

THE ROLE OF LUANG PU TUAD AMULETS AS A SOURCE OF MENTAL COMFORT IN
THAI SOCIETY IN THE AGE OF MODERNIZATION

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นายวีรภาคย์ ชำศิริพงษ์

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วีรภาคย์ ชำศิริพงษ์ : บทบาทของวัตถุมงคลหลวงปู่ทวดในการเป็นที่พึ่งทางใจในสังคมไทยสมัยใหม่. (THE ROLE OF LUANG PU TUAD AMULETS AS A SOURCE OF MENTAL COMFORT IN THAI SOCIETY IN THE AGE OF MODERNIZATION) อ.ที่ปริกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ผศ. ดร. บุญยง ชื่นสุวิมล, 125 หน้า.

งานวิจัยเรื่อง "บทบาทของวัตถุมงคลหลวงปู่ทวดในการเป็นที่พึ่งทางจิตใจในสังคมไทยสมัยใหม่" มุ่งศึกษาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างระหว่างสถาบันศาสนาและสมาชิก (พุทธศาสนิกชน) อันเนื่องมาจากความเชื่อในอำนาจศักดิ์สิทธิ์ ศึกษาเฉพาะกรณีอำนาจของหลวงปู่ทวดเหยียบน้ำทะเลจืดในสังคมไทยสมัยใหม่ การศึกษานี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อ 1) ศึกษาสถานะในการเป็นสัดบุรุษ (holy man) ที่มีอำนาจศักดิ์สิทธิ์ (sacred power) ของหลวงปู่ทวด 2) ศึกษารูปแบบของการถ่ายโอนอำนาจศักดิ์สิทธิ์ของหลวงปู่ทวดไปสู่วัตถุ 3) วิเคราะห์บทบาทของวัตถุมงคลในการเป็นที่พึ่งทางจิตใจในสังคมไทยสมัยใหม่ โดยระเบียบวิธีวิจัยที่ใช้ในการศึกษาในครั้งนี้ประกอบด้วยการศึกษาจากเอกสาร (documentary research) และการลงพื้นที่เพื่อการสังเกตและการสัมภาษณ์กับชาวบ้านในบริเวณวัดช้างให้ จังหวัดปัตตานี

ผลการศึกษาพบว่า สืบเนื่องมาตั้งแต่สมัยรัชกาลที่ 4 ประเทศไทยได้รับผลกระทบอันสืบเนื่องจากการติดต่อกับชาติตะวันตก การขุดค้นพระกรุและการผลิตพระโดยเกจิอาจารย์จำนวนมากส่งผลกระทบต่อวงการศาสนาในสังคมไทย คือ มีการนำพระเครื่องมาใช้เป็นที่พึ่งทางใจเป็นการส่วนตัว ผลกระทบดังกล่าวยังส่งผลมาถึงปัจจุบัน โดยเฉพาะเมื่อเกิดความสัมพันธ์กับประเทศมหาอำนาจเช่น สหรัฐอเมริกา ซึ่งหลักการทุนนิยมขยายตัว ส่งผลให้เกิดการแสวงหาพระเครื่องมาเป็นสิ่งยึดเหนี่ยวเพื่อเป็นหลักประกันความมั่นคงของชีวิต จึงทำให้วงการพระเครื่องไทยขับเคลื่อนสู่รูปแบบพุทธพาณิชย์

กรณีวัตถุมงคลหลวงปู่ทวดจึงเป็นกรณีที่ทำให้เห็นประเด็นดังกล่าวได้ชัดเจน เนื่องจากความเชื่อเกี่ยวกับหลวงปู่ทวดมีอยู่ในภาคใต้ตั้งแต่สมัยอยุธยา แต่ไม่มีการผลิตวัตถุมงคลจำนวนมากจนกระทั่งปี 2497 ณ วัดช้างให้ จ.ปัตตานี โดยหลวงปู่ทิม ซึ่งได้เกิดกระแสการให้ความสำคัญต่ออำนาจพุทธคุณจนนำไปสู่การนำตำนานท้องถิ่นมาผูกโยงและสร้างใหม่เข้ากับพิธีกรรมทางศาสนา (พุทธาภิเษก) แต่อย่างไรก็ดี วัตถุมงคลหลวงปู่ทวดไม่เป็นที่แพร่กระจายมากนัก เนื่องจากการจำกัดการนำเสนอวัตถุมงคลในระดับท้องถิ่นของภาครัฐ ทำให้วัตถุมงคลหลวงปู่ทวดในระยะแรกเป็นที่นิยมในสังคมภาคใต้ในกลุ่มคนทั่วไป นักการแพทย์ และกลุ่มงานความปลอดภัย จนกระทั่งในปี 2530 ซึ่งเป็นยุคที่การปกครองตกไปอยู่ในมือของกลุ่มชนชั้นกลางมากขึ้น ก่อให้เกิดความไม่มั่นคงทางจิตใจในรูปแบบใหม่ จึงทำให้กระแสอำนาจพุทธคุณทางด้านเมตตามหานิยมของหลวงปู่ทวดเป็นที่แพร่กระจายออกไป อย่างไรก็ตามอำนาจพุทธคุณเกี่ยวกับความปลอดภัยก็ยังมีอยู่เช่นเดิม แต่จะมีเรื่องราวเกี่ยวกับการใช้วัตถุมงคลหลวงปู่ทวดในการเป็นที่พึ่งทางใจของชนชั้นกลางมากขึ้น ก่อให้เกิดการขยายตัวการผลิตขึ้นมากมายทั้งในภาคใต้และภาคกลาง

สาขาวิชา เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา

ลายมือชื่อนิสิต

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5487646620 : MAJOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

KEYWORDS: LUANG PU TUAD / SACRED POWER / MENTAL REFUGE

WEERAPAK SAMSIRIPONG: THE ROLE OF LUANG PU TUAD AMULETS AS A SOURCE OF MENTAL COMFORT IN THAI SOCIETY IN THE AGE OF MODERNIZATION. ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. BOONYONG CHUNSUVIMOL, Ph.D., 125 pp.

This paper titled as "The Role of Luang Pu Tuad Amulets as a Source of Mental Comfort in Thai Society in the Age of Modernization" is the study on the relations between the religious institution (Buddhism) and its member (Buddhist laymen) as a result of the belief in sacred power, focusing on the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in contemporary Thai society. The study aims to 1) investigate the status of Luang-Pu-Tuad as a 'holy man' with 'sacred power', 2) investigate the pattern of transferring the 'sacred power' of Luang-Pu-Tuad into an object 3) analyze how the 'potencies' of the amulets respond to the needs of various individuals in contemporary Thai society.

The study found that, since the period of King Rama IV, Thailand was affected by contacts with the Western Powers. The excavation of ancient amulets and mass amulet production by monks affected the religious structure in Thailand as amulet is then personally used to provide mental comfort. This trend continues up to the present. With the relation with the US power, through the proliferation of Capitalist principles, the notion of commodity was growing in Thai amulet market.

The case of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is an exceptional case to represent such phenomenon. The belief is prevalent in Southern Thai society since Ayutthaya period, but the belief was not objectified for mass amulet production until the year of 2497 BE. in Wat-Chang-Hai, Pattani, by Luang-Pu-Tim, the monk who, under the emphasis on the sacred power, connected the local myth and recreate a new set of myth about the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad with a religious ritual (Phutthaphisek) for amulet production. However, the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was not yet diffused in other regions due to the control on local popular figures in that period. Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet, in its early stage, was popular in the South, especially among the commoners, medical professionals, and the security agents. It was not until the year of 2530 when there was the rise of the middle-class, creating a new set of mental insecurities, which was the reason why there was a rise in the belief about the power for wealth and opportunities. The belief in the power for security was still prevalent, but there was also the rise about the stories regarding how Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets were used to provide mental comfort among the middle-class, leading to further productions and reproductions of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in Southern and Central Thailand.

Field of Study: Southeast Asian Studies

Student's Signature

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Research Rationale

Buddhism has been a predominant religion in present-day Thailand for thousands of years. While much scholar emphasis has been given on Doctrinal Buddhism, an area of study dedicated to the philosophical aspects of Buddhism, another branch of Buddhism – Popular Buddhism – is also prevalent in the region (Kitiarsa, 2005). Popular Buddhism refers to a particular set of beliefs, rituals, and practices associated with the notion of Buddhism, which might include an act of amulet consecration from local monks which became popular during the past decades.

An act of amulet consecration is tolerated in Buddhism because the focus of the religion should not be on the falsification of the supernatural and its power, but rather on finding the supposed role of human interaction against the mystical aspects of the religion (Payutto, 2010, p. 3). In this sense, the falsification of the supernatural and its power should not be a major emphasis for Buddhist pathway due to two main reasons: 1) the supernatural and its power are not falsifiable. An attempt to falsify the existence of the supernatural and its power would lead to an unending discussion between the believers and the non-believers; both of which would not be able to find sufficient evidence to validate their falsification (Payutto, 2010, pp. 4-6). 2) As the supernatural and its power are not falsifiable, there is a chance that the non-believers would turn into believers and *vice versa*. This process of conversion is a result of conditional changes, including one's hope and despair, which might occur upon an individual. In other words, a believer might lose faith in the supernatural and convert into a non-believer once they are experience life despair, and *vice versa* (Payutto, 2010, p. 7).

In this contemporary period, Thailand is running through political, economic, and social dynamics, resulting in the conditional changes and collective insecurities among the members of the society. The growing pace of life as a result of market capitalism is the fear that the citizens of Thailand have to experience. As members of the societies seek for an instrument to overcome these insecurities, religious Institution provides an instrument for its members to deal with these insecurities. Theravada Buddhism, in this context, is not only a state religion but also a cultural system that provides an instrument for the citizens of Thailand to deal with their

crisis. However, the ideas and practices of Theravada Buddhism are largely diffused as a result of modernization. Therefore, the members of Thai society have innumerable methods to deal with their insecurities. While several people utilize Buddhist doctrines to deal with their insecurities (P. A. Jackson, 1989, p. 2), the popular group encounters their fears with the belief in the power in an amulet.

In religious term, the concept of power in Thailand revolves around the terms 'itthi' (power) and 'itthi-pa-ti-han' (mystical power). 'itthi-pa-ti-han' refers to a kind of lokiya (worldly) power that is exercise to respond to one's worldly demand. The concept of 'itthi-pa-ti-han' is prevalent in this region even prior to the arrival of Buddhism (Payutto, 2010, pp. 15-16). A person endowed with such power would be able to "become invisible, pass through walls or mountains with no obstacles, or even teleport to an empty space, disappear from one place to another, swim on the earth surface like swimming in the water, or walk on the water like walking on the earth surface, fly in the air like a bird, touch the moon and the sun, or even express such power in the Brahmaloja (Payutto, 2010, pp. 16-17).

In Thai Buddhism, the followers believe in both the teachings of Lord Buddha and the monks who reached a certain level of wisdom (thera) would be able to exercise 'itthi-pa-ti-han'. This wisdom could also become a source for the sacred power of these monks. Therefore, there is a local Thai belief that the holy monks have a certain level of power. This power can be transferred into an object form (amulets). As a result, the object endowed with such power has the 'potencies' (phutthakhun) that protects them.

In this sense, the belief in the power of amulet is a social phenomenon in Thailand. This paper will use the case of Luang-Pu-Tuad, a popular Buddhist monk who passed away since Ayutthaya period, in order to explain an individual's attempt to cope with mental insecurity in the contemporary period. Prior to further analysis, there are a few remarks about the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad 1) it is believed that Luang-Pu-Tuad's proper conducts, compassion, and concentration resulted in his attainment of dharma, which further led to his status as a holy monk with sacred power that can intervene in one's destiny; 2) although Luang-Pu-Tuad passed away for a long period of time, the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad does not perish according to time. The spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad persists to protect the believers. Later on, contemporary holy monks communicate with the spirits of Luang-Pu-Tuad through a ritual in order to transfer the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad into an object form. 3) it is believed that the believers who worship Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets

will be blessed by the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad. Such blessings, which are called pút-tá-kun (sacred power), could appear in various ways, including the power in invulnerability, harmlessness, weapon breakdown, auspicious events, charm, or even healing power (Peachsuwan, 2001, p. 92).

The sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is an outstanding case study since the major attempt to produce his amulets started during the year of 1954, which was merely the beginning of Modern Thailand. In the case of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets, the production was held by Luang-Pu-Tim (the abbot of Wat-Chang-Hai, Pattani) and was sponsored by Anand Kananurak (a wealthy Chinese man who communicated with Luang-Pu-Tuad in his visions) (Peachsuwan, 2001, p. 27). The form of Luang-Pu-Tuad that appeared in Anand's visions – dreams and flashes – is the mainstream prototype for the reproduction of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in a following generation.

There are several beliefs in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad. These beliefs became the reasons why Thai people have the faith in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad to fulfill their wishes and protect them. Luang-Pu-Tuad, therefore, is a case where a strong relation is created between the religious institution and its members. On the side of the institution (Buddhist Sangha), Buddhist monks have created the belief that provides a mental comfort for its members. They are the only actors that have legitimate power to communicate with the charisma of Luang-Pu-Tuad to perform Buddhist image consecration ritual. On the side of the members (Buddhist laymen), the members contribute to the development of its religious institution as they consider charisma as if it was real. Such contribution does not include only the financial support but also the commitment on Buddhist moral principles, Buddhist rituals, and Buddhist collectivism.

The belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is therefore a worthwhile social phenomenon for sociological analysis. This paper will try to seek for a sociological explanation for the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad, as well as the social implications of this belief in Thai society.

Research Objectives

- To investigate the status of Luang-Pu-Tuad as a 'holy man' with 'sacred power'
- To investigate the pattern of transferring the 'sacred power' of Luang-Pu-Tuad into an object form of amulets – the so-called 'defying potencies'
- To analyze how the 'defying potencies' of the amulets respond to the needs of various individuals in contemporary Thai society

Hypothesis

This research aims to analyze the process by which an amulet endowed with sacred power according to Popular Buddhist beliefs provides mental comfort in the era of changes. Different kinds of changes result in different religious practices. In the past decades, there was a proliferation of amulets from local Buddhist monks. In Popular Buddhism, holy monks are endowed with sacred power. Luang-Pu-Tuad is a holy monk who possesses certain supernatural power, as prevalent in various myths in written and oral forms. In a later period, through an attempt of Luang-Pu-Tim to raise funds for local development, the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is transferred into an object form during an image consecration ritual. This religious ritual is an integral procedure for such power transformation from the holy monk into an object. As the procedure is completed, the object is then endowed with sacred power that can intervene in one's destiny.

Scope of the Research

The Scope of the Content

This research will focus primarily on the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets consecrated in Wat-Chang-Hai in 2497 BE, while various stories of the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets produced in other temples would also be mentioned to explain the proliferation of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in other regions in Thailand.

The Scope of the Area

This fieldwork of the research is concentrated on Wat-Chang-Hai, Pattani and nearby areas, as prevalent in legends and myths, in order to find a relationship between the temple and the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. Other areas would also be mentioned for the completion and the flow of the research.

Expected Outcome

1. Raise awareness on Southern culture through the history and mythology of Luang-Pu-Tuad and the image consecration ritual in Wat-Chang-Hai, Pattani, and the proliferation of the belief in other regions.
2. Acknowledge various forms of mental insecurities as a result of changes in the modern era.

3. Represent Popular Buddhist practices in Thailand, especially in term of amulet, which involves various religious elements, including rituals, faith, beliefs, and the notion of superhuman.

Definition of Terms

1. *Luang-Pu-Tuad*

refers to the southern holy monk, one who possessed supernatural power that can intervene in one's destiny. It is believed that the monk was a former abbot of Wat-Chang-Hai

2. Image Consecration Ritual (phutthaphisek)

refers to a Brahman-Buddhist religious ceremony that aims to transfer the sacred power of a monk into an object.

3. Sacred Power (khwamsaksit)

refers to a kind of supernatural power that results in a certain phenomenon. This power is determined by various factors, including the sacredness of the amulet through an image consecration ritual, as well as the conducts of the believers who own the amulet.

4. Potency (phutthakhun)

refers to a particular kind of supernatural power that could intervene in one's destiny, including the power in harmlessness (khlaeokhlat), invulnerability (khongkraphan), weapon breakdown (maha-ut), charm (metta-maha-niyom), auspicious events (chok-lap), healing power (raksa), and etc.

Note on transcription

For every Thai terminology used in this paper, transcription and transliteration is based on a system proposed by the Royal Thai Institute whereby the sounds are noted by the system of signs of Roman alphabet, regardless of original spelling, based on the result by Thai Romanization 1.5 software. Thai words will be written with hyphen used to connect syllables of the same word in original Thai, except for the names of scholars, Buddhist laymen, sub-district, district, provinces. However, Thai words in the title and chapter name will not be hyphenated. There are criteria for capitalization of Thai terms: 1) if the term refers to a specific name, the first letters of each hyphenated word will be capitalized and, 2) if the term refers to a common expression in Thai language, the word will not be capitalized. Words that

are of Pali, Sanskrit, or a mixture of both origins, as well as Chinese Malay origin, will be also be romanized.



Chapter 2

Literature Review

To establish a theoretical framework for a critical analysis on the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad, this chapter will discover the key previous literatures, which will be categorized in the following manner. First, the author attempts to explain the scholar development of the study of soul in the past, especially on the philosophical term, as well as sociology and anthropology of religion. Next, the author will show the diversity of religious beliefs in Thailand. In a later chapter, the discussion will focus primarily on the scholar discussion on the religious systems, as well as the notion of belief associated with such religious systems, and the study of soul in Thailand. Finally, the author will provide a critical review of previous studies on soul of Luang-Pu-Tuad.

Classical Works on the Study of Soul

As evidenced in Homeric poem, the concept of soul in this instance, refers to something that exists only among human beings which departs from a person's limbs at the time of death and travels to the underworld. This idea vastly contradicts the idea of Thales of Miletus, who characterizes soul as something that initiates movements and distinguishes the animate from the inanimate. The concept of soul was later developed at the end of the fifth century, during which the notions of pleasure in food, drink, and sex were asserted, and hence god and men are both subject to sexual desires. The concept of soul was later developed by Plato, in *Phaedo*, which indicates that the soul refers to something that regulates the body's physical and mental functions. A more comprehensive study on the soul was later presented by Aristotle, with the claim that a soul refers to a system of abilities possessed by an animate body (Lorenz, 2009).

With more structured academic disciplines during the modern times, there are various approaches to the study of spirit, especially in sociological and anthropological terms, as well as area studies. For sociology, the two canons, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim, have proposed theories regarding the study of soul.

Emile Durkheim mentioned 2 forms of religious power: 1) a kind of positive power endowed with a protective power in physical and ethical terms. This form of power is the source of the belief in ancestral spirits and saviors, which might not only appear in the form of human but also other forms, including energy, as long as the holy status is maintained and worshipped with love and gratitude. 2) a kind of

negative power, a filthy source of crisis, death, and suffer. The believers are overwhelmed with the notion of fear. This form of power is often created by witchcraft, menstruation, or corpses (Durkheim, 2001, p. 409).

Although these two forms of power juxtapose with one another, they are highly relevant in several terms. 1) The two forms of power are equally sacred. The positive power is as forbidden as the negative counterpart. 2) Although the sentiments expressed to these two forms of power are different, as long as the practices are similar, there might not be that much difference in term of sentiment. On the one hand, the notion of respect is also prevalent in a negative form of power, while fear, on the other hand, is an integral aspect of religious beliefs, especially when the belief requires strict practices. Therefore, it is difficult to determine a state in which the believer is in (Durkheim, 2001, p. 410).

While Durkheim clearly defined the notion of sacred in his study, Weber was more interested in the process by which an object becomes sacred and its impact on the society. For an object to become sacred, there is a need for a magician. Weber defines magician as ‘a person who is permanently endowed with charisma’. Weber explained charisma as a form of ‘extraordinary power, a gift that inheres in an object or person simply by virtue of natural endowment’. It is interesting in a way that charisma can also ‘produced artificially in an object or person through some extraordinarily means’. However, this artificial production of charisma requires ‘some ascetic or other regimen’ to evoke the objects or people in which the germ already existed by. In order to evoke sacred power in the object, there is a need for ‘something indeterminate, material yet invisible, nonpersonal yet somehow endowed with volition’ that could potentially enter in the object and evoke the distinctive power that provides ‘supersensual force’ that intervenes the destiny of people (Weber, 1922).

In anthropology, various scholars have proposed many theories regarding the study of soul. Turner claims that – in order for an object to have supersensual force – it is important that there is a presence of a magician – a person endowed with charisma – or priest in the ritual. In contrast to the magician, ‘priest’ refers to functionaries of a regularly organized and permanent enterprise concerned with influencing the gods (Weber, 1922). Turner claims that the life of the priest is highly restricted (Turner, 2010, p. 138). Priests are confined with rules and regulations in order to maintain their status. In this sense, priest would not be endowed with

sacred power unless they are in close proximity to the sanctuary, prayers, and roles (Turner, 2010, p. 141).

Certain monks have power to control nature in a similar manner to spirits, or even transfer such power into an object form, which might also require certain religious rituals. Mauss claimed that supernatural power is a form of belief that is evidence for one's faith, thought, and mental condition (Mauss, 2001, p. 126). Turner claimed that magic is a kind of a supernatural power that is not personified. Such power is controlled by religious specialists (Turner, 2010, pp. 138-140). As this form of power is fused with the religious system, it could be personified into a deity or a devil (Mauss, 2001, p. 23). Therefore, the notions of spirits and the supernatural are inseparable, especially when the supernatural power is reified as a spirit.

Aside from the material, ritual, and religious specialists, the power of the amulet is also determined by believers (Harris, 1987, p. 16). Particular conducts of the believers might result in positive or negative power of the amulet. Textor claims that there are three conducts that might result in higher power of the amulet, namely *raluek* (grateful remembrance), *athitthan* (hope), and *suatmon* (prayer), while certain activities that arouse mental defilements or sexual misconduct might decrease the power of the amulet (Textor, 1960, pp. 528-530).

The Diversity of Beliefs in Thailand

Religious belief is a local wisdom and evidence of human adjustment to nature. Humans try to find an access to the supernatural power to control various phenomena, as evident in the rise of spirit cults. The ancient people recognized the limitations of human in nature and the environment. They could not control natural disasters, namely lightning, fire, or earthquake. Therefore, they established a belief system designed to strike a balance between man and nature in which they live. Nature was reified and personified into deities and spirits, resulting in the rise of spirit cults. However, although spirits are the products of their own imagination, they also tried to gain access to these supernatural powers, as well as establishing a system of rules, restrictions, and taboos in order to prevent the fellow humans from corrupting the system (Na-Thalang, 1997).

Traditionally, the local in Southeast Asia has various distinctive cultural practices, notably rice-consumption culture, fermented food, stilt house, female leaders, sacred animals, cremation, musical instruments, and traditional dance moves (Wongthes, 2012). These cultural practices are integral to the lives of local people in the past. One of the major cultural practices in ancient times is the belief in a

supernatural power, which remains highly influential in the society today (Disakul, 1971). Many scholars believe that this form of belief is resulted by humans's fear, leading to a demand for explanation for certain phenomena. Humans were gradually engaged in spirit reification in order to seek refuge from such spirits (Jittham, 1979, p. 71). In this sense, spirit is an important evidence of humans' insecurity in the past.

During 1000 BE, Brahmin-Buddhist religion began to proliferate in Southeast Asia. The local adjusted themselves to Indian religion and culture, as well as integrating certain elements into their cultures, which is called localization, resulting in the rise of alphabets, greeting culture, ordination, and food. More importantly, the notion of the afterlife in Brahmin-Buddhist religion is fused with the belief in spirits of the local in Southeast Asia in harmony (Wongthes, 2012).

Although Buddhism is claimed to be a predominant religion in Thailand, it is apparent that Buddhism in Thailand is also fused with other beliefs. Various scholars attempt to describe the meaning of belief in Thai context.

Pongsapich claimed that religious beliefs are created because human wants to find an answer to a certain thing. Religion was merely an indigenous wisdom that explains the process of human adjustment to nature. It was designed by beings that possess charismatic qualities to create a certain phenomenon – prosperity or disaster. In turn, human sought for an access to the mysterious power in order to prepare for this social environment. This leads to the spirit worship in order to maintain their livelihood and to avoid disaster as a result of nature wrath (Pongsapich, 1989, p. 31).

Punnotok claims that belief refers to a kind of subconscious acceptance of the positive and negative kinds of supernatural power affecting an individual or a particular society. An individual in a particular society accepts and reveres such supernatural power although it is not falsifiable (Na-Thalang, 1997, pp. 27-30). Tantavanich claims that belief refers to an acceptance of a particular thing as the truth or physically existing; falsification is hence not required (Tantavanich, 1980, p. 3). Jittham claims that belief refers to an acceptance in one's existence. Such existence might result in a positive or negative fortune of the believers (Jittham, 1979). It is possible to conclude that belief, in this paper, refers to an acceptance of a particular thing as the truth or physically existing without a demand for falsification. Such being, as a result of belief, might have a certain power to intervene in one's destiny.

Types of Beliefs

Different beliefs are generated in various communities in Thailand. Scholars attempt to categorize beliefs in various types.

Chaiyotha claims that belief is an implication of social demands expressed by individuals, and hence it is not an irrational thought. He categorized beliefs into three main categories

1. human-human beliefs, including beliefs associated with rites of passage
2. human-nature beliefs, including beliefs associated with natural disasters
3. human-supernatural beliefs, including beliefs in ancestral spirits and sacred objects (Chaiyotha, 1995, p. 71).

Payomyong categorized beliefs into 2 main groups: irrational beliefs and rational beliefs. The two groups can also be divided into various subgroups, including:

1. beliefs associated with natural disasters
2. beliefs associated with traditional healers
3. beliefs associated with fortune
4. beliefs associated with vision, as well as fortunate date and time
5. beliefs associated with superstition
6. beliefs associated with the appearances of humans and animals
7. beliefs associated with religion
8. beliefs associated with livelihood
9. beliefs associated with tradition
10. beliefs in the misfortune and the solution
11. beliefs associated with heaven, hell, and realms
12. beliefs associated with number
13. others (Payomyong, 1993, p. 73)

In this sense, it is apparent that some beliefs do not fall into one category, but rather they possess certain qualities that belong to several subgroups. Therefore, it is best not to attempt to categorize the kinds of beliefs but rather focus on the impact that a particular belief has on an individual and a society.

The impacts of Beliefs

As belief is considered as the truth or physically existing without a demand for falsification, a certain behavioral pattern is generated. There is much scholarly debate about the impact of belief.

Payomyong discussed the impacts of the belief as following: belief is the basis for a positive or negative action. Ancient people created a system of beliefs for their descendants, including the belief in spirits who might exercise power to bring fortune or misfortune to the believers (Payomyong, 1993, p. 70).

Pongpaiboon discussed impacts of the belief as following: belief is a form of folk culture which has a deep impact on the thoughts and behavioral patterns of the villagers. Such cultural inheritance was passed on from one generation to another. An act of strict and expressive cultural practices that were passed on for generations becomes a principle for the collective society on to another generation. Those observe such principles would be accepted in the society, while the violators might suffer from isolation. Such process of cultural inheritance took place from the moment that the successor becomes a member of the society (Pongpaiboon, 1986, pp. 467-468).

Pataranupat discusses the impact of beliefs as following: belief has an impact on the behavioral pattern of the society members. A belief is an inspiration for an individual to commit a certain action. The change in belief would result in the dynamics in action. In this sense, a system of beliefs in a particular society determines the behaviors of its members, resulting in taboos, codes of conducts and life principles of such societies (Pattaranupat, 1985, p. introduction).

It is possible to conclude that belief is generated and passed on for generations. As a mean of social control through morality, certain behavioral patterns are generated, as evidence in code of conducts and taboos in which an individual has to strictly follow ever since they become a member of a community. The violation of such morality is an unacceptable for such community.

The Concept of Soul

Prior to the arrival of Buddhism, the indigenous in the present-day Thailand developed a system of mutual relationship with the nature and the supernatural. The indigenous understood the supernatural event under the concept of phi (spirit). Beings consist of two concepts:

1. the life (ming): a particular aspect of being that stimulates thoughts and actions
2. the silhouette (kwan) creates the notion of self (Phya-Anuman-Rajadhon, 1968).

These two are inseparable. Ming might leave the body, but this will result in death. As a result of death, the silhouette will appear in a form of phi (spirit). After the death, the body might de cease, but these two aspects of beings remain.

Phi can be characterized into two main groups.

1. The first one is phi from the nature, which derives from material personification into spirits, namely phi-pa and phi-fa.
2. The other type is the phi that came from the spirits of the death that becomes the lord of ghost, a regular ghost, or a bad ghost depending on their deeds and skills when they were alive (Pongsapich, 1989, pp. 31-32).

While this concept of soul most commonly refers to a divine being, it can also refer to a personification of a certain unanimated object into a being. There are various kinds of personified spirits, such as ancestral spirits, natural spirits, agricultural spirits and many more.

It was not until later that Buddhism challenged the system of ancient cosmology and gained a significant impact on the cultural and political system in the region (Na-Thalang, 1997, pp. 27-30). However, Buddhism is not merely a threat to the existence of ancient cosmology. The indigenous elements in the ancient cosmology remain a cultural survival in Buddhist practices.

In this sense, popular Buddhism refers to a system of distinguished beliefs across regions, or even individuals. The goal of such system is often concentrated on the sacred power, which is a kind of supernatural belief that intervenes in one's destiny and causes a certain phenomenon to the believers (Sompongjaroen, 2007, p. 132). As supernatural power is a major component of Popular Buddhism, it functions not only as a mechanism to explain certain phenomena, but also establishes a moral standard for the believers through codes of conducts in order to maintain such power. In term of self and the afterlife, Popular Buddhism focuses more on the notion of reincarnation and karma, as prevalent in paticcasamuppaada law (P. Jackson, 1987, p. 191). In this sense, phi is only a kind of being situated in the cycle of rebirth in Buddhism (Pongsapich, 1989, pp. 31-32).

The Religious System(s) in Thailand

As Buddhism in Thailand is fused with various beliefs due to foreign influences and recurring traditional forces, there is much scholarly debate about Buddhism in Thailand which can be categorized into 3 main sections based on the approaches, namely the diachronic, syncretist, and synchronic approaches.

The Diachronic Approach to Popular Buddhism in Thailand

The Diachronic approach refers to a historical perspective on the relations between Buddhism, Brahmanism, and contemporary Thai religious practices. As a result of this fused beliefs, Le May claims that Thai people are merely an animist. Thai religious life constitutes two main features: pay devotion and give offerings. The worship of Lord Buddha images, in this sense, is committed for the purpose of higher karmic inheritance (Le May, 1954, p. 163). Klausner, on the other hand, claims that certain elements of Brahmanism and animism are still expressed in popular Buddhism of the villagers (Klausner, 1964, p. 89).

Syncretist Buddhism

Several scholars based their analysis on the syncretist perspective, claiming that the religion in Thailand is fused over the course of time and hence it is impossible to identify a particular element of the religious system. In this sense, there could be more influences that subtly impact the religious system in Thailand. While Ingersoll claims that Thai religion constitutes of Buddhism and Brahmanic traditions (Ingersoll, 1966), Wright claims that he found some elements of classical Buddhism that developed over time with adaptation with folk developments, and also animism (Wright, 1968, p. 169). Phya Anuman Rajadhon recognizes the prevalence of animism under Chinese influence, Buddhism which was highly complemented with Brahmanic practices (Phya-Anuman-Rajadhon, 1968, p. 33).

Synchronic approach

Aside from the diachronic and syncretist approaches, various scholars focus on the synchronic approach to understand the religious system in Thailand through its strata. Klausner claims that each belief has specific function that does not conflict with each other, or more importantly, they often reinforce each other (Klausner, 1964, p. 90). In this sense, Attagara elaborated on the hierarchy of Thai beliefs. With Buddhist ethics at the heart of Thai people, gods and lower spirits are also prevalent. To this end, practices have been incorporated in the culture of Thai villagers in

connection to Buddhism (Attagara, 1967b, p. 169). Credner claims that each strata of practice has different functions in society. Buddhism, on the one hand, provides the means to order their relations with their society, as well as providing moral code as a result of a belief in reincarnation. Brahmanism functions as a social order that enforces people to accept virtues and authority, as well as punishment for evil acts, while animism deals primarily with the relationships between human and spirits that dwell in nature. Credner further elaborated on the Buddhist moral code that can help ensure the rewards for the practitioners through the belief in fortunate rebirths, while Brahmanic mythological elements serve as a device for people to jinx evil acts and value virtue (Credner, 1935, pp. 342-343).

As it is impossible to find a common ground in term of religious practice in Popular Buddhism, it is better to look into the notion of 'Buddhist Identity' shared by the people in Thailand. Buddhism is a key factor in fusing people with distinguished beliefs from all over the region. The importance of Buddhism in such identity politics is referred to as 'Transnational Buddhism' that extends in every part of the nation, even in the South of Thailand which is a Muslim-concentrated area. As Buddhism changes, there is a notion of "a new order by supernatural agency" under the Buddhist identity (Keyes, 1977, p. 283). As a result, Buddhism is an integral element in Thai life in every aspects, which is the reason why Na Rangsi claimed that Buddhism is the major institution that continues to impact Thai education, architecture, and many more (Na-Rangsi, 1976, pp. 1-9).

Researches on *Luang-Pu-Tuad*

Peachsuwan conducted a research entitled "the Belief of Luang Pho Yiab Num The-Le Juet in Songkhla Province Pattalung Province and Pattani Province" with aim at studying the belief concerning Luang-Pu-Tuad in Songkhla, Pattalung, and Pattani provinces. Peachsuwan found that there are various kinds of beliefs concerning Luang-Pu-Tuad, namely

1. the belief in the holy crystal ball of Luang-Pu-Tuad, which could be further categorized as

1.1 the healing power of the holy crystal ball

1.2 the levitating power of the holy crystal ball

2. the belief in the act of legging in water, which could be further categorized

as

2.1 the act of legging in water happened when Luang-Pu-Tuad was young

2.2 the act of legging in water happened when Luang-Pu-Tuad was on a journey to Ayutthaya

2.3 the act of legging on water happened when Luang-Pu-Tuad was held ransom by the pirates

3. the belief in the death of Luang-Pu-Tuad, which could be further categorized as

3.1 Luang-Pu-Tuad altered his form into fireball and disappeared from Wat-pha-kho

3.2 Luang-Pu-Tuad passed away in Sayburi

3.3 Luang-Pu-Tuad passed away in Wat-Chang-Hai

4. the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad's pilgrimage, which referred to various places, including

4.1. Ban-Bo-Suan, Songkhla

4.2. Samnaksong-La-Ong-Manee, Songkhla

4.3. Tham-Talod, Songkhla

4.4. Wat-Bandee, Pattani

4.5. Wat-Saikhao, Pattani

5. Luang-Pu-Tuad had various Buddhist companions, namely

5.1 Somdej-Chao-Koh-Yo

5.2 Somdej-Chao-Koh-Yai

5.3 Somdej-Chao-Jomthong

5.4 Luang-Pu-Tuad Bunyarit

6. The sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets can be categorized as

6.1 invulnerability

6.2 merciful characteristics

6.3 fortune giving

6.4 saving from dangers

6.5 curing illness (Peachsuwan, 2001, p. abstract)

Sanguansermsri conducted a research aiming to discover factors affecting amulet collection in Thailand, amulet market structure, and competition in the business, using the case study of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. Sanguansermsri found that collectors age from 36 – 45 years, followed by 26-35 years and 45-55 years, respectively.

Most collectors obtain a graduate degree, followed by Diploma, High Vocational Certificate, Vocational Certificate, and high school respectively. The main occupation of the collectors is employee (private sector), by the self-employed, trade, or freelance. In term of income, the collectors earn less than 30,000 baht per month, followed by those earning around 30,000-60,000 baht. In term of factors affecting Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet collection, Sanguansermsri found that the main reason for such collection is to receive greater protection from dangers that might potentially occur, followed by the belief in the sacred power of amulets, its role in being mental refuge, moral support during time of crisis, and growing economic value as inheritance for descendants (Sanguansermsri, 1997, p. abstract).

Boonchaury conducted a research entitled “A Study of Beliefs of Tuad in Satingpra Penninsula Songkhla Province”. Boonchaury found that Tuad refers to a holy spirit that has a certain power to cause positive or negative events on humans.

Tuad can be categorized as in various forms, including

1. Tuad in human form, namely Tuad-Pakawam, Tuad-Kumkaew, Khun-Hon, and Tuad-Yai-Ad
2. Tuad in animal form, namely Tuad-Rong and Tuad-Laem
3. Formless Tuad, namely Tuad-Sra-Poh, Tuad-Wat-Aek, and Tuad-Wat-Chueng-Sae-Tai.

The power of Tuad can be categorized in various groups, including

1. fortune giving
2. healing diseases
3. protection
4. harmless
5. invincibility

Tuad has an impact on the social, economic, and environmental aspects of the local (Boonchaury, 2001, pp. 94-95).

Jovan Muad conducted a research to discover the sacred power, the concept of the state, and the spread of culture in the southern border area, Songkhla and Pattani, by focusing only on Luang-Pu-Tuad. Muad found that Luang-Pu-Tuad has an integral role in making the area a sacred site, which is an opportunity for local investors to stimulate the flow of local tourism, thus, creating stories and literary innovations at the local level which later extends to other areas in Thailand, resulting in the spread of culture within the state). Such cultural spread has an impact on the culture at the local level, especially in interaction across the border between "Chinese" and "Thai". In addition, Muad also found that several components of the Buddhist religious expansion in Thailand resulted in the idea that the southern border is also the area of the "Buddhist" regardless of its Muslim concentration in certain areas, which is critical to the creation of national solidarity in Thailand (Muad, 2007).

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

Prior to further analysis, it is important to understand the approach employed in this paper. Contemporary religious practices in Thailand are often analyzed in relation to the notion of “great” and “little” traditions, the concept outlined by a pioneering anthropologist, Robert Redfield, in which the culture (of a peasant society), understood as “the little tradition of the largely unreflective any”, is examined in relation to the civilization in which it is contained, or “the great tradition of the selected few” (Obeyesekere, 1963, p. 139). Following this framework, anthropologists in the past attempted to stratify religious practices in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia in relation to its textual predecessor. While Ingersoll claims that Thai religion constitutes of Buddhism and Brahmanic traditions (Ingersoll, 1966), Wright claims that he found some elements of classical Buddhism that developed in relation to folk developments, and also animism (Wright, 1968, p. 169). Phya Anuman Rajadhon recognizes the prevalence of animism under Chinese influence in relation to Buddhism which was highly complemented with Brahmanic practices (Phya-Anuman-Rajadhon, 1968, p. 33) Kirsch found three components in the religion of Thailand: Buddhism, Brahmanism, and animism (Thomas, 1977). Terwiel claims that Southeast Asian also adheres to non-Buddhist beliefs, namely folk religion, animism, or supernaturalism (Terwiel, 1976, p. 391).

Scholars of great and little traditions came under attacks due to unsympathetic, imprecise, and hence inaccurate definition of the great tradition that constitutes the little traditions itself. In the case of Southeast Asian religion, for example, the distinction between Buddhism, Hinduism, and animism could be defined simply as ‘the Buddhist System’, ‘the temple of gods’, and ‘the Palace System’ (Evers, 1977, p. 184). Such imprecise notions of great tradition undervalue the great tradition of Buddhism and Hinduism as a whole. In other words, while the great tradition of Buddhism is not confined with the philosophy of awakening to reach the cessation of suffering, as prevalent in the case of Mahayana and Theravada cosmological texts, the great tradition of Hinduism should not be confined with the realms of gods, as the Veda and the six major philosophical schools Nyaya, Vaisesika, Samkhya, Yoga, Purva mimamsa and Vedanta. Obeyesekere criticized the imprecise words of scholars of great and little traditions as the cause of ‘methodological

dilemma', leading to four misconceptions 1) the equation of peasant beliefs derived from great tradition with the great tradition 2) the structuralization of the religious system in a hierarchical, horizontal, layers, 3) the imprecise definition, as a result of the hierarchical relations, leads to a third excessive category – animism, the poorest defined (Obeyesekere, 1963, pp. 141-142), leading to the state of paradox as expressed in religious syncretism and the conflict between the little and the great tradition, though it is coherent in the perception of the locals.

Therefore, the approach to the study of contemporary religious practices in this paper is not in attempting to classify the strata of the religions in isolation to one another, but rather to identify the elements of religious practices in Thai Buddhism. Based on Gombrich's notions of religious behavior (what people really do) on the cognitive (what they say about their beliefs and practices) and affective levels (what operates on an ideological system differing from his explicit or conscious beliefs) (Gombrich, 1971, pp. 4-5), and Obeyesekere's structural unity of the tradition (Obeyesekere, 1963, p. 144), the religious system in Thailand will be analyzed as one, unified, entity under Buddhist identity; however, with differing practices, Buddhism in Thailand is classified into three ideological systems: textual, pseudo-scientific, and cosmological systems of practices. The textual-centric practice refers to the attempts to learn the words of the Buddha in tipitaka, while the pseudo-scientific practice focus on attempts to integrate Buddhism with science, especially with psychology, to develop their mental and physical wellbeing. The last category which is the central concern of this paper, the cosmological practice, refers to an attempt to reap benefits from the supernatural, especially to defy the natural and the supernatural itself, along the line of Buddhist world views. In this sense, there is no clear distinction between Buddhism, Hinduism, animism, or even Christianity. One who identifies himself as a Buddhist might worship deities of Hindu origins or even a statue of Holy Mary of Christian origin with Pali mantras. Therefore, the term 'Hindu-Buddhist' in this paper simply refers to a deity of (generally accepted) Hindu origin by the followers of Buddhism.

Research Procedure

This paper entitled "the Role of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulets as a Source of Mental Comfort in Thai Society in the Age of Modernization" is a qualitative research. Qualitative research methodology, in this sense, to a set of procedures used to analyze a particular social phenomenon and collective behaviors in order to gain an insight on this matter, strictly following certain produdures:

Reviewing Previous Literature

At this stage, the author attempted to find previous literature on *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulets, particularly on ThaiLis Database, amulet magazines, and newspapers, in order to generate the concept idea and the scope of the study, as evidence in the research proposal.

Data Collection

In order to collect sufficient data for the research, the author attempted to find information from two main sources, including:

Documentary Research

Documentary research is an examination on previous written anthropological and sociological works, including books, manuals, articles, and documents on Luang-Pu-Tuad and key social theories, particularly Max Weber and Pierre Bordieu, which will be the bases for an understanding of Luang-Pu-Tuad and the role of religious institution to encounter with the collective insecurities in Thai society. The author would also look into local sources from Yanintr Petchsuwan and Weerapong Intranpanich, as well as the pamphlets from the temples, in order to develop a concrete argument in this paper.

At present, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is currently produced in several Temples in Southern Thailand and Central Thailand. Furthermore, there are many several kinds of myth on the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad in the past decades. However, the mainstream line of production, or meticulously the original amulet, is created by Wat-Chang-Hai, Pattani in the year of 2497 BE.

Therefore, this paper will focus primarily on these three amulet models in order to provide a critical analysis on its sacred power. Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in Wat-Chang-Hai was produced according to the vision of Luang-Pu-Tim (Tim Dhammadharo) and Anand Kananurak. Luang-Pu-Tim was born in the year of 1912 in Pattani. He became a novice monk in the local temple (Wat-Napradu). He decided to leave the monastery to assist in a family agricultural business. As he reached the age of maturity, he was ordained in that local temple and became an abbot in Wat-Chang-Hai in the year of 1941. He was entitled Phra-guruvisayasobhana in the year of 1956. In this period, he contributed to the social development through the construction of a new sanctuary, local school, as well as the donation to other temples countrywide.

Field Research

Field research is an examination on the ongoing social behavior in a given society. As the author is well aware of the limited sources on Visayasobhon, field research will be a useful method to overcome this research limitation. First, the author observed the way of life of the monks and the locals in the temple, as well as generating informal discussions among them. For further clarification, the author used two anthropological approaches – emic and etic – in order to understand the life of the people in the temple. The author was engaged in Buddhist practices and worships the statue of Luang-Pu-Tuad with a certain prayer, similarly to the locals, and generated further informal discussion between local monks, laymen, and people around the amulet stall, located near to the temple's foundation. Through such investigation, it is apparent that the oral tradition seems to be the most popular form of storytelling in the region, yet there were attempts from monks in Wat-Chang-Hai to codify such stories into a textual form, as published into a temple history book. Prior to the return to Bangkok, the author employed an etic perspective and conducted a group interview, in a welcoming setting, in order to overcome a respondent's shyness.

Data Analysis

3.1 The author collected data from documentary and fieldwork research and categorized them into categories based on the objectives and the scope of the paper.

3.2 The author critically analyzed data from the fieldwork and identifies its correlations with the previous literature.

3.3 The author checked the validity of the data and collected further information to fulfill the missing section and enhance with the flow of the research.

Presentation

The paper is presented in a written form, entitled “the Role of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulets as a Source of Mental Comfort in Thai Society in the Age of Modernization”. This paper was later presented in The 4th International Conference on Humanities and Social Sciences on April 21st, 2012 at the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Prince of Songkla University (Behavioral Science and Social Problems).

Luang-Pu-Tuad: General Information

Luang-Pu-Tuad is a monk who passed away since Ayutthaya period, but the amulet that represents his figure is still being reproduced up to this date. The central concern in this chapter is on the kinds of stories of Luang-Pu-Tuad were passed on over the course of time.

With the lack of evidence regarding the history of Luang-Pu-Tuad, the oral tradition became the main source of information during early attempts for historical investigation. In a later period, more actors are involved in the investigation, which helps validate the existence of Luang-Pu-Tuad during Ayutthaya period. Luang-Pu-Tuad's layman name was Pu, a son of Hu (father) and Chan (mother), a nephew of Choem (grandfather) and In (grandmother). The family resided in Ban-Liep (present-day Moo 1, Diluang, Satingphra, Songkhla). It is still uncertain to identify the birth year of Luang-Pu-Tuad; various sources lead to various assumptions: 2125 BE, 2129 BE, 2131 BE, 2171 BE (Chalong, 1993, pp. 10-15).

When Pu grew up, he ordained as a novice monk at Wat-Diluang, with Luang-Pho-Chuang, his uncle. He studied dhamma with Acharya Chinasena in Wat-Siyang. Later, he was ordained by Phra Mahathera Piyathassi in Wat-Sema-Muang, studied dhamma with Phra Kru Ka-Doem, and earned the title, Samiramo, from Acharya Prasidhi Abhinando, the abbot of Wat-Deeluang. He then departed to Ayutthaya for further study in Wat-Lumphlinawat. He later asked for permission from the Supreme Patriarch to stay in Wat-Rachanuwat outside of the palace to learn vipassana (Noothong, 1995, pp. 213-214). After a while, he earned the title, Somdej Phra Rājamunī Sāmirāma Gunupamāchārya, from King Akathodsarod when he solved a Buddhist riddle given by a Brahmin from Lanka (Sajjapan, 1992, pp. 40-41). He then earned the title as Phra Sangha Gurupārchārya after the cholera epidemic in Ayutthaya (Noothong, 1995, p. 216).

After his pilgrimage in Ayutthaya, Luang-Pu-Tuad returned to the South and contributed to various developments, namely:

1. The construction of Wat-Koranai in Sayburi
2. The reconstruction of Phra Sri Mahatat, Wat-Phako
3. The reconstruction of Wat-Phako
4. The construction of 20 Buddhist images and 7 Maliga Cedi in Tham-Kuhasawan in Pattalung

5. Staying as an abbot for Wat-Chang-Hai and Wat-Phako (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 20-22).

Throughout his life, there are various myths regarding his sacred power that were told from one generation to another. The author categorized these myths into 3 main groups, based on the life passage of Luang-Pu-Tuad, including myth prior to the ordination, myth subsequent to the ordination, and myth regarding the death of Luang-Pu-Tuad

As Luang-Pu-Tuad possesses superhuman status from the myth, believers have faith in his power in intervening in one's destiny and worship his spirit even after his cremation during Ayutthaya period. The myth continues to be told. The central concern of this chapter is on the reason why Luang-Pu-Tuad story does not disappear through time. It is apparent that, prior and subsequent to Luang-Pu-Tuad's cremation, there were various sites associated with the auspicious events in the past, which was why the oral tradition was being held across generation, as well as the evidence of the existence of Luang-Pu-Tuad in Ayutthaya period.

Map of Wat-Chang-Hai

Following is the map of *Wat-Chang-Hai*, the main area of study.



Chapter 4

The Age of Modernization, the US Power, and Amulets

The age of modernization (from the period of King Rama the IV onwards) marks as a significant period of the rise of Buddhist amulet in Thai society. The trend of Buddhist amulet popularity continues to flourish even after the period of King Rama IV. The central goal of this chapter is to elaborate that, as a result of the period of modernization, Thai amulet Buddhist amulets have always been popular in Thailand, even under the military regime. With the rise of the US power, Thailand underwent rapid social changes, namely the change from military regime to the rise of the middle-class. Even under the military regime when the religion was highly centralized, amulets signifying local religious leaders were continued to be produced, but it was not until the period of economic boom in which local religious beliefs were promoted, allowing Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets to flourish on the national scale.

The US Power and Social Change in Thai Society: from War to Capitalism

Prior to further analysis on the rise of Thai amulet from the period of modernization onwards, it is significant to look into the rise of US power in Thailand which entirely shifted the social, political, and economic structure of Thailand. This section will discuss primarily the US-Thailand's relations during the past century to see the trend of changes that might occur in Thai society.

Since the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in 2376 BE., Thailand was one of the oldest allies of the US. It is a common perception that alliance is equivalent to security partner. Such perception needs further analysis. As a result of the treaty, Thailand became the first diplomatic ally of the US in Asia. Such partnership is not based on security reasons, but also the economic purpose, with a promise that there would be the flow of commercial activities between the partners, with only three commodities prohibited from trade: munitions, opium, and rice (Dalphino, 2011, p. 4).

Such economic partnership allows the US to continue to dominate Thailand. In mid-19 century, the royal family of Thailand attempted to avoid being one of the colonies like its neighbors by balancing the power structure of Western nations through partnerships. During such critical period, the US's goal in Asia was to gain access to markets and seaports in Asia which were already claimed by other Western powers. Thailand remained as the only base for the US power at the time. During the

20th century, such pattern of partnership continues, with the rise of Bangkok which was the place with the only airport in mainland Southeast Asia which could be accessed by the US (Dalphino, 2011, p. 4).

It was not until the period of World War II in which the US became increasingly interested to extend the scope of partnership for security reasons. During 2484 BE., Thailand, under the Japanese Administration, was pressured to declare war against the US, leading to a movement led by Seni Pramot called Free Thai Movement, supported by the US. With the surrender of the Japanese, Britain attempted to gain political, foreign, and economic powers in Thailand through 21-point plan. The attempt was disregarded by the US, helping maintain Thailand's independence status. This period was considered the establishment of US-Thailand security alliance, yet there was no apparent structure of such US-Thailand's relations until the period of Cold War that sprung during the period of Vietnam War. The structure of US-Thailand's relations were more apparent during the period where Thailand signed these agreements: The Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (Manila Pact) in 2497 BE. The treaty was a response to the concern that Southeast Asia was a critical area for Communist threat based on the domino theory during Eisenhower's administration, with Vietnam being partitioned. Thailand was bonded with the signatories - Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, the UK, and the US. Such partnership became to flourish and was the basis for the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) in 2498 BE.) similar to any Cold-War partnerships as in North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) or the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) to terminate the rise of Communist threats in these regions (Dalphino, 2011, p. 4).

The mechanism for collective military intervention for mutual self-defense in SEATO was absent, The U.S. Senate was not required to ratify the Manila Pact, which rendered its provisions weaker than those of treaty obligations. yet SEATO continue to survive until 2520 BE. Although there were joint exercises, collective military intervention was clearly beyond SEATO's capacity. Even with SEATO being disbanded, the partnership between these countries continue to operate (Dalphino, 2011, p. 5).

The independence status of Thailand at the time continue to strengthen her alliances, with the US aiming to launch troops in Thailand, leading to the establishment of nine joint military bases. In turn, the US relations would help

Thailand maintain its independence status during such critical period of security threats in Southeast Asia (Dalphino, 2011, p. 5).

However, security assistance was only one aspect of the growing U.S. presence in Thailand. In order to strengthen the partnership during the Communist threat, the US laid several assistance programs to develop its allies' infrastructure, agriculture, healthcare, education, and cultural exchange systems. This countrywide approach defined the U.S.-Thailand alliance for the ordinary Thai, as did the growing number of U.S. troops in Thailand. By 2511, 45,000 US soldiers and 600 US aircrafts were found present in Thailand, not including other subtle troops that resided in the country for 'rest and rehabilitation' from the period of Vietnam War (Dalphino, 2011, p. 6). In mid-2490 decade, the US targeted primarily on the Northeastern part of Thailand, thought it was not clear whether or not it was due to the strategic location between Northeastern Thailand and Indochina. During the period of Cold War, Thailand participated in several wars within the Asian region. During the Korean War, Thailand sent 4,000 soldiers and 20,000 tons of rice. From 2507 to 2515 BE., with cultural similarities, Thailand, together with the US, participated in the secret war in Laos. In 2508 and 2514 BE., with US support, Thailand sent 12,000 soldiers to Vietnam (Dalphino, 2011, p. 6)

In late 1960s, the so-called "American Period" was when Thailand received 75 million USD for military assistance and 60 million USD for non-military assistance annually by the US. From 2507 to 2511 BE., 370 million USD was spent by the US to develop Thai military bases for temporary uses for the US, leading to 50,000 Thai employment in such project. Henceforth, the Royal Thai Army grew triple in number during this period, leading to the increasing role of the military in Thai politics (Dalphino, 2011, p. 6).

The partnership between the US and Thailand was visible due to the US military presence in Thailand. As a result of the growing power of the military in Thai politics, there was also some discontent against the military rule in Thailand. In 2516 BE., there was a popular student movement to put an end to the military regime, which was the same period when the US withdrew its troops in Vietnam and gradually in Southeast Asia. During such period, the US continue to provide incentives in terms of military and economics, except for sending troops into the region, as a result of Nixon Doctrine in 2512 BE. In 2516 BE., the US withdrew its troop from Vietnam as a result of Paris Peace Accords (Dalphino, 2011, p. 6).

With the fall of South Vietnam in 2518 BE., the personnels from the US Embassy in Saigon were evacuated, leaving Thailand in such vulnerable state. As such, the power dynamics in Thailand shifted, leading to the growth of diplomatic relations with China during such critical period. Thai foreign relations began to change with the attempt to balance the relations within the region, though the partnership with the US remained significant (Dalphino, 2011, p. 7). With the concern that the US military presence would lead to Thailand being a target of antagonism by Vietnam and the US's lower interest in maintaining its troops, the US military withdrew its from from joint bases in 2519 BE., leading to the structural change in the US - Thailand's relations into a more flexible pattern. During the decade from 2520 BE, the US supported Thailand's and ASEAN's decision towards Indochina. Later on, with partnership with Beijing, Bangkok terminated the threats from Thai Communist Party, leading to the growth of Thai economy and the structural change in Thai society from the military regime to a civilian rule in 2531 BE. (Dalphino, 2011, p. 7).

During such post-war period, it is difficult to define such flexible alliance between the US and Thailand. There was a few discontent arising from economic causes between Thailand and the US. In the decade from 2520 BE., there were tensions arising from the enforcement of US intellectual property rights in Thailand and the US subsidies for domestic rice sector. The US put Thailand on sanction due to the violations on intellectual property, leading to the growing concerns among the Thai that US violated their alliance, not to mention the fact that the US did not provide much assistance after the Asian Financial Crisis arisen from Thailand, but this is still questionable that the US-Thailand's relations has dropped, as there was no apparent incident (Dalphino, 2011, p. 8).

During the post-Cold War period, the US began to propagate the promotion of democracy under Thailand's complex democratization process, One aspect was the role of the military in Thai politics. Between 2475 and 2530 BE., the military was significant for Thai politics as it had staged a number of coups (and countercoups) between 2475 and 2530 BE., and this trend continues up to the present. The coups in 2534 and 2549 BE. created an impact on the US-Thailand's relations. After the coup in 2549 BE., Thailand was suspended from IMET (the International Military Education and Training program) by the US, with the postponed joint exercises and 29 million USD in military assistance (Dalphino, 2011, p. 8).

In sum, from there were many changes in Thai society, especially since the period of Vietnam War, as a result of growing US power in Thailand. During the

Vietnam War, Thailand served as a strategic location for the US's security policy in Southeast Asia. Thailand is still significant for the US in term of security due to the Utapao naval airbase, which was the one - if not only - base in Southeast Asia for US logistical operation. Recently, the US used the Utapao naval airbase for tsunami relief operation in 2554 BE., posing as a return of the US troops to Thai military base. The annual Cobra Gold exercises, the largest multinational military exercises, was also based from the US-Thailand's relations. There was also a cooperation in arrest Hambali (Riduan Isamudin), a leader of an Islamic insurgent group, in 2546 BE. These are one of a number of the US-Thailand relations that continue to prevail. However, there were also a number of discontent in the US-Thailand's economic relations, including the suspension of the free trade agreement in 2549 BE. due to Thailand's political condition, and the licensing requirement by the US pharmaceutical firms (Dalphino, 2011, p. 9).

The Continuing Popularity of Thai Amulet: from the Military Regime to the Rise of the Middle Class

With such rapid changes in Thai social, political, and economic structures, amulet has an integral role in providing mental refuge for each individual. However, in each era, there are differences in the patterns of amulet worship in order to deal with one's mental insecurity, which were resulted by different historical contexts that change according to time. In this sense, it is important to note that amulet production is not unfamiliar in Thai society. The beliefs in spirit cults and supernaturalism were preexisting beliefs that have been dominating their cosmology since an ancient era. The belief in a sacred object that protects its owner is also prevalent in Thai society, resulting in a variety of amulets on the market, namely inscribed cloth, herbs, holy thread, holy water, linga, holy knives, or even animal fangs, which have always received significant attention from Thai society (Suntravanich, 2008, p. 14). Though it is inevitable to say that Buddhist amulets were also significant and used, there was not much evidence that Buddhist amulets were as popular as these amulets.

The beginning of the age of modernization began when Siam (present-day Thailand) began its contact with the Western World, leading to the introduction of new technology and complex external forces, which, in turn, has had much impact on Thai religion and society as a whole. Technological advancement has significant impact on the popularity of an amulet in the past. Amulet production became easier due to Western technologies, especially photographic records and coinage. Although

coinage was introduced during the period of King Rama IV, amulet coinage became popular during the period of King Rama V (Kasikosol, 2004, p. 14). Another example of technological advancement that was introduced to Buddhism in Thailand was the introduction of photography. The introduction of photography is significant for amulet production in the past. Although the technology was introduced during the period of King Rama IV among social elites, it became popular during the period of King Rama V in the religious institution. Monk photograph became popular, and often these photographs were consecrated, or even inscribed with a yantra to transfer sacred power onto such photographs (Suntravanich, 2008, pp. 5-8). The introduction of photography was the revolution of amulet industry. This was an early attempt that engaged monks picturesque into the sacred domain of Thai cosmology. More to the point, the photographs are significant symbol that represent popular Buddhist belief, no longer focusing on Brahmanism or other supernatural aspects.

The significance of the age of modernization (from the period of King Rama IV onwards) is the sense of ownership. In the past, Buddhist amulets were primarily produced and most likely preserved to make merits and to prolonge the religion, though it is undeniable that Buddhist amulets were sometimes used for a particular mental refuge, too. However, it was not until the age of modernization where the sense of ownership of Buddhist amulets was heighthened. In other words, Buddhist amulets could be owned as a personal belonging and even distributed. The most significant event during such period owed to an attempt of Luang-Pho-To (Brahma-Rangsi) in distributing votive tablets from various treasuries. In the past, such votive tablets were stored in the treasury of the satupa and considered religious property. Such distribution brought a new phase to amulet industry – ancient votive tablets could be considered private property, leading to amulet collection, which is a kind of behavior that prolonged up to this date. One example of ancient votive tablets found by Luang-Pho-To is Pancabhagi amulets, which costs nearly 1 million upto 70 million baht per piece (Kasikosol, 2004, p. 25). The attempt to find ancient votive tablets from various treasuries during the period of King Rama V led to a major classification of Thai amulets into two groups, including Phra-Kru and Phra-Ke-chi (Kittipanyo, 2009, p. 88). Phra Kru refers to a kind of amulets found in a treasury of the satupa, which represented the belief on merit making of the local in the past. As they accumulated good deeds (kamma), they might have a chance for fortunate rebirth in Metteyya era. *Phra-Ke-chi*, on the other hand, refers to a kind of amulet consecrated by holy monks through image consecration ritual (phutthaphisek). These amulets are usually considered too recent and do not possess high economic values,

unless they were known by oral or written tradition, or consecrated by famous monks. As a result of the age of modernization, Buddhist amulets were becoming increasingly popular because 1) the amulets were becoming increasingly easier to produce and 2) the ownership of a particular amulet is permitted and widely practiced, and hence leading to amulet collection. In the past, the media did not have much impact on the popularity of an amulet, and there was not much study on it. There was only a literature from George Cœdès, a French historian, entitled “Une exposition de sculptures Khmères et Siamois au Musée Cernuschi” in 2469 BE (Kasikosol, 2004, p. 26).

Subsequent to such significant period of modernization, the nationalist campaign in Thailand has an integral role in promoting Buddhism. From the historical period of King Wachirawut (1910-25), Buddhism was institutionalized and grew to become one amongst the three foundations of modern Thai nationalism – the nation, the religion, and the king. The faith in Thai nation is practically equivalent to the religion propagated by the state. Subsequent to the coup that brought an end of the absolute monarchy system in 2474 BE., Thailand underwent a period of military administration, the faction that grew to become one of the most prominent political powers in Thailand up to this date. During such period, the three pillars of modern Thai nationalism stood at the core of national identity – as these pillars are claimed to be the root for power legitimacy of the military regime. All throughout the mid-20th century, religious affairs continued to operate alongside the state affairs. In 2484 BE., Gen.Plaek Phibunsongkram passed a new Sangha Act – the Act called by Jovan Muad “a staunch anti-royalist”. As a result of the act, the Sangha administration was restructured. The administration was becoming more democratized, with the royal-sponsored Thammayut order’s power being mitigated, giving more power to the Mahanikai sect which is considerably higher in number (Muad, 2007, p. 73).

From the decade in 2490 BE., Sarit Thanarat passed another Sangha Act in order to mitigate what was called “political instability” within the Sangha administration. The new act passed in 2505 BE. restored the authority of the Sangha administrative structure in that of 2445 BE., leading to a more centralized power of the Supreme Patriarch, allowing the Thammayut Order to become superior in the monastic term (Muad, 2007, p. 73). During such authoritarian regime led by Sarit and the political successors, Buddhism became one of the major instrument for political legitimization, especially for the sake of 1) the battle against communism and 2) the

growing demand for an absolute control over peripheral areas. For the sake of national integration and consolidation of the peripherals, Sarit, along with his successors, gained much control in the Sangha administration. The regime suppressed the popular unmainstream figures in the Sangha system. In 2505 BE., Dhamma Ambassador Program (Thammathut) was established for the sake of community development and national integration. In 2508 BE., the Wandering Dhamma Program (Thammajarik) was established in order to convert the hilltribes (those stereotypically understood to share communist sympathies) into Theravada Buddhists. During this period, the security agents were supplied with series of amulets. From 2510 onwards, the uniformity in state and secular affairs under paternalistic governance continues to operate under the military regime (Muad, 2007, pp. 74-75).

There was a major shift in Thai economic structure. In 2527 BE., Thailand underwent a period of economic boom. For five decades where the military was the only prominent dominating faction in Thai national politics, there was gradual – but weak – development of political parties, too, at the national level. Such gradual and weak development of the civil society system operating behind the system of bureaucracy and military-led government. In this sense, the state, and its networked institutions, monopolized and gained the upmost power in the country. Regardless of the upmost power by the state, such uniformity does not operate without conflict. There were conflicts among the military bureaucracy and elites in the past itself that was undermined during such period. Since 2500 onwards, the elite was challenged by the growing number and influence of the middle-class, leading to a structural transformation of Thailand's subsistence economy into a more market-oriented capitalist system. The divisions of religion were also affected by the conflicts. In 2516 BE., there was a protest to overthrow Thanom Kittikachorn, one of the Sarit's successor, which led to the disunity in the so-called 'façade of Thai Buddhism'. With the strict control of the military regime in 2519 BE., such disunity was becoming more revealing. The battle for the control of religion was instigated by various elite factions – between the military regime and the middle class. This period marks the division between the sacred and secular affairs within Thai nation. Aside from the battle of the two factions, there was also the rise of civil society from the change in class structure, as well as the rise of Chinese Thai as political and economic leaders. As a result of development policies initiated from 2500

onwards, Thai government was modernized, especially through modern infrastructure, investment, and controlled labour, particularly due to the assistance from World Bank and US Aid, leading to the 7 percent GDP growth per year over four decades, with the industry taking over the agriculture sector and becoming the major contributor to the nation's GDP in 1980s. Beginning in 2528-2529 BE., the country underwent economic boom, leading to further growth in economy for the next four years (Muad, 2007, p. 76).

During such period, there was a rise in number of new entrepreneurs who became rich, and also the rise of urban middle-class, which was tripled in size, and the dominating faction in the country was no longer state officials, but instead businessmen. There was also the growth in political power of businessmen in parliamentary politics, and also the growth of cities. Especially in electoral politics, provinces are as important as the capital. This led to the reducing gap in power between the capital and the provinces. During this period where Bangkok seats were outnumbered by provincial seats by ten to one, there was a growing tendency that the prime ministers would be elected from the provinces. However, this, as a result of decentralization, does not necessarily mean that there will be greater power in all rural areas. With the rise of middle-class in the provinces and the new kind of elites, there was a marginalization of the civil society movements in the rural. The rise of regional powers were quite concentrated in paternalistic institutions, regardless of the distrust in the central governments due to long period of corruption and power abuse. With the growing influence of NGO movements up to 2540 BE. and the attempt for local empowerment by promoting local wisdom and community culture, the 'people's constitution' passed in 2540 BE. as a response to the economic crisis supported the strength in National Assembly (legislature), independent courts, and civil society organizations, leading to the ideological shift of these civil groups from anti-state agendas to a more decentralized self-governing principles. The plurality of social forces during this period has led to the structural change of the state into the system operating on capitalist principles and interests. The rise of the middle class (struggle) was evident in many forms. One most prominent example was in 2535 BE., a protest – the so-called 'mobile phone revolution' broke out, constituting of the

middle class, aiming to reinstate the change in the parliamentary rule (Muad, 2007, pp. 76-77).

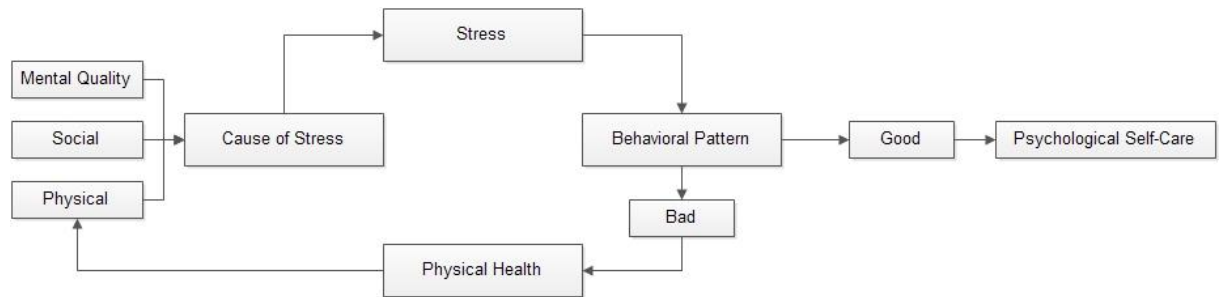
The Traits of Modernization and the Multiplicity in Thai Religion

The question arises: why does the popularity of Buddhist amulets not decrease over time, regardless of the number of changes? In a psychological term, an amulet is an object that deals with individual's mental insecurity. Mental insecurity, in this sense, refers to the change in mental condition affected by physical, psychological, and environmental factors. These harsh and rapid changes could result in stress and anxiety. Kanchanaporn claims that stress is a mental response to demands or pressure from the unfamiliar environment, resulting in paranoia (Tanong, 2002, p. 58). Stress is caused by various factors, from internal factors (individual's mental condition) or external factors (colleagues and working environment). Stress usually expresses in emotions, such as anxiety. In this sense, anxiety refers to emotional discomfort resulted by mental conflict against a particular event that has not yet occurred. Such anxiety has a great impact on individual's mental condition. In certain cases, stress might be expressed in physical terms, such as headache, stomachache, and others (Sodsai, 2009, p. 38).

Ekawit Na Thalang provided a sociological analysis on mental insecurity. He claims that mental insecurity is caused by conflicts in politics, economics, society, and culture, as a result of rapid social changes. These changes are prevalent in militaristic, political, administrative, educational, cultural, economic, and financial systems in which each individual in Thailand has experienced and settled in every generation. An individual's settlement to the changing social contexts might result in stress, paranoia, and depression (Na-Thalang, 1997, pp. 30-33). For example, in 2540 BE, Thailand was significantly affected by Asian Economic Crisis. There was an increase in number of mental patients, especially among business investors who were affected by the crisis directly or indirectly (Riewdang, 2010, p. 2), as evidenced by increasing suicide attempts and crimes in that period. Such changes continue to further anxiety and fear in Thai society (Tanong, 2002, p. 5).

Mental insecurity has an impact on behavioral change in every generation. Such changes in behavioral patterns could be both positive and negative. If such behavioral change is negative, there might also be negative impact on individual's physical condition, which would in turn lead to another cycle of stress. On the other

hand, if such changes are positive, it might encourage self-supporting behavioral patterns (Tanong, 2002, p. 49).



Religion and belief could be an individual's self-supporting behavioral pattern, especially among a particular social crisis. In this sense, religion is an edifying refuge for each individual in Thai society (Riewdang, 2010, p. 23). Peter Jackson claims that Theravada Buddhism provides an edifying refuge for believers and Thai people in working age, especially through hope to have better livelihood in the future (P. Jackson, 1987, p. v). Sethpumirin claims that such individual activity would support the development of individual mental condition as a result of rapid social changes, and hence resulting in happiness. Hills and Smith claim that these activities might even support the development of one's personality, aside from its role as an edifying refuge (Chantarachote, 2004, pp. 28-29). In other words, this is the period in which Thai society was undergoing most rapid social changes, and hence Buddhist amulet was most needed during such critical condition.

From 2530 BE. onwards, there was a resurgence of supernaturalism and religious expressions. With the growth of capitalism in the 2530 BE. onwards, there was a more 'irrational' aspect of the religion, the trend that is more quite unpredictable and disorderly. There was a rise in the belief in the supernatural of a particular monk based on their individual sources of charisma, rather than the routinized charisma obtained from Sangha, the bureaucratic sources of power. In turn, individuals seek taking mental refuge the charisma of this sort to fulfil their personal goal, especially for the accumulation of wealth, capital, and prestige. Here, an interesting point is that the so-called 'individual agents of states', which are the authorities such as politicians, civilians, officers and the security agents, as well as the elites also attempt to access these charismatic sources, which means that these actors are not competing for the commoditized sources of charisma in the market, instead of claiming for authority in a nationalist manner as they once were (Muad, 2007, p. 83).

This has been the continual shift in Thai religiosity without the change in the structure and administration of Thai Sangha. Such continual shift contains many differences. Such changes occurred due to the democratization of Thai Buddhism and localization of ideas about Buddhism, which was the response to the 'crises of modernity' that was prevalent ever since the age of modernization in Thailand. This, in turn, led to increasing role and participation of Thai middle class, which has been occurring since 1970s due to the growing dominance of capitalism and the decline of the state control on religion. There is much increase on heterogeneity and proliferation of these local-based alternative religious forms in Thai Buddhism. Such proliferation and heterogeneity do not come without sources. They arose from strong foundations of local beliefs and cults which have been prosperous in the cities, towns, and villages in Thailand. Regardless of plurality, however, there is still a certain level of hierarchy in these beliefs. Considering the position of the religious statue shelf, the Buddha would be placed on the top, while other undetermined (Brahmanic, local beliefs, monks) would be placed on a lower part of the shelf (Muad, 2007, pp. 84-85).

Changes and Thai Amulet

Due to numerous recent rapid changes, the amulet market in Thai society was greatly affected, especially in the following period

1. Wars and Amulet Craze (Estimated 2480-2490 BE.)

Social changes in Thailand have an overwhelming impact on the mental condition of Thai people, directly or indirectly resulting in mental insecurity. In this sense, the religion institution has a pivotal role in providing mental refuge, through the belief in amulets, in order to deal with such insecurity. In this section, the author attempts to explain differing social changes that have a significant impact on Thai livelihood, resulting in various trends of amulet craze in Thai society. Conflicts, domestic or international, are one significant cause of social pressure that has a significant impact on a particular trend of amulet craze. With Indochina War, World War II, and the Greater East Asia War, and other conflicts on the national and international levels occurring consecutively from 2480 to 2490 BE. (based on the beginning of World War II and the end of Indochina War), the notion of insecurity occurred in physical and psychological terms.

Mental insecurity results in a major change in Thai cosmological system. Suntravanich claims that the proliferation of amulet craze occurred during the period of World War II. At the time, Buddhist amulets were not as popular as other kinds of

amulets. During such wartime, the notion of sacred power of local Buddhist monks appeared in various places of Thailand through oral tradition. Such proliferation was the leading cause for the rise of Buddhist amulets in the contemporary era (Suntravanich, 2008, p. 16). In this sense, Buddhist has a pivotal role in dealing with the mental insecurities of the believers, especially among security agents (police and military forces) whose tasks are associated with life and security risks. In this period, a number of amulet consecration rituals took place in order to produce amulets for these security agents, with emphases on the power in invulnerability, harmlessness, and weapon breakdown.

Conflicts, as a cause for mental insecurity, are the leading factors for amulet craze. Such demand for amulet led to the commercialization of beliefs, as appeared in the rise of amulet stalls around *Wat-Mahathat* and *Sanam-Luang* which later developed into amulet market. The market later expanded into the area of *Wat-Rachanadda* and *Tha-Prachan* (Kasikosol, 2004, p. 29). These areas in the center of *Ratanakosin* Island are considered as a mere central market for amulets, which has certain rules and regulations to protect the collectors and the sellers in every level (Kasikosol, 2004, pp. 15-20).

During this period, there was little study on Thai amulets, yet these studies were a little more comprehensive than those in earlier period. There was also the rise of books and magazines on Thai amulets. The first book on Thai amulet was published in 2495 BE, entitled, “*Phraphim-Khrueangrang-Kap-Phraphuttharup-Bucha*” (Amulet and Sacred Images), written by Sawad Nakasiri. Another book written by Triyampawai (pseudonym), entitled “*Pari-Anthathibai-Haeng-Phrakhrueang Lem-Nueng Phra-Somdet*” (A Encyclopedia of Thai amulets: *Phra-Somdet*), in the same year. A column on “*Prawat-Lae-Kiattikhun-Khong-Somdet-Phra-Phutthachan (To Brahma-Rangsi)*” (A Biography of *Luang-Pho-To*), written by Chantid Krasaesin was published in Police Magazine from 2495 – 2502 BE. The long-standing column in Police Magazine is excellent evidence for amulet craze among Police during such critical period, due to their demand in analyzing and validating amulets in order to respond to their mental insecurity (Kasikosol, 2004, pp. 26-27).

During such period, the media did not focus on the sacred power of an amulet as much as it is today. Rather, these publications focus on a comprehensive knowledge on a particular model of an amulet, with proper referencing system. Contemporary publications, in contrast, are often based on an author’s imagination. To conclude, publications have an integral role in the popularity of Thai amulets in

the past because they are merely the only source that explains the origin of such amulets (Kittipanyo, 2009, p. 45), which is also the reason for the proliferation of Buddhist amulets over other kinds (Kasikosol, 2004, p. 21).

2. The Rise of Capitalism and the Rise of Buddhist Amulets (Estimated 2490 BE – 2540 BE.)

At the end of the war period, Thailand established the National Economic Council in the year of 2493 BE. to offer guidance for Post-War economic recovery according to the World Bank. However, there was not much tangible effect due to the attempt of Gen.Phibun to push forward nationalistic economic policies and state capitalism. In 2502 BE., Thailand has received assistance from the World Bank to increase the role of the National Economic Council. The center was renamed to "The Office of the National Economic Development Council" and later "Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board" in 2515 BE., under management of the Office of the Prime Minister. The most important task of the office was to generate the National Economic Development Plan from 2504 BE. onwards, which promotes liberal economic policies and investment in the private sectors (Muksong, 2011).

Economic change is the major factor causing mental insecurity in modern Thailand. Since the economic engagement from the private sectors, an individual is more involved in the economic system that ever before. "Money", as a medium of business transaction, gives rise to materialism and consumerism, and hence financial needs becomes the leading cause for mental insecurity in the society (Tanong, 2002, pp. 1-2). Prawet Wasi, MD., said that an individual is struggling with the mental and spiritual conflicts as the impact of the consumerism that focuses on demands (Wisalo, 1999, pp. 93-140). As demands for financial stability grows, the demands for amulet grows, leading to an attempt of amulet suppliers to introduce modern technology used in the production of the sacred objects, which does not only increase the amount of sacred objects, but also generate a wide range of amulets in the market.

During this period, the popularity of Buddhist amulet was also advanced by the nationalist campaign to promote Buddhism during Phibun's period. Such a major change in the religious institution in Thailand, especially during Phibun's period, was where Buddhist amulets received uppermost attention over other kinds of amulets. During this period, there was a concentration on the notion of nation-state and the rise of nationalist culture in Thailand, in order to build identity for state formation

(Kasikosol, 2004, p. 35). Gen.Phibun accomplished 2 significant phenomena in Thai amulet history: 1) Raise the status of Buddhism into a national religion. In this period, the government has its absolute power in the religious institution. Although Buddhism was not at the core of nationalism, the religion has an integral role in uniting the people with different beliefs together under the same identity. The government attempted to control the religion, especially over the sangha institution. Gen.Phibun claimed that the strict control on the religion would prevent communist threat that was spread during such critical period (P. Jackson, 1987, pp. 28-29). In this sense, Buddhism became a dominating religion in Thai society without any other threats from other belief systems. 2) The consecration of an amulet (25th Buddhist century commemoration) in Sanam-Luang in order to respond to the belief in Buddhist Apocalypse that would occur 5000 years subsequent to the parinibbana of Lord Buddha (Keyes, 1977, p. 288). The year of 2500 BE and the belief in Buddhist apocalypse affected the mental condition of individuals in Thai society, resulting in mental insecurity. With the demand for fortunate rebirth during Lord Metteyya era, merit making is always at the core of Thai Buddhist belief. As the revenue of the amulet sales is often donated for charity or construction, amulet collection is considered a form of merit making. In this case, the revenue of the amulet during Gen.Phibun was donated to the construction of Phutthamonthon, the center of Buddhist learning located in Nakhonpathom (Kasikosol, 2004, p. 25).

Upon entering the Buddhist Commercial era, the media plays a huge role in reinforcing the belief in sacred power. In 2516 BE, three amulet magazines emerged, including Phrakhrueang-Parithat (Amulet Reviews), Anachak-Phrakhrueang (Amulet Kingdom), and Lan-Pho (Bodhi Field). Local monks and local consecration rituals became more popular, giving rise to various Buddhist amulets, namely Luang-Pu-Tuad (Wat-Chang-Hai), Luang-Pho-To (Wat-Rakang), and Luang-Pho-Truek (Wat-Thepsirin) (Kasikosol, 2004, pp. 25-26).

It may be concluded that physical and mental insecurity during such critical period determined the demands for amulets in the past, especially during wartime. A particular kind of sacred power, including invulnerability, harmlessness, and weapon breakdown, were favored, particularly among security agents. However, amulet collection is also popular among business investors as a result of the engagement of the private sectors in the economy (Mankong, 1993, p. 1). Such amulet craze is also encouraged at present through media, predominantly the print media, which is the primary medium used to distribute amulet news update, comprehensive study of a

particular amulet, the history of an art form, and stories about the sacred power of a particular amulet (Sanguansermsri, 1997).

In the case of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulet, the first publication was self-published by Anand Kananurak, the sponsor of the amulet production, entitled “*Khun-Aphinihan Phrakhrueang Luang-Pu-Tuad*” (The Myth of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* Amulets), prior to *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulet consecration in 2505 BE, focusing on the sacred power and miracles of the amulets of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulet from Wat-Chang-Hai. In 2515 BE, there was only one publication concerning *Luang-Pu-Tuad*, entitled “*Bueanglang-Samphat-Khonsong-Luang-Pu-Tuad-Somdet-Ya-Phrom-Duai-Prawat-Sam-Doktoe-Thi Sattha Samnak-Pu-Sawan*”.

3. The Collapse of Thai Economics and The Golden Age of Buddhist Amulets (Estimated 2540 BE – Present)

The golden age of Buddhist Commerce, probably the most critical period that leads to the rise of popularity of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulets, is not surprisingly the golden age of Thai economics. Under the government of Chatichai Choonhavan, Thai citizens become more engaged in economics than ever before under the policy in changing the battle to trade field (*plian sanam-rop pen sanam-kan-kha*). The economic growth in Thailand was as high as 13.2 percent in 2531 BE and 11.2 percent in 2532 BE while others are facing the global economic slowdown, with 1.8 trillion baht in treasury reserves. With economic privatization, the private sectors were then engaged in telecommunication system, public transportation, and port management. Furthermore, economic industrialization was also spread out from the urban to the rural areas (Muakpimai, 2012).

During the year of 2540 BE during the period of Gen. Chavalit Yongchaiyudh, the economic crisis occurred. The breaking point of the economic crisis occurred on July 2nd, 2540 BE. The government floated Thai Baht currency. The exchange rate took an immediate fall from approximately 25.60 per US dollar to 28.75 per US dollar USD in just 24 hours, which gradually turned into the minimum of 55 per US dollar. This severity of this economic has led to further crises in Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Russia and other countries. The areas most affected by the economic crisis includes housing, construction, and construction material industries, as well as financial institutions, banks, printing and advertising industries. With such a severe impact, many companies were shut down or ran deeply in debt. Many employees were laid off (Ratamarit, 2012).

Therefore, the private sector has to play a role in the construction and public relations of the amulets for maximum profit. There is an engagement of public media in the forms of radio, television, newspapers, or in some cases, billboards, especially during 2536 BE (Kasikosol, 2004, p. 46). Such media engagement led to several changes, including the use of modern technology in the production of amulet in large numbers. The popularity of a particular amulet is also determined by its distinctive feature. Therefore, amulets are often named for easy identification. Sometimes these titles usually indicates a particular kind of sacred power of such amulet (Kasikosol, 2004, pp. 41-42).

During this period, there are more than 30 publications focusing only on Luang-Pu-Tuad as stored in the database of Thai National Library. There were many published works on Luang-Pu-Tuad during 2530 BE, namely *prawat luang-pho-tuad yiap-nam-thale-chuet lae khun-aphinihan phra-ke-ri-ya luang-pho-tuad paiyannoi wat-chang-hai*, *thamma-chak duang-winyan borisut luang-pu-tuad yiap-nam-thale chuet*, and *thiraluek nai ngan-chapanakit-sop khunmae anong sisukhumbawonchai na chapanasathan wat-phra-ram nakhonpathom wan angkhan thi 11 thanwakhom*. From 2540 BE onwards, many works on Luang-Pu-Tuad were published in a form of pocket books, focusing solely on the miracles and sacred power of various Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. However, there are only a few academic works on the respected monk, notably the work of Chaiwut Piyakul in analyzing the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad in *Satingphra Peninsula*.

Conclusion

In the age of modernization from the period of King Rama IV onwards, Thailand was open to connections with Western powers. The period contributed to the structural change of Thai religiosity; there was a system of amulets in Buddhism. With the rise of technology among the elites and the excavation popularized by Luang-Pho-To, Buddhist amulets are now openly owned by individuals, which was the reason why Buddhist amulets have been gaining significant support from then onwards. The rise of US power contributed to the change in social, political, economic structures in Thailand. Especially in such rapid shifts, Thai individuals had to go through several changes, leading to several kinds of mental insecurity. The US interest in security relations in Thailand was significant for the development of Thailand, especially in its interest in mitigating the Communist threats from the period of Cold War onwards, where much power and support is given to Thai military. It was not until later, but still as a result of the US-Thailand's relations,

where the US campaign led to the rise of the middle class in Thailand, leading to mental insecurity especially under the capitalist influences.

Popular religion has long been suppressed especially during the military regime in which a more centralized form of centralized Buddhism was promoted. However, with the lower concentration on military power on Thai religion during the past few decades, especially after the economic boom from 2530s onwards, there were more spaces for popular local forms of Buddhism in Thailand up to the present. An act of collecting *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulet, though now is popular in various regions in Thailand, was once popular among a few group of people in the South. It was not until after the economic boom when the stories of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* became popular on the national scale. In order to assess the role of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulet in providing mental comforts during the period of modernization, the era of rapid social changes, it is important to look into the social, historical, and psychological contexts on amulet collection in Thailand.

The belief in amulet is the preexisting belief of the local people in present-day Thailand. This belief provides mental refuge for the believers. There is also a trend in amulet industry that changes according to differing social contexts. In order to provide a critical sociological analysis on *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulets, therefore, it is important to look into psychological and historical contexts of Thai society affecting the proliferation of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulets in the contemporary era.

Chapter 5

Luang-Pu-Tuad (Pre-2497 BE)

Prior to the Rise of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in Wat-Chang-Hai in 2497 BE, little was known about the sacred monks. There are various kinds of myths and historical evidences that can trace back to the holy monk in the past. The central aim of this chapter is to explain that the belief about Luang-Pu-Tuad is present and diffused in various areas, not only in Southern Thailand. First, the author will demonstrate a list of historical records of Luang-Pu-Tuad. Next, the author will explain how the story of Luang-Pu-Tuad was told prior to 2497. Finally, the author will explain the significance of Luang-Pu-Tuad spirit in contemporary Thai Southern pantheon.

Luang-Pu-Tuad in the Only Written Historical Record

Though the story of Luang-Pu-Tuad is known and re-told in this contemporary era, there was lack of written historical evidence on this matter. The only source that discusses the story of Luang-Pu-Tuad was referred to was in the Thesaphiban Chronicle, Book 3-4, 126 Rattanakosin Era, which stated the followings: “On the birth of Rājāmunī, endowed with past merits, in 990 BE., the Year of the Cow, the weak mother took him to the field, tying the cradle to a Jambolan tree. A King Cobra appeared on that cradle. The mother, having come to drink water, saw the snake binding the infant and got panic and scared. She then shouted in fright: Hu! Hu! My son is dead because of the King Cobra binding on the cradle. Then Hu came in rush to see the infant who was still alive. He then offered popped rice and flowers to the deities. The king cobra then crept away. The father, the mother, and the companions then walked in to see the boy and saw a ball of glass. The father kept it for the boy. When the boy grew up, the father took him for ordination in Wat-Kudi-Luang of Somdet-Phra-Chuang, and the boy was called Pu, the novice monk. Having been literated, he studied Dasajāti Dhammapada with Somdet-PhraChinasena at Wat-Sri-Kuyang. Phra-Khun-Lok then took him to the school of Phra Mahāthera Piyatassī, planning to ordain Pu, the novice monk, to a monk. Phra Mahāthera, having thought together with a monk in the temple, that the monastic boundary and the water boundary were not sufficient for ordination, asked Phra Khun Lok to find boats made from Takian Tree, Payom Tree, and Rubber Tree, to the canal near the port. Phra Khun Lok, together with relatives, dressed up and prepare incense sticks and candles and took him to Phra Mahāthera Piyatassī who was the ordination monk,

Phra Mahāthera Bhuddhasāgara who was kammavacā monk, and Phra Mahāthera Sriratana who was one of the members. Having ordained Pu into a monk, Phra Mahāthera Piyatassī named him Sāmiraṃmo and left him in celibatic life and to study dhamma for a long time. [Having known that] the brig of In, the owner, would depart to Bangkok, Sāmiraṃmo asked In, the owner, if he could travel with. In, the owner, asked: Sāmi, for what purpose are you going. The monk said: to study dhamma. In, the owner, congratulated and invited him to the boat. Sāmiraṃmo went back to bid farewell to the three ordination monks. Having travelled on the brig, in the middle of the sea there, that brig was found among the storm. When the storm gusted for seven days and seven nights and became calm, the owner said in frustration: because of this monk, the boat was found in the storm. When the storm calmed, the monk got on a spare boat and left his left leg on the water, and the water became fresh. The monk bathed in that water. The owner asked: having bathed in that water, is it freshwater or seawater? The monk scooped the water and offered to the owner. The owner, having tasted, found that the water was fresh. The owner, having called the crew members to fill the water in jars and tubs, was glad and offered to protect him and travel further.

Having arrived in Ayutthaya, the owner found an accommodation for him in Wat-Kae where the monk resided in. When the owner would return to the city, he left Chan, a slave worthy of 2 Tamlueng (money unit), to care for sāmiraṃmo. As the owner returned to the city, the monk studied dhamma at Wat Lumplināvāsa. For a long while, a country, having taken seven dhamma inscriptions written on a goal plate the size of a tamarine leaf preserved in a pot, started a challenge to compose a verse from those leaves; a winner would obtain everything on the brig. The royal order came to the monks all over Ayutthaya. All monks came in gathering due to that royal order to compose it. The monks could not translate it. The royal order came to Sri-Thanonchai to ask the monks residing outside of the city wall, and monks outside of the city wall came in gathering. Sri-Thanonchai invited the monk to the gathering place. Chan, the slave, scooped the water to wash the monk's feet and saw an auspicious event about [the feet] on the stone. Chan used a thread to bind the monk's robe. Sri-Thanonchai said: I will take the monk in. The monk, having kneeled down to the teacher, sat down and paid respect to that monk. The seven diplomats said: taking a crawling infant to solve the mystery? The monk, having then said to the teacher to tell the law department, responded to the words of the seven diplomats, "how many days and months would it take for the infant, having been

out of the womb of the mother, to know to roll, to sit, and to crawl – to know it all?”. The monk asked the diplomats: know to roll well, or to sit well, or know to roll well? The diplomats could not respond to the words of the monk, and lost to him. The king then had someone brought a golden bed to welcome, and asked the diplomats to brought out seven piles of dhamma inscriptions. The monk then sat up to compose those inscriptions into rows. The monk said: it needs 7 more letters to complete. The diplomats said: that is all there is. The monk asked him to bring them in. The diplomats could not do so and asked: what letters were missing? The monk said: saṃ, vi, dā, pu, ka, ña, and pa. The diplomats, having brought all the seven letters from the bun of a brahmin to the monk, said that they lost to the monk twice. The diplomats, having paid respect to the monk, given all things in the brig that they brought to the king, built a new cell for the wise monk and offered him part of the city. The monk ruled that part of the city for three days and returned it to the king as it once was. The monk, together with Sri-Thanonchai and others, think of the difficulty posing to the land commoners. Sri-Thanonchai invited him to the palace. Having received blessing from the monk, the king asked: the wise, for what purpose do you come here? The wise monk said: to ask for the poor peasants. Having seen that Wat-Rājapratīṣṭhāna would ask for his majesty support, do not take the peasants from the royal treasury there. The king accepted and asked Samchom and Khun-Inthapanya to bring the account record in to note this record from the wise monk. Samchom and Khun Inthapanya then brought the account record to the throne and offered 300 peasants to the monk as the peasants of Phra Sriratana Mahādhātu in Wat-Rājapratīṣṭhāna. A royal order came to Sri Thanonchai to invite the monk to the palace. There was the order from the king to donate lands for the fellow Buddhists. Having people worshipped the monk, the king said that he would pour ceremonial water, [...] and cursed that: whoever defied this order and used this for personal gain would be burned in hell and suffered eternally, not being able to follow the buddha, dhamma, candra, āditya, or sangha in any lives, not being able to know to avoid failures in this life or the future life. This curse of the kind would be in effect for 5,000 years from now onwards. In that order, the rulers of the city and Mueng Phatthalung are prohibited from asking the peasants at Wat-Rajapratīṣṭhāna to join in any wars or [any kinds of works at all]. The rulers shall not exploit [any sorts of income from this]. Leave it according to the order. The wise monk asked Mahātherasī, the younger one, to be the chief accountant of peasantry donated to look after Wat Phra Rājapratīṣṭhāna and construct mālika

cetiya at that Wat-Phra-rājapraṭiṣṭhāna [...]” (*The Chronicles on Land Donation during Ayutthaya Period (Vol.1) 1967*).

Based on this myth, readers and believers know a few more impressions about Luang-Pu-Tuad:

1) Luang-Pu-Tuad comes from a regular family in the South

Though his family’s wealth was not told in the story, the readers could get the impression that he came from a regular income earners in the South based on the profession as a rice farmer. The information that his parents work alongside with their family companions in the rice growing field could imply that the family was not entirely independent. Furthermore, the information about him being left in the cradle without a caretaker suggests that there was a little shortage in term of labor in the rice growing field. Based on his parents’ profession and the side-stories, it is determined that Luang-Pu-Tuad resided in a regular rice farming family in a small community in present-day Southern Thailand.

2) There was a miracle associating with his birth, that he received a ball of glass from a king cobra when he was an infant

While being left in the cradle tied to a Jambolan tree near to the rice growing field, he was binded by a king cobra. This myth explains a little more about the belief in serpents that often appears in Thai mythology. Snakes, though often understood as a terrifying venomous animal, are often represented as the host of a land deity, a kind of deity that look after the people residing in a certain areas. This is the reason as to why snakes are often respected and worshipped as there could be certain deific beings residing in them (Panchin, 2010, p. 13). This is probably the reason as to why the father did not attempt to threaten the snakes, as it might result in misfortune, and instead, he offered popped rice and flowers to the deities.

However, the significance of this story is not in the snake itself, but rather what the snakes left for the infact: a glass of ball. There was no indication in this story whether or not the glass of ball is sacred or contains the holy elements. However, the readers could potentially assume that the glass of ball is sacred, as as an event where a snake would bind an infant, did not kill him, but in turn leave him a glass of ball should be considered an auspicious event.

3) There was a miracle associating with his journey to Central Thailand

The myth suggests that Luang-Pu-Tuad performed a miracle when he was on a journey to Central Thailand. While In, the owner of the brig, was frustrated due to

the storm that posed as a major obstacle for days and nights, Luang-Pu-Tuad performed a miracle by dipping his bare foot on the seawater and transformed that water into freshwater. This is probably the first miracle performed by Luang-Pu-Tuad in this mythology. It does not indicate how Luang-Pu-Tuad has gained the power. However, the act of dipping his leg in the water, and even bathed in it, suggested that he acknowledged his supernatural power prior to committing it.

4) He was evidently literate

The myth leaves readers with the impression that Luang-Pu-Tuad was evidently literate. Prior to his ordination, Luang-Pu-Tuad completed Dasajāti Dhammapada and basic literacy skills in a local temple. He was later on supported by many monks, leading to ordination which was carefully planned out. In fact, a long period of his life was dedicated mainly to dhamma study.

Even though what made him known to the kind in central Thailand was in his victory against the foreign diplomats, such victory could not be accomplished purely by luck. It would take an unimaginable amount of attention and fluency to be able to compose and reconstruct Buddhist dhamma in order to win such challenge. Therefore, the information that he not only won in the challenge but also to be able to completely figure out the missing letters from the challenge. Furthermore, the myth also suggests that such high level of literacy was reached when he was young. This is stated on the part where he kneeled down and was teased by the foreign diplomats regarding his age.

5) He gained a certain official authority in the South

After he gained victory against the foreign diplomats, he asked for the royal donation for the king. This donation comes with his responsibility as the leading authority in that project. The area in the South in which his power dominates was in the construction project of mālika cetiya in Wat Rājapraṭiṣṭhāna (or present-day Wat-Pako). Through this donation, he obtained 300 peasants who would work not only for construction but to care for the temple, without the command that no imposing authorities in the region – namely, the rulers – could ever challenge.

Luang-Pu-Tuad and Sacred Places in Southern Thailand

For hundreds of years, some of the places associated with the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad are still prevalent; some of these places are considered sacred and generated various kinds of myths. Though the weight of historical truth in these places are not as credible as the written document, the areas in which these places

are found could suggest the dominance of the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad in certain regions.

There are various places associated with Luang-Pu-Tuad prior to his death that are still recognized up to this date; most of these places situated in Sathingphra peninsula (present-day Sathingphra, Ranot, Krasaesin, and Singhanakhon), over 5-12 (depending on the landscape) in length and 70 kilometers in width.

1. Liep Tree

Located in Ban-Liep (currently under management of Wat-Diluang), it is believed that Pu (Luang-Pu-Tuad)'s parents buried the placenta around the bottom of a Liap tree. Over 400 years, the tree is 13 meter in diameter. Samnaksong-Tonliap is situated here (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 47-48).

2. The Field of the Cradle

Located in Ban-Tha-Khura (currently under management of Wat-Phakho), it is believed that the field of the cradle is associated with the myth of the holy crystal ball. As an infant, Pu's (Luang-Pu-Tuad) parents left him on the cradle and left to harvest rice from the field. As they returned, a king cobra encircled the cradle and spitted out a crystal ball. Samnaksong-Na-Ple is situated here (Peachsuwan, 2001, p. 48).

Aside from the above mentioned sites associated with the birth of Luang-Pu-Tuad, there is a variety of places associated with his pilgrimage, it is believed that Luang-Pu-Tuad rested in various locations in the South. These locations are turned into temples or other Buddhist facilities. One example is the Pilgrim's Rest in Ban-Bo-Suan. It is believed that Luang-Pu-Tuad once rested in this area during his pilgrimage. In 2538 BE, Thakoengsak Phanno, former Lamphun governor, revived the myth and constructed a sanctuary here and hosted Luang-Pu-Tuad water sprinkling ritual once every year in April (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 50-54). Other notable places include Samnaksong-La-ongmanee, Tam-Talod, Wat-Bandi, and Wat-Saikhao (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 54-55).

3. Phra Suvarṇamālikacetiya Śrīratanamahādhātu

Currently under management of Wat-Phakho, the temple was constructed from 2057 to 2111 BE. The ruler of Phattalung invited Phra Maha Anodasasi to go on pilgrimage and bring some substances from Lanka to construct a chedi in order to preserve Buddhist relics. This chedi underwent various restorations, even during Luang-Pu-Tuad's era. From 2148 to 2163 BE, this temple underwent another

renovation. The top of the chedi was embroidered by five holy steels and the holy crystal ball of Luang-Pu-Tuad. In 2444 BE, Luang-Pho-Kaew (Wat-Diluang) restored the chedi and embroidered the top, the base, and the wall of the chedi with copper (Wichanchai, 2009, pp. 33-34).

4. Ban-Tham-Chedi

Luang-Pu-Tuad once asked King Akatosarot to restore Suvarṇamālikacetiya Śrīratanamahādhātu With 500 manpower and food supply for 15 days, the workers settled in this area west of Wat-Phakho (Wichanchai, 2009, p. 47).

5. Luang-Pu-Tuad's Cane and the Rubber Tree

Different from regular rubber tree, this tree has bumpy texture. It is believed that, during Luang-Pu-Tuad's service in Wat-Phako, there was a group of pirates who aimed to kidnap Luang-Pu-Tuad from the shore. As Luang-Pu-Tuad was kidnapped, the wind was serene, yet the pirate ship could not sail. The food supply was depleted eventually; hence Luang-Pu-Tuad legged in seawater and turned that water into freshwater. The pirates drank the water and survived. They apologized to Luang-Pu-Tuad and returned him to the shore. Luang-Pu-Tuad rested around the tree and left his cane on the rubber tree (Wichanchai, 2009, p. 48).

Sacred Places and the Manifestation of Luang-Pu-Tuad

These sacred places are living evidence of the existence of Luang-Pu-Tuad that encourages storytelling in oral tradition and hence preserve the legacy of Luang-Pu-Tuad up to the date prior to the revival and the proliferation of the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad in other regions of Thailand. Prior to such revival attempt, not many people knew the history, or even the name, of Luang-Pu-Tuad; the term Luang-Pu-Tuad without a doubt derived from the term “Luang-Pho” (monk) and “Tuad” (spirit) and is a title of the respected monk, not the name. It was not until the service of Luang-Pu-Tim, a former abbot of Wat-Chang-Hai, who revived the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad where Luang-Pu-Tuad was personalized, with a title of “Yiap nam-thale-chuet” (legged in freshwater), which encourages a sense of being of this respected monk distinguished from other Luang-Pu-Tuad in the south (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 101-103).

1. Land deity

There were various sites associated with Luang-Pu-Tuad's cremation extending from Sayburi, Kedah, Malaysia to Wat-Chang-Hai, Pattani, Thailand. There was a myth indicating that Luang-Pu-Tuad passed away in Wat-Goranai, Sayburi, Malaysia. Prior to his death, he insisted that his corpse should be cremated in Wat-Chang-Hai, Pattani.

On the way to Wat-Chang-Hai, the procession had to rest in various places; those places would be marked with a stick. These marks are called 'satupa' and hence considered sacred areas. There are various satupa's that were found, notably: "Sami Mati" Air Kala, Ban-Siri, Khok-Meru, Baling, Kuan-Phra, Bukit Sami, Kuan-Cedi, Bukit Chandi, Wat-Thepsuwannaram, Padang Pliang, Kedah State, Wat-Phosaereeyaram, Central Kedah State, Wat-Lampam, Kuan-Kunkawhaeng, Ban-Plakkhla, Ban-Naka, Ban-Kaek, Wat-Phikhun-Thararam (Wat-Pradu), Northern Kedah, Wat-Dindaeng, Tanah Merah, Northeastern Kedah, Wat-Parittaram in Padang Senai the final Malaysian border, Ban-Prakob, Songkhla, Ban-Tamtalod, Songkhla, Wat-Chang-Hai-Tok, Pattani, and Wat-Chang-Hai, Pattani (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 99-100). Aside from the above mentioned locations, there are also other marks scattered all over Thai-Malaysian territory, mostly in Thai villages (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 99-103).

The sites associated with the cremation of Luang-Pu-Tuad are considered sacred places and hence associated with the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad. The site where the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad is mostly recognized is the location of present-day Wat-Chang-Hai, the destination of the procession. The satupa in Wat-Chang-Hai is situated near to the train station, and the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad's sacred power is often associated with trains. The satupa was restored by Luang-Pu-Tim, a former abbot of the temple, using cement to coat a layer on the wooden satupa.

These above-mentioned sites are significant for an analysis on Luang-Pu-Tuad. While these places often are referred to in the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad, they become a living evidence for the existence of Luang-Pu-Tuad, especially in Southern Thailand. Even in Malaysia where Buddhist is not a concentrated religion in the area, there was an oral tradition associated with a Buddhist monk being told especially in Gerik, Perak, Malaysia, indicating power of "Sami Mati". The term derived from "Sami" (a monk) and "mati" (death), which refers to the location where the respected monk passed away. In Pengkalan Hulu, the location of Wat-Koranai, there is a myth of "Sami Hujan", which derives from the term "Sami" (a monk) and "Hujan" (rain), or the monk of rain, which indicates Luang-Pu-Tuad's sacred power in weather control (Piyakul, 2007, p. 100).

2. Fire Silhouette

Aside from manifestation as a land deity, there were several myth that indicates that Luang-Pu-Tuad appears in a form of fire silhouette as well. The fire silhouette (lo), in the local Southern dialect, refers to an act of enlightening. Such

enlightening stage is due to a period of cultivating past merits and dhamma learning (Piyakul, 2007, p. 118). The belief in the manifestation of Luang-Pu-Tuad as the fire silhouette is apt to derive from this myth: As Luang-Pu-Tuad reached his senile, there was a story of a novice monk named Bunrot who stayed in one of the temples in Songkhla. He dearly wished to have a chance to meet Lord Metteyya. Wishful thinking has brought him an old man who was an avatar of Lord Indra, leaving him a heavenly flower during the night visit. This flower was the beginning of the journey to visit Lord Metteyya. Lord Indra asserted that a person who recognized this flower would be Lord Metteyya. The journey took a certain period of time, yet it appears that nobody could recognize the flower. It took a period of time for the novice monk to visit Luang-Pu-Tuad in Wat-Phakho (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 116-117). As the novice monk paid some respect to Luang-Pu-Tuad, the senile monk recognized the flower and asked where the novice monk got this Montharop flower from. Montharop is a heavenly flower which will fall to the material world only on special occasion including the time when Lord Buddha reached Nibbana, and hence it was not possible for a regular monk to recognize such flower. The novice monk paid another respect with great joyfulness. He then informed the monk of the pilgrimage to visit Lord Metteyya. As Bunrod found out that he is an avatar of Lord Metteyya, Luang-Pu-Tuad then asked the novice monk to wait for him to finish Buddhist duties. Then Luang-Pu-Tuad asked the novice monk to engage in advanced meditation. The two monks transformed into fireballs, disappeared to the South of the temple with no returns. After this miracle, the locals often saw these fireballs by accident, which is believed that these were the spirits of the two monks (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 64-68).

As a result of the myth, the locals believe that whenever there is misfortune occurring in the local area or during a ritual that is associated with the places or Luang-Pu-Tuad, there would be a miracle in which a fire silhouette will appear in the sky during the night, which is believed to be the manifestation of the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad. As this auspicious miracle happens, it is believed that the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad has acknowledged it, or that the spirit came to participate in the ritual (Piyakul, 2007, p. 118). In the area called Wat-Hua-Lamphu, which is believed to be one of the sites associated with the pilgrimage of Luang-Pu-Tuad, the villagers spotted two fire silhouettes floating from the East, arriving into the temple and disappeared. The villagers believe that they were the spirits of Luang-Pu-Tuad and Boonrod, the novice monk.

The Construction of Southern Pantheon

As a result of the oral tradition of sites associated with Luang-Pu-Tuad which led to the re-telling of Luang-Pu-Tuad's stories up to the present date, the oral tradition also led to further construction of the stories of Luang-Pu-Tuad in relation to local spirits. There is a series of beliefs that during the period of his lifetime, he has a number of Buddhist companions, namely Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yai, Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yo, and Somdej-Chao-Chomthong.

1. Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yo, Songkhla

Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yo was born in Ban-Pru, Hat-Yai, Songkhla. When he was 20 year old, he was ordained in a local temple. As he learned and completed dhamma, he decided to go on a pilgrimage to various sites and met Luang-Pu-Tuad. They both discussed dhamma-vinaya. Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yo appreciate and respect Luang-Pu-Tuad. He once made a wish that – supposed that he and Luang-Pu-Tuad had accumulated merits together during their past lives – he hoped to see Luang-Pu-Tuad sitting on a red carpet. As he finished making that wish, he saw Luang-Pu-Tuad sitting on the red carpet according to that wish. Then Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yo and Luang-Pu-Tuad decided to go on a pilgrimage together. (58-59)

There was also a story that once Luang-Pu-Tuad visited Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yo, he brought along food made with pork ribs. As Luang-Pu-Tuad was eating, he found that the ribs became stone, and realized that this was a challenge. He reversed the power and kept on eating. Not long further, Luang-Pu-Tuad asked his student to bring food made with small fish and offer it to Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yo. As Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yo was eating, he found that the meal became stone, and realized that this was a challenge. He reversed the power and kept on eating (Piyakul, 2007, p. 130).

2. Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yai, Wat-Soong-Ko-Yai, Songkhla

Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yai was a senior monk. When the locals escaped from the pirates who raided the city of Phatthalung up to the area which is present-day Ban-Tung-Bua, Krasaesin, Krasaesin, Songkhla, Luang-Pu-Tuad saw that this was a good location to build a village, and decided to build the village there. Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yai, a monk who is well-behaved and well-learned in dhamma-vinaya, met Luang-Pu-Tuad and discussed dhamma. They sometimes met up in telepathy to discuss dhamma, as well as staging miracle challenges (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 60-61). There was once when Somdej-Chao-Ko-Yai visited Luang-Pu-Tuad in Wat-Pako. He brought along soma a watermelon to stage a challenge in supernatural power by

consecrating the watermelon into steel. As Luang-Pu-Tuad was attempting to slice through the watermelon, he could not do so and realized that this was a challenge from a companion. He reversed the power and asked the students to slice through, and they could do so. Later on, Luang-Pu-Tuad visited Somdej-Chai-Ko-Yai at Wat-Soong-Ko-Yai, he also brought along condensed sugar and pounded unripe rice consecrated into steel. Somdej-Chai-Ko-Yai could not eat it until he reversed the power (Piyakul, 2007, p. 129).

3. Somdej-Chao-Chomthong, Wat-Khao-Or, Phatthalung

There was once when Luang-Pu-Tuad made stirred sticky rice and asked his student to offer it to Somdej-Chao-Chomthong. As Somdej-Chao-Chomthong received that stirred sticky rice, he found that he could not eat the rice because it was as hard as stone. Somdej-Chao-Chomthong responded by consecrating a watermelon and asked his student to offer it to Luang-Pu-Tuad. As Luang-Pu-Tuad received the watermelon, he could not slice through it because the watermelon was also as hard as stone (Peachsuwan, 2001, p. 61).

4. Luang-Pho-Tuad Boonyarit, Wat-Sri-Maha-Pho, Pattani

Luang-Pu-Tuad and Luang-Pho-Tuad Boonyarit are buddhist companions. They went on a buddhist pilgrimage together. When Luang-Pu-Tuad arrived in Pattani, he stopped for a rest in Wat-Chang-Hai, and Luang-Pho-Tuad Boonyarit stopped at Wat-Sri-Maha-Pho (Peachsuwan, 2001, p. 63).

These story contains one significant feature: it is a story of monks who stage a challenge on supernatural power. The issue with these stories is that they are often too similar in term of structure that the only difference is the object being used in the challenge. There are often times when the villagers are confused about the object being used in such challenges. However, they do get a good glimpse of one picture: that a monk from one temple are befriended with supernatural power, and they sometimes go on a pilgrimage together. There was a major question regarding the stories here: do these monks necessarily live during the same timeline?

The fact that little is known about these monks, aside from Luang-Pu-Tuad, could imply that the construction of Southern pantheon is created through the myth of supernatural power. The fact that the major similarity among these myths is the challenge in supernatural power does not suggest that they belong to the same historical timeline. In other words, they could – in person – live totally under a different time period. Chaiwut Piyakul suggests that such buddhist companionship

reflects in the Southern culture of companionship, which is the system of interpersonal relationship that results in mutual supports from different parties, during both in regular time or the time of crisis. Such companionship is a social contract of those within the same social group. Besides, these monks with the stories affiliated with Luang-Pu-Tuad reside in the major local temples, the centre of the local faith and mental refuge. The relationship among these monks suggest that there are contacts between these local villages in which these temples situate. Furthermore, the food that is used in these challenges also reflects the culture of popular local food consumed only within the region (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 132-133).

Conclusion

It is important to take sites associated with *Luang-Pu-Tuad* into account of the analysis due to its greatest role in being living evidence for the existence of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* during Ayutthaya period. Without these sites, there is a tendency that the myth of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* would be forgotten. As the place where *Luang-Pu-Tuad* grew up in, most of the sites associated with the life of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* prior to his death situated in Satingphra peninsula (present-day Satingphra, Ranod, Krasaesin, and Singhanakorn), while the sites associated with his cremation extended from Sayburi, Malaysia, to Pattani, Thailand due to the tradition to create satupa during the procession. As these places are considered sacred, the myth of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* continues to be told up to the present; even in Malaysia where Buddhist is not a concentrated religion in the area, the myth of Samimati continues to be told.

Deducting from various sources in oral and written sources, as well as sites associated with *Luang-Pu-Tuad*, it is evident that *Luang-Pu-Tuad* was represented as a holy man endowed with sacred power existing in a form of spirit. Regardless of its inconsistencies, the myth of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* is often told in oral tradition among the locals, and it is later recorded by amulet enthusiasts in various publications, including magazines and newspapers. The myth of *Luang-Pu-Tuad*, prior and subsequent to ordination, provides enthusiasts with the sense of being of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* - a man endowed with sacred power - as evidence in an act of legging in water and healing cholera epidemic in Ayutthaya. Apart from his role as a monk endowed with sacred power, he is foretold as an incarnation of Lord Metteyya based on the myth of novice monk *Bunrod's* pilgrimage.

The dominance of the belief in the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad will be further explained in the next chapter focussing on the official reconstruction and systematization of the belief of Luang-Pu-Tuad in Wat-Chang-Hai, leading to the

production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet. The death of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* is not the end of the myth, but rather the beginning of a new status as a superhuman that no longer resides in a human body; such transcendental process is best explained under the concept of etheric body. The etheric body records the deeds one obtains in the past. In the case of Luang-Pu-Tuad, the stories of his karmic heritage is not only expressed during his lifetime (innate power: wachasit and the holy ball) but also after death (etheric power: acquiring supernatural and bodhisattva power). It appears that the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is not only drawn from previous karmic heritage but also his concentration practice, though with the aid of the holy ball he obtained as part of his karmic reward, in order to obtain jhanic power. In short, such representation of the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad further allows for more myth-creation and systematization of Luang-Pu-Tuad myth in Wat-Chang-Hai, especially during the period of abbot by Luang-Pu-Tim.

Chapter 6

Luang-Pu-Tim – Connecting the Myth, Spirit, and Status

The stories of Luang-Pu-Tuad continues to survive over time. However, with the change in the religious system in different periods, the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad might change, too, depending on the context of time and location. The central aim of this section is to elaborate that the concept of Luang-Pu-Tuad in Thailand is viewed through a lens of Thai religiosity. In other words, through mythology, Luang-Pu-Tuad is viewed as a spirit with sacred power to intervene in one's destiny. Many actors attempted to affiliate themselves with the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad to achieve different ends. One of the best examples is the case of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet production in 2497, which was considered the case which Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was produced for the first time.

Thai Religiosity

Luang-Pu-Tuad, within Thai religiosity, is considered to be a spirit with sacred power. The idea of Thai religiosity concerning Luang-Pu-Tuad is affiliated with the following notions:

1. The Concept of Rebirth

The concept of Rebirth is one of the significant core teachings of the Buddha, recognized not only in Thai Buddhism but also in any schools of Buddhism and Hinduism in the rest of the world. Karl Potter explained that a particular kind of rebirth is a result of karma (Potter, 2001, p. 232). Rebirth, in Thai Buddhism, leads to a particular destination in the universe: the World of Desire, the World of Form, or the World of Formlessness, as identified in Traibhumigatha and other cosmological texts (Padamalangula, 2003, p. 86). In this sense, Namphueng Padamalangula visualized the image of the universe into a thick disk (representing the subterranean space of hell), surfaced with the lands of human beings, while the space above the disk represents heaven (Padamalangula, 2003, p. 87).

The notion of rebirth as a result of karma is significant in Thai cosmological system. Ven.Pratoom Jaruvangso provided a detailed account on rebirth in his paper entitling "A Comparative Study of Deva in Views of Theravada Buddhism and Brah[man]ism in Theravada Buddhism". Based on the study, birth could be characterized into four main forms: andaja (egg-born creatures), jalabuja (womb-born

creatures), samsedaja (putrescence-born creatures), and opapatika (spontaneously-born creatures) (Jaruvangso, 2011, p. 29). Death, in Thai Buddhism, would lead to another stage of rebirth. Based on Attagara's study, death is merely a physical change, a process by which the soul adopts another form to which it is attached (Attagara, 1967a, p. 34). In this sense, a person whose soul is attached to virtues would be born in a deific realm, while a person whose soul deserves to be punished would be born in a lower realm (Attagara, 1967a, p. 35). Caruvamso indicated that the heaven realm is habited by irradiated beings. Contrary to human birth, the process of rebirth for these beings (uppatideva), however, is not dependent on womb; these beings are born youth, with irradiating body.

If the concept of rebirth is prevalent in Thai Buddhism, then how does the belief in phi recognized in Thai society? Though Kingkao Attagara provided a detailed anthropological account on villagers' understanding of the notion on Traibhumigatha on the chapter entitling "Belief in Supernatural Beings", there is much difficulty connecting the meaning of spirits (phi) with the above-mentioned cosmological texts, which was the reason why all supernatural agents are lumped into this term, as she defined Phi as: the dead, and those whose corporeal existence evolves from the human life (Attagara, 1967a, p. 37).

This definition of phi provided by Attagara is quite problematic as it contains two ambiguities: 1) Is Phi necessarily human? 2) Is phi is an intermediate being that is not born, or a kind of being? The first ambiguity could be justified through a comparative perspective with the belief in "thuat" in Southern Thailand. Thuat refers to a kind of sacred being, usually remains as a protective being in a particular place. Though thuat usually take a form similar to human endowed with supernatural power, as prevalent in the case of Thuat Khomin-Khomet or Thuat-Kho-Yai; thuat can sometimes appear in the form of animal, as appeared in the case of Thuat-Laem-Chak or Thuat-Rong; or sometimes without any form at all, as appeared in the cause of Thaut-Sa-Pho (Boonchaury, 2001). In this sense, it is arguably whether these beings derive from the human life.

The second ambiguity could be justified through a detailed analysis on the classification of phi. The understanding of spirit is often confined with Phya-Anuman Rajadhon's classical work, with emphasis on 'phi' (spirits) which classify both spirits and deities into two major types: phidi (benevolent spirits) and phirai (malevolent spirits). The benevolent spirits, one that provide supernatural power to help the followers, could be further subdivided into two main groups: protective and

ancestral spirits (Phya-Anuman-Rajadhon, 1964). Regardless of the diversity in Thailand, fortunately, local spirits primarily fall within these two categories. Deities of Hindu origin often appear in Buddhist texts. The deities are born as a result of karmic past or in an attempt to accumulate merits deities in Buddhism arise as a result of their karmic deeds during the life as a human, as well as from observing the precepts giving alms and practice meditation (Jaruvangso, 2011, p. 65). For Phya-Anuman Rajadhon, these beings would be categorized as phi as well. In this sense, it is possible to assume that death is the transitional period that transcends a spirit from one from to another.

In this sense, the perception of Phi as an intermediate being might be misleading, especially for deeper analysis on the power of these beings. Paralleled to Phya Anuman Rajadhon's account of phi, Charles Webster Leadbeater, a theosophist, proposed a concept of etheric body. Etheric body refers to an invisible part of the physical body, constituting of finer kind of matter surpassing the eyesight, an essence that keep the body alive (Leadbeater, 2009, p. 29). The concepts of etheric and physical body do not only apply to Thai Buddhism but also other schools of Buddhism. In Theravada Buddhism, the concept of physical body is known as dissamanakaya (only in humans and animals), while the etheric body is known as adhissamanakaya. Following this framework, phi (an etheric body) evolves from human body, but it is not dead – it is being reborn. This accommodates the notion of beings in Thai cosmological system: the notion that certain beings, namely devas and brahmas (deities), as well as certain kinds of manusas (humans) and pretas (hell creatures), are born without means and dead without traces; can be seen but cannot be touch by humans, due to the limitation in human's sense (Jaruvangso, 2011, p. 29).

2. The Concept of Karma and Jhāna

In Padamalangula's paper, entitling "the Play of Undecidability: A Deconstructive Analysis of Thaiphum Phra Ruang (Three Worlds According to King Ruang), focusing on cosmography in Thai Buddhism, she mentioned a concept significant for the study on sacred power, "[there are] special individuals, as the result of their merits and jhana attainment, they have already acquired the miraculous power similar to those of the divine in heaven", though she did not elaborated further on this point (Padamalangula, 2003, p. 102). In this sense, the sacred power could be acquired through several means, especially through karma and jhana.

Concentration is a means to acquire jhāna. The account on jhāna is well-described by Rupert Gethin here: the meditator abandons the hindrances and attains the four jhanas—states of heightened joy, happiness, mindfulness and equanimity; he develops various powers (iddhi), such as the ability to walk on water or fly through the air, and various knowledges (abhinna), including that of past lives and, although less exciting in its description none the less more religiously significant, understanding of suffering, its arising, its cessation and the way leading to its cessation, otherwise understood as knowledge of the four truths or ‘enlightenment’ (bodhi) (Gethin, nd., p. 207). In this sense, jhāna is attained through the awakening of various knowledge experienced by a particular practitioner.

The power of karma, in contrast to jhāna, is not confined to a particular practice; it is a result of deeds collected by a particular practitioner. As Potter explained: [t]he ambiguity of karma theories [...] is certainly among the most prominent causes of confusion in trying to assess the pertinence of criticisms of the sorts. In this sense, it should be analyzed case-by-case. Karl Potter focuses on the notion of karma as relationship between acts and result (Potter, 2001, p. 232). In this respect, karma constitutes of three major components: an action (or a series of actions), the result of the action(s), and the causal relations, which allows for further analysis on the meaning of karma. An action, in this sense, could refer to desire; intention; ignorance; overt, bodily, or vocal behavior; or any behavior of regardless of motive in the same respect. The result of the action could be expressed as physical or mental event; experience; disposition to act in a certain way or to have appropriate kinds of experiences; longer life; external events; or a specific type of rebirth. The causal relationship, in this sense, could refer to substance, disposition, or quality (Potter, 2001, p. 234).

Popular Buddhists believe that the supernatural power can be drawn from higher karmic heritage (Keyes, 1977, p. 287). Such karmic heritage would determine the result of the action expressed as physical or mental event; experience; disposition to act in a certain way or to have appropriate kinds of experiences; longer life; external events; or a specific type of rebirth. An example of a person who is believed to have accumulate past deeds, resulting in a fortunate rebirth, and reached a certain level of jhāna is the story of Luang-Pho-To. Phra Phuthachan (To Phromrangi) was the son of Ngud. When he was 1 month old it appeared that his black birthmark on the back became noticable and he only had one arm bone: the features of 'phumibun' (a person blessed by past merits) His grandparents, Phon and

La, took him to seek refuge from Luang-Pho-Kaeo Wat Bang Lamphu Bon Luang Pho Kaeo foresaw the future of the newborn as a person who will be endowed with 'bunyaphinihan' (merits-miracles), 'panya' (wisdom) respected by all and living a long life (Puriwanchana, 2012).

The series of narratives involving his sacred power are 1) it is believed that he is a bodhisattva due to his peculiar bone structure in the arm 2) when he was invited to the City of Trat he could communicate with a tiger that obstructed his procession the tiger then evaded 3) he could light up a candle in the rain 4) he could stop a storm 5) he could stop the rain 6) he could create money out of nothing 7) a follower of his lost a coconut shell in the water. He told his follower to find the coconut shell in the water in Wat-Rakang and it appeared as he said 8) his sermon could be interpreted into a lotto number 9) he could shorten distance 10) he could change the life of a poor man into a wealthy one 11) he composed jinabanjara 12) he could foresee the fortune of the city 13) he created "Phra-Somdet" amulet collection which is one among the most sacred, especially in avoiding misfortune and strength (Puriwanchana, 2012).

Based on the example, it is possible to imply that, in Thai religiosity, there is a belief that a person who is blessed by past merits might possess a certain characteristic distinguished from others – whether it is physical, vocal, or material. In the case of Luang-Pho-To, such appearance remains physical, as appeared in his birthmark.

Luang-Pu-Tuad in Thai Religiosity

With little knowledge about Luang-Pu-Tuad in the past, the stories of Luang-Pu-Tuad were created and recreated, added and re-added. During the early 2490s, the period in which Luang-Pu-Tim became an abbot in Wat-Chang-Hai, there was an engagement searching for stories to explain the incidents assuring the status of Luang-Pu-Tuad as a spirit based on Thai religiosity. The followings are the stories which people believe to have happened throughout the life of Luang-Pu-Tuad:

1. The Story of Luang-Pu-Tuad Legging in the Sea

There are many popular Luang-Pu-Tuad in Southern Thailand which represent a totally different person in Southern Thai history. Luang-Pu-Tuad, in this paper, is popular known as “Luang-Pu-Tuad-Yiep-Nam-Tale-Chuet” (Luang-Pu-Tuad, having legged in the sea, created freshwater), which originated by an act of him converting

salt water into fresh water. With the oral tradition, there are many views about the period when this act occurred during the life of Luang-Pu-Tuad.

There is a myth that the act of legging in the sea occurred before his ordination. During the time when Pu (Luang-Pu-Tuad) lived in Wat-Diluang, he went out to walk along the beach with friends. While walking, Pu (Luang-Pu-Tuad) saw the brig sailing into the coast; he said that the brig would not be able to sail off the coast. It appeared that the brig really could not sail away. As the crew in the brig noticed such abnormality, they went down to find the cause from Pu's friends. With panic, the children told the crew that this was all due to Pu (Luang-Pu-Tuad). The crew then abducted Pu (Luang-Pu-Tuad) and took him to the brig. As the ship sailed out to sea for a while, it appeared that there were turbulent waves. The brig still could not sail through the waves, resulting in shortage in supplies and fresh water. Pu, then, legged into the sea; the water then became fresh water. He told the crew to drink the water. The crew then decided to return him to the shore (Peachsuwan, 2001, p. 41).

It is also believed that the act of legging in the sea occurred during the period of Luang-Pu-Tuad's monkhood (another belief contrary to the one occurred prior to his ordination). It is believed that Luang-Pu-Tuad walked along the beach during the time when he lived in Wat-Diluang and found a brig reaching the shore. Luang-Pu-Tuad said that the brig would not be able to sail off the coast. As the crew in the brig noticed such abnormality, they went down to ask Luang-Pu-Tuad on the shore. Luang-Pu-Tuad kept insisting that it was not possible for the brig to sail out. The crew then decided to abduct Luang-Pu-Tuad into the brig. As the brig tried to sail out, there were turbulent waves that led to the shortage in food supply and freshwater. Luang-Pu-Tuad then legged into the sea and convert seawater to freshwater. That freshwater sustained the lives of the crew. The crew then decided to return Luang-Pu-Tuad to the shore (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 37-42).

It is also believed that the act of legging into the sea occurred during his pilgrimage to Ayutthaya. After the study with Phra Maha Thera Piyatassasi, Luang-Pu-Tuad travelled to Ayutthaya with the brig owned by In, a wealthy merchant of Sathingphra. While the brig reached Chumphon, there were turbulent waves for 7 days (*The Chronicles on Land Donation during Ayutthaya Period (Vol.1)* 1967, pp. 66-67). As the brig was anchored, there was a shortage in food supply and freshwater. The crew believed that this was due to misfortune. A fortuneteller sat in meditation and realized from a vision that this was due to Luang-Pu-Tuad. The crew decided to

send Luang-Pu-Tuad to an island. While Luang-Pu-Tuad was on a lifeboat, he wished for a miracle to happen if he had a chance to study dharma. Luang-Pu-Tuad dipped his left leg into the sea; it appeared that the water lightened up. Luang-Pu-Tuad told the crew to drink the water that became fresh. In and the crew then apologized to Luang-Pu-Tuad and sent him to Ayutthaya (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 110-111).

2. Luang-Pu-Tuad and the Holy Ball

There was a story about Luang-Pu-Tuad and the holy ball of glass, which was described here: when he was born, his mother put [Luang-Pu-Tuad] in a cradle under the tree and left for work in the rice field. A king cobra was there around the cradle. As the mother came to take a rest, she saw the snake binding the baby. She got panic and shouted to her husband that her son was dead because of the king cobra. The father came and realized that the infant was still alive. He then brought some offerings to the deities; then the snake got away. The parents and the companies went to see the infant in the cradle, leaving only a ball of glass. The father then preserved it for the infant (*The Chronicles on Land Donation during Ayutthaya Period (Vol.1)* 1967, p. 74). This holy ball is significant, as it also triggers the jhanic power of Luang-Pu-Tuad, which will be explained in a more detailed with on the section on jhanic power.

A myth further indicated that As Pu (Luang-Pu-Tuad) grew up, he obtained that crystal ball from his parent; that ball became one of his holy items that would associate with the myth subsequent to his ordination later on: Luang-Pu-Tuad was in Ayutthaya, there was another miracle when he was trying to heal cholera epidemic. Chai Sajjapan explained this event that: As Ayutthaya was the center of Buddhism, Luang-Pu-Tuad resided in the city for several years. One day, cholera broke out in Ayutthaya and killed quite a number of populations in Ayutthaya. The king of Ayutthaya was concerned about the matter. He called Sri-Thanonchai, the state wise man, to invite Luang-Pu-Tuad to the palace in order to resolve the problem. The monk was then engaged in a ritual to create the holy water. He concentrated on the power of the three Buddhist gems, engaged the sacred power that he accumulated through time, and borrows the wishful power from the holy ball. This brought an end to the epidemic in Ayutthaya (Sajjapan, 1992, p. 30). As he returned to the South, he contributed to a lot of local development, one of them being embroidery of the cedi in Wat-Phakho from his holy crystal ball. Later on, there was a thunder and the embroidery fell off. The abbot of Wat-Phako preserved the holy ball up to the present in order to consecrate holy water for the believers.

3. Luang-Pu-Tuad as a Bodhisattva

A number of believers claim that *Luang-Pu-Tuad* is an avatar of the bodhisattva that would become Lord Metteyya in the future, and hence it was one of his duties to protect humans even up to the present to raise his karmic status (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 115-120). Though the concept of bodhisattva is much dominated by Mahayana school of Buddhism, it is undeniable to claim that the concept is not entirely foreign to Theravada Buddhism, even in its textual tradition, as emphasized by Assavavirulhakarn (Assavavirulhakarn, 1980). With a better emphasis on the Thai religiosity, Sangpreedeekorn explained the concept of bodhisattva as one who was on a practice to reach buddhabhūmi. If one vows to selflessly devote himself to rid of human sufferings, one should observe parami precepts: dānapāramī sīlapāramī khantipāramī viriyapāramī dhyānapāramī and prajñapāramī whole-heartedly following these rules, they would acquire the status as manusyabodhisattva" or "gṛhabodhisattva". If one observe four more advanced rules which are upāyapāramī nidhānapāramī balapāramī and tīrapāramī one should acquire a status as "devaraja bodhisattva", endowed with powers to control the sky and the earth, to disguise oneself to help other human beings to reach the cessation of suffering and misfortune resulting in peaceful, joyful environment (Sangpreedeekorn, 2009). According to the myth regarding Luang-Pu-Tuad's death, it is believed that Luang-Pu-Tuad is an avatar of Lord Metteyya, the future Buddha in the material world. This myth is significant for the status of Luang-Pu-Tuad as a superhuman being prior to his death. A superhuman being, in this sense, was defined by Spiro as a kind of being that possesses power greater than man that continues to impact on humans and vice versa (Furseth, 2006, p. 18).

Therefore, the death of Luang-Pu-Tuad is not the end of the myth, but rather the beginning of a new status as a superhuman that no longer resides in a human body. The spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad continued to protect the believers up to the present. Taking the belief in the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad into account with the belief in amulet consecration practice at present, there is a belief that the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad could be transferred into an object form subsequent to the image consecration ritual, resulting in another kind of myth regarding Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in this contemporary era.

4. Contemporary Stories of Luang-Pu-Tuad Spirit

There are also many contemporary legends that depict Luang-Pu-Tuad as a form of spirit. these myths are mainly popular around the sites associated with his

death. A myth indicated that Luang-Pu-Tuad was dissatisfied with Japanese military during World War II. The Japanese military used Thai trains to transport supply for the attack on Singapore. In January 2485 BE, the train from Su-ngai Kolok approached the station, with the locomotive heading near to the satupa. All of the sudden, the train stopped, although the engine functioned properly and the wheels were turning on the rail, leading to overheating. Some officers and Japanese military members tried to solve the issue in desperation. They turned back for 1 kilometer and returned to the same direction in an accelerated speed. However, as the locomotive approached the satupa, the train stopped. Luang-Pu-Tim heard the train was trying to pass by, yet he ignored until evening. As decided to see the train, he noticed that the locomotive got stuck in the same place and believed that this was due to the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad. He walked down to the satupa and communicated with Luang-Pu-Tuad, asking the respected monk to forgive these soldiers, so they could finish their task. Luang-Pu-Tuad then whispered by his ear, “These Japanese are looking down on us (Thai). They stole our trains. It is their luck to have two of my pupils on the train; otherwise I would have pushed off the rail. I will not let them”. Luang-Pu-Tim did not know what he meant by “two of my pupils” until a week passed by. Two men approached Luang-Pu-Tim and said that they were Thai officers on the train that was halted in front of the temple, and hence Luang-Pu-Tim realized that “two of my pupils” referred to two Thai officers on the train (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, p. 57).

One month passed by, a group of teenagers were playing near to the satupa. They talked about Luang-Pu-Tuad’s power in terminating the train last month. They made a bet whether Luang-Pu-Tuad would terminate the train again that day. Those who believed that Luang-Pu-Tuad would terminate the train then collected the wax and incense around the satupa and worshipped Luang-Pu-Tuad, wishing the monk to terminate the passing train (Yala-Hadyai). As the locomotive approached, the train was completely halted for nearly 30 minutes (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, p. 58).

On October 2nd 2495 BE, Luang-Pho-Yim, Luang-Pho-Daeng, Luang-Pho-Kao, from Sayburi, Pattani, visited Wat-Chang-Hai and stayed the night. In the morning, Luang-Pho-Daeng walked down to the satupa to wait for the train. I wished, “He said, she said, that Luang-Pu-Tuad is sacred and already terminated the train for 2 times. I traveled a long way and hope to experience once”. It took a while for the train to approach the station. As the train approached the temple, it was terminated while the wheels were still turning, similar to other experiences. Luang-Pho-Daeng

witnessed such miracle with mixed feeling, and said “I have already experienced it. Please let the train go”. After being terminated for about 10 minutes, the train started to move again (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 58-59).

There is also a story of a son who was being punished by his parent. The boy ran away to the temple while his dad was following by. However, the boy had been missing, and the father decided to ask for help from villagers. As the villagers arrived in the temple, the boy walked down and said in an old man’s voice, “His dad is cruel. I could not withstand such cruelty, so I took him away”. The villagers were panicked. “You do not know me? I am *Luang-Pu-Tuad*, the owner of this stupa. I can testify myself. You can bring salt water here. I can prove it.”, said the boy. The villager then brought in salt water; the boy legged in; the water became freshwater. The boy went on, “or you can light up the fire”. The boy then hopped into the fire. As the parent realized, he bowed down and apologized. The boy then walked out from the fire (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 44-45).

Luang-Pu-Tim: Connecting the Myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad

Luang-Pu-Tim is a monk who has an integral role in the proliferation of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in contemporary period. His former name was Tim Phrompradu. He was born on August 21st 2455 BE in Ban-Napradu, Napradu, Kokpoh, Pattani to Inthong and Num Phrompradu, with 6 siblings (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, p. 72). He learned dhamma with Luang-Pho-Daeng (Wat-Napradu) ever since he was 9 years old. When he turned 18, he became a novice monk and ordained in the same temple. He became a student of Luang-Pho-Phibun (Wat-Duyong) and became a dhamma teacher in Wat-Napradu. He found a number of Buddhist companions during his study, including Luang-Pho-Nong (Wat-Saikhao) and Luang-Pho-Chin (Wat-Muang-Yala) (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 72-73).

In 2484 BE, Luang-Pho-Daeng (Wat-Napradu) invited him to become an abbot in Wat-Chang-Hai. At the time, Wat-Chang-Hai was long abandoned building ruins. It is believed that this temple was once associated with the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad (“Luang-Pu-Tuad (2502 BE),” 2008). Therefore, Luang-Pu-Tim’s attempt to revive this temple and history of Luang-Pu-Tuad was the primary step for the proliferation of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets at present. He embellished the stupa of Luang-Pu-Tuad and constructed various kinds of religious and public utilities, with main source of funding from Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet production that was assisted by Anand Kananurak. With such glory, he received a title “Phra Guru Visayasobhanna” in 2499 BE, two years after the first amulet consecration in Wat-Chang-Hai. Unfortunately, he suffered from

cancer and passed away on November 30th 2512 BE ("The Biography of Luang-Pu-Tim," 2010).

Luang-Pu-Tim has an integral role in reinventing the image of Luang-Pu-Tuad, starting with the process of searching for the stories of Luang-Pu-Tuad. In term of quantity, Luang-Pu-Tim did not perform miracles as frequent as Luang-Pu-Tuad. It is believed that the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tim comes from teacher-student relations subsequent to accepting an abbot position in Wat-Chang-Hai. There is a story of Luang-Pu-Tim's power in creating an oral amulet. One day, Luang-Pu-Tim collected the leftover wax around the stupa, consecrated them into a kind of oral amulet, and distributed them to temple boys. The temple boys were trying out (long-khong) the potencies of the amulet and it turned out that no blades could cut through the skin. As Luang-Pu-Tim knew of this tryout, he called the boys up and prohibited them from tryout (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011).

Another famous story about Luang-Pu-Tim prior to Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet production includes the story of forehead tattoo consecration, as Anand Kananurak indicated: Luang-Pu-Tim's interest on sacred power developed. One day, a group of teenagers who favor the power of invulnerability asked Luang-Pu-Tim to consecrate a tattoo on his forehead to invoke such power. At the time, Luang-Pu-Tim had no knowledge on tattoo consecration, and favored kindness-compassion than such fights. However, Luang-Pu-Tim decided to make a tattoo with grateful remembrance to the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad, and let the hand draw itself. After the ritual, the teenager got into a fight, and no one could fight against his power. From then onwards, forehead tattoo consecration was prohibited [...] (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 53-59).

Another famous kind of sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tim which became a tradition up to this date is human consecration ritual. This ritual is performed in ubosatha with similarity to regular amulet consecration ritual. However, laymen are allowed to sit in through the consecration ritual. It is believed that any kinds of objects that are present in this ritual will possess some sort of sacred power, including clothes and unconsecrated amulets. This ritual was formerly presided by Luang-Pu-Tim prior to his death in 2512 BE. This ritual is performed during Luang-Pu-Tuad Water Sprinkling Festival in April.

Different from Luang-Pu-Tuad, Luang-Pu-Tim did not possess a superhuman status since he was born. Rather, his power relied on teacher-student relations with Luang-Pu-Tuad, subsequent to his position as an abbot of Wat-Chang-Hai. In this

sense, people understood him as a ritual specialist, a person with a special power to perform a ritual to serve one's end, who could communicate with the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad. This is understood as 'enfranchisement' of sacred power, the process in which one inherits power from another (Muad, 2007). With certain power residing in him, he communicated with Luang-Pu-Tuad and transferred such power into an object, which is the beginning phase of the production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in the contemporary era.

Based on the myth, while both Anand Kananurak and Luang-Pu-Tim vowed to follow Luang-Pu-Tuad, it appeared that only Luang-Pu-Tim gained supernatural power from Luang-Pu-Tuad, as appeared in the power to consecrate oral amulets and forehead tattoo, without prior knowledge to do so. Furthermore, the status of Luang-Pu-Tim as a monk is also accepted as a ritual specialist. Anand Kananurak, on the other hand, was a spirit medium who communicates with Luang-Pu-Tuad, but he did not receive the supernatural power from Luang-Pu-Tuad, making him unqualified to conduct the ritual.

The Production of Amulet in 2497 BE

The amulet production in 2497 BE serves as a major transitioning point for the popularity of Luang-Pu-Tuad myth. Luang-Pu-Tuad who was once considered local holy man became a powerful figure in Thai amulet society. This section would explain the process by which the shift in perception began.

Luang-Pu-Tim on the Production of Amulet in 2497 BE.

Wat-Chang-Hai is an ancient temple that was vacant for more hundreds of years. The temple was merely a set of long abandoned building ruins, with traces of ubosatha (Buddhist chapel), territorial stones, and heartwood embroidery mark locating an area where the relics of Luang-Pu-Tuad is stored in.

In 2480 BE, there was a small renovation to the temple, and there were a number of monks who became an abbot of this temple. Until 2480 BE, Luang-Pu-Tim became an abbot of the temple and brought a new phase of the history of Wat-Chang-Hai. At the time, the area of the temple could not be determined with certainty due to settlement of the villagers around the area; until Luang-Pu-Tim identified the territory based on his vision. It is believed that Luang-Pu-Tim was curious about the territory when he became an abbot of this temple. One day, Luang-Pu-Tim had a dream about an old man standing in the middle of the temple. Luang-Pu-Tim asked that old man about the territory. That old man told him to ask

Luang-Pu-Tuad in the stupa. While the old man was leading, there were a number of old monks walking out from the stupa. It is believed that they were Luang-Pho-Si, Luang-Pho-Thong, Luang-Pho-Chan (local monks). Then the most senile monk holding a cane walked out. An old man told him that this was Luang-Pu-Tuad. Luang-Pu-Tuad then walked him to see the old territorial marks of the temple in 4 directions, as well as an area of the ubosatha. In the end, Luang-Pu-Tuad told Luang-Pu-Tim, “If you need anything, make a wish to me”(Piyakul, 2007, p. 137).

As the fame of Luang-Pu-Tuad grew, a number of believers were drawn into the temple, and hence Luang-Pu-Tim planned to construct a new ubosatha. The fortune date of construction was set on August 6th 2495 BE. The construction went on until 2496 BE, yet the funding of the construction was depleted and only the wall was built.

In order to finish up this project, Luang-Pu-Tim decided to discuss with Luang-Pho-Nong (Wat-Saikhao) and Luang-Pho-Nueng (Wat-Napradu) and decided to travel to Wat-Rakang in Bangkok to bring back Luang-Pho-To (Phromrangsri) for sell. As the 3 monks visited the statue to Luang-Pho-To in Wat-Rakang, they went to amulet stalls with 3,000 THB. Luang-Pu-Tim then said, “I felt uneasy to be consecrating some rock, some stone, for people to pay homage to, and then I am taking their money”. As Luang-Pho-Nong Nong and Luang-Pho-Nueng heard of such words of hesitation, they said, “Look, Luang-Pho-To found Phra Somdej amulets to fulfill people’s faith. They pay homage to these amulets and provide financial help in return so that monks can use this money to construct ubosatha and other kinds of facilities. If you want to the renovation to finish, you should follow Luang-Pho-To’s path. There was nothing to be ashamed about”. Then Luang-Pho-Nong said, “I think, probably, we can consecrate amulet ourselves”. “Which amulets”, asked Luang-Pu-Tim. “Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets”, as the answer was given out, the three monks decided to brought only a few amulets from Wat-Rakang and return to Pattani (Piyakul, 2007, p. 138).

In the case of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet production, while there seems to be many stakeholders in the campaign: Luang-Pu-Tim (the abbot of Wat-Chang-Hai) and Anan Kananurak (a wealthy businessman).

Investers and the Production of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulets

As explained in the previous chapter, with the rise of the capitalist ideals due to the US-Thailand’s relations, amulets were commoditized and mass-produced, as well as advertized in response to such changes. In the production of Luang-Pu-Tuad

Amulets in 2497 BE, Anan Kananurak, a wealthy elite and a businessman, was entirely involved in each process of the amulet production.

1. Pre-Production

Anan is not only an investor but also a strong believer in the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad. One day in late November 2495 BE, Anand Kananurak had a dream about Luang-Pu-Tuad in a place situated around Wat-Chang-Hai. Luang-Pu-Tuad gave him a medicine and put a fortune headband on his head as an evidence of master-student relations. Then Luang-Pu-Tuad walked away and disappeared to the location of Wat-Chang-Hai. In the morning, he realized that there was a stupa in the temple, which was most probably the stupa of Luang-Pu-Tuad. He intended to visit the temple, but with rigorous schedule, he could not visit the temple at the time. On February 4th 2497 BE, he visited the temple for the first time and discussed with Luang-Pu-Tim about the ongoing ubosatha construction. Anand suggested Luang-Pu-Tim to produce amulets to raise funds for the construction, yet Luang-Pu-Tim said that he thought of this for 2 years, but it seemed intricate. Anand then volunteered to produce the first series of amulet (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 135-157).

Prior to the production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet, Luang-Pu-Tim and Anand Kananurak received a series of messages from Luang-Pu-Tuad. As Luang-Pu-Tim and Anand Kananurak decided to produce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets together, they had to draft the form of the amulet. Anand Kananurak asked Luang-Pu-Tim select the forms of the amulet. However, while Luang-Pu-Tim was planning, Anand Kananurak saw a vision of Luang-Pu-Tuad silhouette sitting in meditation over the lotus. He indicated that: I asked for Luang-Pu-Tim to select the form of the amulet that served his interest because I personally wanted to pick the color of the amulet, which should be rouge. Suddenly, I felt eeriness, which was witnessed by the people who were present there. I ignored such feeling that said, “This probably happened because Luang-Pu-Tuad was pleased with our attempt to produce the amulets. I believe it is best to let Luang-Pu-Tim pick the form of amulet”. Then I suddenly realized another kind of eerie feeling. I saw a levitating amulet with an image of an old monk with dark skin sitting in meditation. I glanced at the watch. It was 13.25 at the time (Kananurak, 1992, pp. 36-37). The appearance of Luang-Pu-Tuad, signifying an old monk sitting in meditation over 2 layers of lotuses, in the vision became the prototypical image for Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets up to the present.

Subsequent to the appearance of Luang-Pu-Tuad in the vision, Anand Kananurak asked his brother, Wittaya Kananurak, to create a prototype from wax and

placed it for worship for 3 days. During the 4th day of worship, the wax turned black only on the area that represented the body of Luang-Pu-Tuad, including face, arms, hands, and feet, while the part that represented the robe remained yellow (Piyakul, 2007, p. 142)

2. Mass Production

For an amulet to have a particular set of potencies, there has to be a certain kind of substance that could be the source of power. Sources of such power could be a certain kind of metals or herbs that have fortunate names or medicinal properties.

In term of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets, there are various kinds of herbs, notably Phaya-Khotchasan, Ai-Thao-Nang-Niao, Hang-Hanu-Man, Sak-Lek, Wan-Khiat, Khangkhok, Nangram, Sabulueat, Wan-Som, Wan-Hua-Chang, Nakkharat, Hua-Wua, Hangchang, Ya-Dai-Bai, Ma-Krathuep-Rong, Kling-Klang-Dong, and Phetchasangkhat. Without the consecration ritual, these herbs possess supernatural qualities, namely the power in invulnerability, charm, healing, or spirit defying power, and hence are sacred and on its own (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 143-144).

Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet also constitutes of medicinal soil (Din-Kak-Ya-Yak). Medicinal soil is a special kind of black soil found mostly in mountainous areas in Yala. It is believed that medicinal soil was created by a giant named Hemaraja who attempted to fix an herbal medicine. With failure, the giant turned the cauldron upside down. That cauldron turned into a mountain named Khao-Kratha, while the medicine turned into herbs and medicinal soil. Medicinal soil is used to produce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets up to the present. The location of medicinal soil is owned by Pradit Chandam who used to give out the soil for free, until a lot of people came to dig the soil and sell to the temple as business, he priced 300 – 700 baht for a bag of soil. This medicinal soil was brought by a volunteer, Huat and Chat Chimsiri (Kananurak, 1992, pp. 38-39).

Aside from herbs and medicinal soil, there are many other substances used to create Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets, including mineral. Minerals refer to a kind of random shimmering white or silver grains that was sprinkled or attached to the back of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. Aside from minerals, the amulet constitutes of lime, wild banana, holy power, stains around Luang-Pu-Tuad satupa in Wat-Chang-Hai, as well as smashed amulets from Phra Nangtra and Thareua treasuries, brought by Suriya Boonyakiet, a military registra from Pattani.

As all substances were collected, these substances were grinded. Anand Kananurak wanted the amulet to have smooth texture, so he asked the owner of Indian spice shop in the local market to grind the substances. However, the grinding was time consuming, yet the fortunate date was coming up. Therefore, the amulet committees took the substances back to the temple and grind them with the help of the locals. Medicinal soil was dried out in the sun and used mix with other substances. Wittaya Kananurak was in charge of the production for the first 7 days, and hence the amulet has a standard mix, with gray-dark color. Later on, however, Wittaya Kananurak taught the monks to mix these substances in the temple. With different supervisors in charge of the production, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet had various colors: black, dark gray, light gray, gray, gray-green to yellowish green, with different textures (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 149-152).

As the substances were collected and mixed, the auspicious date for molding was set on March 19th 2497 BE. While Luang-Pu-Tim communicated with the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad, there were a number of people molding the amulets, notably Luang-Pho-Nong, Wittaya Kananurak, and a few monks from Wat-Chang-Hai around the area of the old ubosatha. Luang-Pu-Tim wanted to produce 84,000 amulets, equal to the number of Buddhist doctrines in which Luang-Pu-Tuad mastered during his lifetime, within the designated hours (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 152-153). Molding was held day and night to reach the designated number. There were 16 hand-pressing molds. After molding, the amulet were sprinkled or attached with more holy substances; then the amulets were removed from the mold. Due to inconsistencies from hand-pressed mold and the amount of substances used, the amulets had slight differences in term of definition. Hand-pressed molding took place until April 15th 2497 BE, with total of 64,000 amulets. Although the desired amount of produced amulets were not reach, the amulet took place on the April 18th 2497 BE, as designated by Luang-Pu-Tuad in Luang-Pu-Tim's vision. Therefore, there were only 64,000 amulets produced in 2497 BE (Piyakul, 2007, p. 153).

In this sense, it appears that an object to be consecrate has to fulfill the following criteria 1) endowed with supernatural power in its essence, 2) representing a certain similarity to the image of Luang-Pu-Tuad, and 3) signifying the Buddhist elements. Failure to fulfill these conditions does not necessarily to the failure to charge the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad into the amulet, as the power of the amulet comes from various sources. However, it is quite essential to fulfill all the criteria for maximum power charged.

3. Ritual

As the substances were molded into tablets, it was important to engage these tablets in amulet consecration ritual (phutthaphisek) in order to transfer the sacred power into the object, and laymen will not participate much at this stage. In the case of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet, Luang-Pu-Tim has a pivotal role in setting the fortune dates and presiding in the ritual. The fortunate dates for the consecration ritual took place at 12.00 PM on April 18th 2497 BE, with proper embroidery flags, umbrellas, and other tokens as needed. Luang-Pu-Tim was presiding in meditation to communicate with the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad. The holy rituals were together performed by Brahmin priests and Southern monks, including Luang-Pho-Song (Wat-Phakho) and Luang-Pho-Dam (Wat-Kra). The ritual was concluded at 16.00 of April 18th 2497 BE (Piyakul, 2007, p. 155).

Contrary to the consecration ritual, there is a belief that only Luang-Pu-Tuad can activate the power of his own amulets. Therefore, subsequent to the ritual, due to the belief that, Luang-Pu-Tim invited the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad to reside in the tablets in order to invoke the potencies of the amulets. In this sense, amulet consecration ritual is merely a procedure to assure that the tablets are fully charged with power, yet the existing power of the amulets rely on the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad. This is the reason why there is a presence of spirit mediums in certain Luang-Pu-Tuad consecration rituals (Piyakul, 2007, p. 156)

Conclusion

The concept of karma, jhāna, and reincarnation are central to Thai religiosity. The point the author would like to emphasize here, besides the discussion of Luang-Pu-Tuad, is on the role of the monks in Thailand is not confined to the goal nibbana or moral guidance to the followers. In the case of Luang-Pu-Tim, monks are also exposed to supernatural tasks in response to the worldly need of the followers, as Muad outlined here: protection from danger, good fortune, general well-being, and so forth (Maud, 2013, p. 245). This is due to the predominant role as a “symbolic center of Buddhism”, the term coined by Kirsch, referring to the position of the monk at the topmost of the hierarchy of religious and social order (Thomas, 1977, p. 248).

In fulfilling the task of supernaturalism, the story of Luang-Pu-Tuad was utilized. The stories of his karmic heritage is not only expressed during his lifetime (innate power: wachasit and the holy ball) but also after death (etheric power:

acquiring supernatural and bodhisattva power). It appears that the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is not only drawn from previous karmic heritage but also his concentration practice, though with the aid of the holy ball he obtained as part of his karmic reward, in order to obtain jhanic power. Deducting from various myths of Luang-Pu-Tuad prior and subsequent to his death, Luang-Pu-Tuad possesses such power that greater than man ever since he was born up to the period of his death, as evidence in an act of legging in water, healing cholera epidemic in Ayutthaya, or even representing as Lord Metteyya in the pilgrimage of Bunrod, the novice monk. Such collection of supernatural events depicts him as a holy man with sacred power, satisfying Spiro's definition of a superhuman being, in this sense, was defined by Spiro as a kind of being that possesses power greater than man that continues to impact on humans and vice versa (Furseth, 2006, p. 18).

There was an attempt to connect the story of Luang-Pu-Tuad, who is believed to remain as a spirit, with a certain individuals. Both Luang-Pu-Tim and Anan Kananurak have claimed to be the students of Luang-Pu-Tuad, allowing them to have an opportunity to connect with the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad. However, the approach they employed towards Luang-Pu-Tuad are entirely different. For Luang-Pu-Tim, the fact that he employs the status as a monk allows him to be a ritual specialist in several cases. It is also believed that he obtained a significant power from Luang-Pu-Tuad as well, a process that was called 'power enfranchisement' from one monk to another. Anan Kananurak, on the other hand, having taken the status as a layman, does not obtain such power. However, the fact that he is a wealthy layman allows him to be further enchanted with the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad through the production of the amulet, leading to the amulet production in 2497 BE. With the support of Anan Kananurak, the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad is objectified, leading to further process of commodization, which will be explained in the future chapter.

Chapter 7

The Rise of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulet

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets have been produced since 2497 BE. However, it was not until the year of 2530 BE. that Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet became popularized, especially in Thai publications. This was primarily due to the changes in the national political and bureaucratic structure and did not encourage the proliferation of local amulets in Thailand. The first publication on Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was self-published by Anan Kananurak, the sponsor of the amulet production in 2497 BE., in the year of 2505 BE., marking a significant period in the process to make Luang-Pu-Tuad known on the national level. Subsequent to the publication in 2505., there was only one publication concerning Luang-Pu-Tuad, entitled “Bueanglang-Samphat-Khonsong-Luang-Pu-Tuad-Somdet-Ya-Phrom-Duai Prawat-Sam-Doktoe-Thi-Sattha-Samnak-Pu-Sawan”. However, from the year of 2530 BE. onwards, the period in which local amulets flourished, there are more than 30 publications focusing only on Luang-Pu-Tuad as stored in the database of Thai National Library, not including the self-published books without the ISBN and the lost manuscripts. From 2540 BE. onwards, countless works on Luang-Pu-Tuad were published in a form of pocket books, focusing solely on the miracles and sacred power of various Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. The central goal of this section is, therefore, to look into the first publication on Luang-Pu-Tuad, in order to see how the ideas of amulets were conceived back then, prior to the rise of the amulet on the national scale, up to the later publications in a later period, in order to observe the change in Thai social structure.

Luang-Pu-Tuad: The First Publication

The first publication on Luang-Pu-Tuad was self-published, recorded and compiled by Anan. The book itself is a rare book. Fortunately, the descendants of Kananurak family recorded the manuscript and published it online at: <http://www.kananurak.com>. The book itself contains a total of 32 stories regarding the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets produced in Wat-Chang-Hai subsequent to 2497 BE, and was published in dedication to the Ubosot of Wat-Chang-Hai ceremony 24-30 of April 2504 BE. Within this book itself, readers could get the impression of where and how Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is made known in its early stage.

1. Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulet and the Buddhist Religiosity in Southern Thailand

There were many stories regarding Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulet and the life in Southern Thailand. The first story of the book indicate as followings: At the ceremony where Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets was handed out for the first time there were two siblings - a boy and a girl who received Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. The girl, having received the amulet, covered the amulet with a cloth and took it home in Ban-Pa-Rai, Pa-Rai, Khok-Pho, Pattani. Having arrived home, opened the cloth and shown to her mom, the amulets already have become burnt coal. The boy, while walking home, having thrown the amulet in the sky and tried to catch it as if he was playing with rocks, like a kid, he could not catch the amulet and it fell onto the ground. Having bent down to take the amulet by hand, the boy panicked, swinging his hands, and cried. His father, having come to his son crying, check the fist and saw that there was Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in his hand. The father and the mother believed that this was the supernatural power of Luang-Pu-Tuad that just occurred. They both took the two siblings to meet Luang-Pu-Tim at Wat-Chang-Hai at the time of 21.00 and told him the story Luang-Pu-Tim suggested that the parents took the siblings to pay respect at the satupa of Luang-Pu-Tuad and apologize. That night I went home at 20.30 and did not experience this myself, but was told from the words of the monk ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006) .

The story, recorded by Anan Kananurak himself, appeared that, even within the South, the concept of religiosity does not differ much from that in central Thailand. Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was first distributed without the high economic values – that even the children in this story could take a hold of the amulet carelessly. The miracle in this story also shows another aspect of Thai religiosity – the pattern of worship, or the code of conducts in which the followers have to abide by in order to be protected by Luang-Pu-Tuad. In the story, both children, having not treated the amulet with respect, led to a certain kind of punishment, had to apologize to the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad at the satupa in Wat-Chang-Hai, which is believed to be the place where Luang-Pu-Tuad spirit dwells.

Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is known for its protective qualities, as apparent in the story of Phadet Na Nakorn, a technician in Pattani Municipality, which happened in April, not long after the amulets were handed out for the first time. The story indicates the followings: at the end of April in 2497 during the early evening, roughly 19.00 I went out of home to run errands around Pattani Theater. Before leaving home, I placed my hands together and paid respect to the amulet shelf, recalling to

Luang-Pu-Tuad, making a wish in my mind, asking Luang-Pu-Tuad to protect the house and the children in the house and left from home. About 22.00, while returning home, having walked into the house and glanced to the door on the ground floor in dim light, I saw a dark person standing in there. I was startled and thought it was an outlaw, and so I turned back and grabbed a wooden stick, shouting and asked who that was, but that human silhouette was standing there, rocking back and forth in that same place. At the moment, I recalled that it was Luang-Pu-Tuad I threw the stick away, placed my hands together, and walked in to see the silhouette there. As I came close, the silhouette faded away from human into smoke bit by bit until entirely gone. This is a miracle of Luang-Pu-Tuad which I have experienced myself ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006).

Based on the story, the South, in the past, or even up to the present, is considered to be a vast, underdeveloped land, with the lack of proper security system. As appeared in the story, Phadet asked for the supernatural protection from Luang-Pu-Tuad even prior to leaving the house. As he returned, he even had the thought that he might have been in danger. Facing the supernatural event, the first thing that came to his mind, and he was certain of it, was that it was the silhouette of Luang-Pu-Tuad, the figure to which he begged for protection earlier. Similar kind of stories regarding the life in Southern Thailand is also represented in the story of Daeng, which was told by Chat Limsiri, the Sub-District Headman: the incident occurs in Ban-Nong-Krok, Khok-Pho, Pattani. On the night of April 22nd, 2497 BE., about 21.00, Daeng and his wife returned home from work and prepared to sleep. When they were trying to sleep, there was the sound of metal colliding from the amulet shelf which had Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet they just received from Wat-Chang-Hai preserved in a jar. They thought a mice smelled the oil, stole the amulet, and made that noise there. Daeng, having stood up, lit the lamp, looked around and found nothing peculiar, then laid down to sleep until 22.00. He and his wife then startled and woke up from the noise of three gunshots from the terrace. He suddenly realized that he was being robbed. He then sat up, held a knife, cut through the floor of the house and escaped to the space below the floor. Meanwhile, his wife was in panic and sat up to open the door for the burglars. While the burglars were attacking the door, and she had touched the doorknob, there was a peculiar hand to push her chest down that she fell down on the ground. She suddenly recalled Luang-Pu-Tuad and stood up to the amulet shelf and begged for Luang-Pu-Tuad's protection while the burglars were attacking the door, making this loud noise. She, having been scared, placed her hands together and wish for Luang-Pu-Tuad to protect his fellow believers. At the

end of the prayer, she followed her husband. It appeared that the burglars shot the gun from the behind, but they all missed. The burglars continued to tackle the door, but failed, so they decided to run to the forest. In order to investigate the story, Chat Limsiri investigated further, as detailed here: one day, I met a detective of Khok-Pho. They said that they have investigated, together with the district officer, the door of Daeng's house, and found that it was old and thin it was easy for one person to break that door because there was only one door. Having asked an elder man outside the room, it was found that there were six burglars attempting to break that door for about 25 minutes. The detective told me that it was such a miracle.

Chat Limsiri, the Sub-District Headman, along with Kawee Chitkun and Wisit Kananurak further investigated more stories and acquired the testimony by themselves about the security issues in the South, as in the story of Sua Ninkamhaeng: during the night of November 10th, 2497 BE., about 19.00, Sua Ninkamhaeng, the village headman, of Moo 3, Lamphaya, Yala, held the amulet of Luang-Pu-Tuad in his shirt pocket and left the house to Wat-Lamphaya to listen to dhamma. That day was the full moon day. [...] Having listened to dhamma and returned home, while walking back, he found three outlaws that he knew and remembered correctly because of the light of the moon. One outlaw run towards him and shot him in a close-distance four time. The first three shots were missed, but the last one shot him in his hip, and Sua fell down. The outlaws thought that he was hit to death and ran away. Sua then stood up and looked at the bullet wound. It appeared that there was a hole in the pants from the impact of the shot, but there was no wound. He survived from that incident because of the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad that protected him. He told the investigator that he would have died without the protection from Luang-Pu-Tuad because the shot was in such close-distance

2. Luang-Pu-Tuad and the Issue of Healthcare in Southern Thailand

Having treated the amulet with respect, the amulet itself is believed to have a supernatural qualities in itself, without the visible manifestation of Luang-Pu-Tuad spirits, as explained by Sawai Pluemsamran to Anan Kananurak here: Sawai Pluemsamran, a local teacher at Tambon-Ban-Rai School, met me at Wat-Chang-Hai and told me the followings: During the night of April 24th, 2497 BE., when it was dark, having bitten by a centipede, his wife suffered in pain and was unconscious. As it was dark, medicine was nowhere to be found. Thamrong, the eldest son, having brought Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet, dipped in the water until it was wet, and placed the amulet

on the wound for about 2 - 3 minutes, the pain went away almost immediately. Sawai told that he experienced this miracle of Luang-Pu-Tuad for the first time and was faithful, asking for more amulets, for the amulet had healed many people bitten by centipedes ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006).

This story also indicated that Luang-Pu-Tuad became a mental refuge of the believers during the time of crisis. During the early 2500 BE., access to medical center was difficult, especially during the night in Thai suburbs. Religion became the last resorts for those who are in need, especially when the access to modern healthcare is not possible at the time. However, even for the modern healthcare, there could be several complications leading to further insecurity, as appeared in many stories about the midwifery work in the South. A myth was told by Chat Limsiri, the sub-district headman of Napradu: at the end of April in 2497 BE., Malee, the wife of Luan Somprasong, a Railway Labor in Napradu, was in labour for two days, but could not give birth to the child. She suffered much. Due to the low socio-economic status, she could not give birth to the child at the hospital because there was no money to hire the driver. While waiting for her death, a colleague of her husband, having known this by accident, told Luang to dip Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in a bowl of water, lit the incense sticks and candles, consecrating holy water, and asked Malee to drink and sprinkle her forehead. Later briefly Malee, who was suffering in labour, had more energy and power to give birth, but it appeared that the infant was already dead.

Another complication in modern midwifery was told by Piem Chulawat, which indicated that the scope of protection is not only limited to Thai-Buddhist followers: in late 2498 BE., a Thai-Muslim woman was giving birth, a hand was already out but it stuck there for 3 days 2 nights and the child was dead in labour. The patient lost her energy and power to push out, leaving her in critical condition. Relatives of her came to ask my wife, who was a midwife practitioner. My wife, having gone to check it and found no way she could be of help, suggested the relatives to take her to Pattani Hospital, but they would not take her there, only asking my wife to help. As there was no way to use her knowledge to help, she recalled to Luang-Pu-Tuad, whom she believed in wholeheartedly asking him to help in this birth. At the end of the prayer, the patient cried out loud my wife held the hand of the infant, shaking lightly, and saw that the butt turned out. Having saw that, during this time, she could use her knowledge to help, she pulled the infant out easily. My wife believed that this was owing to the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad who created the event as experienced and manifested ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006).

Regarding the complications with midwifery in the South, there is another story from the the wife of Piem Chulawat who worked as a midwife: another case occurs in 2499 BE., when it was dark, a Chinese women came to my home, saying that she was suffering in labour (this Chinese women have antenatal with my wife). I told her that she could not deliver yet because my wife was performing her midwife duty and had not yet returned. She told me that she was in great pain, more than she could tolerate. I did not know what to do, so I went into the Buddha's room, paying respect to Luang-Pu-Tuad, asking for this Chinese woman not to deliver yet and hoping and there would be no complications over there, so my wife could return fast. For about 10 minutes, my wife returned and took the Chinese woman into the room for about 5 minutes, the delivery was easy. As my wife finished her duty, I asked her, "why do you come home early, the one over there already delivered?" She told me that they did. While washing hands and cleaning up, she heard a whisper in her ears, telling her to hurry back She was interested in that whisper and hurried back soon after. The homeowner asked her to rest, but she did not. This was due to the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad that my wife experienced twice

The issue of modern healthcare system does not lie only within the complications but also the limitations in the recovery process of the patients, as appeared to Soontorn Hawikate, Cho-Pring, Say-Buri: I was suffering from asthma for a long time. I tried both traditional and modern medicine but they did not work. As I was old in age, I thought I could not lie up to 2498 BE., for sure. One day, the asthma was getting worse; there was no way to ease the pain from this disease. I recalled that people were saying that Luang-Pu-Tuad has this power and is so sacred. I told Nui, my wife, who is a Vipassana practitioner to prepare flowers, incense, and offerings and invite the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad to possess in Nui's Moments later, Nui became a medium. I explained about the story of my suffering from asthma, and ask for medicine Luang-Pu-Tuad, within the medium, told me a list of herbal medicine, as well as the spell, telling me to take this medicine regularly saying that I could boil this medicine for others, too, but I should not ask for much money I should consider this work charity. Then I managed to find the medicine to boil and drink The first pot the symptom abated The second pot, the taste of the medicine was not even bland yet the symptoms of asthma was cured, up to this date. The friends of mine knew this and asked me to boil this medicine to cure asthma tt appears that the medicine has cured so many people, and I hereby certify that this is a true story that happened to me, and there were also many accomplices ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006).

The story of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet's power in healing diseases also continues. The spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad even manifested and communicated with the believers, as appeared in the case of Weera, which was the followings: he has a chronic asthma. He tried many methods to heal asthma, but they did not work. One day, the asthma got worse. He was in great suffer, but he suddenly recalled the rumours that Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets are sacred. The amulets could be used to consecrate holy water to cure any diseases. He understood that this was due to the fact that the amulet constitutes of 108 medicinal herbs, which was why there was such a property. He thought that his asthma might not be cured only by the holy water. Perhaps it is best to swallow the whole amulet to make it work. He took the amulet into the kitchen. and No one at home knew. He smashed Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet until it broke well and dissolved them in water and drink it all. He thought that, having eaten the components in the amulet, the disease would be cured. However, his disease had not yet abated. He had to suffer for months. One day, while he was on a business in Pattani, he was recommended by Samart Hawikate, that he should ask for the medicine for asthma from Soontorn Hawikate, to cure the disease. Not long after, Weera visited Soontorn to ask for the medicine. Soontorn asked Nui to invite Luang-Pu-Tuad to consecrate the medicine. Luang-Pu-Tuad, having been in Nui's medium, stood up, walked to Weera and acted in anger, as if he was going to bash and pointed to the face of Weera, saying that, "You are so cruel to have eaten me" (meaning, Weera ate the amulet, acting in anger at Weera for a while. Weera was baffled in confusion but still placed his hands together in respect. Soontorn suggested that he who was in the medium was Luang-Pu-Tuad. Weera then remembered the time when he smacked the amulet and ate it. He was in a greater shock due to his action, bowing down, and ask for forgiveness for what he had done to him previously. Nui, the medium, then said that "Okay, I'll forgive you. but you shall never do it again" and consecrated the medicine for Weera. Weera told me that he boiled several pots of medicine, and the disease abated up to the present. (while visiting me), Weera asked for Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet from me, I asked him if he already got it. He replied that he had once but it was pounded and already eaten so I gave him one amulet. Soontorn Hawikate, told this medicine of Luang-Pu-Tuad to me but did not give me the spell which are 1) Khet-Mon-Yia-Thang 2) Rak-Maitao-Yaimom 3) Rak-Ket-Klao 4) Rak-Chiet-Khao 5) Rak-Prang-Wan 6) Rak-Put-Son 7) Rak-Put-Chanit-Mai-Son 8) Rak-Chompoo-Ya-Moo 9) Rak-Sao-Yut. Should anyone tries this medicine to cure asthma, recall to Luang-Pu-Tuad, the owner of this medicine by offering incense sticks and candles, asking for consecrating power, and asking for the

power to reside in you while drinking I think it would work ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006)

3. Luang-Pu-Tuad and the Security Agents

The security agents are one of the most significant actors that contribute to the rise of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in other regions, due to their need in mental comfort in term of security and the religious commitment. Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet began to diffuse to the wider society subsequent to a police study trip down in the South in 2497 BE. Pol.Lt.Luen Intharasuwan wrote a letter to Anan Kananurak, saying that: for the sacredness and miracle of Luang-Pu-Tuad, I am confident that it is as sacred as other amulets. When I have to run errands having made a wish to him I would get goose bumps all over my body and smelled Chan oil (not part of the amulet components), which was when I realized that he came to accept my wish I was blessed and safe from all kinds of dangers I respect and worship him with my heart in entirety and sincerity

Besides the police, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was also popular and diffused from a study trip of the Military Academy to the South. Lieutenant colonel Prasit Wetsawan wrote a letter to Anan Kananurak, as detailed here: In one afternoon, having received the amulets from the master in the house in Pattani, my colleagues travelled by car and arrived in our lodge. At School for girls of Yala, Maj.Gen.M.L.Kamron Suthat Na Ayutthaya, Commander of the Military Academy, gave out the amulet. After having given out all to colleagues, Lt.Col. (currently Col.) Sit Chirarot, who was the coordinator of the group, before going to bed, placed the amulet in the suitcase and placed the suitcase under the bed around the bed's head, and went to sleep around 22.00. Around 2.00, having felt the cold, he opened his eyes, and he found himself on lying on a tile awning. he did not know how he got there to the end of the awning. Had he flipped a little, he would fall onto the ground and got injured. He was startled and woke up many people in chaos, telling this to the fellow soldiers in such shaky voice that was difficult to apprehend due to his panic. Everyone made a comment and came to the conclusion that everyone believed that this was due to the amulet of Luang-Pu-Tuad, but it was not decided whether it was for a punishment, or is it that he was protecting even while he was asleep to protect him from falling down from the roof ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006).

Anan Kananurak, having received a letter of Lieutenant Colonel Prasit, also received another letter from Colonel Sit Chirarot as followings: I was the coordinator

of military group that visited you earlier. On that day, the commander of the school received the amulets from you and travelled to Yala. The commander gave me the amulets to distribute to soldiers that day. During the night, the soldiers gathered and I distributed the amulets to every single one of them, but some would not accept for some peculiar reasons. There were 10 amulet. I wrapped them and kept it in a suitcase on the foot of the bed. Having worn the amulet, I moved it to the head of the bed, thinking that this would not offend the amulet. However, it appeared that, having been awoken, I found myself lying on the left awning of the roof. Had I flipped myself, I would have fallen to the ground and got injured. I never sleepwalk before the door of the bedroom was also closed. I felt such a strange incident, so I apologized to him and went to sleep soundly. Having known this incident, the soldiers asked for more amulets. Please send 50 amulet to be further distributed to soldiers later.

A letter was sent from Lieutenant Colonel Kitisak Chaweengam, one of the members of the trip: about the miracle of Luang-Pu-Tuad, it appeared to me one time. Having returned from the study tour in the South with my fellow colleagues, I placed the amulet on the shelf at home, never once had I taken an amulet elsewhere. One day, I took Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets to the technician to frame it. I placed the amulet in my shirt pocket and drove a motorcycle out from the corner in a rush. I did not see the taxi from the left that crashed me. My son on the side did not suffer one bit. However, the taxi was damaged much. I think it would cost him hundreds of baht. Having asked the driver, he said he would not take anything, just car repair would be enough. I brought him to the Army Transportation Office and asked my friends to help fix the car which only took an hour and a half. I only spent for a few sweet coffees. This must be the miracle of Luang-Pu-Tuad that helps for everything to be easy and protect both me and my child, which was a miracle to me and my colleagues much ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006).

Another letter was sent from Lieutenant Colonel Prasit Wetsawan, another member of the trip: having returned from the tour of the South with colleagues, I visited my home city in Phichit, and in that visit, this time, [I] took my family off the train at about 17.00. Unfortunately, because of the heavy rain yesterday, it was not possible to take a car. I had to walk back from the station, a distance of 4 hours. The road is made for carts and cuts through the fields. At night, heavy rain started to brew again. I started to worry because if it rained my children would be soaking wet and get sick because there was not enough rain protection. In time of desperation, I recalled to Luang-Pu-Tuad, then I asked him to help stop the rain. I kept walking for a while. The sky that was once dark began to clear up that we saw the stars. I could

not believe that this was possible because it was like the rain was going to pour down, and the storm was raging down hard as if it was holding on not to rain and there was already some drizzling. I was even more worried, but in the end it did not rain. At this time, I strongly believe in the miracle of Luang-Pu-Tuad so much ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006).

As the story of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was diffused among the security agents, the amulets were being utilized by other security agents. Another letter was sent from Boonkiet Kookerd: I would tell the story concerning the miracle of Luang-Pu-Tuad to the master, which was when I built a motor boat for Rear Admiral M.C. Rangsiyakorn in Sattahip. Later on, he asked a pilot and technicians to take this boat to Bangkok, with the protection from police motor ship because it was big ship, while my boat was only 18 feet. To take the boat from Sattahip to Bangkok would have to go through sea waves for about 14 hours until arriving in Bangkok. Before taking the boat to transport, I was afraid that there would be danger in the sea. I recalled and prayed to Luang-Pu-Tuad and asked to sprinkle to boat for safety. Several days later, the pilot and mechanic, having arrived in Sattahip, told me that while both trunks arrived in Sichang Island, there was a storm, rain, and heavy waves. Pilots and mechanics, having seen such upcoming danger, prepared to take off their clothes and stripped down to the underpants, holding the lifesavers. Both trunks sailed through the storm and waves in the sea, lasting longer than 2 - 3 hours to calm. It appeared that waves splashed through the trunks, but the water did not get in the hull, but the police ship which was a naval escort was damaged, including broken propeller shaft, twisted rudder and could not continue to sail. In turn, the small boats became the naval escorts to the ship on the way to Bangkok ("The Sacred Power of Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2006).

The Representation of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulets after 2530 BE.

During this period, with impacts of the media, there are various attempts to categorize the kinds of sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet. The group of believers extended from Anand Kananurak's affiliates to regular people in various parts of the country who worship Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. With growing demand for amulet, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets were reproduced in other temples to respond to such need. In this paper, the author categorized the kinds of sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad into two groups based on the methods to activate the power: the power for physical security and the power for wealth and opportunities. As the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad was transferred into an object, such object became an amulet. Those

amulets have a particular kind of sacred power, the power that can intervene in one's destiny, which is called 'potencies'. As briefly introduced in a previous section, such potencies are a result of amulet components and rituals. In this chapter, the author aims to discover the stories of the believers who experienced a particular kind of potency from Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets and seeks for a logical explanation of such a phenomena. Through a detailed analysis on these stories, the author found distinctive groups of sacred power that could be classified based on time and social context subsequent to the production of the amulets, which includes:

1. Luang-Pu-Tuad and the Power for Physical Security

The power for physical security is needed by Thai people, especially among the security agents in the past. However, the demand for physical security is no longer limited only to the security agents due to the structural change in Thai society that gave rise to the middle class in Thailand. To activate such power, however, the believers are required to hold an amulet possessed by power consecrated by holy persons/ religious specialists endowed with sacred power. This sacred power often produces certain kinds of potencies, particularly in terms of invulnerability (kongkrapan-chatri), harmlessness (klaewklad) and weapon breakdown (maha-ut).

1.1 Invulnerability

There are various myths of invulnerability subsequent to the rise of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in the South. The myths of invulnerability often involve with an irrational fight between an innocent civilian and gangsters fully armed. There is a story of a restaurant owner who dealt with a group of teenagers in Songkhla. These teenagers apparently could not afford the food as they asked for a bill. With anger and frustration, these teenagers pulled out a gun and shot the owner of the restaurant in public. However, there appeared to be only a burn on the skin. The owner believed that the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet protected him (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 60-74).

There are also many stories about the potencies in term of firearm malfunction. As appeared on the newspaper, Sombat Poonchuay, a denim shop owner from Nakhon Si Thammarat in Rangsit Market, Pathumthani, was besieged by a group of teenagers (about 10 people), fully armed with blade knives and guns. As he was trying to escape, some teenagers attacked him with the knives, yet they became blunt and hence not cutting through his skin. The teenagers shot him with a bullet right into his spine but the firearm which also appeared to be dull. He ran to the local hospital nearby and escaped from such attack (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 159-162).

1.2 Weapon breakdown

The definition of firearm does not apply only to firearms but also to other kinds of weapons, including explosives. As Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets are popular among the security agents, there are various kinds of stories regarding the potencies to break down explosives. On December 24th 2539 BE, 30 student police from Section 9 returned from active duty. While they were approaching Tham-Khuhaphimuk, a group of Southern Thailand militants pitched an explosive into the car the student police were riding in. Fortunately, the grenade became dull, hence allowing the student police to deactivate the explosive. After the incident, the student police came to realization that they were all wearing Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets from Wat-Muang-Yala, which was probably the reason why they survived such a critical situation (Piyakul, 2007, p. 162).

1.3 Harmlessness

In term of harmlessness, several myths are told through oral and written traditions. There are many forms of the potencies in term of harmlessness, depending on the situations the believers are engaged in. Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is famous for its overwhelming power in term of harmlessness in vehicles.

The potencies of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in term of harmlessness in vehicles can be activated in a range of vehicles, including cars and planes. In Southern Thailand, as well as other regions, drivers would place Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in the car or on themselves for protection. If the amulet is in a form of small statue, the drivers will most likely to place these amulets on the console. Occasionally, some temples would consecrate a sticker representing Luang-Pu-Tuad so that drivers can leave the sticker on the front mirror. If the amulets appear to be in a form of a votive tablet or a pendant, they can simply be hanged on the rear-view mirror or on the neck of the drivers. There is also a kind of a ring-shaped amulet that can be worn on drivers' finger or practically worn on a necklace as if they were pendant (Piyakul, 2007, p. 166).

There was a story of a teenager who wore Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet while riding on a motorcycle. Unfortunately, the motorcycle crashed with the car; such impact would normally lead to sudden death as the body bounced off in the air to the other side of the road. However, the teenager only had some swelling. After the incident, the teenager claimed that he saw an old monk while he was bouncing in the air; that monk protected him. Then he suddenly realized that his good fortune

was mainly due to the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet he wore on the neck (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 81-85).

The power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is not limited to vehicles only on the ground but also in the air. There is a famous story of Luang-Pu-Tuad potencies in term of harmlessness even on the plane. On May 8th 2540 BE, the plane from China Southern Airlines crashed while landing on the runway of Shenzhen Bao'an International Airport. A few Thai passengers survived, 21 were found dead after the incident. All of which wore Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. One passenger, a local from Had Yai, owned Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (phutson model, produced in 2539 BE in Wat-Chang-Hai). Another Passenger, a local from Sadao, owned Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (phutson model, produced in 2529 BE in Wat-Chang-Hai) and Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (Kongthun-Sue-Thidin-Nueng-Roi-Pi, produced in Samsaksong-Tonliap). Another passenger, a local from Yala, owned Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (phutson model, produced in 2529 BE in Wat-Chang-Hai), Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (Kongthun-Sue-Thidin-Nueng-Roi-Pi, produced in Samsaksong-Tonliap), and Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (produced in 2539 BE in Wat-Sabuayoi). Another passenger, a local from Nakhon Ratchasima, owned Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (phutson model, produced in 2539 BE in Wat-Chang-Hai) and Luang-Pho-Khun amulet (produced in 2539 BE) (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 159-170).

2. The Power for Wealth and Opportunities

The power for wealth and opportunities refers to a kind of power that deals primarily with the social needs under Capitalist principles due to the structural and rapid social change in the past. This form of sacred power is activated through a set of conducts and grateful remembrance (raluek), which means that the act of wearing an amulet is optional. The potencies can be boosted by an act of reverence, including chanting and reciting, in order to ask for a specific request from a spirit.

An act of reverence can boost the power of an amulet. There are various acts that are considered part of Luang-Pu-Tuad practices. Although recitation is an optional action to activate the potencies of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet, there are various components to perform such an act of reverence. Incense and candle offerings might be a part of reverence. In term of practice, the believers are encouraged to pray with thoughtful hope (athitthan) and recall the power of the three gems (phra-rattana-trai), teachers (kru), and parents or protective guardians (bupphakari); then recite the following prayer 3 times: namo tassa bhagavato arahato Saṃmā Saṃbuddhassa, followed by: namo bodhisatto āgantimāya iti bhagava". This act of reverence can

be performed any days in a week, but the fortunate days include Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday ("Worship Luang-Pu-Tuad," 2012). Once the demands are fulfilled, the believers occasionally commit an act of retribution (kaebon) to the spirit. The form of sacred power for wealth and opportunities can be divided into 2 main categories: 1) auspicious events (chok-lap) and 2) charm (metta-maha-niyom)

2.1 Auspicious Events

It is believed that Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets can lead to better fortune. The scope of fortune is uncertain. Mostly, such auspicious events will occur on those who are struggling in life and seek a better fortune. Although it is believed that Luang-Pu-Tuad can intervene in one's destiny to bring good fortune, such turn would not occur unless the believers are well-behaved. There is a strict code that believers shall not seek fortune from demeritorious actions, including gambling, lotto, and cards. These wishes, regardless of how much the act of retribution costs, are less likely to be fulfilled.

There is a story of Chaichana Nakaew, a local from Pattalung who was born with inferior socio-economic status. He fled homeland to become a coolie worker in another province. No matter how hard he tried, the result did not come as satisfying as it was supposed to be. He decided to return to the homeland and became a shop owner, but the business was running in losses; debts were built up. One day, a relative brought him Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet for him to pray upon. After expressing an act of reverence, his business started to recover, and the financial situation was uplifted (Piyakul, 2007, p. 157).

The most intriguing story includes the story of a business owner in Uthaitхани who visited Wat-Chang-Hai and pay homage to Luang-Pu-Tuad statue. He asked for Luang-Pu-Tuad to come in revelation and create 3 auspicious events. After he returned, those 3 auspicious events occurred. As he was engaged in the growing business, he forgot to return to the temple and commit an act of retribution. One night, he had a vision of Luang-Pu-Tim. Luang-Pu-Tim reminded him to commit an act of retribution as his offer had been fulfilled. He then decided to return to Wat-Chang-Hai and prepare food offerings to the monks as an act of retribution (Piyakul, 2007, p. 158).

Another famous story is a story of a local watercraft merchant who failed in life. He heard of a story of Luang-Pu-Tuad that can intervene in one's fortune. He decided to visit Wat-Chang-Hai in Pattani to pay homage to Luang-Pu-Tuad statue and brought some amulets home. After a visit to the temple, his business started to

recover, and the financial situation was uplifted. There is also a story from a real estate agent who failed in life. He paid homage to Luang-Pu-Tuad statue in Wat-Chang-Hai. He also made an offer to commit an act of retribution to the statue. After such a deliberate visit, his business started to grow, and the financial situation was uplifted (Piyakul, 2007, pp. 157-158).

2.2 Charm

The potencies in charm and magnetism refer to the power that can intervene in one's destiny, particularly to be easily favored. The end result of the potencies in term of charm and magnetism is subtle. In contrast to the potencies in term of auspicious events, invulnerability, harmlessness, and weapon breakdown, there is not much apparent situation that will testify its power. Rather, it relies mostly on the faith of the believers and personal observation. There was a story of a father who gave Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet to his son who is about to leave to a foreign land. The father insisted that the son pray to the amulet as frequent as he could so that he would be favored. As the son follows the recommendation strictly, he was beloved and hence successful in his prospects (Peachsuwan, 2001, pp. 75-76).

Reproduction of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulet

As Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is produced and reproduced by many temples, Wat-Chang-Hai included, the cost of the amulet is a reflection of the level of popularity of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets being produced. For the price of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets, it seems apparently that the three models of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets (produced in 2497, 2505, and 2508 BE) remain as the only high-priced amulets in Thai amulet market (ranging from 200,000 up to more than 1,000,000 Baht). While there are many other Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in the market, the price of these amulets remain generally low (from a few hundred baht up to 50,000 Baht). There is a database where amulet enthusiasts could check the price of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets at: <http://uauction3.uamulet.com/AuctionList.aspx?bid=289>, which was the site create by Watcharaphong Radomsitthipat, an enthusiast in Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets who even contributed to the construction of a temple in dedication to Luang-Pu-Tuad in Ayutthaya. However, given that this paper does not focus on the economic value of the amulet, the author will only state the relationship between Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets and the tendency affecting the price of such amulets.

1. Reproduction of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulet in Wat-Chang-Hai

Subsequent to the production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets (2497 BE), a number of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets were produced almost annually in Wat-Chang-Hai. The two most well-known amulets were Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (2505 BE) and Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (2508 BE).

1.1 Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (2505 BE)

The production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (2505 BE) began in the year of 2505 BE for the construction of monastic School in Wat-Chang-Hai, and most understood as ‘the third model of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets’. Prior to the production, Luang-Pu-Tim meditated in trance to communicate with Luang-Pu-Tuad and to get an approval for the production. Anand Kananurak noted that: “It was uncertain whether to produce the amulet from soil. The decision will be up to Luang-Pu-Tim. The amulet consecrated from 16th to 18th this month will be made of steel. In fact, I wanted to use soil, but Luang-Pu-Tim meditated and communicated with Luang-Pu-Tuad spirit. He said that the soil could be easily broken, leaving the followers with grief. If we have enough financial resource, it is better to use steel” (“Luang-Pu-Tuad (2502 BE),” 2008)

Amulet production was conducted primarily outside the temple.. This was the first time to bring the materials of the amulet to the central production site in Wat-Khokmu, Bangkok. The production requires a prototype for a traditional production method called Lo-Din-Thai (clay mold), which is a one-by-one production, not a massive production. There were various kinds of steel in the production that made Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet. There were three sizes of the amulet (“Luang-Pu-Tuad (2502 BE),” 2008).

Amulet consecration ritual, on the other hand, was conducted in Wat-Chang-Hai. The amulet production in the year of 1962 was presided by Prince Chalermpchol Thikhumporn. The ceremony was held for three days, which was considerably a huge event for a temple in a remote area. Furthermore, the production was conducted along with the water sprinkling ritual, which later became an annual ritual of the temple. There were also various other kinds of amulet that was produced along with the second production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet, including three sizes of Luang-Pu-Tuad images, a bottle-shape votive tablet, a limited edition of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet, and many more. Some amulets were signed with a Thai script that represented Prince Chalermpchol who was presided in the production, as well as a Thai script that represents Luang-Pu-Tuad (“Luang-Pu-Tuad (2502 BE),” 2008, pp. 43-45).

1.2 Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulet (2508 BE)

By the time when Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets (2505 BE) was sold out in the year of 2508 BE, there was the rise of counterfeit amulets on the market. The production committee consulted with Anand Kananurak. The solution was to communicate with Luang-Pu-Tuad through Luang-Pu-Tim. As a result, Luang-Pu-Tim quoted from the communication with Luang-Pu-Tuad: 'I am tired. People with disrupted mind use me to fool people. From now on, if the society is not at war, do not make any of my images!' ("Luang-Pu-Tuad (2508 BE)," 2010). Therefore, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (2508 BE) was the last mainstream amulet from Wat-Chang-Hai and hence considered 'the third model'. The returns of the amulet would be allocated for the construction of Benjamarachutit School, currently a top school in Pattani. As the third model would be the last production of the amulet, both Luang-Pu-Tim and Anand were dedicated to the ideal production. The image was created from the vision of Anand Kananurak in the year of 1954. This model is also similar to the main Buddhist image in Wat-Chang-Hai.

The amulet was created with metal for durability. As Luang-Pu-Tim communicated with Luang-Pu-Tuad in the vision, Luang-Pu-Tuad did not appreciate the production from the less durable materials. He was concerned that the followers would live in sorrow should the image was fractured. In order to avoid the fraud, there is a signature of Luang-Pu-Tim at the base of the amulet in order to bring press charges against the counterfeit. There were 5000 copies of the amulet, the number of the predicted maximum age of Buddhism under the realm of Buddha Gothama ("Luang-Pu-Tuad (2508 BE)," 2010, pp. 8-10).

Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (2508 BE) is supposedly the last series of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet produced by Luang-Pu-Tim in Wat-Chang-Hai, though the amulet is continued to be produced up to this date. The legacy of Luang-Pu-Tim continues to live on. Phra Mujalinmoli, a former provincial monk headmaster of Pattani, wrote a letter to establish a foundation to Chamnong Khumrak. Financed by the assets of Luang-Pu-Tim, the foundation was then named 'the Foundation of Luang-Pu-Tim'. [...] The foundation was renamed to 'the Foundation of Luang-Pu-Tuad and Luang-Pu-Tim' on March 29th 1976 (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 93-94). This foundation under the name of Luang-Pu-Tim greatly contributes to the social development, particularly in the South. One of its major works includes the printing of the history book of Wat-Chang-Hai. The book was merely a compilation of the old documents with an English translation to focus on the believers in Malaysia, Singapore, and

Indonesia. The foundation is also engaged in organizing Annual Water Sprinkling Ritual, providing scholarships and utensils for schools and hospitals, and constructing accommodations and public utilities in Pattani

2. Reproduction of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulets in the South

As the belief in the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is popular, the system of belief is institutionalized; there is a hierarchy in the belief in the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad. In other words, as a result of the proliferation of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in Thai society subsequent to amulet production in Wat-Chang-Hai, other temples began to consecrate Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. With numerous amulets in the market, there is a notion of mainstream Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets, especially ones produced by the associates of Luang-Pu-Tim, which are believed to be endowed with sacred power from Luang-Pu-Tuad. Amulet consecration from the associates of Luang-Pu-Tim could be categorized into two periods: early period (2497 – 2509 BE) and contemporary period (2510 BE – present). In this section, the author aims to represent some associates of Luang-Pu-Tim who produced mainstream Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets, which could be divided into two schools after Luang-Pu-Tim, including:

1. The First School: Wat-Saikhao
2. The Second School: Luang-Pho-Nueng (Wat-Napradu) and Luang-Pho-Pon (Wat-Napradu)

2.1 The First School: Wat-Saikhao

The legacy of Wat-Saikhao School was initiated by Luang-Pho-Nong, who was a Buddhist companion of Luang-Pu-Tim due to their prolonged relationship prior to the ordination and shared homeland (Ban-Napradu).

Luang-Pho-Nong (former: Nong No-thong) was born on October 15th 2462 BE in Ban-Napradu. His parents were Rueng No-thong and Tongpheng No-thong. He was the oldest son, with 2 siblings: Thongpeng Nohthong and Nuam Nohthong. Luang-Pho-Nong finished Prathom 3 from Napradu School. At the age of 15, he helped his parents in farming, and was ordained by Luang-Pho-Chum (Wat-Duyong), Luang-Pho-Dam (Wat-Nang-O), and Luang-Pho-Daeng (Wat-Napradu) at the age of 19 at Wat-Napradu. He resided in Wat-Napradu for 12 years and moved to Wat-Saikhao and became an abbot, as well as the head of District Sangha Administration, until he passed away.

Luang-Pho-Nong is a Buddhist companion due to their relationship as students from Wat-Napradu. They later separated – Luang-Pu-Tim moved to Wat-

Chang-Hai, while Luang-Pho-Nong moved to Wat-Saikhao – but maintained relationship ever since. Aside from Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in 2497 BE and Luang-Pu-Tuad (herbal linga) in 2514 BE, Luang-Pho-Nong also consecrated Naraya Linga, Luang-Pu-Tuad Hman, and various Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. Luang-Pho-Nong spent roughly 45 years (2497 – 2542 BE) to persist the legacy of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet ("The Biography of Luang-Pu-Nong," 2010).

2.2 The Second School: Luang-Pho-Nueng (Wat-Napradu) and Luang-Pho-Pon (Wat-Napradu)

Wat-Napradu school began to consecrate Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets subsequent to Luang-Pho-Nong's initiatives. The legacy of the school was maintained by Luang-Pho-Nueng, a former head of Provincial Sangha Administration of Pattani and former abbot of Wat-Napradu, who had an integral role in Luang-Pu-Tuad consecration ritual in 2497 BE by Luang-Pu-Tim. The ritual was conducted in a simple manner. While Luang-Pu-Tim presided, Luang-Pho-Nong assisted in the ritual due to his relation as a nephew of Luang-Pu-Tim. They ordained in Wat-Napradu but separated when Luang-Pu-Tim became an abbot of Wat-Chang-Hai. Luang-Pho-Nueng passed away on August 31st 2535 BE.

In later years, Luang-Pho-Pon, the current abbot and a nephew of Luang-Pu-Tim who followed Luang-Pu-Tim's footsteps since he was young, consecrated Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. Luang-Pho-Pon is not talkative, yet his voice is soft and gentle. He is strict in term of vinaya. He has a talent in woodcraft, which is an explanation as to how he built a wooden mold to produce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets on his own, or even craft an amulet without any molds. He assisted in Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet consecration in 2504 BE when he was a novice monk in order raise funds to build to wall of Wat-Napradu. Luang-Pu-Tim also asked him to assist in the production of Luang-Pho-Pan (former Wat-Napradu abbot) amulets. It is believed that Luang-Pho-Pon is the only living descendant of Luang-Pu-Tim who has an expertise in amulet production and consecration. Luang-Pho-Pon is famous for Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets (Anuson-India) in 2539 BE, and Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulet (Sao-Ha), as well as Luang-Pho-Pon amulets (Phim-Siliam-Nuea-Wan) ("The Biography of Luang-Pu-Nueng," 2010).

3. Reproduction of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulet in Central Thailand

Due to the fact that the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad is diffused to central Thailand, the amulets of Luang-Pu-Tuad continued to be produced. There are two kinds of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets at present, determined by the connection of the production with the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad in Wat-Chang-Hai.

3.1 Reproduction Concerning the Production of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulets from Wat-Chang-Hai

The reproduction of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in Central Thailand that is based on the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad from Wat-Chang-Hai might have more economic values, especially in comparison to those produced later on in the South, and also the ones produced with no relation to the myth. The most distinguished examples of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets produced in connection with Luang-Pu-Tuad myth from Wat-Chang-Hai would be Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet produced in 2506 BE. at Wat-Prasat-Bunyawat.

There is a story that Wat-Prasat-Bunyawat was connected to the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad that, one night, Luang-Pu-Tim saw Luang-Pu-Tuad in a vision in his dream. In that vision, he was asked to help restore the temple in Bangkok since it was burned down. Therefore, Luang-Pu-Tim went to Bangkok to see if the vision was real. He stopped in Wat-Iem-Woranut, and was confirmed that Wat-Prasat-Bunyawat was burned down. The next morning, he went to Wat-Prasat-Bunyawat in order to discuss with the abbot in order to discuss the restoration of the temple. Later on, Luang-Pu-Tim brought Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet produced in 2505 BE. in order to create a mold, as well as the components from Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet produced in 2497 BE, together with the medicinal soil, to Wat-Prasat-Bunyawat, in order to reproduce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet here.

Aside from the connection with the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad in Wat-Chang-Hai, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet from Wat-Prasat-Bunyawat also constitutes of the broken pieces of the excavated amulets found in the year of 2500 in Bang Khun Phrom. The amulet consecration was conducted in March 6th-9th 2506 BE, with 234 monks, which was considered one of the biggest amulet consecration ritual in Thailand.

3.2 Reproduction Disregarding the the Production of Luang-Pu-Tuad Amulets from Wat-Chang-Hai

The amulet that is being reproduced regardless of the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad from Wat-Chang-Hai might not be as significant in comparison to other kinds of Luang-Pu-Tuad in term of economic value, or might not have an economic value (not in the amulet market) at all. One example is Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet produced in Wat-Pra-Sri-Mahathat in 2556, which was a free giveaway amulet of a book sold in 7-Eleven (grocery shop) in Thailand. Having bought the book, “Luang Pho Tuad Wat-Chang-Hai” from 7-eleven in Bangkok, the author unwrapped the book and place the additional Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet giveaway on the cover in my amulet safe locker.

Distinctive from other books, the author noticed that this book did not provide as much detail on the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad as other books. The first page was an image of Luang-Pu-Tim with a specific prayer; the rest of the book was all images of different models of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets produced in Wat-Chang-Hai. On the back cover of the book, there was a brief detail of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet giveaway, indicating that the amulet was consecrated in Wat Phra Si Mahathat, Bangkhen, in 2556 BE. Upon entering to the main gate, the author noticed a tall white satupa located right at the center, which was the place where the Buddha's relics was restored. The author decided to drove around the temple to see if there would be any cultural influences of Luang-Pu-Tuad in this temple. Surprisingly, there was not much about Luang-Pu-Tuad as much as the author expected. There were many tents with many Buddhist statues from various prominent Buddhist schools. As the author walk to do Xiam Xi (Chinese fortune telling) in a tent of Guanyin, the author also saw a monk receiving some offerings from the people, similar to other temple in Northern Bangkok. The author finally found the first statue of Luang-Pu-Tuad , together with Luang Pho To, situated to the left of the Buddha's shelf at the foot of the satupa. The monks in Kut 7, who were responsible for general affairs, when asked if they have heard about Buddhahisek ritual for Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in this temple, shook their head in confusion. They were not sure whether such amulets were produced in the temple, and also there was there was the typographical error (from Wat Phra Si Mahathat to Wat Phra Si Ratana Mahathat) on the name of the temple in the book. With further attempts to discover the influence of Luang-Pu-Tuad in the temple, a monk finally remembered that this amulet consecration ritual for Luang-Pu-Tuad was the project headed by the abbot of the temple.

Conclusion

There was a major change in the groups of the people to which Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet diffuse. In the past, especially in the early stage, the amulet was popular among the affiliates of Anan Kananurak, who were the elites and the common southerners. The stories explain the way of life in the South and the issues that they had, which was the reason as to why Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets were needed for them. One of the most significant groups of Anan's affiliates would be the security agents. They seem to have an integral and active role in promoting that Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet has the protection power, leading to further information on Luang-Pu-Tuad being diffused. However, with the control of the state on religion

during such era, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was not as popular as it should have been on publications. It was not until 2530s onwards when there was a structural change in the state, namely the rise of the middle-class and the lower control on popular local religious figures, allowing Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets to flourish rapidly. In response to the need of the people in this era, based on the myth that was told, the stories are no longer limited to Anan's affiliates or the security agents. Rather, there are many more stories happening to the middle-class, which was the reason why the amulets were represented as if they served two function: the demand for physical security and the demand for wealth and opportunities, which are ones of the major needs and forms of mental insecurities that are shared within Thai society.

Aside from the discussion on the sacred power, it is apparent that Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets are continue to being produced up to the present. Wat-Chang-Hai, the central authority on the notion of Luang-Pu-Tuad, produced many more Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets, but only two of them are significant in the amulet market – those produced in 2505 and 2508 BE. by Luang-Pu-Tim. With the production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in 2508 BE., there was supposed to be the 'ending point' of Luang-Pu-Tuad myth. However, even within Wat-Chang-Hai itself, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets are continue to be produced, to respond to the need of the people. With further innumerable reproduction of Luang-Pu-Tuad in Thailand (based on the fact that there are a number of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets with very few economic value), there is a notion of superiority among the amulets depending on where the amulets were produced as well. Such periority could be determined by the price in the amulet market. Though the price of the amulet will fluctuate, it seems, apparently, that the amulets that are more 'connected' with the consecration ritual of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in Wat-Chang-Hai would gain a higher economic values. In term of space, the South is no longer the only place to produce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet, but also Central Thailand. In the South, the more superior authority to produce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets is created by the kin relations with Luang-Pu-Tim, which was the reason why two schools of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet arose – those of Wat-Saikhao and Wat-Napradu. In Central Thailand, on the other hand, the relationship is created not by personal relations but rather by mythology or by components of the amulets that are the leftovers of the production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in Wat-Chang-Hai.

Chapter 8

Results and Discussions

There is much scholarly debate on the concept of modernization. Generally, the term is used in Thai context to refer to the period of King Rama V's attempt to modernize Thai political system in responses to changes brought by the Western powers. However, based on the context of Luang-Pu-Tuad, the concept of modernization should no longer be confined to a specific historical period. In practice, modernization, as a process, could occur in several time periods, and hence the term itself should not become a fixed historical period. Even for sociologists, the concept of modernization is sometimes used to refer to the (historical) period of industrialization, which further delimits its meaning.

The term, "modernization" is redefined by Ulrich Beck. In his chapter on "The Reinvention of Politics: Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernization", Beck described the term 'modernization' in a new context under the term, "reflexive modernization", referring to a process of social change from industrial to risk society. Following his argument, the risk society refers to a society where the calculation of risks takes place as a result of the uncontrollability of the social environment. This further leads to the backdrop of institutionalization, as well as the dependency on experts, and the rise of individuality in such societies (Beck, 1994, pp. 1-55).

The notion of risk society is further elaborated by Anthony Giddens in his chapter on "Living in a Post-Traditional Society". Even within a modernized society, there is a notion of detraditionalization, which refers to a process in which (the orthodox meaning of) tradition becomes fundamentalism. Due to repetition and habits, traditions are still functional within risk society of choices and decisions. In this, he explained that "tradition is called upon particularly in respect of the generation, or regeneration, of personal and collective identity". In other words, with the changes as a result of modernization, tradition is still invoked by "the authority of tradition" and is hence further reconstructed and persistent in a modernized society (Beck, 1994, pp. 56-109).

Therefore, with rapid social changes that lead to a new form of modernity which brought about new forms of mental insecurities faced by Thai individuals, the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad is called upon and further reconstructed by the authority of tradition. In this sense, the authority of tradition which, in this case, refers to the

Southerners who believe in Luang-Pu-Tuad. The belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is not an entirely new creation, nor is it entirely ancient. The belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad stemmed from the deep-rooted tradition in the worship of monks, as well as the spirit of monks practiced by Thai people, within Southern Thailand where Buddhism once flourished, and it is further reformulated and reconstructed in this new age in response to modernity. For this reason, the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is worthwhile for further analysis, especially on how the belief is utilized by different actors, as well as how the belief was systematized.

Based on the previous chapters, the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad has much impact on Thai society. In this chapter, the author aims to use sociological theories to explain why such a belief became a national phenomenon during the past few decades.

Luang-Pu-Tuad as 'Habitus' in Thai Buddhism

Bordieu's theory on habitus can be used to explain the rise of the belief in the sacred power of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* in modern Thailand. Habitus could be defined in several terms, as followings: 1) The concept of habitus is defined as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Scahill, 1981, p. 117), the necessity to pass from the opus operatum to the modus operandi, from practice seen as a datum of observation to the strategy- generating principle which enables agents to cope with unforeseen and everchanging situations" (Scahill, 1981, p. 117), or "a socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structures" (Scahill, 1981, p. 119). In this paper, habitus simply refers to a subconscious response to a particular phenomenon resulting in a system of practices.

The major characteristics of habitus could be identify into 6 features as followings:

1) habitus is a kind of disposition, or the tendency in personality. Disposition, in Bourdieu's sense, could be explained that is display of structured actions which resembles the meaning of structure and it also means the way of being, predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination Inclination.

2) habitus is a kind of structure. 'Structure' is generally understood as somewhat rigid, certain, and unaltered, yet the structure of habitus is transposable. Habitus is a kind of structure that can be altered but the original structure was securely maintained.

3) habitus is the generator of structure of practices and representations of truth of humans or agents, which could imply that action and perception of truth in human is governed by a kind of structure from habitus

4) habitus commits and is committed, meaning that it generates and is generated, it sets the rules and is set to be the rules

5) habitus concerns with the unconscious notion

6) habitus does not operate on the individual level but also on the class or group levels. That is, people within the same group has a tendency as well as strategies emotions, feelings, and attitudes that are similar, without being forced, nor agreed beforehand (Prasongbundit, 2003, pp. 45-46).

In the context of Thai society, such a structure exists even prior to the rise of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in Wat-Chang-Hai. Such transposable structure exists as the so-called social needs for mental comfort or mental refuge from an amulet which serves as a response to the change in the society. As a Buddhist society from the past, Buddhism has been used as an instrument to gain mental comfort, with Buddhists seeking refuge in the religion in a variety of ways. In this sense, Buddhism serves as a structure to which people seek comfort. The religion, though known for its supramundane doctrines, is not a rigid structure. Not every Buddhists would attempt to reach the cessation of suffering and abandon the worldly possessions that they have. However, they attempt to utilize certain Buddhist elements to serve their needs, namely the production of Buddhist amulets. During the time of the Buddha, there were very few references of the amulets in the manuscripts, yet people, from the period of modernization or even prior to that, still produced amulets under the Buddhist identity. Though they might claim – consciously – that the amulets were produced in an effort to preserve the religion or fortunate rebirths, there might be other unconscious reasons for a certain action, leading to peculiar ‘Southeast Asian forms of Buddhist practices’ in an ancient era – because there were ‘social needs’ at any point of time in history, whether or not it was discovered.

Since the age of modernization, the changes as a result of foreign contacts have been pressuring the people in Thailand (or meticulously, Siam) to search for its historical superiority. The social needs during the period of modernization led to the two most significant phenomenon for the system of Thai amulets in the past: the excavation for ancient Buddhist artifacts (pra-kru) for private ownership and the introduction of technology for mass production of Buddhist amulets. These, aside from Buddhist teachings, were the sources from where people seek to gain mental

comfort. Though Buddhist amulets were used in the past, it was not until this period where there was a boom of private ownership in amulets. This trend continues to operate up to the present.

What is accumulated within the structure of habitus might be a kind of knowledge which is called skills or proficiency. This form of knowledge is acquired through bodily experiences. An example of the learning process in order to acquire skills and proficiency is apparent in the case of the use of amulet as if it was possessed by a spirit in Thai society. The knowledge and skills of spirit-possessed amulets is from a slow and steady process of familiarity through the religious practices in the past, as reflected in Thai religiosity. It is the art of learning that could not be passed on through lecture-based teaching. It is the art of thinking and the art of living which occurs as a result of interactions. Knowing that the spirit is endowed with spirits, there is also a system of rules to conduct and to behave in order to activate the power of the spirit within the amulets. This is done day-to-day, without having to make all that into formular or theory. People make offerings, worship, ask for forgiveness and blessings to the amulet as if there is a spirit within, whether the spirit within that amulet is Lord Buddha who is believed to have reached nirvana, common spirits, deities, or local monks. They do not know or even able to generate theories about what is within the amulet, but they have a set of rules and conducts to behave.

However, through time and space, habitus exists in various levels, in term of individual group and class and the similarity among the individual, the group, and the class that have the same habitus implies that there is a shared experience which is specific to such individual, group, and the class. It is not possible that all members of the same class (or even two people) will share the same experiences under the same principles However, it is certain that each member of the same class would likely to have more similarity than those outside of the class because they can face such similar experience specific to such group more than those outside of the group (Prasongbundit, 2003, p. 85).

1. Luang-Pu-Tuad as Habitus on the Individual Level

This is apparent in the case where, prior to the rise of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in Wat-Chang-Hai, there were many different beliefs and practices towards the worship of Luang-Pu-Tuad. In Northern Malaysia, Luang-Pu-Tuad is known as Sami Mati or Sami Huyan, which is somehow a deity with a specific power, namely the power to control the weather. This form of belief might not be contradictory to the

Thai belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad as a spirit, but it is unfamiliar to the Thais, too, because of the differences in the commonalities shared among the two societies. The people in Northern Malaysia who believe in the concept of Luang-Pu-Tuad as if he is a land deity might share this idea and are familiar with this idea, while the people in Central Thailand and even Southern Thailand might perceive Luang-Pu-Tuad as if he is a spirit that resides in several places at a time (multi-presence) and hence is not fixated in one place.

Knowing that the amulet is possessed by spirits, supposed that it was Luang-Pu-Tuad spirit, they know that they should not throw or play with the amulets, or they will be punished. Knowing that the amulet is possessed with the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad, they know that they have to follow the five precepts in order to activate the power of the amulets, that they have to pray a specific prayer for Luang-Pu-Tuad. This is a continuous pattern that might be codified or not codified, but the individuals in the society know how to behave because they have been learning through generations. For example, a child that was exposed to the worship of Luang-Pu-Tuad during the early stage of their life, or was born in the world of the place where the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad were told within the family will learn, utilize, and appreciate the items, which is the way of life that they do. Such behavior is a result of long period of learning, and the user would not be able to clearly explain how or what kind of knowledge in the past was applied in a particular situation. Such ability to apply the knowledge during the unconscious state or failure to explain the sources of such knowledge is part of past obliteration (of where they learn it from), but such past knowledge still exists within the body that continues to affect a person (Prasongbundit, 2003, p. 49).

The knowledge that an amulet could be possessed by a spirit is well utilized by Luang-Pu-Tim and Anan Kananurak, leading to the production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in 2497 BE. There was an attempt to connect the story of Luang-Pu-Tuad, who is believed to remain as a spirit, with a certain individuals. Both Luang-Pu-Tim and Anan Kananurak have claimed to be the students of Luang-Pu-Tuad, allowing them to have an opportunity to connect with the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad. However, the approach they employed towards Luang-Pu-Tuad are entirely different. For Luang-Pu-Tim, the fact that he employs the status as a monk allows him to be a ritual specialist in several cases. It is also believed that he obtained a significant power from Luang-Pu-Tuad as well, a process that was called 'power enfranchisement' from one monk to another. Anan Kananurak, on the other hand, having taken the status as a layman, does not obtain such power. However, the fact

that he is a wealthy layman allows him to be further enchanted with the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad through the production of the amulet, leading to the amulet production in 2497 BE. With the support of Anan Kananurak, the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad is objectified, leading to further process of commodization, which will be explained in the future chapter.

2. Luang-Pu-Tuad as Habitus on the Group Level

The rise of US power contributed to the change in social, political, economic structures in Thailand, resulting in the role of Luang-Pu-Tuad as habitus on the group level. Especially in such rapid shifts, Thai individuals had to go through several changes, leading to several kinds of mental insecurity. The US interest in security relations in Thailand was significant for the development of Thailand, especially in its interest in mitigating the Communist threats from the period of Cold War onwards, where much power and support is given to Thai military. It was not until later, but still as a result of the US-Thailand's relations, where the US campaign led to the rise of the middle class in Thailand, leading to mental insecurity especially under the capitalist influences.

Popular religion has long been suppressed especially during the military regime in which a more centralized form of centralized Buddhism was promoted. However, with the lower concentration on military power on Thai religion during the past few decades, especially after the economic boom from 2530s onwards, there were more spaces for popular local forms of Buddhism in Thailand up to the present. An act of collecting *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulet, though now is popular in various regions in Thailand, was once popular among a few group of people in the South. It was not until after the economic boom when the stories of Luang-Pu-Tuad became popular on the national scale. In order to assess the role of *Luang-Pu-Tuad* amulet in providing mental comforts during the period of modernization, the era of rapid social changes, it is important to look into the social, historical, and psychological contexts on amulet collection in Thailand.

Luang-Pu-Tuad as a habitus on a group level is best exemplified in the first publication on Luang-Pu-Tuad sacred power written and compiled by Anan Kananurak, as it explains how the amulets would actually be utilized by different groups of people prior to being diffused to Central Thailand and was affected by other influences. In the past, especially in the early stage, the amulet was popular among the affiliates of Anan Kananurak, who were the elites and the common

southerners. The stories explain the way of life in the South and the issues that they had, which was the reason as to why Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets were needed for them.

For the common people in the South, the region, in the past, or even up to the present, is considered to be a vast, underdeveloped land, with the lack of proper security system. The believers would ask for the supernatural protection from Luang-Pu-Tuad even prior to leaving the house. As he returned, he even had the thought that he might have been in danger. Facing the supernatural event, the first thing that came to his mind, and one would be certain that it was due to Luang-Pu-Tuad, the figured to which he begged for protection earlier.

Even for medical professionals and patients, during the early 2500 BE., access to medical center was difficult, especially during the night in Thai suburbs. Religion became the last resorts for those who are in need, especially when the access to modern healthcare is not possible at the time. However, even for the modern healthcare, there could be several complications leading to further insecurity, as appeared in many stories about the midwifery work in the South. The issue of modern healthcare system does not lie only within the complications but also the limitations in the recovery process of the patients

One of the most significant groups of Anan's affiliates would be the security agents. They seem to have an integral and active role in promoting that Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet has the protection power, leading to further information on Luang-Pu-Tuad being diffused. However, with the control of the state on religion during such era, Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was not as popular as it should have been on publications.

3. Luang-Pu-Tuad as Habitus on the Class Level

Due to the fact that each individual is different in term of nature and social status. The features, in natural and social terms, were embodied within a particular person, leading up to different learning opportunities and experiences. Therefore, even within the same social group, there might exist specific and different kinds of habituses or within the same society and culture there will be a specific habitus for a particular group for a particular class distinct from other classes (Prasongbundit, 2003, pp. 49-50). It was not until 2530s onwards when there was a structural change in the state, namely the rise of the middle-class and the lower control on popular local religious figures, allowing Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets to flourish rapidly.

It is undeniable that the proliferation of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is owing to the commoditization of the amulet, which led to further reproductions by other temples. As Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is produced and reproduced by many temples, Wat-Chang-Hai included, the cost of the amulet is a reflection of the level of popularity of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets being produced. For the price of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets, it seems apparently that the three models of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets (produced in 2497, 2505, and 2508 BE) remain as the only high-priced amulets in Thai amulet market (ranging from 200,000 up to more than 1,000,000 Baht). While there are many other Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets in the market, the price of these amulets remain generally low (from a few hundred baht up to 50,000 Baht). The price of which is determined by its sacredness, governed by how the reproduced amulets are connected with the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad in Wat-Chang-Hai.

In response to the need of the people in this era, based on the myth that was told, the stories are no longer limited to Anan's affiliates or the security agents. Rather, there are many more stories happening to the middle-class, which was the reason why the amulets were represented as if they served two functions: the demand for physical security and the demand for wealth and opportunities, which are ones of the major needs and forms of mental insecurities that are shared within Thai society. The power for physical security is needed by Thai people, especially among the security agents in the past. However, the demand for physical security is no longer limited only to the security agents due to the structural change in Thai society that gave rise to the middle class in Thailand. To activate such power, however, the believers are required to hold an amulet possessed by power consecrated by holy persons/ religious specialists endowed with sacred power. This sacred power often produces certain kinds of potencies, particularly in terms of invulnerability (*kongkrapan-chatri*), harmlessness (*klaewklad*) and weapon breakdown (*maha-ut*). The power for wealth and opportunities refers to a kind of power that deals primarily with the social needs under Capitalist principles due to the structural and rapid social change in the past. This form of sacred power is activated through a set of conducts and grateful remembrance (*raluek*), which means that the act of wearing an amulet is optional. The potencies can be boosted by an act of reverence, including chanting and reciting, in order to ask for a specific request from a spirit.

The Structure of Luang-Pu-Tuad Belief from Wat-Chang-Hai as a Phenomenon

From the previous section, the author has explained status quo of religion, as well as the role of religion as an alternative instrument to the quest for certainty. In this section, the author is more interested on the impact of religion on a particular society. It is important to look into another function of religion in this chapter. Giddens explained that: Religions [...] are a primary source of the most deep-seated norms and values. [...] Sociologists often view religions as a major source of social solidarity. To the extent that religions provide believers with a common set of norms and values, they are the important source of social solidarity (Giddens, 2006, pp. 535-536).

Religion is not merely a system of belief or the philosophy of life, but rather a cultural system which generates norms and values for social solidarity. In this sense, an analysis of religious tradition should not be limited only to the symbolic meaning, but also the function(s) of such tradition in the society. The previous section is a detailed elaboration on the abstraction of the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad. The process of abstraction explains the symbolic meaning and the process by which the society has created and re-created a value into an object, resulting in the belief in sacred power of an amulet.

In this section, the author attempts to discover the process by which the belief in the sacred power of an amulet has re-created a form of social system in Thai society. In this respect, the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is considered as a social action. The belief in the sanctity of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is a reflection of social demands in Thai society in the certainty in material and spiritual terms. As science failed to answer the demands of the society, religion would provide an instrument to deal with such insecurities. Sacred object is an effective instrument that responds the social demands. Therefore, the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is a rational social action that is systematic and structured.

Social action, in this respect, refers a category of functions. It is a set of activities that created by the society as a response to the social demands (Chantavanich, 2011, p. 165). Talcott Parsons explained that there are four possible functional imperatives of any system of actions. The author will employ Talcott Parson's AGIL analytical model in order to discover the components of this social action. It is important to note that – regardless of its order – these four functional imperatives are systematic and interrelated (Parson, 1968, p. 175).

1. The Function of Pattern-Maintenance from the Belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad

Pattern Maintenance refers to a system to maintain or recover the structure that defines the structure of the system, as well as an inspiration of each individual and the pattern of the society. There are two major features of this functional imperative: the value that controls the normative pattern and the motivational commitment that maintains the state of institutionalization (Parson, 1968, p. 174). In short, a system of social action requires value and motivational commitment in order to maintain its pattern.

1.1 Value: Luang-Pu-Tuad as a Protective Spirit

Value is important as it defines the culture of a particular society. Yanin noted that belief can shape human behavior. The belief will have an impact on the behavior according to such belief (Peachsuwan, 2001, p. 17). There are various kinds of values in popular Thai Buddhism. However, the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad has its distinctive value. This ‘value’ has formulated minor beliefs to maintain the sacred power in the object, resulting in taboos, restrictions, and moral codes for the owners of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. These minor values are therefore basic commonalities of the believers, which results in the ‘institutionalization’ of the believers.

The belief in the sacred power represents a particular form of Buddhism that believes in the sacred power of a spirit. In the past, the idea of soul was suggested to man by the poorly understood spectacle of the double life that he normally leads, on the one hand while awake, on the other hand while asleep. The claim is that, for the savage, the representations he has in his mind are of the same significance whether he is awake or dreaming. He objectifies both; that is, he sees them as the images of external objects, the entire appearance of which they reproduce more or less accurately. Thus, when he dreams of having visited a far-off country, he believes he really has gone there (Phya-Anuman-Rajadhon, 1968, p. 47).

This value is evident in a pattern of worship of Luang-Pu-Tuad, noted in a pamphlet of Wat-Chang-Hai. The prayer of Luang-Pu-Tuad is “Namo bodhisatto aganatimaya iti bhagava”. However, there is a proper step to pay respect to Luang-Pu-Tuad. This includes the following: Prepare a set of offerings, including flowers and incense, to pay homage to the holy gems of Buddhism and the power of parents and teachers. Begin with three verses of Namo Gatha. Then bring an amulet of Luang-Pu-Tuad and press the hands together at the chest or in sign of respect,

reciting the prayer as many times as you want. Do it on Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday.

The temple has conducted a ritual to invite the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad in this amulet. There is a protective power in terms of strength, safety, and charm. The owner of the amulet could make a wish as they will, or those who want to own an amulet please come to the temple by yourself. The temple has invited the spirit to possess in the object, and it is one and only in Wat-Chang-Hai.

Therefore, there is another set of rules and conducts in order to maintain the sanctity of the amulet. Should they fail to follow these instructions, they would either be punished or the sacred object will lose its sanctity. The rules for the believers include a prohibition from gambling, life taking, as well as stealing. An anonymous informant claimed that the protection from the monk requires a certain amount of good deeds, while bad deeds will result in an opposite effect.

1.2 Motivational Commitment: Water Sprinkling Ritual and Institutionalization

Parsons carefully noted that value is subject to change. Therefore, it is important to look for a certain motivational commitment that protects such value in the society. Motivational commitment is a form of tension management. It refers to the process of socialization of an individual in the society. A system of motivational commitment determines the maintenance of a structural pattern, resulting in the process of institutionalization (Parson, 1968, p. 174). Institution refers to a system of 'social arrangements that channel behavior in prescribed ways in the important areas of social life. They are interrelated sets of normative elements – norms, values, and role expectations' (Eitzen, 2008, p. 42). Institution regulates the social system while responding to the demand of the society. The demand of the society arises as a result of 'uncoordinated actions of multitudes of individuals over time'. These uncoordinated actions accidentally evolved into a functional system of expectations (Eitzen, 2008, p. 43).

Institutionalization could be reflected in a form of ritual. Regardless of rationality behind the system, ritual has much sociological impact on the participants, especially in term of value and normalization. The faith in the belief and repetitive action functions as an efficient instrument that affects the conscience of the participants. As a result, ritual becomes a form of social control, value creation,

and normalization, particularly in the traditional society and the modern era where science could not satisfy all answers (Na-Thalang, 1997, pp. 46-47).

A major evidence of the ritual that ensures the motivational commitment of the believers in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is the Celebration of Luang-Pu-Tuad in April. Phra Maha Somchai, a senile monk in Wat-Chang-Hai, claimed that the Celebration of Luang-Pu-Tuad is an important ritual. There are two elements of the rituals: the Human Consecration ritual on the day eve and the Water Sprinkling Ritual on the full moon night of April. The human consecration refers to a ritual that consecrates every single object in the sanctuary of the temple. In other words, every object in the sanctuary will receive a sacred power and become a sacred object. The tradition started since the period of amulet production by Luang-Pu-Tim. The other element of the celebration includes the Water Sprinkling Ritual, which will be presided by the governor of Pattani to sprinkle water to Luang-Pu-Tuad statue in Wat-Chang-Hai. In the past, Luang-Pu-Tim made one model of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet and hand it down during this festival every year to the main contributors as a token of appreciation. The tradition attracts a number of believers from various areas, including Southern Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, and Malaysia.

The Celebration of Luang-Pu-Tuad in April is an integral part of this functional imperative. It is an annual festival that celebrates Luang-Pu-Tuad, as well as an assembly for the believers in Luang-Pu-Tuad. The use of amulet as a token of appreciation is the system to ensure the motivational commitment of the contributors to this belief.

2. The Function of Goal Attainment from the Belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad

Goal-attainment refers to a directional change and the stage of fulfilment to the differences in the demand of a system. Therefore, this functional imperatives concern with two integral features: the goal itself and the contributions which are the evidence of the fulfilment of such goal (Parson, 1968, p. 175).

2.1 Goal: the local wisdom

Goal refers to coherent performance of the system that functions in order to attain the ultimate objective of a social action. Max Weber claims that 'most elementary forms of behavior motivated by religions or magical factors are oriented to this world' (Weber, 1922, p. 1). In this sense, a goal of religion is not oriented to the world hereafter in the cosmology the but rather to the conduct of this current world.

The belief in the power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is a distinctive example that portrays a form of popular Buddhist beliefs that have its goal restricted to the current world. The defying potency of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet does not function as a false belief but rather as an instrument for the believers to handle with difficulties in this current life.

There is a system of goal-attainment in the belief of sacred power in Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. The system of goal attainment has a definite goal and a method to attain such goal. As discussed in the previous chapter, the major role of the amulet is an alternative answer to the quest for certainty in the contemporary period. The creation of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is a form of local wisdom, which is an effective response to the mental insecurities in Thai society. Ekavit claims that folk wisdom refers to the application of longitudinal method to strengthen local development. Furthermore, folk wisdom maintains the balance between the physical world and the spiritual world through the delicate system of norms and values. In this sense, folk wisdom is an evidence of cultural civilization in a longitudinal term (Weber, 1922, pp. 2-3). Furthermore, the act of holding an amulet is a symbolic action that represents a consciousness in their action, or Phutthanusati. It is an instrument to remind its practitioners to practice good deeds and avoid sinful actions.

2.2 Contribution (to the religious institution)

The efficacy of this local wisdom is verified by the contribution of the society's members to the religious institution as a result of this social action. In this particular case, the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad gave rise to the temple that produces Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet itself. In order to clarify, there was a myth that passed on through oral tradition across generations on the myth of Wat-Chang-Hai. The temple aged more than 400 years, and ruled by the following abbots:

1. Luang-Pu-Tuad, no exact time period
2. Phra Chuang (1937-1940)
3. Phra Ajarn Tim (1940-1969)
3. Phra Kru Bai Deeka Khao (1970-1978)
3. Phra Paisarn Siriwat (1978-2000)
4. Phra Kru Pariyattijjsophon (2000 – present)

There was no record or mythology of the abbot that ruled the temple subsequent to the death of Luang-Pu-Tuad. Prior to the contemporary era, the temple was

merely in the forest surrounded by massive tree. These trees were slash down since the period of Phra Chaung in 1937. There was no concrete evidence on the construction of the temple, except from the legend of Patani written by Phra Sri Buriratpipit: 'in the past, Lord Gamdam who ruled over Sayburi was looking for a new setting to build a city for his sister. As the fortune tellers found a proper time, Lord Gamdam went to find the city through elephants. The journey took several days until the elephants stopped in a forest in the present-day location of Wat-Chang-Hai and screeched for three times. Lord Gamdam then assumed that it was a blessing sign to build a city. However, his sister protested. The troop had to find a new location. As the sister of Lord Gamdam was on a rest, she followed a mouse deer to a beach around present-day Krue Sae. As the mouse deer disappeared, she asked her brother to build a city in this area and called it the city of Patani. As Lord Gamdam returned to the first location, he felt prodigal. He decided to build a temple and call it 'Wat-Chang-Hai' and invited Luang-Pu-Tuad to become an abbot in this temple' (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 10-12).

Wat-Chang-Hai was then an abandoned temple. The only evidence that proved that this area was a temple is the stones in four sacred direction that mark the sacred limits of a temple and a satupa that contains the ashes of Luang-Pu-Tuad which is a sacred object for the people in Pattani and surrounding area (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 15-16).

It was the belief of the people in the area that gave rise to the temple itself. In the year of 1940, Luang-Pu-Tim decided to restore the temple. The satupa of Luang-Pu-Tuad became an attractive destination of believers in the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad. Luang-Pu-Tim then decided to build a new sanctuary in the temple, which was the main reason for the first production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, p. 20).

On Sunday, April 18th 1954, Luang-Pu-Tim was presided in the ritual to invite the spirit of Luang-Pu-Tuad, together with Luang Po Si, Luang Po Thong, and Luang Po Chan, the former abbots of the temple, into the satupa at the front area of the temple to bless the amulet. Luang Pu Songsako from Wat Pako, Phra Upatcha Dam from Wat Silalong, and a ground of senile monks from Wat-Chang-Hai recited a list of prayers in the ritual. The ritual finished in the afternoon. The amulet was handed down to the followers. The temple then had enough budget to build a new sanctuary (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 21-22).

The other evidence of great contribution to the belief of Luang-Pu-Tuad is the decorations of the temple, including the golden umbrella (a decoration at the top of the satupa) and a set of golden and silver ships (some decoration in the oil bowl in Wat-Chang-Hai). The story was written from a perspective Khun Prapasri Tulalak, a major contributor to these decorations: ‘As for the golden umbrella, I noted down to the temple that I would donate a 71-karat ruby to decorate the top of the umbrella (ninth level). [...] I went to the gold shop that made this umbrella to put this ruby on. [...] In the process, I contact the medium of Luang-Pu-Tuad. He said that level of merit was not enough to decorate the ruby only at the seventh level. However, I protested and tried to put it on the level ninth but failed. The ruby fitted perfectly on the seventh level (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 61-62). [...] ‘As for golden and silver ship, I took my silver plate to the technician. [...] As the ship was completed, a monk told me that I should wait for the golden ship. I said, “The gold was too expensive. Should the cost of the gold is reduced; I would make it on my pocket”. It took ten years for the gold to reduce its price. [...] I decided to buy the gold to finish the golden ship [...] as a decoration given to Luang-Pu-Tim and Luang-Pu-Tim (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, p. 65).

3. The Function of Adaptation from the Belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad

As a result of plurality of goals in an open society, there is a system of adaptation as an episodic functional imperative. Parsons claimed that the plurality of goal leads to the issue of ‘cost’ due to its scarce facilities. As a result, there is an adaptive function to substitute such pluralities within the system. As a result, such unit would be alienable from its original function.

In this case, there are various goals from the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad, which is evident in the case of amulet collection and marketization. Weerapong Intrapanic found that the most primary concern for this amulet collection and marketization is to use the amulet to prevent obstacles and dangers that might occur. The second most-important concern is the commitment on the belief in the sacred power of a particular amulet. Some people use the amulet to provide mental comfort in time of insecurities, while some people collect the amulet as an inheritance for the people in the following generations (Intarapanich, 2005, pp. 110-111).

3.1 Alienation

It is important to note, in this case, that there is an issue with the sacred power of the amulet; there is no concrete way to prove the power of the amulet. Therefore, there is a system of ‘adaptation’ among the believers. Some members of

the society have alienated the object from the sacred power. As a result, these objects have historical, aesthetic, and economic values for the collectors. Amulet collection is, therefore, a form of alienation from the plurality of goals.

These four above-mentioned factors altogether becomes the leading cause for the collection of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet. The media, including magazine or daily newspaper, as well as radio show and website, become a series of instrument to express the stories, including the myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad, the history of amulet production, and miracle experiences to the public mass. It is a form of image consumption that leads to the behavior of amulet collection. An alienation might result in a new system of norms and values (Intarapanich, 2005, pp. 110-111).

The marketization of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet leads to various kinds of market behaviors. Weerapong claimed that the price of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet depends on various kinds of reasons, including its rarity, popularity, antiquity, sanctity and aesthetics. These qualities are a set of imperative factors that determine a price speculation in Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet market. However, there is a standard of the price resulted be a price leadership, which refers to an act of price setting that depends on a price leader who set a proper amount of price for a particular model of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet. Other amulet owners will imitate this price, which will then lead to a price competition behavior in Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet market (Intarapanich, 2005, pp. 119-120).

There are currently 45 magazines and daily newspapers and at least 53 internet sites which regularly publish the story of Luang-Pu-Tuad to stimulate the amulet market. The high demand for Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet and its shortage in the market is the reason for its market name as ‘billing amulet’, which refers to an act of classified buying which indicates a lowest buying price and a contact number for the sellers to reach their potential clients (Intarapanich, 2005, p. 121).

4. The Function of Integration from the Belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad

Integration refers to a mechanism that maintains a set of coherent relationships among various sub-systems in a social action (Parson, 1968, p. 177). As the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is extended to a wider community, there is a reemergence of sub-social systems. This is evident in the proliferation of temples and foundations that seek to produce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets to gain resources for religious and social development. As a result, there is a system of ‘integration’ that binds these sub-social systems altogether

Temple is the center of Buddhist religious life through ritual and education. The temple sets a standard of norms and provide mental comfort in the society (Na-Thalang, 1997, p. 47). Currently, there were innumerable temples that produce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets from the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad all over Thailand. In this sense, Wat-Chang-Hai becomes an important figure that regulates the system of coherent relationships among these various actors. The production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is based on the model of Luang-Pu-Tuad visualized by Khun Anand Kananurak in Wat-Chang-Hai ever since. On the one hand, should Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets be different from this particular model, the members of the society would not believe in the sanctity of the amulet. On the other hand, should these sub-social systems find a certain relation to myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad and Wat-Chang-Hai, such amulets would possess much higher sanctity in the mindset of the believers.

Furthermore, Regardless of the popularity of the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad countrywide, Weerapong Intrapanich proved that only amulet produced from 1954 to 1965 are found in the market. This signifies, *only Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet produced in Wat-Chang-Hai can enter the amulet market*. The number of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet in the market is as high as 294,000, which stimulates the flow of market constant. The cost of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet rose due to its limited production. Most collectors who favor Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet established that the amulets produced from 1954 to 1965 have a same kind of sacred power. That is, to ‘have the same amount of defying potency and hence identical in term of sacred power’ (Intrapanich, 2005, p. 113).

In Wat-Chang-Hai, the author observed that there were two major significant periods that this functional imperative works. In an earlier period, the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad is centered around the conducts of Luang-Pu-Tim. However, the death of Luang-Pu-Tim and the establishment of the Foundation of Luang-Pu-Tuad and Luang-Pu-Tim began a new phase in this functional imperative.

4.1 Prior to the Death of Luang-Pu-Tim

Luang-Pu-Tim is a member of Na Pradoo Village, Kok Pho, Pattani. He was a student of Ajarn Daeng Thammachoto, an abbot of Wat Na Pradoo, to learn various kinds of dharma and prayers. As he reached the age of puberty in 18, he became a novice monk at the temple, but he had to leave to monastery to help his family in a rice growing field. He returned to the monastery at the age of 20 in Wat Na Pradoo

and became a student of Phra Kru Phibunsamanawatra in Wat Duyong. Then he returned to become a religious teacher in Wat Na Pradoo.

During the study period, he met various kind of Buddhist companions, including Ajarn Nong Thammabhuto from Wat Sai Khao and Po Than Chin Chotiko from Wat Muang Yala. In the year of 1941, the history of Wat-Chang-Hai was relatively a mystery. There was only a satupa of Luang-Pu-Tuad. Moreover, the temple did not have an abbot. Therefore, the village headman and the villagers decided to ask for a monk from Ajarn Daeng Thammachoto to become an abbot of the temple.

As a result, Luang-Pu-Tim became the abbot of the temple during the full moon night of July. Five years subsequent to this title, it was the period of World War II. The railway in front of the temple became a main route for the Japanese to transport its troop along with their supplies. The villagers around the temple were panicked from the war. Therefore, Luang-Pu-Tim became an important figure to provide comfort for the victims of the war in Wat-Chang-Hai.

Many people know Luang-Pu-Tuad through an amulet production by Luang-Pu-Tim in Wat-Chang-Hai in the year of 1954. Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet was popular from the year of 1957 to 1969 during the lifetime of Luang-Pu-Tim Thammatharo. Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet that was presided by Luang-Pu-Tim has its various kinds of stories, myths, and miracles.

Mythologically, it is believed that the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tim also contributes much to the sanctity of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet. Due to the connection with Luang-Pu-Tuad, Luang-Pu-Tim also has a sacred status among villagers. Anand Kananurak claimed that Luang-Pu-Tim was blessed by Luang-Pu-Tuad. From then onwards, the youngsters often visited Luang-Pu-Tim to draw a protective tattoo on their forehead. As he did not have much knowledge on sacred tattoo, Luang-Pu-Tim only concentrated on the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad and let his hand draw freely. He did insist that the youngsters shall behave themselves. For the time being, some of the youngsters wanted to examine the efficiency of the sacred power. They went out on a fight, yet nobody could fight against them. From then onwards, forehead tattoo was prohibited. Nipon Putyod said that his father was a student of Ajarn Tim, while he also had a tattoo of Luang Po Tuad over Freshwater Sea on his body. He was once in an accident, but he only had some swollen wounds, while his motorcycle was completely smashed.

4.2 The period Subsequent to the Death of Luang-Pu-Tim

As Luang-Pu-Tim is a person, there was an end to the former phase of functional imperative. A new phase of integration began subsequent to the death of Luang-Pu-Tim. Luang-Pu-Tim wrote a will in Wat Iemworanuch, Bangkok, on November 7th 1969. He indicated that his personal money would be donated to [...] foundation or a bank account for the advancement of the religion.

Luang-Pu-Tim passed away on November 30th 2512 BE. Phra Mujalinmoli, a former provincial monk headmaster of Pattani, wrote a letter to establish a foundation to Chamnong Khumrak. The foundation was then named 'the Foundation of Luang-Pu-Tim'. [...] The foundation was renamed to 'the Foundation of Luang-Pu-Tuad and Luang-Pu-Tim' on March 29th 2519 BE. (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 93-94). The activities of the foundation includes the compensation in these activities: Mother's Day Celebration, Annual Water Sprinkling Ritual, scholarships and utensils for schools and hospitals, accommodations in temples in Pattani, as well as other public utilities that are not in conflict with Buddhist principles (*The Story of Wat-Chang-Hai*, 2011, pp. 97-98).

In this case, it is evident that the foundation that centralizes the budget for the functional imperatives from the belief in Luang-Pu-Tuad. One of its major work includes the printing of the history book of Wat-Chang-Hai. The book was merely a compilation of the old documents with an English translation to focus on the believers in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia.

The belief in the sanctity of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is a reflection of social demands in Thai society in the certainty in material and spiritual terms. As science failed to answer the demands of the society, religion would provide an instrument to deal with such insecurities. Sacred object is an effective instrument that responds the social demands. Therefore, the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is a rational social action that are systematic and structured. Furthermore, it also demonstrates a system of relationships between the religious institutions and its members.

There was a system of 'pattern-maintenance' among those who believe in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad. Such pattern emerges from the collective values on the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad. This 'value' has formulated minor beliefs to maintain the sacred power in the object, resulting in taboos, restrictions, and moral codes for the owners of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets. These minor values are therefore basic commonalities of the believers, which results in the 'institutionalization' of the believers.

There is a system of 'goal attainment' among these believers. The believers seem to have a similar objective for the social action, which is the use of sacred power to respond to their mental insecurities. The rapid social change in the past is the cause for the quest for certainty in the material and spiritual world. The contribution of the society's members is evidence that the religious institution has effectively responded the demand of the society in time of crisis.

However, there is an issue with the sacred power of the amulet; there is no concrete way to prove the power of the amulet. Therefore, there is a system of 'adaptation' among the believers. Some members of the society have alienated the object from the sacred power. As a result, these objects have historical, aesthetic, and economic values for the collectors.

As the belief in the sacred power of Luang-Pu-Tuad is extended to a wider community, there is a reemergence of sub-social systems. This is evident in the proliferation of temples and foundations that seek to produce Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets to gain resources for religious and social development. As a result, there is a system of 'integration' that binds these sub-social systems altogether. In this sense, Wat-Chang-Hai becomes an important figure that regulates the system of coherent relationships among these various actors. The production of Luang-Pu-Tuad amulet is based on the model of Luang-Pu-Tuad visualized by Khun Anand Kananurak in Wat-Chang-Hai ever since. On the one hand, should Luang-Pu-Tuad amulets be different from this particular model, the members of the society would not believe in the sanctity of the amulet. On the other hand, should these sub-social systems find a certain relation to myth of Luang-Pu-Tuad and Wat-Chang-Hai, such amulets would possess much higher sanctity in the mindset of the believers.

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