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Kitamura Kigin's *Genji monogatari kogetsushō*, 1673 to 2025

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Abstract

Kitamura Kigin's *Kogetsushō* was published in 1673. It soon became the standard edition of the *Tale of Genji*, and continued in active use well into the 20th century. I compare Kigin's work to other woodblock printed editions, focusing on page layout and choice of annotation. I also analyze why *Kogetsushō* remained the standard scholarly edition of *Genji* despite the challenges of the late-Edo Nativist scholars and the large societal changes of the Meiji period. The result illuminates Kigin's accomplishment while also analyzing the difficulty of producing an annotated edition of such a long work.

Keywords

Tale of Genji – commentary – woodblock printing – Edo period – publishing

1 Introduction

It is commonplace to recognize that Kitamura Kigin's 1673 *Kogetsushō* is an especially influential edition of the *Tale of Genji*. It was reprinted as recently as 1982, with an editorial introduction by Akiyama Ken, who wrote that it 'overwhelmed other editions, and became the standard text not only in the Edo

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period, but also in the Meiji, Taisho, and Showa eras'.[1] Motoori Norinaga made a similar observation in 1796, writing that 'among [the commentaries], in the current age the one that is most widely used is *Kogetsushō*. Indeed, this commentary takes the good parts out of the many previous commentaries, and presents them in headnotes and sidenotes, including the theories of Kigin's teacher as well as his own'.[2] *Kogetsushō* is mentioned in any study of the Edo period reception of *Genji*.[3] However, the work has received little attention on its own merits, nor has there been much analysis of *why Kogetsushō* was so popular and had such a long life. Even Shimizu Fukuko's detailed monograph on *Genji* woodblock editions does not really address this question.[4] Norinaga's explanation above is a good starting point to understand *Kogetsushō*'s popularity: it presented the full original text[5] of *Genji* along with a judicious selection of annotation, divided among headnotes and sidenotes. From this starting point I would like to address two primary questions: (1) What made *Kogetsushō* appealing in comparison to other printed editions of *Genji*, and (2) Why did it outlast the criticism of Nativist (Kokugaku) scholars and later societal developments?

First, we should consider what the market for these editions might have been. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions from sales figures or contemporary records.[6] The existence of multiple *Genji* editions implies a certain level of readership simply because of the amount of effort involved in cutting the thousands of woodblocks necessary to produce a complete *Tale of Genji*.[7]

1 Kigin 1982 (see bibliography), 4.

2 Ōno Susumu ed., *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* vol. 4 (Chikuma Shobō, 1969), 181. This largely echoes what Norinaga had already written in his *Shibun yōryō* of 1763 (see p. 13 of the same volume).

3 For instance, Michael Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji: translation, canonization, and world literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), and Patrick Caddeau, *Appraising Genji: literary criticism and cultural anxiety in the age of the last samurai* (Albany NY: SUNY Press, 2006).

4 Shimizu Fukuko, *Genji monogatari hanpon no kenkyū* (Izumi Shoin, 2003). Her book provides a wealth of detail on the more technical aspects of the editions.

5 I use the term 'original text' to mean the so-called *aobyōshi-bon* recension of the text by Fujiwara no Teika that is the basis for all the editions under discussion, as well as modern editions. For the purpose of this article it is neither necessary to deal with minor textual differences between *aobyōshi-bon* based editions nor to consider how close these texts resemble what Murasaki Shikibu wrote.

6 Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 265.

7 The existence of pirated editions of the *Eiri Genji* is also circumstantial evidence that money could be made through selling *Genji*: see Peter Kornicki, 'Unsuitable books for women? *Genji*

The potential audience was certainly there: advances in education in the Edo period led to increased literacy, and the development of the commercial printing industry allowed more people to access books than before. The Edo period was also the age of 'popular learning', to use the term of Hayek and Horiuchi in *Listen, copy, learn: popular learning in early modern Japan*.[8] This 'popular learning' is broadly conceived and includes everything from children's writing practice to studying medicine. This would also in theory include self-study of the classics of Japanese literature, which were now free from their former association with the nobility and closely guarded secret transmissions.

Still, reading something like the *Tale of Genji* was beyond the ability of most people, and it does not seem to be something that was normally taught in the *terakoya* schools.[9] *Genji* was a presence in Edo-period literary culture, but most people experienced it through other means, such as digests of the story, vernacular translations, or the popular *Nise Murasaki inaka Genji* adaptation.[10] These works all connect to the original *Genji* in some way – the digests are summaries, the translations are translations, and *Nise Murasaki* is an adaptation. The explicitness of this connection varied, and readers did not always appreciate the nuances. Michael Emmerich has made a convincing case that most readers of *Nise Murasaki* had no familiarity with the original tale and sometimes could not tell the two apart.[11] On the other hand, *Nise Murasaki* does explicitly highlight its connection to an 'original' *Genji*, and the author Ryūtei Tanehiko seems to have relied heavily on *Kogetsushō*.[12]

The translations, too, were marked as translations of an original *Tale of Genji*, and at least some of them were explicitly intended to help a reader deal with the original text. However, these translations only covered a few selected

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Monogatari and *Ise Monogatari* in late seventeenth-century Japan'. *Monumenta Nipponica* 60 (2005): 149. He also accepts the conjectural evidence of *Genji*'s popularity.

8 Matthias Hayek and Annick Horiuchi, eds., *Listen, copy, read*: *popular learning in early modern Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1.

9 Koizumi Yoshinaga (Isako Okazaki Ward, trans.) 'Learning to read and write – a study of *tenaraibon*', in Hayek and Horiuchi, eds., *Listen, copy, read*. Moral objections to reading *Genji* may have influenced this: see Peter Kornicki, 'Unsuitable books'.

10 In English scholarship, see particularly Thomas Harper and Haruo Shirane, eds., *Reading* The Tale of Genji*: sources from the first millenium* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015) and Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji*. For a more detailed treatment of digests and translations, see chapter 3 of Rebekah Clements, *A Cultural history of translation in early modern Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press, 2015).

11 Emmerich, *Tale of Genji*, 54–6.

12 Emmerich, *Tale of Genji*, 105, 99, and 101. Part 1 of Emmerich's book covers *Nise Murasaki* in detail.

chapters.[13] In the end, the primary audience for the 'original text' editions seems to have been scholars of the classics and literati who read *Genji* to assist their own literary efforts. Kigin himself pitched his work at *haikai* poets, but the readers of *Kogetsushō* also included the people who produced the various *Genji* adaptations and translations. This is not to say that the audience was limited entirely to that group – men repeatedly raised concerns about the appropriateness of women reading *Genji*, and there is scattered evidence of more educated women doing just that.[14]

Prior to the Edo period the readers of *Genji* were largely limited to those privileged few who had access to the knowledge jealously guarded by particular families or schools. However, as Peter Kornicki explains:

> Once printed commentaries on the text became available [in the Edo period], complete with philological crutches for those who needed them, it was for the first time possible to imagine reading *Genji* without a teacher. There can be no doubt that these printed commentaries had a profound impact on how the text was read and studied.[15]

Early printed editions did not have these 'philological crutches'; they contained only the *Genji* text, usually without even punctuation or voicing marks.[16] But in the two decades between 1653 and 1673, there were four complete woodblock editions of the *Tale of Genji* that paired the text with some degree of annotation. Each edition presented the text in a different way, with different strategies for assisting the reader. The four editions share similarities that distinguish them from the translations or adaptations: they contain the full original text of the complete tale, and they transmit authoritative *Genji* scholarship of the pre-Edo period. The close connection between the four editions is clear from later references, such as a 1957 review of Ikeda Kikan's *Genji monogatari taisei* where the reviewer lists all four as editions he had used prior to the publication of Ikeda's monumental text.[17] Nevertheless, *Kogetsushō*, published last of the four, became the standard scholarly edition until after World War II.

13 At least in their printed forms. Clements indicates there were complete translations but only in manuscript (see the table on pp. 56–8 of *A Cultural history*).

14 Kornicki, 'Unsuitable books'. See especially 167–8 for evidence of female readership.

15 Kornicki, 'Unsuitable books', 149.

16 For a detailed account of moveable type and woodblock printing in the 17th century, see Peter Kornicki, *Printing technologies and book production in seventeenth-century Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2025). Shimizu's book also gives more specific information on the *Genji* editions, as does Clements.

17 Quoted in Emmerich, *Tale of Genji*, 21.

The primary points of comparison between the editions are the choice of what prior commentary to present to the reader, and how the information is laid out on the page along with the text. The text of *Genji* itself is largely the same in all four editions, and they tend to draw on similar sources of scholarship.[18] The annotation in each edition is mostly derived from the teaching and transmission of the Sanjōnishi family, who combined written commentaries dating back to the 12th century with their own written commentaries and lectures.[19] Existing studies of these editions, which are focused on *kochūshaku* ('old commentary') history, tend to focus on the content of the commentary, particularly what is original to that edition. Through this lens *Kogetsushō* is often minimized because of its heavy reliance on previous scholarship. But the importance of page layout in the success of a commentary is mirrored in other traditions: Lesley Smith notes that it was the layout as much as the contents that made the *Glossa ordinaria* (a collection of commentaries on the Latin Bible) so successful.[20] A close examination of *Kogetsushō* in comparison with the other contemporary editions of *Genji* illuminates Kigin's accomplishment beyond the field of *kochūshaku* history.

2 Annotated Editions of *Genji* Prior to *Kogetsushō*

2.1 Eiri genji monogatari

Eiri genji monogatari ('*Tale of Genji* with pictures') was produced by the artist Yamamoto Shunshō (1610–1682), who provided the 226 illustrations that give the work its name. He had studied *Genji* under the scholar Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1654), a significant figure in the production of all four of the editions under discussion.[21] *Eiri genji* went through a number of printings, including several pirated editions.[22] The one printed in 1654 seems to have been the most

18 Shimizu provides details of the base texts in each edition. See especially her third chapter (pp. 207–341).

19 Detail on the Sanjōnishi family's *Genji* teachings can be found in Imai Takuji et al., eds., *Genji monogatari no honmon to juyō* (Kyōseisha, 1991) 135–46.

20 Lesley Smith, *The* Glossa ordinaria*: the making of a medieval Bible commentary* (Brill, 2009).

21 Teitoku's influence on *Genji* studies extended beyond the original text editions: see Emmerich, *Tale of Genji*, 100–101.

22 Kornicki notes the 'bewildering number of reprints in various formats and sizes, evidence in itself for the extent and diversity of the market for printed copies of *Genji*' ('Unsuitable books', 149).

widely distributed.[23] The set consisted of 60 volumes: one volume for each of the 54 chapters of *Genji*, and 6 supplementary volumes. The main volumes provide the complete text of *Genji*, along with punctuation and voicing marks, and a small amount of annotation. All of the annotation is in the form of interlinear notes, which generally take one of three forms: (1) Clarifying the subject of a sentence or the referent of a vague phrase (e.g. 'the woman'), (2) Showing what parts of the text are quotations (and who is speaking them), and which are thoughts of a character, and (3) Identifying poetic allusions with a backslash *gatten* mark.

The contents of the six accessory volumes are as follows. One is an anonymous continuation of the story called 'Dew on the mountain path' (*Yamaji no tsuyu*), which dates from the Muromachi period. The other five volumes contain additional information to help readers of the tale. They include a family tree, a dictionary, and identification of the many allusions to poems from the classic corpus (keyed to the *gatten* marks in the main text). The three-volume dictionary (*meyasu*) begins with excerpts from older commentaries discussing authorship, analysis of the tale's literary qualities and perceived philosophical teachings, and the derivation of each of the chapter title names. The rest of the *meyasu* is a dictionary arranged in *iroha* order. Some of these entries are simple definitions of words, while others are more extended explanations of court customs. This separation of commentary and text is similar to pre-Edo practice.[24]

Certainly, the text, with the voicing marks and punctuation, would have been easier to read than the earlier printed editions or a manuscript. Although the main text had little annotation, Shunshō's inclusion of the dictionary volume gave the readers access to some degree of explanation without having to buy a separate commentary themselves. On the other hand, it is difficult to know how many people would have been able to read *Genji* with only the *meyasu* dictionary and the scattered interlinear notes, especially since the text itself provides no indication of which words or phrases can be found in the dictionary. The illustrations, while aesthetically pleasing, do not substantially assist the reader in deciphering the meaning of the text. Shimizu's opinion is that *Eiri*'s layout used a bare-bones commentary in the main text to allow for smooth reading, along with more detailed notes in supplementary volumes that the reader could consult as necessary.[25] It does seem that this was good

23 The complete set held by the Library of Congress is of this printing. See https://www.loc.gov/item/2004551302/ for scans (site accessed 6 February 2025).

24 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 206.

25 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 206.



FIGURE 1 Eiri Genji monogatari, 'Kiritsubo'. In the picture, the child Genji is being carried by a gentlewoman to the Emperor, who is hidden behind a screen at the top of the picture.『源氏物語』(国文学研究資料館所蔵)
KOKUSHO DATABASE HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.20730/200003803

enough for some readers: as late as the Meiji period it was still read by people such as Yosano Akiko, the first translator of *Genji* into modern Japanese.[26] On the other hand, it has not been considered a true 'traditional commentary' (*kochūshaku*): none of the major Nativist scholars mention it, and it is usually not included in lists of commentaries even in modern editions. Its major influence on the scholarly commentaries is that the other editions probably derived their base text from *Eiri*.[27]

2.2 Bansui ichiro

Bansui ichiro ('From all the water, one drop of dew') started as a manuscript commentary. It was compiled around 1575 by the *renga* poet Noto Eikan. He drew upon four authoritative commentaries, and added both his own

26 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 22.
27 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 28.

explanations and information from the lectures given by his teacher Sōseki (1474–1533). About a century later, in 1652, the commentary was turned into a woodblock edition by Matsunaga Teitoku, who had apparently used this commentary regularly in his *Genji* lectures.[28] The woodblock edition expanded on the original manuscript version by including the entire text of *Genji* as well as lengthening the commentary portions.[29] This made *Bansui ichiro* usable without a separate copy of the *Genji* text, and as Teitoku's colophon indicates, made it unnecessary to keep four separate commentary texts at hand when reading *Genji*.[30] It was presented in 62 volumes, with the introductory material included in the first volume along with the 'Kiritsubo' chapter, and some of the longer chapters split across two physical volumes.

The reading experience is quite different from *Eiri genji*. The text has no punctuation or voicing marks, which requires from the reader a higher level of knowledge about Heian Japanese and *Genji* itself. The text is broken up in a way typical of older manuscript commentaries, with lemma followed by commentary (although the lemma in the *Bansui* printed edition consist of the entire text). Thus the commentary becomes the prominent feature of the work and virtually requires engagement with it, presenting *Genji* primarily as a work for study, rather than for the pleasure reading that Shimizu implies for *Eiri*.

On the whole, the content of the annotation matches the presentation in that it forces the reader to approach the tale slowly and engage with the scholarly tradition. Often the contents of several commentaries are given even when they largely say the same thing. Many of the notes are detailed exegeses of court customs and precedents, Chinese analogues, historical parallels, and other such recondite matters. Thus this work seems intended for a highly educated audience that could handle both *Genji* and the commentary text. From the standpoint of *kochūshaku* studies, *Bansui* is credited with preserving the teachings of commoner *renga* poets such as Noto Eikan and his teacher Sōseki, which sometimes disagree with the predominant strain of Sanjōnishi family scholarship.[31]

28 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 286.

29 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 379.

30 Ii Haruki, ed., *Bansui ichiro* (Ōfūsha: 1988–92), vol. 5, 413. Ii's editorial postface to that edition of the commentary, as well as his chapter in *Genji monogatari no honmon to juyō* (pp. 168–176), provide more information on the content of the commentary.

31 Ii Haruki, 'Bansui ichiro', in *Genji monogatari no honmon to juyō*, 168.

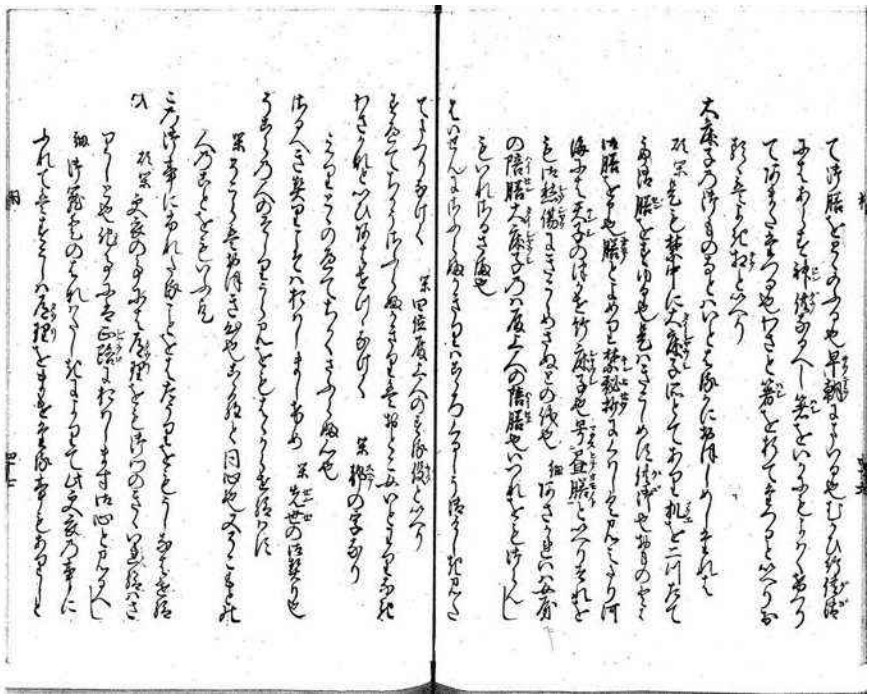


FIGURE 2 *Bansui ichiro*, 'Kiritsubo'. The commentary portions are indented.『源氏物語聞書』(国文学研究資料館所蔵)
KOKUSHO DATABASE HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.20730/200001912

2.3 Shusho genji monogatari[32]

Shusho Genji monogatari's title ('The *Tale of Genji* with headnotes') highlights the distinctive feature of this edition. The circumstances of compilation and publication are murky. According to the colophon, the work was completed in 1640 by someone named Ikkansai but not published until 1673. But we do not know who Ikkansai was, whether he was also behind the 1673 publication, or how closely the published version resembles Ikkansai's original manuscript.[33] The work is in 55 volumes. The first volume includes an introduction and the first chapter of *Genji*, and a family tree and chronology are included as a

32 It is also possible this should be read *Kashiragaki genji monogatari*. See Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 17.

33 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 341–406 has a detailed discussion. She believes that Ikkansai was a disciple of Matsunaga Teitoku and that if the person behind the published edition was not Ikkansai, it was one of his disciples. Previously Shimizu had suggested that Ikkansai might have been Teitoku himself, but she rejects the theory in her 2003 book.

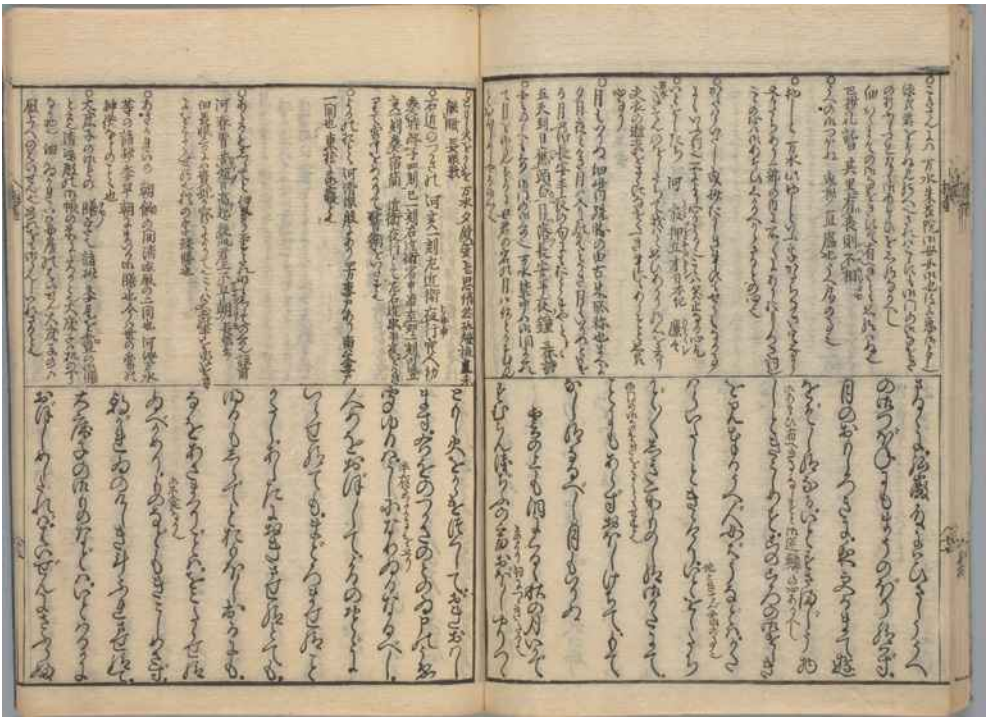


FIGURE 3 *Shusho Genji monogatari*『首書 源氏物語』(国文学研究資料館所蔵)
KOKUSHO DATABASE HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.20730/200015717

separate volume. *Shusho* divides each page horizontally into two equal halves. The bottom half contains the text of *Genji*, with punctuation and voicing marks, and occasional interlinear notes. The top half of the page is reserved for annotations quoted from prior commentaries, regardless of how many there are, leading to a great deal of blank space (particularly in the later volumes). However, this method does mean that, more often than not, the annotation is placed directly above the passage it is explaining.[34]

The notes are drawn from nine previous commentaries, but *Bansui ichiro* was especially influential. All four of the commentaries drawn on in *Bansui* are also used for *Shusho*, and Eikan's own notes are frequently cited. The other four commentaries were also connected with the Sanjōnishi family or *renga* schools. However, in comparison to *Bansui*, the annotation is drastically pared down for *Shusho* – this may be the first collected commentary on *Genji* that

34 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 349.

attempted to break away from the excessively detailed exegesis of prior commentaries and 'attempt to show a method to read the tale for pleasure as a tale'.[35] The interlinear notes contribute to this goal and advance on the notes in *Eiri*: like *Eiri*, *Shusho* identifies the subjects of sentences and where quotations begin. But *Shusho* also has a number of notes that explain the basic meaning of a passage. The 'Kiritsubo' chapter has around 80 of these explanatory notes. However, this impulse peters out in the later chapters – 'Shiigamoto', which is similar in length to 'Kiritsubo', has fewer than 10 interlinear notes including *Eiri*-style subject identifiers. This may be one reason why *Kogetsushō* was favored over the *Shusho* despite having similar layout and content.

3 *Kogetsushō*: Background, Methodology, and Layout

The three commentaries discussed in the previous section were all published before *Kogetsushō*. Why did Kigin's work, released into an already saturated market, become the standard edition of *Genji* for the remainder of the Edo period? To answer this question, I will first address Kigin's objectives and methodology. In a late work called *The Essential Style of Haikai*, Kigin offers an explanation for why he started editing and annotating classic texts for publication. He followed his teacher Matsunaga Teitoku in stressing the importance of the classics in composing *haikai* poetry, but Kigin realized that many people did not have teachers to help them read *Genji* and other such works and therefore took it upon himself to produce editions that would help them.[36] Despite this explanation, he began with minor works such as the *Yamato monogatari*, only gradually moving on to the weightier giants of the canon. He seems to have done some work on the *Tales of Ise* prior to *Genji*, but his first published commentary dealing with a major work of the canon was *Kogetsushō*.

Of course, Kigin was not the first person to recognize that there were now people interested in studying *Genji* without a teacher; this motive lay behind Teitoku's work as well. But Kigin had the benefit of being able to see the existing printed editions of the tale. Perhaps he realized that the product of Teitoku's efforts to make *Genji* available to aspiring poets, *Bansui ichiro*, was still too difficult to use. In addition to his comments in *The Essential Style of Haikai*, Kigin provided a section in his introduction to *Kogetsushō* labeled *hanrei*, where he explained his layout choices and selection of commentary in a more detailed

35 Katagiri, 'Kaisetsu' in *Shusho genji monogatari sōron kiritsubo*, 139.

36 Ogata Tsutomu, ed., *Kigin Haironshū* (Koten Bunko, 1960), 196. The Japanese title of the work is 俳諧用意風体.

way than any previous editor had done. Kigin had not provided such an explanation in any of his previous commentaries, and a close reading of its contents will show his own understanding of the distinctive features of his edition. I will focus on the elements of the *hanrei* that relate to the two features I am concerned with – choice of material, and layout.[37]

Kigin explains his own scholarly background, identifying the two teachers that he studied *Genji* under: Minogata Jōan (dates unknown) and Matsunaga Teitoku. Based on that experience, he relies primarily on two previous commentaries: the 1510 *Sairyūshō* by Sanjōnishi Kin'eda (which he links to Jōan), and the 1575 *Mōshinshō* by Kujō Tanemichi (which he links to Teitoku). Kigin writes that he will supplement these commentaries with additional notes from other old commentaries, along with notes taken from lectures, and his own notes. Providing this information may not seem particularly innovative, but *Shusho genji* did not explain its reasoning for the nine commentaries cited, nor does it anywhere list which commentaries the editor relied upon. Kigin also explains the meaning of each of the kanji used to denote the commentaries (for example, 河 refers to the *Kakaishō* 河海抄). Again, this may seem like an obvious thing to explain, but none of the other editions do so – *Shusho genji* even uses abbreviated citations for commentaries that are not mentioned in the introduction.

In addition to explaining the symbols, Kigin writes that if multiple commentaries say the same thing he will write something like 花同. This would indicate that the *Kachō yosei* (indicated by the kanji 花) says the same (同) thing. *Bansui ichiro* quotes multiple commentaries at length even when they say mostly the same thing, while *Shusho genji* simply omits the additional information. Kigin's technique allows him to show the continuity and agreement of past scholars using very little space.[38] The next element in the *hanrei* explains the layout feature that Norinaga would later comment on:

> The passages from the historical commentaries that are quite long I will give in the headnotes, with a word showing what part of the text is being referred to. Then, I will use interlinear notes for short explanations of the sentences, as well as notes about whose speech or thoughts are being

37 Kitamura Kigin, (Inokuma Natsuki, and Arikawa Takehiko, eds.) *Zōchū Genji monogatari Kogetsushō* (Osaka: Kōbunsha, 1927–35), 3 vols, vol. 1, 32–5.

38 Kigin continued this practice in his later *Ise* commentary (see Newhard, *Knowing the amorous man*, 143).

> represented, or what parts are the narrative voice. This is all to make it easy for children to read.[39]

Kigin then explains that poetic allusions will be marked in the text, but he will sometimes only give the first or last lines of the poem in the headnotes if it is one that 'children' would know well.

These references to 'children' are probably just a way of apologizing for providing information that seems insufficiently scholarly: similar statements appear in earlier *Genji* commentaries, as well as in vernacular translations.[40] But it does show Kigin's concern with making the text as accessible as possible. The importance of the marginal notes is that they allow for a continuous reading of the story with basic explanations, which then can be supplemented by a possible re-reading with the more detailed information in the headnotes.[41] *Shusho* also provided this division to a certain extent, but there are crucial differences in Kigin's approach. The *Shusho* editor put any annotation that was quoted from a previous commentary in the headnotes, regardless of length. Kigin allowed for a quotation from a previous commentary to be interlinear as well, as long as it was simple and short enough – that is, the division of commentary was based on the type of note, not its source. Kigin covers other topics in the *hanrei* as well (such as his inability to include certain secret teachings), but the preceding discussion covers what is most relevant to understanding *Kogetsushō*'s advances on previous editions.

Kogetsushō was published in 60 volumes. The text itself covered 54 chapters, and there were 6 supplementary volumes. Two of these are slim volumes, one discussing the *Kumogakure* chapter (which has only a title and no text), and one containing a brief passage incorporating all the chapter titles, which was recited as part of the *Genji* incense-blending ceremony.[42] One volume contains the introductory material – this includes the usual discussions of authorship, date, Confucian and Buddhist interpretations, etc. It also includes the *hanrei* discussed above. One volume contains a family tree. Unlike the one included in *Eiri genji*, this is a full reproduction of an older family tree that contains all of the characters in the tale with their relationships and brief descriptions.

39 *Kogetsushō*, 34.

40 Clements, *Cultural history of translation*, 49–50. This practice predates the Edo period; a 15th-century digest of *Genji* also claims that it is for women and children (see J. Christopher Kern 'Digesting Genji in the fifteenth century: Imagawa Norimasa's *The Essentials of the Tale of Genji*'. *Japanese Language and Literature* 52 (2018): 315–40).

41 Newhard, *Knowing the amorous man*, 144.

42 See Harper and Shirane, *Reading the* Tale of Genji, 191–201. *Kogetsushō* lacks the surrounding anecdote and just gives the chant on pp. 195–200.

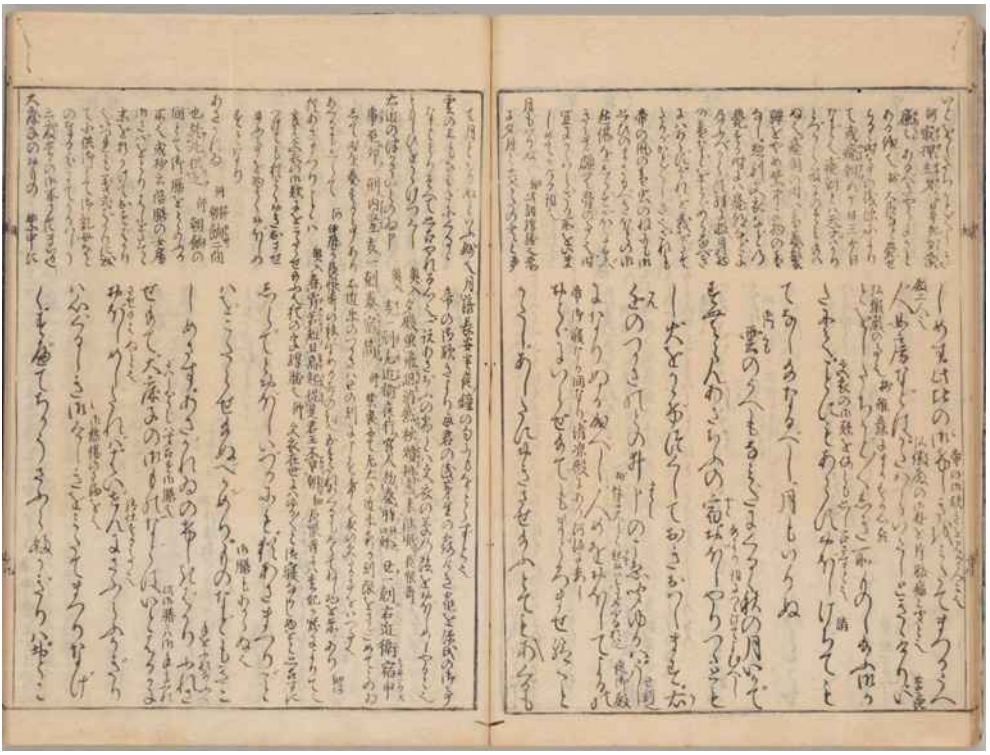


FIGURE 4 *Kogetsushō*『湖月抄』(国文学研究資料館所蔵)
KOKUSHO DATABASE HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.20730/200016589

Two volumes provide a chronology of the tale, made by Ichijō Kanera in the 15th century. The chronology fixes Genji's age in each chapter, and includes enough detail on events within the chapter to act as a kind of table of contents or summary of the tale.

In appearance, the main text of *Kogetsushō* is similar to that of *Shusho genji*. The bottom part of the page is taken up by The *Genji* text, and the comments are on the top part, but there are two primary differences. The first is that *Kogetsushō* did not force the half-and-half division of *Shusho*: the comments usually take up about a fourth of the top section, but the notes are allowed to spill over onto the whole page if they are too long, and even onto the next page. This creates the appearance of 'a block of text "framed" by commentary'.[43] This may have been done to save money on page count,

43 Harper and Shirane, *Reading the* Tale of Genji, 369.

since it does eliminate the large amount of blank space that occurred in *Shusho*. But it does have the undesirable effect of sometimes making it harder to for the reader to match the notes with the text.[44] The second layout difference, already mentioned, is that *Kogetsushō* makes much greater use of interlinear notes.

This was the first published commentary in which Kigin used this technique: all his previous published commentaries were done in the style of *Bansui ichiro* – providing the full text, but breaking it up into clauses or sentences interlaced with commentary. However, those works were made up of short sections that were easy to break for annotation. Kigin was presumably aware of Teitoku's edition of *Bansui ichiro* and thus had experience with how *Genji* would look and read in the format he had previously used. Shimizu suggests that Kigin may have gotten the idea for his layout from *Shusho genji*.[45] Whatever the reason, this became the style he relied on most in his remaining works – his later commentaries on the *Ise*, the first eight Imperial poetry anthologies, and the *Man'yōshū* were all done in the style of *Kogetsushō*.

4 Comparing the Editions

The quality of Kigin's work is best seen in direct comparison with the three woodblock editions I discussed previously. *Eiri Genji* had a punctuated text, but little annotation. *Bansui ichiro* cannot be 'read' in the sense of experiencing *Genji* as a continuous narrative – it can only be studied as a scholarly work in small chunks broken up by long commentary blocks. Furthermore, the commentary is often repetitive, and punctuation and voicing marks are absent, requiring a much higher level of knowledge on the part of readers. *Shusho*'s text is separated from the commentary and thus easier to read, but there are still many passages that remain unannotated. *Kogetsushō* addresses the flaws of the previous editions. It can be read as a continuous text, with simple interlinear commentary to guide the reader to a basic understanding of the text. The headnotes then allow for a deeper reading (or perhaps re-reading), combining the authoritative commentary of the Sanjōnishi family with clear and lucid notes from Jōan and Kigin himself. The result is a highly readable, but still scholastically rigorous, edition of the tale.

I will analyze one example in detail to show how Kigin controls the information in comparison with the other commentaries. The example is from the 'Kiritsubo' chapter, describing the Emperor's grief over the death of Kiritsubo:

44 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 256.

45 Shimizu, *Hanpon no kenkyū*, 255.

'He ate nothing, only touching the appearance of his morning meal, and thinking of the tray as far away, and those around the serving tray looked at his appearance and grieved'.[46] There are a number of interpretative difficulties in the sentence that cannot be shown in translation: because the passage is describing the Emperor, the language is extremely indirect and vague out of politeness. The phrase describing his eating, *mono nado mo kikoshimesazu*, literally means '[he] did not hear things'. The people around the serving tray are referred to simply by the word *kagiri*, meaning 'area' or 'limit'. However, the commentaries prior to the woodblock editions concern themselves almost entirely with lengthy descriptions of the 'tray' (*daishōji*) and the 'serving tray' (*haizen*), using historical sources to specify exactly what these objects are, where the food was served, who attended the service, and other such details.

Eiri genji provides no annotation for this passage (although descriptions of the food and serving trays can be found in the supplementary dictionary volume). *Bansui ichiro* largely follows the old commentaries in providing detailed descriptions of the trays but the final citation from the *Sairyūshō* gives a simpler definition: 'The "morning meal" is served by gentlewomen and the "tray" by men. The Emperor did not even look at either of them'.[47] *Shusho Genji* provides an interlinear annotation for the first phrase: 'The Emperor is not eating'.[48] The headnotes provide the same information on the food and serving trays as the previous commentaries, although in abbreviated form. *Shusho* also cites the *Sairyushō* passage. So, while there is some help in these editions, the majority of the annotation is still concerned with analyzing the court customs rather than glossing the basic meaning of the text.

Kogetsushō provides six interlinear notes for this passage. Simple definitions are provided to clarify what is meant by 'ate nothing', 'touching the appearance', 'far away', and 'those around the serving tray', all of which are vaguer in the original Japanese than can be represented in translation. The 'tray' is given a simple definition: 'This is the tray the Emperor eats from'. At the end, the phrase 'looked at his appearance' is glossed to specify that the Emperor is grieving for Kiritsubo. Thus a reader can easily get basic definitions of the words and phrases and more specific referents for vague terms. The reader can then turn to the headnotes, where Kigin provides the more detailed descriptions of the

46 Kigin, *Kogetsushō*, 31. The original Japanese is *mono nado mo kikoshimesazu, asagarei no keshiki bakari fure-sase-tamai-te, daishōji no ohon-mono nado wa, ito haruka ni oboshimeshi-tare-ba, haizen ni saburau kagiri wa, kokorogurushiki mi-keshiki wo mi-tatematsuri nageku.*

47 *Bansui ichiro*, vol. 1, 33.

48 Katagiri Yōichi, ed., *Shusho Genji monogatari: sōron, kiritsubo* (Osaka: Izumi Shoten, 1980), 95.

trays – while all of the information had appeared in previous commentaries, Kigin cuts out much of the citation from the historical sources and focuses on information that is more relevant to the passage in question (the *Sairyūshō* passage is also cited).

So, in comparison, *Kogetsushō*'s interlinear notes provide far more help for a simple reading of the tale than any of the other three editions. Even if the reader were approaching *Genji* with a desire for more detail, having a basic understanding of what the text is saying is necessary for engaging with the more complicated headnotes. The headnotes are closer to *Bansui ichiro* than *Shusho* in the comprehensive coverage, but also include some explanations of the passages that would not have fit in the interlinear space. Thus from the standpoint of either a reader or scholar, *Kogetsushō* presented an easier to read text with a comprehensive scholarly apparatus.

5 *Kogetsushō* from the 18th to the 19th Centuries

As mentioned before, there is little hard data to support the claim that *Kogetsushō* was the most widely read edition of *Genji*. As circumstantial evidence, Peter Kornicki notes the 'frequency of textual and visual reference to *Kogetsushō*' in the late Edo period, something that Michael Emmerich also points out.[49] More evidence is provided by the comments of several Nativist scholars in their writings on *Genji*, attesting to its wide use. Norinaga's comment was cited at the beginning of this article, but he also devotes a section of his general preface to *Kogetsushō*, something he does not do for any other commentary or edition. He also provides a section on textual errors in *Kogetsushō*, writing 'the reason why I have focused on *Kogetsushō* is that it has circulated widely throughout the world, and what people look at is mostly this work'.[50] Ishikawa Masamochi, in his 1830 *Genchū yoteki*, includes all four of the woodblock editions in his list of commentaries at the beginning of the work, but later comments, 'My work is intended primarily for reading *Kogetsushō*' and '*Kogetsushō* is written in a way that we can rely on' despite its mistakes.[51] Hagiwara Hiromichi makes a similar claim in his 1854 *Genji monogatari hyōshaku*: 'Because [*Kogetsushō*] includes the entire text of *Genji* and is easy to acquire in woodblock printed form, people use it almost to the

49 Kornicki, 'Unsuitable books for women?' 150, and Emmerich, *Tale of Genji*, 35, 55.

50 *Tama no ogushi*, 281.

51 Ishikawa Masamochi, *Genchū yoteki* (Kokusho kankōkai, 1906), 3.

exclusion of all else'.[52] The other editions were known to the Nativist scholars, but these quotations strongly suggest that *Kogetsushō* had become their edition of choice.

This continued reliance on *Kogetsushō* is obscured by the common separation in scholarship between the pre-*Kogetsushō kochū* (old commentaries) and the post-*Kogetsushō shinchū* (new commentaries) of the Nativist scholars. This can lead to the mistaken impression of a strong dividing line between two 'periods' of commentary. It is true that the Nativist scholars revolutionized *Genji* studies: their work on *Genji* has been extensively discussed elsewhere, and I will not recount their advances and criticisms in detail.[53] However, while their work was revolutionary, they also continued to rely on and engage with *Kogetsushō* to some degree. Norinaga's and Masamochi's commentaries were written in direct response to *Kogetsushō* – Norinaga's *Tama no Ogushi* began as slips pasted into the *Kogetsushō* text that Norinaga used for his lectures, and Masamochi's *Genchū yoteki* cites the *Kogetsushō* passages by page number. Hiromichi's *Hyōshaku* was explicitly intended to replace *Kogetsushō*, but he died after finishing only the first eight chapters.[54] Thus at the end of the Edo period, none of the Nativist scholars had produced a full commentary on *Genji*. Norinaga continued to lecture on *Genji* until his death, but he considered his commentary on the *Kojiki* to be a far more important project (as he says explicitly in *Tama no ogushi* itself).[55] Other Nativist scholars may have considered *Kogetsushō* good enough to use with some updates: Masamochi's *Genchū yoteki* brings together corrections from several previous Nativist scholars under one cover so that it can be easily used alongside *Kogetsushō*. Much of the pioneering work on *Genji* done by Norinaga and Hiromichi was in their overall interpretation of the tale rather than the sentence-by-sentence annotations.

Hiromichi faced another important problem in trying to bring out his own new edition: the difficulty of controlling the huge amount of *Genji* scholarship in an age where one could no longer rely on past prestige and authority. Kigin's work was facilitated by the fact that much of his commentary was inherited from tradition and from his personal teachers – his primary effort was

52 *Genchū yoteki*, 36.

53 See especially Caddeau, *Appraising* Genji; Harper and Shirane, *Reading the* Tale of Genji; Peter Nosco, *Remembering paradise* (Harvard University Asia Center, 1990), and Thomas Harper, 'The Tale of Genji in the eighteenth century: Keichū, Mabuchi, and Norinaga', in C. Andrew Gerstle, ed., *Eighteenth century Japan: culture and society* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989), 106–28.

54 Caddeau, *Appraising* Genji, 46.

55 *Tama no ogushi*, 396.

in selection and arrangement. Although Kigin contributed many notes of his own, they were nearly all just surface explanations of the meaning of phrases or sentences. Hiromichi, on the other hand, had to contend with both his own analysis of *Genji*'s narrative techniques and also the entire 600-year history of *Genji* scholarship. Although he paid great respect to Norinaga's work and cited it frequently, it did not represent the same kind of fixed tradition that Kigin was able to draw upon. Hiromichi had to weigh each piece of old commentary carefully, even those from a source as respected as Norinaga.

Hiromichi's commentary on the first eight chapters of the tale (about 15% of the whole) was eventually published in two parts, one in 1854 and the next in 1861. Both parts take up 700 pages of the 1909 typeset edition and draw upon 27 commentaries plus Hiromichi's own substantial contributions. Although his work was hampered by illness and alcoholism,[56] one wonders if even in good health he would have been able to complete the project on his own – it would have ended up being considerably longer than *Kogetsushō*, and would have required far more effort to produce.[57] Regardless, at the end of the Edo period, *Kogetsushō* and the other three printed editions were still the only complete annotated editions of *Genji*.

6 Meiji and Beyond

The Meiji period brought large societal changes that affected the reception and publication of *Genji*: the introduction of Western-style moveable type, a further increase in educational provision, and a desire to champion the *Tale of Genji* as a Japanese work that could join the budding field of 'world literature'.[58] However, *Kogetsushō* continued to hold its place as the standard scholarly edition of *Genji* until after World War II. There were many editions of *Genji* published during this time, but they generally fell into one of three categories: (1) editions with only simple notes covering the basic meaning of phrases, (2) typeset editions of *Kogetsushō*, and (3) attempts at new scholarly editions

56 Caddeau, *Appraising* Genji, 34.

57 If Hiromichi had continued the *Hyōshaku* with the same detail of annotation, it would have ended up being around 4500 pages. Norinaga's *Kojiki-den* and Masazumi Masamochi's *Man'yōshū kogi* are projects of similar depth and length, which suggests that a full edition of *Genji* would have been possible.

58 The latter part of Emmerich, *Tale of Genji*, covers this 'recanonization' of *Genji*.

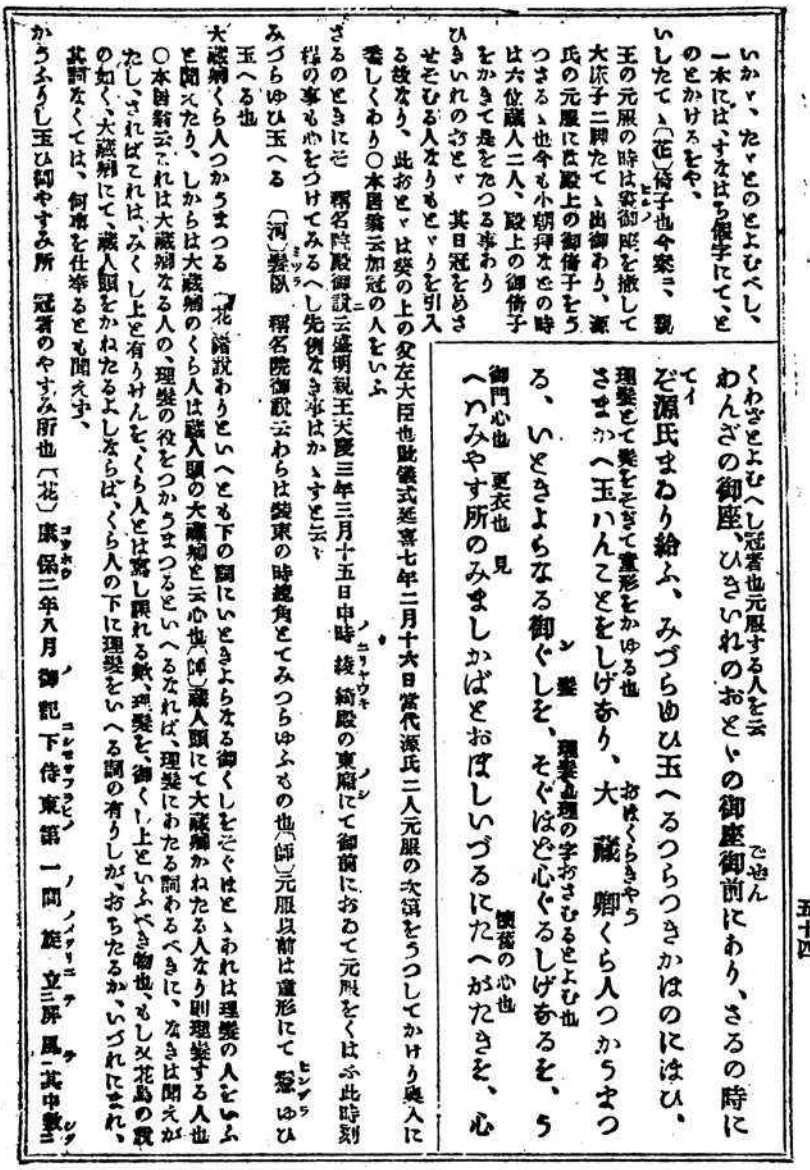


FIGURE 5 *Kogetsushō*, Inokuma Natsuki, ed.
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that only covered a small portion of the tale.[59] I will first consider the *Kogetsushō* reprints.

In 1890, a scholar named Inokuma Natsuki brought out a new typeset edition of *Kogetsushō* which added notes from Norinaga's *Tama no ogushi* and other Nativist commentaries and made some other corrections to the text. The publisher's preface notes that *Kogetsushō* is 'very reliable for new readers' but that the woodblock printed editions were quite rare in their day, thus justifying the reprint.[60] In 1928, Arikawa Takehiko took Inokuma's expanded *Kogetsushō* and worked on it further: he added more Nativist scholar notes, corrected orthographic problems, and introduced modern punctuation (periods, commas, and quotation marks). Arikawa's preface lauds *Kogetsushō* in familiar fashion, praising its lucid notes and widespread use. However, he notes that Inokuma's edition contains a number of errors, and that it is now difficult to acquire. Arikawa and Inokuma both preserve the layout of the original *Kogetsushō*, with its interlinear notes and headnotes – Arikawa comments in his introduction that this layout feature makes the commentary easy to use.[61] The edition was reprinted in a smaller form in 1979, and in 1982, it found its way into Kodansha's *Gakujutsu bunko* series, as I mentioned previously. In a new introduction, Akiyama Ken follows previous editors in emphasizing the ease of reading provided by the layout.

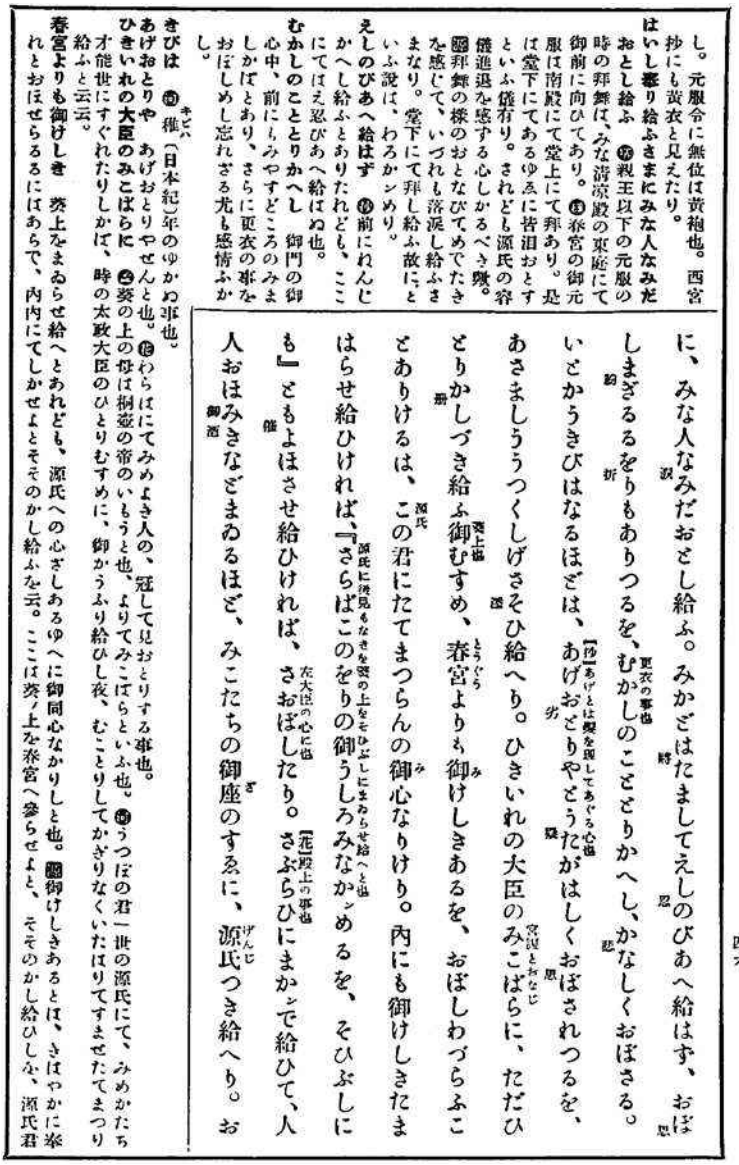
Around the same time as Arikawa's edition, in 1926, a typeset version edited by Yoshizawa Yoshinori was released, which reprinted the original *Kogetsushō* without any additions. Another edition came out in 1946, edited by Aiso Teizō and published by Karino Shobō. It is remarkable that in the immediate postwar period a publishing house would try to release a new edition of *Kogetsushō*, although I cannot find any evidence that they published more than one slim volume.[62] The layout of this edition is entirely changed: all the notes are printed as endnotes after each section, although they are split into two parts to show what was originally an interlinear note and what was a headnote. Aiso writes

59 There were also other translations, adaptations, and digests, as well as typeset editions of many of the classical commentaries. See Caddeau, *Appraising* Genji, 141, for an example of one of the new editions that provided only simple notes.

60 Edition accessed through Hathitrust (https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924082427737) on 2/12/2025. Pages 11–13 (of the pdf).

61 Kigin 1927, 2.

62 It seems to have been part of a series called *Nihon koten chūshaku bunko*. Worldcat only lists two other entries in this series – Kigin's *Tosa nikki shō* and Motoori Norinaga's *Shinkokin wakashū* commentary *Mino no iezuto*, both published in 1948. These were also edited by Aiso. I am indebted to the Prange Collection at the University of Maryland for allowing me to stumble accidentally on this edition.



し。元服令に無位は黄袍也。西宮抄にも黄衣と見えたり。

はいし奉り給ふさまにみな人なみだおとし給ふ ㉗親王以下の元服の時の拝舞は、みな清涼殿の東庭にて御前に向ひてあり。㉘春宮の御元服は南殿にて堂上にて拝あり。是は堂下にてあるゆゑに皆泪おとすといふ儀有り。されども源氏の容儀進退を感ずる心しかるべき歟。㉙拝舞の様のおとなびてめでたきを感じて、いづれも落涙し給ふさまなり。堂下にて拝し給ふ故にといふ説は、わろかンめり。

えしのびあへ給はず ㉚前にねんじかへし給ふとありたれども、ここにてはえ忍びあへ給はぬ也。

むかしのことどりかへし 御門の御心中、前にもみやすどころのみましかばとあり、さらに更衣の事をおぼしめし忘れざる尤も感情ふかし。

きびは ㉛稚（日本紀）年のゆかぬ事也。

あげおとりや あげおとりやせんと也。㉜わらはにてみめよき人の、冠して見おとりする事也。

ひきいれの大臣のみこばらに ㉝葵の上の母は桐壺の帝のいもうと也、よりてみこばらといふ也。㉞うつぼの君一世の源氏にて、みめかたち才能世にすぐれたりしかば、時の太政大臣のひとりむすめに、御かうふり給ひし夜、むことりしてかぎりなくいたはりてすませたてまつり給ふと云云。

春宮よりも御けしき 葵上をまゐらせ給へとあれども、源氏への心ざしあるゆへに御同心なかりしと也。㉟御けしきあるとは、きはやかに奉れとおほせらるるにはあらで、内内にてしかせよとそそのかし給ふを云。ここは葵ノ上を春宮へ参らせよと、そそのかし給ひしを、源氏君

に、みな人なみだおとし給ふ。みかどはたましてえしのびあへ給はず、おぼし忘れざりし時の更衣の事也

しまぎるるをりもありつるを、むかしのことどりかへし、かなしくおぼさる。

いとかうきびはなるほどは、あげおとりやとうたがはしくおぼされつるを、【抄】あげとは髪を現してあぐる心也

あさましううつくしげさそひ給へり。ひきいれの大臣のみこばらに、ただひとりかしづき給ふ御むすめ、春宮よりも御けしきあるを、おぼしわづらふことありけるは、この君にたてまつらんの御心なりけり。内にも御けしきたまはらせ給ひければ、『さらばこのをりの御うしろみなかンめるを、そひぶしにも』ともよほさせ給ひければ、さおぼしたり。さぶらひにまかンで給ひて、人人おほみきなどまゐるほど、みこたちの御座のするに、源氏つき給へり。おし。元服令に無位は黄袍也。西宮抄にも黄衣と見えたり。

はいし奉り給ふさまにみな人なみだおとし給ふ ㉗親王以下の元服の時の拝舞は、みな清涼殿の東庭にて御前に向ひてあり。㉘春宮の御元服は南殿にて堂上にて拝あり。是は堂下にてあるゆゑに皆泪おとすといふ儀有り。されども源氏の容儀進退を感ずる心しかるべき歟。㉙拝舞の様のおとなびてめでたきを感じて、いづれも落涙し給ふさまなり。堂下にて拝し給ふ故にといふ説は、わろかンめり。

えしのびあへ給はず ㉚前にねんじかへし給ふとありたれども、ここにてはえ忍びあへ給はぬ也。

むかしのことどりかへし 御門の御心中、前にもみやすどころのみましかばとあり、さらに更衣の事をおぼしめし忘れざる尤も感情ふかし。

きびは ㉛稚（日本紀）年のゆかぬ事也。

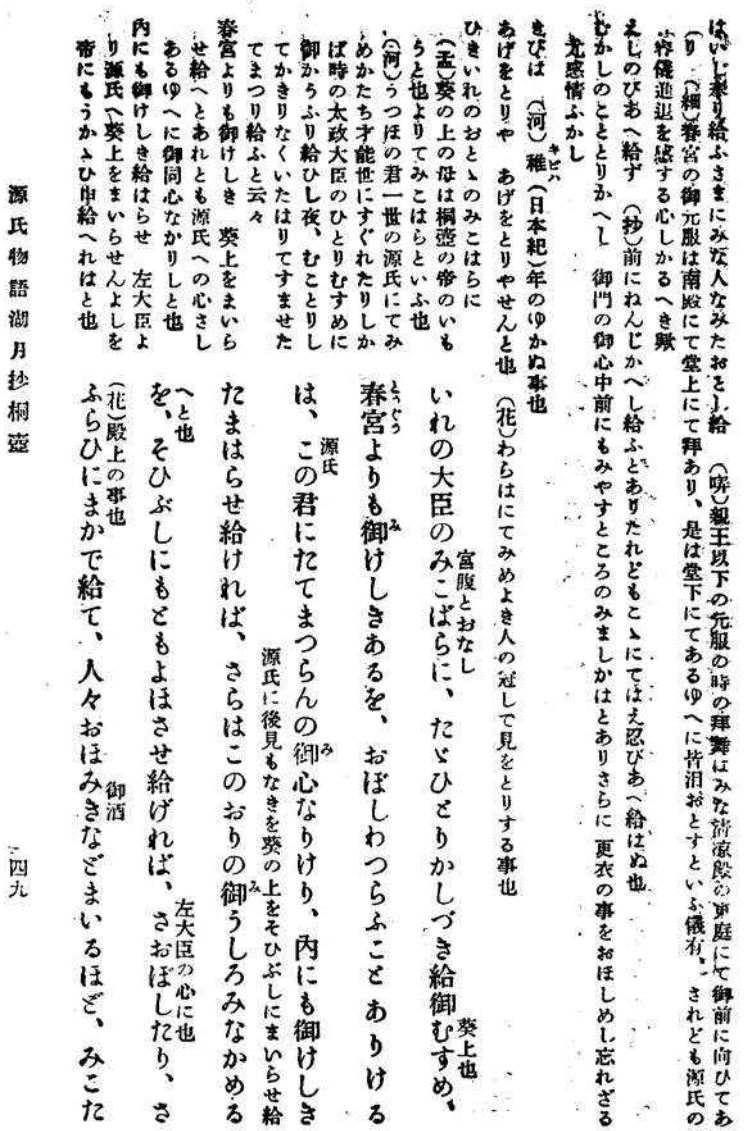
あげおとりや あげおとりやせんと也。㉜わらはにてみめよき人の、冠して見おとりする事也。

ひきいれの大臣のみこばらに ㉝葵の上の母は桐壺の帝のいもうと也、よりてみこばらといふ也。㉞うつぼの君一世の源氏にて、みめかたち才能世にすぐれたりしかば、時の太政大臣のひとりむすめに、御かうふり給ひし夜、むことりしてかぎりなくいたはりてすませたてまつり給ふと云云。

春宮よりも御けしき 葵上をまゐらせ給へとあれども、源氏への心ざしあるゆへに御同心なかりしと也。㉟御けしきあるとは、きはやかに奉れとおほせらるるにはあらで、内内にてしかせよとそそのかし給ふを云。ここは葵ノ上を春宮へ参らせよと、そそのかし給ひしを、源氏君

四六

FIGURE 6 *Kogetsushō*, Arikawa Takehiko, ed.
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源氏物語湖月抄桐壺 二四九

はいに乗り給ふさまにみな人なみたおとし給 (哮)親王以下の元服の時の拝舞はみな清涼殿の南庭にて御前に向ひてあり (細)春宮の御元服は南殿にて堂上にて拝あり、是は堂下にてあるゆへに皆泪おとすといふ儀有、されども源氏の 将儀遅遅を感する心しかるへき歟

ゑしのびあへ給ず (抄)前にねんじかへし給ふとあれどもこゝにてはえ忍びあへ給はぬ也

むかしのこととりかへし 御門の御心中前にもみやすところのみましかはとありさらに更衣の事をおほしめし忘れざる 尤感情ふかし

きびは (河)稚(日本紀)年のゆかぬ事也

あげをとりや あげをとりやせんと也 (花)わらはにてみめよき人の冠して見をとりする事也

ひきいれのおとゝのみこはらに (孟)葵の上の母は桐壺の帝のいもうと也よりてみこはらといふ也

(河)うつほの君一世の源氏にてみめかたち才能世にすぐれたりしかば時の太政大臣のひとりむすめに御かうぶり給ひし夜、むことりしてかきりなくいたはりてすませたてまつり給ふと云々

春宮よりも御けしき 葵上をまいらせ給へとあれとも源氏への心さしあるゆへに御同心なかりしと也

内にも御けしき給はらせ 左大臣より源氏へ葵上をまいらせんよしを帝にもうかゝひ申給へれはと也

いれの大臣のみこばらに、 宮腹とおなし たゞひとりかしづき給御むすめ、 葵上也

春宮よりも御けしきあるを、 おぼしわつらふこと ありける

は、 源氏 この君にたてまつらんの御心なりけり、 内にも御けしき

源氏に後見もなきを葵の上をそひぶしにまいらせ給

たまはらせ給ければ、 さらはこのおりの御うしろみなかめる

へと也

を、 そひぶしにもともよほさせ給げれば、 左大臣の心に也 さおぼしたり、 さ

(花)殿上の事也 御酒

ふらひにまかで給て、 人々おほみきなどまいるほど、 みこた

FIGURE 7 *Kogetsushō*, Yoshizawa Yoshinori, ed.
COURTESY OF HATHITRUST, DIGITIZED BY GOOGLE
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in his introduction that 'It goes without saying that *Kogetsushō* is a splendid work that should be read and consulted by *Genji* researchers'.[63]

These various reprints of *Kogetsushō* are not intended as a historical reference for pre-modern *Genji* reception, but rather as a primary source to read *Genji*. *Kogetsushō* continued to be used in this way: Tanizaki Jun'ichirō worked from it for his early translations of *Genji*, as did Suematsu Kenchō and Arthur Waley in their English translations. In 1938, Tanizaki wrote that 'Professor Yamada [Yoshio] suggested that I use *Kogetsushō* as my text. And since my own knowledge of *Genji* was acquired through *Kogetsushō* I decided to base my translation upon it entirely'.[64] Mitani Eiichi, the editor of the 1979 reprint of Arikawa's edition of *Kogetsushō*, recalls his experience as a student in the 1930s in this way:

> *Kogetsushō* had a long life after its printing – when people like me attended *Tale of Genji* courses in university or did research on the tale, it was a different era from now and there were only editions with simple headnotes. So the teachers and the students both used *Kogetsushō* in their lectures and classes. I was able to attend Orikuchi Shinobu's lectures on *Genji* every year, and he would normally bring the woodblock print edition to class. But we were not very good at reading calligraphy so that wouldn't do – instead we used Yoshizawa's edition or this Arikawa edition [that is being printed here].[65]

This testimonial is interesting for showing that Orikuchi still found the original *Kogetsushō*, without any of the later mediation or additional commentary, sufficient for his purpose. Meanwhile the younger students born in the 20th century needed a typeset edition – although some of them bought Yoshizawa's edition which did not include the additional commentary of the Nativist scholars.

There were repeated attempts to follow Hiromichi in trying to replace *Kogetsushō* with something more up-to-date. However, none of the projects even approached completion. Editions such as *Taiyaku Genji monogatari kōwa* (1930s–40s, unfinished partway through chapter 10) and *Genji monogatari shōkai* (1916, only the first eight chapters) are still weighed down by the commentarial tradition, spending hundreds of pages on a single chapter and quoting copiously from past commentaries.

63 Aiso, *Kogetsushō*, 1.
64 Emmerich, *The Tale of Genji*, 578.
65 Kigin 1979, 1.

What finally unseated *Kogetsushō* was Yamagishi Tokuhei's edition of *Genji* in Iwanami's *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* series, published from 1958 to 1963.[66] Nearly three hundred years after Kigin first published his work, a new complete edition came out that matched the scholarly value of *Kogetsushō*. The *Taikei* edition is scholarly without relying so explicitly on the commentary tradition – while there are occasional quotations from the classical commentaries, they are no longer viewed as authorities to be cited at every opportunity, or fixed points of reference that must be contended with. Kigin and Hiromichi both explicitly identified which notes were their own and which were quotations, but all the notes in the *Taikei* are written in a detached, impersonal style, with no explicit statement that the notes are Yamagishi's own. The editorial introduction provides a brief list of the key past commentaries on *Genji*, but provides no explicit criticism or approval of any of them.[67] The layout represents a kind of compromise between *Eiri* and *Kogetsushō* – the interlinear notes are limited almost entirely to identification of subjects, who is speaking, and such. All the other notes are placed in the headnotes, with some longer ones in a supplementary section at the back of the volume.

However, given Mitani's recollection of his own experiences with *Genji*, it seems likely that Yamagishi (born 20 years before Mitani) would also have initially read *Genji* from *Kogetsushō*, meaning that its influence would by no means have ceased with the *Taikei*'s publication. Akiyama Ken addresses this in his introduction to the bunko edition of *Kogetsushō*:

> We can now access many commentaries written by modern scholars, but when we keep *Zochū genji monogatari kogetsushō* close at hand, we can feel once again the great debt that the modern commentaries have to the inheritance left to us by these centuries of *Genji* scholarship.[68]

The *Taikei* edition was followed by other rigorous and detailed editions, and few readers now turn to *Kogetsushō* as their primary source. It is notable that Kigin's careful layout and separation of information, so often praised by later editors and scholars, is rarely imitated in modern editions – only Shinchō's

66 Mitani instead gives this honor to Ikeda Kikan's edition in the *Nihon koten bungaku zenshō* series (1946–1952), but the notes in this edition are not as detailed and scholarly as the ones in either *Kogetsushō* or the *Taikei*.

67 Yamagishi Tokuhei, ed. *Genji monogatari* in *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* (Iwanami Shoten, 1958), 16.

68 Kigin 1982, 10.

edition in their *Nihon koten shūsei* series makes extensive use of interlinear annotations in the way that *Kogetsushō* did.

In short, *Kogetsushō* was favored among the Edo-period woodblock editions because of Kigin's easy-to-use layout of the material, his judicious selection and presentation of traditional commentary, and his concern to give the basic meaning of passages in the text. It survived through the next 300 years because it remained easy to use in comparison to other editions, and the effort required to create a new scholarly edition was too great. And though Nativist scholars identified a number of mistakes, *Kogetsushō*'s annotation was sound enough that they were able to use it for their own teaching. In modern *Genji* scholarship *Kogetsushō* has been minimized in two ways – sometimes it is attacked for being derivative or error-ridden, other times it is simply acknowledged in passing. But its longevity and frequent use make it worth further study. It is true that we will get a better understanding of Sanjōnishi family teaching by looking at a fuller work like the 1598 *Mingō nisso*, or *Kakushōinshō* which contains actual records of notetaking during the lectures. However, these works were far less widely known than *Kogetsushō*, and so focusing on these sources does not give an accurate picture of the Sanjōnishi scholarship that was having a real effect on *Genji* adaptations, translations, or later Nativist scholarship. *Kogetsushō*'s influence is widely acknowledged, but the depth of its influence should encourage an equal depth of scholarship.

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