



CHAPTER IV

FORMS OF ADAPTATION

When talking about adaptation, many people like to link it with its biological meaning. This is understandable because the word “adaptation” became widely known after the theory of natural selection by Charles Darwin was published in 1958.¹ By presenting a series of evidence of evolution, Darwin argued that *all living things on earth today are the descendants— with modifications — of earlier species*. Then, natural selection was proposed as a mechanism to explain how evolution takes place. Evolution, in Darwin theory involves two interrelated phenomena: adaptation and speciation. Adaptation according to Darwin’s theory is *over the course of time, species modify their phenotypes in ways that permit them to succeed in their environment*.² Thus, initially, the meaning evolved in the biological field rather than other social science fields, later this theory influenced many other philosophical and social fields of study. Sociologists proposed his theory to explain many social political inferences leading to many new definitions of this term. In 1969, Huch Tinker, an American sociologist applied the theory of Darwin in his research of “*Continuity and Change in Asian Society*”³ In his study, a series of terms of reference were used to explain the change and continuity in Asian society. However, the reference from an electronic dictionary gives a more concrete definition of adaptation as *the adjustment to environmental conditions such as the modification of an organism or its parts that makes it more fit for existence under the conditions of its environment*.⁴ In scientific and religious studies, this term is defined as *the changes in an organism's structure, function, or behavior that increase its ability to live in a particular environment*.⁵

¹ Huch Tinker, *Continuity and Change in Asian Society*, Modern Asian Studies, 1969, p99.

² <http://users.rcn.com/jkimball.ma.ultranet/BiologyPages/E/Evolution.html>

³ Huch Tinker, 1969.

⁴ <http://dictionary.reference.com/sereacg?q=adaptation>.

⁵ <http://science-religion-encyclopedia/adaptation>.

As previously argued, when community changes, the temple's environment changes, religion, as an organism in that environment, needs to adjust and change its structure, function and behavior to cope with that changing environmental condition. Therefore, the forms of adaptation of Annam-nikai in this study will be examined in these three forms of structural, behavioral and functional adaptations.

4.1. Structural adaptations

The structural adaptations are special change in body parts of an organism that help it to survive in its habitat.⁶

This adaptation will be examined in two forms: the monk's origin and the ecclesiastic ranking.

4.1.1. Origin of monks

The first visible change in Annam-nikai nowadays is the origin of monks. After Cù Ba, Father Bảo Ân and Ông Quyền, there are no other ordained monks with Vietnamese origin found in Annam-nikai.

The gradual replacement by the Chinese in temple's community led to the gradual change of the monk's origin in Annam-nikai Order. From only attending the temples in the first two periods, the Chinese began to support Annam-nikai temples. Since gaining official recognition in Thai Buddhism, people began to pay interest to this Buddhist sect making the community of temple supporters' change remarkably. There are no records mentioning monks with Chinese origin being ordained in Annam-nikai before the reign of King Rama V; the first record of Chinese ordination dates to the late 19th century and the early 20th century.⁷ From 1940 -1959 when Master Phong Điều was the Abbot at Khánh Thọ Temple (Wat Thavornvayaram), he ordained hundreds of

⁶ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adaptation>.

⁷ The record found in the history of Khánh Thọ temple (Wat Thavornvayaram) and Khánh Vân temple (Wat Upai Ratchabumrung) noted their 4th Abbots were Chinese origin. (See more detail in Upai Ratchabumrung, 2000 and Thavornvayaram).

young monks of Chinese origin.⁸ Though many of them returned to secular life, a number of them stayed in the Order becoming senior monks. (The present Abbot of Khánh Thọ Temple (Wat Thavornvayaram) is one of these monks.)⁹ As the Chinese support to the temples increased, the number of monks with Chinese origin gradually increased. Later, during the Indochina War and the Vietnam War, the Vietnamese gradually integrated into Thai society, losing their relationship with the temples. By the end of the Vietnam War, no further Vietnamese were ordained in the Annam-nikai Order. In the meantime, Chinese people, although still supporting Annam-nikai temples, did not want to ordain in this Order due to Thai policy and prejudices. The number of monks in Annam-nikai decreased significantly. Some temples had only one or two monks like Quảng Phước Temple (Wat Annamnikairam). Therefore, the temples had to find a new group of supporters. Additionally, the present Chief Abbot of Annam-nikai prefers to support the young generation through education. Therefore, children from humble families in Northeastern Thailand are encouraged to ordain in the Annam-nikai Order. Consequently, most Annam-nikai novices and young monks nowadays are from Northeastern Thailand. The temple school at Phổ Phước Temple (Wat Kusolsamakhorn) presently provides classes for more than 60 novices from grade 10 to grade 12. An equivalent number of novices from grade 7 to grade 9 are also in school at Phổ Chiêu Temple (Wat Sathayayimpanit in Samutsakorn province). The novices, after finishing school at the temple can disrobe or continue their education at university.

Besides the majority of Northeastern monks, monks with Chinese origin are also found in Annam-nikai temples. They are mostly senior monks who have been ordained since the Indochina War or during the Vietnam War. Their reason for ordination in this Order was because their parents used to be members of the temple. Other monks, following the teachings of senior monks of Annam-nikai, showed respect for their Master and having adjusted to the

⁸ Thavornvarayam, 1996, p12.

⁹ Ibid., p20.

monastic life at Vietnamese temples, decided to stay; for example, the present Chief Abbot of Annam-nikai was ordained as a novice when he was a small boy.

4.1.2. Ecclesiastic order

Concerning the ecclesiastic ranking, together with the registration of Annam-nikai, the monastic hierarchical system was established for the monks. Before this recognition, the practice of monks in the Annam-nikai Order was those of monks in Vietnam. They did not have this ranking system. Respect was paid directly to their masters. No hierarchical title system was set up. Only after the official recognition of Annam-nikai in Thai Buddhism was an ecclesiastic order established. According to this order, the Chief Abbot of Annam-nikai is directly under the Supreme Patriarch of Thailand. Promotions need to have gain from the Patriarch and the King. This ecclesiastic ranking system is still used in Annam-nikai today.

4.2. Behavioral adaptations

Because of the change in the temple's community, Annam-nikai had to adjust its practice and manner to conform to the new environment. This form of adaptation will be examined through the language used in the temples, practices, and ceremonies.

4.2.1. Language adaptations

a. Daily language

Due to the change in the background of the community (now the Chinese-Thai and Thai community), the languages used in daily contact within temples are either Central Thai or Chinese (Tea Chiew dialect).¹⁰ The

¹⁰ From my observation, the monks in Annam-nikai temples, though mostly coming from Thai families in the Northeast, try to learn some Tae Chiew words to communicate with the people coming to the temple.

Vietnamese language, the official language of Vietnamese people, has completely died out from Annam-nikai temples.

As previously discussed, the first monk ordained with Chinese origin was believed to be in the late of the 19th century. Prior to this time monks of Annam-nikai were either directly from Vietnam or Vietnamese ordained in Thailand. During the reign of King Rama IV, Vietnamese was still the main language in Annam-nikai temples. The record of the Annamese Interpretation Officer (the official title of the Royal interpreter – *Khunpathi Annam pasa*) mentions that when King Rama IV paid a visit to Khánh Vân Temple (Wat Upai Ratchabumrung), the King needed an interpreter to communicate with Ông Hung. King Rama V also required an interpreter when communicating with monks in Annam-nikai temples. After the Annam-nikai was granted official recognition in 1899, its temples gained in popularity leading to the support of the Chinese. Monks with Chinese origin began to be seen in the Annam-nikai Order. The presence of those Chinese monks led to the mixing of Chinese with Vietnamese language within Annam-nikai temples. However, being in Thailand for a long time, some monks were also able to speak a little Thai. Therefore languages used in temples during this time were Vietnamese, Chinese and Thai respectively. Since the early part of the 20th century, parallel to the decrease of Vietnamese monks, the number of Chinese monks gradually increased. These Chinese monks were mostly second generation Chinese such as Venerable master Phong Điều and Master Phổ Sái. These Chinese monks were children of a Chinese immigrant family or Chinese-Thai family. Therefore they were able to speak both Chinese and Thai. Thus, the languages used in Annam-nikai temples have changed to Thai, Chinese and Vietnamese accordingly. This language tendency continues to develop until after the Vietnam War when the Vietnamese lost connection with temples and no further Vietnamese monks were found in Annam-nikai Order. At this point the Vietnamese language almost dies out from temples.

After the repatriation of Cù Ba and the death of Father Bảo Ân, no further monks with Vietnamese origin were found in Annam-nikai temples. Only a few senior monks had learnt Vietnamese from their Master since the previous period. But due to the lack of contact with Vietnamese people, they did not have many chances to use it. Thus, their Vietnamese has gradually disappeared. During the Vietnam War, Chinese and Thai monks did not show interest in learning the Vietnamese language. This could be explained by the political situation during that time. The negative attitude from the Thai government's anti-Vietnam campaign made Thai people wary of Vietnamese people. Anything concerned with Vietnamese were considered dangerous. Thus, no one openly admitted to having relations with Vietnamese people.

Consequently, nowadays, none of the Annam-nikai monks are able to communicate in Vietnamese. Only a few senior monks can read the Chinese characters in the archaic Sino-Vietnamese pronunciation. Even so, this ability is limited only to the vocabulary concerning Buddhism such as reading monk's names, reading some inscriptions or records from their Masters, and giving Vietnamese names to new temples and monks. The Chief Abbot is the only person who elevates the importance of the Vietnamese language among Annam-nikai monks. Novices have to learn by heart certain pages of the Sutras in Vietnamese within the time frame given by the Chief Abbot; those who cannot chant Sutras in Vietnamese will be punished. Naming new temples and newly-ordained monks with Vietnamese names is still maintained in the Annam-nikai Order, but communication in the Vietnamese language is impossible. The young monks, when given a chance for higher education abroad, prefer to go to Taiwan, instead of Vietnam. These monks, in addition to a few other monks with Chinese origin, seem to be proud of their Chinese capability.

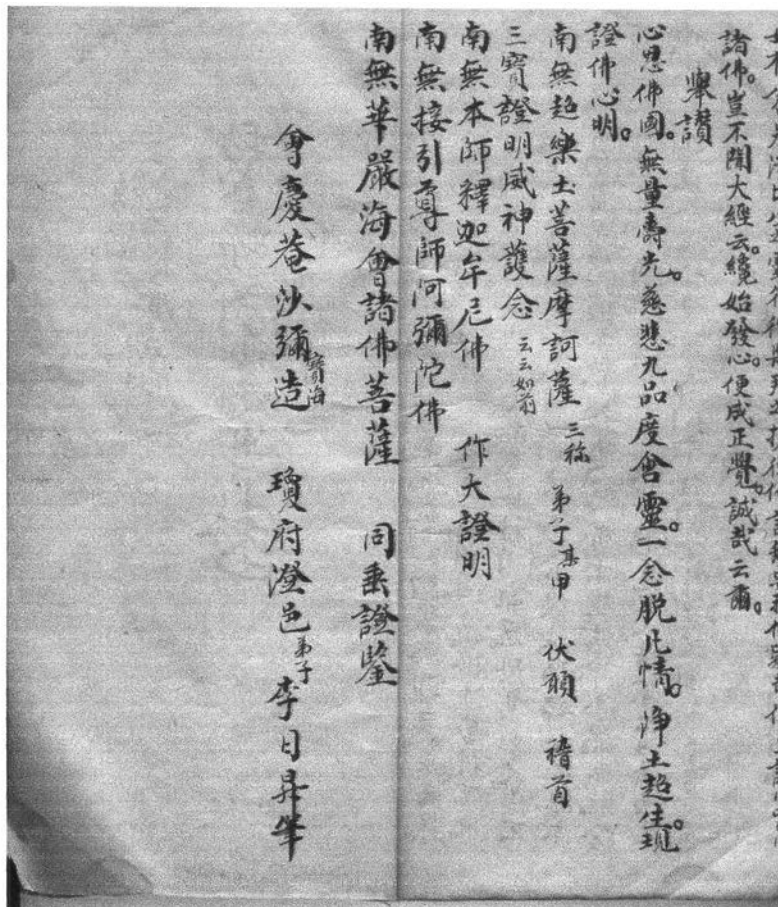
As in the past, when the Vietnamese people preferred to go to the temples where there were Vietnamese monks or monks who could speak Vietnamese, the Chinese in Bangkok also do the same. They prefer to go to temples where there are monks who can speak (Tae Chiew and Madarin) or read

Chinese such as Từ Tế Temple (Wat LoKanukro) and Hội Khánh Temple (Wat Mongkol Samakhom). Moreover, most of the Annam-nikai temples are located in the Chinatown area, surrounded by the Chinese-Thai people. Those people, although they can speak Thai, prefer to speak Chinese in their conversation. Living in that environment, the young monks, although having an Isan origin, try to learn some Chinese words to better understand the people who come to the temples. Whereas, learning Vietnamese is seen as useless, because they do not know where to use it since meetings with Buddhist Vietnamese rarely happen. When Annam-nikai monks are greeted in Vietnamese as the Buddhists in Vietnam do, they were very surprised and perplexed as how to reply.

b. Written Sutras

As mentioned in the study of the development of Annam-nikai, although Vietnamese people have a different pronunciation system from the Chinese, both countries shared the same writing system for a long time. It was because of the long period of Chinese domination. Chinese characters were used as the official written language of the Court and in Buddhism. Up until the 20th century, when France completed the invasion of Indochina and applied the first French colonial regime in the region, the Romanized writing system was adopted for use in Vietnamese school as the mother language. But, because Annam-nikai was introduced to Thailand in the late 19th century, its Buddhist Sutras were all recorded in Chinese characters. Monks who are ordained in Annam-nikai in the past had to learn sutras via the Chinese characters but with Vietnamese pronunciation. Restoring sutras were done by rewriting them in Chinese characters. But this practice has not been done in the Annam-nikai Order for a long time. Because of the introduction of printing machines, it is more convenient to have the sutras printed. Moreover, due to the change of the monk's origins, young monks with Thai origin cannot read Chinese. Only a few Chinese educated monks of Chinese origin can read sutras but they do not deeply understand them. Sutras were transliterated into Thai for monks of Thai

origin. Presently, newly- ordained monks in Annam-nikai learn sutras in transliterated Thai.



Picture No 8: Old written sutra revived by Venerable Master Bảo Hải at Khánh Thọ temple (Wat Thavornvayaram –Kanchanaburi province) since the reign of King Rama V
(Source: Long Sơn temple – Wat Thamkhaunoi – Kanchanaburi province)

c. Chanting Sutras

Since Annam-nikai was well known in Thai society for its ceremonies, besides sacred mantras, the essence of its ceremonies, according to most people are the chanting sutras. Many people who attend Annam-nikai ceremonies feel that the Sutras chanting make the ceremonies more sacred. That is why temples still preserve the chanting Sutras in Vietnamese language. This preservation,

however, is limited to repeating Sutras via transliterated Thai. Due to the lack of Vietnamese language capacity, transferring the Sutras meaning is not practiced at temples. Additionally, in conjunction with the interruption of its relationship with Vietnamese Buddhism, chanting in Annam-nikai temples still retain the original lengthy sutras; whereas, currently in Vietnam some Sutras are shortened when compared with the past. Also, due to the lack of understanding, Sutras are learned by repeating similar sounds, therefore the pronunciation is not clear. This is why their chanting, although still in Vietnamese, is not familiar to the ears of Vietnamese people. Moreover, at present, not all the Sutras are chanted in the Vietnamese language. Pali and Chinese chanting are often heard in some of the temples for Chinese-Thai and Thai Buddhists, namely every Friday evening at Phổ Phước Temple (Wat Kusolsamakhorn) and Sunday morning at Quảng Phước Temple (Wat Annamnikairam).

d. Naming of monks and temples in Vietnamese

Concerning the naming of monks, in Vietnamese Buddhism, monks who are ordained by the same Master always have the same Buddhist first name. Thus, by looking at the names, people would know if those monks are from the same generation or not. This tradition has been instilled in Annam-nikai over a long time. For example, the inscription on the Master's altar at Phổ Phước Temple (Wat Kusol Samakhorm) noted two pairs of Master's names Quảng Diễm – Quảng Căn and Tục Nhuận – Tục Nghi. They belonged to the 39th and 40th generation of the Lâm Tế sect, respectively. Inheriting this tradition, monks presently in the Annam-nikai Order also have the same Buddhist first name. Exceptional names are given during special ordination days, such as the King and the Queen's birthday. As a consequence, most of the 43rd generation's monks (the present generation of the Lâm Tế sect) ordained in the Lâm Tế sect have a Buddhist name beginning with Thiện. Monks whom have Buddhist names starting with Thọ were ordained for the King's Mother (SomdetYa).

4.2.2. Monk's practice

a. Ordination and disrobing

A Mahayana monk in Vietnam is considered a cloister who decides to devote his whole life for Buddhism. Thus, ordination in Mahayana Buddhism is undertaken with serious consideration. Although they are always free to disrobe, significant social and internal pressure against doing so exists. Being ordained in Thai Buddhism (despite how long or short the time), is considered as a merit-making service that all Thai men are encouraged to do. Thus, ordinations and disrobing are often seen among Thai men. Due to the change in the temple's community, most Annam-nikai monks nowadays are Thai or Thai with Chinese origin. Living in an environment of Theravada Buddhism, they are familiar with Thai Buddhist practice rather than the traditional Mahayana practice of Annam-nikai. Therefore, many of the young Annam-nikai monks think of returning to secular life after some time of 'service' in Buddhism. Some of them ordain and disrobe more than two times.

b. Daily practice

Traditionally, Mahayana monks are strictly vegetarian and have three meals a day; doing alms rounds in the morning is not practiced in Mahayana Buddhism. In Theravada Buddhism, doing morning alms rounds as a daily practice is encouraged, but being vegetarian is not strictly required. However, to some Thai Buddhists vegetarian monks are seen as more strictly practicing than non vegetarian monks. Also, monks in Theravada Buddhism can have only two meals a day while Mahayana monks can have three meals a day. Since people going to temples nowadays are mainly Chinese-Thai and Thai Buddhists, Annam-nikai monks, in order to gain respect from their supporters, conform to the practice of having no meal after noon and are strictly vegetarian.¹¹ These practices, however, are not seen in young monks and novices. Although all

¹¹ Interview with the Chief Abbot of Annam-nikai and other Senior monks.

temples have their own kitchen to prepare vegetarian food for monks, some novices, still conduct morning alms rounds and are not strictly vegetarian.

c. Adaptation of monastic robes

Originally, Vietnamese monks wore deep brown monastic robes. Their sets usually consisted of pants, long sleeve shirt, and a long robe outside. A complete set must include a pair of shoes and socks. It was said that, during the reign of King Rama V, Annam-nikai monks were often invited to perform ceremonies in the Court. But due to the difference in their dress in comparison to Thai monks, it was difficult for the authorities to arrange their Court attendance position. Thus, King Rama V asked them to change their robe's color, offering them a piece of cloth to wear over shoulder called *Pakrap* (ผ้ากราบ) to make them resemble Thai monks. At present, a normal set of Annam-nikai monastic robes consists of pants, long sleeve shirt, *prakhot* (a piece of cloth wrapping around monk's waist), and long robe (but shorter than the robe of monks in Vietnam). Shoes were changed to a pair of sandal to suite with the hot weather in Thailand. Going out of temple needs a *Chivon khrong* (a part of monastic robe similar to Thai monk's robe) to make Annam-nikai monks look not much different from Thai monk. *Pakrap* is put on during ceremony. In addition, together with the official recognition in 1899, King Rama V offered them some monk's belongings similar to those of Thai monks but in smaller size such as monk's bag, monk's fan, alms bowl.

4.2.3. Temple's ceremonies

a. Old ceremonies

In terms of worshipping ceremonies, Annam-nikai still maintains its well known ceremonies such as Công Đức (KongTek), Cúng sao giải hạn (star worshipping) and Bodhisattva (Quan Âm) worship. Whereas, in Vietnam the Công Đức (KongTek) ceremony, has nearly died out. Because, originally it was a Court ceremony during the Nguyen's rule. Though, later it spread to the

South of Vietnam, the ceremony was still considered the ceremony of noble and high-class families. After the end of the Nguyen Dynasty in 1945, Vietnam experienced a hard period of wartime, some religious practices and ritual ceremonies were not well preserved. Therefore, some ceremonies gradually fell into oblivion including the Công Đức (KongTek) ceremony. Whereas, in Thailand this ceremony always received respect among Thai people as well as the Thai Royal Court, especially after the special attention lavished upon it by King Rama IV.

At present, except some special Royal Công Đức (Công Đức for members of the Royal family) inside the Royal palace, most of the Công Đức (KongTek) ceremonies are performed in Thai temples. Because in Thai tradition, after staying at the temple for a few days during soul-praying ceremony, dead people will be burnt at the temple's crematory. Since Annam-nikai temples do not have the crematory (except at Cảnh Phước temple), Annam-nikai monks are invited to perform Công Đức ceremony at Thai temples. (see photographs in the following page)

The only similar practice to temples in Vietnam is the annual worship of their Masters. Though some temple's abbots of the Lâm Tế sect bring along with them the master altar to worship at the temple where they are assigned to stay (like the present Chief Abbot does at Phổ Phước Temple), the Tào Động sect seems more strict in worshipping all their masters in one day at Long Sơn Temple (Wat Thamkhaunoi in Kanchanaburi province). The Buddhist Lent season in Annam-nikai is from April 16th to July 15th of the lunar calendar – the same time as in Vietnam – which means two months earlier than Thai monks.



Picture No 9: Royal Cong Tek ceremony
(Source: from Khánh Vân temple – Wat Upai Ratchabumrung)



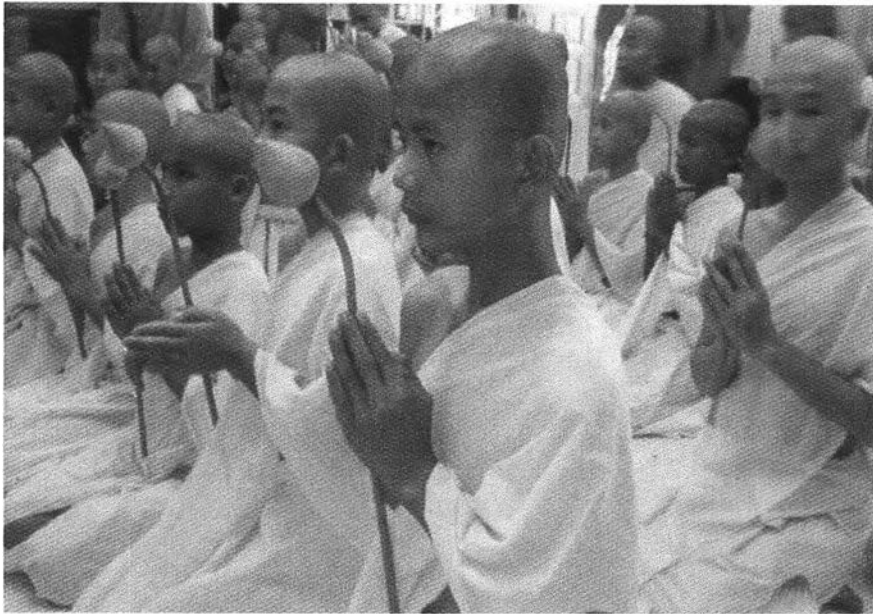
Picture No 10: Prepare for a Công Đức (Kong Tek) ceremony at Thai temple
(Source: from Khánh Vân temple – Wat Upai Ratchabumrung)



Picture No 11: Annam-nikai monks are performing a Công Đức (Kong Tek) ceremony at Thai temple
(Source: from Khánh Vân temple – Wat Upai Ratchabumrung)

b. Ordination ceremony

It is possible that because of the change of the temple's community and monk's origin, the ordination ceremony of Annam-nikai is a combination between Vietnamese and Thai styles. In Thai culture, ordination is a great merit-making event that all Thai men are encouraged to do. Therefore, the ordination ceremony is a happy day for all members of the new ordained monk's family. Moreover, as mentioned in the structural adaptations, monks in Annam-nikai at present are mostly from the Northeast of Thailand. Their family all wish to see an ordination in Thai style. Therefore, an out door Thai ceremony is applied to please the monk's family outside the temples. But the core of the ceremony such as Sutras and conversations during the ceremony is still preserved in Vietnamese style. For example, a young monk has to learn by heart questions and answers to speak in the ceremony.(see photographs below)



Picture No 12: Novice ordination ceremony at Phổ Phước temple (Wat Kisolsamakhorm – Bangkok). The novices dressed like Thai novice and performed the similar ceremony like in Thai temples except in chanting Sutras which still preserved in Vietnamese chanting.

(Source: from Kusolsamakhorm temple)



Picture No 13: Monk ordination ceremony at Khánh Thọ temple: Naga ordination in Thai style out side the temple

Wat Thavornvayaram – Kanchanaburi province)

(Source: Taken by the author at Thavornvayaram temple Jun 2005)



Picture No 14: Monk ordination ceremony at Khánh Thọ temple: Naga ordination in Thai style outside the temple for relatives and friends of the monk.
 (Wat Thavornvayaram – Kanchanaburi province)
 (Source: Taken by the author at Thavornvayaram temple Jun 2005)



Picture No 15: Monk ordination ceremony at Khánh Thọ temple (Wat Thavornvayaram – Kanchanaburi province): Begin the ordination ceremony in Annam-nikai style inside the temple.
 (Source: Taken by the author at Thavornvayaram temple Jun 2005)



Picture No 16: Monk ordination ceremony at Khánh Thọ temple (Wat Thavornvayaram – Kanchanaburi province): Newly-ordained monks received monastic robes from their Master.

(Source: Taken by the author at Thavornvayaram temple Jun 2005)

c. Music used in ceremonies

As previously mentioned Annam-nikai is well known in Thai society by its sacred worship ceremonies. One of the reasons for the popularity of Annam-nikai ceremonies is the music used in chanting the Sutras. This music also attracts young monks for ordination and encourages them to remain in the Annam-nikai Order.¹² If, in the past, music used in ceremonies was Vietnamese music played by Vietnamese people,¹³ the newly-released chanting CD made by Annam-nikai temples has Thai traditional melodies, subtle Chinese music, and a vague Vietnamese rhythm. This change in music occurred during the 1960s, when Vietnamese attendance decreased in temples, the temple's musicians were

¹² Many young monks of Annam-nikai expressed their impressions of the chanting rhythm of Annam-nikai. According to them, the rhythm of Annam-nikai chanting brought a peaceful feeling to the listeners. So impressed that some monks decided to ordain in Annam-nikai and have stayed in the Order until the present.

¹³ Though there is no record of the original music used in ceremonies found at Annam-nikai temples, its royal ceremony origin is the reason for the supposition of its traditional Vietnamese music from Hue. Moreover, some Nhã Nhạc melodies (The Court music of Hue which was recognized by UNESCO as the immaterial heritage of Vietnam) waft here and there in the chanting music of Annam-nikai nowadays, to a certain point, tell of its origin in Hue.

replaced by the temple's followers (mostly Chinese-Thai and Thai people). Since the musicians had no written notes, they played the music by following their memories. These musicians are familiar with Thai and Chinese music rather than Vietnamese music. As a consequence, the chanting music was mixed with Thai and Chinese sounds. According to Master Thiện Báo at Phổ Phước Temple (Wat Kusolsamakhorn), this change in chanting music happened during the time of Father Bảo Ân.

d. Adoption of Thai ceremonies

Being in Thai society, surrounded by the Chinese-Thai and Thai Buddhists, though maintaining its highly respected ceremonies, Annam-nikai also adopts some Thai practice such as Thot Krathin – the temple's donation festival. There is no record of the first Thot Krathin festival but it is believed to have first appeared in temple practice after the Vietnam War.



Picture No 17: Prepare for *Thing Kra Chat* ceremony (Donation ceremony)

(Source: Taken by the author at Loei Province in October 2005)

4.3. Functional adaptations

a. Formal contact with lay people

As a cloistered man, the Vietnamese people's contact with a Vietnamese monk does not require many formalities. But, as an intermediary to magical power, Thai monks are seen as a living saint high above common people in the social hierarchy, thus, contact between Thai monks and lay people requires more formalities. Due to the change in temple's followers, many Chinese-Thai and Thai Buddhists practice the same formalities for Annam-nikai monks as they would for other Buddhist sects; for example, the practice of three kowtows to greet a senior monk is often seen at Annam-nikai temples.

b. Daily life involvement

In regards to their social role, Vietnamese monks restrict their life to the temple's grounds. People go to see the monk in times of bad fortune such as sickness, bad luck, or death. It is different from the Thai concept where the monk is regarded as a 'field of merit,' an intermediary between laypeople and god's power and spirits. Thus, Thai monks are found at the majority of all auspicious Thai social activities, such as weddings, funerals, house-warming, shop openings, and births. Presently, Annam-nikai monks are often seen involved in Thai social activities such as funerals and some house-warming ceremonies. It is because of the social requirement. Practicing these activities, for Thai monks, is very common and is considered one way of paying respect to the monk, so the temple's followers would like to practice the same way with Annam-nikai monks. Then, Annam-nikai monks are invited to people's homes to perform these activities. But this practice is still limited in regards to personal relations. Individual monks are invited depending on the level of respect of the temple's followers.

Some photographs of Annam-nikai



Picture No 18: The Master's altar table of Lâm Tế sect at Phổ Phước temple
(Wat Kusolsamakhom – Bangkok)
(Source: Taken by the author at Kusolsamakhom temple in May 2005)



Picture No 19: The Master's altar table of Tào Động sect at Long Sơn temple
(Wat Thamkhaunoi – Kanchanaburi Province)
(Source: Taken by the author at Long Sơn temple in Jun 2005)



Picture No 19: Annam-nikai wooden bell for chanting
(Source: from Phổ Phước temple – Wat Kusolsamakhorm)



Picture No 20: Stars worshipping at Khánh Vân temple (Wat Upai Ratchabumrung): Chinese-Thai crowded inside the temple
(Source: from Upai Ratchabumrung temple)



Picture No 21: Stars worshipping at Khánh Vân temple (Wat Upai Ratchabumrung) :People overflowed into the street
(Source: from Upai Ratchabumrung temple)



Picture No 22: Stars worshipping at Phổ Phước temple (Wat Kusolsamakhorm temple):
The tables are full of small bowls of oil with name tag of the donator who came to
worship their annual Star at temple.
(Source: Taken by the author in February 2006)



Picture No 24: Stars worshiping at Phổ Phước temple (Wat Kusolsamakhorm temple):
A close look at the name tag. People who donate to the temple will have a bowl of oil
with their name and address on it.

(Source: Taken by the author in February 2006)