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Text, Place, and Memory in Hiroshima

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Text, Place, and Memory in Hiroshima

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1. INTRODUCTION

When, finally, on the afternoon of our arrival, I stood on the Acropolis and cast my eyes around on the landscape, a remarkable thought suddenly entered my mind: "So all this really *does* exist, just as we learnt at school!"
—Sigmund Freud, "A Disturbance of Memory on the Acropolis" [Quoted in Smith 1987: 25].

It is not exceptionally tall and has not even curiously formed boulders, but the mountain's appearance is filled with deep melancholy. I could understand why they said it is "hard to be consoled" here. I felt vaguely depressed and, even as I wondered why anyone should have abandoned an old woman, my tears began to fall.
I can see her face -
The old woman, weeping alone,
The moon her companion.
—Matsuo Bashô "On the Moon at Obasute in Sarashina" [1688, quoted in Keene 1971: 121-122].

The above accounts, the first by one of Europe's greatest students of human behavior and the other by one of Japan's greatest travelers, remind us that there are deep relationships among texts, places, and memory in the act of traveling.[1] In any culture, texts define geography within otherwise undifferentiated space. One of the most famous cases in ethnology is that of the Tjilpa of Australia, who define places according to narratives about what their ancestors did there [SMITH 1987: 1-23]. Similarly, without their school books or Nô plays, Freud and Bashô would have had no place to go. The rather non-descript mountain would surely have been ignored by Bashô perhaps on his journey to a place that really was famous. In-

1) The passage from Freud is cited in Smith [1987: 25], that from Bashô is translated in Keene [1971: 121-122].

deed, over time, Japanese literature managed to change the location of the abandoned old woman: Bashô was gazing at the third mountain to be identified with her legend [KEENE 1971: 127]. Behind every famous place, then, there lies an oral or written text; and just as space becomes geography through texts, so does movement become travel.[2]

Furthermore, our two examples indicate that the process of connecting texts with actual places constitutes the central experience of travel.[3] Although Freud's elation differed greatly from Bashô's vague depression, for both men this act of connecting a text and a place was profoundly satisfying. Although different, the depth of both men's emotions should caution us that place has a powerful role in this process of connecting, that significance and meaning do not flow just from text to place when they are connected, but in the reverse direction as well. Were this not the case, it would be difficult to understand why people spend so much time and money going to places they have read about all their lives.[4] Of course, places add to our knowledge of texts, usually through the additional texts that hover around them in pamphlets and the memorized speeches of guides, but that would hardly account for their emotional pull. Place itself must have its own role in its relation with text, and we need to consider what this is [BERDOULAY 1989].

This role—or perhaps power—of place in its relation with text results from our perception of its permanence. As Maurice Halbwachs has written:

> It is the spatial image alone that, by reason of its stability, gives us an illusion of not having changed through time and of retrieving the past in the present....space alone is stable enough to endure without growing old or losing any of its parts [Quoted in SMITH 1987: 1].

This permanence allows places, first of all, to retain texts. Of course, texts are retained in media other than place—in books, folklore, whatever—and are brought

2) So powerful are narratives for our sense of place that we will even use what we know to be fictions: the local NHK station in Hiroshima recently took its viewers to Sanshirô's hometown, and in Hannibal, Missouri, one can see Tom Sawyer's fence. Although I understand no *senbei* shop in Shimabata has dared call itself the Toraya, I have heard there are in Casablanca any number of establishments claiming to be "Rick's Cafe."

3) Freud and Bashô are writing about traveling to famous places *per se*. Of course, people travel for other reasons as well: to eat famous foods, to enjoy festivals, or see famous works of art, for example. Nevertheless, these objects are always located in a special place and hence will share in this sense of place and its relations with texts. It is the *fame* of the famous place that we speak of here. One can also travel for status: to say one has actually been to the Riviera or to be able to add "al-hajj" to one's name. But this simply restates the issue of the power of place on a social rather than individual level. To ask why places confer such status would lead us again to what Freud and Bashô have suggested.

4) Keene [1971: 124] cannot find anything in Bashô's poems that required actually visiting the Obasute mountain.

to famous places in the minds or guidebooks of travelers, as we have already noted. But once the traveler arrives, place seems to appropriate and retain these texts on its own, *as if* it had always held them, imbuing them, as no other medium can, with its own Otherness and objectivity, a new "reality." In the above passages, Freud testifies that a place provided a previously known text with just such qualities. Bashô indicates this, too, but suggests another function of permanence: it also allows us access to texts by overcoming time. By being permanent, places let us participate in the past or even with legend and myth. They connect pilgrims with saints, our lives with those of our ancestors. As geography absorbs and represents history to the traveler, the past achieves permanence and is forever accessible [SMITH 1987: 12].[5]

Both Freud and Bashô also suggest that making this connection between text and place is accompanied by an act of memory. By "an act of memory," I mean producing and responding to mental images of what has happened in the past, or at least what we believe has happened.[6] The production of images occurs precisely because place gives objectivity and reality to the texts that define it and are brought to it. The response can be either an interior, emotional one, or a public, often ritual one. Freud's was the former, Bashô's the latter (namely his verse). Notice that "acts of memory" includes not only our production of and responses to images of the past prompted by a return, say, to the places of our own youth, but also those which are prompted by, say, the site of a battle that occurred before we were born. The only difference is whether we rely for our production of images on an individual's or a community's texts. After all, we find nothing odd in the erection of "memorials" so that future generations will "not forget" something they have yet to learn.

To reiterate, texts designate places as famous, so that travel to them requires connecting the text with the place. For its part, place, because it is permanent, appropriates and retains the text as if it had always held it, thereby giving the text Otherness, objectivity, and reality—and an access to it across time. This connecting of text and place, then, is accompanied by what can be called an act of memory, defined as the production of, and response to, mental images of the past.

I would like to consider these relationships among text, place and memory in Hiroshima. However, I cannot move so quickly from theory to Hiroshima, for the tourist and pilgrimage behavior in that city did not grow only from the atomic bombing of August 6, 1945, but also from an extensive tradition of Japanese travel to

5) It is important to note this power of place because of the modernist deprecation of place in social science and social thought in favor of universalistic metanarratives, based on such things as class and rationality, that are without location. See the excellent collection of essays in Agnew and Duncan 1989 and, in another sphere, the connection of postmodernism and a sense of place in Kolb [1990].

6) I will confess that this definition is rather arbitrary and cannot stand as a phenomenology of memory. As Smith [1987: 26] points out, the history of philosophy has provided only "fatally flawed" notions of memory.

sacred places. Since a description of this entire Japanese tradition would be too much for this paper, I will confine myself to the history of travel to those places that are defined by narratives, a history that begins with the rise of *engi* literature, the sacred narratives of shrines and temples, in early medieval Japan [FOARD 1992]. Even this narrower definition covers an enormous variety, at least on the surface, so to summarize it I will focus on two premodern examples and one modern example which I feel are representative. The first is the record of Ippen (1239-1289), contained in the *Ippen Hijiri E* (1299); the second is the Pilgrimage of the Thirty-three Stations of Saigoku, which continues today, but was widely popular in the Edo Period (1600-1868); and the third is present day Miyajima, which is the main tourist attraction in Hiroshima apart from Peace Park. In my brief tracing of this history, I want to show that the significant changes have not been in the contents of narratives but in the relationships among narratives, places, and acts of memory. I should note at the outset that, while I will discuss three modes of text, place, and memory in the chronological order of their appearance (for indeed the later build on the earlier), none disappear; indeed, each of the three continues today in Japanese discourse on place.

I will then examine Hiroshima in light of this history. Peace Park in that city shares much with other Japanese sacred places, but there are also some marked disjunctions. Assuming that cultural continuity is normal, these disjunctions are telling, for they help us understand the special problems of remembering that story at that place. In conclusion, I would like to point out that comparable problems have been encountered in Jewish efforts to memorialize the Holocaust.

2. TEXT, PLACE, AND MEMORY IN JAPANESE TRAVEL

The *Ippen Hijiri E* tells the story of Ippen Shônin, whom Kanzaki Noritake [1990: 182] has called the "patriarch of travel." This *emakimono* is by far our best source for studying the life of the road in the Kamakura Period, and since it also contains a great number of *engi* for temples and shrines, it can also tell us much about the relationship between such stories and the places to which they are attached. As one would expect, these narratives are extremely varied, at least on the surface,[7] but their relationship with their respective sacred places is expressed more by their formal characteristics than by their contents, and these remain remarkably consistent throughout the document.

The first such characteristic is that most stories conclude by saying that the story shows the place to be sacred, often indicating this by the terms *reichi* (sacred place) or *shôchi* (victory place). There is little remarkable in this, except perhaps the clarity with which it is stated. However, these *engi* do not stop with that. Many go on to say how the landscape itself continues to generate narratives: the wind intones the eternal truth (scroll 2, section 1), and so on. This means that the

7) They may all exhibit simpler structures on a deeper level. See Foard [1982: 243].

story is still continuing, still open. Indeed, we are often told that from long ago until now these miracles have continued at this place.

In the *Ippen Hijiri E,* then, the permanence of place does not merely provide a visitor access to a finished narrative, a narrative forever in the past; it rather keeps the narrative going so that the visitor may become a character in it. Access to the story is provided so that the traveler can continue it. This is the *Hijiri E*'s intention in filling a biography with so many of these tales [Foard 1990, 1992]. Keeping the story going, with both the consistency and novelty that doing so requires, becomes, then, the act of memory. That is, Ippen relates himself to images of past events by doing similar but not identical things. These, in turn, are at least intended by the Hijiri E to become part of the engi itself, an intention that sometimes succeeded.[8)]

The guides from the Edo period for the Thirty-three Stations of Saikoku are also full of *engi* for temples and shrines; in fact, these are often precisely the same stories that appear in texts like the *Hijiri E.* However, the way these guides relate these stories to their respective places, and the implications of this relationship for pilgrims' acts of memory, are very different. Above all, these tales are finished; the traveler will not continue them. This is inherent, after all, in the fact that these are guides and not biographies like the *Hijiri E*: large numbers of anonymous travelers will use the guide, but they will never be in one. The shift from medieval texts such as the *Hijiri E* to these guides, then, represents a fundamental shift in the relationship of the traveler to the narratives of places. Instead of continuing the story through consistent but novel actions, the pilgrim is instructed to do such things as sing *goeika* (pilgrim hymns), which is not at all like the events of the story and certainly not novel. In this case the permanence of place provides, as it did for Ippen, access to a narrative, but this access merely authorizes the pilgrim's own spiritual or magical solace. That, literally, is a wholly different story.

The pilgrims' more clearly differentiated acts of memory, then, only refer to narratives, they do not join them. However, since the pilgrim is not to join that narrative, he or she is freer to do other things that would have been unimaginable for Ippen (considered as a character in the *Hijiri E*). Hence there are available to pilgrims texts, actions, and places so numerous that they come to be arranged in lists rather than itineraries. In a previous article, I used this transition from itinerary to list as an indicator of that between pilgrimage and tourism in the guides of the Edo Period [Foard 1982].

Certainly by the present day, the lists have largely triumphed. Consider Miyajima, close to Hiroshima City, and deemed one of the three most scenic sites in Japan. The Itsukushima Shrine on the island is, of course, very old, and was visited by Ippen twice and by uncountable pilgrims in the Edo Period. While many folk beliefs surround the shrine, these have largely been grafted on to the main body of narrative, which concerns Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181), who did, in fact,

8) Tales about Ippen are attached particularly to several places in Shikoku and to Kumano, where they figure in pilgrim guides.

establish the Itsukushima Shrine its present form.[9] His character, worship, and miraculous events constituted the text for traditional travel to the shrine.

Today the visitor will find an abbreviated account of Kiyomori in the description of the shrine, and this description will be only as part of a greater body of information about "Miyajima." An apparently Edo Period appellation, "Miyajima" denotes everything available on the island, which in the Edo Period included the local "licensed quarter" as well as Itsukushima Jinja. Today, there is no longer a licensed quarter, but instead an aquarium, two museums, extensive facilities for water sports, a ropeway to view the Inland Sea, ryokan, *anago* and *kaki* restaurants, numerous shops, remnants of old homes, and, on the mainland side, a boat racing course and a large amusement park. There is also, of course, Itsukushima Jinja. "Miyajima" indicates it all and is by far more common locally than "Itsukushima Jinja." The trains, streetcars, and ferries, all go to "Miyajima."

Presiding over this is Taira no Kiyomori, represented by a garish statue about six or seven meters high with a comically ferocious face. He stands in front of the ferry station on the island, pointing not to the shrine but to the center of town. His text, like the shrine itself, is still there, as it was in the Edo Period and even long before that. However, the text, like the shrine, is now part of a list, and hence has the same status as descriptions of the aquarium and warnings about the nasty behavior of monkeys. While the text is retained by the place, then, it is on a par with others contributing to the comfort and amusement of tourists. Although the permanence of place continues to provide access to the narrative, the act of remembering Kiyomori—by listening to a guide or reading a guide book—is for enjoyment or, if more profound, an aesthetic appreciation of what is, after all, a truly beautiful shrine. One imagines how people lived long ago and perhaps even how pilgrims used to come to worship.[10]

It is important to stress that throughout this history in Japan we often find exactly the same narratives designating exactly the same places. These places, through their permanence, retain those narratives, giving them an Otherness and objectivity, and provide access to the story across the distance of time. This permits the traveler to connect the text and the place by some act of memory, the production of, and response to, mental images of what has happened in the past. What has changed is *how* the permanence of place has retained and given access to the narrative and consequently *what* those acts of memory have been. In the case of Ippen, place retained the story by suspending it, so that it might later be continued by the visitor. In the Saigoku pilgrimage, place retained the story as a stone would an

9) This is an gross oversimplification that leaves out the significant cycle of Kûkai stories and the earlier references to Empress Suikô. However, the Edo period *meishozue* all seem to focus on Kiyomori. For this and the other information in this section, see Matsuoka 1986.

10) None of this denies that there are still serious pilgrims at Miyajima, to the Shingon temple on the island as well as to the shrine.

inscription, in order to authorize the visitor's very different magical and devotional acts. In the case of present day Miyajima, place retained the story as a decoration, so as to be more fully enjoyed by the visitor. Now let us turn to Hiroshima and see how this tradition responded to not just a new story, but a totally new kind of story.

3. TEXT, PLACE, AND MEMORY IN HIROSHIMA

Peace Park in Hiroshima is the site for many types of activities. Every August 6, there is a nationally televised ceremony, and on that date, as well as during the equinoxes, certain memorials in the park function as family graves for many in the city. On occasions such as nuclear tests or the recent start of the Persian Gulf War, it can be a stage for protest. The park itself can be an object, or perhaps tool, of controversy, as in the recent clashes over the memorial to Korean victims and the stone inscribed with the poem by former prime minister Nakasone. On some August sixths, it has even known violence. Most of the time it is also just a park, with its share of lovers and the homeless, cherry blossom viewing in March and swimming in the river in January. Although none of these functions are unrelated to our topic, I will address them in other writings.

In this paper, I would like to focus on the daily flow of visitors, mostly from Japan, but also from around the world, that increases and decreases only with the seasons for travel. There is little to distinguish these tourists from those at other sites in Japan, and in fact, the Peace Park is often part of a bus tour that includes Miyajima and other sites. Guides lead with their flags and give memorized speeches in the same stylized voices, tourists take each others' pictures by the cenotaph or Atomic Bomb Dome, and inside the Peace Culture Center or the rest houses, they buy key chains and telephone cards.

As would be expected, Peace Park is in every guidebook for Hiroshima. In nearly all that I have examined, it and Miyajima alone share some highest ranking—signified by the greatest number of stars, for example—as the best things to see in Hiroshima. (Indeed, it is often said that these are the *only* two things worth seeing in Hiroshima.) In addition, the park is presented in the same fashion as other attractions, with the same style of drawings and the same categories of information. Just as a guide may list, for example, the Kangensai (a festival) or the *Nô* performances (*jinnô*) as special events at Miyajima, it will list the ceremony of August 6 under the same category in its entry for Peace Park. The story of the atomic bomb is told in the same fashion as that of Taira no Kiyomori.

In addition to the ordinary tourists, one sees the usual school groups. Interestingly, in Peace Park, their very serious demeanor contrasts sharply with their often rambunctious behavior at nominally religious sites such as Itsukushima Jinja. Since these school groups are responsible for nearly all the devotional and sometimes rather magical objects offered at the various memorial stones, we could even call them the truest pilgrims. Those that represent whole schools or classrooms resemble the traditional *kô* the village level devotional organizations

who sent representatives to the great pilgrimage centers. Besides these school children, many others—including those in special groups, such as religious, artistic, political or educational, along with individuals who might be on ordinary tours—burn incense and give offerings that would be appropriate either for the dead or for any of the Buddhist or Shinto deities of Japan. These people invariably stand in an attitude of silent prayer, as would be the custom at any shrine or temple.

Generally speaking, then, Peace Park exhibits the mix of religious and tourist behavior found at Japan's famous religious centers, except that it probably witnesses a *higher* rate of overtly devotional actions. This would suggest that in Hiroshima there is just a new Japanese special place, designated by another, albeit unusual, narrative. As before, the place retains this narrative for access by people whose acts of memory resemble those of the pilgrims and tourists we saw in the last two of our three examples. For tourists, it is an interesting place—perhaps "entertaining" is not a wrong word, providing we realize tragedy can entertain—whose narrative, as in other tourist spots, provides the interest. For pilgrims, that same narrative designated this as a place to pray for the repose of the dead and for peace.

While one should expect people to approach a famous or sacred place in the manner dictated by their culture, I can testify that the normalcy of these actions—their identity with actions perfomed at virtually any famous site in Japan—can be unnerving, particularly the group photographs. I am not alone. Many *hibakusha* feel uncomfortable with Peace Park, precisely beacuse it represents a closure of their story. For these people, the landscape continues to provide access to an ongoing story of horror and suffering, despite all of the tourism and praying for peace. One finds this sentiment in their testimonies, to be sure, but more often in local literary expressions, particularly poetry. One poet, for example, sees in the sunsets over the rivers of Peace Park recurring flames. The most common image, however, is of the bones that lie scattered and buried underneath and around the park (which is, I might add, literally true). To these people, not only Peace Park and its tour buses, but also the entire bustling city are abominations, and they have recently objected to the proposal to construct Japan's tallest building in Hiroshima, as they have to construction projects in the past. For these *hibakusha*, the permanence of place suspends an unfinished story, as it did in the *Hijiri E*, and relating to it as a finished text, therefore, is to deny their suffering, to not know the "truth" of Hiroshima.

Each of the three modes of relating text, place and memory that have appeared in the Japanese tradition is, therefore, employed today in Hiroshima. Yet each of these modes has been, I believe, transformed. This transformation occurs because in each mode, no matter how place retains and gives access to text, retention and access are simply assumed, and this is precisely the assumption that Hiroshima calls into question, particularly through the physical presentation of the park itself. Indeed, the relationship between text and place is rendered in concrete and stone so starkly—and so problematically—that it is clearly at the heart of what the visitor is meant to see and reflect upon no matter what his or her mode of approach.

Let us use one of the more popular guidebooks to introduce us to this problematic relationship of text and place:

> The Peace Memorial Museum, opened on August 24, 1955, is commonly called the Atomic Bomb Museum. Built with a high floor on pilings, it exhibits over 3,000 items from the time of the bombing. From here and there, one can hear the sobbing of visitors as they encounter such overwhelming cruelty. (9 a.m.-5:30 p.m. Closed Dec. 29 - Jan.2. Tel.: 241-4004)
> When one leaves the museum, one encounters doves flying in the bright sunlight and people relaxing as they please. For a moment, one feels that, ah, this is peace.....Turning right from the (children's) monument, and crossing the Motoyasu Bridge, the Atomic Bomb Dome comes into view. The former Industrial Exhibition Hall with its bricks and iron girders laid bare, just at it was then, keeps asking us, "What of war? What of peace?" [MASUDA *et al.* 1989: 14-15].

To begin with, the author of this guide points out a disjunction between the museum, which is in the park, and the park itself. This is significant because, whatever they already know of Hiroshima, visitors encounter the text that is presented in the museum. Virtually all visitors go there first and, at fifty yen, it may be the cheapest museum in Japan. The museum presents its story in a subdued, matter-of-fact fashion and in 1950's technology (dioramas, photographs, etc.). After an introduction to war-time Hiroshima, the physical features of Little Boy and Fat Man, and the route of the Enola Gay, one encounters the famous diorama of the bombed city below a red ball that indicates the position of the bomb. The rest of the exhibit is divided into sections for: 1) the effects of heat flash, 2) the effects of blast pressure, 3) the effects of radiation, 4) the firestorm, 5) rescue efforts, and 6) recovery of remains. The final room has a few items from Nagasaki, as a gesture of cooperation, photographs and testimonials from famous people who have visited the museum, and recorded accounts by eight *hibakusha*, which can be heard through an earphone.

This is very much a bomb-centered story, consisting mainly of technical explanations of its effects. Human beings appear often, of course, notably in the mannequins representing those escaping the city with their arms outstretched and skin peeling off. But these people are grouped together with all sorts of other physical objects—roof tiles, bottles, bamboo, rocks—that show the awesome powers of the bomb.[11] Hence the more common name noted by the guide book, Atomic Bomb Museum, is the more exact.

Whatever one thinks of our guide's formulation, the contrast between the museum and the rest of the Park is both striking and intentional. Herein lies the

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11) The only artifact of a cultural reaction to the bombing are two of the cranes folded by Sasaki Sadako, the girl whose story gave rise to the children's monument in Peace Park. They are included by the leukemia display which is part of the section on radiation effects, since she died of that disease.

key to understanding Hiroshima's difference from other famous sites: if we consider the museum as text and the park as place, we find a very peculiar relationship between the text and the place it designates. Imagine, although it may not be easy, what horrors might be in the park if it retained and gave access to the bomb-centered narrative of the museum: a statue of the Enola Gay, or even worse, Little Boy, or worse yet, the mushroom cloud. Appalling as these suggestions may seem, remember all of these things are actually in the museum already, as indispensable parts of its narrative. There, they are horrifying enough, but in the park, they would be akin to abominations or sacrileges—for they would be out of place.[12]

As a place to visit, Hiroshima has been designated by the story of the atomic bomb: any guide book will confirm this. Yet this is a story that evidently cannot be retained and given access to visitors through the permanence of that place. How, after all, could the permanence of place serve to retain a narrative that questions the permanence of anything? And how can it provide access, overcoming the distance of time, for a narrative that cannot be repeated lest it abolish history? Nevertheless, the story must be told, not only to designate the place, but also, as I will explain, so that the bomb does not triumph. Hence, the place of Hiroshima must at once retain and reject, give and prevent access to, its story.

This is why we have an Atomic Bomb Museum but in a Peace Park. The text is there, but it is confined; the bomb cannot be memorialized. What are memorialized in the Park are the bomb's opposites: its victims, through many specific memorial stones, and peace, with the peace bell and flame. The visitor is confronted with the text, confronted with its opposite, and as an act of memory, enjoined to reject the text, to drive it away not only from Hiroshima but from the earth, to provide it no place at all. Every guide book, every piece of literature available in the park, and every explanatory sign tell the visitor to do just that, to pray for peace. The place retains the text only so that the visitor can help expel it, to prevent it from triumphing here or anywhere. In even its official designations, Hiroshima lives so that there will be "No More Hiroshimas."

There is one great exception to this the separation of the text and the place, and it is a large one: the Atomic Bomb Dome. It is the only thing in the park that echoes the narrative of the museum, even in its name. It is, in fact, the largest exhibit of the effects of the atomic bomb. Yet it, and none of the other bomb affected objects, has been transformed into an icon of peace and even a thing of beauty. In this, I offer no aesthetic judgement, but rather a reflection of how it is treated: in postcards and guidebooks it is photographed at striking angles, often with cherry blossoms and doves in the foreground. During peak tourist seasons, street artists

12) If the suggestions of monuments to the bomb seem fanciful, it should be recalled that such things do exist in America, at the sites where the bomb was developed and tested and where the air crews trained. The Enola Gay will soon go on display in the Smithsonian. A few years back, an air show in Texas "reenacted" the bombing of Hiroshima. My ideas of abomination and sacrilege are informed by Douglas [1970].

sell their sketches of the dome in the small park beside it. In the souvenir shops as well, other renderings of the dome are sold, suitable for framing and decorating the walls of visitors' homes. In the most revealing gesture of all, the Atomic Bomb Dome is illuminated by floodlights at night, as is Hiroshima Castle and, more distantly, the great *torii* at Miyajima. The lights are arranged so that the dome seems to glow from inside, making it strangely beautiful by almost anyone's standard. At any rate, beauty is intended. As the author of the guidebook suggests, the dome refers to both war and peace at once. A product of mass death and destruction that is treated as an object of beauty, it embodies an irony (Is there a more ironic monument in the world?) that bridges the museum and the park, this text and this place.

4. CONCLUSION

In looking at Ippen, the Saikoku pilgrimage, and present-day Miyajima, we saw three ways in which places retained and gave access to narratives. While different, these three functions of the permanence of place assumed a naturalness or givenness. They did not expose their own processes for examination by the visitor; rather, the appropriateness of the text-place-memory relationship was simply assumed. In Peace Park, on the other hand, that relationship is rendered problematic for a visitor of any sophistication. It is, of course, not expressed in the terms that I have used, but in those of the guidebook quoted previously. At any rate, the disjunction of the horrific bombing and the pleasurable park are there for all to see.

Although with many differences, the only comparable focus on the disjunction of text and place that I know of is that of Holocaust memorials.[13] However, this disjunction has not been built into the memorials themselves, but is rather often in the eyes of critics.[14] One writer, for example, has complained that these places "appropriate the authority of events" and that the "sense of authentic place tends to make visitors mistake their reality for the camps' reality" [Young 1989: 64]. Another has written that a sense of "this was the place" must always be coupled with a profound awareness that "this is not the place" [Plank 1989: 270]. In part, these objections stem from a deep suspicion of the adequacy of any expressions, a suspicion found often in Hiroshima as well.[15] But they also express the survivor's belief that, although these narratives must be given a permanent place in our

13) I exclude from this memorials to battles and martyrdoms, which, after all, are often positively valued. Natural disasters, too, seem not to involve these problems.

14) In this it differs from Hiroshima, perhaps because the Holocaust memorials were often not controlled by survivors, but more fundamentally because the Jewish imagination was directed more toward theology and liturgy [See Roskies 1984].

15) Plank stresses that it is the survivors role to make the point that "this is not the place." This suggests parallels with the role of *hibakusha* reciters (*kataribe*) who are most conspicuous with school groups. However, to go into the huge complex of *hibakusha* function and symbolism would be far beyond this paper.

history, they can never be given a permanent place in human life and culture.

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