



# (Un)visualizing Korea in the World: *The Issue of the Translator in the Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales and the Politics of the World Fairy Tale Series*

Yun-jeong JO

## Abstract

*This study aims to identify the Korean translator of the Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales (Chaoxian xiandai tonghuaqi 朝鮮現代童話集), published in Shanghai, China in 1936. It examines the significance of the collection's translation in the context of its relationship with teachers at Inseong School and the publication of the World Fairy Tale Series. Drawing on the prefaces of two fairy tale collections translated by Shao Linsheng and newspaper articles, this study concludes that the Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales was translated by the Chinese Shao Linsheng and the Korean Jeong Ja-pyeong, the latter a member of the Young Korean Academy (Heungsadan). The composition of the World Fairy Tale Series by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, and the Chinese-style illustrations of the Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales, indicate the potential for cultural transformation, in which Chinese readers living in a colonial context could domesticate Korean fairy tales. Western stories, mistakenly identified as Korean fairy tales, depict the protagonist overcoming crises and seeking freedom. With these stories, the translator wanted to introduce young readers to the ideals of anti-imperialism and liberation. Thus, the Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales indicates that Chinese readers harbored political expectations and a desire for appropriating colonial Korea.*

**Keywords:** *Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales*, translation, Shao Linsheng, Jeong Ja-pyeong, Shanghai, Inseong School, World Fairy Tale Series, illustration

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Yun-jeong JO is an assistant professor in the College of General Education, Kookmin University. E-mail: novel@kookmin.ac.kr.

## Introduction

Japan's scientific interest in Korea served as a starting point for the formulation of policies, including the colonial survey project carried out by the Japanese Government-General of Korea. This scientific interest influenced knowledge in Japan, Korea, and China. The release of works such as Usuda Zanun's 薄田斬雲 *Dark Korea* (*Ankoku naru Chōsen* 暗黒なる朝鮮) in 1908 and Takahashi Tōru's 高橋亨 *Stories of Korea* (*Chōsen no monogatari-ishū* 朝鮮の物語集) in 1910, both published by Ilhan seobang 日韓書房 (a Japanese bookstore in colonial Korea), was followed by the publication of the Japanese Government-General of Korea's *Survey of Legends and Folktales* (*Densetsu dōwa chōsa jikō* 傳説童話調査事項) in 1913. Subsequently, a series of efforts to collect stories from Korea and classify them as fairy tales gained momentum. In September 1919, Miwa Tamaki 三輪環, a teacher at Pyongyang Secondary School in Korea, compiled Korean oral legends, releasing them as the book, *Legends of Korea* (*Densetsu no Chōsen* 傳説の朝鮮) through Hakubunkan 博文館 in Tokyo. *Legends of Korea* was divided into four parts: Mountains and Rivers; Characters; Animals, Plants, and Miscellaneous; and Folktales. During this period, fairy tales referred to pure folk narratives possessing the character of old stories that were widely embraced as reading material for children (Yeom 2003, 10–11). In 1924, the Japanese Government-General of Korea compiled 25 stories, publishing the *Collection of Korean Fairy Tales* (*Chōsen dōwashū* 朝鮮童話集). In the same year, the Sekai dōwa taikai Publishing Association (Sekai dōwa taikai kankōkai 世界童話大系刊行會) in Japan added a Japanese volume to the Sekai dōwa taikai 世界童話大系 (World Fairy Tale Series). The volume included tales from Japan, Korea, and the Ainu. In February 1926, Nakamura Ryohei 中村亮平 published the *Collection of Korean Fairy Tales* (*Chōsen dōwashū* 朝鮮童話集) with Tokyo's Fuzanbo Publishing, comprising three parts: Fairy Tales, Monogatari 物語, and Legends (H. Kwon 2012; H. Yi 2014; G. Kim 2015).

Subsequently, in October 1926, Shim Ui-rin released the *Grand Collection of Korean Fairy Tales* (*Joseon donghwa daejip*) in Korean through Korea's Hanseong Publishing Company. The emergence of collections of

traditional Korean folktales in Japan and Korea is significant and reflects the perspective of the time when orally transmitted tales were combined with traditional children's tales and found recognition as a new genre of modern children's literature (Yeom 2003, 20). In addition, the collecting and arranging of folktales during Japan's colonization of Korea stimulated the publication of fairy tale collections in both Korea and China.

In May 1925, Chinese writer Zhou Zuoren 周作人 translated two sections from Part Two ('Characters') and one section from Part Four ('Folktales') of Miwa Tamaki's *Legends of Korea* (1919). He published these translations in the weekly journal *Tattler* (*Yusi* 語絲) under the pen name "Kaiming" 開明 (Jin 2009, 48). In the preface to his translations, he wrote that "those studying East Asian civilization must not overlook Korea, for it played a role in transmitting culture between China and Japan" and that he had translated these stories "to pay tribute to Korea's art" (Kaiming 1925, 1). Furthermore, Zhou expressed the hope that someone would bring Korean art to the attention of the Chinese public.

In the 1930s, traditional tales from Korea were turned into book form and distributed widely to Chinese readers. Publications included *Korean Legends* (*Chaoxian chuanshuo* 朝鮮傳說), translated and edited by Qing Ye 清野 and published by Shanghai's Ertong shuju 兒童書局 (Children's Bookstore) in June 1930; *Korean Folktales* (*Chaoxian minjian gushi* 朝鮮民間故事), translated by Liu Xiaohui 劉小惠 and published by Shanghai's Nuzi shudian 女子書店 (Women's Bookstore) in June 1932; and *Korean Fairy Tales* (*Chaoxian tonghua* 朝鮮童話), translated and edited by Wu Zaoli 吳藻溪, published by Beijing's Shijie kexueshe 世界科學社 (World Science Press) in February 1934 (A. Kwon 2019, 52–55). However, none of these three books published in China contained stories from Korea collected by Chinese individuals.

Qing Ye's *Korean Legends* is a translation of 40 of the 139 stories in Miwa Tamaki's *Legends of Korea* (A. Kwon 2022, 55). Liu Xiaohui's *Korean Folktales* traces its origins to *Korejskie skazki* (Korean Folktales, 1904), a collection of 64 stories compiled by the Russian N. G. Garine-Mixailovskii. Serge Persky translated 20 of these into French, publishing them under the title *Contes Coréens* (Korean Tales, 1925). Liu Xiaohui then retranslated this collection

into Chinese, publishing it as *Korean Folktales* (Hong 2021, 125–126). Moreover, Wu Zaoxi's *Korean Fairy Tales* is the result of translating 27 fairy tales from the Korean section featured in volume 16 of the World Fairy Tale Series (Sekai dōwa taikai), which contains stories from Japan and published in Tokyo in 1924 (A. Kwon 2022, 56). Old Korean stories, originally written by Japanese or Russians, reached China through the translations of Chinese intellectuals such as Zhou Zuoren, who retranslated them from Japanese or French. This illustrates the speed of the collection and compilation processes in certain countries and the hierarchy of languages. Since Japan collected and compiled Korean stories faster than Korea, the stories selected and disseminated by the Japanese were circulated in China first.

In November 1936, a collection of Korean fairy tales compiled and translated by Chinese individuals was published. While the collections of legends and folktales discussed above centered around Korean folklore, the *Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales* (*Chaoxian xiandai tonghuaaji* 朝鮮現代童話集, hereafter, the *Collection*), published by Shao Linsheng 邵霖生 in collaboration with the Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 (Zhonghua Book Company), took a different approach. As indicated by the word *modern* in the title, this book was a compilation of works selected from contemporary magazines, such as *Eorini* (Children) and *Byeolnara* (Starland) (A. Kwon 2018, 14–15). It differed from earlier collections of fairy tales translated from Japanese into Chinese or Russian into French, as the Chinese translator personally selected works from Korean literature intended for children.

The members of a particular nation become citizens when they see their image in the stories of the collective and by spreading such stories. The structure and function of personal histories, wherein the individuals articulate their lives and identities in stories before the gaze of others, is applied. Underlying this approach is the assumption that the identities of individuals and nations referred to as *us* share the same structure (Iwasaki 1998, 178–179). Consequently, the process of questioning the issue of hegemony, that is, who, where, and how a group's stories are edited and translated, has been omitted. However, we must ask ourselves what the work of collecting and reconstructing a group's histories includes and excludes, reveals and conceals and what it attempts to remember and forget.

Until recently, discussions of the *Collection* were confined to its publication status, but Narumi Tomoko 成實朋子 and Kwon Ae-yeong have begun to conduct more in-depth research (Jin 2009, 55–57; Li 2006, 255; J. Kim 2010, 176–183; Sun and Yang 2017, 75). Narumi Tomoko notes how this collection is the “earliest case of contemporary Korean fairy tales being translated and introduced in China” and that “the initiative to translate and introduce contemporary Korean fairy tales to China during this period is closely related to Korea’s national consciousness and independence movement” (Narumi 2018, 52). Further, Kwon Ae-yeong states that this collection emerged in the context of the discourse of human literature that influenced literary circles at the time of the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and the proletarian literature trend of the 1930s, when there was a growing interest in the literature of the weak (A. Kwon 2018, 16–20). Kwon Ae-yeong substantiates the contemporaneity of the translations of fairy tales in China by identifying the sources of most works in the collection.

Previous studies have linked the *Collection*’s publication and colonial Korea’s political situation. This is consistent with the content of the works contained in the collection. Although the translator Shao Linsheng mentions in the preface that he had a Korean co-translator, he does not reveal his identity. Narumi Tomoko claims that Tang Yewo 湯洽我 wrote the preface and translated the *Collection* alongside Shao Linsheng, but there is no evidence of Tang’s involvement. Kwon Ae-yeong does not name any translator other than Shao Linsheng and only emphasizes the role of Han Jin-kyo, who helped publish the book.

This study contributes by uncovering the identity of the individual who translated the *Collection* in collaboration with Shao Linsheng. Further, this study analyzes the significance of the collection, published as a part of the World Fairy Tale Series, by examining how the works represent Korea. Finally, some works in the collection have in previous studies been mistaken for original fairy tales, perhaps because of their titles (A. Kwon 2018, 14). However, this study dispels such misconceptions by clarifying that some of the tales in the collection are of Western origin. In doing so, this study sheds light on the political significance and limitations of the publishing intent behind the *Collection*.

## Uncovering the Name of the Erased Translator at Shanghai's Inseong School

The editor and translator of the *Collection* was Shao Linsheng (1913–2005), a Chinese-language teacher at Inseong School, a Korean school in Shanghai. He came from Yixing in Jiangsu province and began working at Inseong School around 1933. After the school closed in 1938, Shao entered college and studied agriculture. After graduating, he founded the Shanghai Xinnong Publishing House (Xinnong chubanshe 新农出版社) in 1946 and began working as a publisher of agricultural books and magazines. Although Xinnong Publishing House did not exist for long, as it was incorporated into Zhonghua shuju in 1953, Shao made an important contribution to the education and popularization of agricultural science by publishing about 70 books on the subject (Xie 2007, 105–107; J. Kim 2010, 182–183). From his early twenties, Shao Linsheng edited and published books for Chinese readers, advocating the dissemination and popularization of knowledge.

Tang Yewo, who wrote the preface to the *Collection* at Shao Linsheng's request, mentioned that Shao had long taught at Inseong School and that the compilation of the *Collection* was made possible through years of research and collecting. Tang added that the *Collection* was the “first collection of Korean children's literature in China” and that the “more than 20 short stories in this book will introduce the exotic flavor and atmosphere of Korea” (Tang 1936, 1–2). In the same year the collection was released, Shao Linsheng also published *Collection of Modern Korean Children's Stories* (*Chaoxian xiandai ertong gushiji* 朝鮮現代兒童故事集), demonstrating the depth of his interest in Korean stories. In the preface to this, Shao wrote, “In between teaching classes, I translated into Chinese children's songs, stories, and fairy tales from books published in Korea. This extracurricular reading material improved the Chinese language skills of the students” (Shao 1936b, 1). As a teacher at the Inseong School, which taught Korean residents in Shanghai, Shao Linsheng helped his students learn Chinese by translating and reading aloud children's literature from Korea.

It is unknown if Shao engaged in other activities related to Korea. He

translated and published “Three Children’s Poems from Korea” in the Christian magazine *Gospel Light* (*Fuyin guang* 福音光) in 1935, the year before the publication of the fairy tale collection. *Gospel Light* was a monthly magazine published by the Dongsansheng 東三省 Mission of the Methodist Church (G. Ma 2016, 140). The children’s poems translated by Shao Linsheng are preceded by a note in which the translator is introduced. According to this note, Shao Linsheng worked for three years at the Inseong School in Shanghai. He translated Korean children’s literature into Chinese whenever he had time, planning to compile them into the *Collection* and the *Collection of Modern Korean Children’s Stories*. The former was to be published by Shanghai’s Zhonghua shuju and the latter by Nanjing’s Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局. Shao also announced his intention to compile and publish a collection of modern Korean poems (Shao 1935, 39). Thus, as he mentioned in the *Collection of Modern Korean Children’s Stories*, he was selecting and translating works from Korea’s children’s books, with plans to publish a collection of modern Korean poems.

However, in 1931, two years before he began working at Inseong School, Shao Linsheng had already published an article, “The Independence Movement of the Korean People” in the magazine *Progress of Youth* (*Qingnian jinbu* 青年進步). His interest in Korea was closely tied to its political situation after Japan had colonized it. In the article, Shao mentions consulting such works as Shakuo Shunjo’s 釋尾春苻 *History of the Annexation of Korea* (*Chōsen heigōshi* 朝鮮併合史), Huang Yanpei’s 黃炎培 *Korea* (*Chaoxian* 朝鮮), and Park Eun-sik’s *Korean Independence Movement* (*Joseon dongnip undong* 朝鮮獨立運動) (Shao 1931, 62). The latter appears to be a mistake, as the title of Park Eun-sik’s work was *The Bloody History of the Korean Independence Movement* (*Hanguk dongnip undong ji hyeolsa* 韓國獨立運動之血史), published by Shanghai’s Yushinsha in 1920. When writing about the independence movement in Korea, Shao Linsheng consulted works by intellectuals from Japan, China, and Korea. This had several effects. First, he knew these languages well enough to read the literature of these three countries. Second, he endeavored to avoid bias and consider the perspectives of all three countries when writing about the political situation in Korea. Third, he collected and studied children’s poems and fairy tales



from Korea based on his historical and political understanding of Korea's colonial status.

In the conclusion to "The Independence Movement of the Korean People," Shao Linsheng quotes the rallying cry of the French Revolution, "Liberty or death," stating that "to achieve independence and freedom from the oppression of outdated imperialism, the Korean people must have the same resolve as the comrades of the French Revolution" (Shao 1931, 62). *Progress of Youth* is regarded as a magazine that served to propagate Christian teachings through discussions of social and economic issues (Chen and Wang 2004, 230–234). The fact that Shao published in this magazine, stressing that the people of Korea should "confront Japan with the determination to struggle to the end," indicates his connection to the independence movement ideology within the Christian community. Shao, who pursued equality and freedom and supported the independence of Korea, became a Chinese-language teacher at Inseong School in Shanghai.

Inseong School was founded in September 1916 as a private school under the name Shanghai Korean Christian Elementary School. This was a joint decision by church members, including Seonwoo Hyeok, Han Jin-kyo, and Kim Cheol, whose aim was to establish an educational institution for the Korean community of Shanghai. When the Shanghai Overseas Korean Friendship Society, the first official community organization for Koreans living overseas, was founded in Shanghai in September 1918, the management of the Shanghai Korean Christian Elementary School was transferred to the Society. At this time, the school changed its name to Inseong School. After the establishment of the Provisional Government of Korea in April 1919, the Shanghai Overseas Korean Friendship Society was transformed into the Overseas Korean Association as it was affiliated with the Korean Provisional Government. Inseong School, previously a private institution, became a public school recognized by the Provisional Government (K. Kim 2011, 213–216).

The first principal of Inseong School was Yeo Un-hyeong, and during the time Shao Linsheng was a teacher at the school, the principal was Seonwoo Hyeok. Both Yeo and Seonwoo were involved in the independence movement of the Korean community in Shanghai. With its fundamental



goal of instilling the *Korean spirit* in its students, Inseong School placed significant emphasis on teaching the Korean language and history and employed teaching methods to cultivate “freedom of character” and “national vitality.”<sup>1</sup> The ideological orientation of Shao Linsheng, who advocated for the independence of Korea, was aligned with the founding principles of the Inseong School.

In the preface to the *Collection*, published in November 1936, Shao Linsheng mentions the involvement of another colleague in the translation process but does not reveal their name. Consequently, his co-translator’s identity has remained unknown until now. While this has not been mentioned in previous studies, an article published in the *Chosun JoongAng Ilbo* on May 25, 1935—approximately one year and five months before the publication of the *Collection*—announced the upcoming publication of the collection. Printed during the period when Yeo Un-hyeong served as the president of the *Chosun JoongAng Ilbo*, the article disclosed that two faculty members at Inseong School were translating Korean fairy tales. It also revealed the translators’ names and the publishing house that would release the collection.

(1) One-third of the collection was translated by my colleague, and I edited the drafts. The remaining two-thirds were translated entirely by me. I would like to mention here that it is regrettable that, for various reasons, the book was published solely under my name. (Shao 1936a, 2)

(2) Shanghai’s Zhonghua shuju, one of China’s leading bookstores, has long been discussing the possibility of introducing Korean fairy tales to China. They commissioned two teachers from Shanghai Inseong School, Shao Linsheng (Chinese) and Jeong Ja-pyeong (Korean), to translate dozens of Korean fairy tales. With the translations recently completed, the collection is expected to be published under the name *Compilation of Modern Korean Fairy Tales* (朝鮮現代童話撰). Shangwu yin shuguan 商務

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1. Yi Yu-pil, “Sanghae-e mobeom sohakgyo” (An Exemplary Elementary School in Shanghai), *Dong-A Ilbo*, January 4, 1924.

印書館 publishing house has also commissioned these two individuals to translate and publish several Korean fairy tales [emphasis added].<sup>2</sup>

As can be seen in passage (1) above, in the preface, Shao Linsheng expressed his disappointment that the collection of tales was published only under his name, revealing that something had happened to his colleague. This preface is dated June 2, 1935. The article about the collection was appeared in the *Chosun JoongAng Ilbo* on May 25, 1935; therefore, discussions with publishers about releasing the fairy tale collection must have begun long before that. In the passage (2), the person who translated the fairy tales along with Shao Linsheng is identified as the Korean Jeong Ja-pyeong 鄭子平, a teacher at Inseong School, consistent with Shao's reference to his *colleague* in the preface. Although the title of the collection of fairy tales is incorrectly written as the *Compilation of Modern Korean Fairy Tales*, the title may have been changed to the *Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales* during the publication process.

The name Jeong Ja-pyeong does not appear on the list of teachers at Inseong School, published by *Dong-A Ilbo* on March 18, 1934, when Shao Linsheng was teaching there. The list includes Principal Seonwoo Hyeok; male teachers Park Ki-bok, Ahn Chang-son, and Eom Sang-bin; female teachers Seonwoo Ae and Cha Yeong-ae; and the Chinese teacher Shao Linshen 邵霖深. Next to Park Ki-bok's name is a note stating "Resignation."<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, documents from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dated June 23, 1934, including "Report on the Status of Korean Organizations and Activities" in Shanghai and "List of Koreans Exiled to China," confirm that Jeong Ja-pyeong was employed as a teacher at Inseong School (Ministry of

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2. "Joseon donghwa junggukeo-ro beonyeok chulpan" (Plans to Translate and Publish Korean Fairytales into Chinese), *Chosun JoongAng Ilbo*, May 25, 1935.

3. "Sanghae inseong hakgyo naeyong hwakchung" (Shanghai Inseong School Plans to Expand Its Contents), *Dong-A Ilbo*, March 18, 1934. Kwon Ae-yeong posited Shao Linshen as a typo for Shao Linsheng 邵霖生 (A. Kwon 2018, 10). However, since French Ministry of Foreign Affairs documents also list Shao Linsheng's name as 邵霖深, it cannot be ruled out that Shao Linshen was an alias he used during his political activities (Ministry of Patriots and Veterans Affairs Office and National Institute of Korean History 2016, 335).

Patriots and Veterans Affairs Office and National Institute of Korean History 2016, 329). A *Dong-A Ilbo* article of December 7, 1934, mentions that Inseong School had “five full-time teachers and one Chinese teacher in the Chinese department,”<sup>4</sup> thus Jeong Ja-pyeong may have been Park Gi-bok’s successor.

The list of teachers and principals presented above must be examined more closely in the context of the connection between the Inseong School and the Young Korean Academy. Ahn Chang-ho founded the Academy’s Far East Committee (Wondong wiwonbu 遠東委員部) in Shanghai and organized monthly meetings for each department to promote the members’ personal development and improve their skills (Naimushō kihōkyoku 1972, 1621–1622). Ahn Chang-ho and the members of the Far East Committee of the Young Korean Academy were strongly committed to the Inseong School and helped with its Administration and Support Committee. Ahn Chang-ho was principal of the Young Korean Academy for one year from November 1921. His successors at the Academy included Sohn Jeong-do, Lee Yu-pil, Jo Sang-seop, and Seonwoo Hyeok. Additionally, individuals such as Park Chun-geun, Kim Gong-jip, Yoo Sang-kyu, Lee Seon-sil, Park Ki-bok, Eom Sang-bin, Cha Yeong-ae, Shin Eon-jun, Na Chang-heon, Baek Ki-jun, Kim Yeon-sil, Jung In-gwa, and Kim Hong-seo served as teachers at Inseong School (M. Yi 2002, 141). The teachers listed in the aforementioned *Dong-A Ilbo* article alongside Shao Linsheng—Seonwoo Hyeok, Park Ki-bok, Eom Sang-bin, and Cha Yeong-ae—were also members of the Young Korean Academy.

Following Ahn Chang-ho’s arrest, the Young Korean Academy’s Far East Committee was renamed the Far Eastern Regional Committee and elected new board members. The organization was established to “enable those with revolution as their goal to acquire fundamental knowledge and pursue self-cultivation” (Naimushō kihōkyoku 1972, 1623). It formed organizations within each group and held regular meetings, including

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4. “Sanghae dongpo-ui yuilhan gyoyuk gigwan: Gyeongyeongnan jung-ui inseong hakgyo” (The Only Educational Institution for Shanghai Compatriots: Inseong School in Financial Difficulties), *Dong-A Ilbo*, December 7, 1934.

monthly assemblies. Ku Ik-kyun served as chairman, and the members of the Far Eastern Regional Committee included Jo Sang-seop, Shin Eon-jun, and Seonwoo Hyeok. Ku Ik-kyun and Shin Eon-jun were teachers at Inseong School, while Jo Sang-seop and Seonwoo Hyeok served as principals. A report on the Young Korean Academy contains references to Jeong Ja-pyeong's involvement in the activities of the Far Eastern Regional Committee in Shanghai. Jeong joined the Young Korean Academy in 1935 (M. Yi 2002, 428). The documents show that he later served as head of the 4th Division of the Far Eastern Regional Committee. However, after the arrest of Ahn Chang-ho, a crackdown on the Korean community in Shanghai ensued, leading to the arrest of the head of the committee, Ku Ik-kyun, on May 25, 1935. Consequently, under the pressure of Japanese repression, the committee encountered difficulties continuing its political activities. During this period, Shao Linsheng wrote the preface to the *Collection*. Following the imposition of Japanese-language education, all the staff of Inseong School resigned, leading to the school's indefinite closure on November 11, 1935.

Thus, Jeong Ja-pyeong, who joined the Young Korean Academy in 1935, was the teacher at Inseong School who translated Korean fairy tales into Chinese in collaboration with Shao Linsheng. His name was removed from the collection because of the crackdown on organizations involved in political movements in Shanghai. The translators of the first collection of Korean children's literature published in China were Chinese and Koreans who taught children at the Inseong School in Shanghai, dreaming of Korea's independence. This stands in stark contrast to the one-sided efforts of Imperial Japan to collect and translate Korean stories in order to appropriate them from a Japanese perspective.

### **Intent Behind Publishing the World Fairy Tale Series and the Imaginary Geography of Korea**

The *Collection* was one volume in the World Fairy Tale Series published by Zhonghua shuju, as indicated on its cover and copyright page. In the context

of the World Fairy Tale Series publication, the *Collection* by Zhonghua shuju in the 1930s was unusual in several respects. Fairy tales from Korea were edited and compiled into an independent volume in the World Fairy Tale Series. They included the word *modern* in the title, which is not found in the titles of books containing fairy tales from other countries published by Zhonghua shuju in the 1930s. The price was also lower than other fairy tale collections within the series.

In Japan, which published the *Complete Collection of World Fairy Tales* ahead of China, the Sekai dōwa taikai Publishing Association included a Japanese volume in the Sekai dōwa taikai in 1924; however, this included Japanese, Korean, and Ainu stories. The fifth volume of the *Complete Collection of World Fairy Tales* (Sekai dōwa zenshū 世界童話全集) published by Kindaisha 近代社 in Tokyo in 1929, comprised Korean, Taiwanese, and Ainu tales. The first volume of this collection contained Japanese fairy tales. In both volumes, the inclusion of Korea in the collection of world fairy tales served the imperial Japanese agenda of showcasing its dominance and appropriating stories from its colonies as its own.

Surprisingly, the World Fairy Tale Series, published by Zhonghua shuju, was based on the World Fairy Tale Series published by Kinransha 金蘭社 in Japan between 1925 and 1929. Except for Korea and the Netherlands, the original authors of the World Fairy Tale Series published by Zhonghua shuju in China and the one published by Kinransha in Japan are the same.

**Table 1.** Composition of the World Fairy Tale Series Published by Kinransha in the 1920s

Book title	Author	Illustrator	Year of publication	Pages	Price
Chinese Fairy Tales (支那童話集)	Koizumi, Kazuo	Koito, Gentaro	1925	306	1 won 50 jeon each
Indian Fairy Tales (印度童話集)	Toyoshima, Niburo	Kosaka, Genzo	1925	308	
Russian Fairy Tales (ろしや童話集)	Nagahashi, Takusuke	Kosaka, Genzo	1925	308	

French Fairy Tales (フランス童話集)	Nagahashi, Takusuke	Kosaka , Genzo	1925	309	
German Fairy Tales (ドイツ童話集)	Koda, Masao	Kosaka , Genzo	1925	306	
Persian Fairy Tales (ペルシヤ童話集)	Nagahashi, Takusuke	Kosaka , Genzo	1925	300	
Italian Fairy Tales (イタリー童話集)	Nagahashi, Takusuke	Kosaka , Genzo	1926	304	
Egyptian Fairy Tales (エジプト童話集)	Nagahashi, Takusuke	Kosaka , Genzo	1926	300	
British Fairy Tales (イギリス童話集)	Nagahashi, Takusuke	Kosaka , Genzo	1926	306	
American Fairy Tales (アメリカ童話集)	Nakagi, Teiichi	Kosaka , Genzo	1927	300	
Spanish Fairy Tales (スペイン童話集)	Toyoshima, Jiro	Kosaka , Genzo	1927	304	
Japanese Fairy Tales (日本童話集)	Koda, Masao	Kosaka , Genzo	1928	306	
Dutch Fairy Tales (オランダ童話集)	Kaji, Ryosuke	Ikegami, Hiroshi	1928	206	
Danish Fairy Tales (デンマーク童話集)	Oto, Kiichiro	Kosaka , Genzo	1929	307	
Turkish Fairy Tales (トルコ童話集)	Nagahashi, Takusuke	Kosaka , Genzo	1929	308	

Source: Prepared by author based on bibliographic information and original text files provided by the National Diet Library of Japan and Waseda University.

Zhonghua shuju first excluded the *Collection of Chinese Fairy Tales* from the compilation published by Kinransha in the 1920s. Subsequently, they excluded stories from Russia, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Japan, instead adding the *Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales*, which had not been included in the World Fairy Tales Series published in Japan. The contents of the World Fairy Tale Series published by Zhonghua shuju in the 1930s can be summarized as follows (Bianji weiyuanhui 1937, 243; 1939, 217).<sup>5</sup>

5. In cases of *French Fairy Tales* and *Turkish Fairy Tales*, only the year of publication has been presented due to these volumes' lack of a copyright notice.

**Table 2.** The Composition of the World Fairy Tale Series Published by Zhonghua shuju in 1930s (\*notes a translator and/or editor)

Book title	Author	Translator	Date of publication	Pages	Price
French Fairy Tales (法國童話集)	Nagahashi Takusuke	Xu Danian and Xu Yifei	1933	253	5.5 <i>jiao</i>
Turkish Fairy Tales (土耳其童話集)	Nagahashi Takusuke	Xu Danian	1933	263	5.5 <i>jiao</i>
Indian Fairy Tales (印度童話集)	Toyoshima Niburo	Xu Danian	April 1933	295	5.5 <i>jiao</i>
Italian Fairy Tales (意大利童話集)	Baba Mutsuo	Kang Tongyan	March 1934	223	5.5 <i>jiao</i>
Dutch Fairy Tales (荷蘭童話集)	William Elliot Griffis	Kang Tongyan	March 1934	250	5.5 <i>jiao</i>
Danish Fairy Tales (丹麥童話集)	Ohta Kiichiro	Xu Danian	October 1934	265	5.5 <i>jiao</i>
Spanish Fairy Tales (西班牙童話集)	Toyoshima Jiro	Xu Danian	October 1934	252	5.5 <i>jiao</i>
Modern Korean Fairy Tales (朝鮮現代童話集)	-	Shao Linsheng*	November 1936	202	4 <i>jiao</i>
Egyptian Fairy Tales (埃及童話集)	Nagahashi Takusuke	Xu Danian	April 1937	263	5 <i>jiao</i>
Iranian Fairy Tales (伊朗童話集)	Nagahashi Takusuke	Xu Danian	May 1937	241	5 <i>jiao</i>

As shown in Table 1, Zhonghua shuju published fairy tale collections from France, Turkey, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark, Spain, Korea, Egypt, and Iran in the 1930s. Zhonghua shuju presumably published French fairy tales first because Shanghai, where the publishing house was located, was a French settlement. The fairy tale collection published by Zhonghua shuju based on Japan's World Fairy Tale Series indicates that the Chinese publisher selected stories from countries whose power was waning or that had become colonies rather than from countries considered major geopolitical powers at the time. This inclination seems to have been intentional from the planning stages.

In the 1930s, Chinese intellectuals actively introduced Korea's



proletarian literature to China, and this trend of proletarian literature expanded under the label “people of small and weak nations.” This inclination was closely tied to the interest shown by figures such as Lu Xun 魯迅, Zhou Zuoren 周作人, and Mao Dun 茅盾 in the literature of small and weak nations, and especially in writing from Northern Europe, starting in the 1920s (Shin et al. 2003, 506–507). Having witnessed first-hand the imperialist expansion of Japan and the colonization of China after World War I, Chinese intellectuals were naturally interested in countries around the world facing similar political crises. Shao Linsheng, translator of the *Collection*, wrote in the preface, “Because Korea is an oppressed, small, and weak nation, many of their works are valuable for us to read” (Shao 1936a, 1). Presenting these stories to Chinese children carried several meanings. They served to introduce Chinese readers to people who were subjugated by a powerful country, people who were relatively little known and in danger of being forgotten at some point. In addition, the stories were able to show Chinese readers the reality of China by making them think about the situation of people in weak nations.

The characteristics of the countries chosen by Zhonghua shuju for inclusion in its World Fairy Tale Series become evident when compared with Japan’s World Fairy Tale Series. In the 1930s, Japan’s World Fairy Tale Series was structured as follows: Japan–England–Ireland–France–Italy–Russia–China–India–Netherlands–Spain–Turkey.<sup>6</sup> Japan’s desire to emulate Western imperial nations and expand its territory was mirrored in its arrangement of the World Fairy Tale Series; the Japanese publisher planned the World Fairy Tale Series to be centered around Europe. In contrast, Zhonghua shuju’s selection of countries for the World Fairy Tale Series comprised those comparatively less powerful than those featured in Japan’s World Fairy Tale Series.

An examination of the original authors of the World Fairy Tale Series published by Zhonghua shuju (Table 1) reveals that all others were penned by Japanese authors except for Dutch and Korean fairy tales. At the time, Zhonghua shuju’s translations of fairy tales from various countries were

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6. “Sekai dōwa taikai” (World Fairy Tale Series), *Keijō nippō*, December 27, 1930.

second-hand translations derived from Japanese publications. However, the *Collection* was translated directly from the local language (Korean) into Chinese. The original authors' names are omitted from the translation because the *Collection* is a compilation and translation of works published in fairy tale collections and children's magazines in Korea during the 1920s and 1930s. Hence, the collection title includes the modifier "modern," which is not found in the titles of fairy tale collections from other countries. The *Collection* stands out among the books published by Zhonghua shuju as a part of the World Fairy Tale Series in terms of the contemporaneity of the translation and selection of works.

While the other fairy tale collections in the series were translated by Xu Daniao 許達年 or Kang Tongyan 康同衍, the *Collection* was the only volume translated by Shao Linsheng. There are two reasons for this. First, neither Xu Daniao nor Kang Tongyan could translate texts from Korean. Second, the content and makeup of the translation submitted by Shao Linsheng to the publisher aligned with the World Fairy Tale Series planning. Although the translated volume is relatively slim compared to the other collections in the series, Shao chose the texts carefully and wanted to present stories that depict the contemporary reality of Korea and teach moral lessons to children.

How did the *Collection* portray Korea to its young Chinese readers? The numerous works contained in this collection reveal the inner worlds of those who are deprived of freedom and oppressed for no reason, or show the courage of the young generation in their struggle against those who have long been the object of fear. In addition, under the influence of socialism in the 1930s, the collection contains fairy tales that are critical of and oppose the bourgeoisie that oppressed the lower class. This category includes fairy tales that glorify the lives of workers. The collection also contains fairy tales that teach children timeless lessons by warning against greed and lies and emphasizing virtues such as kindness, a simple life, and honesty.

The Korean magazines *Eorini* and *Byeolnara*, the sources of the fairy tales in the collection, contain few instances of illustrations related to the story unless they are serialized fairy tales. However, among the 28 works included in the *Collection*, 26 are accompanied by illustrations, excluding

only Choi Cheong-ok’s “The Apple Tree” (Pingguo shu 蘋果樹) and Ahn Un-pa’s “Puppy” (Xiao gou 小狗). While the illustrators’ names are not listed in the collection, their illustrations depict content that might be difficult for readers to imagine, facilitating a better understanding of the content. The illustrations enable readers to empathize with the inner world of the protagonists. In addition, the illustrator provides explanations under each illustration to indicate which part of the story the respective picture belongs to. By visually depicting the time and space in which events and actions take place, and providing readers with details that are not explicitly conveyed in the text, the illustrations—essentially graphic texts—develop the quality of narrativity (Kong 2020, 10).

Moreover, illustrators play an active role in interpreting and recreating the fairy tale in their dual capacity as both consumers and producers of the text. Illustrations inserted in the original version of “The Moon Alone”



Figure 1. Illustration from “The Moon Alone”

Source: Y. Kim (1934, 46).



孔面的我着視仰他

Figure 2. Illustration from “Words from the Moon”

Source: Shao (1936a, 56).

(Dalnim-i honjaseo) and the translated version of “Words from the Moon” (Yue er dehua 月兒的話) are presented in Figures 1 and 2.

In “The Moon Alone,” on the night when a prisoner moves from a prison to a deep forest, he sheds tears and composes a “Song of Farewell” (Y. Kim 1934, 47) on the prison wall. However, the moon cannot comprehend the song because it cannot read. This fairy tale states that Kim Young-soo wrote the work in Tokyo on April 24, 1934. In “Words from the Moon” from the *Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales*, the original author is also known as Kim Young-soo. However, this work is a rewriting by Kim Young-soo of “Thirty-Second Evening,” a story included in the Danish author Hans Christian Andersen’s short story collection *A Picture Book Without Pictures (Billedbog uden Billeder, 1847)*. While Andersen wrote his story as the moon telling a lonely painter about the landscapes it saw, Kim Young-soo restructured the story as if the moon were soliloquizing.

The Korean illustrator Kim Byeong-hyeon only depicted the scene outside the prison where the carriage stands and focused on the moon looking into the prison. However, the illustrator of the *Collection* reads the story from the reader’s perspective and, through narrative inference, gives visual expression to the prisoner’s face, as seen by the moon and even the coachman leading him away. Below the illustration is a line from the fairy tale: “He looked up at my face.” The illustrator fills the narrative gaps with “essential or likely events, traits and objects which for various reasons have gone unmentioned” (Chatman 1978, 28). The emaciated prisoner with the unkempt beard is tied to a pole with a rope and looks even more pitiful because of the grim expression on the face of the coachman pulling him. This fairy tale makes us reflect on the unjust and sad stories of the colonized who were imprisoned and forcibly transported in the 1930s.

With the narrative text as a medium, the illustrator creates a new kind of communication that goes beyond the simple communication between storyteller (the text producer) and reader (the text consumer). While the cover of the book shows a photo of Korean girls wearing *hanbok* (Fig. 3) and the stories are set in Korea, the illustrations in the collection show Korean clothing and architecture in Chinese-style images (Fig. 2). Consequently, Chinese readers naturally project Chinese characters onto the stories about

Korea.

The *Collection* began as a collaborative project between Koreans and Chinese; however, its translation and publication in China significantly influenced its content. Translation constructs a domestic representation of a foreign text and culture. It simultaneously constructs a domestic subject, a position of intelligibility that is also an ideological position, informed by certain domestic social groups' codes and canons, interests and agendas (Venuti 1998, 68). Contemporary Chinese readers, including the translators and illustrators of the *Collection*, observed the plight of Koreans in the fairy tales as people of a small and weak nation, through which they saw the tragedy of colonization that had befallen their people. In this respect, the Chinese-style depiction of Korea is a Korea refracted through a Chinese lens, and it is political in that it depicts Korea as a colonized and weak nation. The Korean stories translated into Chinese are a challenge to the canon of Korean stories created by imperial Japan and a meta-text for China to realize and overcome its own political crisis.



**Figure 3.** The cover of the *Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales*

Source: Shao (1936a).

### Stories Mistaken as Original Modern Korean Fairy Tales

In the preface to the *Collection*, Shao Linsheng writes that “the works [included in the collection] are creations of contemporary writers of Korean children’s literature. I have selected and compiled works that are meaningful for children” (Shao 1936a, 1). Moreover, in the preface to the *Collection of Modern Korean Children’s Stories*, he explains that the title is “because the

content is not all ancient legends but rather works created by contemporary writers of Korean children's literature" (Shao 1936b, 2). According to Shao, the stories included in the *Collection* were known as original creations from Korea. However, this claim is not accurate.

"The Tiger and the Persimmon" (Horangi-wa kotkam), written by Ma Hae-song, is a parody of a traditional folk tale. When publishing in the magazine *Eorini*, Ma Hae-song included an explanatory note briefly introducing the plot of the original "The Tiger and the Persimmon" before adding, "I have created a new story based on this old tale" (H. Ma 1933, 29). In this case, the author deliberately rewrote a popular story, so there was no problem with including it in a modern fairy tale collection.

However, in addition to works authored by children's literature writers in the 1930s, the *Collection* includes traditional Korean folktales such as "The King's Ear is a Donkey's Ear" (Guowang de erduo lu erduo 國王的耳朵驢耳朵) and "The Tiger's Gratitude" (Hu de baoen 虎的報恩). In the former, author Hong Bok-ryeon restructured the narrative into a format where an adult tells the story to a child. However, the translator omits the translation of the first and last sentences of the tale so that the detail about an adult reading a bedtime story to a child disappears. Further, in "The Tiger's Gratitude," Im Byeong-cheol appended a note that said, "from Korean Fairy Tales" (Im 1933, 35). However, this is omitted from the version included in the *Collection*, which states that it is "an original work by Im Byeong-cheol" and includes a footnote explaining the *jige* (a traditional Korean tool for carrying heavy loads) (Shao 1936a, 74). In the translation of Shao and Jeong, Korea's folktales are presented in the collection as modern Korean fairy tales.

Moreover, Western stories, such as "The Seven Crows" (Qi shuang wuya 七雙烏鴉), "The Happiness of the Old Cobbler" (Lao pijiang de kuaile 老皮匠的快樂) and "Three Billy Goats," (San shuang gong shanyang 三雙公山羊) were included in the *Collection*. The original author of "The Happiness of the Old Cobbler" is not specified; however, "The Seven Crows" and "Three Billy Goats" are attributed to Kim Bok-jin and Lee Ki-yeong, respectively. Previous studies have revealed that "Three Billy Goats," attributed to Lee Ki-yeong, is a translation of the Norwegian fairy tale "Three Billy Goats Gruff" (Eom and Sun 2022, 82). These three stories are



from Germany, France, and Norway, and Kim Bok-jin and Lee Ki-yeong likely first encountered them in Japanese before translating them into Korean.

“The Seven Crows” appeared in both volume 1, issue 8 (September 1923) and volume 11, issue 11 (November 1933), of *Eorini*. The former version is credited to Yeom Won-mo, and the latter to Kim Bok-jin. However, the stories attributed to Yeom Won-mo and Kim Bok-jin have the same title and similar overall content. This is because these tales are not original creations but translations of “The Seven Ravens” (Die sieben Raben) by the German Grimm Brothers.

Yeom Won-mo and Kim Bok-jin are speculated to have translated the Japanese edition of the story into Korean. This story was included in the World Fairy Tale Series: *Grimms’ Fairy Tale Collection* (Sekai dōwa taikai: *Gurimu dōwashū* 世界童話大系 グリム童話集), published in Japan in 1924. Additionally, it was featured in the first volume of the *Grimms’ Fairy Tale Collection* (*Gurimu dōwashū* グリム童話集), published by Iwanami shoten 岩波書店 in 1929 as part of a paperback series. The story revolves around a girl who travels the world in search of her seven brothers, who have been turned into crows, and ends up cutting off her finger to rescue them from a glass mountain and return them to their original forms. The story is a lesson on the courage displayed by the sister who cuts off her finger to save her brothers. Kim Bok-jin’s translation, featured in the magazine *Eorini*, closely follows the Japanese version but is slightly abridged, and the girl’s name is changed to the Korean-style name “Gobun” 羔芬.

The translation in the *Collection* assigns the name Gobun to the girl and largely mirrors Kim Bok-jin’s adapted version of the story. However, in the translation, two sentences are added. This edition emphasizes how long Gobun has been away from home and vividly conveys the parents’ happiness at their children’s return. Further, the translator added a footnote that was not present in Kim Bok-jin’s text. The footnote states, “Crows are considered useless and harmful creatures by Koreans, just as they are thought to be ominous by the people of our country” (Shao 1936a, 113).<sup>7</sup> The content of

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7. 烏鴉, 朝鮮人指爲無用之害物, 好像我國人說牠是不祥一樣。





丁來回鴉鳥髮七來原

**Figure 4.** Illustration from “The Seven Crows”

Source: Shao (1936a, 112).

朝鮮現代童話集

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this footnote shows that the translator assumed “The Seven Crows” to be a Korean fairy tale.

However, the most surprising element lies in the illustrations accompanying this story in the *Collection*. While the illustrations in the *Collection*’s other fairy tales depicted Korean protagonists with a Chinese appearance, the characters in these illustrations are portrayed with Western faces (Fig. 4). This implies that the illustrator was aware of the Western origin of this fairy tale. By 1934 in China, Grimms’ Fairy Tales had been published in two volumes as the *Complete Grimms’ Fairy Tales* (*Gelin tonghua quanji* 格林童話全集) by Shangwu yinshuguan in Shang-

hai. It is unclear whether the illustrator read this collection. Interestingly, the translator read and translated the story as a Korean tale, while the illustrator interpreted it as a Western one. That such a discrepancy arose between the story and its illustration in one of the translated stories of the *Collection* as it traveled from Germany to China via Japan and Korea, suggests a state of cultural mixing. This indicates a temporal discrepancy between the translator’s and illustrator’s reading of a particular text.

“The Happiness of the Old Cobbler” is not a modern Korean fairy tale but an adaptation of a fable written by the French poet and children’s writer Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695), who dramatized a Latin source. This story is called “Le Savetier et le Financier” (The Cobbler and the Financier), the second fable included in volume 3, chapter 2 of La Fontaine’s *Fables choisies* (Selected Fables, 1678). It tells the story of an optimistic cobbler who, despite his poverty, always hums cheerful songs at work, and a financier who suffers insomnia because of his constant pursuit of money. One day, the cobbler is delighted to receive a large sum of money from the financier, but he is

plagued by worries that someone might steal it. Unable to sleep or sing, he finally returns the money to the financier.

This fairy tale was included in a Japanese collection of world fairy tales. It appeared under the title “Gold and Song” (Kin to uta 金と歌) in the French fairy tale section of the *World Fairy Tale Collection: Western Volume* (*Sekai dōwashū seiyō no maki* 世界童話集 西洋の巻), published by Jitsugyōno-nihonsha 実業之日本社 in 1918. Additionally, it was featured under the title, “The Cobbler and the Rich Man” (Kutsunaoshi to kanemochi 靴直しと金持) in the *World Fairy Tale Series: France and Netherlands Volume* (*Sekai dōwashū Furansu Oranda-hen* 世界童話大系 佛蘭西・和蘭篇) published by Sekai dōwa taikai in 1926. This tale, which contrasts the lives of the cobbler and the rich man, resonates with the characteristics of the *Collection of Modern Korean Fairy Tales* influenced by socialism in the 1930s.

The focal point in La Fontaine’s fable is when the cobbler returns the money to the financier and requests his song back (Fig. 5). The *Collection* highlights the poor cobbler handling the money and remarking, “We’ve



Figure 5. Illustration from “The Cobbler and the Financier”

Source: La Fontaine (1678, 99).



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“丁財了發們我”

Figure 6. Illustration from “The Happiness of the Old Cobbler”

Source: Shao (1936a, 146).

become rich,” while being unable to smile (Fig. 6). Despite holding a large sum of money, the cobbler wears an anxious expression, creating a contrast with the earlier image of him joyfully humming while working.

Why was the story of the cobbler and the financier understood as a modern Korean story when it was translated from French to Japanese to Korean? Firstly, the translator was unaware that this work had been written and distributed in France, not Korea. However, the reason for this probably lies in the overall purpose of the collection of fairy tales, which was to teach Chinese children lessons from the neighboring country of Korea. This story illustrates the sanctity of labor and at the same time exposes the morally bankrupt life of the bourgeoisie. It depicts the cobbler’s ability to find joy in the pleasures of life, even in poverty, and his determination to return the rich man’s money. The content is in line with the ideal values that the Chinese expected from the life of the people of Korea, which was considered a small and weak nation. The translator’s desire to portray the optimistic attitude of a poor laborer and present it as a reflection of the values of the Korean people caused this story to be misinterpreted as a modern Korean fairy tale.

In the *Collection*, the author of “Three Billy Goats” is listed as Lee Ki-yong, but the source of the original Korean text has not yet been identified. However, this work is one of the folktales collected by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen (1812–1885) and Jørgen Engebretsen Moe (1813–1882) in Norway. “Three Billy Goats Gruff” (De tre bukkene Bruse) was included in volume 3 of *Norwegian Folktales (Norske Folke-Eventyr)*, published in 1843. This story was translated under the title “Three Billy Goats” (Sanbiki no yagi 三匹ノヤギ) in volume 2 of the *Elementary School Children’s Literature Reader* (Shōgaku jidō bungaku dokuhon 小学児童文学読本) published by Idea shoin イデア書院 in Japan in 1925. Further, it was included under the title “Three Billy Goats” (Sanbiki no yagi 三匹の山羊) in *Fairy Tale Examples* (Dōwa hanrei 童話範例) published by Bunka shobō 文化書房 in 1934.

This fairy tale tells the story of three male goats who, in order to reach the grass on the other side, encounter a ghost who lives under a bridge. The first goat, the smallest among them, and the second, a medium-sized goat, manage to cross the bridge without being eaten by the ghost. Once they have

crossed the bridge, the third and largest goat uses its horns to defeat the ghost. In the original Norwegian fairy tale, the ghost is a troll. However, the conclusion of “Three Billy Goats” in the *Collection* diverges from that of “Three Billy Goats Gruff” in the aforementioned *Norwegian Folktales*. In the original, the largest goat brutally kills the troll, throwing it into the river, and the three goats become too fat to walk back home after eating the grass. In the Chinese translation of “Three Billy Goats,” the largest goat uses its horns to toss the ghost onto the riverbed, and the story concludes with the other two goats saying, “Big Goat, you really are brave!” (Shao 1936a, 153).

Specific descriptions of the large goat defeating the ghost, omitted in the Chinese translation, appear in the Japanese version. Whether the line added to the Chinese translation (‘Big Goat, you really are brave!’) was written by Lee Ki-yeong or the Chinese translator is impossible to determine. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this sentence shifts the tale’s focus toward the courage displayed by the largest goat confronting the object of fear. This diverges from the Norwegian folktale “Three Billy Goats Gruff,” wherein the three goats could be interpreted as a single goat that grows throughout the story. In the Japanese translation, the goats are categorized not by names or hierarchy but as small, medium, and large (Murakami 1934, 58–60). Thus, this fairy tale version can be interpreted as a narrative of the goat’s maturation as it faces challenges. However, in the Chinese translation, two goats praise the other goat, and the illustrations depict the two goats that crossed the bridge first grazing on the grass while the largest goat confronts the ghost.

The story, translated by Lee Ki-yeong is a “text containing provocative content that encourages overcoming irrational reality with a militant attitude” through the anthropomorphized protagonist (Eom and Sun 2022, 83). Shao Linsheng wanted to enlighten Chinese children and cultivate anti-imperialist ideology through children’s literature from neighboring Korea. The works he included in the collection of fairy tales were originally reading material for the students he taught. When he taught Chinese at the Inseong School in Shanghai, he translated fairy tales from Korean magazines for his students, thus promoting the exchange of ideological ideas between teachers and students. The Korean Jeong Ja-pyeong and the Chinese Shao Linsheng

met while teaching at the Inseong School and became acquainted with world fairy tales via Japan. By translating these texts and reading them to their students, they actively opposed Japan.

## Conclusion

This study identified the Korean co-translator of the *Collection*, translated and published in Shanghai in 1936. It examined the significance of compiling and translating Korean stories in the context of the relationship between Inseong School, the World Fairy Tale Series, and this fairy tale collection. Until now, the only known translator was the Chinese Shao Linsheng. This study examined newspaper articles and records of a group associated with the independence movement in Shanghai and identified the co-translator as Jeong Ja-pyeong, an active member of the Young Korean Academy in Shanghai.

This study analyzed the politics of collecting *modern Korean* fairy tales and publishing them in a series of world fairy tales by examining the *Collection* within the context of the World Fairy Tale Series. Korea's stories, included in Japan's *Complete Collection of World Fairy Tales*, gained independence through publication by Zhonghua shuju in Shanghai. Unlike fairy tales from other countries, the *Collection* acquired contemporaneity by including the word *modern* in its title. Additionally, the inclusion of illustrations in the *Collection* depicting settings and characters that were not Korean but Chinese demonstrated cultural transformation. The representation of Korea as a *small and weak nation* in Chinese-style imagery allowed readers to feel the sorrow of colonization and aspire for independence through the localization of Korean fairy tales.

Finally, this study highlighted the inclusion of German, French, and Norwegian tales in the *Collection* and analyzed points of divergence in their content. These works listed Koreans as the original authors or were translated without identifying the original authors; however, they were likely translated by a Korean writer from a world fairy tale collection published in Japan. This study examined the characteristics of the Chinese translations by

comparing the content of the three stories with their Western originals, the Japanese translations released before the *Collection*, and the Korean translations. A recurring theme in these stories is the protagonist's independent overcoming of subordination or crises to regain happiness. Considering the political situation wherein Imperial Japan had colonized Korea and China, the thematic features of the fairy tale collection reflect the translator's deliberate selection of texts to inspire young readers with anti-imperialist ideas and the courage to fight for liberation.

A collection of works published under the name of a nation cannot escape the politics of representing that nation's identity. At a time when Korea could not exist as an independent nation, the Korean stories selected for publication in China reflected Chinese people's diverse curiosity about the feelings and culture of the weak nation of Korea. Moreover, because Koreans participated in selecting and translating these texts, the despair of Koreans who were forced to leave their homeland and read Korean stories in Chinese would have added to the impression of this tragic reality. Considering the translators' backgrounds, the content of the included works, the illustrations, and the deviations from the original tales, the *Collection* reveals that the interest of Chinese consumers of culture extended beyond intellectual curiosity about colonial Korea and encompassed political expectations and a desire for appropriation.

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