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Les estampes de « jeux d'enfants » et la nature sentimentale de la caricature politique à Edo en 1868

子供遊び絵と１８６８年の江戸における風刺画の感情性について

Doreen Mueller

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Children-at-play Prints and the Affective Nature of Political Caricature in Edo in 1868

Doreen Mueller

The final year of the Tokugawa Shogunate marked a high point in the production of political caricature in nineteenth-century Japan. As the Boshin War (1868-1869) played out in the capital of Edo in the spring and summer of 1868, *children-at-play* prints (*kodomo asobi-e*) enjoyed immense popularity among the townspeople of Edo. The prints depict mainly boys engaged in games, which were commonly played in the backstreets or in temple grounds in Edo.[1] Visions of children playing outside their homes suggest that the streets of Edo were peaceful in 1868.[2] In fact, *children-at-play* prints were satirical refashionings (*mitate*)[3] of political players during the Boshin War: Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837-1913), Mutsuhito, the future emperor Meiji (1852-1912), the respective samurai factions that supported their positions, as well as female political players Princess Kazu (1846-1877) and Lady Tenshōin (1836-1883). In contrast to male political players, Kazu and Tenshōin were not envisioned as children in these prints but in performative roles as teachers or beauties, and in familial roles as mother or elder sister to the adolescent Mutsuhito who was depicted as an endearing infant.

Children-at-play prints envisioned political players through the lens of familial relations and juvenile ludic practices, which engendered an affective gaze and carried auspicious connotations. In doing so, these prints also

1. Kumon Institute of Education 2000: 5.
2. For a detailed discussion of the social and political unrest occurring in Edo at the time of the Boshin War see Steele 2003.
3. There is no consensus on how to translate *mitate*. The term has been discussed by Clark 1997, Screech 2012, and Haft 2013, among others. This paper uses Screech's translation of *mitate* as "refashioning" instead of "parody" which tends to be associated with notions of ridicule in the context of political caricature. In its most basic sense, *mitate* entails a comparison of seemingly unrelated things, people, places, and times.

situated elite political figures in the context of the culture of the townspeople of Edo. The satirical implications of this aspect of the refashioning of events of the Boshin War in *children-at-play* prints have not been fully explored in past research. This paper argues that these prints did not only issue satirical commentary on political events, but that their designs also affirmed the values of the culture of Edo's townspeople.[4] This becomes apparent when considering the depiction of female political players, and the selective representation of children's games in *children-at-play* prints. Healthy boys and girls playing had been a popular subject of full-colour prints produced in Edo (*nishiki-e*) since their inception in the late 1760s. In addition, images of playing children hark back to the subject of *Chinese-children-at-play* (*karako asobi*) which was a major theme of paintings by the Kanō School.[5] The visual vocabulary of this theme incorporated a wide range of games with rich seasonal and cultural connotations.

The genre of *karako asobi* also included images of boys pursuing scholarly accomplishments such as calligraphy practice, conveying wishes for their future career progression. Images showing boys honing their writing skills as little scholars in the making did not feature in *children-at-play* prints produced in Edo in 1868. Their subjects were limited to only a few games, not of all of which were derived from the genre of *karako asobi*. Most notably, political events such as the handover of Edo Castle to imperial forces in the fourth lunar month of 1868 were envisioned in the context of the Boys' Day Festival (*tango no sekku*) held on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month at the start of the rainy season in summer. In fact, developments of the Boshin War that took place between the fourth and sixth lunar months of 1868 were envisioned in the context of this festival which was not part of the genre of *karako asobi*. The games depicted in these prints followed two intersecting ludic patterns: boys seeking or defending treasured objects, and boys playing competitive games such as play-fights and chases. Research by scholars in Japan has explored in exhaustive detail how these games pertained to the changing power dynamics between pro-shogunal and pro-imperial forces during the Boshin War.[6]

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4. In the Meiji Period (1868-1912), the culture of Edo was re-envisioned as a national standard as the city was renamed Tokyo and it became the seat of the emperor.
5. The Kanō School was a hereditary school of painting that excelled in painting timeless didactic and auspicious subject matter for the Tokugawa Shogunate as well as for other patrons. Paintings depicting *Chinese-children-at-play* were considered appropriate for decorating the living quarters of elite women. For a detailed discussion of the development of paintings of *karako asobi* by the Kanō School see Tajima 2014.
6. Minami 1997, 1998, 1999; Nagura 2007; Steele 2003, 2012.

Nagura and Minami have analysed *children-at-play* prints as examples of the genre of *fūshiga* (satirical images) and *fūshi nishiki-e* (satirical full-colour prints published in Edo). While *fūshiga* generally give a sense of townspeople's frustration with a government they perceived as oppressive,[7] they rarely engendered concrete satirical meanings. Their designs were symbolic, combining a multitude of cultural and historical referents. Unpacking the potential satirical meanings of *fūshiga* required viewers to relate these referents to current political and economic developments. This manner of producing satirical meanings relied on the interpretive powers of viewers, and it therefore entailed some measure of ambiguity, which is evidenced in the circulation of contradictory interpretations of *fūshiga* among the public.[8] Rather than a shortcoming, however, ambiguity was a welcome aspect of *fūshiga* as it provided viewers with the agency to actively participate in the production of political satire. Minami identified the broad range of cultural and historical referents that were employed in *fūshiga* as *kabuki* plays and literary works, famous print designs of the past, animals and food, famous regional specialities, historical battles, and conditions in Edo.[9] Although *children-at-play* prints belong to the category of *fūshiga* commenting on conditions in Edo, their designs also reference famous regional products and the *kabuki* theatre.

Not all prints depicting child's play in nineteenth-century Edo were invested with satirical meanings. As Iwakiri has argued, starting in the 1840's, prints depicting children became increasingly popular as they were considered a relatively safe option following the enforcement of censorship rules during the Tenpō Reforms.[10] Prints depicting child's play only acquired more concrete satirical meanings in the 1860s. In 1868, the occurrence of key events of the Boshin War close to the time of the Boys' Day Festival provided print producers with rich possibilities for creating engaging designs envisioning political events through the lens of popular cultural practices. Regrettably, a focus on identifying the historical referents of these prints has caused researchers to overlook how the representation of ludic patterns in these prints conveyed implicit cultural and political statements. Minami has argued that

7. Nagura 2007: 7-10; Minami 1997: 5.
8. Minami 1997: 9. A well-documented case of a satirical print generating contradictory rumours and interpretations is a print by Utagawa Kuniyoshi which repurposes the narrative of the legendary encounter between Minamoto Yorimitsu and the earth spider to issue satirical commentary on the Tenpō Reforms. For a detailed discussion of the print see Takeuchi 1987 and Minami 1997: 117-129.
9. Minami 1998: 302-304, quoted in Akama 2011: 42.
10. Iwakiri 2011: 101.

the depiction of contemporary cultural practices in *children-at-play* prints is a valuable source of historical information about Edo customs.[11] At the same time, the ways in which these cultural practices were represented also warrant attention as they contributed to producing satirical meanings. Townsmen and townswomen in Edo valued the pursuit of style through the consumption of superfluous items and the practice of cultural accomplishments. Boys desiring possession of sumptuously decorated toys and festival decorations evoked these values.

Uncovering these cultural connotations of *children-at-play* prints is essential to gaining a better understanding of their function as political caricature in Edo in 1868. This also requires an awareness of the limits and the possibilities of political caricature in Edo in 1868. Duus has argued that political caricature in nineteenth-century Europe could be a democratic weapon of the weak to hold the strong to account.[12] Gombrich noted that Western caricature sometimes exaggerates the bodily features of political figures as visual-textual analogies of their character flaws.[13] By contrast, the refashioning of political figures in *children-at-play* prints never issued personal satirical attacks on political leaders. It fashioned them in alternative roles as performers on the stage of Edo's popular culture which included children's games. Being first and foremost Edo prints (*nishiki-e*), the primary intended audience of *children-at-play* prints were the townspeople of Edo. As such, their designs sought to establish an affective rapport with Edoites by situating distant political events within the familiar realm of their cultural practices. This was particularly meaningful at a time when the positions of political players lacked stability. Leading up to the Boshin War, Edoites noticed the increasing reference shown by the shogunate towards the emperor, indicating a reversal of their power relationship.[14] In a situation of flux that saw long-held political truths waning, the only constancy that townspeople could reliably fall back on were their own cultural practices. In emphasising this aspect, this paper will demonstrate that the democratising function of *children-at-play* prints as political caricature came from a position of affective rapport with Edo's townspeople rather than from an adversarial

11. Minami 1998: 304.
12. Duus 2001: 965.
13. Duus 2001: 967; Gombrich & Kris 1935: 336-337. Both Duus and Gombrich gave as an example for this visual-textual word play a cartoon satirising the gluttonous character of Louis-Philippe, the Roi Bourgeois (1830-1848), by likening the shape of his face to a pear.
14. Nagura 2007: 19. Nagura gives the example of town ordinances (*machibure*) instructing Edoites to refrain from noise-making activities for an unprecedently long period of one-hundred days following the death of Emperor Kōmei (1831-1867).

stance towards the government. *Children-at-play* prints are an ambiguous form of political caricature, deriving their meanings from traditions of envisioning children in the genre of *karako asobi*, and from the practice of refashioning (*mitate*) in *nishiki-e*.

Satirical refashioning in *nishiki-e*

As Gombrich has argued, political caricature in early modern Europe packaged satirical meaning on the basis of a playful combination of image and text.[15] *Nishiki-e* employed textual-visual codes to produce satirical meanings, too, but these were not derived from the personal features of political figures.[16] Since political leaders were distant and even invisible to the public, family crests and other symbolic motifs were used to identify them. In addition, the practice of refashioning (*mitate*) situated political figures within the context of Edo's popular culture, thereby conflating multiple historical and cultural allusions. The resulting ambiguous designs were read as puzzle pictures (*hanjimono*) as viewers unriddled symbolic content to identify hidden satirical meanings.[17] These meanings had to be actively sought by perusing the image as a whole and by observing closely to figure out the relations among depicted figures and motifs. *Nishiki-e* thus lacked the instant satirical bite of political caricature in nineteenth-century Europe. Being slow burners, the textual-visual codes of *nishiki-e* did not expose the shortcomings of political figures in the same visceral way as political cartoons in nineteenth-century Europe. Instead, textual-visual codes helped viewers identify disguised political figures as well as the various historical and cultural referents surrounding them. The attention of viewers was thus diffused across several points of interest offered in a single print design.

Nishiki-e required active reading and viewing strategies as viewers deduced interconnected layers of hidden meanings behind the surface appearance of text and image. Concealing satirical meanings in this complex way required viewers to be willing to engage with the design of a print in some depth. With the production of satirical meaning thus hinging on the viewer, *nishiki-e* employed visual and textual strategies to draw viewers in. Repositioning distant political figures in settings that were familiar to townspeople was an effective

15. Gombrich & Kris 1935: 337.
16. Part of the reason for this was the invisibility of rulers to the public, termed iconography of absence by Screech 2000: 111-130, quoted in Duus 2001: 969.
17. For a discussion of *hanjimono* see Brisset, Dumora & Simon-Oikawa 2018.

strategy for ensuring affective rapport with these people. For example, a print issued in the third month of 1868 shows the Shogun in a shamisen practice room (fig. 1). He wears a kimono adorned with a pattern created by linking the Chinese character for the number *one*. He was consistently identified through this pattern in *children-at-play* prints. By contrast, the adolescent emperor was refashioned as an infant. The pattern of his robes which consists of the Chinese character for gold, *kin*, alludes to popular speech in Edo. Townspeople called out unknown boys in the streets as *kinbō*.[18] In *children-at-play* prints, the emperor is usually addressed by other boys as *Kin-chan*, literally meaning "Golden Boy". In visual terms, *kin* evoked the role of the emperor as a priced possession bestowing political legitimacy on the samurai factions that owned him.

The familiar practices and cultural settings envisioned in *children-at-play* prints allowed contemporary viewers to evaluate the conduct of political figures through the normative lens of their own culture. Minami and Nagura have discussed how the *mitate* techniques employed in *children-at-play* prints disguised contemporary political players, issuing commentary on the events of the Boshin War from the perspective of Edo's townspeople.[19] Steele has emphasised that *children-at-play* prints are valuable historical documents as they give rare glimpses into Edoites' disenchantment with all sides of the political spectrum in 1868.[20] While their research on the satirical meanings of *children-at-play* prints appears exhaustive, there is scope for creating further insights. To achieve this, it is necessary to engage critically with the concept of political caricature and with the characteristics of different printed media in nineteenth-century Japan. Although satirical *children-at-play* prints were only produced for a short period of time, mainly in 1868, their design features give an insight into the growing potential of printed media to shape public opinion in nineteenth-century Japan.

Past research on this subject has not paid sufficient attention to the different ways in which specific types of printed media such as *nishiki-e*, illicit broadsheets (*kawaraban*), and satirical illustrated fiction (*kibyōshi*) functioned as conduits of political satire in early modern Japan.[21] During the prolonged famine of the Tenmei Era (1781-1789), an illicit broadsheet crudely caricatured

18. Nagura 2007: 16.
19. Nagura 2007; Minami 1997, 1998, 1999.
20. Steele 2003: 64.
21. For a discussion of a wide range of cultural products engendering satirical meanings in early modern Japan see Hirano 2014. For an introduction to the expression of satire in *fūshiga* as opposed to *kibyōshi* see Minami 1997: 7-11.

Fig. 1. *Tōsei Misuji no tanoshimi* (Enjoying the Trendy Shamisen), 1868. National Diet Library, Tokyo [https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1312041], accessed 28 October 2021.

senior counsellor Tanuma Okitsugu (1719-1788) as a monster (*bakemono*).[22] By contrast, *nishiki-e* were a more ambiguous medium for satirical meanings, partly owing to censorship regulations. Yet, even as censorship became increasingly lax in Edo in 1868, *children-at-play* prints continued to disguise political players as Edo boys in familial and ludic settings. This refashioning cannot be explained on grounds of censorship alone. It was also a product of the close ties between *nishiki-e* and the culture of Edo's townspeople. Eubanks has shown how witty combinations of image and text in printed media were used to paint townspeople culture in a positive light.[23] Although Edoites appreciated some critical self-reflexivity in *kibyōshi* which were suited to this purpose, *nishiki-e* generally fostered a more complimentary attitude towards the culture of townspeople. In this sense, *nishiki-e* as political caricature prioritised the affirmation of the cultural values of Edo's townspeople over positing an adversarial stance towards the government.

22. Minami 1997: 130.
23. Eubanks 2012: 68.

This can be seen when considering the historical development of satirical *nishiki-e* designs which flourished during the Tenpō Reforms. *Nishiki-e* designs that commented on the hardship experienced by Edoites were ambiguous as a rule, evading censorship and generating gossip and rumours among the populace. In the 1840s, Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798-1861) was a leading designer of satirical *nishiki-e*. Differently to *children-at-play* prints, his satirical designs employed gloomy tropes such as images of ghosts and hell. Contemporary viewers interpreted these images as parallels to their lived experience under the Tenpō Reforms. In 1841, Kuniyoshi designed a triptych depicting demons (*oni*) torturing the souls of the dead at the court of Enma, the king of hell.[24] Brandl argues that the tortured souls represent Edo's townspeople while Enma was a refashioning of Mizuno Tadakuni based on the abstracted Chinese character for water (*mizu*) on his chest.[25] Her interpretation of the image as political satire relies on probing the historical context at the time of the publication of the print when Tadakuni had imprisoned a group of progressive political figures who had tried to apply practical knowledge to relieve the famine at that time. A prominent member of the group, the physician and scholar of Western learning Takano Chōei (1804-1850) was imprisoned in Denmachō Prison in Edo, which was only a few blocks away from the print's publisher, Tsutaya Kichizō.[26] The dark atmosphere of this design probably conveyed a general sense of townspeople's suffering under an unjust government. On the other hand, it is difficult to claim that this fussy allusion to human suffering was intended to be a direct satirical attack on the government.

Interpretations of *nishiki-e* as political satire often depend on relating the design to historical events occurring around the time of their publication. This approach, however, disregards the fact that some satirical *nishiki-e* continued to be reproduced—both in print and in manuscript—for several years after the Tenpō Reforms had passed. An outstanding example for this is Kuniyoshi's memorable earth spider design which refashions Edo's townspeople as ghosts and demons, and members of the shogunal government as medieval warriors in the convoluted style of a puzzle picture.[27] This style depicts human figures

24. Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *Jigoku hensō zu*, 1841. British Museum [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_2008-3037-20109], accessed 28 October 2021.
25. Brandl 2009: 125-127.
26. Brandl 2009: 125-127.
27. Kuniyoshi (1843). *Minamoto Yorimitsu Conjures up Demons at the Mansion of the Earth Spider (Minamoto Yorimitsu kō yakata tsuchigumo saku yōkai no*), Edo, Ibaya. For a detailed discussion of the print see Takeuchi 1987. Minami 1997: 117-129 has discussed the print as political satire.

and motifs in the surrounding space, which are usually plentiful, with equal levels of attention to detail, prompting viewers to consider each motif as potentially meaningful on its own and in the context of the overall narrative portrayed in the print. The resulting diffusion of meaning made the design intriguing for contemporary viewers. It also made it more generic as these meanings could not be pinned down exclusively to a specific historical event. This diffusive approach to producing meaning in satirical *nishiki-e* stood in contrast to the thinly disguised news content of illicit broadsheets. Notably, this changed in 1868 as *children-at-play* prints disguised political players relatively unambiguously, thus closely approaching the newsworthy character of illicit broadsheets.

There had already been a moment of close convergence between illicit broadsheets and *nishiki-e* in 1855 following the Ansei Edo Earthquake. Over the course of a few months following the earthquake, catfish prints (*namazu-e*) commented on the economic and social fallout from the earthquake.[28] Although the complexity of their designs evoked *nishiki-e*, they were still illicitly printed broadsheets. Considering this, the unprecedented historic specificity of *children-at-play* prints as satirical *hanjimono* and as *nishiki-e* is probably the main reason why their content has been interpreted with an overwhelmingly historical focus. However, prioritising historical connections over tracing the cultural connotations of the designs of *children-at-play* prints has, to some extent, obscured the meanings of these prints as political caricature in Edo in 1868. For a short period of time, *children-at-play* prints disguised political figures and developments of the Boshin War relatively unambiguously, allowing readers to identify these based on symbolic motifs such as the patterns adorning their clothes. In addition, refashioning distant political figures such as emperor and shogun within the context of townspeople's culture provided Edoites with the opportunity to draw inferences about the qualities of political figures.

The desirability of Edo culture

At the same time, subsuming outsiders to Edo such as the boy-emperor Mutsuhito into the cultural orbit of Edoites was never only a characterization

28. For a detailed discussion of *namazu-e* see Wakamizu 2007, and Takada & Miyata 1995. For a discussion of the notion of economic redistribution in *namazu-e* see Miura 2019, and Smits 2006. For an overview of the religious themes of *namazu-e* see Ouwehand 1964.

of distant political figures. *Children-at-play* prints put their conduct on display in the guise of young boys playing games as well as the culture of Edo's townspeople, which these games represented. Viewers of these prints evaluated both the performance of the boys and the underlying cultural practices of Edo's townspeople. Toby has demonstrated how the mutual dynamics of spectators and performers looking and watching one another during festival performances shaped notions of identity.[29] Although Toby based his argument on images depicting Korean embassy processions and their re-enactments in the context of Edo festivals, it can be said that a similar strategy was employed in *children-at-play* prints, especially in prints alluding to the Boys' Day Festival. Most *children-at-play* prints show boys representing pro-shogunal and pro-imperial samurai factions engrossed in playing competitive games. As part of these games, the boys watch and assess their respective appearance and conduct. In doing so, they also pay attention to surrounding objects such as festival decorations. The detailed depiction of these seemingly tangential objects in *children-at-play* prints prompted viewers to regard them with as much attention as the boys playing, which provided them with a vital role in anchoring developments of the Boshin War within the dynamics of Edo's popular culture.

The prints show young boys assessing, seeking, or guarding desirable objects: the boy-emperor Mutsuhito and Edo Castle which was refashioned in many guises as a toy, graffiti on a storehouse wall (fig. 2) or as an illustration on a single-panel screen on the theatre stage (fig. 3). All prints depicting the emperor desiring priced possessions were issued in the fourth month of 1868 when Edo Castle was handed over to imperial forces. Over the course of this month, print designs show Mutsuhito developing from a small infant watching and pointing at desirable objects (fig. 1) into a young boy demanding treasured objects such as warrior dolls decorating the entrance to Edo Castle at the time of the Boys' Day Festival (fig. 4). The dolls represent samurai factions that had shifted their allegiance towards the emperor.[30] The print depicting the boy-emperor looking at the shamisen lesson room uses direct speech to convey his eagerness to access Edo: "Uncle, take me there, quick!"[31] Representations of young children seeking interesting objects by touching or pointing at them were designed to engender an affective gaze in contemporary viewers of *nishiki-e*, helping to peddle the notion that children were adorable treasures

29. For a detailed discussion see chapter 5 "Parades of Difference/Parades of Power" in Toby 2019: 142-189.
30. Nagura 2007: 72.
31. をぢさん、はやくあすこへつれてッておくれよ。

Fig. 2. Utagawa Hiroshige III, *Kodomo Asobi Doro Kazen* (Children-at-Play: Mudfight), 1868. Waseda University Library [https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/chi05/chi05_04194/index.html], accessed 28 October 2021.

(*kodakara*). These prints often combined multiple desirable objects such as a beautiful woman (*bijin*) beside a young boy or girl as well as auspicious and seasonal objects. For example, a summer print by Kitagawa Utamaro (1753?-1806) shows a young boy who has knocked over a goldfish basin in his eager pursuit of the fish.[32]

Considering the precious connotations of children in *nishiki-e*, and the status of toys as tokens of the townspeople culture of Edo, the print depicting the boy emperor desiring entry into the shamisen lesson room also served as an affirmation of the attractiveness of the culture of Edoites to outsiders. Evoking the juvenile behaviour of openly desiring coveted objects was a key strategy for issuing satirical commentary on events of the Boshin War. Of particular importance for this was the custom of displaying warrior dolls and other protective items during the Boys' Day Festival. This print design by Utamaro

32. Kitagawa Utamaro (*ca* 1802). Goldfish, from the series "*Elegant Comparison of Little Treasures* (*Fūryū kodakara awase*)" Art Institute of Chicago [https://www.artic.edu/artworks/13405/goldfish-from-the-series-elegant-comparison-of-little-treasures-furyu-kodakara-awase], accessed 28 October 2021.

Fig. 3. Utagawa Hiroshige III, *Kodomo Shibai Chūshingura* (Children's Theatre: Storehouse of Loyal Retainers), 1868. National Diet Library, Tokyo [https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1310794], accessed 28 October 2021.

depicts a young boy carrying an opulently decorated toy sword and pointing eagerly at a display of festival banners (fig. 5). The inscription sums up the affective gaze with which Edoites viewed their offspring:

> The fifth day of the fifth month is called Tango. From this day, [people] start wearing summer robes. Since poisonous insects that are harmful to people's bodies come out on this day, rice dumplings are formed in the shape of these insects and eaten. This symbolises the absence of misfortune. Adorning the eaves of houses with irises and mugwort is another magical method to ward off evil. Nowadays, young mugwort leaves are wrapped around iris blades.[33]

33. 五月五日は端午と云此日より帷子をきる此節句は毒虫出て人の身を害するゆへ粽は蛇のかたちにして是を食し禍なき事を表し蓬・菖蒲を軒にふく事も邪気をさける呪術なりけふといへは蓬の若葉刈添て宮もわらやもあやめふくなり.

Fig. 4. Utagawa Yoshifuji, *Kodomo Asobi Tango no Kisei* (Children-at-Play: The Lively Spirit of the Boys' Day Festival), 1868. National Diet Library, Tokyo [https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1310268], accessed 28 October 2021.

The banners in the background depict the demon queller Zhong Kui (Jap.: Shōki) in his crimson manifestation as protector against disease. The text and the image of the print balance two intersecting concerns—townspeople's desire to protect their children from harm and the child's interest in a precious object, the festival display. *Children-at-play* prints evoked both concerns to comment on the Boshin War. In the prints, the imperial side which is led by the boy-emperor Mutsuhito displays the desire of young children to obtain precious objects. In the print depicting the shamisen room (fig. 1), the boy-emperor demands access to the shamisen room while the Shogun who is in the shamisen room has turned his back towards the teachers and students participating in the shamisen lesson. The print thus creates a strong contrast between the Shogun's detachment and his apparent wish to remove himself from Edo with the emperor's enthusiasm to access and possibly to control Edo culture.

The gaze of pro-imperial forces who represent outsiders to Edo watching the shamisen lesson thus validates the culture of Edoites as superior and

Fig. 5. Kitagawa Utamaro, *Tango* (Boy's Day), 19th century. Tokyo National Museum, ColBase: Integrated Collections Database of the National Institutes for Cultural Heritage, Japan [https://colbase.nich.go.jp/collection_item_images/tnm/A-10569-4383?locale=ja], accessed 28 October 2021.

desirable. This interpretation aligns to some degree with Steele's assertion that Edoites viewed pro-imperial forces from the southern provinces of Shikoku and Kyūshū islands as uncultivated people.[34] The prints hinted at their apparent lack of cultural accomplishment by showing their envy of the culture of Edoites. The representation of female political players, Kazu and Tenshōin, in *children-at-play prints* also supports this interpretation. Princess Kazu was sister to Emperor Kōmei and wife to Shogun Tokugawa Iemochi (1846-1866) whom she had married in 1862. The marriage was seen as a desperate attempt to shore up the Shogunate's waning political authority.[35] When Iemochi died four years later, Kazu took the tonsure and the Buddhist name Seikan'in. *Children-at-play* prints ignored this and continued to envision her as Kazu, refashioning her as a female minder to the infant emperor and the temporary custodian of Edo Castle, Tayasu Kamenosuke. Having been born in 1863, Kamenosuke was younger than Mutsuhito. Nevertheless, *children-at-play* prints depict both as equally juvenile.

Kamenosuke and Kazu surrendered the castle to imperial forces on the eleventh day of the fourth month of 1868. A print issued at this time depicts Kazu as a female beauty, a *bijin*, reclining demurely against a writing desk and beside a flower arrangement of irises, which were seasonal signifiers of early summer (fig. 3). The arrangement evokes the elaborate interior scenes of Yoshiwara brothels by Utamaro, thus hinting at the attractions of Edoites' culture.[36] There is also a further layer of cultural reference as the title of the print refers to the popular puppet play of the *Treasury of Loyal Retainers* (*Chūshingura*), and she thus represents the beauty Kaoyo Gozen from that play.[37] Her figure is half-hidden behind a one-panel screen showing watchtowers and the gate to Edo Castle closed. Although she smiles benevolently, her graceful figure recoils from the pro-imperial forces who are brandishing guns, here refashioned as bamboo sticks, showing their muscular arms and legs. Princess Kazu's demeanor shows Edo's *fūryū* aesthetic triumphant. The contrast between the

34. Steele 2003: 127.
35. Ukita Ikkei (1795-1859) painted a scroll depicting a fox marriage, *Konkai zōshi* (*Tale of a Strange Marriage*) in 1858. Tsuji Nobuo has argued that the scroll was interpreted as a satire on the marriage of Iemochi and Princess Kazu (Tsuji 1980: 111-117). Betchaku Yasuko has discussed the satirical nature of the scroll's animal and supernatural motifs within the context of the wider cultural dynamics of nineteenth-century Japan. See Betchaku Yasuko 1993.
36. Davis 2015.
37. For a detailed discussion about how this print relates to the *Chūshingura* play see Minami 1999: 160-165.

military display by boys representing outsiders and the elegance of Kazu, here refashioned as a beauty, highlights the cultural superiority of Edoites.

Children-at-play prints thus restage events of the Boshin War using the familiar cultural vocabulary of performance and competition in Edo. Tenshōin playing the shamisen (fig. 1) and Kazu reclining demurely amidst sumptuous cultural accoutrements (fig. 3) displayed the cultural sophistication of Edoites. As Toby has shown, the affective strategy of validating the self by showing it through the gaze of the other was used in *nishiki-e* to create rapport with Edoites.[38] *Children-at-play* prints envisioning the Boshin War as intersecting heterotopias of cultural performance and child's play allowed contemporary viewers in Edo to validate their own culture and to evaluate the conduct of distant political players at the same time. This affective dimension of *children-at-play* prints is an important aspect of its function as political caricature in Edo in 1868.

Reading *children-at-play* prints as affective statements of Edoites' concern for their own culture adds a further layer of meaning to their interpretation as political caricature. In contrast to the strong desire of children representing outsiders to get access to Edo culture, Shogun Yoshinobu is depicted walking away from games, turning his back on performances, or simply not joining in. Being depicted on the sidelines of games also hinted at the fact that Yoshinobu never set foot in Edo Castle during his brief tenure as shogun from 1866 through 1868. In *children-at-play* prints he is shown detached from politics and from Edo. When Kamenosuke is depicted teasing the imperial forces by holding up the castle gate, Yoshinobu hides in the background.[39] He eventually disappears, retiring to his home domain of Mito. A print depicts him as a peasant among rice fields in the countryside of Mito Domain.[40] The ambiguous characterisation of the shogun as a person devoid of desire for anything was to some degree also matched by the representation of Edo Castle as an object of dubious desirability. A print by Hiroshige III (fig. 2) depicts a mud fight between two groups of boys representing pro-shogunal and pro-imperial forces. According to Minami and Steele, the print conveys Edoites' concern regarding the possibility of open war breaking out in Edo in the sixth month of 1868.[41]

The print has further connotations if one considers the centrality of the motif of young children seeking or defending desirable objects. Two groups

38. Toby 2019: 142-189.
39. Steele 2012: 50.
40. Steele 2012: 52.
41. Minami 1999: 202-204; Steele 2003: 54.

of boys appear to be fighting over access to a storehouse which is clad in scaffolding and is in the process of being mended with mud. The storehouse wall features a crude graffiti showing the outlines of Edo Castle and the exclamation that Edoites (*Edokko*) will not lose. At first glance, this simply conveys townspeople's disdain for the invading pro-imperial forces. A more nuanced reading of the design shows that the main object defended by the boys is, in fact, the storehouse. Representing the wealth of Edo, the prominence of the storehouse over the sketchily drawn outlines of Edo Castle conveys the hope of Edoites for a government that would ensure peace and prosperity. The small castle, by contrast, appears as an afterthought harking back to a time when it symbolized the ability of the Tokugawa Shogunate to maintain a prosperous realm. *Children-at-play* prints thus conveyed the dubious status of Edo Castle as a coveted possession. This was a marked departure from established conventions in *nishiki-e* of showing the bustling city beneath the watchful presence of Edo Castle as in a print by Keisai Eisen (1790-1848) in the late 1840s.[42] The way in which Edo Castle is represented in this image suggests that it was no longer associated with the protective powers of the Tokugawa Shogunate in the eyes of Edoites.

Taking children and their toys seriously

Nagura has argued that *children-at-play* prints lack the moral gravitas of caricature in nineteenth-century Europe as they do not evoke the horrors of war.[43] However, one needs to be cautious in evaluating *children-at-play* prints by the standards of political caricature in Europe. These prints did not just refashion political figures as playing children. Their toys and decorative items were also pictured with equal care. In fact, these items carried serious and nuanced connotations. To understand *children-at-play* prints as serious political caricature, one needs to pay attention to these decorative items. Especially decorations associated with the Boys' Day Festival such as irises, banners, warrior dolls and helmets had special protective powers. Being positioned at the entrance to houses where young boys lived, they guarded against evil forces. A print published at the end of the fourth month (fig. 4), close to the

42. Keisai Eisen (*ca* 1846). *Eight Views of Edo: Clearing Weather at Nihonbashi Bridge* (*Edo Hakkei Nihonbashi no Seiran*). Museum of Fine Arts Boston [https://collections.mfa.org/objects/216936], accessed 28 October 2021.

43. Nagura 2011: 182, 193. Nagura gives the example of Honoré Daumier's depiction of the Austro-Prussian War in 1866.

time of the Boys' Day Festival, makes a powerful statement of betrayal as it shows the boy-emperor and supporting samurai factions claiming warrior dolls that were supposed to guard the entrance to Edo Castle as their price on entering the castle.[44]

The print shows a direct confrontation between the infant emperor and Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu in Edo Castle which never actually took place. The emperor was not in Edo at that time and Yoshinobu had been in confinement in Kan'eiji Temple in Ueno. Nevertheless, the print places him next to Lady Tenshōin, the widow of Shogun Tokugawa Iesada (1824-1858), and Kamenosuke at the entrance to Edo Castle greeting the boy-emperor who is placed amidst children brandishing a sumptuous *naginata* adorned with a royal dragon, swords, and a toy canon. *Naginata* were part of displays protecting the entrances to houses in Edo during the Boys' Day Festival. Being in possession of an opulent *naginata* confirmed to contemporary viewers of the print in Edo that the pro-imperial forces were no longer culturally inferior to Edoites. They had started to master the intricate vocabulary of cultural competition in Edo, and their position had changed from enviously watching the performances of Edoites (fig. 1) to playing the games of Edoites by claiming their festival items (fig. 4).

Viewed with the affective regard in which Edoites held the decorations of the Boys' Day Festival, this design conveyed to Edoites how the pro-imperial forces were trying to claim cultural legitimacy in Edo. To fully appreciate the significance of decorative elements pertaining to the Boys' Day Festival as sources of satirical meaning in *children-at-play* prints, it is necessary to consider the history of the depiction of the Boys' Day Festival in early modern Japan. Although the Boys' Day Festival was a prominent topic of *children-at-play* prints in Edo in 1868 and of *nishiki-e* more generally, it did not feature among the games encompassed by the broad genre of *karako asobi* depicting Chinese children at play. *Karako asobi* images show young boys with rounded heads that appear large relative to their bodies. The printed painting manual *Ehon Nezashi Takara (Picture Book of the Treasures of Direct Pointing*, 1745) by the Osaka-based painter Tachibana Morikuni (1679-1748) depicts Chinese children in an aristocratic garden setting playing a game of chain tag (fig. 6).[45] The accompanying gloss tells of the unity between mother and infant which

44. For more detail on this print see Minami 1999: 166-170.
45. For a further discussion of Tachibana Morikuni's painting manuals see Marquet 2014: 332-333.

Fig. 6. Double-page illustration from Tachibana Morikuni, *Ehon Nezashi Takara* (Picture Book of the Treasures of Direct Pointing), 1745, Osaka, Shōkōdō. Waseda University Library [https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko31/bunko31_e0459/], accessed 28 October 2021.

she carries close to her chest like a string of shells.[46] Scenes depicting Chinese children playing showed them as endearing treasures that required nurturing. The affective gaze of the viewer was therefore focused on the parent's role to protect the child.

The endearing portrayal of Chinese boys in *karako asobi* images with large heads and rounded features was also adopted by designers of *nishiki-e* but it was given new connotations. In the late eighteenth century, Torii Kiyonaga (1752-1815) showed boys wearing Chinese robes practicing calligraphy and painting in the style of Edo.[47] Kiyonaga depicted a Chinese boy choosing to paint a *kabuki* actor over a timeless subject like auspicious birds and flowers, suggesting that the boy found the fame of an actor more appealing than training for a scholarly career. Kiyonaga's design demonstrates that in *nishiki-e* the

46. 婦人の乳子を嬰と云婦人ハ胸に嬰と云物をかかす也婦人の子を懐に抱時衣の衿ひけて首に物を懸たるがごとし

47. Torii Kiyonaga (*ca* 1791). *Children Say, "This is Japan!" and Imitate the Games They See in Picturebooks* (*Yōdō iu koitsu wa Nippon, ezoshi o mite yori sono gai ni asobu*). Art Institute of Chicago.

adorable appearance of young boys was not enough to appeal to Edoites. The affective gaze which these designs engendered applied to the children and to the objects that surrounded them and that alluded to the culture of Edo's townspeople. In this sense, *nishiki-e* diversified the affective connotations of *karako asobi* images, making the culture of Edo a key focus. The designs of satirical *children-at-play* prints in Edo in 1868 derived their meanings from these developments.

An early *children-at-play* print which was issued in the second month of 1868 depicts children playing a game of chain tag (fig. 7). As we have seen in Morikuni's painting manual (fig. 6), the game of chain tag was part of the genre of *karako asobi*. However, in popular cultural practices in Early Modern Japan, the game had acquired Buddhist connotations which it did not originally have in *karako asobi*. The game depicted in figure 7 is *oni gokko*, literally "pretending to be a demon", in which a child assumes the role of protector (parent) while another child plays the catcher representing the demon (*oni*). The child representing the *oni* tries to grab a child from the end of the row of children lining up behind the parent. As Santō Kyōden (1761-1816) explained in the second volume of his history of Edo customs, the *Kottoshū* (Collection of Antiques, 1813), the game harks back to Bodhisattva Jizō protecting the souls of dead children in the children's limbo in hell, *sai no kawara*, from being taken by hell demons.[48] However, the *children-at-play* print twists the focus of this game from protecting all children from the hell demon to grabbing the ultimate price of the game, the boy-emperor Mutsuhito who is depicted at the end of the line of children.[49] The children are probably on their way to a *terakoya* school because the boy acting in the role of parent has adorned his shoulders and hips with copybooks for writing practice (*tenaraizōshi*) which function as makeshift armour. The print has a censor's seal, and the signature by the designer Utagawa Hiroshige III reads: "Playfully brushed by Hiroshige."

Before the advent of *nishiki-e*, children playing were not always depicted as cute. This is particularly true of the representation of children in the context of the Boys' Day Festival, which was not included in the genre of *karako asobi*. The *Yamato Kōsaku Eshō* (*Illustrated Compilation of Japanese Agriculture*), an illustrated book published in Osaka in the Genroku Period (1688-1704), gives an impression of how young boys and decorations at the time of the

48. National Diet Library (Tokyo) [https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/2605586], accessed 28 October 2021.

49. For a detailed account of how the attire of the boys pertained to specific domains representing pro-imperial and anti-imperial political factions in this print, see Nagura 2007: 30-35.

Fig. 7. Utagawa Hiroshige III, *Osana Asobi Ko wo Toro Ko wo Toro* (Children Playing Chain Tag), 1868. National Diet Library, Tokyo [https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1310777], accessed 28 October 2021.

Boys' Day Festival were envisioned before they became a subject of *nishiki-e* in Edo. In this book, the festival decorations merely provide an auspicious backdrop for people preparing for the festival (fig. 8). The illustration shows townhouses, the entrances of which are adorned with banners, dolls, and warrior helmets. They were not priced objects sought by endearing little boys for their attractive appearance. The decorations are forming a physical and spiritual barrier to potentially evil outside forces. The inscription highlights the protective function of these motifs. It mentions that these banners and armour harked back to the military campaigns of the war deity Chi You (Jap.: Shiyū) in ancient China, and that the fragrant irises and mugwort adorning the interiors and the eaves of townhouses were intended to expel evil.[50]

50. のぼり甲を立る事はもろこし蚩尤が城へせめよせたちすがたとなり菖蒲蓬をさすは天平十九年五月はじまる端午のあかつき蓬をとりて居間にかけのきにかされば悪風をはらぬといへり

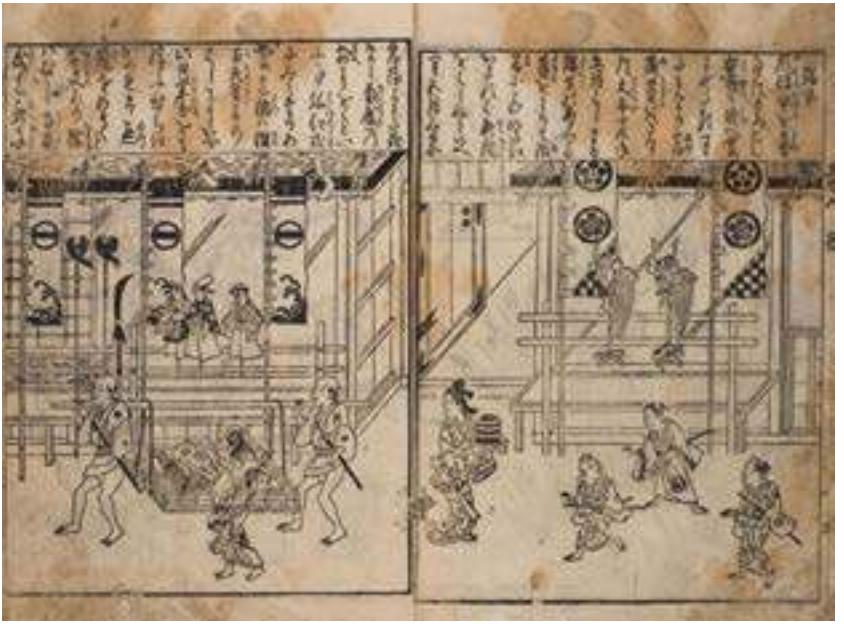

Fig. 8. Double-page illustration from Ishikawa Tomonobu (images), *Yamato Kōsaku Eshō* (Illustrated Compilation of Japanese Agriculture), Genroku Period (1688-1704), Edo, Izutsuya Sanemon. University of Tsukuba Library, National Institute of Japanese Literature [https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100261842/], accessed 28 October 2021.

The boys that are depicted playing in front of these illustrations are physically adorned with protective items such as *tokin* on their heads and the attire of mountain ascetics *yamabushi* mountain ascetics. The following illustration depicts boys playing in a violent manner (fig. 9), throwing projectiles at each other in a game called *injiuchi* (literally, "throwing rocks"). The hairstyle and stature of the boys suggest that they are in their early teens. They lack the endearing rounded features of the young boys depicted in *karako asobi* images. In addition, they are using banners to mark their opposing factions in a confrontation that resembles a real fight rather than a make-belief game (*gokko asobi*). By the time *nishiki-e* were flourishing, this violent game no longer accorded with the cultural sensibilities of Edoites. In his history of Edo customs, Santō Kyōden quoted from the *Yamato Kōsaku Eshō*, reusing its illustration showing townhouses adorned with festival banners. However, he did not include the illustration pertaining to *injiuchi*. Kyōden's *Kottoshū* shows that Edoites increasingly paid attention to the historical developments of their own customs, including the Boys' Day Festival. Kyōden also explains

Fig. 9. Double-page illustration from Ishikawa Tomonobu (images), *Yamato Kōsaku Eshō*, Genroku Period (1688-1704). Edo, Izutsuya Sanemon. University of Tsukuba Library, National Institute of Japanese Literature [https://kotenseki.nijl.ac.jp/biblio/100261842/], accessed 28 October 2021.

the origins of the festival decorations, but he ignores the historical military connotations of some of the festival toys and decorations that were explained in the *Yamato Kōsaku Eshō*. The military nature of some of the games that were traditionally played during the Boys' Day Festival clashed with the sophisticated portrayal of selected aspects of the culture of Edoites in *children-at-play* prints.

In addition, the representation of cute boys desiring pretty objects during the Boys' Day Festival became an intrinsic feature of *nishiki-e* in Edo. *Children-at-play* prints derived their meanings from this tradition and from the meanings of festival decorations as precious objects. They still held talismanic meanings, but they were also appreciated for their aesthetic features as symbols of Edo culture. This is also supported by representations in the *Tōto Saijiki* (Annual Record of the Eastern Capital, 1838) by Saitō Gesshin (1804-1878). The *Tōto Saijiki* depicts street stalls selling toy weapons and decorations in street markets close to the time of the festival in the fourth month (fig. 10). The illustration envisions the festival as a matter of acquiring and displaying

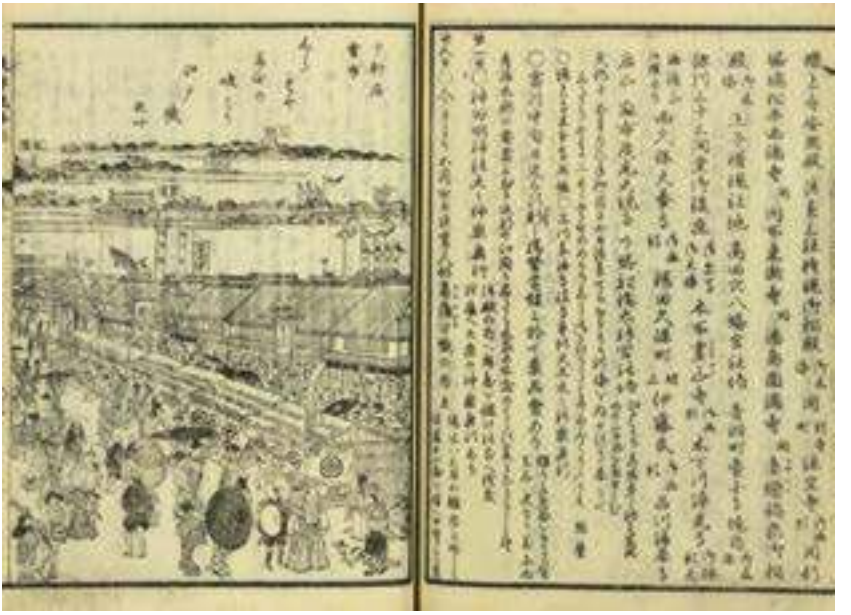

Fig. 10. Illustration from Saitō Gesshin *Tōto Saijiki* (Annual Record of the Eastern Capital), 1838. National Diet Library, Tokyo [https://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/8369317], accessed 28 October 2021.

precious items. In addition, the *haiku* poems in the *Tōto Saijiki* celebrate the irises and banners as famous products pertaining to the townspeople's culture of Edo: "Rising from Fuji's Valley amidst white clouds—the banners of Edo".[51] The focus on festival items thus portrayed the Boys' Day Festival as a manifestation of the values of the culture of Edo's townspeople. The historical military and talismanic associations of these items were thus combined with their contemporary meanings as objects of consumption. Festival decorations thus added another layer of stylishness to the conduct of female political players who were refashioned as musical performers or as beauties in satirical *children-at-play* prints in 1868.

Considering the historical development of the representation of children's games in the context of festival settings shows that these were serious subjects pertaining to the identity of townspeople. From this perspective, it is probably an oversimplification to argue that *children-at-play* prints refashioned

51. しら雲や富士の峡より江戸幟

political events in a non-serious manner or as mere child's play. Instead, they transposed serious political subjects into the realm of popular culture in which townspeople could comfortably create analogies between their connoisseurship of the quality of cultural performances and their evaluation of political figures.

Conclusion

Children-at-play prints re-envisioned the events of the Boshin War in terms of the power dynamics of child's play revolving around the possession of treasures objects—the emperor, Edo Castle and, for the townspeople of Edo, their own culture. They used an affective visual-textual language of desire associated with the psychological dynamics of child's play and the cultural dynamics of the townspeople culture of Edo. Events of the war were re-envisioned as cultural performances and competitions, creating an interpretive metalevel at which contemporary viewers could see their own culture through the eyes of outsiders—boys representing invading imperial forces. This aspect has not received sufficient attention in past research. Refashioning events of the Boshin War that mattered to Edoites as child's play kept political satire within the confines of visual entertainment. It refracted the confrontations between pro-imperial and anti-imperial forces through the prism of *Edokko* culture, thereby juxtaposing the formidable agency of Edoites in the arena of popular culture with the ineptitudes that samurai exhibited in the political field.

Refashioning thus overlaid historical developments with cultural meanings that could be spun by contemporary viewers according to their own inclinations, deriving pleasure and meaning beyond their immediate correspondence to topical events. To sum up, children-at-play prints have cultural and economic undercurrents that are posited through an affective gaze validating townspeople culture and values. As political caricature, *children-at-play* prints conflated criticism of political players with an affective affirmation of *Edokko* cultural values. The style of puzzle pictures that paid equal attention to human figures and surrounding space as well as the technique of *mitate* allowed *children-at-play* prints to operate at both a political-satirical and an affective-affirmative level. Since the primary intended audience of these prints were Edoites themselves, it is understandable that they refashioned political figures and events in situations that were familiar to townspeople. This was not possible while the power of the shogunate to enforce censorship was still strong. Only as the shogunate weakened was it possible to draw satirical analogies between political events and contemporary lived realities of Edoites in *nishiki-e*. Children were a suitable conduit for political satire because they

were popular subjects of *nishiki-e*, and even before when the Kanō School depicted *karako* (Chinese children). In addition, depictions of children were affective in that they evoked wishes for family prosperity, encapsulated in the term *kodakara*.

The shifting moods of children seeking treasured possessions appear to be humorous analogies to the conduct of political players in Edo in 1868. However, their depiction was also serious in validating the culture of Edo's townspeople at a time when the political situation was in flux. The apparently entertaining aspects of *children-at-play* prints were prerequisites for issuing political satire. The characteristics of *children-at-play* prints as political caricature confirm the well-established notion that townspeople had no stake in political events in early modern Japan. The only space that allowed them to take control of producing their own realities was the field of cultural production. Nevertheless, *children-at-play* prints demonstrate how this cultural production became increasingly politicised as it allowed contemporary political players to be evaluated on the terms of the values of townspeople. It is doubtful whether this form of satirical refashioning can live up to the democratic goals of some political caricature in nineteenth-century Europe. *Children-at-play* prints rather represent a moment when the popular medium of *nishiki-e* came close to functioning as political caricature. These prints suggest the possibility of political caricature existing at the intersection of adversarial and affirmative positions.

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GLOSSARY

Ansei 安政
asobi 遊
bakemono 化け物
bijin 美人
Boshin 戊辰
Chi You (Jap.: Shiyū) 蚩尤
Chūshingura 忠臣蔵
Denmachō 伝馬町
Edo Hakkei Nihonbashi no Seiran 江戸八景日本橋の晴嵐
Edokko 江戸っ子

Ehon Nezashi Takara 絵本直指宝
Enma 閻魔
fūryū 風流
Fūryū kodakara awase 風流子宝合わせ
fūshi nishiki-e 風刺錦絵
fūshiga 風刺画
gokko asobi ごっこ遊び
hanjimono 判じ物
Hiroshige gihitsu 広重戯筆
injiuchi 印地打
Ishikawa Tomonobu 石川 流宣
Jigoku hensō zu 地獄変相図
kabuki 歌舞伎
Kan'eiji 寛永寺
Kanō(ha) 狩野派
Kaoyo Gozen 顔世御前
karako asobi 唐子遊
kawaraban 瓦版
Kazu (no miya) 和宮
Keisai Eisen 渓斎英泉
kibyōshi 黄表紙
Kin-chan 金ちゃん
kinbō 金坊
Kitagawa Utamaro 喜多川歌麿
kodakara 子宝
Kodomo Asobi Doro Kazen 子供遊どろ合戦
Kodomo Asobi Tango no Kisei 子供遊端午の気生
kodomo asobi-e 子供遊び絵
Kodomo Shibai Chūshingura 子供芝居忠臣蔵
Kōmei (tennō) 孝明天皇
Konkai zōshi 婚怪草紙
Kottoshū 骨董集
Meiji (tennō) 明治天皇
Minamoto Yorimitsu kō yakata tsuchigumo saku yōkai no zu 源頼光公館土蜘作妖怪図
mitate 見立
Mito (han) 水戸藩
Mizuno Tadakuni 水野忠邦
Mutsuhito (tennō) 睦仁天皇
naginata 薙刀

namazu-e 鯰絵
nishiki-e 錦絵
oni 鬼
oni gokko 鬼ごっこ
Osana Asobi Ko wo Toro Ko wo Toro 幼童遊び子をとろ子をとろ
sai no kawara 賽の河原
Saitō Gesshin 斎藤月岑
Santō Kyōden 山東京伝
Seikan'in 静寛院
Tachibana Morikuni 橘守国
Takano Chōei 高野長英
tango no sekku 端午の節句
Tanuma Okitsugu 田沼意次
Tayasu Kamenosuke 田安亀之助
tenaraizōshi 手習双紙
Tenpō (kaikaku) 天保改革
Tenshōin 天璋院
terakoya 寺子屋
tokin 頭巾
Tokugawa Iemochi 徳川家茂
Tokugawa Iesada 徳川家定
Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川慶喜
Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長
Tōsei Misuji no tanoshimi 当世三筋のたのしみ
Tōto Saijiki 東都歳時記
Tsutaya Kichizō 蔦屋吉藏
Ueno 上野
Utagawa Hiroshige 歌川広重
Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国芳
Utagawa Yoshifuji 歌川芳藤
Yamato Kōsaku Eshō 大和耕作絵抄
Yōdō iu koitsu wa Nippon, ezoshi o mite yori sono gai ni asobu 幼童云此奴和日本自見絵草紙遊具画意
Yoshiwara 吉原
Zhong Kui (Jap. Shōki) 鍾馗