



# बौद्ध सर्किट

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## THE BUDDHIST CIRCUIT

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### IN SOUTH ASIA



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**THE BUDDHIST CIRCUIT**

A PROGRAM FOR THE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE

BUDDHIST CIRCUIT

IN SOUTH ASIA

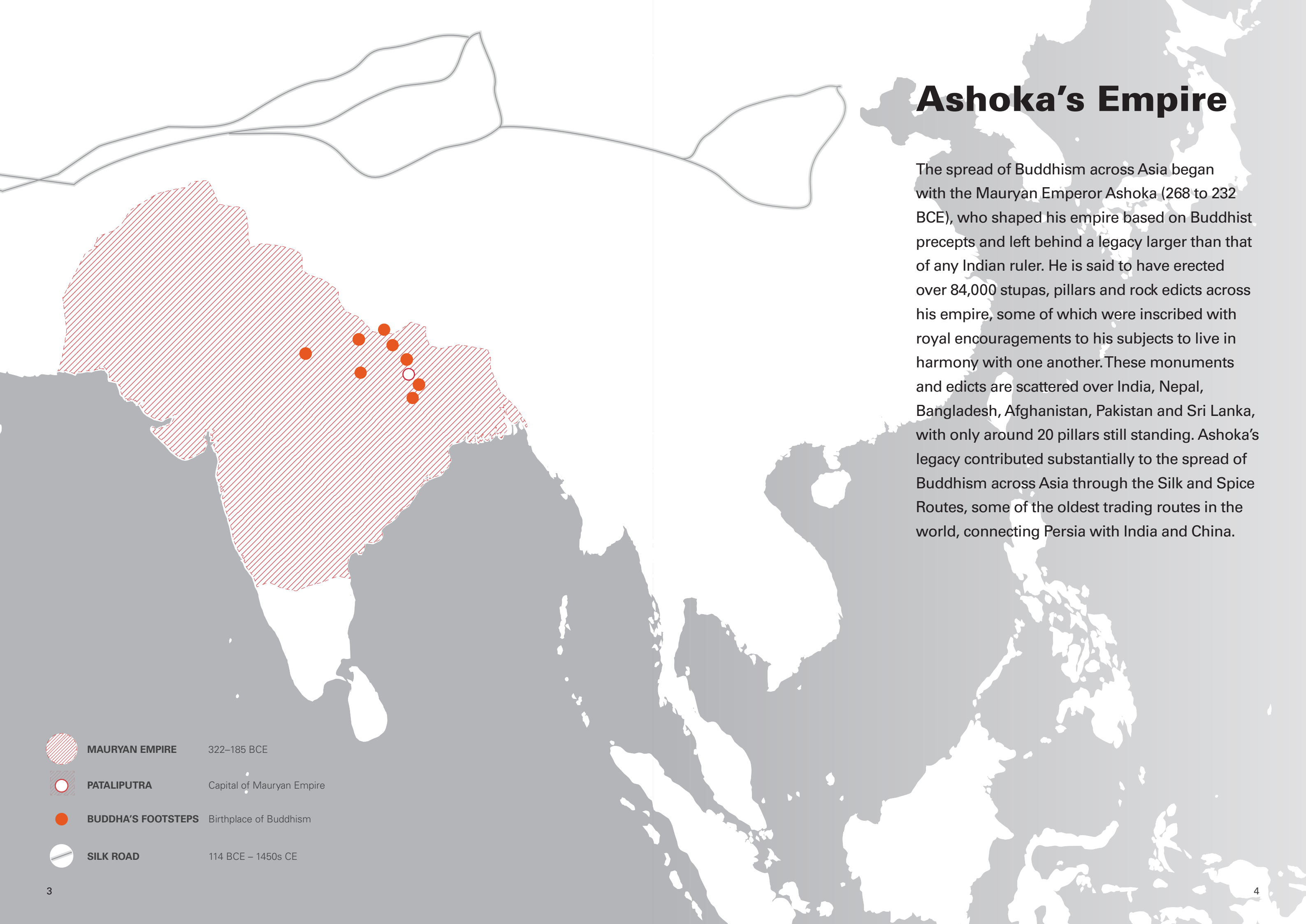
# Buddha's Footsteps

“There are four places, the sight of which will arouse strong emotions in those with faith. Here the Tathagata was born. Here the Tathagata attained enlightenment. Here the Tathagata set in motion the wheel of the Dharma. Here the Tathagata attained final Nirvana. And the monk, the nun, the layman or the laywoman who has faith should visit these places.”<sup>1</sup>

The Buddhist Circuit is a route that follows in the footsteps of the historical Buddha from Lumbini in Nepal where he was born, through Bodh Gaya in Bihar, India where he attained enlightenment, to Sarnath and Kushinagar in Uttar Pradesh, India, where he gave his first sermon and attained Mahaparinirvana. Four additional sites in the region are linked to some of Buddha's most significant life events: Rajgir and Vaishali in Bihar and Sravasti and Sankasia in Uttar Pradesh. These eight sites constitute an “inner circle” of the Buddhist Circuit, from which Buddhism would spread.







- 1 **LUMBINI** Where Buddha was born
- 2 **BODHGAYA** Where Buddha attained enlightenment
- 3 **SARNATH** Where Buddha delivered his first sermon
- 4 **KUSHINAGAR** Where Buddha attained Mahaparinirvana
- 5 **RAJGIR** Where Buddha was first offered land for the Sangha
- 6 **VAISHALI** Where Buddha ordained nuns for the first time
- 7 **SRAVASTI** Where Buddha spent 24 rain retreats teaching
- 8 **SANKASIA** Where Buddha returned to earth after teaching his mother



# Ashoka's Empire

The spread of Buddhism across Asia began with the Mauryan Emperor Ashoka (268 to 232 BCE), who shaped his empire based on Buddhist precepts and left behind a legacy larger than that of any Indian ruler. He is said to have erected over 84,000 stupas, pillars and rock edicts across his empire, some of which were inscribed with royal encouragements to his subjects to live in harmony with one another. These monuments and edicts are scattered over India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, with only around 20 pillars still standing. Ashoka's legacy contributed substantially to the spread of Buddhism across Asia through the Silk and Spice Routes, some of the oldest trading routes in the world, connecting Persia with India and China.





-  **MAURYAN EMPIRE** 322–185 BCE
-  **PATALIPUTRA** Capital of Mauryan Empire
-  **BUDDHA'S FOOTSTEPS** Birthplace of Buddhism
-  **SILK ROAD** 114 BCE – 1450s CE

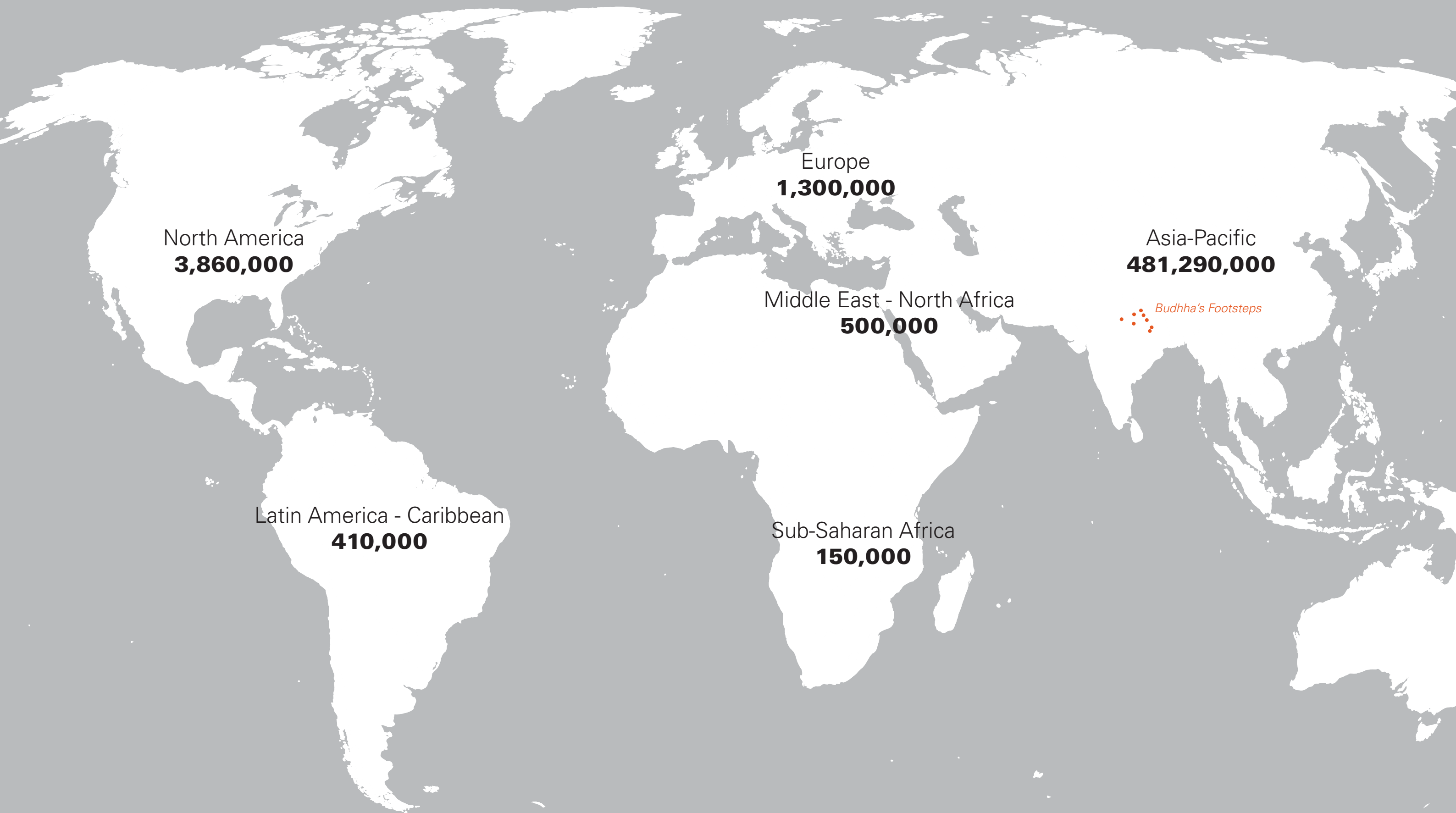


# Faxian & Xuanzang Journeys

With the trade routes, scholars, pilgrims and missionaries had access to faraway lands, erecting monasteries and statues, inscribing rock faces and sharing the teachings of the Buddha. As a result, the routes became a vehicle for cultural exchange and adoption of Buddhism beyond South Asia in China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam and Indonesia.

Of the eminent figures who traveled the Silk Route, two are seen as the most important for the history of Buddhism. Faxian (337 AD – 422 AD), a Chinese Buddhist monk, and Xuanzang (602 AD – 664 AD), a Chinese Buddhist monk and scholar, walked from China to India and visited a number of the most sacred Buddhist sites in today's India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. During their journeys, they collected Buddhist texts and teachings and took them back to China for translation and dissemination, further spreading Buddhism beyond South Asia.

-  **FAXIAN TRAIL** 399 – 412 CE
-  **XUANZANG TRAIL** 629 – 645 CE
-  **SILK ROAD** 114 BCE – 1450s CE
-  **BUDDHA'S FOOTSTEPS** Birthplace of Buddhism



There are about **490 million** Buddhists around the world...

...of which only **0.005%** visit the sacred Buddhist sites of South Asia<sup>2</sup>



Despite being ranked 9th by the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index<sup>3</sup> in terms of its cultural resources, India is ranked 40th out of 136 countries in terms of tourism competitiveness in 2017, while Nepal ranks at 103, Bangladesh at 125, Bhutan at 78 and Sri Lanka at 64.



## Understanding the Challenges

Despite the significance of South Asian Buddhist heritage and the fact that around 490 million Buddhists worldwide strive to visit some of these most sacred sites in their lifetime, the Buddhist Circuit as one integrated whole has not been successfully developed. This is due to a combination of challenges, including:

- A lack of common identity and linkages between sites and across the region
- Restrictive policies and regulations
- Low institutional capacity, uncoordinated strategies and ad hoc investments
- Cumbersome travel routes and modes and poor connectivity
- Inadequate infrastructure and low-quality or non-existent basic and tourism-related services
- Lack of accurate and engaging interpretation
- Lack of immersive activities linked to Buddha's teachings and life
- Perceived lack of safety and comfort.

As a result, only 0.005% of Buddhists actually visit the sacred Buddhist sites of South Asia.<sup>2</sup>

Previous investments along the Buddhist Circuit have been largely limited to the site level in their scope, without locating the sites in their broader historical contexts and landscapes through, for instance, the provision of physical and interpretative connections with other significant Buddhist sites. The resulting interventions and attractions offer the visitor only a narrow understanding of Buddhist heritage and fail to establish an overall identity for this wealth of assets, weakening its integrity as a unique asset for development in South Asia.

In addition, previous investments have not established socioeconomic linkages between Buddhist assets and local communities, focusing instead on small-scale beautification and ad-hoc site improvements. The communities residing in and around the sites are therefore often excluded from the economic and social benefits of such heritage, diminishing their sense of ownership and role in the stewardship of the sites and their surrounding sacred landscapes.

As a result of the lack of a common identity, integrity and local linkages, the South Asian Buddhist Circuit remains highly uncompetitive in comparison to similarly significant pilgrimage routes around the world. Visitation is limited and opportunities for improved services, job creation and revenue generation for local communities are generally missed.

Acknowledging these challenges and untapped opportunities, South Asian countries have shown a commitment to establishing and applying an inclusive approach to the development of the Buddhist Circuit as a holistic and inclusive pilgrimage route and tourism product across the region.





# Unlocking the Potential

South Asia’s remarkable Buddhist heritage and its development as a holistic and inclusive pilgrimage route and tourism product represents a unique opportunity for bringing a wide spectrum of jobs and improved services to the doorstep of impoverished villagers and urban dwellers, while also better stewarding the region’s sacred assets and catering to the aspirations of Buddhists around the world.

Tourism, if well structured, managed and regulated, has major inclusive potential, given that it is labor intensive for both skilled and unskilled segments, creates backward linkages with other economic sectors, strengthens identity and social capital, promotes small-scale entrepreneurship—especially of poor women and youth—and funds basic infrastructure and services in areas often overlooked by traditional development schemes.

In 2016, tourism in South Asia contributed a total of US\$252.9 billion to the region’s combined GDP (directly and indirectly) and US\$39.9 billion in investments. The region leads globally in tourism growth as a contribution to GDP, and is set to remain first worldwide for at least the next 10 years, with tourism forecasted to comprise 9.5 percent of South Asia’s combined GDP by 2027. There are more people directly employed in travel and tourism in South Asia than in any other region in the world, with the sector supporting over 28 million jobs regionally.<sup>3</sup> Globally, tourism employment consists of 50 percent women and 50 percent youth (under 25),<sup>4</sup> illustrating the inclusive growth potential of tourism with the coordinated removal of inhibiting bottlenecks.

The Buddhist Circuit’s market potential is unmatched, with around 490 million Buddhists and approximately 1.1 billion leisure tourists travelling worldwide. The Asia Pacific market—home to 98% of the global Buddhist population—is driving global tourism growth.

Forecast of outbound trips from top Asia Pacific markets by 2021 <sup>5</sup>

Rank based on number of trips	Country	Trips (in millions)	Budhist population <sup>6</sup> (in millions)
1	China	103.4	218.09
2	South Korea	25.6	12.48
3	India	21.5	9.31
4	Japan	19.4	70.59
5	Taiwan	16.3	6.19
6	Malaysia	14.2	1.50*
7	Australia	11.8	0.47*
8	Singapore	11.7	0.75*
9	Indonesia	10.6	1.94*
10	Thailand	9.1	59.27





# Developing the Buddhist Circuit

There is recognition within South Asia that unleashing the potential of the region's Buddhist heritage for inclusive development requires a regional-level approach, given that Buddhist assets straddle borders and share common attributes and bottlenecks. A shared vision and strong platform for decision-making, a joint action plan, enhanced infrastructure and services, and improvements in regulatory frameworks and business environment are required.

As a response, governments in the region requested support from the World Bank in the preparation and implementation of a regional-level program for the development of the Buddhist Circuit in an inclusive manner.

The formulation of this program was initiated in 2014 with visits by the World Bank team to some of the main places associated with Buddha's journey through South Asia. This process of retracing Buddha's footsteps was informed by scholarly research on Buddha's teachings (Sutras, Tripi akas and Vinayas) delivered in these places. Resulting maps and a conceptual framework were presented to Elders and Monastics in Southeast Asia and worldwide for review and validation of their accuracy and authenticity. Consultations were also carried out with policy makers, private investors and local stakeholders to ensure relevance and local ownership.

To inform this dialogue and policy making process, desk reviews and in-depth analyses of constraints and opportunities for effective development of the Buddhist Circuit were also conducted. These analyses were complemented by assessments of good global practices in developing pilgrimage and tourist routes with lasting local benefits, used as references. These reconnaissance visits, together with research and consultations, led to the definition of the program's scope, pillars and activities.

Launched in 2016, the program provides Ministries of Tourism with technical assistance, analytical work, financing and

advisory support to the implementation of actions agreed upon by regional governments, Buddhists and other key stakeholders. It builds on, leverages and expands previous initiatives taken by various South Asian governments and partners aimed at facilitating tourism in the region\*. It seeks to take such initiatives to the next level by tying them together under a common decision-making platform and ensuring the necessary shared, long-term approach and collective action.

At its core, the program focuses on six pillars of action aimed at creating a more immersive and richer experience for Buddhist Circuit visitors and communities alike. These are:

- Shared brand identity and coherent design guidelines for the revitalization of Buddhist sites and destinations, including a common marketing and branding strategy at the site, destination and Circuit levels;
- Guidelines for inclusive public investments;
- Strategy to engage, incentivize and scale up private investments;
- Policy and regulatory support to increase private investment;
- Strategy to generate economic and job opportunities for local communities, especially poor women; and
- Plan for improved regional connectivity and travel facilitation.

Implementation of the program began in India, where most places associated with Buddha's life are located. The lessons learned through this initial implementation will be shared with other South Asian countries with rich Buddhist heritage, such as Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Afghanistan and beyond, in a phased manner.

\* For instance, a technical committee on tourism, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) of Tourism, was established in 1991 with the aim of crafting a regional tourism action plan. Between 2001-2012, the Asian Development Bank provided advisory support to regional governments in creating the South Asia Sub-Regional Economic Cooperation (SASEC) Tourism Working Group. The World Bank is currently providing such advisory support, for instance through assistance to the governments of India, Nepal and Bhutan on sustainable tourism growth.







# Regional Program for Buddhist Circuit Development

## *Current Activities*

- ① **Shared Brand Identity and Marketing**
- ② **Guidelines for Inclusive Public Investment**
- ③ **Strategy to Engage, Incentivize and Scale Up Private Investments**
- ④ **Policy and Regulatory Support to Increase Private Investment**
- ⑤ **Strategy to Generate Economic and Job Opportunities for Local Communities**
- ⑥ **Plan for Improved Regional Connectivity and Travel Facilitation**
- ⑦ **Facilitation of Regional Platform**





## 1 Shared Brand Identity and Marketing Strategy

Currently, South Asian countries depend on fragmented visual identities and related branding strategy that do not adequately represent Buddha's teachings and life in South Asia, nor tie the countries' most significant Buddhist assets together as a connected, thematic pilgrimage route and tourism product.

The program supports the formulation of guidelines for a unique brand identity and marketing strategy for the Buddhist Circuit as a whole with the objective of enhancing people's understanding of the value of these assets from a historic, religious and cultural perspective, while better positioning the Circuit as a tourism product in the region and globally.

The suggested brand identity guidelines and marketing strategy draw on research and consultations as well as the findings of an in-depth regional market demand analysis. They aim to promote the places and experiences that are most respected and recommended by Elders, devotees, and locals, among other key stakeholders. To this end, they facilitate the use of the most effective branding techniques and marketing products and tactics, such as video and multimedia production, and a rich, engaging website, among others. The branding strategy also includes details on how to provide practical information about places, attractions and businesses in the region to engage travelers and encourage them to explore the Buddhist destinations throughout the region in a more informed and fulfilling manner.

*The Buddhist Circuit graphic identity is a distillation of concepts drawn from South Asian Buddhist history, culture, and identity - synthesized into two highly recognizable brand marks:*



### BRAND MARK 1 (INNER CIRCUIT)

*Throughout the inner circuit, the Buddha's footsteps serve as both a guiding path through Buddhist teachings and a grounding connection to the specific places and moments of his journey. With its roots in historical Buddhist iconography, the footprint is also a universal motif familiar to a wide range of visitors of diverse backgrounds and beliefs.*



### BRAND MARK 2 (OUTER CIRCUIT)

*Throughout the outer circuit, the Dharmachakra serves as a symbol of the interconnected nature of the entire Buddhist Circuit. Radiating from the Buddha's origins in northeastern India, it connects everyone around the world who follows Buddhist teachings or is interested in discovering more about Buddhism and its history.*





## 2

## Guidelines for Inclusive Public Investment

Many previous investments in Buddhist sites have led to physical interventions that are aesthetically inconsistent across sites and destinations, insensitive to natural and historical contexts and that exclude local communities from the subsequent benefits of the interventions.. Such interventions not only hinder the development of a shared identity and local sense of ownership for the Circuit but are often detrimental to the character and integrity of the individual sites and the destinations.

The World Bank is currently supporting the state Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh in India to develop a number of Buddhist sites through investment projects in these states. The projects include the development of new tourist products that follow routes corresponding to the historical Buddha's footsteps and Ashoka's influence across the country. The development of these products is expected to create new, authentic experiences for devotees and tourists based on the history of Buddhism as well as local traditions. The locations and activities supported under these projects have been defined based on extensive consultations with state and local stakeholders, as well as scholarly research validated by members of religious and monastic bodies to ensure authenticity.

Under the program, the lessons learned through the preparation of these investment projects are being used to develop a comprehensive set of guidelines to ensure that all related projects for the Buddhist Circuit development are designed and implemented in a harmonious manner, while remaining sensitive to the history and the sanctity of each site and its broader context.

The guidelines are being formulated based on a number of global standards and principles, applied to the rejuvenation of pilgrimage routes and development of sustainable tourism products, ultimately aiming to:

- Connect experiences, assets and spaces through a network of multi-use public spaces and walkable areas with a variety of cultural and religious activities along the routes, sites and destinations
- Bring people together to help define the uses, activities and experiences they want to see and be exposed to at each site and destination; and later on, to care for these places and activities
- Foster a locally-grounded identity and distinct behaviors by channeling positive vibrancy into a variety of shared uses and responsibilities
- Rescue and promote the sacred ecological equilibrium and character of sites and their historic landscapes by creating a close connection between human and natural needs
- Encourage site-sustainable solutions to promote pedestrian-friendly public space environments by supporting safe walking, meditation, gathering and recreation while reducing carbon emissions
- Integrate smart infrastructure technologies that transform the quality of life and health for local communities by improving both the visitor experience and the long-term image of the destinations
- Improve design and destination development through urban/rural growth that embraces Buddhist heritage and context with appropriate interpretation and usages.





3

# Strategy to Engage, Incentivize and Scale Up Private Investments

Levels of private investment in and along the Buddhist Circuit are very low due to a number of policy constraints and infrastructure bottlenecks, among other factors. An in-depth understanding of the private sector investment climate across the region is required to stimulate the necessary private sector engagement and investment, particularly to increase the quantity and quality of tourism services and products along the Buddhist Circuit.

To this end, under the program, the market potential for the Circuit was assessed and, based on these findings, leading private investors (both foreign, regional and domestic) are being identified and consulted to better understand the current constraints and what it would take for them to invest in the Buddhist Circuit in South Asia.

Market profile and estimated number of potential visitors to Buddhist sites in India

Budget Devotees	High-Spending Devotees	Special Interest Tourists	Leisure Tourists
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Religion (Buddhism) has a strong influence on all aspects of their lives.</li><li>Often travel in large groups covering the four main sites associated with Buddha’s footsteps.</li><li>Prefer to stay in monastery guest houses and tourist lodges.</li><li>Average length of stay 14 days.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Seek more authentic experiences.</li><li>Interested in Buddhist practices and religious values.</li><li>Avail high priced group packages.</li><li>Preference for premium category hotels and demand value added services.</li><li>Average length of stay 8 days.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Seek new spiritual and cultural experiences.</li><li>High interest in learning about the history, architecture and cultural significance of cultural/heritage sites.</li><li>Prefer to visit few selected Buddhist sites.</li><li>Average length of stay 3-5 days.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Often incorporate few Buddhist sites into their tours.</li><li>Largely comprising of independent tourists</li><li>Preference for good quality services and accommodation.</li><li>Domestic travellers, often travel independently.</li><li>Average length of stay 3-5 days.</li></ul>
<b>Main Source Markets:</b> Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Tibet, India	<b>Main Source Markets:</b> Thailand, Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan	<b>Main Source Markets:</b> USA, UK, Germany, Italy, France, Australia	<b>Main Source Markets:</b> India, Malaysia, Singapore Indonesia, The Philippines
Market estimate: 490 million devotees		Market estimate: 20 million–1.1 billion tourists	





## 4

## Policy and Regulatory Support to Increase Private Investment

Despite being ranked 9th by the 2017 World Economic Forum's Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index in terms of its cultural resources, India is ranked 40th out of 136 countries in terms of tourism competitiveness, while Nepal ranked at 103, Bangladesh at 125, Bhutan at 78 and Sri Lanka at 64. India's main source of competitiveness is price, followed by its rich natural and cultural resources. Its lowest scores, and its major challenges, lie in the provision of tourism services and infrastructure such as quality accommodation and transport. Such challenges stem from a variety of policy and regulatory constraints that are limiting the growth of the tourism sector in general and the development of the Buddhist Circuit in particular.

Under the program, the policy, legal and regulatory barriers to greater private investment in select sectors along the Buddhist Circuit in India were assessed, covering central and state level laws and regulations. In addition, in-depth assessments were carried out in two states in India, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, as example destinations that are key to the history and spread of Buddhism.

These assessments benefited from consultations with policy makers, tourism specialists and private investors in Buddhist destinations in India and in the region. In addition, a compilation of experiences from other countries where tourism plays an important role in the economy was also prepared to illustrate good practices from which South Asian countries may draw in formulating their own reforms.

Based on these assessments, consultations and review of good practices, the main barriers to investment and practical suggestions for reform were identified and subsequently prioritized during a workshop chaired by the Minister of Tourism, Government of India. The program team is currently supporting the Ministry and concerned states in reviewing the existing policies and regulations constraining private investment in tourism services, and this experience will later be expanded to other countries in the region as appropriate.

Ultimately, these reforms are expected to support concerned government agencies at national and state levels to increase private investment in the development of inclusive and sustainable tourism along the Buddhist Circuit.





## 5

# Strategy to Generate Economic and Job Opportunities for Local Communities

Most MSMEs in South Asia are unregistered and face a number of constraints. The quality of physical infrastructure and workforce education are found to be strong predictors of and barriers to entry, with labor laws and household access to banking and finance also playing limiting roles.

Women-owned MSMEs face even more challenges than those owned by men, particularly in terms of access to finance<sup>7</sup>. Higher risk profiles than men, a lack of guarantees and/or support from a male family member, and a non-existent track record or collateral assets often make women ineligible for formal loans. Traditional institutions and gender differences in education and business networks often leave women relatively uninformed about investment opportunities and constrain their involvement in entrepreneurship. In addition, norms governing women's roles in society limit their perceptions not only of what is possible, but also of what is achievable in the workplace.

For these reasons, the program is assessing the constraints and opportunities for the development of MSMEs in general and of unregistered MSMEs in particular along the Buddhist Circuit. To assess the MSMEs landscape and provide a roadmap for its inclusive development, program activities include:

- Mapping and assessing tourism-related MSMEs along the Buddhist Circuit
- Identifying constraints faced by these MSMEs, in particular women-owned enterprises, and especially those in the informal sector
- Providing actionable recommendations to foster the development of and increase income opportunities for these MSMEs, and particularly for women.





## Plan for Improved Regional Connectivity and Travel Facilitation

Connectivity between sites within destinations and at regional and intra-regional levels today is particularly problematic due to restrictive travel policies (e.g., travel facilitation and visa regulations) and infrastructure gaps (e.g., poor roads, inadequate train connections and lack of adequate airports and flights), among other issues. Reliable, fast, safe, multimodal and affordable connectivity between sites of the Buddhist Circuit as well as between the Buddhist Circuit and its main source markets is critical for its sustained development.

To inform public and private investments in connectivity, the program includes activities centering on:

- Assessing current connectivity conditions and gaps and preparing an inventory of existing and planned initiatives to improve connectivity to/from and within the Buddhist Circuit
- Assessing future connectivity needs given the expected growth in number of tourists and their expectations.

Developing a connectivity investment plan and associated policy reforms to fill the current and future connectivity gap. The plan will strive to attract private investments, to the extent possible, in order to leverage and complement public investments





## 7

## Facilitation of Regional Platform

To facilitate regional engagement and coordination among key stakeholders in the development of the Buddhist Circuit, a dedicated regional platform for India, Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh is being proposed, consisting of:

- **A Regional Coordination Committee (RCC)**, comprising of Joint Secretary or equivalent Director General-level tourism representatives from concerned countries, the tourism Principal Secretaries of relevant states, concerned private sector representatives. The RCC would be responsible for:
  - Reviewing the implementation of recommendations and following up with governments/partners on necessary actions
  - Supporting implementation of agreed-upon reforms and resolving inter-departmental/regional issues.
- **A Regional Advisory Committee (RAC)**, comprising of reputable professionals and representatives of cultural entities, such as the Archeological Survey of India and similar bodies that manage Buddhist assets in the region. The RAC would be responsible for:
  - Providing intellectual guidance to the RCC
  - Ensuring that global standards are met.

- **A Regional Secretariat (RS)**, working under the institutional guidance of the RCC and technical guidance of the RAC. The RS would comprise of a competitively selected management consultancy housed at the Ministry of Tourism, Government of India (the program's nodal implementing agency). The RS would be responsible for:
  - Carrying out the day-to-day implementation of the program with technical guidance from the World Bank and advisory support from the RCC and RAC
  - Facilitating regional dialogue
  - Carrying out technical evaluations of draft strategies and plans
  - Ensuring and facilitating knowledge exchange and compiling lessons learned
  - Building capacities in relevant states in India and Ministries of Tourism at the regional level
  - Reporting on implementation progress.









# Expected Impacts

By providing South Asian governments with state of the art approaches, tools and exemplary practices for the development of the Buddhist Circuit in an inclusive and sustainable manner, the program is expected to contribute to:

- 1** Creating a unified identity for the Buddhist Circuit across South Asia
- 2** Leveraging the potential of the region's Buddhist heritage for inclusive growth, with a particular focus on improving the lives of poor communities and women
- 3** Establishing a platform for people-to-people connectivity and appreciation of common ground and differences within and between countries and their diverse cultures/societies
- 4** Unlocking public and private investments for tourism development that are currently underutilized due to policy and regulatory constraints, ineffective approaches, capacities and systems.



**“The Buddha looked up at the trees and said “Ananda, look! It is not yet spring, but the sal trees are covered with red blossoms. Do you see the petals falling on the Tathagata’s robes and the robes of all the bhikkhus? This forest is truly beautiful. Do you see the western horizon all aglow from the setting sun? Do you hear the gentle breeze rustling in the sal branches? The Tathagata finds all these things lovely and touching. Bhikkus, if you want to please me, if you want to express your respect and gratitude to the Tathagata, there is only one way, and that is by living the teaching.””<sup>8</sup>**



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