

MODERN CHINESE FOLKLORE INVESTIGATION

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Part I

THE PEKING NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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I. Ideological Background

It was in the *Peking National University* (國立北京大學)¹ that Chinese folklore was first made an object of scientific research. To understand the history and the fate of the academic investigation of the folklore of the Chinese nation it is important not only to know the spiritual sources from which it emanated but also to realize the causes of its shortcomings and failures.

In the early years of the young Republican China the so-called *Chinese New Culture Movement* (新文化運動) was started by several professors of the Peking National University, such as *Dr. Hu Shih* (胡適), *Ch'en Tu-hsiu* (陳獨秀), *Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung* (錢玄同), *Chou Tso-jen* (周作人), and *Dr. Liu Fu* (劉復). It was a movement created by a group of revolutionary literati; and to see what they wanted to change in the literary world let us quote from Hu Shih's "*The Chinese Renaissance*" where the nature of the Chinese New Culture Movement is defined as follows: "First, it was a conscious movement to promote a new literature in the living language of the people to take the place of the classical literature of old. Second, it was a movement of conscious protest against many of the ideas and institutions in the traditional culture, and of conscious emancipation of the individual man and woman from the

1) The English name of the university was originally "The National University of Peking". In 1930 it changed to "The Peking National University".

bondage of the forces of tradition. It was a movement of reason versus tradition, freedom versus authority, and glorification of life and human values versus their suppression. And lastly, strange enough, this new movement was led by men who knew their cultural heritage and tried to study it with the methodology of modern historical criticism and research. In that sense it was also a humanist movement"².

Two main lines are remarkable in the revolutionary programme of the movement, viz. to create a new literature, and to carry out social reform in which the benefit of the free individual is stressed. This movement was the mother of folklore research work. The child cannot be expected to differ greatly from its mother, and that in our case the child resembles pretty well its parent quite closely can be seen first by the fact that the folklore research work of the Peking National University was started with a programme on investigation of Chinese folk-songs. The pioneers began to collect folk-songs in 1918, organized a *Folk-song Research Society* (歌謠研究會) two years later and in 1922 started the *Folk-song Weekly* (歌謠週刊).

The Editor's Introductory Note (發刊詞) to the first number of this weekly sheds more light on the prevailing ideas and aims to the inaugurators: "The aims of collecting folk-songs are two; technical and literary. We believe, the study of folklore is certainly very important at present in China. Although no scholar has paid attention to it, and though little can be done by only a few men of limited talents earnest efforts should be devoted to it. At least, one should offer some materials for the investigators or try to attract the interest of others to it. Now we collect and print them to prepare the way for technical study. This is our first aim. From these sources we may select some good songs in the light of literary criticism and compile them into a selection of *The People's Voice*. Guido Vitale says: 'Based on the folk-songs, on the real feeling of the nation, a kind of new national poetry may be produced'. Therefore, the work is not only to make manifest the hidden light of the people but also to promote the development of the national poetry".

According to the intentions of the promoters of the New Culture Movement folk-song research had to furnish models for reshaping the literary language. They felt that the Chinese classical language was dead, incapable of expressing the living thoughts and feelings of the people. They wanted to use the *pai-hua*, the living language of the people, in its place. Accordingly, they considered some novels in the common language as the best prose writing and some folk-songs as the most natural poems. In the hands of its founders folklore research was only

2) Hu Shih, *The Chinese Renaissance*, Chicago, 1934. p. 44.

an instrument to achieve a purpose foreign to this field, i. e. to bring new life into the body of the deadlocked national poetry.

The same is true of another trend existing in the folkloristic circles concerned. In 1923, some professors of the Peking National University organized a *Custom Survey Society* (風俗調查會). The participators in this branch of the New Culture Movement, as is abundantly proven by the numerous items of the questionnaire they prepared and distributed, promoted folklore research for the sake of social reform. They wanted to know the social conditions of the people, and underlying their endeavours was a protest directed against many traditional ideas and forces and coinciding with the tendencies of the New Culture Movement.

In general, to the literary reform programme of the New Culture Movement was given preference by the inaugurators of Chinese folklore studies. The social problems were passed over to specialized representatives of social science. When after the standstill of the folklore research activity of the Peking National University in 1926 the work was brought to life again in 1935, there was no longer a hesitation or discussion whether folklore research should be done for literary purposes or for the benefit of social reform. The literary point of view prevailed. To quote another document on the history of Chinese folklore research activity, Hu Shih, in his Note on occasion of the restoration of the Folk-song Weekly in 1936, writes:

"I think, the greatest aim of collecting and preserving folk-songs is to enlarge the field of Chinese literature and to add new literary models. Naturally, I do not overlook their importance for folklore and dialectology; but it seems to me that the literary aim is the greatest and most fundamental. The most profound and everlasting influence of the compilation of the Three Hundred Popular Songs (i. e. The Book of Poetry) was, of course, that which they exercised on Chinese literature, although we can still use them even now as sources of ancient Chinese history. In the history of Chinese verse all the new styles came from the common people. The first part of the Book of Poetry comprising the Ballads of Different States, and a good deal of the second part, including the Minor Odes of the Kingdom, were collected from the songs of the people. The Nine Songs (九歌) of the Ch'u Style came from the people also. So also did all the 'yao-fu', or songs of the imperial musicians's office (樂府), of Han, Wei, and the Six Dynasties and the lyrical poems of Sung and the dramas of Yüan. They were all epoch-making models in the history of Chinese literature. Now our new literature, especially the new poetry, needs some new models also. There are two sources of models for the new Chinese poetry: one is to be found in foreign literature, and the other in our popular songs. It seems that the new poetry movement of the last twenty years paid too much attention to the former and overlooked the latter. In fact, at present there are very few who can read foreign poems and the work of

translating such poems into Chinese is just beginning. Most of those who write new poems may be said to depend merely on their genius, searching out their way in darkness. Practically none of the great masterpieces can be imitated. Reading the new poems of the past twenty years, we feel that they have some great imperfections in technique, in tone, and even in the language. We believe sincerely that the best popular songs often have very skilful technique, a beautiful tone and excel by their fluent and pretty language. The new poets of to-day may take them as models”³.

Thus far we have dealt with the new literary and social ideas in which the interest for Chinese folklore originated. It is obvious that the starting point for scientific research work in this field was inadequate. The main point to be criticized is that no one of the inaugurators of folklore research, as it seems, was thoroughly acquainted with the nature, principles and methods of the science of folklore. Against their work an analogous judgment could be passed as against a certain school of ethnologists who are blamed for pushing down ethnology to the level of “social engineering”. Without doubt, it is not an easy matter to hit upon the right plan immediately. In European countries also folklore research work needed many decades to eliminate misconceptions and various kinds of onesidedness until it reached the comparatively high standard of to-day. Thus from the foundation of the scientific German *Volkskunde* by Justus Möser (1729-1794), and its development by Gottfried Herder, the brothers Jacob and William Grimm and William Henry Riehl (1823-1897), to mention only the most outstanding champions in one country alone, up to the activity of the *Volkskunde* Society and to the publication of “*Die Deutsche Volkskunde*” by Professor Adolf Spamer (1934/35), almost a century and a half passed before the *Volkskunde* succeeded in constituting itself as a full-dress scientific occupation with clear conceptions of its nature, problems and boundaries.

In the case of our Chinese *Volkskunde* the problems surpass by far those of the German nation in their difficulty and complexity. Western conceptions and definitions, applied to the Chinese field of work, are liable to be insufficient and inadequate. First of all, thoroughly elaborated studies on basic questions and a comprehensive methodology of Chinese folklore research would come as a life giving blessing. From this, however, we are still far removed. What we can, and should strive for above all, is to clear our ideas, and simultaneously to approach the manifestations of the Chinese soul and collect their documents in such abundance as lies within power of a still insufficient number of competent workers.

Viewing the whole problem from our present point of vantage we may indeed deprecate the time-conditioned mistakes made by the pioneers.

3) F. W. (*Folk-song Weekly*) vol. II, No. 1; April, 4th, 1936.

of Chinese folklore research work, but we must recognise the very appreciable results that have been achieved in spite of everything. A careful survey of the history, trends, results and failures, methodological equipment of folklore research done in China in the past will be undoubtedly useful and even necessary for the purpose of these our Museum publications.

II. The Folk-song Research Society

In February 1918 a Folk-song Collection Bureau (歌謠徵集處) was opened in the Peking National University. The regulations⁴ concerning the collection of modern Chinese folk-songs are as follows:

1. The University intends to publish in due time two works with the following titles:
 - a. A Collection of Modern Chinese Folk-songs.
 - b. A Selection of Modern Chinese Folk-songs.
2. The folk-songs are to be collected in two ways:
 - a. The professors, officials and students of the University will contribute out of their personal knowledge.
 - b. The governments of the different provinces are to be requested to give instructions to schools and other educational organizations under their control to collect for the university.
3. The collection should cover folk-songs from the Sung Dynasty on to the present time.
4. Songs of the following types are to be collected:
 - a. Folk-songs concerning the customs and habits, the history and society of the respective places.
 - b. Folk-songs with a deep meaning like proverbs.
 - c. Songs of far-off soldiers, rustics, longing girls and sorrowful women, in so far as they have natural beauty and are not obscene.
 - d. Juvenile ditties and prophetic songs, some of which are, perhaps meaningless in themselves but are possessed of a natural rhythm.
5. Both long and short songs are to be collected.
6. In point of their origin, folk-songs should be selected in accordance with the following classification:

4) Yung Chao-tso (容肇祖), The History of the Folk-song Research Society and the Custom Survey Society of the Peking National University, Folklore Weekly (民俗週刊), Graduate School of the National Sun Yat-sen University, Canton, No. 15, 17; July, 1928. Some articles of less importance in the regulations are not translated.

- a. Songs whose author is unknown but which came into circulation spontaneously in a certain society or time.
 - b. Songs which are known to be the product of a certain author but whose circulation came about by itself.
7. The contributors are expected:
- a. to annotate the dialect and idiomatic expressions.
 - b. to copy the songs as they are, no matter whether they are elegant or vulgar; not to polish the language and not to change the vulgar-written characters or colloquial expressions.
 - c. to note the sound of the local characters that cannot be found in dictionaries. Transcription in Roman or phonetic alphabet is preferable.
 - d. to leave a space for the word that has only a sound, without a character, to note the sound in Roman letters or phonetic symbols, and to annotate its meaning.
 - e. to note the society and time in which the songs were or are circulating.
 - f. to explain the sentences with bearing on history, geography and customs of a place.
 - g. to write down the tune of a song, if necessary, either in Chinese or foreign symbols.

It was decided then, that after a certain number of songs were collected, Prof. Liu Fu, Prof. Chou Tso-jen, and Prof. Shen I-mo (沈尹默) would begin to compile them for publication and that Prof. Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung and Prof. Shen Chien-shih (沈兼士) would examine the dialects used in the songs. From the end of May, Prof. Liu Fu's "Selected Folk-songs" (歌謠選) began to appear continuously in the "University Daily" (北大日刊), and the series came to include a total of 148 songs.

Originally it was intended that the collection should be terminated by June, 1919, and that the two volumes should be off the press at the end of 1920. But political and other events handicapped progress, and the work had to be temporarily suspended in consequence of the "May 4th Movement". Besides this, Prof. Liu Fu and Prof. Shen I-mo went abroad for special research.

In the winter of 1920 the Folk-song Research Society, with Prof. Shen Chien-shih and Prof. Chou Tso-jen as chairmen, was organized to take charge of the work. Nevertheless, practically nothing was done for two years as the university had to close its doors several times during the spring of 1921 due to financial difficulties, and Prof. Chou Tso-jen's health was in a bad condition.

In 1922 the Folk-song Research Society was re-organized but subordinated to the newly founded *Institute of Sinology* (研究所國學門)

at the National University. Prof. Chou Tso-jen could take over the work again and a Folk-song Research Bureau (歌謠研究室) was provided in the institute. About 3000 songs had already been collected and now they decided to publish a special periodical in which systematic reports on the collected material should be given, in the hope that this would further promote collection and selection and draw more public attention to the research work. In December 17th, 1922, the twenty-fifth foundation anniversary of the university, the first issue of the Folk-song Weekly appeared. The Editors were Prof. Chou Tso-jen and Mr. Ch'ang Hui (常惠). Prof. Shen Chien-shih and Prof. Ch'ien Hsüan-t'ung devoted themselves to the examination of dialects in the songs.

At first, the Weekly had no independent existence, was attached to the University Daily as a supplement and appeared every Monday but was not sold separately. Soon, however, the need for a Folk-song Weekly of its own was felt as the collection work made rapid progress. Thus, from the twenty-fifth number, issued on Sept. 23rd, 1923, an independent journal was started. Its contents can be grouped under three headings: 1. Selected folk-songs. 2. Selected children's songs, 3. Articles. Though the contribution of articles concerning folklore was advocated in the Editorial Note, at first only a limited number of them were actually sent in.

Meanwhile, the Chinese New Culture Movement was at its high tide, among the young intelligentsia enthusiastic fervor for collecting and studying folk-songs was in vogue and quantities of collected songs poured in with some samples being received nearly every day. From December 1st, 1922, to the end of June, 1925, the society received a total of 13339 songs representing every section of China. The following list gives the details:

Hopei	3693	Shantung	1037
Honan	933	Kiangsu	1375
Anhui	383	Chêkiang	308
Hunan	404	Kansu	45
Szechuan	330	Yünnan	2385
Kuangsi	607	Fukien	554
Kiangsi	80	Hupei	565
Shensi	248	Sinkiang	0
Kuangtung	661	Kueichou	83
Jehol	0		

From the 50th number onwards a considerable increase of papers of folkloristic topics was noticeable and this change was so marked that some of these later issues were almost entirely filled with this type of contributions. The discrepancy between this trend and the title of the Weekly was felt and, consequently, the Institute of Sinology decided to dis-

continue the Folk-song Weekly and to make a fresh start with a new journal of broader scope. The history of the short-lived Folk-song Weekly and the results it obtained may be summarized as follows: The weekly lasted two years and a half, that is from December 17th, 1922, to June 28th, 1925; 97 numbers were issued carrying 2226 songs.

As to the articles, most of them, dealing with the nature, importance and classification of folk-songs, served mainly for propaganda purposes, but others go also beyond these limits. To estimate the results achieved by this weekly enterprise we must pay attention first of all to the comparative studies. In the first number of the Weekly, Ch'ang Hui in his "An Explanation to the Contributors" compared the different texts of the song "I have seen her through the bamboo screen" (隔着竹簾看見她) and formulated his result as follows: "Out of one song ten and more songs were evolved and circulated in various provinces, over practically the whole of China. But every district and sometimes even in near-by places, had different ways of singing the same songs. This is well worth studying". This may be called the first beginning of comparative folk-song study. At the same time Hu Shih published "An Example of Comparative Study of Folk-songs"⁵. In this he stressed the point that the "motif" is the same in numerous folk-songs but many differences are found in minor details. The same motif may be traced from the north to the south, from Kiangsu to Szechuan, but everywhere local colors are added and the songs are sometimes dressed up in an entirely different wording. Hu Shih also used "I have seen her through the bamboo screen" to exemplify his idea of comparative folk-song studies.

Tung Tso-pin (董作賓) collected forty-five songs with this same motif "I have seen her" from thirty-five districts in twelve provinces, and tried to ascertain the way of circulation, drew conclusions concerning the customs of the different territories, and also threw light on the respective dialectical environment⁶.

In No. 37, "A Collection of Moon-songs" was published, without any comparative study. From No. 62 on a "Collection Theme" was given in each number and contributors were asked to collect songs with a given motif. From the above it is evident that at least the initial steps for a comparative study of folk-songs had now been made.

Other articles can be grouped under the heading "Social Studies". In the Folk-song Weekly many essays could be found dealing with the

5) Endeavour Weekly (努方週報), No. 31; reprinted in the F. W. Vol. I, No. 46.

6) F. W. Vol. I, No. 63, 64; reprinted in a monograph with the title K'an-Chien T'a (看見她).

family and the problem of womanhood as reflected in the folk-songs. An example of this is *Liu Ching-an's* (劉經菴) essay on "Folk-songs and Women"⁷. Liu analyzed three hundred folk-songs from Honan and classified them as follows:

1. Sorrowful happenings in the lives of young girls.
2. Sorrowful happenings in the lives of middle-aged women.
3. Sorrowful happenings in the lives of old women.
4. Unhappy marriage.
5. The inequality between husband and wife.

Other studies of the same author, also on sociological lines are: "Aunt and Step-mother in Folk-songs"⁸ and "The Position of Chinese Women as seen among the Folk-songs"⁹. Among the contributions from other authors, suffice it to cite here: Cheng Pin-yü: "The Idea of Marriage in Folk-songs"¹⁰, Neng Shu: "Some Peking Folk-songs on Marriage"¹¹, Sun Shao-hsien: "Yünnan Folk-songs on Marriage"¹², Chung Ching-wen: "The Idea of Marriage in Hai-feng as reflected in Folk-songs"¹³.

The point should be made that though in the programmatic introduction much stress was put on the literary study of folk-songs, by far the greater number of articles approached the folk-songs collected from the viewpoint of social science rather than for the sake of promoting a renaissance of national poetry. Similarly the request made by the editors of the Folk-song Weekly for careful and systematic notes on dialectical variations found but a faint echo. It was the question of transcription that puzzled the contributors. After a long discussion on this question a general meeting on January 30th, 1942, decided that a special phonetic alphabet should be prepared in cooperation with the *Dialect Survey Society* (方言調查會)¹⁴. But though the alphabet was created¹⁵, contributors rarely used it and some of them still employed Chinese phonetic symbols.

7) F. W. Vol. I, No. 30.

8) F. W. Vol. I, No. 46.

9) F. W. Vol. I, No. 48.

10) F. W. Vol. I, No. 57.

11) F. W. Vol. I, No. 57.

12) F. W. Vol. I, No. 57.

13) F. W. Vol. I, No. 74.

14) The Dialect Survey Society was organized by a group of professors of the University in Jan. 1924.

15) The alphabet was published in F. W. Vol. I, No. 55, 85.

We have now to look at the next phase in the folkloristic activity of the Peking National University. *The Weekly Review of the Institute of Sinology of the Peking National University* (國立北京大學研究所國學門週刊), replacing the Folk-song Weekly, appeared for the first time on October 14th, 1925. It had to serve as a publication organ for several research societies, i. e. the Folk-song Research Society, the Custom Survey Society, the Dialect Survey Society, the Archaeological Society (考古學會), etc. Its pages were destined to carry only a small number of folk-songs and after the twenty-fourth number this Weekly also came to a premature standstill in August, 1926. But soon a fresh start was made with a monthly of similar nature, called "*The Journal of the Institute of Sinology of the Peking National University*" (國立北京大學研究所國學門月刊). It came to end after the eighth number. In the last mentioned weekly and later in the monthly fifty-four folk-songs¹⁶ and several long love songs¹⁷ from the Huai-nan district in Northern Anhui, which had been collected by T'ai Ching-nung (臺靜農), were published, as were also some folk-songs of Cheng-hsien, Chèkiang¹⁸, collected by Chang Wen-huan (章文煥).

Three series of books were on the publication programme of the Folk-song Research Society: the folk-song series, the little folk-song series and the folk-tale series. Of these projected works as listed below only three actually came off the press.

1. The folk-songs series:

A Collection of Wu Songs, by Ku Chieh-kang (vol. I published).

Peking Folk-songs, by Ch'ang Hui.

Hopei Folk-songs, by Liu Ching-an.

Huai-nan Love Songs, by T'ai Ching-nung.

One Thousand Mountain Songs, by Ch'ang Hui.

K'un-ming Folk-songs, by Sun Shao-hsien.

Chihli Folk-songs (proposed author unknown).

2. The little folk-song series:

K'an chien t'a (I saw her), by Tung Tso-pin (published).

Peking Riddles, by Ch'ang Hui.

Peking Hsieh-hou-yü (歇後語, i. e. set phrases of which only the protasis is uttered, the apodosis being understood by the speaker, not literally but in a punning sense).

A Selection of Proverbs.

16) W. I. S. (Weekly Review of the Institute of Sinology of the Peking National University) No. 4, 8.

17) J. I. S. (Journal of the Institute of Sinology of the Peking National University) Vol. I, No. 4-7.

18) W. I. S. No. 23, 24; J. I. S. Vol. I, No. 2.

3. The folk-tale series:

The Tale of Mêng Chiang-nü told in Rhymes, by Ku Chieh-kang (book I published).
Studies on the Mêng Chiang-nü Tale, by Ku Chieh-kang.

From May 30th, 1925, on educational circles in Peking were affected by the waves of new political events in the course of which some of the professors connected with the folk-song research work left Peking and with them their work had also gone.

III. The Custom Survey Society

Another research work, parallel to the folk-songs undertaking, but begun five years later, was done by the Custom Survey Society. On May 14th, 1923, the new society gathered for its preliminary meeting in which Prof. *Chang Ching-shêng* (張競生) presented his Custom Survey Questionnaire (風俗調查表) for discussion. Some of its details underwent corrections but it was found acceptable otherwise and the decision was taken to begin the collection of materials with Peking. Another step, new in the history of folklore research in China, was the decision to create a folklore museum and to collect objects for it accordingly. On May 24th, 1923, the society was formally founded. Its programme was to be carried out on the following three lines:

1. Collection of written sources.
2. Inquiry by a questionnaire.
3. Collection of museum objects.

Emphasis was placed on the second point especially, and questionnaires were distributed to the members of the society as well as to interested outsiders, and the educational boards and colleges of different provinces were asked to coöperate. The content of the questionnaire¹⁹ is given below.

I. Environment

1. Name of the place.
2. Population: men, women, annual average of children born and a comparison between the number of births and deaths within the last ten years.
3. Profession: men and women recorded separately.
4. Climate: different length of the four seasons, special kinds of weather.
5. Geography: mountains, sea, plain, rivers, lakes, famous temples, beautiful places.

19) A Journal of Sinological Studies (國學季刊), The Peking National University, Vol. I, No. 3. The questionnaire begins with a simple explanation of the aims of the survey. It is omitted in the translation.

6. Products: what?
7. Economic condition: the fundamental industry, wages, interest, etc.
8. Livelihood: the differences among the rich, middle-class and poor.
9. Communication: on river or land? ship, steamship, railway, sedan-chair, cart, etc.
10. Tribes.
11. Special local organisations: for religious purposes, coöperation, etc.
12. Domestic animals: horses, oxen, sheep, pigs, hens, dogs, etc.; the method of breeding and the rate of reproduction.

II. Thought

1. Language: mandarin or local dialect?
2. Folk-songs: only the prevailing ones.
3. Legends, fables, hurried rhymes (急口令) and anecdotes.
4. Theatre: what kind? Types of actors? What kind of interest do the people take in it?
5. Maxims and proverbs.
6. Novels and stories: what novels and stories are most prevailing? How do they circulate? by story-tellers, singing or telling one another?
7. Religion: Christianity, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Shamanism, magic, etc.
8. Education: what schools? the programme of studies, home education, the influence of the old examination system.
9. Arts: sculpture, painting, music, singing, weaving and embroidery.
10. Common ideas and judgments: for example, the judgments on modern school students, on the Republican governments, etc.

III. Customs

Clothes: the shirts and coats of children, adults and the old in the four seasons; the materials of the clothes and the method of making them; hand-kerchiefs, stockings, shoes, hats, etc.

2. Food: rice, wheat, millet, flour, etc.; cigarettes, cigars, opium, etc.; wine, oil, sauce, salt, and other things used in cooking; the quantity of meat, vegetables, rice, porridge, wheat and millet used by the rich and the poor every day.
3. Houses: wooden, bamboo, brick and earthen houses; the furniture inside and the decoration outside; the bed-room and the latrine; the place for keeping animals.
4. Marriage: the marriage age; the betrothal money; the ceremonies of betrothal and wedding; other customs.

5. Funeral: the funeral of the rich and the poor to be described separately.
6. Grave-yard: the idea of "fêng-shui" (風水)²⁰, the building of the tomb.
7. Sacrifice: in the ancestral temple, on the tomb and to the gods.
8. Family ceremonies: the duties of children to parents; the duties of daughters-in-law to parents-in-law; the ceremonies of child-birth; capping (冠禮) of boys and binding up the hair (笄禮) of the girls.
9. Ceremony of receiving and attending guests.
10. Customs observed when meeting people.
11. Idolatrous processions and performances along the procession.
12. Concubines and slave-girls.
13. Chastity of the virgin and the widow.
14. Adoption of a child by a widow or by a childless couple.
15. Re-marriage: should a widow re-marry or not? If she does what criticisms does the public make of her?
16. Ornamentation: the binding of feet, the binding of breasts, binding of the hair, ornaments of the head, ears, hands, fingers, neck and feet.
17. Fight and accusation: mass fighting, individual fighting; cursing and scolding. Do the people like to complain?
18. Brothel frequenting.
19. Gambling; what kind? men and women together or separately?
20. Stealing and robbing.
21. Prostitution: public and secret; the system of public prostitution; the life of prostitutes; the method of conducting secret prostitution.
22. Social intercourse between men and women.
23. Clean or dirty: give instances regarding clothing, food, the house; bathing or not bathing? etc.
24. The customs of the different festivals during the year and the collecting of debts by the merchants.
25. Diligent or lazy: how many hours of work a day? what kind of work? work at night or not? the house work of women.
26. Play: games of children, monkey shows, dog shows, puppet shows, musical entertainments, etc.
27. Miscellaneous professions: e. g. boxing, fortune-telling, divination, etc.
28. Beggars.
29. Calls of peddlers: sound, words, instruments, etc.
30. Condition of slaves.
31. Charity enterprises.
32. Abandoned children.

20) "Fêng-shui" is the superstitious belief of the relationship between the situation of the grave and the fortunes of the children of the dead.

Three thousand copies of the questionnaire were printed and distributed but the result was not favorable. The failure may have been largely due to the unsuitable arrangement of the questions, the meaning of which was not always sufficiently definite, hence to answer them comprehensively one would have been obliged to write an extensive treatise; furthermore, the questions apparently were more related to social survey than to Folklore. Until May 1924, forty-one answered copies were returned and some of the good answers were published in the Folk-song Weekly²¹ and the University Daily.

Now let us glance for a moment at the enterprise of collecting folkloristic objects for the museum. In January 1924 this collection was inaugurated with objects belonging to the Chinese new year customs. For this task a printed "Explanation of the Attempt to Investigate and to Collect the Documents of Customs Existing in Various Places concerning the New Year of the Old Calender, compiled by the Custom Survey Society of the Peking National University"²², was distributed to the members of the society and other collaborators. The first collection netted 286 objects, including various kinds of "paper-gods", spring-couplets, lantern pictures, new year pictures, etc. from various places, all of which were to serve as a basis for a further comparative study of religion and psychology. With these objects the museum for custom research was begun but no further publication work was done and the whole Custom Survey Society came to an end.

IV. The Folk-song Research Society with an Enlarged Programme

As is evident from the above, there was marked hesitation as to whether the emphasis should be placed in this research work on the literary side of the folk-songs or on their bearings with social science. On January 30th, 1924, the society had a meeting in which the chairman Prof. Chou Tso-jen raised the question of an eventual enlarging of the field covered by the society's collection work. As a practical result of this discussion, the society, while retaining its name as a "Folk-song Society", decided that in addition to the collecting and studying folk-literature in prose and verse, it should also include the study of other branches of folklore in its prospectus. Thus from No. 50 of the Folk-song Weekly

21) Vol. I, No. 28.

22) W. I. S. No. 8.

onwards, articles of folklore in general were also carried in its pages. The first one of these was *Ku Chieh-kang's* (顧頤剛) "The Seventy-two Offices in the Tung-yao Miao" (a temple of the T'ai-shan god outside the East-city of Peking)²³. Two other papers dealt with the same subject, viz. Hung Pu's (黃樸) "Letter to Ku Chieh-kang"²⁴, and Ku Chieh-kang's "Notes from My Visit of the Tung-yao Miao"²⁵. These three contributions did not, however, give more than a description and classification of the different "offices" in the temple though the last one provided also a map of the temple compound.

The Folk-song Weekly likewise issued four special numbers on marriage²⁶. *Yang Teh-ju's* "Old Marriage Ceremonies in Peking" was a detailed description of that subject. Ku Chieh-kang's "A Complete List of Wholly Golden Presents of the Six Marriage Ceremonies" was a list of the presents given to the bride when the author was married in Su-chou in 1919. Another list was that of a girl's dowry from the 15th year of Kuang-hsü (1889), compiled and edited by the same author. Several other short articles on marriage in Yunnan, Honan, etc. also appeared. As to funerals, Ku Chieh-kang published two lists in which all the objects, used in a funeral procession in Su-chou, were described.

No. 75 of the Weekly was entirely devoted to the "La-pa-chou" (臘八粥), the congee of the eighth day of the twelfth month. Descriptions of this congee and the customs surrounding it were sent in by various authors from the following places: Peking, Nan-yang (Honan), Shu-lu (Hopei), Ch'ung-ming (Kiangsu). A questionnaire regarding the la-pa-chou and answers to it from twenty-one districts²⁷ were also published. The questionnaire refers to the method of cooking the la-pa-chou, folk-songs, stories and proverbs which have reference to it, etc. etc.

23. F. W. Vol. I, No. 50.

24) F. W. Vol. I, No. 54.

25) F. W. Vol. I, No. 61.

26) Vol. I, No. 56-59.

27) The twenty-one districts were: Ping-shan (平山), Luan-hsien (灤縣), Kao-yang (高陽), Wu-chi (無極), I-hsien (易縣), Chao-hsien (趙縣), Ku-an (固安), (all in Hopei); Ta-t'ung (大同) in Shan-si; Kai-fêng (開封) and Chi-yüan (濟源) in Honan; Chêng-tu (成都), P'ang-shui (彭水) and Ngo-mei (峨眉) in Szechuan; Su-chou (蘇州), Kiang-yin (江陰), Yang-shan (陽山) and T'ai-hsing (太興) in Kiangsu; Tsi-hsi (績溪), Lu-kiang (廬江) in Anhui; Chin-hsien (鄞縣) in Chêkiang; Shansi.

An outstanding contribution was that of Ku Chieh-kang on Mêng Chiang-nü (孟姜女)²⁸, the heroine of a story that originated about 2500 years ago and is known all over China. The author endeavored to trace all the evidence concerning this story in the old written sources and to show what changes it underwent in the course of time. This article aroused so much interest for the further study of the tale that a vast number of contributions and informations were sent to the author including story tellers' books, novels, fairy tales, collection of dramas, essays, poetry, etc. all of them dealing with Mêng Chiang-nü. This material was published in part in the Folk-song Weekly²⁹, and afterwards re-edited in a separate volume entitled: "The Tale of Mêng Chiang-nü told in Rhymes", book I. Taking advantage of the abundance of material at his disposal, the author dealt again and again with the evolution of the story in successive articles³⁰. Altogether nine special numbers of the Weekly³¹ were dedicated to the study of Mêng Chiang-nü, including treatises, stories, songs and others. After the end of the Folk-song Weekly, publication of this tale was continued in "the Weekly Review of the Institute of Sinology of the Peking National University"³².

In addition to this, a number of other legends and folk-tales were published in this weekly and in the journal of the Institute of Sinology, such as the folk-tale of "Liang Shan-po and Chu Ying-t'ai" (梁山伯與祝英臺)³³, earth-god legends from Central-Shantung³⁴ and South-Hopei³⁵, seventeen legends of Lu-an³⁶ (Anhui) and several folk-tales of Nan-yang³⁷ (Honan), T'ang-ho (Honan) and Ch'ao-chou³⁸ (Kuangtung).

28) F. W. Vol. I, No. 69, 737.

29) Vol. I, No. 73, 76, 79, 83.

30) Vol. I, No. 86, 90, 93, 96.

31) Vol. I, No. 69, 73, 76, 79, 83, 86, 90, 96.

32) No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 14.

33) W. I. S. No. 3, 10; J. I. S. Vol. I, No. 3, 5.

34) W. I. S. No. 11.

35) W. I. S. No. 17.

36) W. I. S. No. 1, 2, 4, 10; J. I. S. Vol. I, No. 3.

37) J. I. S. Vol. I, No. 3.

38) J. I. S. Vol. I, No. 4.

39) W. I. S. No. 14.

V. The Restoration of the Folk-song Research Society

In 1935 "The Institute of Sinology" of the Peking National University changed its name to "*The Institute of Letters*" (文科研究所). By this institute the Folk-song Research Society was brought to life once more. Committee members of the Society were *Dr. Hu Shih*, *Prof. Chou Tso-jen*, *Prof. Lo Ch'ang-p'ei* (羅常培), *Prof. Wei Chien-kung* (魏建功), *Prof. Ku Chieh-kang* and *Mr. Ch'ang Hui*. In the inaugural conference the three following resolutions were adopted:

1. to restore to Folk-song Weekly.
2. to publish the "New Odes Series" (新國風叢書), including collections of folk-songs gathered from different provinces and districts.
3. to organize an independent Folk-song Society (風謠學會).

The first resolution was carried out by the revival of the Folk-song Weekly on April 1st, 1936. *Miss Hsü Fang* (徐芳) and *Miss Li Su-ying* (李素英) served as its editors-in-chief. The ninety-seven numbers issued in the Weekly's earlier period were retained as volume one, and so the first number of the revived weekly was regarded as the beginning of volume two. The collection of folk-songs was resumed and from March 23rd to May 28th 1222 songs were brought to light, the songs being divided according to origin as follows:

Hupei	35	Kuangsi	21	Chahar	27
Shantung	4	Kuangtung	2	Hopei	16
Chêkiang	27	Peking	2	Honan	37
Hunan	15	Yünnan	11	Kiangsi	4
Shansi	22	Suiyüan	7	Kiangsu	42
Szechuan	1	Mongolia	3		
Saipei (Inner Mongolia)			941		
North-Eastern Provinces			4		
Origin unknown			1		

With the fortieth number the second volume was concluded and was followed by the first number of the third volume on April 3rd, 1927. The eleventh number was hardly off press when the Sino-Japanese war broke out and the Weekly was suspended again. The second and the third volume together contain 825 songs from twenty provinces, the nature and origin of which may be seen from the table below:

<i>Kinds Provinces</i>	folk- songs	moun- tain s.	child- ren's s.	love songs	fisher- men's s.	people's songs	tea-ga- ther's s.	boat- men's s.	hsiao tiao	riddle songs	total of each province
Hopei	72		29								101
Shantung	7		17			2					26
Honan	22		20			5					47
Shansi	3										3
Kiangsu	33		12		3			1			49
Anhui	20	18		4			10				52
Kiangsi	1		8								9
Fukien	44		1	2							47
Chêkiang	64		11			2					77
Hupei	17										17
Hunan	30	7	2	19							58
Shensi	4										4
Szechuan	9		47	15		4				11	86
Kuangtung	6	43	18						1		68
Kuangsi		21					2				23
Yünnan	3		5								8
Kueichou	4	49	5								58
Saipei	57		16								73
Ch'inghai				12							12
Chahar	7										7
total of each kind	403	138	191	52	3	13	12	1	1	11	825

As has already been pointed out, when the folklore research work entered its second phase, the systematic investigation of folklore as a step towards the projected social reform was entrusted to specialists in sociology and henceforth a more or less genuine literary aspect prevailed. The activity of collecting and publishing materials for the study of folk-literature has been checked over step by step in these pages and analyzed in detail. Besides the documents concerning the people's songs, tales and customs, the publication organs also carried papers of a controversial na-

ture along two main lines the first of which may be formulated as follows: What use can and should be made of the many songs and tales already collected for the benefit of a renaissance of the national belles lettres? Aside from this more general subject of controversy, there were differences of opinion on a large number of detailed and specialized questions.

To review first the fundamental and general problems that occupied the minds of Chinese folklore research pioneers, there was, to begin with, the question of rhythm for shaping the new national poetry. *Prof. Liang Shih-ch'iu* (梁實秋), in his "Folk-song and New Poetry"⁴⁰, favored the adoption of the folk-songs rhythms for the new poetry to be created. *Lin Kêng* (林庚), in his essay "Folk-song is neither Yao-fu nor Poem"⁴¹, passed over the problem of technical form and opposed the adoption of the folk-song content for the revival of national poetry. *Li Ch'ang-chih* (李長之) pointed out that folk-songs are also products of individuals, not of the collective mass⁴². A controversy was opened by *Shen Shou-shêng* (申壽生)⁴³, against this opinion but proved ineffectual.

An important rôle in these discussions was played by Dr. Hu Shih who declared in his "Introduction to the Restoration of the Folk-song Weekly"⁴⁴, that the different styles of Chinese poems have their origins in popular songs, and illustrated what he meant by citing various examples. *Wei Chien-kung* considered the seven-syllable poem (七言詩) as an offspring of the "Mountain Songs" (山歌)⁴⁵, and analyzed the style of the mountain songs in detail. Hu Shih then pointed out⁴⁶ that the seven-syllable songs were the most popular type of folk-songs in the South-west, their geographical distribution covering the provinces of Kuangsi, Kuangtung, Yünnan, Kueichou, Szechuan, the Wu-i mountain

40) F. W. Vol. II, No. 9.

41) F. W. Vol. II, No. 11.

42) What is Folk-song? F. W. Vol. II, No. 6. Folk-song Is Individual Creation, F. W. Vol. II, No. 11.

43) Shou Shêng's articles in F. W. Vol. II, No. 9, 13.

44) See Section I.

45) F. W. Vol. II, No. 5.

45) F. W. Vol. II, No. 5.

46) A Proposal for Surveying the Folk-songs of All China, F. W. Vol. III, No. 1.

region of Fukien and Su-chou in Kiangsu. At the same time he demanded that in the investigation of folk-songs attention should be paid to the geographical distribution of their various styles. In the second volume of the Weekly, following the discussion of principles, some purely literary studies⁴⁷ and a number of treatises on the rhetoric of folk-songs⁴⁸ were also published.

Another group of contributions dealt with detailed questions, mostly of an historical nature, on some specific folk-songs. According to *Jung Chao-tsu's* "The Origin of the Mountain Songs"⁴⁹, mountain song was a term used for popular songs in South China, from Kiangsu and Chêkiang down to Kuangtung. Towards the end of the Ming dynasty *Fêng Mêng-lung* (馮夢龍) collected many popular songs in his "Collection of Mountain Songs" (山歌集) and we find the term mountain song used also in T'ang days in the poems of *Pai Chü-i* (白居易) and *Li I* (李易). *Mêng Shên* (孟森) in his "Historical Materials of Mountain-song Singing"⁵⁰ provides us with some information on the contest of singing that was held every year on the last evening of the seventh month in his native district⁵¹. Thus we are told that special meetings were organized for the contest and that the participants were divided into two groups but the contest itself usually ended with a fight. *Shen Shou-shêng*⁵² classified the mountain songs of Kueichou into five kinds as follows: 1. hao-tzū, or songs of workman leaders (號子); 2. love songs (風流歌); 3. questions and answers (盤歌); 4. cursing songs (罵人的歌); 5. ch'i-tSao-ko, or miscellaneous songs (乾蚤歌). So far the information concerning the mountain songs. There is another group of articles, dealing with the Wu songs (吳歌). *Li Su-ying*⁵³ pointed out that the dialect of Su-chou (Kiangsu) was extraordi-

47) Chu Kuang-ts'ien (朱光潛), The Changes in My Idea Concerning the Form of Poetry after Reading Folk-songs, F. W. Vol. II, No. 2; The Erotic Motif in Primitive Poetry, F. W. Vol. II, No. 26.

48) Lo Yung (羅庸), F. W. Vol. II, No. 7; Chang Wei-kang (張爲剛), F. W. Vol. II, No. 31.

49) F. W. Vol. II, No. 3.

50) F. W. Vol. II, No. 10.

51) Wu-ch'in (武進), Kiangsu.

52) F. W. Vol. II, No. 32.

53) F. W. Vol. II, No. 2.

narily flexible, lending itself well to poetry and music and that Wu-songs were thus very beautiful. Their content was humorous, luxurious and romantic. Ku Chieh-kang in the "Short History of the Wu songs"⁵⁴ which he contributed to the periodical comes to the conclusion that the Wu songs were not younger than the songs in the Book of Poetry but that they were not included in the Book of Poetry probably because Chinese culture had not as yet reached the Wu region at that time. The term Wu-yin (吳吟) in Chan-kuo-ts'o (戰國策) as well as the term Wu-yü (吳歎) in Chao-hun (招魂) of Ch'u Style and Tso Ssü's (左思) Wu-tu fu (吳都賦) are all interpreted as meaning "Wu songs". Some old Wu songs were still preserved in the Yao-fu and a number of imitations of these songs by T'ang and Sung poets can be found in their respective collections. The work of collecting and recording modern Wu songs was first done by a few men of letters at the end of Ming dynasty. Additioned details concerning the Wu-songs are given in two supplements which were added to this Short History⁵⁵.

Some other fields of folklore were touched upon in later numbers of the Weekly's second volume. The first one was *Tsung Pei-fêng's* "Mongolian Customs in Sai-pei"⁵⁶, based on information provided by a trader in Saimei on the daily life, marriage and funeral customs there. Others were *Ts'ing Shui's* "New Year Customs of Canton"⁵⁷ *Ku Liang's* "The Invitation of Tzŭ-ku in San-lin-t'ang"⁵⁸. There were also folk-ales from Kueichou⁵⁹, T'ing-chou⁶⁰ (Hopei) and Ch'ao-chou⁶¹ (Kuangtung), wedding songs of Peking⁶², proverbs collected in Hopei⁶³, and story-riddles from Fu-yang⁶⁴ (Chêkiang) and Peking⁶⁵. The pestle songs (杵歌) were

54) F. W. Vol. II, No. 23.

55) F. W. Vol. II, No. 28, 33.

56) F. W. Vol. II, No. 33.

57) F. W. Vol. II, No. 37.

58) F. W. Vol. II, No. 37.

59) F. W. Vol. II, No. 21.

60) F. W. Vol. II, No. 22, 27.

61) F. W. Vol. II, No. 35.

62) F. W. Vol. II, No. 17, 25.

63) F. W. Vol. II, No. 15, 18, 22, 25.

64) F. W. Vol. II, No. 20.

65) F. W. Vol. II, No. 24, 29.

dealt with in three essays⁶⁶, which explain that these songs were originally sung during rice pounding, but that by and by the initial meaning of the term was lost and "pestle songs" were sung even at funerals. Evidences were given from Hsün-tzu (荀子), Li Ki (禮記) and some descriptions of Miao customs.

(To be continued)

66) F. W. Vol. II, No. 16, 19, 20.