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JAPANESE MODERNIZATION PRINTS COLLECTION (YOKOHAMA-E AND KAIKA-E) IN THE NÁPRSTEK MUSEUM

Adéla Tůmová¹

ABSTRACT: This article deals with the collection of prints *Yokohama-e* and *kaika-e*, which are part of the collection of woodblock prints in the Náprstek Museum. The *Yokohama-e* and *kaika-e* woodblock prints were created in the second half of the 19th century in response to Japan's changing politics, the arrival of foreigners, and the modernization of the country, thus capturing both the first introduction to Western innovations and the manner in which these subjects were presented to the public in Japan. The modernization prints in the Náprstek Museum have not yet been evaluated by scholars; the aim of this article is to provide information concerning this part of the woodblock print collection – the artists of the prints, the subjects depicted, and the question of the donors through whose agency the prints came into the museum's possession.

KEYWORDS: woodblock prints - Yokohama-e - kaika-e - modernization - Meiji period

The second half of the 19th century marked a period of great change for Japan, which for almost two centuries had followed a policy of strict isolation, and it also marked the era of the country's overall transformation into a modern state. Foreigners began to settle in Japan, the shogunate was abolished, and power returned to the emperor. Japan, aware of its technological backwardness compared to Western countries and the potential threat from foreigners, began a process of Western-style modernization also known as 'Westernization'.² Modernization processes were also reflected in Japanese woodblock prints, cheap and widely available paper prints which could also serve as a kind of 'information medium'.

Although modernization prints are part of large woodblock collections, their contribution as a historical source has often been overlooked. The Náprstek Museum has a collection of woodblock prints that includes prints reflecting the themes of foreigners and modernization, but they have not yet been evaluated in terms of the themes depicted, the artists or the donors through whom the prints came into the possession of the museum. The collection consists of thirty-eight prints from various artists. This study provides the information about the collection, with a more detailed look at some of the prints, on which the foreigners and the modernization processes are depicted as the main subject.

¹ Contact: Adéla Tůmová, National Museum – Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures, Prague, Czech Republic; e-mail: adela.tumova@nm.cz. This work was financially supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic (DKRVO 2019–2023/19.III.b, National Museum, 00023272).

² For detailed information on the end of the Tokugawa shogunate see Beasley 1990; Jansen 2002; Keene 2005; Totman 1995.

Japanese woodblock prints

Japanese woodblock printing was a popular technique known as early as the 8th century, when Buddhist texts were printed using this technique. However, its mass proliferation dates back to the second half of the 17^{th} century when the country's internal political situation became more consolidated and the demand for book production and book illustrations increased among the inhabitants of prosperous cities. The earliest prints were black-and-white *sumizuri-e*, but hand-coloured images are attested as early as the early 18th century. The woodblock prints were printed from wooden blocks where the engraver carved the designed image according to the design. During the *Enkyō* period (1744–1748), the printing from several woodblocks for different colours appeared, resulting in the first printed colour prints called *benizuri-e*. The pinnacle of the technique was then the juxtaposition of ten or more colour woodblocks, and these prints were referred to as *nishiki-e*, thus brocade prints.³

The woodblock prints were inexpensive and needed to be issued in large quantities.⁴ For this reason, publishers primarily commissioned artists for popular subjects that were attractive for the general public and guaranteed a large sale⁵ and thus a certain profit.⁶ Often these prints were of popular beauties or kabuki theatre actors in theatrical roles; prints of actors were often intended to promote the play. Other popular subjects were depictions of natural scenery, famous places, or warriors. The arrival of foreigners then sparked interest in prints depicting foreign merchants and their life in Yokohama. Most were made between 1860 and 1861,⁷ and the prints that were intended to depict foreigners and their life in Yokohama are thus referred to as pictures of Yokohama, *Yokohama-e.*⁸ Later woodblock prints made after 1868 that depict scenes with the modernization of the country are referred to as *kaika-e*,⁹ literally 'enlightenment pictures'.¹⁰

Yokohama-e were published to satiate the buyers' curiosity about foreigners who were different in style of dress, appearance, and also unusual customs; *kaika-e* were intended to introduce the public to Western innovations and help them adapt to these new developments. Because woodblock prints were a widespread and readily available medium, they also served a unique informative and educational function. Similarly, prints were used abroad where they served to promote the country, customs, and scenery of Japan.¹¹

7 Meech-Pekarik 1986, p. 14.

³ For the detailed information about the history of Japanese woodblock printing see Harris 2011; Kobayashi et al. 1991.

⁴ Oikawa 2005, pp. 261–262.

⁵ It is impossible to say, how many prints were really made. Some popular designs could be printed in hundreds or even thousands, while others could be produced in smaller edition; see Newland 2004.

⁶ Merrit 1990, pp. 17–18.

⁸ Yokohama Ukiyoe to Kindai Nihon: ikoku 'Yokohama' o Tabisuru, 1999.

⁹ The phenomenon of Westernization which began after 1868 and was associated with the Meiji period (1868–1912) is often referred to as *bunmei-kaika*, hence the name for prints depicting modernization processes during this period.

¹⁰ Meech-Pekarik 1986, pp. 63-64.

¹¹ Merrit 1990, pp. 12-13.

Yokohama prints and *kaika-e* are often unfairly overlooked in the survey literature on woodblock prints. This may be due to the small number of these prints in relation to other subjects; for example, there were about 800 *Yokohama-e* published and most were produced in the short time period of 1860–1861,¹² as well as the lack of interest of foreigners, who were more interested in woodblock prints depicting purely Japanese subjects. Also, the use of aniline inks, which had begun to be imported into Japan, was viewed critically by some European woodblock collectors; in addition, prints made after 1868, which were already printed using aniline inks and were thus also meant to symbolize Japan's transition toward the use of modern technology in a Japanese traditional display of artistic craftsmanship, were not considered to be as of high a quality as earlier prints printed using natural dyes.¹³

A groundbreaking work dealing with Yokohama and enlightened prints was Julie Meech-Pekarik's The World of the Meiji Prints published in 1986, which presented new possibilities for the study of Yokohama-e and kaika-e prints to western academics.¹⁴ Then in 1993, Ann Yonemura's Yokohama. Prints from the Nineteenth-Century Japan was published, a book which examines the collection of William Leonhart (1919-1997), an American diplomat who stayed in Japan after World War II and was one of the collectors of woodblock prints focusing specifically on woodblock prints depicting the modernization of Japan. More recently, the subject of these prints has begun to be reassessed by scholars and utilized to explore more broadly the relationship of the Japanese to early foreigners and how foreigners and Western innovations were presented and promoted in Japan. For example, the article 'From the Far West to the Far East: The Imagining of America in a Nineteenth-Century Japanese Woodblock-Print'¹⁵ examines the way in which American life was represented in woodblock prints. The topic of Yokohama prints was the subject of the chapters 'The Arrival of the 'Modern' West in Yokohama: Images of the Japanese Experience, 1859–1899'16 and 'Horses and Hostlers in the Making of a Japanese Foreign Settlement'17 in Life in Treaty Port China and Japan,18 which assess the life of foreigners in the closed enclaves of open ports. The MIT Visualizing Cultures project, which seeks to make visual materials, not only Japanese prints, but also articles interpreting and studying them, accessible through modern technology, should not be overlooked.¹⁹

Yokohama-e and kaika-e in the collection of the Náprstek Museum

The Japanese print collection at the Náprstek Museum consists of approximately 7,000 woodblock prints. The main core of the collection consists of woodblock prints from the first half of the 19th century, including prints by leading woodblock printers. Prints depicting the modernization of Japan form only a very small part of the collection, namely thirty-eight prints.

- 15 Fabricand-Person 2009, pp. 16-37.
- 16 Bytheway 2018.
- 17 Amos 2018.
- 18 Brunero and Puig 2018.
- 19 e.g. Dower 2008a; Dower 2008b.

¹² Meech-Pekarik 1986, p. 14.

¹³ Till 2008, p. 34.

¹⁴ Meech-Pekarik 1986.

Among the prints there are several triptychs, woodblock prints composed of three sheets [Nos. 1–2], while other prints were also part of larger units, but they came to the museum incomplete. Among such prints are those by Yoshitora (active 1850–1880), who is represented in the collection by six prints, of which two are single sheets, one a triptych [No. 1], while the remaining three were part of larger units but only a portion is in the museum [Nos. 3–4]. Two prints each are represented by Yoshitomi (active 1848– 1880) and Sadahide (1807-1879), although Sadahide's prints are again incomplete. One print each is represented by Hiroshige II (1826-1869) and his depiction of an elephant from India, and Yoshikazu (active 1850–1870), from whose work the collection contains the well-known triptych representing a steam locomotive, actually inspired by a depiction of a steamboat [No. 2]. Of the later artists, Hiroshige III (1842-1894) is particularly represented, and the museum houses a number of his prints, ten of which depict the modernization processes of the Meiji period. Only a few prints by other artists are in the collection: Toshikazu (3), Kuniteru (3), Kunitoshi (2), Chikanobu (2), Ikkei (2), and Yoshimine (1). There is no signature on the five prints, which would allow a more precise identification of the maker.

From this collection, ten prints were selected as examples of modernization prints. Three by Yoshitora and one print each by Yoshitomi, Hiroshige II., Yoshikazu, Sadahide, Kuniteru, Toshikazu, and Hiroshige III. These prints were selected as presenting the depiction of the foreigners and the modernization processes as their main subject. For example, although Hiroshige III is represented in the collection by ten modernization prints, his prints mostly depict traditional Japanese scenery and only some details suggest aspects of modernity.

A few prints came to the museum through purchases from the store *Klenoty* (Jewellery), which sold or brokered sales of foreign goods during the socialist era, or from the store *Kniha* (Book), but most of the modernization prints in the museum come from two collections – the Joe Hloucha collection and the library of Vojta Náprstek.

Joe Hloucha (1881–1957) was a Czech writer, Japanophile, traveller, and art collector. He was the nephew of Josef Kořenský (1847–1938), who was one of the first Czechs to visit Japan and published a travelogue about his stay. It was Josef Kořenský's story that awakened Hloucha's special interest in Japan. Although he collected art from other regions (Africa, China, or European Gothic art), Japan remained his greatest interest, and he visited the country in 1906 and 1926. It was through Hloucha that a huge number of Japanese objects, including more than three thousand Japanese woodblock prints, found their way to the Náprstek Museum.²⁰

Although twenty woodblock prints reflecting the modernization process in Japan got to the museum through Hloucha, that is more than half of the thirty-eight prints, they are only a small fraction of the total number of prints in Hloucha's collection. These prints were probably acquired because they were Japanese prints depicting an unusual subject, rather than due to any greater interest in prints depicting Japanese westernization in particular. Hloucha himself, on the other hand, was more of a lover of the traditional 'romantic' Japan of the samurai era, as he often wrote about in his books, while he denounced the modernization of Japan and European influences, as can be read in the preface in the book he wrote after his second trip from Japan:

²⁰ Kraemerová and Šejbl 2007, pp. 50–51.

Japan is becoming Americanized at a breakneck pace. Radios blare in the houses of its cities, monstrous concrete skyscrapers are sprouting from its streets, cars and buses roar, electric railways ring, airplanes plough through the skies... National art is in decline, neglected by artists who are groping in the dark, slavishly imitating the art of the white man. For half a century this mad trampling of national idiosyncrasy has been happening. [...]²¹

Vojta Náprstek (1826–1894), philanthropist and founder of the Náprstek Museum, had the opposite view of modernization. He was a lover of various technical innovations, which he perceived as a means of improving the lives of ordinary people. His original intention was to create the Náprstek Museum as an industrial museum. He is probably best known for his promotion of the sewing machine, which was intended to make women's working tasks easier, but in a similar vein he also presented various contemporary kitchen accessories.²² Vojta Náprstek himself never visited Japan, but he was very interested in it and considered the modernization processes that were to take place there to be beneficial, as he stated in his 1863 lecture in which he sought to introduce Japan, a country long closed and unknown to foreigners, to the Czech audience:

Since these [Ansei] treaties, however, knowledge of Japanese has progressed enormously, but also the Japanese themselves have risen above peace [...] Being very diligent and not witless, the Japanese imitate everything brought from Europe, even if they have only seen it, from the simplest machines to the most complex ones, and it is not perhaps due to their lack of skillfulness that they do not have carriages, but only due to their peculiar predilection that they prefer to ride horses or travel in a different manner. May other nations also – wished Mr. N. [Náprstek] follow the Japanese in this respect, who have come further with resilient diligence since 1854 than many others have done in one hundred years!²³

Vojta Náprstek also collected Japanese prints from the beginning. The Náprstek collection of woodblock prints was part of the Náprstek library for a long time and has not yet been fully researched. The collection also contains rare prints from the second half of the 18th century,²⁴ but a large part of them are prints from the Meiji period, which were not so interesting to other collectors. Most of the prints were purchased by Mr. Náprstek through intermediaries in Germany. Woodblock prints were also an educational tool for him, as evidenced by his collection of prints from the Meiji period stored in special plates depicting silkworm farming, an activity Vojta Náprstek also promoted in Bohemia. However, it is difficult to say, which prints exactly were

²¹ Hloucha 1929, p. 8.

²² During Vojta Náprstek's lifetime, the museum housed collections of models and machines as well as handicraft products from abroad. Over time, however, the collections of non-European objects outweighed the industrial objects, and in the 1940s some of the collections were transferred to other museums, and thus the Náprstek Museum emerged as a museum of the cultures of Asia, Africa, the Americas, and Oceania; see Secká 2011, p. 270.

²³ Přednáška páně Náprstkova o Žapansku, 1863.

²⁴ Hánová 2019, p. 58.

purchased (or received as a gift) by Vojta Náprstek, because some prints in the collection were designed after his death, but still they are marked with stamp 'Vojta Náprstek'.

The historical context

For almost two hundred years Japan had followed a policy of isolation. The Japanese were forbidden to leave country and foreign trade was restricted to merchants of the Dutch East India Company, and under strict conditions.²⁵ Dutch merchants were only allowed to trade in Nagasaki, where they were restricted to the artificially constructed island of Dejima. Even the entry of Japanese onto the island was guarded and allowed were only interpreters, Japanese scholars of *rangaku*²⁶ (Dutch learning), Japanese craftsmen, servants, and courtesans as well.²⁷

While tea, which was a very lucrative and profitable business for trading companies, was imported from China, from Japan to Europe were imported luxury goods.²⁸ For these reasons, the country remained rather aloof from commercial interests. However, since the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, there have been attempts at trade and diplomatic contacts, especially from Russia²⁹ and the United States. On the United States side, attempts to establish commercial contacts were made both by private commercial companies³⁰ and directly by the US government.³¹

The issue of opening up Japan gained importance in the early 1850s. In the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), the United States acquired the territory of California, opening up the possibility of sending merchant ships to Asia from Western ports,³² the main target being China, where American merchants were interested in the tea and luxury goods trade. The western route would greatly shorten the supply of goods, but it was necessary to ensure that coal and water could be replenished. To this end, a mission was sent out under the leadership of Commodore Matthew C. Perry (1794–1858).³³

²⁵ Jansen 2000, p. 81.

²⁶ Through *rangaku* scholars knowledge of Western medicine, technology, and natural sciences entered the country, but the study of foreign books was only allowed to a small circle of scholars. Similarly, the study of Dutch, the language in which foreign books were written, was allowed only to a very small circle of persons selected by the shogunate; see Jansen 2000, p. 81; Little 1996, pp. 75–76.

²⁷ Since there were no women on Dejima Island, foreign merchants were allowed to visit Japanese courtesans and prostitutes who lived in the Maruyama district. While in other Japanese cities the entertainment districts were guarded and female workers were not allowed to leave them, in Nagasaki they were allowed to leave the district and visit designated places in Dejima; Leupp 2003, pp. 110–111.

²⁸ In the 17th century, the Dutch East India Company imported mainly Arita porcelain and lacquerware from Japan to European markets. These luxury goods and objects from this period are often found in palace collections; see Shimura (2008), pp. 25–27; Suchomel and Suchomelová (2002), pp. 19–25.

²⁹ The 1804 expedition was first forced by Shogunate officials to wait six months for their application to be considered and then rejected. This procedure angered the Russian envoy, who ordered an attack on Japanese fishing villages in Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. The Shogunate then also banned trade between Russian and Japanese fishermen in the Kuril islands, which it had previously tolerated.

³⁰ In 1837, the merchant ship *Morrison* entered the port of Edo under the pretext of repatriating Japanese survivors, but was fired upon by coastal guns and forced to sail.

³¹ Commodore Biddle attempted to negotiate on behalf of the American President in 1846, but the Shogunate refused to negotiate with him and the mission failed.

³² Beasley 1990, pp. 268–270.

³³ Jansen 2000, p. 276.

Under the threat of using naval guns, against which the Japanese coastal batteries would have no chance of holding out, Commodore Perry forced the Shogunate to accept his terms.³⁴ The Convention of Kanagawa (Kanagawa Treaty) ended an era of isolation for Japan, and similar treaties with other countries soon followed.³⁵ The next step was a series of treaties, known as the Ansei Treaties, which allowed foreigners to settle in open ports.³⁶ The opening of the land marked the beginning of a turbulent period in which the shogunate was forced to cope with pressure from foreign powers and resistance from domestic opposition. In 1868, the last shogun abdicated and handed power back to the emperor, setting Japan on a path to modernize the country along Western lines.

Themes depicted in Yokohama-e prints

Depictions of foreigners became a popular subject for woodblock prints in the early 1860s. Although the buyers' own interest in these subjects cannot be ignored, it should be noted that the woodblock prints were also subject to censorship by shogunate officials. Thus, the depictions on the prints not only satiated the potential interest of the Japanese in viewing foreigners who were something new and unusual, with the fascinating look, clothes, or unfamiliar behaviour (such as horse riding), but also revealed the way the shogunate wished foreigners to be perceived in the country. The view of foreigners was not uniform among the highest officials of the shogunate and they were seen as a threat, while at the same time it was necessary to get along well with foreigners because it was clear that in the event of a conflict the country would not stand a chance against a possible attack by a foreign fleet.³⁷ The artists of the prints thus created the desired image of how foreigners were to be viewed, as smiling people in strange clothes, unusual but sympathetic.

A frequent theme in the woodblock prints was the depiction of foreigners and their lives, not just in Yokohama, but in their homeland itself. At the time, the makers of the prints had no experience of foreign countries and in many cases had not even visited Yokohama, so they had no opportunity to see the foreigners who were to be the subject of their work with their own eyes.³⁸ Thus, they drew inspiration from foreign illustrated materials that were already available in Japan at this time. Parts of two triptychs by Utagawa Yoshitora have survived in the collection, which also served an informative role. The depictions of the foreign countries, France [No. 3] and England [No. 4], were accompanied by short text that introduced the reader to a brief history of the places depicted, but some of the information was outdated or inaccurate.³⁹ Yoshikazu's well-known triptych *The Transit of an American Steam Locomotive* [No. 2]⁴⁰ is similarly misleading. While the foreground focuses on foreigners, the emphasis is on the women's wide-skirted clothing, and the steam engine described in the sheet's

³⁴ Beasley 1990, p. 270.

³⁵ The treaty was signed on 31 March 1854.

³⁶ The Kanagawa Treaty opened Shimoda and Hakodate to foreigners (1854), and the Ansei Treaties opened Yokohama and Nagasaki (1859), Niigata, Edo (1862), Osaka, and Kobe (1863).

³⁷ Keene, p. 41.

³⁸ Meech-Pekarik 1986, pp. 17-18.

³⁹ Meech-Pekarik 1986, p. 53.

⁴⁰ Published in Catalogue of Japanese Art in the Náprstek Museum, 1994, Cat. No. 1008.

caption as a steam locomotive is in the background. However, the depiction of the locomotive is accompanied by a large wheel, which was typical of steam locomotives. This is a frequently published print based on a depiction of a steamboat, but in Japan it was mistaken for a locomotive.⁴¹

The real centre of trade soon became the port of Yokohama, near Edo, which became a cosmopolitan city with many Western conveniences (e.g. the first newspaper), where many Western novelties, including live exotic animals, flowed in addition to a number of merchants from abroad. Of great interest was the arrival of the Indian elephant from Malacca [No. 5], which several artists captured in prints with varying degrees of accuracy. The Náprstek Museum houses a lesser-known print Daizo no Zu by Hiroshige II.⁴² It shows feeding elephant, as it was often shown to the public, but compared to other prints the elephant is depicted with more realistic proportions such as longer legs in proportion to the body and small ears. Hiroshige II was one of the few woodblock printmakers who settled in Yokohama in 1865.⁴³

Another scene that can often be found in *Yokohama-e* is foreigners depicted riding horses, often with a cigar in their mouths [No. 6]. Woodblock print designers often depicted foreigners in unusual poses, clothing, and hairstyles that were new and interesting to the Japanese. Horseback riding was more typical of samurai in Japan, while townspeople used palanquins, but for foreigners it was both a mode of travel and a pleasurable pastime. One way of spending leisure time was riding horses around Yokohama, and the first horse races were also held in the city.⁴⁴

Even at the time of Commodore Perry's arrival, the small fishing village had been transformed into a dynamic city within a few years, as Sadahide's print *Another View* of Yokohama [No. 7]⁴⁵ from 1861 shows. The streets are lined with figures on horseback and in an open horse-drawn carriage, a means of transport typical of Europe but a novelty in Japan in the early 1860s. The exploitation of natural conditions is also evident; the area inhabited by foreigners was separated from the mainland proper by a water channel, and the bridges connecting it to the mainland were guarded by guards. The shogunate thus kept track of the foreigners' contacts, while at the same time protecting them from attack.

In the early 1860s, the *Sonnö jõi* (revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians) movement was growing in Japan, supported by prominent magnates with a negative attitude towards the shogunate and also enjoyed the sympathy of the imperial court, where the Emperor Kōmei (1831–1867) advocated a repression on foreigners. Adherents of the movement assassinated both prominent shogunate officials and foreigners.⁴⁶ In 1861, the translator Henry Heusken (1832–1861) was assassinated in Edo; after this incident, a number of diplomats based in Edo decided to return to Yokohama, where they were under the protection of European soldiers. Incidents also occurred in Yokohama, and in 1862 a merchant, Richardson, was killed near the city by samurai accompanying

⁴¹ Yonemura 1993, p. 162.

⁴² Published in Catalogue of Japanese Art in The Náprstek Museum, 1994, Cat. No. 649.

⁴³ Marks 2010, p. 154.

⁴⁴ Amos 2018, pp. 54-56.

⁴⁵ Published in Catalogue of Japanese Art in The Náprstek Museum, 1994, Cat. No. 1003.

⁴⁶ Keene, p. 61.

the lord of Shimazu. These incidents had a wider international impact,⁴⁷ but, given the desire to build a positive attitude towards foreigners, were not reflected in the contemporary production of woodblock prints.⁴⁸

Themes depicted in kaika-e prints

While the focus at *Yokohama-e* was on the depiction of foreigners and the distinctiveness of their countries and lives, this changed after 1868. The goal of the new government was to present Japan as a modern country where the adoption of Western technology and way of life was underway. *Kaika-e* are thus characterized by an emphasis on Japanese people and Japan adopting Western customs.

One of the big changes was the modernization of transportation. Yoshitora's 1870 print *Tokyo Nihonbashi View* [No. 1] shows a hectic scene in Tokyo, where various models of the new carriages that could be used for transport are clustered around the then wooden bridge, later replaced by a stone one, that crosses the Nihonbashi River, which the group in the foreground observes with an expression of amazement. Among the various types of horse-drawn carts and bicycles, there is also a rickshaw, a two-wheeled cart pulled by a man. The Japanese are considered the Asian 'inventors' of the rickshaw, and this mode of transport soon replaced the stretcher. Many later prints show women riding in rickshaws, during the Edo period women tended to travel in enclosed palanquins. Rickshaws were also preferred over horse-drawn carriages, manpower was cheaper, the horse was expensive and used more in the military.

The most significant change, then, was the building of railways. The strategic importance of the railway was also perceived by the Tokugawa shogunate, which negotiated with American representatives about the possibility of building a railway, but the Meiji Restoration changed everything and the first railway was not opened until 1872. The construction was supervised by experts from abroad, but they had to train their Japanese representatives in order for the country to retain its independence. The first railway connected Yokohama, as an important port and centre of trade, with the capital Edo. Hiroshige III's print of 1873 [No. 8] shows Shinbashi Station (Shiodome Freight Terminal) in Tokyo as one of the famous places where passengers waiting on the platform can be seen, as well as freight cars used to transport parcels. The station building was built in the western style with white stones. It was designed by the American architect Richard Perkins Bridges (1819–1891), who was also behind the initial design of another Tokyo landmark often depicted in prints, the Tsukiji Hotel. It was the Tsukiji [No. 9], built in 1868, that was one example of not only pseudo-Western architecture but also its adaptation to Japan and its use of Japanese elements such

⁴⁷ The death of the merchant Richardson was explained by his disrespectful behavior towards the prince, which the samurai were forced to punish, but Satsuma was one of the supporters of the Sonnö jõi. The British demanded an apology and compensation; although the Shogunate protested part of the compensation, Satsuma ignored the British appeals. In August 1863, the British bombarded the Satsuma forces in Kagoshima. Satsuma eventually paid the reparations demanded (with money loaned by the Shogunate), but the conflict also led to a reversal in the policy of the Satsuma province, which realized the superiority of the British and turned from its anti-foreign policy toward a closer cooperation with Britain; Jansen, p. 295.

⁴⁸ Meech-Pekarik 1986, pp. 59-60.

as the *namako* wall.⁴⁹ Although the initial designs were from the pen of an American architect, the final appearance of the building and its construction was entrusted to the Japanese architect Kisuke Shimizu II (1815–1881).⁵⁰

Although the most significant changes which transformed Japanese society after 1868 were able to be captured through depictions on woodblock prints, many changes were also taking place in the social and intellectual spheres. One example is the printing of the series *Comparison of Craftsmen* by the lesser-known artist Toshikazu (active 1870–1879),⁵¹ who represented modern craftsman workshops in this series. The print depicts work in a clock workshop [No. 10], where various types of wall clocks with European dials are hung on the walls. The original Japanese system divided the day into six day and six night periods, designated by the branches of the earth. The Japanese encountered and imitated European clocks at the beginning of the Edo period, resulting in the Japanese *wadokei* clock, which continued to use time segments. However, this system was not sufficiently accurate and from 1873 onwards, Western timekeeping was used in Japan.

Some of the prints, mostly by Hiroshige III or Ikkei, depict traditional scenery, where only some detail suggests aspects of modernity in Meiji Japan (men in western clothes, the telegraph lines or a railway track). Another popular theme was the army and its modernization. Both Chikanobu's prints depict men in uniforms inspired by the western military, on one it is a military parade, the second print displays Saigō Takamori, famous Japanese samurai, in the western uniform. Saigō Takamori is also depicted in Yoshimine's print, this time in Japanese clothes, but with a western hairstyle and beard.

Conclusion

The second half of the 19th century saw a series of changes in Japan, from the end of the policy of isolation to the westernization of the country, which made it a modern country capable of intervening in international politics in the early 20th century. These changes were also reflected in the subjects depicted in Japanese woodblock prints of *Yokohama-e* and *kaika-e*, although the volume of these prints tended to be smaller, and after the opening of Japan, woodblock prints were slowly displaced by photography. *Yokohama-e*, published mainly in the first half of the 1960s, brought images of foreigners to the Japanese, their life in Yokohama and overseas. Many residents at the time did not have the opportunity to meet foreigners, and the prints may have thus satiated their interest in new and unknown foreigners, but the promotional element cannot be overlooked, as the prints did not so much present an actual depiction of foreigners and their lives, but also how the Shogunate government wanted foreigners to be perceived, and many important events (e.g. the incident at Namamugi where the merchant Richardson was killed or the Anglo-Satsuma War) were not published in the prints. The *kaika-e* were then intended to portray Japan as

⁴⁹ One of the elements used in popular architecture, where a white grid is created on black slate. During the Meiji period, it was used because of the visual similarity which resembled the use of mortar bricks in Western buildings.

⁵⁰ Checkland 1989, pp. 206–207.

⁵¹ Hosoki Toshikazu, whose original name was Kiso Naojirō, was one of the pupils of Tsukioka Yoshitoshi (1839–1892).

There are only thirty-eight prints in the Náprstek Museum that in some way depict the modernization of Japan, so it does not represent a large enough collection on which to map in depth the production of prints and the way in which the Japanese coped with these innovations. Some of the sheets, then, were originally part of larger sets, but only a portion of them are in the museum. Most of the prints came to the museum from two major collections – the collection of the Japanophile Joe Hloucha and through the library of Vojta Náprstek and his wife Josefa. In both cases, it can be concluded that the modernization prints were not collected purposefully, as they make up only a very small portion of the prints. Joe Hloucha was more interested in 'traditional' Japan and viewed its Westernization negatively. Vojta Náprstek was a supporter of modernization efforts, but modernization prints make up only a few prints in his collection, and he was limited by the selection of prints which reached the European market.

Despite the considerable fragmentation of prints depicting foreigners and Westernization in Japan, where many subjects are poorly captured (e.g. the popular depiction of a railway appears in only two prints in the collection), the *Yokohama-e* and *kaika-e* prints in the Náprstek Museum are an interesting example illustrating the development of woodblock printing in later times, when it was slowly being replaced by photography, as well as the pervasion of new subjects that appeared in Japan after 1854.

No. 1

Tōkyō Nihonbashi View; *Tōkyō Nihonbashi Fūkei* 東京日本橋風景 Artist: Utagawa Yoshitora Publisher: Tsutaya Kichizō Date: 1870 (Meiji 3, 6th month) Dimensions: 36.1 × 74.6 cm – triptych Inv. No. 38915 Provenance: Joe Hloucha's collection

No. 2

The Transit of an American Steam Locomotive; *Amerikakoku Jōkisha Ōrai* 亜墨利加国 蒸気車徃来 Artist: Utagawa Yoshikazu Publisher: Maruya Jinpachi Date: 1861 (Bunkyū 1, 10th month) Inv. No. 38863 Dimensions: 35.4 × 75 cm - triptych Provenance: Joe Hloucha's collection

No. 3

Paris, France; Furansu Parisu no Fu 仏蘭西把里須府 Series: Famous Places in the World; Bankoku Meishō no Uchi 万国名勝尽競之内 Artist: Utagawa Yoshitora Publisher: Yamadaya Shōjirō Date: 1862 (Bunkyū 2, 6th month) Inv. No. 19671 Dimensions: 35.3 × 24.9 cm Provenance: Joe Hloucha's collection Left part of triptych, on the missing right print is informative text about the city of Paris containing a number of inaccuracies.

No. 4

England; *Igirisukoku* 英吉利国 Artist: Utagawa Yoshitora Publisher: Kagaya Kichiemon Date: 1865 (Keyō 1, 2nd month) Inv. No. 37365 Dimensions: 35.5 × 24.8 cm Provenance: Joe Hloucha's collection Right print of triptych.

No. 5

A Picture of a Great Elephant; *Daizō Shō Utsusu no Zu* 大象正寫之図 Artist: Hiroshige II Publisher: Maruya Tetsujirō Date: 1863 (Bunkyū 3, 4th month) Dimensions: 34.8 × 24.6 cm Inv. No. 35987 Provenance: Joe Hloucha's collection

No. 6

An American Drawn from Life; *Iki Utsushi Amerikajin no Zu* 生写亜墨利加人之図 Artist: Utagawa Joshitomi Publisher: Yamamotoya Heikichi Date: 1861 (Bunkyū 1, 2nd month) Inv. No. A 16938 Dimensions: 34.1 × 23.7 cm Provenance: Náprstek Library, gift from Ing. Karel Jan Hora⁵²

No. 7

Another View of Yokohama; *Saikai Yokohama Fūkei* 再改橫浜風景 Artist: Utagawa Sadahide Date: 1861 (Bunkyū 1, 2nd month) Inv. No. 38831 Dimensions: 37.2 × 123 cm – hexaptych Provenance: Joe Hloucha's collection The collection comprises of only five prints from six, the left one is missing.

⁵² Karel Jan Hora (1881–1974) was a Czech technician and diplomat. From 1905 to 1913 he lived and worked in Japan. The print is marked with stamp 'Vojta Náprstek', but Hora did not get to Japan until after Vojta Náprstek's death.

No. 8

Shinbashi Station with steam railway; Shinbashi Sutenshon, Jōkisha Tetsudo no Zu 新橋ス テンション蒸気車鉄道之図 Series: Famous Places of Tokyo; Tōkyō Meisho no Zu 東京名所之内 Artist: Hiroshige III. Date: 1873 Inv. No. A 20539, 46753 Dimensions: 37.5 × 50.3 cm Provenance: Náprstek Library

No. 9

Hotel Tsukiji in Tōkyō; Tōkyō Tsukiji Hoteru Kan 東京築地ホテル館 Artist: Utagawa Kuniteru II. Publisher: Tsutaya Kichizō Date: 1869 (Meiji 2, 10th month) Inv. No. A 30 552,A30553 Dimensions: 37.3 × 25.2 cm Provenance: Náprstek Library Triptych with missing middle print.

No. 10

Clockmakers; Tokeishi 時計師 Series: Comparison of Craftsmen; Shokō Shokugyō Kurabe 諸工職業競 Artist: Toshikazu Publisher: Kiso Naojiro Date: 1879 (Meiji 12, 4th month) Dimensions: 34.3 × 23.3 cm Inv. No. 36305 Acquisition: Joe Hloucha's collection

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No. 2











No. 7





