This paper examines the studies made by the American geographer Robert B. Hall (1896-1975) on Japanese urban settlements during the interwar period. At that time, the academic study of urban settlements was only beginning and different study methods were being tested. The analysis of Hall’s writings on Japanese cities has shown that his understanding of settlements as an integral part of the landscape led him to translate the methods of Regional Geography to study cities. This translation shaped his research around five main subjects: (1) distribution, (2) classification, (3) development, (4) functional analysis, and (5) structuring elements.

Keywords: Robert Burnett Hall, Japanese Cities, Geography, Urban Studies

1. Introduction

The Japanese engagement with modernization that followed Meiji Restoration brought a rapid industrialization and the consequent growth of urban settlements. While at the beginning of the 20th century the population of Japan was predominantly rural, by the 1930s the rate of urban population had grown to more than one quarter of the total population of the country\(^1\). It was during this period of intense change that the American geographer Robert B. Hall performed his research on Japanese urban settlements\(^2\).

Hall’s important and overlooked studies can be located at the intersection of two categories of literature. On the one hand, they are part of the Western works on the Japanese built environment of the pre-World War Two period. The inclusion of Hall’s work on this category will help correct the mistaken idea that Westerners had no interest or understanding of Japanese cities until after WW2\(^3\). It was during this period of intense change that the American geographer Robert B. Hall performed his research on Japanese urban settlements\(^3\).

Hall’s important and overlooked studies can be located at the intersection of two categories of literature. On the one hand, they are part of the Western works on the Japanese built environment of the pre-World War Two period. The inclusion of Hall’s work on this category will help correct the mistaken idea that Westerners had no interest or understanding of Japanese cities until after WW2\(^3\). It was during this period of intense change that the American geographer Robert B. Hall performed his research on Japanese urban settlements\(^3\).

Hall’s important and overlooked studies can be located at the intersection of two categories of literature. On the one hand, they are part of the Western works on the Japanese built environment of the pre-World War Two period. The inclusion of Hall’s work on this category will help correct the mistaken idea that Westerners had no interest or understanding of Japanese cities until after WW2\(^3\). It was during this period of intense change that the American geographer Robert B. Hall performed his research on Japanese urban settlements\(^3\).

Japanese architecture, these architects disregarded the serious study of Japanese cities, praising only as picturesque the traditional areas. Nevertheless, several Westerner geographers made studies on Japanese rural and urban settlements before WW2, being Hall’s work the most comprehensive in this regard.

On the other hand, Hall’s works are also an important part of the early stages of Urban Studies. The academic study of cities had its great impulse after WW2, and it is in this period that most literature on the Western development of Urban Studies is focused\(^4\). The same way, authors studying the development of Urban Studies in Japan —as Kazutoshi Abe (阿部和俊) and Seiji Yamaga (山鹿誠次, 1916-2005) — discuss mostly the period following the WW2\(^5\). One of the most thorough considerations of the study of cities of the pre-WW2 period is made by Shinzo Kiuchi (木内信雄, 1910-1993), who was himself a pioneer in this type of research. Although Kiuchi recognizes Hall’s works as important, his study on the development of Urban Studies focuses on Japanese scholars\(^6\). The following analysis of Hall’s studies on Japanese urban settlements hopes to contribute to the better understanding of the beginnings of the academic study of
cities, as well as to the recognition of Hall's works as an important part of the pre-WW2 Western works on the Japanese built environment. On a previous paper, the authors have discussed Hall's ideological context and its influence on his interpretation of the Japanese built environment. In this occasion, the objective is to provide a clear understanding of Hall's analysis of Japanese urban settlements, paying special attention to his method of study.

In order to provide context and counterpoint, first, the beginning of the academic study of cities in the United States is examined. Then, the most relevant American and Japanese studies on Japanese cities from the early 20th century are discussed, to then analyze Hall's writings within the academic framework of Geography in which they were made.

2. American formal studies on urban settlements

The beginnings of the academic study of settlements in the United States can be traced back to the first decades of the 20th century. These studies were made within the discipline of Geography, following the example of French scholars as Albert Demangeon (1872-1940) and Jean Brunhes (1869-1932). The examination of settlements in geographic studies was a consequence of a conceptual transformation that changed the subject of study of Geography from the natural landscape to the cultural landscape. The concept of cultural landscape included the natural elements as well as all the man-made modifications of the land—as agricultural exploitation, water works, or any kind of settlement. In the United States, the geographer Carl O. Sauer (1889-1975) was instrumental in this change of concepts. Sauer's cultural approach sustained that the main "shaping force" of the cultural landscape lies in the "culture itself. This understanding promoted on the one hand, the study of the man-made elements of the landscape including settlements, while also assigned more importance to culture and its history in the explanations of the cultural landscape.

Among the first American geographers to study urban settlements were: Charles C. Colby (1884-1965), Darrell H. Davis (1879-1962), Preston E. James (1899-1986), Thomas F. Lewis (1887-1950), Almon E. Parkins (1879-1940), Glenn T. Trewartha (1896-1984), Derwent Whittlesey (1890-1956), and Sauer's former student, Robert B. Hall.

Since there were few reference works on the subject, these Midwest geographers confronted the study of urban settlements testing a variety of approaches and methods. Even the purpose of the geographical study of urban settlements was not clear. Few articles had an explicit statement of objectives, and assumed the purpose to be within the central concern of Geography that was, according to Sauer, the "areal differentiation of population and occupation."

While many geographers opted for the descriptive survey, some scholars worried about the lack of systematic procedure for the study of urban settlements and attempted to provide some guidelines. A good example in this regard is the study made by A. E. Parkins in 1930 on the retail business center of Nashville. In this study, Parkins tries to determine the factors involved in the location of commercial areas within the city using quantitative methods.

Another attempt at elucidating the processes within urban settlements was made by Charles C. Colby. In 1933, Colby published an influential article entitled *Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces in Urban Geography* where he analyzes twenty two Western cities to understand the causes of the migration of functions. Colby's theory assumes a concentric structuring of cities. In fact, the concentric arrangement of Western urban settlements was so prevalent that the concept of centrality was dominant in the theories on cities. An important example in this regard is the *Concentric Zone Model* created by Ernest Burgess (1886-1966) and Robert E. Park (1864-1944) in 1925 (Fig. 1). Although the theory refers to the social and functional zoning, these had distinctive formal characteristics associated to them and therefore were also relevant for scholars interested in the materiality of the city.

On the subject of settlement development an important concept was introduced by Derwent Whittlesey in the article *Sequent Occupance from 1925*. Whittlesey's main idea was to study the development of settlements to establish periodizations. Such periodizations would serve as material for a future comparison of the results of the study of several settlements, and this comparison was expected to show patterns that could be the base for conceptualizations on settlement development. The sequent occupancy method was used by Thomas F. Lewis in a study of St. Louise from 1931, where he establishes five distinctive periods defined by the changing main activity of the area.

Also in 1931 Preston E. James takes similar approach with emphasis on development in *Vicksburg: A Study in Urban Geography*, but without engaging in periodizations. James starts with the study of the geographic conditions before the foundation of the city, tracing the historical development of its layout to finally examine the functional zoning of his contemporaneous city.

Beside the studies on urban settlements of the United States, some American geographers made field research in foreign regions. Besides Robert B. Hall, Darrell H. Davis and Glenn T.
3. Japanese studies on Japanese cities

Because of the large scale renovation plans implemented in Japan at the turn of the century, there were countless professionals involved in the expansion and modification of the cities. Most professionals were more interested in the future developments than in the understanding of the city as it was. Nevertheless, as in the West, urban settlements were becoming a subject of study within academic circles.

The origins and development of Japanese cities were being studied by many historians and economists. An important example in this regard is the work of the historical geographer Takuji Ogawa (小川琢治, 1870-1941). In order to determine the origin of Japanese cities, Ogawa analyzed the relationship between the Chinese and Japanese layouts. In 1928 the historian Hitoshi Ono (小野均, 1904-1942) studied the origins and development of castle towns, proving the analysis with several city layouts. In 1930, the economic historian Yasaburo Takekoshi (竹越与三郎, 1865-1950) published in English language The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan. Although he considers only briefly the formal aspects of the city, Takekoshi made an influential classification of Japanese cities that was use as reference by many Western authors, including Hall and Trewartha.

As in the United States, the greatest development in the formal study of cities was made within the field of Geography. Influenced by the German school of Landschaft and Sauer’s Berkeley School, the Japanese geographer Taro Tsujimura (辻村太郎, 1890-1956) introduced in Japan the concept of cultural landscape. During the early 30s, important geographers as Michitoshi Odauchi (小田内通敏, 1875-1954) published several works that included the study of cities as part of the cultural landscape.

The concern for the formalization of the geographic study of cities as a scientific activity was also present in Japan. The geographers Shinzo Kiuchi and Hikoichiro Sasaki (佐々木彦一郎, 1901-1936) engaged in a statistical approach to the study of cities, ahead of the quantitative revolution of Urban Geography of the 1950s. During the 1930s, Kiuchi and Sasaki performed locational analysis of sectors of important cities as Tokyo. They considered the functional distribution and mapped the activities in an attempt to determine statistical correlations on the position and migration of functions.

Another approach, exemplified by the work of Nishida Yoshiro (西田与四郎, 1884-1953), was the study of the configuration and formal arrangement of urban settlements. In 1931 Nishida published The Morphology of the City where he analyzes several Western and Japanese cities as to their external shape and internal structure, both in plan and elevation. Nishida includes original analysis of particular cases as the functional organization of an area of the resort town Kinosaki (掛崎町) in plan and elevation.

4. Hall’s formal analysis of Japanese cities

Since his first trip to Japan in 1928 until the beginning of WW2 Hall published fifteen articles on Japan, most of which included the study of rural and/or urban settlements. For Hall, a settlement “sums up more completely the geographic
environment than any other one thing” and therefore he assigns great importance to the analysis of settlements within his regional studies33.

Hall’s articles containing studies on urban settlements are of two types: regional studies in which all the elements of the cultural landscape of an entire region are analyzed, and systematic geography studies where the analysis is focused on just one of the elements of the landscape, as settlements. Three of Hall’s regional studies include the analysis of urban settlements: Sado Island in Niigata Prefecture, which had its capital city Aikawa (愛川) 40); the Yamato Basin in Kinki district and its main urban center, Nara (奈良); and Tokaido, an extensive region of the ancient political division of Japan named after the road that connected Kyoto to Tokyo40. Hall also considers urban settlements in three systematic studies: Cities, Villages, and Houses of Japan from 1934: The Cities of Japan: Notes on Distribution and Inherited Forms also from 1934; and A Map of Settlement Agglomeration and Dissemination in Japan from 193740.

To understand Hall’s approach to the study of urban settlements it is necessary to take into consideration the academic framework in which they were made. First of all, Hall’s studies on Japanese urban settlements are intended to be a contribution to the field of Regional Geography. He was aware that the knowledge of the cultural elements of the landscape (or cultural forms of the landscape, as called in Geography) was far behind the knowledge of the natural ones. According to Hall, the study of all the cultural forms “will have to be made by the geographer and should be regarded as contributions to regionalism and not as an end in themselves”40. Therefore, the objectives of the study of both rural and urban settlements were integrated into the ultimate goal of Regional Geography, which was for Hall “the creation of a sound, comparative world pattern of regions”40. This means that the individual study of settlements was meant to be a part of a greater database reserved for when there was sufficient material to make a comparative analysis. The idea that these early studies on settlements would only became meaningful after a critical amount of basic knowledge could be gathered was shared by many geographers, as the previously mentioned case of Whittlesley, and it was a common introductory statement of urban settlements studies of that time40.

Thorough his work Hall refers to the French geographer A. Demangeon’s writings to raise the issue of the complexity of the study of settlements. According to Demangeon the study of settlements is “one of the most original of the human sciences, because it is a question of knowing how the bonds which connect the life of men with the soil are fastened”31. To understand settlements it was necessary to combine the knowledge of natural, social, demographic, and economic conditions of the area. Nevertheless, there was still no established approach to integrate all these different factors.

In an article published in 1935, Hall discusses the general approach for the study of the elements of the landscape within the context of the regional study. Inspired in Sauer’s work, Hall determines an “irreducible minimum” to be accomplished in any geographical study: the treatment of all natural and cultural forms of the landscape “morphologically”. This morphological treatment implies first, the mapping of forms as to distribution; secondly, the assemblage of these forms “as to their genetic relationships” or a classification according to origin: third, the study of the forms “as to their origins and developments”; and finally “attempting to synthesize them into a regional pattern”40. After this irreducible minimum, the geographer was free to apply the most suitable method for the study.

Because of the exploratory character of Hall’s studies on urban settlements, the contents on the subject vary in depth and approach. For example, the development of cities is considered in every study, while most of the graphic formal analysis is found in the articles of The Yamato Basin and The Cities of Japan. Still, throughout Hall’s studies on cities it is possible to identify some recurrent characteristics, which can all be explained in relation to the academic framework in which Hall’s studies were made. The following analysis of Hall’s work is structured around the five main research characteristics that have been recognized: (1) distribution, (2) classification, (3) development (4) functional analysis, and (5) structuring elements.

4.1 Distribution

According to the morphologic treatment of the forms of the landscape, the first step is to map their distribution. Following his own guidelines, Hall makes two settlement distribution studies of Japan. The first map, published in 1934, is based on official census data. It is presented in an approximate scale of 1:1,000,000 and shows the distribution and size of urban settlements40. This first map followed the standard procedures of his time, and it was similar to the graphics published the same year by Trewartha and Davis.

Nevertheless, in 1937 Hall publishes a second distribution map—in the approximate scale 1:625,000—where he tests a method developed by him for the collection and management of settlement data (Fig. 6, next page). Due to the lack of standards and methods for study the settlements, Hall attempts to translate the accuracy of the methods for the record and management of the natural landscape in order to achieve “a similarly precise treatment of the cultural forms of the landscape”40. By sampling several parts of the world from which detailed settlement maps were available, Hall determines a categorization for settlement densities. He defines “agglomeration” as a grouping of six houses, being considered as
a group those that are not separated by fields.

Based on this definition, Hall determines four categories of settlement densities according to the percentage of habitations occurring in agglomeration: “true agglomeration” (more than 85 per cent), “agglomeration tending toward dissemination” (between 85 to 51 per cent), “dissemination tending to agglomeration” (between 51 to 15 per cent), and “true dissemination” (with less than 15 per cent of habitation occurring in agglomeration). Since in Japan the two intermediate density categories were largely absent, Hall represents only the two extreme categories renamed as agglomeration and dissemination. For the cities with more than 1,000,000 inhabitants, referred as major urban centers, Hall established a third category only assign to Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, and Tokyo. The resulting map meets Hall’s purpose to answer “(the most elemental and basic geographical question concerning human settlement,” that is, “whether or not an area is inhabited”.

Fig. 6 Agglomeration and Dissemination in Japan. (Modified Notation). The detail in the lower right of the main map shows the original scale of the map where the data on settlement distribution was recorded- 1:2,000,000

It is important to note that the minor urban settlements are included in the category of agglomeration, together with rural settlements. Hall based the distinction between urban and rural settlement on the activities performed on the settlement and on their size, being an urban settlement any settlement in which urban activities—as administrative or governmental—are performed. The urban settlements of which Hall makes more careful formal studies are within the agglomeration category.

4.2 Classification

In accordance with the second point of Hall’s proposed morphological treatment of the landscape’s forms he classifies the urban settlements according to the primary causes of growth. This classification is presented in two articles from 1934: The Japanese Cities: Notes on Development and Inherited Forms, and Cities, Villages and Houses of Japan.

According to Hall, “(each major change in the long economic and political history of Japan has left its impress upon the urban plan”, and it is in those inherited forms that he is most interested. Hall’s classification is based on typologies previously established by Yosaburo Takekoshi and Nishida Yoshiro. However, Hall selects only those typologies to which he could trace back an identifiable settlement form or structure. For example, he discarded the category of free ports used by Takekoshi since he could not find any “distinctive morphological expression in present Japanese cities traceable to this cause”, also ignoring the category of resort centers used by Nishida.

Hall establishes three main categories related to original function: (1) Administration and Defense, (2) Religious, and (3) Commercial. Within administration and defense, Hall determines two subcategories: castle towns (jōkaku-machi) and Kyoto, as the only representative of the capital cities. The religious towns were grouped under one category (monzen-machi), while within commercial towns Hall identifies two subcategories: post-towns (shukuba-machi), created in the main routs as supply points, and market towns (ichiba-machi).

The analysis of urban settlements within systematic studies is organized around this classification, which reveals a significant difference between the study of urban and rural settlements. In the article Cities, Villages and Houses of Japan, the study of rural settlements is organized by region, finding one distinctive representative pattern for each area studied. However, when addressing the urban settlements, Hall treats them under a different heading using the classification by original function while ignoring the traditional division by region. Although Hall mentions that sectionalism encouraged local changes in Japanese cities, there is no identification of those differences, favoring instead the examination of the more salient features afforded by the original functions.

Hall wants to focus on the study of urban settlements “which because of isolation or other causes have kept their ancient character”. For this reason, in the articles dealing with several cities, Hall selects for detail analysis one representative example for each main category that still maintained pre-restoration characteristics: Matsue (松江市) located in Shimane Prefecture as representative of Administration and Defense, Nara for religious town, and Mikkaichi (三日市) of Toyama prefecture as representative of commercial towns.

Hall’s classification does not intend to be rigorous and is also not expected for towns to have a single original function. Nara for example, which was originally planned as an imperial capital, is treated within religious towns because, according to Hall, such function had left a stronger imprint in the city. The same way, the multiplicity of functions is acknowledged by referring to M. Odauchi’s work, who classified Japanese cities as complex, which
were those presenting various functions, and the less common uni-functional cities.

4.3 Development

The third condition of Hall's morphological treatment of forms establishes that they should be studied as to their origin and development. Hall's particular interest in the examination of the development of settlements by tracing their inherited forms is the most salient characteristic of his studies.

The development of individual cities is addressed in every article that includes urban settlements except in Tokaido, where Hall considers the joint development of the cities with this important rout. In the regional studies made of Yamato Basin and Sado Island, Hall studies the development of their main urban settlement — Nara and Aikawa respectively. In both cases, he focuses on their changes in shape and extent, explaining these changes in relation to the economic and political history. But, instead of engaging in the determination of concrete periods as in the cited examples of T. Lewis or W. Jones, Hall adopts an historical narrative style that transmits the idea of a continuous process of change: "The original Nara was founded as the imperial capital in the seventh century. It grew up suddenly about the imperial palace (...) Buddhism was then at its zenith and great temples were built on the eastern and western outskirts of the city. In the ninth century, when the Nara capital was abandoned for Kyoto, the city disappeared and the land reverted to agriculture. The temples, however, gained power during the following century (...) During the long feudal period, it gained considerable commercial significance (...) With the coming of the railroads, its temples and antiquities, its cherry blossoms and maples have attracted increasing numbers of pilgrims and tourists each year (...) This has become its primary industry and consequently has encouraged the persistence of the ancient urban landscape". The study of Nara is also included the article The Cities of Japan: Notes on Distribution and Inherited Forms, where he presents a superimposed map of the original layout with that of his own time to help visualize its development (Fig.7).

Similarly, when explaining the development of the city of Aikawa he parallels the morphological changes of the city with the rise and fall of the mining industry around which the city developed. This way, Hall studies the development of each city in relation with its particular history and conditions of the area, without attempting to discover common patterns of development or establishing principles on the growth of cities.

Apart from the conditions established in the morphological treatment of forms that shaped the general approach, Hall's formal studies of the internal organization of urban settlements have two distinctive characteristics: the persistent interest in the functional distribution and the explanation of the urban settlements through their structuring elements.

4.4 Functional analysis

The interest of geographers in the distribution of the activities of man on the earth's surface is transferred to the study of settlements as the functional analysis. When studying rural settlements, Hall examines the functional interactions between land use, village, and habitation, which are mainly determined by the agricultural activity. Nevertheless, in towns and cities the functional interactions with the land are not as evident. Because of this difficulty, together with the lack of established concepts on urban settlements — particularly on the Japanese ones — a recurrent tool used in Hall's formal analysis is the comparison. The contrast with Western urban settlements does not appear very frequently, but when examining the city of Nara (Fig. 8, published in approximate scale 1:50,000), Hall noted that its functional map "shows (...) first of all a surprising lack of conformance with the concentric circular zoning of western cities".

Fig.8 Functional distribution in Nara (modified from original). Hall calls attention to the lack of concentric zoning. The gathering of commercial functions along the main roads, shown in black, is the only functional zoning identified by Hall.

The central arrangement was so prominent in Western cities that the few existent theories of Urban Studies were related to the concept of centrality. According to Hall, of the characteristics of Japanese cities “possibly the most obvious is the lack of
concentric zoning of both function and building forms". The only zoning that Hall can find in Nara is the commercial activities gathered along the streets.

Within the study of Nara, Hall makes another functional comparison with a block of Matsue, illustrated with a detailed functional scheme of that city published in approximate scale 1:1,500. Although there is no similar scheme made of Nara, Hall describes the differences between the block of a typical castle town and the religious town of Nara where shrines or small temples occupy the interior of most blocks (Fig. 9).

![Fig.9 Matsue block Functional scheme, used to compare the arrangement of a castle town with a temple town (Nara). Hall finds that the major difference are the alleys outline and the functions within the center of the block (modified notation)](image)

In the case of Matsue, Hall also considers the changes in the location of function as he studies its development. Assisted once again by a comparative map crafted with the data provided by the municipal office, Hall compares the functional occupation of the town during feudal times with the situation after Meiji restoration (Fig.10, published originally in approximate scale 1:4,500).

![Fig. 10 Matsue functional schemes. Left: Matsue in feudal times; Right: landscape changes since feudal times. (Modified notation)](image)

The functions recorded on the left map, the feudal time, show the structure of the society mapping the residence areas of the feudal lords and samurais, and commercial areas. In the map at the right, showing the changes after Meiji Restoration, Hall charts the new functions indicating the governmental buildings around the castle within the former feudal lord lands, and the new growth along the rail road. When studying Matsue, Hall points out that the castle town is a “relic of the days of a land economy and the feudal city bore strong relationships to the land”, which might have encourage his interest in the urban settlements that have maintained their traditional character.

### 4.5 Structuring elements

In the functional analysis of Matsue as well as in all the analysis of development of the urban settlements Hall constantly refers to a series of structuring elements around which the functions and development are explained.

The same way that geographers looked for the forces involved in the formation of the landscape, Hall looks for the forces involved in the formation of the urban settlements. The concept of culture as the shaping force of the cultural landscape was made popular by Sauer and was adapted for the study of cities by some geographers, as the previously referred case of Colby and his determination of centrifugal and centripetal forces in the functional distribution within the city. Hall also used this concept of shaping forces in the study of rural settlements and established for example that, while the shape of Japanese rural settlements respond to the natural environment, the structure, or functional arrangement, is guided by cultural forces as social structure.

In the case of urban settlements, to explain his observations of functional distribution and development, Hall constantly refers to two main structuring elements to which he assigns attractive forces. These structuring elements are: the power centers —as palaces, castles, and temples—, and the roads. For example, when explaining the functional distribution of Nara, Hall explicitly refers to the roads as “the primary lines of attraction for commercial establishments even beyond the city’s limits”.

To analyze religious towns, Hall presents a comparative graphic of four of these towns published in a reduction of approximately one quarter of the original 1:50,000 scale of the maps (Fig.11, next page). With this graphic Hall intends to show how the structuring elements, in this case the temples and roads leading to them, have shaped the towns that grew around them. Zenkoji is described as a simple type of temple town, one temple one road, while the dispositions of Suwa Shrines and Mishima with their respective roads have created more complex types of towns. In this comparison Hall calls attention to the example of Kambara where the road deviates from the best available trajectory in order to reach the temple, while the train line follows the most convenient rout to show the “attractive force of these great religious centers”.
The structuring elements most discussed by Hall are the ones determined by the original function of the towns. A good example of his emphasis on the traditional structuring elements is the analysis of greater cities as Tokyo or Nagoya. These bigger cities are studied in lesser extent than the non-modernized towns since Hall perceives that “the coming of industry, power transportation, and world markets has so stimulated and changed them that they do not differ greatly from the cities of the Western World”\(^6^0\). While analyzing Tokyo, Hall makes emphasis in the fact that “(even (...) after its great growth and modernization and in spite of nearly complete destruction at the time of the great earthquake and fire is still a castle town. (...) The street pattern, the distribution of public buildings and parks, and the zoning of utilities is still largely controlled by the ancient pattern”, which in the case of Tokyo is dominated by the castle\(^5^7\). Contrary to Trewartha and Davis, Hall maintains the focus on the inherited forms even when analyzing modernized cities as Tokyo. He concentrates in the structuring elements of the original function of the city as the castle and its moats, while the location of industries or other modern facilities is not addressed at any time.

These structuring elements are also dominant in the explanations of the section studies. Hall made sections of the three main categories to compare their outline (Fig. 12).

This comparison was presented in the articles from 1934, The Cities of Japan and Cities, Villages, and Houses of Japan. In the case of Mikkaichi the section is made along the main street, pointing out only the flattish profile. Here too, Hall draws attention to the relative location of the temple in Nara and the castle in Matsue, recognizing them as the only salient feature of an otherwise uniform townscape. The only modern structuring element that Hall includes in his analysis are the train lines, whose influence even in the most traditionally preserved urban settlements is too strong to avoid.

Other forces related with modernization are as well recognized by Hall, but their role in the analysis is secondary. For example, in Tokaido region Hall identifies two new forces at work in the changes of the landscape: one is the concrete highway, and the second one, instead of being assigned to an element is assigned to a trend, to “the trend toward the decentralization of industry”, instead of the industries themselves\(^5^6\). Despite recognizing these modern forces, Hall maintains the study focused on the inherited structuring elements.

The same way that modern aspects of the city are mostly kept aside of the analysis, the buildings of the city, those which are not considered within the structuring elements, do not receive much attention. In the article The Cities of Japan, Hall includes a brief but effective account of the characteristics sights, smells, and sounds of the Japanese citiescape. Within this description there is the always present Western perception of the uniformity of Japanese houses (Fig. 13)\(^5^9\).

---

Fig. 11 Ground plans of temple and shrine towns. The intention of Hall’s comparison is to show different outcomes of the location of the temples (1) and their structuring role. (Modified from original, religious centers and roads have been emphasized)

Fig. 12 (1) Market town (市場町): Mikkaichi (三日市町); (2) Religious town (門前町): Nara (奈良町); (3) Castle town (城下町): Matsue (松江). (Modified notation)

Fig. 13 Photography of Matsue City. The picture shows that “[a]s in all of the cities of old Japan, it is difficult to recognize any distinct zoning of different kinds of structures”
pointing the Western style buildings, which are referred as *exotic*, showing an unusual correct usage of the term in its original meaning of ‘not native’.

5. Conclusions

The lack of determined standards for the study of cities encouraged the variety of approaches and methodologies. Japanese cities were analyzed from several perspectives, as the quantitative example of Sasaki and Kiuchi, the formal approach of Nishida, or the descriptive style of Davis.

In Hall’s case, his disciplinary context led him to conceive the city as an integral part of the cultural landscape. Hall put this concept into practice when studying Japanese regions and their respective cities. As a consequence, Hall translates the regional geographer’s methodology for the study of the cultural landscape to the study of the urban settlements. Such translation would determine Hall’s main research interest: (1) distribution, (2) classification of urban settlements by original function, and (3) development of the towns and cities in relation with the historical events, and within the internal organization of the city, he translates the geographic interests into the (4) functional analysis, and the search for the (5) structuring elements inherited from the original functions, around which the explanations of the city processes are made.

Through these five main themes, Hall describes and explains the Japanese urban settlements consistently maintaining the historical contextualization, in agreement with his interest in the inherited forms. Formal and functional schemes of case studies, also selected accordingly with the interest in inherited forms, are an original addition to his analysis, unique among Western studies of Japan from this period.

It is worth observing that of Hall’s own “morphological treatment” for the forms of the landscape, he does not address the forth step: the synthesis. One of the reasons for the absence of this last step is that Hall’s studies on urban settlements were meant to be a contribution to the understanding of regions. But more importantly, Hall consciously avoids the determination of hasted or reductionist conclusions because he recognizes the complexity of factors involved in their understanding. Hall openly criticized geographers who “in their haste, created false truths by mathematical formulæ”, and being aware of the experimental stage of settlement studies, he focuses his investigation mostly on case studies without attempting at determine principles to explain the Japanese cities.

Contrary to Davis and Trewartha—who show more interest in the modernization of the Japanese cities—Hall concentrates in the study of the cities that had kept their original character. Hall claimed to have taken such decision because these cities maintained the ancient distinctive character of Japanese original functions. Besides this reason, the selection might be also related with the stronger connection with the land these cities maintained as compared to the modernized ones. After all, Hall’s initial interest in settlements came from the need to understand how the bonds which connect life of men with the soil are fastened.

Notes

2. The term urban settlement is used as understood in the field of Geography during the interwar period. Hall considered as urban the settlement that have over 2,500 inhabitants in which some urban function (as administration) is performed. The term village refers to rural settlements, while towns and cities are both comprised within the term of urban settlements. Hall made no explicit differentiation between town and city.
8. The concept of the cultural landscape—Kulturlandschaft—was first developed by the German geographer Otto Schlüter (1872-1959) in *Die Ziele der Geographie des Menschen,—Objectives of Geography of Man—*, Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1906.


小野寺: 近世下町の研究, 至文堂, 1926.


A special issue of the journal *The Globe* (地球) from 1926 was dedicated entirely to studies on settlements, presenting nine articles on Japanese settlements by Ogawa T., Odauchi M., Nishioka, Y. among others (地球, *Siedlung Number*, 博目, Vol. 5, No.4, 1926).


戸田與郎: 都市の形態, 岩波書店, 1931.


See for example Parkins, A. E., op. cit., p.104.


和文要約

1. はじめに
アメリカ人の中川義朗が著した『ニューオリンズの都市計画』において、都市計画の観点から都市の形成について考察している。中川義朗は都市を「自然と人間の共生を可能にするもの」と定義し、都市の形成には自然環境や社会的要因が影響を及ぼすことを指摘している。一方、都市の成長については、人口増加や産業発展が関与しているとされている。

2. アメリカにおける都市形態研究
20世紀前半、地理学者の研究対象は、自然景観から文化的景観へと変化し、地理学研究も、集落などの人为的要素に景観を取り込むようになった。アメリカでは地理学者の研究を対象にした研究が行なわれ、コミュニティの形成や都市の成長を考察している。

3. 日本人による日本の都市研究
日本人による日本の都市研究では、都市の発展と形成に関する広範な研究が行われている。木内信雄は、都市の形成を論じ、特に都市経済の成長が都市形成に大きな影響を及ぼしているという見解を示している。

4. ホールによる日本の都市の形態分析
日本の都市に関するホールの研究は、地域地理学を基にした広範な分析が行われている。特に、都市の形成には自然環境や社会的要因が影響を及ぼすことが示されている。また、都市の成長については、人口増加や産業発展が関与しているとされている。

5. 結論
ホールの研究は、都市の形成に対する自然要素と、都市経済の成長に対する社会的要素を調査した結果、都市の形成には自然環境や社会的要因が影響を及ぼすことが示されている。また、都市の成長については、人口増加や産業発展が関与しているとされている。

（2014 年 9 月 10 日原稿受理, 2015 年 5 月 8 日採用決定）