Confucianism Represented by Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋) in Geumhwasa Mongyurok (金華寺夢遊錄)*

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Abstract

The Geumhwasa Mongyurok is a Korean story that takes place in China and features a multitude of Chinese historical figures. In particular, it can be argued that the exploration of Zhu Yuanzhang emphasizes the unknown author’s Confucian ideological tendencies. Korea has long attached great importance to the teachings of Confucius; hence Korean classical novels typically reflect its core tenets such as the importance of filial piety. Rulers of the past emphasized the use of filial piety to maintain governance, so only those who are filial at home can meet the requirements put forth

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by monarchs for their most valued subjects. Zhu Yuanzhang stressed that wisdom and talent are not one’s most important traits. Instead he stresses loyalty, emphasizing that only the most loyal of ministers could become the best. Confucianism requires filiality to one’s parents at home and loyalty to one’s ruling monarch. In governing the country, pursuing Confucianism ideology and governing the world through the implementation of upstanding morality is described as "rule by virtue". Another core tenet of Confucianism is benevolence, or so-called "benevolent love". Zhu Yuanzhang's comments on Ying Zheng reflected Zhu's ideal of opposing hegemonism and his advocated for Confucianism. Zhu also evaluates Xiang Yu-highlighting his ten crimes that appear in the Records of the Grand Historian, a work that came to fruition at a time when society and culture attached great importance to the teachings of Confucius. His criticism of Xiang Yu fully reflects his position of advocating for the Confucian rule of virtue.

**Key Words:** Confucianism, Zhu Yuanzhang, Geumhwasa mongyurok, Filial Piety, Fidelity, Rule of Virtue

1. Introduction

Korean classical novels not only draw lessons from Chinese classical novels in a variety of aspects such as style, form and theme,1) but additionally, a considerable number of works of premodern Korean fiction directly set their stories with China as the background.2) Therefore, the protagonists in said works are naturally Chinese. While many of these Chinese figures are fictional characters, many real historical figures also make appearances. In this, one can state that the Chinese historical figures written by the authors of premodern Korean fiction intuitively reflect the basic cognition of the Korean literati in regards to Chinese history and culture.

The *Geumhwasa Mongyurok* (金華寺夢遊錄 Dream Record of Jinhua Temple) stands out as a highly representative example of such works. Written in roughly ten thousand Chinese characters, the author tells a story that features dozens of China’s emperors

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1) Many works that shaped the development of Chinese novels have been handed down, ultimately becoming the source, basis and inspiration for Korean novels and stimulating the development of premodern literary culture in Korea. A variety of existing scholarship highlights that as soon as a Chinese novel appeared during the Ming and Qing dynasties, it would also find its way to Korea where it would also be very well received. During King Gojong's reign, he translated a large number of Chinese novels into Korean. Among the works currently thought to be written by Koreans, there may be translations, so it is necessary to thoroughly check them (See: Jo Dong-il, History 3, Seoul: Jisik Sanup Publications, 2005, 116-121).  
2) Only when Chinese figures appeared in the background could the quality of the work be improved and the event setting be free (See: Jo Dong-il, History 3, Seoul: Jisik Sanup Publications, 2005, 117).
and ministers from differing time periods all together. This work has long been very well received by Korean readers even into the twentieth century. According to recent studies, there are as many as eighty literary Chinese versions of this work alone, in addition to a multitude of vernacular Korean versions.

Although the work appears through the medium of two different literary languages, the scholarly community of literary studies agree that the "literary Chinese text is the original and Korean text is the translation". Due to the richness and diversity of extant versions of the story, research on its versions has been active for many years. The versions are not only different in terms of content, but they also have many differing names. The most common are *Geumhwasagi* (金華寺記) and the *Geumhwasa Mongyurok* (金華寺夢遊錄). There is no final conclusion as to the identity of the author, nor the time in which the original story was first written.

Many Chinese historical figures are described in the *Dream Record of Jinhua Temple*. Among them, Liu Bang (劉邦, 256-195 BC), the Emperor Gaozu (高祖)
of the Han (漢, 256 BC-220) Dynasty, is the host of the banquet in the work, while Li Shimin (李世民, 598-649), the Emperor Taizong (太宗) of the Tang (唐, 618-907) Dynasty, Zhao Kuangyin (趙匡胤, 927-976), the Emperor Taizu (太祖) of the Song (宋, 960-1279) Dynasty and Zhu Yuanzhang (朱元璋, 1328-1398), the Emperor Taizu (太祖) of the Ming (明, 1368-1644) Dynasty, are the main guests that appear at the banquet. In particular, the author's description of Zhu Yuanzhang, the Emperor Taizu of the Ming Dynasty, emphasizes the Confucian ideological tendencies of Zhu Yuanzhang in many regards. This paper will analyze the Confucian ideological tendencies of Zhu Yuanzhang through a careful analysis of the content of his plot. Following existing research, the version housed at the Waseda University Library will be used as the primary source for this study.9)

2. The narrative content of Geumhwasa Mongyurok

The Dream Record of Jinhua Temple is a work that belongs to the mongyurok (dream record) narrative genre of premodern literature. In such works, through the use of embedded narrative techniques, the protagonist's dream sequences are employed by the author to build an enveloping narrative framework, which allows their own imagination to run free while also attracting readers with strange and unique plots.10)

9) The Waseda University Library’s copy of the Geumhwasa Mongyurok is a well-polished manuscript for publication that is not only very well preserved, but it also exists together with original edits, annotations and criticisms. And through the further elaboration of a specific scene in the story, the narrative of this version is written in a much smoother and more organic way. Furthermore, this copy shares far greater similarities with the other 14 editions of this story than the National Library of Korea’s copy. Examining the accuracy of the texts, it can be said that the Waseda University Library’s copy is a more accurate and trustworthy version than the National Library of Korea’s copy. The Waseda University Library’s version is by far the most representative, with the most accurate content of all the copies of the story that are still in existence to date. (See: Yang Pan, The Characteristics and Significance of the Chinese edition of ‘Geumhwasa Mongyurok’ at the Waseda University Library, The Society for Korean Language & Literary Research, 2017, 212-238.)

10) Mongyurok is one genre of Korean classical novels. Starting in the 15th century, the genre has been steadily expanded from the early Joseon Dynasty through to the period of patriotic enlightenment and thus reflect the turbulent social changes of the late Joseon Dynasty. In other words, it is a literary genre that has maintained its reputation throughout the many years of the Joseon Dynasty. Therefore, it can be evaluated as a literary genre with a deep historical significance that can be considered a truly representative genre of premodern literary history in Korea. (See : Yang Pan, A Study on the Classical Chinese Edition of the ‘Geummsansa Mongyurok’ Novel, Academy of Korean Studies, Ph.D. dissertation, 2019, 1.)
The author of this particular work made use of the hero, a scholar by the surname of Cheng, who had a dream at Jinshan Temple. There, he creates a fictional and illusory stage for a variety of emperors of different times, where a banquet is held with the emperor's ministers also participating together. At the banquet, the emperors and ministers recall China's history and they evaluate historical figures. The details are as follows.

At the end of the Yuan (元, 1271-1368) Dynasty, there was a scholar by the surname of Cheng (成, K. Seong) from Shandong (山東, K. Sandong). He was very well versed in matters pertaining to ancient history, but he did not want to be an official in the imperial court, so instead he traveled all over the country. In the ninth month of Jiaxu (甲戌, K. Gapsul, 1334) year, he came to Jinling (金陵, K. Geumneung). When visiting Jinshan (錦山, K. Geumsan) mountain, he stopped to sleep there at night because he had spent too much time enjoying himself. There was no place to sleep at the mountain but by chance, he came to a temple there called Jinhua Temple (金華寺, K. Geumhwasa) where he fell asleep and began to dream.

In his dream, the scholar heard the sound of carriages and horses, and then saw the emperors of the Han, Tang, Song and Ming Dynasties all enter the temple with their ministers. It turned out that Liu Bang, the emperor of the Han Dynasty, was the one who invited the emperors to the banquet. Liu Bang announced the commencement of the banquet. Some people sang while others danced. Everyone was very happy. Liu Bang recalled the process of founding the Han Dynasty. Emperors of the Tang, Song and Ming Dynasties asked Liu Bang about his experience in governing the country. Liu Bang believed that he built the country with the help of ministers, so he praised his ministers one by one. So, the emperors of the Tang, Song and Ming Dynasties all praised their own ministers like the emperor of the Han Dynasty.

Li Shimin proposed to invite the most meritorious monarchs of all dynasties to the banquet, and others agreed. Zhang Liang (張良, ?-186 BC), a minister of the Han Dynasty, said that ministers of different dynasties should not all sit together

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11) In ancient Korea, the Chinese lunar calendar was also adopted, so the so-called Jiaxu year is not completely equivalent to 1334 in the Gregorian calendar. Similarly, the Jiuyue (九月, K. Guwol) in the original text is not the September in the Gregorian calendar, but the ninth month of Jiaxu year.
without any particular order. He suggested that everyone be divided into five groups: prime ministers, generals, loyal ministers, smart ministers and brave ministers. Wei Zheng (魏徵, 580-643), a minister of the Tang Dynasty, suggested that the emperors recommend ministers to be in charge of grouping together other ministers. So Zhu Yuanzhang recommended Zhuge Liang (諸葛亮, 181-234) for the role and everyone mostly agreed. But Zhao Pu (趙普, 922-992), the Minister of the Song Dynasty objected. This was due to the fact that Zhuge Liang failed to help Liu Bei (劉備, 161-223) unify the three Kingdoms. Zhao Kuangyin recounted Zhuge Liang's contributions and criticized Zhao Pu. Zhuge Liang thought he had no ability to decide the grouping of ministers, but Liu Bang insisted that Zhuge Liang decide.

Ying Zheng (嬴政, 247-221 BC), the First Emperor of the Qin (秦, 221-207 BC) Dynasty and Xiang Yu (項羽, 232-202 BC) were not invited, but they heard the news of the banquet, so they also came but this made everyone panic. Zhuge Liang didn't allow Ying Zheng and Xiang Yu to sit in the master's seat and let Ying Zheng go to the east mansion. Then he asked Xiang Yu to go to the west mansion. Many other kings and ministers also wanted to attend the banquet, but Zhuge Liang only allowed the best monarchs and ministers to attend and rejected the others. Next, Zhuge Liang divided the ministers into five groups and determined the order for the ministers.

After confirming everyone's seats, Li Shimin suggested that Ying Zheng and Xiang Yu also come to the banquet and everyone agreed. Liu Bang, Xiang Yu and Ying Zheng talked about the history of their respective countries one by one. Liu Bang suggested that they all talk about the most positive aspects of their respective dynasties. Ying Zheng first talked about his three positive things. Next, Liu Bang also spoke about what he felt was something positive—the story of his filial piety towards his father. Then Zhu Yuanzhang began to cry. Liu Bang asked Zhu why he was crying. Zhu said that his father died early, so he could not be filial to his father like Liu Bang. Next, Li Shimin, Zhao Kuangyin and Cao Cao (曹操, 155-220) also talked about the positive aspects of their respective dynasties.

Liu Bang suggested that Zhu Yuanzhang evaluate the merits and faults of the emperors who were attending the banquet. So Zhu evaluated each emperor one by one. When he evaluated the emperors, he did not evaluate Xiang Yu, because Xiang
Yu was not an emperor. Xiang Yu thought he was great, but Zhu Yuanzhang did not evaluate him so he was very unhappy. Instead Zhu spoke about Xiang Yu’s ten crimes. Zhu asked Liu Bang which city should be the capital of the Ming Dynasty. Liu Bang recommended Jinling. Then, Liu Bang asked the ministers to sing and tell of their lives through song lyrics. Liu Che (劉徹, 156-87 BC), Emperor Wu (武) of the Han Dynasty, suggested that Dongfang Shuo (東方朔, 161-93 BC) should arrange official positions for ministers of different dynasties. Thus, Dongfang Shuo arranged appropriate official positions for the ministers. Liu Bang said he hoped to write a poem to record the banquet. So Zhao Kuangyin recommended Han Yu (韓愈, 768-824) of the Tang Dynasty and he wrote a poem for the banquet.

Suddenly, Genghis Khan (1162-1227) led the leaders of ethnic minorities to the outside of the temple to attack the Chinese emperors. Ying Zheng and Liu Che led the army and defeated Genghis Khan and other minority leaders. After the victory of the war, it was almost dawn. The Chinese emperors said goodbye to each other and told Zhu Yuanzhang not to forget the banquet. At this moment, the scholar heard the bell of the temple and he was awoken from his dream and made a record of this tale.

3. The Confucianism of Zhu Yuanzhang

In the Dream Record of Jinhua Temple, it can be argued that the plot reflects the author’s admiration for Confucianism. Scholars such as Cha Yong-ju (車溶柱) believe that the work is based on Confucianism and mainly expresses ‘rule of virtue’ and ‘Sinicism’. Furthermore, the likes of Kwon U-haeng (權友荇) also see the narrative as emphasizing the Confucian ‘five Lun (五倫)’ thought and ‘rule of virtue’. In the following, this paper will mainly focus on plot of Zhu Yuanzhang,
investigating the way in which Confucianism is expressed by Zhu Yuanzhang.

1) Filial Piety

During the banquet, Liu Bang suggested that everyone talk about their own accomplishments and the happiness they feel regarding their own reign. Ying Zheng first talked about three things that made him proud and happy about his time as ruler. The first being his unification of China. The second, Ying Zheng saw an immortal named Anqi Sheng (安期生), and the third aspect he considered positive about his reign was the construction of the Great Wall to stop the invasion of the Huns from the north. Next, Liu Bang said two things. The first was that he established the Han Dynasty together with his ministers. The second thing he mentioned was the celebration of his father's birthday. When Zhu Yuanzhang heard what Liu Bang said, he shed tears sadly:

The Emperor Taizu of Ming shed tears sadly. The Emperor Gaozu of Han asked, “Why do men cry like women?” The Emperor Taizu of Ming wiped his tears and said, “I lost my parents when I was young. Although I established a country and became an emperor, I can't celebrate my father's birthday. People don't have feelings like wood or stone, so I feel very sad.” The Emperor Gaozu of Han said, “The tears left when you think of your father are the greatest filial piety.”

Before Liu Bang finished what he wanted to say, he saw Zhu Yuanzhang crying. Liu Bang believed that it is only women who cry so easily, while men should remain stoic. So he asked Zhu why he shed tears. Zhu was born into a poor peasant family. When he was still very young, his parents died of the plague. So Zhu replied that he was an orphan since childhood. Both Ying Zheng and Liu Bang believed that it was their pleasure to establish a country and become an emperor. But this happiness was experienced by every emperor. As the emperor of the Ming Dynasty, Zhu Yuanzhang also experienced the happiness of becoming an emperor. Therefore, Zhu did not envy Ying Zheng and Liu Bang.
But the second thing that Liu Bang said, that is, celebrating his father's birthday, was impossible for Zhu Yuanzhang. Because when his father was alive, his family was very poor, to the extent that it was even difficult to eat. After Zhu Yuanzhang became emperor, his father had died, so although Zhu had the wealth of the emperor, he could never celebrate his own father's birthday. This is one of the regrets of Zhu Yuanzhang's life. So he shed tears at the banquet. After listening to Zhu’s words, Liu Bang thought that as an emperor, Zhu Yuanzhang always missed his dead parents and, as this was a very filial act, he praised Zhu.

As can be ascertained by this plot line, the author of this story attaches great importance to filial piety between father and son. Korea has long attached great importance to Confucian teaching. Therefore, their classical novels usually reflect elements of Confucianism such as filial piety. As mentioned in previous scholarship on the Dream Record of Jinhua Temple, Confucianism as an element of the narrative manifests itself in a variety of ways, one of which is the thought of filial piety. When Liu Bang talked about the fun of being an emperor, the second thing that he considered a positive time of his reign was his celebration of his father's birthday. Thus, this aspect of the narrative demonstrates the way in which Liu Bang was also very filial. Liu Bang's filial piety is filial piety to his living father. But according to Confucianism, one should be filial to one’s parents not only when they are alive, but even after they have passed away.

Confucian teachings put forth the idea that a filial son should commit to three things: the first is to take care of your parents when they are alive, the second is to hold a funeral and mourn for his parents upon their deaths and finally, the third is to perform ancestral rites for his parents for a certain time after their funeral. Rulers of the past emphasized filial piety as a means of governance of their domain;

14) As early as the 4th century A.D., schools were established on the Korean Peninsula to systematically educate Confucian scholars. Many of China's Confucian scriptures were introduced to the Korean Peninsula by this time. At this time, Confucianism's acceptance focused on literature and higher education. (Han, Young-woo, (trans. ed.), New History of Korea 新編韓國通史, 2021, 129-130). By the time of Joseon, however, Confucianism was considered the most important ideology for governing the country, and Neo-Confucianism was developed with the characteristics of Joseon. (Han Young-woo, New History of Korea 新編韓國通史, Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation, 2021, 299).

whether an individual is filial to his parents at home is directly related to whether he is loyal to the monarch in the country. Therefore, only those who are filial at home can meet the requirements of ancient monarchs for their subjects.

Zhu Yuanzhang's parents died when Zhu Yuanzhang was a child. But Zhu Yuanzhang did not forget his parents. After he unified China through war, he still lamented his parents’ passing. So when Liu Bang said he could celebrate his father's birthday, Zhu Yuanzhang was very envious and felt sad because he too missed his parents greatly. Zhu Yuanzhang's filial piety is filial piety to his dead parents. Therefore, it can be explained that Zhu Yuanzhang paid more attention to filial piety. Finally, the author uses Liu Bang as an important figure in the narrative to praise the filial piety of Zhu Yuanzhang once again. Through this brief plot, the author expresses the importance of filial piety to Confucian thought highlighted through this pivotal dialogue between the two emperors.

2) Fidelity

Because emperors and ministers of different dynasties attended the banquet together, Zhang Liang, Minister of the Han Dynasty, thought it was a very chaotic event. Therefore, Zhang Liang suggested that ministers be divided into five groups: Ministers who can be prime minister, ministers who can be general, loyal ministers, smart ministers, and brave ministers. But who was the one most qualified to put all the ministers into groups? At this time, Zhu Yuanzhang recommended Zhuge Liang. Zhu Yuanzhang commented on Zhuge Liang, saying that:

“No matter who has wisdom or talent, which dynasty does not have a person like that? A person must be as noble as the Chao Fu (巢父, -?), as smart as Yi Yin (伊尹, 1649-1550 BC), as honest as Boyi (伯夷, -?), as loyal as Long Pang (龍逄, 1713-1620 BC), as helpful to the monarch as Duke Zhou (周公, -?), and as ministerial as Jiang Ziya (姜子牙, -1015 BC). I heard that Zhuge Liang of the state of Shu Han (蜀漢, 221-263) has the talent to establish a country, and he also has the ability to govern the country. No one can group ministers except him.”

The emperors said, “you’re right.”

Zhu Yuanzhang mentioned many famous people in history when evaluating Zhuge Liang. Chao Fu is a legendary hermit. Because he built a bird's nest and lived in it, people call him "Chao Fu (nest father)" and it was Emperor Yao (堯, ?-?) who wanted him to be the next emperor, but he was very noble, so he rejected this proposal by Emperor Yao. Yi Yin was a famous minister in the Shang (商, 1600-1046 BC) Dynasty and served five generations of monarchs. Although he was very smart, he never thought of being an emperor himself, but he was a wholeheartedly kind minister.

Boyi heard that Ji Chang (姬昌, 1152-1056 BC), King Wen (文) of Zhou (周, 1046-256 BC) respected the elderly, so he wanted to live in Ji Chang's state. But before he saw him, Ji Chang died. Ji Fa (姬發, ?-1043 BC), King Wu (武), the son of King Wen of Zhou, became the new king. Then Ji Fa defeated the defending army of King Zhou (紂) of Shang (商) at Muye (牧野) and ended the Shang dynasty. However when Boyi met Ji Fa, he said to him, “Your father has just died. You do not mourn at home, but instead you start a war. This is not filial to your father. As a subject of the Shang Dynasty, you want to kill the monarch. This is disloyal.”

Long Pang was a famous minister in the Xia (夏, 2070-1600 BC) Dynasty. He bravely made suggestions to the monarch for the prosperity of the country. Later, he angered the emperor for this same reason and due to this, he was executed. He was usually regarded as a representative example of loyalty. When Duke Zhou was a minister, the emperor was still very young, but Duke Zhou served the emperor faithfully, which helped the country remain very stable. In addition, Duke Zhou was also the founder of Confucianism. Jiang Ziya is also an honest and loyal minister.

Before commenting on Zhuge Liang, Zhu Yuanzhang first stressed that wisdom and talent are not the most important traits. So what is the most important? Zhu Yuanzhang listed six famous ministers throughout history, and their most commonly shared trait was that of loyalty. Zhu Yuanzhang said that only people such as these figures could be qualified to put all the ministers into groups. In other words, only the most loyal of ministers would be the best ministers to evaluate others.

Zhuge Liang lived in seclusion in Longzhong in his early years. Later, Liu Bei visited Zhuge Liang three times and finally asked him to help him establish Shu.
Han. Zhuge Liang united with Sun Quan (孫權, 182-252) of the eastern Wu (吳, 229-280) Dynasty and defeated Cao Cao's army in the battle of Chibi, making Liu Bei equal to Sun Quan and Cao Cao. After Liu Bei established Shu Han in Chengdu, Zhuge Liang was appointed prime minister. After Liu Bei's death, Liu Bei's son Liu Shan inherited the throne. Zhuge Liang was more diligent and cautious, having to deal with political affairs in person. The ministers and the people trusted him greatly. Many of the policies that he pursued proved very beneficial to the country. Unfortunately, he also went on to launch five wars against the north, all of which were unsuccessful. He thus failed to achieve the goal of rejuvenating the Han Dynasty. Finally, he died early because of long-term fatigue. Zhuge Liang worked until his death for the Shu Han Dynasty, so he was the representative of loyal officials and wise men in Chinese traditional culture.

Thereupon, Zhu Yuanzhang finally recommended Zhuge Liang. Zhuge Liang was Liu Bei's minister and he remained very loyal to him all his life. Zhuge Liang not only helped Liu Bei establish the Shu Han when Liu Bei was alive, but he also took care of Liu Bei's son Liu Shan (劉禪, 207-271) after Liu Bei died. Therefore, Zhuge Liang was also another famous loyal minister in history. Through Zhuge Liang's example, it is not difficult to find Zhu Yuanzhang’s evaluation standard—it is neither wisdom nor talent, but the most important trait was loyalty. Confucianism requires people to be filial to their parents at home and loyal to the monarch of the country. Thus, we see the way in which Zhu Yuanzhang fully reflects the Confucian understanding of loyalty to the monarch.

3) Rule of Virtue

Zhu Yuanzhang attached importance to Confucianism, which was also reflected in governing the country with a heart of benevolence. In governing the country, pursuing Confucianism and governing the world with good morality is “rule by virtue”. On the contrary, the rule of law that violates Confucianism does not pay attention to morality is, thus, “overbearing”. Many scholars have noticed this problem in existing research of the Dream Record of Jinhua Temple, and this paper mainly focuses on Zhu Yuanzhang to investigate the concept of rule of virtue in this work. This
can be investigated mainly through Zhu Yuanzhang's evaluation of Ying Zheng and Xiang Yu. First of all, Zhu Yuanzhang commented on Ying Zheng by saying that:

Ying Zheng had great talent, so he inherited the power accumulated by his ancestors for six generations, wielded a whip and controlled the whole of China. Ying Zheng believed that the capital was so strong that his children and grandchildren could inherit his country from generation to generation and always be emperor. But just after Ying Zheng handed over the country to his son, the Qin Dynasty perished. Why? Because Ying Zheng continued to build palaces, the people worked very hard, and the Great Wall also took up a lot of civilian power. I think this is wrong. In addition, the words and deeds of the saints were recorded in the books, but Ying Zheng asked people to burn all the books. Confucian scholars studied the theories of Confucius and Mencius, but Ying Zheng buried them alive. Finally, the prince was the foundation of the country. Ying Zheng exiled the prince and took Hu Hai (胡亥, 230-207 BC) as the prince, which also led to the rapid demise of the Qin Dynasty.

Entrusted by Liu Bang, Zhu Yuanzhang evaluated the emperors of previous dynasties and he came to the same conclusions as those of Ying Zheng above. This part mainly refers to the creation of *Guo Qin Lun* (過秦論, Disquisition Finding Fault with Qin), which is written by Jia Yi (賈誥, 200-168 BC) on the rise and fall of the Qin Dynasty. *Guo Qin Lun* points out all kinds of mistakes made by Ying Zheng. Since we refer to the articles criticizing the Qin Dynasty, we cannot jump out of the position of criticizing the Qin Dynasty. The content of this part of the story is the evaluation of Ying Zheng in *Guo Qin Lun*. This part first recognizes the credit of Ying Zheng for unifying the world and his outstanding talents. But people cannot help but wonder why Qin II died quickly. Zhu Yuanzhang mainly accused Ying Zheng of three problems. The first was to build palaces and the Great Wall, the second was to burn books and bury Confucian scholars alive, and the third was to choose the wrong person as the prince.

The core idea of Confucianism is benevolence, or so-called "benevolence love". The first mistake of Ying Zheng was the fact that he was mainly contrary to the benevolent government that was emphasized by Confucian ideology. The second
was the killing of Confucian scholars, which naturally is the complete opposite of Confucianism. Finally, on the issue of abolishing the crown prince, because it failed to adhere to orthodoxy, this was also contrary to Confucian teachings. In this work, Zhu Yuanzhang not only accuses Ying Zheng of failing to implement a benevolent government for the benefit of the people, or in other words, he failed to properly practice the rule of virtue, but he also made it clear that he could not agree with Ying Zheng's approach to ruling. Zhu Yuanzhang's comments on Ying Zheng reflected Zhu Yuanzhang's image of opposing hegemonism and advocating Confucianism.

Zhu Yuanzhang evaluated the emperors of all dynasties one by one, but he made no mention of Xiang Yu. Xiang Yu was therefore very displeased by this and he asked Zhu Yuanzhang to make his evaluation of him. So Zhu Yuanzhang made an evaluation of Xiang Yu without hesitation. The details are as follows:

You and Liu Bang attacked the state of Qin and agreed that whoever enters Guanzhong (關中) first will become the king. Yet you chose to not abide by this agreement. This is your first sin. Feigning orders from King Huai (懷王, ?-206 BC), you murdered his lordship Song Yi (宋義, ?-208 BC), the commander of the army. This was your second sin. After you saved the state of Zhao (趙, 403-222 BC), you did not report to King Huai. Instead you wantonly seized the troops of other leaders and entered Guanzhong without authorization. This is your third sin. You set fire to the palace of the state of Qin in Xianyang (咸陽) and excavated the tomb of Ying Zheng at Lishan (驪山) Mountain. This is your fourth sin. You inflicted violent death upon Ziying (子嬰, ?-206 BC), the king of Qin, who had already surrendered. This is your fifth sin. You buried alive 200,000 soldiers of Qin who had surrendered. This is your sixth sin. You enfeoffed all your generals as kings in the best lands and transferred or exiled the former kings. This is your seventh sin. You built your own capital in Pengcheng (彭城) and seized the territory of the king of Han (韓) and made yourself ruler of the combined areas of Liang (梁). This is your eighth sin. You sent a man in secret to assassinate the nominal Emperor in Jiangnan (江南). This is your ninth sin. In administering your rule unjustly, and not abiding by the agreement that you made, you are guilty of such heinous treason that the world cannot forgive. This is your tenth sin. 

17) The author of Geumhwasa Mongyurok created this part with reference to Sima Qian's ShijI(Records of...
The above lists Xiang Yu's ten sins. The above content was not created by the author of this work. Just like the previous evaluation of Ying Zheng, this part also refers to previous works. The ten counts of Xiang Yu's crimes come from the *Gaozu Benji* (高祖本紀, the Records of Gaozu) of the *Shiji* (史記, Records of the Grand Historian), which are Liu Bang's ten counts against Xiang Yu.

Differing from "burning of books and burying of Confucian scholars alive" in the Qin Dynasty, the Han Dynasty began to implement the policy of "deposing hundreds of schools and respecting Confucianism alone" since the time of Emperor Wu’s reign. The *Records of the Grand Historian* was created under the social and cultural background of attaching great importance to Confucianism during this era. The Records of Confucius, the biographies of the disciples of Confucius and the biographies of the Confucian scholars in the *Records of the Grand Historian* respectively record the development of Confucius, Confucius' disciples and Confucianism to the Han Dynasty.

Among the hundreds of scholars of the pre-Qin period, there were many that
were outstanding, but apart from Confucius, no scholar or school has been recorded in detail in the historical records. In particular, the author's description of Confucius shows the virtues of Confucius in all aspects, and clearly reflects the author's worship of Confucius and his recognition of Confucianism. Sima Qian (司馬遷, 145-? BC), the author of Records of the Grand Historian, even thought that the emperors of the world were incomparable to Confucius, which shows the author's great admiration for Confucius and his influence.\(^{18}\) Considering the social background and the author's personal creative tendencies at that time, Records of the Grand Historian inevitably demonstrates distinctively Confucian values.

To sum up, Xiang Yu's ten counts violate the Confucian creeds such as loyalty, filiality and benevolence. As a monarch, Xiang Yu's rule can thus not be described as rule of virtue, but more that of hegemony. Therefore, the criticism of this hegemony fully reflects Zhu Yuanzhang's position of advocating for the rule of virtue. The reason why the words of Liu Bang in history are changed into those of Zhu Yuanzhang in this work is that they are treated equally. Considering the contributions of Liu Bang, especially his achievements in the implementation of benevolent government compared with Xiang Yu, it is undoubtedly an affirmation of Zhu Yuanzhang to compare Zhu Yuanzhang with Liu Bang, and thus emphasizes Zhu Yuanzhang's image of attaching importance to a benevolent government.

4. Conclusion

The Geumhwasa Mongyurok is a premodern Korean literary work with a story that takes place in China. Resultingly, there are many real historical figures from China that make appearances throughout. These Chinese historical figures, woven into the fiction of premodern Korean authors, intuitively reflect the perceptions of the Korean literati, especially in regard to their approach to Chinese history and culture. Although the work appears through the medium of two different languages, the scholarly community of literary studies agree that the literary Chinese text is the original and Korean text is the translation. The most common are Geumhwasagi

and the Geumhwasa Mongyurok. There is no final conclusion as to the identity of the author, nor the time in which the original story was first written, and many Chinese historical figures are described. Most worthy of note is the author's descriptions of Zhu Yuanzhang, and the way in which he uses him as a means of emphasizing his attitudes towards the ideology of Confucianism.

In the Dream Record of Jinhua Temple, it can be argued that the plot reflects the author's admiration for Confucianism. During the banquet, Liu Bang suggested that everyone talk about their own accomplishments and happiness during the period in which they were the reigning monarch. Liu Bang said two things. The first was his establishment of the Han Dynasty together with his ministers. The second was the celebration of his father's birthday. Although Zhu Yuanzhang had the wealth of the emperor, he could never celebrate his own father's birthday. Hearing this, Zhu Yuanzhang shed tears at the banquet. Korea has long attached great importance to Confucian teaching. In this regard, we see the way in which classical novels subtly explore elements of Confucianism such as the importance of filial piety. Monarchs of the past emphasized filial piety as a means of good governance, and only those who are filial at home can meet the requirements of ancient monarchs for their subjects.

Before commenting on Zhuge Liang, Zhu Yuanzhang first stressed that wisdom and talent are not the most important traits of a person. In fact, only the most loyal would be the best ministers. Through Zhuge Liang's example, it is not difficult to find Zhu Yuanzhang's standard of evaluation. It is neither wisdom nor talent. In his view, the most important trait was loyalty. Confucianism requires people to be filial to their parents at home and loyal to the monarch of the country. Thus, we see the way in which Zhu Yuanzhang fully reflects the Confucian understanding of loyalty to one's monarch.

Zhu Yuanzhang attached importance to Confucianism, which was also reflected in governing the country with a benevolent heart. In governing the country, pursuing Confucianism and governing one's people with good sense of morality was regarded as "rule by virtue". Entrusted by Liu Bang, Zhu Yuanzhang evaluated the emperors of previous dynasties. Zhu Yuanzhang mainly accused Ying Zheng of three problems. The first being his building of palaces and the Great Wall, the second being the
burning books and burying of Confucian scholars alive, and the third was his choosing of the wrong person as the prince. The core idea of Confucianism is benevolence, or so-called "benevolent love". Zhu Yuanzhang's comments on Ying Zheng reflected Zhu Yuanzhang's ideal of opposing hegemonism and advocating Confucianism.

Zhu Yuanzhang made his evaluation of Xiang Yu, but the content of his evaluation was not created by the author of this work. The ten counts of Xiang Yu's crimes originally appeared in the *Gaozu Benji* of the *Records of the Grand Historian*, which were Liu Bang's ten counts against Xiang Yu. The Han Dynasty began to implement the policy of "deposing hundreds of schools and respecting Confucianism alone" since Emperor Wu. The *Records of the Grand Historian* was created under the social and cultural background of attaching great importance to Confucianism at that time, so it inevitably has a distinct Confucian value. Xiang Yu's ten counts violate Confucian creeds, such as loyalty, filiality and benevolence. As a monarch, Xiang Yu's rule can thus not be described as rule of virtue, but more a rule of hegemony. Therefore, the criticism of this hegemony fully reflects Zhu Yuanzhang's position of advocating for the rule of virtue.

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