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The *Shuowen jiezi* Lexicon: Between Character Books and Rhyme Books

ABSTRACT:
This paper examines the phenomenon of genre transformation in the history of Chinese lexicography, with a particular focus on the early lexicon *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (100 AD) and the later *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* 說文解字五音韻譜 (1178–1181 AD). The latter may be explained as an attempt based on medieval phonology to reorganize the information system of the former in order to facilitate its use. By comparing the two lexica, together with other rhyme books, this paper reconfirms that *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* adopts the *fanqie* 反切 notations and the phonological system of Xu Xuan's 徐鉉 (917–992) *Shuowen jiezi* and rearranges its entries accordingly, yielding an order sometimes similar to that of Xu Kai's 徐鍇 (920–974) *Shuowen jiezi zhuan yunpu* 說文解字篆韻譜, but distinct from two other works – *Jiyun* 集韻 (1037–1039) and *Leipian* 類篇 (1039–1066). Building on this comparison, this article develops a theoretical framework for phonologization and examines how competing models of phonologization influenced one another, thereby shaping and reshaping the trajectory of philological scholarship in the late-imperial period.

KEYWORDS:
Shuowen jiezi, Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu, *Li Tao, Xu Xuan, Xu Kai, genre transformation, phonologization, character books, rhyme books*

INTRODUCTION

Ancient China had a long history of lexicography, which gave rise to multiple genres of lexica. In the *Annotated Bibliography of the Comprehensive Books of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要), Qing (1644–1911) scholars divided books of "elementary learning" (*xiaoxue* 小學) into three categories: glosses and precedents (*xungu* 訓詁), character books (*zishu* 字書), and rhyme books (*yunshu* 韻書). This division reflected their understanding of lexicographical and philological genres.[1] However, the category of glosses and precedents

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1 See Yongrong 永瑢, ed., *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), *j.* 43, p. 338.

contains only 20 titles, in contrast to the 104 titles in the character-book category and the 94 in the rhyme-book category. In the history of lexicon production in ancient China, character books and rhyme books were two dominant lexicographical traditions. The former is organized according to a graphic system, whereas the latter is structured on a phonological one.

The Thirteen Lexica

The present study examines the genre transformation between character books and rhyme books. The discussion will mention thirteen lexica and related works that represent a large and imaginative field of lexicography in China, ranging in time from the first to the thirteenth century. Several will be referred to hereafter by shortened names, as indicated, below; and they are used as well in the tables. (More bibliographic information about these lexica can be found in the appendix "Editions Consulted".) Finally, for most items a preferred edition is designated in the following way: "*Edition:" Preference is judged in terms of efficiency and/or convenience for research purposes.

• *Explaining Simple Characters and Analyzing Composite Characters* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字) Short name: *Shuowen*

Compiled by Xu Shen 許慎 (ca. 54–ca. 125 AD),[2] completed in 100 AD, and presented to the throne by his son, Xu Chong 許沖 in 121.[3] *Edition: that of Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (917–992) in 986 (this version of *Shuowen* is referred to as the Da Xu *Shuowen* 大徐說文).[4] It was printed in emperor Xiao's 孝 reign (r. 1162–1189) with successive repairs and replacement blocks likely from the Yuan 元 dynasty (1271–1368) Dade 大德 period (1297–1307). Formerly held by Mao Jin's 毛晉 (1599–1659) Jigu ge 汲古閣, and currently held in the National Library of China. The most widely used edition is that edited by Chen Changzhi 陳昌治 in 1873.

2 See Dong Xiqian 董希謙, "Xu Shen shengping shiji kaobian" 許慎生平事迹考辨, in Cao Xianzhuo 曹先擢, Dong Xiqian, and Wang Ning王寧, eds., *Shuowen jiezi yanjiu* 說文解字研究 (Kaifeng: Henan daxue chubanshe, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 25–34.

3 For an introduction to the *Shuowen*, see William Boltz, "*Shuo wen chieh tzu*," in Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, U. California, 1993), pp. 429–42, and Qiran Jin, "The Root of the Classics: *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 and Confucian Classical Studies in the Middle Eastern Han," MA thesis (Columbia University, 2021), pp. 1–11.

4 Both Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (917–992) and his younger brother Xu Kai 徐鍇 (920–974) contributed to the *Shuowen* scholarship, and Xuan is commonly referred to as Da Xu (the senior Xu).

• *Sound Categories* (*Shenglei* 聲類)

Compiled by the Wei-dynasty 魏 (220–265) philologist Li Deng 李登. It has been lost to history.

• *Cut Rhymes* (*Qieyun* 切韻)

Compiled by Lu Fayan 陸法言 (b. ca. 562), completed in 601. It was lost to history, but part of it was rediscovered in Tang-era Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscripts. *Edition: in *Collection of Extant Rhyme Books from Tang and Five Dynasties* (*Tang Wudai yunshu jicun* 唐五代韻書集存).[5]

• *Tang Rhymes* (*Tangyun* 唐韻)

An enlargement of *Qieyun* by Sun Mian 孫愐 in 733 and revised in 751. It was lost to history for a long time until the rediscovery of its manuscript, commonly referred to as the Jiang Fu 蔣斧 (1866–1911) edition.[6] *Edition: in *Tang Wudai yunshu jicun.*

• *Appended Tradition of the Shuowen jiezi* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字繫傳) Short name: *Xizhuan*

Compiled by Xu Kai 徐鍇 (920–974) around 953–957.[7] *Edition: traced copy of the Song edition done by Qian Zeng's 錢曾 (1629–1701) Shugu tang 述古堂; held by the National Central Library. The most widely used edition is that edited and printed by Qi Junzao 祁寯藻 (1793–1866) from 1839 to 1840.[8]

• *Rhymed List of Small Seal Scripts in the Shuowen jiezi* (*Shuowen jiezi zhuan yunpu* 說文解字篆韻譜, *or Shuowen jiezi yunpu* 說文解字韻譜) Short name: *Zhuan yunpu*

Compiled by Xu Kai, first printed by Xu Xuan in 987. *Zhuan yunpu* has two edition systems: the earlier one in ten *juan* and a later

[5] Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, *Tang Wudai yunshu jicun* 唐五代韻書集存 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983). The most convenient digital tool for *Qieyun* studies can be found in Suzuku Shingo 鈴木慎吾, "PYDB," <https://suzukish.sakura.ne.jp/search/>; see also Xu Chaodong 徐朝東, *Qieyun huijiao* 切韻彙校 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2021).

[6] For a review of the scholarship on the nature and date of the ms., see Xu Chaodong, "Xulun" 緒論, in idem, *Jiang cang ben Tangyun yanjiu* 蔣藏本唐韻研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2012), pp. 4–21.

[7] See Shiroishi Masato白石將人, "Xiaoxu ben yanjiu" 小徐本研究, in idem, *Shuowen wenben yanbian kao: yi Songdai jiaoding wei zhongxin* 說文文本演變考, 以宋代校訂爲中心 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2021), pp. 14–18.

[8] See Dong Jingchen 董婧宸, "Cong chaoben dao keben: Qi Junzao keben *Shuowen jiezi xizhuan* zhuanxing gaidong kao; jianlun *Yunpu* shijuan ben de jiaokan jiazhi ji *Shuowen* zhuanxing de banben puxi" 从抄本到刻本, 祁寯藻刻本說文解字繫傳篆形改動考; 兼論韻譜十卷本的校勘價值及說文篆形的版本譜系, in *Zhongguo gudianxue* 中國古典學 4 (2024), pp. 459–88.

recension in five *juan.* *Edition: (for 10-*j. Zhuan yunpu*) that reprinted by Feng Guifen 馮桂芬 (1809–1874) around 1864–1867. *Edition: (for 5-*j. Zhuan yunpu*) the Yuan Zhongshan tang 種善堂 edition, printed in 1316.[9]

• *Enlarged Rhymes* (*Guangyun* 廣韻)

Compiled by Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 (961–1017) et al. in 1007 and printed in 1008. *Edition: (efficiency) that printed during emperor Ning's 寧 (r. 1195–1224) reign; held by Shanghai Library. *Edition: (convenience) that collated by Zhou Zumo 周祖謨 (1914–1995) in *Collated Guangyun* (*Guangyun jiaoben* 廣韻校本).[10]

• *Jade Book Expansion* (*Daguang yihui Yupian* 大廣益會玉篇)

Edited by Chen Pengnian 陳彭年 et al. in 1013. *Edition: that printed during emperor Ning's reign; held by the Shoryōbu 書陵部 of Kunai-chō 宮内庁 in Japan.

• *Rhymed List of Five Sounds in the Shuowen jiezi* (*Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* 說文解字五音韻譜) Short name: *Wuyin yunpu*

Compiled by Li Tao 李燾 (1115–1184) around 1178–1181. *Edition: the Southern Song edition; formerly held by the Jigu ge 汲古閣 and currently by Zhongguo shudian 中國書店.

• *Assembled Rhymes* (*Jiyun* 集韻)

Compiled by Ding Du 丁度 (990–1053) et al. from 1037 to 1039. *Edition: (efficiency) the Mingzhou 明州 edition, printed in early Southern Song; held by Shanghai Library.[11] *Edition: (convenience) that collated by Zhao Zhenduo 趙振鐸 in *Collated Jiyun* (*Jiyun jiaoben* 集韻校本).[12]

[9] Dong Jingchen argues that the copy of *Zhuan yunpu* held by Tenri Central Library is likely a Song edn.; if so, it would be important edn. for study; see Dong, "Cong chaoben dao keben," p. 484, n. 1; for a convenient rpt., see *Setsumon kaiji ten in pu* 說文解字篆韻譜 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 1981).

[10] Zhou Zumo, *Guangyun jiaoben* 廣韻校本 (4th edn.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011). *Guangyun*'s system of Song prints is especially complicated; see Pak Hyŏn-gyu 朴現圭 and Pak Chŏng-ok 朴貞玉, Guangyun *banben kao* 廣韻版本考 (Taipei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1986); more recently, see Dong Jingchen, "Nansong zheke jianben *Dasong chongxiu Guangyun* banben bukao: Jianshu Song Yuan xiangben *Guangyun* de banben yuanliu" 南宋浙刻監本大宋重修廣韻版本補考, 兼述宋元詳本廣韻的版本源流, *Lishi wenxian yanjiu* 歷史文獻研究 46 (2021), pp. 1–21.

[11] See Zhao Zhenduo 趙振鐸, "Banben" 版本, in idem, *Jiyun yanjiu* 集韻研究 (Beijing: Yuwen chubanshe, 2006), p. 166.

[12] Zhao Zhenduo, *Jiyun jiaoben* 集韻校本 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2013).

• *Category Book* (*Leipian* 類篇)

Compiled by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) et al. from 1039 to 1067. *Edition: the Qing Jigu ge's 汲古閣 traced copy of the Song edition; held by Shanghai Library.

• *Revised and Combined Assembled Rhymes of Five Sounds* (*Gaibing wuyin jiyun* 改並五音集韻)

Edited by Han Daozhao 韓道昭 in 1208 (or 1212). *Edition: that collated by Ning Jifu 甯忌浮 in *Collated and Emended Wuyin jiyun* (*Jiaoding wuyin jiyun* 校訂五音集韻).[13]

• *Revised and Combined Five Sounds Categorized and Sea of Four Tones* (*Gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pianhai* 改並五音類聚四聲篇海)

First edited by Han Xiaoyan 韓孝彥 in 1181; further edited by Han Daozhao in 1208. *Edition: the Ming Chenghua 成化 (1465–1487) edition, edited and printed from 1467 to 1471.[14]

The compilation of *Shuowen* around 100 AD marks the birth of the "graphic tradition" in lexicon production. In his lexicon, Xu Shen divided 9,353 entries of Chinese characters into 540 groups of semantic classifiers (*bushou* 部首) based on graphic form and meaning.[15] To look up a Chinese character, users would have to know its semantic classifier, locate the semantic-classifier group in the lexicon, and then check the specific entry within it.[16] In other words, even if users do not know the sound of a Chinese character, it is still possible to check its definition in the lexicon by analyzing its graphic form. In the third century, under the influence of Sanskrit phonology,[17] rhyme books came into

13 Ning Jifu 甯忌浮, *Jiaoding wuyin jiyun* 校訂五音集韻 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992).

14 See Guo Jingyan 郭敬燕, "*Gaibing sisheng pianhai* banben kaolue" 改並四聲篇海版本考略, *Dezhou xueyuan xuebao* 德州學院學報 29.5 (2013), pp. 56–59.

15 The number of entries is mentioned in Xu Shen's *Shuowen* postface, but according to Li Guoying's 李國英 calculation, the received Chen Changzhi 陳昌治 edn. of *Shuowen* has 9,421 entries; see Li, "Xiaozhuan xingshengzi yanjiu" 小篆形聲字研究, Ph.D. diss. (Beijing Normal University, 1989), pp. 47, 87 (n. 59). As for *bushou*, William G. Boltz argues that "radical" is a problematic translation; Boltz, "Writing in Chinese," in idem, *The Origin and the Development of the Chinese Writing System* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2003), p. 68. The present paper follows Boltz and uses the term "semantic classifier."

16 Typically, one entry is composed of five parts: the semantic definition of the character, a graphical analysis, its use in early texts, its sound recorded by means of homonyms, and its archaic variants. But very often the last three parts are not included. In *Shuowen*, there are only 745 entries recording sound by means of homonyms, 7.9% of 9,421 entries. The calculation is after Wan Xianchu 萬獻初, *Shuowen xue daolun* 說文學導論 (Wuhan: Wuhan daxue chubanshe, 2014), p. 36.

17 See Zev Handel, "Early Lexicons," in Jack W. Chen et al., eds., *Literary Information in China: A History* (New York: Columbia U.P., 2021), p. 60.

being, and *Sound Categories* is often credited as the first of them.[18] This lexicon was lost to history and proved far less influential than the model set by *Qieyun* and its expanded versions, which included the two works *Tangyun* and *Guangyun*. The entries in these quasi-*Qieyun* lexica are based on a rhyming system of Chinese characters, so as long as users know the rhyme of a character and the position of that rhyme in the lexicon, they can easily locate the entry.

Character books and rhyme books require different sets of philological knowledge: the former requires the knowledge of graphic analysis of Chinese characters, whereas the latter requires phonological knowledge. By the time lexica began to be printed, both graphic knowledge and phonology had deep roots among the literati, partly due to a long-standing calligraphic tradition, on the one hand, and to the poetic culture and the civil service examination system, on the other. Consequently, when Song-era (960–1279) scholars began printing lexica, they had to negotiate different systems of organizing linguistic and textual information. For this reason, rather than our treating character books and rhyme books as separate and parallel lexicographical traditions, this article proposes to view them as competing philological and lexicographical paradigms that mutually influenced and negotiated with one another. To demonstrate this point, it will examine the phenomenon of genre transformation in lexicography, with a focus on the *Shuowen* lexicon.

PHONOLOGIZATION

The *Shuowen* was one of the first lexica selected for printing in Song times. With its earliest printings led by the brothers Xu Xuan and Xu Kai, one can see an early effort to integrate the phonological information into the character book. Xu Kai initiated his project, *Xizhuan*, earlier, adopted a *fanqie* system from Zhu Ao 朱翱,[19] and added those *fanqie* notations to corresponding entries in *Shuowen*. Appointed by Song emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997) in 986, Xu Xuan initiated another print project of the *Shuowen* (Da Xu *Shuowen*) but adopted the *fanqie* system from *Tangyun* instead.[20]

[18] See He Jiuying 何九盈, *Zhongguo gudai yuyanxue shi* 中國古代語言學史 (Guangzhou: Guangdong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1995), p. 105.

[19] See Zhang Shilu 張世祿, "Zhu Ao fanqie kao" 朱翱反切考, *Shuowen yuekan* 說文月刊 4 (1944), p. 117.

[20] See also Huang Tianshu 黃天樹, "Banben" 版本, in idem, *Shuowen jiezi tonglun* 說文解字通論 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2014), p. 183.

These initial efforts to integrate systematic phonological information into the *Shuowen*'s system do not alter the book's structure, but they suggest that the design of character books may already have caused dissatisfaction among the literati.[21] Even as a character book, users still expect to find phonological information within it. However, the practical convenience of incorporating phonological information into this Han-era lexicon had limits, as it still required prior knowledge of graphic analysis. Without a full understanding of Xu Shen's approach to analyzing and organizing Chinese characters, a user could not identify entries nor efficiently locate semantic and phonological information in the lexicon.

The Xu brothers must have already noticed these problems and initiated another project. With the suggestion of Xu Xuan, Xu Kai reorganized the sequence of *Shuowen* entries based on a phonological system. This time, he did not use character analyses: he maintained minimal definitions; added the *fanqie* notations from a lexicon that was probably Lu Fayan's *Qieyun*; rearranged entries in the same order as those in *Qieyun*; and titled the new book *Shuowen jiezi (zhuan) yunpu*. After that, Xu Xuan likely further edited the book and changed the *fanqie* system from Lu Fayan's *Qieyun* to Li Zhou's 李舟 (740–784) *Qieyun*.[22]

Without considering the textual origin of the *Zhuan yunpu*, one may understand the new lexicon as a rhyme book. As long as users know the sound of a character and the phonological system of the lexicon, they can locate the entry. It loses, however, the original character analyses and certain semantic information given in *Shuowen*. Therefore, it is not surprising that the book never gained wide circulation. However, the project broke a boundary between character books and rhyme books, thereby clearing the way for genre transformation in Song-era lexicon production.

The third effort of integrating phonological information into the *Shuowen* occurred in the early part of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279). From 1178 to 1179,[23] with the help of Jia Duanxiu 賈端修, Li Tao

[21] In fact, in the original *Jade Book* (*Yupian* 玉篇), a character book compiled before lexica were widely printed, Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519–581) had already attempted to add *fanqie* notations to its entries.

[22] For a review of debates about *fanqie* notations, Xu Kai added to the *Shuowen* in his *Zhuan yunpu*, see Li Sha 李莎, "*Shuowen jiezi zhuan yunpu* yu Da Xu fanqie bijiao yanjiu" 說文解字篆韻譜與大徐反切比較研究, MA thesis (Fujian Normal University, 2016), pp. 4–5.

[23] For a discussion of the dates of Li Tao's first adaptation of *Shuowen*, see Shiroishi Masato "Li Tao gaibian *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* de lishi yiyi" 李燾改編說文解字五音韻譜的歷史意義, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 98.3 (2016), p. 65.

integrated the two competing lexicographical traditions into a single book titled *Wuyin yunpu*.[24] He did not change the original sequence of semantic classifiers used in *Shuowen*. Instead, he simply rearranged entries within every semantic-classifier group based on a phonological system, following *Leipian* (which adopts the *fanqie* system from *Jiyun* and rearranges entries of the latter based on a graphic system), and added the *fanqie* system of *Jiyun* to his *Wuyin yunpu*. If users wanted to look up an entry in *Wuyin yunpu*, they would need to locate the character's semantic classifier first and then search for the entry in that group, following the rhyme sequence. This structure closely resembles that of *Leipian* and can even be seen as an abridged version of it, as Shiroishi Masato 白石將人 notes,[25] and that is precisely why the text's title means "rhyme list of the five tones (sounds)."[26]

However, the lookup of this "new" lexicon still required a knowledge of semantic classifiers. Li Tao's friend Yu Zhongfang 虞仲房 imme-

[24] The present article's account of the compilation of the *Wuyin yunpu* is based on Li Tao's preface and postface as recorded in Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁, *Jingwai zachao* 經外雜鈔 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013), *j.* 1, pp. 166–71. Influenced by Qing-era *Shuowen* scholarship, 20th c. scholars largely ignored *Wuyin yunpu*. In recent years, however, Chinese and Japanese scholars have begun to undertake sustained and systematic research on it. Most research focuses on its textual history, its relationship with the Da Xu *Shuowen*, and its significance for textual criticism of *Shuowen*; see Takahashi Yuriko 高橋由利子, "Wakokubon *Setsumon kaiji goon infu* no ikyo shita hanpon ni tsuite" 和刻本説文解字五音韻譜の依拠した版本について, *Chūgoku bunka* 中国文化 60 (2002), pp. 11–23; Shiroishi Masato, "*Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben zongshu" 說文解字五音韻譜版本綜述, *Zhongguo jingxue* 中國經學 20 (2017), pp. 125–37; Shiroishi, "*Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* yanjiu" 說文解字五音韻譜研究, in *Shuowen wenben yanbian kao*, pp. 174–208; Guo Yiyi 郭懿儀, "Li Tao *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* yuanliu ji banben jieshao" 李燾說文解字五音韻譜源流及版本介紹, *Songdai wenhua yanjiu* 宋代文化研究 26 (2020), pp. 137–52; Wang Hui 王輝, "Ming chao dazi ben *Shuowen jiezi* diben kaolun: Jian shuo Song kan *Shuowen* shifou you da xiao zi zhi fen" 明抄大字本說文解字底本考論, 兼說宋刊說文是否有大小字之分, *Wenshi* 文史 131.2 (2020), pp. 231–44; Dong Jingchen, "Mao shi Jigu ge ben *Shuowen jiezi* banben yuanliu kao" 毛氏汲古閣本說文解字版本源流考, *Wenshi* 132.3 (2020), pp. 187–216; Wang Hui, "Songban *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* kaoshu" 宋版重刊許氏說文解字五音韻譜考述, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 2026.2, pp. 4–13; Dong, "Song ben *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben yuanliu zaikao" 宋本說文解字五音韻譜版本源流再考, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 2026.2, pp. 14–23; and Du Bingmei 杜冰梅, "Li Tao ben *Shuowen jiezi* kaoping" 李燾本說文解字考評, *Guji yanjiu* 古籍研究 2001.4, pp. 91–95. The second major topic is the *fanqie* system of *Wuyin yunpu*; see Usuda Masako 臼田真佐子 "Li Tao *Setsumon kaiji goon infu* hyomoku no inmoku" 李燾説文解字五音韻譜標目の韻目, *Ochanomizu jyoshi daigaku Chūgoku bungaku kaihō* お茶の水女子大学中国文学会報 12 (1993), pp. 47–55; and Shiroishi, "*Siku tiyao* lun *Wuyin yunpu* fanqie zhi shi" 四庫提要論五音韻譜反切之失, *Banben mulu xue yanjiu* 版本目録學研究 7 (2016), pp. 287–92.

[25] The *Leipian* has many more entries than does *Shuowen*; see Shiroishi, "Li Tao gaibian *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* de lishi yiyi," p. 66.

[26] In medieval Chinese, there are four tones. In rhyme books, however, because the number of characters in the level (*ping* 平) tone is too large, it is usually divided into two sections. For this reason, Li Tao and other philologists refer to this system as the five-tone (*wuyin* 五音) system.

diately noticed this problem. Following Yu's suggestion, Li readapted the *Shuowen* in 1180 or 1181.[27] Compared with the first version of *Wuyin yunpu*, this time he rearranged the semantic-classifier groups based on their rhymes. To look up a character, users now located its semantic classifier by the classifier's rhyme, and then, within the classifier group, they could find the entry quickly by the character's rhyme. In the reception history of *Wuyin yunpu*, the first version was lost soon after its printing, whereas the second has survived.

The key questions, however, are as follows: what phonological system does Li Tao adopt in *Wuyin yunpu*'s second version, and what is the specific order of the semantic classifiers and the order of entries within each classifier group? These questions are both theoretical and practical: without knowing the answer, no one can use the book as a functional lexicon. Some believe that the order of entries in the second version of *Wuyin yunpu* is based on that used in *Jiyun* or *Leipian*,[28] but it is instead based on the *fanqie* system from the Da Xu *Shuowen*, as Dong Jingchen 董婧宸 argues.[29] Yu Zhongfang claims that the principle used by Li Tao for his second version was "to utilize Xu's old list (*Zhuan yunpu*), consult *Jiyun*'s *juan*-order from the entry *dong* to the entry *jia*, and group characters based on their classifiers, as the *Leipian* does 用徐氏舊譜, 參取集韻卷第, 起東終甲, 而偏旁各以形相從, 悉依類篇."[30] This indicates that the order of entries is based on Xu Kai's *Zhuan yunpu*, with reference to the *Jiyun*, and that it preserves the semantic-classifier groups, as the *Leipian* does. In a brief postscript to the book, Li Tao compares the two versions, saying:

> The old compilation of *Wuyin pu* has not added any entries that are newly added by the *Leipian* and do not exist in Xu (Shen)'s book. If [a character] is repeated, only the former one is included, and the latter ones are omitted. Even if it is the rising, departing,

[27] See Shiroishi, "Li Tao gaibian *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* de lishi yiyi," p. 65.

[28] For an example, see Li Xueqin 李學勤, ed., *Siku da cidian* 四庫大辭典 (Nanjing: Jinlin daxue, 1996), p. 685. For a more recent discussion, see Shiroishi, "Li Tao gaibian *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* de lishi yiyi," p. 64; see also Wang, "Songban *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* kaoshu," pp. 4, 9. The most influential discussion on the *Wuyin yunpu* during the Qing can be found in Duan Yucai's 段玉裁 preface to the *Textual Criticism on the Jigu ge edition of Shuowen* (*Jigu ge Shuowen ding* 汲古閣說文訂), where he argues that the entry sequence used in *Wuyin yunpu* is based on the *Jiyun* and the *Guangyun*; see Duan, preface to *Jigu ge Shuowen ding* 汲古閣說文訂 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), p. 1.

[29] Dong Jingchen, "Li Tao *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* bianzuan chengshu kao: shishu *Wuyin yunpu* dui *Shuowen jiezi* de gaibian yu gaidong" 李燾說文解字五音韻譜編纂成書考, 試述五音韻譜對說文解字的改編與改動, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua luncong* 中國典籍與文化論叢 27 (2023), pp. 138–56.

[30] For the original text, see Wei, *Jingwai zachao*, *j.* 1, p. 169; the translation is mine.

> or entering tone for Xu (Shen), as long as it is in the part for the level tone in the *Leipian*, it is moved to that part as well. In general, it is determined by *Leipian*. The new compilation, however, has already changed the order of semantic classifiers to follow Xu (Kai or Xuan), so the order of entries based on five tones does not follow the *Leipian* either. Instead, it only adopts Xu (Shen)'s original sounds and sequences them.
>
> 舊編五音譜, 凡許氏所無而類篇新入者皆弗取. 若有重出, 則但舉其先而略其後, 雖許氏本在上去入聲而類篇在平聲, 亦移在平聲. 大抵皆以類篇爲定. 今編既改部敘從徐氏, 則其五音先後亦不復用類篇. 但取許氏本音次第之.[31]

According to Li Tao's description, the order of entries in the second version is not based on the system used by the two works *Leipian* and *Jiyun*. It is based instead on Xu Kai's *Zhuan yunpu*, and furthermore its phonological foundation is that of "Xu Shen's original sounds." However, an author's claims about a work are not always completely accurate; it is therefore necessary to examine the second version of the lexicon directly. We must also determine the source of what Li calls Xu Shen's sounds.

After comparing *Wuyin yunpu* with other lexica, it becomes clear that in its second version, both the order of entries within each semantic-classifier group and the order of semantic classifiers are based on the *fanqie* notations Li Tao adopted from the Da Xu *Shouwen*, the latter belonging to *Tangyun*'s phonological system. This system is close to that used in *Zhuan yunpu*, although the two are not entirely identical. To help clarify the matter, I examine two semantic classifiers in the *Wuyin yunpu*, namely, the mid-size group *wa* 瓦 and the larger group *shou* 手.[32] I treat them as examples in order to demonstrate the origin of *fanqie* in the lexicon.

The wa *Group*

The *wa* 瓦 group in *Wuyin yunpu* comprises 26 entries, in addition to the head entry for the classifier itself. In all these entries, the *fanqie* notations are identical to those found in the Da Xu *Shuowen*.[33] By contrast, 12 entries in *Wuyin yunpu* differ in their *fanqie* from those in the ten-*juan Zhuan yunpu*, and 10 entries are different from the five-*juan*

31 For the original text, see ibid., p. 170; the translation is mine.

32 Concerning this examination, see the appendix "Editions Consulted."

33 When two *fanqie* use different characters to denote the same sound, they are considered different in the present article's research.

Zhuan yunpu;[34] 19 diverge from the *Jiyun*; the same 19 differ from the *Leipian*; and 21 diverge from *Xizhuan* (see table 1; all tables are in appendix "Tables and Figures"). As for the order of entries, the *Wuyin yunpu* differs from *Leipian*, and it is also significantly different from the ten-*juan Zhuan yunpu*, although the two lexica present a parallel relationship; but it is almost identical to the five-*juan Zhuan yunpu* (see table 2).

The shou *Group*

As for the *shou* 手 group, there are 276 entries, in addition to the classifier entry (see table 3). In 263 of these 277 entries (94.95%), the *fanqie* notations in *Wuyin yunpu* are identical to those found in the Da Xu *Shuowen*. By contrast, 182 entries share the same *fanqie* with the ten-*juan Zhuan yunpu* (65.70%) and 203 share the same *fanqie* with its five-*juan* edition (73.29%), 31 with the *Xizhuan* (11.19%), 63 with the *Jiyun* (23.10%), and 65 with the *Leipian* (23.47%). As for the orders of entries, the *Wuyin yunpu* differs from both *Leipian* and *Zhuan yunpu*, although in many cases it runs parallel to the latter (see table 4). It appears that Li Tao almost entirely adopted the *fanqie* notations from the Da Xu *Shuowen*. Further evidence comes from the entry *hui* 撝, which preserves a rare comment by Li Tao that follows the *fanqie* 許歸切: "I am afraid that the character *gui* 歸 is an error 歸字恐誤."[35] This remark indicates that even when he suspects an error in the Da Xu *Shuowen*'s *fanqie* he refrains from altering it. Such caution helps explain the high degree of correspondence between the *fanqie* notations in *Wuyin yunpu* and those in Li Tao's source text, the Da Xu *Shuowen*.

As for the order of semantic classifiers, the *Wuyin yunpu* is certainly different from the *Leipian*, which follows the Da Xu *Shuowen* edition. It also differs from *Zhuan yunpu*. For example, by locating the position of the first twenty semantic classifiers of the seventh *juan* of *Wuyin yunpu* in the *Zhuan yunpu*, one may find that they diverge from *Zhuan yunpu,* though they sometimes present parallel relationship(see table 6). As for the *fanqie*, the *Wuyin yunpu* diverges from 14 of *Jiyun*'s entries, differs from *Zhuan yunpu* in 9 entries, diverges from 16 *Xizhuan* entries, while it is the same as the Da Xu *Shuowen* in all 20 entries (see table 5). Especially in the entry *xiang* 言, it is unusual to have 3 *fanqie* notations,[36] but in the *xiang* entry in the Da Xu *Shuowen* it has the same

[34] The five-*juan* edn. has altered its phonological system based on the other rhyme books, so the two edns. are separately compared with the *Wuyin yunpu*; see Dong, "Cong chaoben dao keben," pp. 483–84.

[35] Li Tao, *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* 重刊許氏說文解字五音韻譜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012), *j.* 8, p. 14b.

[36] However, at the beginning of *j.* 7 in the list of semantic classifiers, there is only one *fan-*

3 *fanqie* notations, which strongly indicates that the *fanqie* notations in *Wuyin yunpu* come from the Da Xu *Shuowen*. Meanwhile, in 19 entries, including *xiang*, the *fanqie* notations in *Leipian* are identical to those in *Wuyin yunpu* and the Da Xu *Shuowen*, but diverge from those in *Jiyun*. This pattern contrasts sharply with *Leipian*'s relationship to *Jiyun* and other lexica in entries not used as semantic classifiers. However, it does not necessarily imply that *Wuyin yunpu* adopts its *fanqie* from *Leipian*, since for semantic classifiers the *Leipian* adopts *fanqie* from the Da Xu *Shuowen*, rather than *Jiyun*.[37] In other words, it actually suggests that the *fanqie* system of the *Wuyin yunpu* ultimately derives from the Da Xu *Shuowen*.

This analysis reconfirms that the second version of *Wuyin yunpu* adopts its *fanqie* system from that of the Da Xu *Shuowen*, referred to in Li Tao's postface as "Xu Shen's original sounds 許氏本音," and rearranges its entries accordingly. Its order of entries is relatively similar to that found in *Zhuan yunpu* but very different from *Jiyun* and *Leipian*. Indeed, the difference between the two *Wuyin yunpu* versions (those of 1178–1179 and 1180–1181) lies in the arrangement of semantic classifiers, the order of entries within each group, as well as the *fanqie* notations added in the entries. Yet, more importantly, the phonological system of the first version belongs to the *Jiyun* system, whereas the second version follows the *Tangyun*-Da Xu *Shuowen* system, which is their essential linguistic distinction.

To a certain extent, the *Wuyin yunpu* and the Da Xu *Shuowen* function as paired lexica. From the Song period onward, there was a sustained effort to pair major character books with rhyme books (*pian-yun* coordination 篇韻配合). Zhao Zhenduo conceptualizes the phenomenon as a double-track system 雙軌制 of lexica, such as the pairing of *Guangyun* and *Daguang yihui Yupian*, also *Jiyun* with *Leipian*, and *Gaibing wuyin jiyun* with *Gaibing wuyin leiju sisheng pianhai*.[38] *Wuyin yunpu*'s compilation was apparently influenced by this trend. In the postface to it, Li Tao says:

> However, (in the case of *Zhuan yunpu*) all character components are set aside. Does it not become more difficult to check charac-

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qie notation for *xiang* 亶.

37 See Yang Xiaowei 楊小衛, "*Leipian* dui *Jiyun* fanqie zhuyin de jicheng yu gexin" 類篇對集韻反切注音的繼承與革新, *Huazhong keji daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 華中科技大學學報 (社會科學版) 22.6 (2008), p. 71.

38 See Zhao Zhenduo, *Zhongguo yuyanxue shi* 中國語言學史 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 241–43.

> ters whose graphic forms are known but whose sounds are not? That is why, although *Jiyun* had already been compiled during the Baoyuan period (1038–1040), the compilation of *Leipian* was still necessary. The compilation of *Leipian* was intended to compensate for the limitations of *Jiyun*. The *Jiyun* and the *Leipian* complement one another: neither graphic forms nor sounds can evade identification, and the difficulty of reference is no longer a matter of concern.
>
> 然偏旁一切都置, 則字之有形而未審厥聲者, 豈不愈難於檢閱乎! 此寶元所以既修集韻, 必修類篇. 修類篇, 蓋補集韻之不足處也. 集韻、類篇, 兩者相須, 則字之形聲, 乃無所逃. 檢閱之難, 果非所患.[39]

Taking the *Jiyun-Leipian* pair as a model, Li Tao is well aware of the phenomenon of paired lexica. His aim is to compile a *yunshu* counterpart to the Da Xu *Shuowen*. To this end, in the second version of the *Wuyin yunpu*, he not only adopts all entries from the Da Xu *Shuowen* but also closely follows its *fanqie* notations and phonological system.

Taken together, these three efforts to integrate the phonological system into the *Shuowen* in Song times constitute three models of the *phonologization* of character books. *Phonologization* is a phenomenon of genre transformation in Chinese lexicography, defined as the systematic integration of phonological information into a *zishu*, thereby transforming it into a *quasi-yunshu*. The first model, exemplified by *Zhuan yunpu*, may be described as radical phonologization: it dismantles the graphic organization of a character book and reorganizes its entries according to a phonological system. The result of this process, from a functional perspective, is a lexicon that is indistinguishable from typical rhyme books. The second model, exemplified by *Wuyin yunpu*, can be described as moderate phonologization, aiming to integrate the respective strengths of the two lexicographical traditions. It retains elements of the graphic system of a character book, enabling users to apprehend the lexicographers' graphic analyses, while integrating a phonological framework that allows entries to be located through phonological means. In such lexica, two competing lexicographical frameworks operate in tandem to serve users with different types of linguistic knowledge. The third model, exemplified by the Da Xu *Shuowen* and *Xizhuan*, is conservative phonologization: it adds phonological information to a character book without altering its original structure. While it can function as a quasi-*yunshu* for users trained in character-book lookup, it remains less accessible to those unfamiliar with the genre.

[39] *Jingwai zachao*, *j.* 1, p. 169; the translation is mine.

However, as with other genre phenomena, philological texts exist along a textual continuum and are always more complicated than any typological model suggests. For example, the first version of *Wuyin yunpu* is more conservative than the second, as it preserves the original graphic system at the level of semantic-classifier groups. The phonological system operates only within each group, thereby still requiring familiarity with the semantic-classifier system of the *Shuowen*. Note also that my terminologies related to the three models of genre transformation do not indicate different levels of advancement in phonologization. These models have different cognitive goals, and none is perfect. The radical phonologization largely stripped the character book of its original nature and could not compete with typical rhyme books either, books designed from the outset on a phonological basis. Conservative phonologization preserves the graphic system, but the phonological information it provides is accessible only to users already familiar with it. In contrast, moderate phonologization seeks to balance the two systems, which, in practice, requires a more comprehensive command of philological knowledge. One may observe that different models of genre transformation rise and fall over the course of philological scholarship and lexicographical practice.

CONSEQUENCES OF GENRE TRANSFORMATION

The compilation of the *Wuyin yunpu* and its subsequent printing are crucial to the textual history of the *Shuowen*. The two lexica contain nearly identical content,[40] although they differ in structure. By the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), the *Wuyin yunpu* had become so influential that most scholars mistook it for the *Shuowen* itself, without even knowing that the *Shuowen* was originally a character book structured on a graphic system. In other words, when Ming scholars mentioned, quoted, or discussed *Shuowen*, what they referred to was actually the *Wuyin yunpu*. To understand what happened to these two lexica, as well as the consequences for philological scholarship, one must first examine *Wuyin yunpu*'s textual history.

In the postface, Li Tao claims that he has printed both versions of *Wuyin yunpu*. As Shiroishi argues, the date might be around 1181, an argument further supported by the fact that in the Song edition and some Ming editions of the book, the character *shen* 慎, which is the homophone of the taboo word *shen* 昚 (the personal name of emperor Xiaozong 孝

[40] Dong Jingchen notes that in some cases, the two are not entirely identical; see Dong, "Chengshu kao," pp. 148–54.

宗; r. 1162–1189), is avoided and replaced by the phrase "the name of the emperor 御名," indicating it was first printed in emperor Xiaozong's reign.[41] After the first printing in 1219, the book was reprinted by Li Tao's son, Li Bi 李壁 (1159–1222), as indicated by Wei Liaoweng 魏了翁 (1178–1237). To Wei, it was a reprint of the second version.[42] In another letter, Wei claimed that the first version had already been lost by the time he wrote, and therefore suggested reprinting it.[43] Yet the first version was entirely lost to history, regardless of whether it was reprinted in accordance with Wei's proposal, and all extant editions of the lexicon derive from the second version. After Wei Liaoweng, the book was catalogued in the "Arts and Letters" ("Yiwen" 藝文) section of the *Jade Sea* (*Yu hai* 玉海), marking the first instance in which the *Wuyin yunpu* is bibliographically recorded together with its author's name, although it appears there under the title *Wuyin pu* 五音譜.[44]

Six Extant Copies of the Song Edition of Wuyin yunpu

Today, six copies of the (Southern) Song edition of Li Tao's *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* (with successive repairs and replacement blocks dated to the Yuan and Ming) survive, as listed here.[45]

1. That held by the Zhongguo shudian and formerly in the collection of the Jigu ge and then the Qing court (see figure 1A. All figures appear in appendix "Tables and Figures").
2. That held by the National Central Library, with only the twelfth *juan* extant (see figure 1C). The *Album of Books in the Old Capital* (*Jiujing shuying* 舊京書影; see figure 1B) includes images from the eleventh *juan* of a now-lost Song copy formerly held by the Beiping Library 北平圖書館, and Dong Jingchen argues that this lost eleventh

41 See Shiroishi, "*Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben zongshu," p. 132.

42 See Wei Liaoweng, *Jingwai zachao*, *j.* 1, p. 171; Wei, "Shiyou yayan" 師友雅言, in *Chongjiao Heshan xiansheng daquan wenji* 重校鶴山先生大全文集 (SBCK edn.), *j.* 109, pp. 35b–36a; see also Shiroishi, "Li Tao gaibian *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* de lishi yiyi," pp. 65–66, and "Banben zongshu" p. 126.

43 See Wei, "Da Suining Li Shilang" 答遂寧李侍郎, in Wei, *Chongjiao Heshan xiansheng daquan wenji*, *j.* 34, pp. 2b–3b.

44 See Wu Xiucheng 武秀成 and Zhao Shuyang 趙庶洋, *Yuhai yiwen jiaozheng* 玉海藝文校證 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2013), *j.* 10, p. 453.

45 Abe Ryūichi 阿部隆一 believes that the Southern Song edn. was printed by Li Tao himself in Suining 遂寧 during the Chunxi 淳熙 (1174–1189) period (around 1181), but Shiroishi argues that the edn. is more likely the one reprinted by Li Bi in Suining during the Jiading 嘉定 (1208–1224) period after 1219; see Abe, *Zōtei Chūgoku hōshoshi* 増訂中国訪書志 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1983), p. 221, and Shiroishi, "*Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben zongshu," pp. 126–29. Wang Hui argues that the Song edn. is a Song Jiangxi rpt. of the Sichuan edn.; see Wang, "Songban *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* kaoshu," pp. 9–10; Dong Jingchen argues that it was printed in Jiangxi Ruizhou 瑞州; see Dong, "Songben *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben yuanliu zaikao," p. 22.

and the surviving twelfth now held by the National Central Library are actually from the same copy.[46]

3. That in the collection of the Zhejiang University Library (see figure 1D).[47]
4. That held by the Gansu Provincial Library (see figure 1E).[48]
5. That held by the National Palace Museum (see figure 1F).
6. That held by the Ministry of National Defense of Taiwan.

These six copies are similar to one another in both format and content. Based on a detailed comparison of replacement blocks, Dong argues that the Zhongguo shudian and National Central Library copies represent an early print, the Zhejiang University Library copy has early replacement blocks, the Gansu Provincial Library copy has secondary replacement blocks, and the National Palace Museum and the Ministry of National Defense copies have further replacement blocks.[49] Note that the early print is characterized by a white fore-edge 白口, a single black-fishtail 單黑魚尾 and occasional double black-fishtails 雙黑魚尾, and bilateral double block-frames 左右雙邊, the dimensions of which are approximately 23.6 x 17.8 cm.

In Yuan times, the *Wuyin yunpu* was reprinted by the Academy of Ruiyang 瑞陽學官, according to Yu Ji 虞集 (1272–1348).[50] The *Yearly Curriculum of Reading at the Cheng Family School* (*Chengshi jiashu dushu fennian richeng* 程氏家塾讀書分年日程) also mentions a *Shuowen wuyin yunpu*.[51] In the "Investigation on Classics and Books" ("Jingji kao" 經籍考) of the *Comprehensive Investigations on Literary and Documentary Sources* (*Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考), Li's preface, postface, and postscript are all included.[52] However, no Yuan editions of the book remain today.

[46] See Kuraishi Takeshirō 倉石武四郎, *Jiujing shuying* (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2011), p. 214; and Dong, "Songben *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben yuanliu zaikao," p. 15.

[47] See Dong, "Songben *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben yuanliu zaikao," pp. 15–16.

[48] See Wang, "Songban *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* kaoshu," pp. 6–7.

[49] See Dong, "Songben *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben yuanliu zaikao," pp. 14–23; see also Wang, "Songban *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* kaoshu," pp. 4–13.

[50] See Yu Ji, *Daoyuan xuegu lu* 道園學古録 (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1968), *j.* 31, p. 528.

[51] See Cheng Duanli 程端禮 (1271–1345), *Chengshi jiashu dushu fennian richeng* (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 1992), *j.* 2, p. 52. The modern editor appears unfamiliar with *Shuowen wuyin yunpu*, as indicated in endnote 60, thus a comma is incorrectly inserted between "*Shuowen*" and "*Wuyin yunpu*."

[52] See Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1323), *Wenxian tongkao* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), *j.* 189, pp. 5521–25. The problem, however, is that Ma lists these essays under the title *Shuowen jiezi xizhuan. Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* suggests that there should be the title *Wuyin yunpu* in *Wenxian tongkao* that later got lost, whereas Guo Yiyi argues that Ma could not dis-

Ming Copies of Shuowen *and* Wuyin yunpu

In the early Ming, *Shuowen* and *Wuyin yunpu* were both in the collection of the court, according to the *Catalogue of the Wenyuan ge* (*Wenyuan ge shumu* 文淵閣書目).[53] The *Catalogue of Lexica Heard and Witnessed by Yang Yongxiu* (*Yang Yongxiu wenjian zishu mu* 楊用修聞見字書目) also records "Li Tao's *Wuyin pu*" 李燾五音譜,[54] indicating that Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559) had access to the lexicon, an observation supported also by his quotation of it in his works.[55] Zhou Hongzu 周弘祖's (1529–1586) *Prints of the Past and Present* (*Gujin shuke* 古今書刻) catalogues three copies titled *Xu shi Shuowen* 許氏說文 and one titled just *Shuowen.* Actually, in most editions of *Wuyin yunpu*, the title of the lexicon before its preface is "*Xu shi Shuowen*" (see also figures 2A, F, G, and H), suggesting that Zhou was likely distinguishing the two books from one another.[56] In addition, the *Wenxian tongkao Continuation* (*Xu wenxian tongkao* 續文獻通考) catalogues *Wuyin pu* 五音譜 and attributes it to Li Tao. The *Broad Records of Shu* (*Shuzhong guangji* 蜀中廣記) also records the *Wuyin yunpu.*[57]

However, most other Ming scholars misunderstood the *Wuyin yunpu* as the *Shuowen* itself and attributed it to Xu Shen or the brothers

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tinguish *Wuyin yunpu* from *Shuowen jiezi xizhuan*; see *Siku quanshu zongmu*, *j.* 43, p. 371; and Guo, "Li Tao *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* yuanliu jiqi banben jieshao," p. 143, n. 1. However, the reason Ma Duanlin puts Li Tao's words under *Shuowen jiezi xizhuan* may simply be that Li Tao addresses Xu Kai's works and the history of the *Shuowen* in detail in his preface and postface to *Wuyin yunpu*, and Ma Duanlin therefore believes these could be good references to the *Xizhuan.* It does not necessarily indicate that Ma could not distinguish Li Tao's lexicon from Xu Kai's *Xizhuan.*

53 *Wuyin yunpu* is catalogued in the section for rhyme books; see Yang Shiqi 楊士奇, *Wenyuan ge shumu* (Taipei: Yinwen Yinshuguan, 1968), *j.* 12, pp. 2a, 6b.

54 This brief catalogue was recorded in Gu Qiyuan 顧起元 (1565–1629), *Shuolue* 說略 (SKQS edn.), *j.* 15, p. 2b, and Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540–1619), *Jiao shi bicheng* 焦氏筆乘 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1968), *j.* 6, p. 128. In the latter it is referred to as *Yang Yongxiu zishu mu* 楊用脩字書目. The term *zishu* 字書 was used as a general designation for lexica.

55 See Feng Jiahua 豐家驊, *Danqian zonglu jiaozheng* 丹鉛總録校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2019), *j.* 7, p. 254; and Yang Shen 楊慎, *Sheng'an ji* 升菴集 (SKQS edn.), *j.* 63, p.1. It can also be found in Yue Yuansheng 岳元聲 (1557–1628), *Fangyan ju* 方言據 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), *j.* B, p. 29; and Zhang Zilie 張自烈 (1597–1673), *Zhengzi tong* 正字通 (Beijing: Gongren chubanshe, 1996), *j.* 11a, p. 19.

56 See Zhou Hongzu, *Gujin shuke* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), pp. 324, 331, 346, 357. Shiroishi argues that the item titled *Xu shi Shuowen* there might be the Da Xu *Shuowen*, but without any strong evidence; see Shiroishi, "*Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben zongshu," p. 133.

57 See Wang Yin 王圻 (1530–1615), *Xu wenxian tongkao* (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1979), *j.* 188, p.19b; and Cao Xuequan 曹學佺 (1574–1646), *Shuzhong guangji* (SKQS edn.), *j.* 94, pp.17–21. *Shuzhong guangji* lists *Wuyin yunpu* in the section "Masters and Miscellaneous Works" (*zi* 子) and includes Li Tao's preface and Wei Liaoweng's letter.

Xu Xuan and Kai. In the *Bibliography of Baichuan* (*Baichuan shuzhi* 百川書志), *Wuyin yunpu* is attributed to Xu Shen, whereas *Shuowen* is not catalogued at all.[58] As Shiroishi notes, the *Catalogue of Wanjuan tang* (*Wanjuan tang shumu* 萬卷堂書目) records Xu Shen's *Shuowen* as comprising twelve *juan* – a number that differs from the typical division of the *Shuowen* into fifteen *juan* (in addition to one *juan* devoted to the list of semantic classifiers) but corresponds to that of *Wuyin yunpu*, so it actually refers to the *Wuyin yunpu*.[59] The *Literary Records of the Eastern Han* (*Donghan wenji* 東漢文紀) distinguishes *Wuyin yunpu*, titled as *Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu*, from *Shuowen*, but mistakenly attributes *Wuyin yunpu* to Xu Xuan.[60] Also, in the *Continuation of Xuegu bian* (*Xu Xuegu bian* 續學古編), He Zhen 何震 (1522–1604) insists that the *Shuowen* was not originally structured on rhymes, but he wrongly attributes the *Wuyin yunpu* to Zhang You 張有.[61] In addition, Mao Zhen 茅溱 claims in his *Original Significance of the Rhymed List* (*Yunpu benyi* 韻譜本義) that the *Shuowen* starts from the entry *dong* 東, indicating his misunderstanding of the *Wuyin yunpu* as the *Shuowen* itself, as Hu Pu'an 胡樸安 argues.[62] The most famous case of scholarly misunderstanding appears in Gu Yanwu's 顧炎武 (1613–1682) *Record of Daily Gains in Knowledge* (*Ri zhi lu* 日知録), in which he complains that the original entry sequence of the *Shuowen* is unknown and believes that its rearrangement according to a rhyme system was carried out by Xu Xuan.[63]

Eight Extant Ming Editions of Wuyin yunpu

The widespread recording and frequent misunderstanding of the *Wuyin yunpu* were closely related to its prominence in the Ming dynasty.

[58] See Gao Ru 高儒 (fl. 1540), *Baichuan shuzhi* 百川書志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), *j.* 2, p. 29.

[59] See Zhu Mujie 朱睦㮮 (1517–1586), *Wanjuan tang shumu*, in *Guangu tang huike shu* 觀古堂彙刻書, *j.* 1, p.12b; and Shiroishi, "*Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben zongshu," p. 133.

[60] See Mei Dingzuo 梅鼎祚 (1549–1615), *Donghan wenji* (SKQS edn.), *j.* 13, p. 40b.

[61] Zhang You is the author of *Fugu bian* 復古編. The mistake may result from a misreading of Li Tao's postface, where he discusses Zhang You's *Fugu bian* at length; see He Zhen 何震, *Xu Xuegu bian* 續學古編, edn. of Gu of Haiyu 海虞顧氏, *j.* 2, pp. 1a–2a.

[62] For Mao Zhen's 茅溱 words, see Mao Zhen, "Fanli" 凡例, in *Yunpu benyi* 韻譜本義, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書, vol. 212 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1997), p. 1a; for Hu Pu'an's argument, see Hu, *Zhongguo wenzixue shi* 中國文字學史 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1966), p. 146.

[63] See Huang Rucheng 黃汝成, *Ri zhi lu jishi* 日知録集釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), *j.* 21, p. 21b. Given the prominence of the *Wuyin yunpu* in Ming, Gu may refer to the *Wuyin yunpu* and mistakenly attributes it to Xu Xuan, which is further criticized by the editors of the *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*; see *Siku quanshu zongmu*, *j.* 43, p. 371c. Another possibility, however, is that Gu Yanwu actually refers to the *Zhuan yunpu*, which is rearranged based on the rhyme system by Xu Kai and Xuan. If so, this would not necessarily indite that Gu Yanwu misunderstands the authorship of the *Wuyin yunpu*.

At least eight extant editions of the lexicon were printed in Ming times. In contrast, as Duan Yucai 段玉裁 (1735–1815) pointed out, there were almost no new editions of the Da Xu *Shuowen* printed at that time.[64]

1. The earliest extant Ming edition of *Wuyin yunpu* is the Che Yu 車玉 edition (see figure 2A), printed in year 14 of the Hongzhi 弘治 period (1501). According to Che's postscript, the print was sponsored by king [Duan 端] of Yi (Yi *fan* 益藩) (r. 1487–1539).[65] Its block-frame measures 23.8 x 17.6 cm, and it features a black fore-edge, double fishtails, and bilateral double block-frames. Based on a comparison of format and characters between this edition and the Song edition, Dong Jingchen argues that it was reprinted based on the Song edition.[66]
2. During the Zhengde 正德 period (1506–1521) the Ming Imperial Household Department (Neifu 內府) printed an edition that features a large black fore-edge, double fishtail, and quadrilateral double block-frames. Dong argues that it was a reprint of the Song edition now held by the National Central Library, though in this reprint the taboo character *shen* 慎 is not avoided.[67] Its close relationship with the Song edition is confirmed by the fact that at the end of its seventh *juan*, in place of the usual title, *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* 重刊許氏說文解字五音韻譜, the title was printed as *Xinbian Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* 新編許氏說文解字五音韻譜 (see figure 2B), a form that appears in the same position only in the Song edition. It corresponds to the title recorded in Wei Liaoweng's *Jingwai zachao*, which suggests that this title is a relic of the original one. Moreover, the Ming Neifu edition was transmitted to Japan and exerted a deep influence on Japanese *Shuowen* scholarship.[68]
3. In 1528 (year 7 of the Jiajing 嘉靖 period) the Guo Yushan 郭雨山 (fl.1528) edition was printed (see figure 2C). Toward the end of this edition, there is a postscript composed by Liu Jie 劉節 (1476–1555).

64 Duan, preface to *Jigu ge Shuowen ding*, p. 1.

65 The edn. is sometimes catalogued as "Yi *fan* edn." in bibliographies.

66 See Dong, "Mao shi Jigu ge ben *Shuowen jiezi* banben yuanliu kao," p. 90.

67 See Dong, "Songben *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben yuanliu zaikao," pp. 20–22; Dong further argues that the editorial revision of the text prior to the reprinting also drew on the Song edn. of *Shuowen jiezi* in the Neifu collection.

68 Takahashi Yuriko 高橋由利子 points out that in year 10 of the Kuanbun 寬文 period (1670), Natsukawa Genboku 夏川元朴 (fl. 1670) reprinted the book based on this edition; Takahashi, "Wakokubon Setsumon kaiji goon infu," pp. 21–22. This reprint also has *xinbian* 新編 in its title at the end of *juan* 7 and adds *kanbun* marks and a postscript (see figure 2I). *Wuyin yunpu* was reprinted by Fukumori Hirasaemon of Kyoto 京都福森平左衛門 in year 13 of Kuanbun (1673). In the following century, the book continued to be imported from China. As Yan Shaodang 嚴紹璗 (1940–2022) notes, according to the *Catalogue of Shipped Books* (*Syōhaku sairai syomoku* 商舶載來書目), the Chen Dake edition was imported in year 4 of the Meiwa 明和 period (1767) and thereafter entered the royal collection; see Yan Shaodang, *Ricang Hanji shanben shulu* 日藏漢籍善本書録 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), p. 263.

Dong Jingchen argues that it was reprinted from the Che Yu edition, with a smaller block-frame, measuring 19.7 x 14.9 cm. Different from the Che Yu edition, however, it has a white fore-edge, a single fishtail, and quadrilateral double block-frames 四周雙邊, typical of Song-style imitative printing, and its characters are more archaic in style.

4. In year 11 of the Jiajing period (1532) the Sun Fu 孫甫 (fl.1514–1532) edition was printed.[69] It preserves Sun Fu's preface and Sun Jianyi's 孫見易 (fl. 1532) postscript. Its printed title is *Xu Shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* 許氏說文解字五音韻譜, without stating "*chongkan* 重刊" or "*xinbian* 新編" (see figure 2D).
5. Chen Dake's 陳大科 (1534–1601) edition (see figure 2E) was printed in year 26 of the Wanli 萬曆 period (1598).[70] It differs markedly from the Song edition. Chen Dake alters the title to *Shuowen jiezi*, does not avoid the taboo character *shen* 慎, and appends his own preface along with three essays.[71] Its title and preface suggest that Chen Dake had already mistaken the *Wuyin yunpu* for *Shuowen*. Owing to the prominence of this edition during the Ming, it further reinforced Ming scholars' misunderstanding of the *Wuyin yunpu*.
6. In 1619 (year 47 of the Wanli period) the Zhang Jingshi 張經世 (d. 1624) edition was printed (see figure 2F). It has not only Zhang's preface but also Liu Jie's postscript, and thus Du Zexun 杜澤遜 argues that it is a reprint of the Guo Yushan edition.[72]
7. In 1627 (year 7 of the Tianqi 天啓 period) the Shiyu tang 世裕堂 edition was printed (see figure 2G).[73]
8. Finally, we have an edition without publication information. It is commonly referred to as the Ming white fore-edge edition, or Ming trade edition (*fangben* 坊本) (see figure 2H). It has a white fore-edge, a single fishtail, and bilateral double block-frames and is quite similar in format to the Shiyu tang edition. Dong Jingchen argues that it was a reproduction of the Guo Yushan edition and served as the exemplar for the Shiyu tang edition.[74]

69 It has a black fore-edge, double fishtails, and quadrilateral double block-frames, measuring 23.2 x 16.6 cm.

70 It has a large black fore-edge, double fishtails, and double block-frames, measuring 24.5 x 17.5 cm.

71 They are "*Shuowen* yitong" 說文異同, "Xu shi wu cong er zi" 許氏悞從二字, and "Zhu jia chuangyi" 諸家剏意.

72 See Du Zexun, *Siku cunmu biaozhu*四庫存目標注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2007), p. 422.

73 It has a white fore-edge, single fishtail, and bilateral double block-frames, the dimensions of which are 19.5 x 14.5. The unique characteristic of the edn. is that before the main body of the book starts, there is a single column claiming, "Reprinted by Shiyu tang in the seventh year of the Tianqi period 天啓七年世裕堂重梓."

74 See Dong, "Mao shi Jigu ge ben *Shuowen jiezi* banben yuanliu kao," p. 202.

In all extant editions of the *Wuyin yunpu*, Li Tao's preface and postface are not included; moreover, as Shiroishi notes, none of the Ming editions even mentions Li Tao.[75] This further exacerbated Ming scholars' misunderstanding of the book. The *Wuyin yunpu* became the "*Shuowen*" that late-Yuan and Ming scholars widely studied and cited, and upon which they based new philological work that dealt with *Shuowen.*[76]

In the time from late Ming to early Qing, Mao Jin, the famous owner of the Jigu ge collection, acquired at least one copy of a Song edition of the Da Xu *Shuowen* and in fact recognized the differences between the *Wuyin yunpu* and the *Shuowen.* This discovery fundamentally altered the trajectory of *Shouwen*'s textual history in the late-imperial period. After obtaining the Song edition, Mao Jin and his son, Mao Yi 毛扆 (1640–1713), began their long-term project to reprint the Da Xu *Shuowen*, producing what is commonly known as the Jigu ge edition (see above, in the first item under section "The Thirteen Lexica").[77]

Qing Scholarship on Wuyin yunpu *and* Shuowen

Owing to the influence of Mao's reprints, Qing scholars well understood the distinction between the two lexica and almost entirely abandoned the *Wuyin yunpu*, which was no longer reprinted during the Qing dynasty. Yet, contrary to Qing scholars' understanding, *Wuyin yunpu* continued to indirectly influence their scholarship in a subtle but significant way, mainly through the Jigu ge edition of the Da Xu *Shuowen.*

According to Wang Hui 王輝 and Dong Jingchen, in the late-Ming period, Zhao Yiguang and his son, Zhao Jun 趙均, obtained another Song edition of the Da Xu *Shuowen.* After recognizing the distinction between the two lexica, Zhao Jun rearranged the Ming-era white fore-edge edition of *Wuyin yunpu* back into the Da Xu *Shuowen*, following the

[75] See Shiroishi, "Li Tao gaibian *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* de lishi yiyi," p. 67.

[76] These included the late-Yuan scholar Bao Xilu's 包希魯 *Shuowen jiezi buyi* 說文解字補義 (for which, see Dong, "Songben *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* banben yuanliu zaikao," p. 19.); Zhao Yiguang's 趙宧光 (1559–1625) *Long Commentary on the Shuowen* (*Shuowen changjian* 說文長箋); Wang Fuzhi's 王夫之 (1619–1692) *Extended Significance of the Shuowen* (*Shuowen guangyi* 說文廣義); and Gu Zhan's 顧瞻 *Mirror of the Shuowen jiezi* (*Shuowen jiezi jing* 說文解字鏡), for which, see Han Donghong 寒冬虹, "Gu Zhan gaoben *Shuowen jiezi jing*" 顧瞻稿本說文解字鏡, *Wenxian* 文獻 1991.3, p. 117.

[77] For this Song edn. of the Da Xu *Shuowen* in the Jigu ge collection, the transmission of the Da Xu *Shuowen*, and the printing of the Jigu ge edn. of the *Shuowen*, see Dong Jingchen, "Da Xu ben *Shuowen jiezi* de liuchuan yu kanke" 大徐本說文解字的流傳與刊刻, *Rujia dianji yu sixiang yanjiu* 儒家典籍與思想研究 12 (2020), pp. 22–47; and Dong, "Mao shi Jigu ge ben *Shuowen jiezi* banben yuanliu kao," pp. 187–216.

entry sequence of the Song edition of the Da Xu *Shuowen* in his possession. This effort resulted in a manuscript commonly referred to as the Ming manuscript edition 明抄本 of the Da Xu *Shuowen*. Although Zhao altered certain characters based on the Da Xu *Shuowen*, the manuscript's main content in fact derives from that contained in *Wuyin yunpu*. However, when Mao Jin and Yi printed the so-called Jigu ge edition of the Da Xu *Shuowen*, they actually adopted this Ming manuscript edition as their textual base and further corrected its characters in light of the Da Xu *Shuowen* and the *Xizhuan*, rather than reprinting the Song edition of the Da Xu *Shuowen* directly. In other words, the influential Jigu ge *Shuowen* can be seen as a "successor" to the *Wuyin yunpu* within early- and high-Qing *Shuowen* scholarship. Even after the Jigu ge edition had been widely criticized following Duan Yucai, scholars continued to use it in collating other Song editions of the *Shuowen*, including Sun Xingyan's 孫星衍 (1753–1818) Pingjin guan 平津館 edition and its adapted version, the Chen Changzhi edition. Chen's remains the standard edition of the *Shuowen* today.[78]

One may discern a conservative tendency in the development of premodern philological scholarship. Even after recognizing the problems that existed in an influential philological work, scholars often delayed replacing it with a less problematic alternative. In our case, Zhao Yiguang and Zhao Jun both noticed the problems in *Wuyin yunpu*, yet still kept it as the foundation for their respective *Shuowen* projects.[79] Likewise, although Mao Jin possessed a superior Song edition of *Shuowen*, he nonetheless chose the Ming manuscript edition as the basis for his reprint. Even Duan Yucai, despite his strong criticism of the Jigu ge edition, relied upon it as the main edition for his commentary.[80]

That said, Qing scholars at least recognized the distinction between the *Wuyin yunpu* and *Shuowen* lexica and were therefore able to catalogue them accurately in bibliographies. *Wuyin yunpu* is listed in the "Jingji zhi" 經籍志 ("Monograph on Classics and Books") chapter of the *Book of the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingshu* 明書), the "Jingji kao" of the *Qing Continuation of the Wenxian tongkao* (*Qing xu Wenxian tongkao* 清續文獻通

78 The preceding narrative is based on Wang, "Mingchao dazi ben *Shuowen jiezi* diben kaolun," pp. 231–44; Dong, "Mao shi Jigu ge ben *Shuowen jiezi* banben yuanliu kao," pp. 187–216; and Dong, "Chengshu kao," pp. 155–56.

79 Dong Jingchen argues that Zhao chose the *Wuyin yunpu* because its copy was in a good condition, whereas the Song edn. in their possession was small and damaged; see Dong, "Mao shi Jigu ge ben *Shuowen jiezi* banben yuanliu kao," p. 203.

80 See ibid., p. 215; see also Jin Qiran 金琪然, "'Duan shi *Shuowen* qianji' suojian Duan Wang fenqi" "段氏說文箋記" 所見段王分歧, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 95 (2024), pp. 702–7.

考), and the "Essay on Arts and Letter" ("Yiwen lue" 藝文略) and "Essay on Images and Tables" ("Tupu lue" 圖譜略) chapters in the *Tongzhi Continuation* (*Xu Tongzhi* 續通志).[81] In *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, the *Wuyin yunpu* is criticized for misleading scholars and is therefore relegated to the category of a "preserved title" (*cunmu* 存目), thus excluded from being copied in the *Siku quanshu* collection.[82] Although the bibliography mentions only a "common edition 通行本," the Qing court actually possessed multiple rare editions. The *Catalogue of the Tianlu linlang* (*Tianlu linlang shumu* 天祿琳琅書目) records five copies of the lexicon, one of which was previously in the famous collection of Qian Qianyi's 錢謙益 (1582–1664) Jiangyun lou 絳雲樓.[83] The *Tianlu linlang shumu Continuation* (*Tianlu linlang shumu houbian* 天祿琳琅書目後編) catalogues another copy and claims that it was previously in the collection of Mao's Jigu ge.[84] After comparing the seals described in the bibliography with those on the Song edition held by Zhongguo shudian, it appears that the Zhongguo shudian copy is the one catalogued in the *Tianlu linlang shumu houbian*. In Wu Shouyang's 吳壽暘 (1771–1835) copy of the *Catalogue of Rare Books Used for the Jigu ge Printing* (*Jigu ge kanshu ximu zhencang miben shumu* 汲古閣刊書細目珍藏祕本書目), a note left by Mao Jin mentions *Wuyin yunpu*, a fact that corroborates the mention in *Tianlu linlang shumu houbian*.[85]

During Qing times, the *Wuyin yunpu* circulated in private collections as well. *The Reading Notes of Zhengtang* (*Zhengtang dushu ji* 鄭堂讀書記) mentions it, and *The Catalogue of Sun's Shrine* (*Sun shi citing shumu* 孫氏祠堂書目) catalogues the Shiyu tang edition.[86] Shao Yichen 邵懿辰 (1810–1861) lists the Chen Dake and Shiyu tang editions in *Annotations of the Abbreviated Bibliography of Editions of the Comprehensive Books*

81 Fu Weilin 傅維鱗 (1608–1667), *Mingshu* 明書 (Yangzhou: Jiangsu guangling guji keyinshe, 1988), *j.* 77, p. 10a; Ji Huang 嵇璜 et al., *Xu wenxian tongkao* (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1963), *j.* 160, *kao* p. 4140a.; Ji Huang et al., *Xu tongzhi* (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1963), *j.* 157, *zhi* p. 4187a, *j.* 165, *zhi* p. 4245 c.

82 *Siku quanshu zongmu*, *j.* 43, p. 371c.

83 Yu Minzhong 于敏中 (1714–1779), *Tianlu linlang shumu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), *j.* 7, pp. 30b–32a.

84 See Peng Yuanrui 彭元瑞 (1731–1803), *Tianlu linlang shumu houbian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), *j.* 3, pp. 27–28a.

85 See Wu Shouyang, *Baijing lou cangshu tibaji* 拜經樓藏書題跋記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), *j.* 3, p. 28.

86 See Zhou Zhongfu 周中孚 (1762–1821), *Zhengtang dushu ji* (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2009), "Buyi" 補逸, *j.* 8, p. 1342; Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1753–1818), *Sunshi citang shumu* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1966), *j.* 1, p. 17. One problem with *Zhengtang dushu ji*, however, is that it claims that *Wuyin yunpu* consists of 15 *juan*, which is not its common *juan* number (12 *juan*).

of the Four Treasuries (*Siku jianming mulu bioazhu* 四庫簡明目録標注), and Shao Zhang 邵章 (1872–1953) added an additional Sun Fu edition as well as another Ming edition.[87] *The Catalogue of Book Editions Known and Witnessed by Lüting* (*Lüting zhijian chuanben shumu* 郘亭知見傳本書目) also records the four editions, and Fu Zengxian 傅增湘 (1872–1949) adds a so-called "Song edition."[88] Zhang Zongxiang 張宗祥 (1882–1965) mentions another Song edition that contains only the twelfth *juan*, which is held by the National Central Library today.[89]

Throughout the Qing dynasty, the Da Xu *Shuowen* was reprinted numerous times, whereas the *Wuyin yunpu* was never reprinted. Only a Qing manuscript related to *Wuyin yunpu* survives – Xu Han's 許瀚 (1797–1866) manuscript now preserved in the National Library of China. Across the long textual history of the *Wuyin yunpu*, one can clearly observe a complementary relation between the two lexica: when the *Wuyin yunpu* prevailed, the Da Xu *Shuowen* nearly disappeared; conversely, when the Da Xu *Shuowen* regained prominence, *Wuyin yunpu* was marginalized. This complementary relationship may be seen as the outcome of a competition between two models of genre transformation. Ming scholars, whether consciously or unconsciously, favored the moderate model, whereas scholars from the Qing onward largely abandoned it in favor of a more conservative model. Meanwhile, the multiple transformations not only shaped the reception history of *Shuowen* but also permanently altered its content. Even when later scholars attempted to eliminate the effects of these transformations, their consequences proved irreversible.

If one emphasizes the structure of lexicons, the Da Xu *Shuowen* largely remains a character book, whereas *Wuyin yunpu* functions as a

87 For Sun Fu, see item 4, under sect. "Eight Extant Ming Editions of *Wuyin yunpu*," above. Shao Yichen and Shao Zhang, *Zengding siku jianming mulu biaozhu* 增訂四庫簡明目録標注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), *j.* 4, p. 165.

88 There are differences in the records across various edns. of *Lüting zhijian chuanben shumu*; see Mo Youzhi 莫友芝 (1811–1871), *Lüting zhijian chuanben shumu*, in Zhang Jian 張劍 and Zhang Yanying 張燕嬰, eds., *Mo Youzhi quanji* 莫友芝全集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017), vol. 4, *j.* 3, p. 228 (n. 1). Fu Zengxiang claims that the so-called Song edn. was the copy in Yu Youren's 于右任 (1879–1964) collection, and Wang Hui argues that it is the copy held by the Gansu Provincial Library today. For Fu's words, see Fu, *Cangyuan dingbu Lüting zhijian chuanben shumu* 藏園訂補郘亭知見傳本書目 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), *j.* 3, p. 171; Fu also mentions the "Song edition" and the Chen Dake edn. in *Cangyuan qunshu jingyan lu* 藏園群書經眼録 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), *j.* 2, pp. 110–11. For Wang's argument, see Wang, "Songban *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* kaoshu," p. 7.

89 See Zhang Zongxiang, "Tie ruyi guan suibi" 鐵如意館隨筆, in Cao Jinyan 曹錦炎 and Xu Xiaojun 徐小軍, eds., *Zhang Zongxiang wenji* 張宗祥文集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2015), vol. 1, *j.* 6, p. 122.

quasi-rhyme book. From this perspective, their complementary relationship may also be seen as the outcome of a competition between two lexicographical traditions. Owing to the practical demands of the civil service examinations and poetic composition, rhyme books became increasingly popular, and their structure was already familiar to many users. This contributed to the great prominence of *Wuyin yunpu* in the Ming, in contrast to the Da Xu *Shuowen*. Multiple reprints of *Wuyin yunpu*, together with misleading descriptions by printers, further reinforced people's confusing it with the original *Shuowen*. However, with the paradigm shift brought about by Qing evidential scholarship,[90] and the rise of "love of antiquity" (*haogu* 好古) – especially in elementary learning and "studies of editions 版本學" – scholarly taste changed dramatically. Increasingly, scholars privileged the oldest available version (or edition) of a book, which in this case was the Song edition of the "original" Da Xu *Shuowen*. Moreover, within this context of "love of antiquity," as Ori Sela has argued, the *Shuowen* came to be regarded as a canonical lexicon and a core text for philological scholarship. The Qian-Jia 乾嘉 period (1735–1820) in particular witnessed a decisive elevation of the *Shuowen*'s status and its eventual canonization.[91] This process of canonization determined that Qing scholars favored Xu Shen's "original" design of *Shuowen* over Li Tao's adaptation: the scholarly value of the canonical lexicon outweighed considerations of practical convenience. As a result, the Da Xu *Shuowen* became far more prominent, while *Wuyin yunpu* was almost abandoned. In other words, the complementary relationship between these paired lexica became shaped more fundamentally by the broader intellectual context of philological scholarship and lexicographical practice.

90 See Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984), esp. pp. 140–69.

91 Liang Qichao 梁啓超 (1873–1929) argued that *Shuowen* was not prominent before Qing, but in the mid-Qianlong period it became central to philological scholarship; following Liang's argument, Ori Sela provides a comprehensive survey of Qing *Shuowen* scholarship and concludes that "around 1770, the *Shuowen* became central;" see Liang, *Zhongguo jin sanbainian xueshushi* 中國近三百年學術史, idem, *Yinbing shi heji* 飲冰室合集 10, *zhuanji* 專集 75 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), pp. 208–9; and Sela, "The Way of Ancient Learning," in idem, *China's Philological Turn: Scholars, Textualism, and the Dao in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia U.P., 2018), pp. 87–90, 199–204.

CONCLUSION

The three attempts to integrate phonological information into the *Shuowen jiezi* represent three models of *phonologization*: the radical, the moderate, and the conservative. The *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* was the product of the Southern Song period's moderate model of phonologizing the *Shuowen* – a reorganization of linguistic and textual information based on the phonological system apparent in the *Tangyun*-Da Xu *Shuowen* coupling. The comprehensive bibliographical survey undertaken here reveals how *Wuyin yunpu* and *Shuowen* competed with each other. The former was so influential during the Ming that most scholars mistook it for the original *Shuowen*. It even became the foundation for new philological works as a cornerstone of Ming philology. Although Qing scholars sought to "fix the mistake" and to bring the Da Xu *Shuowen* back, the *Wuyin yunpu* continued to exert a profound, if indirect, influence on its content. As long as one still relies on the standard Chen Changzhi edition of the *Shuowen* today, the legacy of the *Wuyin yunpu* remains inescapable.

The analysis given in this study also illuminates how the phonological and graphic traditions of lexicography competed in the philological scholarship, each addressing different scholarly needs. This competition arose in part from scholars' anxiety about managing information and knowledge, which appears to be, in Ann Blair's words, "too much to know" – a condition amplified, though not solely caused, by the new technology of printing.[92] Such anxiety not only shaped *Shuowen*'s textual history but also, to some extent, determined the trajectory of philological scholarship. Textual history and philological practice thus intertwine, subtly shaping our understanding of ancient texts. Perhaps what is urgently needed is a new history of philology and lexicography – one attentive to the complex interplay among human agents (scholars, poets, publishers, printers, patrons, etc.), institutions, and information regimes in premodern China.

92 Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 2010).

Appendix: Editions Consulted

In the comparison, above, of the two groups of semantic classifiers, namely, *wa* 瓦 and *shou* 手, the edns. of lexica that were consulted are as follows:

1. *Wuyin yunpu*: comparison is based on the rpt. of the Song edn. in the collection of Zhongguo shudian; see Li Tao 李燾, *Chongkan Xu shi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* 重刊許氏說文解字五音韻譜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2012).
2. *Jiyun*: comparison based on the rpt. of the Song Mingzhou edn. in the collection of Shanghai Library; see Ding Du 丁度 et al., *Jiyun*, in *Changshu Wengshi shi cang guji shanben congshu* 常熟翁氏世藏古籍善本叢書 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996).
3. *Leipian*: based on the rpt. of the Jigu ge's traced copy of the Song edn., held by Shanghai Library; see Sima Guang 司馬光 et al., *Leipian* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2021).
4. 10-*j*. *Zhuan yunpu*: based on Feng Guifen's rpt., held by the National Library of China.
5. 5-*j*. *Zhuan yunpu*: based on the Yuan Zhongshan tang edn. held also by the National Library of China; see National Library of China, "Zhonghua guji ziyuanku" 中華古籍資源庫, last accessed March 5, 2026 <http://read.nlc.cn/thematDataSearch/toGujiIndex>.
6. Da Xu *Shuowen*: based on the Song edn. with successive repairs in Yuan times in the collection of the National Library of China; see "Zhonghua guji ziyuanku," last accessed March 5, 2026.
7. *Xizhuan*: based on the Shugu tang's traced copy of the Song edn., held by the National Central Library; see National Central Library, "Guji yu tecang wenxian ziyuan" 古籍與特藏文獻資源, last accessed March 5, 2026 <https://rbook.ncl.edu.tw>.

When the *fanqie* notations are missing or unclear because the page is damaged, or when apparent errors appear, the present study consults the following edns., and the *fanqie* notations in the tables (see the following appendix, "Tables and Figures") are underlined:

1. *Jiyun*: consulted the Song Tanzhou 潭州 edn. in the collection of National Library of China; see "Guji yu tecang wenxian ziyuan."
2. *Leipian*: consulted rept. of *Yao kan san yuan* 姚刊三韵 edn.; see Sima Guang et al., *Leipian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984).
3. 10-*j*. *Zhuan yunpu*: consulted the ms. previously in the collection of the Haiyuan ge 海源閣 and currently the National Library of China; see "Zhonghua guji ziyuanku."
4. 5-*j*. *Zhuan yunpu*: consulted *Xiaoxue huihan* 小學彙函 edn.; see Xu Kai 徐鍇, *Shuowen jiezi zhuan yunpu* 說文解字篆韻譜, in Zhong

Qianjun 鍾謙鈞, ed., *Xiaoxue huihan* (Changsha: Hunan shuju, 1889).

5. Da Xu *Shuowen*: consulted the Song edn. with successive repairs in Yuan, held by Seikadō Bunko 靜嘉堂文庫; see J-DAC, "Song Yüan Print Collection in Possession of Seikado Bunko Library;" last accessed March 5, 2026 <https://j-dac.jp/infolib/ meta_pub/ G000018SGDB>.
6. *Xizhuan*: consulted rpt. of the Qi Junzao edn.; see Xu Kai, *Shuowen jiezi xizhuan* 說文解字繫傳 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987).

Table 1. Fanqie Notations in the Semantic-Classifier Group wa 瓦 *in* Wuyin yunpu, Jiyun, Leipian, Zhuan yunpu, Da Xu Shuowen, *and* Xizhuan

EXPLANATIONS OF SIGNS AND SYMBOLS IN THE TABLES

• "S" suggests that the *fanqie* of a lexicon entry is the same as that in *Wuyin yunpu*; as for *Jiyun, Leipian,* and *Zhuan yunpu*, if one character has multiple *fanqie* notations, when at least one is identical to *Wuyin yunpu*'s *fanqie* of the character, it is marked by S; if no identical *fanqie*, then the *fanqie* notation of the entry that cites the *Shuowen* entry is listed; • if there are no entries citing *Shuowen*, all *fanqie* notations are listed, following their order in the respective lexicon, separated by fwd slashes /. • An entry citing *Shuowen* is marked by *. • "X" suggests that the lexicon or the entry group in it does not have the entry. • *Zhuan yunpu* is based on the 10-*j.* edn., and when the 5-*j.* edn. differs, its *fanqie* is listed next to that of the 10-*j.* edn. separated by a hyphen. • When a *fanqie* notation is damaged in the primary edn., it is determined by a second edn. and underlined; • for primary and secondary edns., see preceding appendix.

	0 瓦	**1** 瓪	**2** 瑏	**3** 瓷	**4** 瓻	**5** 瓿	**6** 甎	**7** 甄	**8** 甌	**9** 甍
Wuyin yunpu	五寡	上封	古雙	疾資	丑脂	與之	部迷	居延	芳連	莫耕
Jiyun	S*	常容*	S*	才資	抽逞/丑亦	盈之*	駢迷*	稽延*	紕延*	謨耕*
Leipian	S*	常容*	S*	才資	抽遲	盈之*	頻彌/駢迷/部鄙	稽延*	紕延*	謨耕*
Zhuan yunpu	S	余封	胡講-S	X-疾咨	X-S	与之	S	古賢	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	S	與封	侯降	X	X	寅之	頻兮	居然	辟涓	沒彭

	10 甑	**11** 甌	**12** 甀	**13** 甕	**14** 甈	**15** 甗	**16** 甄	**17** 瓶	**18** 甑	**19** 瓮
Wuyin yunpu	郎丁	烏矦	胡男	烏管	布綰	魚蹇	初兩	分兩	蒲口	烏貢
Jiyun	S*	S*	胡南	鄔管*	補綰*	魚軒/語偃/語蹇/牛堰/魚戰	楚兩*	甫兩*	薄口*	S*
Leipian	S*	S*	胡南	鄔管	補綰*	語蹇/語偃/魚軒/牛偃/魚戰	楚兩*	甫兩*	薄口*	S*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	胡南	S	S	S	S	妃網	薄口	S-五貢
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	連丁	殷婁	侯貪	S	補綰	擬件	叉爽	夫兩	盆幕	彎桐

	20 甈	**21** 甄	**22** 甍	**23** 甑	**24** 甃	**25** 甓	**26** 甄
Wuyin yunpu	魚例	穌對	丁浪	子孕	側救	扶歷	零帖
Jiyun	牛例*	蘇對*	S*	S*	S*	蒲歷*	力協*
Leipian	去例/九芮/牛例/丘傑/魚列	蘇對*	S*	S*	S*	蒲歷*	力協*
Zhuan yunpu	魚列-S	蘇對	S	S	側究	房益-S	盧叶-S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	魚滅	蘇內	晏亢	S	側秀	萍覓	S

Table 2. Comparison of Entry Sequences in the Semantic-Classifier Group wa 瓦 *across* Wuyin yunpu, Leipian, *and* Zhuan yunpu

Note. In tables 2 and 4, the sequence of entries in *Leipian* is determined by the first occurrence of each entry in the lexicon.

Wuyin yunpu	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**
Leipian	0	2	1	4	5	6	3	9	8	10
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	0	1	10	X	X	2	3	4	5	7
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	0	1	2	4	3	5	6	7	8	9

Wuyin yunpu	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**19**
Leipian	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	7	19
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	8	9	6	11	12	13	15	14	16	17
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	10	11	12	13	14	15	17	16	18	19

Wuyin yunpu	**20**	**21**	**22**	**23**	**24**	**25**	**26**
Leipian	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	22	18	19	21	20	23	24
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	20	21	22	23	24	25	26

Table 3. Fanqie Notations in the Semantic-Classifier Group shou 手 *in* Wuyin yunpu, Jiyun, Leipian, Zhuan yunpu, Da Xu Shuowen, *and* Xizhuan

NOTES TO TABLE 3 *(FOR EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS, SEE AT TABLE 1.)*

A The head character is written as *fu* 枎, but the *Shuowen* quotation in the entry matches the entry *fu* 扶 in Da Xu *Shuowen*. *Fu* 枎 is written as *fu* 扶 in the Tanzhou edn. of *Jiyun*.

B When a character has multiple entries in *Leipian*, all are listed, separated by hyphens.

C In both Song edns. held by the National Library of China and the Seikadō Bunko, the *fanqie* is unclear on the page. The *fanqie* adopted here follows the Song edn. held by Hunan Library; see Hunan Library, "Suowei guji" 縮微古籍, last accessed March 5, 2026 <https://hnlib.ydzh.net/pancient/index.html#/swk_guji>

D The Mingzhou edition gives the *fanqie* 補遇切 under the *guo* 過 rhyme group, an apparent error; both the Tanzhou and Jinzhou 金州 edns. of *Jiyun* read 補過切; for the rpt. of the Song Jinzhou edn. of *Jiyun* held by Shoryōbu 書陵部 of Kunai-chō 宮内庁 in Japan, see Ding Du et al., *Jiyun*, in *Riben Gongneiting Shulingbu cang Song Yuan ban hanji yingyin congshu* 日本宮内廳書陵部藏宋元版漢籍影印叢書 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2001).

E The head character is written as *zou* 掫.

F The head character is written as *xie* 擷 in the 10-*j*. edn.

	0 手	**1** 揉	**2** 扛	**3** 撞	**4** 摛	**5** 披	**6** 摩	**7** 撝	**8** 持	**9** 揮
Wuyin yunpu	書九	敷容	古雙	宅江	丑知	敷羈	許爲	許歸	直之	許歸
Jiyun	始九*	S*	S*	傳江*	抽知*	攀糜*	吁爲*	吁爲*	澄之*	吁韋*
Leipian	S*	S*	S*	傳江*	抽知*	攀糜*	吁爲*	吁爲*	澄之*	吁韋*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	許爲-S	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	式九	甫蛩	溝降	宅邦	丑离	坯卑	毀為	喧垂	直而	火韋

	10 据	**11** 掮	**12** 撦	**13** 擧	**14** 扜	**15** 球	**16** 扶	**17** 揄	**18** 摹	**19** 抪
Wuyin yunpu	九魚	相居	丑居	以諸	億俱	舉朱	防無	羊朱	莫胡	普胡
Jiyun	斤於*	新於*	超之/抽居	羊諸*	邕俱*	恭于*	馮無*(A)	容朱*	蒙脯*	滂模*
Leipian	斤於*	新於*	超之/抽居	羊諸*	匈于/邕俱	恭于*	風無/蓬逋	容朱*	蒙晡*	滂模*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	X	S	億徂-S	矩朱	S	S	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	堅踈	先居	X	以虛	況于	卷于	凡無	S	門胡	噴摸

	20 捈	**21** 攎	**22** 提	**23** 攜	**24** 揌	**25** 排	**26** 推	**27** 擢	**28** 揯	**29** 捆
Wuyin yunpu	同都	洛乎	杜兮	户圭	匹齊	步皆	他回	昨回	武巾	於真
Jiyun	S*	龍都*	田黎*	玄圭*	篇迷*	蒲皆*	通回*	徂回*	眉頻*	伊真*
Leipian	S	龍都*	田黎*	玄圭*	篇迷*	蒲皆*	川隹/通迴	徂回*	羌隕/武粉	伊真*
Zhuan yunpu	S	落乎	S	S	S	薄佳	S	S	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	吐都	論孤	敵圭	勺迷	篇兮	步乖	土回	徂回	眉均	伊倫

	30 扒	**31** 援	**32** 掀	**33** 摅	**34** 捫	**35** 掄	**36** 攤	**37** 擊	**38** 摶	**39** 擊
Wuyin yunpu	所臻	雨元	虛言	巨言	莫奔	盧昆	他干	薄官	度官	苦閑
Jiyun	踈臻*	于元*	S*	渠言*	謨奔*	S*	S	蒲官*	徒官*	丘閑*
Leipian	踈臻*	胡玩/伴援/于眷/于願/于元	S	丘言/居言/渠言/丘顏/居閑/丘虔	謨奔*	S	S	蒲官*	徒官*	丘閑*
Zhuan yunpu	所湊	S	S	居言	S	S	X-S	S-X	徒官	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	S	羽元	忻元	機元	莫魂	勞昆	X	別安	杜酸	S

	40 挺	**41** 攘	**42** 攣	**43** 捐	**44** 拳	**45** 捲	**46** 挑	**47** 撩	**48** 招	**49** 搖
Wuyin yunpu	式連	去虔	吕員	與專	巨員	巨員	土凋	洛蕭	止搖	余招
Jiyun	尸連*	丘虔*	閭員*	余專*	逵員*	逵員*	他彫*	憐蕭*	之遥*	餘招*
Leipian	尸連*	丘虔*	閭員*	余專*	逵員*	逵員*	他彫*	憐蕭*	之遥*	餘招*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	S	与專-S	S	S	土彫	落霄-落蕭	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	賒延	豈虔	S	輿川	衢員	衢員	土彫	梨桃	真遥	延朝

	50 抛	**51** 捎	**52** 搔	**53** 操	**54** 摺	**55** 抲	**56** 摩	**57** 拖	**58** 捼	**59** 担
Wuyin yunpu	匹交	所交	穌遭	七刀	土刀	虎何	莫鄱	託何	奴禾	側加
Jiyun	披交	師交*	蘇遭*	倉刀*	他刀*	S*	眉波*	湯何*	S*	莊加*
Leipian	披交/披教	師交*	蘇遭*	倉刀*	他刀*	S*	眉波*	湯何*	儒隹/烏禾/而宣/如禾/如祁/鄔毀	莊加*
Zhuan yunpu	X-S	S	蘇遭	S	S	虎哥	莫婆	S	如禾-S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	莫婆	S	S	S
Xizhuan	X	羶巢	素叨	雌報	偷力	S	没訛	忒羅	奴戈	側巴

	60 拏	**61** 揚	**62** 牀	**63** 攘	**64** 摼	**65** 抨	**66** 承	**67** 扔	**68** 掤	**69** 揯
Wuyin yunpu	女加	與章	士良	汝羊	口莖	普耕	署陵	如乘	筆陵	古恒
Jiyun	S*	余章*	資良*/仕莊*	如陽*	丘耕*	披耕*	辰陵*	如蒸*	非陵*	居曾*
Leipian	S*	余章*	仕莊	如陽*	輕煙/丘耕/苦杏	披耕*	辰陵*	如蒸*	悲陵*	居曾*-居鄧Ⓑ
Zhuan yunpu	S	与章	才良	S	S	S	S	而證	筆夌	S
Da Xu	S	S	七良	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	S	猶良	子長	然莊	懇耕	普萌	視澄	而應	彬仍	溝恒

	70 摎	**71** 摎	**72** 摎	**73** 摎	**74** 摎	**75** 摎	**76** 摎	**77** 摎	**78** 摎	**79** 摎
Wuyin yunpu	居求	敕鳩	即由	即由	所鳩	口侯	步侯	父溝	子侯	度侯
Jiyun	居尤*	丑鳩*	兹秋	夷周/兹秋	踈鳩*	墟侯*	蒲侯*	蒲侯*	將侯*	徒侯*
Leipian	居尤*	丑鳩*	將由*	夷周/兹秋	踈鳩*	墟侯*	房鳩/蒲侯/芳蕉/普溝/方鳩/蒲交	蒲侯*	將侯*	徒侯*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	S	S	S	恪侯	步矛-S	步矛	S	度婁
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	居幽	敕留	S	S	色酋	可留	S	步矛	S	特婁

	80 摎	**81** 摎	**82** 摎	**83** 摎	**84** 摎	**85** 摎	**86** 摎	**87** 摎	**88** 摎	**89** 摎
Wuyin yunpu	洛侯	巨今	他舍	他含	昨甘	巨淹	奴兼	所咸	楚銜	徒總
Jiyun	郎侯*	渠金*	他含*	他甘*	財甘*	极笵	S*	師炎*	初簪/<u>鋤咸</u>/初銜/仕懺	杜孔*
Leipian	龍珠/郎侯	渠金*	S	他甘*	在敢/疾染/山險/所斬/士減/山檻/俎紺/財甘	X	S	X	鋤咸/初銜/初簪/仕懺	杜孔*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	他含	S	S	S	S	S	X-楚銜	徒弄-X
Da Xu	S	S	他合	S	S	<u>S</u>	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	勒兜	S	他含	脫甘	昨三	勒潛	年兼	色咸	X	頭貢

	90 摎	**91** 摎	**92** 摎	**93** 摎	**94** 摎	**95** 摎	**96** 摎	**97** 摎	**98** 摎	**99** 摎
Wuyin yunpu	而隴	余隴	居竦	居竦	居竦	於隴	諸氏	諸氏	側氏	初委
Jiyun	乳勇*	尹竦*	古勇*	古勇*	古勇*	委勇*	掌氏*	掌氏*	阻氏*/蔣氏*	楚委*
Leipian	如容/濃江/乳勇/匿講	餘封/尹竦	古勇*	古勇*	古勇	委勇*	掌氏*	掌氏*	掌氏/才支/此禮/子禮/阻氏/莊氏	楚委*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	狗竦-居隴	狗竦-居隴	狗竦-居隴	S	S	S	子氏-神紙	S
Da Xu	S	S	居殊	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	而擁	與恐	矩悚	短悚	矩悚	宛冗	眞彼	眞彼	側抳	S

	100 摎	**101** 摎	**102** 摎	**103** 摎	**104** 摎	**105** 摎	**106** 摎	**107** 摎	**108** 摎	**109** 摎
Wuyin yunpu	之壘	居綺	渠綺	許委	職雉	求癸	魚己	居許	神與	芳武
Jiyun	主縈*	舉綺*	巨綺*	虎委*	軫視*	巨癸*	偶起*	羊諸*/苟許*	上與*	斐父*

Leipian	主縈*	S	巨綺*	虎委*	軫視*	巨癸*	偶起*	苟許*	上與*	斐父*
Zhuan yunpu	之累	居倚	S-渠倚	S	職矢-S	S	S	S	神杵	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	古歷	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	職累	S	強倚	吁委	職美	虯癸	牛以	己吕	神杵	分武

	110 拊	**111** 擩	**112** 抵	**113** 捭	**114** 挨	**115** 揗	**116** 扮	**117** 抎	**118** 掍	**119** 損
Wuyin yunpu	芳武	而主	丁礼	北買	於駭	食尹	房吻	于敏	古本	穌本
Jiyun	斐父*	縈主*	典禮*	補買	倚駭*	松倫/豎尹/殊閏/徐閏	父吻*	羽粉*	S*	鎮本*
Leipian	匪父	縈主*	典禮*	普米/部買	倚駭*	松倫/豎尹/殊閏/徐閏	敷文/方文/虎買/府吻/父吻/博幻	羽粉*	S	鎮本*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	都礼	S	S	食閏-S	S	S	S	蘇本
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	於駭	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	分武	然柱	的米	S	遏駭	S	房粉	于惲	孤損	思村

	120 撣	**121** 撚	**122** 揄	**123** 揙	**124** 撰	**125** 扚	**126** 操	**127** 擾	**128** 撟	**129** 攪
Wuyin yunpu	徒旱	乃殄	即淺	婢沔	九輦	都了	子小	而沼	居少	古巧
Jiyun	蕩旱*	S*	子淺*	婢善*	九件*	丁了*	S*	爾紹*	舉夭*	S*
Leipian	蕩旱*	S*	子淺*	婢善*	九件*	丁了*	S	爾紹*	丘祆/居妖/渠嬌/離招/吉了/舉夭/巨夭/若誥/渠廟/嬌廟	S*
Zhuan yunpu	徒寒-徒干	S	S	香兗-S	去虔-S	S	S	S	居夭	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	持丹	泥泫	子善	翩兗	豈虔	得了	即沼	尒小	己少	根卯

	130 拗	**131** 撓	**132** 撝	**133** 把	**134** 捨	**135** 抉	**136** 掌	**137** 攩	**138** 打	**139** 挺
Wuyin yunpu	於絞	奴巧	都皓	博下	書洽	於兩	諸兩	多朗	都梃	徒鼎
Jiyun	S	女巧*	覩老*	補下*	始野*	倚兩*	止兩*	底朗*	都挺	待鼎*
Leipian	S	女巧*	覩老*	補下*	始野*	於郎/倚兩/	止兩*	止兩/底朗/坦朗/户廣/胡曠/古曠	都挺	待鼎*
Zhuan yunpu	X	女巧-S	都浩	S	書者-S	S	S	S	X-都珽	徒頂
Da Xu	S	S	S	S©	書冶	S	S	S	都挺	S
Xizhuan	X	咍牢	得早	補寫	式且	殷仰	職想	胡莽	X	笛鼎

	140 扑	141 授	142 扣	143 揁	144 拇	145 抌	146 揻	147 撼	148 撿	149 掩
Wuyin yunpu	蒸上聲	殖酉	苦后	方苟	莫厚	竹甚	胡感	盧敢	良冉	衣檢
Jiyun	S*	是酉*	去厚*	彼口*	莫後*	陟甚*	户感*	魯敢*	力冉*	S*
Leipian	S*	是酉*	去厚*	彼口*	莫後*	他刀/夷周/勇主/以紹/食荏/陟甚/弋笑/都感	户感*	魯敢*	力冉*	S*
Zhuan yunpu	烝上聲	丞呪-丞祝	S	布斗	莫后-莫口	S	S	S	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	只磽	常岫	懇走	布偶	S	S	候坎	婁坎	留琰	依漸

	150 揜	151 控	152 埶	153 摯	154 掇	155 揣	156 據	157 捕	158 措	159 擠
Wuyin yunpu	衣檢	苦貢	前智	脂利	陟利	直利	居御	薄故	倉故	子計
Jiyun	S*	S*	疾智*	S*	S*	S*	S*	S*	S*	S*
Leipian	S*	S*	疾智*	S*	S*	S	S	方遇/蒲故	S*	S*
Zhuan yunpu	S	古貢	S	S	S	S	S	簿故-S	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	直異	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	依漸	寬宋	贊寄	S	涉利	直致	飢御	盤怖	倉玄	S

	160 撦	161 揎	162 瘴	163 揭	164 泄	165 挂	166 擇	167 撼	168 振	169 挋
Wuyin yunpu	都計	於計	尺制	去例/基竭	余制	古賣	博怪	古代	章刃	章刃
Jiyun	丁計*	壹計*	S*	去例*/居謁*	以制*	S*	布怪*	居代*	之刃*	之刃*
Leipian	丁計*	於賜/乙冀/伊志/壹計	X	去例*	食列/以制	S*	布怪*	居代*	之刃*	之刃*
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	S	去例-丘竭	S	S	S	S	S	S-X
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	的替	伊肆	唱曳	豈例	延世	S	具壞	苟代	章信	章信

	170 搢	171 撞	172 攥	173 揾	174 捘	175 扞	176 按	177 換	178 擊	179 摜
Wuyin yunpu	即刃	居煞	居運	烏困	子寸	侯旰	烏旰	胡玩	烏貫	古患
Jiyun	S	S*	俱運*	S*	祖寸*	S*	於旰*	S*	S*	S*
Leipian	S	S	鋪畏/九峻/俱運	S*	X	S	於旰*	S*	S*	S*
Zhuan yunpu	X-S	S-居近	S	烏悶-S	七倫-S	S	S	乎貫	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	X	己郡	居郡	烏悶	七賓	侯玩	恩旰	户岸	S	S

	180 擐	181 擅	182 掾	183 拚	184 掉	185 擊	186 摽	187 播	188 挫	189 撝
Wuyin yunpu	胡慣	時戰	以絹	皮變	徒弔	苦弔	符少	補過	則臥	胡化
Jiyun	S*	S*	俞絹*	S*	S*	詰弔*	S*	S* Ⓓ	祖卧*	S
Leipian	荀緣-S	S*	俞絹*	S	S*	詰弔*	婢小/被表/卑遥/紕紹/披交/匹妙/毗召/匹歷	S*	祖卧*	S
Zhuan yunpu	乎慣	S	S	S	S	S-苦料	S	S	S	X
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	尸慣	時絹	與絹	S	地料	牽料	頻小	補貨	祖卧	X

	190 抗	191 摬	192 搒	193 掕	194 撢	195 摍	196 鞠	197 掏	198 擢	199 搉
Wuyin yunpu	苦浪	一敬	北孟	里甑	他紺	所六	居六	居玉	居玉	苦角
Jiyun	口浪*	於慶*	S	里孕*	S*	S*	S*	拘玉*	拘玉*	克角*
Leipian	口浪*	倚两/巨两/於境	S	閭承/盧登/里孕	S	S*	S*	拘玉*	拘玉*	克角*
Zhuan yunpu	口浪	於敬	蒲庚	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	香浪	一竟	白享	輦孕	陀闇	色逐	堅祝	俱燭	俱燭	刻學

	200 握	201 撲	202 掣	203 捉	204 擢	205 失	206 挃	207 抶	208 拂	209 掘
Wuyin yunpu	於角	蒲角	所角	側角	直角	式質	陟栗	丑栗	敷勿	衢勿
Jiyun	乙角*	弼角*	色角*	S*	S*	S*	S*	勅栗*	S*	渠勿*
Leipian	乙角*	普木/博木/弼角/拍逼	色角*	S*	S*	S*	S*	勅栗*	S*	其月
Zhuan yunpu	S	普木-S	S	X-S	S	S	S	S	孚勿-S	瞿勿
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	敷物	S
Xizhuan	乙卓	別卓	色投	毬岳	朱握	詩必	知疾	暢七	分勿	瞿弗

	210 捐	211 撅	212 捽	213 撜	214 掴	215 扤	216 撻	217 捂	218 揯	219 撥
Wuyin yunpu	魚厥	居月	昨没	户骨	户骨	五忽	他達	古活	烏括	北末
Jiyun	S*	S*	S*	苦滑*	胡骨*	S*	S*	S*	S*	疤末*
Leipian	S*	S	S	胡骨*	户衮/古本/胡昆/胡骨/苦骨	S	S*	S*	S*	S*
Zhuan yunpu	S-X	S	S	S	S	S	S-他末	S	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	元伐	俱越	S	胡兀	胡兀	吾忽	它末	S	烏末	S

	220 抪	221 撮	222 掇	223 挩	224 捋	225 扴	226 摳	227 捌	228 拔	229 搳
Wuyin yunpu	普活	倉括	都括	他括	郎撝	古黠	烏黠	百轄	蒲八	胡秸
Jiyun	S*	麤括*	S*	S*	盧活*	訖黠*	乙黠*	布拔/必結/筆別/皮列	S*	下瞎*
Leipian	S*	麤括*	S*	S*	盧活*	訖黠*	乙黠*	布拔/筆別/皮列/必結	S*	下瞎*
Zhuan yunpu	S	子括-S	S	S	S	古轄-S	S	X-S	S	乎齰
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	古點	烏點	S	S	S
Xizhuan	普末	村奪	都撮	他活	魯掇	工八	厄戛	X	彭札	閑刮

	230 撧	231 挈	232 拮	233 抉	234 擘	235 揲	236 拙	237 搣	238 掠	239 攫
Wuyin yunpu	口八	苦結	古屑	於說	芳滅	食折	職說	亡列	離灼	居縛
Jiyun	丘瞎*	詰結*	吉屑*	一決*/娟悗*	匹蔑*/匹滅*	食列*	朱劣*	莫列*	力灼*	厥縛*
Leipian	丘瞎*	奚結/詰結/詰計/尺制/時制/訖黠	激質/吉屑/訖轄/丘傑	古穴/一決/娟悗	匹蔑*	食列*	朱劣*	莫列*	力灼*	厥縛*
Zhuan yunpu	古轄-S	S	S	於穴	普蔑-普滅	食列-S	S	S	X-离約	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	今折	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	古鎋	輕節	經節	縈節	僻噎	相聶	燭悗	彌悅	X	俱懼

	240 搏	241 捂	242 擇	243 搦	244 挌	245 捺	246 擭	247 籍	248 擘	249 摵
Wuyin yunpu	補各	普百	丈伯	尼革	古覈	呼麥	一虢	士革	博戹	沙劃
Jiyun	伯各*	匹陌*	直格*	昵格*	各額*	霍虢*	屋虢*	實窄*	博厄*	緜批/子六/就六/所六
Leipian	方遇/符遇/蒲故/伯各/匹各	匹陌*	直格*	昵格*	各額*	霍虢*	胡故/胡化/胡谷/黃郭/屋虢	測角	博厄*	子六/就六/所六/色責/緜批
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	棖百-丈百	尼戹	古百	S	S	仕革	搏厄-搏戹	X-S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	本泊	S	澄赫	女伯	加額	麾擭	烏獲	助責	八麥	X

	250 搤	251 搹	252 拓	253 摘	254 擿	255 掖	256 擊	257 揤	258 扐	259 拾
Wuyin yunpu	於革	於革	之石	他歷/竹厄	直隻	羊益	古歷	子力	盧則	是執
Jiyun	乙革*	乙革*	S*	陟革/他歷*	直炙*	夷益*	吉歷*	節力*	歷德*	寔入*
Leipian	乙革*	各核/乙革	S	他歷*/陟革	S	夷益*	吉歷*	昨悉/側瑟/節力	歷德*	寔入*

Zhuan yunpu	S	S	S	地歷-他歷	S	S	S	S	盧得	是汁
Da Xu	S	S	从石	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	晏索	晏索	貞石	他狄	知白	移赤	堅歷	煎弋	即忒	常入

	260 揖	**261** 挹	**262** 揯	**263** 拉	**264** 摺	**265** 接	**266** 捷	**267** 攝	**268** 摺	**269** 攦
Wuyin yunpu	伊入	於汲	徒合	盧合	於協	子葉	疾葉	書涉	之涉	良涉
Jiyun	一入*	乙及*	達合*	落合*	益涉*	即涉*	S*	失涉*	質涉*	力涉*
Leipian	一入*	一入/乙及	達合*	落合*	益涉*	即涉*	S*	失涉*	質涉*	力盍/弋涉/益涉/力涉
Zhuan yunpu	S	於急-S	S	S	於叶	S	S	S	S	S
Da Xu	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	S	伊溼	道合	勒沓	于帖	節攝	疾聶	失涉	S	盧盍

	270 揲	**271** 捻	**272** 挾	**273** 拹	**274** 掐	**275** 插	**276** 扱
Wuyin yunpu	丁愜	奴協	胡頰	虛業	苦洽	楚洽	楚洽
Jiyun	的協*	乃結/諾叶	檄頰*	迄業*	乞洽	測洽*	測洽*
Leipian	陟涉/昵輒/的協	乃結/諾叶	檄頰*	落合/迄業	乞洽/測洽	七接/測洽/磣酟	測洽*
Zhuan yunpu	丁匡-(E)丁帖	X-呼帖	乎頰-呼頰	S(F)	X-苦夾	S	S
Da Xu	S	奴協	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	丁帖	X	羊帖	S	X	S	楚之

Table 4. Comparison of Entry Sequences in the Semantic-Classifier Group shou 手 *across* Wuyin yunpu, Leipian, *and* Zhuan yunpu

Wuyin yunpu	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Leipian	0	3	6	7	9	10	12	13	18	19
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	0	1	2	3	7	6	4	5	8	9
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	0	1	2	3	7	6	4	5	8	9
Wuyin yunpu	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Leipian	20	21	17	23	24	25	26	29	30	31
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	10	12	X	11	15	16	14	13	17	20
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	10	12	X	11	15	16	14	13	17	20
Wuyin yunpu	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Leipian	22	32	8	34	35	36	14	38	129	42
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	18	19	21	22	23	24	26	25	28	27
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	18	19	21	22	23	24	25	26	28	27
Wuyin yunpu	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
Leipian	43	185	46	47	48	41	50	51	52	53
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	30	31	32	33	34	35	X	38	37	39
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	X	37	38
Wuyin yunpu	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49
Leipian	55	56	61	58	59	60	62	63	64	65
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	40	43	46	41	44	45	47	48	50	49
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	39	41	44	40	42	43	45	46	48	47
Wuyin yunpu	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59
Leipian	69	70	73	74	75	77	78	79	16	80
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	X	51	53	54	52	56	57	55	58	59
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	50	49	52	53	51	55	56	54	57	58
Wuyin yunpu	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69
Leipian	81	82	83	84	54	88	89	90	91	93
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	60	64	66	65	68	69	84	185	85	86
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	59	60	62	61	64	65	66	184	67	68
Wuyin yunpu	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79
Leipian	67	95	96	94	97	100	99	98	101	102

Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	70	74	73	72	71	76	80	79	77	78
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	72	71	70	69	73	75	79	78	76	77
Wuyin yunpu	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89
Leipian	28	103	104	106	155	X	108	X	109	110
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	75	81	62	61	63	82	83	87	X	145
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	74	80	82	81	83	84	85	86	87	X
Wuyin yunpu	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99
Leipian	2	4	5	111	112	113	114	115	116	117
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	89	90	91	93	92	88	94	95	101	100
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	89	90	91	93	92	88	94	95	101	99
Wuyin yunpu	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109
Leipian	118	11	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	99	98	97	96	102	103	104	105	106	107
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	100	98	97	96	102	103	104	105	106	107
Wuyin yunpu	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119
Leipian	27	15	37	127	128	40	44	130	131	133
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	108	109	110	111	112	164	114	113	116	115
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	108	109	110	111	112	114	115	113	117	116
Wuyin yunpu	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129
Leipian	49	135	107	136	137	138	71	139	66	141
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	36	117	118	119	42	120	123	121	122	125
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	36	118	120	121	119	122	125	123	124	127
Wuyin yunpu	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139
Leipian	68	72	142	143	144	85	146	147	148	149
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	X	126	127	129	128	132	133	134	X	135
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	X	128	129	131	130	132	133	134	135	136
Wuyin yunpu	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149
Leipian	150	195	151	152	153	76	154	156	157	158
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	143	184	138	137	136	139	130	131	140	142
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	137	186	140	139	138	141	142	143	144	145
Wuyin yunpu	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159
Leipian	159	1	160	162	164	163	167	169	170	33
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	141	144	146	147	148	149	150	152	151	153
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	154	153	155

Wuyin yunpu	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169
Leipian	172	161	X	174	237	176	177	178	39	179
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	154	155	158	157	156	159	160	161	162	163
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	156	157	159	229	158	160	161	162	163	X
Wuyin yunpu	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179
Leipian	180	181	166	182	X	134	183	184	186	187
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	X	166	165	167	29	168	169	170	171	173
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	164	166	165	167	168	169	170	171	172	174
Wuyin yunpu	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189
Leipian	57	188	189	45	190	191	140	192	193	194
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	172	174	175	176	177	178	124	180	179	X
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	173	175	176	177	178	179	126	180	181	X
Wuyin yunpu	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199
Leipian	86	145	87	92	105	198	199	200	201	202
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	182	183	67	186	181	189	188	191	190	193
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	182	183	63	185	187	189	188	191	190	195
Wuyin yunpu	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209
Leipian	203	196	204	206	207	212	209	210	165	216
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	195	187	192	X	194	197	196	198	199	200
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	197	194	193	192	196	199	198	200	201	202
Wuyin yunpu	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219
Leipian	214	175	213	217	132	215	218	219	220	221
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	201	202	204	206	205	203	211	208	210	207
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	X	203	205	207	206	204	208	210	212	209
Wuyin yunpu	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229
Leipian	223	224	225	173	226	227	228	230	222	231
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	215	212	209	214	213	220	217	X	216	218
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	216	213	211	215	214	221	218	222	217	220
Wuyin yunpu	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239
Leipian	229	233	211	234	235	236	238	239	240	241
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	219	223	221	222	224	227	226	225	X	258
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	219	225	223	224	226	230	228	227	231	232

Wuyin yunpu	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249
Leipian	168	243	244	245	246	247	171	205	248	197
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	259	239	241	237	240	235	242	232	238	X
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	233	234	236	241	235	242	237	238	243	244
Wuyin yunpu	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259
Leipian	250	249	242	253	251	252	254	208	255	257
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	234	236	231	229	233	230	228	260	261	255
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	239	240	246	249	247	245	248	250	251	252
Wuyin yunpu	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269
Leipian	256	259	260	261	264	267	266	268	269	263
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	256	257	243	244	253	247	250	248	251	249
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	253	254	255	256	263	257	260	258	261	259
Wuyin yunpu	270	271	272	273	274	275	276			
Leipian	270	232	271	262	272	265	258			
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	254	X	252	262	X	245	246			
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	264	265	262	269	268	266	267			

Table 5. Fanqie Notations of the First 20 Semantic Classifiers in j. 7 of Wuyin yunpu *and Their Counterparts in* Jiyun, Leipian, Zhuan yunpu, Da Xu Shuowen, *and* Xizhuan

NOTES TO TABLE 5

A *Bao* 呆 is adopted in the entry, whereas *bao* 保 is adopted in the list of semantic classifiers at the beginning of *j.* 7.

B The system of semantic classifiers in *Leipian* comes from *Shuowen*, although *Leipian* does not directly cite *Shuowen* in classifier entries.

C Qi Junzao edition: 汲買.

	1 卯	**2** 爪	**3** 亏	**4** 夻	**5** 夭	**6** 曰	**7** 老	**8** 艸	**9** 可	**10** 我
Wuyin yunpu	莫飽	側狡	苦浩	古老	於兆	莫(保)(A)	盧皓	倉老	肯我	五可
Jiyun	S	側絞*	S*	S*	S*	武道*	魯晧*	采早*	口我*	語可*
Leipian	S(B)	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Zhuan yunpu	S	側巧	S	古艸	S	亡保	盧浩	七早	康我	S
Da Xu Shuowen	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	免狡	S	刻保	姦皓	依少	S(莫保)	勒抱	此討	S	顏左

	11 𠂆	**12** 火	**13** 馬	**14** 吊	**15** 丌	**16** 瓦	**17** 象	**18** 网	**19** 弓	**20** 言
Wuyin yunpu	臧可	呼果	莫下	古瓦	工瓦	五寡	徐兩	良獎	其兩	許兩/普庚/許庚
Jiyun	子我*	虎果*	毋下*	S*	古瓦*	S*	似兩*	里養*	巨兩*	虛庚/披庚/許兩*
Leipian	S	S	S	S	S	S	似兩	S	S	S
Zhuan yunpu	S	S	S	S	乖買-古瓦	S	S	良蔣	S	許兩
Da Xu Shuowen	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Xizhuan	則可	呼朵	莫者	古且	友買(C)	S	似獎	里養	其繩	軒庚

Table 6. Comparison of the Ordering of Semantic Classifiers from mao 卯 *to* xiang 言 *across* Wuyin yunpu *and* Zhuan yunpu

Wuyin yunpu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Zhuan yunpu 10 j.	3	4	9	7	2	8	5	6	10	11	12	13	14	15	1	16	17	18	19	20
Zhuan yunpu 5 j.	2	3	8	6	1	7	4	5	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

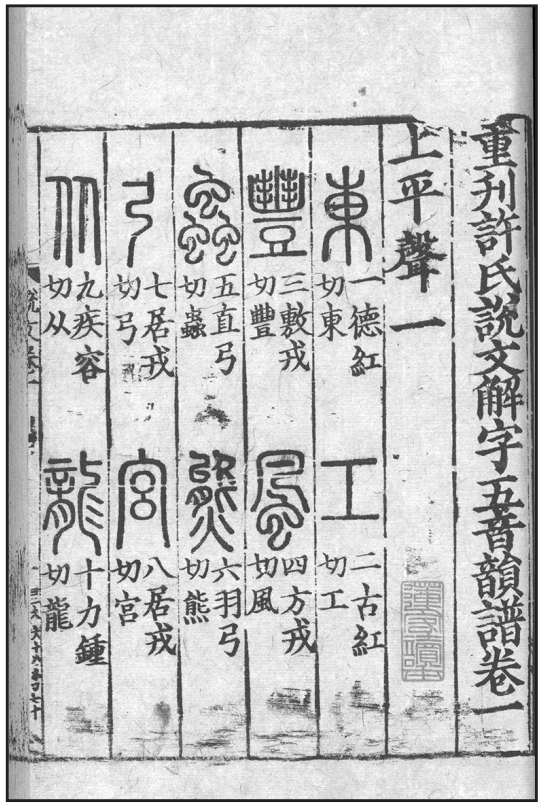

重刊許氏說文解字五音韻譜卷一
上平聲一
一德紅 切東
二古紅 切工
三敷戎 切豐
四方戎 切風
五直弓 切蟲
六羽弓 切熊
七居戎 切弓
八居戎 切宮
九疾容 切从
十力鍾 切龍

Figure 1A

Copy of Song edn. in collection of Zhongguo shudian; from Li Tao, Chongkan Xushi Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu *(cited above, n. 35), open at j. 1, p. 1a; rpt. with permission. I thank Wang Yi* 王翊 *for his help.*


重刊許氏說文解字五音韻譜卷十一
入聲二
二十二古 岳切角
二十三古 岳切玨
二十四士角 切業讀若涩
二十五人 質切日
二十六所 律切率
二十七親 吉切七
二十八親 吉切寒
二十九於 悉切一
三十於 筆切乙
三十一於 筆切壹

Figure 1B

Lost 11th juan *of Song edn. in collection of Beiping Library, open at j.11, p. 1a; rpt. after Kuraishi Takeshirō,* Jiujing shuying, *p. 214 (cited above, n. 46); used with permission of Renmin wenxue chubanshe.*

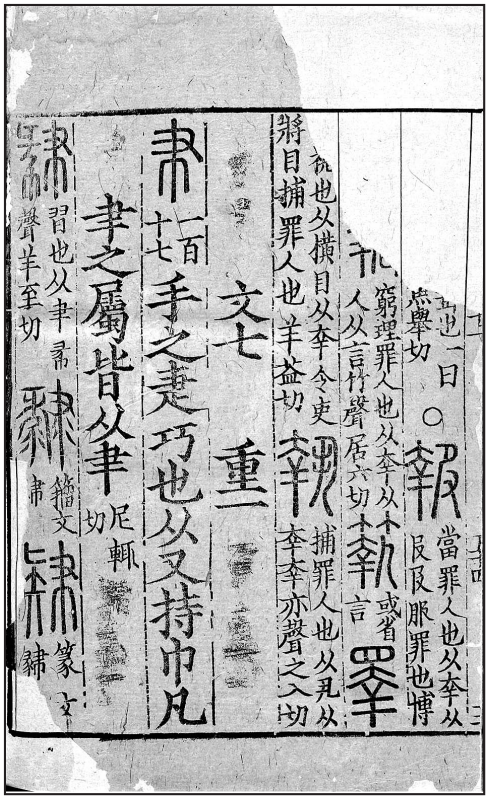


Figure 1C

Copy of Song edn. in collection of National Central Library, open at j. 12, p. 54B; rpt. with permission.

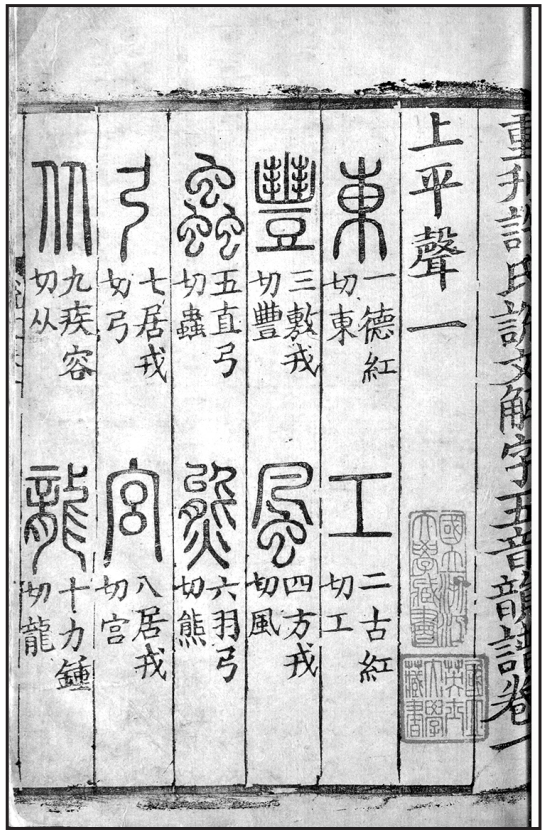


Figure 1D

Copy of Song edn. in collection of Zhejiang University Library, open at j. 1, p. 1A; rpt. with permission.

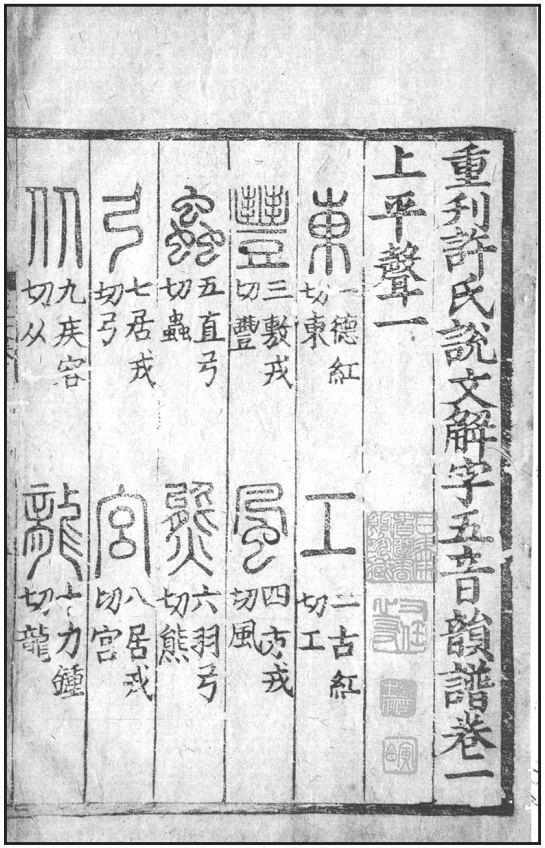


Figure 1E

Copy of Song edn. in collection of Gansu Provincial Library, open at j. 1, p. 1a; after Zhan Furui 詹福瑞, *ed.,* Diyipi guojia zhengui guji minglu tulu 第一批國家珍貴古籍名録圖録 *(Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2008) 2, p. 95.*

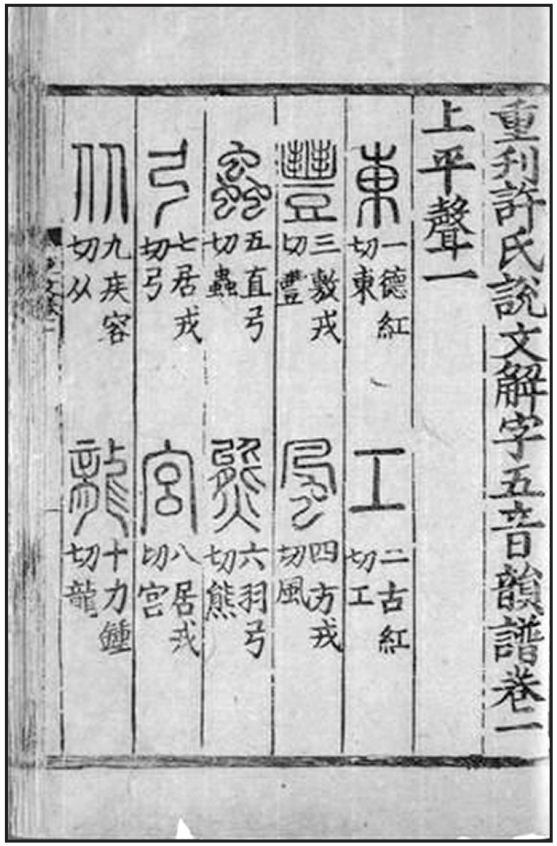


Figure 1F

Copy of Song edn. in collection of ©National Palace Museum, open at j. 1, p. 1a; rpt. with permission.

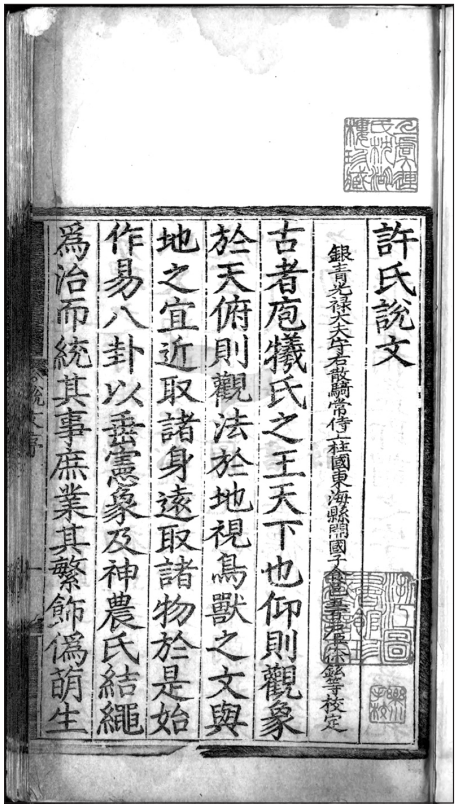


Figure 2A

Che Yu edn. in collection of Zhejiang Library, open at xu 序, *p. 1a; after Zhejiang Library, "Zhejiang sheng lishi wenxian shuzi ziyuan zongku"* 浙江省歷史文獻數字資源總庫, *last accessed May 27, 2026 <https://history.zjlib.cn/page/107556/show>.*

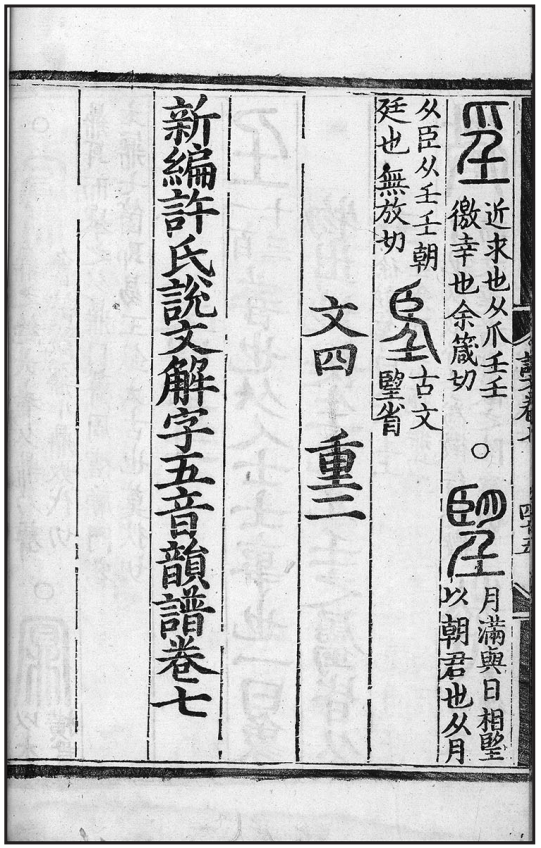


Figure 2B

Ming Neifu edn. in collection of National Central Library, open at j. 7, p. 45b; rpt. with permission.



Figure 2C

Guo Yushan edn. in collection of ©National Palace Museum, open at j. 1, p. 1A; rpt. with permission.

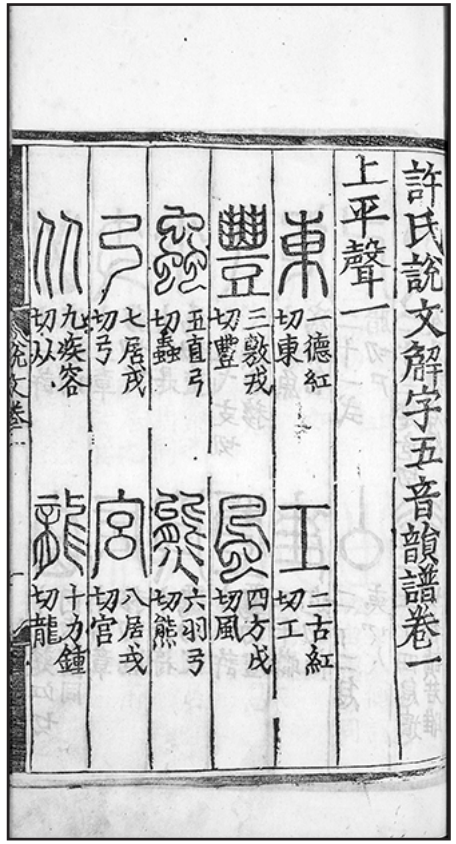
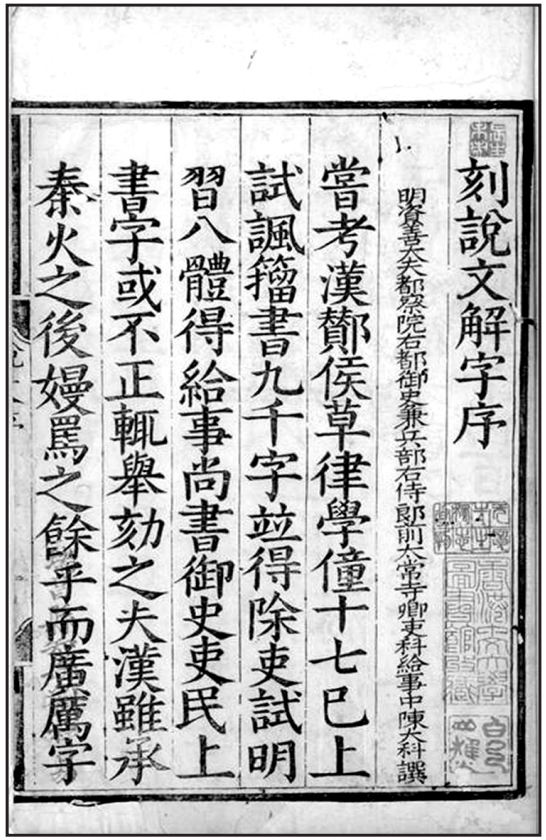


Figure 2D

Sun Fu edn. in collection of Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, open at j. 1, p. 1A; rpt. with permission.

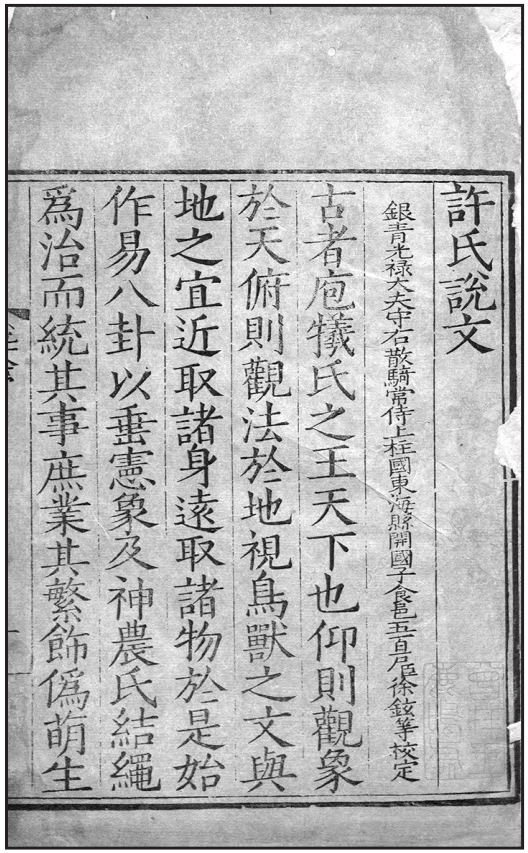

刻說文解字序

明資善大夫都察院右都御史兼兵部右侍郎前太常寺卿吏科給事中陳大科讓

嘗考漢鄭侯草律學僮十七已上試諷籀書九千字並得除吏試明習八體得給事尚書御史吏民上書字或不正輒舉劾之夫漢雖承秦火之後嫚罵之餘乎而廣厲字

Figure 2E

Chen Dake edn. in collection of Chinese University of Hong Kong Library, open at xu 序, *p.* 1a; *courtesy of Chinese University of Hong Kong Library.*


許氏說文

銀青光祿大夫守右散騎常侍上柱國東海縣開國子食邑五百戶徐鉉等奉勅校定

古者庖犧氏之王天下也仰則觀象於天俯則觀法於地視鳥獸之文與地之宜近取諸身遠取諸物於是始作易八卦以垂憲象及神農氏結繩爲治而統其事庶業其繁飾僞萌生

Figure 2F

Zhang Jingshi edn. in collection of Library of Congress, Asian Division, Chinese Rare Books, open at xu 序, *p.* 1a; *rpt. with permission.*

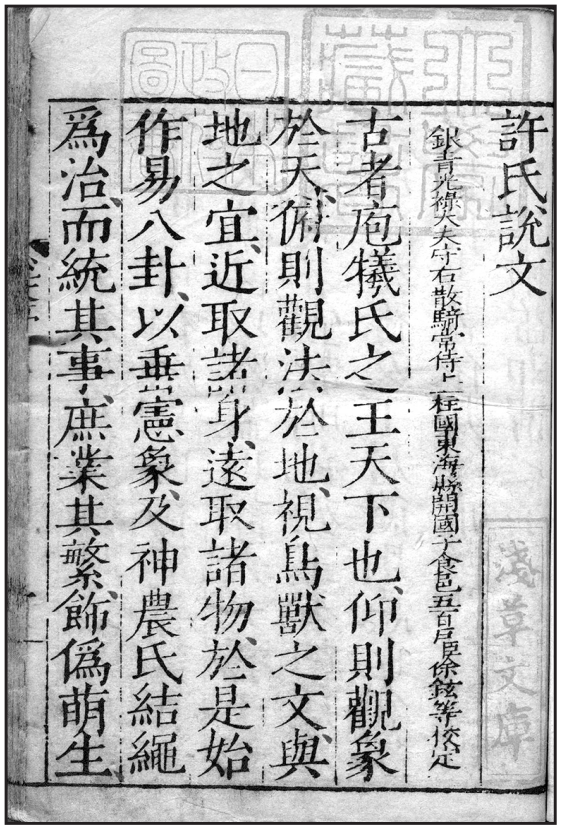


Figure 2G

Shiyu tang edn. in collection of National Archives of Japan, open at xu 序, *p. 1a; after "National Archives of Japan Digital Archive," last accessed October 10, 2022 <https://www.digital.archives.go.jp/>.*



Figure 2H

Ming white fore-edge edn. in collection of National Archives of Japan, xu 序, *p. 1a; after "National Archives of Japan Digital Archive," last accessed October 10, 2022.*

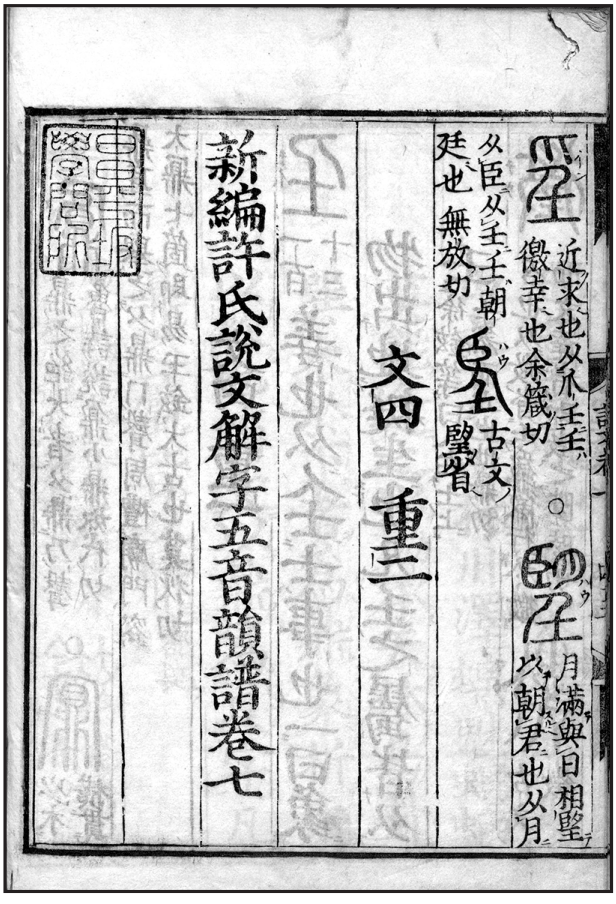


Figure 21

Natsukawa Genboku edn. (1670) in collection of National Archives of Japan, open at j. 7, p. 45b; after "National Archives of Japan Digital Archive," last accessed October 10, 2022.