MODERN CHINESE FOLKLORE INVESTIGATION

by Chao Wei-pang

Part II

THE NATIONAL SUN YAT-SEN UNIVERSITY

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I. The Folklore Investigation Moved Southward

The Chinese National Government was founded by the Kuo-min Tang (國民黨) in Canton in 1925 and an army was despatched by the government to attack the northern government in the next year. Then Peking, the seat of the northern government, was under the domination of the militarists. Some professors of the Peking National University, who were leaders of the Chinese New Culture Movement and in sympathy with the national revolution in progress, by and by felt repressed. They left Peking for South China one after another. Consequently, the center of modern Chinese folklore investigation moved to Southern China also.

At first, in autumn, 1924, when Ch'en Hsi-hsiang (陳錫襄) came from Peking to the Fukien Christian University of Fu-chow (福州協和大學) as a professor, he formed a plan to found an organization known as Min Hsiieh Hui or Society of Fukien Studies (閩學會) to investigate the folk-songs, customs, dialect and archaeology of Fukien. Of course, this was an imitation of the four societies1 of the Institute of Sinology of the Peking National University, but they were combined in one. In the next spring Tung Tso-pin also came to the university; he lectured on the study of folk-songs and some other courses. Then the society as planned was born with fifty-two members. But a little later the May 30th incident happened in Shanghai. They were busy in political affairs and stopped their work.

1) The Folk-song Research Society, the Custom Survey Society, the Dialect Survey Society and the Archaeological Society. Cf. part I of the present article.
In 1926 the *Sinological Research Institute* (國學硏究院) was newly founded at the Amoy University (廈門大學). Prof. *Lin Yutang* (林語堂), Prof. *Shen Chien-shih*, *Chou Shu-jén* (周樹人), *Ku Chieh-kang* and *Jung Chao-tsu* of the Peking National University began to work in the institute. They organized *The Custom Investigation Society* (風俗調查會) to undertake folklore research work. Within half a year several hundred objects of folklore significance were gathered from Amoy, Ch'uan-chow (泉州), Fu-chow, etc. In January, 1927, *Ku Chieh-kang* and Jung Chao-tsu, on the tour to Fu-chow to collect objects, consulted with *Ch'en Hsi-hsiang* of the Fukien Christian University of Fu-chow. They wanted to combine their work and found a great Society of Fukien Studies. But in a short time the Sinological Research Institute of the Amoy University closed. *Ku Chieh-kang*, *Ch'en Hsi-hsiang* and Jung Chao-tsu all left Fukien for Kuangtung.

The National Sun Yat-sen University of Canton (廣東國立中山大學) was established by the Kuo-min Tang in 1924. Its *Institute of Philology and History* (語言歷史研究所) was inaugurated in August, 1927, with Prof. *Fu Ssu-nien* (傅斯年) as the director. Canton was the place of origin of the Chinese National Revolution in progress and the university was a university of the Kuo-min Tang. This newly founded institute of the university at once became the center of new sinological studies instead of the Institute of Sinology of the Peking National University. It entered upon its academic work from completely new points of view. The *Editorial* of the first issue of its *Weekly Bulletin* says:

"We want to break into pieces all the idols and reject all the prejudices in the kingdom of knowledge of the past. We want to collect our materials actually—to go to the common people to search for their dialects, to the old cultural ruins to excavate and to the different human societies to make inquiry of their customs—to found new studies".

From this short propaganda we can also see how the institute emphasized the folklore investigation.

One aim of the Chinese revolution from 1925 on was the realization of Sun Yat-sen's nationalism, the promotion of the liberty and equality of the Chinese people, which gave some new stimulus to Chinese folklore investigation. In order to advance the position of the common people to a higher level a thorough understanding of their customs, beliefs and thoughts was necessary. Of course, this was only a temporary stimulus.

2) The *Weekly Bulletin of the Institute of Philology and History of the National Sun Yat-sen University* (國立中山大學語言歷史研究所週刊), No. 1, Nov. 1927.

3) This idea is clearly expressed in the Foreword to the special number of custom studies (No. 11 and 12, January 16, 1928) of the *Weekly Bulletin* of the institute.
After the center of the Chinese folklore investigation moved to Canton, some scholars certainly wanted to establish Chinese folklore as an independent science.

II. The Folklore Society

The folklore investigation of the Institute of Philology and History of the National Sun Yat-sen University was a continuation of that of the Institute of Sinology of the Peking National University. Traces of this can also be seen in the nature of the investigation itself. The Peking National University began its work with the collecting and studying of folk-songs, but later it enlarged its field to include also folk-tales and legends. This trend was carried on by the Institute of Philology and History of the National Sun Yat-sen University. As soon as it was founded in 1927, it had ‘folk literature’ (民間文學) as one section of its academic work. In November, 1927, it organized the Folklore Society (民俗學會) and started a weekly journal entitled Folklore Literature. This weekly published only twelve numbers; one half of its pages were used for the publication of folk-songs and the other half for folk-tales, riddles and proverbs.

But on the other hand, the importance of the study of folklore in a wider sense of the word had been fully realized too. Therefore, the institute had, besides folk literature, also a section of ‘folklore’ in general, and in January, 1928, it devoted a number of its Weekly Bulletin especially to studies of customs4. Articles on some festivals, marriage and funeral customs in some districts of Kuangtung were published. Besides, there were three papers about the legend of Kiang Yuan (姜嫄), the first ancestral mother of the royal house of the Chou dynasty. They were valuable contributions both to folklore and to ancient Chinese history.

In March, 1928, the institute reduced its work systematically to four departments: archaeology, philology, history and folklore. Folklore and folk literature were combined. In this department the following work was planned (a) to establish a museum, (b) to publish a folklore series and a folklore weekly, (c) to print photographs and pictures of folklore objects.

According to this new program first a Show-Room of Folklore Objects (風俗物品陳列室) was opened in that same month and it was greatly enriched in December of the same year. Then altogether 287 objects of various kinds were gathered:

- ornaments of women and children 51
- clothes, shoes and hats 67

4) No. 11 and 12.

Or. Folklore II, 6
When the Folklore Society was organized, a folklore series was started. Now, according to the program, the society started the Folklore Weekly (民俗) on March 21. It was a continuation of the Folk Literature Weekly, but its scope became larger; it contained also papers on customs and popular beliefs. At first Chung Ching-wen (鍾敬文) took charge of the editorship, but later left Canton for Hang-chow and Jung Chao-tsu replaced him.

To meet the needs of folklore investigators a folklore training-class opened in April under the combined auspices of the Institute of Philology and History and the Institute of Education, some professors of the latter institute being also much interested in folklore. This training class seemed not to be so successful. At the beginning twenty students were enlisted, but only less than half of them remained till the end of three months.

In the winter of 1928 Prof. Fu Ssu-nien resigned as director of the institute and Prof. Ku Chieh-kang was appointed to the office. Then a rather detailed plan of the work of the institute was made by Ku Chieh-kang and Liang Ssu-yung (梁思永). That of the folklore department had the following items:

5) The courses and teachers of this class were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Folklore</td>
<td>Ho Ssu-ching</td>
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<tr>
<td>Folk Literature and Education</td>
<td>Chuang Tsê-hsüan</td>
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<td>Method of Studying Legends</td>
<td>Ku Chieh-kang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psychology and Folklore</td>
<td>Wang Ching-hsi</td>
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<td>Folk Psychology</td>
<td>Ts'ui Tsai-yang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greek Mythology</td>
<td>Liu Ch'i-fêng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison of Chinese and Indian Tales</td>
<td>Ma T'ai-hsuan</td>
</tr>
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<td>Fragments of Yin and Chou Customs</td>
<td>Yu Yung-liang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to Folk-songs</td>
<td>Chung Ching-wen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklore Questions</td>
<td>Yang Ch'êng-chih</td>
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(a) systematic survey of the folklore of Kuangtung and Kuangsi.
(b) collection of ethnographical data of the south-western tribes, such as the Miao, Yao, T'ung, etc.
(c) collection of material concerning customs, religions, medicine, folk-songs, tales, etc. from the other provinces.
(d) making of models of folklore objects.
(e) collection and compilation of written sources from local histories, essays, sketches, stories and songs. Historical and comparative studies would be based on these sources.
(f) abstracts of popular stories, plays and songs. A bibliography of folklore would be compiled.
(g) publication of a folklore series and printing of folklore photos and pictures.
(h) enlargement of the folklore show-room.
(i) training of folklore investigators.

But Ku Chieh-kang was in the office of the directorship of the institute only for about half a year. He left the university the next summer. In spring, 1930, Jung Chao-tsu left the university also. Then the Folklore Weekly stopped a little later and the whole folklore research work ceased by and by. In March, 1933, the weekly was restored but in July it stopped again. Altogether it issued 123 numbers.

As expressed in the Folklore Weekly and in the books of the Folklore Series, the best result of the Folklore Society was the collection and study of folk-tales and legends. About 180 tales and 100 legends can be found in the weekly and there are several collections of tales in the folklore series. In some cases several different versions of the same tale were obtained from different districts. Some of them very probably evolved from ancient myths. Surely they are valuable material of Chinese folklore. Some comparative studies of the folk-tales were based on the List of Types of Indo-European Folk-tales, which was translated into Chinese by Chung Ching-wen and Yang Chêng-chih.

The legends may be classified as: (a) legends of historical persons, such as Sung Ti-ping, Chu Yüan-chang, Han Yü; (b) legends of gods

7) Cf. note 18.
8) Translated from C. S. Burne's Handbook of Folklore, 1914, Appendix C.
9) Sung Ti-ping (宋帝昺) was the last emperor of the Sung dynasty. He came to the throne at Kang-chow (赣州), Kuangtung, in 1278 when Lin-an (临安), the capital of Sung, had been captured by the Yüan army.
10) Chu Yüan-chang (朱元璋) was the first emperor of the Ming dynasty. He rose from among the humblest of the people to the throne, therefore many legends were told about him.
11) Han Yü (韩愈) was an essayist and statesman of the T'ang dynasty. In 803 A.D. he was banished to Ch'ao-chow (潮州), Kuangtung.
and immortals, such as the Earth-god, the City-god, Kuan-yin\textsuperscript{12}, Lü Tung-pin\textsuperscript{13}; (c) legends of festivals, customs, animals and plants; (d) legends of places and old buildings. They paid more attention to the connection between legend and history. According to Ku Chieh-kang, the main purpose of the study of legend was to distinguish the legendary elements from historical facts, to find some historical facts out of legends and to trace the changing of legends\textsuperscript{14}. Mythological survivals both in folk-tales and legends were overlooked.

A great deal of descriptions of the customs on the different festivals of the year, such as the ch'ing-ming, tuan-wu, the seventh day of the seventh month, mid-autumn, new year, etc, was gathered from different districts\textsuperscript{15}; next were papers about child-birth, marriage and funeral customs. In the field of popular beliefs there was a lot of historical treatises on the deities especially worshipped in South China, such as T'ien-hou (天后), Chin-hua Fu-jên (金花夫人), Lin-shui-nai (臨水奶), etc.\textsuperscript{16}

In the Folklore Series thirty-six books were published. Among them Yang Ch'eng-chih's translation of *List of Types of Indo-European Folktales and Folklore Questionary*\textsuperscript{17} and Ts'ui Tsai-yang's (*Primitive Psychology and the Origin of Different Social Institutions*) were three books to introduce western folklore theories. (The first part of the last book was based on Lévy-Bruhl's *L'Âme Primitive*.) More valuable were the three volumes of Ku Chieh-kang's *Discussions of the Tale Meng-kiang-nü* (孟姜女故事討論集). They contained original studies and a heap of new material. Another valuable book was Jung Chao-tsu's *Superstitions and Legends* (迷信與傳說), in which there was a long article about the history of Chinese divinations. About the pilgrimage to Miao Feng Shan (妙峰山), a mountain north of Peking with a temple of the Mountain-goddess Pi-hsia Yüan-chün (碧霞元君), there were two books in this series: Ku Chieh-kang's *Miao Feng Shan* and Feng K'uan's (奉鸕) *Miscellaneous Notes on Miao Feng Shan* (妙峰山瑣記).

\textsuperscript{12} Kuan-yin (觀音) is the Chinese Goddess of Mercy.

\textsuperscript{13} Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓) is a Taoist patriarch.

\textsuperscript{14} Folklore Weekly, No. 47 (special number of legends), p. 1, Feb. 13, 1929.

\textsuperscript{15} The Folklore Weekly issued a special number of the ch'ing-ming festival (No. 60, May 15, 1929), a special number of the mid-autumn festival (No. 32, Oct. 31 1928) and a special number of the New Year (No. 53, April 10, 1929).

\textsuperscript{16} The Folklore Weekly issued four special numbers on deities: No. 41 (January 9, 1920), 61 (May 29, 1929), 78 (September 18, 1929) and 86 (December 4, 1929).

\textsuperscript{17} Translation of appendix B to Burne's *Handbook of Folklore*. 
The latter was a very detailed and exact description of the pilgrimage roads to the mountain and the pilgrimage societies. The author visited the temple as early as 1896 and then every year from 1914. 

III. The Investigation of the Southwestern Tribes

It was in the Institute of Philology and History of the National Sun Yat-sen University that anthropology first was made an object of research work. When the institute was founded in 1927 it had a section of anthropology. In July, 1928, it devoted an issue of its Weekly Bulletin to studies of the southwestern aborigines. Several papers on the customs of the Miao, Yao and Lolo based on old Chinese sources appeared. In April Shirokogoroff was appointed professor of anthropology of the in-

18) The other books of the Folklore Series published by the Folklore Society were: 
Talks on Folk-tales, by Chao Ching-shen (趙景深), 1930.
Studies of Three Gods of Fukien, by Wei Ying-ch'i (魏英奇), 1929.
Abstracts of Hunan Popular Songs, by Yao I-chih (姚逸之), 1929.
Myths and Legends in the Ch'u Tzu, by Chung Ching-wen, 1930.
Love Songs of Formosa, by Hsieh Yun-sheng (謝雲聲), 1928.
Canton Juvenile Ditties, by Liu Wan-chang (劉萬章), 1928.
Love Songs of the Lang (狼) and Tung (撞) Tribes, by Liu Chien-chu (劉乾初) and Chung Ching-wen, 1928.
Shao-hsing (紹興) Folk-songs, by Lou Tsu-k'uang (樓子匡), 1928.
Huai-an (淮安) Folk-songs, by Yeh Te-chin (葉德均), 1929.
Mei-hsien (梅縣) Juvenile Ditties, by Chang Ch'ien-ch'ang (張乾昌) 1929.
The Songs of the Children, by Huang Shao-nien (黃紹年), 1928.
K'ai-feng (開封) Folk-songs, by Pai Shou-i (白壽彝), 1929.
T'ai-shan (台山) Folk-songs, by Ch'en Yu-ch'ang (陳元光), 1929.
Love Songs Sung and Answered, by Ch'iu Taun (丘俊), 1928.
The Daughter of the Dragon King, A Collection of Folk-tales, by Ch'ing Shui (清水), 1929.
Canton Folk-tales, by Liu Wan-chang, 1929.
Shao-hsing Folk-tales, by Lou Tsu-k'uang and Ch'en T'ai-ch'ang (陳德長), 1929.
Ch'uan-chow Legends, by Wu Tsao-t'ing (吳藻汀), 1929.
Yang-chow (揚州) Legends, by Hsiao Han (謝漢), 1928.
Chu Ying-t'ai (祝英台), a Folk-tale, by Ch'en Nan-yang, 1928.
History of Riddles, by Ch'en Nan-yang, 1927.
Canton Riddles, by Liu Wan-chang, 1928.
Ning-po (寧波) Riddles, by Wang Chü-hou (王鈞侯), 1928.
Honan Riddles, by Pai Ch'i-ming (白啟明), 1928.
Su-chow Customs, by Chou Chin-ho (周鎬鶴), 1928.

19) No. 35-36, July 4, 1928.
stitute and in June an expedition, consisting of Prof. and Mrs. Shirokogoroff and Yang Ch'eng-chih, started for Yunnan. On account of unsafety on the way Prof. and Mrs. Shirokogoroff returned from K'un-ming in September but Yang Ch'eng-chih alone set off for Tung-ch'uan (東川) and from there went along the Chin-sha River (金沙江) to Ch'iao-chia (巧家), a small district on the eastern side of the river. His aim was to go to the area of about 2000 li long and 300 li wide along the western shore of the Chin-sha River at the boundary of Yunnan and Ssüchuan to do field work among the so-called 'Independent Lolos'. The Lolos robbed and killed the Chinese along the river day and night and the governmental soldiers had no power to suppress them. The magistrate of Ch'iao-chia tried to persuade him by no means to cross the river but in vain. He crossed the river alone and lived for seven days among the Lolos in the mountains. Then he returned to Ch'iao-chia and stayed there for two months to learn the language of the I-jên (夷人, sinicized Lolos), Hua-miao (花苗) and Ch'ing-miao (青苗). In May, 1929, he came back to K'un-ming, where he surveyed the aborigines San-min (散民), Tszü-chün (子君), Lolo, Pai-i (白夷), Hei-i (黑夷), Min-ka (民家), etc. At the same time he made an inquiry about the aborigines of the different districts of Yunnan and Yunnan folk literature by distributing questionnaires to the educational bureau of 140 districts. In March, 1930, he came back to Canton. After his return he published a preliminary report of his work in the Weekly Bulletin of the institute and several articles based on the material he collected. The report was rather simple. It contained something about the social organization, language and folk-songs of the Independent Lolos and the language and customs of the Hua-miao and Ch'ing-miao. Besides, he gathered about 1000 objects from the different tribes of Yunnan for the institute.

About the same time when Yang Ch'eng-chih went to Yunnan Prof. Hsin Shu-chih (辛樹穎) and assistants, Shih Shêng-han (石聲漢), Jen Kuo-jung (任國榮), Huang Kuo-liang (黃國梁), of the biology department of the university set off for Yao-shan (猿山) in central Kuangsi to collect biological specimens. They lodged in the villages of the Chai-shan Yao (賽山獠), Chêng Yao (正獠) and Hua-lan Yao (花籃獠) for about two months. In the day time they continued their work of collecting specimens; in the evening they did some work of collecting folk-songs and customs. After their return to the university Jen Kuo-jung

20) No. 129-132, May 21, 1930.
wrote an account of his observations of the Yao, which, together with A Dance Song of the Chêng Yao and the Chia-tzu Song (甲子歌) recorded by Shih Shêng-han, was published in the Weekly Bulletin of the institute. A lot of valuable material can be found in this account.

In 1930 an expedition from the biology department of the university was sent to Pei-kiang (北江), Kuangtung. Three by-product ethnographical works were produced by its members. In the next year an expedition from the same department went to Yao-shan, Kuangsi, again. P'ang Hsin-ming, a member of the expedition, wrote his Miscellaneous Sketches of Yao-shan, Kuangsi. These four papers were all very scientific ethnographical works.

IV. Other Organizations and the Restoration of the Folklore Society

From the Folklore Society of the Institute of the National Sun Yat-sen University as a centre, folklore investigation spread very quickly from 1917 on in South and Central China. Folklore organizations and journals were founded one after another, but for lack of material we cannot give a complete account of them.

(a) The Amoy Branch Society of the Folklore Society. At first the Min-su Hsiieh-shê or Society of Folklore Studies (民俗學社) was established in Amoy by Hsieh Yun-shêng (謝雲聲). In January, 1930, it was recognised by the Folklore Society of the Sun Yat-sen University as a branch society. A folklore weekly, supplement to the Ssu-ming Daily News (思明日報), was edited by the society.

(b) The Folklore Society of Fu-chow. At first Wei Ying-ch'i (魏應麒) took charge of the affairs of the society and a folklore weekly, supplement to the Kuo-min Daily News (國民日報), was edited by the society. Later Wei Ying-ch'i and some others organized the Research Society of Fukien Culture (福建文化研究會), composed of five sections: ethnology, natural products, customs, folk-songs and language. In December, 1931, the society started the journal Fukien Culture (福建文化).

22) No. 46-47, September 19, 1928.
(c) The Folk Literature Society of Chieh-yang (揭揚民間文藝會), Kuangtung, edited the Folk Weekly (民間週刊), supplement to the Ch'ao-mei Hsin Pao (潮梅新報).

(d) In Swatow Lin P'ei-lu (林培摩) edited the Swatow Folklore Weekly, Swatow Folklore, Folk Weekly; etc. He collected plenty of folklore material from Eastern Kuangtung.

(e) The Chinese Folklore Society of Hang-chow. In 1928 Chung Ching-wen left Canton for Hang-chow. In the next summer he and Ch'ien Nan-yang (錢南揚), who was also a member of the Folklore Society of the Sun Yat-sen University, started a folklore weekly, supplement to the Min-kuo Daily News (民國日報), but it lasted only nine weeks. About the same time Lou Tzu-k'uang (婁子匡) organized the Folk Literature Society in Ning-po and it published several small books of folk-songs and folk-tales and a journal every ten days. In Summer, 1930, Chung Ching-wen and Lou Tzu-k'uang founded the Chinese Folklore Society in Hang-chow. First the society published two volumes of Collections of Folklore Studies (民俗學集錦) and started a weekly. The weekly appeared for seventy numbers. In October, 1932, the society started a monthly entitled Min-chien Yiieh-k'an or Folk Monthly (民間月刊). Vol. II, No. 10 of this monthly had appeared before the Sino-Japanese war. A lot of valuable articles by Chou Tso-jên, Ku Chieh-kang, Chung Ching-wen, Lou Tzu-k'uang and others were published in it.

(f) Restoration of the Folklore Society of the National Sun Yat-sen University. In autumn, 1935, Yang Ch'eng-chih (Ching-chi Yong) came back from Europe and was appointed professor of folklore and anthropology in the Sun Yat-sen University. The Folklore Society of the university was restored by him and it issued the Journal of Chinese Folklore in September of the next year. This new journal both in quality and in quantity surpassed the old Folklore Weekly of the society. Several long scientific articles were published in it. But it was a pity that after the second number it was stopped by the war in 1937.

(Concluded)


25) The important articles in Vol. I, No. 1, were as follows: Wang Hsing-jui (王興瑞) and Ch'en Chia-wu (岑家梧), The Folklore of Hai-nan Island; Liu Wei-min (劉偉民), Description and Study of the Marriage Customs of Tung-kuan (東莞), Kuangtung; Chang Wei-kang (張爲綱), The Folklore of Nan-ch'ang (南昌), Kiangsi. Those in Vol. I, No. 2, were: Chung Ching-wen, The Rat in Ancient Chinese Folklore; Wang Hsing-jui, A General Survey on the Aborigines in Formosa; Yang Ch'eng-chih, Beliefs and Gods in Annam; Yeh Tê-chün, On the Story-type of Monkey.