	皆無
12	智嚴	志欲廣 求經法	不明	有譯經， 精通	曾二次到 印度，第 二次未能 返回	無	有譯經， ⁷⁰ 無行記

⁶⁵ These two figures are not recorded in monastic biographies but are only mentioned in some catalogues; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 13.

⁶⁶ These two figures brought back *Ten Recitations Bhikṣuṇī Pratimokṣasūtra* 十誦比丘尼戒, which was later translated by Tanmoshi 曇摩侍 (active between 351–394).

⁶⁷ Both are Huiyuan's 慧遠 (334–416) disciple. They were instructed by Huiyuan to seek scriptures in the Western Regions; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 14.

⁶⁸ Faling and Fajing brought back over 200 Mahāyāna texts, but as far as our current knowledge goes, only the 'thirty-six thousand verses of the first section of *Huayan jing*' 《華嚴》前分三萬六千偈 were translated by Buddhahadra 佛馱跋陀羅 (359–429).

⁶⁹ *Shijia fanzhi*, T no. 2088, 51: 2.969b11–12: 後燕建興末，沙門曇猛者，從大秦路入達王舍城。及返之日，從陀歷道而還東夏。

⁷⁰ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 2145, 55: 13.12c5–9. The text records that Zhiyan and others together translated three *bu* and eleven *juan*.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
13	實雲	誓欲躬觀靈跡, 廣尋群經	不明	精通 ⁷¹	到印度并返回中土	有 ⁷²	有譯經, 無行記
14	智猛	朝聖兼取經 ⁷³	不明	有譯經當精通	是, 是	有	有譯經, 有傳記 ⁷⁴
15	曇纂 ⁷⁵	不明	不明	不明	是, 是	不明	不明
16	慧叡	不明	不明	不明	是, 是	不明	皆無
17	沮渠京聲	不明	北涼王族	譯經師	曾至西域, 後歸中土	無	有譯經, ⁷⁶ 無行記
18	釋法勇 (25人)	受法顯啓發西行求經 ⁷⁷	不明	譯經師	曾至印度, 後坐船返回廣州	有	有譯經, 有行記

⁷¹ T no. 2145, 55: 15.113a13–14: 雲在外域遍學胡書。天竺諸國音字詰訓悉皆貫練。

⁷² T no. 2145, 55: 15.113a11–13: 遂歷于闐天竺諸國備觀靈異。乃經羅剎之野。聞天鼓之音。釋迦影跡多所瞻禮。

⁷³ T no. 2145, 55: 15.113 b6–7: 每見外國道人說釋迦遺跡, 又聞方等眾經, 布在西域。常慨然有感, 馳心遐外。

⁷⁴ Zhimeng not only translated scriptures but, according to *Suishu* 隋書, he also wrote the one-volume *Youxing waiguo zhuan* 遊行外國傳。

⁷⁵ There were in total sixteen travellers; nine decided to return to China when crossing the Pamir Mountains and the remaining travellers all deceased in India, with the exception of Zhimeng and Yunzuan who safely returned to China.

⁷⁶ According to the *juan 2* of *Chu sanzang ji ji*, he translated four scriptures that he had acquired in the Western Regions; see Zhang, *Sengren yanjiu*, 46.

⁷⁷ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, T no. 55: 15.113c18–19: 常聞沙門法顯、實雲諸僧, 躬踐佛國。

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
19	道泰	西行求經 ⁷⁸	不明	精通 ⁷⁹	曾至印度，并循北道返回	無	有譯經，無行記
20	曇學等八僧	西行求經 ⁸⁰	不明	精通 ⁸¹	至西域而返	無	有譯經，無行記
21	道普	不明	高昌人，不明	精通 ⁸²	曾至印度，後第二次路中身亡	有	皆無
22	法盛(29人)	受智猛啓發 ⁸³	不明	不明	曾至印度，後返中土	有	無譯經，有行記 ⁸⁴
23	僧表	欲供養佛鉢 ⁸⁵	不明	不明	曾至印度，後返中土	有	皆無

⁷⁸ *T* no. 2145, 55: 10.74a15–16: 往以漢土方等既備，幽宗粗暢。其所未練，唯三藏九部。故杖策冒嶮。

⁷⁹ *T* no. 2145, 55: 10.74a16–17: 綜攬梵文，義承高旨。

⁸⁰ *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* no. 55: 9.67c13: 結志遊方，遠尋經典。

⁸¹ *T* no. 55: 9.67c16–17: 競習胡音，折以漢義。精思通譯，各書所聞。

⁸² *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 2.337a29–b1: 善梵書，備諸國語。

⁸³ *Meisō den shō*, *X* no. 1523, 77: 1.358c17–18: 遇沙門智猛。從外國還。述諸神迹。因有志焉。

⁸⁴ *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 2.337 b2–3: 復有沙門法盛，亦經往外國立傳，凡有四卷。This travelogue, however, is no longer extant.

⁸⁵ *Meisō den shō*, *X* no. 1523, 77: 358b13–16: 聞弗樓沙國有佛鉢，鉢今在罽賓臺寺。恒有五百羅漢供養鉢，鉢經騰空至涼洲。有十二羅漢隨鉢，停六年後還罽賓。僧表恨不及見，乃至西踰葱嶺，欲致誠禮。

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
24	慧攬 (覽) ⁸⁶	供養羅漢、禮敬佛鉢	不明	不明	曾至印度，後返中土	有	皆無
25	道榮 (榮)	不明	不明	不明	曾至印度，後返中土	不明	無譯經，有傳一卷 ⁸⁷
26	法獻	受僧猛啓發，欲行朝聖 ⁸⁸	不明	不明	未至印度，後返中土	不明	無譯經，有佛牙記一卷

Travelogues of this period:

1. 法顯《佛國記》；
2. 寶雲《游履外國傳》，今佚；
3. 僧曇景《外國傳》五卷，見於《隋志》，今佚；
4. 智猛《遊行外國傳》一卷，今佚；
5. 釋法勇(曇無竭)《歷國傳記》，今佚；
6. 道普《游履外國傳》，今佚；
7. 法盛《歷國傳》二卷(《釋迦方志》載四卷)《隋志》著錄，今佚；
8. 道榮(道榮)，《道榮傳》一卷(見於《隋志》)，今佚。

⁸⁶ *Meisō den shō* uses 攬; *Gaoseng zhuan* uses 覽.

⁸⁷ *Shijia fangzhi*, T no. 2088, 51: 2.969c4–6: 後魏太武末年 (451) 沙門道榮從疏勒道入，經懸度，到僧迦施國。及反，還尋故道，著傳一卷。

⁸⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2059, 50: 2.411b28–29: 先聞猛公西遊，備囑靈異。乃誓欲忘身，往觀聖迹。

Appendix II
 Survey of *The Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks who Sought the Dharma in the Western Regions* 大唐西域求法高僧傳

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
1	玄照	掛想 祇園	世家出身	精通 ⁸⁹	是、否 ⁹⁰	有	皆無
2	道希	觀化 中天	門傳禮義、 家襲摺紳	精通 ⁹¹	是、否 ⁹²	有	皆無
3	師鞭	不明	不明	精通 ⁹³	是、否 ⁹⁴	不明	皆無
4	阿難耶 跋摩	追求正 教，親 禮聖蹤	新羅人， 不明	似通 ⁹⁵	是、否 ⁹⁶	有	皆無

⁸⁹ He learned Sanskrit basics from Xuanzheng 玄證 in Da Xingshan Monastery and later studied scriptures and precepts and continued Sanskrit in the Kingdom of Jālandhara. Finally, he became the disciple of well-known masters at the Nālandā University.

⁹⁰ He died in the Kingdom of Anmoluopo 菴摩羅跋國 in Central India. About this kingdom, see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, 23. In footnote 33, the location of the kingdom is discussed but not determined.

⁹¹ 爛陀寺頻學大乘，住輪婆伴娜專功律藏，復習聲明，頗盡綱目 (*shengming* 聲明 refers to a systematic studies of Indian languages).

⁹² *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b10: 菴摩羅跋國遭疾而終。

⁹³ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b15: 善呪禁，閑梵語。

⁹⁴ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b15–18: 卒於菴摩羅割跋城，當即菴摩羅跋國。Also see Wang, *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, 40 and footnote 3.

⁹⁵ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b20–21: 住那爛陀寺，多閑律論，抄寫眾經。

⁹⁶ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b21–22: 痛矣歸心，所期不契。

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
5	慧業	不明	新羅人, 不明	似通 ⁹⁷	是、否 ⁹⁸	有	皆無
6	玄太	禮菩提樹、詳檢經論	新羅人, 不明	不明	是、不明 ⁹⁹	有	皆無
7	玄恪	至大覺寺朝聖	新羅人, 不明	不明	是、否 ¹⁰⁰	有	皆無
8、9	二新羅僧	不明	不明	不明	否、否 ¹⁰¹	未及	皆無
10	佛陀達摩	周觀聖迹	觀貨速利國人、不明	似通 ¹⁰²	是、不明 ¹⁰³	有	皆無
11	道方	不明	出身不明, 文化似不高 ¹⁰⁴	似通 ¹⁰⁵	是、否 ¹⁰⁶	有	皆無

⁹⁷ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b27: 於那爛陀, 久而聽讀。

⁹⁸ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2b26–29. 據那爛陀寺僧所言, 其終於此寺, 年將六十餘 (According to a monk at the Nālanda University, he died in this monastery at over 60 years old).

⁹⁹ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2c4–6: 後歸唐國, 莫知所終。

¹⁰⁰ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2c7–8: 既伸禮敬, 遇疾而亡。

¹⁰¹ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2c10–12: 未至印度, 遇疾俱亡。

¹⁰² T no. 2066, 51: 1.2c13–17: 本為中亞人, 晚年又生活在印度, 但不能確定 (He was Central Asian and spent his last years in India, so it is not certain whether he spoke any Indic language).

¹⁰³ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2c13–17.

¹⁰⁴ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.2c21: 不習經書。

¹⁰⁵ T no. 2066, 51: 1.2c20. He has lived in the Mahābodhi Monastery for years, so it is likely that he knew Indic languages.

¹⁰⁶ According to Yijing, he remained in Nepal and never returned to China.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
12	道生	不明	不明	精通 ¹⁰⁷	是、否 ¹⁰⁸	有	皆無
13	常愍 ¹⁰⁹	冀得遠詣西方禮如來所行聖迹	不明	似不通 ¹¹⁰	否、否 ¹¹¹	未及	皆無
15	末底僧訶	不明	不明	粗通 ¹¹²	是、否 ¹¹³	不明	皆無
16	玄會	不明	出身名門	精通 ¹¹⁴	是、否 ¹¹⁵	有	皆無
17	質多跋摩	不明	不明	粗通 ¹¹⁶	是、不明 ¹¹⁷	不明	皆無
18、 19	泥波羅國二人	不明	吐蕃公主孀母之息	善梵語并梵書	是、不明	不明	皆無

¹⁰⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c23–29. He was a scholar-monk of Nālandā University who was revered by Bhāskaravarman (600–650), but died on his way back to China.

¹⁰⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.2c23–29.

¹⁰⁹ His biography also records a disciple of his, but we do not know anything about him other than the fact that they both died, so I did not include him in the survey.

¹¹⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3a2–6. He was a follower of Pure land Buddhism and not a scholar-monk, and he went to India purely for pilgrimage.

¹¹¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3a2–6. Died on his way to India.

¹¹² *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3a29: 少閑梵語.

¹¹³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3a29–b1: 過泥波羅國, 遇患身死.

¹¹⁴ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3b11: 梵韻清徹.

¹¹⁵ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3b11–12: 到泥波羅國, 不幸而卒.

¹¹⁶ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3b20–22: 少閑梵語.

¹¹⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.3b20–22: 覆取北路而歸, 莫知所至.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
20	隆法師	欲觀化中天	不明	精通 ¹¹⁸	否、否 ¹¹⁹	未及	皆無
21	明遠	為求佛法 ¹²⁰	出身不明，卻是學問僧 ¹²¹	不	不明 ¹²² 、否	未及	皆無
22、 23、 24	義朗、 智岸、 義玄	披求異典、頂禮佛牙	義朗為學問僧，另二人不明	不明	不明、否 ¹²³	有	皆無
25	會寧	志存演法，結念西方	出身不明，為學問僧 ¹²⁴	精通梵文，有譯經事	不明、否 ¹²⁵	不及	有譯經、無著述

¹¹⁸ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufo gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2066, 51: 1.3b27–28: 誦得梵本法華經。

¹¹⁹ T no. 2066, 51: 1.3b27–28 Before he reached India, he died from illness in the Kingdom of Gandhāra.

¹²⁰ T no. 2066, 51: 1.3c6: 既慨聖教陵遲，遂乃振錫南遊。

¹²¹ T no. 2066, 51: 1.3c4–5: 善《中》、《百》，議莊周，早遊七澤之間。後歷三吳之表，重學經論，更習定門。

¹²² T no. 2066, 51: 1.3c7–12. In Sri Lanka, he was humiliated by the fact that he had attempted to steal Buddha's teeth. Later it was heard that he wanted to go to Central India but was never heard from since.

¹²³ T no. 2066, 51: 1.3c25–4a1. Zhi'an died in the journey; the other two were unknown for their subsequent travel.

¹²⁴ T no. 2066, 51: 1.4a4: 薄善經論，尤精律典。

¹²⁵ T no. 2066, 51: 1.4a16–21. According to Yijing, he may have died during his journey from Southeast Asia to India at the age of thirty-four or thirty-five years old.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
26	運期	未曾存念西方朝聖 ¹²⁶	不明, 為學問僧 ¹²⁷	善崑崙音, 頗知梵語	從未想過前往西方, 一直在南海弘法	無	皆無
27	木叉提婆	不明	不明	不明	是、否 ¹²⁸	有	皆無
28	窺冲	隨師前往	不明, 不明	善誦梵經	是、否 ¹²⁹	有	皆無
29	慧琰	隨師前往	不明	不明	是、不明 ¹³⁰	不明	皆無
30	信胄	不明	不明	不明	是、否 ¹³¹	有	皆無
31	智行	不明	不明	不明	是、否 ¹³²	有	皆無

¹²⁶ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4a22–26. This figure is particularly noteworthy. The text only mentions that he travelled from Jiaozhou to Southeast Asia to learn Buddhist teachings and that he later became a layman, but nowhere in the text mentions that he wanted to pilgrim to the Western Regions.

¹²⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4a22–26. The text mentions that he contributed greatly to spreading Dharma in Southeast Asia and that he was proficient in several languages.

¹²⁸ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4a27–29. He passed away in the Mahābodhi Monastery at the age of 24 or 25.

¹²⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b5: 卒於竹園精舍.

¹³⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b7–8: 隨師到僧訶羅國, 遂停彼國, 莫辯存亡.

¹³¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b10–13: 參禮之後, 遇疾而終.

¹³² *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b16–17: 居信者寺而卒.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
32	大乘燈	思禮聖蹤, 情契西極	不明, 為學問僧 ¹³³	頗閑梵語	是、否 ¹³⁴	有	皆無
33	僧伽跋摩	與使人相隨禮觀西國	不明	不明	是、否 ¹³⁵	有	皆無
34、 35	彼岸、 智岸	歸心勝理, 遂乃觀化中天	不明	不明	否、否 ¹³⁶	未及	皆無
36	曇潤	不明	不明, 為學問僧 ¹³⁷	不明	否、否 ¹³⁸	未及	皆無
37	義輝	解決義理難題 ¹³⁹	不明, 為學問僧 ¹⁴⁰	不明	是、否 ¹⁴¹	無	皆無

¹³³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4b21–22: 於慈恩寺三藏法師玄奘處進受具戒, 居京數載, 頗覽經書。

¹³⁴ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4c13–14: 在俱尸城般涅槃寺而歸寂滅。

¹³⁵ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4c21–24: 奉使卒於交州。

¹³⁶ *Da Tang Xiyu qiyfa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4c28. Both died from illness during the journey to India.

¹³⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.4c29–5a1: 善呪術, 學玄理, 探律典, 翫醫明。

¹³⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a3–4: 至訶陵北渤盆國遇疾而終。

¹³⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a5–8. His reason for pilgrimage is similar to Xuanzang. He wanted to travel to India ‘because doctrines contain differences, I feel conflicted emotionally and desire to investigate Sanskrit texts and listen to the subtle teaching in person.’

¹⁴⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a5–8: 理思鉤深, 博學為懷, 尋真是務。聽《攝論》、《俱舍》等頗亦有功。

¹⁴¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a9–10. 到郎迦成國, 嬰疾而亡。

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
38、 39、 40	大唐三 僧	不明	不明	不明	是、不明 ¹⁴²	有	皆無
41	慧輪	奉勅隨 玄照師 西行以 充侍者	不明，為學 問僧 ¹⁴³	善梵言	是、不明 ¹⁴⁴	有	皆無
42	道琳	定門鮮 入，律 典頗 虧。遂 欲尋流 討源， 遠遊 西國	不明，為學 問僧 ¹⁴⁵	經三年學 梵語	是、否 ¹⁴⁶	有	皆無
43	曇光	南遊溟 渤，望 禮西天	不明	不明	是、否 ¹⁴⁷	疑未及	皆無
44	佚名唐 僧	不明	不明	不明	不明	不明	皆無

¹⁴² *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a12–13: 今亦弗委存亡。

¹⁴³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a22: 既善梵言，薄閑《俱舍》。

¹⁴⁴ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.5a22–23: *Yijing* records that when he himself returned to China, Huilun was still in India and was almost forty years old.

¹⁴⁵ *Da Tang Xiyu qiyu fa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.6c15–18. He was extremely knowledgeable, having systematically studied *Vinaya* and was proficient in tantric Dharani.

¹⁴⁶ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.7a18–19. It is said that he encountered looters in the journey and had to return to North India.

¹⁴⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.7a23–24. He disappeared. *Yijing* suspected that he may have had an accident.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
45	慧命	仰祥河而牒想, 念竹苑以翹心	不明, 為學問僧 ¹⁴⁸	不明	否、是 ¹⁴⁹	未及	皆無
46	玄達	不明	令族高宗, 兼文兼史	不明	否 ¹⁵⁰	未及	皆無
47	善行	義淨門人	不明	不明	否、是 ¹⁵¹	未及	皆無
48	靈運	追尋聖跡	不明	極閑梵語	是、是	不明	皆無
49	僧哲	思慕聖蹤	不明, 為學問僧 ¹⁵²	存情梵本, 頗有日新矣	是、否 ¹⁵³	不明	皆無
50	玄遊	僧哲弟子	不明	不明	是、不明	不明	皆無

¹⁴⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.7a29. The text says his “studies concerns both inner and outer (dimension)”.

¹⁴⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.7b1–2. He encountered dangers in the journey and had to return to China.

¹⁵⁰ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.7b17–20. He fell ill once he arrived in Guangzhou, where he soon died from illness.

¹⁵¹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.8b17–18: 隨其師義淨到室利佛逝, 後因病隨船返回。

¹⁵² *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.8b25–28: 幼敦高節, 早託玄門。而解悟之機, 實有灌瓶之妙; 談論之銳, 固當重席之美。沈深律苑, 控總禪畦。中百兩門, 久提綱目; 莊劉二籍, 亟盡樞關。

¹⁵³ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.8c13–15. According to Yijing, when he returned to China, Sengzhe still remained in India and was unknown for his subsequent journey.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
51	智弘	欲觀禮西天	王玄策之姪, 為學問僧 ¹⁵⁴	諷誦梵本, 月故日新. 閑聲論, 能梵書	是、不明 ¹⁵⁵	有	似無譯經?
52	無行	不明	不明, 為學問僧 ¹⁵⁶	留學多年, 精通梵語	是、不明 ¹⁵⁷		有譯經, 無著述
53、 54、 55	法振、 乘悟、 乘如	思禮聖迹, 有意西遊	不明, 似為學問僧 ¹⁵⁸	不明	否、是 ¹⁵⁹	未及	皆無
56	大津	為巡禮西方	不明	解崑崙語, 頗習梵書	否、是 ¹⁶⁰	未及	皆無

¹⁵⁴ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.8c20–9a12. He is “excellent with writing” 頗工文筆 and has stayed at the Nālandā University for many years.

¹⁵⁵ *T* no. 2066, 51: 1.9a19: 不知今在何所.

¹⁵⁶ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.9a23–c4. He has received excellent education prior to joining the monastic order. He later learned after several masters and is an exemplary scholar-monk.

¹⁵⁷ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.9c5–6: 疑取北天, 歸乎故里.

¹⁵⁸ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.10a16–18. *Yijing* mentions that ‘his learning includes both inside and outside; and his wisdom profound’ 學窮內外, 智思鉤深. But we do not know whom of the three figures this saying is referring to.

¹⁵⁹ *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.10a20–24. Except for Shengru, the other two decided to return to China before they reached India and passed away during the return journey. Only Shengru safely returned to China.

¹⁶⁰ *Da Tang Xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2066, 51: 2.10b2–9. He never reached India but brought *Yijing*’s texts back to China.

No.	Monastic Name (s)	Motive	Background / Education	Indic Language	Whether Arrived in India and Returned to China	Record of pilgrimage	Translation, Travelogue
附1	貞固	有意欲向師子洲頂禮佛牙, 觀諸聖迹, 後受義淨鼓動	為學問僧	似通梵文 ¹⁶¹	否、是 ¹⁶²	未及	皆無
附2	僧伽提婆	貞固弟子	官宦出身, 年幼知書	解骨崙語, 頗學梵書	否、否 ¹⁶³	未及	皆無
附3	道宏	與貞固一起幫義淨取梵本	商人出身, 年幼知書	似通梵文 ¹⁶⁴	否、是	未及	皆無
附4	法朗	同前	家傳禮義門襲冠纓, 年幼知書	似通梵文	否、否 ¹⁶⁵	未及	皆無

¹⁶¹ T no. 2066, 51: 2.12b1–2. The following four figures, according to Yijing.

¹⁶² T no. 2066, 51: 2.12b2–4. The following four figures, according to Yijing, Zhenggu and Daohong returned to China but Falang passed away in the Kingdom of Heling. As for Sengqietipo 僧伽提婆, see the following footnote.

¹⁶³ T no. 2066, 51: 2.12b2–4. 此人後戀居佛逝, 不返番禺。

¹⁶⁴ T no. 2066, 51: 2.12a12: 隨譯隨寫。

¹⁶⁵ T no. 2066, 51: 2.12b2–3: Falang died in Heling Country 訶陵國。

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Abbreviations

- B* *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Lan.
- T* *Taishō shinsbū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
- X* *Manji zoku zōkyō* 卅字續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, *Manji zoku zōkyō*.

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