Stories of sky and sea: Storying the generational divide at Cape Muroto

Eric James Waite
Iowa State University

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Stories of sky and sea:
Storying the generational divide at Cape Muroto

by

Eric Waite

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Major: Rhetoric, Composition, and Professional Communications

Program of Study Committee:
Stacy Tye-Williams, Major Professor
Margaret LaWare
Travis Chilcott

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

I have studied Japan for over ten years now, and during this time I have experienced multiple facets of a culture that often inspires awe. As a young man from Iowa, the ways in which the Japanese are connected by their folk stories has always appealed to me, but it was when I visited Muroto that I experienced a place where legend, people, place, and institution all coalesce. After several expeditions to Japan, I have studied and trained with multiple religious groups—for example Zen, Shingon, Shinto, and Shugendō to name a few—and all of the people who belong to various religious institutions are held together by more stories than can be counted. Five years after my first visit to Muroto, it still has something special, and I needed to understand that power. I believe that power rests in Kōbō Daishi\(^1\), the monk, philosopher, inventor, linguist, and master calligrapher who founded Shingon Buddhism in Japan—the places he visited, the people who revere him, and the legends that surround him.

Kūkai has impacted Japanese culture through his impact of engineering, writing, and philosophy. During his life, Kūkai impacted Japanese society so significantly that many Japanese people today do not even realize the important role he played in crafting their culture. As an engineer, Kūkai brought the curved dam to Japan allowing for larger reservoirs. His work with Sanskrit aided his construction of the Japanese writing system used today called Kana. It can also be argued that his arguments in the *Sanbu-sho* (“Three Writings”) is the beginning of Japanese philosophy by demonstrating esoteric Buddhism’s validity and efficaciousness. With so many accomplishments from a man who died at the age of 62, it is little surprise that it is often difficult

\(^1\) In the Buddhist tradition it is common for an individual to receive names once they become monks. His birth name was Mao, but upon training at Shikoku took the name Kūkai, posthumously was granted the title Kōbō Daishi, with his Buddha name being *Henjō-Kongō*. For the purposes of this paper Kūkai will be used by me when he is referenced in a non-mythic fashion, but it should be noted that Kūkai and Kōbō Daishi are used interchangeably in Japan.
to separate the man from the myth, and at places like Muroto many do not feel a need to try. Muroto is the place that Kūkai performed the bulk of his esoteric training, reciting the Kokūzō sutras one-million times to achieve enlightenment.

In most cultures there is an epic story, a story that has an elevated style, in which heroes of great historical or legendary importance perform valorous deeds that are important to the history of a nation or people that connect various subgroups within a culture together, Japan included. The problem in Japan is that the national epics are not the narratives that bind the various groups together. The national epics of Japan, the Kojiki and the Nihongi, were crafted in the 8th century to give the impression of a cohesive heritage shortly after imperial rule was formed. This ultimately means that the Japanese epics were not constructed until the beginning of the Nara period (710-794CE) with the Kojiki being written in 711-712. Buddhism had already been introduced and in just over 80 years Kūkai would become a traveling acetic, starting a path that took the Buddhist teachings out of obscurity, and into the lives and practices of everyday people. His story is an epic one located in place, created by a historical figure, and is continuously transformed by the interactions of people and institutions.

My experiences with the thousands of stories, such as those of Kōbō Daishi that create the identities of Japan, made me wonder how these local narratives create an identity for the Japanese people, and how the people, places, institutions, and stories interact to create an epic figure like Kōbō Daishi from multiple dynamic local stories. It seemed only logical to start at the place where it all began for Kūkai in Cape Muroto the place of his enlightenment.

These local narratives are well known in the local areas, but are not well known outside the immediate area. Stories like the Kama Daishi near Matsuyama and the Saba Daishi near Asakawa are local. Those who are not insiders of the area will not know these stories. It may not
be new to address foreign traditions from the perspective of the insider/outsider conversation, but it should be handled with care when it comes to Japanese narratives. The traditions are embodied and embedded in a culture that is built on a tradition of interdependence. The performances, narratives, and worldviews should be expected to reflect this position as well.

Even though the space is dynamic, when it comes to Japanese ritual, the physical space and ritual practices are not without a designed response to important discourses, and the stories of Kōbō Daishi are part of the process for assimilating, establishing, and maintaining a cultural identity. In rhetoric the process of evaluating these types of narratives, that are both dynamic as well as part of a public memory, has not been examined by a Western scholar within the Japanese paradigm.

In a dynamic and embodied space, I am presented with a situation that does not fit neatly into the expectations of an American academic setting. One where the default position assumes a mind/body dualistic approach along with a position that normally excludes the embodied act as part of the discussion. This approach largely ignores the primary philosophy that Kūkai crafted that shaped Japanese thought from the 8th century to today—sokushin jobutsu, becoming Buddha within this body. The narratives of Japan reflect a worldview that is grounded in non-dualistic phenomenological relationships and not empirical facts.
CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

This study relies heavily on a deep understanding of multiple disciplines such as, narrative, religious studies, ritual studies, sociology, and anthropology. The areas that are most closely addressed are disciplines that touch on the concepts of narrative like place, personhood, along with the research to maintain a reflexive position. During this study it seemed best to address aspects of place and how the landscape plays a role in understanding "places of power" and by extension the Japanese understanding of kami and kokoro that have informed their worldview throughout history. The second part addresses the body and the importance of complete personhood. Next, the meaning of symbols and what constitutes a symbol once the somatic and the dynamic are reincorporated into the narratives is explored. After addressing symbol use, the value of public memory in the narrative process, particularly the ability of public memory to interact dynamically with the narratives and the people, places, and institutions that value those narratives is discussed. The section on change singles out the dynamic nature of everything, and introduces a framework to handle those systems. Finally, everything is part of a reflexive model and given the interpretive nature of this study it is important to recognize the influence of bias and history as I explore these dynamics.

Study in Place

A foundational element of this analysis is the notion that narratives are tied to place and as such are highly dynamic. To situate this study, it is important to turn to an established expert in Japanese ritual, such as Ambros's (2009) work, where she provides insight into the power that place has in Japanese pilgrimage sites like those found at Cape Muroto, "Pilgrimage shrines are sites where divergent religious discourses collide as pilgrims and shrine authorities each aim to assert their meanings and perceptions (p. 169)." In response to this symbol/symbolized paradigm,
some scholars, like Bado (2005) and Kasulis (2002) argue that one cannot disregard the agency of place by implying it is solely a symbolic process. Ambros (2009) refutes such criticism by using social constructionism:

In the case of Japanese sacred mountains, the mountainscape certainly informs ritual practices, such as ritual ascents, ablutions under waterfalls, entry into caves, and viewing of the land or the sun from the summit. Without these physical features of the mountain such rituals would be impossible. However, the exact meanings assigned to such practices and to the physical features of the land are nevertheless socially and culturally constructed (p. 169).

I, along with prestigious scholars, disagree with the position that meaning is only socially and culturally constructed, because it ultimately ignores the influences of nature (Primiano 1995; Kasulis, 2002; & Csordas, 1993). If meaning was only socially and culturally constructed then so called "places of power," where religious centers have been placed over lost or ancient sites would not exist. These places of power have enthralled people of every culture, every worldview, and from across centuries. A place that was once a fallen pagan site, like those at the Island of Valaam, became a cathedral centuries later. Evidence shows us that these places beckon to us. For example, in his discussion of the Island of Valaam, Olsen (2007) recounts, "Many sacred sites worldwide share a common aspect called the “power of place,” loosely defined as a location’s perceptible spiritual value that transcends religious priorities, cultural importance, and the long test of time." (p. 159) So, academia should not proclaim that these meanings are only socially and culturally constructed when there is evidence to the contrary. The other-than-human acting as agent, where agency is the capacity of an entity (e.g. human, animal, object,
consciousness, soul) to act in its given environment, would require us to take seriously concepts like the Japanese *kami* and *kokoro*.

If scholars look at the definition of *kami*, "Fundamentally, the term is an honorific of noble, sacred spirits, which implies a sense of adoration for their virtues and authority" (Ono, 2011, p. 6). This definition does not adequately define the complete nature of *kami* by only using the term as a noun. Shrine Shinto has resorted to talking about *kami* in this way to make it easy for the West to understand, a method that would be palatable to the deity worship analysis that is historic of Sociology. But if the fields of rhetoric and communication look at this definition with the term *kami* being a verb then it can see how the places of power, shrines, and the worship of *kami* are an extension of the Japanese concept of *kokoro*, commonly translated as heart or spirit.

*Kokoro* is an important part of the ideology behind Japanese identity. *Kokoro* is the "spirit," "essence" and/or "nature" of something. This term is not like a soul such as in the Christian context because the *kokoro* of something is not permanent and does not continue to exist after it has ended its existence. It is closely related to the ideas of *chi/ki* and the way the West has come to think of life force, but it is not held by just living things, all things have *kokoro*. In many ways it can be seen as the power of relationships, like the relationship of human and nature, human and human, nature and nature and these relationships are what makes something "alive." This means that because people are always relating to their environment that the environment must be "alive" as well. This becomes a significant part of the rationale for the personification of natural phenomenon.

On the other hand, within most Japanese communities the whole idea of theological evaluation and defining a *kami* is not important. *Kami* is thought of as something like art with aesthetics being of primary concern. This fits within the verb definition that is presented by
Earhart (2014), and the noun model presented by Ono (1962). The aesthetic definition of kami makes pinning down an exact definition far more complicated, but since the nature of kami is the act inspiring mystery then an aesthetic one makes the most sense.

Story in Shinto is the strongest representation of this aesthetic interaction that exists. The folk stories that manifest local identities and narratives are the primary way in which the traditions were maintained throughout history. There were no Sunday Schools or formal church education for children in Japan's far past. Story is a powerful force, and in terms of the local kami everyone would have grown up knowing the story of the mountain kami, and would know of the trickster foxes and tanooki (often translated as Raccoon Dog). Even today these themes and stories are transmitted in Japanese popular culture such as television and manga (Japanese Comics). This manner of religious education through, and as part of, a culture makes the process of decoding meaning just as difficult as understanding the term kami alone. In both cases it is the closeness to the everyday—the indivisibility between what people do every day in culture and veneration in religion that makes the question worthwhile.

An expanded definition of kami makes it necessary to reframe the questions about the nature of the narratives that my study is approaching, as Bado (2005) tells us, "The moment of ritual performance holds a key to understanding the role of the body as the ground or site of interaction and negotiation with the sacred—those 'other-than-human-persons' who populate the ritual landscape." (p. 1) Understanding this the study must engage the narratives as kami and as agents otherwise scholars will miss the power of an embodied narrative. The story does not come from the formation of symbols, but comes from the expression of person, place, and act held in a somatic mode of attention and reacted to pre-reflexively.
Ambros's (2009) work is without a doubt some of the best work on pilgrimage to come out in the past decade that provides a system to understand religious place, but her work does not address some of the questions relating to embodiment and somatic modes of attention that arise if we try to use communication and ritual theory. The communication field understands that communicative acts are mutually constructed, and meaning must be shared (Berger and Luckmann, 1966, p. 23), but what communication theory has not readily embraced is interpreting rituals as an embodied experience. Ritual studies theory, as an interdisciplinary field, can work well alongside communication theory to inform the embodied narratives, while including the other-than-human. With communication theory alone, it is easy to see the world outside the human, even when using a phenomenological framework, and discount the impact of the other-than-human as a participant in the narrative construction. The mountains must be in dialog with the human participants, not just as a place where the meaning is occurring, but as a dynamic participant (Waite, 2012). This dialogue with place is of growing importance with current ecologic concerns caused by climate change.

Muroto has many things in common with those mountain rituals. The stories about Kōbō Daishi are not set apart from the earthen features they are made of. As people interact with the space, the space changes to accommodate people, so the earth changes for the people, but this then goes to change the experience of the people—a feedback system of change and counter-change all working in a complex dance of meaning making—scholarship should not take context out of narrative construction.

**Study in Body**

According to Blair, Dickenson, and Ott (2010) ritual performance is part of the typical understanding of rhetoric but it is a largely untouched area of inquiry. This may be because ritual
activities are extremely complex narratives that are informed by narratives, while also being highly embodied. Public memory, as well as ritual, is built from intimate connections with social obligation that interacts with a human embodied performance. Performance is bound to place and subject to constant change. This constructs a Japanese identity of personhood that can be sympathetically understood on the ground. These things are not a text or graven image placed in time by the memory of the past for the present to interpret, a ritual performance enacted in a place is a living dynamic memory, transforming not only the symbolic meaning with the audience, but the visceral somatic experience as well.

**Study in Symbol**

On the other side of the world, here in the United States, having rhetoric engage with the Japanese worldview described by Kasulis (2002) is extremely useful to help us understand the language space the narratives are created in. His description of the holographic worldview is an infinite overlap of intersubjectivity and interactions that happen in an intimacy language like Japanese. An integrity language like English is constructed by symbols dictated by the languages rules with each symbol having few possible meanings. Scholars can better understand the role of rituals’ power in public memory, where the dynamic and embodied performance is overlooked in favor of the static. In Burke’s (1961) words, "If a symbol-using animal approaches nature in terms of symbol-systems (as he inevitably does), then he will inevitably 'transcend' nature to the extent that symbol-systems are essentially different from the realms they symbolize" (pp. 21-22). Burke helps us understand how our dynamic somatic communication can be limited through multiple interpretations of the symbol system to create a static statement that loses all meaning when put to page. Foss, Foss, and Trapp (1991) expand our definition with one that includes visual elements, “[rhetoric] is an action humans perform when they use symbols for the purpose
of communicating with one another” (p. 14). However, this definition lacks the expanse to include places, modes of communication that are directly somatic and not symbolic, and symbols of the other-than-human. Bado and Norris (2010) help us understand the embodied forms of communication such as festivals and play, "Religious games are meant to be productive—to reinforce religious education—but at the same time they are meant to be a form of play" (p. 135). Whether play is a symbol or not is something that should be questioned, but I assert that it is a direct somatic relationship "with" not a symbol "of". In Bado and Norris's work play is happening with games, but at Muroto the play exists in places like parks and nature trails. Weaving narratives between play, institutions, the land, and the audience is not something that can be understood without exploring the dynamics between all of these aspects to fully understand the phenomenon.

**Study in Memory**

The above theories on place, body, and symbol provide grounding to use the dynamic and embodied narratives that exist at Cape Muroto. However, to understand their function in public memory it is important to move beyond generic cultural theories to find the precise conversation with public memory to understand how individual stories collectively form a narrative. In order to understand how the ritual acts communicate the narrative, it is important to explore public memory as a dynamic and vernacular process. The narratives at Muroto started out as vernacular religion, and as Primiano (1995) describes,

> It is easy...to grasp the vernacular nature of the institutionalized elements of organized religion: its clerical functionaries, its oral and written statements, and its ritualized or sacramental occasions and observances. A vernacular religious viewpoint shows that designation of institutionalized religion as 'official' are inaccurate" (p. 45).
To find the true construction of the narrative it is necessary to go beyond official stories to find the embodied experience. This will reveal the praxiological elements that are interesting to field studies.

To connect the vernacular religious theory to the dynamic and embodied theories it is useful to look at public memory using Gencarella’s (2010) anthology. According to Hauser (2010), "...for public opinion to form there must be a public sphere, a discursive space in which individuals and groups congregate to discuss matters of mutual interest and, where possible, to reach a common judgment" (p. 297). Such public spheres are exactly the same kind of places discussed when talking about places of power. They are the places that would call to the people and could act as an anchor for narratives.

This returns me to my research question, how do local narratives create an identity for the Japanese people, and how do the people, places, institutions, and stories interact to create an epic figure like Kōbō Daishi from multiple dynamic local stories? I have covered people, places, and narratives; but have not touched on institutions and their role in dealing with public memory. The anthology by Blair, Dickenson, and Ott (2010) shows how institutions define public memory, in essence, "..., public memory narrates—arguably constructs—shared identities. But it does more even than that. It constructs identities that are embraced, that attract adherents (as well as dissidents) (p. 22)." It is through the construction of public memory that the entire foundation of an institution rests upon. In Crosby's (2009) work, he provided an explanation of the suasory discourse that illustrates the agency of place that arises from public memory in a kairotic moment,

…If one is to come to a version of kairos that informs the sacred world—and more to the point, the rhetorical power of sacred space—one must consider another classical
trajectory of kairos. According to Glenn F. Chestnut, Socrates elaborated a kairos that challenged the rational contingency paradigm by combining the concept with notions of “cosmic sympathy”... In other words, the Sophists understood kairos to be a kind of powerful, even divine, mystery that the rhetor hopes to apprehend in the moment of its emergence. Its power lies in its ability to transcend the rational mind and transform the soul to new belief and action (p. 135).

Rowe (1999) elaborates, “When a pilgrim in a Gothic cathedral gazes upon an image of Moses delivering the tablets of the Law they are not merely evoking the event through ‘memory’ in chronos, but are, in kairos, actually participating in the event itself” (1999, pp. 19–20). It can be understood that if a ritual is a trained and practiced memory where the ritualist has fully embodied the act then kairos can be achieved as an expression of praxilogically embodied memory.

**Study in Change**

Myth is one of the powers found in public memory because of its shared meaning and the dynamics created by *intersubjective fields*. Since intersubjective fields are real and permeable, this study can use what has been called “dark” and “bright” consciousness to better understand how public memory functions. Bright and dark consciousness are terms developed by Japanese philosopher Yuasa (1993) to differentiate between two kinds—or locations—of knowledge. Yuasa’s dark consciousness is the pre-reflective awareness that everybody possesses, and which resides within bodies. Bright consciousness is the aware self; in essence it is the voice in your head when thinking.

According to Bado (2005) about the process of learning to drive a car, we start out in a state of bright consciousness having to learn what each pedal does, how the wheel works, and we
have to take classes to learn all of the rules of the road. We have to practice. After many hours of practice, we begin to embody the things that we first had to think about. The training has moved the ideas from the bright consciousness to the dark consciousness, and the driver no longer has to reflect on the process of driving. Sometimes extreme things occur, such as having to teach someone else how to drive, physical injuries such as a sprained wrist, or bad weather, which require that knowledge in the dark consciousness be brought back into bright consciousness. The dark consciousness experiences also become a source for future decisions, and so impact bright consciousness automatically and continuously. Bright and dark consciousness do not act as dichotomies, but polarities, with our awareness moving dynamically anywhere in between.

Counter-stories in the narrative process are a way to attend to this constantly changing flow. Counter-stories are what occur when the master narratives of a power system, that has been sequestering narratives, finds itself without the power to oppress the new narrative (Nelson, 2001). Japan has been suffering from an economic and social upheaval for over 20 years, the institution of Neo-Confucianism that dictated place and power that sustained post-war Japan has decayed; this has introduced into, even the oldest tales, new variations in interpretation. The drastic reduction in birthrates coupled with economic pressures, plus increased globalization, is Westernizing the Japanese worldview.

To understand that flow, it is useful to look at Bergson (1944). He points out that these processes are not discontinuous. There is no beginning to the process that isn’t located in the beginning of time and no end to it except when everything ends, just as it is with all interactions. Humanity has often fought with attempting to grasp the concept of discontinuous processes like these. People confuse constructed and shared standards with an ontological given because our perceptions can fail us without a reference, and we can forget the reference we created.
Assuming that narrative is static and fixed fails to recognize this fact and makes the artifact an ontological given. So in the pursuit of an intersubjective framework, scholars must create a reference that properly addresses the dynamic nature of narrative, not just a definition created by philosophical rhetoric and speculation; and we must remember that these references are suññatā, as the Japanese philosopher Nishida (Yusa, 2002) points out they are empty/full. They are pregnant space, waiting to be filled and refilled. They lack an independent self.

Addressing the rule of authenticity cannot be done without also addressing the condition and experience of the agent. It takes philosophical frameworks like phenomenology to fill in the gaps. It is common when attempting to regain an embodied and dynamic method to become trapped in the mind/body paradigm—constantly swapping one for the other. Philosophers like Bergson (1944), Husserl (1999), and Merleau-Ponty (1962) point the way by returning our understanding to our experiences and away from mind-body problems caused by Descartes' *Cogito ergo sum*. These theorists allow us to decipher the greater context. Phenomenology allows us to explore the human condition through experiences. If scholars want to define what an authentic experience is they need to understand the whole human experience, which includes sight, smells, and the whole host of embodied aspects that exist prior to the symbolic.

This pursuit to understand the embodied narrative power constructed at Muroto led to the following research questions:

RQ1: How do these local narratives create an identity for the Japanese people?

RQ2: How do the people, places, institutions, and stories interact to create an epic figure like Kōbō Daishi from multiple dynamic local stories?
CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

This study is largely informed by the ethnographic theory of *body-in-practice* in order to investigate the body as the site of ritual performance and to create an alternative to the mind/body dualism of Western philosophical and religious thought (Bado, 2005). The praxis for field research is then informed by the methods developed by the works of Grimes (1982) and Geertz (1973). In taking an interpretive method in narrative analysis and close reading, the data collected can be interpreted to reveal the identities of various subcultures that are of interest to the construction of the Kōbō Daishi narrative. So, a mixture of interviews and ethnographic participant observation was used to answer the research questions.

**Interview Method**

I used a semi-structured interview protocol where participants were asked to tell the stories of the seven mysteries of Kōbō Daishi at Cape Muroto. Next, participants were asked a series of sociological questions (e.g. Do you feel that these places are important to your culture?, What do you think about Muroto becoming a UNESCO site?) to frame their responses against the established narrative in an attempt to draw out the contours of possible counter-narratives (See Appendix C). Interviews produced three hours, two minutes, and forty-five seconds of interview recordings with each interview averaging around 20 minutes and resulted in 19 pages of double spaced text. My procedure with the semi-structured interviews started with making contact with people in my network whom I had met during my time in Japan studying on Shikoku. These contacts aided in arranging interviews prior to my arrival. They assisted in obtaining a diverse set of interviews from people with a wide range of experiences and backgrounds.
During fieldwork preparation, I also refined the interview protocols that would be the foundation of my semi-structured interviews by incorporating specifics that I received from my local contacts (See Appendix C). These questions were deliberately chosen to maximize the chances of obtaining information on the Seven Mysteries regardless of the experience level of the participant as well as obtain information on the cultural, social, and praxiological use of these places as spaces of public memory and narrative. Ultimately I had to create two coding sets to analyze the interviews because of the nature of my research questions and the mixed methods of semi-structured interviews.

The narrative codes are directed at the parts of the interview that focused on the story and narrative components as they were gathered from the people in Cape Muroto. In keeping with Frank's (1995) and Nelson's (2001) methods of narrative analysis participant identity and story construction were explored to examine the dynamics or Kōbō Daishi's mystical nature and the stories of persons whom are embedded and deeply encultured to these stories. The pilgrim's experience then becomes united and resonates with the assimilation of the narrative through the place by engaging with these objects without always being aware of the manner in which the narrative is interacting with them.

The fact that many are not even aware of the interaction with the narrative is part of the reason that the second set of codes was needed. Asking directly for the stories provided us with the very basic knowledge of the story. But to grasp the way that the narratives exist and shape the identities of the ten-of-thousands that pass through Muroto every year, this study sought to understand how Kōbō Daishi acts as a reservoir for public memory and the interaction of that public memory with the people that are assimilated by praxis.
The counter-narratives reflect a deviation from that established narrative, not so much in the meaning of the story but in authenticity, providing a solid place to address the reason for this change. Because the Seven Mysteries are an established and well publicized set of stories theoretical saturation occurred rapidly. The concern in the present study was not looking to find the authentic story of Kōbō Daishi. It is the things that changed by identification with the various cultural groups that shows how people and institutions are constructing their own stories for their own goals. The core stories stayed the same, but around those tales is context and conditions that could transform the core narrative into a counter-narrative.

Finally, a thematic analysis was conducted with special consideration given to the counter-story of the master narrative. To be considered a theme each has to meet the criteria of recurrence, repetition, and forcefulness ("referring to tone, inflection, volume, or dramatics") (Owen, 1984, p. 275). Each theme is constructed in context to the power systems were they reside, but Japan's culture results in subjects avoiding making these types of judgments. Subtle deviations in the master narrative, the counter-story, could indicate power dynamics ripe for investigation during participant observation.

Following the guidelines of the Institutional Review Board no names, demographics, or identifying information was collected, and any information volunteered was anonymized when reasonable. The only detail that could not be removed was the fact that participants were located in Muroto at the time of participation, a fact that is associated with the nature of an interview that is inherently located in place.

The end goal of the interviews was not to create a general statement about the nature of Kōbō Daishi, but to look at this place and to uncover some of the hidden details that dynamically
shapes public memory, and to discover the ways that people and institution participate in this public memory.

**Participant Observation Data Collection**

Given the research questions for this study, it is not enough to conduct interviews. Once scholars understand the importance of place and the dynamic nature of ritual an ethnographic study elicits a participant observation component. The study becomes more about the make up of the Japanese identity than the contents of each story. It becomes about understanding the nature and flow of intersubjectivity.

There is no better place to research that flow than in the narratives of Kōbō Daishi at Cape Muroto because of the area's status as Muroto Global Geopark and Quasi-National Park. So, in performing my study, I had to consider the scope of Kōbō Daishi's impact on an area so sparsely populated. This made me start with the methodologies described by Turner’s (1982) work and the works of Grimes (1982), then incorporated Nelson's (2001) work where she outlines that when person interacts with the narrative they must not only negotiate the rules of their cultures but also create a place for themselves within their respective context. Through metaphorical and literal journeys, the person must endure their own transformations to create an identity for themselves.

Considering my research question, and the belief that public memory has a communal quality, the practical problem is there has been little in the way of past research on the topic of public memory, narrative, and performance. Because of the nature of past scholarship, the goal to use Close Textual Analysis had to be informed from a combination of fieldwork and a bricolage of disciplines. The dialogue on Shinto ritual and public memory was crafted primarily by the works of Kasulis (2004), in particular his description of the Japanese worldview as the infinite
overlap of intersubjectivity and interaction that happens in an intimacy society. I grounded my observations of Buddhist and and Shinto rituals in past research (Earhart, 2014; Ono (1962). In particular, Earhart’s (2014) understanding of Japanese Religion was a valuable piece to focus on when doing participant observation,

One of the major features of Japanese religious life is the way in which man, gods, and nature are closely interrelated on the same plane... Nature means not an objective and inert collection of substance but the sacred rhythm of the cosmos as a living unity. (p. 127)

It was necessary to seek that rhythm when interacting with the narratives to frame and analyze the artifacts.

Unfortunately, understanding public memory and how ritual space engages with public memory is far more complex. Foucault’s definition of memory as, “an activity of collectivity rather than (or in addition to) individuated, cognitive work” seems to capture a lot of what ritual is intended to do (Dickinson, et al 2010, pp. 5-6). A typical definition of public memory is given that, “Public memory is typically understood as relying on material and/or symbolic supports—language, ritual performance, communication technologies…” (Dickinson, et al 2010, p. 10).

The present study has a direct reference to ritual’s influence on public memory, but little scholarly work was found on the overlap of ritual, narrative, and public memory. Fortunately, with the works listed above there are enough materials for a sound understanding of the Japanese ritual context, and a thorough enough definition of public memory to perform a close reading of the narratives found on Cape Muroto.

According to Grimes (2011), we need to be extremely careful when we are dealing with material culture. Like narratives, it is easy to assume that an artifact has a meaning that is
universally true and true at all times. In his work on ritual he shows that this is definitely not the case:

Although rituals consist of actions, it’s almost impossible to discover, or even imagine, a ritual without its attendant material culture. Ritual stuff is sometimes treasured and iconic, but sometimes it is not. Consider two objects. One I call an egg even though it really isn’t. The other is called a lady even though she really isn’t. Here, I will animate them side by side, even though they would complain if someone stationed them so close together. (What? You imagine things don’t talk?) The egg-shaped thing, I discovered after using it for several years, was actually designed to be a sock darter. The second object is a doll, but you would trouble believers if you referred to it that way. “Statue” maybe but “doll” never, and you would be called down if you referred to “her” as an “it.” (pp. 76-83)

Every time there was an assumption made about the nature of something, immediately discard that assumption. The one thing a person learns early when studying Japanese culture is that every assumption you have is potentially wrong. Take nothing for granted, sound advice mirrored by Grimes.

Another way to look at the rhetorical nature of place is to consider Geertz (1980). Geertz shows us that the old way of thinking of rhetoric and ourselves as mono-disciplinary may be wrong in the most obtuse sense. It is in the overlap of skills and language that modern analysis exists. Geertz shows in his article that through interdisciplinary methods scholars are able to achieve much more than they could before. The academy is able to do so without trying to accommodate some archaic idea like “Gods’ Truth,” and this framework has been applied across multiple disciplines.
Geertz (1973) establishes his concept of “thick description,” by itself a concept that may seem to only matter to ethnographers, but in his discourse he shows that the reason the field needs this “thick description.” In order to identify cultures, we need to recognize cultural acts as symbolic. This resonates with the works of Burke (1968) who established, for rhetoric, the concept that rhetorical acts found in language are symbolic.

If language and cultures are both symbolic, scholars in both fields can, and do, use many of the same methods to understand rhetoric as we do to understand culture. Most modern researchers no longer try to capture the “Real” speech nor do we try to give the “Authentic” presentation. We analyze it and attempt to “thicken” our understanding, well aware that we will never have the whole picture—just one that becomes clearer.

It is the nature of symbols to contain a multifaceted/multi-perspectival nature, and agents need to interpret those symbols. This is something Burke also addressed, but where Burke was concerned with language—Geertz was concerned with cultures, by combining the two this study now has something that approaches modern theories on rhetoric. It is not just the words that researchers need to look at for symbolic and rhetorical power, but also the people, places, and contexts that are also built around symbols that can power a rhetorical moment. Buildings, offices, entertainment, and festivals all are permeated with a discourse based on symbols that act to bring about a change in the “audience” by the “agent.”

These symbols are woven with myth. Myth as defined by literary theorists Wellek and Werren (1956) and refined by Hart (1997) as "master stories describing exceptional people doing exceptional things and serving as moral guides to proper action" (p. 234). That definition definitely makes Kōbō Daishi a mythic figure in the Japanese folklore as well as in their master narratives. Stories about him permeate the cultural context and influence and impact nearly every
facet of Japanese society. This creates a shared set of genres that allow a people to reach out and understand large contexts viscerally without the conscious need to interpret the symbol.

These myths at Muroto surrounding Kōbō Daishi form the basis of historical and modern material culture with tales and artistic novels like "The Tales of Jiraiya the Gallant" (1839 – 1868) that became popular and helped form and establish the foundational genre making the audience receptive to public memory. Kūkai's history is that of as an ascetic who enters the world of divine figures on Shikoku, and acquires supernatural abilities. The Japanese adapt these stories using these well understood genres to communicate their culture to the next generation, and from there Japan gets many of its popular television programs like Naruto.

With this basic frame in mind, I drafted a set of criteria that would be needed to explore the interactions between the institution, people, places, and narratives found at Cape Muroto. I understood that like many ethnographic studies of this type, large data sets are rare and often do not provide the sensual side of the experiences. Muroto's narratives are deeply rooted in places and experiences; so to attempt to separate them is not only foolish, it would be impossible.

The only way to get to most of that information contained in the embedded public memory was through experience; because this information does not only reside in the objects, or the stories, or the places. To understand the stories, I had to understand the context. In many ways the experiences, like the salty air at the back of my nose, the forest at night traveling through the mountain pass to reach my hotel, and hard gut wrenching thud when my body slammed onto the rock floor after the stone I was climbing gave way, are important. These experiences are all experiences shared in the public memory. They exist in resonance with the past, the dark roads are the same dark roads that were traveled 1200 years ago, by the first Shikoku pilgrims; the salty air coming off the ocean being the same experience that made Kōbō
Daishi take the name Kūkai (Sea/Sky); and the pain of a fall and the dangers of the rock coast an experience shared by many pilgrims—even the few who never returned. All of these are part of a story, continuously written and rewritten by every person who walks the trails at Muroto, but they are also parts of the story that can really only be shared through the body, an experience as a dynamic and public memory. Participant observation is the only means to understand that story.

**Recruitment and Participants**

Participants were required to be 20 years of age, be able to provide a response in English, and understand written English. Participants were recruited using two methods: a snowball recruitment method, and in-place recruitment requests. In the snowball recruitment, which was the primary recruitment method, subjects were solicited through local contacts in the Muroto area. The in-place recruitment consisted of finding pilgrims in the Muroto area and asking them to participate.

Recruitment efforts resulted in 9 participants. Overall, the sample had representation in age, profession, and gender. No demographic data was collected to maintain maximum confidentiality. Since all interviews took place in person, estimates were made based on observation while interviewing the individuals: 3 younger generation women (under 30 years old); 1 male, 2 female middle aged (between 30 and 60); 1 male, 2 female older (above 60 years old). Professions included but are not limited to: tour guide, English teacher, business owner, retired, priest, and professional translator.
CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS

After completing close readings of the interview data, thematic patterns began to emerge. The most prominent thematic differences were not within the content of the stories, but with the position each participant took. These positions had strong generational components that fed both the identities constructed and the relationship the individuals had with the narratives. Each theme that emerged is strongly attached to a local identity, and those identities fell under three cultural groupings. The cultural groupings are the Reconstructionists, the Ambivalent, and the Preservationists, and inside those groups are the local identities: Insider, Outsider, Tourist, and Scientist. Each theme and cultural group have aspects that define the ways in which they engage with their narratives.

The research question on people, places, institutions, and stories is to untangle the information found in the interviews in regard to the interactions of the local identities. I divided the cultural and sociological data into three groupings that construct the cultural groups: the Reconstructionists want to rebuild the area regardless of possible change and are connected by an objective view, the Ambivalent group seems unconcerned with the social and political happenings of Muroto, and the Preservationists want to maintain the climate and culture as they currently perceive it to be and are connected by their ownership of the narratives.

**Reconstructionist**

During the interview the Reconstructionist group showed signs that the participants desire greater awareness of Muroto locally and globally. Their responses show that they think that their culture is threatened by depopulation and a rapidly changing environment making pragmatic solutions to preserve their heritage their goal. It is not important to save the material culture if there is no one local to appreciate it. It is thus their goal in sharing these stories to
rebuild a local community through objective deliberation and pragmatic means. This is shown in two local identities, the Scientist and the Tourist. The question that illustrates the pragmatic consideration to rebuilding Muroto is demonstrated in the questions asking about international recognition like UNESCO:

Interviewer: What do you think about the henro trail becoming a world heritage site or the Geopark when it became a UNESCO site, and all these international organizations getting involved in the Muroto area?

Participant: It is a nice thing. The good thing about this place is being advertised to the whole world, and attracting people from all over the world. I think the thing that needs to be protect and will be protected if we have those recognitions, and I am just trying and am hoping that those recognitions will lead to some umm...commercialized efforts and that would actually destroy the nature here. Or destroy the traditional atmosphere I don't want to go that way.

Data analysis revealed that these participants would attempt to balance the need to revitalize the city with the desire to preserve their heritage. During analysis it became clear through language intensity that some groups put greater emphasis on those aspects that are more important to them. This created a narrative bias used to separate those that sought Preservation and those who truly prioritized Reconstruction even when the exact words could be less than clear, like in the story above.

In another interview, it is more explicit that the Reconstrutionists see the city is in jeopardy and that direct intervention is required:

Interviewer: Thank you for your time and answering my questions. Is there anything you would like to add?
Participant: I want everyone to come here. The schools I went to are closing one after another. All the schools I went to may close soon and I want to prevent that. For that, we need people to come here. So, for that, if we can rely on something powerful, we want to do so. I don’t want our hometown to disappear.

It should be clear from these two examples that there is a combination of two facets that really dictate the Reconstructionists, they both believe that the area is depopulating, and they state that they think that economic development will not ultimately destroy the culture in the area. The data from the sociological questions above should help define the types of identities that make up the Reconstructionists. They are worried because they foresee an imminent threat to Muroto's way of life. This view on rebuilding the local community is defined by their objectivity. This viewpoint informs the local identities of the Scientist and the Tourist that make up the Reconstructions, because they are able to emotionally separate themselves from place.

The Tourist is connected to the Scientist through objectivity; the major difference in the qualities that cause the participant to objectify the stories. The Scientists objectify the stories to position their stories as authoritative, while the Tourist objectifies the stories because when they identify with the stories they cannot position themselves within the narrative. The data shows the Tourists’ objectivity, and by looking at how their stories are not directly linked to the Muroto stories it shows that they are drawing on the greater master narratives of Kōbō Daishi. In this case the stories of Kūkai on Shikoku:

Interviewer: So can you tell me the stories about the seven mysteries of Kōbō Daishi?

Participant: When you say “seven mysteries” you mean those on Cape Muroto?

Interviewer: Yes, they’re on Cape Muroto.
Participant: The biggest mystery to me is how he gave himself the name Kūkai, when he became a monk, meaning Sky and the Ocean. When he did that, the morning sun came up from the Pacific Ocean with bright light and the light came into his body. It was then that he got the inspiration and named himself Kūkai. To me, or to Muroto residents, THAT is the biggest mystery.

Interviewer: OK. Excellent. What can you tell me then, about Bell Stone?

Participant: That the stone makes sound… ring, ring, like bell. Bell stone.

Not only in Muroto but among the 88 temples founded by Kūkai, there are many temples that have a story about a stone that makes special sound.

Interviewer: So, we do have something that connects it to Kūkai, a little bit to this type of stone.

Participant: Seems like the stories about something you cannot understand through the ordinary laws of nature… stories of something beyond the ordinary … are always related to Kūkai, not just in Muroto but throughout Japan.

In this example the master narrative is invoked connecting the participant not to the direct stories dealing with the Seven Mysteries but the greater narratives about Kūkai. It is noteworthy how the Tourist is different from the Scientist. The Tourist's narratives are referencing much larger master narratives. This process shows how the Tourist is objectifying the narratives in a very different way from the Scientist. The differences between the Scientist and the Tourist become more pronounced when compared.

For instance, when asked about Kōbō Daishi's bath, the stories between the Tourist and Scientist showed recurrence ("the same thread of meaning, even if the wording may vary"). In this example the story related is by one of the Tourists:
It’s a small dent in the rock at the tip of the cape. I’ve heard about that, too. All I know is that Ō-Daishi-sama\(^2\) [sic] took a bath, wiped his body there.

In this reference the story clearly relates that Kōbō Daishi bathed in the pond. The story is taken as a matter of fact with no embellishment. In the version presented by the Scientist it shows something else:

Oh, I heard about that. Geologically speaking, bathing isn’t possible there because it is in the sea. But Kūkai followers assumed, after he died, that he must have bathed in that pond. So they say there’s a rock related to Kūkai’s bathing here. I think the legend was born to worship Kūkai, and to respect the strictness of the training he had.

The second story clearly relates the same meaning that Kōbō Daishi bathed in that pond, but the situation is presented with a series of conditions and contexts establishing some baselines to separate the themes of Scientist and Tourist.

As shown, the Tourist, just like the Scientist, is objective; and this objectivity drives them to be Reconstructionists. Unlike the Scientist the objectivity of the Tourist comes from a position of non-belonging. The Tourists could be seen as outsiders, but they have greater access to the narrative landscape than those seen in Outsiders. This greater involvement is what keeps the Tourists and the Scientists from being Ambivalent.

**Scientist**

The Scientists' and the Tourists' more objective view is the value that crafts the Reconstructionist. This makes them more concerned with the rational and pragmatic solution to the area’s problems. The first empirical view that comes into focus with the objectivist view is the Scientist. The Scientist remained objective to maintain the authority that came with the perceived power of empiricism. This group was the most common position and the objective

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\(^2\) Shingon honorific title for Kōbō Daishi.
values situate it clearly within the Reconstructionists’ cultural group. It was commonly presented to me by the Geopark workers. Geopark workers had substantial information about the narratives, but because they maintained an empirical position they lacked the cultural perspectives that inform the things that the cultural groups find valuable and pass on through the generations like the superhuman and mythic feats of Kōbō Daishi. These events are ignored or drastically reduced in prominence by the Reconstructionist because of their objectivity. These narratives took a scientific position and that theme runs throughout the language of the subjects’ discussions. Interestingly, unlike the other themes the genre of Scientific language made it easy to collect the stories without the subject feeling personally involved in the answer. It was good to have a subject comfortable and not feel nervous when relating their stories, but the objectivity could be difficult to separate from the objectivity that comes from being a Tourist. The simple test during thematic analysis was if there was an associated level of ignorance caused by being excluded from the requisite information. So, the test inevitably reduced itself to, "is this person speaking from a place that is attempting to remain detached, or is it a person lacking information and is forced to remain objective because they are speaking from a place that is not privy to that narrative?"

The Scientist theme became rather easy to notice once the category was formed. The scientific language crops up quite frequently in this Geopark tour guide interview:

Interviewer: What can you tell me about the Bell Stone?

Participant: Bell Stone is a rock called andesite. It is said that if you tap it, the sound is said to reach the Pure Land in heaven. That’s one of the seven mysteries.

Interviewer: What can you tell me then about Kūkai's Bathing Pond? Are there any stories to come with that?
Participant: He couldn’t bath in there actually. When he was in Muroto, that place was being washed by waves.

Interviewer: OK. What can you tell me about inedible taros?

Participant: When there was no food to eat, a villager was washing taros. Kūkai asked the villager “Please give me some of them,” but the villager was mean and said, “These are inedible.” Because of that, the taros actually became inedible. That’s how they got the name.

Interviewer: OK. What can you tell me then about the grotto Kūkai built overnight?

Participant: The cave was made by waves when it was at the seashore. Kūkai did his religious training there. And the grotto was said to be made overnight and that’s how it got its name.

It is interesting to see that of the four mysteries the Scientist provides an objective explanation, usually geologic and hydrologic, for each of the mysteries and in some case rejecting the story all together in light of the geologic science.

Tourist

The stories of the Tourist were similar to the stories of the seven mysteries provided by the Geopark locals but lacked that local flavor. They did not repeat the Geopark stories, but were obviously not Insiders either. To use Owen's (1984) thematic analysis, they were told with recurrence, but without repetition of the Insider's narratives. They hit all the same themes, but they were not the same stories. This may be the result of greater cultural awareness that individuals who travel often acquire over time.
The subjects in my interviews also often had a connection with the wider tourism business. So, the stories found at Cape Muroto were interconnected with the wider narratives of Japan as indicated by a tourism business man:

I have my own idea of the seven mysteries of Kōbō Daishi and that is not exactly the same as the seven mysteries listed here -- chosen by someone. Some are the same, others are not. And when I visited the places related to the mysteries, I didn’t intentionally decide to go there… it’s more like -- somehow I feel I have seen them. People walking at the tip of Cape Muroto naturally see those places, right? So just living here in Muroto, you come to know, “Oh, this is eye-salve pond,” “Oh, this is Kūkai’s Bathing Pond” while you’re taking a walk. You don’t visit there intentionally.

He indicates that these stories are subject to debates and each institution taking its own space, and the most prevalent dispute belongs to places of training for Kūkai, such as explained in one interview:

Participant: The Geopark doesn't have anything to do with it. But the Henro trail going up to temple 24 does. There are...actually 3 theories stories about where Kūkai actually did religious training. The first in the Mikurado cave, the other is the Fufuiwa going up to temple 26, and the last is that place [the grotto built overnight]. What I heard is that the theory changed from one place to the other as time went by.

Interviewer: So even today some of these folk sites are in dispute.

Participant: I should be quiet about that.

Interviewer: This is important to what narrative does.
Participant: I would say there are still different theories, and different people believe in different theories, but the most dominant one is that he did the training at Mikurado cave. Not really Mikurado cave, but the one next to it.

It can be seen from this discussion that narratives are not static. That even today they are in dispute and that various groups have their own interests. Groups that have the best of intentions and attempt to be as objective as possible, even that attempt objectivity, relate to the position that groups like the Tourist and the Scientist have chosen to take. The Tourist and the Scientist are members of the Reconstructionist cultural group because they position themselves through a shared objective view. This objectivity and pragmatism results in less sentimental attachment to places of heritage and a movement towards rebuilding the area. This objectivity and pragmatism ties the cultural group together, and when faced with the imminent threat of depopulation they chose the practical solution, which is economic development over preservation.

Ambivalent

The Ambivalent group, the cultural group that does not concern itself with the social or political aspects of Muroto, is the easiest to distinguish. These narratives correlate with the Outsiders. They either do not have access to the cultural capital to position themselves, or they are completely unaware. This results in these narrators not having any personal stake in Muroto, so they may not believe that modernization will impact Muroto, but they do acknowledge the reality that these places are dynamic and may be subject to drastic change.

The most dramatic example of the ambivalent narrator is from a visiting tour guide in the interview pool:

Interviewer: Tell me your experience with the seven mysteries.
Participant: Nothing… And this year, -- though this is not included in the seven mysteries – they say that if you go on the henro circuit backward on a leap year, you can see Kōbō Daishi somewhere on your way. So …

It is an extension of the unaware aspects of this outsider that shows the detachment. When the subject is asked to address a moral or ethical position, they negotiate that position with ambivalence to the question.

**Outsiders**

The local identity that crafts this cultural group is the Outsiders. As a participant that was unaware of the Seven Mysteries, a young Japanese woman, the answers to the questions were very simple to record:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewer: Can you tell me the story about:</th>
<th>Participant:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bell Stone?</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kūkai’s Bathing Pond (Kobo Daishi’s bath)?</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inedible taros (Kobo Daishi's potatoes)?</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The grotto built overnight (Kobo Daishi's Grove)?</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twisted rock (Kobo Daishi's mother's rest)?</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye-salve pond?</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus stone?</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These narrators had no knowledge of the Seven Mysteries nor did they really know anything about Kūkai. This classification is really important because it shows a consistency in the narrator’s demographics. The most interesting thing about the unaware participants was that it was made up of Japanese youth. Of the nine interviews only two did not know any of the Seven Mysteries, and they were both from Japan's younger generation, under the age of thirty. It is also
referred to by other interviews that the youth of Japan do not seem to concern themselves with the stories. This may have to do with a change in the meaning of pilgrimage, as described in one interview:

The way I feel is the youth these days here in Japan who are interested in Henro pilgrimage are not so much into trying to find that Japanese way of life or anything but while they are trying to see inside themselves. It is more like self-exploration. It doesn't have to be Japanese. Maybe they are attracted to the pilgrimage now because it is more universal. People all over the world are coming to explore inside themselves, and we are doing the same thing, together. It is not like we are Japanese and we are trying to find a Japanese way of thinking.

This is part of a generational divide that began during the Lost Decade—a drastic social change started by the collapse of the Japanese economy starting in the 90's. The aging population and split in public memory created an entire generation that does not possess, nor do they seem to care about, the narratives. These individuals are nearly 30 years old, yet their lack of cultural contribution has been worrisome. As stated by Smith and Beardsley, "In other words, young Japanese lack a sense of purpose" (2004), and reiterated in a UN report:

The high unemployment rate among the younger generation is an important issue among OECD countries, but it was not given serious consideration in Japan until very recently. However, this fact does not necessarily indicate a lower rate of unemployment among Japanese youth. Rather, the unemployment rate of Japanese young people is relatively high, almost as high as that of the elderly. On the contrary, it is due to the fact that the high unemployment rate among elderly receives more attention, not because people are disinterested in the high youth unemployment rate but because elderly unemployment issues are discussed in the context of public pension
schemes. In 1999, the average unemployment rate was 4.7%, which is the highest annual unemployment rate since the war. Among age groups, the highest unemployment rate was 15.1% for males between the ages of 15 and 19, followed by 10.2% for those between the ages of 60 and 64 (2000).

It would be thought that Outsiders would have some investment to make them concerned with preserving the local area, but these individuals are often those who work or live in the periphery of Muroto, in cities like Kochi. They have acquired knowledge of the local stories through work or other channels but due to their infrequent attendance at Muroto they never assimilated the larger context in which the stories have meaning. These subjects were identifiable by their lack of narrative nuance. Their stories took on a single voice, as if being read from a brochure. The most likely cause of this is the dominance of the Geopark as the narrative source for outsiders. They attempt to pass on the stories, but as the sole voice those whom are outsiders are guided by that single narrative. Allowing the stories to only be passed on by the one dominate institution leads the stories to take on the apparent single voice. Looking at an Outsiders retelling of the bell stone story:

Interviewer: So what can you tell me about the Bell Stone?
Participant: Bell Stone? The one sitting at the temple, right? I heard about that. If you tap it, it gives metallic sound, Kang Kang. So… yeah, I have heard about that. At a temple called Hotsumisaki.

It is clear that this participant knows the story, but in context they do not possess the breadth of details that the Reconstructionists possess. Outsider status results in this cultural group being unconcerned with the social and political aspect of Muroto. Some may have interest in the narratives, but their positions as outsiders limit their interest in the happenings of the locality.
**Preservationist**

The Preservationist is a group that wants to maintain the local stories, heritage, and culture as they perceive it today. One counterintuitive aspect is the acceptance of commercial ventures in the area because their town is likely to be drastically changed by incoming tourism and foreign business. It would make sense that this group would feel threatened by outside influences interrupting the progress of restoring their local culture. It ends up being that this is not true. The locals are often accepting of outside businesses but they do not want that business if it will ultimately destroy everything that makes Muroto unique. It is the ownership of the local narratives that ties this cultural group together. They have lived in this area for years and realize that depopulation is occurring. In the story provided by the foreigner in the interview pool the desire to rebuild Muroto is present but not at the cost of the local heritage:

Interviewer: If they start building a bunch of hotels for tourists?

Participant: That would...I don't know...It would kind of spoil it I guess, but at the same time...well I don't think they shouldn't build, well it depends where you build...definitely not down on the Cape because that would ruin the atmosphere then you would have a lot of busses. The thing that give Muroto its funniki, its atmosphere. I'm getting my words mixed up.

Interviewer: It’s okay, use Japanese words if necessary.

Participant: Is the fact that it is just so wild and unspoiled in many ways, and of course it has concrete footpaths but it is the road less trodden. There is a couple of hotels out there but I don't really think there needs any more. If they wanted to do that they should be closer to a town, or there's lots of closed down schools go for that.
Interviewer: Is there anything you want to add? In general, on Muroto, the 7 mysteries, people coming.

Participant: People coming...or yeah, I don't know just the thought of lots of people coming to Muroto I don't know kind of reminds me of my recent experiences to going to Kyoto and it was filled with Chinese tourists and I not happy sometimes, because they were rude and like no respect for...not so much they were Chinese and they were here, more that they were selfish and had no respect for what they were seeing, what they were experience. The thought of that happening here it's kind of like...I don't know I have lived here close to three years so I am very attached to the people and the nature and having people coming and not having the respect or fully appreciate what I have actual come to quite love is a little sad to me.

This story exposes the motivations for the various individuals to participate in the narratives. The local narrative identities that compose this group are the Insiders—the extreme in terms of identities, but it is the extreme nature of their affiliation that makes them emotionally invested in the place. The insiders have history and it would be presumed that they would have emotional attachments.

Insider

The insider positional theme is one of the strongest. The insiders are participants who showed connections to both the narrative and the cultural assets that accompany belonging. This makes sense when you consider that the majority of the people interview lived in or near Cape Muroto and have a personal connection to the land. During one of the interviews, when asked how he learned of the Seven Mysteries, he replied,
I didn’t learn them intentionally. I didn’t study intentionally to know them. Through living in Muroto, I naturally acquired the knowledge. That’s another mysterious thing. I don’t remember who taught me the stories and when. When I realized, I already knew them.

This type of language is indicative of the insider voice because the insider voice is personally related to the narrative, with them also having a strong social integration with the place. In the story above it is clear that the individual has lived in Muroto of a long time, so long that they did not merely learn the stories but have fully assimilated them into their identity. This theme shows that the subject has ownership of the narratives, and creates shared meaning in the narrative between them and place. These are important aspects of insider/outsider identity construction—who the stories are for, and who the stories belong to—they create the space where the shared memory belongs. It is very important that even though an insider/outsider taxonomy is being used, these categories are in actuality very dynamic and exist as more of a polarity than a dichotomy. It then becomes the subject’s job to either share the story, to propagate the shared memory and add individuals to the culture space in which they belong thus assimilating them; or to withhold the story and deny entry to the cultural assets, making that individual an outsider.

The interviews unveiled distinct traits that the subjects brought with them. It maps out the interactions between people, places, institutions, and stories that create an epic figure like Kōbō Daishi from the multiple dynamic local stories. The Insiders group defines the Preservationists. Their ownership of the narratives is the important part of their group values that has them hold to this position. It is of interest that insider/outsider position had significant bearing on whether the cultural group valued preservation or reconstruction. It was the ownership of heritage that the local identity holds that determined which direction they emphasized when dealing with the
existential crisis. The data from participant observation revealed interactions that contributed to shared values.

**Participant Observation**

To answer my research questions, I cannot stop there, because the semi-structured interviews only reveal the position of the individual. The main goal is seeking the interactions in the experiences and their impact on the culture that is ultimately responsible for the creation of an epic figure like Kōbō Daishi. The participant observation allows for deeper understandings into the culture than the inquiries on narrative because of the structure of interview questions. The narrative questions all relate to obtaining the stories from the participants, the sociological questions begin to provide context, but they will only come into focus once the study combines them with the participant observer experience.

In the nearly 20 hours of participant observation field study that culminated in both photographic data and a collection of field notes, I observed the Cape Muroto Geopark walking course, several temples, and many sites of cultural value. I first started at the Geopark walking course. I undertook this walking expedition first mostly because of convenience. It may be a rudimentary reason, but once I immersed myself with other pilgrims it was very clear that this is more often than not the reason for an interaction with one of the mysteries. Many of the travelers come by bus, and those busses cannot travel on the 1200-year-old mountain path. This leaves mysteries like Kūkai's mother's rest as a rarely visited site. The Muroto walking course passes by 3 of the 7 mysteries: the eye salve pond, the Gyojo-Seki, and Kōbō Daishi's bath. All seven are conveniently located with ample parking and a visitor’s center. They are also the sites associated with the geologic activity of Muroto, at least the ones not already in possession of another institution.
Countering the Geopark's walking course is the Henro Trail, the path taken by walking pilgrims on the Shikoku Pilgrimage, a 750-mile trail around the island of Shikoku to visit 88 temples associated with Kōbō Daishi. This path passes through the mountains on the way to temple 24. This path by-passes the tip of Muroto where visitors would find many of the Seven Mysteries. This creates the first two narrative interactions—the desires of the institution from temple 24 and the will of the Geopark. The Geopark would obviously like individuals to travel to the tip, while the narrative of temple 24 suggests a preference to the traditional mountain trail.

These narrative and counter-narrative components exist in the land itself. The Buddhist institution was once the central power of the area, now as the institution’s power is waning during the prolonged recession which has caused the Buddhist temples to compete/cooperate with the tourism industries. They can no longer dictate terms and must now market themselves just like the Geopark. The Geopark and other local industries are catering to the bus tour groups on their way up to temple 24, and by advertising and retelling the stories of Kōbō Daishi they are nearly guaranteeing themselves a voice in the narrative. At the same time the Geopark, as a quasi-national park, has a scientific agenda so by rhetorically possessing the space around the stories of Kōbō Daishi they can sympathetically transmit their narrative about the value of the Geopark, while acting as an agent for Kōbō Daishi's legend. In the US, religious institutions would not likely appreciate a park association secularizing their figures, whether this is true to those in Muroto is something nearly impossible to tell. The Japanese have a reputation of masterfully avoiding any question that would require them to pass judgment. (De Mente, 1994).

There are many signs though that Temple 24 has made concessions to the tourist aspects of the area. At temple 24, the layout of the roads to the temple have been oriented to direct visitors that arrive by bus and car to match the aesthetic of those that arrive by foot (See Figure
1). The traditional walking path for pilgrims takes them up the mountain on a path just past Mikurado. They would climb the mountain, pass through the Daimon (main Buddha gate), and then be facing the various temple buildings head on looking North. The issue is by car the road approaches the temple from the North. So, a separate path has been constructed that replicates the experience of entering the temple by foot. So the temple layout and narrative are presented in such a manner to allude to the value of the walking pilgrims, but in practice the landscape is shaped to present a whole different tale. This reorientation is to replicate an experience, a somatic story—the narrative about the Arukihenro (walking pilgrim) and the values of *shugyō* (Spiritual Training) associated with that narrative. The spatial orientation recognizes that the institution understands the values of its past, but it still must adapt to the changing environment and needs of the visitors.

Figure 1 - Temple 24 approaches
There is another story being told that shows how ignoring the other-than-human (e.g. the environment) could be foolish and result in an observer missing a vital component to the narrative. Over the last fifty years the area around the tip of Cape Muroto has had significant investments by the prefecture to geoengineer the mountainside to prevent rockslides—making the area safer for cars. These geoengineering projects happened alongside a long history of stories warning everyone; women, men, goddesses, gods, and demons alike, to prevent harm to the mountains for they are the homes to the ancient ancestral gods. Whether you agree with the power of the divine may not be important in this case, because one thing is undeniable and that is that the Japanese people are dependent on the mountains. If the mountainside collapses it is a disaster; if the tree, water, or ecology of the mountain is harmed it harms the people around them. The mountains and the people of Japan are interconnected.

One example of the mountains as narrator involves the eye salve pond. The legend goes that the water level is constant, and that it will never dry up regardless of the weather. If it ever does a great calamity will befall the area. In recent times the pond has nearly dried up during the summers. The geoengineering projects coupled with climate change have drastically altered the natural rhythms of the area. Roads built to make travel easier have changed the flow of streams and mountain run off. The mountain itself is telling a warning tale of ecological disaster.

This story is one that has captured the minds of the post-Lost Decade children. If asked about nature or global climate change those are narratives that they are deeply connected to, but stories about Kūkai are, "I remember having him on a test in high school." These youths are still interacting with the pilgrimage and the places associated with Kūkai, so the land has a quality that attracts individuals from every walk of life. A new set of stories is beginning to emerge from the footsteps of Kūkai. The youth did not know Kūkai, but were told stories of having clean air
and enjoying some place quiet without the noise of the city. These were the same forces that
drew Kūkai to Shikoku. The place is now telling a new tale—one that is not connected to a man,
but returns the story to the land that is said to have taught Kūkai himself.

The power of the place is the thread that connects the narratives together. It is in place
that the locals create an identity for themselves. It is through the sea, sky, and mountains that
pilgrims who walk around Muroto are assimilated into that public memory. The people, with all
of their various ways to interpret Muroto and the stories around it, are connected to those stories
situated in place. This embodied experience of place becomes part of the people who visit
Muroto—a somatic identity shared with the man Kōbō Daishi was/is. The narrative is present,
immanent, and embedded changing with time just like all of us. Knowing about Kōbō Daishi
may be less important to the master narrative than the place that created the mythic figure in the
first place.
CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION

The present study contributes much to our understanding of the narrative construction of Muroto's culture. The most interesting facet was the impact of the generational divide. The impact of the Lost Decade on the narrative field produced a very stark contrast with wildly different worldviews. The older generation had a hierarchical view with veneration and heritage holding a high place of value. The younger generation seems to value experience as the primary mode of understanding. This reflects a drastic value change away from Japan's Neo-Confucian past to the more globalized empirical view. This explains why the current generation has little regard for veneration, but easily grasps the value of the land. The impact that the decay of the Neo-Confucian system has had does not change the impact that place has on changing the local culture. The younger generation did not know the stories of Kūkai, but they did understand the value of the place they stood.

Another interesting finding was that the counter-narratives did not reflect a conflict between the interest of the various social groups. The stories conflicted but the actual dispute was not about which of the stories was authentic. This means that the Geopark can tell their version of the Seven Mysteries and just up the mountain less than a mile away the Temple can tell a different story without animosity toward the Geopark. The stories are accepted because on a personal journey that seeks the truth inside, the stories outside are merely guides to discovery. The animosity may also be hidden because of the interdependent nature of this area. The people of Muroto know that they cannot survive as an institution alone. Muroto is a harsh place with few people. Maintaining a strong local culture is the only way to survive.

A powerful mechanism for maintaining a strong local culture is public memory. The public memory that percolates the area of Muroto is a manifestation of the place’s power. The
power of place has an appeal in and of itself, whether those influences are religious or rhetorical, they are an imminent part of the life of the people. Even when individuals do not know the stories, they have a deep and embodied appeal. This appeal is one way that the place is in conversation with the people at Muroto.

Another way public memory engages with the people at Muroto is through personal experiences, like my personal experiences falling from the cliffs at Muroto. These shared experiences are sympathetically understood by nearly every pilgrim, connecting each participant together. Participating with the space is a transformative experience that brings the participants into conversation with the places of power and by extension the public memory. Institutions like the Geopark and UNESCO are attempting to connect to this somatic and emplaced memory by signage and tours. Connecting the present experiences of the pilgrims, tourists, and residents with the people of the past—each person becoming part of a 1200-year history of experiences, assimilating them into a new identity.

The data shows that each of the assimilated identities overlap. This is a reflection of Japan's holographic culture. The people are all interdependent so the identities reflect these overlaps and interconnections. It only seems to be after the Lost Decade that this system of interdependency has collapsed. This created a group who was unaware of the narratives, lacked access to the local assets, and were left ambivalent to the ultimate fate of the community. This could be a mirror to the fact that with such a generational divide, priorities are merely a reflection of youth. A group that has not yet had, the need to question their identities or what would happen if their communities’ life style totally changed, but it does reflect a stagnation in the culture
A final object of interest was the impact of the other-than-human in the narratives. The land itself was an important informant that allowed the narrative to be focused. If the participant observation was not conducted, many of the counter-narratives between the identities and the social groups would not have shown the interdependent qualities that were eventually revealed in the landscape. The subjects sometimes presented their narratives attempting to answer the questions asked with answers they thought I wanted to hear, but the land itself ultimately affirmed or denied some of these positions.
CHAPTER 6 – LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE STUDY

This study was not without limitations. First, only nine participants were interviewed. Future research should elicit additional participants in order to explore these dynamics in greater depth. While these effects were minimized by combining interviews with participant observation the lack of participants remains a limitation. Second, time was the ultimate limiting factor, which limited both the scale of the observations and the scope of the research questions. The research questions were too expansive to answer in the timespan with the thoroughness expected at the start. Future study will strengthen the results and further reveal the answers to the research questions.

To improve the limited sample, utilizing multiple interviewers who could collect stories in Japanese and English would help to increase the number of participants in future studies. Even though the area is not very large, the mountain makes travel time-consuming. The addition of even one other interviewer could improve the number of subjects in the pool by more than 100%. In addition to the limited number of interviewers, the limitations on the study that required individuals be able to provide an English response made gathering subject data very difficult and time-consuming. The collected interviews in Japanese could be transcribed and translated, following standard two translator reliability methods, then analyzed by non-Japanese speaking research members. This move to a multicultural research team would allow the data collection to happen far more efficiently with internal checks and balances.

An added benefit of a cross-cultural approach to data collection and analysis would be the additional perspectives this approach would generate. There is no way for a study of this nature to be wholly objective, if that position is possible in any study. Adding additional members would provide a wide range of perspectives. The interviewers could potentially be native
Japanese scholars. It would also allow for increased involvement by other non-Japanese research members because the study relies on an East-West dialogue of participant observer data, and more experiences would increase the number of worldviews interpreting the narratives.

The other limitation was purely time. Limitations caused by the realities of foreign travel and academic scheduling left only five days of fieldwork in this study. I have been to Muroto two other times and have substantial background knowledge on Shikoku, the Shikoku Pilgrimage, and all the material required to interpret the interviews, but when it came to recruitment and sampling there was very little time to allow for modification to the study. Time would have also allowed me to visit other interesting places such as Temple 26 and the Saba Daishi and have further experiences expanding the participant observations that may add depth and richness to the data.

Time also played a factor in the ability to fully answer the research question. More time would have allowed for more data to be collected. This would have assisted in fully answering the research questions. The research questions were much more expansive than anticipated during the design stage. They cover a wide range of experiences and affects that in practicality was beyond the limited focus of this study. Future studies on Shikoku, as well as the increased involvement of a diverse research team, will help alleviate this problem. This study did unveil many of the facets of Muroto’s narrative construction of Kōbō Daishi, and uncover the narrative contributions to local identities.
CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSION

Results of this study show that the identities constructed, and how those constructions come about by Japanese social organizations and worldviews, are based on a Neo-Confucian structure—defining each person with a role in society. These roles extend to the individual local narratives forcing individuals to act cooperatively even when in tension. This co-dependence preserves and propagates the stories of Kōbō Daishi. It is only in the current generation, who have separated and formed a new empirical identity, that no longer associate the places with Kōbō Daishi. They are drawn to the place by a narrative that predates him, the awe inspired by the narrative is more deeply connected to the landscape itself, the story of nature that maintains and continues the public memory held in the land.

The local narratives create an identity for the Japanese people by reinforcing a clear set of obligations, such as filial piety and generosity. The myth of Kōbō Daishi is just one way those obligations are negotiated between the people. In keeping Kōbō Daishi in the public memory the everyday actions required of the people are embedded into the lands so all actions in the area are therefore an expression of Kōbō Daishi. So, even when the new generations are unaware of Kōbō Daishi the interdependent nature of the place requires that the moral and ethical requirements that he represents are still embodied by the youth. The stories, then, become part of the place and the people. It becomes less about the words and more about the worlds.

The people, places, institutions, and stories interact to create an epic figure like Kōbō Daishi in those worlds. Kūkai died nearly 1100 years ago, and is institutionally only important to Shingon Buddhism. Muroto City is a small town of approximately 16,000 people with very little in terms of infrastructure to offer visitors. Yet nearly 30,000 people visit this place every year. It is the relationship that Kūkai had with the land that transformed him from an easily forgettable
wandering monk to a person who has had one of the largest impacts on Japanese culture. His name may be forgotten from the deeds he performs but the impact of his contributions to art, engineering, and education has made places like Shikoku not only a religious place of pilgrimage but a place that people of all faiths, from all over the world come to visit. They come to understand the lesson that the sea and the sky taught Kūkai and to learn from the land. The narratives related by the people of Muroto reflect a story that is much larger than a phenomenal historical and mythic figure, they retell a message of a social relationship to the memories held in place.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A – IRB APPROVAL

IOWA STATE UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Date: 2/23/2016
To: Eric Walte
5399 O’Neil Drive
Ames, IA 50010

CC: Dr. Stacy Tye-Williams
Office for Responsible Research
364 Carver Hall
Ames, IA 50010

From: Office for Responsible Research

Title: Narrative Analysis of the Seven Mysteries of kobo-Daishi at Cape Muroto

IRB ID: 16-041

Study Review Date: 2/22/2016

The project referenced above has been declared exempt from the requirements of the human subject protections regulations as described in 45 CFR 60101(b) because it meets the following federal requirements for exemption:

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey or interview procedures with adults or observation of public behavior where

- Information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects cannot be identified directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; or
- Any disclosure of the human subjects’ responses outside the research could not reasonably place the subject at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to their financial standing, employability, or reputation.

The determination of exemption means that:

- You do not need to submit an application for annual continuing review.
- You must carry out the research as described in the IRB application. Review by IRB staff is required prior to implementing modifications that may change the exempt status of the research. In general, review is required for any modifications to the research procedures (e.g., method of data collection, nature or scope of information to be collected, changes in confidentiality measures, etc.), modifications that result in the inclusion of participants from vulnerable populations, and any change that may increase the risk or discomfort to participants. Changes to key personnel must also be approved. The purpose of review is to determine if the project still meets the federal criteria for exemption.
- Non-exempt research is subject to many regulatory requirements that must be addressed prior to implementation of the study. Conducting non-exempt research without IRB review and approval may constitute non-compliance with federal regulations and/or academic misconduct according to ISU policy.
- Detailed information about requirements for submission of modifications can be found on the Exempt Study Modification Form. A Personnel Change Form may be submitted when the only modification involves changes in study staff. If it is determined that exemption is no longer warranted, then an Application for Approval of Research Involving Humans Form will need to be submitted and approved before proceeding with data collection.

Please note that you must submit all research involving human participants for review. Only the IRB or designees may make the determination of exemption, even if you conduct a study in the future that is exactly like this study.

Please be aware that approval from other entities may also be needed. For example, access to data from private records (e.g., student, medical, or employment records, etc.) that are protected by FERPA, HIPAA, or other confidentiality policies requires permission from the holders of those records. Similarly, for research conducted in institutions other than ISU (e.g., schools, other colleges or universities, medical facilities, companies, etc.), investigators must obtain permission from the institution(s) as required by their policies. An IRB determination of exemption in no way implies or guarantees that permission from these other entities will be granted.

Please don’t hesitate to contact us if you have questions or concerns at 515-294-4566 or IRB@astate.edu.
APPENDIX B – THE SEVEN MYSTERIES

Venus Stone (Myōjōseki)

Gabbro found in the Cape Muroto area is a kind of igneous rock. Its local alias has it referred to as the star stone (Myōjōseki). It is said that Kukai was the training while watching the planet Venus, gabbro was named from the fact that it shines like a star shining brilliantly.

When observing the gabbro in the vicinity, you will see the crystals of the mineral. You can see that there is a black grain and white grain.

Bathing Pond

When Kukai was training in the year 792, he is said to bath in the pond, which is formed by circulating water, it looks impressive from the national highway. If you look closely, it is dented rock. Why is this? The dent was carved by the waves when the pond was at the same level as the beach. It was lifted by tectonic uplift of the earth to the much higher position!

Inedible Taro

When Kukai was hungry, he asked the residents that grew potatoes for some, but some said “do not eat they are poison.” Over that Kukai became angry and cursed them, so the legend goes that they cannot be eaten. (Please note Alocasia cannot be eaten!)

In addition to sub-tropical plants group also Alocasia has been designated a natural monument (country). Please try to find other plants!

Twisted Rock

Mother of Kukai, in order to create a place of shelter from the rain, Kukai created the place that is the twisted rock. There is a small opening in the rock that has a depth of a few meters.

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3 As provided by the Muroto UNESCO Global Geopark (2016). http://www.muroto-geo.jp/geomap
**Grotto Built Overnight**

Kōbō Daishi (Kukai) is said to have made the grotto overnight, it can be found at the beginning of the path up to Hotsumisakiji on the pilgrimage road. The Nyoirin Kan'non Buddha was discovered in 1913. In Kochi Prefecture, this image is the only important cultural property that is a stone statue. Subtropical plants such as Alocasia will inhabit the surrounding area.

**Eye Wash Pond**

The Eye Wash Pond is where Kukai used the water to have healed various human eye diseases. There is a legend that the water level is constant, and that it won't dry up in any weather.

(Do not wash your eyes in the Eye Wash Pond!)

**Bell Stone**

The Stone was found by Kukai in the year 807. It is said that when Kukai struck the stone it rang out to the Buddhas in ākāśagarbha (Meido).

On the grounds there are plenty of strange legends, such as the bell stone. Surrounded by precious shrines and temples forest, it is a sacred place. They have been protected by the hand of man, and is also surrounded by valuable plants such those not seen in other attractions!
# APPENDIX C – INTERVIEW PROTOCOL QUESTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Tell me the stories about the Seven Mysteries of Kōbō Daishi?</th>
<th>4. Do you feel that these places are important to your culture?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bell Stone</td>
<td>If yes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukai’s Bathing Pond</td>
<td>What does this do for your culture?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inedible taros</td>
<td>How do these cultural places make you feel?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The grotto built overnight</td>
<td>If no:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twisted rock (Kōbō Daishi’s mother’s rest)</td>
<td>Why isn’t this place important?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye-salve pond</td>
<td>5. What challenges, if any, have you experienced getting here?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus stone (Gyojo Seki)</td>
<td>6. What perceptions do you think society has about these sites?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Talk about your experience with the 7 mysteries.</td>
<td>7. What perceptions do you think society has about Kōbō Daishi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many times have you visited Cape Muroto?</td>
<td>8. Have you received any negative messages about your journey to visit Muroto?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What made you decide to visit the 7 mysteries?</td>
<td>If so, what are they?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you anticipate returning? If so, why? If not, why not?</td>
<td>9. Have you received any positive messages about your journey to visit Muroto?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What activities do you do at:</td>
<td>If so, what are they?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Stone</td>
<td>10. What advice if any would you give others visiting this area?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kukai’s Bathing Pond</td>
<td>11. What do you think about Muroto becoming a UNESCO site?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inedible taros</td>
<td>Do you feel a need to preserve the uniqueness?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The grotto built overnight</td>
<td>Will the addition of new businesses, like hotels, shops, etc. change that?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twisted rock (Kōbō Daishi’s mother’s rest)</td>
<td>12. Is there anything you would like to add?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye-salve pond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venus stone (Gyojo Seki)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do these activities help you connect with others? If so, how? If not, why not?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Are these places important to you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>If yes, please explain.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>If not, why?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX D – STORY CODING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Insider</th>
<th>Outsider</th>
<th>Scientist</th>
<th>Tourist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| In | Narrator frames experiences as a local with direct subjective relations to the artifacts. | "Seems like the stories about something you cannot understand through the ordinary laws of nature… stories of something beyond the ordinary … are always related to Kukai, not just in Muroto but throughout Japan."
| Out | Narrator frames experiences as a local with direct objective relations to the artifacts. | "I was working for the Geopark before and so I had to learn all of those to do that translation. I think you saw the small interpretation signs around and I was the one who translated for those signs so I had to know the stories."
| Sci | Narrator frames experiences as having objective scientific knowledge about the artifacts. | "It is a local name, the scientific name of that stone in Hanleigao its Gabbro in English."
| Trt | Narrator frames experiences as a nonlocal with no direct relations to the artifacts. | "Inedible taro! The story is known throughout Kochi Prefecture, from east to west, so I know."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Res</th>
<th>Reconstructionist</th>
<th>Narrator desires greater awareness of Muroto locally and globally. Their goal is to rebuild the area regardless of possible change.</th>
<th>&quot;I want everyone to come here. The schools I went to are closing one after another. All the schools I went to may close soon and I want to prevent that. For that, we need people to come here.&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amb</td>
<td>Ambivalent</td>
<td>Narrator acknowledges the dynamic nature of culture, but thinks that the qualities of Muroto will stay the same.</td>
<td>&quot;But so, even if more visitors come to Muroto in relation to Kobo-Daishi and the local economy gets better, Muroto’s culture and history is not based on Buddhism only.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre</td>
<td>Preservationist</td>
<td>Narrator thinks that some actions need to be taken to preserve the quality and ecology of Muroto, and preserve the uniqueness of the culture.</td>
<td>How do you feel about the idea of the Henro trail becoming UNESCO world heritage site? ... It’s healing. I think it’s a good thing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>