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Viewing a Myriad Leaves: *Man'yō* Botanical Gardens in Japan

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Abstract: This paper describes a current research project examining botanical gardens in Japan which exhibit the plants referenced in the eighth century *Man'yōshū* poetry anthology. This anthology contains approximately 4,500 poems, of which 1,600 refer to one or more of about 160 different species of plants, making botanical references and imagery one of the most significant features of the work. Despite the chronological distance separating the *Man'yōshū* from the present day, there are currently thirty-seven botanical gardens throughout Japan dedicated to exhibiting the plants of the collection, accompanied by representative selections of poems. These establishments vary widely in type: some are part of larger public parks, some are attached to shrines or temples, some are attached to museums of various types, and some are independent. But, all are clearly intended to act as facilities to attract visitors to localities or institutions. They are, therefore, stimulators of literary contents tourism. By being dedicated to the objects referenced in poetry, the gardens form an unusual type of contents tourism facility which is focussed on the resources of, and stimulants for, literature, rather than the literary work itself.

アブストラクト：本稿は、日本国内の万葉植物園の調査に基づく現行研究について報告する。万葉植物園は、八世紀に編纂された万葉集に登場する植物を展示するものである。およそ4,500首の和歌を収めた万葉集のうち1,600首が160余種の様々な植物について歌つており、植物に関する引用や修辞的表現は、万葉集の最も顕著な特質となっている。現代と万葉集の時代との大きな時空的距離にも関わらず、代表的な和歌をあしらって、そこに登場する植物の展示に特化した万葉植物園が、現在日本各地に37園存在する。これらの施設は多様な様式を取っており、公共の広域公園の一部であったり、神社や仏閣、または各種博物館に併設されていたり、あるいは、独自に運営されている。しかし、これら全てに共通して見られる目的は、地域や公共・民間施設への訪問者勧誘である。つまり、万葉植物園は、文学的コンテンツツーリズムの活性化に貢献するものと言えよう。それらは、和歌に歌われている植物に特化する事で、文学作品そのものよりも、文学の刺激となり作品を生む資源となったものに焦点を当てた非常に珍しいコンテンツツーリズム施設を提供している。

Keywords: *Man'yōshū*, poetry, botanical garden, plants, tourism.

Introduction

This paper is a report on a project to study Japanese *Man'yō* botanical gardens (*man'yō shokubutsuen*), which exhibit plants referenced in the eighth century *Man'yōshū* ('Collection of a Myriad Leaves') poetry anthology and selections of the poems which mention them.¹ There are thirty-seven facilities throughout Japan, of varying sizes and environments, and they display varying degrees of emphasis on the literary and botanical aspects of their activities. All, however, are institutions which draw on a literary source to inspire touristic activities: visits to the gardens to enjoy the displays of plants, the natural environment and the poems themselves. Visiting them, therefore, can be considered a form of literary contents tourism, although in some cases (as will be described later) the literary aspects of the visits are less significant.

The original stimulus for this research came, perhaps unsurprisingly, from a tourist activity of my own: a visit in 2012 to the oldest *Man'yō* botanical garden in Japan, Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen, in the grounds of Kasuga Grand Shrine in Nara. This visit was made purely as a tourist-cum-guide accompanying family members on their first visit to Japan. While the younger members of the party were more interested in the chance to feed the carp in the central pond, the pleasure derived by the older members from viewing the site, despite the lack of English language information, was remarkable. In fact, this garden was the one place in Nara to which a second visit was requested when we returned there two years later. My initial research question, therefore, focussed on determining the extent to which *Man'yō* botanical gardens sought and provided for foreign, English-speaking tourists. However, it has since broadened to consider the reasons for their establishment; their differing natures, both in terms of their physical environment and the balance between the literary and botanical aspects of their activities; their clientele; and the issues which currently face them. Fieldwork for this research was conducted in July 2015 and consisted of visits to a number of gardens, interviews with staff and materials collection. This paper summarises some initial empirical findings.

The *Man'yōshū*

The *Man'yōshū* is Japan's oldest and largest anthology of poetry. In modern editions it contains 4,516 poems spread across 20 'books'. Unlike the later imperial anthologies (*chokusenshū*), which were dominated almost exclusively by the 5-7-5-7-7 syllable *tanka* form, the *Man'yōshū* has more variety, with 265 *chōka* ('long poems') and a smattering of works in other forms, including in Chinese. The exact editorial process is unknown, but the consensus of modern scholarship is that Ōtomo no Yakamochi (718-785) played a major role and completed the work at some point after 759, which is the year to which the latest poem in the collection can be dated (Brower and Miner 1961, p. 80). It is a work of the highest significance, both linguistic and literary, because not only does it form the largest available corpus of Old Japanese language material, it also serves to demonstrate that by this period in Japan there was 'a literary scene, literary movement and a conscious literary tradition' (Brower and Miner 1961, p. 96). Later poets were to find much in it to both imitate and disagree with for centuries. In particular, after the Heian period (794-1185), it was frequently championed by poets who sought to oppose the prevailing courtly style of *tanka* poetry, most notably by Minamoto no Sanetomo (1192-1219), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697-1769), and finally by the great *tanka* reformer Masaoka Shiki (1867-1902) (Beichman 2002, p. 81). This has

contributed to a popular view of its poetry as somehow fresher and more vital than that of later court-based poets, despite the remoteness and difficulty of much of its language.

That language, Old Japanese, while broadly similar to the Japanese of later periods, displays differences in terms of verb morphology, particle usage, lexical range and phonological structure, all of which can make its texts opaque to modern readers.² More significant, however, is the fact that the script used to write Old Japanese, *man'yōgana* – so called because it is used to write the *Man'yōshū* – consists entirely of Chinese characters, some used semantically, and some used phonetically. This script can only be read after lengthy study and even today some passages remain opaque to scholars, which means that reading the poems of the *Man'yōshū* in the form in which they were originally written is impossible for all but a small number of Old Japanese specialists. Most encounters with them are in modern orthographic versions, where the phonetically used Chinese characters have been replaced by phonetic *kana* characters, and syntactic elements which need to be inferred from the context have been inserted. Thus, MYS X: 1903 (see Figure 6 below) on the asibi (Japanese Pieris; *pieris japonica*) was originally written:

吾瀬子尔 吾戀良久者 奥山之 馬醉花之 今盛有 (*Man'yōgana*)

A modern transcription and translation would be:

我が背子に我が恋ふらくは奥山の馬醉木の花の今盛りなり

wa ga seko ni	My darling,
wa ga kopuraku pa	Hidden in my loving heart:
okuyama no	In the mountains deep
asibi no pana no	The pieris blooms
ima masarinari	Have reached their peak.

As befits such a major work, the *Man'yōshū* has been studied extensively by Brower and Miner (1961), Konishi (1984), Keene (1999) and Duthie (2014). Japanese scholarship has been voluminous, with major contributions from Hisamatsu Sen'ichi (1976) among many others. The anthology has long been a subject of English translation, including Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai (1965), Levy (1981), Cranston (1993) and McAuley (2001), although none of these is complete. An on-going project by Vovin (2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2013; 2012; 2015) to translate the entire work and provide a detailed linguistic analysis of its content has completed only six of the twenty ‘books’ of the anthology to date.

Botanical references form a substantial part of the anthology’s repertoire, with one or more of around 160 plants being mentioned in approximately 1,600 of its poems. The numbers remain approximate because despite the best efforts of modern scholarship, the identities of some plants remain obscure, as do the references in some poems, although Suetake (2003, p. 174) gives the figures as 162 different plants, consisting of seventy-five types of tree, eighty-three types of grass or flower, and four types of bamboo; with the plants varying in usage between foodstuffs, medicines, dyestuffs and plants used in construction, handicrafts or clothing. Botanical references, therefore, are made in approximately one third of the *Man'yōshū*’s poems, and plants clearly played a vital role, both as sources of poetic allusion and imagery, as well as in the everyday lives of the people of Japan at the time.

Man'yō shokubutsuen

In 2015 there are thirty-seven *Man'yō* botanical gardens throughout Japan, although only twenty-seven are open to the public and can be described as tourist facilities.³ The remainder are either under private ownership with access at the owner's discretion, or else attached to educational institutions such as schools and universities. At this stage of my research, I have not investigated the non-public gardens and so will not consider them further in this paper. The tourist-focused gardens can be subdivided into a number of different types, principally: stand-alone facilities; those attached to religious institutions (either shrines or temples); those attached to museums or other facilities; and those attached to public parks or general botanical gardens. A full listing of these gardens, ordered by type and alphabetical order of prefecture, is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Man'yō botanical gardens in Japan

Type	Prefecture	Botanical Garden Name
Botanical Garden	Fukui	Fukui sōgō shokubutsuen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Tokyo	Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen
Facility	Yamaguchi	Yamaguchi seminā pāku man'yō shokubutsuen
Museum	Wakayama	Kii fūdoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen
Park	Fukushima	Adara man'yō shokubutsuen
	Kanagawa/Shizuoka	Ashigara man'yō kōen
	Miyagi	Hayamizu kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Nagano	Kokubunji shiseki kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Nara	Asuka rekishi kōen man'yō shokubutsuenro
	Saga	Matsu'ura kahan kōen man'yō no michi
	Saitama	Man'yō shokubutsuen
	Shimane	Shimane kenritsu man'yō kōen
	Tochigi	Tenpyō no oka kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Tokushima	Man'yō shokubutsuen
Shrine	Toyama	Kurikara kentei kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Toyama	Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen
	Ehime	Ehime man'yōen
Shrine	Nara	Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen
	Shizuoka	Kataoka jinja man'yō shokubutsuen

Stand-alone	Chiba	Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen
	Fukushima	Michinoku mano man'yō shokubutsuen
	Miyagi	Shōwa man'yō no mori
	Shiga	Funaokayama man'yō no mori
	Shizuoka	Man'yō no mori kōen
	Shizuoka	Fuji man'yō shokubutsuen
Temple	Kochi	Tosa toyonaga man'yō shokubutsuen
	Tokyo	Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen

Having a *Man'yō* botanical garden as one part of a larger park or botanical garden is the most common form of facility with fourteen of the total being of this type; this is followed by six stand-alone facilities; five attached to religious institutions; and two attached to museums or other institutions. Geographically, they are mostly located in western Japan, or around Tokyo, with only a few in the more northerly prefectures and none in Hokkaido. One of the major stimuli for the establishment of a *Man'yō* botanical garden appears to be a pre-existing *Man'yō* link to an area – either through poems in the anthology referring to it or a poet being known to have visited it – and it was rare for the people of the court to travel to Japan's north.

In this article I consider: (1) the degree of the gardens' integration with the other facilities with which they are associated; (2) their level of landscaping; and (3) the extent and type of *Man'yō* poetry information provided. These differences cut across the classification of *Man'yō* botanical garden types listed above, and so there is a considerable degree of variety amongst them. These differences are, perhaps, easier to explain with concrete examples and images.

Degrees of integration

A visitor to the Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen (Tokyo) immediately notices that the botanical garden is the entirety of Musashi Kokubunji temple precinct, with the exception of the temple building itself. There is a full integration of the garden with the institution which hosts it, to the extent that it is difficult to draw a clear distinction between the two.⁴ By contrast, Ehime man'yōen, despite being connected with the Ehime-ken gokoku shrine, maintains a separate entrance with the result that it would be possible to visit the shrine without visiting the garden, and *vice versa*.⁵ A similar situation applies to the Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Nara), which occupies a walled compound some distance from the buildings of Kasuga Grand Shrine itself. It is only the garden's name which informs the casual visitor of the link between the two.⁶



Figure 1: Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen

Types of landscaping

A further variation between the gardens is in their degree, and type, of landscaping. Categories of those gardens visited to date and representative examples are indicated in Table 2.

Table 2: *Man'yō* botanical garden landscaping types

Landscaping Type	Garden	Figure
Formal Japanese gardens	Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen (Chiba)	2
	Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Nara)	3
Close to natural forest (paths tarmacked or gravelled)	Futgami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen (Toyama)	4
	Shōwa man'yō no mori (Miyagi)	5
Other gardens	Kii fūdoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen (Wakayama)	7
Other	Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen (Tokyo)	6

Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen (Chiba) has been constructed to replicate the appearance of a formal Japanese garden (Figure 2). These gardens contain the manicured lawns, gravel paths, and combination of plants, stones and water features which would be familiar to anyone with a passing familiarity with Japanese garden design, and the *Man'yō* plants and poetry are integrated into this whole. By contrast, Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Figure 3), while still landscaped as a formal garden, foregrounds the *Man'yō* plants and poetry to greater extent, by presenting them in individual, discrete containers with associated labels.



Figure 2: Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen



Figure 3: Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen

Other gardens, however, take an entirely different approach, and utilise minimal landscaping. This approach is particularly common among those facilities which are located in larger ‘parks’ whose function is to allow visitors to enjoy the natural environment by driving or hiking through it. For example, a visitor seeking Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen (Toyama) needs to drive some kilometres up the mountain in order to locate the entrance to the botanical garden, while the garden itself consists of a trail through a section of the mountain with the paths simply marked, and the *Man'yō* plants fully integrated into the other foliage, with only the plaques identifying them to pick them out from their surroundings (Figure 4).



Figure 4: Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen

A similar approach to this can be seen at Asuka rekishi kōen man'yō shokubutsuenro, although the path is somewhat more clearly defined at the latter, and also at the stand-alone Shōwa man'yō no mori, where the landscape is somewhat less steep.



Figure 5: Shōwa man'yō no mori

Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen combines tarmacked paths leading to and around flower beds containing Man'yō plants, with a number of 'set-piece' areas displaying specific poems (see Figure 7), and a somewhat less formal trail leading up through a wooded area at the rear of the garden to a viewpoint over the Wakayama region. The plants at Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen are organised by type with different sections devoted to those native to marshes, meadows and mountains. Paths in the garden lead to each of these sections in turn.

Man'yō poetry information

The gardens also have differing methods of displaying the poems to accompany the plants in their collections, and provide different levels of commentary and supplementary information. All the gardens provide both the plants' names in *Man'yō* times and in modern Japanese, but one can draw a distinction between whether: (1) the collection contains all the plants mentioned in the *Man'yōshū*; (2) all the plants in the collection are marked; (3) the botanical family is provided; and (4) additional information is presented, such as full scientific name, flowering period, or usage in *Man'yō* times is provided. With regard to the display of poems, all the gardens provide a modern Japanese transcription, the name of the poet, and the poem's reference number in the anthology, but there is variation in: (1) usage of *man'yōgana* in the garden; (2) presence of an explanation of poems' meanings; and (3) whether all plants have poems provided.

For example, Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen presents the poems in the format indicated in Figure 6.



Figure 6: Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen

The plaque gives the name of the plant in modern Japanese, its name in the *Man'yōshū*, a sample poem in modern orthography, and the poem's reference by volume and number in the anthology. There is no explanation of the poem's meaning for visitors unfamiliar with Old Japanese grammar or poetic expression, although generally the choice of poems is such that their general sense can be grasped without extensive background knowledge.

A contrasting approach can be seen at Kii fūdoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen. Here, the poem is presented in a calligraphic script, although in modern orthography. There is no other information provided to distract from the poem. It may be difficult to read for visitors unfamiliar with this type of writing. The stone plaque, therefore, is accompanied by an explanatory plaque (Figure 7). The explanatory plaque gives the name in Chinese characters of the poet, as well as how these are read, the text of the poem in a printed modern script, the poem's *Man'yō* reference number, a summary of the poem's meaning in modern Japanese, its *Man'yō* and modern name, and scientific information. This enables visitors who may only be able to interpret the calligraphic version of the poem as an

aesthetic, rather than textual, object to understand the poem's contents as well as information about the plant to which it refers.



Figure 7: Kii fūdoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen stone and explanatory plaques

Regardless of the style – calligraphic or printed – poems are almost always presented in modern script. However, as indicated above in some gardens there are a few examples of poems being presented in *man'yōgana*. Poems presented in this manner, however, rarely contain botanical imagery, but instead usually refer to the area in which the garden is located; simultaneously, it is more common for these poems to appear on larger, monumental objects. This suggests that the *man'yōgana* versions of the poems are being used to provide a physical link between literature and geography, thus tying the garden and its location into Japan's cultural literary history.

For example, at Man'yō no mori kōen (Shizuoka) there is a large stone slab (Figure 8) and a smaller stone plaque.



Figure 8: Man'yō no mori kōen *Man'yōgana* monument

The slab presents a poem's text carved onto the surface of the stone in the original script. Both of the poems thus displayed are known to have been composed in the local area, and there are a further three large carved stones of this type situated elsewhere in the municipality to emphasise its *Man'yō* links. It is clear, however, that this is not expected to be comprehensible to the visitor, as the stone is accompanied by a smaller explanatory version. This provides the text of the poem in modern script, a summary of its meaning, and a brief passage recounting the emotional response of a professor at Kokugakuin University to the poem, with this response triggered by his handwritten *man'yōgana* version of the poem being chosen to be immortalised in stone.

There is a similar, monumental urge in the use of poems in their original script at Ehime *man'yōen*, where the only poem presented in this form is carved onto a polished stone slab attached to a much larger piece of rock. The importance placed on this particular poem is emphasised not only by both its physical positioning with substantial clear space around it, but also by the fact that it is accompanied by a large stone explanatory plaque (Figure 9). This plaque gives detailed background information on both the poem and the original *man'yōgana* plaque's production. It is accompanied by a smaller, painted, wooden plaque. This provides the poem in modern script, the name of the poet, biographical information about him, a summary of the poem's meaning, and brief information about the origin of the text used to produce the *man'yōgana* version of the poem for the original plaque. As in the case of the *Man'yō no mori kōen* monument above (Figure 8), this poem, too, makes no reference to a plant, and the importance placed on the poem comes from its association with the locality.



Figure 9: Ehime *man'yōen* explanatory stone plaque

It can be seen from the above that there is considerable variety in both the manner in which the plants and poems in the various gardens are displayed and in the quantity of explanatory information which is provided to visitors. The result is that the visitor obtains a range of different experiences, depending upon the garden visited and, of course, his or her personal background.

***Man'yō* botanical garden visitors**

Given the varied locations and types of *Man'yō* botanical garden, it is inevitable visitation rates vary. Precise data is difficult to obtain because of the ten gardens visited during my fieldwork, only two (Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen and Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen) charge for entry and have records of visitor numbers. In fact, for Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen, the charge is actually for entry to the museum, rather than the garden specifically, so it is possible for visitors to enter the museum without going to the garden. Of the remaining eight gardens, three (Ehime man'yōen, Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen and Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen) are permanently open and have no staff observing who visits. Numbers for the remainder could only be estimated by the staff, where they were willing to do so. With these caveats, however, visitor number figures are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Man'yō botanical garden visitor numbers

Garden	Visitor Numbers
Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen (Chiba)	15,000
Ehime man'yōen (Ehime)	No data
Shōwa man'yō no mori (Miyagi)	40,000
Asuka rekishi kōen man'yō shokubutsuenro (Nara)	800,000-810,000
Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Nara)	60,000
Man'yō no mori kōen (Shizuoka)	No data
Akatsuka shokubutsuen man'yō-yakuyōen (Tokyo)	100,000
Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen	No data
Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen (Toyama)	No data
Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen (Wakayama)	160,000

The figures for both Asuka rekishi kōen man'yō shokubutsuenro and Kii fudoki no oka man'yō shokubutsuen refer to the entire historical park and museum respectively. Particularly given the size of the former, numbers of visitors to the *Man'yō* botanical garden are likely to be significantly fewer.

But who are these visitors? This is equally difficult to be precise about, but in the course of my fieldwork interviews, the personnel of the ten gardens consistently described their garden's visitors as 'elderly', meaning older than sixty years. Visitors tend to visit either individually, or as married couples, although there was also mention made of grandparents visiting with their grandchildren on occasion. The visitors' motivations for coming to the gardens were also not precisely recorded as no gardens had conducted any survey work, but in the course of fieldwork interviews, the staff of eight gardens stated that the impression they had gained from conversing with visitors was that the majority were motivated by a desire to experience nature, or a love of plants, and not specifically

out of an interest in *Man'yō* poetry. This suggests that, as tourist facilities, the majority of the gardens should be seen primarily as botanical or environmental rather than literary destinations. However, there are exceptions such as *Man'yō no mori kōen* (Shizuoka), which has a small museum of *Man'yō* culture on its grounds and conducts an annual *Man'yō* poetry festival; and *Shōwa man'yō no mori* (Miyagi) provides tours to visitors to explain the poems in the garden on an approximately quarterly basis.

There are also variations in the reasons why gardens were established: for example, Kasuga taisha shin'en man'yō shokubutsuen (Nara) was originally established as a result of a local campaign accompanied by media promotion to solicit public donations (Kuroiwa 2008) and, given its location in Nara, remains a spot listed on maps aimed at domestic and international tourists. By contrast, Kokubunji man'yō shokubutsuen (Tokyo) was created as a purely personal project by Hoshino Ryōshō, the head priest of the temple at the time, out of a desire to provide people in the local area with a taste of *Man'yō* period culture (Hoshino 1986). It conducts no promotional activities at all.

A common motivation for a garden's establishment was to emphasise a local connection with the *Man'yōshū* and its culture: both Ichikawa-shi man'yō shokubutsuen (Chiba) and *Man'yō no mori kōen* (Shizuoka) were established to mark the fact that poems in the anthology were either known to be composed in the locality or refer to it. This also applies, to some extent, to *Shōwa man'yō no mori* (Miyagi), although there an additional motivation was to create a facility to mark the sixtieth anniversary of Emperor Shōwa's accession to the throne in 1985. In all of these cases, however, it seems likely that the local link to the *Man'yōshū* is little known and is only discovered by visitors when they come to the gardens or read information about them.

By contrast, however, Futagami yama kōen man'yō shokubutsuen (Toyama) is fully integrated into the tourism strategy of the local city, Takaoka, which presents itself as a 'Man'yō town' (*man'yō no machi*) and uses the *Man'yōshū* extensively in its branding and promotion. For example, the local streetcar line is the 'Man'yō line' (*man'yōsen*), there is an annual festival in October to recite the whole *Man'yōshū* aloud, and the city also runs a Man'yō Historical Museum. The museum contains a research library of texts on the anthology for use by visiting scholars and displays of Nara-period materials. The motivation for this use of the *Man'yōshū* for promotional purposes results from the fact that from 746-51 Ōtomo no Yakamochi served as the governor of the province of Etchū, where Takaoka is located, and he is known to have composed some of his poetry while there.

The above discussion should serve to outline the extensive variety that exists between *Man'yō* botanical gardens in Japan, in terms of their locations, displays of poems and plants, motivations for establishment, and degree of integration into broader tourism strategies. As the research project progresses further, there will be more detailed analysis conducted of these features from a variety of disciplinary perspectives in order to provide a fuller picture of these facilities' natures and roles.

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Notes

¹ The translation of the title of the anthology is my own, and is deliberately poetic rather than prosaic. The original Japanese title consists of three elements: *man* ‘10,000’, *yō* ‘leaf/leaves’, and *shū* ‘collection/anthology’. *Man* is not intended to be taken literally, but simply as a reference to a number too large to count easily, while *yō* is the Sino-Japanese pronunciation of one of the characters used to write *koto no pa*, the Old Japanese expression for ‘word’. An alternative translation would thus be ‘The Anthology of Countless Words’. Given ‘myriad’s’ original meaning of ‘a unit of 10,000’, but more common contemporary meaning of ‘countless’, it seemed a suitable equivalent for *man* in this context.

² See Bentley (2001) and Vovin (2003) for detailed accounts of the language.

³ There are other places where it is possible to view some *Man'yō* plants and associated poems, many of which are associated with *Man'yō* museums. Due to their limited size, however, I have not included them here. See Taiyō (2011) for a reasonably comprehensive listing.

⁴ Emperor Shōmu ordered the founding of a network of *kokubunji* (‘national temples’) in the mid-700s in order to provide the protection of the religion to his realm. Musashi *kokubunji* dates from this period, although the original buildings were razed to the ground in 1333 and the oldest extant buildings on the site now date from the mid-1700s. The *Man'yō* botanical garden was begun as a personal project by the chief priest in 1950, and completed in 1963 (Hoshino 2015).

⁵ *Gokoku jinja*, ‘nation-protecting shrines’, were established throughout Japan after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 in order to apotheosise the souls of local war dead. Ehime-ken *gokoku jinja* is one of these, and the botanical garden was originally established in 1953 to provide consolation to the spirits of the dead in World War II. It was only later that a stone inscribed with a famous *Man'yō* poem was placed in the garden, and it was decided to collect the plants of the *Man'yōshū* to accompany it. The original garden was re-named the *Man'yōen* in 1968 (Fujiwara 2015).

⁶ Kasuga Grand Shrine was established in 768 as the family shrine of the Fujiwara family. Due to the family’s close marital connections to the imperial family it became the object of imperial patronage from the mid-900s. Even today imperial messengers are still despatched to report on important matters to the shrine’s deities.

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