

PLAYFUL PICTURES AS SATIRE: UTAGAWA HIROSHIGE III CAPITALIZING ON THE SHIFT IN POLITICAL POWER DURING THE BOSHIN WAR

Freya Terryn

This paper is concerned with the satirical depiction of the Boshin War (戊辰戦争 *Boshin sensō*, 1868–1869) in the woodblock prints of the artist Utagawa Hiroshige III (三代歌川広重, 1842–1894). It employs his prints to examine the relationship between those that govern and those that are governed, in particular how the print medium capitalized on a shifting position in political power in the late 1860s. It aims to provide a broader perspective from which to consider the relationship between politics and art, the rulers and the ruled, and censorship and satire during a time when the visual expression of contemporary events and ruling classes was banned. By taking Hiroshige III's prints as a case study, this paper reveals how Hiroshige III used humor and satire as mechanisms to provoke shared laughter over the pro-imperial and pro-shogunal forces fighting over power.

Keywords: ukiyo-e, Boshin War, Utagawa Hiroshige III, satire

1. Introduction¹

The origin of comical illustrations in Japan can be traced back to the *Scrolls of Frolicking Animals and Human Figures* (鳥獣人物戯画 *Chōjū jinbutsu giga*, 12th–13th

¹ In this paper, Japanese names are written in the traditional and autonomous usage, with family name preceding the given name. The paper deals with historical and visual documents that were published before the adoption of the Western Gregorian Calendar on January 1, 1873. Before this date Japan employed the lunar calendar and it should be stressed that the lunar month/year designations do not correspond with months of the Western calendar. As such, 1866/V indicates that the print was published in the fifth month of 1866. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this paper are by the author.

century). Pictures that ridicule or satirize a person, society, contemporary events, or the ruling classes are known in Japanese as *giga* (戯画, literally “frolicking pictures”) or *fūshiga* (風刺画, literally “pictures of stabbing wind”). There is one Japanese art form that was prolific in its output of satirical and humorous images: Japanese woodblock prints or *ukiyo-e* (浮世絵, literally “pictures of the floating world”). The popularity of these printed images was owed to their technology, as Japanese woodblock prints were a popular art that produced printed images in very large quantities at low cost. In addition, the widespread distribution of these prints to a mass audience stems from the print medium relying on the vibrant publishing industry, which had Tokyo as its epicenter.

The Japanese woodblock print medium, however, did not exist in a vacuum, but was instead influenced by political developments and government regulations. During the Tokugawa period (1603–1868), the shogunate – the feudal military government with the shogun ruling Japan in the name of the emperor – exercised considerable control over the production and distribution of these printed images through censorship laws. These edicts were issued at specific times and are known as the Kyōhō Reforms (享保の改革 *Kyōhō no kaikaku*, 1720s–1730s), Kansei Reforms (寛政の改革 *Kansei no kaikaku*, 1790s), and Tenpō Reforms (天保の改革 *Tenpō no kaikaku*, 1841–1843). As the producer of potentially powerful instruments of mass communication, the printing industry – both prints and printed books – was subject to strict controls (Thompson 1991, 29). In general, four specific subjects of visual expression were continuously banned: sexually explicit pictures, Christianity, the Tokugawa family, and current events. Especially images depicting the ruling elite and current events directly threatened the shogunate’s view of itself and posed a threat of them being portrayed in an unfavorable light. As a result, such prints were most ardently controlled.

Japanese woodblock prints that ran afoul of government regulations are often excluded from the discussion on graphic art.² Yet, among the internationally celebrated artists of *ukiyo-e* were also artists who created a prolific number of comical and satirical images. Katsushika Hokusai (葛飾北斎, 1760–1849), for example, who is worldwide renowned for his prints of Mt. Fuji and his drawing manuals known as *Hokusai Manga* (北斎漫画 *Hokusai manga*, 15 vols, 1814–1878), drew many possibly subversive, humorous pictures. In addition, Utagawa Kuniyoshi

² This is especially noticeable in exhibitions catered to the general public. See, for example, the catalogues of the last major exhibitions on Japanese woodblock prints organized in Japan and Europe: Kokusai Ukiyo-e Gakkai et al. (2014) and Forrer (2018). A notable exception is *shunga* (春画, literally “spring pictures”) or sexually explicit prints. Although *shunga* is a generic term – including the vast body of explicitly erotic and pornographic paintings, handscrolls, illustrated books, and prints – *shunga* prints have received more attention in the last years, as exemplified by the publication that accompanied the 2013–2014 landmark exhibition at the British Museum (see Clark et al. 2013).

(歌川国芳, 1797–1861), who is a celebrated artist of warrior prints (武者絵 *musha-e*), created an abundant number of comical and satirical prints that take the form of anthropomorphic images of animals and inanimate objects coming to life.³

The abovementioned reforms often prompted a rise in satirical images and there was one particular event that captured the attention of print artists and publishers, as well as the print-buying public, namely the Boshin War (戊辰戦争 *Boshin sensō*, 1868–1869). This war, which lasted approximately one year and five months, originated in the last shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu (徳川慶喜, 1837–1913, reign 1866–1867) launching a military campaign against the imperial forces, despite having agreed on November 9, 1867 to restore the sovereign power to the emperor (大政奉還 *taisei hōkan*). Previous studies on woodblock prints documenting the Boshin War have identified 144 prints that were published between the second and the tenth month of 1868 – or from the end of February to December 1868 (Nagura 2007, 25). This body of satirical prints is crucial to paint a picture of how the war was perceived at the time, as no effort was taken to photograph the developments of the war. Although photography had been introduced in Japan as early as 1848, the core business of commercial studios around the time of the Boshin War centered on portrait photography and on “Yokohama photographs.” The focus was thus on stereotypical and romantic representations of Japan, its customs, and its scenic views, which were above all mainly developed for the overseas market.⁴ As a result, the prints are the only available source of visual representation of the war, and, above all, the only imagery through which subsequent generations can comprehend it.

Regardless of their important value and their popularity at the time – prompting Shimizu (2005, 15) to declare the Boshin War the “golden period of satirical prints” – studies on these prints are scarce both within and outside of Japan.⁵ There are two factors that contribute to this research gap. To begin with, the majority of these prints reveal no signature of their artist or publisher, as well as omit a date seal which would disclose in which month and year they were published. The omission of such information, which was in fact required by law to be included on each print, decreased the artist and publisher’s chances of receiving

³ For examples of satirical and humorous prints by both Hokusai and Kuniyoshi, see, for example, Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan and Mainichi Shinbunsha (2018).

⁴ For an in-depth discussion of the arrival of photography in Japan, see, for example, Kinoshita (2003, 14–99).

⁵ In 1995, an exhibition was organized on these satirical prints, entitled *Caricatures of the Bakumatsu Period: Focus on the Boshin War* (幕末の風刺画: 戊辰戦争を中心に *Bakumatsu no fūshiga: Boshin sensō o chūshin ni*), at the Machida City Museum (町田市立博物館 Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan) (Machida 1995). Other studies on these prints are by Minami (1995, 1998, 1999), Tomizawa (2005), Shimizu (2005), and Nagura (2007).

a heavy fine, being manacled, or imprisoned for openly defying government censorship. In addition, the prints that have been identified as satirical prints of the Boshin War are in general accompanied by explanatory descriptions which are difficult to decipher as they are not written in the standard script, but in a semi-cursive or cursive style with classical Japanese grammar and older form of Chinese characters.⁶ As a result, not only is there little information on the makers of these prints but the transcription and translation of the explanatory inscriptions has been avoided. Yet, as stressed by Nagura (2007, 25), these explanatory descriptions hold the key to decipher the other embedded “codes” in the prints and are crucial to eventually understanding what and who is being satirized.

From the body of prints that identify their maker, it is very clear that one woodblock print artist in particular was the most prolific as well as the first artist to satirize the Boshin War: Utagawa Hiroshige III (三代歌川広重, 1842–1894).⁷ Yet, little is known about his satirical prints as previous literature has mainly evaluated his life and work through his *kaika-e* (開化絵) of the 1870s and 1880s, or in other words, his prints that introduce and document specific symbols of Westernization, the modern civilization of the Meiji period (1868–1912), and the influence of Western manners and customs on Japanese society.⁸ As a result, important questions regarding Hiroshige III’s role in the output of satirical prints on the Boshin War remain unanswered as he has mainly been introduced as an artist of little artistic importance and whose work is only valued as cultural documents of the Meiji period (Higuchi 1955, 70; Yamaguchi et al. 1968, 38–39; Takahashi 1972; Yoshida 1987, 19, 104–105; Inagaki 1990, 130; Newland 2005, 504; Kokusai Ukiyo-e Gakkai et al. 2014, 68, 323).

In this study, Japanese woodblock prints depicting the Boshin War are used as a framework to examine the relationship between those that govern and those that are governed, and in particular how the popular Japanese print medium capitalized on a shifting position in political power in the late 1860s. It aims to provide a broader perspective from which to consider the relationship between politics and art, the rulers and the ruled, and censorship and satire. By focusing on Hiroshige III, this study also seeks to shed light on the origins of his career as a starting print artist, the collaborations that were crucial to the publication of his satirical prints, and whether he was visually and verbally criticizing those that had recently started governing – the new Meiji government alongside the emperor – or those that had governed for the past 265 years – the Tokugawa

⁶ Classical Japanese grammar and non-simplified Chinese characters were in use until 1945.

⁷ Other artists who signed their prints were Utagawa Yoshifuji (歌川芳藤, 1828–1887) and Utagawa Yoshiiku (歌川芳幾, 1833–1904).

⁸ For a discussion of the historic evaluation of Hiroshige III, see Terry (2021, 446–452).

shogunate – or perhaps both. This study identified 24 prints on the Boshin War in Hiroshige III's oeuvre and conducted a close visual analysis of three prints. The three prints under close analysis were chosen to address how both the artist and his publishers responded to the war and how humor and satire was used as mechanisms to provoke shared laughter and to illustrate the two forces fighting over political and governing power. These prints were published at different but crucial times during the war: one at the very beginning; a second during a decisive breaking point when the war was brought to Edo (modern-day Tokyo); and a third when only small resistant forces continued to fight in the north of Japan after Yoshinobu had surrendered. Hence, these prints offer a perspective of how the opinions of print publishers, Hiroshige III, and the public evolved during the war. As the prints display a close connection between text and image, particular attention is also paid to the codependency of these two visual systems, to which end the written explanatory inscriptions were translated. Before Hiroshige III's prints are analyzed, this paper first reviews the context that generated government censorship and how it affected the characteristics of the Japanese woodblock print medium. Then, it discusses the key aspects of prints on the Boshin War in general and of Hiroshige III's prints in particular, in order to move on to a close analysis of the three prints.

2. Japanese woodblock prints and censorship

The Tokugawa period was defined by its strict social hierarchy which was founded in Neo-Confucianism that divided society into four distinct classes: samurai (武士 *bushi*), peasants (平民 *heimin*), artisans (職人 *shokunin*), and merchants (商人 *shōnin*). Despite the merchants' low ranking, they possessed the time, money, and environment conducive to the creation of the world of pleasure and entertainment – brothels, theatres, restaurants, teahouses, and fads and fashions – usually called the “floating world” (浮世 *ukiyo*). Japanese woodblock prints, or *ukiyo-e*, were mirrors of this world and preferred the subject matter of the kabuki theatre, teahouses, and brothels. In order to protect the ruling elite and to control the growing economic and cultural influence of the merchants and denizens of the “floating world,” the government retaliated with frequent sumptuary laws and other edicts, which intended to prevent affluent classes from maintaining a lifestyle more luxurious than deemed appropriate for their low Neo-Confucian social rank (Desai 1991, 3; Harootunian 1991, 11).

Woodblock prints were as a result also subjected to censorship and especially visual depictions of the ruling Tokugawa family and current events were prohibited, which was extended to cover high-ranking warriors who had lived from the late 16th century onwards. Moreover, woodblock prints were required to include

the signature of the artist, the seal of the publisher, as well as an official censor seal of the year and month of its inspection. Among the three reforms that censored Japanese woodblock prints, the Tenpō Reforms had a considerable influence on the woodblock print medium and on the different actors involved in its production. Japanese woodblock prints were in fact a product of a collaboration between at least five actors: the publisher, the artist, the engraver, the printer, and the consumer. This collaboration was the most vital part of the woodblock print production in which the publisher held a key position as he pre-financed everything: from the labor fees for the design, block carving and printing, to the material costs for the woodblocks, the ink, and the paper. Meanwhile he also had to be able to withstand the financial loss and conserve enough capital to be able to continue with his business (Marks 2011, 11; Davis 2016, 12).⁹

Following the promulgation of the edicts of the Tenpō Reforms, the print medium was censored on several levels as the publishers' association was abolished, minor government officials were appointed as censors, and depictions of kabuki actors and prostitutes were banned, while the number of sheets per design, the number of color blocks, and the price of each sheet was limited. In a further attempt to exercise control over the urban population, publishers were urged to issue works extolling the benefits of filial piety and chastity. Hence, the reforms gave rise to the publication of prints inspired by Confucian lore and literary classics to comply with the new publishing regulations. According to Minami (1999, 2), the reforms also prompted a rise in satirical prints, as publishers saw their chances at earning large profits dwindle and in attempt to express discontent with government censorship. Perhaps the most notorious case of alleged satire at this time is the woodblock print *The Earth Spider Generates Monsters at the Mansion of Lord Minamoto Yorimitsu* (源頼光公館土蜘蛛作妖怪図 *Minamoto Yorimitsu [Raikō] kō no yakata ni tsuchigumo yōkai o nasu zu*, 1843/VIII). It is believed to be filled with hidden references as rumors spread that the sleeping Yorimitsu represented the shogun Tokugawa Ieyoshi (徳川家慶, 1793–1853, reign 1837–1853), the retainer nearest him was the man who had instituted the reforms, Mizuno Tadakuni (水野忠邦, 1794–1851), and the “demons” were actually various citizens angered by the Tenpō Reforms because they had lost their jobs or had been punished in some way (Thompson 1991, 82). Although authorities investigated the print and suppressed its publication, Kuniyoshi and his publisher escaped punishment, suggesting that the print had not been issued with the intent to satirize (Thompson 1991, 82).

Transposing settings to a distant past or to popular legends and myths was a favored method to sneak by censors, as was altering the names of the per-

⁹ For a detailed discussion of printing practices and economics of the Japanese woodblock print industry, such as production costs and fees, see Marks's (2011, 22–26) compendium of print publishers.

sons appearing on the prints. This method of disguising current news events was also employed when print artists satirized the Boshin War. Yet, the clash between pro-shogunal and pro-imperial forces took the form of children or adults playing games, quarrelling, re-enacting kabuki plays, or engaging in other activities.

3. Visual representations of the Boshin War

When the last shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu agreed on November 9, 1867 to restore sovereign power to the emperor, he not only abolished the Tokugawa shogunate – putting an end to its 265-year rule – but also relinquished his power and surrendered his lands to the emperor. Emperor Meiji (明治天皇 Meiji tennō, 1852–1912, reign 1867–1912) subsequently proclaimed the Restoration of the Imperial Rule of Old (王政復古の号令 *Ōsei fukko no daigōrei*) on January 3, 1868 with no place for the Tokugawa house in the new government. This shift of power from the Tokugawa shogunate to the imperial court further enraged Yoshinobu and his loyal retainers, prompting his refusal to comply with the proclamation of restoration in January 1868 and his contest of the issue by force.¹⁰ The first battle between the pro-shogunal forces and those professing loyalty to imperial rule was the Battle of Toba–Fushimi (鳥羽・伏見の戦い *Toba-Fushimi no tatakai*), which lasted from January 27 to 30, 1868 at the approaches to Kyoto. Although the shogunate army outnumbered the 5,000 men of the pro-imperial forces three times over, the clash immediately sealed the fate of the shogunate as its forces, poorly led and unprepared, fled the field and Yoshinobu retreated to Edo (Keene 2002, 125–127; Jaundrill 2020, 271–272). The defeat of hardline Tokugawa loyalists who had managed to escape was prolonged until the summer of 1869 when the last shogunal naval units surrendered in Hokkaidō.

The fight over political power was rapidly picked up by the popular print medium. A little over 140 woodblock prints were published from the end of February to December 1868, humorously depicting and satirizing the confrontations between the pro-shogunal and pro-imperial forces. More than half of the identified prints omit the signature of the artist, the seal of the publisher, and/or the date seal of inspection, confirming their intent to escape government censorship. Previous literature has divided these satirical prints into two categories based on their depictions: “playful prints of children” (子供遊絵 *kodomo asobi-e*) and “playful prints of adults” (大人遊絵 *otona asobi-e*) (Shimizu 2005; Tomizawa 2005; Nagura 2007). True to their appellation, these prints were “playful” and, as Salter (2006, 133) points out, the disguise of play was an invaluable way to poke fun at the author-

¹⁰ For an in-depth discussion of the unfolding of events leading up to the Boshin War, see, for example, Keene (2002, 118–127).

ities without spending days in chains or paying a fine as punishment. It should be remembered, however, that these prints were more than merely the attempts of print publishers and artists to go against government censorship, because the prints simultaneously reacted to a certain demand in the market. Hence, these Boshin War prints reveal attitudes toward the two forces fighting over political power when the Tokugawa shogunate had fallen and the new Meiji government had just been established.

Although the number of identified prints today might appear limited, there is one contemporary account that confirms that the satirical prints were very popular and readily available at the time. Sudō Yoshizō (須藤由蔵, 1793–?), also known as Fujiokaya Yoshizō (岡屋由蔵), who bought the first print of Hiroshige III under analysis in this paper on April 20, 1868, wrote in his diary that print publishers were producing an abundance of prints on the eviction of the shogunate forces out of Edo and that they were selling like hotcakes, stressing that by the end of April 1868 over 300,000 prints were on sale (Suzuki and Koike 1995, 505).¹¹ Sudō's diary thus confirms that the audience in Edo was eager for visual imagery that depicted and satirized the clash between the pro-shogunal and pro-imperial forces.

Publishing caricatures or satirical prints on a contemporary event, however, was not revolutionary. In 1855, for example, woodblock prints were distributed on the 1855 Edo earthquake (安政江戸地震 *Ansei Edo jishin*) that held a giant catfish (鯰 *namazu*) responsible for the disaster, for according to popular belief a giant catfish was living beneath the earth that caused earthquakes when it moved.¹² What was revolutionary, was the continuous publication of prints that satirized a contemporary event relating to the government and the ruling classes. This was unprecedented in Japan. According to Thompson (1991, 34), the suppression of the depiction of current news events originated in the ancient notion, imported from China, that a truly virtuous regime would be so completely uneventful that even natural disasters would not occur – eliminating any possibility for implied criticism of the government. Thus, the Boshin War prints, as well as the 1855 catfish prints (鯰絵 *namazu-e*), vouch for the failing authority of the Tokugawa shogunate and the eventual fall of government censorship. At the time, however, the ability to conceal political discontent within innocent-seeming prints acted as a safety

¹¹ Sudō's large number nevertheless also suggests that the majority of the produced prints did not survive. The playful nature as well as the satirical intent of the prints is most likely one of the main reasons behind the low number of prints that remain today. Another reason is the fact that ukiyo-e were essentially ephemeral objects that were mass-produced and consumed by a mass audience, or in other words, the general public. In contrast to high art, such as paintings, ukiyo-e were not intended for a select audience or display. A final reason is also to be found in the general attitude of collectors, curators, and print scholars toward these playful prints as they have often been found not worthy of attention, collection, or examination.

¹² For a discussion of such prints, see, for example, Smits (2006).

valve for the frustration felt through a lack of legitimate outlets for expression (Salter 2006, 148).

As these prints concealed their satirical intent, they required their audience to be able to “read” past the disguise and to decipher the embedded “codes” in order to arrive at something new – as otherwise the prints would miss the point they were trying to make. In other words, they depended on the visual literacy of their audience. For this, the explanatory descriptions accompanying the satirical prints not only demonstrate the close interconnection between the two visual devices of text and image but also act as another “weapon” in the playful arsenal of the artist (Salter 2006, 134). When it comes to the Boshin War prints, the children and adults depicted can be identified as the feudal domains supporting either the pro-shogunal or pro-imperial forces by means of the patterns in their clothing as well as the dialogues or monologues accompanying the figures. These patterns or symbols were often connected to famous products of each domain and were common knowledge to the buyers of the prints at the time. Recurring motives to which the Boshin War prints were transplanted were, among others, kabuki plays, such as *The Treasury of Loyal Retainers* (忠臣蔵 *Chūshingura*), compositions of famous prints, historical battles, as well as prints in which the heads of figures were replaced by famous products from the feudal domains.¹³ Dominant motives in prints depicting the pro-shogunal and pro-imperial forces as children were of children doing the following activities: playing a game, re-enacting a kabuki play, having a snowball or a mud fight, or just simply quarrelling – all motives which Hiroshige III, the primary focus of this study, employed.

4. Hiroshige III and satire

Previous literature has defined Hiroshige III as an artist who devoted himself to chronicling the Westernization and modernization of Japan during the Meiji period (Higuchi 1955; Yamaguchi et al. 1968; Takahashi 1972; Yoshida 1987; Inagaki 1990; Newland 2005; Kokusai Ukiyo-e Gakkai et al. 2014). Although this is an important aspect of Hiroshige III’s career, as he did design an abundance of prints documenting the changing cityscape of the capital and the country, no study has looked specifically at his satirical prints of the Boshin War. Yet, these prints mark an important new stage in his career because of the signature he employed, namely “Hiroshige” (広重). It should be stressed that Hiroshige III was not born

¹³ For an overview of the different “codes” used by artists in over 40 prints to disguise the domains and figures associated with both the imperial and shogunal forces, see Nagura (2007, 41, 57). Emperor Meiji, for example, is often recognizable by the Chinese character for gold (金 *kin*), a paulownia crest, a chrysanthemum crest, red shoes, a chrysanthemum jewel/ball, and so on.

with the name Hiroshige but instead was given the name Gotō Torakichi (後藤寅吉) at birth.¹⁴ It was customary for woodblock print artists to receive their pen-name by their master after they have gone through several years of training. It is in general believed that Hiroshige III started studying with Utagawa Hiroshige (歌川広重, 1797–1858) in 1858 prior to his death on October 12. As such, his training under Hiroshige was cut short but picked up by Utagawa Hiroshige II (二代歌川広重, 1826–1869), who married Hiroshige’s adopted daughter Otatsu (お辰, 1846–1879) around December 1858 and thus took over Hiroshige’s studio. Hiroshige III’s first signature, Shigemasa (重政), appeared for the first time in 1864 alongside illustrations in an illustrated book, suggesting that in 1864 he made his artistic debut. To the author’s knowledge, the following year Hiroshige III produced his first woodblock print, entitled *The Great Commercial Goods Tree* (商易諸物の大樹 *Shōeki shobutsu no taiju*, 1865/III), which was simultaneously his first satirical print. He employed the signature “Shigemasa giga” (重政戯画) to clearly enunciate his intention to ridicule and satirize people’s attachment to material goods by depicting figures trying to get a hold of rice, sake, textiles, and other goods hanging from a giant tree.

A change in Hiroshige III’s signature followed in early 1867 when he married Otatsu, after Hiroshige II had divorced her sometime between October 19, 1865 and June 26, 1866.¹⁵ The marriage allowed Hiroshige III to take charge of Hiroshige’s studio and to use his master’s signatures. His output of woodblock prints at this time, however, remained low until the first prints on the Boshin War appeared. By December 1868, when the publication of prints on the war dwindled drastically, Hiroshige III managed to book his first serialized print series dedicated to scenic spots of Tokyo – the studio’s specialization – entitled *Pictorial Record of Scenic Spots in Tokyo* (東京名勝図会 *Tōkyō meishō zue*), which covered 50 prints that were produced over a time period of almost two years. Therefore, Hiroshige III’s output of satirical prints on the Boshin War between April and December 1868 provide convincing evidence to suggest that they were his artistic breakthrough.

Although it is uncertain whether Hiroshige III intentionally produced prints without signing them, the 25 prints that do reveal his signature, of which an overview can be found in Appendix A, clearly state their satirical intent as they are: “Hiroshige giga” (広重戯画), “Utashige ga” (歌重画), “Utashige giga” (歌重戯画), and “Hiroshige zarefude” (広重戯筆). By employing *giga* (“frolicking pictures”) and *zare-*

¹⁴ For an in-depth discussion of Hiroshige III’s art names throughout his career, see Terry (2022).

¹⁵ These dates are the result of an examination of the signatures employed by Hiroshige II and Hiroshige III from 1865 to 1867. As a result of the divorce between Hiroshige II and Otatsu, Hiroshige II renounced his right to use any of the signatures or seals associated with the art name Hiroshige and the studio.

fude ("frolicking brush"), Hiroshige III stressed that he was satirizing something or someone, whereas the signature Utashige was his master's signature for satirical prints. Thus, Hiroshige III consistently proclaimed that he was satirizing someone or some event repeatedly in 1868 and it was for the buyer to find out who or what that was.

5. Hidden motives and codes

Previous studies on Boshin War prints conclude that the majority of the prints depict the pro-imperial and pro-shogunal forces to be equal in power but that many prints also express hidden motives of wanting the pro-shogunal forces to win (Minami 1999, 6; Shimizu 2005, 16; Nagura 2007, 242). The stance of Hiroshige III on the matter, however, remains unclear. Therefore, in the pages that follow, three prints by Hiroshige III are analyzed in-depth to examine how the artist illustrated the pro-imperial and pro-shogunal forces fighting over power in a chronological order. These prints were selected because of their publication at three crucial moments of the war: the second month of 1868 when the Toba-Fushimi Battle came to an end; the fourth month of 1868 when Edo Castle was bloodlessly surrendered to the imperial forces; and the eleventh month of 1868 when the young emperor visited the capital, now already named Tokyo, and the new government no longer considered the rebelling forces a threat.

Before their analysis, however, two general remarks must still be made about Hiroshige III's satirical prints on the Boshin War. To begin with, his prints were aimed at the general public with fairly low levels of literacy of Chinese characters or kanji (漢字). This is evident in the explanatory descriptions on the prints favoring the usage of *kana* (仮名), which are syllabaries used to represent morae or units of sounds, over kanji and the restriction of Chinese characters to the prints' title, which were often accompanied with *kana* to indicate their pronunciation. In addition, Hiroshige III employed a set of "codes" when it came to the garments of his figures to represent the different domains fighting for both the pro-imperial and pro-shogunal cause, as presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Codes used by Hiroshige III

Allegiance	Domain or person	Matching code(s)
Pro-imperial	Satsuma domain	<i>Kasuri</i> weave pattern
	Chōshū domain	Bush clover
	Tosa domain	Tortoise shell
	Tsu domain	Ivy
	Okayama domain	Pincers (nail hammer)
	Hikone domain	Family crest of Tachibana clan
	Emperor Meiji (明治天皇 Meiji tennō, 1852–1912, reign 1867–1912)	Red sash on green garments, introduced with character for money (金 <i>kin</i>), chrysanthemum
	Aizu domain	Emblem of the domain
	Kuwana domain	Grilled clams
	Shōnai domain	Double cross pattern
Pro-shogunal	Himeji domain	<i>Shimenawa</i> (しめ縄) or rope used to cordon off consecrated areas or as a talisman (<i>hime</i> became <i>shime</i> in Edo dialect)
	Tokugawa Yoshinobu (徳川慶喜, 1837–1913, reign 1866–1867)	Pattern of one vertical line alternated by a horizontal one, similar to a brick pattern
	Princess Kazu (和宮 Kazu-no-miya, 1846–1877)	Introduced as the “daughter,” hollyhock
	Tenshō-in (天璋院, 1836–1883)	Introduced as the “mother,” or abbreviated as “Ten”

Sources: Minami (1995, 6); Minami (1999, 127); Tomizawa (2005, 159); Nagura (2007, 41, 57); Tanabe and Yuasa (2008, 126–127)

These codes were not unique to Hiroshige III’s prints, but were in fact actively employed by other print artists, establishing a certain uniformity for print buyers in order to decipher the hidden satire.

6. Grab a child, grab a child

Among one of the first prints that Hiroshige III illustrated on the Boshin War is the print of the title *Little Children Playing “Grab a Child, Grab a Child”* (幼童遊び子をとろ／＼, *Osana asobi ko o toro ko o toro*, 1868/II, *ōban* diptych; see Figure 1), which is simultaneously believed to be one of the earliest prints satirizing the war (Minami 1995, 6; Minami 1998, 290; Minami 1999, 127; Nagura 2007, 30). The print was published by Maruya Heijirō (丸屋平次郎, dates unknown), the same publisher who issued the abovementioned first print of Hiroshige III. In other words, Maruya commissioned Hiroshige III with the particular goal of illustrating a satirical print

on the war and would publish two more of his satirical prints in the fourth month of 1868, or sometime between April 23 and May 25, 1868 (see Appendix A).



Figure 1: Utagawa Hiroshige III, *Little Children Playing "Grab a Child, Grab a Child,"* 1868/II, full-color woodblock print

(Source: Photograph © National Diet Library Digital Collections)

At first sight the print seems to be an innocent illustration of children playing a game called "grab a child, grab a child" (子をとろ子をとろ, *ko o toro ko o toro*) in which one person plays the devil, another the parent, and the rest the children. In the game, the devil attempts to capture the children while the parent is in charge of protecting them. This diptych, in contrast, employs the game as a device to juxtapose the pro-imperial forces, on the right, with the pro-shogunal forces, on the left. The pro-shogunal domain Aizu (会津) has taken up the role of the devil, as he is the child with his hands reaching out ready to catch one of the children in front of him and is identifiable because of the emblem of the domain's infantry featured on the back of his haori. Standing next to him are the other domains supporting the Tokugawa shogunate: the domains of Kuwana (桑名) and Shōnai (庄内) pointing and laughing at the pro-imperialists. The Aizu domain is cheered on by Tokugawa Yoshinobu, here with his hands on his head, saying, "Hey, mate, pull yourself together! Don't worry cause I'm right behind you!"¹⁶

¹⁶ をいあいぼうちゃんしつかりやんなへうしろにはおれがついているから大丈夫 (Oi aibō-chan

On opposite side of the domains supporting Yoshinobu are the pro-imperialists who form a line while grasping each other's shoulders. Here, the Satsuma (薩摩) domain has taken up the role of the parent and is "protecting" the other pro-imperial domains who are standing behind him, which are the domains of Owari (尾張), Tosa (土佐), Fukuoka (福岡), Tsu (津), Okayama (岡山), Hikone (彦根), and Chōshū (長州). Watching from the sideline – thus taking a neutral stance – is Princess Kazu (和宮 Kazu-no-miya, 1846–1877) carrying her adopted son Kamenosuke (亀之助), better known as Tokugawa Iesato (徳川家達, 1863–1940). Together they refrain from participating in the game while Princess Kazu reassures Kamenosuke that everything will be alright because they have the support of the Chōshū domain.

On the back of the Chōshū domain sits another child: Emperor Meiji, who is identifiable by the combination of the red sash and the green garments. This color-combination confirms that Hiroshige III and Maruya were aware of the banner that the imperial army was using at the time (Nagura 2007, 31–32). Moreover, it suggests that the print was published rather fast, roughly one month after pro-imperial forces had risen victorious in the Battle of Toba-Fushimi. Yet, Emperor Meiji was at the time 17 years old and not an infant as suggested by Hiroshige III.¹⁷ So why would Hiroshige III disguise the emperor as an infant? Naturally, the motive of a child's game worked as a safety valve to escape censorship. However, if the composition of the print is taken into account, it becomes clear that the emperor was under the direct protection of both the Satsuma and Chōshū domains, which were respectively protecting the pro-imperial domains and carrying the emperor. As Keene (2001, 142) explains, the emperor was incapable at that age of making any significant contribution: neither towards the movement that restored power to the emperor, nor to the Boshin War, nor to the momentous changes that immediately ensued, but was solely the guiding spirit. Hiroshige III and Maruyama were clearly aware of this fact and used a seemingly innocent children's game to satirize the parties quarrelling over political and governing power, while suggesting that the pro-imperial forces were winning the game – and thus the war – as they appear more organized and outnumber the domains supporting Yoshinobu.

7. The world seen through a physiognomist's glass

After the defeat of the shogunal forces at the Battle of Toba-Fushimi, Yoshinobu retreated to Edo. In April, however, negotiations were under way between Katsu Kaishū

shikkari yannae ushiro ni wa ore ga tsuiteiru kara daijōbu).

¹⁷ Although one can reasonably argue that the emperor was 16 at the time, considering that he was born in 1852, the "East Asian age of reckoning" (数え年 *kazoedoshi*, literally "counted years") was not abolished until 1902. Thus, the emperor was one year old when he was born and 17 when the Boshin War commenced.

(勝海舟, 1823–1899), Yoshinobu’s military commander, and Saigō Takamori (西郷隆盛, 1828–1877), the principal field commander for the imperial forces, for the bloodless surrender of Edo Castle. During these negotiations, the opinions of Sir Harry Smith Parkes (1828–1885), Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary and Consul General of the United Kingdom to the Empire of Japan from 1865 to 1883, were also sought (Keene 2002, 142–143; Ishii 2008, 134–144). As a result, Edo Castle, which had been the shogunal administrative center, was turned over without a fight to the emperor’s army on May 3, 1868. In the context of bloodless surrender, Hiroshige III designed another satirical print which was published by Kakumotoya Kinjirō (角本屋金次郎, dates unknown) in the fourth month of 1868, or, taking the date of surrender into account, between May 3 and May 21, 1868 (see Figure 2). Considering Marks’s (2011, 26) research into the minimum production time of woodblock prints, Hiroshige III’s print was published faster than the average 22 days which would have been necessary to produce a batch of 1,000 triptychs (that is, prints consisting of three sheets) if we can assume that Hiroshige III only needed one day to complete his design. As this print is a diptych and there were several ways to speed up the production process, such as starting the printing when blocks were still being carved, this diptych confirms that time and speed were of the essence for the publication and promotion of Japanese woodblock prints. Indeed, the first publisher who was on the market with an appealing design had notably the best chances to receive the majority of the customers and thus had a higher chance of making a profit (Marks 2011, 26).

With this print, entitled *The World Seen through a Physiognomist’s Glass* (世の中眼鏡 *Yo no naka tengankyō*, 1868/IV, *ōban* diptych; see Figure 2), Hiroshige III visualized a group of people consulting a physiognomist or a fortune teller who tells somebody’s fortune from his facial features. The fortune teller is Emperor Meiji himself, as is indicated by the chrysanthemums embroidered on his garment, and he is surrounded by nine people, representing both the pro-imperial and pro-shogunal forces. From right to left we see Princess Kazu, the Sendai (仙台) domain, the Owari domain (the *yukata* with the octopus), Tenshō-in (天璋院, 1836–1883), the Chōshū domain (blue overcoat), Tokugawa Yoshinobu (scratching his head), the Aizu domain (sitting in front of the physiognomist), the Satsuma domain (behind the Aizu domain), the Tosa domain (holding the open fan), and Emperor Meiji (holding the mirror). This print introduces the only two women who ever appear in satirical prints on the Boshin War, namely Princess Kazu, who was the wife of the 14th shogun Tokugawa Iemochi (徳川家茂, 1846–1866), and Tenshō-in, who was the wife of the 13th shogun Tokugawa Iesada (徳川家定, 1824–1858). Princess Kazu is seemingly ashamed by the consultation, as she says: “It is a little embarrassing to consult [a fortune-teller].”¹⁸ Tenshō-in, on the other hand, who refers to herself

¹⁸ なんだかみてもらうのがはづかしいねへ (*Nandaka mitemorau no ga hazukashii nee*).

as “mother,” reassures the princess that “As if there is something to be embarrassed about! Let’s have a thorough consultation cause mother is really worried.”¹⁹



Figure 2: Utagawa Hiroshige III, *The World Seen through a Physiognomist's Glass*, 1868/IV, full-color woodblock print

(Source: Photograph © 2023, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; William Sturgis Bigelow Collection [11.34998.14a-b])

But what could they have been worried about? Neither Princess Kazu, who played a passive role in Figure 1, nor Tenshō-in were worried about their own future, as Saigō and Katsu's negotiations guaranteed that they would not be taken hostage. Instead, they were worried about the future of the Tokugawa house. As Yoshinobu had been branded an enemy of the emperor (朝敵 *chōteki*), the entire Tokugawa family ran the risk of being ruined and destroyed. Moreover, since the succession to the Tokugawa family fell on Princess Kazu's son Kamenosuke, Princess Kazu had sent a letter between the Battle of Toba-Fushimi and the bloodless surrender of Edo Castle to avoid the entire Tokugawa family being branded as an enemy of the court and to secure her son's succession to the Tokugawa family (Keene 2002, 129).²⁰ Regarding their worries, the physiognomist foretells:

¹⁹ はづかしい事があるものかねよくみておもらいよおつかあさんは誠にしんぱいだよ (*Hazukashii koto ga aru mono kane yoku mite-omorai yo okkāsan wa makoto ni shinpai dayo*).

²⁰ According to Keene (2002, 129), Princess Kazu sent a letter to Hashimoto Saneya (橋本実梁,

Now, you maidservants in the back, I can see that you seem to have a great deal of worries about the residence of your family, but everything I say is a promise. If you truly care about your family, then do listen to me carefully. However, you probably won't like what I have to say.

さてうしろに御座るお女中おまへは家住居の事につきだいぶくろうがみへるがこれと申もみなやくそくごとじやたゞ／＼家を大事におもふならわしがいふ事をよくきゝたまひしかしわしが申ことはとかく御気にはいるまい

Sate ushiro ni gozaru ojochū omae wa ie jūkyo no koto ni tsuki daibu kurō ga mieru ga kore to mōshimo mina yakusoku goto ja tada tada ie o daiji ni omou nara washi ga iu koto o yoku kikitamai shikashi washi ga mōsu koto ha tokaku oki ni wa iru mai.

With these lines, Hiroshige III was urging his print-buying public to sit tight and wait, similar to how Emperor Meiji was ordering Princess Kazu and Tenshō-in to wait for further instructions. Through the powerful combination of the above lines, which fail to reveal anything about the future, and the visualization of the two women waiting in line behind pro-shogunal domains, which suggests that their fate was not the emperor's top priority, Hiroshige III succeeded in mocking the reality that the once-powerful Tokugawa family was now at the mercy of the emperor – and not the other way around.

Other people visiting the physiognomist had similar concerns. The Sendai domain, for example, wearing the yellow overcoat and sitting behind Princess Kazu and Tenshō-in, murmurs, "I am concerned about my friends, is there something that I can do?"²¹ Similarly, the Owari domain, who is wearing the yukata with the octopus pattern, says, "I have a lot of concerns about my brothers, what will become of them?"²² The Sendai domain is here referring to the "four Takasu brothers" or the feudal lord of Aizu Matsudaira Katamori (松平容保, 1836–1893), the feudal lord of Owari Tokugawa Yoshikatsu (徳川義勝, 1824–1883), the feudal lord of Kuwana Matsudaira Sada'aki (松平定敬, 1847–1908), and the head of the Hitotsubashi branch of the Tokugawa house Tokugawa Mochinaga (徳川茂徳, 1831–1884). The response of the emperor to each and everyone's concerns was vague at best, but he warned his visitors:

Now, as I look around at each and every one of you, you appear with your own [facial] features but also with your connections. As long as you

1834–1885), the commander of the eastern sea circuit, who forwarded it to Madenokōji Hirofusa (万里小路博房, 1824–1884), a political advisor (参与 *san'yo*) to the imperial court in Kyoto.

²¹ みどもはほうゆうのこにつきましてしんぱいいたしおるがいかゞいたしたもので御座るな (*Midomo wa hōyū no koto ni tsukimashite shinpai itashi-oru ga ikaga itashita mono te gozaru na*).

²² わたくしは兄弟のこにつきましていろ／＼しんぱいおいたしおりますがいかがりませう (*Wata-kushi wa kyōdai no koto ni tsukimashite iroiro shinpai o-itashi-orimasu ga ikaga narimashō*).

make use of what I have to say, then your hearts will be at ease. However, as there are different characters present here, I can see that among the [facial] features that I see, there will be persons who think, "It is a lie!"

さておの／＼かようにみわたした所が何れも私よくがあらわれた相ごうでみな手前
がつてがあるわたしがいふ事さへもちいればみな／＼のこゝろがあんどいたすが
此内にもいろ／＼な気ふうがあつてわしがみる相はうそじやと思ふ人がみへるて

*Sate ono'ono ka yō ni miwatashita tokoro ga doremo watashi yoku ga
arawareta sōgō de mina temae ga tsute ga aru watashi ga iu koto sae
mochiireba mina mina no kokoro ga ando itasu ga kono uchi ni mo iroi
na kifū ga atte watashi ga miru sō wa uso ja to omou hito ga mieru te.*

Hiroshige III's overall vagueness in the explanatory inscriptions suggests that the general public was kept in the dark about the fate of the Tokugawa family and the pro-shogunal domains. This is also supported by the fact that the only facial expression that we cannot see is the one of the emperor. Thus, the emperor's fortune was the sole fortune that was undecided, as he was in control of his own fate and that of everyone else. It is also in the representation of the emperor that a change presents itself. In contrast to Figure 1, Emperor Meiji was no longer in need of being saved by pro-imperial domains and exchanged his passive role for an active one, primarily because of Yoshinobu's surrender with the fall of Edo Castle. Similarly, Princess Kazu transformed from taking a neutral stance in Figure 1 to actively seeking out the emperor to discuss the future of Kamenosuke – something which she did in reality with her letter. Thus, the emperor, previously introduced as a child incapable of achieving anything on his own, now controlled the narrative of the woodblock print as a fortune teller and, thus, the fate of the defeated shogunal forces and the remaining members of the Tokugawa family.

8. A bonanza of sake

With the bloodless surrender of Edo Castle, the remaining rebelling domains were no longer considered a threat and the war was as good as won by the pro-imperial forces. This realization also affected the woodblock print production as Hiroshige III's output of Boshin War prints drastically dwindled following the aftermath of this surrender. In April 1868, when negotiations were being conducted and the shogunal administrative center was eventually turned over, Hiroshige III produced nine prints followed by six more in May. In the coming months, however, his average output decreased to either one or two a month until December 1868 (see Appendix A). At that time, other events resulting from the ongoing Boshin War were attracting more attention in capital. The emperor's journey to Tokyo, for example, was announced on September 19 and the inhabitants of Tokyo were eager for an imperial visit as the city had lost its political importance since the dismantling of

the shogunate (Keene 2002, 160). The emperor left Kyoto accompanied by a procession of more than 3,300 people and arrived in Tokyo on November 26. Not soon after the imperial visit had been announced, woodblock prints were issued upon the (expected) arrival of the emperor's procession in Tokyo. Hiroshige III himself designed five such prints, with his earliest print published sometime between October 16 and November 13, thus approximately one month after the emperor's visit had been announced and prior to his arrival (see Appendix B).

On December 17 the emperor offered the people of Tokyo a vast amount of sake in commemoration of his visit. In total 2,990 barrels of sake were distributed, as well as 550 pewter sake containers and 1,700 bundles of dried cuttlefish, which the people of Tokyo consumed in a two-day binge (Keene 2002, 163). On this celebration and distribution of imperial sake Hiroshige III designed five triptychs which were published between November 14 and December 13, 1868 (see Appendix C). These prints depict people queuing in front of government offices to collect the barrels as well as "processions" of people who had just received their sake barrels, holding large and colorful banners that read *tenshu chōdai* (天酒頂戴), *omiki chōdai* (御神酒頂戴), and *tenpai chōdai* (天盃頂戴), all meaning "Give us the heavenly sake!" Around the same time, Hiroshige III also designed his last satirical print on the Boshin War, which took as subject the distribution of the "heavenly sake" (see Figure 3).



Figure 3: Utagawa Hiroshige III, *The Whole Nation Celebrating the Given Sake to Wish for the Emperor's Reign to Last for Eternity*, 1868/XI, full-color woodblock print

(Source: Photograph © Cool Art Tokyo / DNPartcom; Asai Collection)

Entitled *The Whole Nation Celebrating the Given Sake to Wish for the Emperor's Reign to Last for Eternity* (ありがたき御代万代を寿て御酒下されを祝ふ万民 *Arigataki godai yorozuyo o kotobukite osake kudasare to iwafu banmin*, 1868/XI, *ōban* diptych), the diptych illustrates people celebrating and drinking sake. Everyone is seated in a half circle facing the hanging scroll painting of the young and radiating emperor, which has been made visible by the uplifted curtains carrying the Imperial Seal of Japan or the Chrysanthemum Seal. Emperor Meiji is worshipped as a god as suggested by the altar placed before him, the barrels' label that reads "sake of the gods" (御神酒 *omiki*), and the sun-disc floating behind his head as the Japanese emperor is believed to be a direct descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu (天照大神 *Amaterasu Ōmikami*). The explanatory inscriptions accompanying the print all contain praise for the emperor and the sake he provided. Attendees express their wish to consume more sake while they push each other to drink more, despite someone complaining he cannot. The government official standing next to the barrels on the left sheet proclaims: "We'll never have such an opportunity again. Here, do not hold back and have another [drink]."²³ One of the kneeling ladies bows her head in agreement and says, "I do not know if there is anything more grateful in this world than this."²⁴

Lacking in this print, however, are the embedded codes that dominated Hiroshige III's other prints. This confirms that imperial forces had emerged victorious in the Boshin War and that for print artists and print publishers it was no longer necessary to disguise any political discontent with either the shogunal or imperial forces as the people of Tokyo had been appeased with sake. This poses the question who Hiroshige III intended to satirize as neither the defeated shogunal forces or the victorious imperial forces are explicitly depicted. It can be inferred that he satirized the people of Tokyo no longer being interested in the outcome of the war and that pro-shogunal sympathizers had been won over to support the emperor with the distribution of the "heavenly" sake. Similar to Figures 1 and 2, the depiction of Emperor Meiji changed once more. From a passive bystander to the fortune teller dominating the conversation on the future of the shogunal forces, the emperor had now ascended to power as the descendant of the sun goddess and was revered by the general public of Tokyo.

²³ またとないことぢやえんりようなくてうだいさつしやれ (*Mata to nai koto ja enryō naku chōdai sasshare*).

²⁴ こんなありがたいことはこの世にあろか (*Konna arigatai koto wa kono yo ni aroka*).

9. Conclusion

This paper examined how Utagawa Hiroshige III responded to the Boshin War and how he employed humor and satire as mechanisms to provoke shared laughter and to illustrate the pro-imperial and pro-shogunal forces fighting over political and governing power. The satirical prints on the Boshin war were very popular at the time, as can be concluded by their availability in large numbers and their short production time. This suggests that the woodblock print-buying public in Edo/Tokyo was very eager for visual imagery that depicted and satirized the clash between pro-imperial and pro-shogunal forces. Moreover, the co-dependency of text and image in the prints confirms their informative function as well as strengthens their satirical intent. Hiroshige III employed various codes to convey the true identity of the people involved in the Boshin War and transposed them to innocent-looking settings such as a children's game and a consultation with a physiognomist. Although censorship was wavering, this method of disguising current news events confirms that Hiroshige III and his publishers still felt the need for a safety valve in case of government inspection. That being said, Hiroshige III nevertheless clearly announced his intent to satirize, by means of his signatures, and established himself as a print artist capable of swiftly and elegantly disguising contemporary and political events in seemingly innocent, yet intriguing, scenes. The usage of the term "*ōju*" (応需, literally "responding to a demand") in several of his prints also provides evidence for the above claim as it implies that he designed the prints on special commission (see Appendices A, B, and C).

With a print-buying public hungry for visual imagery on the developments of the Boshin War, Hiroshige III and his publishers provided novel and disguised interpretations of the war that kept the print-buying public up-to-date on its latest developments. From the analysis of the prints, it can be concluded that Hiroshige III did not express hidden motives of wanting the pro-shogunal forces to win. This is clear as Hiroshige III visualized a remarkable and powerful transformation of the emperor from a helpless infant to a physiognomist consulted by all important politicians to a revered and celebrated god. This finding goes against the general claim made by previous research (Minami 1999, 6; Shimizu 2005, 16; Nagura 2007, 242). Therefore, further studies on the depiction of Emperor Meiji in Hiroshige III's remaining prints and in the work of other print artists could provide detailed information on how the Japanese popular print medium perceived, and capitalized on, the shift in political power during the Boshin War – or how the ruled introduced their new ruler.

In the end, these satirical prints were published at a time when government censorship was wavering, of which print artists and publishers eagerly took advantage. The satirical prints on the Boshin War eventually made way for the continuous depiction of contemporary events, the identification of historical figures

and the ruling classes in prints, and satire aimed at the government, which would become common practice from the 1870s onward.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to express her sincere gratitude to the editors and two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments on earlier versions of this paper, as well as to her colleagues at KU Leuven for their continuous support.

References

- Clark, Timothy, C. Andrew Gerstle, Aki Ishigami, and Akiko Yano, eds. 2013. *Shunga: Sex and Pleasure in Japanese Art*. London: British Museum Press.
- Davis, Julie Nelson. 2016. *Partners in Print: Artistic Collaboration and the Ukiyo-e Market*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Desai, Vishakha N. 1991. "Introduction: Censorship and Art: Japan and America." In *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints*, edited by Sarah E. Thompson and Harry D. Harootunian, 1–5. New York: Asia Society Galleries.
- Fujisawa, Murasaki, and Yōsuke Katō. 2018. *Asoberu ukiyo-e: Kumon no kodomo ukiyo-e korekushon: Edo no kodomo-e, omocha-e daishūgō!* [Play with Ukiyo-e: Children's and Toy Ukiyo-e in the Edo period from the Kumon Collection]. Kyoto: Seigensha Puromōshon.
- Gordon, Andrew. 2020. *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present*. 4th edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harootunian, Harry D. 1991. "Cultural Politics in Tokugawa Japan." In *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints*, edited by Sarah E. Thompson and Harry D. Harootunian, 7–28. New York: Asia Society Galleries.
- Haywood, Ian. 2013. *Romanticism and Caricature*. Cambridge Studies in Romanticism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Higuchi, Hiroshi. 1955. *Bakumatsu Meiji no ukiyo-e shūsei* [Aggregation of Ukiyo-e from Bakumatsu and Meiji]. Tokyo: Mitō Shooku.
- Inagaki, Shinichi. 1990. *Zusetsu ukiyo-e nyūmon* [Illustrated Introduction to Ukiyo-e]. Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha.
- Ishii, Takashi. 2008. *Boshin sensō ron* [Debate on the Boshin War]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- Jaundrill, D. Colin. 2020. "Toba-Fushimi Revisited: Commemorating the Violence of the Restoration Moment." *Japanese Studies* 40, no. 3: 267–289.
- Keene, Donald. 2001. "The First Emperor of Modern Japan." In *Births and Rebirths in Japanese Art*, edited by Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, 141–161. Leiden: Hotei Publishing.
- Keene, Donald. 2002. *Emperor of Japan: Meiji and His World, 1852–1912*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kinoshita, Naoyuki. 2003. "The Early Years of Japanese Photography." In *The History of Japanese Photography*, edited by Anne Wilkes Tucker, Dana Friis-Hansen, Ryūichi Kaneko, Joe Takeba, and John Junkerman, 14–99. New Haven and London: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

- Kokusai Ukiyo-e Gakkai, Edo Tōkyō Hakubutsukan, Nagoya-shi Hakubutsukan, Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan, and Yomiuri Shinbunsha. 2014. *Dai ukiyo-e ten* [Grand Ukiyo-e Exhibition] = *Ukiyo-e, A Journey through the Floating World*. Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha.
- Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan. 1995. *Bakumatsu no fūshiga: Boshin sensō o chūshin ni* [Caricatures of Bakumatsu: Focus on the Boshin War]. Machida: Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan.
- Marks, Andreas. 2011. *Publishers of Japanese Woodblock Prints: A Compendium*. Leiden and Boston: Hotei Publishing.
- McQuiston, Liz. 2019. *Protest! A History of Social and Political Protest Graphics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Minami, Kazuo. 1995. "Bakumatsu no fūshiga: Boshin sensō o chūshin toshite [Caricatures of Bakumatsu: With a Focus on the Boshin War]." In *Bakumatsu no fūshiga: Boshin sensō o chūshin ni*, 6–10. Machida: Machida Shiritsu Hakubutsukan.
- Minami, Kazuo. 1998. *Bakumatsu Edo no bunka: Ukiyo-e to fūshiga* [Culture of Edo and Bakumatsu: Ukiyo-e and Caricatures]. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō.
- Minami, Kazuo. 1999. *Bakumatsu Ishin no fūshiga* [Caricatures of the Bakumatsu Restoration]. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan.
- Nagura, Tetsuzō. 2007. *Etoki Bakumatsu fūshiga to tennō* [Caricatures of Bakumatsu and the Emperor Explained through Illustrations]. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō.
- Newland, Amy Reigle. 2005. *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing.
- Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan and Mainichi Shinbunsha, eds. 2018. *Edo no giga: Toba-e kara Hokusai, Kuniyoshi, Kyōsai made tokubetsuten* [Caricatures of the Edo Period: From Toba-style Paintings to Hokusai, Kuniyoshi, and Kyōsai]. Osaka: Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan.
- Salter, Rebecca. 2006. *Japanese Popular Prints: From Votive Slips to Playing Cards*. London: A & C Black.
- Sasaki, Suguru. 1977. *Boshin sensō* [Boshin War]. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha.
- Shimizu, Isao. 2005. *Nihon kindai manga no tanjō* [The Birth of Japan's Modern Manga]. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha.
- Smits, Gregory. 2006. "Shaking up Japan: Edo Society and the 1855 Catfish Picture Prints." *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 4: 1045–1078.
- Suzuki, Tōzō, and Shōtarō Koike. 1995. *Fujiokaya nikki* [Diary of Fujiokaya]. Vol. 15. Tokyo: San-Ichi Shobō.
- Takahashi, Sei'ichirō. 1972. *Traditional Woodblock Prints of Japan*. Translated by Richard Stanley-Baker. The Heibonsha Survey of Japanese Art. Vol. 22. New York: Weatherhill.

- Tanabe, Masako, and Yoshiko Yuasa. 2008. *Sugu wakarū tanoshii Edo no ukiyo-e: Edo no hito wa dō tsukatta ka* [Easy to Understand, Fun Ukiyo-e from Edo: How People from Edo Used them]. Edited by Nobuo Tsuji and Shūgō Asano. Tokyo: Tōkyō Bijutsu.
- Terryn, Freya. 2021. *Japanese Woodblock Prints and the Meiji State: Production, Reception, and Intention in the Prints of Tsukioka Yoshitoshi and Utagawa Hiroshige III*. PhD diss., University of Leuven (KU Leuven).
- Terryn, Freya. 2022. "What's in a Name? Utagawa Hiroshige III and the Art of Reinventing Oneself." *Wasshoi* 3, January: 28–41.
- Thompson, Sarah E. 1991. "The Politics of Japanese Prints." In *Undercurrents in the Floating World: Censorship and Japanese Prints*, edited by Sarah E. Thompson and Harry D. Harootunian, 29–91. New York: Asia Society Galleries.
- Thompson, Sarah E. 2005. "Censorship and Ukiyo-e Prints." In *The Hotei Encyclopedia of Japanese Woodblock Prints*, edited by Amy Reigle Newland, 318–322. Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing.
- Tomizawa, Tatsuzō. 2005. *Nishiki-e no chikara: Bakumatsu no jijiteki nishiki-e to kawaraban* [The Power of Nishiki-e: Topical Nishiki-e of Bakumatsu and Kawaraban]. Tokyo: Bunsei Shoin.
- Uhlenbeck, Chris. 2011. "The Phases in the Career of Tsukioka Yoshitoshi: A Print Designer in a Time of Change." In *Yoshitoshi: Masterpieces from the Ed Freis Collection*, Chris Uhlenbeck and Amy Reigle Newland, 8–24. Leiden: Hotei Publishing.
- Yamaguchi, Keizaburō, Masao Takahashi, Shigeo Miyao, Sadao Kikuchi, Jūzō Suzuki, Kōko Asanaga, Isaburō Oka, Teruji Yoshida, Yasumaro Mizuguchi, and Chiyo Nakayama. 1968. "Hiroshige o shiru tame ni [In Order to Understand Hiroshige]." *Ukiyo-e Geijutsu*, no. 18 (October): 21–39.
- Yates, Charles L. 1995. *Saigō Takamori: The Man behind the Myth*. London and New York: Kegan Paul International; distributed by Columbia University Press.
- Yoshida, Susugu. 1987. *Ukiyo-e no kiso chishiki* [Basic Knowledge of Ukiyo-e]. Tokyo: Yūzankaku.

Appendices

Because the prints under analysis in this paper were published before the adoption of the Western Gregorian Calendar on January 1, 1873, the three following appendices employ Roman numerals to refer to the lunar month in which the prints were published. The format of the prints is the standard format for woodblock prints, namely *ōban* (大判), which measures approximately 39 by 26.5 centimeters.

Appendix A: An overview of satirical prints on the Boshin War by Hiroshige III

Date	Title	Publisher	Signature	Format
1868/II	Little Children Playing "Grab a Child, Grab a Child" (<i>Yōdō asobi ko o toro ko o toro</i> 幼童遊び子をとろ／＼)	Maruya Heijirō 丸屋平次郎	Ōju Hiroshige zarefude 応需広重戯筆	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/II	Battle of Marketprices of Silver Coins (<i>Zeni taihei kin sōba gassen</i> 銭太平金相場合戦)	Ōsada 大貞	Utashige giga 歌重戯画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/IV	The Pride of the Pleasure Quarters (<i>Kuruwa no ikiji</i> くるわのいきち)	Maruya Heijirō 丸屋平次郎	Hiroshige giga 広重戯画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/IV	The World Seen through a Physiognomist's Glass (<i>Yo no naka tengankyō</i> 世の中天眼鏡)	Kakumotoya Kinjirō 角本屋金次郎	Utashige ga 歌重画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/IV	Amateur Comedians Rehearsing (<i>Shirōto chaban shita geiko</i> 素人茶番下げいこ)	Iseyu Kanekichi 伊勢屋兼吉	Hiroshige zarefude 広重戯筆	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/IV	Zhong Kui from the Famous Painting (<i>Meiga no Shōki</i> 名画の鍾馗)	Iseyu Han'emon 伊勢屋半右衛門	Hiroshige ga 広重画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/IV	Got Them! Rats in the Bag (<i>Shimeta shimeta fukuro no nezumi</i> しめたしめた袋の鼠)	Yorozuya Jūbei 万屋重兵衛	Ōju Utashige giga 応需歌重戯画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/IV	Popular Giant Dolls (<i>Ryūkō ōningyō</i> 流行大人形)	Iseyu Kisaburō 伊勢屋喜三郎	Utashige ga 歌重画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/IV	Oimatsu [name of a piece of noh music] (<i>Oimatsu</i> 老まつ)	Maruya Heijirō 丸屋平次郎	Hiroshige ga 広重画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/IV	Matabei of the Floating World Praying a Million Times for his Deceased Master (<i>Ukiyo Matabei shishō no tsuizen ni hyakumanben o suru zu</i> 浮世又平師匠の追善に百万べんをする図)	Shimuzuya Naojirō 清水屋直次郎	Ōju Hiroshige giga 応需広重戯画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/V	The Arts Performed by Children (<i>Kodomo gei zukushi</i> 子供芸づくし)	Zen 善	Utashige giga 歌重戯画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/V	The Arts Performed by Children (<i>Kodomo gei zukushi</i> 子供芸づくし)	Wakasen 若仙	Utashige giga 歌重戯画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/V	The Persuasive Speech of Negotiators in the Floating World (<i>Ukiyo keian-guchi</i> 浮世けいあんぐち)	Yoki ヨキ	Ōju Utashige giga 応需歌重戯画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych
1868/V	The Seven Gods of Good Fortune Playing with Chinese Children (<i>Shichifukujin karako asobi</i> 七福神から子あそび)	Maruya Jinpachi 丸屋甚八 and Zen 善	Utashige giga 歌重戯画	<i>Ōban</i> diptych

1868/V	Flourishing Business for Merchants in the Summertime (<i>Natsu akindo han'ei no zu</i> 夏商人繁栄の図)	Kiya Sakutarō 木屋作太郎	Ōju Utashige ga 応需歌重画	Ōban diptych
1868/V	Eight Suitors for One Daughter (<i>Hitori musume ni muko hachinin</i> 一人娘にむこ八人)	Zen 善	Ōju Utashige ga 応需歌重画	Ōban diptych
1868/ VII	Children at Play: A Mud Fight (<i>Kodomo asobi doro gassen</i> 子供遊どろ合戦)	Zen 善	Ōju Utashige giga 応需歌重戯画	Ōban diptych
1868/ VIII	Popular Floating World Proverbs (<i>Ryūkō ukiyo no tatōe</i> 流行浮世のたとへ)	Yoki ヨキ	Utashige ga 歌重画	Ōban diptych
1868/ VIII	Guests Staying for a Long Time (<i>Tōsei nagatchiri na kyakushin</i> 当世長ッ尻な客しん)	Kiya Sakutarō 木屋作太郎	Utashige ga 歌重画	Ōban diptych
1868/IX	Proverbs in the Floating World (<i>Hitogokoro ukiyo no tatōe</i> ひとこゝろ浮世のたとへ)	Nishikisen 錦仙	Ōju Utashige ga 応需歌重画	Ōban diptych
1868/IX	Children Playing: Comparison of Kite Flying (<i>Kodomo asabi tako no agekkura</i> 子供遊凧のあけくら)	Kiya Sakutarō 木屋作太郎	Utashige giga 歌重戯画	Ōban diptych
1868/X	Belligerent Drunks (<i>Hara tachi jōgo</i> はらたち上戸)	Kiya Sakutarō 木屋作太郎	Utashige ga 歌重画	Ōban diptych
1866/X	'Six-petal Flower' from Children Playing (<i>Mutsu no hana kodomo no asobi</i> むつの花子供の戯)	Unknown	Ōju Utashige giga 応需歌重戯画	Ōban triptych
1868/XI	The Whole Nation Celebrating the Given Sake to Wish for the Emperor's Reign to Last for Eternity (<i>Arigataki godai yorozuyo o kotobukite osake kudasare o iwafu banmin</i> ありがたき御代万代を寿て御酒下されを祝ふ万民)	Iseya Kanekichi 伊勢屋兼吉	Hiroshige zarefude 広しげ戯筆	Ōban diptych

Appendix B: An overview of processional prints by Hiroshige III

Date	Title	Publisher	Signature	Format
1868/IX	Scenic View of Nihonbashi in Tokyo (<i>Tōkyō Nihonbashi shōkei</i> 東京日本橋勝景)	Maruya Tetsujirō 丸屋鉄次郎	Ōju Hiroshige hitsu 応需広重筆	Ōban triptych
1868/X	The Official Notice Board at Nihonbashi Bridge in Tokyo (<i>Tōkyō Nihonbashi gokōsatsuba no zu</i> 東京日本橋御高札場之図)	Hiranoya Shinzō 平野屋新蔵	Ōju Hiroshige hitsu 応需広重筆	Ōban triptych
1868/X	Scenic Spots of Tokyo: Shiba Daijingu (<i>Tōkyō meishō Shiba Shinmeigū no zu</i> 東京名勝芝神明宮之図)	Sanoya Kihei 佐野屋喜兵衛	Hiroshige hitsu 広重筆	Ōban triptych
1868/X	Scenic Spot of Takanawa in Tokyo (<i>Tōkyō Takanawa no shōkei</i> 東京高輪之勝景)	Iseya Kanekichi 伊勢屋兼吉	Ōju Hiroshige zu 応需広重図	Ōban triptych

1868/XI	Scenic Spots of Tokyo: Shibadaimon (<i>Tōkyō meishō Shibadaimon no zu</i> 東京名勝芝大門之図)	Maruya Heijirō 丸屋平次郎	Hiroshige hitsu 広重筆	<i>Ōban</i> triptych
---------	---	-------------------------	------------------------	-------------------------

Appendix C: An overview of prints on the distribution of imperial sake

Date	Title	Publisher	Signature	Format
1868/XI	Shinbashi from Shiodome in Tokyo (<i>Tōkyō Shiodome yori Shinbashi no zu</i> 東京汐留ヨリ新橋之図)	Tsunokuniya Isaburō 津国屋伊三郎	Ōju Hiroshige hitsu 応需広重筆	<i>Ōban</i> triptych
1868/XI	Gratitude for Receiving the Imperial Sake, Various People Revering and Enjoying Themselves – Scenery of Yotsuya in Tokyo (<i>Tenshu chōdai tame orei shomin</i> <i>tsushimi tanoshimi Tōkyō-fu Yotsuya</i> <i>no fūkei</i> 天盃頂載為御礼諸民欽樂東京府四谷之 風景)	Nōshūya Yasubei 濃州屋安兵衛	Ōju Hiroshige hitsu 応需広重筆	<i>Ōban</i> triptych
1868/XI	Give us the Imperial Sake! (<i>Tenshu chōdai</i> 天酒頂戴/御酒頂戴)	Ebiya Rinnosuke 海老屋林之	Hiroshige hitsu 広重筆	<i>Ōban</i> triptych
1868/XI	At the Gates of Sawai Bridge in Tokyo (<i>Tōkyō Sawaibashi gomōn uchi no zu</i> 東京幸橋御門内の図)	Arai Sannosuke 新井三之助	Ōju Hiroshige hitsu 応需広重筆	<i>Ōban</i> triptych
1868/XI	Sawai Bridge in Tokyo (<i>Tōkyō Sawaibashi no zu</i> 東京幸橋之図)	Unknown	Ōju Hiroshige hitsu 応需広重筆	<i>Ōban</i> triptych