

The Evolution of Song-Jiang Battle Array and the Relationship between Song-Jiang Battle Array and the Rural Society of Southern Taiwan

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Abstract

This paper attends to find out the relationship among religious belief, society and Song-Jiang Battle Array in southern Taiwan, by using the qualitative methods which include literature analyses and the fieldwork investigations. In the process of research, the origin and development of Song-Jiang Battle Array are emerging step by step, which demonstrates that development and evolvement of Song-Jiang Battle Array are most related to contemporaneous social formations. They influenced the relationship between government and people and also affected the relationship between religious belief and Song-Jiang Battle Array. In the end, people's devotions toward religion are the main force of uniting people in rural society of southern Taiwan and have played an essential role in helping maintain their heritage. All of that is not established in one night. It has been evolving for hundreds of years.

Keywords: Song-Jiang Battle Array, Southern Taiwan, Religious belief, Government, Folk art array

1. Introduction

The famous folk art array "Song-Jiang Battle Array" (Song-Jiang Zhen) only exists in Taiwan as an unique folk art skill in the world. This culture is especially popular at the rural area of southern Taiwan (Zheng 1995, 6). Although Song-Jiang Battle Array originated in China, it completely disappeared during the period of the Cultural Revolution in China. Fortunately Taiwan has retained the best part of Song-Jiang Battle Array in the world (Wu 1998, 34). Particularly Song-Jiang Battle Array at Neimen Township, Kaohsiung County, Taiwan, where is known as the cradle of Song- Jiang Battle Array in Taiwan. The population in Neimen is fewer than 20,000 people but has more than 20 groups of Song-Jiang Battle Array. The development of Neimen art arrays is mostly related with religious beliefs. Neimen Zizhu Temple (Note 1) and Nanhai Zizhu Temple (Note 2) are the centers of local faith, and both worship Guanyin Buddha (Mercy Buddha). A huge celebration is held for the birthday of Guanyin Buddha on the 19th day of second month of lunar calendar every year. All kinds of art arrays would do their best to perform in front of the temple at that time, which creates a very joyful atmosphere. With the help of Tourism Bureau of Taiwan, the local celebration has become "The carnival of Neimen Song-Jiang Battle Array" which is full of the cultural charm. Tourists from both local and abroad are attracted by the splendid activities of traditional art arrays. The carnival has gathered its own fame from all walks of life when it was held in 2002. The performances of art arrays now appear in the activities of carnival every year

which used to be performed every three years before; therefore, the performances are truly an important event in Taiwan. With the success of the combination of the holy religion and the carnival, people can recognize the local customs of Neimen which are originally unknown by the public.

During the period of Guanyin Buddha statue inspected around the border of Neimen, people from the villages of Neimen Township form art arrays to take part in the inspecting activity. The inspection not only increases the prestige of Guanyin Buddha, but also protects Guanyin Buddha and drives out evil spirits. Through the participation in the activity; the author has observed that the most important thing is the arrays of the villages which welcome Guanyin Buddha statues when they arrive at the village. If the villagers didn't perform any array, it would be considered disrespectful. In the rituals of all arrays, Song-Jiang Battle Arrays are the most solemn and grand. However, in recent years the battle arrays have encountered difficulties such as the population moving out, the loss of those skills, the different skill level of the members and so on. Nevertheless, Neimen Song-Jiang Battle Arrays are still thriving. Guanyin Buddha and Neimen Song-Jiang Battle Array hold the invisible attraction for the people. What is the relationship among religious belief, people and Song-Jiang Battle Array? The author tries to find it out.

2. Origin, Evolution and Development of Song-Jiang Battle Array and the Relationship between Song-Jiang Battle Array and Contemporaneous Social Formation:

Song-Jiang Battle Array, a distinct Taiwanese folk art performance, is particularly popular in the villages of the southern Taiwan (Zheng 1995, 6). Song-Jiang Battle Array is an martial art performance including martial arts, weapons, parades, and formations (Zhang 1994, 118).

The research results of its forming process are as follows:

2.1 Name from Outlaws of the Marsh (shui hu chuan)

Why did it get the name of "Song-Jiang" Battle Array? It has to be traced back to the story of Song Jiang. Some people refer it as a military tactic in North Song Dynasty in China which was led and developed by Song Jiang, who was a character in the famous Chinese novel *Outlaws of the Marsh* published in Ming Dynasty but confirmed as a real character truly (Cai, Fan and Lin 1983, 22). Song-Jiang Battle Array is related to 108 righteous bandits of Liang Shan marsh (Liang Shan Bo). There are two kinds of interpretations in the public. One is regarding the novel to the mythology of 108 spirits, which were 36 heavenly spirits and 72 earthy spirits (Wu 1998, 32). The other is to the myth of 108 snake spirits. These two kinds of myths intended to not only apotheosize the 108 righteous bandits of Marsh, but also strengthen the essence of their characters; that is, "executing justice in place of heaven(ti tian xing dao); Be both loyal and righteous (zhong yi shuang quan)." The story about the snake spirits transformed into 108 snake spirits exiled by the Heavenly God into 108 righteous bandits of Liang Shan marsh. Their courageous behaviors are considered as executing justice in place of heaven and highly regarded by the public as symbols for protection and security. *Xuan He Legends (xuan he yi shi)* published in South Song Dynasty is the earliest record about script of *Outlaws of the Marsh*. The drama of *Outlaws of the Marsh* was often seen in Yuan Dynasty. Yet it was not popular until Ming Dynasty when *Outlaws of the Marsh* written by Shih Naian was officially published (Huang 1991, 41). The Song Jiang Story symbolized the anguish and despair of people at that time via the essence of "executing justice for heaven" and "be both loyal and righteous" as a metaphor of "fighting against oppression and saving patriotism".

According to the account in Folk-custom in Taiwan (Tai wan min su):

The form of Song-Jiang Battle Array is said to be originated in the battle array of Song Jiang attacking a city described in *Outlaws of the Marsh*, which is conducted by one man in center of the array, and the rest of more than 30 ones would be separated into two teams of 18 ones standing in two circles. By following the drumbeats and sounds of striking gongs, the members of outside circle march toward their left and members of inside circle march toward their right. The weapons they're holding including 8 caned shields, 4 whipping knives, 4 single knives, 2 twin knives, 4 hooks, 3 forks, 2 wooden sticks, and 1 twin axes (Wu 1992, 330-31).

The account in *Records of Taiwanese Customs (Tai wan feng su zhi)*:

Song-Jiang Battle Array is a martial art and array used in one of the invading actions by Song Jiang, who is the leader of the 108 heroes in *Outlaws of the Marsh*, in which there were 30 warriors conducted by a leader (Tou shou) and the weapons including 1) 8 caned shields: The bamboo-hat-shaped shields whose diameters are 2 Taiwanese meters and 5 Taiwanese inches, made from cane, hanged on the left hand for protecting body during fighting while the right hand is holding weapons to attack enemies. 2) 4 whipping knives: The knife blade is 2 Taiwanese meters and 5 Taiwanese inches long, the hilt is 4 Taiwanese meters long, similar to green dragon knife (Qing long dao). 3) 4 single knives: The blade is 1 Taiwanese meter long and the hilt is 6 Taiwanese meters

long, similar but smaller than green dragon knife. 4) 2 twins knives: Also similar to green dragon knife and a bit little bigger than single knife. 5) 2 twin maces: Made of 4 sticks of ferrous fork or wooden sticks topped a 4 inches wide hexagon head, one person could hold 2 ones. 6) 4 hooks: looked like a sickle, the bended hook is fastened at the middle of the hilt. 7) 4 harrows: the wooden weapon in crescent shape, 2 Taiwanese meters long, fastened with a 5 Taiwanese meters long hilt. 8) 3 forks: 6 Taiwanese meters long lance with 3 heads. 9) 2 Leveling eyebrows (Zheng mei): The wooden sticks whose diameter is 2 Taiwanese inches and as long as from your forehead to ground. 10) 1 twin axes: Handed axes, one person could hold two while fighting (Kataoka 1990, 181-82).

The contemporary Song-Jiang Battle Array, a unique combination of religious festivals and martial arts hold functions of blessing from carrying a statue of deities to inspect the border of villages for reassuring protections and safeties from the Buddha and the continuation of spirit of the ancient Song Jiang militia.

Song-Jiang Battle Array integrates scenes and characters from the classic epic novel *Outlaws of the Marsh*. Some performers of Song-Jiang Battle Array (some particular teams in Neipu and Chungpu of Neimen Township) dressed in Ming Dynasty costume parading with painted faces and performing choreographed offensive and defensive actions. There are few make-up Song-Jiang Battle Array teams left in Taiwan. According to Mr. Tang Congqi (Note 3), there are only two make-up teams left in Taiwan, one in Neipu, and the other one in Chungpu. This art has passed from his grandfather Tang Chunhua to his father Tang Zhongjing and then to himself who has been trying to preserve this long-lost art. The make-up and costumes are based on the bandit heroes, heroines of *Outlaws of the Marsh* and its legendary character. The female characters, such as Mrs. Gu (Gu Dasao) and Hu Sanniang, are disguised by male now.

2.2 Form from Mandarin Duck Tactic (Yuan Yang Zhen) created by General Qi Jiguang and the Military Training of Ming-Zheng Era

The Mandarin Duck Tactic is the most representative tactic of a Ming Dynasty general named Qi Jiguang, who mentioned the Tactic's form and the weapons they used in his famous book on military strategy *A Treatise on Efficiency* (Ji Xiao Xin Shu):

Mandarin Duck Tactic is a efficient way to crash down bandits, which is the most important strategy of the ranks, which will be described the form of this tactic below: Two shields abreast, one long mace (Lang Xian) follows one shield to protect the back of the one who holds the shield. Two spears follow one long mace and one shield. The soldiers ahead of the team should prevent the other spears from destroying the Tactic. The leader of the team should hold the shield and go in the front of the team and the rest should follow along the leader in the Mandarin Duck Tactic form during the fighting (Qi 1560, 114).

Each long shield and caned shield holder is equipped with one broadsword (Yao Dao) (Qi 1560, 89).

The Mandarin Duck Tactic shares a close resemblance to the mandarin ducks (the Yuan as the male, the Yang as the female), which are always seen in faithful pairs, as a symbolic camaraderie as courageous peers fighting against invading enemies as a team (Zheng 1995, 2).

The Mandarin Duck Tactic of Qi Jiguang was quite successful in fighting against bandits in Fujian Province of China back then. The contemporary practice of Song-Jiang Battle Array can still bear its persisting influence, in which the village inspects tour of parades in two rows or in pairs to practice different formations, including centipede formations, Life and Death formations, fighting against Each Other formations, etc.

There are some drawings about tactics changing in the eighth volume of *A Treatise on Efficiency* whose tactic shapes resemble Song-Jiang battle array, including the ones which were named "Yuan Yang Tactics transform into San Tsai Tactics"(Yi Dui Cao Tu Chu Yuan Yang Zhen Bian San Cai Zhen), "Mandarin Duck Tactic" and "Diagram of the Navy soldiers into Army soldiers generative unit in transform (Bian Shui Bing Wei Lu Bing Xiao Dui Cao Shu Wu Tu)"(Cai, Fan and Lin 1983, 7).

In addition, we can see the description of Mandarin Duck Tactic was very similar to that of Song-Jiang Battle Array, but how could the Mandarin duck Tactic become Song-Jiang Battle Array and be famous in Taiwan? Now we should mention the critical person—Zheng Chengong.

Zheng was raised in the coastal area of Fujian, and his father, Zheng Zhilong, was active in the sea area of Fujian for several years. Zheng grew up the late Ming dynasty when the Qing dynasty was invading; the difficult situation of Ming was a big impact on him. He then burned out his Confucian clothes, left his father and campaigned against the Qing Government while his father surrendered to it.

A Treatise on Efficiency was published by Zhou Shi, the Minister of Department of Army of Ming Dynasty, had

prevailed at that time. Zheng conducted the military operation as he was a Confucian, It makes sense to conclude that he would read some books on military strategy, learned some ideas from it and expected that would be helpful. It would be proper for him to change the name of Mandarin Duck Tactic into Song-Jiang Battle Array in that the main leaders of “Overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming (Fan Qing Fu Ming) (Note 4)” movement inspired by Zheng were almost the green wood heroes of Fujian coastal area whose role models were the righteous bandits of Liang Shan marsh whose representative was Song Jiang. Further more the slogan of Song Jiang was “executes justice in place of heaven; be both loyal and righteous” while he was an active righteous bandit, which accorded with the demands for promoting overthrowing the Qing and uniting comrades (Cai, Fan and Lin 1983, 7).

In 1661, the Ming-Zheng Dynasty moved eastward to Taiwan. Upon arriving at Taiwan, the Zheng’s grand army faced the challenge of food supply. While coping with this difficult situation, the Ming-Cheng government practiced a traditional system in applying land cultivation policy to self-support their own army. Zheng said:

...Yet the cultivating is less than the consuming; it would hard to make our country thriving and prosperous once a lack of harvest happens and the army suffers starvation! So I inspected the land in detail in person yesterday and found the land is fertile that we should follow the example of Involving military into agriculture policy (SFS) (Yu Bing Yu Nong) (Note 5) to maintain harvest and military strength, then find a way to counterattack...makes the two guard brigades defend Anping and Chengtian, the others reclaim where you are defending ... Then it will not have vagrant. Build houses with bamboo and couch grass. Encompass the wild buffalo and domesticate them to plowing. Make the land reclaimed and full of army provisions ... Train the soldiers while it is not the farming season. Fight with the weapons at wartime. Cultivate with hoes at peacetime, which is the meaning of Involving military into agriculture policy (SFS). (Yamazaki and Nogami 1988, 78-79)

According to the account above, it is reasonable to conclude that during the Ming-Zheng era, the soldiers and villagers used their leisure time to practice military training. The marches training resembles to the Yuan-Yang tactic created by General Qi Jiguang of Ming Dynasty. The tactics of contemporary Song-Jiang Battle Array resembles the weapon strategy of battle. Hence, it is estimated that Song-Jiang Battle Array closely relates to Zheng’s military training which combines soldiers with farmers in Ming Dynasty. The self-support land cultivated by the soldiers was forced from the Pingpu tribes. (Jian 1998, 15) The locations where the army stationed were often part of the cultivated land and usually renamed after the name of the army units. Then the names of those lands were remained even though the army was shifted elsewhere later. After the Ming-Zheng’s defeat, the Qing government released the land cultivation policy. However, the land cultivated area turned into villages with the lasting name. Until now, many names of army units remain the same since the Ming-Zheng era. It goes without saying that the land cultivation policy sets up a very good foundation for the cultivation of whole Taiwan in early Qing Dynasty.

2.3 Developing into Self-defense force in Qing

According to the information above, Song-Jiang Battle Array was considered as a formation of military training in Ming-Zheng era. The question that follows is: How was Song-Jiang Battle Array developed in Taiwan after Zheng’s defeat and under the Qing’s reign? To answer this question, the first thing should be discovered is the situation of Taiwanese society at that time. Since Song-Jiang Battle Arrays in Naimen are the most famous ones now, the research was started from Naimen.

Shih Wanshou indicated that Rukai indigenous tribe congregated in the upper part of Luohanmen area (now Neimen county) (Shih 1992, 114). In the other words, while the Dutch ruled Taiwan, Rukai tribe settled in Luohan and Waishan area. Huang Shujing, who was offered a post as a royal inspector of Taiwan(Xun Tai Yu Chi) in 1722 described the geographical surroundings around the tribes in detail in his article “Indigenous Tribes in northern Zhuluo”(Bei Lu Zhu Luo Fan) of his book “Six Case Studies of Indigenous Tribes(Fan Su Liu Kao)”. He mentioned that:

The farms of Luohanneimen and Waimen were all property of Dajiedian. In 42 years of Kang Xi reign(1703), people of Taiwan and Zhuluo recruited people from Dingzhou to reclaim the farms, and then there were more and more people to plow and sow here. People were often killed by the barbarians by setting on fire or cutting heads, and the government wanted to hunt down them. From near places such as Mugang, Wuluo and Dazeji to the far away places such as Neiyuo where a lot of barbarians lived in, and the government has difficulties chasing them. Therefore, the government forbade people to pass in and out there. They expected the problems would be solved under this policy (Huang 1736, 112).

The account above indicates that there were the Pingpu tribes; the Han people; and the Rukai tribes living in Luohamen simultaneously at that time. Life was tough to all tribes. Moreover, we should mention the impact of

“Zhu Yigui Event (Zhu Yi Gui Shi Jian)” on Neimen Area occurred in 1721. Zhu Yigui (1690-1721), also known as Master Chu, was born in Zhangzhou of Fujian Province. He came to Taiwan in 1714 as a lower servant at the court. After quitting the position, he went to Dawuding (Pingtung County now) to raise ducks as his profession. Since ducks love to get together, with the direction of the leader, they live like an army. Mr. Zhu Yigui was fond of friends so he met many different kinds of friends. With his charisma, he soon became the leaders of beggars and wanderers. Soon after, his ducks hatched eggs with two yokes. Allegedly, he saw himself in the water, dressed in yellow dragon robe with a crown as that of the emperor. In 1721, Zhu Yigui fought against the government in power and took Taiwan and claimed himself as King Zhong Xing with era of Yonghe. Since he started from the duckling business, he was known as King Duck and his era only lasted for a month. After he was arrested, Zhu was sent to Beijing and executed. Zhu Yigui’s event in 1721 was a big drawback to Luohanmen’s land cultivation. Especially the area of Luohanmen was the location where the activists hid. Duck hall and Huangdianzhuang (now Benxing village) were the locations of Zhu’s event. Hence the area was attacked by the army. Lan Dingyuan in *Records of Stilling Taiwan* once mentioned that all the bases of thieves and bandits were searched; mountains, buildings alike were destroyed, all the thieves and bandits escaped and disappeared. After the event, the policy suggested by the director in chief of Fujian and Zhejiang provinces named Jueluo Manbao was almost taken to disallow any land cultivation in the area due to the Zhu Yigui’s event. However, it was rejected by Lan Dingyuan who opposed his suggestion that the policy was not carried out. However, the destruction after the war was inevitable. Ever since, Luohanmen was often regarded by the government as the area with the wildest hills, high mountains, and deep ravines and easy to hide thieves. Then in 1734, Luohanmen was transferred to be governed by Taiwan county (originally governed by Zhuluo county) and reinforced the settlers’ self-defense ability (Shi 1990, 265).

How did the settlers’ self-defense ability be reinforced? According to the description of monograph *Military affairs and society of Taiwan in Qing dynasty* (Qing Dai Tai Wan Jun Shi Yu She Hui) wrote by Xu Yuliang, There were at least four kinds of private defensive forces in Taiwanese society in Qing dynasty, including 1) Militia (Min Tuan). 2) Pass (E). (Note 6) 3) Leader of Knot (Jie Shou). (Note 7) 4) private Society (Hui Dang). (Xu 2008, 98) Those kinds of defensive forces were very important for settlers’ self-defense ability. Since Qing government was not able to rein Taiwan very well, the residents of Taiwan began to assemble and organize their own forces protecting themselves under Qing’s permission, such as militia, pass and Leader of Knot, and even rebel against the government undercover, such as private Society. No matter what caused them assembling, most of the defensive forces were related to Song-Jiang Battle Array.

Early settlers in Taiwan had to face several difficult situations, which caused them turned to focus on religions to seek mental comfort.

Due to the arduousness of reclamation, the battles and fighting among groups and aboriginal tribes, and the invading of plagues and disasters had threatened and terrified the early settlers seriously. The early settlers struggled for living, and the homesickness also made them fall in bitterness, the only way that could comfort them and supported them to go through all the difficulties and faced the unpredicted future was inheriting the belief from their homeland (Xie 2003, 22).

The capital was well-constructed and temples were established during the twenty years of Zheng Jing (Note 8) reign (Lin 1988, 7).

In the period of Zheng Jing’s reign, the staff officer Chen Yonghua initiated to establish cults by divinization and organized societies for reassuring public. Hence a variety of temples which combined the comprehensive consciousness of divinization, politics, clan, and fraternal loyalty were generally located all over countryside. Those temples not only worshiped the deities but also united the villagers and trained them in martial arts on the pretext of practicing temple celebrations... (Chen 1999, 204)

After Chen’s policy of religion in Ming-Zheng Era, temples in Taiwan had become the power centers of villages’ autonomy in Qing dynasty (Lin 1988, 117), they could have owned forces, powers to deal with business and social issues (Jiang 1994, 5). They even had rights to enact official conventions:

The nineteenth year of Guang Xu reign (1893), the north areas of Tainan Provincial District (Tai Nan Fu) enacted united-border convention, whose enactors were not the official leaders of district, but the masters of the incense burners (Lu Zhu) (Note 9) and leader of temples, which was very unique (Xu 2008, 106-107).

The puissance of temple was so powerful that it is reasonable that the settlers would be gathered by temple’ campaigning and was trained for self-defense forces such as militia and pass. Since temples had been the training center of martial arts in Ming-Zheng era, one type of militia called Group Practice (Tuan Lian) is equal to Involving military into agriculture (Anonymous 1959, 103). Therefore, it is more reasonable that the authority of

temple would follow the customs left from Ming-Zheng era training self-defense forces in Song-Jiang Battle array.

Meanwhile, another private defensive force was developing undercover and related to religion, temples and of course, Song-Jiang Battle Array, it was Heaven and Earth Society (Tiandihui), according to the article of Sun Yinglong which was cited the words from Luo Zhao:

Heaven and Earth Society was also named as Triad Society (San He Hui), San Dian Hui, and Ge Lao Hui, it also had an internal name called Hungman. ... the early organization of Heaven and Earth Society appeared in the period of Jia Jing reign to the Wan Li reign in Ming Dynasty, there is a further discovery about its developing in the period of Chong Zhen reign. Finally, it became a secret organization aiming to revenge, overthrow the Qing and restore the Ming during the period of Shun Zhi and Kang Xi reign in Qing dynasty. It has been delivering more than 350 years since then and is still a strong and widely-distributed power of society among oversea Chinese (Sun 2006, 119).

Heaven and Earth Society rose and developed at Dongshan, Zhaoan, and Yunxiao located in south of Zhanzhou, the heter-monk named Dao Zong (Note 10) who was active over those area was the leader of forming an alliance of Heaven and Earth Society. ... During the period of Chong Zhen reign, there were 18 persons including Wan Li and Dao Zong following the example of Taking Oath in the Peach Garden to become sworn brothers. All of them changed their last name into Wan for showing the unity, which was the famous organization in history called "Wan Clan" that is the origin of Heaven and Earth Society (Sun 2006, 120).

How was Heaven and Earth Society related to Taiwan and Song-Jiang Battle Array? Again, the answer goes to Zheng Chengong. According to Sun:

The members of Wan Clan were very courageous and prudent, their power were growing, gradually becoming a group of armed gang active on the border between Fujian and Guangdong provinces. After Qing's invasion, the conflict of nationalities became the main problems. The members of Wan Clan changed their political attitude and was led by the prime leader Wan Li to enroll in the overthrowing-Qing army formed by Zheng Chengong, who valued them very much (Sun 2006, 120).

South Shaolin Temple and Heaven and Earth Society were significantly related to Taiwan. More than 500 young adults and part of martial monks from Southern Shaolin Temple followed Zheng to conquer Taiwan in 1661 (Sun 2006, 124). This strength was very important for Zheng's reclaiming wasteland and defending force. The staff officer Chen Yonghua organized them to create Heaven and Earth Society, called Hungman as well, which was strictly organized to distribute cults through divinization, and propelled the movement of overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming. The members of Heaven and Earth Society saw heaven and earth as their parents, sun and moon as their sisters. They contacted one another on the pretext of worshipping Xuan Tian Shang Di (Note 11) (Lin 1988, 9-10). According to Zhang Tan's article, caned shield was a holy item for Heaven and Earth Society which was always exhibited on a distinct place while the ritual of assembly was processing, and was a very important weapon while fighting, so that is certain that the practice of handling caned shields was very important for Heaven and Earth Society (Zhang 1981, 69-73).

Since caned shield was a holy item for Heaven and Earth society, they practiced handling caned shields which were very important in Song-Jiang Battle Array during the assembly on the pretext of worshipping deity. The members of Heaven and Earth Society were also part of the strength of Zheng's Involving military into agriculture policy (SFS). It is very reasonable that some of their martial arts and ritual formations would affect Zheng's military training tactic which was possibly renamed as Song-Jiang Battle Array by Zheng Chengong. All of those can be concluded that Song-Jiang Battle Array was related to Heaven and Earth Society and religion and was disseminated from Ming-Zheng era to Qing dynasty. In addition, Settlers in the mountainous areas of Taiwan were bashed by bandits and marauders since the government was far away and paid scant attention to their troubles. The settlers were left to their own devices. In response, they invited Kung fu masters to instruct young people with various kinds of martial arts, and trained self-defense teams to protect them from invading force. The temples, therefore, became the training center (Chen 1999, 204). Who were those Kung fu masters? Some were related to South Shaolin Temple. There were more than 500 people of Wan Clan and some martial monks coming to Taiwan with Zheng Chengong. The rest insisted to stay in Zhang Zhou and surrendered to Qing later, but in 1664, Qing's army invaded Tongshan, killing the populace and monks, destroying the Temples. After Zhen Jing's retreat from Tong Shan to Taiwan, the survivors fled to Taiwan or go overseas... In 1680, Dao Zong restructured South Shaolin Temple and Heaven and Earth Society, which was the main strength to organize insurrectionary army, support Zheng Jing, son of Zheng Chenong, and cooperated with Zheng's army in resisting against Qing's armies. Later, Qing Government squashed the "The War of the Three Feudatories (San Fan Zhi

Luan)", and the trend was changing. Dao Zong thereupon organized undercover, and the monks from South Shaolin Temple spread up in overthrowing Qing movement secretly as the Temples were their bases, then gradually expanding it to Mainland China and Taiwan(Sun 2006, 123). Meanwhile, Heaven and Earth Society in Taiwan also reached back to Mainland China and definitely had exchanges with South Shaolin Temple and Heaven and Earth Society in Mainland China.

Heaven and Earth Society grew in strength and finally returned to Mainland China disseminating the mission of restoring the Ming dynasty after coming to Taiwan with Zheng Chengong in that the creating of this organization was inspired by Zheng's insurrection (Literature Committee of Taiwan 1980, 405).

The influences of each other could also affect their own military training including Song-Jiang Battle Array. Some researches in Taiwan also claimed that Song-Jiang Battle Array was related to South Shaolin Temple.

Song-Jiang Battle Array is a sort of martial group-performance showing the strength of Chinese martial arts through fighting with weapons and arranging the arrays. Song-Jiang Battle Array refers to be one branch of Shaolin martial arts since the stick skills and punch skills are the most important ones of shaolin martial arts as well and it was the main stream of Chinese martial arts history. During Qing dynasty, the decrees from government were inefficacious; bandits were rampant and jeopardized public security; and rumbles caused by the conflicts among clans and regions happened frequently; for the safe sake, the settlers created local self-defense organizations and invited the Kung fu masters to instruct young people forming Song-Jiang Battle Array, which was responsible for fighting, hence the Song-Jiang Battle Array was stemmed from Shaolin martial arts (Cai 1990, 354).

The display of Taiwan Song-Jiang Battle Array is a sort of martial art Array itself. All members are required to be well-trained in martial arts, hence inferring that it must had some masters from Shaolin temple imparting the martial arts during the period of Song-Jiang Battle Array development, since many heroes unsurprisingly include some Shaolin disciples responding to Zheng Chengong's overthrowing Qing movement in Ming-Zheng era(Chen 1995).

Qing dynasty was a pivotal period of Song-Jiang Battle Array development; various reasons made Song-Jiang Battle Array disseminate and became part of people's lives, but the crucial key point is religions and temples. Religion comforted settlers' mind, Chen Yonghua initiated to establish cults by divinization for reassuring the public and organized societies, propelling the movement of overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming, training people in Song-Jiang Battle Array on the pretext of practicing temple celebration programs in Ming-Zheng era when Song-Jiang Battle Array was simply a martial training disguised in practicing temple celebration programs. As time went into Qing, temple and religion became people's central idea of life; people relied more on temples and religions than government since the Qing government couldn't rein Taiwan very well. It also replaced the government's position in public's mind. Temples became the power centers of villages' autonomy, they could have owned forces, the settlers would be gathered by temple' campaigning and were trained for self-defense force such as militia and pass-males, Song-Jiang Battle Array was a self-defense force at that time. Besides, don't forget the influence from South Shaolin Temple and Heaven and Earth Society. All of them accomplished the form of existing Song-Jiang Battle Array.

Another interesting phenomenon is the difference of people's attitude toward temples and government--the government's inefficiency caused people to distrust it and started to transfer their trust to religion. It led to a significant interactive relationship between temple and people; temple almost became the signature of villages and was revered more than government.

In Qing Dynasty, temple was an exhibit of the same national-immigrants' interior-united power and volition, which was a focus on their spiritual living besides the teaching of Confucian schools for intellectuals; nothing was more important than Temple (Xie 2003, 23).

Temple also reined and united the villagers very efficiently through the power of religion; such interactive relationship remained to this day.

The social function of temples was very extensively. Hence, one temple in one village was the principle of the formation of rural villages in Taiwan. Villagers considered themselves to be the disciples of the temple, and the celebration of the temple was seen as the collective activity of villagers to this day (Jiang 1994, 5).

It influenced not only the society of the following Japanese Occupation Era but also those of current rural areas in southern Taiwan.

2.4 Becoming absolute folk art array in religious celebration during Japanese Occupation Era until now

Although Song-Jiang Battle Array had been disguised in temple celebration activities in Ming-Zheng era and Qing Dynasty, but its main function was still to be militia. It hadn't been seen as a folk art array until Japanese Occupation Era, Japanese government ruled Taiwan with high-handed rule; it took off all the power and privilege originally belong to temple.

During the Japanese occupation, the autonomy, self-defense functions, negotiated right originally owned by temple were deprived certainly under the near-modern colonial system of administration. ... Some main temples generally owned a lot of properties in Qing dynasty, such as fields, mountains, and homesteads which were the main sources of income, yet announced be unclaimed properties and confiscated by Japanese government, since then the temples' subsistence was depended on donation (Lin 1988, 118).

Since the self-defense function took off, temple probably wasn't capable of training the militia; in addition, Taiwan became a stable society with good public order under the high-handed rule of Japanese government. There was probably no need of self-defense force, so the Song-Jiang Battle Array training conducted by temple was fading away gradually. However, Song-Jiang Battle Array was still related to temple--the instructing of Kung fu masters who from South Shaolin Temple were passed on from one generation to another, temples were still the training center. The most important factor is that the high-handed rule couldn't remove the faithful connecting between people and religions which were created in Qing dynasty. To reassure the public, Japanese government decided not to interfere in temple's activities at first, and even encouraged it later.

The temple policy in Taiwan during Japanese occupation could be defined in three stages; primary stage: Because Taiwanese started armed uprisings year by year. To reassure Taiwanese, the Japanese authority pretended respecting freedom of religious belief under Japan's constitution, and did not interfere in the activities of Taiwan temples in principle; middle stage: Attempting to increase the superstition and waste among Taiwanese due to the adoption of an obscurantist policy, Japanese government encouraged and supported the temples to take place religious activities and build largely (Lin 1988, 119).

Under the temple policy and purposely encouraging, Song-Jiang Battle Array transferred from military training disguised in religious celebration into one of the absolute folk arts arrays, appearing in the newspapers' reports for celebration held by temples; and even had been planed to display in front of the Japanese crown prince during his perambulation in Taiwan.

Some folk arts arrays resembling Song-Jiang Battle Array or Song-Jiang lion participated in the performances of temple's celebration in the forty-first year of Mingzhi reign (1908). In addition, the newspapers also reported in twelfth year of Dazheng reign (1923) that the officers of cities listed Song-Jiang Battle Array in the list of shows of reception for Japanese crown prince during his perambulation in Taiwan. ... Tainan New Newspaper (Tai Nan Xin Bao) reported in March nineteenth, 1923 that during the Inspection of Five Wangye of Bei Men Zhuang Nan Kun Sen, the villagers formed various folk art arrays to participate in the march array, "in the front is the plane team, and the next is Song-Jiang Battle Array, ..."Some clues provided by Lists of Temples in Tainan State (Tai Nan Zhou Ci Miao Ming Jian) were published in middle stage of Japanese occupation:

Zong (a slip of pen from Song) Jiang Battle Array, Xin Ying Tai Zi Gong (The Temple worshipping Li Nazha in Xinying). The tutelary god of the array: Master Song Jiang, who the General of Tian Fu (Tian Fu Dou Yuan Shuai). Numbers of members: Thirty people and the date of creation are unknown. Date of general worship: twenty-fourth day of second month of lunar calendar. ... Which organization established by posterities of Zhou Clan for practicing martial arts and funds was from donation of members (Zhang 2006, 49).

Song-Jiang Battle Array seemed to be very vibrant at that time, but as time went into the later stage of Japanese Occupation, things were changed. Japan was invading Mainland China during the period of the later stage. The Japanese government in Taiwan attempted to eliminate everything related to China through Japanization. The traditional Chinese Temples bore the brunt of this disaster, which was either demolished or merged, even to be reconstructed and converted into Japanese shrines (Lin 1988, 119). In the other words, Song-Jiang Battle Array was forbidden.

The years before Japan's defeat, the Japanese were implementing Japanization in Taiwan, abrogating temples, destroying statues of deities, not to mention forbidding the temple's celebrations. Some kinds of folk arts were also ignored until the restoration of Taiwan (Xie, accessed 8 Jan. 2010).

Those kinds of folk art skills including Song-Jiang Battle Array came back after the restoration of Taiwan and became more fascinating, according to Mr. Xie's (Note 12) words, whose father was invited to instruct people in Song-Jiang Battle Array by organizations and temples as long as restoration of Taiwan. Xie has been replacing

his father's position to instruct people in Song-Jiang Battle Array for forty years since his father's death. He has more than 600 apprentices and earned the title "Master" (Shi Gong) (Xie, accessed 8 Jan 2010). As the description above, the faithful connection between people and religion/temple influenced those of contemporary rural areas in southern Taiwan. It didn't fade away under the high-handed rule of Japanese government, and instead, it led to the comeback of Song-Jiang Battle Array and other folk art arrays. However, Song-Jiang Battle Array used to be forbidden by government's policy again in the early period of the restoration of Taiwan. Cited Xing Tai Daily (Xing Tai Ri Bao):

The serious superstition and undesirable customs have been banned by the police department of Tainan City. Weapons were collected and Song-Jiang Battle Array has not been allowed to form arbitrarily (Zhang 2006, 67).

It forced Song-Jiang Battle Array disappearing in urban area, yet Song-Jiang Battle Array and religious celebrations are still remained and flourished in the rural society, which states the importance of religion in Taiwanese society. No matter how the policy and era changed, the faithful connection between Taiwanese and religion/temple will never be broken. It shows on the continuous comebacks of Song-Jiang Battle Array. The current Taiwanese government has noticed it and has reacted to it as well. In 2002, "The carnival of Neimen Song-Jiang Battle Array" has been chosen to be one of the twelve most famous tourism festivals in Taiwan by Tourism Bureau of Taiwan. It also sets several plans and activities to preserve and exalt this traditional folk art array.

3. How the Relationship between Song-Jiang Battle Array and Contemporaneous Social Formations Affects the Modern Rural Society

Song-Jiang Battle Array now is seen as a folk art array, but its central concept is military force. Its meanings of name, formation sources, and its trace of development all indicate that it comes from military training. That is the reason why it used to be forbidden by contemporary Taiwanese government during the early period of their reign. People with forces are the biggest threat to social security at that time. However, Song-Jiang Battle Array has been related to religions and temples on purpose because of the arrangement under Chan Yonghua's religion policy in Ming-Zheng era, and religion has become the most important part of Taiwanese society due to Qing government's incompetence. It also has replaced the position of government in Taiwanese mind because of the distrust of government since Qing Dynasty. Taiwanese probably would react against the government, but they wouldn't react against the temples and religions.

The night before the Jiao Ba Nian Event, (Note 13) in the period of Japanese occupation, the Divine Body of Xuan Tian Shang Di indicated that "don't be involved in this event", and this indication saved the villagers from the post massacre (Zhang 2006, 50-51).

For that reason, Japanese government had non-intervention in the activities of Taiwan temples during their early period of reign when allowing Song-Jiang Battle Array to be shown as a folk art array.

The same phenomenon could also be found in current rural society. It is not saying that Taiwanese would react against the current government in Taiwan, but saying that the influence of religion still affects Taiwanese rural society a lot including the relationship between Song-Jiang Battle Array and Taiwanese. Most of rural areas of southern Taiwan are facing the problems of outflow of rural population, but people would come back to their hometown from everywhere no matter where they have emigrated or how they're busy, then they would prepare celebration programs including Song-Jiang Battle Array several days for the temple celebration during the big day of village temples, such as the deities' birthday. In addition, resolution of important issues of villages and villagers still rely on the deities' indication as well. Such cases show how the religions unite the people. Since Qing Dynasty, the unity also facilitates the sustainable developments and inheritances of Song-Jiang Battle Array and other folk art arrays, even though time has flied into industrial society and the interpersonal relationships among people are distant, the temples and religions are still uniting people in such amazing way.

4. Conclusion

The development and evolvement of Song-Jiang Battle Array is a trace of southern Taiwanese society development over hundreds of years. It originates from the military training in Ming dynasty, mostly related to Mandarin Duck Tactic of a Ming Dynasty general named Qi Jiguang and was brought in Taiwan by Zheng Chengong and renamed Song-Jiang Battle Array, which was a military training of Zheng's Involving military into agriculture policy (SFS). It also disguised in the practicing of temple's celebrations which were flourished under Chen Yonghua's religion policy in order to propel the movement of overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming, and also comforted the settlers' mind and supported them to go through all the difficulties.

Qing dynasty was a pivotal period of Song-Jiang Battle Array development; various reasons made Song-Jiang

Battle Array disseminate and had become part of people's life, but the crucial key point was religions and temples. As time went into Qing, temples and religions became people's central living since Chen had set a foundation of religion and temple very stably; people relied more on temples and religions than government since the Qing government couldn't rein Taiwan very well. Temples replaced the importance of government in resident's mind and became the power centers of villages' autonomy. It could have owned force, and the settlers would be gathered by temple's campaigning and was trained in Song-Jiang Battle Array for self-defense force such as militia and pass-males. Besides, don't forget the influence from South Shaolin Temple and Heaven and Earth Society, they formed another system of defensive Song-Jiang Battle Array force, however, all of them accomplished the form of existing Song-Jiang Battle Array.

An interesting phenomenon should be mentioned is the difference of people's attitude toward temple and government in Qing Dynasty. It was caused by 1) the government's inefficiency in leading people to distrust it and making people to transfer their trust to religions and temples. 2) Heaven and Earth Society is the organization of overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming. It was hidden in temple and disseminated the ideas of overthrowing the Qing and restoring the Ming through distributing cults.

Seeking spiritual comfort from religion because of the suffering in living plus national emotion led people to distance themselves from government and created a significant interactive relationship between temples and people; this relationship could also be found not only in the society of Japanese occupation but also in current rural society in southern Taiwan. The influence of religions and Temples still affects Taiwanese rural society a lot including the relationship between Song-Jiang Battle Array and Taiwanese. It shows the flourishing development of Song-Jiang Battle Array.

Most of the rural areas of southern Taiwan now are facing the problems of outflow of rural population, but under the campaigning of temple, 1) people would come back to their hometown and prepare celebrating programs including Song-Jiang Battle Array for the temple celebration during the big day of village temples, such as the deities' birthday. 2) In addition, solution of important issues of village and villager still rely on the deities' indication. Such cases show how strong the powers of religions still unite the people now, and this faithful connection stems from the early settlers' struggle for life. The connection also make people and authority facilitate the sustainable developments and inheritances of Song-Jiang Battle Array and other folk art arrays, even though time has flid into industrial society and the interpersonal relationships among people are distant, the temples and religions are still uniting people in such amazing way.

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Notes

Note 1. Neimen Zizhu Temple — where the golden statue of Guanyin Buddha originally from Nanhai Putuo Mountain of Zhejiang Province set in by Guo Yuanxing, who was from Dehua county of Fujian Province and finally came to settle in Neimen in 1696. The Buddha was so powerful and famous that the temple designed by officer Ye Wenbing was completed in 1733. There were four times of reconstruction projects done, in 1752, 1814, 1883, and 1928. Neimen Zizhu temple is the religious center of the township. Annually, February 29(birthday), June 19 (date of getting dao), and September 19 (date of being nun) of the lunar calendar attract thousands of followers to come home to worship. There is scholarship established only for the poor. Schools are built to preserve the spirit of Confucius.

Note 2. Founded in 1968. After several reconstructions, it is developed and managed by the current management committee. Its major Goddess is Mercy Buddha. It is located at 82, Neifong Village, Neimen Township. The inspection safety tour held annual on 14th to 19th day in second month of the lunar calendar.

Note 3. The leader of Chungpu Song-Jiang Battle Array.

Note 4. Literally means overthrowing the Qing Dynasty and restoring the Ming royalty, then referring to resist against the reign of foreign nation and save Chinese. It's caused by the Qing government's high-handed rule during the early stage of their reign, the Han developed this movement due to restore their own regime and rebel against the Qing government. This movement was persisting for hundreds years, through Qing Dynasty to the Republic of China. The most famous organization involved in this movement was Heaven and Earth Society.

Note 5. Involving Military into Agriculture was a kind of land cultivation policy which was an organized form of agricultural producing; the main goal was solving the problems of army provisions and military expenditure. Every dynasty of China used to provide army provisions through this land cultivation policy since Emperor Han

Wu, it became a general institutionalized measure in Ming dynasty in which there would be a certain percentage of soldiers in charge of agriculture producing to achieve the goal of self-contained army provisions. Generally, large-scale cultivated organization was formed during or after wars in that could solve the temporary lack of army provisions and guaranteed the constant grain supply. In addition, cultivation managed by military could prevent the disruption of agricultural producing and benefited the restoring of postwar agriculture. This land cultivation policy was fading away along the coming of peacetime. The Zheng's armies inherited the Ming's military system, this land cultivation policy would be certainly implemented while Zheng's reign in Taiwan. Besides Zheng had to maintain a large-scale military while he was in a hostile situation toward Qing dynasty, the land cultivation policy was the best solution for ensuring the army provisions. Zheng invented a Soldier Farmer System (SFS). That is, soldiers helped the agriculture in peacetime and became farmers, but quickly turned back into soldiers in wartime.

Note 6. Pass (E) meant the security station of border between Han and barbarian aborigines. Pass was set during Ming-Zheng era first, Chen Yongua reclaimed the aboriginal land implementing the involving military into agriculture policy; and the populace reclaimed personally as well, all of them often attacked by barbarian aborigines so that constructed Tu Niu which was a mound the length was about 6 meters, height was about 2.4 meters, the width of bottom surface was about 3 meters, and the width of top surface was about 1.8 meter to define the border, forbade all passing and soldiers were garrisoned on the important sites. The Qing government followed this system, even dug trenches along mounds, named Tu Niu trench. Yet the government wasn't able to defend the cultivated lands as it spread into the mountainous area, thus the populace established passes along the boundary and recruited pass-males(E Ding) for self-defense, the expenditure was collected from the landlords of the lands behind the border, called pass-rent, that was the beginning of Civilians-Pass. In the sixty-first year of Kang Si reign, Yang Jingsu the Fujian Governor asked to erect boundary stones, it started at Fangsuo in south Taiwan and ended at Sandiao in north Taiwan, soldiers were garrisoned along this boundary that was the beginning of official-pass. Thus every county governments set passes along the boundary, one pass-leader led twenty or thirty pass-males for one pass. The dwelling where pass-males lived was called pass-cottage (E Liao), of which distance between one another would be appropriate for communication, observing the barbarian aborigines' situation, and defending from them (Literature Committee of Taiwan 1980, 378).

Note 7. Leader of Knot was a special reclaiming system formed in Gamalan (now Yilan) during the Jia Qing reign of Qing dynasty. Knot (Jie) meant to connect with government, manage farming tenants to cooperate in reclaiming, and maintain order. Hence Knot could be seen as a unit of reclaiming organization, also a space unit with boundary; the position of the leader was depended on the Knot's scale which can be leader of big Knot or leader of little Knot. Generally ten farming tenants formed a Knot, a richer and competent person would be chosen by Knot members to be leader of little Knot, then united several little Knots becoming a big Knot and one competent person also was chosen to be leader of big Knot by knot members(Xu 2008, 131).

Note 8. Zheng Jing was the eldest son of Zheng Chengong and grandson of pirate-merchant Zheng Zhilong. After the conquest of Taiwan in 1662 by his father, Zheng Jing controlled the military forces in Xiamen and Quemén on his father's behalf. Upon the death of his father six months later, Zheng Jing successfully landed an army in Taiwan. For the next 19 years, he tried to provide sufficiently for the local inhabitants and reorganizing their military forces in Taiwan. In 1680, Zheng Jing was forced to order the abandonment of Xiamen, Quemén and the Pescadores islands after losing a major naval battle to Chinese Qing admiral Shi Lang. Driven off the mainland by the Manchu, he retreated to Tainan where he fell ill and died of dissipation on 17 March, 1681.

Note 9. Referring to the man in charge of all affairs about temple, usually chosen by the main worshiped deity of the temple every year by hosting the ritual called "Casting Divination Blocks".

Note 10. The Military counselor, one of the leaders of Wan Clan and a iso-monk, described in the record book of Heaven and Earth Society that he and the five Shaolin masters became sworn brothers, creating the Heaven and Earth Society after those masters escaped from the disaster of burning out The Shaolin Temple. According to Sun's research, he recreated South Shaolin Temple Heaven and Earth Society, creating the Fragrant Flower sect of South Shaolin Temple in 1680, it was passed down to the present, which is a very secret sect and different from traditional Buddhism. The monk of Fragrant Flower sect can be married, eat meat, help people to host the joyous occasions and funeral affairs, the Buddhist activity could host in either temple or home, and they practice martial arts as well as the monks in Shaolin Temple(Sun 2006, 123).

Note 11. The literal meaning is Dark Heaven Upper Emperor. He was the tutelary deity of Ming dynasty, the most important religious belief in Taiwan during the Ming-Zheng era, described in legend as a remorseful and reformed butcher who cut his belly for expiation of which his stomach transferred into a turtle and intestines

transferred into a snake rode by him ascending to heaven became the Xuan Tian Shang Di. Another version was that his stomach and intestines transferred into evil spirits and endangered human so that Xuan Tian Shang Di went back to mortal world to defeat the evil spirits and take them back. Because of the legends, the image of Xuan Tian Shang Di is always step on turtle and snake. He is also seen as a funder and tutelary deity of butcher because he used to be one before him becoming a deity.

Note 12. Mr. Xie Naozhi is a master of Song-Jiang Battle Array in Taiwan who is the first one to be rewarded The Prestigious Award.

Note 13. Jiao Ba Nian Event was the largest-scale armed conflict in the Japanese occupation era happened in 1915. Jiao Ba Nian was a place where is Yu Jing Township, Tainan County nowadays. The leader of this insurrection was Yu Qingfang, and Xi Lai Temple (Xi Lai An) was the exact location where the insurrection happened, so this event also was called the Yu Qingfang Event or Xi Lai An Event. Yu was resentful of Japanese's reign and used the Xi Lai Temple as a base, contacting farmers and organizing armed force for insurrection undercover. 6 July 1915, insurrectionary faced Japanese army at Jiao Ba Nian, after then there were more fighting, since the force strength was less than Japanese, the insurrectionary ducking back to the mountainous area, but still attacked by Japanese army. 22 Aug. 1915, Yu was arrested, the insurrection was failed. Japanese government arrested and executed all the people involved in this insurrection afterward; the amount of people was unable to know.