

Inside story: Spiritual transformations of Malaysian Chinese Buddhist pilgrim

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Abstract

Before his passing, the honourable teacher of Buddhism, Buddha Sakyamuni taught his disciples the importance of the four main pilgrimage destinations – the birthplace, the enlightenment place, the first sermon and his final resting place – and advised his disciples to visit them for spiritual encouragement. That being said, the inward pilgrimage of a Buddhist is through introspection and the discovery of one's inner nature. The idea of travelling to a sacred place is parallel to life in the case of a Buddhist, when the pilgrim's "personal experience becomes an integral component of understanding or 'testing' Buddhist teaching" (Hall, 2006, p.173). From the Buddhist perspective, the life journey is a pilgrimage. This is observable through the pilgrimage experiences of Buddhists from Malaysia and Singapore who are of ethnic Chinese background. Such experiences are potentially transformative in relation to their religious and/or spiritual wellbeing. For the purpose of this essay, I will privilege selected narratives out of a total of 27 in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face, audio-recorded interviews that were conducted as a method of data gathering for my postgraduate research project. Through selected narratives, I will illustrate expressions of spirituality (as compared to religiosity), as well as the sense of becoming spiritual of these Buddhist pilgrims, which are externalised through devotional acts and practices such as pilgrimages. This essay aims to contribute to an under-researched scholarship pertaining to pilgrimages in the Buddhist traditions, and the understanding of religiosity and/or spirituality of Malaysian-Chinese Buddhists.

Keywords: pilgrim, pilgrimage, spirituality, spiritual pilgrimage, Buddhist pilgrimage

Research aim

My personal experiences and observations from going on various Buddhist pilgrimages have inspired this qualitative research that aims to analyse religiosity and/or spirituality of Buddhist pilgrims from Malaysia and Singapore, who are of ethnic Chinese background. In this paper, I aim to illustrate expressions of spirituality and the sense of becoming spiritual that are externalised through devotional practices like pilgrimages. Thereby rethinking meanings and constructions of pilgrimages through selected narratives that are part of my postgraduate research. It is hoped that this research contributes to a deeper understanding of religiosity and/or spirituality of Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese Buddhists that is under-researched and to offer insights within and outside the groves of academe.

Theoretical framework

Pilgrimage is ‘a journey both outwards, to new, strange, dangerous places, and inwards, to spiritual improvement, whether through increased self-knowledge or through the braving of physical dangers’.¹ According to Leeming and Odajnyk, it involves ‘three essential steps’ starting with ‘a significant separation of the pilgrim from home and ordinary life and the journey to a sacred centre [where] separation can be signified by particular clothes, rituals or any consciously unusual behaviour [with] interaction with the sacred [that] involves certain ritual acts [and] the return [which] is always marked by a sense of renewal’.² The journey disengages the pilgrim from everyday life to enter a realm of sacredness, to experience calmness and contentment. In doing so, the pilgrim practices, experiences, and expresses his/her religiosity and/or spirituality. I posit a parallelism in ‘doing gender’³ and in doing pilgrimage. West and Zimmerman state that ‘doing gender is unavoidable’ because the ‘sex-category membership: the allocation of power and resources’ involving social, economic and political power to persons’.⁴ Both categories of ‘gender’ and ‘pilgrimage’ seem to be naturalised but are in fact, constructs: the processes in doing pilgrimage seems naturalised because the processes usually begin from one’s religious affiliation that are thus taken unquestioningly. These inform my analyses in the ways pilgrims deconstruct and reconstruct meanings of pilgrimage, that in turn influences the ways they do pilgrimage.

Method and methodology

This research employs an inductive method of inquiry to generate theories from data gathered. Prior to fieldwork, ethics clearance was sought from the Monash University Humans Research Ethics Committee (MUHREC)⁵ to enable me to conduct this low-risk, non-financial incentive project. A total of 27 in-depth, semi-structured, face-to-face, and audio-recorded interviews were conducted as a method of data gathering; I will privilege selected narratives for this conference paper. All interviews were transcribed, and every quotation analysed and coded.⁶ The coding processes included the assistance of ATLAS.ti, which is a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) for data analyses. The transcribing, coding, and analyses have been vital in grounding my findings through participants’ narratives and presenting them faithfully in my dissertation.

Literature Review

Pilgrimage, one of the earliest and non-economic forms of travel in search of the sacred and holy,⁷ has transformed over time and is recognised synonymous with ‘religious tourism’.⁸ Besides religious connotations and motivations, this form of travel also offers positive feelings and experiences.⁹ Therefore, pilgrimages are reconsidered pertaining to tourism and religion because of its characteristics that have transformed as a consequence of, for instance, globalisation and technological advancements.¹⁰ Due to the secularising of religious traditions and practices, pilgrimages have undergone reinterpretations that are not limited to religious piety. A pilgrim may be motivated to travel because of religion, gender, culture, heritage, nationality, spirituality, memorial sites, or in cyberspace.¹¹

The present day types of pilgrimage are varied: ‘volunteer tourism’¹² is comparable to backpacking because of the unstructured and free-spirited behaviour. ‘[H]eritage tourism’,¹³ which refers to ‘the present-day use of the past’¹⁴ that benefits and becomes meaningful to the personal, local, and international.¹⁵ It is also perceived as ‘cultural tourism’¹⁶ because of the cultural meanings and emotions travellers may experience. Timothy and Boyd view ‘heritage tourism’¹⁷ as pilgrimage or religious tourism because the routes and places have gained recognition over time. Whilst ‘thanatourism’ or ‘dark tourism’ refers to the act of travelling to places where deaths and disasters have occurred.¹⁸ Also, ‘[s]piritual tourism’, as Singh states, ‘is a broad term that includes travellers with many different backgrounds, motivations, and interests, travelling to destinations that have some sort of religious import’.¹⁹ This is a growing market as individuals are increasingly interested in personal growth, unconventional, and non-institutional spiritual thinking and practice such as the ‘new age’²⁰ travel.

In considering both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations, Morinis identifies six types of pilgrimages: devotional, healing, ritual/life cycle, obligatory, wandering, and transformational.²¹ The first four types suggest somewhat structured motivations or piousness in carrying out the pilgrimage. The last two, however, suggest lessening of structure and are observable in my research findings, though I only discuss about the sixth type – transformational pilgrimage – in this paper. A ‘transformational pilgrimage’, according to Morinis has ‘specific and intentional purpose of transforming the self-state of the pilgrim.’²² The distinguishing characteristics of traditional and contemporary pilgrimages, and the six types of pilgrimages are somewhat overlapping. So are the developments involved that encourage transformations in the typologies of pilgrimages. The experiences of a pilgrim regardless of his/her motivations and yearnings to go on a pilgrimage have nonetheless been profound and advantageous for their spiritual development and wellbeing.²³

Therefore, pilgrimages today may not be carried out solely for extrinsic factors motivated by commercial, social, cultural, political, or religious influences. The motivations are well driven by the individual's intrinsic interest in volunteering, spirituality, education, activism, religiosity, seeking for one's roots, or visiting places with memorable events. Historical and social changes have influenced the developments of the typologies of travelling or pilgrimages. With globalisation and modernity, in addition to geographical distances being lessened because of technological advancements and general improvements in people's lifestyles, the differences between pilgrims and tourists are becoming less apparent. In the following discussions, I analyse narratives of two Malaysian-Chinese Buddhists²⁴ that I categorised according to meanings and characteristics of the way they do pilgrimages: The Camper and The Intellect.

The Camper

EmptyRiceBowl, a 28-year old Malaysian Zen Buddhist life coach recalls all the pilgrimages he has performed so far. Interestingly though, he speaks of the first novitiate he participated in at the Seck Kia Eenh Buddhist Temple at Malacca,²⁵ Malaysia. He says:

One of the pilgrimage[s] that is full on Buddhist was the novitiate program. I was a monk for two weeks [laughs]. It just ends up in Malacca, we went to Seck Kia Eenh. You get to experience how to be a monk and... You would practice meditation everyday. And the pilgrimage is the same thing, you practice meditation. We did a *puja*,²⁶ a chanting for... prayers for people who were in need. It was around a sacred tree, a *bodhi* tree,²⁷ which is quite old. [P 2: EmptyRiceBowl.txt - 2:9]²⁸

EmptyRiceBowl associates his novitiate experience as a pilgrimage before describing other experiences of pilgrimages. During the novitiate, he experienced a monastic lifestyle by observing ten precepts,²⁹ shaving off his hair and donning the Buddhist robe 'that is full on Buddhist'. Everyday at the novitiate, EmptyRiceBowl cultivated as part of the monastic community³⁰ such as waking up before sunrise, sitting to do meditation, and engaging in communal chanting and talks. Accordingly, EmptyRiceBowl deems '[a] pilgrimage is the same thing, you practice', amongst others, 'meditation and breathing [that is] a very serious way to really still the mind back to the neutral place so that you can decide anew to follow the way of love or the way of fear', journalling 'because sometimes it's very difficult to contemplate when your thoughts are not still [but] when you put it on paper, it doesn't move', chanting or praying 'and if you really put your heart into it, you create a vibrational feel, it's real, and it's just as simple as how you feel when you sing, you actually feel your vocal chords vibrating and creating... a kind of tremor in your nervous system and that's very nice' (mentioned elsewhere). However, while EmptyRiceBowl recognises his novitiate practices and experiences as being on par with going on a pilgrimage, some pilgrims hold a different perspective. I will use one of their experiences to

exemplify the distinction.

One of participants, Dhammaduta, mentioned that he participated in a novitiate at the age of 17. He delineates that ‘a novitiate is not a pilgrimage’. The former is ‘to experience the life of a member of the *Sangha*’;³¹ this characteristic is expressed in EmptyRiceBowl’s interview excerpt. However, while EmptyRiceBowl recognises a novitiate as one way to do pilgrimage, Dhammaduta holds a different opinion. A novitiate separates the individual from his/her daily commitments to observe a set of precepts in pursuing one’s spiritual training. This is akin to the classic structure of a pilgrimage in that it entails a disengagement from one’s daily commitments to go away from home for religious and/or spiritual purposes, and return with a sense of renewal.³² Additionally, Dhammaduta ascribes a novitiate as where the individual ‘[gives] up the things that [one] will normally do as a layperson, [to spend] time on spiritual cultivation. If one goes under a skilful teacher, [it] can be a very fulfilling experience’. EmptyRiceBowl went through the novitiate and consider that a pilgrimage, not only because of a separation, initiation or a sense of awakening, but also the return and renewal that he experienced.³³ The underlying difference in their perspectives is the way each considers, adopts, and, expresses his religiosity and spirituality. That in turn, has effects on the deconstructions and reinterpretations of meanings and ways that an individual could perform and experience pilgrimage.

So, why is there a need to go on a physical pilgrimage? I draw from EmptyRiceBowl, who is a moderate traveller to elucidate this. His other destinations included Bali, Cambodia, Egypt, and India. Yet, he maintains that it is not compulsory to go from one place to another to do a pilgrimage. He explains:

If you understand the true meaning of pilgrimage, you don’t have to travel [holds]. Because a pilgrimage is really right here, right now. You’re really just sitting still and claiming your spirit back. That’s all you’re doing really. If you understand the real [emphasis] Buddhist teachings as well, I mean, it’s... there’s no form. Form is emptiness, emptiness is form; it’s such a clichéd line in the Buddhist community. And I’m so sick of it but it’s true [emphasis]. It’s not about travelling. But sometimes, as human beings of the flesh and blood, when mistakes happen, and it’s not ideal. Life is never ideal... You need to go through a pilgrimage. But the real meaning, if you really [emphasis] understand, you can claim it back right here, right now, with every breath. You’re always in a pilgrimage, you never left it. [P 2: EmptyRiceBowl.txt - 2:39 (363:396), 2:40 (397:411)]

‘Life is never ideal’, says the Zen Buddhist life coach, EmptyRiceBowl. The four significant encounters – the aged, the ill, the departed, and the recluse – witnessed by Buddha Sakyamuni ‘is not so much that a quest beckons, to which [he] responds, but rather that life “throws” [him] onto the path of separation/alienation [after being] hit with a loss of the wholeness that formerly confirmed one’s sense of self’.³⁴ Siddhartha Gotama³⁵ realises that while living in a world that is seemingly perfect, the limitations of life are inevitable and evident. This realisation was

phenomenal insofar as he decidedly surrendered all the comforts and luxuries he possessed to go in search for answers that are antidotal to the impermanence, dissatisfactions, and limitations in life. Through years of rigorous practice, he did not discover any sort of magic that assures and promises that life will be perfect. But Siddhartha finally learns the wisdom in practising moderation and realises that the nagging displeasures in life experienced by individuals are consequential to perceptions and discriminative assessments that arise from within us.³⁶ This resonates with EmptyRiceBowl's narrative that: 'sometimes, as human beings of the flesh and blood [...] You need to go through a pilgrimage' in order to realise one's personal quest and meanings in life.

Although, 'the experiential framework may be grief, loss, sorrow, or devastation, for such a potential pilgrim, the journey is not primarily about fixing the pain or moving the grief along, but encountering the transformational power of the sacred in the midst of what is being lived'.³⁷ Growing up in a protected environment, the four significant encounters are thus rude awakenings that in turn motivated a transformational journey for Siddhartha Gotama; he had no better way other than to find out for himself. Likewise, EmptyRiceBowl emphasises elsewhere in the interview that 'the Buddha himself has said don't believe everything that I say, experience it for yourself, you are a *buddha*, the difference between you and I is that I'm awaken, you are not'. The quintessence of Buddhist teachings is not to be assumed and presumed, rather, it requires the individual to reflect, contemplate, and meditate so to arrive at one's own insights. EmptyRiceBowl, just as the Buddha did, realises that 'the true meaning of pilgrimage [is that] you don't have to travel. Because a pilgrimage is really right here, right now. You're really just sitting still and claiming your spirit back. You're always in a pilgrimage, you never left it'. The purposeful journey is thus paralleled to the way one lives life. It provides opportunities to help the individual understand, appreciate, and be mindful of living in the present 'right here, right now', which EmptyRiceBowl reiterates. For example, to heal from a past relationship that has been damaging, to rediscover one's passion in life, or understanding the profoundly abstract yet true teaching that '[f]orm is emptiness, emptiness is form', which can only be realised through none other than sincere practice. The pilgrimage, regardless of the way it is done, thus becomes a ground for transformative practise and learning.

The Intellect

Atisha, a 60-year old Malaysian, a father of two adults living outside of Malaysia, has been to India many times for business and only once for a pilgrimage. He associates his first meeting with His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama and reading Buddhist texts and writings as pilgrimage also. In fact, Atisha places significant emphasis on intellectual knowledge as he confesses elsewhere in the interview that '[he] would prefer to read the latest book His Holiness has written and try to understand it rather than to go attend [a pilgrimage]'. Atisha's passion for knowledge

motivates his enthusiasm in reading Buddhist texts and writings because ‘before we can realise what the Buddha actually taught [he thinks] a good foundation in the knowledge of what the Buddha taught is very important’. Reading, moreover, informs the way he practises his faith, and the way he considers and performs pilgrimages. He refers to this as ‘internal pilgrimage’ or ‘mental pilgrimage’.

Although Atisha has not been to Lumbini and Kushinagar, the Buddha’s place of birth and death, he articulates about the places that are special and significant to Buddhists with admirable ease. He demonstrates that ‘a pilgrimage is a manifestation of all that [he has] read’. He says:

One is the external pilgrimage, the actual physical visit to the four holy places. Some say eight if you include like Vesali, Nalanda [and others]. The other one is the internal pilgrimage. How does one go to the pilgrimage itself. For example, look at the four holy sites. Lumbini is a place where the Buddha was born. So, we reflect on what the Buddha talks about this precious human birth. Birth itself, you know. With birth there’s old age, sickness, death. It’s a natural phenomenon.

Then one talks about Bodhgaya, a place where the Buddha became enlightened. So that gives us that faith, that confidence, that despite the fragility of this precious human birth, one is able to attain enlightenment itself in this very life. Maybe not the *Samyaksambuddha* [chuckles], but definitely different levels of enlightenment.

When one thinks about Sarnath where the Buddha preached his first sermon, my internal pilgrimage is... because of the wonderful *dharma* that one has learnt, one should always share it with as many sentient beings as possible. So in the process, we develop the *bodhicitta*, the altruistic mind.

And finally when all is done, there’s Kushinara [chuckles]. That’s the final passing away and you have a mental image of the Buddha pass[ing] away. It’s calm, it’s serene. It’s not one of distress, it’s not one of fear, it’s not one of panic.

So, we look at these four holy sites and we internalise it. To me... I look at it as an internal pilgrimage. If I get a chance to go to those site physically and touch the ground, that’s wonderful [chuckles]. P 5: 5Atisha.txt - 5:29 (482:516)

The above excerpt is unique in the way it chronicles the ‘storied places [...] that reach back into the collective memory of the people who dwell there’,³⁸ in this case it refers to the Buddha. Each place is attached with a simple yet profound meaning to it. Out of the ‘four holy place’ mentioned, Atisha has only visited two of them: Bodhgaya and Sarnath. Interestingly as the narrative demonstrates, it is not readily distinguishable whether Atisha is drawing experiences from an ‘external pilgrimage’ or an ‘internal pilgrimage’. The former refers to ‘the actual physical visit to the four holy places’ and the latter is ‘[h]ow does one go to the pilgrimage itself’ inasmuch as it demonstrates Atisha’s way of doing pilgrimage ‘becomes an integral component of understanding or “testing” Buddhist teaching’.³⁹ By ‘reflect[ing] on what the Buddha talks about this precious human birth [...] With birth there’s old age, sickness, death’, that is but ‘a natural phenomenon’, though not easily accepted.

That said, ‘despite the fragility of this precious human birth, [one can have faith and confidence that] one is able to attain enlightenment itself in this very life’. And ‘because of the wonderful *dharma* that one has learnt, one should always share it with as many sentient beings as possible [so to] develop the *bodhicitta*, the altruistic mind’. ‘[F]inally when all is done, there’s Kushinara’, the place that reminds the pilgrim of ‘the final passing away and [one has] a mental image of the Buddha pass[ing] away. It’s calm, it’s serene. It’s not one of distress, it’s not one of fear, it’s not one of panic’. ‘The longest journey’, therefore, ‘is the journey inward... Wrestling with painful realities and injustices, and resisting the urge to be satisfied with the way our life is, or the way the world is, is at the heart of spiritual growth’.⁴⁰

Conclusion

One characteristic that differentiates traditionally structured pilgrimages from personalised, individualised, and less structured pilgrimages is that the former emphasises being at physical sacred spaces for the purpose of doing pilgrimage whereas the latter emphasises doing pilgrimage regardless of location. Although it seems the way Buddhists could do pilgrimage is scripted and thus naturalised but are in fact, constructs. The yearning and motivation to connect with and express one’s faith are not reduced by the way the individual does this purposeful journey. This is why research on pilgrimages or Buddhist studies requires deeper understanding of how individuals experience their pilgrimages faith and look for new ways to appreciate spiritual and/or religious expressions in doing pilgrimages.

Notes

¹ Richard Barber, *Pilgrimages* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1991), 1.

² David Leeming and Walter Odajnyk, 'Announcement and Call for Articles: The Blanton-Peale "Encyclopedia of Psychology and Religion", with Sample Articles on Pilgrimage and Angels', *Journal of Religion* 40, No. 2 (2001): 269.

³ Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, 'Doing Gender', in *The Social Construction of Gender*, ed. J. L. Lorber and S. A. Farrell (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991), 62–74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁵ The project number of this research is CF13/124 - 2013000043

⁶ A code is the smallest unit of meaning and will help generate themes that will formulate the chapters of my dissertation.

⁷ I draw from the scholarship of Antoni Jackowski and Valene L. Smith, 'Polish Pilgrim-Tourists', *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, No. 1 (1992): 92–106; Gisbert Rinschede, 'Forms of Religious Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, No. 1 (1992): 51–67; Vasanti Gupta, 'Sustainable Tourism: Learning from Indian Religious Traditions', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management* 11, No. 2 (1999): 91–95; Ian Reader, 'Pilgrimage Growth in the Modern World: Meanings and Implications', *Religion* 37, No. 3 (2007): 210–229; Pimmada Wichasin, 'Stūpa Worship: The Early Form of Tai Religious Tourism', *Contemporary Buddhism* 10, No. 1 (2009): 185–191.

⁸ I draw from the scholarship of Antoni Jackowski and Valene L. Smith, 'Polish Pilgrim-Tourists', *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, No. 1 (1992): 92–106; Gisbert Rinschede, 'Forms of Religious Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, No. 1 (1992): 51–67; Valene L. Smith, 'Introduction: The Quest in Guest', *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, No. 1 (1992): 1–17; Dallen J. Timothy and Daniel H. Olsen, eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2006. Viewed 29 August 2012. <<http://reader.eblib.com.au.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/>>; Dallen J. Timothy and Stephen W. Boyd, 'Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives', *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1, No. 1 (2006): 1–16; Wichasin, 'Stūpa Worship'; Noga Collins-Kreiner, 'Researching Pilgrimage: Continuity and Transformations', *Annals of Tourism Research* 37, No. 2 (April 2010): 440–456.

⁹ I draw from the scholarship of Antoni Jackowski and Valene L. Smith, 'Polish Pilgrim-Tourists', *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, No. 1 (1992): 92–106; Gisbert Rinschede, 'Forms of Religious Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, No. 1 (1992): 51–67; Valene L. Smith, 'Introduction'; Timothy and Olsen, *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*; Wichasin, 'Stūpa Worship'.

¹⁰ I draw from the scholarship of Jason M. Fish and Mary Fish, 'International Tourism and Pilgrimage: A Discussion', *Journal of East and West Studies* 22, No. 2 (1993): 83–90; Nancy L. Frey, *Pilgrim Stories: On and off the Road to Santiago, Journeys along an Ancient Way in Modern Spain*, 1st ed. (University of California Press, 1998); Simon C. Woodward, 'Faith and Tourism: Planning Tourism in Relation to Places of Worship', *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development* 1, No. 2 (2004): 173–186; Thomas S. Bremer, 'Tourism and Religion', ed. L. Jones, *Encyclopedia of Religion* (Detroit, USA: Macmillan Reference, 2005). Viewed 7 September 2012.

<<http://go.galegroup.com.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/>>; Timothy and Olsen, *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*; Siv Ellen Kraft, 'Religion and Spirituality in Lonely Planet's India', *Religion* 37, No. 3 (2007): 230–242; Reader, 'Pilgrimage Growth in the Modern World'; Wichasin, 'Stūpa Worship'.

¹¹ I draw from the scholarship of Smith, 'Introduction'; Amy Kautz, 'Peace Pilgrim: An American Parallel to a Buddhist Path', *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 10 (1990): 165–172; Michael C. Hall, 'Buddhism, Tourism and the Middle Way', in *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*, eds. D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2006), 172–185, Viewed 19 August 2012 <<http://reader.eblib.com.au.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/>>; Pekka Mustonen, 'Volunteer Tourism: Postmodern Pilgrimage?', *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 3, No. 3 (2006): 160–177;

Timothy and Olsen, *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*; Yaniv Poria, Avital Biran, and Arie Reichel, 'Tourist Perceptions: Personal vs. Non-Personal', *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 1, No. 2 (2006): 121–132; Seng Guan Yeoh, 'Religious Pluralism, Kinship and Gender in a Pilgrimage Shrine: The Roman Catholic Feast of St. Anne in Bukit Mertajam, Malaysia', *Material Religion* 2, No. 1 (March 2006): 4–37; Reader, 'Pilgrimage Growth in the Modern World'; Bridget Blomfield, 'Markers of the Heart: Finding Spirituality in a Bus Marked "tourist"', *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion* 6, No. 2 (2009): 91–105; Gyan P. Nyaupane, 'Heritage Complexity and Tourism: The Case of Lumbini, Nepal', *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 4, No. 2 (2009): 157–172; Wichasin, 'Stūpa Worship'.¹² Mustonen, 'Volunteer Tourism'.

¹³ I draw from the scholarship of Poria, Biran, and Reichel, 'Tourist Perceptions'; Timothy and Boyd, 'Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century'; Nyaupane, 'Heritage Complexity and Tourism'.

¹⁴ Timothy and Boyd, 'Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century'.

¹⁵ I draw from the scholarship of Poria, Biran, and Reichel, 'Tourist Perceptions'; Timothy and Boyd, 'Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century'; Nyaupane, 'Heritage Complexity and Tourism'.

¹⁶ Timothy and Boyd, 'Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century'.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁸ Collins-Kreiner, 'Researching Pilgrimage', 445.

¹⁹ Upinder Singh, "Exile and Return: The Reinvention of Buddhism and Buddhist Sites in Modern India," *South Asian Studies* 26, no. 2 (2010): 202, doi:10.1080/02666030.2010.514744.

²⁰ I draw from the scholarship of Daniel H. Olsen and Dallen J. Timothy, 'Tourism and Religious Journeys', in *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*, ed. Dallen J. Timothy and Daniel H. Olsen (Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2006), 1–21. Viewed 19 August 2012.

<<http://reader.eblib.com.au.ezproxy.lib.monash.edu.au/>>; Reader, 'Pilgrimage Growth in the Modern World'; Collins-Kreiner, 'Researching Pilgrimage'.

²¹ Quoted in Alan Morinis, ed. *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 1992), 10.

²² *Ibid.*

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²³ I draw from the scholarship of Peter Magnin, 'Messengers of Light: Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims in India', *The Unesco Courier*, May 1995; Frey, *Pilgrim Stories*; Koon San Chan, *Buddhist Pilgrimage*, 1st ed. Malaysia: Subang Jaya Buddhist Association, 2001. Viewed 9 August 2012 <http://www.buddhanet.net/pdf_file/buddhistpilgrimage.pdf>; Hall, 'Buddhism, Tourism and the Middle Way'; Mustonen, 'Volunteer Tourism'; Olsen and Timothy, 'Tourism and Religious Journeys'; Poria, Biran, and Reichel, 'Tourist Perceptions'; Timothy and Boyd, 'Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century'; Kraft, 'Religion and Spirituality in Lonely Planet's India'; Reader, 'Pilgrimage Growth in the Modern World'; Blomfield, 'Markers of the Heart'; Nyaupane, 'Heritage Complexity and Tourism'; Schmidt, 'Transformative Pilgrimage'; Collins-Kreiner, 'Researching Pilgrimage'.

²⁴ Malaysia is part of the Southeast Asian region, is unique for its ethnic, cultural, and religious pluralism. According to the Department of Statistics of Malaysia, in 2010, the country demography of a population that is more than 26 million people is made of up 67.4% Bumiputera (translated as son of the soil), 24.6% Chinese, 7.3% Indian, 0.7% Others whose religious affiliations comprise of 61.3% Islam, 19.8% Buddhism, 9.2% Christianity, 6.3% Hinduism, 1.3% Confucianism, Taoism, and Tribal/Folk/Other traditional Chinese religion, 1.0% Unknown, 0.7% No religion, and 0.4% Other Religion.

²⁵ This is one of the fourteen states of Malaysia.

²⁶ The term conveys the practices of bowing, chanting, and making offerings as expressions of honour and reverence.

²⁷ The *bodhi* tree is where Siddhartha Gotama progressed and gained enlightenment, and is thus

deemed sacred to Buddhists.

²⁸ This is generated by ATLAS.ti, which is a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) used for this study: “P 1” refers to Primary Document 1 or interview transcript 1, followed by the preferred pseudonym of the participant, i.e. “Loke”. Finally, PD 1: quotation 15 (lines 86 to 112).

²⁹ I refer to Anil Goonewardene, ‘Lay Person’s Morality’, in *Buddhayaana: Living Buddhism* (London: Continuum), 147–152 to summarise the ten precepts as, to avoid: 1) harming, 2) taking, 3) unchaste conduct, 4) wrong speech, 5) intoxicated, 6) food, 7) entertainments, 8) adornments, 9) luxurious seats, and 10) dealing with money.

³⁰ Alternatively known as *Sangha* in Pali and Sanskrit language.

³¹ [P13: Dhammaduta.txt - 13:16 (288:294)]

³² Leeming and Odajnyk, ‘Announcement and Call for Articles: The Blanton-Peale “Encyclopedia of Psychology and Religion”’, with Sample Articles on Pilgrimage and Angels’.

³³ Schmidt, ‘Transformative Pilgrimage’.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

³⁵ This is the Buddha’s name prior to becoming an enlightened being.

³⁶ Karen Armstrong, *Buddha*, 2nd ed. (London: Phoenix, 2002).

³⁷ Schmidt, ‘Transformative Pilgrimage’, 70.

³⁸ Quoted in Belden C. Lane, *Landscapes of the Sacred* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 15.

³⁹ Hall, ‘Buddhism, Tourism and the Middle Way’, 173.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Dag Hammarskjold, *Markings* (New York: Knopf, 1970), 48.

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