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## The Family Education between King Wu and Ji Dan in the Ancient Chinese Book: Remnants of Zhou Documents

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### **Abstract:**

Although there are research outputs in historical studies of family pattern, family life, and family in the society, family education is still an under researched area in the field of Chinese historical studies. The Remnants of Zhou Documents being one of the transmitted collections of historical documents has long been ignored by scholars in China even though it covers valuable information of ancient China including family education. By studying the speeches and dialogues between King Wu and his younger brother Ji Dan, we know that the royal family education is a two-way process in which both family seniors and juniors have the responsibility to teach each other to keep the Heaven's mandate and practise filial piety not to bring blame to their family seniors and ancestors. The contents of this royal family education are mainly related to ruling strategies and personal conducts that can please the people or Heaven. This kind of performance legitimacy based on virtuous ruling can be a justification for the Zhou leaders to take over the sovereignty of Shang but also provides an excuse for the other families to replace the Jis. This high expectation of "performance legitimacy" to some extent is an impossible mission for most people. The records of family education in the Remnants of Zhou Documents are valuable new primary materials for researching into this long ignored area.

**Keywords:** Chinese Family education, The Remnants of Zhou Documents, Chinese kingship, Virtuous ruling, Heaven's mandate

### **1. Introduction**

Li (1997) pointed out that Chinese always linked rise and fall of family to family education. Although there are research outputs in historical studies of family pattern, family life, and family in the society, family education is still an under researched area in the field of Chinese historical studies (Xing, 2003). Even in the field of history of Chinese education, family education has not been attracted much attention. For examples, no special sections on family education are seen in Sun's (1993) *History of Education in China* (*Zhongguo jiaoyu shi*) and Gao's (2001) *Outline of Ancient Chinese Education History* (*Zhongguo gudai jiaoyu shigang*). The most well-known family instruction of China, the *Family Instructions of the Yans* (*Yanshi jiaoxun*), is only discussed in a small section of a chapter from perspective of educational thought in Sun's and Gao's works. In defining "history of Chinese educational system", Du (1997) included history of family education as one of the key fields of study but till now Ma's (1997) *History of Chinese Family Education* (*Zhongguo jiating jiaoyu shi*) may still be the only monograph in the field. In this book, Ma adopted the definition of family education (*jiating jiaoyu*) of the *Comprehensive Education Dictionary* (*Jiaoyu da cidian*): "mutual education among family members which normally refers to parents' or other senior people's teaching on next generations" (Gu, 1990, p.11). This is a broad and general definition which tells status of participants with emphasis on hierarchy and mutual education.

By referring to Ebrey's (1984) comments on the character 'chia'(jia) in traditional China, Lee (2000) introduced the complex meaning of 'jia' and referred it to nuclear families, extended families, households in the property sense, manors and clans in ancient China. As pointed by Lin (2000) discussion on family (*jiating*) in academic field is mainly from perspective of sociology and its core concept normally changes with development of family and society. Based on Ebrey's and Lee's views on the meanings of "jia", the definition of family education (*jiating jiaoyu*) of the *Comprehensive Education Dictionary* is adopted in this paper.

As proposed by Ma (1997), prenatal education, royal family education and lordship family education emerged in the Western Zhou period (c.1046–771 BC) paved the modes of family education for later generations in China. He claimed that the principle of family management in the Hexagram of Family (*jiaren gua*) of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*) is to treat family members with strict severity by citing the Third Yang of the hexagram: "If the Family is run with ruthless severity, one may regret the degree of it, yet there will be good fortune. But if wife and child overindulge in frivolous laughter, in the end it will result in baseness." (Lynn, 1994, p.365) Ma (1997) believed that the tradition of strict family management culture was originated from this hexagram and defined this tradition in terms of six family management norms which laid the foundation for family education in ancient China and generated great impacts in China in last two thousand years : (1) senior members possess supreme status; (2) members should achieve their responsibility

according to their roles; (3) prevention is more important than punishment of wrong doings; (4) severity should be coupled with love; (5) faith should be coupled with dignity; and (6) integration of teaching and self-regulation. Among these six norms, roles and responsibilities of family members can be taken as the fundamental aim of family education. The norms of supreme status of senior family members and prevention of wrong doings are developed from roles and responsibilities. The practices of love and faith in family education are pedagogies to achieve the role expectation on family members. The integration of self-regulation to family education emerged in the early Zhou dynasty (c.1046-256 BC) is an outcome of promotion of virtuous ruling. By referring to the earliest extant records of family education in the commonly accepted “foundational narratives of cultural memory, shaped according to the ideological needs of their own time” (Kern, 2015, p.118) such as the *Book of Documents (Shangshu)* and the *Remnants of Zhou Documents (Yi Zhoushu)*, we can have a better understanding of how the six norms are developed in ancient China. With reference to Ji Dan’s (Duke Dan of Zhou, c.1050 BC) speeches to his clan juniors recorded in five new text chapters of the *Book of Documents* and based on beliefs “observe the will of Heaven” and “love the people”, Tong (2015) proposed a framework of family sustainability aiming at sustaining and transmitting the family-held sovereign of the Jis by teaching family juniors to develop personal virtue, model exemplar Shang rulers, observe family seniors’ instructions and rule the people through education, law and punishment, employment and management strategies. However, if family education is a kind of mutual education as advocated in the *Comprehensive Education Dictionary*, this one-way perspective can be extended to a two-way mode. This paper is going to use the family education between King Wu (Ji Fa, ?-1043 BC; r. 1046-1043 BC) and his younger brother Ji Dan (Duke Dan of Zhou, c.1050 BC) as an example to study (1) the role and responsibility of royal family members from perspective of family education; (2) the special features of this kind of royal family education; (3) the effectiveness of the royal family education in the Zhou dynasty. The outcomes of the study can contribute to a better understanding of family education in ancient China and demonstrate the historical value of the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* which has long been ignored by scholars in China.

## 2. Records of Family Education in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*

The *Remnants of Zhou Documents* is a collection of Chinese historical documents about the Zhou Dynasty. Zhang (2013) has traced the origin and development of the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* from the Zhou dynasty to the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279) in terms of its various titles. In the mid Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279), Ding Fu (1166-1236) combined versions of Chen Zhengqing (?-762) and Li Tao (1115-1184) to form the New Version of *Remnants of Zhou Documents (Jinben Yi Zhoushu)*. There are forty-two chapters with Kong Chao’s annotation, seventeen chapters without Kong Chao’s annotation, eleven chapters with titles but no texts and Kong Chao’s (c.270 BC) preface in the “*Jinben Yi Zhoushu*” (Zhang, 2013). Based on this structure Huang (1996) compiled the *Rectification, Annotation and Translation of Remnants of Zhou Documents (Yi Zhoushu jiaobu zhuyi)* which may be the most updated version of *Remnants of Zhou Documents* and will be used as the major reference in this paper.

Due to confusion of titles and serious variation of editions, the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* has long been ignored by Chinese scholars (Wang, 2008). On Mainland China, Huang produced three works: *A Study on the Origin of the Remnants of Zhou Documents (Yi Zhoushu yuanliu kao)*, 1992), *Collection of editorial works and commentaries on the Remnants of Zhou Documents (Yi Zhoushuhuijiaojizhu)*, 1995) and *Castigation, Commentaries and Translation of the Remnants of Zhou Documents (Yi Zhoushu jiaobu zhuyi)*, 1996). Then as pointed out by Wang (2008), although Zhang (2000) and Zhou (2001) produced two editions of *Remnants of Zhou Documents*, Huang’s works are still the core references in the field. According to the China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database (CNKI: <http://big5.oversea.cnki.net/kns55/>) on 23 February 2016, there are ten master dissertations and three doctorate dissertations related to the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* in addition to eighty-five journal papers with *Remnants of Zhou Documents* as part of the title have been collected but none of them are on family education. In Taiwan, Huang (1976) studied the origin of various chapters collected in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* in terms of their linguistic features and themes in his doctorate dissertation *Study on the Book of Zhou (Zhoushu yanjiu)*. From a philological perspective, Lin (2011) studied the origin and variation patterns of chapters collected in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* and published his views on the *Study on the Remnants of Zhou Documents (Yi Zhoushu yanjiu)* by the Liwen Publishing Group in Kaohsiung. In the Airiti Library, there are only four journal papers with the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* as part of their titles are collected in the databank since 1991. All of these publications have not paid attention to family education. In Hong Kong, Liu and Chen (1992) compiled the *Yi Zhoushu zhuzi suoyin (A Concordance to the Remnants of Zhou Documents)* which is a very useful reference book for searching individual words of the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*. In short, the family education in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* is a long ignored research topic.

In the current *Remnants of Zhou Documents*, there are three chapters recording King Wu’s teaching to his younger brother Ji Dan: “Soft polices on Military” (You wu), “Planning of City” (Du yi) and “Five Powers” (Wu quan) and six chapters recording Ji Dan’s advice to his elder brother King Wu: “Strategies of City Feng” (Feng mou), “Security of City Feng” (Feng bao), “Great Enlightenment to King Wu” (Da kai Wu), “Small Enlightenment to King Wu” (Xiao kai Wu), “Precious Code” (Bao dian) and “Admonishment after Awakening from Sleep” (Wu jing). Based on evidences of linguistic features, historical facts, contextual concepts and calendar systems, Zhang (2013) believed that the possible production dates of these eight chapters spread from the Western Zhou period to the Warring States period (Zhanguo, 475-221 BC). However, I also share Kern’s (2009) view that:

In other words, all our transmitted sources that speak about the early Western Zhou are likely later idealizations that arouse in times of dynastic decline and from a pronounced sense of loss and deficiency: first in the middle and later stages of the Western Zhou, that is, after King Zhao’s disastrous campaign south; and second in the time of Confucius and the following half millennium of the Warring States and the early imperial period. (p.146)

From this perspective, we can understand why the early leaders of the Zhou such as King Wen, King Wu, Duke Dan of Zhou, King Cheng become the main figures in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*.

### 3. Role, Responsibility and Special Features of Family Education in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*

As pointed out by Ma (1997) the two-parent family became the core form around five thousand years ago at the Xia and Shang dynasties (before 11<sup>th</sup> century BC) which started the vocational family education in China with cosmology and agriculture as the two major education areas. Ma (1997) also argued that in the Western Zhou period, the patriarchal system and the rite and music system transformed the vocational family education into systematic education for royal class (ruling education), nobles (moral and intellectual education) and the common people (labor education). However, records of family education in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* are all related to ruling education of the royal family which emphasizes very much on personal conduct at the early Western Zhou period. After taking over the sovereignty of Yin, the family of Ji became leader of all tribes and this sovereignty ensured rich materialistic life and authority for the family of Ji and hence maintaining the family's sovereignty is the responsibility of all family members as loss of sovereignty means the risk of turning the whole tribe into slaves and extermination of the entire tribe (Tong, 2015). Another responsibility for family members is to practise filial piety (xiao) which means to make parents honorable and not to be blamed (Kang, 1992). The loss of sovereignty is a great shame to ancestors which means family members have not taught their descendants well.

#### 3.1. Responsibility of Family Senior – King Wu

King Wu is a key figure of family senior who always teaches his juniors on rulership in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*. In the “Soft Policies on Military” (Huang, 1996, pp.129-31), King Wu reminds Ji Dan the negative impacts of the “five military causes” (wu rong) on the people: (1) anticipating harvest without cultivation and not worrying about shortage of tax income; (2) accepting bribery to make enemies weak in prison and face torture; (3) indulging in songs and music that harms one's aspiration and clinging on sex that destroys one's health and mind; (4) relying on authority and pray; (5) loafing around will make officials and the people leave. According to King Wu, these five causes must be eliminated and a ruler has to love his conquered people and manage them with righteousness, trustworthy, honesty, determination and regulation. Then without using army a ruler can conquer the people. This is the meaning of soft policies on military. In the “Planning of City”, although King Wu has conquered Yin, he still worries if he can secure the Heaven's mandate and reminds his younger brother Ji Dan:

Ji Dan! We are able to get the clear mandate from Heaven confirming our support from Heaven. We also get those disliked officials and people of Yin leaving with their king Zhou. The lords coming from the four directions are willing to come close to us in our western land. I want to tame them fully in the time our majesty and virtue are still strong. (Huang, 1996, pp. 234-35)

In the chapter King Wu understands that he must try his best to secure the mandate because the mandate is impermanent. In the “Five Powers”, it records King Wu's last words to Ji Dan:

Alas! Be respect to it (mandate)! In the past, Heaven gave the mandate to Zhou at first to King Wen and we eventually achieved it. You must assist the crown prince seriously and work hard to identify ruling mistakes. There are three mistakes and five authorities in ruling. Three mistakes are: family discord, misconduct and no recommended virtuous officials. Those with family discord, do not assign them to manage people; those with misconduct, do not assign them to be officials; those without recommended virtuous officials, do not work with them long. Hey, be respectful to it! The mandate is impermanent; you must examine the three mistakes seriously. The five authorities are: firstly, land can control the people; secondly duty can control the officials; thirdly administrative districts with five hundred families can control the common people; fourthly punishment and law can control reward; fifthly official's salary can control knighthood. (Huang, 1996, pp.241-43)

King Wu emphasizes once again that the Heaven's mandate is impermanent and people must be respectful to it; the ways to secure the mandate are to keep away people with the three mistakes and master the five authorities well. This kind of view is also recorded in other transmitted family instructions in the chapters of “Announcement of Duke Shao” (Shaogao) (Gu & Liu, 2005, pp.1431-445) and “Announcement about Drunkenness” (Jiu gao) (Gu & Liu, 2005, pp.1380-420) of the *Book of Documents* as well as in the poems “King Wen” (Wen wang) (Cheng & Jiang, 1991, pp.745-50) and “Great Glory” (Daming) (Cheng & Jiang, 1991, pp.751-57) of the *Book of Songs (Shijing)*. In addition, in the script of the Tripod of Mao (Maogong ding) (D.C. Lau Research Centre for Chinese Ancient Texts, 2014) casted in reign of King Xuan of the Western Zhou (827-782 BC) also confirmed this belief was advocated by the ruling class at that time. In the chapter, being a senior family member, King Wu does teach his junior Ji Dan how to secure the Heaven's mandate for their family. He is imposing a belief of Heaven's mandate to his juniors: the mandate determines whether a king is sufficiently virtuous to rule and no family has a permanent right to rule. This belief is a kind of performance legitimacy which “was much less central to the state power during the preceding Shang dynasty than in the Western Zhou and later dynasties.” (Zhao, 2009, p.419) In the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*, King Wen and Ji Dan, Duke Zhai and Count Rui Liangfu also take up this responsibility to teach their family juniors about the Heaven's mandate, ruling strategies and personal conduct. The Heaven's mandate was a propaganda tool at the time of its creation which paved the ground for requiring rulers of the Jis to develop virtuous personality and management skills that are accepted by the people (Zhao, 2009). Hsu and Linduff (1988) concluded this kind of emphasis on right conduct was drew from lesson of historical precedent rather than theological or philosophical argument while Creel (1970) and Shaughnessy (1999) noticed this way of thinking was then canonized by Kongzi and his followers to become the foundation of state legitimacy during imperial China. Developed from this line of thinking, the two renowned Warring States Confucian scholars Xinzi (c. 313-238 BC) and Mengzi (Mencius, c. 372-289 BC) emphasized the importance of the people over the rulers and thought that if the rulers could not perform their duty well to secure the welfare of the people, their mandate would be lost (Zhao, 2009). Accordingly, Bunker (1987) may be correct to claim that the Chinese rulers have no right to rule but just to fulfil their “mandate duty” to keep the human society in good order. In the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*, there are records showing that rulers and designed

rulers of the royal family of the Jis are taught by their seniors to fulfil their “mandate duty” through cultivation of personal virtue and specific ruling strategies.

### 3.2. Responsibility of Family Junior – Ji Dan

One of the basic responsibility of junior family members is to observe family seniors’ instructions as recorded in the *Book of Documents* (Tong 2015). However, is it the same case in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*? As a senior official and younger brother of King Wu, Ji Dan always reminds King Wu on kingship in the chapters, “Strategies of City Feng”, “Security of City Feng” “Great Enlightenment to King Wu”, “Small Enlightenment to Kin Wu” “Precious Code” and “Admonishment after Awakening from Sleep”. In the “Strategies of City Feng” (Huang, 1996, pp.155-59), it records a dialogue between Ji Dan and King Wu at the City Feng in which Ji Dan presents his strategies of “three consistencies” (san tong), “three permissions” (san ran) and “three security measures” (san yu) to conquer Shang. The “three consistencies” are: models of weapon, appointing officials by competency, arrows should not have any sound. The “three permissions” are to allow: markets to be closed to houses of the people, commodity price to go down and merchant to have investment capital. The “three security measures” are to: keep frontiers far from local areas, allow cattle and sheep being transported on road and prohibit residence in rural areas of cities. King Wu fully agrees to these strategies and emphasizes that he must share his love among the people of Zhou and observe the Heaven’s mandate. After taking over Shang’s sovereignty, Ji Dan is asked by King Wu on how to secure the sovereignty of Zhou in the “Security of City Feng” (Huang, 1996, pp.96-106). He reminds King Wu that he should respect virtue; advocate rites and righteousness; be honest, modest and use gentle facial expression and resonant voice to harmonize all the people. Regarding internal management of the Zhou, Ji Dan proposes five measures: “five goodness” (wu xiang), “six commends” (liu wei), “seven encouragements” (qi li), “ten destructions” (shi bai) and “four observances” (si ge). The “five goodness” are: virtuous and capable officials are appointed by the sovereign, officials have the systems to follow, farming is not abandoned, no bribery, understanding difficulty of the people. The “six commends” are: commend people of love so as to let the people have forgiveness, commend people of wisdom so as to have advisors, commend strong fighters so as to have warriors, commend capable people so as to have intellectuals, commend people with technology so as to have craftsman, commend education and order so as to manage the state. The “seven encouragements” are to: assist hardworking people so as to encourage labor work, appoint many people so as to encourage all the people to work, secure the people so as to encourage military affairs, assist technological development so as to encourage all sorts of craftsman, honor promises so as to encourage practice, praise reverence so as to encourage the people to follow, praise harmony so as to encourage peaceful actions. The “ten destructions” are: flattery people destroy honesty, adulatory words destroy existing good practices, secret brides for advancement destroy character, woman’s charm leads to disaster, gang’s relation intrudeselection of friends, flattering words interrupt court decisions, bling faith in tortoise prediction disrupts divination, unserious worship destroys ceremonies for guests and sacrifices, angry words lead to humiliation, getting close to other surnames disorders one’s family. The “four observances” (si ge) are to: respectfarming and not delay any framing periods, consume fertility and worry about harvest, be fair in reward and punishment and no treacherous lawsuits, observe military strategies and the family will not be fatigued. In addition to these internal measures, Duke Dan raises five important external measures to attend enemies of the City Feng if opportunities arouse: “four moths” (si du), “five falls” (wu luo), “six accommodations” (liu rong) and “seven intended evil acts” (qi e). The “four moths” are to: send handsome men and beautiful women and rare treasure to tempt him (enemy), create confused words and rumors to make him believe, ask craftsmen to produce new things constantly so as to make him tired, send shamans and spirits to confuse him. The “five falls” are to: revise our titles to show our loyalty, get his trust by some minor tricks just like small falling of snow to show persistence of pine and cypress, make him trust migrants then his people will not live comfortably, give great bribery to his witches so as to get his strategies, make his loyal men leave and evil men be promoted so as to show his evilness. The “six accommodations” are to accommodate: gossips, travelling merchants and craftsmen, military articles, rumors from other states, guilty people to leave, exchange his treasures with great gifts. The “seven intended evil acts” are to: arouse wars with excuses, let him has benefit and then hurt him, make him stuck between two great states and he will have no fortune, know his ways of handling affairs through his friends so as to make him be expelled, persuade him to stay in his state but motivate federal lords to pay respect to virtuous lords, make him seek support from you so as to create hatred, not to talk to his close people so as to make his friends to be suspicious.

In the “Great Enlightenment to King Wu” (Huang, 1996, pp.132-40), Ji Dan advises King Wu to take his hardworking father King Wen as model and to observe the virtue of reverence so as to follow the will of Heaven to love the people. In addition to these two responsibilities, Ji Dan tells King Wu what are “four relatives” (si qi), “five harmonies” (wu he), “seven mistakes” (qi shi), “nine causes” (jiu yin) and “ten faults” (shi yin). The “four relatives” are to: get close to clans of the same surname in the ruling state, get close to affinities outside the ruling state, appoint classmates of the same teacher, feel compassion for those who share your pains. The “five harmonies” are to: get support from Heaven you will have virtue, get topographical advantages you will have righteousness, get common interest you will be happy, get common aversion you will be sad, and never conflict with distant people. The above are all expectations of positive behaviors. However, the “seven mistakes”, “nine causes” and “ten faults” are things that should not be done by a ruler. The “seven mistakes” are: what established is abandoned, what abandoned is honored, forming gangs in the house, having flattery people in court, letting family minions leave the house, having family minions served in the court, and not caring public property. The “nine causes” are: not to worship, not being ethical, not appointing capable people, distributing labor service unfairly, having conflicts between two parties, being betrayed by rich people, escaping of poor people, fulfillment of personal desires, and enemies getting victories. All these miss-behaviors will cause threat to ruling. The “ten faults” are: frequent tax and corvee will hurt the nation as slaving the people regardless seasons will lose the people; excessive indulgence of desire will hurt righteousness as inappropriate righteousness will create disharmony among the people; excessive pleasure will corrupt morals as impurity of moral will

make the people lose their normal character; excessive corruptive behaviors will hurt honors and shames as insufficient honors and shames will make the people not being modest; indulgence of rites will hurt the ritual system as variations of rites will break the harmony of the people; wearing garish costumes will hurt the system of dressing as dressing not according to law will make the people disobedient; flowery texts will corrupt the function of classics as if classics cannot be used for education the people will not be kindhearted; excessive flexibility will hurt the existing law as if officials do not observe the law the people will not have law and regulation to follow; too many acting positions interrupt the formal establishment as if formal establishment is not enforced orders of officials will not be followed; excessive fine constructions will use up resources as shortage of resources will make many things unsuccessful. Here, views of indulgence of desire, righteousness, impurity of morals and rites are presented with inappropriate ruling skills. Since the aim of the family education at that time was to secure the sovereignty, ruling skills and personal conduct developed interactively to become a form of virtuous ruling.

In the "Small Enlightenment to King Wu" (Huang, 1996, pp.141-45), Ji Dan reminds King Wu to observe the "three standards" (san ji), "four observations" (si cha), "five elements" (wu xing), "seven conformities" (qi shun), "nine managements" (jiu ji). The "three standards" are: the heaven's order is the operation of the nine constellations, the earth's order is the distribution of the nine regions, the man's order is the support of the four senior officials. The "four observations" are to: use eyes to distinguish colours, use ears to distinguish sounds, use mouths to distinguish languages, use hearts to distinguish ideas. The "five elements" are: black colour belonged to water, red colour belonged to fire, green belonged to wood, white colour belonged to metal, yellow colour belonged to earth. The "seven conformities" are: conforming to heaven to have seasons, conforming to the earth to have land resources, conforming to the people to have peace, conforming to benefits to have adequate wealth, conforming to virtue to have smart assistants, conforming to people of love to have nothing wrong, conforming to heaven's way to have success. The "nine managements" are: hour manages day, constellation manages month, the sun manages virtue, the moon manages punishment and killing, spring manages birth, summer manages, autumn manages cold and killing, winter manages storing, end of year manages finality. Ji Dan believes that King Wu should follow the above heaven's signs so as to know good or ill luck.

The "Precious Code" (Huang, 1996, pp.146-53) is a chapter on virtuous ruling. In the chapter, King Wu is reminded by Ji Dan to follow this code of virtuous ruling. Regarding self-cultivation of rulers, Ji Dan advises King Wu to pay attention to the "four positions" (si wei) and "nine virtues" (jiu de). The four positions of mind listed in the "four positions" according to their importance are: "reverence" (jing), "calmness" (jing), "uprightness" (zheng) and "stability" (ding) as reverence makes people calm, calmness leads to uprightness, uprightness contributes to stability. The "nine virtues" are: filial piety (xiao), brotherhood (ti), caring to young and old (cihui), benevolence and loyalty (zhong shu), impartiality (zhong zheng), reverence and humility (gong xun), generosity (kuan hong), mildness and honesty (wen zhi) and careful in punishment (jian wu). Yang (2005) pointed out that the four positions of mind on self-cultivation were further developed in the Confucian Classic *Great Learning (Daxue)* while the nine virtues were advocated in another Confucian classic the *Analects (Lunyu)*. In addition to the above self-cultivation measures, Ji Dan advises King Wu not to appoint people who have committed the "ten evil behaviours" (shi jian). Since one word of the first evil behaviour is missing only nine evil behaviours are known: excessive drinking interferes reasoning, display of intelligence interferes wisdom, unnecessary cleaning interferes purity, exertion of the utmost strength to show bravery interferes military affairs, demonstration of loyalty interferes integrity, fuss over reputation interferes humility, catering to everyone interferes illustrious name, stupid and self-designed behaviour interferes outcomes, self-opinionated behaviour interferes sincerity. These evil behaviours generate negative impacts on the capability, personal conduct and performance of officials. Ji Dan then goes on to advise King Wu not to commit the "ten disorders" (shi san) in the process of strategic planning in the chapter. Since four words of the first disorder and eight words (complete sentence) of the second disorder are lost in the transmission, there are only eight clear disorders transmitted: superficial thought and loose confidentiality make the plan release, carelessness interrupts operation and establishments of the plan, unreciprocal thinking leads to ignorance of others' plan, over-talking makes the plan useless, mistaking close people as outsiders make the plan impractical, intension to do things in the right way with personal interest makes many things wrong, being self-confident but stupid makes you only know to get benefit from others but ignore your self-safety and if key problems are not solved you will forget close people when in view of benefit.

Another important topic raised by Ji Dan to King Wu in the chapter is about the functions of "three faiths" (san xin), "righteousness" (yi) and "love" (ren):

The three faiths: first, if decrees on cultivation of life and resources are impartial just like the birth in spring and growth in summer the common people will not be confused; second, if there are regulations for reward and punishment just like the falling in autumn and killing in winter, policy and education can be in vogue; third, if the rulers govern all the people well the people will feel their virtues and this is the supreme faith. King Wu asks, "if supreme faith has been achieved, what will be the remaining?" Ji Dan replies, "They are (only in) hobby and desire. Hobby let us know about righteousness while desire let us have righteousness. This is what we call growth of precious thing." After kneeling and knocking on the ground with head and hands Ji Dan stands up and says, "Your majesty, although I can make the precious thing grow, I am afraid if we do not have 'ren' our descendants will decay; we can make the precious thing grow but if we cannot have people of 'ren', I am afraid of having no successors. Although the precious thing for King has been grown, I am afraid of losing opportunity for our kings to be good rulers that will lead to downfall of our kingship." The King replies and salutes to Ji Dan, "Your words are maxims! Because of that, I have to remind all the people to observe the four directions of mind, educate them extensively. If there are confusions because of practising the precious thing (righteousness), that should not be my fault. If the upper side has set up honours and salary, we do not need to be afraid of people not practising 'ren'. Practising 'ren' and desire of salary will definitely make us to be exemplars. Getting the salary as well as enhancing the honours will encourage all the people to work hard for being people of 'ren'. Can the

people not compete for practising 'ren'? Therefore, for the benefit of descendants, this precious thing (righteousness) should be eternal." (Huang, 1996, p.153-54)

In this quotation, the word "bao" refers to "righteousness" (yi) but the title "Bao dian" denotes the precious codes of self-cultivation (four directions of mind and nine virtues), appointment of officials, design of strategic plans, observance of decrees, growth of righteousness and practice of "ren" for rulers. Yang (2005) claimed that the above views recorded in the chapter "Precious Code" did have direct impacts on the thought of Kongzi and early Confucianism. However, since the concept "ren" is not clearly defined in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*, it is difficult to argue its impact on early Confucianism. In fact, the term "ren" is a dynamic concept with different meanings in Chinese history and can be used as a noun, a verb and an adjective. Accordingly, there are different translations of "ren" in English. For example, Legge (1960) translated "ren" as "virtue", "perfect virtue", "benevolence", "humanity" and "the good" in the *Analects*. Lee (2013) translated it as "kindness" for Chang Chi-yun who pointed out that being one of the many virtues, "ren" was always listed with other virtues before the time of Kongzi and it was Kongzi who decided to keep its time-honoured meaning as well as referred it to the highest of all the virtues. From the point of King Wu, "ren" can be promoted and achieved through offering of salary and honours by the senior people. If it is a kind of virtue, why it is not listed in the "nine virtues"? In the chapter, Ji Dan says that he can have "righteousness" but worries about not having people of "ren". In this sense "ren" may be taken as a higher level of attribute or at least more difficult to achieve than "righteousness" in the mind of Ji Dan even though King Wu thinks that "ren" can easily be achieved by salary and honours.

There are two issues here. First, if "ren" can be advocated and achieved through salary and honours, "righteousness" and other virtues in Ji Dan's mind at a lower level than "ren" can also be achieved in the same way. Second, in the chapter, "four positions", "nine virtues" and "three faiths" can be taken as ideal attributes for rulers; the "ten evil behaviours" can be taken as appointment criteria of officials; the "ten disorders" can be taken as tips on good strategic planning; the "righteousness" can be taken as outcomes of "three faiths". All these are ideal attributes of rulers which are told by Ji Dan to his elder brother King Wu. However, when Ji Dan reminds King Wu the importance of "ren", King Wu regards "ren" to be a general attribute which can be easily achieved through salary and honours. Hence Ji Dan and King Wu may have different interpretations on the "ren". Due to the ambiguous meaning of "ren" in the "Precious Code", it is difficult to provide English translation for it and the Hanyu pinyin "ren" is used in the quote.

Similar to the role of senior family members, in order to keep the Heaven's mandate and practise filial piety not to make family seniors to be blamed. Family juniors such as Ji Dan also have the responsibility to advise their seniors including sovereigns on ruling strategies and personal conduct. In the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* as discussed above and even in the *Book of Documents* Ji Dan is a special figure who always reminds King Wu his elder brother how to rule and behave. He may be an exemplarily figure produced in the production process of the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* and *Book of Documents* but it is not common to have this kind of records in Chinese history.

### 3.3. Special Features of Royal Family Education between King Wu and Ji Dan

All the family education between King Wu and Ji Dan is in the form of direct speeches or dialogues. The teaching points presented are normally unelaborated and organised by numbers from three to ten. It is not easy to conduct textual analysis as the sentences are short and sometimes there are missing words in the transmitted texts. In addition, due to the wide coverage of topics and weak interconnection in these independent chapters, overlapping of contents or different interpretations of some terms appear as a unique feature of these records of royal family education. The themes of family education between King Wu and Ji Dan are mainly on how to secure the Heaven's mandate to the family of Ji by modelling exemplary ruling strategies and instructions of the early western Zhou leaders such as King Wen, King Wu and Ji Dan. The kingship advocated in these chapters emphasizes on strategies and personal conducts and their integration. From the above discussion, virtuous ruling is a way to please the people and Heaven and keep the mandate. As these records of family education is communication between family members, their speeches or dialogues are full of sincerity and affection because they belonged to the same family and share the same responsibility.

## 4. Effectiveness of Royal Family Education in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*

From the above discussion, according to the records in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents*, it seems that all royal family members know their responsibility well and virtuous ruling has become the core aim of family education in the Zhou dynasty. Both the senior and junior family members actively educating each other the belief of Heaven's mandate and virtuous ruling and sovereigns are expected to perform perfectly well as a virtuous ruler. From the educational perspective, to become a virtuous ruler means one must possess a set of "personality ideals of the community" (Brezinka, 1997, p.150). The personal conducts and ruling strategies advocated in the *Remnants of Zhou Documents* discussed above can be taken as a set of personality ideals created by the royal community of the family of Ji at the times of dynastic declines suggested by Kern (2009). However, reality is always deviated from ideal. The personality ideals in these chapters are in fact impossible missions for most rulers. In order to justify their sovereignty, the virtuous ruling was declared by the early Zhou leaders as the criterion for getting the Heaven's mandate. This belief was not only infused in the family education of the family of Ji but also promoted to the whole empire in the Zhou dynasty. Eventually, the family members of the Jis always remind each other no matter their seniority to apply virtuous ruling while all other state lords take this high expectation on capability and personal conduct of Zhou rulers as a "performance legitimacy" (Zhao, 2009, p.419). If the Zhou rulers could not match this expectation, then state lords could take over their Heaven's mandate. This explains why the rulers of Zhou are not respected by state lords in the Warring States period and Konzi who needs to restore the authority of Zhou by advocating the rites system.

## 5. Conclusion

Based on the above discussion, both senior and junior members of the Jis do share the responsibility of teaching each other to secure their Heaven's mandate and practise filial piety not to bring blame to their family seniors and ancestors. In this sense this royal family education is a two-way process between family seniors and juniors. However, since Ji Dan is traditionally a holy figure in the Zhou history to what extent he can represent the real case of family junior members who offers advices to family seniors proactively is still a problem. As transmission of sovereignty is a share responsibility of all family members, the contents of family education are mainly related to ruling strategies and personal conducts that can please the people or Heaven. This kind of performance legitimacy based on virtuous ruling can be a justification for the Zhou leaders to take over the sovereignty of Shang but also provides an excuse for the other families to replace the Jis. All the family education records between King Wu and Ji Dan recorded in these short and fragmental speeches or dialogues are full of love, though not easy to understand. However, in reality, this high expectation of "performance legitimacy" to some extent is an impossible mission for most people. The decline of the central government of Zhou, the emergence of the five hegemony in the Spring and Autumn period and the seven powerful states in the Warring States, and the rise of Qin dynasty (221-207 BC) are evidence to show that this kind of kingship family education is very difficult to achieve. Having said that there are evidences showing the concept of virtuous ruling has spread to family education of nobles and intellectual in the transmitted Pre-Qin texts. How this kind of royal family education is transmitted to noble and intellectual families is another stage of research on this topic.

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