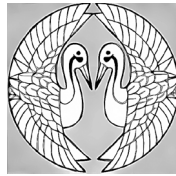


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## COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF THE *TONG YI* (“PENETRATING INTO THE MEANING”) TEXTS IN THE HAN DYNASTY

**Abstract.** The article examines texts bearing the compound *tong yi* in their titles that were produced during the Han dynasty (202 BCE — 9 CE, 25—220 CE). Through a comparative analysis of three works — *Bai hu tong yi*, ascribed to Ban Gu (32—92 CE), Ying Shao's (d. before 204) *Feng su tong yi*, and the extant fragments of *Wu jing tong yi* written by Liu Xiang (77—6 BCE), the study aims to identify their shared structural and thematic features. It is shown that these texts sought to generalise broad domains of knowledge and cover every aspect of them. Each author heavily relied on sound glosses, definitions and citations from Classical texts in order to restore the correct meanings of words. The emergence of such works corresponded to the tendency to systematise the knowledge that had also manifested itself in other fields of learning during the Eastern Han.

**Keywords:** *Feng su tong yi*, *Bai hu tong yi*, *Wu jing tong yi*, the Han dynasty, ancient Chinese encyclopaedias

The Han era is known as the period of formation of new types of poetry and prose, the foundation of official dynastic historiography, and the development of Confucian exegetical thought. Although many texts from that period were lost due to the turmoil at the end of the Han dynasty, many types did not disappear completely and continued to exist, impacting Chinese culture in subsequent periods. One such type was texts with the marker *tong yi* (“通義” “penetrating into the meaning”).

First of all, it is important to note that *tong* “通” and *tong yi* “通義” in the title of the texts were interchangeable, so one can find, for example, both the name *Feng su tong* and *Feng su tong yi* “風俗通義” (“Penetrating into the Meaning of [Wrong] Manners and Customs”) in manuscripts, although for each *tong yi* text usually one variant was more commonly used than the other, e.g. it is more likely to see the title *Bai hu tong* than *Bai hu tong yi* “白虎通義” (“Penetrating into the Meaning of [Classics] in the White Tiger [Hall]”). When the word *tong* stood at the beginning of the title, the sign *yi* was usually omitted: there was no need for it, since the word *tong* was followed by an object indicating the topic of the work. In other cases *tong* could denote not a verb (“penetrate”), but an adjective (“comprehensive”),

as in the case of the *San tong* (“三通” “Three Comprehensive [Writings]”) [1].

The sign *tong* was widely used in ancient Chinese texts: *Gudai hanyu cidian* (“古代漢語詞典” “Old Chinese Dictionary”) lists 13 of its meanings [2], the first and most common of which is “to achieve, to reach” (*da, da dao* “達, 到達”), and the second is to “act freely, to pass without obstacles” (*changtong, laiwang wu zu* “暢通, 來往無阻”). They are also listed in the oldest Chinese dictionaries, written during the Han dynasty:

1. *Shuo wen jie zi* (“說文解字” “Explaining [Simple] and Analysing [Compound] Characters”):

通: 達也。从辵甬聲。

*Tong (lóng)* [3] means “to reach”. It is derived from the character “walk [one moment and stop the next]”, and its sound comes from the character “bell handle” (*long?*) [4].

2. *Shi ming* (“釋名” “Explaining Terms”):

通, 洞也, 無所不貫洞也。

*Tong* means “to penetrate” (*dōng*) [5], there is nothing that it does not penetrate through [6].

Besides these, several verbs of movement, like *che* (“徹” “pervade”), *chuan* (“穿” “to pass through”), *shu* (“疏” “dredge”), as well as such terms as *sheng* (“聖” “sage”) and *bo* (“博”

“erudite”), are explained through the character *tong* in *Shuo wen jie zi*. It follows that the compound *tong yi* meant a complete understanding of an object or concept. If we disregard the titles, it becomes apparent that *tong yi* often appeared in ancient Chinese texts with another meaning: since *yi* also meant “principle”, the compound *tong yi* could be understood as a “universal principle”. This meaning of *tong yi* appeared in passages that described an ideal political system during the Golden Age of sage rulers. It was typically used to contrast this ideal system with the current state of affairs in the kingdom, characterised by a decline in morality and poor governance. Such ideas can be found in *Xunzi* “荀子” [7], *Yan tie lun* (“鹽鐵論” “Discussions on Salt and Iron”) [8], *Qian Han ji* (“前漢記” “Records of the Former Han”) [9], etc.

The origin of the texts with the *tong yi* marker can be traced back to the Western Han, when a work by Liu Xiang (劉向) *Wu jing tong yi* (“五經通義” “Penetrating into the Meaning of the Five Classics”) was written, now extant in only one *juan*. Its fragments were collected during the Qing era (1644—1912) by the famous philologist Ma Guohan (馬國翰, 1794—1857) [10]. According to the oldest bibliography *Yi wen zhi* (“藝文志” “Treatise on Classical [Literature] and [Other] Writings”) of *Han shu* (“漢書” “Book of the [Former] Han”), apart from Liu Xiang’s text, there were no other *tong yi*-texts from the Western Han. As for the Eastern Han, in addition to the well-known *Bai hu tong* and *Feng su tong yi*, in the *Jing ji zhi* (“經籍志” “Treatise on Canonical and [Other] Literature”) of *Sui shu* (“隋書” “Book of Sui”, 7th century) one can find a record of an early, lost text *Tong su wen* (“通俗文” “Penetrating [into the Meaning] of the Common Characters”) by Fu Qian (服虔, d. ca. 195). It was apparently a kind of lexical dictionary that contained explanations of the meaning (*xun* “訓”) of the everyday vocabulary of the Han era across a wide range of topics — from geographical concepts and names of parts of the human body to abstract terms. Like Liu Xiang’s *Wu jing tong yi*, its fragments were collected by Ma Guohan [11].

According to the *Hou Han Shu* (“後漢書” “Book of the Later Han”), the renowned official and expert on ritual, Cao Bao (曹褒, d. 102), wrote a *tong yi* text, although the exact topic was not mentioned [12]. The Qing dynasty philologist Zhu Yizun (朱彝尊, 1629—1709) in his large-scale work *Jing yi kao* (“經義考” “Investigation of the Meaning of the Canons”) mentions two works by Cao Bao that bear the *tong yi* marker: *Wu jing tong yi* (“五經通義” “Penetrating into the Meaning of the Five Classics”) [13] and *Li tong yi* (“禮通義” “Penetrating into the Meaning of Rituals”) [14]. As both works have been completely lost, it is unclear which one the *Hou Han shu* is referring to, and whether there were two of them or just one. Another work entitled *Wu jing tong yi*, as Zhu Yizun pointed out, belonged to Zhang Xia (張遐, years of life unknown) [15], but it was also completely lost [16].

After the Han dynasty, the *tong yi* marker did not cease to be used for the titles of texts, and during the Six Dynasties (*Liuchao*, 六朝, 220—589) a number of works of this type were written. The *Jing ji zhi* of the *Sui shu* contains a total of 10 titles: in the *Jing* (“經” “The [Confucian] Classics”) section — *Zhou yi yi tong* (“周易疑通” “Penetrating into the Doubts of Changes of the Zhou”) by He Yinzhi (何譚之, years of life unknown) in 5 *juan*; *Tong wu jing* (“通五經” “Penetrating into the [Meaning] of the Five Classics” [17]) by Wang Shi (王氏, years of life unknown) in 5 *juan*; *Chunqiu Zuoshi jing zhuan tongjie* (“春秋左氏經傳通解” “Comprehensive Explications of the Classics and Commentary of Mr Zuo’s Spring and Autumn [Annals]”) in 4 *juan* by Wang Shuzhi (王述之, years of life unknown); *Chunqiu zhi tong* (“春秋旨通” “Penetrating into the Essence of the Spring and Autumn [Annals]”) in 10 *juan*, also authored by him, *Liu jing tong shu* (“六經通數” “Comprehensive Numbers of the Six Classics”) in 10 *juan* by the Liang (502—556) period writer She Baoquan (舍鮑泉, years of life unknown). In the *Shi* (“史” “Historiographical [writings]”) section there is only one, but voluminous work *Tong shi* (“通史” “Comprehensive History”) in 480 *juan* by Liang Wudi (梁武帝, 502—549). In the *Zi* (“子” “Masters and Philosophers”) section there are *Tong yu* (“通語” “Comprehensive Speeches”) by Yin Xing (殷興, years of life unknown) in 10 *juan*; *Gujin tonglun* (“古今通論” “Comprehensive Discourses on Ancient and Modern [Times]”) by Wang Ying (王嬰, years of life unknown) in 2 *juan*; *Tong jing* (“通經” “Penetrating into the [Meaning] of the Classics”) by Wang Changwen (王長文, years of life unknown) in 2 *juan*; *Tong gu ren lun* (“通古人論” “Disquisitions on Penetrating [into the Affairs] of Ancient People”) in 1 *juan*. In the *Ji* (“集” “[Individual] Collections”) section there are no works of this type [18].

From this list, it can be seen that after the Han dynasty *tong yi*-texts continued to exist both within the framework of exegesis and historiography; they could be combined with different types of commentary, such as *jie* (“解” “explications”), *lun* (“論” “disquisitions”), *yi* (“疑” “doubts”), or stand independently, and were used in texts with a claim to broad generalisation of the subject matter. In later bibliographies, both in official and private catalogues, book titles with the compound *tong yi* were also repeatedly recorded. By the end of the Qing dynasty, *tong yi*-type commentaries had been written on all the texts of the Five Classics and the Four Books [19]. Besides that, a considerable number of such works on historiography were written: among the most renowned, in addition to the *San tong*, were the treatises *Shi tong* (“史通” “Penetrating into the [Meaning] of History”) by Liu Zhiji (劉知幾, 661—721) and *Wen shi tong yi* (“文史通義” “Penetrating into the Meaning of Literature and History”) by Zhang Xuecheng (章學誠, 1738—1801).

As we can see, works bearing the *tong yi* marker never ceased to be part of the literary process and did not belong exclusively to the exegetical tradition or

historiography. It is quite possible that the authors who added *tong yi* to the title of their works intended to emphasise that they intended to make a series of new observations on the ideas of their predecessors, conduct a deeper analysis, offer a more balanced assessment, and so on, without thereby implying a selection of specific formal or substantive features for their work. While the *tong yi*-texts of later periods did not belong to any specific literary type defined by their structural and compositional characteristics, when speaking about the *tong yi*-texts of the Han era, i.e. the time when they first appeared, several major common features can, however, be found. Below, an attempt will be made to show what features indicated the similarities of all these texts.

Text of the *Bai hu tong*, generally considered to be compiled by Ban Gu (班固) was the result of a series of court debates among scholars on the interpretation of the Classics in 79 CE. A Chinese-born Indonesian scholar Zeng Zhusen (曾珠森, Tjan Tjoe Som, 1903—1969), who translated this text into English, supposed that it was compiled as an abridged version of the original report of these debates, since the transmitted version of the text contains neither the names of the participants nor the emperor's concluding speeches [20].

The *Bai hu tong* covers a wide range of topics that not only go beyond the interpretation of the Classics: in its text as a whole, there is rarely a direct explanation of the classical texts themselves [21]. The main attention is paid to unifying the understanding of various terminology and principles for explaining the universe, which is achieved mainly by citing the classical texts that touch upon various phenomena. The *Bai hu tong* has a question-and-answer format (for example, one passage could begin with “what is called ritual and music?” or “why are inspection tours carried out once every five years?”), offering from time to time several perspectives on a single issue. The question of when the text was composed is controversial, since the first reference to the text titled *Bai hu tong* can be found rather late, by a man named Miu Xi (繆襲, d. 245 CE) [22]. Zeng Zhusen suggested that the reason for this was the growing popularity of the Old Text (*guwen* “古文”) school's interpretations of the canonical texts.

The results of the debate, as before, confirmed the formal authority of the New Text (*jinwen* “今文”) school, but in fact the number of *guwen* scholars during the Eastern Han was gradually growing, which is why the results of the debate lost their popularity shortly after 79 CE [23]. It can be added that the absence of direct quotations for a long time could also be due to the fact that the *Bai hu tong* itself is more like a collection of quotations rather than an original text. Speaking about the length of the work, bibliographical treatises of the *Sui shu* and *Jiu tang shu* (“舊唐書” “The Old Book of Tang”, 10th century) list the book with 6 *juan*, while the *Chong wen zong mu* (“崇文總目” “General Catalogue of the [Academy] for the Veneration of Literature”, 11th century),

*Junzhai dushu zh* (“郡齋讀書志” “Records of Books Read in [My] Studio in the Province”, 12th century) and *Zhizhai shulu tijie* (“直齋書錄題解” “List of Zhizhai's Books with Explanatory Notes”, 13th century) list the work with 10 *juan*, as in the transmitted text [24].

The work *Feng su tong yi*, in contrast to the *Bai hu tong*, can be dated with greater certainty to the end of the 2nd century CE — the very beginning of the 3rd century CE [25]. It was written by Ying Shao (應劭), who served as the grand commandant (*taishou* “太守”) of Taishan (泰山) in 189—194 CE. The original number of chapters remains unknown; the first information about the text appears in *Sui Shu*, according to which *Feng su tong yi* contained 31 *juan*; and *lu* (“錄” “attachments”) comprised 1 *juan* [26]. At present, the text comprises only 10 *juan* and a significant number of fragments of lost chapters. The loss of 21 chapters must have occurred by the 12th century: whereas both Tang Histories [27] list the book with 30 *juan*, *Junzhai dushu zhi* lists the text with only 10 *juan* [28]. The *Feng su tong yi* consists of two different types of chapters. Some chapters are in the form of collections of anecdotes on a single topic, while the others provide basic knowledge about the most important concepts related to a broad topic (ritual, music, geography and political history) and similar in structure to the later *leishu* (“類書” “categorised books”) [29]. In the anecdotal chapters, the author uses short narratives to raise the issues such as the worship of deities, moral behaviour, and the assessment of previous rulers and famous officials. The encyclopaedic chapters read more like an attempt to present a synthesis of the most important information about one sphere, necessary for the basic literacy of an official. The material within the encyclopaedic chapters is divided into categories, which represent the basic terminology of each sphere; the order of the categories is chronological or goes from most important to least important; the description is made using glosses, definitions, lists of important facts about them, and quotations from classical or well-known texts. Throughout all the extant chapters and fragments of most of the lost chapters, Ying Shao uses the phrases *su shuo* (“俗說” “[it has become] customary to say [that]”) and *jin an* (“謹按” “I modestly note [that]”). The first introduces a point of view common among the author's contemporaries on some issue, and the second marks the author's explanations, which criticize and correct this point of view. Thus, the whole work of Ying Shao is built on correcting common misconceptions from different areas of life.

In the *Feng su tong yi*, unlike the *Bai hu tong*, there are no question-and-answer formulas on which the narrative is built, while in the *Bai hu tong* there is no *su shuo* formula, nor well as no attempts to criticize someone else's point of view. At the same time, comparing the *Bai hu tong* and the encyclopaedic chapters of the *Feng su tong yi*, we can find obvious similarities between the two texts: (1) the topics raised

are examined by characterizing their most basic categories; (2) this characteristic includes glosses and definitions, a description of the main features of them, as well as multiple quotations from the Classics which appear in a row to confirm the above ideas; (3) the main goal of the two texts was to unify the understanding of the concepts and problems under consideration. Let us turn our attention to the chapters of both writings that are devoted to the same topic.

In the *Bai hu tong*, information on geography is scattered across the chapters *Tian di* (“天地” “Heaven and Earth”), *Jing shi* (“京師” “Capital District”) and *Xun shou* (“巡狩” “Inspection Tours”), but similarities with *Feng su tong yi* can be found only for *Xun shou*. The *Bai hu tong* pays more attention to the description of sacred geography than to physical geography. The chapter *Xun shou* discusses such issues as why the inspection tours are carried out in each of the four seasons and once every five years, and why during tours the emperor must stay at ancestral temples, etc. The chapter emphasizes the cosmological harmonizing role of such tours and ends with a list of the *Wu yue* (“五嶽” “Five [Sacred] Peaks”) [30] and the *Si du* (“四瀆” “Four [Main] Rivers”) [31], along with glosses to the names of the mountains and to the word *du* (“瀆” “[main] river”). At the same time, the chapter *Shan ze* of the *Feng su tong yi* begins where the *Bai Hu Tong* ends, that is, with sections devoted to the “Five [Sacred] Peaks and Four [Main] Rivers”, glosses to their names, and a description of when and why inspection tours are carried out, and then moves on to less significant geographical units like swamps, irrigation canals, hills, etc. In fact, similar features can be observed in a number of other chapters of the two texts.

The chapter *Li yue* (“禮樂” “Ritual and Music”) of the *Bai hu tong* focuses on the interconnection of all things through the interaction between the *yin* (“陰” “Yin”) and *yang* (“陽” “Yang”) energies [32] and the *Wu xing* (“五行” “Five Agents”) [33]. This chapter mainly talks about the connection between *Wu sheng* (“五聲” “Five Notes”) [34] and human emotions, and the influence of music on the transformation of people's behaviour. It also raises the questions of why rituals and music are reestablished by a new dynasty and why it is necessary to rely on the past, and how barbarian music was created and why it was called so, etc. The chapter ends with glosses on *Wu sheng* and *Ba yin* (“八音” “Eight Sounds”) [35], indicating their correlation with the Five agents and *Ba feng* (“八風” “Winds of the Eight [Directions]”), as well as providing explanations of them. The *Sheng yin* chapter of the *Feng su tong yi* begins with sections on *Wu sheng* and *Ba yin*, which talk about the correlation between *Wu sheng*, *Wu chang* (“五常” “Five Constant [Virtues]”) [36] and the “Five Agents”, as well as the *Ba yin* and *Ba feng*, and then goes on to talk about specific musical instruments. The content of the *Feng su tong yi*'s chapter allows the reader to learn the differences between the instruments and understand their common features, but at the same time does not provide enough

technical knowledge about how to play these instruments. Ying Shao reports on their size and number of holes or tubes, sometimes noting that these are the modern parameters of the instrument, and also mentions the inventor of the instrument.

Let us look at the ritual chapters of both texts. The *Wu Si* (“五祀” “Five Sacrifices”) [37] and *She Ji* (“社稷” “The Gods of the Earth and of the Millet”) [38] chapters of the *Bai Hu Tong* highlight the specifics of the sacrifices, indicating who, at what time, and in what volume should perform a particular ritual, who has the right to make the sacrifices, how they correspond to the “Five Agents”, why they are performed twice a year, why the altars are built in one way rather than another, why the Son of Heaven himself must participate in them, etc. The *Si dian* chapter of the *Feng su tong yi* begins with two sections devoted to the sacrifices to the God of the Earth and the God of the Millet. The description then moves on to state rituals of lesser importance and local customs. The content shows that, in addition to the official cults, the author aimed to document local cults that helped people overcome troubles and diseases.

Finally, the *Hao* (“號” “Appellations”) chapter of the *Bai hu tong* begins with an explanation of why appellations are used in the state, then the text describes the terms of Son of Heaven, the noble man, the cohorts of the *San Huang* (“三皇” “Three Augusts”) [39], the *Wu di* (“五帝” “Five Sovereigns”) [40], the *San wang* (“三王” “[Founding] kings of the three [dynasties]”) [41], and the *Wu ba* (“五霸” “Five Hegemons”) [42], and ends with a description of the titles of *bo* “伯”, *zi* “子” and *nan* “男” [43]. Ying Shao in the *Huang ba* chapter takes the same four cohorts as the basis for his description, but devotes his text to political history and excludes the description of *bo*, *zi*, and *nan*, replacing it with the *Liu guo* (“六國” “Six Kingdoms”) [44] section.

Together, these features suggest that Ying Shao may have followed the text of *Bai hu tong* in both structure and content. He began the above-mentioned encyclopaedic chapters with the concepts that ended a chapter in the *Bai hu tong*, used them as a starting point, and then continued his text toward describing specific examples or concepts of lesser importance.

Now let us pay attention to the structure and content of the fragments of the *Wu jing tong yi*. According to the extant passages, it can be judged that the text was not critical but rather explanatory: it does not attempt to refute someone else's opinion or express the author's original ideas. The commentary does not explain the philosophical meaning of the Five Classics, but raises a number of specific questions. For example, it asks why the music of the Three August and Five Sovereigns differed from each other, why the Son of Heaven assigned positions to worthy people, and why some sacrifices were made once every three years while others once every five years, etc. For example:

天所以有雷霆風雨霜雪霧露何？欲以成歲潤萬物，因以見災異也。

Why does Heaven have thunderclap, wind, rain, frost, snow, fog and dew? With their help [Heaven] strives [to bring] the year to [fullness] and to nourish [with moisture] all beings; for this reason it uses [them] it demonstrates disasters and deviations [45].

Most of the surviving fragments relate to state ideology, revealed through the prism of ritual and music. In the *Wu jing tong yi*, one can often see question-and-answer formulas and an attempt to clarify broad terminology. In the fragments, which comprise slightly less than 2600 characters, there are 21 questions, each of which is followed by an answer, and 31 definitions. These definitions provide explanations of ancient names and concepts through glosses, which means that the commentary contains elements of philological research into ancient words. For example:

黃帝樂所以為咸池者何？咸皆，池施也，黃帝時道皆施於民。

Why is the Yellow Emperor's music [called] Xianchi? “Xian” (*gem*) [46] [means] “entirely” (*kei*) [47], “chi” (*diai*) [48] [means] “to spread” (*sai*) [49]; in the time of the Yellow Emperor the Way was entirely spread among the people [50].

Given the fragmentary state of Liu Xiang's text, we can cautiously suggest that there were common features among the three works containing the *tong yi* marker from the Han era. All three authors paid careful attention to terminology: in pursuit of the goal of restoring a correct understanding of the object, they actively used glosses and definitions both for general concepts and for specific toponyms.

The *tong yi*-texts do not give the impression of free-form discourse on topics related to the canon; rather, they appear to be an attempt to generalise a broad sphere. During the Han era, these texts evolved from works that explained the meaning of the Classics into encyclopaedic works that used the Classics, historical works, dictionaries, and apocrypha to restore the correct meaning of something. The emergence of such works during the Eastern Han era reflected a tendency to generalise and systematise the accumulated knowledge and perspectives of the intellectual tradition. This tendency was also evident in the emergence of numerous comparative polemical commentaries in exegetical thought [51]. Given their number during the Han era, it can be said that the *tong yi*-texts were not popular among the thinkers of that time. However, they became an integral part of Chinese literature in subsequent periods, though no longer tied to a specific form or structure.

## Notes

1. *San tong* is a group of three encyclopaedias covering various aspects of state administration. The group includes *Tong dian* (“通典” “Comprehensive Statutes”) by Du You (杜佑, 735—812), *Tong zhi* (“通志” “Comprehensive Treatises”) by Zheng Qiao (鄭樵, 1104—1162) and *Wenxian tongkao* (“文獻通考” “Comprehensive Research into Literary Sources”) by Ma Duanlin (馬端臨, 1254—1323).
2. *Gudai hanyu cidian*, 2002: 1560—1561.
3. Both phonetical reconstructions in this definition are taken from Schuessler, 2009: 166.
4. Xu, 2015: 2/127.
5. Schuessler, 2009: 165.
6. Liu, 2016: 4/48.
7. Xunzi, 1988: 9/247.
8. Huan, 1992: 6/355.
9. Xun & Yuan, 2002: 11/176.
10. Ma, 2004: 2028—2034. Based on the preface, during the Liang period the text was 9 *juan* in size, while the *Sui Shu* lists only an 8 *juan* text.
11. *Ibid.*: 2348—2361. In addition to this, there is a modern annotated edition of *Tong su wen* edited by Duan Shuwei (段書偉), see: Fu, 1993.
12. Fan et al., 1973: 35/1205.
13. Zhu, 2010: 239/4309.
14. *Ibid.*: 138/2552.
15. All that is known about Zhang Xia is that he lived during the Eastern Han, was born in the Yuzhang county, and, besides the *Wu jing tong yi*, composed a supplement (*waiji* “外記”) to *Wu Yue Chunqiu* (“吳越春秋” “Spring and Autumn [Annals] of Wu and Yue”) (De Crespigny, 2007: 1079).
16. Zhu, 2010: 239/4315.
17. The Five Classics are the most authoritative canons in Confucianism. The authorship of these books was attributed to Confucius (Kongzi 孔子, 551—479 BCE), although the greater part of them dates from a later period. The *Wu jing* comprised the *Yi jing* (“易經” “Book of Changes”), the *Shu jing* (“書經” “Book of Documents”), the *Shi jing* (“詩經” “Book of Poetry”), the *Li ji* (“禮記” “Records of Rites”) and the *Chun qiu* (“春秋” “Spring and Autumn [Annals]”).
18. Wei et al., 2019: 32—35/1023—1256.
19. The Four Books are a part of the Confucian Classics that include the teachings of four famous philosophers in ancient China: Kongzi — the *Lun yu* (“論語” “Analects”), Zeng Shen (曾參, 505—436 BCE) — the *Da xue* (“大學” “Great Learning”), Kong Ji (孔伋, 483—402 BCE) — the *Zhong yong* (“中庸” “Doctrine of the Mean”), and Mencius (Meng Ke, 孟軻, 385—304 BCE) — the *Mengzi* (孟子).
20. Tjan Tjoe Som, 1949—1952, vol. 1: 172.
21. *Ibid.*: 70.
22. *Ibid.*: 29.
23. *Ibid.*: 173—174.
24. Loewe, 1993: 348.
25. Wang (王利器, 1912—1998) pointed out that in the *Feng su tong yi* Ying Shao referred to his past service as the grand commandant of Taishan, from which he concluded that the text was written after 194. For this and other arguments concerning the time of the text's compilation, see: Ying, 1981: 2—3.
26. Wei et al., 2019: 34/1006. For the history of the transmission of the text, see the first comprehensive study

of *Feng su tong yi* in the West, conducted by M. Nylan (Nylan, 1982: 339—359).

27. Liu et al., 1975: 47/2033; Ouyang et al., 1975: 59/1534.

28. Chao, 1988: 339.

29. The encyclopaedic chapters, in my opinion, include *Huang ba* (“皇霸” “August [Rulers] and Hegemons”), *Sheng yin* (“聲音” “Notes and Sounds”), *Si dian* (“祀典” “Sacrificial Statutes”) and *Shan ze* (“山澤” “Mountains and Lakes”). The anecdotal chapters include *Zheng shi* (“正失” “Correction of Errors”), *Qian li* (“愆禮” “Violation of Ritual”), *Guo yu* (“過譽” “Excessive Praise”), *Guai shen* (“怪神” “Monsters and Deities”), *Shi fan* (“十反” “Ten Antithetical [Examples]”) and *Qiong tong* (“窮通” “Impeded, Unimpeded”).

30. The Five Sacred Peaks are arranged according to the five directions, which include the centre as a direction. This group of mountains comprises Taishan (泰山) in the east, Huashan (華山) in the west, Hengshan (衡山) in the south, Hengshan (恆山) in the north, and Songshan (嵩山) in the centre.

31. The Four Main Rivers are the Yangtze (長江), the Yellow River (黃河), the Huai River (淮河) and the Jishui (濟水).

32. *Yin* “陰” and *yang* “陽” are the fundamental categories of Chinese philosophy which express the idea of the universal duality of the world. The theory of this universal dualism was formed in the Warring States (*Zhanguo*, 戰國, 5th century — 221 BCE) period and received its development in the *yin yang jia* (“陰陽家” “yin-yang school”). Later on, its ideas were used as the basis of almost all philosophical systems (Kobzev, 2006b).

33. The Five Agents constitute one of the fundamental categories of Chinese philosophy and denote a universal scheme, according to which all things on earth can be grouped into a five-member structures. This theory was used to explain permanent changes in the world and describe the interrelation of all things. The theory of the *Wu xing* acquired its developed form in the Warring States period, which was largely facilitated by Zou Yan (鄒衍, ca. 305—240 BCE) and Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒, 179—104 BCE). Later, it became one of the foundations of the *xiang shu zhi xue* (“象數之學” “doctrine of symbols and numbers”) and an integral part of Chinese medicine, martial arts, geomancy, etc. (Kobzev, 2006a).

34. The Five Notes were the basis of musical theory in ancient China and represented the pentatonic scale: *gong* “宮”, *shang* “商”, *jiao* “角”, *zhi* “徵”, and *yu* “羽”.

35. The Eight Sounds referred to the sounds produced by eight types of Chinese musical instruments. These included the ocarina (*xun* “埙”), the mouth organ (*sheng* “笙”), the drums (*gu* “鼓”), the bamboo flutes (*guan* “管”), the zither (*se* “瑟”), the stone chimes (*qing* “磬”), the metal bells (*zhong* “鐘”), and the scraper (*zhu* “柷”).

36. The term *Wu chang*, beginning in the Han era, comprised humaneness (*ren* “仁”), righteousness (*yi* “義”), courtesy (*li* “禮”), wisdom (*zhi* “智”), and sincerity (*xin* “信”).

37. In ancient Chinese texts, there were several versions of what sacrifices are included in the *Wu si* (“五祀” “Five Sacrifices”). In the commentary of Sun Xidan (孫希旦, 1736—1784) to the *Li ji*, it is said that the Five sacri-

fices were made near the gates, doors, and hearth, in the central part of the house (*zhong liu* “中霤”), and also on the streets for wandering spirits (*xing* “行”). For further details, see: Sun et al., 1989: 6/151. In the *Bai hu tong*, instead of wandering spirits, the Spirit of the well is named, see: Ban et al., 1994: 2/77.

38. Sacrifices to the Gods of the Earth and the Gods of the Millet were the most important state cults, for which altars were built in the open air. They were prayed to for a good harvest and were thanked for their good deeds towards people.

39. The Three Augusts, according to early Chinese mythology, were ancient rulers of a divine nature. In various sources there were different opinions about which rulers were to be included in this cohort. The *Bai hu tong* gives two versions: Fu Xi (虞戲), Sui Ren (燧人), Shen Nong (神農); or Fu Xi (虞戲), Shen Nong (神農), and Zhu Rong (祝融). According to the *Feng su tong yi*, Fu Xi (虞戲), Sui Ren (燧人), and Shen Nong (神農) are the Three Augusts.

40. The Five Sovereigns were considered the ancestors of Xia (夏, 21st—18th century BCE), Shang (商, 17th—11th century BCE) and Zhou (11th — 3rd century BCE) dynasties. This cohort comprised Huang Di (黃帝), Zhuang Xu (顓頊), Di Ku (帝嚳), Yao (堯), and Shun (舜). In traditional Chinese historiography they were revered as wise and virtuous rulers, imitation of whom was a means of establishing order in the country.

41. It was usually considered that the *San wang* cohort comprised Xia Yu (夏禹), Cheng Tang (殷湯), and Zhou Wu Wang (周武王), who were the founding rulers of their dynasties. They were perceived as the ideal rulers of the past.

42. The Five Hegemons were the regional rulers of the Spring and Autumn period, who took turns replacing each other in the role of the one who had the greatest real power in the territory of Zhou at that time, and had the responsibility for protecting the borders and preventing internal strife between the principalities. This cohort comprised Qi Huan Gong (齊桓公), Jin Wen Gong (晉文公), Qin Mu Gong (秦繆公), Song Xiang Gong (宋襄公), and Chu Zhuang Wang (楚莊王). Of these, only the first two did Ying Shao consider worthy of the title of hegemon (*ba* “伯”), and he proposed to exclude the rest for disrespect to the Zhou house. In their place, Ying Shao put forward the figures of three characters from an earlier time — Kun Wu (昆吾), Da Peng (大彭) and Shi Wei (豕韋), who, from his point of view, loyally served the Celestial Empire and protected it from external enemies, see: Ying, 1981: 18—20. This composition was not invented by Ying Shao; it is found in the text of the *Bai hu tong*, where three versions of the Five Hegemons were proposed, see: Ban et al., 1994: 2/60—66; Tjan Tjoe Som, 1949—1952, vol. 1: 236—237.

43. *Bo* “伯”, *zi* “子”, and *nan* “男” were the titles of nobility in the Zhou dynasty. Holders of these titles were given a territory depending on their rank and became regional rulers.

44. The Six Kingdoms were the opponents of Qin in the 3rd century BCE who fought for dominance in China at the end of the Warring States period. This term usually comprised the kingdoms of Zhao (趙), Wei (魏), Han (韓), Yan (燕), Chu (楚), and Qi (齊).

45. Ma, 2004: 2029.

46. Schuessler, 2009: 361.  
47. *Ibid.*: 277.  
48. *Ibid.*: 214.

49. *Ibid.*: 215.  
50. Ma, 2004: 2031.  
51. Bonch-Osmolovskaya, 2020: 56.

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