

The Early Formation Process of the Morse Collection from Morse's Own Collection Catalogue

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Introduction

This paper deals with the collection catalogue written by Edward Sylvester Morse stored as part of the Edward Sylvester Morse Papers at the Philips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum in the United States. The existence of Morse's personal collection catalogue has already been mentioned in previous research, but the contents have not been discussed. In addition to telling the story of the catalogue, this paper will also supplement part of the Morse Collection catalogue in this research report with what Morse himself wrote. Furthermore, by cross-referencing with Morse's "*Japan Day by Day*" in an attempt to find points that match, I would like to present Morse's movements to collect artefacts for the museum during his third visit to Japan between 1882 and 1883, including the people who collaborated with him.

1 About Morse's personal collection catalogue

Two documents relating to Morse's 1882 collection catalogue for the museum have already been mentioned in the late Takeshi Moriya's Joint Research on Morse and Japan¹. The first is the Annual Report of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science², which summarizes the collection activities for the museum that were undertaken in Japan and other countries. The full text of the reports was translated by Moriya for his own research³. The Annual Report of Trustees is valuable, as it provides a contemporary account that reveals the actual situation and details of collecting for the museum, which is not written much about in Morse's "*Japan Day by Day*". In his account of his third visit to Japan in "*Japan Day by Day*", Morse focuses instead on collecting for his own personal pottery collection and the interactions he had with people, only writing snippets here and there about the collection he did for the museum.

The second document that Moriya deems important for the formation of the Morse Collection is Morse's own collection catalogue, a 27-page list of collected artefacts⁴. What Moriya had found were two types of catalogue stuck in a scrapbook, "one was a list to be submitted to the academy, and the other was a copy for Morse to have for his own records". In his explanation,

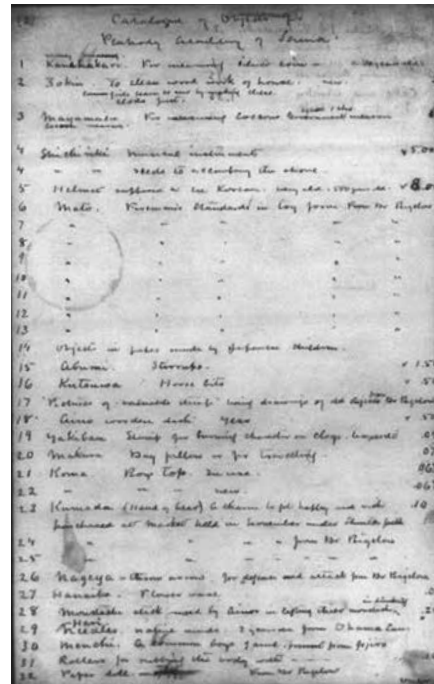
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Moriya goes on to say that “further investigation revealed that several other versions of this catalogue also existed. What we are dealing with here should be thought of as a fair copy book, and further investigation is required to find out how it came to be”, identifying that there ought to be several kinds of collection catalogue written by Morse left behind. Unfortunately, no further progress has been made to understand the collection catalogues written by Morse since Moriya’s investigation.⁵

The collection catalogue written by Morse (hereinafter referred to as “*The Catalogue*”) that this paper is concerned with is stored in the Morse documents housed at the Philips Library, specifically, the “Catalog of Objects for Peabody Academy of Science, circa 1882” from the Edward Sylvester Morse Papers, organized under series III. Scrapbooks, and contained in File Box 40: Folder 1⁶. Unfortunately, I have not been able to investigate any other catalogues. The Catalogue (picture 1) is clearly different from the collection catalogue written by Morse (from the Morse documents)⁷ that is photographed in Moriya’s work. Whereas the title of the catalogue mentioned by Moriya is “Catalogue of Ethnological Objects for the Peabody Academy of Science JAPAN”, the title of *The Catalogue* is “Catalogue of Objects for Peabody Academy of Science”. The Catalogue also differs in the fact that it has 28 pages.

In addition, since there is evidence of corrections that have been made by simply crossing out and correcting erroneous entries, and there are also simple sketches, kanji entries and collection notes⁸, it is likely that this is the earliest version of the different versions of the catalogue that Moriya pointed out also existed. Though not entered for all objects, the fact that there are values recorded for use in calculating the tariffs when sending to the US⁹ suggests that *The Catalogue* may have been written in Japan between 1882 and 1883.

In *The Catalogue*, Morse has typically reserved one line per entry, and recorded objects with a number, their Japanese name (in Roman letters), their English name or a description of the



(Picture 1) The collection catalogue written by Morse (this paper is concerned), owned at the Philips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum, PEM Collection

object, where it was collected from (name of collaborator), and a value. Some items lack a Japanese name, and many do not have a value recorded. The numbers on the list go from 1 to 821, with entries 529 through 639 having been written by someone other than Morse. Furthermore, the objects collected in Japan are entries 1-683 and 721-74, and so the number of items in the Japanese collection - 687 - and their catalogue numbers match with the catalogue that Moriya inspected. The above overview of The Catalogue is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Overview of the “Catalogue of Objects for Peabody Academy of Science”

Number	Person who fills in the form	Japanese name of objects in Roman letters	Collection area
1-528	Morse	Included	Japan
529-639	Unknown		
640-672	Morse	Not included	China (Shanghai)
673-683			
684-720			
721-724			Japan
725-821			China, Southeast Asia

The catalogue numbers for Japanese objects in The Catalogue roughly match the E numbers used at the Peabody Essex Museum. The “E” in E number stands for “ethnology”. In other words, the contents of the Morse Collection Catalogue in E number order in this research report (Japanese version: pp.57-125) roughly match the contents of The Catalogue up to number 821. That is, the Morse Collection found at the museum today, took form when, from 1882 to the following year, Morse collected a total of 821 items in Asia, 687 of them from Japan, and, after returning to the US, organized these items and continued to add to the collection¹⁰.

It is unknown who recorded items 529 to 639 in the catalogue¹¹. The objects corresponding to these numbers are the collection of weapons and armour donated by the weapons dealer, Heikichi Machida, so it is possible that someone close to Machida recorded these items. Japanese names for objects only go up to item 672. According to Morse in the Annual Report of Trustees, his friend Hachitaro Takenaka had confirmed the Japanese names of all the collected objects¹². It seems that for items from 673 onwards that were collected in Japan, Morse was not able to secure Takenaka's confirmation before the items were exported from Japan. Items from catalogue number 684 onwards were collected in Shanghai, Hong Kong,

Guangzhou, Cho-lon in Annam, Singapore and Java after Morse left Japan, so they have not been checked for the purpose of our research because they do not form part of the Japanese collection. However, to understand the full story of the Morse Collection, any valuable Asian objects from this period should eventually be the subject of investigation.

2 Supplementing the Morse Collection catalogue

The basic research of the Morse Collection for this research report was conducted in preparation for the special exhibition entitled “*Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, his day by day with kindhearted people*” that was held at the Edo-Tokyo Museum from Saturday, September 14th, to Sunday, December 8th, 2013. The collection catalogue numbers are from E1 to E77590, and the collection is limited to items from Japan, including items bequeathed after Morse’s death, and donations from friends and family. This information is based on an examination of the Peabody Essex Museum’s catalogue cards, commonly known as “E cards”. Some numbers are missing due to oversight on our part and a lack of understanding of the collection at the beginning of the investigation, and unfortunately, no additional investigation has been possible as of 2021. It is also possible that cards or numbers have gone missing in the process of reorganization. For items in the collection that are missing numbers (up to E724), I would like to add the supplemental information in table 2, which was simply taken from the catalogue written by Morse. However, this is supplementation from the catalogue created by Morse and, as with the examination of the E cards, has not been undertaken in comparison with the current museum collection.

In table 2, the E numbers and numbers in the catalogue created by Morse differ for the lifelike dolls that are numbered 667-673 in Morse’s catalogue. From the Morse Collection catalogue, it can be seen that E16304 was accepted in 1915, and E16313 in January 1916, from which it can be surmised that the seven lifelike dolls were reassigned E numbers between 1915 and the beginning of 1916¹³.

Table 2: Supplementations to the Morse Collection catalogue

Number in the catalogue written by Morse	Presumed museum E number	Object name	Donors / Donated objects
15	E15	Abumi (stirrup)	
17	E17	[Picture]	Bigelow

24-25	E24-E25	Kumade (rakes)	related materials with E23
27	E27	Flower vase	
32	E32	Paper doll	Bigelow
50	E50	Comb box	
60	E60	Mageire (Mage case)	related materials with E58-E59
136-137	E136-E137	Korean folk artifacts collected in Japan	
146-148	E146-E148	Korean folk artifacts collected in Japan	
153	E153	Sasumata (two-pronged weapon)	Heikichi Machida
155-158	E155-E158	Weapons and armour such as Sodegarami (pole weapon with multiple barbed heads), spear	Heikichi Machida
160-164	E160-E164	Weapons and armour such as Naginata (long-handled sword) and bow	Heikichi Machida
166-185	E166-E185	Weapons and armour such as Saihai, Jingasa (a soldier's cap) and bamboo sword	Heikichi Machida
191-192	E191-E192	Yugote (bracer), Shogi	Heikichi Machida
197-206	E197-E206	Korean folk artifacts collected in Japan	197-205 from Yun Ung-nyeol
214	E214	Pot	Ms. Matsubara
230-231	E230-E231	Nirayama jingasa hat, armor	Heikichi Machida
242-243	E242-E243	Tabi socks, Geta strap	
245	E245	[Kibicho]	
252-259	E252-E259	Tableware	
262	E262	Oil bottle	
264	E264	[Wig case]	
265	E265	Furoshiki	Takenaka
425	E425	[Violin]	Ms. Takamine
453	E453	Teapot	related materials with E445-E458
463	E463	□itei (*illegible)	Bigelow
464	E464	Weaving tool	Kinjiro Morioka
466	E466	Ainu cloth	
468-469	E468-E469	Ainu spoon	related materials with E470, Koshiro Hirai
480	E480	Chain-mailed armor	
483-488	E483-E488	Ainu objects	Koshiro Hirai
491	E491	Ainu objects	Mr. Miyake
495	E495	Hairpin	

506	E506	Wadded garment	Takenaka
529-639	E529-E639	Sword, handguard, accessory knife etc.	[Heikichi Machida]
651	E651	Sake cup and sake cup table	
667-670	E16306-E16309	Lifelike doll of a samurai family	
671-672	E16310-E16311	Lifelike doll of a farming family (husband and wife)	
673	E16312	Deleted [Lifelike doll of Samurai]	Strikethrough line was added after filling in the catalogue
682-683	E682-E683	Ainu objects	Heikichi Machida
723	E723	[Brush]	Matsubara

3 Cross-referencing with Japan Day by Day

The Morse Collection catalogue in this research report and table 2 above give a rough overview of the items Morse personally collected for the museum in 1882. Next, we will attempt to provide further analysis by superimposing this information with the albeit fewer descriptions of collecting for the museum found in “*Japan Day by Day*”. All relevant descriptions below were found in volume II of “*Japan Day by Day*”.

- ① My room is in a continual tangle of confusion - the accumulation of pottery, ethnological objects for the Museum at Salem, notebooks, pictures are all crowded into a little room hardly big enough for my bed and writing-table. Figure 709 is a rough sketch of the room from where I sit at the writing-table.¹⁴
- ② I invited them in and gave them some paper and scissors, and the skillful way in which they cut out dolls and made chickens, herons, and other objects was surprising. I saved them all and they will go to the Museum in Salem.¹⁵
- ③ Mr. Machida came in a jinrikisha full of weapons: long spears and various warlike implements; fans for military signaling; a beautiful bow and quiver with twelve arrows; all the implements used by fencers in practice, sword and spear; and these he gave to me for the Peabody Museum, Salem.¹⁶
- ④ Yesterday two Koreans, father and son, whom I have met several times, came to bid me good-bye, as the father is soon to return to Korea. The son speaking Japanese we got along quite well until I tried to ask the father if he had anything Korean of no particular use to him to give me for our Museum. This was more than I could say in Japanese and after floundering for a while I sent out for a Japanese friend to

interpret. He said he would see if there were any articles in his room. Last night eight different articles were given to me, all Korean and all of interest.¹⁷

⑤ I was in search of samples of Ainu cloth, or clothing, and was directed to a place beyond Eitaibashi. After a long hunt and a number of inquiries, I found a house where the people showed me an Ainu apron and other objects. When I asked the price, they insisted upon giving them to me. When I told them the objects were for the Peabody Museum, it made no difference. They told me that if I would come down on the 19th of December, they would have other Ainu objects to show me. So to-day I went there again, and they brought out an Ainu garment, leggings, needle-case, and another apron. Again I attempted to buy the objects, offering them ten dollars, the coat always being expensive, but again they positively refused to sell, and made me take them as a gift to the Peabody Museum.¹⁸

Referring to the timeline of Morse¹⁹ created by Naohide Isono, we can conclude that the above events all occurred around November to December 1882. Morse's third visit to Japan lasted eight months, from June 4th, 1882, to February 14th the following year. In the Annual Report of Trustees, Morse wrote that the purpose of his visit to Japan was to collect items for the museum, but if one only refers to "*Japan Day by Day*", it would seem that there was more emphasis on increasing his personal collection of Japanese pottery, and interacting with people. However, a great deal of progress was made in collecting for the museum in the latter half of 1882.

The sketch of Morse's room mentioned in passage ① from "*Japan Day by Day*" quoted above remains amongst the Morse documents at the Peabody Essex Museum. Passage ② refers to objects made by "the cook's little girl and a playmate", but the corresponding objects have not been found. However, E209 or the "dressmaking patterns and raised cloth pictures" donated by Jojiro (E65906-E65911) are potential candidates. The "Mr. Machida" referred to in passage ③ is the weapons dealer Heikichi Machida²⁰, and the collection of weapons and armour donated by him amounts to 155 items: E153-E192, E230-E231, E529-E639, E682-E683 and E724.

Passage ④ is interesting, because the "two Koreans, father and son, whom I have met several times" were Yun Ung-nyeol (1840-1911) and his son Yun Chi-ho (1865-1945), important political figures during the Joseon Dynasty and Korean Empire. Yun Chi-ho was studying

in Japan as one of the first Korean exchange students to come to the country, while his father, Yun Ung-nyeol, had fled to Japan after the Imo Incident that occurred in 1882²¹. Tsunejiro Miyaoka (younger brother of Hachitaro [Seiken] Takenaka), who also acted as Morse’s interpreter, was a classmate of Yun Chi-ho. Miyaoka translated the English spoken by Morse into Japanese, which Yun Chi-ho in turn translated into Korean for his father, Yun Ung-nyeol. They met several times, communicating the same way via relay interpreting²². During their interactions, Morse asked Yun Ung-nyeol for objects for the museum, to which he reciprocated with a donation of some personal effects, including a pipe, a comb and a headband (E197-E205).

Regarding the examples of Ainu cloth or clothing mentioned in passage ⑤, the collection catalogue and table 2 show 11 items donated by Hirai Koshiro: E468-E470 and E481-E488.

A summary of the above is shown in table 3, below.

Table 3: Objects collected at the end of 1882

Donors / Donated Objects	E Number	Reference
Weapons and armour donated by Heikichi Machida	E153-E192, E230-E231, E529-E639, E682-E683	<i>Japan Day by Day</i> , volume II, p.353
Objects donated by Yun Ung-nyeol	E197-E205	<i>Japan Day by Day</i> , volume II, p.353
(Tools collection from the Tokyo Educational Museum)	E286-E420, E426-E428	<i>Annual Reports of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science 1874-1884, 1885</i> , pp.47-51
Ainu objects by Koshiro Hirai	E468-E470, E481-E488	<i>Japan Day by Day</i> , volume II, pp. 376-378

It is believed that the catalogue number and subsequent E number were not always correctly numbered chronologically according to the date that donated objects were received, however it would appear that from November to December 1882, Morse collected a large number of objects together, approximately E150 to E500. Furthermore, though barely mentioned in “*Japan Day by Day*”, the beginning of the Annual Report of Trustees mentions “a large collection of tools representing Japanese industry” from the Tokyo Ministry of Education Museum (now the National Museum of Nature and Science), and these 138 items - the E numbers for carpentry tools, smithing tools and coopering tools²³ - would also fall into this timeframe.

In January and February 1883, Morse gave lectures, began learning Japanese Noh singing with Umewaka and had farewell parties with various different people, but he does not mention anything about collecting objects for the museum. Though there are newspaper reports that Morse purchased 637 Japanese books, including “*Kojiki*” and “*Nihon Shoki*”²⁴, it seems that most folk artefacts were collected during 1882.

4 Cooperating in the formation of the early Morse Collection

In the future, if we compare the objects and the catalogue created by Morse more meticulously, more points that match with “*Japan Day by Day*” are likely to emerge, giving a clearer picture of Morse's collection activities. As can be seen in the previous chapter, the initial collection for the museum was for the most part formed with the assistance of people in Meiji-era Tokyo. It has already been pointed out that no agricultural tools were collected for this very reason. When it comes to the approach that future research should take, the most helpful thing that will inform our investigations in Japan is the Japanese object names written in Roman letters for objects up to number 672 in the catalogue created by Morse, each of which were given by Hachitaro (Seiken) Takenaka, who served as an assistant in Morse's collection activities. As one reads the object names in Morse's catalogue, one finds the words of Takenaka in 1882 Tokyo preserved there.

For instance, E105 (a feather duster) is named “Zai”, whereas we would now say “Hataki”. E129 (a children's card game) “Menchi” is “Menko”. E151 “Samisen” is “Shamisen”. There also seems to be some confusion between the pronunciation of “hi” and “shi”. E471 (wooden clappers) is listed as “Shoshi”, but this should be “Hyoshigi”, while E498 and E500-E501 (unlined kimono) are listed as “Shitoemono”, but this should be “Hitoemono”, but we can surmise that Takenaka pronounced them that way. Imagining Takenaka, a medical student at the University of Tokyo, in Morse's room in “a little house just behind the astronomical observatory”²⁵ diligently checking over each object and telling Morse its name, which Morse would write down, one has to admire his efforts.

Takenaka's contributions are also praised in the “*Annual Report of Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science*”, and Morse had full confidence in him. We also get a glimpse of this in passages from 1882 in “*Japan Day by Day*”, as it seems conversation between the two increased during Morse's third visit.

“Takenaka tells me many items of interest. In mentioning some of our proverbs or sayings he matched them with similar ones in Japan.”²⁶

My friend Takenaka, at my request, collected during his summer vacation records of a number of superstitions and customs among the lower classes; these he gives me from a notebook from time to time when I am not too tired to write”.²⁷

Takenaka greatly contributed to Morse’s understanding of Japanese people and their way of living, and helped him further his ethnological observations. This was fundamental to Morse’s writing and lecturing activities, the expansion of the Morse Collection and the establishment of the Japanese exhibition at the Peabody Museum. In addition, Takenaka donated items that he had used at home, such as a kimono, a brazier, a broom and a child identification tag,²⁸ helping to add depth to the objects collected for the university. Morse expressed his gratitude for this donation in the Annual Report of Trustees.

The Morse Collection was not something that could be formed by Morse all alone. He was supported in his endeavor by Takenaka and other sincere and excellent Japanese people, and this fact can also be clearly appreciated from the catalogue that Morse personally created.

Concluding remarks

This paper looked exclusively at the catalogue that Morse wrote, and attempted to find points that match with “*Japan Day by Day*”. In the future, other documents in the Morse document collection will need to be examined in detail, and compared with documents and letters. At the same time, by thoroughly investigating the folk artefacts housed at the museum, even more is likely to be discovered about Morse’s interactions with people and the objects involved with collection. As a result, we will gain further insight into this unique and precious Japanese collection and the objects that have disappeared from present-day Japan, plus we will be able to more accurately understand Morse’s perspective and movements of collaborators close to him.

The late Takeshi Moriya’s research played a big part in informing the writing of this paper, and I hope that it will be considered as a small continuation of his work. Nearly 40 years have passed since that joint research was conducted, focusing primarily on the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, and I sincerely hope that the research on this collection will continue in even more depth in the future.

[References]

- 1 Takeshi Moriya, *Joint Research on Morse and Japan*. Shogakukan, 1989.
- 2 *Annual Reports of the Trustees of the Peabody Academy of Science 1874-1884*, 1885, pp.47-51.
- 3 Moriya (ed), *Ibid.*, pp.358-364
- 4 Moriya (ed), *Ibid.*, pp.364-369
- 5 Junichi Kobayashi, *The Lifelike Dolls that Crossed the Ocean: Japan-US Exchanges Before and After Perry*. Asahi Sensho 633, the Asahi Shimbun Company, 1999. Page 16 features a photo of the Peabody Essex Museum's collection register. In the future, it should be examined together with The Catalogue and the other versions of the catalogue mentioned by Moriya.
- 6 From the online catalogue of the Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum (<https://pem.as.atlas-sys.com/repositories/2/resources/182> Accessed January 2022). It should be noted that after this paper was finished, a similar catalogue was identified in "VI. Ethnology A. Japan" (Box.48, Folder.47).
- 7 Moriya (ed), *Ibid.* p.364
- 8 A note at the beginning of The Catalogue reads, "Cake and whisky for Mr. Machida 1.35". It is presumed that Morse gave Heikichi Machida cake and whisky (costing 1 yen 35 sen in total) as a thank you.
- 9 For example, for the lifelike dolls, numbered 667-673 in The Catalogue, Morse has written "125.00 packing 50". 125.00 corresponds with the amount of 125 yen on the receipt for the lifelike dolls that is included in the Morse documents (Jirobe Saiki, 1 Sakai-cho, Nihonbashi-ku). The full text of the receipt is reproduced in Moriya (ed) *Ibid.* p.377. For other objects, such as the dust cloth (catalogue number 2), for which a value of 0.3 has been entered, it is difficult to imagine that this is the price it was purchased for, and so it is presumed that this is an estimated value for use in calculating the tariff.
- 10 The final number of objects housed at the museum personally collected by Morse (the Japanese Collection) is thought to be around 2,880 objects. For more information, please refer to my chapter on it: Shuko Koyama. The formation of the Morse Collection and its background. In: Junichi Kobayashi, et al. (Ed). *Soul of Meiji Edward Sylvester Morse: His Day by Day with Kindhearted People*. Seigensha Art Publishing, Inc., 2013, pp.32-35.
- 11 The handwriting is not consistent with the writing of Seiken Takenaka, who served as a collection assistant in Japan, it also differs from the handwriting of Morse's secretary, Margaret Brooks.
- 12 "To Mr. Takanaka [sic] Hachitaro, who was my constant companion, great credit is due for the careful way in which the Japanese names were secured for all the objects collected." the same as reference 2.
- 13 The lifelike dolls were in fact accepted on July 1st, 1883. Kobayashi, *Ibid.* p.16 shows them recorded in the register of items received.
- 14 Edward Sylvester Morse, *Japan Day by Day*, 1877, 1878-79, 1882-83, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917, volume II, p.339.
- 15 Morse, *Ibid.* pp.346-347.
- 16 Morse, *Ibid.* p.353.
- 17 Morse, *Ibid.* pp.353-354.
- 18 Morse, *Ibid.* pp.376-377.
- 19 Naohide Isono, "A Timeline of Morse" in Moriya (ed), *Ibid.* pp.465-491.
- 20 Heikichi Machida's store was located at 41, Minamimatsuyama-cho, Asakusa-ku (present-day 4-chome, Asakusa, Taito-ku). Machida donated items to Morse after William Sturgis Bigelow purchased a large number of swords for his own personal collection from Machida in 1882.
- 21 Yun Ung-nyeol arrived in Tokyo on September 1st, 1882. His son Yun Chi-ho was boarding in Yamashiro-cho, Kyobashi-ku (present-day Ginza 6-chome, Chuo-ku) (According to the front page article of the morning edition of the Yomiuri Shimbun Newspaper, September 1st, 1882).
- 22 Tsunejiro Miyaoka, on Yun Chi-ho's recommendation, went on to accompany the Korean diplomatic mission to the US

as Percival Lowell's secretary and interpreter when he was 17 (Lee Han-Seop, "Language Barriers in Early Korean-American Contacts: The Case of 1883 Korean Mission to the U.S.", http://www.princeton.edu/~collcutt/doc/HanSop_English Accessed July 2022) After graduating from the University of Tokyo, Miyaoka became a successful diplomat.

- 23 The Edo-Tokyo Museum's "*Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, his day by day with kindhearted people*" exhibition also featured a number of the donations from the Tokyo Ministry of Education Museum. Junichi Kobayashi, *Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, his day by day with kindhearted people*. Seigenshya Art Publishing, Inc., 2013, pp.144-161.
- 24 Front page article of the morning edition of the Yomiuri Shimbun Newspaper, February 4th, 1883.
- 25 Morse, Ibid. p.214.
- 26 Morse, Ibid. pp.227-228.
- 27 Morse, Ibid. p.308.
- 28 The brazier is E513 (mentioned on p.93 of Junichi Kobayashi, *Soul of Meiji: Edward Sylvester Morse, his day by day with kindhearted people.*), the broom is E647 (mentioned on Kobayashi, Ibid. p.88), and the child identification tag is E268 (mentioned on Kobayashi, Ibid. p.110, and a sketch of it by Morse is featured on *Japan Day by Day*, volume III, Translated by Kinichi Ishikawa. The Eastern Library, Heibonsha. 1970, p.216.)