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## CULTURAL DIFFUSION OF 'PHA-YA'<sup>1</sup> DURING ISAAN HOLY MAN'S REBELLIONS

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### ABSTRACT

This article is part of a research paper called '*Decoding semiology in the poem in the event of the Holy Man's Rebellion as a communication tool to create mixed media art*'. It aims to examine the background and present status of Pha-ya in relation to the Holy Man's Rebellion. The study on the decoding and the meaning of Pha-ya of the Holy Man's Rebellion through the qualitative research study process. The information can be analyzed using the Structural-Functional Theory and the Semiology theory.

According to the research results, it was found that the content was influenced by the Bodhgaya from India, which was found in the Kalanapmeusuay Book, or the Buddhist prediction. Using the Structural-Functional Theory by Bronislaw Malinowski, it was found that the Pha-ya has a function of responding to the need in maintaining the livelihood and the need, as well as the acceptance within the social aspect of the ethnic groups to the administrative group in the Isaan region. As for decoding the meaning of the Holy Man's Rebellion Pha-ya using Semiology's theory by Roland Barthes, the ten stanzas of the poem can be summarized into 17 concepts and can further be categorized into two groups based on the meaning. The first group aimed to convey the fear to initiate chaos by releasing the rumor in the form of chain letters within the area of Isaan. The second group is trying to convey the meaning of hope in the prosperities or the future, which is normally related to the next world, or the world of Maitreya, with the help

of the Holy Man's Rebellion group. This rebellion's success was due to the use of Pha-ya as a tool to communicate to villagers and those with the same political ideology in a systematic way. This reflects the effort of gathering people of the same ethnicity to fight with the Siamese State, or Thai, in the land of Isaan.

## INTRODUCTION

The Isaan region of Thailand shares its northern and eastern border with Laos. With the Mekong River as a natural boundary. The western side of the region is Thailand's central region, while the south is next to Cambodia and the country's eastern region. The ancestors of the Isaan people were mixtures of people from different ethnicities, both from the outside and the inside, and different societies and cultures, from more than 5,000 years ago. Isaan people have at least two groups of ancestors; the traditional local villagers and the outsiders who moved into the area later on from different directions (Wongthet, 2006). The information in the past of the settlement and the migration of people within the Isaan region can be categorized into three big groups. The first group is in the middle of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Buddhist era. Around the year 2233 B.E., the riot took over the throne in the Vientiane Palace (the current capital of Laos). At the end of King Suriyavongsa's reign, Chao Hua Kru Sida of Phone Samet Temple helped people migrate down the Mekong River and set up a permanent settlement in Champasak city in around 2252 B.E. The second group is during the time when Chao Soysi Sounthonputthangkul resided in Champasak. This group of people migrated from Vientiane, crossed the Mekong River, and established "Viengkuk" city (currently Nongbua Lamphu province, Thailand). The third group migrated from Sisattanakhanahut city (currently Vientiane city) and established Kalasin city (currently in the northeastern part of Thailand). The migration of the three groups was due to the conflict within the Vientiane Palace. When they came and had a permanent settlement in the Isaan region, the conflict within each group still remains (Boonmatham, 1986).

Later on in the Thonburi Kingdom, King Taksin ordered Somdet Chao Phraya Maha Kasatsuek, Rama I in the Chakri dynasty) and Chao Phraya Surasee (his brother) to take an army and attack Vientiane city in 2321. They surrounded the city and fought for over four months. That war had led to the conquer of Vientiane, Luang Phrabang, and other smaller cities, thus expanding the Siam Kingdom to the east and the North all the way to Yuan Kingdom (Vietnam) and Tangkia City (China) and took the people as prisoners (Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, 2012). Later on, in King Rama III's reign in 2369 B.E., Chau Anouvong's Rebellion occurred and ended in the defeat. People from Vientiane were captured, and the city was burned down until almost deserted. Almost everyone on the left side of the river had to leave their hometown and came to live on the right side of the river. During the reign of King Rama V, there was colonization by the British and the French in all of Asia and India, Burma, an enemy of Siam, fell under the British and Vietnam fell under the French in 2402 B.E. (Methanont, 1998). Not long after that, in 2406 B.E. France came and conquered Cambodia, and in 2436 B.E., Laos, which had been under the suzerainty of Siam. Because of this, Siam needed to change its system by centralization using the Thesaphiban system, including collecting tax from the people who still did not have an understanding of the system. This caused the former city heads to lose their power, which led to the Isaan Holy Man's

Rebellion from 2444-2445 B.E. and the Holy Man's Rebellion in the following eras.

The Holy Man's Rebellion means the fight of the people who are under the administration, using beliefs related to the Buddhism belief of the end of the world as a tool. This end should be happening around the half of the Buddhist era, or around the year 2500 since it was predicted that the year of Lord Buddha would last 5,000 years. After that, it will be the year of Maitreya. It was predicted that if anyone is born in this era, they will only encounter happiness, not misery like the present times. Piboon, or Phu Mee Boon (Holy Man) established themselves as a group of people who will come and help the villagers from their misery and show them the way to be born in the next world, or the world of Maitreya, where everyone will be equal and have happiness in life.

From the study, Holy Man's Rebellion in China was also found called Red Turbans. They got together as an army that will help bring the era of Maitreya into China. The rebellion started from the rebel group of Song Zixian in 613 (1156 B.E.). In 1305 (1893 B.E.), the White Lotus Sect emerged towards the end of the Yuan Dynasty, promising its members that the immortal and sacred goddess, Wusheng Lao Mu, will give birth to Maitreya. This group of people helped Zhu Yaunzhang get on the throne after taking over the Yuan Dynasty's throne and establishing the Ming Dynasty in 1368 (2525). In Thailand, a similar incident happened with the rebels who were villagers in Isaan. In the year 2241 (B.E.), Bun Kwang Rebel, which was the first Holy Man's Rebellion in Isaan, was formed (Dechaboot, 2012). Later on, in 2334 B.E. Ai Chiang Kaew rebellion attacked Chapasak during the Thonburi and early Rattanakosin Era under King Rama I. Not long after that in 2363 B.E., Sa Kiad Ngong rebellion took over Champasak and burned the city down. Chao Anouvong received an order from Bangkok to bring an army to take care of the rebel during King Rama II's reign. Afterward, Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion, a big rebellion that happened on both the Lao and Thai side, occurred during the year 2444-2445, under King Rama V. Charles F. Keyes (1977) mentioned that in the early 20th century, many villagers in Isaan and the central and south of current Lao stood up to protest against the new power of the Siam government on the right side of the river and the French government on the left side. The rebels were called "Holy Man." Lao PDR had recorded the incident as well. Bodhisarn (2015) stated that for the Holy Man's Rebellion in Laos in 1893, the French colonization and the Siamese feudal system supported by the British were in a great conflict with one another. The group going against the colonization of the French, led by Ong Kaew was a movement to chase the French and the Siamese out of Laos for the country to be able to govern itself since 1893. Even though Laos was able to gain its freedom from the French, it could not merge the Isaan region, which still had many Laos's people, into their own country like in the past.

As for the importance of "Pha-ya" that the Holy Man's Rebellion in Isaan used as a tool to gather the people against the administrative power, 'Pha-ya' is a dialect of Isaan<sup>3</sup>. In Pali and Sanskrit, the word means wisdom or philosophy—

a body of knowledge relating to linguistic respect (Pimsane, 2009). Pha-ya could be composed on the spot or memorized by other people. It could be principles, proverbs, or normal talks about love (Thammawatra, (1983). There are very few research that focuses on Pha-ya that talks about politics. It lacks the research, as well as a systematic compilation, even though those Pha-yas were written during important political incidents in the past.

It was found that the Pha-yas in the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion from 2444 – 2445 B.E. (1901 – 1902) has the connection between the content that shows the political ideology about protesting against Siam, or Thailand. The forms, the idioms, and the methods used in the Pha-yas mostly told the story of how Vientiane was burned during Chao Anouvong's rebel. From the research by Limsiri (1981), the cause for the Holy Man's Rebellion in Isaan from 2444-2445 was carefully and systematically planned out. Starting from 2442 B.E., with the Morlum singing the Pha-ya about the birth of the Holy Man while saying bad things about Thai people. The poems of the Holy Man that was told to the villagers at the time was damaging Thailand. And from the information by Bodhisarn (2015), a secret meeting was held in Khemmarat to start the rebel. The insurgency started to chase the Siamese away on the left side of the river, while Ong Kaew and Ong Komdam will start the rebellion on the right side of the river to chase away the French who were taking over Laos at the time. This is the affirmation of the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion from 2444-2445, a fight to gain independence for the Lao country. From the discovered documents, there were Holy Man's Rebellion in 15 provinces, and 62 people were put on trials from 2444-2445 B.E.

As for Pha-ya, which found to have been used by the Holy Man rebels after 2444 – 2445 B.E. (1901 – 1902) period, a piece of evidence shows that the said Pha-ya caused a Holy Man's Rebellion called 'Ban Nong Mark Keao' in 2467 AD (1924). Based on a research paper conducted by Nadsupha & Sappayasarn (1982), the authors stated that during the rally of 'Ban Nong Maak Keao' rebellion in Wang Sa Poong District, Loei Province, the rebels provoked people's emotion and mind to side with their movement. The approaches used include practices of rituals and 'Lum Pha-ya' poems chanted during the rally to convince people in partaking in the holy man's movement. Most meanings of 'Lum Pha-ya' poems were political-related in that it provoked people's nationalistic and patriotic consciousness. Consequently, Mor Lum Noi Chada Rebellion was formed. According to Theerasasawat & Dee Suan Koke (2014) mentioned that the Guag Khao Rebellion was formed in 2476 - 2477 B.E. The leader of the was Mor Lum Khamsa Sumangkaset who told villagers near Ban Chieng Hien, Khao Sub-district, Muang District, Mahasarakham Province, that in his past life, he was Phra Chada, part of the Holy Man's Rebellion in 2444-2445 B.E., who was killed and reborn as himself in the present. He was called Mor Lum Noi Chada. He went around singing the poem to people in Mahasarakham city with a lot of audiences. Later on, Boonsopha Phon Tri Holy Man's Rebellion was formed. Theerasasawat (2006) talked about the rebellion that was formed in 2483 at Sawathee village, Sawathee sub-district, Muang district, Khon Kaen province, that the head of the rebel was Mr. Sopha Phontri, who was a Mor Lum with a great memory. He had disciples from many villages. Whenever he was on stage, he would use the Pha-ya to tell the prophecy. From

all the incidents, every group was sentenced to be rebels, the word which was used to call people who wanted to harm the kingdom, or traitors, which was the criminal charge related to the overthrowing of the constitution, the legislative power, the administrative power, as well as trying to divide the country or taking over the power (Royal Institute Dictionary, 2011).

From the stated importance of Pha-ya within the Holy Man's Rebellion, the researcher began to have interest in the connection between a type of literature called Pha-ya that the Holy Man's Rebellion group has used as a tool in communicating with the villagers, as well as the meaning of the Pha-ya that the group had which led to the assumption of the research of whether the method of the Holy Mans Rebellion group, which had a clear pattern starting from a group of people, was aimed at gaining their freedom from the Thai or not. The researcher did the study according to the first objective, which was to study the history and the current status of the Pha-ya of the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion by going in the field and talk with the experts, the practitioners, and all the related people. The main theory used within the research was the Structural-Functional theory by Bronislaw Malinowski to explain the structure and function of Phaya, which is the linguistic culture of the Isaan people and used by the Holy Man's Rebellion as a tool to combat the state. The second objective was to find the meaning of the symbols and the meaning of the Holy Man's Rebellion using the Semiology by Roland Barthes by decoding the Pha-ya for its connotation hidden within the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion, which will be able to reveal the method and the process in a sequential way, as well as the plan in accumulating people in Isaan to fight against the administrative power in the past. Additionally, this research also showed the cultural dissimilation of Phaya of the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion that influenced each other in each time period.

#### **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:**

1. To study the history and current status of the Pha-ya of Isaan Holy Man's rebellions.
2. To study the symbols and the meaning of the Pha-ya of Isaan Holy Man's rebellions.

#### **RESEARCH INSTRUMENT AND METHODOLOGY**

In conducting the research paper under the topic of 'Decoding semiology in the poem in the event of the Holy Man's Rebellion as a Communication tool to create mixed media art'. The qualitative tools consist of surveys, observations, interviews, and group discussions, as well as the following methodology: 1. Population and target group, 2. Timeframe of the research conduction, 3. Data collection instrument, 4. Data collection, 5. Data management and analysis, and 6. Presentation of research results and data analysis.

#### **IMPLICATION OF THE STUDY**

1. Gaining knowledge on the history, current status, and the cultural dissimilation of the Phaya of the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion in a systematic way through the form of qualitative research

2. Gaining the knowledge on the structure and functions of the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion, as well as he decoding of the Phaya of the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion using Semiology Theory, which will provide a new set of information related to the Isaan region history.

## STUDY RESULTS

### *To Study the History and Current Status of The Pha-Ya of Isaan Holy Man's Rebellions.*

From the document research, it was found from history that in the beginning, Pha-ya was used as a tool to communicate the beliefs related to the Buddhist prediction. It talked about the bad incidents that will happen before the age of the Maitreya. Later on, the content and these stories were used by the political groups, who were under administrative power, used as a tool to communicate to gather people against the state which has the power over them. Later on, Pha-ya was developed to use the language and the dialect used in the area of Laos and the Isaan region of Thailand for people to easily memorize and re-communicate them to others. Evidence of tablets containing the Buddhist predictions was found in Bodh Gaya, India, from the second book of Kalanupmeusuay (Northeastern Cultural Center, 1992), which had spread the influence and the concept of Maitreya in many areas, such as the information was used by the Red Turban Rebellion in China in 1893 B.E. In Thailand, a historical incident that was assumed to be related to the ethnic conflict in Isaan was the first conflict between Thailand and Lao during the Thonburi period in 2321 B.E. The second time was the Chao Anouvong Rebellion in 2309 B.E. Later on, the Buddhist prediction was copied down on the Lan leaves in various languages. It was found that Pha-ya was also mixed in with the local myth of Krung Sri Ayuttaya in 2418 B.E., which stated that the Holy Man's Rebellion in Isaan during the year 2444 – 2445 B.E. was using the Pha-ya as a tool to create the rebellion. In that incident, the Holy Man's Rebellions were happening on both the Thai and Laos side that was ruled by the French starting from the year 2441 B.E. The government's documents also stated that Pha-ya was used in the Holy Man's Rebellion in Isaan in the year 2442 B.E. A similar incident was also documented in Laos' documents on the Lan leaves, which stated that the incident occurred in 2443 B.E. Several other documents stated that the incidents took place all across Isaan but no year specified. It was found later on that the Ong Man Rebellion started the rebel in 2444 – 2445 B.E. using the Pha-ya that was similar to those of Laos. At the same time, there was also the Pha-ya of the Yai Yah Yao Yok from 2444 – 2445 B.E., which is similar to the Kalanupmeusuay, or the Buddhist prediction, which is an ancient text. This shows that the Holy Man's Rebellion Isaan from 2444 – 2445 B.E. is related to Laos' document, which includes the history of wars between Thailand and Laos and the Buddhist prediction book that predicts the next world or the world of the Maitreya. Later on, there was Baan Nong Mak Kaew Rebellion in Loei province in 2467 B.E., in which the Pha-ya talking about the deserted Vientiane after Chao Anouvong was defeated by the Thais, which shows similar incidents as the Holy Man's Rebellion of Mor Lum Noi Chada, Mahasarakham province, in 2479 B.E. Not long afterward, Sopha Poltri Rebellion occurred in 2483 in Sawati Village, Khon Kaen, which shows that Pha-ya with the prediction similar

to the one used during the Holy Man's Rebellion from 2444 – 2445. Another document that was found was the Lao Literature called Thao Khum La (Chao Rachavong), which the author is from the present day in 2515 B.E. The content consists of the Pha-ya similar to the one used by Nong Maak Kaew Holy Man's Rebellion in Loei province and the Krung Sri Ayuttaya document used in the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion from 2444-2445.

This shows that the Pha-ya used by the Holy Man's Rebellion of Isaan had a complicated history. The influence was passed on back and forth. In conclusion, the content is similar to the Buddhist prediction and the political ideology between Thailand and Laos. This information reflects the connection of using the Pha-ya as a tool to gather people to fight against the people in power. Some of the main incidents were the Holy Man's Rebellion from 2444-2445 B.E. and the Holy Man's Rebellion at a later time, such as the Holy Man's Rebellion of the Nong Maak Kaew in 2467 B.E. and the Holy Man's Rebellion of Mor Lum Noi Chada in 2479 B.E., and the Sopha Poltri Rebellion in 2483 B.E.

### ***The Result from The Interpretation of The Symbols and Meaning of The Holy Man's Rebellion of Isaan***

Interpreting the Pha-ya's meaning by the Holy Man's Rebellion in Isaan using Semiology's theory helped group the ideology into 17 groups. The result can be categorized into three groups. The first group was the process of releasing the rumors and using the Pha-ya as a tool to create turbulence within Isaan. The second group is the process in which the rebels disguised themselves as the holy men into Isaan to help the villagers who were in turbulence through the use of rituals and the recital of Pha-ya as a tool to recruit people to their side. When there is a decent amount of people, The Holy Man's group revealed their ideology for the fight and get the villagers to stand up and fight against the people with the ruling power.

#### **Group 1**

Contradiction, fear,  
disgrace, worries,  
challenges,  
provocations,  
resistance, sedition,  
poverty, imperfection

#### **Group 2**

time or sign,  
reminder, invitation,  
future collaboration,  
prosperity, hope

## DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

From the studied data retrieved from research papers and historical documents relating to Holy Man's rebels, it is discovered that there are samples of Pha-ya or poems which were used as the Holy Man's tools in executing their missions. Yet, accumulations of such documents or research papers depicting its roles and its significance as communication tools that are used with villagers or allies are nowhere to be found. Based on the study results, relations of Pha-ya to its role as communication tools that aim to assemble the like-minded people in fighting against the governance power can be identified. Such includes incidents that posed great impacts; for instance, the Holy Man's Rebellion between 1901-1902, Ban Nong Maak Kaew Rebellion in 1924, Morlum Noi Chada Rebel in 1936, and Sopha Poltree Rebellion in 1940. Also, according to the Structural-Functional Theory on the structure and function of the Phaya of the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion, Bronislaw Malinowski proposed through the Structural-Functional Theory that culture respond to the needs of individuals in the three following aspects:

- 1) Basic need for survival, such as food, housing, and necessities.
- 2) Cultural and mental needs in order to solve the basic issues and provide the necessary physical need, such as work distribution, food distribution, production of goods, and social control through efficient mechanism.
- 3) Needs for mental stability, such as peace of mind, social harmony, and having a responsive social system such as knowledge, laws, arts, and culture. The cultural function is an important principle for analyzing human behaviors that will lead to the study of the entire cultural system. Therefore, the fact that the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion used Phaya, which is the linguistic culture of the Isaan people in their rebellion, shows the connection and it was found that the roles of Pha-ya used in Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion are to respond to the ethnic people's basic human needs and desires to be accepted by the governance power in Isaan. Since 'Pha-ya' was used as communication tools by the Holy Man Rebellion, it can be said that the art and culture of language and literature were used indirectly to respond to the ethnic's basic human needs and their desire to be accepted by the administrative authority in Isaan. Besides communicating through groups of villagers, some of the Pha-yas also address the government or the administration authority to express their will. For example, in the rebel happened between 1901 – 1902, a phrase of Pha-ya was recited by the rebels: "Lue Sae Saeng Sae-lum-kong Nong-sum Pben-ket-sima Foong-thai-jai-hai Tdai-sin-baw-law." The phrase means 'there's a rumor that the area around Kong River basin and Nong Sum belongs to them (the rebel) and Thais (the government) will be all dead.' It was discovered from the study that Pha-ya has its structure and roles in the overall structure of the rebellion of the Holy Man, which aims to infuse chaos and terror, while at the same give out hope, a sense of future, and support to the rebel's allies in fighting against the government. Such can be explained in the following table.



Groups of Holy Man's Rebellion	Elements of Pha-ya found in the structure of the Holy Man Rebellion		
	1. Infuse fear and chaos in the area.	2. Give hope and a sense of the future.	3. Give support and join the rebels in fighting against the government.
1. Pha-ya of Ong Man Rebellion, Ubon Ratchathani Province	✓		✓
2. Pha-ya of Yaai Yai Yaai Yong Rebellion, Kalasin Province		✓	Remarks: There was no evidence showing the assembly of the rebel group. However, the rebels were arrested and executed by the government.
3. Pha-ya of Ban Nong Mark Kaew Rebellion, Loei Province		✓	✓
4) Pha-ya of Mor Lum Noi Chada Rebellion, Mahasarakham Province	✓	✓	Remarks: No data is showing the assembly of the rebel group in fighting against the government. However, the rebels were detained and prosecuted.
5) Pha-ya of Mor Lum Sopha Poltree Rebellion, Khon Kaen Province	✓	✓	✓
Total	5	3	4
			3

In light of uncovering the significance and meaning of the Holy Man Rebellion, the Semiotics Theory of Roland Barthes and the concept developed by Charoensin-o-larn (2012), which explained that there the two levels of communication within the system of mythology.

- 1) Denotation
- 2) Connotation

Moreover, by employing Semiotics Theory to find the connotation, the author was able to identify the concept within Pha-ya the Holy Man Rebellion used as a communication tool with the villagers; such use was executed with clear objectives. Meanings that were identified in Pha-ya can be divided into two groups of meaning. Meaning in the first group expresses wrong contradiction,

fear, insults, worries, challenge, provocation, resistance, agitation, suffering, and imperfection. The second group of meanings expresses time or signal, warning/precautions, plan, invitation, cooperation, hope, progression, and future, of which meaning often refers to the next world which is going to be conceived—the world of Maitreya. Both groups of meanings reveal the similar patterns of the communication method which Holy Man rebels regularly use. At first, Pha-ya was employed to infuse chaos in the area. After that, the Holy Man Rebellion would distribute or sing the Pha-ya to the villagers to give them a sense of being supported by a rescuer. Then, a plan promising a good future would be told to the villagers—encouraging them to join the fight against the government. Though, in the end, the rebels were defeated by the government, they were able to draw more attention from the federal in noticing the importance of the Isaan region; such can be seen through various forms of development that happened in Isaan. It can be seen that the idea of fights associating with the race still occurs on so many occasions within the Isaan region. For instance, Isaan people being allies with communists stationed in Phouphan Mount, or even protests demonstrated by the Red Shirt group, whose members are mostly originated from Isaan. It is plausible that such conviction is still deeply rooted in the area. It is a conviction firmly embedded in the Isaan people, waiting for the day when it is to be ignited once again.

## CONCLUSION

From the study, it was found that Pha-ya was associated with the Holy Man's Rebellion. Pha-ya was systematically used by the rebels as communication tools aiming to assemble people in fighting against the administrative authority. This can be illustrated in incidents which posed significant effect like a Holy Man's rebellion between 190-1902, including other more recent insurgents. For example, Ban Nong Maak Kaew Rebellion in 1924, Mor Lum Noi Chada Rebellion in 1936, and Mor Lum Sopha Poltree Rebellion in 1940. It was also discovered that Pha-ya used by the Holy Man Rebellion consists of a certain structure. It also acts as a tool to communicate with the people by responding to their basic human needs and the ethnic's desire to be accepted socially by the governance authority. It was also revealed that Pha-ya has its structure of which role is associated with the overall structure of the Holy Man Rebellion's insurgence process. Pha-ya's roles are to instill a sense of chaos and fear. At the same time, it also gives hope, a sense of promising future, and help as well as invites people to join the insurgence against the government. The decoding of Pha-ya's significance seems to correlate with Semiotics Theory as it was found that Pha-ya was used to express confusion, worries, or fear at the beginning of their insurgence to create chaos in the area. The rebels would distribute out or recite Pha-ya telling of their plans, invitation, warning/precautions, cooperation, time, signal, hope, and future to give people focus on the fact that they would be helped and supported. The rebel would finally reveal their plans and tell of their ideology, inviting people to join the resistance against the government.

Therefore, it can be concluded that Pha-ya was used as a political tool by the Holy Man Rebellion in Isaan. It had succeeded in systematic communication—conveying their messages to the villagers as well as other politically-like-minded people. Such reflects the attempts undertaken by the rebels in resisting

the Siamese or Thai government to restore and unite those who have the same ethnicity within the land of Isaan.

### SUGGESTION

From researching documents and field visits to explore the history and current condition of Phaya in the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion, although the researcher was able to find the data of the Phaya that was analyzed according to the process, the researcher thinks that there are still the Phaya related to the Holy Man's Rebellion that is probably still undiscovered. This may be in the literature or people who can orally recite the Phaya related to the Holy Man's Rebellion and might still being passed on today in the Isaan area or in the area of Lao PDR. The research found that during the Isaan Holy Man's Rebellion in 1901-2402, there was also a movement that took place on the Lao side as well, with similar forms and methods of organization.

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