



Cultural Preservation of Mahayana Buddhism Identity in the Dimension  
of Chinese Shrines: Case Studies of Muang Phuket District,  
Phuket Province

Kittinan Krueaphat

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Degree of Master of Arts in Chinese Studies  
Prince of Songkla University  
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**Thesis Title** Cultural Preservation of Mahayana Buddhism Identity in the  
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## ABSTRACT

There were two objectives of the study. Firstly, the study aimed to comprehend the historical background of Mahayana Buddhism. Secondly, the study purposed to analyze the Mahayana Buddhism maintaining in the Chinese shrine in Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province. Qualitative research methodology was used with non-participant and participant observation as well as formal and informal interview for data collection. The studied people were ritual conductors, shrine committees, shrine caretakers and Overseas Chinese descents who went to the shrines for praying to the gods and participating in the tradition of the shrine.

The result of the study found that Mahayana Buddhism was established in the second council of Buddhist history, and there are two groups of Buddhism established which are Theravada Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism nowadays. Although, Mahayana Buddhism was established in India, the prosperous Mahayana Buddhism was in China. There were the invitation to Indian Buddhist monks, Buddha's images and Sutras from India by Chinese imperial courts in Wei-Jin-Southern-Northern Dynasties. The most significant development of Buddhism in Chinese history was in Tang Dynasties, because various Buddhist doctrines were studied by numerous Chinese imperial bureaucrats and people, many temples were established and numerous Sutras were translated in this period of time. In addition, Overseas Chinese migrated to Thailand because of various geographical and political reasons, they were categorized as people who could perfectly maintain their cultural identity. Thailand was a freedom

of religious belief country, so various Overseas Chinese religious institutions still had in Thailand nowadays. Various Overseas Chinese social activities in Thailand were purposed to create social solidarity of Thailand such as establishing Chinese shrines as a place to share ideas and meet together, Chinese language school for inheritance Overseas Chinese culture and tradition, Chinese Association as well as Surname groups for assisting each other in Thailand.

The above social activities supported the establishment of Chinese shrines, because the shrine was the center of Chinese people in Thailand, especially in Phuket. Chinese shrines originally contained 3 religions and faiths which are Mahayana Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. Morality and social regulation were educated by the teaching of Confucianism, the most significant teaching of Confucianism was “Gratefulness” which was still the main teaching in the Overseas Chinese family institution in Thailand at the moment. The Taoism emphasized the rituals and ceremonies such as necromancy and using Chinese medicine to cure people.

The identity of Mahayana Buddhism in the Chinese shrine represented the Chinese ethnicity such as Chinese style deities, Chinese poem decoration, Chinese auspicious words, Chinese Buddhism doctrines, Chinese arts, and teaching of Chinese deities such as Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and Jigong Arahants. There were also various social activities aiming the maintaining of Mahayana Buddhism as well as inheriting Chinese ethnicity such as praying Mahayana Buddhism Mantras (Songkeng), classes for teaching praying Mahayana Buddhism Mantras, rituals containing Mahayana Buddhism identities as well as annual traditions. Every social activity of the Chinese shrines was supported by bilateral governmental organization and private sectors representing the social solidarity to Phuket Hokkien Culture inheritance.

ชื่อวิทยานิพนธ์	การธำรงรักษาอัตลักษณ์ทางวัฒนธรรมของศาสนาพุทธนิกายมหายานใน มิติของศาลเจ้าจีน กรณีศึกษาอำเภอเมืองภูเก็ต จังหวัดภูเก็ต
ผู้เขียน	นายกิตติพันธ์ เครือแพทย์
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ปีการศึกษา	2560

## บทคัดย่อ

การศึกษาครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาประวัติความเป็นมาของศาสนาพุทธนิกายมหายาน และวิเคราะห์การธำรงศาสนาพุทธนิกายมหายานในศาลเจ้าจีน อำเภอเมืองภูเก็ต จังหวัดภูเก็ต โดยใช้วิธีวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพจากการสังเกตแบบมีส่วนร่วมและไม่มีส่วนร่วมและการสัมภาษณ์แบบเป็นทางการและไม่เป็นทางการ กลุ่มคนที่ศึกษาได้แก่ ผู้ทำพิธีกรรมในศาลเจ้าที่เป็นแบบพุทธมหายาน คณะกรรมการศาลเจ้า คนเฝ้าศาลเจ้า และลูกหลานของชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลที่เข้าไปไหว้พระ สักการะ และร่วมประเพณีของทางศาลเจ้า

ผลการศึกษาพบว่าศาสนาพุทธนิกายมหายานนั้นได้ก่อตั้งขึ้นครั้งแรกในการสังคายนาคครั้งที่ 2 ในประวัติศาสตร์ของศาสนาพุทธ โดยเป็นผลพวงให้เกิดนิกายทั้ง 2 นิกายหลักของศาสนาพุทธในปัจจุบัน คือ นิกายเถรวาท และมหายาน ถึงแม้ว่าศาสนาพุทธนิกายมหายานจะถือกำเนิดขึ้นในอินเดีย แต่กลับมีความเจริญรุ่งเรืองในประเทศจีนสมัยราชวงศ์เว่ยจิ้นใต้และเหนือด้วยการอัญเชิญพระสงฆ์ พระพุทธรูป และคัมภีร์จากอินเดีย ศาสนาพุทธมหายานมีความเจริญรุ่งเรืองที่สุดในประเทศจีนสมัยราชวงศ์ถัง เนื่องจากได้รับการศึกษาพระธรรม ก่อสร้างวัด และแปลพระไตรปิฎกอย่างแพร่หลายด้วยพระราชูปถัมภ์ของราชสำนักจีน ต่อมาเมื่อเกิดการอพยพของชาวจีนโพ้นทะเล ผู้มีอัตลักษณ์ในการธำรงวัฒนธรรมบ้านเกิด ประกอบกับความเป็นอิสระของประเทศไทยด้านการนับถือศาสนา ส่งผลให้เกิดการสร้างศาลเจ้า และวัดพุทธมหายานในประเทศไทย ถึงแม้ว่าประเทศไทยจะมีศาสนาพุทธนิกายเถรวาทเป็นศาสนาประจำชาติ ชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลได้มีกิจกรรมทางสังคมมากมายเพื่อธำรงอัตลักษณ์ของตน และสร้างความเป็นอันหนึ่งอันเดียวกันในสังคมของชนชาติตนในประเทศไทย เช่น สร้างศาลเจ้าเพื่อเป็นสถานที่พบปะ ชุมนุมกันเพื่อแลกเปลี่ยนความคิด โรงเรียนจีนเพื่อถ่ายทอดและสืบสานวัฒนธรรมจีน สมาคมจีนตามภาษาถิ่นเพื่อช่วยเหลือเกื้อกูลกันในกลุ่มย่อย และสมาคมแช่เพื่อสร้างความสามัคคีให้กับคนแช่เดียวกันช่วยเหลือกัน

กิจกรรมทางสังคมเหล่านี้ก่อให้เกิดการสนับสนุนการสร้างศาลเจ้า อันเป็นที่ยึดเหนี่ยวจิตใจของชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลในประเทศไทย โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในอำเภอเมืองภูเก็ต ที่ซึ่งมีจำนวน



ชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลมากมายมาตั้งถิ่นฐานใน ศาสนเจ้าจีนนั้นแต่เดิมมีศาสนาและความเชื่อรวมกันทั้งหมด 3 ชนิด อันได้แก่ ศาสนาพุทธนิกายมหายาน ลัทธิขงจื้อ และลัทธิเต๋า ความเป็นจริยธรรมและระเบียบในการทำให้สังคมเกิดความเรียบร้อยนั้นจะเป็นคำสอนของลัทธิขงจื้อ คำสอนที่สำคัญที่สุดของลัทธิขงจื้อที่สามารถสะท้อนถึงการสอนลูกในสถาบันครอบครัวของชาวจีนโพ้นทะเลคือ คุณธรรมกตัญญู ส่วนลัทธิเต๋าจะเน้นบทบาทหลักไปทางด้านจริยพิธี และการเฉลิมฉลอง เช่น การเข้าทรง การรักษาด้วยยาสมุนไพรจีน

ส่วนอัตลักษณ์ของศาสนาพุทธนิกายมหายานในศาสนาเจ้าจีนนั้นเป็นอัตลักษณ์ที่สามารถสื่อถึงความเป็นชาติพันธุ์จีน เช่น องค์พระแบบจีน คำโคลงคู่แบบจีน ตัวอักษรจีนในการสื่อถึงคำมงคลและคำสอนของศาสนาพุทธ ศิลปกรรมแบบจีน และพระโอวาทจากพระโพธิสัตว์และพระอรหันต์ของจีน เช่น เจ้าแม่กวนอิม และพระอรหันต์จีกง ในศาสนาเจ้าจีนยังมีกิจกรรมอันสื่อถึงการสืบสานคำสอนจากศาสนาพุทธ และอัตลักษณ์ของชาติพันธุ์จีน เช่น การสวดมนต์แบบมหายาน ชั้นเรียนการสวดมนต์ (ซงแก๊ง) พิธีกรรมอันประกอบด้วยความเป็นมหายาน และประเพณีประจำปี ซึ่งกิจกรรมทางสังคมเพื่อสืบสานอัตลักษณ์เหล่านี้ยังได้รับการสนับสนุนจากหน่วยงานทั้งรัฐบาลและเอกชนอันเป็นกิจกรรมทางสังคมที่สื่อถึงความช่วยเหลือเกื้อกูลเพื่อสืบสานวัฒนธรรมฮกเกี้ยนในภูเก็ต

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Statement of the Problem

Buddhism is one of the main religions of the world. Buddhism originated in ancient India by the spread of the Buddha and his followers. There are two doctrines (Nikayas) of Buddhism, which are Mahayana Buddhism (大乘佛教) and Theravada Buddhism (小乘佛教). Mahayana Buddhism emphasizes the way of Bodhisattvas (菩萨) and aims to help all humankind to leave from this suffering world (Phoprasitsat, 2008). However, Theravada Buddhism emphasizes the way of practicing the mind to achieve Nirvana (涅槃). Mahayana Buddhism was brought to China in Han Dynasty (汉朝), and Mahayana Buddhism from China were spread to Northern Asian countries, which are Vietnam, Korea, Japan, Tibet and Bhutan (Gorospe, 2013 & Schirokaver et al, 2013). In addition, most of Theravada Buddhism is spread to Southern Asian countries which are Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Thailand and Laos (Schumacher, 2013).

Thailand is acknowledged as Theravada Buddhism. However, Mahayana Buddhism was brought to Thailand with the immigration of Overseas Chinese people. China had tributary relation (进贡) with Thailand since Sukhothai period. However, Overseas Chinese people immigrated to Thailand for their new life since Ayutthaya period. Most of these Overseas Chinese immigrants were merchants who came to trade with eastern coastal cities and capital cities of Thailand. In Thonburi Period, there were large groups of Overseas Chinese people immigrated to Thailand, because the nationality of King Thaksin the Great was half Thai and Teochew (潮州) (Skinner, 1957, p.45-46). Overseas Chinese immigrants had affected Thai economy positively developed. Furthermore, Overseas Chinese immigrants

gathered their donation and built Chinese hospital in Thailand in the period of King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V).

Numerous researchers found that Overseas Chinese people immigrated to various provinces of Thailand, which are Phuket (Pinpradab, n.d.), Bangkok (Chantawanitch, 2016), Nakorn Pathom (Pattamacharoen, 2001), Songkhla (Keawborisut, 2012), and Pattani (Skinner, 1957). Moreover, some researchers found that Overseas Chinese immigrants also brought their way of life, culture, tradition, faith and religion to Thailand. The evidences of the above finding are China town (唐人街), Mahayana Buddhist temple, Chinese Shrine, Chinese community, and Vegetarian Festival (吃斋节). Vegetarian Festival is one of the most famous festivals in Phuket, and Vegetarian Festival is the origin of Chinese Shrines in Phuket. This festival started when Chinese Opera caravan came to perform in Phuket, and there was a sickness which was hard to be cured in the past. Chinese Opera caravan introduced Vegetarian Festival to Phuket people, and the sickness was slightly disappeared from Phuket. When Chinese Opera caravan would like to go back to China, they found that Phuket people strongly believe in Chinese god and represented explicitly via Chinese Shrine, festival, and ritual. Therefore, they gave all equipment related to the festival and Chinese Shrine to Phuket people, and this faith has preserved till present. Some researchers found that there are three main religion in Chinese Shrines which are Mahayana Buddhism (大乘佛教), Taoism (道教), and Confucianism (儒家) (Pattamacharoen, 2001), and there are also some local Chinese faith (民间信仰) in Chinese Shrines of Muang Phuket District which contains ancestor spirit and heaven (Pumiputavorn, 2007). The shrine was the place of cultural hybridity, and some Chinese Shrines in Phuket has worshiped the Islamic gods, because local Phuket people are Muslim. (Kataoka, 2012).

Some researchers in the field of cultural hybridity described that cultural hybridity phenomenon is difficult to identify the origin of the culture because cultural hybridity is from the combination of various cultures (Praphanturakit, 2008, p.46). However, multiple Chinese Shrine experts in Phuket could identify that most of Chinese Shrines in Phuket are based on Taoism (道教) and local Chinese faith (民间信仰). Furthermore, they could find that Overseas Chinese people who emigrated from southern China established the faith of Chinese Shrine and Vegetarian Festival. In this theoretical opposition, Chinese Shrine experts in Phuket

informed that the identity of Mahayana Buddhism is very difficult to find in Phuket because there are only a few of Mahayana Buddhism identity in Chinese Shrine in Muang Phuket District. Moreover, there is no researcher conduct the identity of Mahayana Buddhism in this specific area.

According to many researches, Chinese shrines in Muang Phuket District were explicit as ritual that organized by Taoism ritual pattern which emphasized on miracle rituals, Chinese god heroes and theism. Spirit medium is the main subject of miracle rituals. Phuket people have believed that having faith in spirit medium of Chinese gods could eliminate blinding luck and bring good luck to their life (Phuket Bulletin Editorial Board, 2017). Numberless researchers used the method of studying historical background for identifying culture in cultural hybridity phenomena (Pattamacharoen, 2001; Chanasakun, 2016; Pinpradab, n.d.).

Hence, the researcher studies the background and history of Mahayana Buddhism to indicate Mahayana Buddhism symbol in Muang Phuket District. The symbols of Mahayana Buddhism are in the shrine because there are some preservation from the shrines themselves and some supports from governmental organizations and private sectors who similarly share the function of cultural preservation. Mahayana Buddhism is one of the main reasons reducing differences between Thai and Chinese cultures, because Mahayana is similarly Buddhism as Theravada Buddhism. There are similar Buddha, Three Baskets (Tripitaka) and conducting appropriate action for making merit. In addition, almost all of Thai and Chinese cultures are similar, there are few difficulties for living in Thai domain culture by Chinese. Bilateral culture combines as cultural hybridity, and now the local Phuket government recognized this culture as Phuket culture. The item 11 of the sixteenth section of Local Government Administrative Act in the year of 1999 announced that local government has the duty to preserve art, tradition, folk wisdom and culture (Office of the Council of State, 1999).

From the literature reviews, some Chinese cultures were adapted suiting for Thai culture and the political reasons of Thailand, some tradition were invented for providing safety from Thai government; because, there are several problems occurred by Chinese in the past such as Angyee rebellion, Chinese patriotism and labor strike. Researcher also found during the early period of data

collection that some Mahayana Buddhism masters are invited to conduct the ritual at some Chinese shrines for maintaining Mahayana Buddhism purpose. Therefore, people could not argue to Mahayana Buddhism existence in Phuket.

## **1.2 Objectives**

1.2.1 To study the historical background of Mahayana Buddhism

1.2.2 To analyze Mahayana Buddhism maintaining in Chinese shrines, Muang Phuket District

## **1.3 Significance of the Study**

1.3.1 The result of this study would assist to comprehend the cultural preservation and identity of Mahayana Buddhism that presented through Chinese Shrines in Muang Phuket District.

1.3.2 The result of this study would assist governmental organization to develop the way to preserve the identity of Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese Shrine in Muang Phuket District.

## **1.4 Limitation of the Study**

Researcher had one year limited for both studying and conducting thesis, because scholarship requirement described that researcher was subjected to

graduate in only one academic year. Therefore, researcher had to study for course curriculum, conduct the thesis and study the methodology to correctly conduct the thesis in similar time. The times to conduct the thesis and collect the data were limited. Furthermore, researcher found that there were sufficient related literatures of Mahayana Buddhism, Overseas Chinese society and Chinese Shrines in Thailand. Therefore, this research was aimed to use related theories to analyze the result of the study.

#### **1.4.1 Content**

For the related literature of the study, it focused on 7 related issues of the result and discussion: 1) Mahayana Buddhism establishment in India; 2) Arriving of Mahayana Buddhism to China; 3) Mahayana Buddhism in China and development; 4) Entering of Mahayana Buddhism to Thailand; 5) Chinese shrine and society in Thailand; 6) Entering of Mahayana Buddhism to Phuket; and 6) Chinese shrine and society in Phuket. The related literature did not focus on Mahayana Buddhist temple and culture nowadays, because the significant influences on Chinese shrines in Phuket was from ancient China. Furthermore, the deep studies of small schools of Buddhism in China were not researched in the related literature. In the result, cultural hybridity phenomena in Muang Phuket District was needed to describe the social and cultural phenomena of Phuket. Some area studies were used for analyzing social environment, and bilateral tradition and modern culture in Phuket were analyzed for social changes related to Mahayana Buddhism identity. There was the part of Mahayana Buddhism symbol in Chinese shrines which was not deeply researched on the architecture but culture such as doctrine, god's image, food and drink for worship, ritual equipment, sutras and mantras, art and linguistics. The final part of the result was cultural preservation phenomena of Mahayana Buddhism identity by various shrine's activities.

#### **1.4.2 Area**

There were 3 main destinations of this study, which were 1) Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine (观世音菩萨), 2) Pud Jor Shrine (佛祖庵), and 3) Sang



Tham Shrine (定光堂). Furthermore, some results were from other shrines in Muang Phuket District for supporting information.

### **1.4.3 Time**

This study was conducted from March 2017 to May 2018. The time for data collection (from March 2017 to December 2017) was significantly related to the study, because there were some significance rituals in this period which are Kuan Wu Birthday, Koi Han Festival, Por Tor Festival, Vegetarian Festival, and Sin Confessing Ritual.

## **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

To analyze the social phenomena of cultural preservation of Mahayana Buddhism identity through Chinese Shrines in the target place, six theories were used to conduct the analysis: Cultural Hybridity Theory of Stuart Hall (1990), Invented Tradition Theory of Eric Hobsbawm (2000), Symbol Interpretation of Clifford Geertz (1973), Symbol in Ritual of Victor Turner (1967), Functionalism of Malinowski and Structural Functionalism of Radcliff Brown (1997).

### **1) Cultural Hybridity Theory of Stuart Hall (1990)**

Stuart Hall (1990, p.222-225) described the theory of Cultural Hybridity publishing the book of “Cultural Identity and Diaspora”, he introduced that we should categorizes identity into a kind of production which is bilateral change-able and has no problem to the social organization, the process of identity is never complete and always in the procedure; because, we human are developing and thinking as well as learning new idea and knowledge every day, so the identity is always in process. After human learns something new, their attitude sometimes shapes their identity, for instance a Buddhism disciple who once change his religion

into Christianity; hence, his identity is changed from Buddhism to Christianity. In addition, he learns many teaching, ideology and the thinking way of Christianity, this is a kind of constant production of identity influenced from Christianity socialization. He will at least go to the church one day a week, and he will be presented to read Bible as well as the way of Christianity which could shape him different from Buddhism socialization.

Stuart Hall presented two cultural identity comprehensions. The first is to comprehend the cultural identity as a shared culture providing people grasp the idea of one true self; furthermore, there are also some connotation inside the culture. Culture is an equipment made by humans describing themselves which inheriting from the ancestors. Normally, shared cultural distinctiveness refers to the history through various symbol, for instance there are various symbols in the Chinese shrines representing Chinese cultures such as Chinese god deities, calligraphically fortunate Chinese words, as well as dragon figures. People normally realize that when they see these symbol, they actually originate from China. Furthermore, red color is also the culture which refers to China, it refers to the past that Chinese believed that red color bringing good fortune to their life, and it means prosperity and famous (红) in Chinese language.

Identity in the comprehension of Stuart Hall is “Oneness”, meaning the description of individual, he described that his oneness is a child who was born in lower-middle-rank family in Jamaica and spending his all life in England, in the background of black diaspora. This information is also able to discovery from various style of presentation such as cinematic and conversational presentation. According to the experience, the researcher also found that there are various biographical movies showing in the cinema, such as Steve Jobs, Stephen Hawking, and Copying Beethoven; furthermore, these movies express the oneness and identity of each individual by using cinematic representation democratically. The principle of cultural identity plays significant role in colonization which shape the world nowadays. Because, the countries nowadays are separated by cultural differences, this notion is also the central vision of Negritude poet in the early centuries. This principle influences on the inspired force represented by marginal people. There are individual unlikeness, rejection, defeasance, assimilation in this kind of culture, but there is also respecting the culture of the others.

Meanwhile, there is also a new cultural practice in the society, this pattern of cultural practice is to refuse the cruel colonization influences to black people in Africa. They were slavery because of the effect of colonization, most of them are in The Black Triangle (Africa, the Caribbean, the USA and the UK). Fanon suggested a kind of cinematic representation, it is a photograph of this cruel situation. Fanon described this colonization is bad cultural practice in the society and it is also the inappropriate logic which misrepresenting cultural practice leading to the 'hidden history'. The example photograph is a kind of hidden identity which could play significant role in the social movement. The objective of the photograph is to provide the solidarity of African diaspora who are the black slavery influenced by colonization. The gap of the separation between inadequate people rights could be the transportation, slavery and migration which are the 'loss of identity'. The cinematic and visual representation of the West are very powerful challenging for identity pretension.

For the second form of comprehension, it is a different view of cultural identity from the first comprehension. Many points of similarity and critical points of significance dissimilarity establish the identity. We could not spend too much of time to describe the truth of this kind of cultural identity without acknowledging opposite site; meanwhile, the second form is about 'one experience and one identity' could influence the separation, discontinuity which make the uniqueness of the Caribbean. Therefore, the second form of identical comprehension is a kind of high individualism which describe the identity as something different from people. This kind of cultural identity refers to bilateral future and the past, but less refer to the present such as current time, culture, and place. Cultural identity basically establishes from the historical experience; nevertheless, constant transformation. Sometimes, the identity will repeat the past in the dimension of history, culture and power but never totally recover the history. To summarize this kind of identity is to call something different from other and something we are as well as the story of the past, for example Japanese has the characteristic of speaking with undertone, satisfactory morality, and always think about the regulation, while Thai has the characteristic of supporting Theravada Buddhism, patient, adaptable even we face with difficult situation such as inundation and economic crisis. These are the different characteristic which refer to different identity.

Cultural hybridity can be taken place from the immigration and cross-cultural marriage. It is the combination of different cultures, and there was also the complexity of culture in each cultural hybridity phenomenon. Some cultures in cultural hybridity phenomena are adapted for gathering with other culture (Wiwatthanakul, 2007, p.27). There are some cooperation, negotiation and conflict between different cultures in these phenomena, because different cultures come from different nationality, linguistic, faith and religion in each society. Therefore, the complexity of these issues of the different cultures is happened. Cultural hybridity conforms to way of life of people in the society such as various language spoken in the country (Boonmee, 2003 as cited in Panuwatthanakul, 2009, p.32-34).

Meanwhile, the culture has originally complexity, and it is also the significance factor for human communication. People from different cultures use their cultural environment as the way of communication. Therefore, cultural hybridity should be used with the intercultural communication skill to develop the effective communication. Nowadays, cultural hybridity can be seen in various modern technological communications, because modern technology influences people to communicate online and on the social media. There are many kinds of behavioral gestures in different cultures, and cultural hybridity phenomena are combined from different cultures in terms of geographical feature, morality, religion, gender, era and class (Hofstede, 2005, p.34 as cited in Euamornvanich, 2017, p.6).

People could understand the basic culture from observing the truth of culture which are business sectors, marriage, family, social organization, language, military, gender and laws, and the truth of culture could be reflected the culture of individual (Hall, 1976, p.106 as cited in Euamornvanich, 2017, p.6). The culture was described as the communication, and the communication was also described as the culture. It is the environment of individual which is not only one dimension of life, but it is included the characteristics related to the behavior, way of thinking, movement and problem-solving method (Hall, 1976, p.16 as cited in Euamornvanich, 2017, p.7). However, there are some societies try to preserve their original culture or nationalism among these cultural hybridity phenomena in the society through various media, such as school course book, music, movie, television, and newspaper (Praphanturakit, 2008, p.54-55).

In conclusion, the first point of view is much more hybridity-able than the second one; because, the first point of view is purposed to solve problems occurred from international differences. The success could happen after using the first point of view to solve the problem of African black people racism. Therefore, some cultural identity of marginal people can democratically practice in a country; in addition, the government of the country originally support their native culture, for instance Thailand is one of a cultural hybridity country which allows various cultural identity to practice in the country democratically; nevertheless, the Royal Thai Government appoints Ministry of Culture to preserve Thai culture in the situation of hybridity influenced from diaspora, such as Islamic, Chinese and westerners. In the other hand, the second point of view is more separating in terms of individualism. This kind of culture could be found in Malaysia which strictly preserve Islamic tradition than opening much to accept other cultures.

## **2) Invented Tradition Theory of Eric Hobsbawm (2000)**

Eric Hobsbawm (2000, p.1-5) wrote a book of “The Invention of Tradition” which describes the theory of invented tradition, he described that there is no objective to produce only antique object for antiqueness purpose; nevertheless, it purposed to rememorize the past than the pageantry of British public ceremonial manifestation. For the modern form, the book of Eric Hobsbawm described invented tradition as a product in the period of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Tradition of this book is referred to something antique; however, tradition sometimes is invented for specific purpose, for instance tourism, cultural maintaining, migration and politics. The thesis of Keawborisut (2012) described Vegetarian Tradition of Hat Yai, Songkla that is a kind of invented tradition establishing by local government as well as Chinese shrines cooperating with governmental Vegetarian tradition. The tradition is hold at the public park which belong to the power of governmental organization. The tradition is invented for tourism and cultural maintaining purpose, as well as responding individual needs and social need such as miracle performance: running on the fire ground, necromancy, providing god image for paying respect and making wishes. This invented tradition has the purpose similarity with the theory of Eric Hobsbawm. This study is also purposed to use this theory to study Mahayana

Buddhism maintaining in the shrine in Muang Phuket District, some tradition are invented for politics, tourism, migration and cultural maintaining in Thai domain culture purpose.

Some traditions of British described in the book of Eric Hobsbawn which are Nine Lessons and Carols in the chapel of King's College and Cambridge on Christmas Eve which was written in the journal of "Past & Present" that invented tradition is not indefinite sense; nevertheless, the invented one is invented for introducing and developing manner by using brief summary and data collection for inventing new culture. Eric Hobsbawn suggested two traditions which are the royal Christmas Broadcast in Britain as well as the Cup Final in British Association Football. Bilateral appearance and establishment of invented tradition are the existence of principle concern; however, the existence after culture is invented is the historical identity which need to be inherit. Cultural practice is the way to inherit each existed historical identity after invented through regulation, ritual and symbol naturally display to the society which could establish bilateral social value and norms of behavior. The invented tradition is more conceived than establish similar to the original tradition, but they follow some of the historical experience similar to original tradition. There is also the purpose of inheritance of invented one as permanent tradition which history is necessarily needed for existence in the society.

One of the original tradition which is not belong to invented tradition presented by Eric Hobsbawn is the Gothic Architecture of British Parliament establishing during the nineteenth century as well as the establishing of the order after the Second World War, these two architectural styles are similarly original plan. This point of view is not necessary for the invented tradition; because, the invented tradition needs new perspective and circumstance than the antique idea. Bilateral progressive movement an revolution are the dimensions replacing the word of 'history' by their original meaning, sometimes the actual time inside the invented tradition are abandoned for newer condition purpose. However, the purpose of invented culture is still rememorized the past by changing several dimension of the tradition. In summary, the invented culture is similar to the novel which refer to the history for several specific purposes, for instance the novel of Khu Kam, a famous piece of Thommayanti, which mainly referred to the love between a couple between Thai and Japanese during the cruel situation of the Second World War. In

this example, object referring to the history is the situation of the Second World War that Japanese soldier entered to Thailand because of international political alliance between Thailand and Japan.

Tradition is the differences between persistent transformation and modernization purposing for social life establishment as inflexible and constant; in addition, this tradition can create the invented of tradition which appealed to the historians of the past two centuries to conduct the related studies. Tradition in this theory is different from the custom; because, custom is a way of traditional societies in dimensions of bilateral object and characteristic of tradition including invented tradition. Invented tradition is about historical maintain, truth, new invented objects. The function of custom could be compare as bilateral motor and fly-wheel of a car in the traditional societies. Custom here ignored the innovation and change and tried to be compatible with instance and identical limitation; moreover, custom also ignored anticipated transformation in the dimensions of conflict and revolution for social stability through regular law. Most of property and right of custom are in antediluvian time which is not historical evidence, was what peasant's movement of British comprehended.

However, equilibrium of force that struggled inside village which peasants had conflicts with nobles and other villages, students of the British labors movement also comprehended that custom of trade and shop were not compatible with antique tradition. They endeavor to spread and preserve providing sanction of endlessness, but custom is impossible to be immutable although located in traditional societies. Bilateral commandment and regular shows are the flexible combination adherence on consistence. Custom is what people in each era act, invented tradition is an extra phenomenon for costume, ritualized performance. The weakness of custom is avoidable for change which could be customarily twisted itself.

Invented tradition allows people in the invented tradition society to have applied procedure for practical needs, and also allows new people playing roles to inherit the tradition freely, this theory is used in the thesis of Keawborisut (2012) that new people come to play some roles in the invented tradition such as tourists, local government, vegetarian chiefs as well as master of ceremony (MC) for

promoting Vegetarian Festival in Hat Yai. Another instance is the thesis of Chanasakun (2016), he discovered that Pud Jor Shrine invited some Buddhist monks to pray Buddhist mantra at the shrine in the Kuan Im Bodhisattvas Birthday increasing auspicious atmosphere and supernatural to the shrine. As Eric Hobsbawn described that custom could not avoid changes, so invented tradition is purpose to maintain the tradition of the shrine. Meanwhile, invented tradition is not a new tradition separating as a new tradition like Mahayana Buddhism which separate from Theravada Buddhism. There is also a term of invariable tradition which some tradition inside are consistence for example for instance Hokkien interpreter of spirit medium in the Chinese shrines certainly not change the interpretation and conversation behaviors interconnecting with the spirit medium; though, they could use some innovative lexicon to assist them to find a lexis. Furthermore, the spirit medium need to be someone extremely neighboring to the shrine than employing some newer-generation Hokkien interpreter.

Another invariable tradition are wearing helmet for motorcycle riders, wearing steel helmets for soldiers in the war and warring traditional costume for fox-hunters. These examples could not change into invented tradition; because, they are realized as the best tradition which people could not find better innovative tradition to replace them. Another reason to preserve these tradition is to display identity of each tradition. In contrast, some symbols in each tradition may abandoned for the time changes, and the symbols may not necessarily use in the rituals or action related to traditional maintaining such as spurs of the horse's production are almost abandon for production, because there are many transportations that could replace horses such as car, motorcycle, ship and airplane. Another example is the hairpiece of lawyers, with the time change, people found that hairpiece is not necessary in the court and with the globalization development of career costume, hairpiece is abandoned from the court. In summary, some tradition are invented and some are not invented for specific purpose, so we could see bilateral invented and original tradition in the tradition we discover nowadays.

Bilateral time and place are not the concern of historians for invented culture, because the decision to invent depends on specific purpose more than totally considering history or time. Bilateral phenomena of the society are subjected to change with the most current situation, society could not completely follow the



history, for instance Thailand changed the system of Absolute Monarchy into Democracy. In the thesis of Keawborisut (2012), the researcher found that although there are long history of Vegetarian Festival in Hat Yai from entering of Overseas Chinese, for suitably adapt to bilateral local people and new-generation people of Hat Yai which have different individual and social need, and time change factor, the festival is invented for tourism and cultural maintaining purpose. However, we should aware to invent culture that some invented one might affect social pattern of antique tradition. Historian should deliberate manufacture innovative tradition to replace inappropriate one or subject to flexible according to the time change.

### **3) Symbol Interpretation of Clifford Geertz (1973)**

Clifford James Geertz (1926-2006) is an American cultural anthropologist who studied about symbolic anthropology and interpretive anthropology. He composed a book namely “The Interpretation of Cultures” in 1973. In the fourth page of this book, he referred the cultural conceptual morass from the pot-au-feu cultural theory of Tylolean kind about the definition of culture.

1) Complete way of life: In the book of “How Europe Underdeveloped Africa” written by Walter Rodney (1972) he defined a culture as a complete way of life, and culture is what people eat everyday as well as what clothes people wear every day. Culture is also the way people travel and communicate together. In addition, culture also related to ceremony to bilateral newborn and those who pass. Therefore, the complete way of life is about the people life from birth until death, culture exists everywhere in a society and it leads all behavior of human. Furthermore, culture of each group of people are different, for example westerns people always use the sentence “How are you?” to greet acquaintances; in contrast, Chinese and Thai people always use the sentence “Have you eaten something?” to greet acquaintances.

2) Social legacy (individual obtained from the group): Culture is not only way of life, but also the legacy inherits from ancestor. Normally, every action in the life of children are from their parents, teachers and kinship system from

socialization. Therefore, social institution is a significant issue to study social legacy in the society.

3) A way of thinking, feeling, and believing: This could be bilateral religion and faith, because culture shape human thinking feeling and believing especially religion, for instance political system, social value, social norms, human behavior, tradition as well as the way of thinking of Thai people are influence from Buddhism.

4) An abstraction from behavior: Culture shape personality and ideology of people. The great example could be the personality study of Ruth Benedict, she discovered that Japanese people highly focuses on social regulation; because, they have the culture that everyone must do their best appropriately, influencing the intensify society (Benedict, 1982, p.48-49).

5) A theory on the part of the anthropologist about the way which a group of people in face behave: According to the Royal Anthropological Institute (2018), Anthropology is the study of people around the world. Normally, anthropologist studies evolutionary history, human behavior, adaptation to different environment, communication, and socialization. The study of anthropology is focused on biological features making human a human for examples, nutritional history, genetic makeup, physiology, and evolution, with social aspects such as religion, family, culture, politics and language. Anthropologists especially study everyday practices in rituals, ceremonies and processes in human life.

6) A storehouse of pooled learning: Culture has it own complex meaning, there are bilateral direct meaning and connotation. In addition, culture is aimed to respond social and individual desires.

Clifford Geertz viewed favorably with Max Weber's notion that human comparing as a kind of animal hanging itself on the web spinning by itself. Humans bring each culture to hang each surface on the webs which must conduct interpretation of culture to understand their social expression in each enigmatical surface. To study ethnography, Clifford Geertz suggested the research methodology to establishing rapport, choosing informants, transcribing texts, taking kinship system, pointing fieldwork, and writing diary. To discuss the ethnographical issue, researchers

need “Thick Description” to describe the culture; because, culture has its own very enigmatical and complex meaning. Other ways of study of ethnography are “Thinking and Reflecting” and “The Thinking of Thoughts” considering from this example, two boys meet, they play together in a backyard and become friends after knowing each other.

There are two phenomenological procedures that happen in this situation, there are movement and identity, meaning is the movement of culture, each boy comes from different culture, so we must comprehend the differences between two different cultures, then in case two boys could accept each other, so they become good friends. This situation is much similar to cultural hybridity where people from various places stay in a place and combine their culture; because, they all feel acceptable about all combined culture. The combination of various cultures also needs “Thick Description” to comprehend such a phenomenon in terms of event, ritual, custom, idea, and history of the fieldwork. Researchers need to comprehend the target culture through target samples by various methodologies, such as interviewing informants, observing rituals, eliciting kinship systems, following cultural practices and censusing households. The objective of anthropology is to study the universe of human discourse such as instruction, amusement, practical counsel, moral advance, and natural order discovery in human behavior. Emic analysis, seeing things from the actor’s point of view is the most significant analysis method to comprehend their culture (Geertz, 1973, p.3-14).

#### **4) Symbol in Ritual of Victor Turner (1967)**

Victor Witter Turner (1920-1983) was a British cultural anthropologist. His famous works are mainly related to symbols, rituals, rites of passage. His work is similar in field of study to the work of Clifford Geertz who studied symbolic and interpretive anthropology. He wrote a book of “The Forest of Symbol” in 1967 and described “Symbols in Ndembu Ritual”, the symbol of Zambia (former name of Northern Rhodesia, Central Africa nowadays). Ritual normally refers to mystical beings or powers and is a formal behavior which is not technical routine of people. Symbol is the smallest unit of ritual controlling specific property of ritual behavior; in addition, symbol is also an ultimate unit of specific structure in terms of ritual context. Victor

Turner also refer the meaning of ritual in Oxford Dictionary, meaning an object everyone in the society accepts as representing something by possession of similar quality; additionally, ritual is also a kind of truth and thought of individuals. The symbol that Victor Turner studied are objects, activities, relationships, events, gestures, and environment of the ritual field. To study symbol ritual, times series in relation to other events is very significant; because, symbol ritual involve social process and it could adapt to social internal change as well as external environment. In this issue, ritual symbol becomes a factor in social action, there are human interests, purposes, ends and means. The structure and properties of symbol are active existence in term of appropriate context of action (Turner, 1967, p.19-20).

Ritual is categorized as one scene of a situation or activity in the society, which related to gestures, words, objects and action. These issues are used to display the interest and objective of the ritual conductor. The ritual is conducted for specific opportunity, and there are some hiding meanings of the ritual. It is also a procedure of social change. A ritual performance can be used to display both tribal society and modern society, especially the ritual performance in modern society is related to life anxiety and cultural adaptation. The ritual contains untold complex meaning, so analyzing ritual is subjected to have the reason and evidence which related to social value. In the ritual, symbols (which are gestures, words, objects and action) are related to supernatural power and legend.

There are 2 methodologies to study symbol in the ritual: 1) Researcher must observe the meaning of each symbol. 2) Researcher must observe people who use each symbol and the way they use, as well as observe the relation between the symbol and other procedures. Finally, researcher must analyze these 2 methodologies to observe further hiding meaning. There are 2 categories of rituals: 1) Dominant Symbol: There are many dominant symbols in various social contexts. The symbol in the social context displays obligation and desire, which are natural necessity and social need (or social desire). 2) Instrument Symbol: It is used to observe the objective of each ritual. Researcher can consider instrument symbol from symbol system of the ritual. The instrument symbol can be also used to observe the relation of symbols in the ritual.

To study the symbol in the ritual, there are 2 categories of symbol: 1) Material Symbol: There are objects, activities, words, relation, events and gestures in the rituals. 2) Non-Material Symbol: There are atmosphere and music in the ritual. To summarize, there are gestures, words, objects and action of the ritual in Phuket culture especially Mahayana Buddhist rituals in the Chinese shrines. The ritual is influenced from some social changes, and there are some complex meanings of rituals in the shrine. Most rituals of the shrine are related to supernatural power. Both dominant symbol and instrument symbol were used to study the symbol in ritual of the shrines. Material symbol and non-material symbol were also described in the part of result and discussion of this study (Pattamacharoen, 2001, p.4-7).

#### **5) Functionalism of Malinowski and Structural Functionalism of Radcliff Brown (1997)**

Normally, Functionalism responds human need such as the famous TV series of F4 in Taiwan, although this program is for national, highly respond the need of large group of people; thus, F4 is very famous throughout the world. There are various subtitle translation in English, Japanese and Thai. Functionalism originally concerns on human needs. In the other hand, Structural-Functionalism concerns about social structure which could maintain equilibrium status of the society.

In 20th century, Bronislaw Malinowski studied culture and respond through individual need by using participant observation to collect the data. To study human behavior, we should live with them at least 1-2 years to collect deep data, we also should study their language for comprehending their life and behavior we study. Malinowski study Trobriand Islander in Papua New Guinea because of the influence of the Second World War during 1915 to 1918. There are more than 1,000 languages found in Papua New Guinea. He created the theory of “Psychological Functionalism” which is very famous among the Anthropology major of London School of Economics. There are three needs in cultural functions: Biological needs, social needs, and psychological needs. For the biological needs, they are normal factors for people life such as place to stay, food to eat and school to study. For social needs, they are social organization, social class, social discussion as well as

kinship system. For psychological needs, they are belief system, magic as well as animism.

Malinowski also found two myths of Trobriand Islanders responding social needs. First, the myth to arrange social organization in Trobriand. Second, to decrease the conflict of social organization. In cases of bilateral Bible and Al-Quran, bilateral doctrines respond people needs answering the question of where human come from. For the myth of Trobriand islander, it is believed there is the world under the ground in the past, and a couple, an animal came out from a hole. This couple create the family and became clan. Animal became a totem of the clan which are crocodile, dog, and pig. Once, a dog and a pig played together, and dog ate Kogu which is a very dirty fruit. This myth influences people in dog clan becoming slave of the society. Therefore, the myth influencing social organization without conflict. Another example of Functionalism Theory is Kula Ring which responds bilateral biological need and social desire to feel about safety and proud themselves. Kura ring is an equipment of trading between inter-tribe people. There is a ceremonial exchange for trusting each side of traders. This kind of trading also influences solidary of network; because, those who conduct the ceremony would be permanent exchange forever. There is one economist who Malinowski argued the trade theory, his name is Carl Bucher who created model of industrial evolution. He described three steps of economic evolution. The first step is the economy exchanging between families. The second step is the evolvement between towns, and the third step is the trading between countries (International economy). Carl Bucher first addressed that there is only trade system in the modern civilization; nevertheless, this notion was argued by Malinowski describing there is Pre-economic state society which bilateral family exchange and primitive society like Trobriand Islander have this kind of trading.

For Structural-Functionalism Theory, Social structure is the relationship pattern of social system such as family institution, religious institution, economic institution and political institution. It also includes social norm, social value and social roles of each social institution. The social structure is an equipment to analyze behavior and relation of people in the society (Royal Society of Thailand, 2006, p.230 as cited in Pongsapich, 2016, p.5). There are various social structures in the nomadic, tribe, farmer, agriculturalist, fisherman and relative societies. The social

structure gathers all social organs in various ways. For economy, the relative society is productive connection and earning livelihood. For administration, relative society determines both leader and follower. For modern agricultural society or industrial society, mechanism gathers each organ in the society, such as social class, economic status and social status. The example of such an organ could be: 1) Labor class is the producer of the society. 2) Capitalist class is the production controller and 3) Feudal society contains peasant, slave, bureaucrat and master.

Functionalism is one notion to understand social and cultural phenomena in the society that researcher need to use holistic approach to analyze each organ of the society. The society is the system that combines related issues. When there is a change in the society, the society becomes disequilibrium status (Rintaisong, 2005). Therefore, each change of the symbol is subjected to face with adaptation and re-organize all the social system. The functionalism is recognized as an organism body, and the society could administrate similar to the working of organism body which is involved (Royal Society of Thailand, 2006, p.131-132 as cited in Pongsapich, 2016, p.6).

The organ of society which cannot remain the social role could be dysfunction and slightly disappear from the society. Each organ exists in the society for working relatively with other organ with advantages. The society will adapt itself for returning to equilibrium status after there are some changes. This theory cannot use with big change of the society such as reform. However, each organ of the society will be changed from the big change of the society. Otherwise, there will be violence in the society and the society will be collapse. There were some modern academicians after the theory of structuralism was found described Social Structure and Structural- Functionalism Theory, Darinda presented that deconstruction (is the recovering of thinking though language) influenced to social recovery. Anthony Giddens offered that the duality in social relation structure was existed in the society all the time, and this relation was the relation between freedom of individual action and structuration in the methodology of control and change the social direction (Royal Society of Thailand, 2006, p.242 as cited in Pongsapich, 2016, p.7).

To analyze social structure abstractly, some researchers categorized methodology in the dimensions of economy, politics and society. They called such

dimensions as economic institution, political institution and social institution. This is the study of one by one dimension. However, the dimensions overlap each other, the study of one by one dimension can only see clearly the image of each dimension. There are many pieces of research which could confirm that social and cultural phenomena were influenced from social structure. The study of Durkheim (1951) analyzed the suicide phenomena in the society, and the suicide was found as one of the social phenomena. Durkheim suggested to research social characteristics by analyzing the social relationship under each socio-cultural environment. The notion of Durkheim has been still the notion for socio-cultural phenomena analysis for society in the past and modern society until nowadays. The notion of Durkheim related to Social Structure and Structural-Functionalism Theory is mainly focused on socio-cultural context apart from psychology (Pattamacharoen, 2009, p.23).

In summary, social structure is the main relationship pattern of the social system which could be studied from family institution, religious institution, economic institution and political institution. These variables influenced the change of each other, and these variables also needed to analyze with social norm, social value and social role of each social institution to analyze the target phenomena.

## **6) Summary of Theoretical Framework**

There are bilateral traditional and modern culture in Muang Phuket District. Culture of Overseas Chinese migrants combined with Thai domain culture for bilateral cultural maintaining and politics reasons; because, Chinese community once circumspectly investigated by Royal Thai Government. There is the cultural hybridity which contains many identities from the diaspora of Overseas Chinese migrants. Then, the time changes bring invented tradition to happen in Muang Phuket District for the situation mentioned. The purpose of invented tradition are cooperation, negotiation and conflict solving. Bilateral ritual object and media display symbol in ritual such as environment and atmosphere influencing people feel satisfied for maintaining culture in Muang Phuket Province. There are also various invented objects in the invented tradition for suitably adapt to local people way of life and belief. Some media, television, social media and new media are used to advertise this kind of tradition in the current time which traditional and modern culture exist together in Muang



Phuket District. The relationship influences people in the social structures to maintain the social legacy which providing social and individual desires.

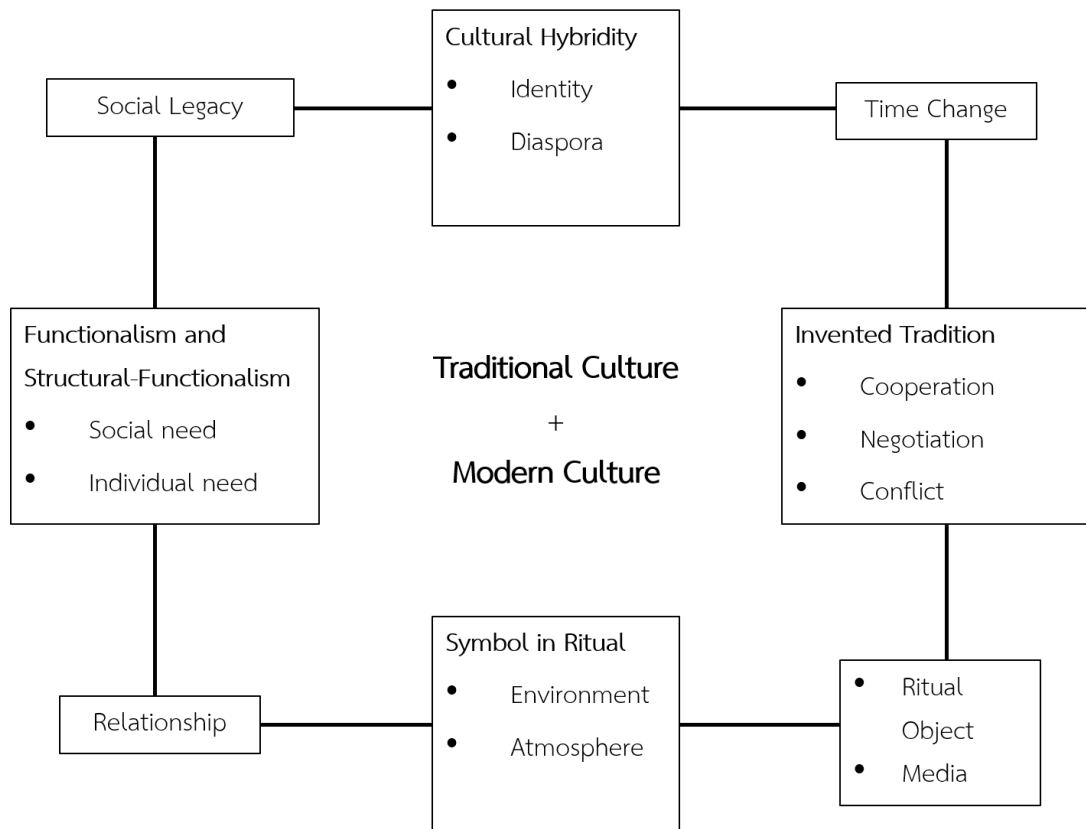


Figure 1.1 Theoretical Framework

## CHAPTER 2

### RELATED LITERATURE

The contents of literature review were categorized into seven main issues: The first issue is Mahayana Buddhism establishment in India, the second issue is Arriving of Mahayana Buddhism to China, the third issue is Mahayana Buddhism in China and Development, the fourth issue is Chinese Shrine and Society in Thailand, the fifth issue is Chinese Shrine and Society in Thailand, the sixth issue is Entering of Mahayana Buddhism to Phuket, and the final issue of literature review is Chinese Shrine and Society in Phuket. The contents could assist the researcher to comprehend the background, ideology and development of Mahayana Buddhism in three countries such as India, China and Thailand. Some documents can indicate Mahayana Buddhist symbol in the target phenomena and maintaining cultural identity by Overseas Chinese people in Phuket and Thailand, and it also included their way of life which preserved their Chinese identity and Chinese religion especially Mahayana Buddhism.

#### 2.1 Mahayana Buddhism Establishment in India

Buddhism was found by the spiritual awakening (参悟) under a Bodhi tree by the Buddha approximately 2,500 years ago. The practice of the Buddha to reach spiritual awakening was called “Dharma” which means the truth of existence. After his passing away, the teaching was separated to many Northern Indian Kingdoms by his disciplines and their successors. They bilaterally clarify and interpreted the Buddha’s teaching and created various Buddhist traditions and schools in India. They concerned about the leadership of Buddhism during the

passing of Buddha, and the Buddha mentioned that all of his principle would be guideline for their life.

Therefore, Mahakyashapa (摩诃迦叶), who was appointed to preside over the monk community, invited five-hundred outstanding disciplines of the Buddha who were all Arahants (阿罗汉) to hold the First Council of the Buddhist history because of precious Dharma teaching collection and preservation. The First Council resulted the Three Baskets of Buddhism (三藏经典): 1) The Basket of Discourse: the collection of advices related to meditation and related issues; 2) The Basket of Discipline: the collection of more than 225 rules of monastic community of the Buddha; and 3) The Basket of Higher Knowledge: the scientific analysis of the reality by the Buddha's point of view (Landaw & Bodian, 2003, p.71-72).

However, Buddhism was separated into 18 groups (Nikayas) during the second Buddhist century, they contained some different ideology about Buddhist doctrine (佛法). However, 18 groups of Buddhism did not so famous and has not inherited until nowadays (Phoprasitsat, 2008, p.77-80). One hundred years after the First Council was hold, the Second Council was hold by the concerns of diving groups of Buddhism as mentioned above in Vaishali. The Second Council resulted two major groups of Buddhism: 1) The Elders (Thera), this group of Buddhism considered themselves the keepers of original teaching of the Buddha; and 2) The Great Community (Mahasanghita: 大众部), this group of Buddhism interpreted more about Buddha's word that matched his original intention.

The above two major groups of Buddhism were mentioned because of the influences to the two major group of Buddhism nowadays: 1) Theravada (小乘): This group studied the way of the elders, this tradition also called Southern Tradition, because it spread to southern Asian countries such as Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand. The ultimate goal of Theravada was Arahantship, people who believed in Theravada could reach the Arahantship by desired extirpation and made the perfect of them by themselves, and the scripture was only one the Pali Canon or Tripitaka as mention in figure 2.1; and 2) Mahayana (大乘): They were very interested by many class of people, because their studying way was freedom to gather any Buddhist ideologies and doctrines. Mahayana spread to various areas in Northern Asian such as China, Japan, Mongolia, Manchuria (满洲国: 1932-1945), Korea, Vietnam and Tibetan

autonomous religion of China (西藏自治区) for centuries (Landaw & Bodian, 2003, p.76 & Phoprasitsat, 2008, p.78-79). The ultimate goal of Mahayana was Bodhisattvashood, people who believed in Mahayana could reach the ultimate goal by assisting all living creatures to leave from the suffering world. Mahayana had numerous scriptures from Sanskrit Canon and Translations in Chinese and Tibetan languages, and there were also various schools of Mahayana such as Pure Land, Chan and other Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan schools as mentioned in figure 2.1 (Ming, 1985, p.13).

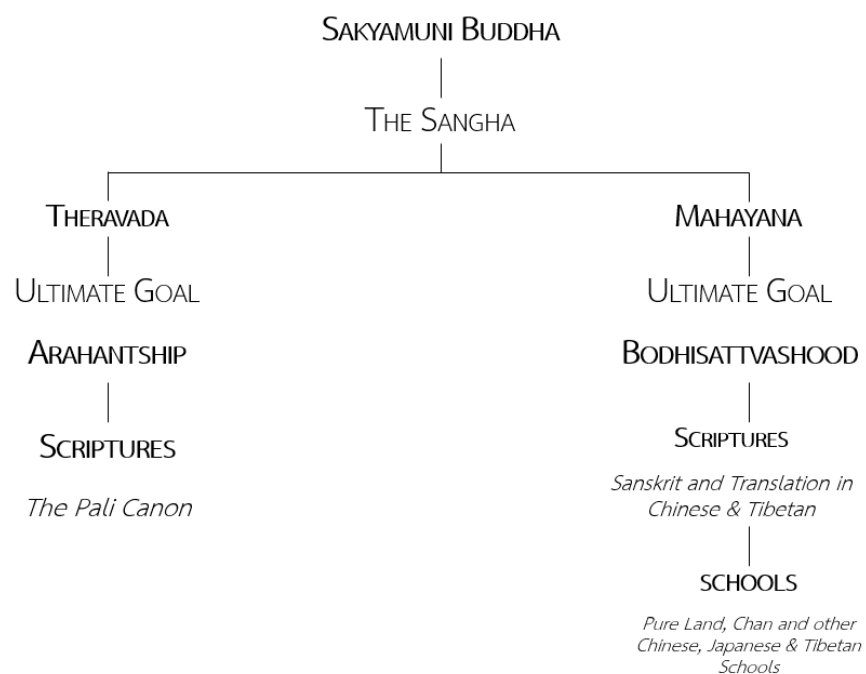


Figure 2.1 The Schools of Buddhism, from Ming (1985, p.13)

For the original Buddhism, it focused on realism and science, but some ideologies were changed into metaphysics and logics, that was the establishment of Mahayana Buddhism. Therefore, Mahayana Buddhism was the result of expansive imagination, metaphysics, literature and art. They called themselves “Great Vehicle”, because they promised everyone could reach the enlightenment not only the monastic people, but also the Buddhist followers and lay people. The central conception of Mahayana was the Bodhisattvas (菩薩), Bodhi means

enlightenment, and Sattvas means being, so Bodhisattvas means the wisdom-being or an aspiring Buddha who is determined to attain Buddhahood (Ming, 1985, p.16).

Mahayana Buddhism contained many literatures in Jakarta, referring Buddha's previous life, for example, the Bodhisattvas was born as an animal and another time as human, but he brought himself closer to the enlightenment achievement, and he was Shakayamuni Buddha finally. Mahayana Buddhism came from the personality of the Buddha. In contrast, Theravada Buddhism mostly focused on the doctrines for leaving the suffering world (解脱), and one of the main doctrines was three marks of existence (三相). However, Mahayana Buddhism emphasized the practicing way of the Buddha during he was the Bodhisattvas in one of his births. The mind of Bodhisattvas (菩薩心) contained the perfection and completeness (Paramita: 波若密), compassion (Karuna: 慈悲), and these two doctrines means the scarification yourself for other's advantages and happiness. There were many stories and literatures about the birth of the Bodhisattvas of the Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism. All of Bodhisattvas mind was gathered as "Bodhisattvas doctrine" (菩薩戒律) which was the early establishment of Mahayana Buddhist doctrine. Mahayana Buddhism successfully separated from the other eighteen groups, because the doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism could be the better practice the way of Bodhisattvas (Phoprasitsat, 2008, p.80-83).

In the third century, Ashoka the Great had a great contribution for setting Buddhism to becoming world religion. During his life time, he became acquaintance with Buddhist teaching by a monk he met, so he made the significant decision to rule the empire using Buddhist principle as ways of life. He withdrew the military conquest and devoted himself to create welfare and facility for people, and build hospitals and schools as well as road for travelers. For religion, he supported and respected all religious institutions in the empire. For Buddhism, he crafted Buddhist moral code on bilateral pillars and rocks in the empire and guide his population to behave generosity, humility and honesty. In terms of Buddhist spread, he sent emissaries to all direction from Indian empire. Some emissaries could reach far west countries such as Egypt, Syria and Macedonia, but they did not had much impact in these areas. The most prosperity of Buddhism was in the period of Ashoka the Great was Sri Lanka. The great monastery was established in Sri Lanka with the

warm welcome of local ruler of Sri Lanka, King Tissa, and Buddhism became the main religion of Sri Lanka (Landaw & Bodian, 2003, p.77-79).

## 2.2 Mahayana Buddhism Entering China

According to the figure 2.1, two routes were mentioned in many researches about the diffusion of Buddhism: For the South, Theravada Buddhism spread to Sri Lanka first and then to Southeast Asian nations such as Myanmar, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. For the north, Mahayana Buddhism spread to Central Asia by the Silk Road, after that spread to Korea, Japan and Vietnam. Moreover, Mahayana also spread to Tibetan Autonomous Region of China and Mongolia. In Indonesia, the main religion of the country was Islam, but their monumental ruins were decorated from Mahayana Sutra. Therefore, Indonesian Buddhism was categorized as Northern Transmission although the country was in the position of Southern Asia. For Sri Lanka, although the country originally spread Theravada Buddhism since 250 BCE, they also hosted innumerable version of the Mahayana. Theravada was not become the official Buddhism for this island until 1160 (Landaw & Bodian, 2003, p.91-92).

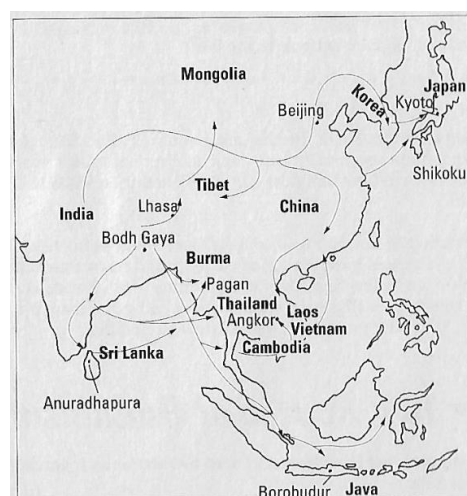


Figure 2.2 The Spread of Buddhism through Asia, from Landaw & Bodian, 2003, p.92

### 2.3 Mahayana Buddhism in China and Its Development

The development and concept between Mahayana Buddhism and Theravada Buddhism were different. However, bilateral Buddhist groups entered to China in similar the Wei-Jin-Southern-Northern dynasties (魏晋南北朝). The entering of Mahayana Buddhism to China was categorized into 3 main periods: 1) The early period. Emperor Han Mingdi (汉明帝) sent emissaries to India for inviting Buddhism to China, they came back with two Buddhist monks, Kasyapa Matanga (迦叶摩腾) and Dharmaratna (竺法兰) in Wei-Jin-Southern-Northern dynasties, and they transported Buddha's image and Sutras to Luoyang (洛阳) by white horses. Therefore, Emperor Han Mingdi established the White Horses Temple (白马寺) for Buddhism Sutras interpretation and aimed to diffuse Buddhism in China (Phoprasitsat, 2008). There were also some missionary Buddhist monks interpreted more Buddhist sutras and doctrines who were An Shigao (安世高), Lokaksema (支娄迦讖), Zhu Fushuo (竺佛朔), and Zhiyao (支曜), and Anshigao could interpreted more than 90 Buddhist scriptures (Phoprasitsat, 2008, p.242). The main interpreted doctrines were the Four Noble Truths (四圣谛), Twelve Nidanas (十二因缘), Noble Eightfold Path (八正道) and meditation (禅行) in the late Han dynasty (汉末).

Moreover, there were more interpreted Buddhist scriptures and great quantities of Chinese people ordained as the Buddhist monks. Buddhism in Dunhuang (敦煌) was very flourishing during Western Jin dynasty (西晋). In the Three Kingdoms period (三国) Buddhism could spread to Wu state of the southern China, because Buddhism could appeal to Sun Quan (孙权) (Phoprasitsat, 2008, p.242), the ruler of Wu state which brought successful spread to one of the three kingdoms; 2) The middle period. China had Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary by the writing of 15 years after 412 AD, so numerous Buddhist scriptures, doctrines and teaching were interpreted during Jin and Song dynasties (晋宋期); and 3) The late period. Emperor Sui Wendi (隋文帝) contributed numerous supports for Buddhism; thus, Buddhism scriptures were interpreted in Sui dynasty (隋朝).

In the Tang dynasty (唐朝), Xuanzang found many misinterpreted words and sentences in countless Chinese interpreted Buddhist scriptures, so he journeyed across the Silk Road to India. He spent 20 years for studying in India and

came back to China in 695 AD. He re-interpreted Buddhist scriptures in Big Goose Pagoda in Dunhuang (敦煌大雁塔). In the period of Tang dynasty, was acknowledged as the Golden Period of Buddhism, because many people ordained, many Buddha's images and temples were built by the imperial court and supports from Empress Wu Zetian (武则天). Many faces of Buddha's image were built similar to Empress Wu because of her huge contribution to Chinese Buddhism during Tang dynasty. After Mahayana Buddhism was entered to China in the first century, Mahayana Buddhism was spread to Korea in the fourth century and Japan in the sixth century. After the spread to China, it also spread into Vietnam and Tibet in the seventh century. Moreover, the later transmission brought Buddhism directly from India to Tibet. However, Mahayana Buddhism was divided in small groups such as Mainland Buddhism (净土宗), Flower School (华严宗), Zen in Japan or Chan in China (禅) and Tien-tai School (天台宗) as the figure 2.1 mentioned. In the fourteenth century, Zen (禅) group of Buddhism in China separated in two sub-groups during the Mongolian conquered China in Yuan dynasty (元朝). Tibetan Buddhism was promoted as the main religion of the imperial court, but it was not flourishing in the population.

In Ming dynasty (明朝), all Buddhist groups were collapsed because of insufficient supports from population, but Zen and Sukawadee groups were still flourishing until Qing dynasty (清朝). In Qing dynasty, various Buddhism was slightly collapsed and dramatically collapsed during the Cultural Revolution (文化大革命) by Chinese government (Phoprasitsat, 2008, p.243). In the year of 1949, Mao Zedong established the new China as "The People Republic of China" (中华人民共和国), and there was an ideology and philosophy of "Marxism" (马克思). The ideology of Marxism did not support the Buddhism in new China. Moreover, Christianity was introduced to China in the twenty century which caused another challenge to Buddhism in China (Landaw & Bodian, 2003, p.100-101). In this situation, some groups of Buddhist monks in China established Buddhist school in Sichuan (四川) and Lingnan (岭南).

The purpose of rebuilding Buddhism during that time was because they would like Buddhism to be the ideology for Chinese people. Nowadays, the strict laws to the freedom of religion are not too severely. Therefore, Buddhism center of China in Beijing was established, and there are also the terms of mixing religion concept of three religions (三教合一): Buddhism (佛教), Confucianism (儒家)



and Taoism (道教) inside Chinese temples for religious preservation (Dhammathai, n.d.). Nowadays, People's Republic of China announced that everyone freely believes in personal interested religion. This sentence was inside the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (中华人民共和国宪法), all Chinese people had the right to choose their religion. Moreover, China was one of the countries that contained more than one religion, there were Mahayana Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Islam and Christianity. Some Chinese people did not have their religion, but they could go to the temple in the morning and go to the church in the afternoon. Their religion was not fixed in China, so Chinese people had full right on the believing of religion. For current Mahayana Buddhism in China, Mahayana Buddhism originally had the concept of as much as suitable with people in each society, so some features of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism are different from original Mahayana Buddhism in India.

Although each tradition mainly focused on the teaching of Indian origin, they also contained some Chinese features related to culture, way of life and thoughts. For sub-groups of Mahayana Buddhism in China and Japan nowadays, there are five main sub-groups of the Buddhism: 1) Tien-tai (天台宗). The teaching of this group based on the Lotus Sutra, and the name of this group was appointed after Tien-tai mountain in China was named; 2) Flower Ornament (华严宗). The teaching of this group based on the Hua-yen sutra and became Kegon Buddhism in Japan; 3) True World (真信宗). This group was not long-lasting spread in China, but later very flourishing in Japan as Shingon Buddhism in Japan; 4) Pure Land (净土宗). The teaching of this group based on the Land of Bliss sutras, and the group inspired the development of Jodo and Jodo Shin Buddhism in Japan; 5) Meditation (禅). The main teaching of this group based on meditation, they talk less inside the group but emphasized deeply meditation of insight mind environment, and this group was called Chan in Chinese and influenced Zen Buddhism in Japan (Landaw & Bodian, 2003, p.99).

For the principle of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism, Chinese people who believed in Mahayana Buddhism practiced compassionate as the compassionated Bodhisattvas, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨) (Landaw & Bodian, 2003, p.100). Both Buddha and Bodhisattvas aimed to the infinite target for saving all beings in the world. To save all beings in the world, people should assist other to

know the proper action to each other and decrease bad actions which harm all beings in the world even the animal. For being Bodhisattvas, people should follow the practice of six perfections (Paramitas) of giving, morality, patience, perseverance, meditation and wisdom. Moreover, the wisdom in Mahayana Buddhism was higher than knowledge in general term, the wisdom could practice from giving, morality and patience (Ming, 1985, p.15). Buddhism was very appealed to the local rulers, because populations were trained for morality and benevolence which were easier to govern them. Mahayana Buddhism established from the personality of the Buddha which are love, compassion, selflessness and wisdom and his capacity for unlimitedly serve all beings in the world. He vowed that he aspired to fulfill:

*“However innumerable sentient beings are, I vow to save them.*

*However inexhaustible the defilements are, I vow to extinguish them.*

*However immeasurable the Dharmas are, I vow to master them.*

*However, difficult enlightenment is, I vow to attain it!”*

Warrant of Mahayana Buddhist followers and lay people,  
from Landaw and Bodian (2011)

The mentioned sentences are the target of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas; especially Mahayana Buddhist people who aspired to reach the enlightenment like the Buddha. Furthermore, Bodhisattvas ideology also came from the personality of the Buddha such as the compassionate (慈悲) which became Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, the symbol of compassionate in Chinese Mahayana Buddhism. Kuan Im Bodhisattvas was recognized as compassionate Bodhisattvas because of her relentlessly effort to save all beings from the suffering world.

Mahayana Buddhism was not only focused on saving others, but there are some sharing doctrines between Mahayana Buddhism and Theravada Buddhism for instances: 1) The original Buddha was Sakyamuni Buddha; 2) There was no

supreme being who created and governed the world; 3) Four Noble Truths; 4) Noble Eightfold Path; 5) Truth of Dependent Origination; 6) The concepts on Impermanence (Anicca), Suffering (Dukkha) and Non-self (Anatta); 7) Three trainings (Trisiksha) of Morality (Sila), Meditation (Samadhi) and Wisdom (Prajna).

To diffuse Mahayana Buddhism to many areas of China, Mahayana Buddhism was suitably adapted for Chinese ethnic people for example some ethnic gods could be paid respect similar the Buddha's image and Bodhisattvas' image in the Chinese Pantheon. Chinese people believed that they can make wishes from gods such as success in love, business, wealth, illness recovery and even extension of life. Some Mahayana Buddhism in China also influenced by Taoist thoughts in term of Chinese Pantheon and shared gods, for example Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, the great compassionate Bodhisattvas of Mahayana Buddhism was appointed as goddess of mercy in Taoist temples. The following statements are chronological level of installing deities of Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese Pantheon: 1) Kuan Im Bodhisattvas who had two famous disciplines: Golden youth (善财童子) and Jade girl (龙女). She was the most popular deity of the entire Chinese pantheon; 2) Wen Shu Bodhisattvas (文殊菩萨) or Manjusri Bodhisattvas who was the embodiment of the wisdom which came from the meditation, perfect practice and happiness; 3) Dizangwang Bodhisattvas (Ksitigarbha: 地藏王菩萨). He was the embodiment of benevolence, but he sat below Kuan Im in the Chinese Pantheon; 4) Maitreya Buddha (弥勒佛) who was the Buddha in the future world. He is very fat and smile for referring happiness and happily practice meaning. 5) The Eighteen Arahants (罗汉) who are the most popular among all Arahants in Mahayana Buddhism. Normally, the Arahants' image was installed at bilateral east and west of the temple (Ming, 1985, p.16-30).

## 2.4 Mahayana Buddhism Entering Thailand

For this study, the researcher aimed to focus on Chinese Mahayana Buddhism in Thailand. Previous studies found that Chinese Mahayana Buddhism entered to Thailand with the immigration of Overseas Chinese which described in the

next topic (2.5 Chinese Shrine and Society in Thailand). This part described the entering of Mahayana Buddhism to Thailand in various ways representing the belief system of Chinese identities via Chinese shrines and Mahayana temples in Thailand, for instance Mangkon Kamalawat temple. Additionally, various researchers describe Chinese religion has suitably adapted to Thai domain culture in various dimensions, this phenomena explicitly present as double identity (Chanasakun, 2017, p.181), cultural hybridity (Pattamacharoen, 2001, p.2) and invented culture (Keawborisut, 2012, p.5). The theory of assimilation in the doctoral dissertation of Skinner (2005) has argued from many researchers who studied Chinese, vice versa Thai culture in Thailand. They argued that some Chinese culture influenced to some Thai culture, and Thai culture also influenced to Chinese culture in Thailand. Moreover, some western beliefs and practice also came to Thailand in the modernization period of Thailand such as development and industrialization process. They influenced the consumerism, materialism and capitalism. Therefore, Thailand was recognized as a cultural hybridity country.

Although, Bilateral Mahayana and Theravada emphasized differently, Thai and Chinese believed in Buddhism, there were similar principles about doing appropriate action to make merit, achieving for Nivara, hell and heaven belief as well as similar Buddha. Furthermore, Thai people believed in the being of spirit which similar to Overseas Chinese people who believed in locality spirit. There were also many Chinese loanwords in Thai such as Kao-ii (Chair), To (Table), Kuai-Tiew (Rice-flour noodles) and Tao-huu (Bean curd) (Morita, 2007, p.125-126). These words were from Teochew language which was very powerful for Siamese imperial court since the period of Taksin the Great, Teochew Chinese were called as “Royal Chinese” (Skinner, 2005, p.19). Therefore, the influences of cultures between Thai and Chinese made Mahayana Buddhism easily come through Thailand in the past. There were also various influences from Chinese culture in Thai cultures such as linguistic, religion, and faith.

For assimilation strategy of Thai government, Thailand was recognized as the most successful country that used the assimilation to Overseas Chinese. Thai language was used for in both public and private communication. In addition, Chinese descendants were considered as Thai people. According to the research of Skinner (2005, p.303), Overseas Chinese were compulsory to choose clearly about

their nationality, they had to accept the case judging by Chinese head and pay the tax once per three years and had the braid which represented Manchu identity in case they choose to be Chinese citizens in Thailand, but they could cut the braid, pay the tax as same as Thai citizens and made relation with Thai bureaucrats in case they choose to be Thai citizens. In addition, Overseas Chinese can reserved eighteen exclusive industrial and service occupation for Thai citizens of Act 1949, 1951 and 1952 of Siamese government, in case they chose Thai identity (Skinner, 1959, p.139). Chinese language education and the use of Chinese language were banned inside Thailand by General Phibul Songkram, because Overseas Chinese got out from work for protesting Siamese government, and they also established Angyee rebellion in Siam. Some researchers supported that the assimilation strategy of the government successfully work for assimilated Chinese culture into Thai culture. However, Overseas Chinese used the Chinese shrines for preserve their identities. The cross-cultural marriage although assimilated some culture, but Overseas Chinese strongly believed to preserve their identity especially in the shrines which created the consciousness of solidarity in Overseas Chinese (Pattamacharoen, 2012, p.111).

For the early round of Overseas Chinese immigrated to Thailand, they displayed various identity indicators such as language, religion, education, culture, religious belief and cultural practice. After the Second World War, they emphasized to speak Chinese dialects and inherited Chinese ritual practices especially worship the ancestor and prayed to the deities. Bilateral ancestral history and consciousness of Chinese blood were emphasized among Overseas Chinese in Thailand. Majority of Overseas Chinese still considered themselves that they were Chinese people who lived in Thailand and did not accept Thai citizenship. After the assimilation and integration, most Chinese identified themselves as Thai citizens and were loyal to Thailand. They spoke Thai, learn inside Thai schools, participated Thai associations and celebrate Thai festivals. They did not consider themselves as Chinese citizens who ally to Thai flag and monarchy (Morita, 2007, p.126-129).

However, three categories of Overseas Chinese descendants recently were much different than the period of General Phibul Songkram because of religious freedom rights of Thai people: 1) Chinese conservative group. They highly considered that they were Chinese people who lived in Thailand, and traditional rituals and belief were very well preserved; 2) Double identity. They bilateral went to Theravada

temples for food charity and worshipped at Chinese shrines; 3) Assimilated Thai. They considered themselves that they were completely Thai and did not follow the traditional Chinese ritual and ancestor worships (Chanasakun, 2017, p.183).

For Buddhism, Thai originally followed Theravada Buddhism and believed in animism, and Chinese originally followed three religions which are Mahayana Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism these religions influenced them to worship the deities. For the faith, Thai prayed for the locality spirit while Chinese pray for the deities that they were inherited from their ancestors differently by dialectic groups. The Hainanese worshipped the goddess of the lower stream (水尾圣娘), the Hokkien worshipped the holy mother and empress of the heaven (天后圣母), both Teochew and Hakka worshipped the locality god (本头公). Pun Thao Kong shrine was the first Chinese shrine in Bangkok, established in 1786, he was the god of locality who was worshipped in various countries of Southeast Asian nations (Kataoka, 2012, p.466).

Bilateral Chinese Mahayana Buddhism and Theravada Buddhism had the holy day which had to conduct Buddhist rituals, and they count the date from lunar calendar originally. Chinese Buddhism's holy day were on the first and fifteen (full moon) days, and weekly holy day was set for all Thai Theravada for making merit. Overseas Chinese originally believed that there were gods everywhere in the world such as god of the sky, god of the earth, god of the house and god of the kitchen. In addition to representing Chinese identity and for good luck, red papers were paste to the walls and doors with written Chinese calligraphy for auspicious words (Morita, 2007, p.129-130).

Morita (2007, p.130) and Chanasakun (2016 & 2017) used the theory of double identity in their studies describing all Thai men entered the priesthood which was the tradition of Thai Theravada Buddhism, and the study found that some Chinese descendants also entered the priesthood but shorter time. The reason of this easily akin between Thai Theravada Buddhism and Chinese Mahayana Buddhism was major similarities of Buddhism concept such as encouraging people to conduct appropriate actions, decreasing conduct bad actions, worshipping the Buddha and giving donation. Overseas Chinese in Thailand originally worshipped similarly to Thai people such as pillar of the state (Lak-muang), and they used the worshipped

method as same as worshipped to their deities. Overseas Chinese descendants in Thailand worshipped both Thai Theravada temple and Chinese Mahayana temple. Some Chinese Mahayana temples were built in Thailand since King Chulalongkorn period (King Rama V) for Overseas Chinese ritual purposes during the merchandising period between Chinese merchants and Siam society. The images of Four Heavenly Kings (四大天王) were at four directions in the main hall of the temple, which represented the wishing of raining in the appropriate seasons. Because, majority of Overseas Chinese and Thai were agricultural-based occupation, they were very afraid of flooding and drought which influenced to their agricultural products. There were Maitreya (弥勒佛), who was fat and smile representing richness, Three Golden Buddha (三世祖佛) and eighteen Arahants at the main hall. There were some Chinese Mahayana temples in Thailand since the period of King Chulalongkorn period.

The first Chinese Mahayana Buddhist temple was built without Vietnamese reinforcement for rituals, because Mahayana rituals were assisted by Vietnamese reinforcement before, Wat Bampen Chine Prote (Yong Hok Yi temple: 永福寺) that established before 1887 (Kataoka, 2012, p.466). King Rama V ordered to concern and build the correct style of Chinese Mahayana temple in Siam which was Wat Mangkon Kamalawat (Leng Noei Yi temple). The architecture of Bhoman Khunaram temple was built in Chinese and Japanese temple architectural style. The architectures of bilateral Wat Thip Wari Wihan and Wat Bampen Chine Prote were modified from Chinese shrines. Therefore, we could not argue that there were no relation between Chinese Mahayana temples and Chinese shrines in Thailand.

In 1967, Bhoman Khunaram Temple (普门报恩寺), the biggest Chinese Mahayana temple in Bangkok was built. The architectures were combination of Chinese, Thai and Tibetan style. For Thai architecture inside Chinese Mahayana temple, Dharmachakra was build inside the temple. For Tibetan architecture, lightning symbol was represented Tibetan Buddhism. The architectures of Mahayana temples in Thailand were built in Chinese style. Four Bodhisattvas were highly respected in the temples which are Manjusri (Universal Great Wisdom Bodhisattva: 文殊菩萨), the symbol of great wisdom, Samantabhadra (Universal Worthy Great Conduct Bodhisattva: 普贤菩萨) the symbol of great practice, Ksitigarbha (Earth Store King Great Vow Bodhisattva: 地藏菩萨) the symbol of great willingness and

Avalokitesvara (Guan Shr Yin Great Compassion Bodhisattva: 观音菩萨) the symbol of mercy. There was also Skanda Bodhisattvas (韦驮菩萨) for worshipped in the temple.

There was also a small hall for worshipped ancestor spirits of followers. There were various auspicious symbols in Chinese Mahayana temples in Thailand. Majority of Chinese Mahayana temple in Thailand was decorated with dragon and pearl figures as well as dragon fish; they were the symbol of protecting conflagration in the temple, because dragon was aquatic animals. The symbol was inherited from Han Wudi (汉武帝) of the Han dynasty (汉朝), because the throne room was conflagration in his period, he ordered imperial artists to build the symbol of dragon for protecting conflagration. It was a kind of faith beliefs that dragon was one of the four auspicious animals of Chinese mythology which are green dragon (青龙), white tiger (白虎), Vermilion Bird (朱雀), and Kirin (玄武). Some temples used the bat (蝙蝠) to represented longevity. There were also auspicious natural symbol which are cloud and water wave, represented cheerfulness and richness. The symbol of dragon was not only represented conflagrated protection, but it also represented longevity and immortality.

There were also some botanical symbols such as Peony (芍药属) which represented wealth, Plum blossom (梅) which represented happiness, pine tree (松) and bamboo (竹) which represented everlasting, fortune and peaceful. There were some more auspicious objects inside the temple such as medallion which represented richness and Chinese identity as well as Chinese character, “Fu” (福), representing prosperity. Chinese Mahayana followers believed that people who came to the temple would receive these auspicious symbols for blessing their life. Most of Chinese Mahayana temples in Thailand were similar (Panin, 1986, p.1-8).

## 2.5 Chinese Shrine and Society in Thailand

The most famous academic research related to Overseas Chinese immigration to Thailand and Southeast Asian countries is the study of Skinner (1957). His doctoral dissertation was published as a book, “Chinese Society in Thailand” in



2005 (Translated Thai version) (Kasetsiri, 2016, p.12) and Manomaivibool also used the assimilation concept similar to Skinner and published her article related to Chinese society in Thailand in 2011. Furthermore, Skinner published an article related to Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia in 1959. Powers related to economy and politics in many Southeast Asian nations were belonged to Overseas Chinese people who reside in Southeast Asian nation by their immigration (Skinner, 1959, p.136).

For Thailand, we could not refuse that Overseas Chinese had no relation such as economic and political powers in Thailand; because there were various historical documents those described the characteristics of Chinese in Thailand. They were called “Tao Kae” (老板) and they were described as business owner as well as millionaire. In the past two to three decades, various prime minister of Thailand had half Chinese Thai nationality such as Kukrit Pramoj, Chuan Leekpai, Banharn Silpa-archa and Thaksin Shinawatra.

After the Cold War period, there were some medias which described the characteristics of Chinese in Thailand such as Lord Lai Mungkorn Television Program, The Letter from Thailand Novel, Yoo Kab Kong Novel, and Tung Nang Kie (唐人仔) (Kasetsiri, 2016, p.11-12). Moreover, some researchers found that Thai literatures could reflect Chinese identity in Thai society in various issues such as gender equality crisis (Chinese emphasized men more than women: 男众女轻) in the past but slightly positively changed in Thailand, using Chinese language creating solidarity, significance of Beijing opera. To preserve Chinese identity in Thai domain culture, Chinese culture and tradition were accepted by assimilated into Thai culture and tradition which similarly the theory of Skinner (1959 & 2005).

There was a study of literatures which described Overseas Chinese in Thailand from 1957 to 2007. Overseas Chinese permanently settled in Thailand since the period of Ayuthaya Kingdom (Kesmanee & Kingkham, 2011, p.14-15), but bilateral Skinner (2005) and Manomaivibool (2011) described that Thai-Chinese relation started from tributary relation (进贡) in the period of Sukhothai kingdom (素可泰王国: 1238-1438 AD) of Siam (Former official name of Thailand: 暹罗). The tributary relation in this period emphasized the trade between the emperors of Chinese imperial court and the king of Sukhothai kingdom. During this time, China was conquered by Mongolian people as their dynasty, Yuan dynasty (元朝: 1271-1368). Some porcelain

artists from Yuan imperial court were sent to teach people of Sukhothai kingdom, and this product was called Caledon Ware (Sangkhalok ceramic wear: 瓷器). In this period, this group of artists did not live in Siam for their life, but there were only some trading by Chinese merchants who trade with coastal provinces of Sukhothai Kingdom.

In the period of Ayuthaya Kingdom (阿瑜陀耶王国/大城王国: 1351-1767), some groups of Overseas Chinese immigrated to many provinces of Siam especially coastal provinces, they imported their product and used Siam as the place of waiting for the monsoon to sail back to their country (Siripaisal, 2007, p.125). Additionally, bilateral Skinner (2005, p.1 & Manomaivibool, 2011, p.539) described that Overseas Chinese merchants assisted to develop Thai argosy merchandising and boosted Thai economic growth. The merchants in this period came from southern coastal provinces which are Fujian (福建) and Guangdong (广东), and they were permanently established their community in many Southeast Asian nations, especially coastal provinces (Skinner, 1959, p.136-138).

For the above reasons, numerous Overseas Chinese immigrated to Thailand, and they were the biggest minority in Siam. Overseas Chinese persisted in their tradition and culture which caused the solidarity of their group. There were religious activities, social activities, and festival activities those described the cooperation and assisting each other of Chinese society in Siam (Kesmanee & Kingkham, 2011, p.14-15). There were some Thai governmental policies to support Chinese merchandise in Thonburi Kingdom (吞武里王国: 1768-1782). Siam was developed and governed by Taksin the Great since 1734 after the capital of Siam was lost to Burma.

Skinner (2005, p.18-19) described that the King Taksin's father was Chaozhou Chinese (Teochew: 潮州) and his mother was Thai. He gathered Thai forces to fight with Burmese forces, and he could conquered Ayuthaya and appointed himself as the king of Siam. Taksin the Great conquered Siam for 14 years, and appointed Thonburi where located in the west of Chao Phraya River as the capital city since Thonburi Kingdom. Nowadays, the area of Thonburi Kingdom is combined with the district of Bangkok. The majority of Chaozhou Chinese stayed in Thonburi Bangkok because of the conquering of Taksin the Great. Chinese society in

Siam was very flourishing and became the richest groups inside Siam because of merchandising and special rights supported by Taksin the Great, and Teochiew Chinese was called “Royal Chinese” because of significant supports from the king. Many Chinese were appointed as bureaucrats and governors in his period because of their royalty and professional ability (Skinner, 2005, p.18-20).

In the period of King Phra Phutthayotfa Chulalok (King Rama I) of Chakri dynasty, Siam was supported for the war and building new capital by the merchandising income of Overseas Chinese merchants. There was no Anti-Chinese violence in Siam since this period. Moreover, Overseas Chinese’s rights were more comfortable than Siamese people, because they were outside “Slave System” and freely to do every occupation in the nation. In the period of early Chakri dynasty, there were some departments of the Siamese government to govern Overseas Chinese and appointed some Overseas Chinese as the head of the department which was easier to govern them than Siamese governed by themselves. Overseas Chinese in Siam did not only develop Siamese argosy trading, but they also did other advantaged occupations which are merchants, artists and laborers. Many Overseas Chinese immigrated to Siam because of lack of agricultural production problems, wars and political problems (Opium War 鴉片战争: 1839 – 1860 and Taiping Rebellion 太平天国: 1850-1864) as well as natural disasters (Pattamacharoen, 2012, p.111 & Manomaivibool, 2011, p.539-540).

There were numerous Overseas Chinese immigrated to Siam during the period of King Nangklao (King Rama III). They immigrated to Thailand with the dream to becoming millionaires, so they were very hard-working although their lives were very suffering. The first round of the immigration from China to Thailand was coolies (laborers) after the collapse of Qing dynasty (1912). This group of Overseas Chinese men was described as hard-working and endurable for working in every occupation. Most of them came to Siam for agricultural occupation, pulling rickshaw, animal husbandry and merchandise Chinese agricultural products. Famous Chinese agricultural and food products were pickled mustard greens, salty fishes, mushroom and Chinese yellow daylily. These Overseas Chinese were one of the development factors of Siam. Many Overseas Chinese immigrants were the gentlemen who came to get marriage with Siamese wives although some of them already had their wives in China, and this cross-cultural marriage also happened in many Southeast Asian

nations, especially influenced to Indonesia and Malaya completed assimilation, but they also brought Chinese culture, way of life, ideology and tradition to Siam with their immigration (Jieqin, 1990, p.95-133; Skinner, 1959, p.138 & Manomaivibool, 2011, p.539-540).

Overseas Chinese who immigrated to Siam could be categorized in 5 dialect categories: Teochew (潮州话), Hokkien (福建话), Hakka (客家话), Cantonese (广东话) and Hainanese (海南话). Furthermore, these coolies from China mostly were Teochew Chinese people, and many of them stayed in Sampeng which is still Overseas Chinese community until nowadays. The number of Overseas Chinese was followed by Hainanese and Hakka after Teochew in Bangkok. There were 77,300 people which 31,000 inside were Overseas Chinese, and 5,000 inside were Overseas Chinese descendants from the record of Jacob Tomlin. In addition, 47% of Siamese people in Bangkok were Chinese people. The reasons of Overseas Chinese were interested to immigrated to Thailand were similar atmosphere, geographical features, way of life, religion and faith. One of the most significant reasons to immigrate to Siam was the benevolence of the king of Siam. King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V) said in the day of opening Tianfa Hospital (天华医院) that Overseas Chinese brought the flourishing atmosphere to Siam, so Overseas Chinese were governed similarly to Siamese people. In addition, he also mentioned to the solidarity between Siamese and Chinese without foreign thinking, and he was very satisfied with the numerous numbers of Overseas Chinese immigration (Manomaivibool, 2011, p.541-542).

The hospital was donated by five dialectic groups of Overseas Chinese which are Swatou (汕头), Kwangdong (广东), Hokkien (福建), Hakka (客家) and Hailam (海南). Another characteristic of Overseas Chinese in their immigration history was welfare association such as Cantonese Association, Po Tek Tung (Baode Shantang: 报德善堂). Po Tek Tung was the largest philanthropic association in Thailand, and they worshipped Dafeng Zushi (大峰祖师), a former Chinese Mahayana monk who was very famous in benefit of mankind. The association also owned Huaqiao Hospital (华侨医院), and such associations also provided hospitals, clinics, schools and recreational facilities for the community (Kataoka, 2012, p.466).

For the modernization of King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V), he issued "Edict of Religious Toleration" in 1878, and it was targeted at Christian missionary in

Chiang Mai. They were legally called “Satsana Phra Yesu” in Thai (Religion of Jesus), and they accepted the freedom and religion in Siam. After that, King Vajiravudh (King Rama VI) succeeded the throne and established the consciousness of “Chat, Satsana, Phramahakasat” (Nation, Religion and Monarchy). For the Religion, Theravada Buddhism was appointed as national religion, because the king was originally Theravada Buddhism. Moreover, he studied in England when he was young, so he also brought many Western-style religious pluralism to Siam. After 1932, the term of “Freedom of Satsana” (Freedom of religion) was introduced to Siamese society. In 1941, under the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Religious Affairs (Krom Satsana) was created to supervise all religion under the royal patronage. There were many registered religions in Thailand which are Islam, Christianity (Catholic and Protestant), Brahmanism, Hindu, Sikh, and Buddhism. Bilateral Theravada Buddhism and two Mahayana ideologies (Vietnamese Annam Nikai and Chinese Nikai) were listed in the religious statistic of Siamese government (Kataoka, 2012, p.461-464).

In the issues of categorizing Chinese immigrants in Thailand, there were some researchers who studied each dialectic groups separately for appropriate information for their society and development:

1) Teochew (潮州). They immigrated from Teochew in Kwangdong province (广东) which located at the southern part of Hokkien province (福建). They immigrated to Thailand because of numerous problems in their hometown such as flooding, drought and insufficient agricultural products. They immigrated to coastal cities of Ayutthaya Kingdom. Teochew were very famous for merchandising in various products in Thailand such as fish sauce, pickled mussel, dried fish, sugar cane and black pepper. Teochew had significant influenced in Thai cultures such as Chinese loanwords in Thai language those were mentioned in the above topic (Morita, 2007, p.125-126);

2) Hakka (客家). They immigrated from Kwangdong province, and the majority immigrated from Meixian (梅县), and they lived in Fujian earthen buildings (客家土楼). They immigrated to Thailand with a huge ship caravans. Majority of Hakka lived in Hat Yai and did the business of rubber trees;

3) Hailam (海南). They immigrated to many rivers of Pak Nam Pho, Nakhon Sawan province. One of the most famous characteristics of Pak Nam Pho was

Po To Biew shrine (婆主庙) and Chao Mae Thab Thim shrine (石榴娘娘庙). They believed in Chao Mae Thab Thim because she was the goddess of disaster protection especially before they sailed the boat for immigration to Thailand. The first round of Overseas Chinese who immigrated for doing jobs in Thailand gathered for building community for assisting each other such as Keng Dao Community (琼岛会所), and those who did careers related to restaurants and hotel gathered for building Wui Buan Tae Community (会文社). After the Second World War, the two Chinese communities gathered as Hailam Community of Thailand (泰国海南会馆). The characteristic of Hailam was Hailam puppet performance.

4) Kwangdong (广东). The first round of Overseas Chinese immigration was bilateral Hokkien (福建) and Kwangdong (广东), because their geographical features were near South China Sea which supported their immigration. After the Second World War, there were a huge groups of Kwangdong immigrants, because Guo Min Dang (国民党) was defeated by Communist Party (共产党). The characteristic of Kwangdong were textile weavers by Kwangdong ladies;

5) Hokkien (福建). The first round of Thai-Chinese merchandising was conducted by Fujian merchants who sailed the ship from Aeming (澳门). Hokkien were the followers of Taksin the Great who assisted him to fight with Burma, and many of them were appointed as bureaucrats and province heads. Majority of Hokkien immigrated to Phuket after they found the great uses of Tin mining. In addition to Hokkien culture in Phuket, they built Chinese shrines for Mahayana Buddhist rituals and the place for community in Phuket. They also brought the culture of Hokkien Baba to Phuket (Manomaivibool, 2011, p.542-551).

However, many Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asian nations committed some complex crimes and problems since the Communist of China establishment in 1949. Governments of Southeast Asian nations tried to solve these problems in their countries with nationalistic solutions to Overseas Chinese problems. For this case, there was no realistic legal citizenship of Chineseness in Southeast Asian nations. Overseas Chinese were illegal to have exercises and prerogatives related to Chinese citizenship while they were in Southeast Asian nations because of cross-cultural marriage and assimilation. Therefore, various Overseas Chinese were assimilated into indigenous Southeast Asians. This influenced many Overseas Chinese

could not speak and understand Chinese, and some of them used the spoon and fork rather than using chopsticks. Indigenous spirits and Christian god in some countries were preferences to Overseas Chinese rather than Chinese deities. For the number of Overseas Chinese, Thailand, Malaya and Indonesia had at least 2,140,000 Overseas Chinese in the nations. Assimilation was very efflorescent by Southeast Asian nationalism strategy, but there was some quickening of Chinese nationalism among Overseas Chinese population which caused perpetuation of Chinese culture and royalty to Chinese politics as well as cultural continuity. The patriotism of Overseas Chinese became the huge issues in almost everywhere in Southeast Asia with Communism consolidation. There were four main issues by Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia: 1) Chinese controlled the economic roles in the nonagricultural segment of Southeast Asia; 2) Chinese descendants studied at the Chinese-language schools and the Chinese thinking was influenced to them; 3) Arising of citizenship and problems determination of dual nationality from China's citizenship; and 4) New national states of Southeast Asia came from the political assimilation of Overseas Chinese (Skinner, 1959, p.137-138).

In 1902, the term of "Supreme Defender of Religion" was introduced to the government, and the king was appointed as the defender. Furthermore, the act influenced Theravada Buddhism to become the state Buddhism in Thailand (Kataoka, 2012, p.461). From 1957 to 2007, Overseas Chinese were described in Thai literatures in various issues: 1) Family Institution. Overseas Chinese paid respect to the elders in the family, and they respected men more than women in the family, because men could inherit the continued surname of the family; 2) Chinese language. Overseas Chinese who firstly immigrated to Siam could not speak and understand Siamese language, so they used Chinese to describe their thinking, teaching, doing jobs and using for cultural communication. Overseas Chinese built Chinese-language school in Siam for language, culture, value and identity inheritances to the newer generation. They also sent their children to study Chinese in the shrines and some of them hired a teacher to teach their children in their house. Before 1910, the teaching focused on language, culture, ideology, philosophy and history for Chinese identity inheritance. However, after Chinese Revolution (辛亥革命) which overthrow China last imperial dynasty and established Republic of China in 1910, there were not only Chinese movement in Siam, but there were also Chinese movement in Southeast

Asia for patriotism and supported the revolution group in China. They used the Chinese-language school as the place for spread the thinking and planning for supported the revolution group. One of the main ideologies they taught their children was the idea of Communism. Therefore, Siamese government in the period of King Prajadhipok (King Rama VII) had the controlled measures for Chinese-language schools, and many schools were closed in this period. Ministry of Education also did not allow opening the new school, and offered Chinese-language school's name to change into Siamese official language. Siamese government had the policy of giving Siamese nationality to Overseas Chinese descents those were born and lived in Siam. Siamese official language was forced to teach inside Chinese schools for country stability. Educational system, curriculum, textbook were changed for the policy of national education development, for the solidarity of the country as well as decreasing the conflict between people in the nation (Kesmanee & Kingkham, 2011, p.17-18).

For nationalist strategies of Siamese government, Thailand was appointed as the new official name for Siam by General Pibul Songram in 1939. He returned to political power in 1948, and the first strategy was the education. All Chinese secondary schools were closed in only one month, and the administration as well as teaching staffs could be Thai only in 1955. In addition, all instruction of the schools must be in Thai language which influenced the decreased number of the students in Chinese-language schools from 175,000 to less than 50,000 with eight years operation. For occupational opportunities, eighteen industrial and service occupations were limited for only Thai citizens according to the Acts in 1949, 1951 and 1952. Every company was forced to accept Thai employees more than 50% of the company. In 1952, the discriminating for alien extraction citizens' policy was conducted by Ministry of Interior for those who hold Chinese citizenship in Thailand (Skinner, 1959, p.139-140). Administration of Chinese religion was changed from Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education into Ministry of Interior influencing from Chinese problems, because they were suspected for supporting Sun Yat-sen's republican ideology, and they were later viewed as communists in Cold War period (Kataoka, 2012, p.467). For the patriotism assimilation strategy by General Phibul Songkram, it also influenced the schools in many provinces such as Hua Ear School in Nakorn Pathom province. Originally, Hua Ear School was built for educating



Chinese language and preserving Chinese identity of Overseas Chinese community. The school was closed by the government, but it was recovered after the Second World War when China won the war. The school influenced the proud feeling of Chinese identity. However, the school was closed again and was assimilated into Thai culture. The name of the school was changed into Ho Ek Wittaya School. In contrast, students found that studying Chinese has more benefits for international working than studying Thai language nowadays and after the laws were abandoned. Furthermore, the alumni of the school was established for working together and strengthening the solidarity of Overseas Chinese community in Nakorn Pathom province (Pattamacharoen, 2001, p.112-113).

However, the patriotism campaigns of the general was slightly alleviated after his tour aboard of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung and influenced from the establishment of Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 1955. Thailand successfully assimilated socially and combined politically the Chinese immigrants' descendants (Skinner, 1959, p.139-140); 3) Chinese opera. Chinese opera was originally the play performed to the king. Majority of Chinese opera played in front of Chinese shrines in Chinese New Year<sup>1</sup> (春节), Zhongyuan Festival<sup>2</sup> (中元节), and Lunar Festival<sup>3</sup> (中秋节) as well as god birthday<sup>4</sup> (生日) such as Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. Meanwhile, the festival also made the solidarity of Overseas Chinese community in Thailand by using Chinese languages in the Chinese opera. Audiences similarly comprehended the context and symbols during the Chinese opera played; and 4) Tradition. Overseas Chinese brought their tradition, culture, religion and faith to Thailand with their immigration such as worshipping deities, religious faith which combined from the three religions. There were eight festivals<sup>5</sup> (八节) of Overseas Chinese community: Chinese New Year (春节), Yuanxiao Festival<sup>6</sup> (元宵节), Qingming

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<sup>1</sup> The celebration of the new year in Lunar Calendar of Chinese (1st day of the 1st lunar month)

<sup>2</sup> The festival worshipping ancestor spirit (15th night of the 7th lunar month), Chinese believed their ancestor spirit came from the lower realm to the world and visited their descends

<sup>3</sup> Mid-Autumn Festival, Chinese Thanksgiving Festival (15th day of the 8th lunar month)

<sup>4</sup> The birthday ceremony of gods Chinese believed, Chinese normally worshipped some food and beverage to the gods on the altar and worshipped them for good fortune

<sup>5</sup> There are totally 8 festivals celebrating by Overseas Chinese in Thailand

<sup>6</sup> Spring Lantern Festival, Chinese decorating Chinese lantern in the shrines and houses (15th day of the 1st month)

Festival<sup>7</sup> (清明节), Dragon Boat Festival<sup>8</sup> (端午节), Zhongyuan Festival (中元节), Lunar Festival (中秋节), Vegetarian Festival<sup>9</sup> (吃斋节) and god worshipping in the end of the year (Kesmanee & Kingkham, 2011, p.20 & Pattranupravat, 2011, p.1). For tradition related to way of life, Overseas Chinese had five rituals such as welcoming new born, becoming adult, birthday, marriage and funeral. For the birthday party of Chinese people, they normally hold the party every ten years old. For the funeral, most of Overseas Chinese bodies were buried at Chinese graveyard (Kesmanee & Kingkham, 2011, p.17-23). Thai literatures from 1957 to 2007 described that although Overseas Chinese emphasized the traditional rituals, but Chinese funeral used much money; many procedures of the rituals were decreased especially the newer generation who lived inside international cultures. Therefore, many Chinese traditional festivals and rituals were disappeared from new generation of Overseas Chinese descendants (Pattranupravat, 2011, p.1-2).

Nowadays, there is the freedom of religious selection in the Kingdom of Thailand. However, majority of Thai are Theravada Buddhism, it was also the root of faith, culture, tradition and current identity of Thailand. Although, there was no constitutional act of Thailand describing Buddhism was the main religion of Thailand, Buddhism is still the main religion of Thailand nowadays. The next religion of Thailand which chronologically order is Islam and Christianity. Although, Thai people are Theravada Buddhism, it was influenced by Brahmanism and Hinduism in India. Theravada Buddhism was came from India also. There are some traditions and ceremonies of Thailand combining Buddhism, Hinduism and Brahmanism. There are also various big and beautiful temples, mosques, churches in Thailand. Some temples have beautiful painting at the walls which are very famous and valuable heritages of Thailand (Tourism Authority of Thailand, 2017). In the part of Chinese Shrines in Thailand, they were not under the Department of Religious affairs (The department was included in the Ministry of Culture after 2002). They are now under the Ministry of Interior supervision. Local Administration Act (1913) article 113 described that the shrines was categorized as the place of public area for making merit (Kusonsathan). Furthermore, the article 2 of Local Administration Act described

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<sup>7</sup> Tomb-Sweeping Day, numerous food and beverage were worshipped to the ancestor spirit at the tomb this day for remembering ancestor purpose (4th or 5th or 6th day of the 4th lunar month)

<sup>8</sup> The festival Overseas Chinese in Thailand used sticky rice dumpling (粽子) worshipping the god

<sup>9</sup> The celebration by having vegetarian food for 9 days worshipping Nine Emperors (九皇大帝)

“Sanchao” (Chinese shrines) is the place to have objects for worship and used for rituals according to the doctrines. And, “Directory of Chinese Shrines in the Kingdom” was under the Department of Local Administration Department (Kataoka, 2012, p.465). There were many researchers who conducted the studies related to Chinese shrines in various provinces in Thailand such as Nakorn Pathom (Pattamacharoen, 2001), Bangkok (Chunsuvimol, 2008), Songkla (Keawborisut, 2012 & Siripaisal, 2007) and Phuket provinces (Phochanakit, 2003; Changsattham, 2007; Kataoka, 2012; & Chanasakun, 2017). In this part, the shrines in Nakorn Pathom, Bangkok and Songkla were presented, but the shrines in Phuket were presented in the part of 2.7 Chinese shrines and society in Phuket. The data of related literature in this part were presented a province by province. In Nakorn Pathom province, Chinese language was the symbol conscious the difference of Chinese identity from other ethnicities in Thailand. In Muang district of Nakorn Pathom province, bilateral Pun Thao Kong shrine and Hua Ear School were the place to preserve Chinese language and culture. There were two types of Chinese identity symbol in Chinese shrines: 1) Objective symbol such as ritual object, activity, words, Chinese god scriptures and Chinese god flag. All words was spoken by spirit medium was Chinese language. The spirit meium shook their head during the god lived in their body; 2) Subjective symbol such as atmosphere, music, smell of burning Chinese woods, smell of incense sticks, drum sound, and bell sound for reminding god to live in spirit medium body (Pattamacharoen, 2001, p.5).

There were some famous rituals in the shrines, the most famous was Vegetarian festival which influenced to Chinese identity consciousness. Bilateral ideological pole and sensory pole were the meaning of worshipping the Nine Emperors during the festival, and they influenced the belief and royalty of people. The purpose of the festival was to response the need of local people for the holy protection from the gods, longevity, get rid of illness and bad fortune. These were considered as ideological pole. Meanwhile, the festival influenced people to assure their nationality inside social identity; some of successful Overseas Chinese supported the ritual because of displaying their social status. Auspicious fruits were used to worship the gods such as orange which represented fortunate, pineapple which represented jackpot and Chinese pear which represented the longevity. The worshipped fruit could comprehended the feeling related to way of life of Overseas

Chinese people. From the effect of patriotism of General Phibul Songkram, many symbol were added to the shrines such as Thai national flag, Thai Buddha's image, incense stick pot with crafted King Chulalongkorn name and changed Chinese-language schools' name into Thai name. The changes displayed Thainess acceptance for the benefit to last in the Thai society (Pattamacharoen, 2001, p.111-116).

Chunsuvimol (2008, p.199-217) studied Chinese community in Bangkok Bobae Community, was described as Heterogeneity society. The community was located at the center of Bangkok, so the majority of the community was Teochew (潮州人); furthermore, the community was one of the most important economic areas of Bangkok. In the part of educational ideology, the first generation of Overseas Chinese in the community hope that the next generation could receive better educational level than them. The ideology of supporting people to receive the good education was from Confucianism. Furthermore, they could achieve the hope, because they could study in primary school and middle school. For the gender ideology, parents did not gave more educational opportunity to the sons than daughter, they were equal. In the part of Chinese language, more than a half of family in the community could only speak and listen Chinese. There were almost one out of four Chinese Thai who could speak, listen and write Chinese, because there were few adults taught Chinese language to their children.

Furthermore, few of them sent their children to Chinese-language schools for preserving Chinese identity. They preferred to send their children to Bangkok's famous schools those were established by Christianity. In the part of religion and faith, majority of Chinese Thai participated in bilateral Theravada Buddhism and Chinese shrine. Some of their children were sent to monkhood. However, they actively participated in rituals of Pueng Thao Kong Shrine (本头公庙), the main shrine of the community. Bilateral Theravada Buddhism and the shrine were categorized as Syncretism, which was a category of Asian people belief. Syncretism was the mixing of different culture by some groups of people. In the part of social relation, Chinese Thai people participated in many voluntary opportunities. From the above statements, Bobae community was the strong community for the unity of people, researcher summarized that it was because of three social institutions of the community: 1) Belief Institution. Chinese Thai people preserved their identity at Pueng Thao Kong shrine, and people made merit as well as donated

some fruits to the shrine committee. They had the conversation to each other inside this occasion for making greater relation between the shrine and population. The most famous Chinese festivals in the community were Chinese New Year (春节) and Zhongyuan Festival (中元节); 2) Religious Institution. Baromniwas Temple was built in the period of King Nangklao (King Rama III), the temple was very famous for giving sermon. Furthermore, the temple owned plenty areas in the community, Chinese Thai people hired some lands for building their houses. They actively participated the rituals in the temple especially giving sermon; 3) Socio-economic institution. There was “Bobae people community” which acted as social and economic representative of the community. It was the news center for creating international marketing opportunity and making Bobae an international market.

For case study of Songkla province, Overseas Chinese immigrated to Songkla because of building Southern Railway Station in 1909, and they were the laborers who build the railway. The railway made Hat Yai the center of southern Thailand economy. Some Overseas Chinese social environment and culture in Hat Yai were different from mainland China because of the control of Thai government. Therefore, the culture of Overseas Chinese was the combination with local Thai society for preserving their identity. Theravada Buddhism was introduced to Overseas Chinese by the governmental campaign mentioned above. Therefore, Overseas Chinese descendants in Hat Yai worshipped to Chinese gods, participated in Water Splash Festival (Songkran Day), made merit in Theravada temple, participated in countdown for international new year and selling products in Eid ul-Fitr, the festival of Islamic. The Hat Yai society was described as cultural hybridity areas (Siripaisal, 2007, 125-128). The Vegetarian Festival of Hat Yai was described as invented culture for tourism and cultural preservation purpose. There was a governmental area which was chosen as the place to hold the festival, Supasanrangsang Park. The park was very popular among local people and tourists who always came to Hat Yai for the festival. The time of the festival was suitably set for office people, from 4:00 p.m. until 10:00 p.m. The culture and ritual were newly invented for tourism purpose and they were focused on bilateral entertainment and giving knowledge to tourists. Cultural performance, food competition, and cooking by famous people were all entertainment examples for tourists during the festival. There were selling of 108 invented vegetarian dishes in the festival, they purposed to create the newer and

better atmosphere. Local merchants used vegetarian ingredient which looked like non-vegetarian ingredient to cook, and this method could encourage more attention of tourists. The festival gathered 30 shrines in the area to display their main deities for worshipping, the shrines also selling holy objects and performing miracle shows. The most famous deity of the festival was Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨), and two most famous miracle performances were walking on the broken glass area and walking on the fire area. There was also god parade which was set to pass famous road of Hat Yai such as business area, main road, and shopping area, especially Kim Yong market and Lee Garden market. Chinese god parade contained miracle performance of spirit medium, and people paid respect to the spirit for fortunate in their lives. The festival was full with power relation, and the relation influenced the festival to adapt for the need of people in different organizations (Keawborisut, 2012, p.113-115).

## 2.6 Entering of Mahayana Buddhism to Phuket

Mahayana Buddhism established from the Chinese shrine in Phuket (Phochanakit, 2003, p.1-3). Furthermore, some researchers described that Vegetarian festival brought the establishment to Chinese shrines (Chansattham, 2007, p.1-3). The great description of Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese shrines was the combination of three Chinese religions (三教合一) which were Confucianism (儒家), Taoism (道教) and Mahayana Buddhism (大乘佛教) (Dhammathai, n.d.). Majority of Chinese shrines in Phuket were Taoism. The shrine or “Sanchao” means the holy place for the god, and two theses described differently about the establishment of Chinese shrines in Phuket. For the first history, In 100 years ago, a caravan of Chinese opera journeyed to the south and invited the spirit of The Nine Emperors (九皇大帝) to protect them along the journey. They sailed to Phuket and performed the opera at Rommanee sub-street near Mongkol Nimit temple, and they held nine days for vegetarian diet. Before the festival started, they cleaned the kitchen appliances and were in white for purity symbol. Bilateral Overseas Chinese and Thai participated in this vegetarian diet

and the festival started by lighting nine oil lamps and plunged the Go Teng pillar on the ground. After the caravan finished their performance in Phuket, they prepared to keep back the ritual equipment, but they found Phuket people strongly believed in the festival, and they gave the equipment to Phuket people for ritual inheritance. The first Chinese shrine in Phuket was established in Rommanee sub-street, but there was the conflagration, so the shrine was built at Jui Tui shrine nowadays (Chansattham, 2007, p.1-2). For the second history, Since Phuket was famous for Tin mining and influenced Overseas Chinese to do the occupation related to the Tin mining which introduced by British Straits Settlement during the modernization period (Kataoka, 2012, p.469).

There were prosperous Overseas Chinese community and majority of Overseas Chinese were men who came to find wives in Phuket. Therefore, integration between Overseas Chinese and Thai happened in Phuket with cultural hybridity phenomena. Majority of tradition and festival in Phuket were influenced from Overseas Chinese such as Chinese New Year for compensate to those who were good to us and celebrated the new year in Chinese style. The god worshipping purposed to compensate the god who brought the peaceful and protection to Overseas Chinese. Qingming Festival purposed to display the thankfulness to ancestors who passed way. Zhongyuan Festival was to make merit for ancestors and other spirits who passed. The most famous festival among Phuket people and international tourists was Vegetarian Festival which purposed for making people mind the purity and worshipped to Giu Ong Tai Tae (九皇大帝).

Originally, Phuket people believed in fortune and horoscope from the stars which was the emotional, personal and social feeling. People could comprehend bilateral feeling and meaning of the rituals by participation. The description of each ritual could not be scientifically described, but people believed that the rituals were the action of god, and Holy Spirit. In 100 years ago, Overseas Chinese in Phuket and Phuket people all believed that sickness came from the bad spirits and evils, so they cured the sickness from participating in the rituals which influenced to the establishment of doctrines (Phochanakit, 2003, p.2-3).

## 2.7 Chinese Shrine and Society in Phuket

There is no Mahayana temple in Phuket like Bangkok, but the three combined religions were represented by Chinese shrines in Phuket. There were three categories of the shrines which are 10 state shrines, 14 private shrines and 18 non-registered (Appendix A). There are six shrines inside worshipped Muslim guardians of locality. The most popular deities in Phuket was Pun Thao Kong (本头公) who was worshipped in 6 shrines, Cho Su Kong (清水祖师) who was worshipped in 4 shrines, Kuan Wu (关羽) who was worshipped in 4 shrines, Lim Thai Su (林府太师) and Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨) who were worshipped in 3 shrines each. Many Chinese shrines in Phuket also worshipped to Mahayana Buddhist deities such as Kuan Im, Mitreya (弥勒佛), Ti Chong Ong (地藏王菩萨), Three Golden Buddha (三世祖佛), and other Bodhisattvas. Some shrines in Phuket worshipped Theravada monk's image such as Luangpho Chaem who used the supernatural power to protect Phuket from the war which described the theory of double identity. Some shrines also invite Theravada monks to make merit in the shrines for auspicious atmosphere and suitably adapted with Thai culture (Chanasakun, 2012, 186-191).

The shrines in Phuket was categorized as “department store” which contained numerous deities for worshipped, such as Yok Ong Song Te (玉皇大帝), Nine Emperors God or Kiu Ong Tai Te (九皇大帝), Lao-Tze (太上老君), Machopo (妈祖婆), Sam Tong Ong (三忠王), Sakyamuni Buddha as well as ancestry gods of Tan and Koi family. Siva and Uma Devi were also worshipped in some shrines of Phuket such as Ro Long shrine. Moreover, Chinese shrines was also described as an empty bowl which could contained various religions and faith such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Christianity (Catholic) and Brahmanism. Overseas Chinese in Phuket also chanted in Hokkien language, it was called Songkeng (诵经). The purpose of Songkeng was to publicity assist all the death (普度). The shrine also provided the teaching of Songkeng for those who were interested (Kataoka, 2012, p.417-477). In the past, majority of the shrines in Phuket did not have actual management for the shrine. The ways to manage the shrine were learnt from the elder generation and asking nearby people for assistance. However, the management was suitably changed with modernization of Phuket people. Jui Tui Tao Bo Keng



shrine emphasized spirit medium and miracle performance for making people to comprehend the ritual and the shrine. The shrine also preserve Hokkien dialect and inherited to the newer generation. There were three development targets of the shrine: 1) Human Development. The shrine developed people to have enough knowledge for working effectively; 2) Budget Control. The shrine made all budget clear and be able to examine for all committee; 3) Equipment and Area Management: The shrine increase the parking area for participants in the Vegetarian Festival (Changsattham, 2007, p.59-63).

Nowadays, Phuket is very famous for hospitality and tourism industry influencing Phuket very rich province, and one of the most famous tourist attractions was Vegetarian Festival. Phuket people inherited the culture of Vegetarian Festival from generation to generation, and the festival increased social strength and solidarity of Overseas Chinese descendants. Administrative head of local government was invited for the festival for making social solidarity. Tourists came to the festival from the advertisement of Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) and Phuket Provincial Administrative Organization (PPAO). PPAO supported the Hokkien culture because of the influences of culture diffusion and for supporting cultural preservation as well as cultural tourism. PPAO ordered the schools inside their organizations to put some curriculum and teaching related to local Hokkien culture to students and made Tin Mining Museum of Phuket the center of cultural studies. There were also some online information providing by PPAO such as ecological tourism and cultural tourism (<http://www.phuketcity.go.th/crossroad>) and providing Geographic Information System (GIS) for supporting tourism. Kathu Municipality Office also supported the Cultural Road of Kathu Municipality to hold annually (Dachwilai & Krutchon, 2014, p.1-17).

The positive tourist statistic from the festival could positively influence the hotel industry, food industry, agricultural industry and local souvenir industry. The festival did not aim to worship the god only, but the festival also aimed for healthy, there were 5 vegetables which were prohibited because of badly effect the organism. There were three issues supporting Vegetarian Festival:

1) Culture which came from learning. Culture was inherited from human to human, so it was the learning of other behaviors. Many pensioners taught

the pattern of the festival to the next generation and would like them to preserve the traditional pattern of the festival;

2) Social Heritage. Children were taught to participate in the festival by the family, the first social structure of all human in the society;

3) Solidarity. Many shrines invited people to clean and assist the shrine to prepare for the festival in one day earlier. They sat together and had conversation each other between different families; this action encourage the solidarity of the people in the community.

There were three groups of people in the festival for preserving Vegetarian Festival: 1) Committee. They coordinate each work for the festival, arrange the tradition and ritual professionally; 2) Spirit medium and their caretaker. They performed the miracle performance in the festival, and local people believed that they could decrease the sickness and sadness of the community; and 3) Participant. They had individual thinking about the festival, and some of them supported for continuing of rituals and activities in the festival. Some festivals of the shrine also arrange human behavior such prohibiting killing animal for preparing food and keep doing appropriate action, Vegetarian Festival. Although, there are multitudinous modern technology nowadays, numerous Phuket people still believe in the supernatural power of spirit medium (Phochanakit, 2003, p.58-62). There were several activities related to social welfare organization of Chinese shrines in Phuket such as opening the free library for more knowledge to those who interested, teaching Mandarin Chinese language, assisting in various incidents, supporting medical services, providing religious knowledge and activity for cultural preservation (Chanasakun, 2017, p.193).

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Data Collection

Three methods in collect the data were used in this research. There were bilateral observation and interview to collect the data from fieldwork. Some supporting data were related literatures, related theories which used to analyze, support and compare with the data from fieldwork. This research used the ethnography approach to conduct the study. The ethnography aimed researcher to participate in the target community and write the report descriptively about their life and culture in various issues. Researcher went inside the community and used both participant and non-participant observation for collecting different feeling from data collection. The data was focused on culture, tradition, ritual, way of life, belief by using intensive field work methodology to collect the data:

(1) Non-participant observation, researcher did not participate in some activities and rituals of target social phenomena, researcher try to be the audience for collecting the feeling and emotion of audience in the target phenomena. In this observation method, researcher tried to observe the action, behavioral pattern, meaning of behavior, relation between people, participation of each people in the community, and social environment.

(2) Participant observation, the researcher participated in some activities and rituals, because this could assist researcher to comprehend the feeling, emotion and meaning of some social phenomena. Sometimes, the researcher tried to inquire participants in the social phenomena more about deeper meaning and comprehension; then researcher takes note after the social phenomena finish.

Four types of interview methods were used to collect the data from fieldwork in this study: informal interview, formal interview, in-depth interview and focus group discussion.

(1) Informal interview, researcher used informal interview with Chinese Shrines committee who did not familiar with giving data to researchers, thus the researcher acted as the normal person who felt very interested in the Chinese Shrine. Researcher tried to start from normal conversation in daily life, introduce researcher himself that researcher was only a student at the university and felt very interested in the Chinese Shrine. This made shrine committee did not feel stress about the informal interview, and this could assist researcher to gain more knowledge about the target information. Researcher prepared some open questions to gain infinity answers from probing method. Probing method could make interviewers did not feel like they were interviewed, but they felt like they were talking with normal person. Sometimes, researcher used the method of eavesdropping, this method could gain some data that researcher does not need to inquire interviewers directly.

(2) Formal interview, researcher used this method to collect the data from some Chinese shrine committee. Formal interview could lead the interview to focus directly with the objective. However, some answers were limited because interviewer felt a little stress about the interview and did not would like to disturb the interview questions.

(3) In-depth interview, this interview was used with key informant interview, researcher has already selected some group of people to be key informants, because they are expert in similar field of study of this research. The key informants were Chinese shrines expert, Mahayana Buddhism experts and Chinese shrine committee.

(4) Focus group discussion, researcher selected some group of people to discuss together, and this group of people had similar experience on the social phenomena that researcher conducts the study. These groups of people were Overseas Chinese descendants who always went to the Chinese Shrines in every Vegetarian Festival, famous rituals of Chinese Shrines and worshipped Chinese gods at the Chinese Shrines. In this study, researcher also collected the data from related literatures and related theories, all data were from reliable sources: research articles,

academic articles, master theses, doctoral theses, books and reliable online sources from both official organizations and private sectors.

### 3.2 Choosing The Studied Area

The studied area of this research was Muang Phuket District. This area was owned by the Overseas Chinese in the past. Because, Overseas Chinese people in Phuket worked and traded at Phuket Old Town (Figure 3.2.1). There were totally 6 Chinese shrines in the map of Phuket Old Town. Three Chinese Shrines in Phuket Old Town were selected as the key information: 1) Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine (观世音菩萨), 2) Put Cho Shrine (佛祖庵), and 3) Sang Tham Shrine (定光堂). This area also contained immutable Overseas Chinese descendants who kept going to the Chinese shrines for festival, ritual, worship, chanting and benediction. The majority of Overseas Chinese group in Phuket was Hokkien (福建人) and Guangdong (广东人).

According to the picture 3.2.1, there were Buddhist temples, Chinese shrines, historical sites, walking trail and hot spot for taking photographs. This map was built for tourism purpose. Therefore, Phuket Old Town were full of bilateral local people, Thai tourists and international tourists. Majority of international tourists in Phuket are Chinese, and normally they visit famous Buddhist temple and Chinese shrines in Phuket Old Town. Local people in this area also go to bilateral Chinese Shrines and Buddhist temple. Researcher found that local people spent time to make merit at the temple in the morning, and they worshipped at Chinese Shrines in the afternoon. Some of local people learnt to chant at the shrine in the evening. They were gathered at the shrine and there were some community for local people there to preserve the identity of Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese shrine.



Figure 3.1 Tourist map of Phuket Old Town, from Phuket town (2017)

The studied area was just only Phuket Old Town, this study also included all Chinese shrines and related rituals which hold around Muang Phuket District. This data was used as supporting information from three main shrines of the study. Phuket was chosen as the main destination in this study, because Phuket had unique Mahayana Buddhism in the Chinese shrines. Because, normally Mahayana Buddhism was inside Mahayana Buddhist temple such as Hat Yai and Bangkok. However, Phuket does not have any Mahayana Buddhist temple, there were only Chinese shrines which contained the identity of Mahayana Buddhism. Chinese shrine did not contain only Mahayana Buddhism, it also contained the belief of Confucianism, Taoism, Mahayana Buddhism and local belief of Overseas Chinese people (The belief of heaven and ancestor spirit). These religion and faith were combined inside Chinese shrines as the place of Chinese gods in Phuket. The researcher chose these three shrines as the target place of this study, because two shrines inside had Mahayana Buddhism god as the main deity of the shrines, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨). And, another target shrine of this study always holds Mahayana Buddhist ritual inside the shrine. Therefore, three shrines were selected in this study.

Moreover, researcher found the data in the early data collection period that Phuket town had cultural movement which contained both traditional culture from Overseas Chinese ancestor and modern culture influenced by technology and the development of science. The traditional cultures were god worshipping, using of Hokkien vocabulary in some context of daily life, southern

dialect speaking, went to Chinese shrines for rituals, learnt to chant at Chinese shrines and participated in famous rituals of Chinese shrines. Some famous festivals were held in Phuket town which were Vegetarian Festival (吃斋节), Por Tor Festival (普渡节), Zhongyuan Festival (中元节) and God Birthday Festival (生日). There were not only local people who were Overseas Chinese descendants in this area, there were also some Thai tourists from various provinces in Thailand, and people from various provinces came here for working, and international tourists who were from Australia, China, British, Japan, Korea and Russia. Phuket has also the hybridity of religion and faith: Theravada Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism, Islam, Christianity and Sikhism. There were Theravada Buddhist temples, Chinese shrines, mosque, church and Gurdwara in Phuket town. The modern culture of Phuket people is also developing because of the development of science and technology. Many Phuket people and foreigners who married with Phuket people went shopping at department store, eating international food, taking interesting photos for updating on social media, relaxing at coffee shop and chatting online with social media.

Phuket has no Mahayana Buddhist temple, all Chinese Shrines are based on Taoism which focuses on spirit medium and ritual for assisting people in the community. From the early data collection period, researcher found that all rituals aim to assist people's mind in Muang Phuket District. People need some holy objects with them while they already have some Buddhist monk image in their home. Some of them need Taoism god's image and Mahayana god's image to establish some altars at their home. Normally, local Phuket people would install both Mahayana Buddhist god's image, Taoist god's image and god hero's image in the similar altar, but clearly separately install. Normally, Theravada Buddha's image is installed at the left of the altar when we stand in front of the altar, there are some Mahayana Buddhist god's image at the right side. The place of Mahayana Buddhist god's image could be installed some Taoist god's image. The most famous Theravada Buddhist monk's image in Phuket is Luangpho Chaem who is the main Buddhist monk of Chalong Temple. For Mahayana Buddhist god's image, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas is the most famous Buddhist god's image for installing altar at local Phuket people houses. For Taoist god's image, Mazu (妈祖婆), the goddess of sailing, is one of the most famous Taoist goddess' image, and Kuan Wu, one of the both Mahayana Buddhist god's image and Taoist god's image for the morality that never tell a lie, is also one

of the most famous Taoist god's image. For Phuket people, Pun Thao Kong (本头公), local Phuket people believe that Pun Thao Kong god could protect them safely from disaster and accident while they install his image at home and worship him. Furthermore, there were three Mahayana Buddhist deities in Phuket which are Mitreya (弥勒佛), Ti Chong Ong Bodhisattvas (地藏王菩萨), and Three Golden Buddha (三世诸佛). Luang Po Chaem, who was active in the late nineteenth century with his supernatural power is also worshipped at both Cho Ong Shrine (太原堂) and Cho Su Kong Shrine (福元宫). Some researchers found that Chinese Shrines in Phuket combines with more than three religions. There are Mahayana Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. Furthermore, Luangpho Chaem is worshipped at two shrines in Phuket, so Theravada Buddhism is also inside the Chinese shrine. Muslim guardian spirits of locality (Called to) are worshipped at five Chinese shrines in Phuket. Because, the local people of Phuket are Muslim people. The guardian spirits of locality in the shrines are symbolized by a crescent and green color which people offering with prohibitions on pork and liquor in every Fridays. There are four Chinese shrines which belong to Muslim landlord god of locality which are two of San Pho Ta To Se, one San To Hin Khao and one Pho Ta To Sami (卓他米). All gods inside Chinese Shrines share the same deities, Chinese-style altars of Thi Kong (天公) (God of heaven, sometimes is referred to Yok Ong Song Te), image of Kuan Wu, Kuan Im, Mitreya and Ho La (虎爷, a land spirit) appear for assistance of Muslim guardians which are worshipped in some Chinese shrines under the name of To Sae, To Tami and To Saming (Takaoka, 2012, p.469-472).

From the above situation, Wee (1976, p.171 as cited in Takaoka, 2012, p.472) described that Chinese religion is an empty bowl which can variously be filled with the content of institutionalized religions such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, the Chinese syncretic religions or even Christianity (Catholic) and Hinduism. Therefore, in this various religion inside Chinese shrines in Phuket, researcher aims to find the identity of Mahayana Buddhism. Therefore, three target shrines of this study are 1) Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine (观世音菩萨), 2) Put Cho Shrine (佛祖庵), and 3) Sang Tham Shrine (定光堂). Researcher chooses both Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine and Put Cho Shrine, because both shrines has Kuan Im Bodhisattvas as the main deity of the shrine. And, there are



many Mahayana Buddhist rituals in Sang Tham Shrine, so Sam Tham Shrine is one of the target shrine of the study.

### 3.3 Choosing The Studied People

Three groups of informants were interviewed for the result of the study. The first group was ritual conductor, they played the role in conducting the ritual and festival in Chinese Shrines. Moreover, they had some classes for continuingly studied about the ritual and festival in Phuket for development as well as made the ritual suitably adapted for local people. The group of ritual conductor in the study was mainly conducted Mahayana Buddhist ritual pattern in the shrines, there are chanting, monthly and annual ritual in Muang Phuket District. Majority of people in this groups comprehended bilateral Simplified and Traditional Chinese writing system, because majority of Chinese Mahayana Buddhist Sutras were written in Traditional Chinese. They comprehended some Simplified Chinese because of their occupation. The result of comprehended all speaking, writing, reading and listening Chinese language also made them continuingly studied Mahayana Buddhist books from Bangkok, Taiwan and Mainland China. Their duty was not only conducting Mahayana Buddhist ritual and festival, but they also taught some new generation to inherit Mahayana Buddhist ritual.

Majority of new generation were students from middle school of Phuket who were interested in Chinese gods, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, ritual and festival of the shrines. There were community of exchanging the ideas related to Chinese gods, Mahayana Buddhism and the shrines. The second group was shrine committee and caretaker of the shrine. Majority of committee and caretaker of the shrine always sat in the shrines for assisting people who came to worship the gods in the shrines and introduced some worship methods for those who did not comprehend. Furthermore, this group of people also introduced and suggested some upcoming ritual and festival for encouraging people to make merit and believe in the holy of the main deity of the shrine. Normally, these people were originally very friendly and

happy to assist people, and this could increase the opportunity for encouraging people to believe in the shrine. One hundred percent of these people in the study were Overseas Chinese descendants who were very proud of the cultural inheritance from their Overseas Chinese ancestors. They felt proud in bilateral inheritance and assisting mankind which was also categorized as making merit. The above two groups could assist researchers to comprehend the procedure, meaning and history of every ritual and festival conducted in the shrine, because the second group always practiced and studied from the teaching of the first group. Bilateral shrine committee and caretaker highly respected the first group who taught them the way to conduct ritual and festival.

They called the first group as “Master” (师傅) or “Teacher” (老师) for respect. All ritual conducts were well-experienced people who highly comprehended the ritual and festival, and they studied from different schools and shrines as well as temples such as Mahayana Buddhist temple in Malaysia, Bangkok and Taiwan. Some of the ritual conductors studied from their ancestors who were chairman of the shrines such as Pud Jor shrines (佛祖庵). Moreover, the researcher also collected the data related to inheritance related to Chinese shrines and Chinese god belief from their ancestors, Overseas Chinese descendants, for studying ideology and social belief in the target area of study.

The choosing of the studied people was not focused on the difference of ages, because people in every age faced with cultural hybridity phenomena in the target area. Meanwhile, cultural hybridity also assist researcher to comprehend the change, acceptance and inheritance of culture in the target area. The study of development of intercultural communication also assist researcher to comprehend the modern communicated phenomena for inheritance and sharing of culture related to Mahayana Buddhism for preserving identity of Chinese shrines. Therefore, every group of people had their own structure and function for the duty that everyone had the main target, the preservation of Chinese identity in Muang Phuket District. The collected data from studied people could be described as the table below;

Informant group	Information	Data collection
1. Ritual conductors	Meaning, procedure and history of ritual and festival related to Mahayana Buddhism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Formal and informal Interview</li> <li>● Participant and non-participant observation</li> </ul>
2. Shrine committee and caretaker	The establishment of the shrine, knowledge related to Chinese gods, ritual, ceremony and festival hold by the shrine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Formal and informal interview</li> <li>● Observation</li> </ul>
3. Overseas Chinese descendants	Comprehension about Chinese shrine, Chinese god belief, the altar in their house, the arriving of their Overseas Chinese ancestor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Focus-group discussion</li> </ul>

Table 3.1 Data collection methodology

During the data collection, the researcher tried to collect data as much as possible from the opportunity met with the informants. Informants were much opened mind for giving data for the researcher, because of the atmosphere the researcher tried to make it as normal conversation. This make the informants could give completed data which assisted the researcher gained the data easily and straight to the target phenomena. To analyze the data from fieldwork, the researcher did not realize the informants as the object to study from social phenomena, but the emotion, feeling, way of life, culture, communication, social structure and function inside the society were analyzed to completely comprehend the role of the informants in the society. Some interview topics were repeatedly spoken by the informants, and some new issues were discussed during the second round of the interview.

The researcher interviewed the informants by various status such as a tourist, visitor, local person who was interested, acquaintance, stranger as well as displaying the researcher identity. The researcher tried to make the conversation and bring the conversation to the issues of interviewed topics.

### 3.4 Entering Studied Area

The researcher went to the three targets shrines of the study first, the researcher displayed researcher identity in two shrines which are 1) Put Cho Shrine (佛祖庵), and 2) Sang Tham Shrine (定光堂). Because, the two shrines were very famous for researchers to conduct the interview. The researcher knew this news from people in Phuket town who knew the researcher would like to conduct the study related to Chinese Shrines in Muang Phuket District. Bilateral Put Cho Shrine and Sang Tham Shrine were very friendly and actively to give the data to the researcher. The researcher also found that there were many researchers from bilateral two universities in Phuket collected the data in these two shrines. Therefore, they were very familiar with the interview, they thought that giving the data for researchers could also inherited the faith of the shrines. For Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine (观世音菩萨), the researcher acted as local person in Phuket who was very interested in the holy power of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and would like to comprehend about the shrine. Bilateral chairman and shrine caretaker were very friendly and actively to give the information. In addition to the interview, they were more familiar to people than giving the data from the researchers, they were afraid about giving data to stranger organization.

For supporting information, the researcher collect the data by bilateral participant and non-participant observation in the rituals as well as festivals of the shrines in Muang Phuket District. They were not only the rituals and festivals in the three target shrines, but some shrines in Muang Phuket District were collected for assisting the completeness of data. In addition to interview the Overseas Chinese descendants, they were bilateral making appointment for focus-group interview and formal interview. This group of informants knew the identity of the researcher. Majority of the informants already knew the researcher, so they were not feel afraid and serious for giving the information to the researcher. Sometimes, they told the researcher some new topics which could be conducted the further study such as the development of ritual groups in Phuket (Huad Kua), change of Chinese shrine's faith from urbanization, the art style of Chinese deities in Phuket, meaning of lucky stick for curing people as well as inquiring for children ritual.

### 3.5 Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed the data from various variables of the study such as media, communication methodology, gesture, words, object and action of people related to Chinese shrines in Muang Phuket District with related theories. These were all symbol of bilateral ritual and festival. In addition to analyze the data from fieldwork, the role related to informants in every festival and ritual were also the main data to analyze structural-functional theory. People who participated and conducted the ritual and festival also influenced the preservation of identity. They also used some intercultural communication to comprehend the culture by various comprehension method, and some of them shared the information they comprehended about the ritual and festival through various media. Cultural hybridity phenomena was used to describe and analyze the phenomena of Muang Phuket District which had more than five religions and faiths. In addition, the study was not show the name of the informants for different religion and faith comprehension thinking, knowledge, opinion and experience purpose.

### 3.6 Data Examination

Triangular data examination was used to examine the data after collected the data from fieldwork correctly. Different time, place and people of the study were examined for correct data from fieldwork. After the researcher collected the data from the fieldwork in the first time, the researcher categorized the data for completeness of gained data. And then, the researcher went to the target place of the study again for inquiring the compulsory data. In the second period to collect the data, some conversations of the interview were directed to the same topics those were interviewed in the first time for making sure of the correctness of the data.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULT

The research of “Chinese Shrine in the Dimension of Mahayana Buddhism Maintaining: Case Studies of Muang Phuket District” was categorized into 4 main parts of the result: 1) Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province and Cultural Hybridity Environment. In this part, researcher would describe on the area studies, people in the area, cultural hybridity and culture inside studied area. There were two main cultures in studied area which were Hokkien culture and modern culture. 2) Chinese Shrines in Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province, this supporting information started by the overall information about all shrine in the area, then researcher would bring the reader to understand three targeted shrine of the study which were Pud Jor Shrine, Phra Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine, and Sang Tham Shrine. 3) Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese Shrines, researcher would describe the symbol of Mahayana Buddhism which were doctrine, god’s image, food and drink for worship, ritual, Sutras and Mantras, art and linguistic. 4) Cultural preservation of Mahayana Buddhism identity which were teaching for chanting, ritual, Mahayana Buddhism god’s image in the house, Welfare organization for community, social organization in Chinese Shrine, and Inheritance of Phuket Hokkien culture.

## 4.1 Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province and Cultural Hybridity Environment

### 4.1.1 Area Studies

Phuket is located at the southern part of Thailand and Andaman Sea, the biggest island of Thailand. The nearest province of Phuket is Phang Nga, there is a bridge from the island to the nearest province. Tourism Authority of Thailand (2017) introduced that Phuket is influenced by Chinese culture, tourists would see some Chinese shrines and Chinese restaurants in Phuket. The most famous festival of Phuket is Vegetarian Festival which is also influenced from Chinese culture. Phuket is covered by various beautiful beaches around the island which are Karon, Kata, Patong, Rawai, Mai Khao, Kamala, Kata Yai and Kata Noi. Phuket was separated into three main districts: Muang Phuket District, Kathu District and Thalung District. One of the best place to travel in Phuket is nightlife at Patong Beach.



Figure 4.1 Map of Phuket, from TheVillaGuide (2018)

Therefore, both nightlife and cultural tourism are very popular in Phuket. Furthermore, cultural tourism is also introduced and suggested to tourists in Thailand and international countries, because there are various museums, temples and historical places for studying in Phuket. Phuket has a history with Thalung and

Overseas Chinese immigration. Thalang history in Phuket is very famous for two heroes of Phuket, Thao Thep Krasattri and Thao Si Sunthon, who were very famous for defending Phuket from Burmese-Siam War during 1785-1786. Muang Phuket District is very famous for Phuket Old Town and Chinese shrine. The old town was built by the immigration of Overseas Chinese people, and it is used to trade for product in the past.

Furthermore, the old town was used as opium store and brothel especially for serving Overseas Chinese people. Nowadays, the old town is known as the place for shopping and night market. There is the weekly night market in every Sunday on Thalang Road; the main road of the old town. The local souvenirs, local cafe, Chinese pharmacy and local restaurants are introduced to tourists, especially Thai Hua Museum; the museum of the first Chinese-language school in Phuket. There is not only the place for opium store and brothel in the past, but the Vegetarian Festival was also found in Phuket Old Town. The group of Chinese opera invited Phuket people to have vegetarian food for curing one kind of sickness that hard to be cured in the past. The result found that Phuket people got very well from having vegetarian food by the introducing of Chinese opera caravan, before the group of Chinese opera would like to go back, they found that Phuket people still believe in the holy of the festival and the god's image that they took from China. Chinese opera caravan left all equipment, god's image and ritual equipment to Phuket people. Phuket people preserve this culture and identity then become Vegetarian Festival as we could see nowadays.

Therefore, Phuket is very famous for various historical events in the past which are Burmese-Siam war, Chinese shrines, Overseas Chinese community and temple. The most famous temple in Phuket Province is Chalong temple, because a monk inside Chalong temple, Luang Por Cheam assisted Phuket people by drawing holy paper to Phuket people to fight with Angyee rebel. Nowadays, Phuket is marketing their culture for tourism and cultural preservation purposes. Thailand is also one of the best countries of the world that could preserve the traditional culture. Although, much cultures were changed by the period of modernization by General P. Phibulsongram for changing traditional culture of Siam into modern Thailand, the culture of Overseas Chinese and traditional Theravada Buddhist culture could still preserve in bilateral Chinese shrine and temple.



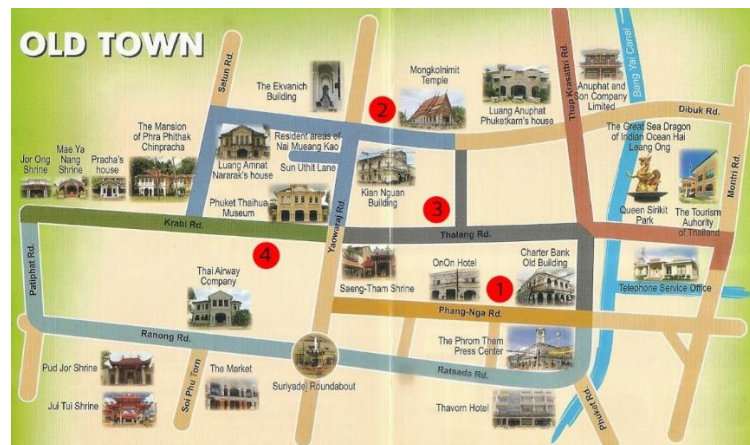


Figure 4.2 Map of Phuket Old Town, from Ouch Travel Insurance (2018)

#### 4.1.2 People in the Area

People who lived in Muang Phuket District and those were Overseas Chinese descendants had very closed relation with Chinese Shrines since they were born. The newborn was brought to the Pud Jor Shrine (佛祖庵) for telling Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨) that she would protect and blessed the newborn for fortunate luck in their life. People in this study was focused on the people who lived in Muang Phuket District. There were 4 period of ages of people in the areas, which are children, teenagers, adults and pensioners. For children, their life were based on going to study at the school, and their school activities are related to Buddhism as following; 1) Praying Buddhist Mantra in the morning; 2) Participating in some Buddhist holy with the schools; and 3) Studying Buddhist class in the school. The activities of the children in the school was categorized as socialization for Buddhism. Because, most of Thai people were Buddhism, almost all schools in Thailand provided Buddhist activity to inherit Buddhism as the concept of national flag of Thailand. There are three colors in Thai national flag, red represents the nation, white represents the religion (Buddhism), and blue represents the royal institute. Therefore, there are not only praying Buddhist Mantra in the morning of children at the school, but there are also respecting national anthem and promising to the country to be a good person for the society. The activities that children do every morning are aimed to socialize the students.

For teenagers, most of the activity of the children are same with them. However, there were more activities those teenagers could do more, such as ordination, some schools in Muang Phuket District such as Srinagarindra The Princess Mother School Phuket provided the activity of ordination for all Buddhist students when they studied in the class 8. Every Buddhist students entered the ordination for bilateral inheritance of Buddhism and socialization for Buddhist thought. Female students were aimed to enter the short-time Buddhist camp for studying Buddhism and socialized them to be good person for the community, for they could not enter the ordination like male students. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education also provided the extra activity for students to voluntary assist people in the community such as planting trees, cleaning the temple, asking people for donation to those who were suffering and visiting pensioners at Ban Phuket Elder Public Aid. There was also the National Buddhist Examination to encourage students to study professionally on the Buddhism. There were three levels of the examination which described different profession on Buddhist knowledge chronologically. Ministry of Education also put Buddhist knowledge and comprehension in various national examination such as Ordinary National Educational Test (O-NET) in the subject of Social Studies. Buddhist monks were invited by the middle schools in Muang Phuket District for teaching students professionally and effectively about the Buddhist knowledge. Furthermore, they were also invited to conduct the National Buddhist Examination and educated the students to prepare for the examination. For other students who believed in other religions, they were subjected to stand silently while the Buddhist students were praying Buddhist Mantra in the morning, and they could go to clean the temple without paying respect to bilateral Buddha's image and Buddhist monk. They all studied Buddhism similar to those Buddhist students. However, there were some specific Christianity schools in Phuket such as Darasamuth School and Dowroong Wittaya School. There were also some specific Islamic Schools in Phuket such as Muslim Wittaya Phuket School.

For adult, they were living in the environment of cultural hybridity. Some of them changed the religion from the influences of the hybridity; however, Buddhism was still the main religion of Muang Phuket District. Most of people who changed the religion were those who originally Buddhist people changed into Christianity. Because, there were some Thai missionaries who were Buddhist people

in the past, and they changed into Christianity people. There were three groups of Christianity in Phuket which are Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox. Three styles of Christianity were located around Phuket. Some of the adults in Muang Phuket District worked inside Muang Phuket District in many governmental and private organizations such as school, hospital, education center, library, university, clinic, department store, market and city hall. Most of them were actually Buddhism and then Islamic chronologically. Most of Buddhist people in Muang Phuket District believed in four religions and faiths, which are Theravada Buddhism, Chinese shrines, spirit of locality and animism.

The faith and religion of people in Muang Phuket District were inherited from generation to generation (pensioners to adults when they were children), they learned from their parents for cultural inheritance. For the Theravada Buddhism, they went to the temple in the morning for food donation to Buddhist monks. Normally, Thai people believed that food donation could support the Buddhist monks continuingly preserved and inherit the Dharma studies and Buddhism studies to the society. Therefore, normal people should support the Buddhist monk and the temple for the Buddhist activity that could influence the unity of people in the society. The temple and Dharma were also the place for keeping people mind in peace leaving the stressful working life in their company. Some adults went to temple for mediation and praying Buddhist Mantra for forgetting stressful situation in their life. The adults also visited Chinese shrine in the afternoon and after working for donation and worshipping the gods. They believed that worshipping the god could ask the fortunate luck for their life. Most of people in the area asked the god for their lottery, education, love, sickness and working.

For pensioners, there were two groups of pensioners in the studied area, which are pensioners who lived in the house with their family and those who lived in the elder public aid. Majority of pensioners lived with their family, because the elder public aid's image for Phuket people was not positive. There was the Dharma of the Buddhism which was called "Grateful" (孝顺). They were educated and socialized with Dharma that while parents worked very hard and sacrificed their time for upbringing us when we were children, so those who were adults and could not look after their parents was non-grateful people, which was antipathetic insinuation among Thai people.

The pensioners were the main groups and they were the majority in many temples and shrines in Muang Phuket District. Most of pensioners believed that they should go to the temple for finding the meaningful and appropriate action in their life. It was going to the temple for meditation, making merit and worshipping Buddha's image. Many activity of the shrines and the temples in Muang Phuket District were effectively assisted by the pensioners, for example three pensioners were assisting every activity in Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine (观世音菩萨). Two of them stayed close to the shrine, so they came to assist the shrines almost every day for making merit. One of them lived so far from the shrine, but her daughter sent her to the shrine every day.

They all thought that making merit to the shrine could make the Kuan Im Bodhisattvas blessed their children and grandchildren to be good people and protected them from the accident. In summary, majority of Phuket Overseas Chinese descendants who lived in Muang Phuket District were significantly closed to the temple and the shrines which was influence from the socialization since they were children. This socialization has still inherited until nowadays; because, the committee of all shrines described that there are every age of Phuket people who visited the shrines. There were also some people who came from other provinces of Thailand to make merit and vow to the god for their requirement.

#### **4.1.3 Cultural Hybridity**

Phuket was one of the places of cultural hybridity. There were Theravada Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism local belief of Overseas Chinese people (Heaven and ancestor spirit) and local belief of Thai people (ghost and spirit). The figure 4.3 shows the holy bridge of Taoism religion, the reason of belonging the bridge of Taoism is the black and white circle symbol of Taoism. In Chinese, it means both darkness and lightness (阴阳). The darkness and lightness came from Taoism philosophy that there are always opposite objects in the world (各种食物对立). Furthermore, each opposite objects transferred the status to each other, for example there was the light in the morning, and it would become dark at night. And, the night would change into the light in the next morning.

The other symbol of Taoism of this figure is the crafted picture of the Eight Immortals (八仙过海), and each side of the bridge was crafted four of the Eight Immortals. Chinese shrines contained the combination of religion and faith. The flag behind the bridge was the symbol of Buddhism. In the flag, the symbol of Buddhism was painted with the symbol of Taoism which represented the cultural hybridity phenomena in terms of social science. In addition, it means the unity of religion in terms of local religion and faith. There was a sentence of combination of three religions in Chinese language (三教合一) which are Buddhism (佛教), Confucianism (儒家) and Taoism (道教), and the purpose of the combination was done for preservation of religious culture (Dhammathai, n.d.). When there were the gatherings of each followers with similar ideologies; the diversity could had bigger number on preservation.



Figure 4.3 The holy bridge of Taoism at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine

Majority of Chinese shrine in Phuket were mainly Taoism, so it was not only Sam Sae Chu Fur Shrine (三世祖佛) that had Taoist god images. The figure 4.4 shows four images of the Eight Immortals which are similar to the Figure 4.3 as given in the above. The Eight Immortals were categorized as Chinese god heroes, and the story of the Eight Immortals was considered as one of the most famous folk legend of China. Furthermore, Kua Tian Keng Sapan Hin Shrine also had the similar crafted painted images of the Eight Immortals in front of the shrine. It was not only for the

image of the Eight Immortals, but there are also some decorated clothes hanging during Chinese New Year Festival in Phuket.



Figure 4.4 Images of The Eight Immortals Cross the Sea (八仙过海) at Kuan Wu Shrine

Taoism was very famous in traditional herbal Chinese medicine, because the philosophy of Taoism came from the living in the mountain of Lao Tzu (老子), the founder of Taoism. This knowledge came to Phuket with the immigration of Overseas Chinese who establish the shrine in the figure 4.5. The shrine's name is Pud Jor Shrine (佛祖庵). The figure 4.5 shows the paper from lucky stick random in the curing ritual. This ritual started from people who would like to assist them to cure their sickness. This was very famous in Phuket since the shrine was established more than 100 years ago. There was no exact date when the shrine was established. However, the shrine had Kuan Wu god as the main deity of the shrine since it was established, the main deity of the shrine was changed into Kuan Im Bodhisattvas after Kuan Im Bodhisattvas became very famous among Overseas Chinese people in Phuket.

The patients came to ask the ritual conductor for traditional herbal Chinese medicine random ritual. The ritual conductor prayed Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, the main deity of the shrine first, and the lucky stick was random, the paper at the figure X was given to the patients. The patients took the paper to buy the traditional herbal Chinese medicine at Chinese drug store. One of the two most famous drug stores in Phuket was near the shrine, and the other drug store was in Thalang Road where the trading of Overseas Chinese and westerners had. Pud Jor Shrine was very famous in this curing ritual from the past until the present. Especially, researcher

found that there were a lot of Overseas Chinese descendants used to participate in the curing ritual at the shrine. This was one of the main factors that made Pud Jor Shrine a very famous shrine in Phuket.



Figure 4.5 Lucky stick paper for traditional medicine at Pud Jor Shrine

The paper in the figure 4.6 was written by Chinese calligraphy. All of Chinese characters were written in the Traditional Chinese (繁体字). The writing system of the paper was reading from the right side to the left side and from above to below. The following Chinese sentences are Simplified Chinese characters from the figure 4.6.

“天生佛堂

外科第四十三方

脾土弱、血不生、滞皮毛、外患成”

The first line of Chinese description means the name of the place, Tiansheng Fotang (天生佛堂: The house of the Buddha). The second line described the number of the lucky stick which was number 43 of surgery categories (外科第四十三方). The last line described the symptom of those people who asked the shrine for their sickness condition (脾土弱、血不生、滞皮毛、外患成).

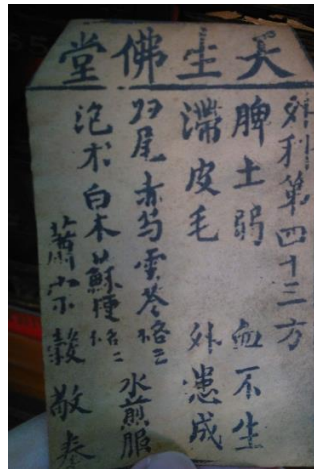


Figure 4.6 Calligraphy paper from lucky stick at Pud Jor Shrine

The other cultural hybridity phenomena in Chinese shrine is the landlord god altar (土地公) which originated from local faith of Chinese people. Chinese people originally believed that there are gods in every land of the world, so they always pay respect to the landlord gods everywhere they go to live, study, work and stay. The landlord gods was not only in Chinese shrine of Phuket, but Phuket people built the altar for landlord gods in their houses. The landlord god altar was established with the wish to protect people who live in the area, recover the illness in case of people in the area were sick, bring all bad lucks away from the area especially the houses and stores in Phuket old town. There were two versions of landlord gods in Phuket people's houses which are Thai style and Chinese style. In the Thai style, people normally called Chao-Tee in Thai language.

The Thai-style altar of landlord god was built in front of the house and there was pillar for making landlord god altar was in the higher position. Thai people originally did not wish gods to install below their bow level, because they highly respect in term of gods and spirits. For Chinese-style altar of landlord god, they built as similar level as the ground in Overseas Chinese people's houses, but there was small pavilion for landlord god of the shrine as figure 4.7 display. The landlord god was paid respect with one big size joss stick and flowers. There are two disciplines of landlord god stand beside him for stronger protection the area. The pavilion was built in Chinese style which shows the Chinese identity of ethnicity. The clearest Chinese ethnic identity is three Chinese characters which is the name of



landlord god in Chinese, Tu Di Gong (土地公). The mystic symbol was pasted behind the landlord god for stronger protection power of the god, because a lot of Phuket people think that they should pay much attention to the altar for greater results according to their wishes.



Figure 4.7 Landlord god altar (土地公) at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine

From the above cultural hybridity phenomena, there were not only the combination between Taoism and local Chinese faith in the phenomena of the target place. There was also Theravada Buddhism (小乘佛教) Buddhist monk's image at the shrine in Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province. The figure 4.8 shows Buddhist monk's image at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine. They installed the image with Mahayana Buddhist images which are Mitreya (弥勒佛) and Bodhisattvas. Bilateral Theravada Buddhist monk's image and Mahayana Buddhist deity's images were offered by similar fruits and drinks for worship. The number of joss stick to pay respect was similar, and they were installed in similar place. Numerous shrine committees of each shrines described that deities of Chinese shrines in Phuket originated from the thought of "Gather all deity they are good according to people's thinking". Therefore, the deities whom were introduced to Phuket people in the immigration period of Overseas Chinese people from Thai people and immigrated Chinese people are worshipped in the shrine until nowadays.



Figure 4.8 Buddhist monk's image at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

According to the figure 4.9, there is a Buddhist monk's image of Luang Por Chaem. Luang Por Chaem was the main Buddhist's monk of Chalong temple, the most famous Theravada temple in Phuket among local Phuket people and international tourists. He was born in 1827 in the period of King Nangklao (King Rama III). He was very famous for protecting Phuket from Angyee Rebellion. In 1876, there was gathering of Chinese tin mining labors for rebellion. This group's name was Angyee. They gathered for conquering Phuket, and the police officers could not defeat them successfully. Hence, people immigrated to Chalong area immediately, their houses in the city were destroyed and burnt by the rebellion. The local Phuket people asked Luang Por Chaem to leave from the temple for safe, but he suggested people to fight against the rebellion with his holy object. It was a kind of a white-colored cloth cover the head, the rebellion called local people as the white head people. The local people successfully won Angyee Rebellion and made Phuket situation normal again. The Committee of Phuket City invited Luang Por Chaem for visiting King Chulalongkorn (King Rama V) in Bangkok, and the king gave him the title as the head of Phuket Buddhist's monk which was the highest position of Buddhist monk in that period. Hence, local Phuket people rent the Buddhist monk image of Luang Por Chaem to install on the altar of their houses.

In the figure 4.9, the chairman of the shrine also local Phuket people. It was reasonable there were various Buddhist's image in the Chinese shrines. The image of Luang Por Chaem was installed beside Kuan Seng Tae Kun (关于), he was bilateral Mahayana Buddhist deity and Taoism deity. He was categorized as the god

hero (英雄神) of Taoism, various deity of Taoism were god hero in Chinese history. He was very famous for honesty (诚实), and his honest story of the Three Kingdom (三国演义), one of four famous Chinese literatures. With the contribution to the country, bilateral Luang Por Chaem and Kuan Wu were installed together and with the reason of they could use their power to protect the shrine peacefully.



Figure 4.9 Luang Por Chaem Buddhist monk's image with Chinese deity at Pud Jor Shrine

The figure 4.10 shows bilateral Buddhist monks' image of Luang Por Chaem that mentioned in the figure 4.9 and Buddha's image of Phra Thong Temple. The Buddha image of Phra Thong Temple could be called as Phra Pud (The Rising Monk). There was a narration among Phuket people from generation to generation. In the past, a child brought his buffalo to the rice field in Thalang city (Thalang District nowadays). He saw a lot of ruins influenced from the Typhoon, and he could not find any pillar for tied his buffalo. In addition, he found a small pillar rise from the ground, and he tied his buffalo with that small pillar and went back home for sleeping. In the morning, parents found their son and buffalo were death. The father dreamed that they were death because of tying the buffalo with the Buddha's image.

Hence, the parents reported this strange situation to Thalang city head. He brought many people for digging the Buddha's image but they were attacked by the group of wasps. The city head use the joss stick to pay respect for the Buddha's image, the wasps surprisingly did not attack the digger. The dug Buddha was installed inside a new-built temple, and the given-name of the temple was Phra Put Temple

(The Rising Buddha). After the visiting Phuket by King Vajiravudh, the name of the temple was changed into Phra Thong Temple (Golden Buddha). There was another holy story of Phra Thong, the Burmese once would like to take the image to their country, so they dug on the ground for moving the image. However, they were attacked by the group of wasps and ran immediately. In Phuket, there was not only the image of Phra Thong in many provinces, but Chinese shrines also installed Phra Thong Buddhist image for the holy protection and auspicious object for the shrine.



Figure 4.10 Luang Por Chaem Buddhist monk and Buddha's image from Ban-Kien Temple at Lo Rong Shrine

The figure 4.11 shows the applied Chinese Buddha's image table which applied from Thai Theravada Buddha's image table. The original one was made by brown wood and painted with golden color at the corners. Thai pattern was crafted on the wood for representing the beautiful of Thai architecture. The order of small-medium and high tables were totally the same with the applied one. For the applied one, the color were changed into red for representing Chinese identity, and the crafted pattern was changed into Chinese style. All of the worshipped object were also totally different to the original Thai Theravada Buddhism.



Figure 4.11 Applied Chinese Buddha's image table at Pud Jor Shrine

For bilateral figure 4.12 and 4.13, there were very famous Taoist gods. Lim Ko Niew was a woman who sailed nine boats from China for finding her brother who traded in the southern part of Thailand. After she found the brother, her brother did not want to go back to China, but Lim Ko Niew swore to her family that she accepted the death if she could not brought back her brother to home. Her brother already got marriage with Islamic person and was building the Mosque in Pattani. The mosque could not successfully constructed because of the attack of the thunderstorm after the death of Lim Ko Niew until nowadays. Furthermore, the legend was changed from nine boats into nine pine trees. The nine pine trees in Malaya language, nine was "Ru" and Pine tree was "Samile". With the braveness and honesty of Lim Ko Niew, bilateral Buddhist and Muslim people in Pattani as well as Malaysia and Singapore also worshipped her.



Figure 4.12 Lim Ko Niew Goddess at Jui Tui Shrine

For the figure 4.13, the belief of Chao Mae Thap Thim Shrine (石榴娘娘) or Mazu (妈祖) came from Hailam people who immigrated to Thailand. The large Chinese community in Thailand that paid respect to the goddess was located in Pak Nam Po, Po Tow Biew Shrine (婆主庙) and Chao Mae Thap Thim Shrine (石榴娘娘). Hailam people believed that she was the goddess of the kindness and goodwill, she could protect them from maritime accident because they sailed the boat to immigrate to Thailand. The biggest shrine in Thailand that worshipped Chao Mae Thap Thim was located in Sam Sean. Chao Mae Thap Thim was very famous for sailing protector, because she had the ability to forecast the weather while she lived. Majority of Phuket people who worshipped the goddess were the descendant of Overseas Chinese, because they felt very thankful for the protection of their ancestors who emigrated from China to Phuket by sailing safely.





Figure 4.13 Mazu's image at Lo Rong Shrine

Pun Thao Kong (本头公) was the most familiar god among Overseas Chinese people who lived inside Southeast Asian nations. He was recognized in several meanings, such as the god of locality, a sailor of Zhenghe and the symbol of Overseas Chinese ancestors. For the legend of the god of locality, Pun Thao Kong has the duty for providing the peace and protection for the land he was ruling. Local people worshipped him for the hope of his protection from bad luck. Normally, Phuket people installed the image of Pun Thao Kong on the altar table. Because, he was realized as a holy god of Overseas Chinese. However, Teochew people installed him on the ground-level altar with the belief of he was the god of locality, and he was taking care of the land. For the legend of a sailor of Zhenghe, Pun Thao Kong was one of the sailors with the Seven Voyages of Zhenghe (郑和下西洋: 1405-1433). He stayed somewhere in Southeast Asian nations and did not go back to the country of Ming dynasty. He made a great contribution to the area he stayed and then he was appointed as the god of local people. For the final legend, Pun Thao Kong was the god who represented Overseas Chinese ancestors. Therefore, he could be represented all ancestors the worshipper would like. There was the morality of traditional Chinese which was called "Grateful" (孝顺), meaning was to remain thankful and retaliate what others assist us. Therefore, worshipping Pun Thao Kong was also to remain recognize the suffering life of the ancestor to start their life in Phuket with their hardworking. In addition, worshipping him was also to be the retaliation of the ancestor spirit.



Figure 4.14 Pun Tao Kong's image at Lo Rong Shrine

The figure 4.15 shows the complex combination of Chinese gods deities in Pud Jor Shrine. There are various complex combination of Chinese gods deities in many shrines in Phuket. From the interview, the researcher found that whatever god local people thought that they were good for the society, they would install them together on the altar of the shrine. Therefore, it was the meaning of shrine in Thai language (Sancho), the place of gods which was not only one god in Taoism and Mahayana Buddhism. Therefore, there were various places for each religion and faith in Phuket, Theravada Buddhist temple, Chinese shrines, mosque, church and Gurdwara. The target religion of this study was Mahayana Buddhism. Therefore, the following data were mainly focused on Mahayana Buddhism in Phuket. Mahayana Buddhism was the religion that subjected to suitably adapted with local domain culture. Therefore, Mahayana Buddhism was combined with various religions and faith inside Chinese Shrines, there was Taoism as the main religion and faith of Chinese shrines in Phuket, Mahayana Buddhism and Confucianism were also inside Chinese shrines, but there were only few of their identity inside the shrines. Chinese shrines in Phuket as the cultural hybridity place which contained a lot of religion and faith inside only one place. And, all religion and faith combined for preserving Chinese identity.





Figure 4.15 Combination of god's image at Pud Jor Shrine

From the above figures, they were the cultural hybridity of religion and faith in Chinese shrines of Muang Phuket District. There was also the cultural hybridity of the culture between Thai and Chinese. Because, the culture was brought from China to Thailand. Some cultures were adapt suitably to local people for convenience and preservation. Some cultures were combined with traditional Chinese for expressing Thai culture for more unity of the society. In addition, it was also aimed to encourage more local Thai people to respect the Chinese shrine that did not only present mainly the Chinese identity. In the figure 4.16, all objects in the pictures shows Chinese identity such as Sino-Portuguese building, Chinese lantern (灯笼), the images of Three Golden Buddha (三世祖佛), the auspicious cloth of The Eight Immortals' (八仙过海) image and Chinese character calligraphy beside the door. The only one object that represented Thai identity in the figure 4.16 is the orchid flower. The flower represented the wealthy, love and gracefulness. It was one the auspicious flowers of Thailand, and Thai Airways used this flower as their symbol. For Chinese people, it was comprehended as "The plant of the king"; hence, using the orchid for worshipping the god could making merit for giving to the king of the nation. The orchid could also give to the teacher such as the deity who taught much knowledge related to the tradition and culture. Hence, there was not only one meaning for using orchid to worship to the god. Bilateral Thai and Chinese culture was combined in this figure, the orchid flowers were put in the blue-white Chinese vase. It was the pattern of Chinese porcelain (瓷器).



Figure 4.16 Altar of Three Golden Buddha at Sang Tham Shrine

For the faith in Chinese shrine, there were various symbols representing Chinese identity in the figure 4.17. The dragon (龙) was an auspicious animal of Chinese culture. It was installed for holy protection purpose. In the past, the dragon was recognized as an auspicious holy animal protecting conflagration accident. Furthermore, the dragon was always installed with Chinese phoenix (凤凰).



Figure 4.17 Shrine gate of Sang Tham Shrine

Moreover, all Chinese shrines in Phuket expressed deepest condolence to the passing of King Bhumibol Adulyadej (King Rama IX) in various way (Figure 4.18). Many shrines in Muang Phuket District installed the picture of King Bhumibol Adulyadej for memorized his kindness and goodness to the society he

contributed. All people in the shrines were wear white or black colors for expressed their deepest condolences. Some shrines put his picture in front of the table of praying Mantra. They believed that praying Mantra in front of his picture could making merit and gave the merit to the King Bhumibol Adulyadej. Nowadays, all Overseas Chinese descendants highly respected to the King Bhumibol Adulyadej, because he allowed Overseas Chinese to live in Thailand and could use the land of the country for doing the career and stay in Thailand. Furthermore, their ancestors could change the nationality into Thai people. With the high respect to the royal institute by Overseas Chinese descendants, they were similar to Thai people love the King as the father of the country. The picture of King Bhumibol Adulyadej was not only in the shrine for memorizing him, but the houses of every visitors of the shrines, even Thai or international tourists, they also had the image of King Bhumibol Adulyadej.



Figure 4.18 The picture for memorizing King Bhumibol Adulyadej at Hok Nguan Kung Shrine

Some shrines put his majesty's photograph at the shrine for memorizing him, some shrines planted the *Tagetes erecta* flower (万寿菊) in front of the shrines, and some shrines installed the altar of King Bhumibol Adulyadej with mixing both Thai and Chinese style inside the shrine (Figure 4.19). The flower represented the king, because he was the first person who brought this kind of flower to plant in Thailand. Many shrines in Muang Phuket District planted the flower

in front of the shrine. After the flower flourished, the chairman of the shrine took the flower to worship the god at the altar. They believed that worshipping this flower to the god could making merit and gave those merit to the king on the heaven.



Figure 4.19 Royal emblem flag of King Bhumibol Adulyadej with *Tagetes erecta* flower for mourning King Rama IX at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

These were the symbols and examples of social phenomena which combined with Thai domain culture. Chinese shrines the name of itself was described the identity of Chinese people, they also respected the owner of the country, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, and with the respect to the king, they used various worshipped and memorized method to pay respect to the passing away of him. Furthermore, researcher found that one of a very high position of Chinese god's spirit mediums was taking bow to the photograph of the king in the Vegetarian Festival; because, local people believed that King Bhumibol Adulyadej was practicing the way of Bodhisattvas during his life time. The way of assisting other of Bodhisattvas was similar to the way of King Bhumibol Adulyadej. He did not only assist uplifted Thai people's life to be better, but he also studied and developed the quality of life of Thai people. In the figure of 4.20, it is the altar especially for the king. The style were bilateral Thai and Chinese. For Thai style, the Buddha's image was the Buddha's image for people those who was born in Monday.

In Thailand, there were every Buddha's image for everyday people were born in a week. For Monday, the Buddha's image name was Panghamyard in

Thai, the meaning was the attitude of persuading the relatives not to quarrel. The Buddha's image of Monday was worshipped using the flower garland. The meaning of giving flower garland to someone in Thai means we were highly admiring them. Normally, we could give the flower garland to the parents, Buddha's image and teacher in a special day such as Teacher's Day, Mother's Day, Father's Day and Holy Buddhist Day. A couple of candles were in Chinese style, because there were Chinese language written for auspicious and admiring words for admiring the god who Overseas Chinese aimed to worship. There was another Thai style in the altar, which was the tray with pedestal in bilateral silver and gold. Normally, the couple of the trays were used to pay respect to the King and Queen of Thailand.



Figure 4.20 The altar for memorizing King Bhumibol Adulyadej at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

According to the figure 4.21 and 4.22, the Royal Government of Thailand announced that in the year of passing of King Bhumibol Adulyadej, all shrines in every province have to prohibit all ceremony and god's parade. The atmosphere of all Thailand should be silent for expressing the moment of silent and deepest condolences to the king. Firecracker or firework were also prohibited from the festival. Therefore, the selling vegetarian festival was normally appeared in the situation this year. People in this time wore bilateral only two colors to buying vegetarian food similar to last year, but there was no ceremony. Spirit medium was also prohibited to display any supernatural performance outside the shrine. People

silently went to the shrine for worshipping the god and all mind missing the passing of the beloved king. Phuket people believed that eating vegetarian was to abandon for killing animals, this was one kind of morality, and to worship the god in the shrine was also another morality. These two morality were sent to the passing beloved king by the hope of Phuket people.

The atmosphere in the shrine did not different to the atmosphere every day of the shrine. It was the atmosphere of no festival cerebration, but there were just only many people came to the shrine for participating the festival and buying the vegetarian food. Some people also came to the shrine for accepting free vegetarian food as the shrine presented to them for free annually. All people came to the shrine with silent, they were no smile and laughing by people even they saw their friends who long time no see with them. The activity that the shrine could do for the king was to praying Mahayana Mantra for giving the merit to the passing king. Some people also praying Mahayana Mantra at the house and they had the similar purpose. The Mahayana Mantras those were prayed are 1) Heart Sutra (心经), and 2) The Great Compassion Sutra (大悲咒).



Figure 4.21 The news of prohibiting firecracker and Chinese god parade for morning King Rama IX on the Seven Channel of Thailand





Figure 4.22 The news of Phuket starting the ritual of Ko Teng Pillar, prohibiting firecracker, and Chinese god parade for morning King Rama IX on the Matchon News on YouTube

#### 4.1.4 Culture Inside The Studied Area

There are two cultures inside Muang Phuket District which are 1) Hokkien culture (福建文化) and 2) Modern culture. In the period of flourishing tin mining in Phuket, Hokkien culture were actually imported to Phuket by Overseas Chinese especially Hokkien. Furthermore, some Chinese cultures were combined with western cultures such as Sino-Portuguese building in Phuket which has various kinds of the building such as Ang Mor Lao (红毛楼) and shop house. The name of Ang Mor Lao came from Hokkien language, it means the building owned by red color hair. In the period of westerners came to Phuket for investing tin mining business, their hair were red-brown color, and they build the building in their style. The first Ang Mor Lao building in Phuket was The Chin Pracha Residence (the white building), built in 1903 by Phra Pitak Chin Pracha, it was the house belonged to Tantawanich family, but now it is the Blue Elephant Restaurant. Nowadays, bilateral Hokkien and modern culture are appeared in Phuket as the following description:

##### 1) Hokkien Culture

Hokkien culture was imported to Phuket by the Overseas Chinese immigration. Some of them were elites and some of them were the tin mining

laborers. In the period of King Nangklao, the city head of Phuket imported many Overseas Chinese laborers to do the tin mining business in Phuket from Bangkok. Furthermore, some of them immigrated from the Strait Settlement. The Hokkien culture that could be preserved until nowadays is the Hokkien dialect. Normally, local Phuket people speak Hokkien vocabulary with Thai language, such as “I am buying a Kopi.” It means I am buying a coffee.

There were many socializations for cultural preservation of Hokkien dialect in Phuket, for example there was a class of Phuket dialect in Satee Phuket School, the class aimed to teach students Phuket dialect for cultural inheritance. Furthermore, using Phuket dialect in class presentation and teaching in Phuket dialect were the main objective by the school. Another cultural preservation for this case was inside the first social institution of people in the society, the family institution, parents spoke Hokkien language inside the house and taught their children to know about some Hokkien language, it was categorized as socialization inside family institution.

For the faith and religion related to Hokkien culture, most Hokkien people in Muang Phuket District paid respect to Mazu (妈祖), Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨), ancestor spirit by using their photographs, spirit of locality (土地公), Pun Thao Kong (本头公), and Luang Por Chaem. In addition to worship in the household, some family worshipped the image of King Chulalongkorn, because one member in the family was the royal official. He was very famous for blessing the career promotion and success for the career of royal official. Each worshipped objects were different, for example the Chinese gods such as Mazu, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, Pun Thao Kong could use the drinking water, flowers, and auspicious fruits for worship. For the ancestor spirit, majority of Phuket people used their daily meal to worship first, then they took the food to eat in their daily meal. For Luang Por Caem, the worshipped objects were similar to the Buddha’s image, there were flowers and drinking flowers. The food or fruits were not necessary for worshipping Theravada Buddha’s image as well as Buddhist monk’s image.

The another Hokkien culture in Phuket was the food and the name to call the food in Hokkien language such as Hokkien fried noodle, roasted sticky rice stuffed with dried shrimp and black pepper (Paolang), white flour cake with spring



onion and fried onion (Kiemkoi). The another Chinese faith and religion from Overseas Chinese ancestors in Phuket (Hokkien) were the traditional Chinese festivals such as Vegetarian Festival (吃斋节), Chinese New Year (春节), Por Tor Festival (普渡节), Qingming Festival (清明节) and Zhongyuan Festival (中元节). In addition to the festival in Phuket, there were not only festival of traditional Chinese culture, but there were also normal Thai festival in Phuket such as Songkran Day, Makha Bucha day, Visaka Bucha Day, Asarnha Bucha Day, Ghost Festival and Loi Kratong Festival. Bilateral Thai and Chinese festival were normally seen in Muang Phuket District.

Furthermore, with the supports of governmental organization in Phuket, especially the supports of Phuket Provincial Administrative Organization (PPAO), and Phuket City Municipality. In every February, Phuket City Municipality holds the night market of “Backtrack to Phuket Old Town” for cultural inheritance of Phuket culture. Phuket culture was the combination of Chinese culture, the culture of Strait Settlement and Thai culture. It was the city of cultural hybridity and the combination of various national and international culture. For the Chinese shrine, the language that spirit mediums used to communicate with translator in every ritual was also Hokkien language such as Peng’An (平安: Peace) and Cheng (清: pure and honest).

## **2) Modern Culture**

There was not only traditional culture in Muang Phuket District. With the coming of science and technology development as well as the vast development of tourism industry of Phuket made Phuket a very developed province of Thailand. There were many famous department stores in Phuket such as Central Festival Phuket, Junceylon, Big C, Tesco Lotus, Robinson and Ocean. Furthermore, many high rate stars hotel for international facilities and sea view requirement were served to Thai and international tourists every year. With the coming of Chinese tourists and the new arriving of Overseas Chinese came to work in Phuket, there were also various duty free especially for Chinese people such as GMS, Royal Paragon and King Power. Especially for bilateral GMS and King Power, they were not only served for Chinese tourists, but they also served many international tourists such as Russian, Japanese, Korean and westerners. Actually, normal modern culture of Phuket people

was from a device called “mobile phone”. The new culture produced by mobile phone made people in Maung Phuket District invented their new culture in the society. People famously went to beautiful restaurants or coffee shop for taking the photographs of the food and beverage they ordered.

The marketing of making food and beverage for taking satisfying photographs were appeared in almost all of restaurants and coffee shop in Phuket. In the dimension of cultural preservation, Chinese shrines and related governmental organization used the communication methodologies of social media and the modern communication to promote and advertise the culture, for example Phuket City Municipality created their website and advertised their news related to night market, cultural inheritance and cultural tourism through famous social media such as LINE, Facebook and Instragram. It was not only the sharing news by the governmental organizations themselves, there were also some officials inside the organization sharing the news to their friends on the social media.

From the online observation, the researcher also found that there were more than 30 specific groups for cultural inheritance and promotion purpose such as Chinese god deity, Vegetarian Festival, Sang Tham Shrine, Jui Tui Shrine, Mantra Praying Community (诵经), Chinese deity parade community (Hodkua) as well as Phuket Thai-Hua Museum. Essentially, the groups could be expand freely on the social media, because there were the free rights to create the group as the head of the online community as well as creating a Page on the Facebook. The online community significantly influenced Phuket people for cultural preservation.

Many people inside Chinese shrines especially shrine committee recorded and then shared the videos of the rituals online for cultural sharing. In the dimension of cultural preservation in the online community by the educational institution, many schools and universities assigned the students to conduct the project of cultural studies related to Chinese shrines and Phuket culture. They were assigned to interview local people in the topic related to Phuket culture, and some of them were assign to interview people the shrine for Chinese culture as well as Chinese gods in the shrines. The researcher found some videos interviewed the shrine committee by students such as Jui Tui Tao Bo Keng Shrine and Pud Jor Shrine, because bilateral shrines were the most famous shrines in Muang Phuket District.

There were not only students who went to conduct the studied project with the Chinese shrines, there were also some master and doctoral students as well as university lecturers conducted the researches related to the Chinese shrines in Muang Phuket District.

The governmental organizations also published many sources for cultural inheritances to local and international people in many occasions for free such as “Backtrack to Phuket Old Town” night market, Vegetarian Festival and Por Tor Festival. Although there were a large arriving and development of science and technology bringing the modern culture to Phuket in the studied area, they used this communication methodologies to preserve and share the culture in the online community even the rituals and ceremony they participated in the Chinese shrine. Some atmosphere of the shrine were changed from the traditional rituals. For the traditional rituals, everyone must paid all attention to the ritual with the highest respect to the Chinese gods, they could not freely move or walk during the ritual. However, people more freely move and walk for recording and taking photographs inside the ritual. This was influenced by the development of science and technology.

Normally, science and technology were developed for providing more convenience and flexible life for people. Many traditional rituals and ceremonies procedures were changed also for more convenience and flexible to the newer generation. According to the interview of Overseas Chinese descendants who went to the Chinese shrines, the procedure and the stress rules of the rituals as well as festivals were more flexible nowadays. Because, the traditional rituals had to spent many money as well as time for the preparation. For the rituals and traditional culture comprehensions, majority of newer generations who did not familiar with the Chinese shrines for assistances and participation did not have so much comprehension on the knowledge of culture. They mostly knew the name of the Chinese gods, but they could not categorize the different of religion and faith of the gods nor comprehend Taoism, Mahayana Buddhism as well as Confucianism in the Chinese shrines. The only groups professionally comprehended the traditional cultures in the shrines was the ritual conductors group. For the group of shrine committee and caretaker, they comprehended some yearly ceremonies such as Vegetarian Festival and Chinese New Year days as well as Mahayana and Taoism Holy Day for assisting the ritual conductors to prepare some objects.

## 4.2 Chinese Shrines in Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province

The dawn of the Chinese shrines were established by the immigration of group of Overseas Chinese and the establishment of Vegetarian Festival in Phuket. The festival was called “Vegetarian for the Nine Emperors” (九皇齋) in Chinese language, it was the festival inherited from generation to generation of Overseas Chinese descendants in Thailand, especially in Phuket, Trang, Krabi and Phang Nga. The festival was hold nine days from the ninth month of the Chinese Lunar Calendar (November in normal calendar). There are two legends of the establishment of the festival. The first legend was described that the festival was hold originally in Jiangxi province (江西) of China. In the period of establishment of the festival, Jiangxi was suffered from the severe natural disaster. There was a millionaire who was practicing for giving objects to other. One day, he met with a sick man which he would like to assist him, a man asked the millionaire to stay in his home for a short time. The sick man paint the room of the millionaire’s house with his lymph. The millionaire found that the room was very fragrant by the smell of gum Benjamin, and he found that the sick man was the face human transferred from a god. The god recommended people in Jiangxi province hold the Vegetarian Festival for practicing the morality. Since then, Jiangxi people could not found the severe natural disaster as this time because of the holy protection from the god. For the second legend, the origin of the festival was from Hokkien province (福建) during Song dynasty (宋朝: 960-1276). To memorize the face passing of the king which was the trick to Yuan Dynasty, the festival was established since that time. For the festival in Phuket, Overseas Chinese emigrated from Penang, Singapore to Phuket for doing the occupation, especially in tin mining area. They were originally interested in preserving their homeland culture, so there were some rituals after their arriving such as Lunar Festival (中秋节) and Worshipping the god (拜神). The Chinese shrines was established since that time. Then, the Vegetarian Festival was introduced to Phuket people by the arriving of Overseas Chinese opera caravans. There were also the invitation for holy joss stick smoke from Jiangxi province to Phuket in Kathu Shrine; the origin of Chinese shrine in Phuket. The following shrines were the targeted shrine of the study:

#### 4.2.1 Pud Jor Shrine

Pud Jor Shrine was located at 289 Ranong Road, Taladneua Sub-district, Muang Phuket District. There was neither actual date for the establishment of the shrine nor the date crafted at the wall of the shrine, but the result of the interview found that the shrine was maintained approximately for 100 years ago because of the collapse of building materials. In 100 years ago, the shrine had Kuan Wu (关于) as the main deity of the shrine, and there was a canal connecting to the sea in front of the shrine. There was a merchant came by a ship arrived by the canal, and he found that the place was very fortunate for building the shrine of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨).

In addition, the main deity was changed from Kuan Wu into Kuan Im Bodhisattvas since the situation happened 100 years ago. Several activities and rituals were subjected to belong to the benefit of people in the area, for example the shrine could assist Phuket parents for giving the Chinese name to their children in Hokkien from the ritual to Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. The crafted wooden Kuan Im Bodhisattvas image was displayed in front of the shrine to display the main deity of the shrine and provided the deity to people to worship (Figure 24). The methodology of giving name of newborn was from the lucky sticks. There were 60 lucky sticks in the shrine, so it was not strange that we could found many local people with the similar Chinese name. In reality, many Chinese in mainland China also has the similar name too.

For those who were sick in about 100 years ago, the hospital did not so famous in the past and they had to spent several money for the curing. Therefore, people went to the shrine for curing sickness with the holy goodness of the Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. The shrine would random a lucky stick from shaking after praying mantras in Hokkien language in front of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, and then the paper from the lucky stick was sent to the patient. The patient took the paper to buy traditional Chinese medicine for curing their sickness. Actually, there was no any operation and injection like western medical profession when we compared to traditional Chinese medicine. Majority of traditional Chinese medicine were bilateral herbs and medicines made from insects as well as animals. The normal methodology to cook the medicine was boil that medicine in a traditional Chinese cruse.

Another famous assistance to the community was to recite incantations over Buddhist and Taoist objects such as necklace, bangle, and god's image. The ritual conductor took the object in front of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and prayed the mantra in Hokkien language, and people who inquired the shrine for the assistance would put their money to make merit in the small red-color bag. They put the small bag into the donation box of the shrine and rang the bell for receiving fortunate from the heaven. Normally, people expressed appreciation to the ritual conductors for assisting their requirement for Thai tradition, and there were several conversation took place here after they expressed the appreciation. The ritual conductor got to know more about the people who inquired the shrine for assistance, and the shrine could give more advices for their life in the dimension of religion and faith. The ritual conductor of the shrine described that they were willing to assist all people and it was also a way to make merit for their life as the main goal of Mahayana Buddhism concept; expressing kindness to assist people. All rituals were hold in the main hall of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (Figure 23). In addition, the area of worshipped Kuan Im Bodhisattvas at the center of the shrine was opened only in Vegetarian Festival, because the main hall size was slightly small for numerous people who came to worship Kuan Im Bodhisattvas annually in the festival. The factor supporting many people to worship the Bodhisattvas was the location of the shrine, it was located in the area of Vegetarian Festival in Muang Phuket District.

Beside the ritual, local Phuket people normally came to the shrine for communicating with Kuan Im Bodhisattvas when their children were born and even their parents passed. They believed that Kuan Im Bodhisattvas could protect their children with her supernatural power and could looking after the spirit of their parents. The majority of local Phuket people who came to the shrine for communicating with Kuan Im Bodhisattvas in this purpose was Overseas Chinese descendant. From the interview, the researchers found that all Overseas Chinese informants in Phuket were took to the shrine after they were born for telling the Bodhisattvas for holy protection.

Another belief was the Bodhisattvas could bless their children to become good people for the society and bless them to achieve their goal successfully in the future. In the dimension of annual festival of the shrine, the shrine normally cerebrated the significant days of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and traditional

Chinese festivals such as the birthday of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (佛祖生日), the date of ordination of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, the date of enlightenment of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, Chinese New Year (春节), worshipping the god (拜神) as well as Vegetarian Festival (吃斋节). In the Chinese New Year festival, it was slightly similar to the praying at international New Year at the temple; there were many people came for the benediction from 11:00 PM until the morning of the next day. For the Vegetarian Festival, the shrine originally had no spirit medium owning by the shrine. All spirit mediums we could see every year who performing the supernatural power performance were from Jui Tui Tao Bo Keng Shrine; the shrine located next to Pud Jor Shrine, because Pud Jor Shrine was categorized as Mahayana Buddhism shrine in Muang Phuket District.

In terms of the management of the shrine, there was the chairman of the shrine for heading all assignments and projects of the shrine by himself. There was the system of choosing people to mainly assisting the shrine as the shrine committee. In addition, the shrine was legally registered with the department of Department Of Provincial Administration; Ministry of Interior. The center of this organization in Phuket was the Phuket City Hall.

There were several cooperative occasions with bilateral governmental organizations and private sectors. Normally, the shrine was willing to assist those who did not have money for buying vegetarian food in the vegetarian festival for providing free of charge. The money from the donation of the shrine those came from people who buying incense sticks, lamp oil, Chinese god money paper as well as candles were donated to required schools and hospitals in Phuket such as Vachira Phuket Hospital. The hospital was known as the main governmental hospital of Muang Phuket District which situation was overloaded-patient issues. Therefore, the donation money could assisting the community, the money could purchase some patient cart, facility, medical machine, maintenance and establishing new patient building. The shrine although did not have spirit medium, but the shrine provided some groups of ritual conductors who were called Hodkua in Hokkien language. The group was aimed to assist Jui Tui Tao Bo Keng Shrine for further assistance in Taoist rituals.

The shrine also freely opened the occasions for praying group (诵经) to pray several Mahayana Buddhist mantras at the shrine such as The Great Compassionate (大悲咒) and Heart Sutra (心经). From the interview of ritual conductor of the shrine, he described that he had more than five times experiences to assist westerners as well as Chinese tourists for recite incantations over god images. Therefore, the assistance to the community of the shrine was not famous only local Phuket people and Thai people, but it was very famous among international tourists such as westerners and Chinese tourists. From the result, the informant could not categorize totally clear what exact nationality the tourists were, because those whose appearance looked like westerners and speaking English were categorized as westerners and those whose appearance looked like Chinese and speaking Chinese were categorized as Chinese.

For the result of interviewing a ritual conductor of Pud Jor Shrine, he informed that his mother was Hokkien (福建) and his father was Teochew (潮州). He was very familiar with the shrine since he was born. Because, his family actively participated in the rituals as well as ceremonies of the shrine and his parents always took him to participate in the rituals. Nowadays, he realized that assisting people by being a ritual conductor was a way of making merit, especially following the teaching of Mahayana Buddhism to assist all mankind from suffering world (普渡众生). He also believed that assisting the shrine to conduct the ritual was the way to inherit Phuket local culture. Sometimes, there were several requests from Phuket City Municipality (PCM) for using the shrine for holding religious activity, and once PCM invited him and the shrine to hold the exhibition of Chinese culture.

In the exhibition, many shrines in Phuket were invited to display their main deities of the shrine and presented the history of the shrine they comprehended from their ancestors. Actually, majority of the shrine in Phuket had no records and daily to describe the events in the past written by their ancestors; all the history was informed from generation to generation. The ritual conductor realized that the way that could inherit the culture in Phuket to the newer generation successfully was the willing cooperation of every shrine in Phuket. Because, every shrine in Phuket had different history about their shrine, and some rituals procedures were different; it was very interesting and valuable for shared-discussion cooperation among Chinese shrine in Phuket for cultural inheritance



purpose. In the researcher mind, this occasion did not positively influence the cultural inheritance purpose, but it was very positive influenced to people who conduct the studies related to the shrine such as students, lecturers and academicians. The schools had more sources to teach their students in the class related to local culture and community.

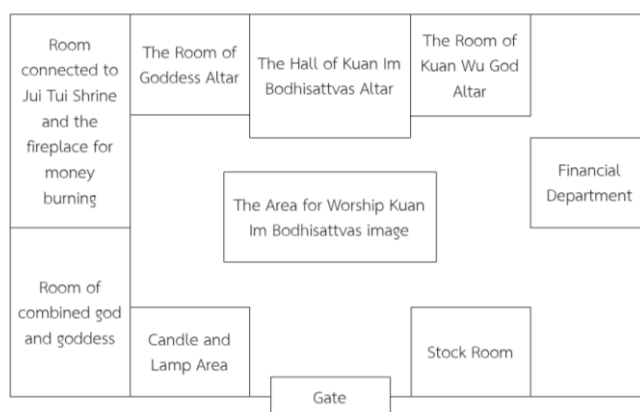


Figure 4.23 The Diagram of Pud Jor Shrine



Figure 4.24 The front of Pud Jor Shrine

#### 4.2.2 Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine (Another name: Chidchiew Shrine) was located at Moo 5, Vichit Sub-district, Muang Phuket District. According to the interview of bilateral shrine caretaker and shrine committee, the shrine is 156 years currently. There was seven generations of the chairman of the shrine which was his family. He studied in Singapore during his primary and middle school, he also learnt some Chinese religion and faith in Singapore for developing knowledge related to culture of Chinese religion and faith in the shrine. Many auspicious objects in the shrine also imported from Singapore such as Kuan Im Bodhisattvas image decoration, auspicious cloth knitting the picture of the Eight Immortals (八仙过海). The main religion of the shrine was Mahayana Buddhism. The concept of the shrine was the silent atmosphere, friendly welcome and strong faith to Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. There was no donation box outside the shrine, but welcoming all people to worship every deity of the shrine. There were only two spirit mediums which were the representative of Mahayana Buddhist deities such as Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and Maitraya (弥勒佛). Being spirit medium of bilateral deities require the non-marriage people, because Buddhism believed that non-marriage people were pure (清) for giving the high position of deities to come inside their body. The spirit mediums were similar to every shrine for the parade around Phuket city, but with the prohibition by the Royal Thai Government for remembrance of the passing king, the shrine canceled the parade as the government announced in the Vegetarian Festival.

The atmosphere of the festival this year in the shrine was also similar to every shrine, people wore black or white clothes for paying homage to Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. The only activity during the festival was to open the shrine for people to paying homage and contemplation. The shrine was originally famous for bilateral vending Kuan Im Bodhisattvas' image as well as requiring for children. For the vending, people who would like to take the image of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas to install at the altar of their house came to the shrine for taking the image. The activity of this situation could be called "Purchase" in terms of business, but normally local people called "Renting" for more respect purpose. Because, the image should not be purchased from people to people freely, so the appropriate procedure calling was to renting the image and spending some money for making merit to the shrine.

In the researcher's house, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas image was rent from this shrine. The researcher's family knew from acquaintances that renting Kuan Im Bodhisattvas from this shrine was very satisfying. It was normal situation we could found in Muang Phuket District that people would continually speak people to people. In addition, normally Thai people were interested to follow the majority in the society to choose the way in their life, for example if one man had heard that renting Kuan Im Bodhisattvas was very satisfying because they usually met with fortunate luck in their life after renting the image, so the man also went to the shrine for getting one.

For another ritual, the shrine was very famous for requiring the child because of the physical symptom of parents. There was no ritual fee for the shrine, but the parents were ordered to buy the equipment for the ritual by spending their money. There were two cases related to physical symptom of parents they could not have children, they participated in the ritual and then surprisingly succeeded. The ritual kept the communication and relation between the chairman and caretaker with the parents, because parents were introduced this ritual by the caretaker who normally sited at the bench of front altar area (Figure 4.25), and with the willingness to assist of the chairman who conduct the ritual by himself, they were familiar with the shrine and actively participated in almost all the festival of the shrine. Another famous ritual of the shrine was changing unfortunate luck, people who required to participate in the ritual was invited to write their full name on a big Chinese god banknote, and the chairman praying Hokkien mantra and put the banknote on the altar of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. The daily mantra praying was conducted for changing those unfortunate luck into better luck. The ritual needed only a plenty of money for preparing the fruits for worshipping Kuan Im Bodhisattvas in the ritual.

For the festival, there were five days for the ceremony in the shrine, which are Chinese New Year (春节), Worship god of land and sky (拜天地神仙), the birthday of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (佛祖生日), the date of ordination of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and the date of enlightenment of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. The birthday of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas was the biggest festival of the shrine after the Vegetarian Festival. The caretaker of the shrine informed that there are many people who although lived so far from the shrine, but came to the shrine for bilateral participated in the ritual and ordered some food and beverage to celebrate the festival. All food

and beverage were vegetarian food such as ice cream, fried Chinese spring roll, soft drink, stir-fried vegetarian protein served with rice and stir-fried vegetable served with rice. The money to order the food and beverage were from people who highly believed in the shrine themselves. It was very similar to food donation in presenting robes to monk event of Theravada Buddhism. In the festival, there were various communication between the chairman and caretaker to people in the community which could increase more belief to the people.

Furthermore, people also invited their friends, relatives and acquaintances to participate in the festival which could increase more people to have a faith in the shrine. Everyone coming to the shrine with the high belief of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and they were very satisfied and feel comfortable when they saw the image of the Bodhisattvas. They also realized that participating in the festival could bring the fortunate luck to their life with the holy supernatural power of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. For the visitors, there were every age of people came to the shrine for worship Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, especially teenagers and adults. Most teenagers came to the shrine for making merit and wishing some requirement of their life such as money, love, working, learning and family. They believed that Kuan Im Bodhisattvas had the power to bless them for everything with her compassion. For adult, they also came to the shrine for worship Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and make a wish in similar topic to the teenager. There were also some people who live near the shrine came to the shrine for assistance such as cleaning the shrine, introducing the shrine to visitor and introducing some upcoming festival and ritual to the visitor. The researcher went to the shrine as a visitor without informing the identity of researcher, and all of the introduction were introduced to researcher as well as other visitors from the observation. The researcher also found that majority of teenagers did not comprehend the praying procedure of the shrine, so the caretaker had the role to introduce them the way of pray respect the god correct chronological orders.

For the management of the shrine, the main management role belonged to the chairman of the shrine. He was the ritual conductor of the shrine and also introduced the upcoming ritual and festival to the visitors by himself. He was also invited to visit people's houses for installing correct order of the deity on the altar. The chairman of the shrine was assisting by the caretaker as mentioned above. For the donated money, it normally came from bilateral those who came to

the shrine for using incense sticks, candles and Chinese god banknote as well as those who invited the chairman of the shrine to order the chronology about Chinese god on the altar of their house. The donated money for worship equipment was depended on the visitors themselves, because the shrine aimed to assist those who had not much money but would like to worship the god.

The shrine caretaker informed that even one Baht from poor people could also be accepted for the donation, because everyone had different amount of money, there were bilateral poor and rich people. Therefore, the shrine was similar to all shrine in Muang Phuket District, they warmly welcome everyone who came to pay respect to Kuan Im Bodhisattvas without concerning about the background of people. To express the deepest condolence to the passing king, the Chinese god flag representing the shrine was used white-color flag painting black-color characters written Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine in Chinese language (观世音菩萨). The royal flags and national flag were decorated in front of the shrine for remembering the passing king, as well as planting *Tagetes erecta* flowers at the center of the shrine (Figure 4.19). There was also the image with the altar for paying respect to the passing king (Figure 4.20).

For the interview of shrine caretaker, her nationality was Hokkien. She had five grandchildren, and her daughter had physical problem to have children, so she took her daughter to participate in the ritual and hope the power of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas could assist her wish. Her daughter finally could success to have children and her family strongly believe in the shrine since her daughter had children. Before participating the ritual, her daughter spent large amount of money for Gamete Intrafallopian Transfer about 3-4 times, but not successful. This was the evidence they believed that Kuan Im Bodhisattvas was assisting them, because they strongly believed and actively assisting the shrine. Her daughter was the person who ordered the ice cream to the birthday of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas every year, and she took her mother to the shrine every morning and took her back home every evening. The caretaker also took her grandchildren to do the homework at the shrine and communicate with her every day. She believed that one day the grandchildren could follow her way for preserving the culture of the shrine.

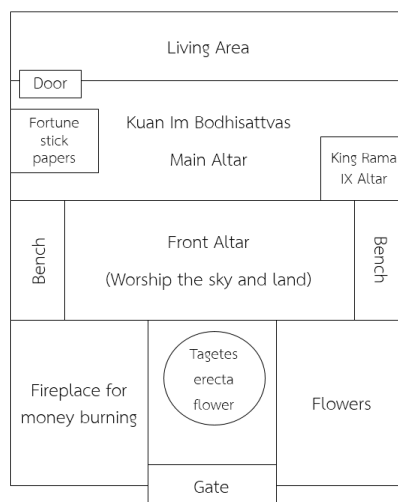


Figure 4.25 The Diagram of Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine



Figure 4.26 The front gate of Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

### 4.2.3 Sang Tham Shrine

The shrine was established by Hokkien Chinese descendants of “Tan Luan Jae” family in 1891 with the objective to provide a holy place for a consecrated worship to their ancestor gods and gods to whom they were faithful. It is said that the success in the shrine establishment was contributed to the devotion as well as the sacrifice and financial support from Luang Amnart Nararak (Tan Kuad) who was the senior government official at that time. The architectural designs applied to the shrine derived from the traditional Hokkien Chinese influences as evidenced in the

terracotta-tiled roof on the single storey construction with various aesthetic modeled figures of the propitious symbols elegantly decorated with traditional tiles (Figure 4.17).

In the hall, the access floor was raised and paved with terracotta tiles and on bilateral interior walls and series of the murals called “Si Yin Gui” (薛仁贵传奇) was exhibited, a famous general of Tang dynasty (唐朝). The significant renovation was conducted in 1999. One year later, in 2000, it was an auspicious occasion in celebration of the 109<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the shrine by the administrative committee of the shrine and is now widely open to the public. The name of Sang Tham Shrine (定光堂) means a holy place of everlasting light.

There are three areas separation of the shrine which are front, middle and back. The front area was used to worship the god of locality (地公) and the god of heaven (天神), there are altars and some gods' image such as Tan Seng Ong (陈圣王), Koi Seng Ong (光澤尊王), Tan Soi Ear (太岁爷) providing visitors to worship. There is the image of Ong Sun Tai Sai (大使爷爷) in the hall of altar (Figure 4.27). There are the images of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨) on the right, and there are Tan Seng Ong (陈圣王), Kuan Wu (关羽), Sam Tong Ong (三忠王) and Pun Thao Gong (本头公) on the left. In 1997, the shrine was received the Conservation Award by Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn, after the selection by the Association of Siamese Architects under Royal Patronage (ASA). There is two-story Sino-Portuguese building for altar and stock room purposes.

People celebrated four festivals in Sang Tham Shrine, which are main deity birthday (Tan Seng Ong: 陈圣王), Yuanxiao festival<sup>1</sup> (元宵节), Chinese New Year Festival (春节), and Vegetarian Festival (吃斋节). In Yuanxiao Festival, people normally worshiped Yuanxiao sweet (sweet dumplings in coconut cream) to the gods, this tradition was from Chinese culture that people ate Yuanxiao sweet in the festival for warm family atmosphere. Chinese highly emphasized to have warm and good condition of family; because, they believe that living with family was the greatest happiness of human life. The other meaning of Yuanxiao means family reunion (团圆); because, normally Chinese people live in the countryside and go to work in the

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<sup>1</sup> Lantern Festival was the traditional Chinese New Year Celebration which was established in Western Han Dynasty (206 BCE-25 CE). In Phuket, the shrine was decorated with Chinese paper lantern and writing auspicious words on the lantern surface

city center. They went back home in every Chinese New Year originally, but they also go back home in this festival. Family reunion does not mean only going back to the hometown visiting parents and grandparents, but it also means warm and lovely atmosphere of family which was the biggest happiness according to Chinese belief.

This tradition also supported by Confucianism; because, Confucius highly emphasized everyone to support and take good care of family. He taught that people should work hard and save money for supporting family, so the other meaning than decorating lantern and eating Yuanxiao sweet is recognizing warm family. Researcher also found that some groups of Overseas Chinese in Phuket also worshiped Yuanxiao sweet to the gods at their household altar; thus, the tradition related to Chinese festival was not only maintained in the Chinese shrine which was called the best place to maintain Chinese identity, but people in the society individually also maintain this kind of identity of ethnicity. In the Vegetarian Festival, the shrine committee described that there was no spirit medium of the shrine for this year because of the announcement from Royal Thai Government commemorating the passing King Bhumibol Adulyadej (King Rama IX). Nevertheless, the shrine provided free of charge of vegetarian food for those who came to the shrine for worshipping the gods.

In term of management, the main management of the shrine belonged to the chairman of the shrine. Two years ago, the chairman of the shrine was Paiboon Upatising, a former Phuket Senator, this was very significant issue; because, there are numerous support to the shrine from the connection of him. In front of the shrine, there are numerous donators who are the connection of Paiboon Upatising and Tan family, the family belong the owner of the shrine. Tan family was originally prosperous family in Phuket; in addition, the family widely spread to all areas of Phuket. We could observe that the family start with 'Tan' words all belong to Tan family, the similar family to the owner of Sang Tham Shrine worships the main deity of Tan family, Tan Seng Ong (陈圣王).

Furthermore, there was one person who play significant roles in the shrine, he was the expert of Mahayana Buddhism who conducting Mahayana Buddhism rituals and ceremonies in the shrine. The current chairman of the shrine was very believe in his skill, he was also one of key informants in the study. With the



passion to spread Mahayana Buddhism to teenagers, he established the community to study Mahayana Buddhism, teaching Mahayana Buddhism mantra, and also discussing current situation of Chinese shrine, religion as well as Vegetarian Festival. Therefore, the rituals as well as ceremony of the shrine belonged to the operation of this key informant.

He also had some teenagers he taught Mahayana Buddhism to assist him to conduct the rituals, his dream was to assisting teenagers to comprehend the great benefit studying Buddhism than doing other illegal and inappropriate actions in the society. Teenagers were not taught only Mahayana Buddhism Sutras, but also some doctrines purposing they do appropriate actions in the society and think about others than being selfish. The last group of people mentioned in this part is participants who usually participated in almost every ritual and ceremony of the shrine. They although did not have much decision to the management of the shrine; nonetheless, they sometimes had conversation when coming to the ritual, they expressed their opinion for developing and improving the shrine in these special time. The participants who usually came to the rituals also inviting their friends and acquaintances to comprehend about the shrine. This shrine introduced themselves as Buddhism which could invite more people to pay respect to the gods as well as decrease differences between temple and the shrine.

From the data interviewing shrine committee, his ancestor came from Hokkien (福建) similarly to those Overseas Chinese in Phuket; because, the majority of Overseas Chinese in Phuket are Hokkien. He could use some Hokkien vocabulary combining with Thai sentences to speak with people and describing to researcher that he was very pleased to maintain Hokkien culture as well as inheritance to younger generation. He was also very satisfied with the project of Mahayana Buddhism rituals and ceremony leading by the person mentioned above; because, Mahayana Buddhism ritual could invite more people to pay respect to the gods at the shrine and also making the shrine more famous among local Thai people. In the part of ethnicity, he informed that he was very proud and pleased to maintain the culture inheriting from his ancestors; because, he could discover that Chinese god belief could make society more peaceful. People believing in the gods and pay respect to the god need to be very silent and in peace, praying Mahayana Buddhism

Sutras could make the heart of people in peace and recalling the passing situations from people life and always carefully live in the society.

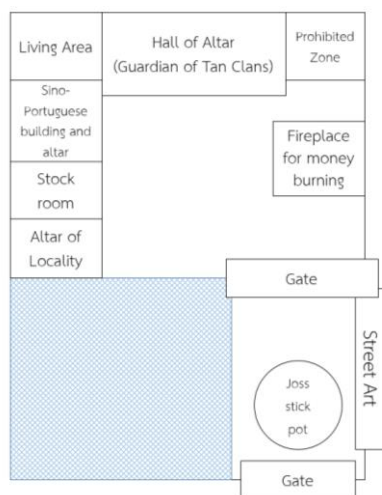


Figure 4.27 The Diagram of Sang Tham Shrine

### 4.3 Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese Shrines

From the data collected from fieldwork, researcher found that there are seven categories of Mahayana Buddhism symbol in Chinese shrines in Muang Phuket District, which are doctrines, god's image, food and drink for worship, ritual equipment, sutras and mantras, art as well as linguistic issues.

#### 4.3.1 Doctrine

For the doctrines of the Chinese shrine, researcher inquired chairman of the shrine, shrine committee and ritual conductors of the shrine in terms of the relation between Buddhism and their shrine, doctrine teaching in the shrine as well as Chinese images related to doctrine. For the related between Buddhism and the shrine, most people working for the shrine in Muang Phuket District believed in

Theravada Buddhism. They went to the temple for paying respect to the Buddha and worshipping Chinese gods in their shrine. They recognized themselves that they were Thai people who could go to bilateral Theravada temples and Chinese shrines which are also Buddhism; because, there was Kuan Im Bodhisattvas who belonged to Mahayana Buddhism.

Furthermore, there was also the image of Luang Por Cheam, Phra Put (Rising monk), and Buddha images at their shrine. They did not realize themselves as dual religion's discipline but they realize Theravada Buddhism as the main religion of Thailand they believed, and they realized Chinese shrine as the tradition inheriting from their ancestors. Therefore, the basic doctrine in the shrine that they educate to their participants is dealt with the five moral precepts<sup>2</sup>. There was no teaching like a classroom in the school, but there were several discussion times in the shrine when they were free from introducing visitors to pay respect to the gods as well as conducting rituals. They always realized that the five moral precepts were the best doctrine people should do along their life. The deep study of Buddhism doctrine is taken by some people which are pensioners and ritual conductors; additionally, there are not only Theravada Buddhism books in the bookstore, but there are also some morality book related to Mahayana Buddhism sharing between the shrines. Main purpose of sharing the doctrine books are teaching people to be good people for the society as well as conducting moral actions in the society. Ritual conductors as well as shrine committee sometimes go to buy some doctrine books (Dharma Book) at the bookstore studying the doctrine of Buddhism for acting appropriately in the society which could increase more positive image to the shrine.

Furthermore, the doctrine of Ten World of Spirit in Buddhism (佛说十法界图解) (Figure 4.28) clearly describe the result of doing inappropriately in the society. Normally, Buddhist believed that doing whether appropriate or inappropriate actions to others might cause the result in the future, for example Buddhists believed that once we were good to someone, and one day someone would be good to us; in contrast, once we harmed them severely, one day someone would be cruel to us also. The teaching of the ten world reminding people to carefully live in

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<sup>2</sup> Five moral precepts of Buddhism: 1) Not harming living life; 2) Not taking what is not given; 3) Not commit sexual misconduct; 4) Not lying or gossip others; 5) Not taking inappropriate substances for example drugs or alcohols

the society by showing the scaring results in the future world. Future world was also the great belief of Buddhism even Theravada Buddhism or Mahayana Buddhism.

According to the figure 4.28, the center of the figure is a Chinese character means ‘Heart or Mind’ emphasizing greedy (贪), angry (嗔), and mistaken (痴) influencing people to born in each category. There are two groups of categories which are good and bad categories. The good category contained (1) Full Buddhas (佛法界), (2) Bodhisattavas (菩萨法界), (3) Pratyeka Buddhas (缘觉法界), (4) Arahants (声闻法界); basically, Buddhism believed that the above four worlds was forever, meaning those who were born in these four world would not necessary to fall down into the bad category. The bad category contains (5) Devas (天神法界), (6) Realm of Asura Demon (阿修罗法界), (7) Human realm (人间法界), (8) Realm of animals (畜生法界), (9) Realm of hungry ghosts (饿鬼法界), and (10) Hell (地狱法界). There are significant differences between good and bad category, normally Buddhism aimed to paint clearly about the different between the heaven and the hell as the consciousness of people to be good to others than harming others severely. Some shrines in Muang Phuket District discovered that there were various cruel ways to achieve what people want in this competitive world; therefore, the chairman of the shrine highly hoped the picture could be the reminder to people. Furthermore, this kind of teaching was also the discussion topic in all targets shrine.

To describe the teaching clearly, the highest target of all Buddhists is the first world of the good category, Full Buddhas (佛法界), this picture belonged to Mahayana Buddhism; because, there is a concept of everyone that could be the Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism for encouraging people to do perfectly good actions in the society. According to the Chinese description in the picture, those who could be the Buddha must not have any of these bad condition of mind, greedy (贪), angry (嗔), and mistaken (痴). Normally, these bad conditions are very hard to be taken from people’s mind; because, emotion is what we as human use to live in the society, for examples Sam is a child who love to play Lego toys every day. He could not stand for looking Lego product at the toy shop, so he asked his parents to buy that product for him. This step is called greedy; because, he already has the other Lego in his home, but he is not sufficient. In case of his parents cannot buy the Lego for him, he is very angry, this is the second step. Additionally, the last step might occur when he wishes to have this Lego, he once steals the Lego from the

department store or from his friends which is morally false. Therefore, three steps of bad conditions were chronologically happened immediately for the thinking of human. Buddhism believe that human thinking was the fastest movement of the universe, faster than light and all kind of element existing in the universe.

The second world is Bodhisattvas (菩薩法界), those who could be born in this world must have compassionate mind; because, the main purpose of Bodhisattvas is to assisting other to leave from suffering world. The main teaching of Bodhisattvas is to be patient and not capitulate for helping others; furthermore, this is the principle of bilateral Mahayana Buddhism and Chinese Shrine. There are various activities accordingly to the principle of Bodhisattvas such as giving the donated money of the shrine to poor people community, buying textbooks for poor students in countryside schools, and donating some money to the governmental hospital. For the situation of governmental hospital, although there were various money supporting by central government of Muang Phuket District, but the hospitals had problems about insufficient medical machine, facility and space for curing people in the hospitals. Therefore, most of donated money to the targets shrine were also donated to the governmental hospital providing the assistance to people.

The third world is Pratyeka Buddhas (缘觉法界), a monk who could reach the enlightenment by themselves, and the fourth world is Arahants (声闻法界) who ordered later to the Pratyeka Buddhas, a monk who could behave accordingly to the teaching of the Buddha; because, those disciples who listened to the teaching lecture of the Buddha under the Bodhi tree during the Buddha life time could reach the enlightenment as Arahant. The differences between these two monks and Bodhisattvas is the different of practicing and behavior, the practice and behavior of the two monks are studying what the Buddha lectured and completely comprehend what he taught. In the other hand, the Bodhisattvas not only follow the teaching of the Buddha, but also spread the doctrine as well as assisting suffered people. Therefore, the order of the Bodhisattvas is higher than the order of two monks who are Pratyeka Buddhas (缘觉法界) and Arahants (声闻法界) emphasizing differences between Mahayana Buddhism and Theravada Buddhism. However, Mahayana Buddhism did not much emphasize the time to reach the enlightenment and Nirvana, but emphasized on assisting others as much as possible.

For the bad category, there are six bad categories in case people behave inappropriately according to the Buddhism doctrine and principle. The fifth world is Devas (天神法界), people who could be Devas are people who behaved appropriately when they were born as humans; however, they lacked practicing Buddhism principle as the Buddha teach. They have to born again the human realm for practicing Buddhism principle for rising the good categories. All the devas had the supernatural power for assisting human realms, some of them assist human to protect the land, we could describe as the god of locality or landlord gods.

In the sixth category, was called Realm of Asura Demon (阿修罗法界), people who were born in this realm were usually angry when they were humans, so they had much supernatural power for destroying things and killing life. Their faces are ugly, because similarly to the angry face. This is also one of the best consciousness for human to behave appropriately.

For the seventh realm, Human realm (人间法界), the most important realms for all categories; because, all world could not exist without the existence of human realm, they are also the rich people, bureaucrat, poor people and disability. Each person has different life according to the former world of them. Buddhism normally believes that people were born in different condition influencing by their former world reasons. In case they were very good people in their former world, they would be born as rich people or bureaucrat in the current world; in addition, for those who were very bad people in the past, they would be born as poor people or disability in the current world.

The eighth world is Realm of animals (畜生法界) emphasizing that they did not study the Buddhism doctrine in their former world, and they also did not participate appropriately in social regulation which making other people worried. Therefore, they were born in the realm that was easily to be killed.

The ninth realm is Realm of hungry ghosts (饿鬼法界), bilateral Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism believe that those who hurt their parents would be born as the hungry ghosts; because, logically think that parents are very first people to give food and drink to us, the people who hurt or kill their parents should not eat and drink more. It is the best reason to receive this kind of punishment.

The last world is the Hell (地狱法界), the most severely world of the tens. The people who were born in this world behaved viciously in the past, so they were received harmful punishment in the hell.

In summary, the purpose of this clearly description of the ten worlds highly emphasizes people to behave well and appropriately and also the purpose of Buddhism emphasizing people to behave carefully; because, sometimes we would hurt others by our body, spoken words or even our mind. To establish peaceful society, people should follow this rule, according to the Buddhism principle.



Figure 4.28 Ten World of Spirit in Buddhism at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

In the figure 4.29, there are totally 27 guidelines addressed by Jigong monk (济公活佛圣训), the guideline for way of life to Mahayana Buddhist disciplines. In the study, researcher chose ten most popular guideline which are always in the conversation of chairman of the shrine, shrine committee as well as ritual conductor discuss together in the shrine. This teaching was also in the discussion class of the Sang Tham Shrine.

Firstly, Jigong monk believed that life was originally destined by the god, so people should let all suffering situation go, the best recommended action was to studying Buddhism doctrine as well as practicing for Buddhism principle. Jigong monk introduced people not to wish in front of the god's image; because, he

described that we human should try by ourselves. Although, the life was destined, we human could establish the success in our life. This thinking was similar to what Theravada Buddhist monk taught the students in the middle school that although some people believed that the life is designated, we human should establish some success by ourselves, the strong human mind could achieve the destiny.

Secondly, Jigong monk suggested people should not to worry about the future that is similar to what Buddhism taught to people that we should focus at the moment.; because, the moment could establish the new history as well as influencing the better future.

Thirdly, Jigong monk recommended people to respect to the Buddha similarly respected their parents; because, parents were the people who have the biggest kindness giving us to born as human. We also should be benevolence to parents all the time even they are adults or pensioners.

Forthly, Jigong monk suggested similar concept as Confucius that the relation between siblings should be satisfying; because, we were in the similar family and should support each other, and should abandon the fighting as well as complaining each other. This is also the great concept of making good condition of society; because, the most significant social institute is the family institution, having good condition of family influencing people to construct good condition of society in the future. This issue is also emphasizing the good condition of appropriate kinship system as well as family institution. The kinship system in bilateral Confucianism and Buddhism principle should have assistance to each other's that could establish bright society.

Fifthly, people should not boast each other; because, everyone had different amount of money. Therefore, we should respect each other as well as providing them some assistance as possible. Assisting each other was also the core concept of Mahayana Buddhism.

Sixthly, Jigong monk recommended people to provide some objects to those who suffered such as poor people and disability. Because, Jigong and Buddhism believed that we could not take anything with us when we died.



Seventhly, people should not cheat; because, it was one of the bad action of Buddhism, it similar to lie to someone. Cheating could make society hectic and also affecting people depressed. This was also a kind of sin in Buddhism principle. Therefore, people should be moral honest to each other than cheating each other.

Eighthly, people should not be too self-centeredness, in case of they were in the highest position of the career, one day they would retire and the self-centeredness would be ended; hence, the greatest way was to humble even people were in low or high position of the career.

Ninthly, all people had similar fortune and prestige, we should not envy to those who had better fortune or higher prestige than us. The best recommendation was to behave appropriately as well as practicing Buddhism principle. The last teaching from Jigong was that everything must meet with the death (or disappear), he did not want human too much engaged with unnecessary routine such as money, drinking, clothes, shopping and games. This teaching was much more similar to the way of Taoism that emphasizing people to behave naturally, Lao Tzu (老子) originally emphasized the way of going into the mountain and eating some herbs on the tree, as well as doing meditation in the forest near the waterfall; hence, the principle of bilateral Jigong monk and Lao Tzu were similar.



Figure 4.29 Doctrine of Jigong Buddhist's monk at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

### 4.3.2 God's Image

A thousand hands of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas' image was one of the most famous image style of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas in Phuket, especially the image is made from white jade. Local Phuket people as well as people in the shrine believed that white jade represented immaculate mind of people. White color represented this kind of meaning; because, the color representing in Thai national flag, red represented nation, because the country had to scarify many people protecting the country as we are independent country nowadays, white represented the immaculate religion which was the shelter of people in the country, blue represented royal institute who fought for the independence of the country as well as moral govern Thai people to have freedom as we are nowadays. The figure 4.30 shows White Jade Thousand Hands Kuan Im Bodhisattvas' image at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine, this image is the main deity of the shrine; due to the installing was done at the center of the shrine as well as center of the altar hall.



Figure 4.30 White Jade Thousand Hands Kuan Im Bodhisattvas' image at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

Tae Chong Ong Bodhisattvas (地藏王菩薩) (Figure 4.31) the image carrying holy mace on the right hand side. Ritual conductor of Sang Tham Shrine informed that Tae Chong Ong Bodhisattvas was different from Kuan Im Bodhisattvas in terms of place to assist suffering life. According to Mahayana Buddhism, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas had the aspiration to assist people in the human realm for

comprehending Buddhism doctrine and could reach the enlightenment; nonetheless, the determination of Tae Chong Ong Bodhisattvas was to assist all kind of creators in the Hell, he once addressed that when the hell had no creator, he would go back to the Bodhisattvas realm. This was the main reasons many people highly respect the majestic aspiration of Tae Chong Ong. He was also the symbol of compassionate similarly Kuan Im Bodhisattvas.



Figure 4.31 Tae Chong Ong Bodhisattvas' image at Kuan Wu Shrine

For bilateral Yok Lue (女龙) and Xian Zai (善财童子) in the figure 4.32, local Phuket people did not much interested in the history of these two children gods. The most famous interests to these two children gods were in case of putting them at the altar of their house, these two gods would kindly take care the children of the house owner. Another believe was that Kuan Im Bodhisattvas was interested to assists poor children and children who had not so appropriate destiny, so people who had children or grandchildren would install all of three images in their houses wishing their children were safe from every accident and becoming good people for the society for providing the prestige of the family.

This kind of thinking was from originally Chinese culture; because, Chinese normally love their children who could create the prestige to the family such as being bureaucrat, police officer, doctor as well as teacher. With the observation of Overseas Chinese descendants, their parents were very proud to know that their children did these prestige careers.



Figure 4.32 Kuan Im Bodhisattvas's image with Yok Lue and Xian Jai's images

In Mahayana Buddhism temple in Bangkok, all people who studied Mahayana Buddhism there as well as some ritual conductors of the shrine comprehend correctly that Mitreya (Figure 4.33) would be the next Buddha according to Buddhism history. However, many local Phuket people did not comprehend this history, they were just comprehended that the fat monk would bring good fortune to their family. The fat body represented prosperity of the family. Therefore, Mitreya was very famous for prosperity of people in Phuket.



Figure 4.33 Mitreya's image at Lo Rong Shrine

According to the figure 4.34, the image of Jigong monk that his teaching was mentioned above. His way of life was much similar to Lao Tzu who emphasized the way of life closely to the natural, mountain, waterfall as well as

forest. For local Phuket people, Jigong was introduced to Phuket people by Taiwanese; because, Jigong monk's image was very famous for worship in Taiwan. He was very famous after the disaster of Tsunami in Phuket in 2014. Phuket people believed in the holy supernatural power of Jigong monk that his fan could protect them from the Tsunami.



Figure 4.34 Jigong Arahant's image at Pud Jor Shrine

For the figure 4.35, there are totally eighteen Arahants images (十八阿罗汉) at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine installing nine images each side which representing the identity of Mahayana Buddhism. The eighteen Arahants were very famous among Mahayana Buddhism temple. Researcher found that there were only Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine that had eighteen Arahants images. Local Phuket people did not totally comprehend about the history of eighteen Arahants, so the only meaning by the comprehension of Phuket people were the holy protection as well as auspicious atmosphere creating in the house.



Figure 4.35 Arahants' image at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine

The figure 4.36 is the figure of Three Golden Buddha (三世祖佛), the meaning was described from the right to the left. There were the Buddha of the past (Right), the current Buddha (Center) as well as the future Buddha (Left). This photograph was taken at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine, the shrine's name was from Three Golden Buddha in Chinese; hence, Three Golden Buddha were the main deities of the shrine. Every ritual process as well as fruits and food for worship were almost totally similar to Theravada Buddhism; because, they worshiped the similar Buddha although different place.



Figure 4.36 Three Golden Buddha at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine

Figure 4.37 shows one of the Four Heavenly Kings (四大天王) at Kuan Wu Shrine, normally people did not worship these four heavenly kings. They were



normally crafted at the four side of the shrine doors. Researcher found that there was only one shrine worship them with fruits and drinks which was Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine. Four Heavenly Kings were also worshiped in China, the case study was in Tongtianyan (通天岩), Jiangxi Province, and researcher found that there were the pattern of installing Chinese gods in the Mahayana Buddhism temple in China, having Four Heavenly Kings, Mitreya, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, Three Golden Buddha as well as Tae Chong Ong Bodhisattvas. Each four heavenly kings had the duty to protect the shrine from dangers available from four different directions which are North, South, East and West. Mahayana Buddhism believed that they protected the shrine from evil spirit those would like to harm the human realm.



Figure 4.37 One of the Four Heavenly Kings (四大天王) at Kuan Wu Shrine

### 4.3.3 Food and Drink for Worship

Chinese Shrine in Phuket originally established from the holy supernatural power of Vegetarian Festival; hence, most of the gods in Phuket were worshiped by using vegetarian food such as local fruits, Phuket local sweets, tea, drinking water, as well as vegetarian food of the festival. In the figure 4.38, Kuan Wu Shrine worshiped the gods with using orange, apple, banana, watermelon as well as Phuket local sweet. For the Phuket local sweet all have different auspicious meaning such as longevity, warm condition of family, happiness as well as good fortune describing in Hokkien language.

Three cups of tea were worshiped the god normally, this tradition was from Buddhism that we should worship three cups of drinks to the gods. Buddhism comprehend that representing three principles of Buddhism which are the Buddha, doctrine (Dharma) and Buddhist monk. There were also four equipments for rhythms of the rituals. The center of the pictures were the equipment set of pot for small incense stick. There were the differences between Theravada Buddhism and Mahayana Buddhism, Theravada Buddhism normally use long incense sticks to worship the gods; in addition, Mahayana Buddhism also use the long ones, but they sometimes use the small ones for praying mantras as well as ritual purposes.



Figure 4.38 Food and beverage to worship the god at Kuan Wu Shrine

In figure 4.39, it shows the holy object of Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine, chairman of the shrine believe that the holy object could be holy from receiving praying mantra through them every day. After the praying, the chairman of the shrine gave them to those who want such as visitors, shrine committee as well as foreigners. Researcher also found that there were several foreigners came to the shrine for accepting this kind of holy objects.





Figure 4.39 Holy object at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

In the figure 4.40, showing the auspicious name of the fruit for worship. Normally, Overseas Chinese believed that good fortune and auspicious atmosphere could come to the home by using various symbols such as crafting auspicious animal figure at the wall, doorway and pillar of the house. In this figure, Overseas Chinese also believed that using fruits with their auspicious meaning of Chinese name could also bring good fortune and auspicious atmosphere to their life. Researcher discovered seven kinds of fruits in this case.

1) Red grape (红葡萄) represented propitious, lucky and good fortune. Normally, red grape was used for worship than using green one; because, green did not have good meaning in Chinese belief.

2) Pineapple (凤梨) the pineapple's name in Hokkien was called "Ang Lai", 'Ang' (红) means red color, and 'Lai' (来) means coming; hence, this connotation was 'Red is coming' which means the good fortune comes to our life.

3) Golden orange (金橘), gold color symbolized propitious.

4) Dragon fruit (火龙果), representing plentifully life; in addition, the red outer part implied auspicious life.

5) Banana (香蕉) purported luxuriated family insulating bunch of bananas, the golden yellow color intimated wealthy.

6) Red apple alluded to healthy.

7) Pomegranate (石榴) designated the adorable family as well as family supporting each other. The implication of many pomegranate fruits indicated giving to all family members, assisting each other in the family.



Figure 4.40 Fruit to worship the god at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

Lotus (4.41) had substantial implication in Buddhism, referring to four kinds of human as the Buddha described during his life time. First, the lotus which rising on the water compared to enlighten people. Second, the lotus rose at the similar surface of water indicates people who were interested to make merit; however, they lacked Buddhism practice. This category of people was easily taught to be good people in the society, according to the Buddha. Third, the lotus rose under the water surface, indicates who bilateral had satisfying and undesirable action, this kind of people should spend sometimes to improve themselves as similar as the lotus trying to rise above the water surface. The last kind of lotus was the most anxiety people, this class of people could not even separate between virtuous and immoral. They also were negative to Buddhism principle; furthermore, they were dangerous to themselves as well as everyone. The above implications were the reason many Theravada temples as well as Chinese shrines used lotus to worship.



Figure 4.41 Lotus to worship the god at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

Figure 4.42 describes one of the biggest Overseas Chinese ceremonies in Phuket, Por Tor Festival (普渡节), the implication in Chinese language was “The Festival of Helping the Poor”. Normally, Overseas Chinese made merit for their passing ancestor in the festival. They believed that the main gods of the festival, Master Kuan Im (观音大师), was the other image of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas transforming to vanquish evils in the hell. Her purpose was to take those passing ancestor spirit in the hell going back to visit their family, especially their children and grandchildren. Overseas Chinese believed this day was “The day of hell gate was opened”, so they went back to the home early for safety and waited the visiting of their ancestor spirit. The Red Turtle Sweet (红龟) was worshiped to Master Kuan Im; afterward, they ate the sweet symbolizing longevity, because turtle was a long-life animal. The relation to Mahayana Buddhism of this ceremony was bilateral making merit and grateful (孝顺), Overseas Chinese believed their ancestors worked hard to establish their house, prestige as well as heritage for them, so they had to reciprocate them by participating in such a ceremony.



Figure 4.42 Worshipped table at Bang Niew Shrine

#### 4.3.4 Ritual Equipment

Bilateral Mahayana Buddhism and Taoism had similar praying instrument (Thammasangkita: 法器). In Hok Nguan Kung Shrine and Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine, they prayed Heart Sutras (心经) in Hokkien dialect. The rosary (Figure 4.43) was counted during the praying; in addition, alms bowl (Figure 4.44) and wooden fish (Figure 4.45) were hit for the rhythm. Bilateral figure 4.43 and 4.44 were taken during the Por Tor Festival of Hok Nguan Kung Shrine. Ritual conductor informed this Sutras praying was aimed to make merit for those passing ancestor spirit. They could also listen to the Sutras and received much merit from the participation of their descents. The researcher also found there was several classes at Sang Tham Shrine educating people to use these four instruments to pray Mahayana Buddhism Sutras; furthermore, teachers studied praying from bilateral Mahayana temple in Bangkok and Mahayana temple in Taiwan. Therefore, there were two versions of dialects which are Teochiew and Hokkien, because the major Chinese dialect in Bangkok was Teochiew, and Hokkien was the major Chinese dialect in Taiwan.



Figure 4.43 Rosary for Praying at Hok Nguan Kung Shrine



Figure 4.44 alms bowl (Left) and Dangzi (Right) for Praying at Hok Nguan Kung Shrine



Figure 4.45 Wooden fish for praying at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine



#### 4.3.5 Sutra and Mantra

There are two most famous Mahayana Buddhism Sutras in Muang Phuket District, Vajra Prajna Paramita Sutra (The Heart Sutra: 心经) and Phra Maha Garuna Thani Sutra (The Great Compassionate: 大悲咒). For the Heart Sutra (4.46), Vachara implicated worthy truth being which could not be born or disappeared, Prajna (Philosophy) indicated wisdom, Paramita means enlightenment, and Sutra implied a way. Hence, the meaning of Heart Sutra was the light of worthy truth being that was purity and could convey human to the enlightenment. According to the Buddhism legend, there were much spirit (being) in a universe live peacefully. One day, greedy (贪), angry (嗔), and mistaken (痴) existed in the universe influencing the existence of ten world. Therefore, the biggest purpose of Buddhism was to recall pure mind of people for rising back to one of the four respectable worlds (Figure 4.28). In Hok Nguan Kung Shrine, the praying books of Heart Sutra were published by Foguanshan Temple (佛光山) in Bangkok, the day researcher collected the data, there was a Mahayana Master (大师) prayed Heart Sutra at the shrine for Por Tor Festival.



Figure 4.46 The Heart Sutra at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

#### The Heart Sutra (心经)

“观自在菩萨，行深般若波罗蜜多时，照见五蕴皆空，度一切苦厄。

舍利子，色不异空，空不异色，色即是空，空即是色，受想行识亦复如是。

舍利子，是诸法空相，不生不灭，不垢不净，不增不减。是故空中无色，无受想行识，无眼耳鼻舌身意，无色声香味触法，无眼界乃至无意识界，无无明亦无无明尽，乃至无老死，亦无老死尽，无苦集灭道，无智亦无得。

以无所得故，菩提萨埵。依般若波罗蜜多故，心无挂碍；无挂碍故，无有恐怖，远离颠倒梦想，究竟涅槃。

三世诸佛，依般若波罗蜜多故，得阿耨多罗三藐三菩提。

故知般若波罗蜜多，是大神咒，是大明咒，是无上咒，是无等等咒，能除一切苦，真实不虚。

故说般若波罗蜜多咒，即说咒曰：揭谛揭谛 波罗揭谛 波罗僧揭谛 菩提萨婆诃。”

The Great Compassion Sutra indicated the compassion of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (观世音菩萨), the implication of Sutra were four main aspirations of Mahayana Buddhism people would aspire before achieving the enlightenment. Firstly, they would not be mistaken in greedy (贪), angry (嗔), and mistaken (痴). Secondly, they would achieve the meditation (Samadhi 禅) and wisdom (Panna: 智慧). Thirdly, they would assist poor being. The last aspiration was providing unlimited required objects to poor being; in addition, people should not be worried about those provided objects, the providing with happiness. In case people could achieve these four aspirations, they would attain the enlightenment. This Sutra was prayed annually in Vegetarian Festival, Overseas Chinese in Phuket also opened the track to worship Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. Specifically, people in the shrine also prayed this Sutra in bilateral morning and evening.

### The Great Compassion Sutra (大悲咒)

“南无.喝啰怛那.哆啰夜耶. 南无.阿唎耶. 婆卢羯帝.烁钵啰耶. 菩提萨埵婆耶. 摩诃萨埵婆耶. 摩诃迦卢尼迦耶. 唵. 萨皤啰罚曳. 数怛那怛写. 南无悉吉栗埵. 伊蒙阿唎耶. 婆卢吉帝. 室佛啰愣驮婆. 南无.那啰谨墀. 醯利摩诃皤哆沙咩. 萨婆阿

他·豆输朋·阿逝孕·萨婆萨哆·那摩婆萨哆·那摩婆伽·摩罚特豆·怛侄他·唵·阿婆卢  
 醯·卢迦帝·迦罗帝·夷醯唎·摩诃菩提萨埵·萨婆萨婆·摩啰摩啰·摩醯摩醯·唎驮  
 孕·俱卢俱卢·羯蒙·度卢度卢·罚闍耶帝·摩诃罚闍耶帝·陀啰陀啰·地唎尼·室佛啰  
 耶·遮啰遮啰·摩么·罚摩啰·穆帝隶·伊醯伊醯·室那室那·阿啰唵·佛啰舍利·罚沙罚  
 参·佛啰舍耶·呼嚧呼嚧摩啰·呼嚧呼嚧醯利·娑啰娑啰·悉唎悉唎·苏嚧苏嚧·菩提  
 夜·菩提夜·菩驮夜·菩驮夜·弥帝唎夜·那啰谨墀·地利瑟尼那·波夜摩那·娑婆诃·悉  
 陀夜·娑婆诃·摩诃悉陀夜·娑婆诃·悉陀喻艺·室幡啰耶·娑婆诃·那啰谨墀·娑婆  
 诃·摩啰那啰·娑婆诃·悉啰僧·阿穆佉耶·娑婆诃·娑婆摩诃·阿悉陀夜·娑婆诃·者吉  
 啰·阿悉陀夜·娑婆诃·波陀摩·羯悉陀夜·娑婆诃·那啰谨墀·幡伽啰耶·娑婆诃·摩婆  
 利·胜羯啰夜·娑婆诃·南无喝啰怛那·哆啰夜耶·南无阿唎耶·娑嚧吉帝·烁幡啰夜·娑  
 婆诃·唵·悉殿都·漫多啰·跋陀耶·娑婆诃”

#### 4.3.6 Art

There are various artistic symbol representing Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese Shrine, Muang Phuket District. The hanging decoration of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (Figure 4.47) was bought from Singapore by the chairman of the shrine. He described himself that he studied Mahayana Buddhism in Singapore as well as Chinese culture. He brought this decoration to his shrine after his graduation for fortunate purpose.





Figure 4.47 Hanging decoration of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

According to the figure 4.48, the Chinese lantern with Chinese name of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (南无大悲观世音菩萨). Chinese lantern was normally used as the main decoration of the place expressing Chinese ethnicity. The other connotation of Chinese lantern was “Enlightenment providing from the Buddha” (佛光普照), the symbol of the enlightenment were candles, lantern as well as oil lamp.



Figure 4.48 Chinese lantern with the name of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas at Pud Cho Shrine

The figure 4.49 was the painting of Mitreya Buddha at Kuan Wu Shrine. Historically, Mitreya was recognized as the Buddha of the future world. Therefore, people painted his image at the top of the shrine. Two dragons were added for his holy power. The roof of the shrine expressed Chinese ethnicity, there were various Chinese ethnicity symbols which are Chinese god's images, auspicious animals, auspicious plants, Chinese roof patterns and its surfaces.



Figure 4.49 Painting of Mitreya at Kuan Wu Shrine

#### 4.3.7 Linguistic Issues

Chinese shrine was the forest of Chinese ethnicity as well as Mahayana Buddhism symbols. In the figure 4.50, the character at the top of waterfall implicated “The Buddha” (佛). Although Buddhism separated into two groups; Theravada and Mahayana and bilateral sides believed the Buddha as the highest class of all people. However, Theravada Buddhism had only one Buddha; because, they believed that no one could achieve all principle of Buddhism as the Buddha, and Mahayana Buddhism had various Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; because they would like to encourage many people to achieve the enlightenment as the Buddha.



Figure 4.50 Buddha Chinese character at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine

In the figure 4.51, Chinese name of “Amitabha” (阿弥陀佛), was in Sukhawadee Paradise, one of Buddhism pure lands at the west. His body was red and was worshiped in the Pure Land Buddhism (净土宗). They also worshiped Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva or Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. However, the Amitabha was not worshiped in Theravada Buddhism; because, there was no history about him in Bali canon.



Figure 4.51 Amitabha Chinese character at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine

Figure 4.52 shows the Chinese name of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (大圣佛祖), Pud Jor Shrine used this cloth to display the name of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas; because, she was the main deity of Pud Jor Shrine. Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (or Pud Jor)

was recognized as kindheartedness that was the sanctuary of Phuket people. Normally, local Phuket people worshiped Kuan Im Bodhisattvas at the shrine as well as making wishes.



Figure 4.52 The Great Kuan Im Bodhisattvas Chinese character at Pud Jor Shrine

Figure 4.53 shows the Chinese character, means “Shrine: a place of worthy truth of morality” (真德佛地), according to the interview of shrine committee of Pud Jor Shrine. The shrine was realized as the place of worthy truth of morality; because, it was the stayed place of Chinese gods, especially Kuan Im Bodhisattvas.



Figure 4.53 Shrine: a place of worthy truth of morality Chinese characters in Pud Jor Shrine

According to the belief of Mahayana Buddhism, the Buddha was the center of universe, he was covered by the heaven at the top, ground at the bottom, sun at his east and moon at his west. The flag at the figure 4.54 represented this implication.



Figure 4.54 Heaven, Ground, Sun and Moon Chinese characters at Sam Sae Chu Fut Shrine

There were various name of gods as well as the number of incense sticks for worship in front of the altars of the shrine. In the figure 4.55, the name of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and the name of gods (观音佛祖、众大神明). The last three Chinese characters mean the number of incense sticks, three incense sticks (三支香).



Figure 4.55 God's name and the number of incense sticks for worship

#### 4.4 Cultural Maintaining of Mahayana Buddhism Identity

According to the data collected from fieldwork, many chairmen of the shrine informed that major shrines in Phuket are Taoism; however, researchers found three target shrines were mainly focused on Mahayana Buddhism, there are Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine (观世音菩萨), Pud Jor Shrine (佛祖庵), and Sang Tham Shrine (定光堂). Furthermore, researcher found that major Taoism shrines in Phuket also had some identity of Mahayana Buddhism such as god's image, ritual, Sutras, Mantras, art and also linguistics. In this part, there are six categories of cultural maintaining of Mahayana Buddhism which are chanting class, rituals, household altar, welfare organization, social organization as well as Phuket culture inheritance. All categories were bilateral direct and indirect methods in order to maintain Mahayana Buddhism.

##### 4.4.1 Chanting Class

There were various chanting class in each shrine available in Muang Phuket District. Bilateral chairman of the shrines and shrine committee as well as ritual conductors in each shrines aimed to inherit this culture to newer generation of Muang Phuket District; because, they realized this chanting was very auspicious and could assist them for their success in their life. Furthermore, chanting was also a kind of merit making in Mahayana Buddhism. Chanting also establish the wisdom to the chanter; because, they had to understand the meaning and their mind must be in peace expressing the main principle of Buddhism.

In the figure 4.56, although the photograph was taken at the Por Tor Festival, Hok Nguan Kung Shrine, the chanter groups came from Sang Tham Shrine; because, there was no chanting group in Hok Nguan Kung Shrine. The chanting groups belonged to Sang Tham Shrine which offered free teaching class for chanting. In the class, students actively participated in the class for chanting Mahayana Buddhism Sutras such as the Heart Sutras (心经) as well as The Great Compassionate (大悲咒). There were not only lecturing in the class, but there was the class discussion related to Buddhism situation nowadays as well as the brainstorm how to

spread Mahayana Buddhism throughout teenagers in Muang Phuket District. The teacher of the class aimed the target of “Buddhism for all humans” (全球佛教), especially he found that various teenagers had many problems in their life such as illegal drugs, becoming parents while studying in middle schools, illegal motorcycle riding racing, and fail the examination. The classroom did not provide only for studying Buddhism, but the classroom also provide the place for students to do their homework and discuss Buddhism with the teacher. Furthermore, this group of students were taught to conduct Mahayana Buddhism rituals for Sang Tham Shrine mainly, and they sometimes assisted other shrines those who did not have insufficient ritual conductors and chanting groups. This group of students went with the teacher in every important day of Taoism and Buddhism to many shrines in Muang Phuket District. Students realized this kind of action was a kind of merit making and also inheriting moral Phuket culture.



Figure 4.56 Chanting equipment at Hok Nguan Kung Shrine

#### 4.4.2 Rituals

There are various rituals in maintaining Mahayana Buddhism in Muang Phuket District such as anointing images, necklace, random lucky sticks (mentioned in figure 4.5 and 4.6) and exorcising (mentioned in 4.2.2 Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine). For anointing images, researchers found the most famous shrine for anointing images and necklace to Mahayana Buddhism and Taoism god's image was the Pud Jor Shrine. People entered to the shrine and brought objects to the ritual conductor. The ritual conductor brought the object to hold in front of the image of



Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and chant Mahayana Buddhism mantra in Hokkien language; afterward, people put some money for donation in the red bag and put it in the donation box. They also rang the bell for auspicious and fortunate. Lastly, they received back the anointed images from the ritual conductors.

In this chapter, six Mahayana Buddhism maintaining were presented which are chanting class, rituals, household altar, welfare organization, social organization as well as Phuket culture inheritance. In the figure 4.56, it shows the Mahayana Buddhism Sutras chanting at Saphanhin, the birthday ceremony of Kuan Wu Deity. They chanted the Heart Sutra (心经) in the ceremony; in addition, chanting was in Hokkien dialect. This ritual was hold by a Thai-Chinese restaurant in Muang Phuket District, Yao Yentafour Restaurant which installed large altar of Kuan Wu deity inside. The campfire was located at the center of the ceremony, ritual conductors burnt Chinese god's banknote at this campfire. They believed that burning the banknotes would be given to their ancestors who passed away for using at the heaven. This tradition was also adapted to Qingming Festival, nowadays some modern stuffs also burnt for providing to their passing ancestor which were produced by paper such as car, house, mobile, tablet, house and gold. In this ceremony, they held the ceremony at the beach; because, they believed that the sea was the only way connected the heaven and human realm. They selected Saphanhin area, because this ritual conducted area was in front of Saphanhin Shrine (九天宫). In the ceremony, there were not only the restaurant holding the ceremony of Kuan Wu Birthday.

However, there were various shrines came to this area for conducting ceremony such as Pud Jor Shrine and Tha Rua Shrine, one of the most famous shrine in Thalang District of Phuket. The festival was hold for three days per a year; in addition, the biggest ceremony was conducted by Kuan Wu Shrine (紫莲宫). In Kuan Wu Shrine, there was also a famous ceremony, Exorcise Festival (Koyhan: 过桥仪式), Taoism Ceremony. This ceremony also have Mahayana Buddhism maintaining inside, the shrine opened the altar of Mahayana Buddhism for spirit medium to conduct the ceremony as well as opened the altar for worship by visitors (Figure 4.31, 4.35, 4.55). The figure 4.31 shows many Mahayana Buddhism deities, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨), Tae Chong Ong (地藏王菩萨), Three Golden Buddha (三世祖佛), and Maitreya



(弥勒佛). The worshiped object the shrine used are all vegetarian similarly Mahayana Buddhism principle.



Figure 4.57 Mahayana Buddhism Sutras chanting at Saphanhin Park

The history and background of Por Tor Festival was already mentioned in the figure 4.41. The festival in this context was the relation to Mahayana Buddhism, Por Tor Festival was originally the festival of Mahayana Buddhism, because the festival aimed to assist all suffering spirits in the hell by the holy power of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. Another relation to Mahayana Buddhism was the chanting. The chanting in the festival used the Heart Sutras for reminding people to practice themselves as moral people for the society, because those spirit fell to the hell influenced from negative action when they were human. This was the implication of the festival that reminding people to make much merit as well as assisting each other than harming others.



Figure 4.58 Por Tor Festival at Hok Nguan Kung Shrine

Figure 4.59 shows the ceremony of Sin Apology, Mahayana Buddhism believed that all people should apologize for those sin we committed in the past, and we should not committed those sin again by chanting this mantra. The mantra meaning was to inquire the great holy power of the Buddha to assist us to apologize the sin we committed in the past. This ceremony was similar to sin confessing of Christianity. Mahayana Buddhism also convinced that people should have a restart of their life altering from immoral into upright condition of human behavior. The ceremony was conducted for three days per a year, and the sin apology chanting was in every three days. The ritual conductor provided a red Chinese paper for people to write down their name in Thai or Chinese. Furthermore, they chanted to their name for apologizing sin during the ceremony.



Figure 4.59 Sin apology ceremony at Sang Tham Shrine

There were announcement about Mahayana ceremonies at the main altar room in every shrines. The figure 4.60 was taken at Pud Jor Shrine, normally the Mahayana ceremonies of each shrine was related to the significant days of their main deity. In Pud Jor Shrine, the main deity was Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. Three days of this shrines were the birthday of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, the coronation day of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas as well as the enlightenment day of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. The figure 4.60 also advertised some interesting announcement for local Phuket people,

vegetarian food such as fried noodle, spring roll as well as ice cream. These three days was similar to Robe Presenting Ceremony of Theravada Buddhism, everyone came to the holy place (shrine or temple) with their donation. They believed that supporting the shrine and temple could have much merit and positively support them to rise to the heaven after their death.



Figure 4.60 Announcement of Mahayana Ceremony at Pud Jor Shrine

According to the observation, normally Thai people were interested in shaking fortune stick (求签), Thai people believed the god could predict their future, so they went to temple or shrine for lucky stick random. Everyone had different questions to inquire the god, such as their study, family, working as well as health. Those who found that the lucky stick predicted correctly would go back to the shrine again and donated more money. Sometimes, they also informed their relatives and friends to random in the shrine for correct prediction.



Figure 4.61 Paper from lucky stick at Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine

#### 4.4.3 Household Altar

Researchers found three houses of Overseas Chinese in Muang Phuket District. For other Overseas Chinese informants in the study, they have their new houses from their ancestor house, because they would like to find new houses near their workplace. Therefore, it was unable to take photographs of other household altar. The figure 4.62 contained three famous deities in Phuket which are Ma Jor Po (妈祖婆), Kuan Im Bodhisattvas (观音菩萨) and Luang Por Chaem. Bilateral Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and Luang Por Chaem were belonged to Buddhism but different groups, Mahayana and Theravada. Ma Jor Po goddess was the most famous female god of Taoism (道教). Many families in Phuket worshiped her, because she was the maritime god, every Overseas Chinese migrated to Thailand worshiped her for safety sailing purpose.



Figure 4.62 Household altar in Muang Phuket District 1

The figure 4.63, there were Buddha's image, Luang Por Chaem, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas as well as Yok Lue (龙女) and Xian Jai (善财童子). According to the interview, Overseas Chinese descent informed that Yok Lue and Xian Jai could add more holy protection to their children, because they realized that Kuan Im Bodhisattvas was very famous for protecting children.



Figure 4.63 Household altar in Muang Phuket District 2

Figure 4.64 contains the Buddha's image, Kuan Wu Bodhisattvas as well as Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. In term of cultural hybridity, Kuan Wu was in bilateral religion, Taoism and Mahayana Buddhism, because he was very famous for honesty (忠), one of the greatest morality in Buddhism.



Figure 4.64 Household altar in Muang Phuket District 3

#### 4.4.4 Welfare Organization for Community

There were various assistance provided by Chinese shrine to the community as welfare organization. According to the observation of shrine committee of every shrine, researcher found that, first, the shrine providing assistance for installing household altar, because normally Phuket people believed that arranging household altar position need to be correct, this could be affected their house directly. Sometimes, they met with unfortunate situation, they would recall that their household altar was arranged correctly or not. Second, the ritual conductors in the shrine provided assistance to hold the birthday ceremony at many household, especially the house of spirit medium. There were Chinese god altar in every house of spirit medium. They hold the birthday ceremony of their god every year. Holding this kind of ceremony needed much knowledge and experience, so they were sometimes invited to arrange the order of altar correctly at the spirit mediums' houses. In October 13, 2017 every provincial city hall provided the place of mourning passing King Bhumibol Adulyadej; specifically, Phuket city hall inquired Pud Jor Shrine for providing free vegetarian food at the event, because October 13 was inside Vegetarian Festival. Furthermore, researcher found that Pud Jor Shrine also gave some donations to Vachira Hospital, a government hospital facing insufficient budget and space for patients in Phuket. The shrines in Muang Phuket District also donated some money from visitor's donation to those insufficient budget for school development. In addition, many shrines in Phuket also cooperated with Phuket Provincial Administration Office to spread the culture of Chinese shrine as Phuket culture. Another Mahayana Buddhism welfare organization than Chinese shrine was Poh Teck Tung Foundation (报德善堂) worshiped former Mahayana Buddhist monk, Master Dafeng (大峰祖师), who was very famous for locality contribution, assisted all accidents in Phuket. They also worshiped Kuan Im Bodhisattvas in their foundation, because their target were similar to assisting those who were suffering.

#### 4.4.5 Social Organization in Chinese Shrine

The system of social organization of the shrine was hierarchy system there were Mahayana Buddhism master, ritual conductors, chairman of the shrine,

spirit medium, shrine committee, shrine caretaker and visitors. There were also people from outside which are Mahayana Buddhism experts, Chinese shrine experts (local scholars), lecturers, students, local visitors and international tourists. Every rituals of the shrine started by Mahayana Buddhism master, ritual conductors as well as chairman of the shrine. Normally, chairmen of the shrine was bilateral Mahayana Buddhism master and ritual conductor, because they were taught about ritual as well as Mahayana Buddhism Sutras and mantras from their ancestor. The shrine was abdicated from generation to generation, and the chairman of Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine was the seventh generation, according to the interview. Some shrines needed to invite outside ritual conductor, such as Sang Tham Shrine. The ritual conductors of Sang Tham Shrine learnt bilateral Mahayana Buddhism and rituals from their masters at Foguangshan (佛光山) Temple in Bangkok; in addition, masters of such a temple were from Foguangshan Temple in Taiwan (台湾). Spirit medium was normally expressed themselves only during the ritual, especially Vegetarian Festival.

However, the miracle performance and god parade were prohibited for mourning the passing King Bhumibol Adulyadej (King Rama IX). Shrine committee and caretaker had duties to provide some assistance to bilateral chairman of the shrine and spirit medium during the ritual. Most visitors in the ritual called Mahayana Buddhism master as 'Master' for expressing respect, and they called the ritual conductor as 'Teacher' or 'Laoshi' in Chinese language (老师). Although, the system of Chinese shrine the researcher found was hierarchy system, there were very satisfying assistance provided each other. In addition, the assistance also provided inside the same class of people in the shrine for greater development of the shrine. There was also a new technology communication method for people in the shrine, Facebook Group and Page for communication. People were free to express their opinion related to the shrine and ritual. There was also a group of Facebook establishing for renting god's image and sharing the photograph of the shrine, ritual as well as annual festival. This was also a kind of modern promoting for the shrine, because almost all Phuket people play Facebook nowadays. There were various advertisement related to the shrine in Thai, English and Chinese language. The picture of Bodhisattvas and related Chinese gods were in the online poster freely. There were the emotional expression on Facebook for each posts such as like and



satisfied. Each people also share some interesting news about the shrine to their friends which bringing more people to participate in the ritual.

#### 4.46 Inheritance of Phuket Hokkien culture

There were not only the advertisement on social media from the shrine, governmental organization in Phuket also supported the shrine for maintaining Phuket culture. Although, the shrine was Hokkien culture which belonged to Chinese culture, the shrine was recognized legally as Phuket culture, because Phuket was prosperous from the migrant of Overseas Chinese. In addition, they all changed their Chinese nationality into Thai nationality for better occupation and life opportunities. In the figure 4.65, Phuket City Municipality (PCM) visited Hok Nguan Kung Shrine and donated some money during the Vegetarian Festival. This situation indicated that PCM highly interested in the culture of Chinese shrine. According to the interview, governmental organizations in Phuket supported and invited the shrines for many times holding cultural ceremonies for advertising cultural tourism in Phuket such as Vegetarian Festival and Por Tor Festival.



Figure 4.65 Phuket City Municipality visited Hok Nguan Kung Shrine

There is Phuket street art which is painted on the wall of Sang Tham Shrine (figure 4.66). Shrine committee informed that street art brings more foreign



people to take some photos of the shrine. And, some westerners also worship Chinese gods similar to Thai people. Furthermore, the shrine is opposite to a famous restaurant of the old town. Customers who finished their meal would visit the shrine for worshipping the gods and take some photos. Pud Jor Shrine is located near a famous restaurant for Chinese tourists who travel by bus. The bus could not go inside the road in front of the shrine, and tourists have to pass Pud Jor Shrine. Some Chinese tourists who finished their meal would also visit the shrine for worshipping the gods and take some photos. Nowadays, uploading their photos via social media such as Facebook, Instagram and Wechat is very famous among Thai people and international people. Therefore, geographical factor influences people to visit the shrine.



Figure 4.66 Street art at Sang Tham Shrine

Chairman of Sang Tham Shrine once found that the street art in the figure 4.66 was not the implication to the shrine directly. Therefore, he invited local artists to paint new street art (Figure 4.67) beside the existed one (Figure 4.66). This was the painting of Chinese god parade during Vegetarian Festival, the chairman of the shrine would like to advertise to local and international tourists about upcoming Vegetarian Festival in 2019 and every year.



Figure 4.67 New street art at Sang Tham Shrine

During the exorcising ceremony (过桥仪式) of Kuan Wu Shrine (关羽庙), chairman of the shrine invited Chinese opera in Thailand to perform the program of Bao Bunjin (包青天), the most famous Chinese TV program among Thai people. Such a program was related to the honesty and justice of Bao bureaucrat. His honesty and justice working appealed to the emperor of Song dynasty (宋朝), he appointed Bao bureaucrat as the third class of bureaucrat of Song dynasty which was very high position in that time. Bao was sent to many suffering cities affected from natural disaster as well as wars to improve the city, so he did not so famous in the court system, but he was also famous in city development. The relation between Bao and Mahayana Buddhism was his morality, the honesty and justice.



Figure 4.65 Chinese opera at Kuan Wu Shrine

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

#### 5.1 Conclusion

Before comprehending maintaining Mahayana Buddhism phenomena in the Chinese Shrine, Muang Phuket District, the comprehension of the Overseas Chinese migrated to Thailand was significantly important, especially Phuket, by using the Cultural identity and diaspora theory of Stuart Hall (1990). The theory was used to analyze the establishment and development of the shrine and Mahayana Buddhism from the past to the present. There are various religion and faith in the shrine combining from Mahayana Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, local Chinese faith (Chinese gods and ancestor spirit), Theravada Buddhism and Islam. Under the development of Chinese shrine which contained only three religions in China, Mahayana Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism transforming various religion and faith comparing to an empty salad bowl which could contain as many vegetable as the chief and customers require (Pinpradab, n.d.; Pumiputavorn, 2007; Pattamacharoen, 2011; Kataoka, 2012 & Chanasakun, 2017).

Under this development of the shrine, the theory of Eric Hobsbawn (2000), Invented Tradition could described this change from bilateral cultural and political factors. For studying Mahayana Buddhism symbol in the shrine, especially Taoism shrine, the theory of Victor Turner (1967) and Clifford Geertz (1973) were very significant to the study, Symbol in Ritual and Symbol interpretation. Finally, besides studying symbol maintaining Mahayana Buddhism in the shrine, the researcher also should study the function of people in the shrine for maintaining Mahayana Buddhism. The theory of Malinowski (1997), Functionalism and Structural-Functionalism were

analyzed such a phenomena for studying Chinese shrine in the dimension of Mahayana Buddhism maintaining, case studies of Muang Phuket District.

Chinese shrines established from the Overseas Chinese diaspora migrated from Hokkien province (Manomaivibool, 2011, Pinpradab, n.d, & Chanasakun, 2017). They brought their Hokkien culture with their migration to Phuket, there were Vegetarian Festival, Por Tor Festival, Chinese-language school as well as Phuket Hokkien Association in Phuket for their cultural maintaining purpose. Some of their tradition were invented for bilateral cultural maintaining and political purpose (Dachwilai & Krutchon, 2014). And, there were various symbols expressed Mahayana Buddhism as well as Taoism identities in the Chinese shrine (Pattamacharoen, 2011).

Originally, culture had its own complex meaning, with the combination of cultural hybridity phenomena, various religion and faith fulfill in the Chinese shrine, there were Theravada and Mahayana Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and Islamic. Although, Chinese shrine was observed several times by the Ministry of Interior during the period of General P. Pibulsongkram, Chinese shrine has power negotiation with Thai government as well as local community becoming the local Phuket identity (Kataoka, 2012). Furthermore, governmental organization in Phuket also accepted this ideology and maintain Phuket Hokkien culture as 'Cultural capital' for tourism and cultural maintaining purposes.

## 5.2 Discussion

The discussion contained four significant issues of the study, namely the influence of Overseas Chinese diaspora, invented Mahayana Buddhism tradition, forest of Mahayana Buddhism symbol and function maintaining Mahayana Buddhism.

### 1) Influence of Overseas Chinese diaspora

Stuart Hall (1990) described that cultural hybridity was a kind of social production which was not negative to social organization. This notion was not totally suited with the Overseas Chinese diaspora; because, there were some reasons Overseas Chinese diaspora slightly negative to the solidarity of Thailand, for instances Overseas Chinese diaspora brought their culture to Thailand influencing the outside cultural diffusion to Thai domain culture, and the number of Overseas Chinese diaspora was the highest minority population quantity in Thailand, some Thai people got marriage to Overseas Chinese diaspora (Chunsuvimol, 2008).

Especially, Overseas Chinese had to characteristics to maintain their culture even they migrated to other countries. This was one of the main principles of Confucianism from a Chinese idiom: “Falling leaf went back to the root” (落叶归根) indicating every Chinese must not forget their nationality, culture as well as pedigree. Those who were influenced by other cultures and changed themselves into people of other cultures were realized as ungrateful to the mother country (Skinner, 1957).

Additionally, this kind of ideology also influencing from “Central Country” ideology of Confucian himself, he once described that China was the center of the world, because the emperor of China was the “Son of the Heaven” who had the duty to rule the world peacefully, and every country need to respect and be governed by the only one emperor. This was also the reason that Chinese never called the emperor of other countries as emperor but called them as a king or leader of the country. In Chinese worldview, there was only one emperor in the world which belonged to their current emperor at their time (Santisombat, 2014). Therefore, Overseas Chinese brought their culture to Thailand and established some places to diffuse their culture throughout Thailand such as Chinese-language school in Phuket, Hua Bun School (Former name of Phuket Thai Hua ASEAN Wittaya School nowadays), Chinese shrines, welfare organization and Phuket Hokkien Association.

From the above instances, they were all welfare organization which influencing secret society to diffuse Chinese identity as well as communism ideology for transforming feudal society into new communism country by the leading of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Phuket people had several times supported him by money, and could success

transforming feudal society into new communism country as Dr. Sun Yat-Sen wished (Kataoka, 2012).

Nevertheless, Royal Thai Government announced the laws to reject this kind of international political movement in Thailand, this situation negatively influenced the solidarity of Thailand as well as Royal Thai Government. Therefore, Chinese language school were closed, specific occupations were limited only for Thai people, and some places of miracle performance of spirit medium was prohibited. In the opinion of Royal Thai Government during the King Chulalongkorn, the miracle performance of spirit medium was prohibited from Siam (Former name of Thailand), because the government found that Thai people were immersed themselves in looking and paying respect to the spirit medium which was outside Buddhism, the main religion of the country as well as negatively affecting the religion institution.

Although, there were several times restrain the movement of Chinese in Thailand, they used the Chinese shrine as their secret society for the place supporting communism party in China. Furthermore, Chinese-language school also established some related subjects of communism party of China in their curriculum such as communism ideology and martial art. Therefore, the theory of Stuart Hall (1990) describing that there would be no negative effects of cultural hybridity to the social organization would not suitable to this study. For the problem solving of Royal Thai Government, this situation could be solved by the assimilation policy of General P. Pibulsongkram. His assimilation policy could assimilate Chinese into Thai, and their culture were transformed similarly to Thai people (Skinner, 1959; Kesmanee & Kingham, 2011).

However, this political analysis theory was not totally successful, because there were still many Chinese who maintain their identity of ethnicity in Thai domain culture. We could see some Chinese shrines, Chinese gods in household altar, Chinese-language school, and Phuket Hokkien Association nowadays. As the researcher mentioned above that Chinese were austere to maintain their identity influenced from the ideology of Confucianism. Nowadays, Phuket City Municipality announced that Hokkien culture in Phuket was categorized as Phuket culture. Therefore, Chinese culture was not prohibited in the current time, but receiving the great support from governmental organization of Phuket (Dachwilai & Krutchon, 2014).

Phuket City Municipality also used this maintaining culture opportunity as the 'Cultural Capital' to advertise the culture of Phuket to international tourists as well as local tourists. Sino-Portuguese building at Thalang Road was the main symbol of Chinese culture in Phuket. Furthermore, various researches related to Hokkien culture was supported by Overseas Chinese in Phuket. Stuart Hall also describe that the process of identity was never completed, because people learn new knowledge and experience everyday throughout the modern technology as well as from teaching and inheritance Hokkien culture by their ancestors and people in the Chinese Shrine.

For Mahayana Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism in Chinese style entered to Phuket similarly the time they immigrated to Phuket. Once, Pud Jor Shrine was established for the belief of Overseas Chinese thought the place where Pud Jor Shrine established nowadays very suited to establish the shrine for Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. The positive cultural hybridity phenomena related to Mahayana Buddhism was the Chinese Shrine, because Chinese Shrine was a kind of positive cultural hybridity which combined three religions in China, Confucianism, Taoism and Mahayana Buddhism.

When time changed, the cultural hybridity also continually transforms itself, there are some culture of Theravada Buddhism and Islam occurred in the Chinese Shrine, and there were no negative opinion about local Phuket people aware on the cultural differences of each religion. Although, there were various Buddha's images and the image of famous Buddhist's monk worshiped in the shrine, local Phuket visitors of the shrine as well as tourists from outside of Phuket also respected to the image of Theravada Buddhism with faithfully believe, because major Thai people are Buddhism. Therefore, this situation did not affect them to feel strange when they saw some Theravada Buddhism images in the Chinese Shrine (Chanasakun, 2017).

From the analysis of the study, there were two main reasons having Theravada Buddhism in the Chinese Shrine. First, Chinese Shrine had a concept to be flexible to all people in all society, because they aimed to widely spread the religion of their ethnicity to the world, which similarly Mahayana Buddhism. They believed that encouraging people to make merit in the shrine could be large virtue to their life. Chinese Shrine had the faith related to bilateral heaven and hell similarly Mahayana Buddhism, they believed that doing this kind of encouragement to people could also the effect bringing them to the heaven after they passed from the human realm.

Additionally, researcher found that Chinese Shrine had no original stringent regulation about installing god on the altar. Most god on the altar came from the belief “Any god in your consideration was virtuous, you should invite their images to your altar”. Therefore, this situation could be compared to an empty salad bowl which could contain as many vegetable as the chief and customers require.

For the political factors, as the researcher mentioned above and in the related literature, the issue related to the problem of Overseas Chinese influencing the investigation of Royal Thai Government in the issue of Chinese ethnicity as well as promoting communism ideology to Thailand. In the opinion of Royal Thai Government, the ideology of communism was the threat of national security of Thailand. Therefore, Royal Thai Government observed everywhere establishing the place displayed Chinese identity such as Chinese-language school, Chinese shrine and Chinese Association.

The Chinese Shrine aiming not to be prohibited in Thailand, so they invited some Buddha’s image as well as Buddhist monk’s image on their altar as well as inviting Buddhist monks to chant and make merit in the shrine for protecting Chinese identity during the observation time. Furthermore, they found that conducting this kind of Buddhism combination could increase more Thai participants, so they continually maintain this kind of dual Buddhism combination in the Chinese Shrine. From the observation of Royal Thai Government, they found that Chinese Shrine also had some Thai Theravada Buddhism identity, so there was neither act nor laws of the government closing the area of Chinese shrine, especially in Phuket, where the majority of population were Overseas Chinese with the administration by Overseas Chinese governor, Khaw Sim Bee (许心美) (Manomaivibool, 2011).

There were two ways to comprehend cultural identity and diaspora from Stuart Hall, in this study, the first categories could directly be used to comprehend and analyze the social phenomena related to the cultural maintaining of Mahayana Buddhism in the Chinese Shrine. The identity was providing people to grasp the idea of one true self. Especially, Phuket people realized themselves that majority of them were Buddhism who could go bilateral Chinese Shrine and Theravada temples. Furthermore, they received the identity formation from two places, and they thought receiving Buddhism ideology from two places were better for going only for one place.



There were several sermons for visitors of the temples, and they were received the guideline for their way of life influencing by Theravada Buddhism (Chanasakun, 2017).

In the other hand, they also worshiped Chinese gods and sometimes were invited by shrine committee to discuss Mahayana Buddhism principle with them such as the case of Sang Tham Shrine. Those who were new acquaintance with the ritual conductor, and he felt that this person could positively learn the principle of Mahayana Buddhism, he would invited them to study and discuss Mahayana Buddhism with Sang Tham Shrine. Furthermore, people would be invited to participate in significant rituals and ceremony of the shrine. During the rituals and ceremony, there were also the connotation of the culture, for instances Chinese lantern was normally used as the main decoration of the place expressing Chinese ethnicity.

The other connotation of Chinese lantern was “Enlightenment providing from the Buddha” (佛光普照), the symbol of the enlightenment were candles, lantern as well as oil lamp. In the case of Pud Jor Shrine, there was the making merit way to adding oil to the oil lamp, normal people would think this making merit way could assist the shrine to buy some oil for the oil lamp and being a place for sanctuary of people when they were serious or tried from their life.

The connotation of this rite was the knowledge of people, the knowledge of people is similarly to the fire of the oil lamp, there was a day to the end if people did not study hard, but we could put some oil similar study harder for more success in the future. The chairman of the shrine informed that “Adding oil lamp was equal to adding wisdom”, therefore, this connotation related to Confucianism and Mahayana Buddhism. In Confucianism, Confucius believed that moral society should have various well-educated people to work as bureaucrat of the imperial court assisting the emperor to work, so this was the reason he supported all kind of people to study in appropriate subjects they wished. In Mahayana Buddhism, Bodhisattvas believed the first step to assist others from those suffering world was to lighten the wisdom themselves. In case of people who did not have their own wisdom, so they could not find any way to assist the poor people.

Stuart Hall believed that culture shape the group identity of people, in this study, there were slightly separation but not totally in the Chinese shrine. There were bilateral ritual conductor (Hodkua) which mainly belonged to Taoism as well as

chanting group which belonged to Mahayana Buddhism. As the researcher found, bilateral ritual conductor and chanting group need to have much knowledge and experiences related to ritual and chanting. Therefore, there were few people volunteering themselves working for the shrine, one person may belong to two groups in some shrines such as Sang Tham Shrine and Chao Mae Kuan Im Phra Phothisat Shrine. According to the interview and observation of major ritual conductor as well as chanting group were educated for their ancestors who were the people worked in the Chinese Shrine and would like their posterity to inherit this culture.

Some of them believed that this was the order of the heaven that all of his family members were appointed to inherit this tradition in Thailand. From data collected in Chinese Shrine, there were various symbols linked to the Chinese Shrine such as painting on the wall, Taoism god's image, Mahayana Buddhism image, Chinese architecture as well as Hokkien language using during the rituals. Some interesting rituals and ceremony were presented by using cinematic and conversational presentation on various media such as television, radio, and online media such as Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and LINE. The recommended way from the related theory was the skill of intercultural communication, the appropriate way to comprehend each culture of cultural hybridity phenomena respectively (Wiwatthanukul, 2016).

## **2) Invented Mahayana Buddhism tradition**

According to the Invented tradition of Eric Hobsbawm (2000), he described that the invented culture although objected to invent new creation of the tradition, but the invented tradition also referred something related to the past such as the ceremony. For the ceremony referring to the past related to Mahayana Buddhism in Muang Phuket District, there are Vegetarian Festival, Por Tor Festival, Qingming Festival, Zhongyuan Festival, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas Birthday and Kuan Wu Bodhisattvas Birthday. For Vegetarian Festival, although the legend of the festival established by the holy natural power of Taoism curing Phuket people from severely disease, but the principle of stop killing animals for food was also the principle of Mahayana Buddhism. Mahayana Buddhism aimed people to stop killing animals, because they purposed not only to assist human, but they also would like to assist

every creators in the universe such as, hungry ghosts, spirit in the hell, devas as well as animal (Phoprasitsat, 2008; Mahidol University, 2009; Landaw & Bodian, 2011).

Therefore, using the Great Compassion Mantra at the shrine every year was harmonized with such a purpose. For Por Tor Festival, the festival aimed to assist the ancestor spirit going back to visit their lineage at their home. This festival could not successful to invite them from the hell to the human realm without the holy supernatural power of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas who went to the hell for letting those ancestor spirit to visit their home during the festival, according to the legend.

For Qingming Festival, the cleaning tomb was the main activity of the festival for remembering passed family members and this was one of the great morality of bilateral Confucianism and Mahayana Buddhism, the grateful; because, Overseas Chinese were taught their ancestors worked very hard for providing them with money and heritage as they were very convenience nowadays. Their land and houses were established from the hard-working of their ancestor. Therefore, after the ancestor passed, they should remunerate them by cleaning their tomb and reunion the family members strengthening family solidarity as well as assisting each other (Pattranupravat, 2011).

For Zhongyuan Festival, the purpose of Zhongyuan festival was similarly Por Tor Festival, the purpose of Zhongyuan Festival in Phuket was the making merit for passing spirit in the hell. Furthermore, people also decorated Chinese lantern at their houses, Chinese shrines and Chinese-language school for remembering Chinese ethnicity.

For the birthday of bilateral Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and Kuan Wu Bodhisattvas, bilateral gods belonged to Mahayana Buddhism as the researcher mentioned above. The atmosphere of the festivals were decorated recalling the past time of Chinese history. All objects and worshiped object were similarly Chinese tradition. Therefore, all of Mahayana Buddhism festival and rituals remained memorizing the history of China.

However, the tradition was invented for specific purpose such as tourism, cultural maintaining, migration and politic purpose. For tourism, more frequently opportunity of miracle performance were added in the schedule of

Vegetarian Festival; because, many people in the shrine found that the miracle performance could bring more tourists, especially international tourists, coming to Phuket and watch the performance of spirit medium (Keawborisut, 2012). Furthermore, various modern advertisement media were produced for Vegetarian Festival and Por Tor Festival which putting only Chinese flag around the city in the past, this was a kind of invented tradition.

In addition, there were not only vegetarian food selling during the vegetarian festival, but there were also some local souvenirs as well as sweets along the street to Pud Jor Shrine. In the past, the main purpose of vegetarian festival related to the food was the healthy vegetables; however, some food were adapted using vegetarian protein and applied into more delicious. For cultural maintaining purpose, to diffuse the culture of Mahayana Buddhism to every people in Phuket, Chinese shrine invited some Buddha's image as well as Theravada Buddhist monk's image on the altar of their shrine.

Additionally, some shrine also provide the place for worship Islamic god of locality (To) (Kataoka, 2012). In term of migration, Overseas Chinese adapted some tradition as well as custom related to Confucianism, Taoism and Mahayana Buddhism suitably adapted for local people, for example; every shrine must use tea for worshiped drink in the past, but the drinking water was used in Thailand, because drinking water was much more easier to find than tea and with the cheaper price. For political purpose, researcher had mentioned above that this situation was related to the observation of Chineseness by Royal Thai Government, so there were some changes happened in the shrine.

For the miracle performance, as mentioned above, Chinese shrine tried to add more miracle performance for tourism purpose, meaning Chinese shrine responded social and individual needs such as performing display performance, running on the fire ground, necromancy as well as providing god image for making wishes. In term of running on the fire ground, according to the belief, Overseas Chinese in Phuket believed those who highly had a faith in the Chinese shrine and the holy power of the Nine Emperors would be survive from the running, and those people must have grateful morality along their life, calling "Purity" (清) in Chinese. The relation

to the Mahayana Buddhism was this morality, the morality were discussed in bilateral Confucianism and mostly in Mahayana Buddhism.

Overseas Chinese in Phuket believed that grateful morality were normally in Buddhism such as abandoned from harming living life, taking what was not given, sexual misconduct, lying or gossip as well as taking intoxicating substances. This five moral precepts of Buddhism was also one of the principle people should conduct during the festival. This ritual also respond Phuket people need, because they were highly believe in supernatural power similarly to other parts of Thai people. The necromancy of spirit medium also respond the individuals need of local Phuket people, they believed that the gods could use the human body to communication with people in the human realm. They had the duty to assist people in the society.

Therefore, the theory of Malinowski related to the assistance in bilateral between classes and also inside the class was also reflect in this situation. According to Mahayana Buddhism belief, each god also cooperated to assist the human realm, and they also worshiped by various auspicious objects from the human realm. For providing god image for making wishes during the festival, this could also respond the individuals need, because there were various failure in people life, so they wished something could assist them to success the failure. Sometimes, they bought some auspicious object to worship to the god for success their target such as flower, oil lamp, vase, fruits as well as vegetarian food for worship.

These above cultural practice had the duty to inherit the tradition although already be invented. There were various regulation, ritual and symbol for inheritance Phuket culture which was invented. In terms of regulation, the laws of constitution of Thailand addressed that every municipality of Thailand had the duty to maintain local tradition, so Phuket City Municipality actively promotes and maintains Phuket Hokkien tradition by supporting in rituals which contained various symbol of Taoism, Confucianism and Mahayana Buddhism mainly. The tradition in Phuket also increase the solidarity of society, because there were the assistance between people to hold the festival successfully.

According to Eric Hobsbawm, he suggested that tradition was different from custom. Custom was something aiming consistence, but tradition related to costume and ritualized performance, especially invented tradition. To insinuate the

society as a car, bilateral wheel and motor are similarly the tradition which could push the society to move forward, and sometimes transforming, and bilateral steering wheel and safety belt similarly custom which did not objected to change. To understand the above statement tradition were subjected to change from the time change factor, for example bilateral wheel and motor of a car were objected to innovate every year in the car manufacturing company, because this could increase more safe and efficient when people drove the car.

For the custom, some of them were not objected to change, because they were no invention could replace them efficiently, in this case, bilateral steering wheel and safety belt were not redesigned for better result. Because, people were familiar to this appearance, and scientists had not found the new creation which could replace this custom successfully as Eric Hobsbawm mentioned. Invented tradition also allows some outside people of the society to play some roles for practical needs related to the tradition. In the tradition of Chinese shrine and Mahayana Buddhism, there were chairman of the shrine, shrine committee, ritual conductor and chanting group only.

However, time changes, there were various advertisement published and produced by people outside Chinese shrine such as street art referring to the festival, donation money from governmental organization and private sectors. Furthermore, Chinese shrine also received this invented tradition by inviting head of local government of Phuket to open the Vegetarian Festival as well as Por Tor Festival annually for strengthening the relation between Chinese shrine and governmental organization, increasing social solidarity and decrease the difference between Thai and Chinese culture in Phuket as successful nowadays. Another invented tradition was the combination between Chinese gods and Theravada Buddhism Buddha's image in the Chinese shrine. As researcher mentioned above, this situation influenced from cultural and political factors, although Overseas Chinese people informed that bilateral Chinese and Thai image must separate in the past, even worshiped object and altar.

Some austere tradition also decrease for increasing quantity of participants, for examples people were very stick to wear the same total white clothes to the ritual meaning the respect to the gods, but sometimes wearing white clothes with other color was acceptable in some shrines now. Another invented tradition was

the worshiped flower, in the past, lotus was only the flower for worship to the god, now every kind of flowers can be worshiped to the god depending upon the convenience of people. The final example of this situation was the combined altar of Thai and Chinese god, in the past Thai and Chinese god should be separately installed, but it is now able to install together (Pattranupravat, 2011).

### **3) Forest of Mahayana Buddhism Symbol**

Chinese shrine was the forest of Mahayana Buddhism symbol. According to the theory of Clifford James Geertz (1973), he described that culture was a completed way of life and the way people communicate together such as the ceremony of birth, marriage and death. The study could found there was not only Mahayana Buddhism related to the ritual of birth, marriage and death, but all religion and faith combined for established such rituals. For the birth, local Overseas Chinese descents in Phuket brought their newborn to Pud Jor Shrine to show the newborn in front of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and wished her to protect the newborn safely as well as blessed the newborn becoming good person for the society.

In the marriage, normally Overseas Chinese descents went to the Pud Jor Shrine telling this auspicious situation to the Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and wished her to bless couple to have blissful life and successful future. In case someone in the family passed, Overseas Chinese descents came to tell Kuan Im Bodhisattvas at the shrine and wished her to protect as well as take care of the passed spirit. In this context, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas symbolized as a sanctuary for Overseas Chinese in Phuket, they went to make wishes in front of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas in many situations such as newborn, marriage, death, working, studying, lottery, love, health and prosperity (Suksamran, 1987).

Secondly, the symbols of culture were inherited to next generation as social legacy, because people in the society realized that one of the main duty of them were maintaining and inheriting the culture to their next generation. The symbol also influenced a way of thinking, feeling as well as believing, because when Overseas Chinese descents saw the image of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, their mind were in peace

and thought about the great compassionate mind of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas. This also shaped the identity of people who believed in Kuan Im Bodhisattvas to warmly assist poor people and poor animals.

For the social aspects, symbol related to Mahayana Buddhism also found in family and culture. In the family, Overseas Chinese descents invited the image of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas and Kuan Wu Bodhisattvas on their altar. Furthermore, there was also the culture to worship bilateral gods such as worshiped food, mantra and worshiped flowers. The meaning of symbol in the Chinese shrine was very complex and there were full of connotation, for example; chanting was established for worship to the god, and the connotation of chanting was establish the wisdom to the chanter; because, they had to understand the meaning and their mind must be in peace expressing the main principle of Buddhism. Clifford James Geertz described that human was similarly a spider at the center of the web. The web allude to the culture, so culture was man-made object which could shape social need as well as shaping the personality of people. Normally, Thai people were shaped by the Buddhism which taught to let those serious situation go, therefore Thai people could adapt themselves in various situations happily even the disaster such as flooding.

In the view of Victor Turner about his 'Symbol in Ritual' theory, he described that normally the ritual referred to the mystical being and power which was not technical routine. Everything ritual conductors conducted in the ritual was not in their routine such as chanting in front of god's image, burning Chinese god's banknote as well as wearing ritual clothes. Symbol although was a smallest unit of the ritual but the clearest object to describe the ritual, for example people would comprehend the purpose of each ritual by observing the symbol, there were red turtle sweet, so the festival they participated in was Por Tor Festival. Another examples of symbols were when people saw bilateral vegetarian food and god's parade, they would comprehend automatically this was the Vegetarian Festival.

According to Victor Turner, he described that ritual was the something everyone respect to have in the society and ritual was the truth and thought of individuals. For Chinese Shrine and Mahayana Buddhism, rituals of them were acceptable in Thailand, because Thailand has the freedom of religion addressed in the current constitution of Thailand. Furthermore, the thought of Thai people was directly



affected of Theravada Buddhism. For the meaning of symbol, such as the image of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, the most famous symbol of Mahayana Buddhism among local Phuket people. She was the symbol of the great compassionate and people worshiped vegetarian food as well as auspicious fruits for the image. Furthermore, Kuan Im Bodhisattvas also installed with her children god followers, Yok Lue and Xian Zai for more auspicious and holy protection at the house as well as Chinese shrine. Local Phuket people realized that she could assist all situations in their life such as blessing newborn, curing sick people, blessing new couple, taking care of the death spirit, as well as protecting their children.

In the book of 'Symbol in Ritual' the categories of symbol were separated into dominant and instrumental symbol. The dominant symbol of Mahayana Buddhism were the natural necessity of human, for example the requirement to have supernatural power to believe and making wishes as well as sanctuary for them. For the instrumental symbols the symbol of Mahayana Buddhism were the image of Kuan Im Bodhisattvas, Yok Lue, Xian Zai, Kuan Wu Bodhisattvas, Jigong monk, Three Golden Buddha, 18 Arahants as well as Mitreya, the ritual instruments such as rosary, alms bowl, Dangzi, wooden fish, the linguistic objects related to Mahayana Buddhism such as the Chinese name of gods, auspicious words related to Mahayana Buddhism.

There was also some non-material symbol in the shrine for example the smell of incense stick, gum Benjamin, sound of firecracker which indicate the holy atmosphere in the Chinese shrine. There was also played track of the Great Compassionate and the sound of chanting the Heart Sutra in the ceremony. Each symbol had the duty to influence similar feeling in such festivals as well as believed in the holy supernatural power of Chinese gods as well as Mahayana Buddhism deities which could positively affect the maintaining of Mahayana Buddhism in the Chinese shrine.

#### **4) Function Maintaining Mahayana Buddhism**

As Malinowski (1997) described the function of culture was to respond individual needs, Mahayana Buddhism in this case studies. Mahayana Buddhism responded the individual needs for people's sanctuary in every situation mentioned

above. For the biological needs, Mahayana Buddhism aimed to teach people to provide the required objects to the poor such as medicine, food, place to stay as well as clothes. Chinese shrines in Phuket also provide these biological need to the poor, for example Pud Jor Shrine provide some donation to support medical equipment to Vachira Hospital. In addition, Pud Jor Shrine also provide some donation to the poor school for textbooks as well as school maintenance.

In terms of social need, Chinese shrine has the social class as mentioned in the result. However, there were still the assistance inside similar class as well as different classes for strengthening solidarity of society. For psychological needs, people in the shrine believed in the belief system, religious institution (Chunsuvimol, 2008), which contained Confucianism, Taoism, Mahayana Buddhism, and Theravada Buddhism. Furthermore, people in the Chinese shrine also worshiped some animism such as Bodhi tree. The purpose of Confucianism in the Chinese shrine was to arrange the social organization in hierarchy system as mentioned in the above, Confucius realized that proper society should have the efficient govern from the higher class of people, the shrine also had chairman of the shrine and shrine committee as the higher class of people to govern the shrine.

Once, Confucius suggested that country should have one thinker as the assistant of the king, the shrine also have ritual conductor as the assistant of chairman such as Sang Tham Shrine which chairman of the shrine discussed every issue with the ritual conductor and respected the ritual conductor as his teacher. The religion of the shrine also decrease conflict of the shrine, everyone in the shrine were taught to be humble, similarly Confucianism “Everyone could be teacher” (三人行必有我师焉), so there were plenty time for discussion about Buddhism. Everyone expressed their comprehension related to Buddhism and the ritual conductor summarized the appropriate way to behave in the society (Kai, 2015). The other legend that encouraging people to practice Buddhism principle in the shrine was that all spirit was pure in the past, and one day the bad emotion existed in the world, so the spirit fell down to the 5 worlds of bad condition (Figure 4.28). From the legend, everyone in the shrine actively practice themselves with the fear of committing sins and also invited their friends, family as well as acquaintance to believe in the holy supernatural power of the Buddha and Kuan Im Bodhisattvas.

For the view of Structural-Functionalism theory, the theory believed that the social system could be equilibrium point from the efficient structure of the family, social, religious, economic and political institutions (Chunsuvimol, 2008). If the society found that one of these organs could not work properly, other institutions would replace that institution for maintaining equilibrium point of the society. This theory could be analyzed with the history of Chinese shrine in the related literature. Before the Chinese problems of communism party diffusion, the Chinese shrine was governed by bilateral Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Education. Furthermore, Royal Thai Government observed Chinese shrine and discover the connotation of establishment of Chinese shrine, and they comprehended that Chinese shrine was one of the national threat to the national security. Therefore, the governing of Chinese shrine was changed into Ministry of Interior for more effective investigate the movement of Chinese Shrine (Kataoka, 2012).

Chinese shrines were maintained by Overseas Chinese descents since they migrated to Phuket. The advertisement through putting Chinese flag around the city was employed for reminding people for the time of Vegetarian Festival. And, people listened to the radio for the news related to the festival. Nowadays, with the development of technology, people shared news about rituals and festivals related to Mahayana Buddhism and Chinese shrines through social media freely. There are also some online posters and video advertising people participating in such a festival and rituals.

Moreover, the faith of installing Chinese gods in the household were also famous on the social media, there are some Facebook groups and pages providing the regulation of installing Chinese altars in the household and also providing advices for those who would like to install the altar in their houses. The chairman of the shrine, ritual conductors as well as shrine committee also had plenty meetings for the development and advertisement of the shrine for welcoming more people to the festival every year. There were also the cooperation between governmental and private organizations in Phuket for supporting Chinese shrines and rituals annually which could successfully maintain the equilibrium point of the society.

### 5.3 Suggestion

1. The result of this study could conduct comparative study between Mahayana Buddhist identity inside Chinese Shrine and other places.
2. A lot of lucky sticks inside Chinese Shrine has some interesting issue related to Chinese ethnicity. Researchers who are interested to research on the lucky stick could conduct the study of ethnicity inside lucky stick and related issue.
3. There are various style of making Chinese deity in Chinese Shrine, Muang Phuket District, Phuket Province, researcher who are interesting in art analyzing could analyze the different of these various style.
4. People in Chinese Shrines also have their online community for exchanging ideas related to identity of Chinese shrines and their situations. This online community also assist the shrines to promote rituals, ceremonies and festivals holding in each shrine. Therefore, conducting this kind of research is significantly important at the moment.
5. It is not only the online community for promoting Chinese shrines and their activities, there are various kinds of media promoting Chinese shrines to local Phuket people as well as international tourists for example website, social media, local newspaper, local magazines, international newspaper and TV program. Further study could conduct the study related to such promoting medias for comprehending social communication at the moment time.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Chinese Shrine in Muang Phuket District Name List

No.	Chinese Name	Thai Name	Location	Main Deities
1	天后宫	Mae Ya Nang Shrine	110 Krabi Road, Taladneau Sub-district	Ma Jor Po (妈祖婆)
2	云山宫	Lim Tai Su Shrine (Samkong Shrine)	306 Yaowarat Road, Ratsada Sub-district	Lim Tai Su (林府大师)
3	佛祖庵	Pud Jor Shrine	289 Ranong Road, Taladneau Sub-district	Kuan Im (观音)
4	瑞文堂	Sui Boon Tong Shrine (Lor Rong Shrine)	Pattana Road, Taladneau Sub-district	Jor Su Kong (清水祖师)
5	青龙宫	Jeng Ong Shrine	196 Yaowarat Road, Taladyai Sub-district	Kong Fu Ong la (江府王爷)
6	定光堂	Seang Tham Shrine	Phang-Nga Road, Taladyai Sub-district	Tan Seng Ong (开漳圣王)
7	九天宫	Kiu Tien Keng Shrine	Moo 1, Vichit Sub-district	Kiu Tian Hian Nu (九天玄女)
8	福元宫	Hok Nguan Kong Shrine	1 Phuket Road, Taladyai Sub-district	Jor Su Kong (清水祖师)
9	琼州会馆	Hai Lam Shrine	22 Thalang Road, Taladyai Sub-district	Shui Wei Sheng Niang (水尾聖娘)
10	紫莲宫	Kuan Wu Shrine	13 Moo 1, Chalong Sub-district	Kuan Wu (关羽)



## Appendix A: Chinese Shrine in Muang Phuket District Name List (Continued)

No.	Chinese Name	Thai Name	Location	Main Deities
11	水碓斗 母宮	Jui Tui Tao Bo Keng Shrine	283 Ranong Road, Taladneau Sub-district	Tian Fu Nguan Soi (田府元帅)
12	报德善 堂	Por Tek Tung (Kusolatham)	34 Poonpol Soi, Taladneau Sub-district	He Ye Yun (何野云佛祖)

## Appendix B: Laws of Chinese Shrine

### Ministerial Regulation in Charity Association: Shrine of 2463 B.E.

According to the Act of Local Administration of 2457 B.E. in the 123th section, appointing District Office has the duty to examine and protect the charity association, prohibiting others to exploit the charity association. Charity Association belonged to common property for the community. At the moment, the King found that the shrine is a place for holding rituals and conducting ceremony by some group of people in Siam. The shrine was categorized as a charity association which should have laws and regulation for protecting as an evidence. This ministerial regulation was established under the royal patronage of the King and appoints the Department of Metropolis and Ministry of Interior to establish the regulation in the 5th section of the Act of Local Administration in 2457 B.E. as follows:

#### Laws and Words Description

Number 1. This law specifically uses in each shrine which are located in the land holding by government or being protected by the government only.

Number 2. Some words are not belonged to the shrine in this laws, so the following words and description are listed:

“Shrine” means a place for worship deities and conducting rituals for some group of people such as Chinese and this meaning is included buildings which belonged to the organ of the shrine such as vegetarian canteen.

“Land of the Shrine” means the land that the shrine builds on it and the land is included all areas of the shrine itself.

“Certificate of the shrine establishment” means the certificate which is established by people who have rights according to Thai laws providing to the head of administration or shrine examiners.

“Benefit” means incomes receiving from the shrine and included the outcome of the shrine.

Number 3. Those shrines are located in the private land owns the ownership by themselves which are not related to this laws; despite, those lands which the owner donates the property to the shrine is belonged to the administration of government immediately for community benefit accordingly to this law.

Number 4. The governmental or private lands of the shrine which are donated as the property of the shrine, in Bangkok, government provides title deed on behalf of the Department of Metropolis, and outer cities than Bangkok are provided the title deed in the administration of Ministry of Interior only.

Number 5. For those who wish to donate their land or have not established the shrine yet for donate to the shrine, those people must write the letter of requirement providing to the District Chief Officer in the district.

In the letter, the information is subjected to have:

() Name and address of donator

() Information of title deed for donate, the donator must attach the title deed and related documents of the title deed to the District Chief Officer

Number 6. Those lands belonging to the administration of government in this law, those who purpose to establish the buildings on this land must comply the letter of requirement to the District Chief Officer in the district. Those people must establish the building after receiving the allowance from the Director General of Department of Metropolis or Provincial Department of Metropolis, Intendant or governor.

Number 7. For the land which there are not any shrines established, have to be constant no changes; despite, the shrine is deserted, or in case of government purpose to use for official benefit.

Number 8. For those land which has the shrine or appears that the shrine was established there, but in case of unprovable for the private ownership, those land is belonged to the land of governmental shrines.

### **Condition and Register of the Shrine**

Number 9. The shrine which is established and have permanent condition must hold the ownership registration for the evidence.

Number 10. The register of the shrine must contain this following information:

1. Ordering number of the shrine
2. Name of the shrine
3. Sub-district, District and Province the shrine is located
4. Name and age of shrine's head and examiner
5. Name, Surname, Nationality, Feudal official group of shrine's head and examiner
6. Occupation and house address of shrine's head and examiner

### **Appointing and Withdrawal of shrine manager and examiner**

Number 11. For the specific preservation or benefit establishment of the shrine, there must be the examiner of the shrine accordingly to the Director General of Department of Metropolis or Provincial Department of Metropolis or Governor appoint, many shrines could together have any shrine managers and examiners as they please.

Number 12. Those who are shrine manager and examiner must fulfill these following requirement:

1. Strongly believe in the faith of the shrine
2. Must be 20 years old above
3. Occupation certification or wealthy condition
4. Must not be a person who accuse from the court in the condition of Angyee rebellion or gangster, commit larceny, snatch, robbery, pirate, threaten, defalcation, embezzlement, and have never argue for the shrine property

5. Must be a person under the Thai laws

Number 13. Those who wish to be the shrine manager or shrine examiner in Bangkok, they must inquiring at the Provincial Department of Metropolis, Department of Metropolis or governor for considering reasons and qualification in the number 12. Those whose reasons and qualification are suited will be appointed.

Number 14. Those who suits with the number 13 normally have these following authority and function:

- . Shrine manager have the authority and function to normally manage the shrine for the shrine's benefit appropriately, and they have the authority to be plaintiff or defendant in bilateral civil case and criminal case those related to the shrine

- . Examiner have the authority of every situation related to the shrine examination includes all related account book or benefit of the shrine manager.

Number 15. Every legal activity of the shrine is allowed to conduct by bilateral shrine manager and examiner. In case of having different opinion about activity, the Director General of Department of Metropolis or Provincial Department of Metropolis or governor will be a judge, and the shrine must follow this decision.

Number 16. In case having case related to the shrine or the case is in the procedure of subject to have, the shrine manager must inform to the Director General of Department of Metropolis or Provincial Department of Metropolis every time.

Number 17. In case having illegal social activity in the shrine such as Angyee rebellion, guerillas or gamble, the shrine examiner must thoroughly inform to the sheriff.

Number 18. In case of those who are appointed as the shrine manager or caretaker deflect any conditions of Number 12 or illegally commit crime as describe in bilateral Number 16-17. The Director General of Department of Metropolis or Provincial Department of Metropolis or Governor can withdraw the position of those

people immediately and could appoint others by the consideration of Director General of Department of Metropolis or Provincial Department of Metropolis or Governor.

Number 19. Those who are appointed as shrine manager or examiner must submit a request for this laws within 3 months from the day this laws established, and those people must thoroughly follow this laws, in case lacking any of this laws, those people are categorized as people who are not suit to the duty.

### **Benefit of the Shrine**

Number 20. When the Director General of Department of Metropolis or Provincial Department of Metropolis or Governor wish the shrine manager or examiner to report the financial account which belong to the benefit of the shrine by monthly, annually or specific period of time, the shrine manager and examiner must follow them immediately, and they could broadcast this financial account to public.

Number 21. The shrine or any places which are located in the area of the shrine as well as all financial account related to the benefit of the shrine must be all time examination-able in case of Director General of Department of Metropolis or Provincial Department of Metropolis or Governor purpose to examine.

### **Imposition of Culprit**

Number 22. Those who trespass in the property of the shrine illegally or hide themselves without appropriate reasons, or those who are inquired to leave the shrine by the authorized people but do not purpose to leave, those people are culprit and are subjected to imprison mere 6 months or fine mere 200 Thai Baht, or bilateral punishment.

Number 23. Those who intent to obstruct the shrine manager or examiner to normally discharge in the shrine must fine mere 200 Thai Baht.

Number 24. Shrine manger or examiner who obstruct to report the financial account to the government as mentioned in the Section 2 of Number 18 or obstruct the Number 20, have the guilt in the Number 2 of Section 334 in the criminal

laws, and in case of those people illegally and having falsify in the broadcasting to people as mention in the Number 20, this guilt is not considered as criminal laws, those people are fined mere 200 Thai Baht.

Number 25. Shrine manager or examiner who are withdrew from their authority as mention in the Section 1 of Number 18 still work as their former condition, or exclude the report to the sheriff as mention in the Number 17, have the imposition of imprison mere 1 year and fine for 500 Thai Baht.

Those who were appointed as shrine manager before this laws establishes, committing the guilt accordingly to Number 19, those people must be punished accordingly to the above mentioned laws.

This laws is established in 15 March 2463 B.E.

Chief Executive Elite Bureaucrats Chao Phraya Yommarat

Minister of Metropolis

Maha Sawage Ake Chao Phraya Surasiwisitsak

Minister of Interior

(English Interpreted in 2018 by Kittinan Krueaphat (Researcher))

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