

**Aspect and Trend of Recognition on Choi Chi-Won in the
Goryeo Era
-Focused on keeping the ancestral tablet in Munmyo (文廟, the
Confucian shrine)-**

Sin,Sun-hye*

Abstract

It is not enough to define Choi Chi-Won as a representative of one era and region, given that he was evaluated on his past with praise in many ways, not only during the Silla period, but also during Goryeo and Joseon. In particular, since the aspect of Choi Chi-Won's future recognition was discussed around the propriety of the Confucian Shrine (文廟) canonization, one can look at the background and meaning of the canonization of the Confucian Shrine as well as process of going out and returning to the Confucian Shrine in order to observe the aspects and trends of Choi Chi-Won's recognition. However, research until today has shown that Choi Chi-Won's the Confucian Shrine canonization in the Goryeo Dynasty continued until Joseon Dynasty without any change, so the aspect of Choi Chi-Won's perception did not show any change. However, in the late Goryeo period, Choi Chi-Won's godship is lost once. And records show that Choi Chi-Won, along with Seol Chong (薛聰) and An Hyang (安珣), were enshrined in the Confucian Shrine shortly after the founding of the Joseon Dynasty. In this paper, focusing on the canonization of Choi Chi-Won, we show that the Goryeo royal family established a foothold for the praise of Choi Chi-Won by using Choi Chi-Won in writing the theory of 'Milchanjoup(密讚祖業)' or 'Dapgyunhwonseo(答甄萱書)' from the period around the founding of the Goryeo dynasty until the canonization in the Confucian Shrine during the period of King Hyeonjong and that this acted as a background for the Silla scholars, who were taken over and became a Confucian bureaucracy in Goryeo, to canonize Choi Chi-Won in the Confucian Shrine in the early days of King Hyeonjong. At the same time, as the period of King Hyeonjong was a time when invasion and exchange coexisted externally, we also considered that external confidence would have influenced the of Choi Chi-Won's canonization. On the other hand, we regard the Yuan (元) dynasty as the subject of Choi Chi-Won's expulsion from the Confucian Shrine the during the late Goryeo dynasty, and see that the Yuan dynasty took Choi Chi-Won out from the Confucian Shrine as they recognized that the canonization could inspire the Goryeo people's national consciousness since Choi Chi-Won showed the level of Silla culture equivalent to that of China. However, since it was recorded that this proceeded without the approval of the King of Goryeo, we consider that he was soon reinstated. Here, we consider that the background behind the reinstatement was based on the anti-Yuan stance that was held during the period of King Gongmin. In this way, by examining the process and background of Choi Chi-Won's departure and return from the Confucian Shrine during the Goryeo Dynasty, it was possible to grasp the patterns and trends of the perception on Choi Chi-Won.

Keywords: *Choi Chi-Won, the Confucian Shrine, Goryeo, King Hyeonjong, King Chungjeong*

고려시대 최치원 인식의 양상과 추이

-문묘 배향을 중심으로-

신선혜

국문요약

최치원은 신라 당대 뿐만 아니라 고려, 조선에 이르기까지 추송과 함께 행적에 대한 다수의 평가가 이루어진 점에서 그를 한 시대, 한 지역만을 대표하는 인물로 규정하기에는 부족함이 있다. 특히 최치원에 대한 후대 인식의 양상이 문묘 배향에 대한 당부(當否)를 중심으로 논의되었으므로 문묘에 배향(配享)하게 되는 배경과 의미, 나아가 출향(黜享) 및 복향(復享)의 과정을 짚어봄으로써 최치원 인식의 양상과 추이를 살펴볼 수 있다. 다만 그간의 연구에서는 고려시대의 경우 최치원의 문묘 배향이 조선까지 변화없이 지속되는 것으로 보아 최치원 인식의 양상 역시 별다른 변화를 보이지 않는다고 파악하였다. 그러나 고려 후기가 되면 최치원의 신위는 한 차례 출향된다. 그리고 언젠가 복향되어 조선 건국 후 얼마되지 않은 시점에 최치원과 함께 설총, 안향 등이 문묘에 배향되어 있다는 기록이 보인다. 본고에서는 최치원의 문묘 배향 여부를 중심으로 고려 현종 대 배향되기까지 고려 건국을 전후한 시기부터 고려 왕실은 ‘밀찬조업설(密讚祖業說)’이나 ‘답견훤서(答甄萱書)’ 작성에 최치원을 가탁함으로써 최치원 추송의 발판을 마련하였고 이로 인해 포섭되고 고려의 유학관료로 성장한 신라계 유학자들이 현종 대 이르러 최치원을 문묘에 배향하게 하는 배경으로 작용하였음을 살펴보았다. 이와 함께 현종 대가 대외적으로 침략과 교류가 공존한 시기였던 만큼 최치원의 문묘 배향에 대외적 자신감이 영향을 주었을 것임을 상정하였다. 한편 고려 후기 최치원의 문묘 출향의 주체를 원(元)으로 보고 중국과 대등한 신라 문화의 수준을 보여준 최치원이 문묘에 배향됨으로써 고려인들의 민족의식이 고취될 수 있다고 파악한 원(元)에 의해 문묘에서 출향되었다고 보았다. 그러나 이는 고려 왕의 재가없이 진행된 것으로 기록된 점에서 얼마되지 않아 복향되었을 것인데, 여기에는 공민왕 대 진행된 반원(反元) 기조가 배경이 된 것으로 보인다. 이렇듯 고려시대 최치원의 문묘 배향과 출향, 복향의 과정과 배경을 살펴봄으로써 최치원 인식의 양상과 추이를 파악해볼 수 있었다.

주제어: 최치원, 문묘, 고려, 현종, 충정왕

* E-mail: 2020023@honam.ac.kr

Ph.D. earned at: Korea University

Current position: Assistant Professor, Honam University

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I . PREFACE

There would be no disagreement on defining Choi Chi-Won as a “Confucian scholar representing Silla”. In his ideology, aspects such as Buddhism and Taoism are found as much as Confucianism, and to limit it to ‘Silla’, his activities alongside scholars of the Tang Dynasty may not be revealed. Further, the fact his ancestral tablet had been kept in Munmyo (文廟, the Confucian shrine) during the time of the Goryeo, which was maintained even in Joseon shows that Choi Chi-Won is not a person who only represents one era or one region.

In this regard, research on Choi Chi-Won has been carried out in various fields. Through his writings, research in the literary aspect was actively conducted (Kim Choong-Ryeol 1984-1985; Kim Young-Doo 1989; Han Seok-Su 1989; Lee Gu-Eui 1995; Jeong Gyeong-Ju 1997, etc.). Along with this, a number of achievements on his life and thoughts were submitted through a historical approach (Kim Bok-Soon 1980; Choi Gyeong-Suk 1981; Choi Geun-Young 1981, etc.). Choi Chi-Won has already been praised as the ‘Great Three Chois (一代三崔)’¹ together with Choi Eon-Wi and Choi Seung-Woo, who were not far from the time of his activities, so we can guess his status in Silla society. As his traces were found in the Goryeo and Joseon as well, research on the recognition on Choi Chi-Won in a diachronic time was also possible (Kim Chang-Gyeom 2001; Kim Geun-Ho 2020, etc.). However, the later generation recognition on Choi Chi-Won was mainly dealt with in the Joseon Dynasty and this is because the Joseon Confucian scholars questioned Choi Chi-Won’s moral tendency in the view of Confucianism. The discussion was focused on whether or not to keep the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine (Kim Chang-Gyeom 2001, 211-224). As such, the case of keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine in the later generations’ recognition on Choi Chi-Won was noted.

The Confucian shrine is a place where ancestral rites are held for Confucius and his pupils, as well as those who have been recognized for their contributions to the development of Confucianism. The Confucian shrine is a symbolic space of Confucianism, and since Silla had the title of ‘Confucius Myodang Daesa Noksa (孔子廟堂大舍錄事)’ (“SamGukSaGi (三國史記)” Vol. 40), the exact time of installation is unknown, but it can be confirmed that a temple to Confucius was installed. In addition, it is said that Su Choong, who returned from the Tang Dynasty in the 16th year of King Seongdeok (717), dedicated a painting of the Seventy and Twelve Disciples of King Munseon (文宣王十哲七十二弟子圖) and placed it in Taehak (太學) (“SamGukSaGi (三國史記)” Vol. 8)². The exact time of installation of the Goryeo’s Confucian Shrine is not known, but as can be seen from the fact that the shrine of King Munseon was founded in ‘Gukjagam (國子監)’ at the beginning of the country, it can be seen that the Confucian shrine has been equipped with space since Silla, and religious service such as ‘Seokjeon (釋尊, National Rite to Confucius)’ has continued (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 74).

¹ In the eumgi (陰記) of the “Taijasananggongdaesa Baekwol Seountapbi (太子寺朗空大師白月栖雲塔碑)” erected in 954, “Choi In-Yeon is the ‘great family’ of ‘Jinhan (辰韓)’. He is one of the ‘Great Three Chois’, which refers to Choi Chi-Won, Choi In-Yeon, and Choi Seung-Woo, and is the best of them all. He is the person who came back after having entitled on the Golden List (金榜).

² However, since Confucius was called King Munseon in the 27th year (739) of ‘Gaewon’ in the Tang Dynasty, the title ‘King Munseon’ was retouched in later generations (Toyoshima Yuka 2012, 414).

The ancestral tablets of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong were enshrined at the Confucian shrine during the time of the Goryeo King Hyeonjong. As the Confucian Shrine system has its origins in China, it is natural to enshrine the ancestral tablets of Chinese Confucian figures such as Confucius but at that time, the fact that the ancestral tablet of a figure from Silla was enshrined became a subject of interest along with the fact that the ancestral tablet of Choi Chi-Won was enshrined before Gang Su and Seol Chong. In view of this, the change in the political status of civil ministers from Gyeongju at the time was discussed as the biggest background for putting Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet at the Confucian shrine from the perspective that the evaluation of figures was inevitably a product of historical reality (Kim Yong-Gon 1986; Jang Il-Gyu 1992; Jang Il-Gyu 2003). However, the Goryeo era was an era in which relations with China, such as the Kitan (契丹), Jurchen (女真), Song Dynasty, and Yuan Dynasty, had a great influence on Korea. Therefore, it seems that external factors also played a major role in the background of the enshrinement of the ancestral tablet at the Confucian Shrine and the subsequent removal from and return to the Confucian Shrine.

In this regard, first of all, this paper attempts to examine what kind of change in recognition occurred before Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet was enshrined at the Confucian shrine and how it was expressed. This can be seen as the recognition on Choi Chi-Won in the earlier Goryeo period. On the other hand, in the existing research, it is understood that the recognition on Choi Chi-Won in the Goryeo generally led to Joseon without significant change. Therefore, it is difficult to find an article dealing with the overall aspect of recognition on Choi Chi-Won only in the Goryeo period. However, even if the removal of the ancestral tablet of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong from the Confucian Shrine, seen in the King Chungjeong period, is temporary or informal, it means a change in keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine. Therefore, it is thought that the change in recognition on Choi Chi-Won in the latter period of Goryeo can be grasped. In addition, although the exact time of the return of the ancestral tablet to the Confucian shrine is unknown, it is expected that the time can be estimated by inquiring the reason for the removal from the Confucian shrine.

II. Remembrance and keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine for Choi Chi-Won in the early days of the Goryeo

1. The Founding of the Goryeo and Remembrance of Choi Chi-Won

The first document in which the Goryeo's recognition on Choi Chi-Won is confirmed is "SamGukSaGi (三國史記)". Kim Bu-Sik used many of Choi Chi-Won's articles in writing "SamGukSaGi (三國史記)" to establish a Confucian view of history. In the part of Choi Chi-Won's biography, he records that Remembrance was made during King Hyeonjong's days because Choi Chi-Won secretly praised and assisted in the founding of the Goryeo.

a) 初我太祖作興 致遠知非常人 必受命開國 因致書問 有雞林黃葉 鶴嶺青松之句 其門人等 至國初來朝 仕至達官者非一 顯宗在位 爲致遠密贊祖業 功不可忘 下教贈內史令 至十四歲 大平二年壬戌五月 贈諡文昌侯 ("SamGukSaGi (三國史記)" Vol. 46)

In this way, the view that Choi Chi-Won did Milchanjoup (密贊祖業, secretly praised and assisted in the founding of the Goryeo) for the founding of the Goryeo had been continued not

only in the late the Goryeo period but also in Joseon (“Bohanjip (補閑集)” 1st Vol. 4th rule; “Sinjeung-Donggukyeoji-Seungram (新增東國輿地勝覽)” Vol. 21; “Sinjeung-Donggukyeoji-Seungram (新增東國輿地勝覽)” Vol. 30). There is a possibility that ‘Dabgyunhwonseo’ written by Choi Chi-Won seen in “SamGukSaGi (三國史記)” had an influence on this.

b) 二年 正月太祖答曰 伏奉吳越國通使班尚書所傳詔旨書一道 兼蒙足下辱示長書敘事者 ... 若不過而能改 其如悔不可追[書乃崔致遠作也] (“SamGukYuSa (三國遺事)” Vol. 2)

According to this, until 927, Choi Chi-Won was involved in the unification work of the Goryeo with the King Taejo, so we can understand his writing of “Dabgyunhwonseo” in the same context as “Milchanjoup”. However, questions have been raised about Choi Chi-Won’s pro-Goryeo behavior since the Joseon Dynasty. For example, Jeong Geuk-Hu (1577–1658) recognized that Choi Chi-Won’s Milchanjoup in “Seo-Ak-Ji (西岳志)” was derived from the insufficient historical biography (Kim Chang-Gyeom 2001, 205). Not only that, Choi Chi-Won’s behavior in his later years does not coincide with the time when King Taejo was active (Kim Bok-Soon 2008, 74), but it is also found in the social reform proposal stipulated in the ‘10 Articles of Simu (時務10條)’ and the aspects of the Origin of Reconstruction and Well-being of Silla found in ‘Four Mountains Epigraph (四山碑銘).’ The theory of Milchanjoup can be considered that the name of Choi Chi-Won was pretended in the predictions at the time (Lee Byeong-Do 1980, 26-37; Han Seok-Su 1989, 26).

However, it is necessary to look at when such a pretense took place. a) According to historical records, it can be seen that Milchanjoup’s theory emerged as a background of Remembrance of Choi Chi-Won during King Hyeonjong’s days. However, in the underlined part, it is confirmed that the results of Choi Chi-Won’s Milchanjoup influenced the advancement of the literary men before the Remembrance of Choi Chi-Won during King Hyeonjong’s days.

After the founding of the Goryeo, the King Taejo sought a Confucian political ideology for the reunification of the latter three countries and internal organization of the Goryeo. In his 14 records during his reign, he insisted on the appointment of an official who was trained to purify the people and edify customs with Confucian virtues such as the proprieties and filial piety. This can be said to be a reflection of the Confucian political ideology, which is also found in Choi Chi-Won’s ideology.

c-1) 化俗所資 尊賢是務 (“DongMunSeon (東文選)” Vol. 64)

以聖君御宇 必先塞彼倖門 良士省躬 唯慮妨其賢路

(“GyeWonPilKyeonGip (桂苑筆耕集)” Vol. 2)

c-2) 太祖軍令嚴明 士卒不犯秋毫 故州縣案堵 老幼皆呼萬歲 於是 存問將士 量材任用 小民各安其所業 (“SamGukSaGi (三國史記)” Vol. 50)

The two historical records in c) are historical records that can examine Choi Chi-Won and Wang Geon’s thoughts on recruiting talent, respectively. In c-1), Choi Chi-Won insists on hiring sages and noble men to build a rational and powerful nation. This is also found in c-2). It can be seen that Wang Geon took over the office work according to the abilities rather than personally in the selection of talent. It is possible to find a relevance to the Choi Chi-Won

ideology by giving preference to the loyal vassal as the foremost of the monarchy and to oust the disloyal subject (Lee Jae-Woon 1999). In this way, Wang Geon seems to have recognized that Choi Chi-Won's ideology and willingness to reform can present the direction of the Goryeo society. If so, did Wang Geon have a direct relationship with Choi Chi-Won?

The opinions claiming the true possibility of the Milchanjoup's theory noted that Wang Geon was closely related to Hee Rang of Haeinsa Temple. In the "Gayasan Haeinsa Temple's literature (伽耶山海印寺古籍)" written in 943, it is said that Hee Rang helped Wang Geon, who was fighting Prince Weolgwang in Baekje, when he was the head of Haeinsa Temple (Edited by Lee Ji-Gwan 1992, 562- 563). Therefore, it was assumed that he had a relationship with Choi Chi-Won for that reason.

Along with this, according to the part of Hamyang-gun of "Sinjeung-Donggukyeoji-Seungram (新增東國輿地勝覽)", Choi Chi-Won has known Hee Rang since the days of Ham Yang-Taesu. In this way, the relationship between Choi Chi-Won, Wang Geon, and Hee Rang is closely understood. (Nam Dong-Shin 2002, 320). However, it was not until at least the later years of King Taejo that Hee Rang and Wang Geon became involved. Therefore, it is difficult to say that Choi Chi-Won and Wang Geon have been closely related since before that (Jang Il-Gyu 2008, 132).

In this way, Choi Chi-Won's thoughts should be viewed as being provided by Gyeongju Choi Clan Confucian scholars such as Choi Eung and Choi Eon-Wi under Wang Geon (Byeon Tae-Seob 1983, 185-186; Jang Il-Gyu 1992, 45-46). However, it is possible that Wang Geon mingled with Hee Rang of Haeinsa Temple and that Choi Chi-Won, who stayed there, contributed to the founding of the Goryeo by attempting to seize the initiative in the Hapcheon area, a strategic point of the post-Baekje war. In this respect, 'Dabgyunhwonseo' was also written by Choi Eung (Jeon Gi-Woong 1990, 19) or Choi Eon-Wi (Jang Il-Gyu 1992, 36-27) but it was pretended as written by Choi Chi-Won.

In the end, in the meantime, Choi Chi-Won's Milchanjoup theory is understood to have been formed by Silla figures who entered the bureaucracy at the beginning of the Goryeo. However, it is possible that this was created around the time before and after the founding of the Goryeo by the Goryeo royal family, including Wang Geon, to secure the justification of Choi Chi-Won's support for Goryeo.

In this regard, the fact that the "Jijeung Daisa's Monument (智證大師碑)" completed by Choi Chi-Won in 893 was erected at Bongamsa Temple in 924 has great implications (Kim Bok-Soon 2008, 84-88). According to a postscript written around the time of the construction, the figures involved in the construction are related to the Goryeo rather than Silla: namely, Ah Ja-Gae, the father of Gyeon Hwon, who submitted himself to the Goryeo, and Neungseon (能善), the owner of Bongamsa temple, one of the delegations sent from the Goryeo to Naju to meet Gyeon Hwon's party when Gyeon Hwon obeyed, etc. In addition, the Bongamsa temple area was a place where Post Baekje and the Goryeo fought a close battle over the advance to Silla, as was the case with Haeinsa Temple. Therefore, Geungyang, a disciple who has been taught by his master of Doheon, was invited here after returning to Silla (Lee In-Jae 2005, 172-176) for the purpose of increasing control over the place. It was also intended to secure the legitimacy of the Goryeo through diplomatic relations with the Later Tang Dynasty through Geungyang. There was also an intention to attract Choi Chi-Won to the Goryeo side.

As such, the contents of Choi Chi-Won's theory of Milchanjoup and the writing of

“Dabgyunhwonseo” were created and pretended as part of the Remembrance of Choi Chi-Won during the founding of the Goryeo. Through this, Wang Geon secured the succession of political ideologies and thoughts, and winning of the Silla people to the Goryeo’s side centered on Choi Chi-Won, and the King Gwangjong and the King Sungjong paved the way for participation in the centralization of the royal family.

2. Background of keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine during King Hyeonjong

In the days of King Gwangjong and King Gyeongjong, the conflict between the existing nobles and the new bureaucracy was resolved. In the days of King Sungjong, Choi Ji-Mong, Choi Seung-Ro, etc. emerged as a new class of people. They advocated Confucian royal politics, which became more real in the days of King Hyeonjong. In this process, Choi Chi-Won raised his rank with ‘Nae-Sa-Reong (內史令)’, and received official rank with ‘Munchang-Hu (文昌侯)’. At the same time, he was enshrined at the Confucian Shrine along with Seol Chong.

- d-1) 丁亥 追贈新羅執事省侍郎崔致遠內史令 從祀先聖廟庭 (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 4)
丙午 追封崔致遠爲文昌侯 (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 5)
- d-2) 甲午 贈新羅翰林薛聰弘儒侯從祀先聖廟庭 (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 4)
- d-3) 文昌侯崔致遠 弘儒侯薛聰 竝南壁 (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 62)

The fact of keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian Shrine means that it represents the Confucian world at the time. As mentioned above, Choi Chi-Won has been recognized as the first place for Confucian scholars since the beginning of the country, so it is presumed that there was no disagreement with keeping his ancestral tablet in the Confucian Shrine. Prior to Seol Chong, Choi Chi-Won’s posthumous conferment of honors and keeping his ancestral tablet in the Confucian Shrine also tell us that the activities of Gyeongju Choi Clan Confucian scholars served as the background (Jang Il-Gyu 2003, 330-336). However, despite the fact that Gang Su is mentioned as an outstanding Confucian scholar before Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong in “SamGukSaGi (三國史記)”, how can we explain the fact that keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine for Gang Su was not achieved?³

It can be seen from the following that Gang Su was more prominent as a Confucian scholar than Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong.

- e) 父欲觀其志問曰 爾學佛乎 學儒乎 對曰 愚聞之 佛世外教也 愚人間人 安用學佛爲 願學儒者之道 ... 遂就師讀孝經曲禮爾雅文選 所問雖淺近 而所得愈高遠 魁然爲一時之傑 (“SamGukSaGi (三國史記)” Vol. 46)

Gang Su was removed from the Confucian Shrine because he had a pro-Goryeo disposition (Kim Choong-Ryeol 1992, 204-206), but, as we saw earlier, a different background can be considered in that it was manipulated by the royal family of the Goryeo. Therefore, the King

³ During the Joseon Dynasty, Joo Se-Bung also criticized the fact that Gang Su was not enshrined in the Confucian Shrine even though Gang-Su was most praised as a fine writer (“Mureungjapgo-Wongip (武陵雜稿原集)” Vol. 5).
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Hyeonjong's ideological tendency is noted.

During King Hyeonjong, Choi Hang, one of the Confucian scholars from Silla, was offered to the 'Geomgyotaebusu Munhasirang Dongnaesamunhapyeongjangsa (檢校太傅守門下侍郎同內史門下平章事)'. As the grandson of Choi Eon-Wi, he rose to the top position at the same time as Choi Chi-Won's posthumous conferment of honors and keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine. However, he kept in mind Buddhism and indigenous beliefs while advising King Hyeonjong on policy. He requested the reprogress of Palgwanhoe (八關會) and the repair of Hwangryongsa Tower, and he lived like a monk and built his house into a temple ("GoryeoSa (高麗史)" Vol. 93). This shows that he revered Buddhism for social stability while having Confucian thinking (Jang Il-Gyu 2003, 333-335). King Hyeonjong respected his ideological tendencies.

The ideological trend of King Hyeonjong can also be seen through the inscriptions of Hyeonhwasa Temple and Honggyeongsa Temple, built in the 12th year of his reign. The former is in the eumgi (陰記) written by Chae Choong-Soon in the 13th year of his reign (1022), and the latter was written by Choi Choong in the 17th (1026) of King Hyeonjong, by order of the king. Both materials explain the reason for the temple's founding and the meaning of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism.

f-1) 臣聞 聖人之至鑑也 志勤修 則政教是興 佛法在心 虔敬則福緣克就所謂
雖各名三教而共在一源 真理內融化門外顯者也 所以於儒 則無先其仁孝 故先王云
孝者德之本歟 教之所由生也 是以先王之以孝理天下也 其教不肅而成 其政不嚴而理
天下和平 災害不生矣 於佛則亦說父母恩重經 具如卷中之旨也 更不勞剖宣
可謂儒釋二門皆宗於孝 ("Hyengwasa epitaph (玄化寺碑)")

f-2) 臣謹按內典云 招提者 謂招引提攜十方英俊 弘闡佛法居止之所焉 又莊子說
蘧廬而視仁義 晉書論 逆旅以濟公私 ("BongseonHonggyeongsaSajeokgalbi
(奉先弘慶寺事跡碣碑)")

f-1) According to historical records, bureaucrats at the time considered that both Confucianism and Buddhism played an important role in realizing royal politics (Kim Yong-Gon 1986, 542-543). f-2) Naejeon (內典), Chuang-tzu (莊子), and Jinseo (晉書) shown in historical records are scriptures of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. The reason Choi Choong picked up the verses from each is to say that the construction of Honggyeongsa Temple can be understood as an aspect of realizing the king's politics based on humanity and justice from the standpoint of a Confucian. His view indicates that there was an exchange between Buddhism and the Confucian bureaucracy over the construction of the temple at that time. It can be said that the Confucian scholars of the Goryeo before the acceptance of Neo-Confucianism promoted the coexistence of the three by comparing books related to Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism like Choi Choong's example. King Hyeonjong also reviewed the construction of a temple and promoted the royal family business under the logic of the coexistence of three teachings (Lee In-Jae 2006, 114-117).

After all, it can be said that the coexistence of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism was emphasized during the Hyeonjong. In light of this, Gang Su's Confucianism seems to have judged Buddhism as a religion outside the human world, which could lead to exclusive results. Accordingly, Choi Chi-Won, who was interested in the three religions, especially the fusion of

Confucianism and Buddhism, and understood Buddhism and Taoism from a Confucian standpoint, was enshrined at the Confucian Shrine as the first position (Lee Gi-Baek 1970; Kim Bok-Soon 1980; Jang Il-Gyu 2002, etc.) and Seol Chong was enshrined together at the Confucian Shrine in the sense that he inherited the indigenous culture of Silla centered on Confucianism.⁴

On the other hand, as another background of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong's keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine, the external status change of the Goryeo can be considered. After the King Hyeonjong ascended to the throne, the King Sungjong himself of the Liao Dynasty attacked the Goryeo with a large force of 400,000 under the pretext of Gang Jo's sin. Afterwards, they attacked again, in order to block commuting between the Goryeo and the Song Dynasty. However, after being defeated by Gang Gam-Chan in the 9th year of the King Hyeonjong, the Kitan (契丹) sent envoys to the Goryeo twice in May and August in the 10th year of the King Hyeonjong (1019), and the Goryeo also returned its visit to the Kitan. This shows that around the 10th year of the King Hyeonjong (1019), the Goryeo had a kind of confidence in the Kitan (契丹). In fact, it is sometimes pointed out that the Goryeo's attempts to show off his strength to the Kitan in external relations with the Kitan often appeared at this time (Kim Yong-Gon 1986, 529).

Along with this, Choi Chi-Won's work was described in "Soongmunchongmok (崇文總目)" written in the Song Dynasty (宋) from 1034 to 1041. This was an opportunity for Choi Chi-Won's writings to be introduced in Ye-Mun-Ji (藝文志) of "Shin-Dang-Seo (新唐書)". "Soongmunchongmok" is a list of books held in the court. Since most of the books listed here have been in the court from the Emperor Tàizōng of Song's Taiping Heaven Year (976-983), it can be said that Choi Chi-Won's writings were already introduced to China and was the object of collection by scholars (Lee Hyeon-Suk 2004, 193-194). Choi Chi-Won was highly regarded in "SamGukSaGi (三國史記)", and in 'Pacheonhwangjidaegong (破天荒之大功)', Lee Gyu-Bo referred to Choi Chi-won as the royal ancestor (祖宗) of the Goryeo scholars. In that 'Shin-Dang-Seo's contribution to Ye-Mun-Ji is large, it can be found that why Choi Chi-Won, who was recognized even in the Song Dynasty (宋), was presented as the representative of the Goryeo Confucian History.

In the Goryeo, which has been influenced by China's Confucian Shrine system since the Confucius Shrine was installed in Silla, Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong were enshrined at the Confucian Shrine as a characteristic aspect of the Goryeo during the King Hyeonjong era, which was the subject of considering not only the internal background of strengthening the political authority of Silla officials, but also external factors such as changes in relations with the Kitan and Song Dynasty.

III. Removal from and return to the Confucian Shrine of Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet in the late Goryeo dynasty

⁴ In "Jewang Ungi (帝王韻紀)", it was emphasized that Seol Chong created Idu (吏讀) to recognize proverbs and dialects as characters. At the same time, before it was decided to enshrine Choi Chi-Won at the Confucian shrine, when the King Hyeonjong decided to provide the 1240 gyeol (結) of Dunjeon (屯田) at Hyeonhwasa Temple, many of his subjects objected to it as an expression of antipathy towards policies that were biased toward Confucianism or Buddhism ("GoryeoSa (高麗史)" Vol. 4).

1. Meaning of removal from the Confucian Shrine in the days of the King Chungjeong

Compared to the Joseon era, it is believed that the recognition on Choi Chi-Won did not change in a positive way during the period of the Goryeo. This is also due to the briefing of the record and is because any discussion about yes or no related to keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine or an aspect of expressing discontent cannot be found. However, since there is a case where the ancestral tablets of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong were removed from the Confucian Shrine during the days of the King Chungjeong, it is noteworthy in terms of a change in the recognition on Choi Chi-Won.

g) 忠定王三年八月丁丑 釋奠 唐人林巨不知禮 以祝板爲誤 別取板 使成均官書之不押于王而行之 薛聰崔致遠 削去不享 (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 62)

So far, since this record was not considered official as it had not been approved by the king, this was not noticed as the case where the ancestral tablets of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong were removed from the Confucian Shrine. There is a record that Choi Chi-Won, Seol Chong, and Ahn Hyang were enshrined at the Confucian shrine shortly after the founding of Joseon (“TaejongSillok (太宗實錄)” Vol. 17). Therefore, it appears that the removal from the Confucian Shrine was either temporary or due to an error. However, the fact that these events were made by ‘Tang people (唐人)’, that is, people from the Yuan Dynasty at the time, should be noted in relation to the situation in which the Goryeo met the Yuan Dynasty’s meddling period.⁵ Therefore, looking at the historical records related to the Confucian shrine before and after the King Chungjeong period, it is as follows.

h-1) 五月 甲辰 耶律希逸還 希逸喻國王理民之術 責宰輔憂國之事 嘗以國學殿宇隘陋 甚失泮宮制度言於王 遂新文廟以振儒風 (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 32)

h-2) 戊寅 國學學正金文鼎 以宣聖 十哲像及文廟祭器 還自元 (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 32)

h-3) 六月 乙酉 國學大成殿成 (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 32)

A series of h) historical record shows that in 1301, after being pointed out by an envoy of the Yuan Dynasty to renovate the Confucian shrine, Goryeo dispatched ‘Gukhak Hakjeong’ Kim Mun-Jeong to the Yuan Dynasty. Through this, Goryeo had the statues of Confucius and 70 disciples of Confucius painted, and also obtained vessels for ancestral rites and musical instruments. After that, Daesung-Jeon (大成殿) was newly completed in 1304. Among them, Kim Mun-Jeong was dispatched to Yuan Dynasty by Ahn Hyang (“GoryeoSaJeolyo (高麗史節要) Vol. 22). His ancestral tablet was later enshrined at the Confucian shrine in the 6th year of the King Chungseok (1319).

In the early days of the Goryeo, the Confucian shrine system referenced that of the Song

⁵ In fact, it is possible that King Chungjeong ordered the removal of ancestral tablets of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong from the Confucian Shrine. This can be seen as an attempt as part of the pro-Yuan policy in that his accession was made by pro-Yuan forces.

Dynasty and followed that of the Song Dynasty relatively faithfully, except for keeping the ancestral tablets of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong in Confucian Shrine. On the other hand, in the later period of the Goryeo, as shown in the above h-2) historical record, although the Yuan Dynasty system was transmitted to the Goryeo, it seems that this was not reflected. There is a record in the article in the 11th year of the Taejong (1411) of the Joseon Dynasty: “In relation to the rituals at Jongmyo Shrine, political realm, mountains and steams, nature, and the Confucian shrine, etc., we are not aware of the rituals of an uncivilized country established by China and still have the following the old ancestral rites, so we are very uncomfortable.” Through this, we can see that it led to Joseon without reflecting changes such as revisions in the Yuan Dynasty.

In this way, the system of the Yuan Dynasty after the King Chungnyeol was not reflected in the Confucian shrine of the Goryeo and the Goryeo independently enshrined the ancestral tablets of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong at the Confucian shrine. Thus it is regarded that dissatisfaction with these points made the ancestral tablets of the two figures removed from the Confucian shrine by the Yuan Dynasty. In particular, in the latter part of the Goryeo, Choi Chi-Won was recognized as a figure showing national pride, and such evaluation is found in the writings of Lee Gyu-Bo (1168~1241) and Lee Seung-Hyu (1224~1300).

- i-1) 然於文藝列傳 不爲致遠特立列傳 ... 豫以私意揣之 古之人 於文章不得相嫌忌
 況致遠以外國孤生 立中朝躑躅時之名輩 是近於中國之嫌者也 若立傳直其筆
 恐涉其嫌故略之歟 (“DongkukIsangkukgip (東國李相國集)” Vol. 22)
 i-2) 文章何人動中華 清河致遠方延譽 (“Jewang Ungi (帝王韻紀)”)

As much as he wrote ‘Chapter of the King Dongmyeong (東明王篇)’ as a protest against the Mongol invasion, as recognizing that Choi Chi-Won’s track was equal to that of China in the sense of national pride, Lee Gyu-Bo criticized ‘Shin-Dang-Seo’ for not having a biography part about Choi Chi-Won as seen in i-1) historical records. i-2) historical record was also the record of “Jewang Ungi (帝王韻紀)” which showed national independence, emphasizing that the sentence of Choi Chi-Won was on a par with that of China.

In this way, regarding the fact that in “Jewang-Yeondae-Lyeog (帝王年代曆)”, the original title of Silla was abandoned and everyone was called ‘king’, Choi Chi-Won evaluates as follows, in “SamGukSaGi (三國史記)”: “I don't know if that word (the original title of Silla) is so vulgar and tacky so much that it cannot be said ... It is also appropriate to preserve the dialect when recording the facts of Silla now.” It can be seen that Choi Chi-Won’s thought was recognized as a tribute to China during the writing stage of “SamGukSaGi (三國史記)”. However, in the later period of the Goryeo, it was emphasized that his ideas were combined with the reality and recognized in the national consciousness, making the cultures of China and Silla equal.

In fact, it can be seen that Choi Chi-Won tried to show that Silla was a monarchy on a par with China by sticking to the title of King in ‘Jewang-Yeondae-Lyeog’, which had a form of chronology. Choi Chi-Won tried to generalize the history of Silla from the perspective of world history. It should be seen that his walk of life appeared in a form that was highly appreciated in terms of nationality and independence as the Goryeo suffered a struggle with Mongolia and raised national consciousness. From the Yuan dynasty’s point of view, keeping Choi Chi-Won’s ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine might raise a problem in that it could inspire the national consciousness of the Goryeo, and accordingly Choi Chi-Won’s ancestral tablet was

removed from the Confucian Shrine.

2. Anti-Yuan policy and Return of Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet to the Confucian shrine

Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong's ancestral tablet, removed from the Confucian Shrine during the King Chungjeong era, returned to the Confucian Shrine before the 9th year of the Taejong (1409) in the Joseon Dynasty. Although we do not know the timing and process of return of such ancestral tablets to the Confucian Shrine, it records the reasons for keeping ancestral tablets in the Confucian shrine and relevant historical records are as follows:

j) 故我東方文臣之有功於聖教 有補於治道者 使之配享文廟 以示褒崇之典 文昌侯崔致遠與薛聰安珦是已 自是以後 以至我朝 其文臣之有道德功業者 豈無過於安薛諸公者乎 然無一配享者 一欠也 (“TaejongSillok (太宗實錄)” Vol. 17)

According to this, it can be seen that the targets of keeping ancestral tablets in the Confucian shrine are there is a meritorious deed in Confucianism and contribute to the country. Choi Chi-Won, Seol Chong, and Ahn Hyang were evaluated as those who met both of these conditions. It can be seen that the latter may have been the reason for their removal from the Confucian Shrine by the Yuan Dynasty during the King Chungjeong period. In this way, despite the issue of Yuan Dynasty between 1351 when removal from the Confucian Shrine and 1409 when return to the Confucian Shrine was confirmed, the time when Choi Chi-Won and others could be kept ancestral tablets in the Confucian shrine can be estimated in relation to the Anti-Yuan policy of the King Gongmin days.

During the time of the King Gongmin, the scale of the Confucian shrine and the Confucian shrine ceremonies were reduced, as can be seen from the record of attending the National Rite to Confucius in the 12th year of the King Gongmin (1363). In other words, no one under a doctorate participated, and only one each of ‘Doctor Myeonggyeong (明經博士)’ and ‘Hak Yu (學諭)’ participated (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 40). In the 18th year of the King Gongmin (1369), Lee Saek, who was ordered to review the Confucian shrine ceremonies, took the lead in maintaining the Confucian Shrine Ritual Music (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 41). At that time, after the King Gongmin evacuated, the ceremonial system declined and as the ritual of The Confucian shrine ceremonies was against the law, Lee Saek tried to correct the mistakes by ascertaining them through historical research, and to restore the ritual to its former size by appointing scholars as jipsa and educating them to learn the etiquette (Lee Ha-Na 2017, 206-207). In the midst of these changes, Daesung-Jeon (大成殿) was repaired in the 16th year of the King Gongmin (1367) (“GoryeoSa (高麗史)” Vol. 41). It is thought that Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet was returned to the Confucian Shrine and two years after the return, Confucian Shrine ceremonial music was reorganized. These series of processes have the same way of so-called Anti-Yuan Reform. Under the plea of Gokyeon (曲宴, a small banquet at the royal court given by the king), the King Gongmin invited Ki Cheol (奇轍), Gwon Gyeom (權謙) and Noh Chaek (盧頊) in 1356 and had the soldiers kill them. At the same time, the King Gongmin abolished ‘Jeongdong Haengseong Imunso (征東行省 理問所)’, restored bureaucracy, and promulgated about reform proposal of 30 items. It can be considered that

the maintenance and restoration of the Confucian shrine and the Confucian Shrine Ritual Music mentioned above were also carried out as part of the Anti-Yuan policy.

However, it seems that the Anti-Yuan Reform actually started from the King Chungmok. 'Jeongchi-Dogam (整治都監)', established by the King Chungmok, prepared a reform plan for reform activities. At that time, the main agents of the evil that caused contradictions and confusion in The Goryeo society were the institutions and related institutions of the Yuan Dynasty and the powers of the pro-Yuan Dynasty. It is evaluated that this reform had a profound impact on the King Gongmin's Anti-Yuan Reform since then. In this regard, it is possible to raise the possibility that the removal of Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet from the Confucian shrine during the King Chungjeong era was the Yuan Dynasty's action against the Anti-Yuan Reform that began during the King Chungmok era, the previous king.

In this way, the background of the removal of Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet from the Confucian shrine and return to the Confucian Shrine in the later period of the Goryeo was the situation of the Goryeo society called the period of interference by the Yuan Dynasty and the implementation of the Anti-Yuan policy against such interference. This also led to a change in the recognition on Choi Chi-Won.

IV. CONCLUSION

So far, by studying the process and background of keeping of Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine, removal of ancestral tablet from, and return of ancestral tablet to the Confucian shrine, the aspects of the recognition on Choi Chi-Won in the Goryeo era have been examined. There are four main points in this paper that we have examined from a different perspective from the relevant research results. The first is that the theory of Milchanjoup and Dabgyunhwonseo by Choi Chi-Won were created by Wang Geon and the Goryeo royal family. Previously, there was also an opinion that the creation period was before and after the foundation of the Goryeo, but as for the subject, it was generally viewed as if it was done by Choi Chi-Won for the growth of their political authority by Silla officials including the Gyeongju Choi Clan forces. Or, it was made for the justification for keeping Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine during the days of King Hyeonjong, which also drew attention to Silla officials as a background.

Second, the confidence of winning the war with the Kitan is reflected in the background of keeping Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine during King Hyeonjong. That is, keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine was done in the same way as in China's Confucian shrine form before, but during King Hyeonjong's time, the Goryeo's own Confucian shrine form was created by keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine for the characters that fit the Goryeo situation, such as Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong. In particular, the reason Choi Chi-Won was the first to be honored and his ancestral tablet is kept in the Confucian shrine was attributed to the tendency of the Song Dynasty to pay attention to the sentence of Choi Chi-Won at that time. As such, it was considered that external factors also served as the background for keeping Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine.

However, this change in form faced the opposition of the Yuan Dynasty as it entered the period of interference by a period of interference from the Yuan Dynasty. At first, the removal of the ancestral tablets of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong from the Confucian Shrine, which took place during the King Chungjeong era, went unnoticed. However, at the latter of the

Goryeo, the Goryeo people, who had grown national consciousness through the war with Mongolia, instilled national self-esteem while worshipping Choi Chi-Won at the Confucian shrine. The Yuan Dynasty, displeased with this, removed the ancestral tablets of Choi Chi-Won and Seol Chong from the Confucian shrine despite the absence of the Goryeo King's official seal. It is the third point of view unique to this paper that focuses on the background of such removal from the Confucian Shrine.

Lastly, this paper estimated the timing of returning Choi Chi-Won's ancestral tablet to the Confucian Shrine. It was assumed that it was returned to the Confucian Shrine under the pretext of repairing Daesung-Jeon (大成殿) during the King Gongmin days. This was seen as part of the Anti-Yuan policy implemented in the days of the King Gongmin.

These points are extrapolated by circumstantial evidence. However, I would like to find the significance of this paper from the fact that it was intended to examine through the one end of keeping the ancestral tablet in the Confucian shrine that continued remembrance, recognition, and evaluation of Choi Chi-Won were carried out in the Goryeo period as well as in the Joseon period.

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