

Imagining Nagasaki

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Any appreciation of Nagasaki's urban development must of course start with the Armageddon visited upon the city on 9 August 1945. Fifty or so years later the imprint of this horrendous weapon of destruction is still upon Nagasaki, its people and its landscape. This paper concerns the urban geography of Nagasaki as it has changed through time, or simply stated, the historical geography or how man's relationship with the land has changed through time. #

Nagasaki is an excellent subject for this kind of discourse especially because of its history and its connectedness with the world outside, unique in Japan but rather typical of many other Asian cities that came under foreign rule or contact. But how we approach history, even the historical evolution of a city, has much to do with imagination or historical imagination. Much of history is invented and history is constantly being reinvented.¹ Debates in the United States and Japan in 1995 over historical anniversaries commemorating the end of the Pacific War are a case in point.

Actually cities and, indeed communities, like nations can also be imagined.² There have been periods in Nagasaki's history, surely, when the connectedness between city and nation has been tenuous, times also when the nation has reigned dominant over the city. Perhaps it is the right time in Nagasaki's history to ask the question, where have we been and where are we going?

Historical imagination will help here. Rightly there is a palpable shared pride in Nagasaki's history. The cycle of various *matsuri* suggests to this observer that much of Nagasaki's history and culture is organic or alive. It is also intriguing that a close association exists between certain *matsuri* and certain locations. Just as there is an obvious connection between certain *matsuri* and certain communities which go to make up the urban landscape of Nagasaki. Not for nothing that Okunchi festival is centred upon Suwa Jinja, for example.³ Not for nothing that Chinese New Year is celebrated in Shinshi, *O-bon*, obviously, in certain locations, while celebrations for peace are held in Heiwa-koen and so on. There are ob-

viously many other associations between place and festival in Nagasaki even at the neighbourhood level.

But the point is that, incredibly, over long time – even 400 years – Nagasaki has been made and remade in people’s imaginations. By this is meant that some things are remembered and some are forgotten. Historians are always selective as well.

Only geography is a constant, although even that needs qualification from an environmentalist viewpoint. In any case, the striking deep-cut harbour and green hills of Nagasaki would still be recognizable to early navigators. The same cannot be said about many other port cities of the world; New York, Sydney, or Hong Kong.

In looking at early maps of Nagasaki – the reproduction of a Japanese drawn map of Nagasaki dating from the final years when the Portuguese still traded here is a case in point – one is struck by the sense of continuity or familiarity evoked by these reproductions, especially the urban landscape of the city aside the Nakajima river. On such maps [see Map A] we can approximately locate many familiar toponyms, such as Suwa Jinja and Matsu no Mori. Yet, in the decades prior to the founding of Suwa Jinja (1634) – still the central dominating religious cultural architectural symbol in Nagasaki – the cultural symbols or, rather, iconography, was very different.

The townscape of Nagasaki during the time of the Portuguese tenure has been described, albeit at secondhand, by Engelbert Kaempfer writing in his *History of Japan* in 1727. Kaempfer, who arrived in Nagasaki in 1690, was thus well positioned to look back upon Nagasaki when the Portuguese enjoyed virtual extraterritoriality:

“which place was then already grown up to a considerable village, consisting of about twenty-three streets, which now make up that part of the town, called Utsimat (uchi-machi), or the inner town, and containing in all twenty-six streets. In this condition it was delivered up by the said Prince [of Omura] into the protection of the Portuguese, both for carrying out trade, and for propagating the gospel”⁴

Just decades earlier, the cultural topography of Nagasaki was defined by its churches. Incredibly, Nagasaki was known as little Rome. Its *matsuri* resembled the kinds of exaggerated professions of Catholic religious faith that survive in the Philippines today. The

dominating architectural symbol-edifice of the time was undoubtedly Todas os Santos (All Saints) along with a dozen other churches including a hospital called Misericordia. The cost of the major churches in Nagasaki was as much as 3000 cruzados, or many kilograms of silver, a fabulous sum, mostly raised by alms from the people of the city. Even a village church cost between 10 – 30 cruzados, with those in major towns worth 500 – 1000 cruzados. As the Bishop of Nagasaki, D. Luis Cerquiera, lamented in a missive to his superiors dated 12 January 1603, like Japanese buildings of the time, all were constructed of wood and easily destroyed by “fires, persecutions and wars”.⁵ The impermanence of Japanese architectural forms of course was – and is – a fact of life and of course departs from European military and ecclesiastical traditions, where permanence signalled both temporal and spiritual power. And so Japanese visitors to Macau today stand in awe at the enduring stone facade of the near contemporaneous Madre de Dios or St. Pauls church built by Japanese Christian exiles which in turn lies in the shadows of the massive seventeenth century Monte Fort, embodying the kind of military technology and architecture that to varying degrees was incorporated in Japan.⁶

Todas os Santos/All Saints was more than a church, in fact a college (Nagasaki College) where various human sciences including theology, rhetoric, Latin, music, Japanese and Chinese literature, and science, were taught over a number of years to cohorts of over 200 Japanese students. The College itself supported 50 members of the Company of Jesus including the bishop. Among its illustrious alumni in 1590–93 was João Rodriquez or Rodriquez-tsuji author, inter alia, of the first grammar of Japanese grammar published in a European language. This was *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam* printed at the Nagasaki College press in 1604⁷ The college was Nagasaki’s first university of sorts, or at least it can be seen that way. But in fact, it is not seen this way in spite of this astonishing legacy. In this context it is interesting to note that Nagasaki University, or at least the Medical School, traces its birthday back to the Shogunate-sanctioned *Igaku Denshu-sho* founded on 12 November 1857 by Dr. J.L.C. Pompe van Meerdervoort, a Dutch navy doctor.

The point is that the historical break between the *bakafu* and contemporary historical memory surrounding the Portuguese/Catholic legacy is complete, unless it survives in exclusively Catholic church circles. All this legacy of course was destroyed in line with anti-Christian edicts. In any case, with the full implementation of the Bakafu’s exclusion edicts by 1634, the All Saints site was erased and assumed by Shuntoku-ji, the present tenant. All that remains of the earlier legacy is the stone well inside the grounds of Shuntoku-ji,

possibly the only physical relic of the Portuguese presence in Nagasaki. But, as mentioned, unlike in Goa or Malacca or Macau, the European missionaries did not build with stone in the Japanese style. Neither for that matter did the Portuguese leave behind fortifications in Nagasaki as they did in every other trading port they dominated. Although, if we think about it, it is tempting to believe that the Portuguese traders chose the site of Nagasaki with defense considerations in mind.

Only with the greatest imagination and with some erudite knowledge can one trace the spatial dimensions of the Catholic city of Nagasaki. Not a single toponym remains or is used. Santos-*dori* in the old Catholic centre of Urakami obliterated by the Atomic bomb is particularly evocative but somehow not connected with the former Portugalized historical centre. Thanks to the City Hall people who have placed markers on these ancient sites we can with some effort identify Todas os Santos, São Francisco, São Domingos, Yama no Santa Maria, São Augustin, the Misericórdia/hospital, sited near Fukusai-*ji*, among others.

Now, it seems that even Nagasaki-*ben* has lost its rich vocabulary of Latin borrowings. Nagasaki's famed *castella* is a charming artifact – practically unrecognized to modern Portuguese by name or by taste – but somehow does not seem to compensate for a major ellipse in cultural history. This is not to suggest a Portuguese theme park, although that might be a good idea, but to offer that some sense of historical evocation of this utterly lost history outside of the world of obscure books, and amateur historians, might be a good idea, even from a tourist perspective. To place this in perspective, it is noteworthy that the City of Macau has chosen to name a street after Nagasaki (Rua da Nagasaki), albeit on reclaimed land.

Not so for Holland, however. Huis Ten Bosch and Oranda-mura appear as monumentally over-generous salutations and celebrations to the bourgeois traders of Amsterdam. But in any case, these theme parks, if that is the word, lie outside the city. But still these recreations have captured popular imagination. And so like many historical cities, Nagasaki trades on its past or at least a reimagined past.

For Nagasaki's urban planners and for those who think imaginatively, the question of Dejima or at least the restoration or reconstruction of this historical site raises itself. Historical restoration is a big subject and of course Nagasaki is not unique in this sense. But Dejima presents itself less as an act of restoration – in fact almost nothing original remains – but

again, an act of historical imagination.

To complicate matters, Dejima of course shared two tenants, Portuguese for the first four years and Dutch for the rest of its life as trading post cum prison. But unlike the old Catholic city of Nagasaki, as described above, Dejima survives as identifiable space, as a jumble of buildings and museums, as a quarter of modern Nagasaki and even as a tramcar stop. Alas there is no tramcar stop to *Todas Os Santos*, unless the city creates one.

One local act of creativity in this sense was the decision to replace – in part at least – *Shin Daiku-machi*, a very old toponym with the name *Sieboldt-dori*, after the celebrated German physician of that name linked with his pioneering hospital at *Narutaki*. No doubt the celebration of *Sieboldt* panders to the modern Japanese imagination as much tourism, and this is understandable in a city where tourism plays a vital economic role, but this precinct could justifiably also be named *Luis d'Almeida-dori* after a much earlier pioneer of medicine, also associated with this place. In fact *d'Almeida's* name was remembered in 1968, for those who make the detour, in the form of a wall plaque bearing the words in Portuguese “*Luis de Almeida, Médico e Missionário O primeiro Português que chegou a Nagasaki, 1567*” . But it is the city of *Oita* that has celebrated this pioneer by naming its leading hospital after him. Equally suggestive would be *Rodrigues-koen* for the reasons mentioned above. Or, the area could as well be named *Shin Daiku-machi* without its “international” connotation. Alternatively, to invoke the debate over the 500th anniversary of the Columbian revolution, the *bakufu's* defense against the Iberian threat – practically unique in world history – could actually be celebrated. History is very malleable.

But *Dejima* is also of interest as, possibly, the first exercise in sea reclamation in Japan or even in the Far East, followed of course by *Shinchi* – about more of which later. In fact, it is not hard to see why Nagasaki has been obliged to reclaim land. Space is at a premium and the historical trend has been to reclaim. I have been asked for advice, or at least, to offer opinions. One trusts that Nagasaki will not follow the lead of Hong Kong and fill in its harbour. One hopes Nagasaki will not follow the lead of Macau and, indeed, Malacca in Malaysia, in selling off reclaimed waterfront to private developers. But there is no major evidence of that in any case and Nagasaki people obviously know what is public space.

The restoration or revival of *Dejima* is of course a project requiring great vision. Yet, because of *Dejima's* unique conception, there are probably no models here. But because of

its hybrid Western-Japanese conception, its reconstitution or renovation might also draw upon some kind of Western, meaning Dutch collaboration. To take another example from Asia, the old Dutch State-House of Malacca in Malaysia was successfully renovated with Dutch support, possibly also the Dutch East India Company warehouses of the old Jakarta/Batavia port area in Indonesia, although a typical case of too little too late. But, again, in Dejima, the problem is not simply one of renovation but of re-imagining the tremendous historical importance of this foreign window on Japan (not just Nagasaki) and filter through which Japan (not just Nagasaki) gained insights into Dutch learning and so on.

But for all its importance to Japan, the VOC bequeathed next to nothing in Nagasaki in terms of architectural impact. While the present-day Oranda-zaka certainly evokes this age, the real Oranda-zaka associated with the Company's warehouses must be that of Hirado, another story. The Nagasaki Oranda-zaka is thus a charming if somewhat misplaced toponym, but understandable considering that not so long ago all foreigners in Nagasaki were glossed as *Oranda-jin*. From a foreign consular record of 31 December 1883, it is interesting to note the diversity of the foreign residents of Nagasaki, in terms of nationality. They included, 4 Portuguese, 95 British, 62 French, 19 Austro-Hungarian, 35 American, 6 Swedish, 2 Norwegian, 7 Italian, 4 Russian, 17 German, 3 Swiss, 1 Belgian, 9 Danish and only 5 Dutch.⁸ But, as discussed below, the special case of the Chinese aside, it would be the British, numerically greatest among the Western community in the early Meiji period, who, arguably, bestowed the greatest architectural legacy upon Nagasaki.

In fact, it was into this late nineteenth century milieu that Pierre Loti stepped. Fresh from the French naval onslaught of Vietnam, this story teller, confabulist, and Orientalist extraordinaire viewed Nagasaki from the deck of a French gunboat thus:

“When Nagasaki rose before us, the sight that greeted our eyes was disappointing; situated at the foot of green overhanging mountains, it looked like any other commonplace town. In front of it lay a tangled mass of vessels, carrying all the flags of the world; steamboats just as in any other port, with dark funnels and black smoke, and behind them quays covered with factories: nothing in fact was wanting in the way of ordinary, trivia, everyday objects.

Some day, when man shall have made all things alike, the earth will be a dull, tedious dwelling-place, and we shall have even to give up travelling and seeking for a change which shall no longer be found”.⁹

We know, however, that Loti was not disappointed, in fact his *Madame Chrysanthème* tells another story, which, reworked as a famous opera piece by Puccini, has bequeathed the city's most enduring, if misplaced international image. But the point is that nostalgia, memory, and image of cities are also remade in its literatures. Pierre Loti literally remains on a pedestal in Nagasaki, just as the words of the master of the French Academy continue, albeit with less authority, to shape the intellectual and imaginative territory of those who view Nagasaki—and Japan—from the outside.

So, if the Portuguese legacy or contribution to Nagasaki's historical geography is gone, not even a memory, and the Dutch contribution even more marginal in terms of its impact upon urban space, what remains. There is no question that the various *machi* of Nagasaki developed under the system of *bugyo* and *machi-doshiyori* giving rise to various familiar precincts such as Maruyama-*machi* and Dejima-*machi* and so on. Pretty much one can trace the expansion of these neighbourhood along with various temples and shrines on contemporary wood-block maps. But, one could also trace the rise of other Japanese commercial centres using the same method. Happily, for historians much of the paper record for this kind of urban expansion remains. Also, happily for Nagasaki, the cultural topography of the city has been evocatively captured long before the advent of the camera in the form of pictorial art or *Nagasaki-e*, a reference to the productions of Hariya company from 1750, Toshimaya company, and Yamatoya company, established c1840.¹⁰ But like old Edo or Osaka, how much of this imagery physically remains? Very little.

This is how Kaempfer observed the expansion of the town from its Portugalized beginnings under Omura patronage to an overregulated town under the strict and authoritarian vigilance of the *bugyo*.

...the new establishment soon proved in many respects very advantageous to this town. For the convenient and secure situation of its harbour with several other advantages, invited also the Chinese to come thither with their ships and goods, and the Japanese, allured by the prospect of gain, came to settle there in such numbers, that the old town was not large enough to contain them. Therefore new streets were built and named for the several provinces, towns or boroughs, their first inhabitants came from, as for instance, Bungomatz, Jedomatz, Kabasimamatz, Firandomatz, Omuramatz, Simabaramatz. Besides this there are some other streets called Buntz. Thus Nagasaki, formerly a mean and inconsiderable hamlet, became by degrees a wealthy and populous town, wherein there are now about 87 streets all well inhabited."¹¹

Then, what has endured and what makes Nagasaki's urban landscape distinctive in Japan and Asia? The answer is undoubtedly in the eye of the beholder but for many one of the dominant features of Nagasaki's urban landscape – indeed, the reason many Japanese tourists visit this city – is its stone bridges. Of all the foreign communities that sojourned in Nagasaki over time, there is no question that the Chinese community of Nagasaki was predominant and there is no question in my mind that the architectural legacy of the Chinese presence in Nagasaki is preeminent in public architecture. It has also proven to have been the most enduring architectural form.¹² Besides the bridges, this is a reference to the so-called red temples like *Sofuku-ji*, *Kofuku-ji*, *Fukusai-ji*, and the splendid *Shofunku-ji*, were – lamentably – levelled by the atomic bomb.

But of the 10,000 or so Chinese residing in Nagasaki in the seventeenth century, we should also distinguish between those who mediated trade with Vietnam, Thailand, and those whose links were with Taiwan/Formosa, Amoy/Fujian, Nankin, Ningpo and so on. As well known to Nagasaki residents, the various Chinese or Chinese-inspired temples of Nagasaki that literally ring or encircle the city mostly carry such Chinese regional identities. But it is also the case that the Chinese traders/religious communities and architect builders contributed greatly to Nagasaki's contemporary landscape.

For this late twentieth century sojourner in Nagasaki the single most attractive feature is to walk up and down the Nakajima river criss-crossing the myriad stone bridges that all, in an historic period, linked neighbourhoods with counterpart temples on the hill-side. As the original tourist Kaempfer saw it: "Among the public buildings of Nagasaki, the bridges must not be forgot".¹³

But while the Chinese once had the liberty of the city, the *bugyo* saw to it that they too be confined to a certain precinct. Visitors to Nagasaki could be confused that this site was today's Shinchi or the collection of shops and restaurants selling Chinese-style food in that neighbourhood. Actually this writer is reminded more of the so-called China-town of Yokohama that it does say China-town in New York or Sydney, although unlike New York or Sydney, or even Yokohama, we do not hear much Chinese spoken here. The real China-town, albeit depopulated of its original tenants and missed by most tourists to Nagasaki because it is hardly in the guide-books much less on the maps, is *Kannai-machi* or at least the *Juzen-ji* quarter. This quarter is likewise host to four splendid historical edifices or temples, including *Kannon-do* and *Tenko-do*, albeit reconstructed in Meiji times. Again,

each of these temples celebrates a regional Chinese identity.

This is how the creation of the new Chinese quarter of Nagasaki was seen at the time of its inception by the Dutch, at least from their vantage point on Dejima:

“To the east of Deshima, houses and trees were pulled down, ditches dug and a fence constructed at the old botanical garden belonging to a former *shogun*. This area was designated as the new residence of the Chinese, to be rented for T10,000 or 16,000 a year, apart from the warehouses in town. By September 1689 this place housed already 2500 people, which was detrimental to their health”.¹⁴

The point is that while Nagasaki's urban landscape has shown great continuity over time, innovations were made within the constraints of the confining topography and in reflection of changing economic, social and political conditions.

It is notable that this precinct has been given new life in the celebration of Chinese New Year, a reference to the Chinese New Year celebrations and lantern parade that the city has hosted in this precinct for the past three years. In this the city has creatively re-imagined this neighbourhood and generously revived or rather recreated what must have been a very long but unfortunately lapsed tradition. In any case, the Chinese community in Nagasaki must have been in long decline not only in terms of its commercial strength, but also numerically. Yet, according to consular records for 1883, the Chinese community with 636 persons was listed as the largest among foreigners residing in Nagasaki, albeit with a preponderance of male over female, suggesting some instability.¹⁵

In any case the “redevelopment” of this historical precinct is on the books. But could not this precinct be “rediscovered” as well, by also taking into account its historical value? Obviously even archaeology has its part to play here. But it is no less obvious that the question of land ownership, urban land values, commercial interest and community decision-making, appear paramount, just as they may also be conflicting. But the experience from other cities and experiences suggests to this writer that experiments with new roads in the endeavour to generate more through-traffic and business may be entirely misplaced alongside the longer term benefits of recreating the totally walking-friendly precinct as it must once have been.

Nagasaki's history as an open port has also obviously imprinted itself upon the urban land

scape. Many monuments of that age remain. Some are so monumental that they need no imagining. The Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank building, handsomely restored, obviously speaks of British commercial power commensurate with that age, as does the British consulate buildings. Built of brick and stone they were meant to endure, and they have.

As revealed by faded sepia photographs of the once elegant *Oura bund*, as it was called, these buildings may not have been the most elegant or aesthetic. But, how and why the old Nagasaki Hotel or Belle Vue Hotel along with other period buildings were demolished remains obscure to this writer. In any case, the *Oura bund* and the kind of concept of space it implied, as with its counterparts in Kobe, Yokohama, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, is just about gone. The original concept of the waterfront bund in Asia, is probably that of the *Praya Grande* of Macau – an elegant waterfront boulevard up until about two years ago – although even that is now being demolished through reclamation. The Shanghai bund and its famous skyline remain intact, celebrated, and, in the case of the bund, a highly functional strip of urban leisure space. But all cities have their specificities. Nevertheless, the bund evolved as a kind of interface or leisure area between sea and residence. It is a quintessentially southern European or Mediterranean concept of space transported to Asia, but which also has its place in congested and polluted cities in Asia and elsewhere.

This is not to suggest the mass revival of rickshaws (a Japanese invention), but to remind urban planners of Nagasaki's prime assets, its waterfront precinct, and the way it could be revitalized. There are perhaps some negative and positive lessons to be learnt from the experience of Macau in this. The Macau Maritime Museum perched over the harbour is a splendid success. To take another example from the Asia Pacific, the renovation of the historical harbour or "Rocks" quarter in Sydney, Australia, has been a great success and tourist drawcard.

Yet, it is not my intention to second guess how the city seeks to revive the Higashi-Yamanate precinct. In some respects – the Prussian Consulate might be a case in point – restoration has gone about as far as it could. But to overdo in the way of, say, an escalator or moving walkway up *Oranda-zaka*, would defeat the purpose.

In this sense Glover Park is a highly successful concept, part garden, part museum, and part restoration exercise. It is difficult to fault the tasteful preservation of these historical buildings from the age of Nagasaki as an open port. Dwellers of smaller houses can only

wonder with awe at the huge spatial dimensions of these dwellings. In fact they represent a Western concept of domestic and private space, as it were. This was a kind of segregated living which belonged to a past age, just as the ghetto concept of Higashi-Yamanate replicated through the “Treaty” ports and open cities would not be tolerated today by foreigners or locals alike, whatever the seduction of the idea.

In any case, in many countries the European or tainted colonial heritage has been swept away or allowed to decay completely. I am reminded that only in the last two years has Vietnam taken outside advice to preserve the historical centre of Hanoi from urban redevelopment. Much of this heritage is French colonial architecture. The project is being led by Australian architects.

But again, to this observer, the most attractive parts of Nagasaki are those that are walkable. It is one mark of high civilization in Asia that one can actually walk the streets without falling into holes, gutters etc. The same cannot be said of most Southeast Asia cities, for example, where cars not people are prioritized. To the visitor, it is remarkable that in Nagasaki most small school children walk to school. They are not driven by car. But equally, visitors are apt to express concern at the way that sidewalks are sometimes invaded by cars and especially motorcycles. It may have to come to pass that pedestrians are afforded greater protection from cars by means of barriers. It may come to pass that cars have to be excluded from more and more precincts. Shin daiku-machi is a good example. Like in many other cities across the globe, managing the invasion of cars seems to me to be a major challenge for urban planners in Nagasaki. More roads is not the solution just a symptom of the problem.

Another site or urban space on Nagasaki’s landscape – and one that is integral with Nagasaki’s modern history – is of course Peace Park. The passage of laws in the National Diet in 1949 designated Hiroshima a Peace Memorial City and Nagasaki an International Culture City and both cities have developed large peace parks in their central bombed area. Both parks have various reminders of the world’s first atomic bombings of in the form of statues and monuments. Over time, of course, millions of people from Japan and overseas have visited these parks. And so they should. If, as mentioned, literary images serve both nostalgia and memory then a reading of Takashi Nagai’s *We of Nagasaki: The Story of Survivors in an Atomic Wasteland*, should be mandatory.¹⁶ So, too, the interest of the Shusaku Endo canon has always been contemporary in Japan even where, as in *Silence*, he

addresses a specific historical place and epoch, namely Nagasaki at the time of the persecution.¹⁷

The Nagasaki International Culture City Reconstruction Law of 1949 looked ahead to a city with a population of 200,000 as the region's major cultural and administrative centre with revived trade, shipbuilding and fishing industries and with military industries eliminated. As Nagasaki residents know too well, [see Map B] the disastrous effects of the atomic bombing with its epicentre in Urakami posed massive problems to recovery and reconstruction.¹⁸ But under great adversity this major challenge was met and there is no question that the physical recovery from this event has been the single most defining event in the modern history of Nagasaki as a city and urban landscape. Perhaps only now, fifty years on, the City has the luxury of hindsight to take a longer view of history and urban planning.

As to the challenge of the future, one hopes that city-planners will take the big picture view of Nagasaki's priceless heritage.

Some cities, including Asian cities, have sought UNESCO ratification of certain sites and precincts. Others, like Macau, missed the chance, only to see the rise in real estate values overwhelm the best intentions of conservationists. Others, like Kyoto, appear to want it both ways.¹⁹ Other cities like Singapore in the 1970s have torn down culturally and historically organic neighbourhoods as part of massive social engineering exercises only to – selectively – reverse course on restoration and renovation of the remainder in the 1990s. Too, often, it is economic pragmatism that has prevailed. But, Singapore-style economic pragmatism can also be turned around when the realization is there that heritage also means tourist dollars as well.

While most of this discussion has concerned Nagasaki's heritage, for most of us, what we seek in urban living is good housing and good living environment. This is not just a Nagasaki problem but an all-Japan problem. We wish a clean pollution-free environment. We wish controlled urban development. We like pleasing and creative design. We wish the preservation of public space in the form of good parks and public access areas. In other words we wish good urban planning.

In a word, the challenges for the future in Nagasaki, it seems to this observer, concern a very high consciousness as to environmental control, not just at the household level but in

the overall macro planning level. It would be salutary in this sense if the very fine concept of “peace education” which begins in primary schools in Nagasaki, could be extended to environmental education not only in the schools but right across the community. It is a task for all of us.

Notes

Originally presented as a speech to Nagasaki Urban Design Award Ceremony, 1 March 1996, this version has been expanded and modified for publication. The author is obliged to Mr. Shin Takagi of the Landscape Section, Nagasaki City Office for suggesting the broad theme, while of course the author alone is responsible for all interpretations and opinions.

- [1] Eric Hobsbawn and Terrence Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987.
- [2] A recent attempt at theorizing on this theme can be found in Sallie Westwood and John Williams (eds), *Imagining Cities: Scripts, Signs and Memories*, Routledge, London, 1996.
- [3] John K. Nelson, *A Year in the Life of a Shinto Shrine*, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1996. Reviewed by author in *Journal of Contemporary Asia* [Manila] (forthcoming).
- [4] Engleberto Kaempfero, *The History of Japan (Vol.1)*, Printed for the Translator, London, 1727, p.257.
- [5] Léon Pages, *Histoire de la religion Chretienne au Japon depuis jusqu'a 1651 comprenant les faits relatifs aux deux cent cinq martyrs beatifies le 7 juillet 1867*, Premier Part, Charles Douniel, Libraire-Editeur, Paris, 1869, p.48. The cruzado was then a Portuguese gold coin whose value was fixed in 1517 at 400 reis, also reckoned to be equivalent of one Chinese silver tael or 10 Japanese silver momme.
- [6] See author's, *Encountering Macau: The Rise of a Portuguese City-State on the Periphery of China, 1557-1999*, Westview Press, 1996.
- [7] Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China*, Weatherhill, New York/Tokyo, 1974, pp.64-5.
- [8] Macau archives, Portuguese Consul to Macau, 10 June 1883.
- [9] Pierre Loti, *Japan (Madame Chrysanthème)* (translated from the French by Laura Ensor), Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, nd., p.16.
- [10] C.R. Boxer, *Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600-1817*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1936, pp.66-93.
- [11] *The History of Japan*, p.257.

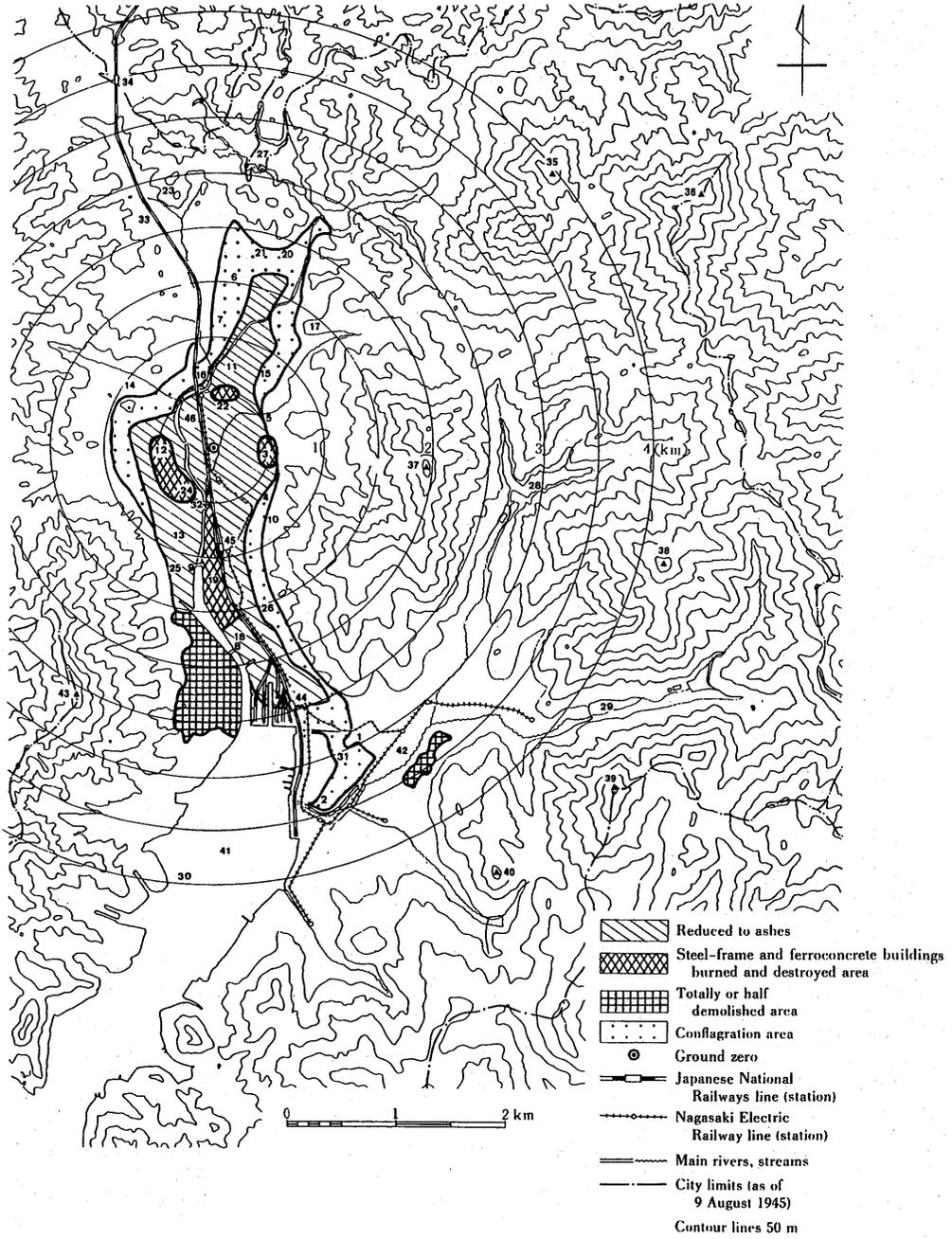
- [12] But perhaps no need to take the permanence of these bridges for granted. The destruction wrought by the floods of 1699 and the Great Nagasaki Flood of 1982 was one thing, but witness the struggle between a citizen's group in Kagoshima in opposition to the relocation of the historical Nishida Bridge in that city. "Razing of ancient bridge yields rare floor design", (Kyodo), *Japan Times*, 29 February 1996.
- [13] *The History of Japan*, p.263.
- [14] *The Deshima Dagregisters: their original table of contents, Vol. 1 (1680-1690)*, Leiden Centre for the History of European Expansion, Leiden. 1986, entry for 1688-69.
- [15] Macau archives, op.cit.
- [16] Takashi Nagai, *We of Nagasaki: The Story of Survivors in an Atomic Wasteland (Genshi Senjo Shinri)*, Victor Gollancz, London, 1951.
- [17] Shusaki Endo, *Silence (Chinmoku)*, Tuttle, Tokyo, 1969.
- [18] *Committee for the Compilation on damage caused by the Atomic Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, The Impact of the A-Bomb: Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 1945-85/Genbaku Saigai: Hiroshima-Nagasaki*, Iwanami Shoten, 1985.
- [19] For example, see Andrew Higgins, "Kyoto buries its past", *Guardian Weekly*, 17 November 1996, p.29.

Map A Nagasaki in 1635



Source: Diego Pacheco, *The Founding of the Port Of Nagasaki*, Centro de Estudos Maritimos de Macau, 1989.

Map B Nagasaki in 1945



Source: "The Impact of the A-Bomb, Hirashima and Nagasaki, 1945-85," Iwanami Shoten, Publishers, 1985.