

Legal Tango:

Self-imposed censorship in Gengoroh Tagame's work

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Master Thesis

MA Asian Studies (120 EC)

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15 July 2015

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Illustrations

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1. Introduction

Next to Germany, Japan is the only country in the world that has a constitutional freedom from censorship. Article 21 of the Japanese constitution guarantees amongst others freedom of speech and formal prohibition of censorship. However, an article in Japan's criminal code (article 175; Distribution of Obscene Objects), allows for the government to call for penalties against creators and distributors of obscene materials. In recent decades, article 175 of the Japanese criminal code has not been enforced strictly, but there have been some instances in which publishers have been tried and convicted for distribution of obscene images. In a country in which graphically violent and sexual content are abundant in media such as manga and anime, the ominousness of grave repercussions for creating materials that could be deemed "obscene", artists and publishers have to be cautious about the visual images they provide to the public. As a result, publications of sensitive nature will often have been censored by either the artist or publisher prior to printing. This self-censorship is the result of a "chill-effect", a fear to be the next to be tried and convicted under Article 175, and it is omnipresent in Japanese publications that are high in sexual content.

Gengoroh Tagame 田亀源五郎 (1964-) is a Japanese manga artist who regularly publishes stories that involve graphic sexual content, focusing mainly on male-on-male sexual conduct – a genre called *bara* manga. Many of his stories are filled with brutal abuse scenes, going as far as depicting coprophagia and mutilation. Most of the stories that are published in collected volumes and other book-forms have a level of censorship present that actually leaves very little to the imagination. Interestingly some of his books have no censorship present at all. Across genres and mediums, Japanese erotic publications contain censorship and Tagame's

works are no exception. Examples such as *Pride*¹ (2004), *Gunji*² (2005), and *Fuyu no ban'ya*³ (2009) have been subject to self-censorship, while other publications, such as *Hige to nikutai*⁴ (2009) have not. With the amount of graphically sensitive materials in Tagame's work, the research questions of which this thesis consists are as follows: What elements of Tagame's work are subject to self-censorship, in what way? How do Tagame and his publisher circumvent the Japanese criminal code, if they do so at all? Where does the line between "acceptable" and "obscene" lie?

In order to answer these questions I want to look at Japan's history of censorship when it comes to materials that are deemed obscene. Japan has a rich history of censorship ever since the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), when commercial printing became more common and the government, trying to curb the influence of Christian press, passed censorship regulations in 1657. Since then, the nature of materials that needed to be censored has changed from politically sensitive texts to depictions deemed unfit for publication. In the meantime, artists, writers and publishers have looked for ways to circumvent censorship in a dance that tries to find the boundaries of what is allowed and what is not. They also add self-censorship to their works as a preemptive to circumvent the authorities and avoid obscenity lawsuits.

Although he creates stories that fit into different genres, the main part of the research is his *bara* manga; manga that focuses on characters with hypermasculine characteristics. Many artists who publish within this genre are influenced by Tagame, and vice versa. Using some of his published works that are readily available through retail, the aim here is to see whether the forms of self-censorship as seen in Tagame's works are exclusive to this genre, or

¹ *Pride* vol. 1.

² *Tenshu ni sumu oni/Gunji*.

³ *Fuyu no ban'ya/Nagamochi no naka*.

⁴ *Hige to nikutai*.

whether other manga artists employ similar methods to self-censor sensitive materials. This is done by comparing them to works from other publications in gay magazines, such as *Bādi*.

2. Literature review: Censorship theory

On a daily basis people are subjected to a plethora of information through different mediums, such as speech, printed press, internet and television. Every piece of information has undergone radical changes from the first thought a sender has, to the product that the receiver receives. Senders can be influenced by external parties, or choose to change the wording of their messages or images. After reception, receivers have a choice to use the obtained information –for instance, to spread what they have received to others, form opinions etc. – or to disregard it as a whole.

The subject of self-censorship of publications has once again become a popular subject for debate in the last decade, after the 2006⁵ incident of the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* chose to publish a cartoon of the Muslim prophet Muhammad, wearing a bomb-shaped turban and stating heaven is running out of virgins. Out of fear to offend those who would find depictions of the prophet offensive, other media chose not to publish said cartoon. The choice these media made is an example of self-censorship: publications were altered without an external authority demanding they be censored.

Self-censorship thus is not necessarily the product of an oppressive environment, but can also be a result of freedom of speech. Having freedom of speech protects one from governmental repercussions after venting one's opinion, but does not protect from possible severe consequences exerted by other groups in society⁶. In this chapter, the intent is to investigate the possible reasons that cause one to apply self-censorship in published work, looking at the circumstances under which works get self-censored, looking at what possible

⁵ Festenstein 2015, p. 2.

⁶ Shackel 2013, p. 136.

effects self-censorship has on authors and artists, and to see whether authors and artists instigate the application of self-censorship or whether there are other external factors.

2.1 Gatekeeper Model

Although it had been described in literature as early as 1922, social psychologist Kurt Lewin proposed a theory on this phenomenon, labeling it “gatekeeping” in 1943. The model is based on the assumption that the information given to the public is filtered by the media who, in deciding what information gets spread, have the power to influence public opinion, society’s morale and so on. Lewin⁷ identified several stages in his model to be applied to information flow: the information flows through several channels in several steps, in which the amount of channels and steps can vary along the type of medium. Before moving to the next channel, information must pass a gate. These gates are then represented by the authorities, either public or private, who govern the channels. If they oppose the contents of the information flowing through, the information will not pass the gate⁸. Lewis also saw that different routes can be taken through different channels that will provide similar results in final publication. Lastly, there are several actors that can act in the role of gatekeeper, implying that members can comment and criticize others’ works within certain divisions.

Aforementioned model implies that authors can choose to edit the contents of the information they produce, in order for it to pass the gates towards publication⁹. In some instances, they self-censor the original content, before passing it on for approval. Although the original model was thought to be applicable only on a macro level –mainly on mass-media–, it has since been applied to many other situations; it is not necessarily the parties in power who

⁷ Lewin 1943.

⁸ Soroka 2012, p. 525.

⁹ Relly, Zanger and Fahmy 2015, p. 348.

control the contents of the information flow¹⁰. In more recent developments, the gatekeeping models have been extended to internet communications in the so called *networked gatekeeping model*¹¹. The ultimate implication of this later model is that the roles of people who participate in the information flow are often assumed differently from Luwin's description; through participation, people have closer contact with one another (on social media like Twitter, for example) and thus have the power to –with varying success– control the information shared¹². Traditional media often pick up what has been shared on Twitter and report that in news broadcastings, thus influencing the information flow to the average viewer¹³.

The relevance gatekeeping theory has to self-censorship thus includes the fact that producers of information often choose to alter the information they pass on for it to reach a larger audience. This can then not only be applied to (social) media, but also to *vis à vis* communication or publications on a smaller scale, like the publications of Tagame Gengoroh, whose works are censored before being published. In order for the publications to be sent out into the world, they have to be edited as they go through different channels (publisher, editor, printer etc.).

2.2 Propaganda Model

In 1988, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky proposed a model that could explain why producers of information self-censor their work¹⁴. The so called Propaganda Model

¹⁰ Tandoc 2014, p. 562-3.

¹¹ Barzilai-Nahon 2008, p. 1493.

¹² Singer 2014, p. 57.

¹³ Xu and Feng 2014, p. 423.

¹⁴ Herman and Chomsky 1988.

identifies five classes of filters that influence information and try to identify some factors that could lead to the modification of original information¹⁵:

1. Ownership of the medium
2. Medium's funding sources
3. Sourcing
4. Flak
5. Anti-communism and fear ideology

Herman and Chomsky postulate that the fact that media and publishing companies' owners strive to get the highest possible profit, makes that the content of that what will be published is closely monitored¹⁶. From an economic point of view, when something unwanted is published, sales can drop, resulting in fewer profits.

Advertisements are a large base of income for many magazines and websites. If advertisers do not agree with the content, they can withdraw advertisements, resulting in a loss of profits. For that reason, content is often monitored.

Companies often outsource or borrow information from different sources. These sources then dictate the information flow. If a source chooses to withhold information, this information is censored.

The flak-filter is a means of discipline to the media. Readers of any forum of information have the means to respond to that what they have read. Reactions can be positive, but can also be outrage over what has been published¹⁷. The negative response to a media statement or program can cause publishers to alter the contents of their information in the future, especially if the responses come in great numbers. This has become easier in recent years, since internet has become a medium for quick response.

Because Herman and Chomsky constructed their model during the cold war, it is

¹⁵ Jacobson, Fang and Raffel 2002, p. 20.

¹⁶ Lukin 2013, p. 106.

¹⁷ Goss 2009, p. 456.

important to note that it was very important in western media to have an anti-communist stance. Everything communist was considered evil and to be stayed away from. Out of fear of being labeled communist, news stories have often been altered in order to not appear to be communist.

Herman and Chomsky have drawn up their model in order to analyze mass media as a whole¹⁸, in which they have criticized the gatekeeper model for being too focused on a micro level of media¹⁹, sometimes even being applicable to single publications. However, even though the Propaganda Model had been proposed to look at media as a whole, it too can be applied to single publications²⁰. It proposes several reasons for publications to be censored.

2.3 Spiral of Silence theory

A theory that does not propagate to be applicable to either a macro or micro level is the spiral of silence theory²¹. First proposed in 1974 by political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, it stipulates that individuals will choose to be (partially) silent, out of fear to be ostracized for having an opinion other than main society's²². The spiral of silence is a visualization of the voicing of dominant opinions in a certain group of people or a society. Firstly, a distinction is made between fixed and flexible values. One is less likely to have his or her opinion heard in cases where the public opinion is fixed, like on cultural norms and values. When the values are less fixed, one has to voice an opinion and try to gauge the public's reaction. In such a case, popular opinions become more and more voiced²³, blocking other opinions and voices, or silencing them completely. As a result, one social group's values spiral

¹⁸ Mullen 2010, p. 681.

¹⁹ Klaehn 2002, p.150.

²⁰ Toohey and Taylor 2006, p. 74.

²¹ Neill 2009, p. 5.

²² Noelle-Neumann 1977, p. 144.

²³ Taylor 2006, p. 132.

into becoming stronger over time, leaving little way for conflicting points of view, spiraling into a status quo that is hard to change²⁴.

This theoretic spiral bears the name of silence, since those who do not necessarily share the public's dominant opinion, will resort to silence in a way to keep peace. When applying this theory on a specific situation, there are a few assumptions to be made. In addition to the fear of being ostracized, it assumes those who voice an opinion or publish a volume (as is the case with Tagame's works) will beforehand try to read society to gauge the public's reaction.

The nature of these assumptions make it harder to quantify the objectivity of the applications of the theory, since researchers can only assume to a certain point; more assumptions will undermine the objectivity²⁵.

2.4 The case of Wilhelm Reich

Although it is not that hard to ascertain that one's work has been subjected to censorship or self-censorship, one can examine what the effects are on an author's later works.

Philip Bennet has done such research on the works of Austrian psychologist and biologist Wilhelm Reich²⁶. In the 1930s, Reich had done research on human sexuality, resulting in his book "Sexualerregung und Sexualbefriedigung" (1929) to be banned in Germany, after it was labeled pornographic. The Jewish Reich fled Germany to the US. There, in

²⁴ Germer 2013, p. 506.

²⁵ Lin and Salwen 1997, p. 132.

²⁶ Bennet 2014, p 341.

correspondence, he exclaimed “[he did not] want to yield to conservative views, but we have to be flexible where flexibility does not hamper our truth.”²⁷

Bennet notes that Reich’s work was confiscated by the FBI –on what he argues were false assumptions– and Reich often made plans to translate and publish his earlier works, for instance “The Mass Psychology of Fascism” (1933). But this hardly happened. Bennet concludes that Reich’s publications were so often met with resistance, which attributed to a slump in his research until he was arrested and died a captive of the FBI in 1957.

2.5 The actual existence of self-censorship

Theories on censorship are not applicable on just media as a whole; often they can be applied to specific publications. The various steps from (mainly) the Gatekeeper theory and the Propaganda Model can be traced in Tagame Gengoroh’s works when looking at the types of censorship present.

Such theories, in which at some point in the production process between designing a manga and the manga being published someone applies censorship to the visual aspects that can be considered improper, is easily applied to Tagame’s manga. Somewhere along the production line, alterations are made to the materials in order for them to be suitable for publication, without being at risk for prosecution under the Japanese criminal law.

Here lies an interesting feature of self-censorship: the fact that the agents who play a role in the production and distribution of manga voluntarily apply censorship to the works. It would be only natural to assume artists want their works published in their purest form, a

²⁷ Ibid. p. 356.

form that resembles the way it has been thought up. Building upon this assumption, the question rises about how voluntary self-censorship is.

Scholars on self-censorship ask whether informal censorship is not an indirect type of formal censorship²⁸. In informal censorship there is no authority present to keep close tabs on what is expressed and whether what is expressed is acceptable given the specific context of the situation. In formal censorship, there are active agencies closely monitoring information flows and checking whether the information exchanges in these flows is appropriate to a certain set of standards or social values. If an agent (the person who transmits information or ideas, etc.) sees the contents of what gets transmitted altered, it has been censored. For the content, it does then matter little whether the censorship was formal or informal, since the results will be the same.

On self-censorship, Glenn Loury explains that members of society who censor themselves are “members whose beliefs are sound, but who nevertheless differ from some aspect of communal wisdom; [they] are compelled by a fear of ostracism to avoid the candid expression of their opinion.”²⁹ They are propelled by fear to alter what they actually want to express in order to avoid unwanted consequences. This would fit in with the censorship that is found in Tagame’s manga: in order to avoid being sued for creating obscene materials, censoring those elements that can be found offensive by himself will save his publications from being banned.

Contrastively, John Horton notes it is important in informal censorship that the will of censoring one’s self should have some significant noncoerced determinative role in the action

²⁸ Horton 2011, p. 98.

²⁹ Loury 1994, p. 430.

of censoring³⁰. Within this criterion, it is important that one chooses to self-censor out of free will. This is a grey area, since it is hard to determine whether one chooses to self-censor as to avoid negative ramifications, or whether they censor completely voluntarily. If one chooses to censor their work beforehand and without intervention of some sort of authority, there is no significant noncoerced factor in the action, meaning there is no possibility of censoring one's own work just for self-censoring's sake.

This then gives way to wonder whether it is possible for something as self-censorship to even exist outside of interpersonal communication. If one censors their work to avoid consequences, one would think self-censorship is only a means to preemptively not be confronted with any negative consequences. John Horton states that self-censorship thus is not a means to avoid consequences per se, but a bend to the will of those who are in power and control the flows of information³¹.

It would be too precipitous to claim there is no such thing as self-censorship. However, in the case of publications meant to be distributed on a larger scale –like Gengoroh Tagame's erotic manga– saying that the techniques of censorship found in them have nothing to do with any administrative authority whatsoever would be naïve. As an indirect application of formal censorship, self-censorship is often instigated out of fear for an administrative authority. It is then hard to distinguish between some sort of voluntary censorship and coerced censorship, tremendously increasing the difficulties for determining whether formal and informal censorship are intrinsically different from one another.

³⁰ Horton 2011, p. 98.

³¹ Horton 2011, p. 99.

3. Blocking the view: Japanese censorship in visual media

Before the Tokugawa period (1603-1886 AD) censorship of media was not uncommon in Japan, however, in that period it became a state affair when authorities tried to curb the influence of Christian missionaries and books containing Christian ideologies³². During this period, authors and publishers of books containing sensitive elements (thus being prone to censorship) found various ways around the censor, for instance by not publishing works officially, but spreading manuscripts³³. In later Tokugawa times, the depiction of sexual acts in erotic woodblock prints, so called *shunga*, kept being bound more and more until the point where the production and distribution of such images went underground³⁴.

Modern Japanese society is one that is not prude by nature. Depictions of nudity are not uncommon in public spaces and the Japanese tend not to be afraid to be nude in public, albeit appropriate places. Yet the protection of what is called the general morale of the public in legal terms has led to several cases in which persons have been tried and convicted for endangering society with obscene depictions, under an article in the Japanese Criminal Code that has been written in 1907. Cases in relation to Article 175 of the Japanese Criminal Code often stir up society. The article reads

“A person who distributes, sells or displays in public an obscene document, drawing or other objects shall be punished by imprisonment with work for not more than 2 years, a fine of not more than 2,500,000 yen or a petty fine. The same shall apply to a person who possesses the same for the purpose of sale.”³⁵

What springs to attention in this article is the fact that the word of “obscene” –猥褻 *waisetsu*– lacks a clear definition. This gives way to discussions about the interpretation of the word. Nowadays, the general consensus of the definition of obscene is the depiction of

³² Kornicki 1998, p. 320.

³³ Hutchinson 2013, p. 3.

³⁴ Kornicki 1998, p. 358.

³⁵ Hōmushō 1907, Article 175.

genitals. But the fact that the definition is not fixed gives courts the freedom to deem anything that is related to sex obscene. In this chapter, firstly some landmark cases of artists and publishers who were tried under Article 175 after WWII will be examined. Secondly a turn in the general consensus of what is acceptable in the early 1990s will be examined. Lastly, a short overview of how manga as a medium provides manga artists with means to circumvent being tried under Article 175 will be given.

3.1 Precedents after WWII

After the Second World War, during occupation by the US, a new Japanese constitution was written. This new constitution promised freedom from censorship in article 21, in line with American liberal views. However, freedom from censorship did not automatically mean freedom to publish just about anything. There were instances in which authors and publishers were tried for spreading sensitive materials. The prosecution would call upon article 175 of the Japanese Criminal Code, an article that predated WWII.

In 1950, a translation of D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* caused uproar in Japan when the editor and translator were tried for creating, publishing and distributing obscene work in Japan under article 175. The prosecutor asked that twelve passages be removed before publishing the work –about the sexual relations between an upper-class married woman and a gamekeeper– for they were deemed too obscene for the public³⁶. The accused tried to plead that this concerned a foreign work, with foreign morals, and that the way the prosecutor tried to apply the Criminal Code was unconstitutional. After an appeal was made to the Japanese Supreme Court against the Tokyo High Court, the Supreme Court ruled the interpretation of the word 'obscene' in the code applied by the Tokyo High Court sustained

³⁶ Alexander 2003, p. 155.

and concluded that the passages in the book “induce [men] to defy the established concept of sex morality and order.”³⁷ This meant that the court viewed the translation to be in conflict with the wellbeing of the general public, therefore rejecting the appeal and sentencing the book’s editor and translator to pay a fine in addition to prohibiting the distribution of the book.

Another controversial trial that involved Article 175 was the case against director Oshima Nagisa. His movie *Ai no koriida*, or *In the Realm of Senses*, revolved around an incident in 1936, when former sex worker Abe Sada asphyxiated her lover, cut off his genitals and carried them around for several weeks. Oshima tried to circumvent the Japanese Criminal Code by shooting on closed sets, and developing and editing the film abroad, in France. Subsequently, he was not sued for the contents of the movie, but for a book he had written that was related to the movie, containing essays, the script to the movie and several photographs³⁸. After the trial, Oshima repeatedly asked the Supreme Court to clarify what specific passages were obscene, so he could take those into account when making more movie scripts. Oshima’s way of getting his movie past censors by editing it in France illustrates the way in which the Japanese censor was more lenient towards foreign productions when it came to nudity. Photographer Ray Man had his photographs taken by Japanese customs, but after pressure from the French government, the Japanese gave in and Man’s exhibited every photograph he wanted to in his 1985 show in Japan³⁹. Likewise, a British and a Brazilian director threatened to withdraw their films if they were altered in the slightest⁴⁰.

³⁷ Saikō Saibansho 1957.

³⁸ Alexander 2003, p. 166.

³⁹ Allison 1996, p. 167.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 167.

The power Japanese customs hold to enforce article 175 of the Japanese Criminal Code is illustrated in the Tōgō Ken incident. Tōgō Ken returned from a journey to the United States in 1987, carrying with him a number of gay pornographic magazines. Tōgō, gay activist and publisher of the Japanese magazine aimed at homosexual men *The Gay*, found that the customs officers confiscated his magazines, for they suspected he wanted to distribute them in Japan. Tōgō gave in to the confiscation, however he got a fine of ¥84,000 for “the attempt to import obscene goods into Japan with the possible purpose of redistribution.”⁴¹ Enraged, Tōgō took legal steps against the confiscation, claiming he did not agree with the “criminalization” of his actions. At first, Tōgō was found guilty because he was deemed to be at risk to distribute the materials since he was connected to a gay magazine. In 1995 this verdict was overruled by the Tokyo High court, citing that the magazines were in Tōgō’s private possession and the Declaration of Human Rights states that keeping these personal belongings is a right that is above any national law. Ultimately, the Supreme Court reverted the Tokyo High Court’s verdict and found Tōgō guilty as charged; he was to pay both the fine and all the legal costs.

These landmark cases in post-WWII Japan have given precedent in the Japanese legal system for handling cases that deal with obscene materials in Japan. The premise of what was susceptible to censorship could be measured to the materials discussed above, among others. From the courts came the notion that the morale of the general public had to be protected from materials that could arouse sexual tension, and consequently a reduction in the rational capabilities of the average Japanese citizen.

⁴¹ Helms 2008, p. 128.

3.2 1991: The turn in obscenity policy

Around the start of the last decade of the twentieth century, several visual publications were subject to controversy. The reason was the depiction of pubic hair. Several international films, like *the Crying Game* and *Orlando* were showed despite including the depiction of pubic hair. In 1991, Shinoyama Kishin published a collection of photos ("*Santa Fe*") of idol Miyazawa Rie, in which she was photographed in the nude, in various poses. Miyazawa's genitalia were never visible because they are obstructed from view by other body parts, objects in the foreground, or the clever use of lighting. The book was preordered *en masse*, mostly because of Miyazawa being on the height of her popularity at the time of printing. This enlarged the public upheaval that occurred when a handful of photographs pictured fragments of Miyazawa's pubic hair⁴². This triggered a debate about the depiction of pubic hair, the so called *hea ronsō*, or "hair controversy". Some camps thought the fact that Shinoyama was not being tried under Article 175 a welcome liberation of the law⁴³, while others called for a strict enforcement against the depiction of pubic hair in any medium, for many of those –the Japanese porn industry for example– were deemed self-regulating and often loosely applied any decency law⁴⁴. It even went as far as two major newspapers (*Yomiuri Shinbun* and *Asahi Shinbun*) defending their choice of advertising the book⁴⁵. Miyazawa's public image never fully recovered from the controversy.

The 1991 incident of *Santa Fe* marked a turning point in the application of the 175th article of the Japanese Criminal Code. It was the end of a time in which courts throughout Japan upheld certain standards about what was acceptable to publish and what was obscene.

⁴² Allison 1996, p. 149.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 149.

⁴⁴ Buckley 2002, p. 182.

⁴⁵ Schilling 1992, p. 221.

Despite the vagueness of the term “obscene” in the Criminal Code, legislators had long drawn upon precedents. The fact that *Santa Fe* was not censored, reopened the debate about what is acceptable to be published and what is not. There seemed to be a consensus that the depiction of genitalia and sex acts are to be censored in order for publications not to violate article 175.

Ever since 1991, the enforcement of article 175 in relation to producing and distributing materials deemed obscene had been in a slump until 2004. Suwa Yūji was charged for creating and distributing indecent materials, the manga *Misshitsu*. The Tokyo District Court argued that the details in the panels were too life-like and too little attention was paid to the concealment of inappropriate body parts⁴⁶, making the manga pornographic and unfit for a modern society. Suwa went in appeal against the verdict, but the High Court upheld the verdict and both Suwa and his publisher Kishi Monotori were set to pay fines.

The *Misshitsu* incident was the first in its kind, as it was the first time a creator of manga was sued under article 175. Interestingly, this happened in 2004, very late compared to other mediums such as literature, films and photography. Each of these mediums had a run-in with article 175 at some point in time. This could mean that either the law was very sparsely enforced before 2004, or manga artists had created an intricate system of self-censorship in order to avoid being sued. In the post-war *manga boom*, the diversification in manga genres was well known outside of Japan. Some of the more notorious genres include boys’ love manga, *lolicon* (Lolita complex: amorous relationship between young children and adults) manga, and other genres that include graphic and sexual violence (for many outside of Japan, the infamous “tentacle porn” manga).

⁴⁶ Pilcher 2009.

3.3 Circumventing the law: how manga makers avoided lawsuits

Within Japanese manga, the genre under the denominator *hentai*, or perverted manga, enjoys a lot of popularity. The word *hentai* has taken a similar, but slightly different meaning outside of Japan, where it has become synonymous with manga and anime that revolve around sex, the type that is probably best-known outside of Japan being the so called “tentacle porn⁴⁷”, where penises are substituted by other phallic objects, such as tentacles. The rise of manga with such elements is not a recent development; famous woodblock artist Hokusai produced a print revolving around a shell diver and an octopus in copulation in 1814, long before the Japanese Criminal Code spoke about prohibiting obscene depictions. Through various cases in the past, the Criminal Code has been contested by defendants to be unconstitutional, breaching the constitutional freedom from censorship. However, the Court has made it clear that having freedom from censorship does not mean one is free to spread immoral, obscene materials, as is illustrated in the cases mentioned above.

Yet there seems to be a lack of cases concerning the contents of erotic manga that might be in conflict with article 175 of the Criminal Code. Although one might quickly jump to the conclusion that the organizations monitoring the flow of what is acceptable and what is not do rarely come to action, it seems to be more likely that the creators, publishers and distributors of manga are creatively dodging the law, venturing close to the lines of the acceptable in an effort to get as much of the original work published as possible, without being tried for spreading obscenity.

Japanese society does not have a tradition of prudery and shame concerning nudity. From a historical point of view, the concealing or revealing of naked body parts has a deep

⁴⁷ Petty 2011, p. 139.

rooted tradition in Shinto mythology, where the concealment or revealing of certain body parts could be seen as a means to convey power. According to legend, the Shinto sun goddess Amaterasu got in an argument with her brother Susanoo (god of the waters and seas) until the latter threw a flayed horse at the former. Disgusted and startled, Amaterasu fled to seclude herself in a cave, taking with her the movements of the sun. As badly as the other gods tried, no one could persuade Amaterasu to leave her cave. One goddess, Ama no uzume, started dancing outside of the entrance of the cave, slowly taking off pieces of clothing whilst chanting obscenities. The other gods watched her and started laughing at the sight of a naked goddess dancing and cursing. Ticked by curiosity, Amaterasu stepped out of her cave to see what was going on, thus restoring the movement of the sun⁴⁸.

Although the story above is merely legend, it does somewhat give an illustration of the Japanese's attitude towards nudity in daily life. Going nude in the *onsen* is a fun outing, as is going to a *sentō*, a public bathhouse. Not having a tradition of shame concerning nudity –like countries with a society based on, for example, Judeo-Christian morals have– could explain the leniency Japanese authorities give to those who display naked body parts in their visual mediums as long as they stay within the predetermined boundaries of what can be shown and what cannot.

Thus the lack of incidents in which makers and distributors of adult manga are being tried for obscenity can be explained through the alternatives that they have to picture intercourse between characters. This could be seen as a result of a system of informal regulation⁴⁹, forms of self-censorship and substitution. In addition, police forces often raid

⁴⁸ Frédéric 2002, p. 27-28.

⁴⁹ Zanghellini 2009, p. 161.

offices where adult manga are made, sometimes confiscating materials that are too risqué, with which they remove the necessity for legal action, since the works will not be published⁵⁰.

The amount of techniques used by manga writers and artists to have their stories published without depicting genitals is vast. In hentai manga tentacles and other limbs and extremities, often from monster-like characters, to penetrate their victims (it is noteworthy that the amount of nonconsensual sex in erotic manga is vast as well). Because of the ban of depicting genitalia, vaginas are often overlooked and the penetrated orifices can be almost any other orifice, mainly the anus, but sometimes nostrils and ears will get penetrated by tentacles.

Outside the tentacle porn genres, substitution is also used. In many substitution cases, one of the partners in the sexual encounter is overly aggressive towards his or her partner. As one form of substitution, objects are inserted into the receiving body. These do not necessarily have to be phallic objects, as we see in Tagame Gengoroh's *Pride*, in which the character Ōhashi receives golf balls and later pool balls in his anus to be kept there for a longer period of time.

Another means of circumventing the criminal code is to have very young characters. To avoid the depiction of pubic hair (which, although accepted in many publications nowadays, is still taboo following the hair controversy), some manga artists choose to make their characters prepubescent. When a character is too young, they have yet to grow pubic hair. Within hentai manga, stories in the *lolicon* genre revolve around young children being romantically involved with adults. This creates a leeway for the artist to leave large parts of the body nude without

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 162.

having to censor them⁵¹. This technique has become less used nowadays, ever since child pornography has been officially banned in Japan in 2014.

Besides substituting genitalia, redirecting penetrative movements and using prepubescent children to avoid hair controversy, manga artists also choose to simply obscure genitalia from view. Often the techniques described before do not suit the story a manga artist might want to convey. In such cases, different types of censorship are applied. The most obvious two are blurring the genitals using mosaics and placing bars over them, in a fashion as is done to criminal offenders in other media. Other techniques are suggesting a certain body part is present by representing its surroundings in a manner as if it were there. These techniques are very suitable for manga, since the style of many comics is to not make these omissions stand out.

Manga are often published in pocket format. This is a result of the way they are consumed by the average Japanese person. Often, on the train during their daily commute from home to office, one sees Japanese people reading manga. Employed Japanese have very little time to themselves during a workday, since they spend long hours at work and have to participate in mandatory social outings afterwards, to be followed by family time when they are at home⁵². This leaves the time spent commuting in trains as the only time left to spend on themselves, often reading manga, be it in paper form or digitally. This has led to numerous developments within stylizing and formatting manga so one could finish a volume quickly –i.e. during a commute– and getting as much of the story as possible. This results in a style that, despite not being adopted by all manga artists, creates a flow on the pages, omitting frame lines, cropping images and using many suggestions rather than actual depictions, among other

⁵¹ Zanghellini 2009, p. 165.

⁵² Allison 1996, p. 57.

techniques. This dynamic style of representing stories hands several means to the authors of erotic manga to conceal materials that can be deemed obscene without really obstructing the view as it would with applying mosaics or bars.

Exemplary of tools provided by the style of many manga is lack of detail, suggesting genitalia are present without actually showing them. This could result in having just an outline with some basic details, having an outline with no details present (basically a blank object), or a person not having any genitalia drawn, but through action suggesting they do. This could, however, draw a lot of attention to the fact that censorship is present. This dynamic style of manga also makes it possible for artists to crop the images, so genitalia are left just outside the frame. In this way the genitalia are muffled away without obviously disrupting the flow of the story, thus not drawing attention to the fact that something that should anatomically have been there is not visible. Another technique of obscuring genitalia is covering them. This can be done by clothing (in which the outlines are very visible), placing objects in front of them or through depicting penetration, thus partially obscuring a large part of the body parts. The latter technique leaves manga artists with more options to add textures and other details to their drawings, rather than leaving those out in a way of censoring them.

3.4 Conclusion

After the Second World War, Japan no longer has instances whose main task it is to censor sensitive materials. Instead, the new postwar constitution becomes combined with the 1907 Criminal Code in an effort to prevent materials deemed obscene to come into circulation. This resulted in several cases in which publishers and artists were tried for spreading obscenity, without it being very clear what was acceptable and what was not. Throughout the twentieth century, several landmark cases have reflected on the public *zeitgeist*, in terms of what the public thought was acceptable to have published or not. The freedom artists have in

Japan is technically very great, as long as they keep in mind that some elements are deemed obscene and can result in fines or even prison sentences.

It has not always been clear what could pass under the law, resulting in various ways in which artists try to dodge the law, and the birth of very specific genres of manga. Artists in various fields of art have tried to push the limits of the acceptable in attempts to change those lines, as has happened in the early 1990s with a more lenient stance towards the depiction of pubic hair.

Another result of this sparring between artists and the authorities are the different techniques to conceal the depiction of obscene materials, mainly genitalia. Besides blurring, concealing and cropping, the laws have given authors many other freedoms to convey their stories through manga. Rather than having characters copulating, they may engage in sadomasochistic relationships, have intercourse with animal extremities or foreign objects, as long as no genitalia are depicted. These creative circumventions of the law have shaped manga as the comics that are so well known today.

4. Tagame Gengoroh

The works of Japanese manga artist Tagame Gengoroh⁵³ 田亀源五郎 (1964-) fall within the genre of *bara*⁵⁴ manga⁵⁵. *Bara* manga is a genre of comics drawn by men, for men. The themes often constitute love between men, or focusses only on the sexual relations between them. This in contrast to the well-known *yaoi* (or *BL*: Boys' Love) genre, which is often created by women, for women⁵⁶.

When one tries to access his website⁵⁷, visitors are urged by the site's webmaster to "Recognize a Distinction between Actuality and Fantasy! (*sic*)" (*genjutsu to mōsō no chigai o ninshiki seyo* 現実と妄想の違いを認識せよ). This warning illustrates not only a message that Tagame's works are not suited for minors, but also that the contents can be found disturbing by visitors, as they often contain a high degree of nudity and sexual violence. However, Tagame has also published stories that do not include violent sex scenes and can still be classified as *bara* manga, such as *Otōto no otto* (My Brother's Husband), which revolves around an interracial same-sex couple that raises a daughter in the United States, traveling to Japan and meeting the Japanese husband's twin brother.

4.1 Tagame's bodies

Although there are a few exceptions to the standard, the characters in Tagame's works are often easy to generalize in a template when it comes to their design. Most of his characters tend to have hyper masculine personalities and very muscular, hairy bodies (in western gay

⁵³ The proper Hepburn romanization of 田亀源五郎 would be Tagame Gengorō. However, since he has chosen the -oh ending in his publications, this shall be used throughout this thesis.

⁵⁴ 薔薇 or rose: named after a volume of pictures of writer Mishima Yukio by photographer Hosoe Eikoh, named 薔薇刑 *Bara kei*, Ordeal by Roses (1960).

⁵⁵ Mackintosh 2006.

⁵⁶ McLelland and Welker 2015, p 3.

⁵⁷ <http://www.tagame.org>

culture, these characters would be labeled as “bears”, although Tagame uses this term to describe them himself, too). Among others, his works are influenced by other Japanese artists such as Jiraiya, Matsuzaki Tsukasa and Ichikawa Kazuhide⁵⁸

The way in which Tagame portrays his characters often reminds of the works of Tom of Finland. Tom of Finland’s men (or “Tom’s men” as the notion goes) have a similar type of masculinity that has evolved over the years to incorporate more elements that are associated with homosexual practices –such as the wearing of specific types of leather garments that are linked to homosexual S&M practices rather than heterosexual S&M practices– as a form of resistance against heteronormativity⁵⁹.

Conversely, Tagame does not necessarily reject heteronormativity in his works. Few in number as they are, there are some characters that lack the signature hypermasculine features that seem to be Tagame’s norm. These characters often exhibit feminine traits, as Tagame seems to look for certain gender roles that fit the mainstream. Just as in heterosexual erotic manga, the masculine males are portrayed as sexual rather than emotional, as is not unheard of in Japanese media⁶⁰. They take advantage of those less masculine for their own sexual needs in which they are forced to take over the role females would in mainstream heteronormative erotic works.

As noted, characters that are easily identifiable as less masculine through their body type are seldom encountered in Tagame’s works. More often a character that has a buff physique somehow ends up in a situation that forces them to be submissive to a different, more masculine and dominant character.

⁵⁸ Armour 2010, p. 446.

⁵⁹ Lahti 1998, p 193.

⁶⁰ McLelland 2000, p. 160.

There is a certain likeness with nineteenth century woodblock prints in Tagame's works, especially in the stories that are set in premodern Japan, where traditional clothing that could spark one's fantasy today was worn on a daily basis. The framing in Tagame's work gives way to displays of strange angles, extreme foreshortenings and brutal close-ups of body parts⁶¹.

4.2 The downfall

Most of Tagame's characters are hyper masculine men who are forcibly penetrated. A common theme in his stories is the fall from masculinity. In Tagame's works, masculinity is vented through the domination of other men, by humiliating and penetrating them. The mature men, who are in essence a symbol of masculinity in Tagame's manga, often find that the tide abruptly turns, from being hyper masculine alpha men in control to being dominated by even more masculine men. They are stripped of their clothes, their dignity, and their freedom – often having to endure physical as well as mental abuse, humiliation and mutilation.

There seem to be no limits to Tagame's imagination when it comes to this recurring theme of downfall. Some stories revolve around married man who are forced to have sex with other men or choose to undergo a domination voluntarily. Others feature young characters like school boys who are systematically abused by characters often older and more masculine than them.

Yet somehow the dominated characters seem to find sexual pleasure in all of the degradation. Most of the stories feature them getting erections, which is not always a

⁶¹ Edmund White in *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*, p. 9.

voluntary reaction to the situation⁶², but verbal reaction and ejaculation suggest there is some sort of sexual gratification found.

Tagame explains that being submissive in an S&M relationship gives one the distance from one's own personality needed to discover one's true nature⁶³.

4.3 Publication

Tagame's stories have been published in loose volumes, compilation volumes, and several gay magazines, including *Sabu*, *G-men*, and *SM-Z*, since 1987⁶⁴. A few of his stories have been translated (into French and English) and published outside of Japan⁶⁵. The lack of official translations and publications outside of Japan have contributed to the fact that his works could be considered a niche, resulting in a small fan base overseas.

Those who do not live in Japan and do succeed in getting their hands on Tagame's work enjoy his work through *scanlations*⁶⁶.

In 1995, together with two editors from gay magazine *Bādi*, Tagame founded *G-men*, a magazine that broke through the then-existing dominant aesthetic for Japanese homosexuals that favored young, lean men, by showing the bear. Men whose bodies took up more space, because they were broad, either from body fat or muscles. It is worth to take note of the fact that Japanese gay magazines do not target specific types of readers, but rather target the depictions of certain 'types' of homosexuals, with different magazines mainly depicting manga with characters who have a specific body type, as *G-men* does for the bear⁶⁷. Nowadays, he is

⁶² Bullock and Beckson 2011, p. 197.

⁶³ Graham Kolbeins in *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*, p. 269.

⁶⁴ <http://tagame.org/aboutme/list.html>

⁶⁵ *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*.

⁶⁶ Lunsing 2006.

⁶⁷ McLelland 2000, p. 117

one of the most popular gay manga artists in Japan, which has implications for his fan base.

Tagame's target audience is gay men, but due to his popularity, many heterosexual men and women read his work too. He estimates his readership to be 50% female⁶⁸.

⁶⁸ Graham Kolbeins in *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*, p. 271.

5. Materials and methods

It has previously been established that landmark cases in Japanese obscenity trials have created a chill-effect for authors and publishers who are active in similar fields. In order to avoid being tried for creating obscene materials under Article 175, many manga that have possible sensitive or obscene elements in them (i.e. the depiction of genitalia) have been published after certain forms of censorship have been applied by their creators. In this, Tagame Gengoroh is no exception; there are some forms of censorship present in most of his commercially available works.

For this study, the frequency and types of censorship that are applied in Tagame's works will be examined. These will then be analyzed and compared to Tagame's homoerotic comics that can be found in gay magazine *Bādi*, in order to establish whether his work fits in with the general ways of censoring obscenities in mainstream publications. *Bādi* has been chosen for its scope of distribution, as it is one of the five most popular gay magazines in Japan⁶⁹. *Bādi* (buddy) is a gay lifestyle magazine that offers more than homoerotic comics, although they are present in every issue. It also includes art, articles relevant to the gay community in Japan, personal ads, advice columns, and so on. Many photographs in the magazine include (partially) undressed men, sometimes stills from pornographic movies. The audience for *Bādi* is broad, in the sense that it exclusively aims at homosexual Japanese men, but it tries to appeal to both all layers of society, single men as well as men in relationships. Because of this broad audience, a large audience exposed to its contents, making it quintessential for the obscenity to be censored in erotic pictures. In other words, one is sure to find self-censored images within the *Bādi* homoerotic manga. Every issue features at least one erotic manga, some by Tagame Gengoroh.

⁶⁹ Dobbins 2000, p. 62.

In 2013, a volume of some of Tagame's stories translated into English titled *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame* was published. This book, published outside of Japan, shows the original manga, with very little censorship present. This volume will also be analyzed.

5.1 List of volumes:

Volumes by Tagame Gengoroh:

- Pride vol. 1⁷⁰ プライド (上) (2004)
- Pride vol. 2⁷¹ プライド (中) (2004)
- Pride vol. 3⁷² プライド (下) (2004)
- Fuyu no ban'ya/ Nagamochi no naka⁷³ 冬の番屋/長持ち (2013)
- Tenshu ni sumu oni/ Gunji⁷⁴ 天守に棲む鬼/軍次 (2005)
- Endless Game⁷⁵ エンドレス・ゲーム (2014)
- Hige to nikutai⁷⁶ 髭と肉体 (2009)
- The Passion of Tagame Gengoroh⁷⁷ (2013)

List of Bādi issues:

- November 2011
- November 2013
- December 2013

5.2 Method

As a precaution not to break the Japanese Criminal Code, Tagame Gengoroh's applies self-censorship in his publications. In order to answer the question as to how Tagame censors genitalia in his works, a content analysis⁷⁸ will be conducted.

⁷⁰ Pride vol. 1.

⁷¹ Pride vol. 2.

⁷² Pride vol. 3.

⁷³ Fuyu no ban'ya/ Nagamochi no naka.

⁷⁴ Tenshu ni sumu oni/ Gunji.

⁷⁵ Endless Game.

⁷⁶ Hige to nikutai.

⁷⁷ The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame.

⁷⁸ A more detailed description of this method is found in chapter 3 of Rose 2001.

The stories that will be analyzed have been chosen based on their original date of creation. They are not based on publication date, since some of the stories have been published multiple times, (in magazines and different collection volumes for example). A spread of dates has been chosen in order to see whether a specific method has Tagame's general preference.

To conduct a proper content analysis, one has to make different codes that are applicable to all materials. These codes correspond to various methods of censorship in the works used:

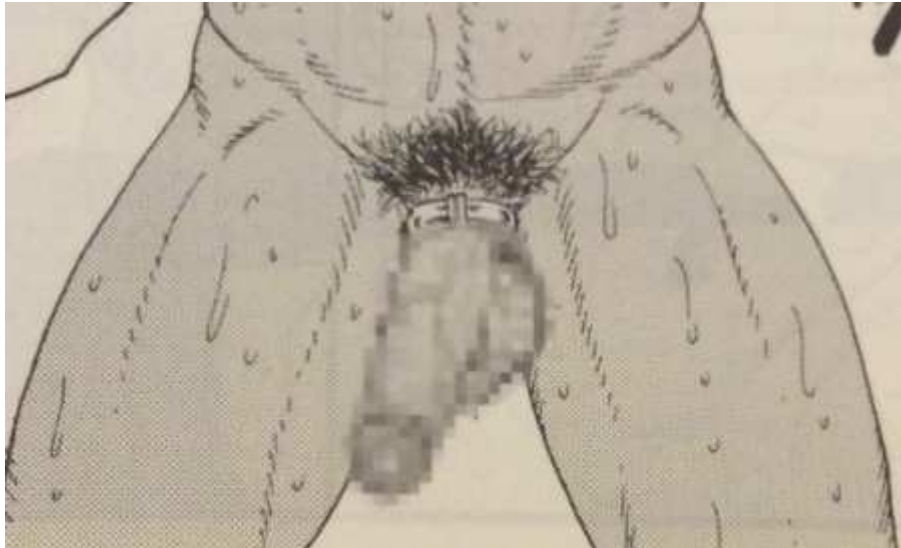
X. No genitalia depicted on a page: Although the scenes with nudity and sex are important to Tagame's stories, not all scenes have them present. If there were no genitals present on a page, the page was coded X.

1. Lack of detail: By leaving out details in drawing genitalia, Tagame has given the reader the suggestion that the genitalia are present without actually showing them, or showing only an outline.



Picture 1: Ōhashi gets involuntarily aroused watching professor Shibazaki have intercourse with someone else (Pride vol. 2, p. 184). The lack of detail is in contrast to the rest of his body, which is very detailed.

2. **Mosaic or blur:** By covering genitalia with a mosaic, they are supposedly obstructed from view. This method is also very popular in Japanese pornographic movies.



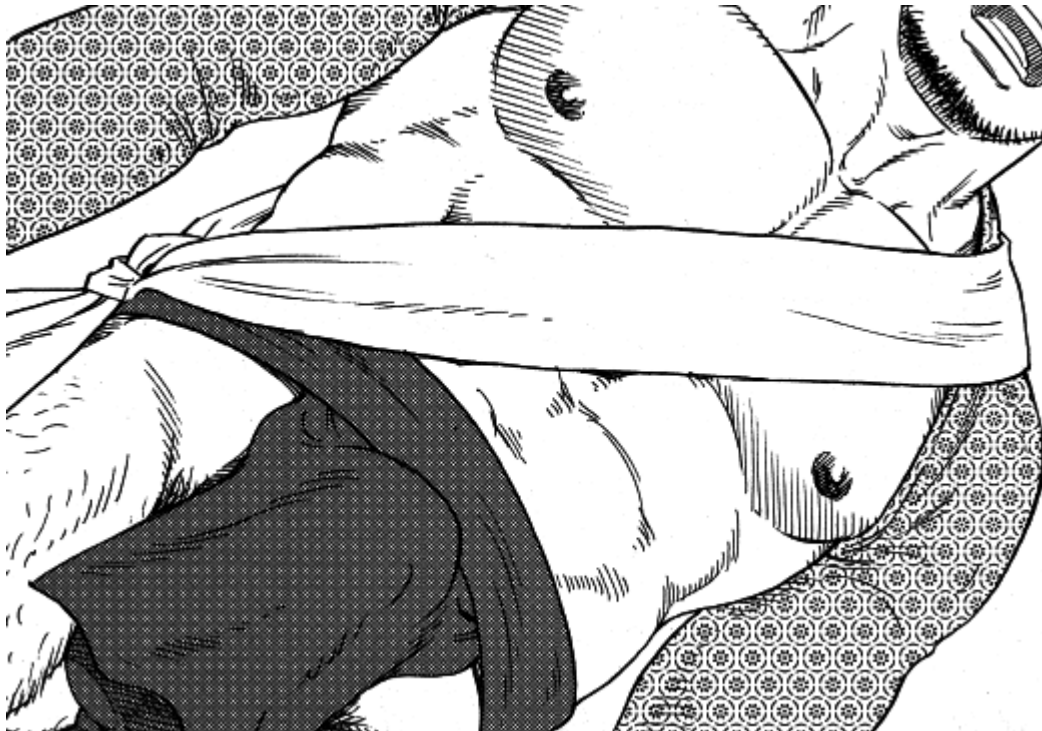
Picture 2: A slave is tied up (Bādi November 2013, p. 126). A mosaic covers the penis.

3. **Bar:** Placing a bar over genitalia is a method that might remind one of the way photographs of criminals are shown in public. A bar is placed over the genitalia, although many of the bars have a mere symbolic meaning, are very thin and hardly cover anything.



Picture 3: Another client pulls off Akira's towel in the bathhouse (Endless Game p. 14). The penis is censored, because a bar is placed over it.

4. **Cover:** This is another method of suggestion. By having the genitalia partially or completely covered by other objects, they can be considered obstructed from view. In contrast to code 1, the exposed pieces of genitalia often contain very detailed textures. Covers can be pieces of cloth, objects, or other body parts like hands or legs. In some instances genitalia can be partially inserted into orifices and considered to be covered.



Picture 4: Dr. Kayano right before the kaehime ceremony (The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame p.182). The doctor wears a fundoshi, but it is obvious he has an erection.

5. **Cover by movement:** A stylistic device that manga artists often implore is cover by movement. Genitalia are moved by hand, spring up in erection after clothing is removed and so on. The edges of the object that moves are surrounded by lines that indicate movement, making the object slightly vague, but still distinguishable. It is also commonly used by manga artists, as it adds to the flow, enabling the reader to understand there is movement.



Picture 5: General Okonogi gets tortured by a Russian soldier (Hige to nikutai p. 54). The spring in his erection adds an extra blur.

6. **Cropping:** Done by placing frames in such a way that readers automatically assume the position of a character's genitalia falls just outside the frame. This can have various reasons, for example to maintain the pacing and flow on the page of a comic. It can also be used as a means of not showing genitalia without having to give up some of the original artwork.



Picture 6: The penis of one of Goshima Yūta's rapists (Pride vol. 3, p. 240). It is very detailed and has a structure roster, but it is shown only partly, so there is no other censorship technique applied.

N. **No censorship present:** In rare cases, there is no censorship present in published materials.

This can have several reasons, for instance the fact that a publication is intended to be published overseas, so the Japanese Penal Code does not apply.



Picture 7: The young monk's penis after having sex with malevolent spirits (Hige to nikutai p. 154).

In the analysis, the amount of penises was counted, and categorized according to the codes above. The concluding amount does not correspond to the rest of the pages (i.e. the amount of pages that had penises on them), because one page, or even a single frame, can contain more than one penis. The following example is taken from data on the first installment of the *Pride* series:

PRIDE 上 (1996)

(...)

p. 17 X

p. 18 X

p. 19 4,1&6

p. 20 1,6

(...)

From this example, one can see that there are no penises present on pages 17 and 18, but there are two present on both page 19 (coded **covered** and **cropped**) and page 20 (coded **lacking in detail** and **cropped**).



Picture 8: Ōhashi receives oral sex from professor Shibazaki (p. 19). The penis on the right is coded 4 and the one on the left is coded 1&6.

In some instances, more than one censorship technique was applied to the same depiction of genitalia. In that case, the double codes were counted separately, since the aim of this research is to establish the frequency with which the censorship techniques were applied. This was most often seen in volumes that predominantly had code 3 in them, a bar placed over the depicted penis. The following example is taken from the story *Tenraku no keiyaku* in

Endless Game:

Tenraku no keiyaku (2013)

(...)

p. 194 X

p. 195 X

p. 196 3&6,4,4,4

p. 197 5,4,3

(...)

In this example, one can see two pages without penises on them (p. 194 and 195). On the next page -196- there are four penises depicted, of which three have been coded **covered** and one has been coded both **cropped** while having a **bar** present.



Picture 9: Part of page 196 of Endless Game. The left frame's penis has a double code.

By analyzing the stories, assigning codes to the images on the pages of sex scenes, conclusions can be drawn on Tagame's preferred method of self-censorship per volume.

6. Results, analysis and discussion

The method applied as described in the previous chapter has resulted in raw data. This data was put into tables, to quantitatively establish what types of censorship were applied to which stories. These amounts were then added up to differentiate between the types of censorship present in each volume effectively. The totals of each volume were converted to percentages.

6.1 Results per volume

Pride vol. 1 (2004):

The main focus of the Pride-series is the relationship of Japanese university student Ōhashi, and a university professor. Ōhashi is a masculine, aggressive, and dominant homosexual, who has many sexual encounters with more submissive men. One day he gets an invitation by professor Shibazaki, whom he has a similar sexual encounter with, albeit that the professor comments on Ōhashi's pride, which leads him to a meaningless existence. Ōhashi finds himself unable to perform sexually afterwards. He returns to professor Shibazaki and agrees to undergo slave training to give meaning to his life. This training sparks Ōhashi's transformation from the masculine, aggressive man he was, to a masculine submissive man.

The second story, TRAP, focuses on a high school student, who thinks he rescues his classmate from a group of abusive bullies by taking his classmate's place in the sex games the bullies play. In the end it turns out to have been a scheme by his classmate to obtain nude photographs for personal use.

PRIDE vol. 1 (2004) 236 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
95	79	0	1	102	22	40	6

Table 1: Amounts of censorship techniques found in Pride 上

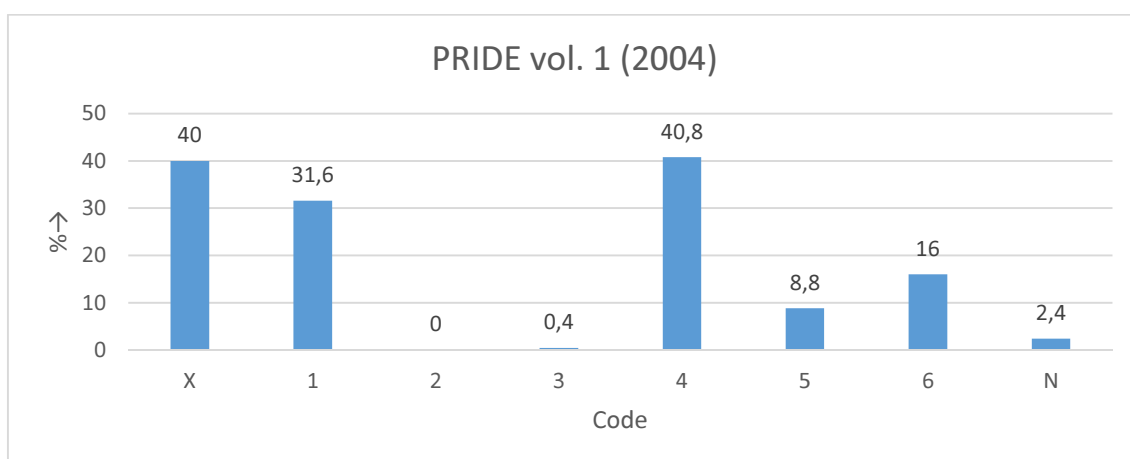


Fig 1: Censorship techniques found in PRIDE vol. 1 in %.

Pride vol. 2 (2004)

The second installment in the Pride-series is a continuation of the first installment.

Ōhashi continues his submissiveness training, after which some of his fellow students find out what is going on between professor Shibazaki and Ōhashi. In the end, they meet a friend of the professor's, who also has his personal slave. Ōhashi and Kazu bond as Kazu explains the joys of his transformation.

In TRAP2, Kazuya discovers pictures of the previous encounter have been made.

Blackmailed to repeat that encounter in order to get the pictures back, Kazuya has to go back to his bullies and get sexually abused again.

PRIDE vol. 2 (2004) 249 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
88	121	2	4	127	8	26	0

Table 2: Amounts of censorship techniques found in Pride vol. 2.

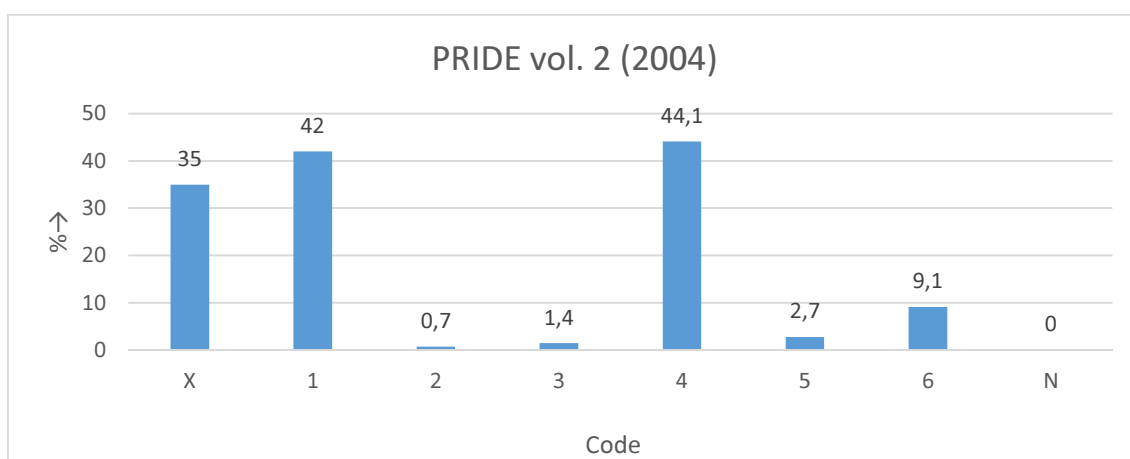


Fig 2: Censorship techniques found in PRIDE vol. 2 in %.

Pride vol. 3 (2004)

Fallen from his former masculine identity, Ōhashi's training to be a slave continues. When professor Shibazaki presents him the choice to return to his old life or stay his slave forever, Ōhashi chooses the latter. This means his torment is not over yet, as he also gets branded as a slave.

The second story in this volume, *Yami no naka no shamo* (Game fowl surrounded by darkness) is a story set in postwar Japan, former soldier Amamiya Shūichi is crippled and bedridden. His wife's brother Hiroshi tries to seduce Shūichi, who is appalled by these avances. Hiroshi arranges for US GIs to come into their home when Shūichi's wife is working as a prostitute to rape Shūichi for some money.

Likewise, *Hikokumin* (The Unpatriotic Boy) is set in postwar Japan. Goshima Yūta is a young boy who comes home one day to find his parents abducted after having been accused of being communists. In order to prevent Yūta's downfall into the red danger, the men and boys of his village inject him with the spirit of the nation (their semen) by means of a gang rape that lasts several days.

PRIDE vol. 3 (2004) 229 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
104	112	1	0	98	14	42	0

Table 3: Amounts of censorship techniques found in *Pride* vol. 3.

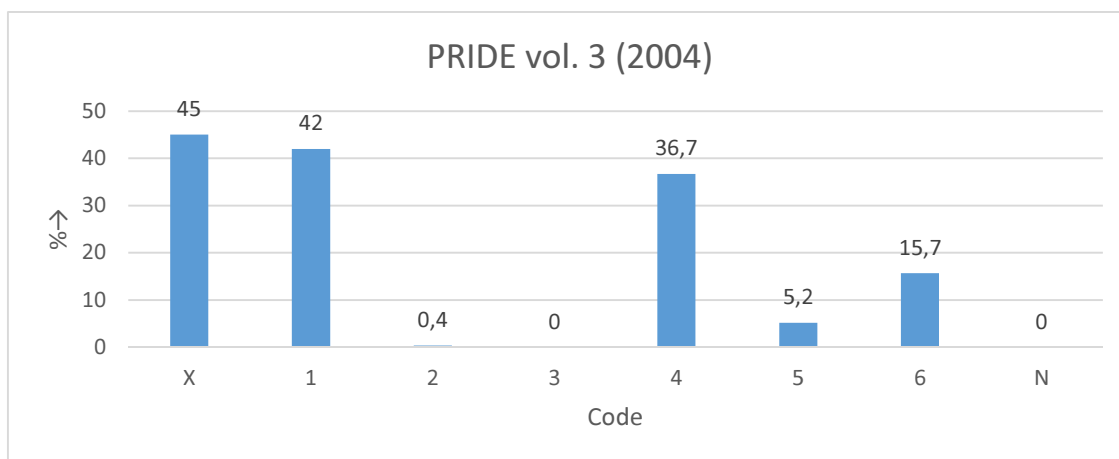


Fig 3: Censorship techniques found in *PRIDE* vol. 3 in %.

***Fuyu no ban'ya/Nagamochi no naka* (2013)**

The protagonist of *Fuyu no ban'ya* is a young man, who is only referred to as “homo”. He finds himself at the mercy of the mafia. He is taken to a supply station for ships in the north, manned by one other person. Initially the proprietor is reluctant, but gradually warms up to his guest.

In *Actina*, the main character Tachibana Shin'ichi is forced to undergo an operation to replace his penis with a second anus, which makes it easier for him to receive double penetrations.

Nagamochi no naka is a story about a young boy who gets sexually abused by his father in the early 1940s. He describes the different personalities his father has; sometimes he is a sweet and caring man and other times he is an abusive brute who locks up his son in a crate.

Fuyu no ban'ya/Nagamochi no naka (2013) 254 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
135	4	0	125	85	7	9	0

Table 4: Amounts of censorship techniques found in *Fuyu no ban'ya/Nagamochi no naka*.

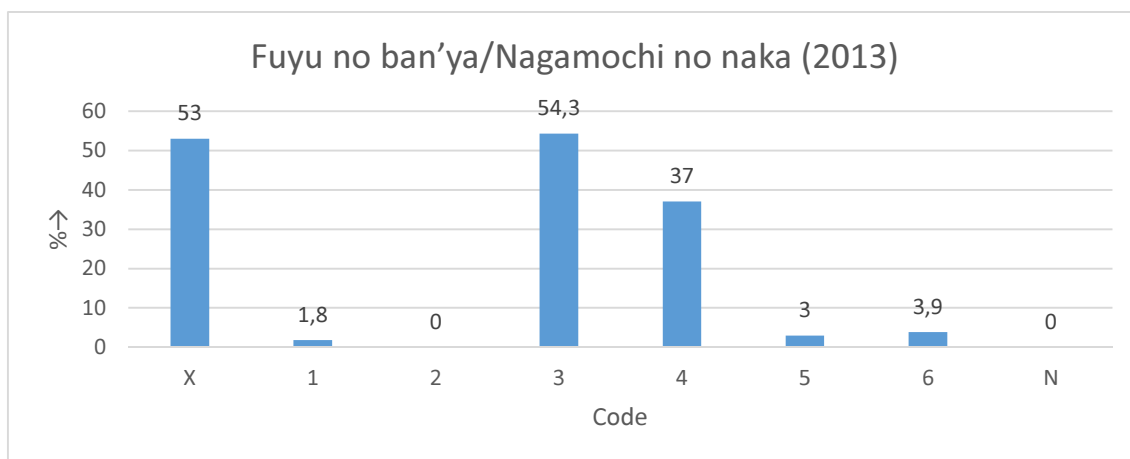


Fig. 4: Censorship techniques found in *Fuyu no ban'ya/Nagamochi no naka* in %.

Tenshu ni sumu oni / Gunji

The first story is *Tenshu ni sumu oni* (The demon that lives in the castle tower).

Kagetora is the head of a noble family, a hostage of his half-brother, who has cut Kagetora's tendons and removed his teeth in order to render him unable to leave. Whilst keeping up a charade to his family that he has fallen ill, the younger brother secretly tortures and rapes Kagetora.

Mesubuta no tengoku (The sow's heaven) tells the story of a pastor. A criminal walks into the confession booth and reveals himself to be someone who knows about the pastor's dark past. During WWII, in order to save his village from the Nazis, the pastor agrees to be subject to their sexual abuse and he gets exposed to the villagers. Back in the present, in a different village, the man in the confession booth has sex with the pastor.

Ōeyama kitan (The mysterious story of Ōeyama) is about a "giant" (a Scandinavian man), who holds three Japanese soldiers prisoner. He takes one of them to a secluded cave

and has sex with him, while making the Japanese man fall in love with him. The other two men break free and kill the giant.

In *Hairy Oracle*, a police officer visits a young man, for when the officer reaches orgasm while having intercourse with the young man, he gets visions that help him solve his cases. A few days after a case is solved, the officer comes back to thank the young man, and they end up making love.

Zutto suki da to ienakute (I could never tell you that I loved you) tells the story of a man who meets an old friend. While the old friend sleeps, the protagonist gets aroused and has sex with his sleeping friend. After the friend wakes up, he explains that he always loved him, but never knew how to express it. In response, the friend forces him to have sex.

Gunji, tells the story of Gunji, a sushi chef who works at a family owned restaurant. A man appears from Gunji's past and Gunji suddenly falls into a submissive role. In the past, Gunji used to work at another restaurant with another family. He had an affair with the restaurant owner, witnessed by the family's son. After the father passes, the son starts to dominate Gunji into being his slave, even branding him. Gunji runs off to a new life.

Tenshu ni sumu oni/ Gunji (2005) 237 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
126	21	0	114	108	8	23	2

Table 5: Amounts of censorship techniques found in *Tenshu ni sumu oni/ Gunji*.

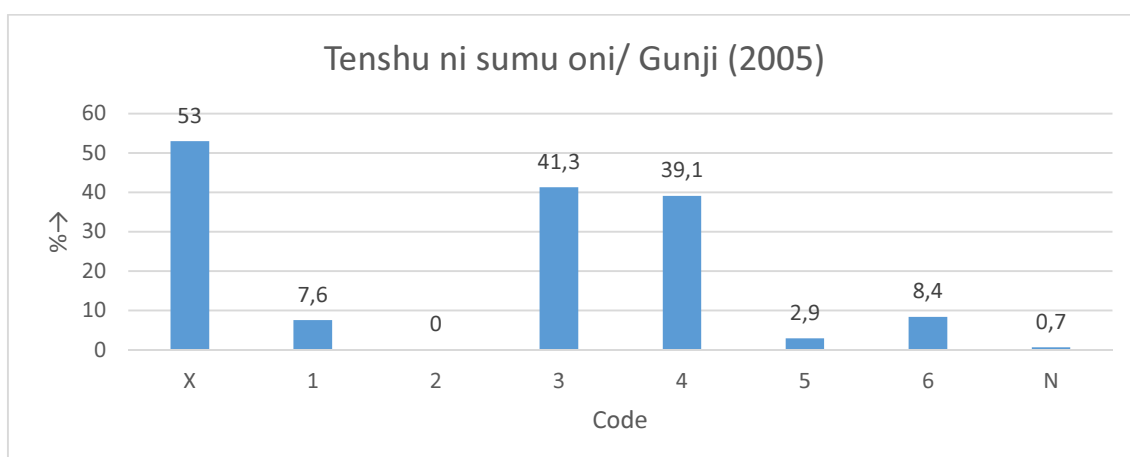


Fig. 5: Censorship techniques found in *Tenshu ni sumu oni/ Gunji* in %.

Endless Game (2014)

Title story *Endless Game* tells about the life of college student Akira. Akira has an unnaturally high libido and frequently visits a bath house to have sex with men. In one encounter, he meets a man who slowly but surely sends Akira down the path of prostitution, collecting the proceeds for himself. Akira finds he enjoys this arrangement.

In *Tenraku no keiyaku* (Contract for downfall) former professional fighter Genryū finds his family life at jeopardy as his financial problems force him to submit to sexual torture by some yakuza members. In exchange for this torture, he receives a large amount of money, as is drawn up in a contract.

Endless Game (2014) 234 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
81	4	0	153	146	13	34	0

Table 6: Amounts of censorship techniques found in *Endless Game*.

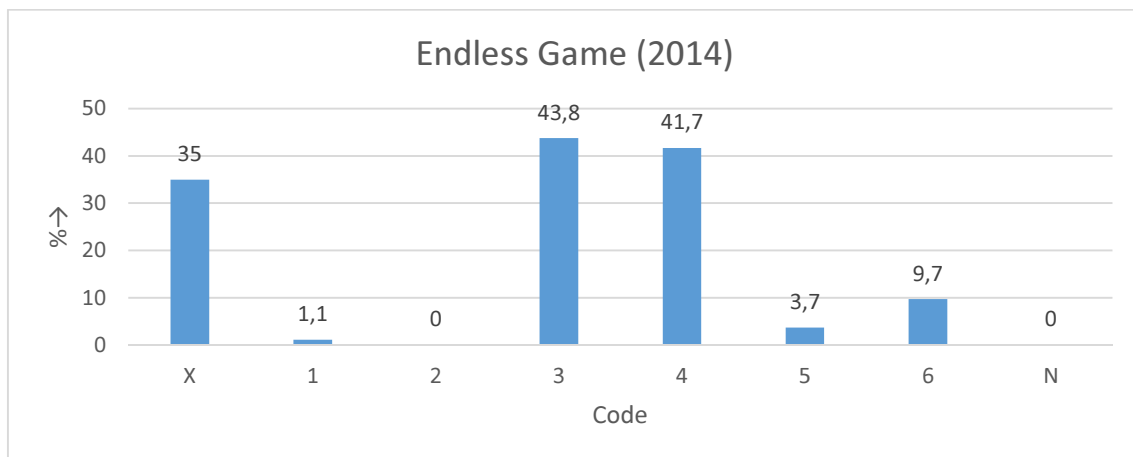


Fig. 6: Censorship techniques found in *Endless Game* in %.

***Hige to nikutai* (2009)**

Hige to nikutai (Beard and Flesh) is a collection of short stories. Most of the stories span just a few pages. *Shinkeisei ien* is a story about a man who wanders in a park having an upset stomach. He encounters a homeless boy who lives in a hut made out of cardboard. As they finish having sex, the man finds that his stomach problems have vanished.

In *Chigo*, a young man named Matsuoka asks his older mate to join him to watch a show in a dangerous part of the Kabuki district in Tokyo. The audience starts groping Matsuoka's friend.

Chōya bakubaku and *Kanba tōtō* are parts of the same story. During the Russo-Japanese war, both Japanese and Russian soldiers venture into China to gather information on the enemy. A Japanese lieutenant is caught by Russian intelligence and sexually abused in order to obtain information.

Sarashidai is set in medieval Europe. A man gets punished for a crime. He is put on a scaffold and tortured by means of a pear shaped device that is inserted rectally before it expands. The sum of public humiliation and pain drives the defendant to orgasm.

Dissolve explores the world of submission and asphyxiation. A man asks to be

dominated by a younger man. The resulting asphyxiation scene opens a new world for both of them.

Eclosion is a story that explores the psyche of those transformed into submissive subjects. A criminal is sent to a special correctional institute, where he is violently dominated by the guards. In the end, he is placed into a cocoon and waits until his transformation into having a submissive character is complete.

Mazo tells the story of a young man who visibly wears women's underwear on his way to a convenience store. In the store he hopes to encounter men who will dominate him sexually. This happens and every male client in the store participates.

Amefuri no tsuki-san tells about a gang of spirits that haunt a village if the monthly human sacrifice is not paid. A monk has sex with the spirits every month in order to keep them satisfied.

Hige to nikutai (2009) 150 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
61	16	0	2	57	16	12	63

Table7: Amounts of censorship techniques found in *Hige to nikutai*.

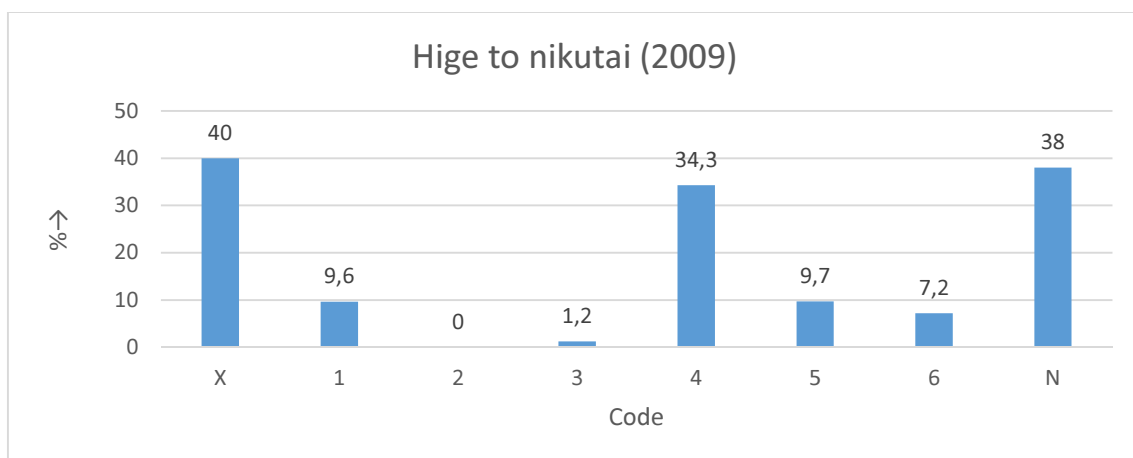


Fig 7: Censorship techniques found in *Hige to nikutai* in %.

The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2013)

The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame is a collection of Tagame's work that was published in the United States, thus bypassing the Japanese censorship requirements. The stories were translated by professional translators, rather than the scanlations that can be found on the internet, which are translated by readers themselves.

Hairy Oracle is the same story as in the *Gunji* volume. It has no bars present as censorship, unlike the Japanese version.

In *Arena* the protagonist is a Japanese former boxer, who joins a company that arranges matches. After every match, the winner dominates the loser. The Japanese fighter loses every match and finds out the other fighters have been injected with a drug that grants them more strength and libido. He undergoes treatment with an experimental version of the drug, which has the side effect of making him crave the abuse.

Exorcism is set in the warring states period. A young nobleman is unwell and is suspected to be possessed by a demon. His subordinate fighter has sex with him, trying to get the demon out. This story is in Tagame's words an "[exploration of] sadism, masochism and also algolagnia (the love of suffering physical pain)."⁷⁹

Country Doctor follows a doctor in a countryside village in the early twentieth century. Having affairs with several men, he becomes a *kaehime*, being married off to all the men in the village. It becomes his duty to satisfy them sexually. The women in the village seem to be at ease with the arrangements.

⁷⁹ The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame, p. 137.

Standing Ovation is a short story about a man who gets sexually tortured in front of an audience.

In *Missing*, a Japanese man goes looking for his abducted friend. He follows the trail which leads to a military operation keeping the Japanese men as sex slaves and finds out his friend had already died. After a while he seizes the opportunity to steal a weapon and kill his captors.

Class Act is about a college professor reprimanding a student for handing in low quality essays. After the student accidentally hands in a porn story instead of an essay, the professor seduces him.

The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2013) 235 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
129	7	0	0	94	18	14	67

Table 8: Amounts of censorship techniques found in *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*.

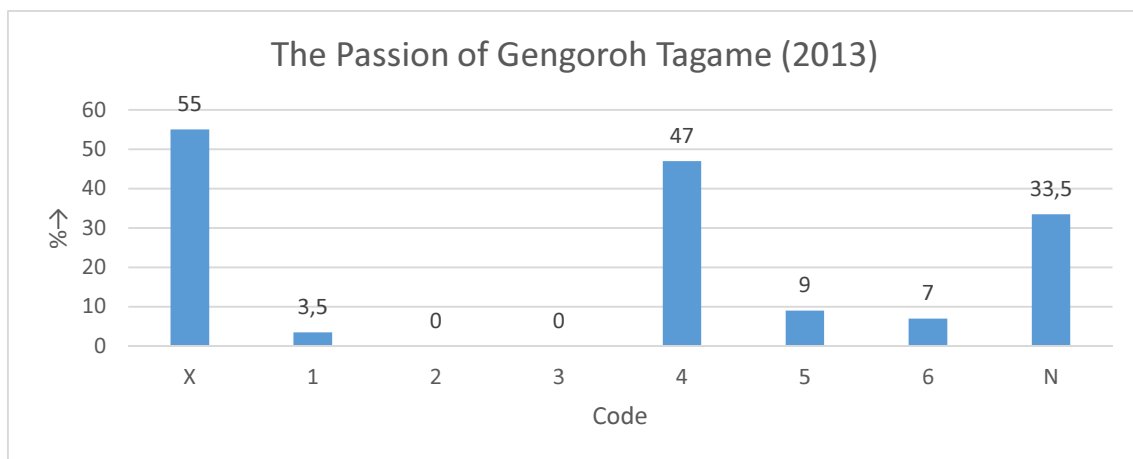


Fig 8: Censorship techniques found in *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame* in %.

Bādi (2011-2013)

The stories found in *Bādi* are *Actina*, which is also found in *Fuyu no ban'ya*, with a different type of censorship method, namely the blurring of penises rather than barring them.

The other story is *Dorei chōkyō gasshuku*, which is about men signing up for what they think is a camp to be trained as S&M slaves, but really is a plot to sell them into actual slavery.

Bādi (2011-2013) 48 pages							
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
12	0	48	0	6	5	5	0

Table 9: Amounts of censorship techniques found in Bādi.

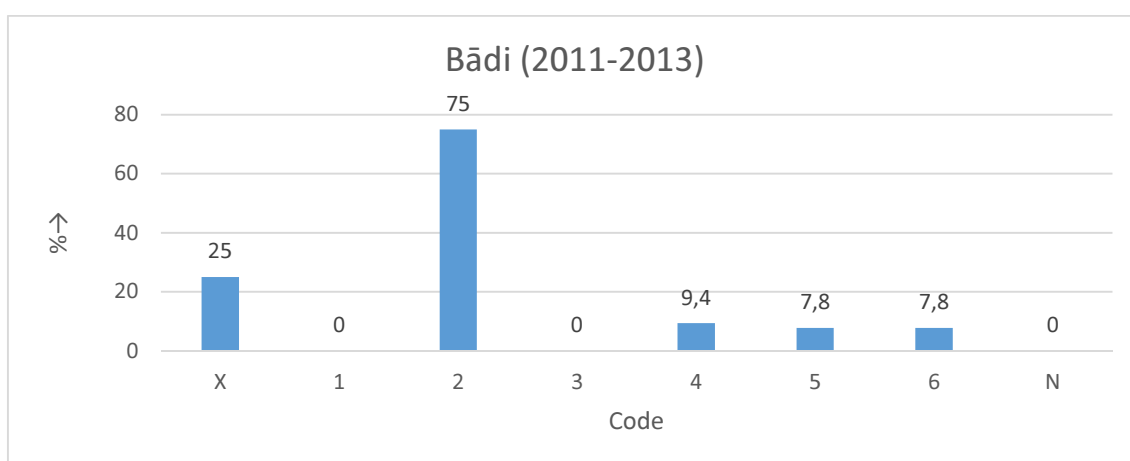


Fig 9: Censorship techniques found in Bādi in %.

6.2 Analysis

One can conclude that there is a difference in self-censorship methods applied in Tagame's published work according to different volumes and mediums. These can have different possible reasons that will be discussed per code.

X. The lack of depicted genitalia can often be attributed to an increase in storyline as opposed to plain sexual acts. A second possibility is the focus on a character's reaction to a certain act, while lastly it could serve as a pause to a particularly violent scene. Looking at the nine volumes used for research, one in particular stands out when it comes to emission of genitalia; the *Bādi*-issues contain nineteen percent of X-coded pages. This could be caused by the fact that these are short (16 pages each) episodes of larger stories, which leaves the readers of these magazines *in media res*, especially when the episode is not the first of a story, leaving less need for Tagame to create a setting. Volumes with relatively high amounts of X-coded pages are *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*, *Gunji* and *Hige to nikutai*, each containing 50% or more. The other volumes contain higher percentages, because the stories generally include more background story and need more space in order for the reader to experience character development (such as background stories and social occasions within a story).

1. Leaving out details of genitalia (in order to make sure the reader know they are there without actually showing them) is frequently used in the *Pride*-series, as opposed to the other six volumes, in which it is seldom observed. This technique is not only applied to the *Pride* stories, but also to the stories *TRAP*, *TRAP2*, *Yami no naka no*

shamo and *Hikokumin*. This suggests that prior to publishing a volume of stories a method to censor contents was chosen. Choosing this particular way of censoring his own work implies that Tagame wanted to have as much of the original content envisioned in his mind present in the actual publications.

2. Placing a mosaic over genitals is something that is often seen in Japanese pornography. Over time, the mosaics' pixels in pornographic movies have become smaller, rendering the masking less and less effective. In this research's works, however, it becomes apparent that only the stories in *Bādi* have use this censorship technique. There is some masking present in the second and third issues of *Pride*, but these are more artistically placed obscurations of penises, rather than deliberately placed mosaics to obstruct them from the reader's view. Seeing mosaics are mainly used in the magazines, one can confirm that some censorship methods are applied between drawing and publishing. An example is *Actina*, which is published both in *Fuyu no ban'ya* and *Bādi* of November 2011. In the magazine the main method of censorship is a mosaic, while the story in *Fuyu no ban'ya* is mainly censored using bars.

3. Placing a bar over exposed penises might give the reader the idea that their depiction is a criminal act, which it ultimately is in Japan. This method of censorship is mainly applied in three books, namely *Fuyu no ban'ya*, *Gunji* and *Endless Game*. The bars that are present in these books do not actually cover significant parts. Sometimes it is easy to overlook a bar that is present, especially if the bars are white, since manga artists often use white to add gloss and texture to objects in a frame. In other cases the bars are disproportionally small to the penis they are supposed to cover. The main

philosophy could be that the requirement to have censorship present in the works in order for them to be allowed to be sold commercially is met, regardless of how ineffective it might be. In some of the other volumes that did not have this method as main technique, the incidental apparition of a bar covering a penis appears to be coincidental.

4. The (partial) covering of penises by other objects was often encountered.

Partially covering a penis with other objects, but leaving an outline or just a small part to look at, seems to eliminate other censorship techniques. Sometimes an erect penis is only covered by the fabric of a character's trousers or underwear. In those cases the audience can very easily imagine what is under there. Other times, erect penises are only partially obscured by cloth. This leaves Tagame with the freedom to add a lot of detail and texture. Cover is often provided by body parts: someone else's or one's own hands, mouths and anuses (in case of penetration). Remarkable is the amount of covered content in *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*, since this book has no other forms of clear censorship present. As a collection of short stories, that were not made with this book in mind. This illustrates how Tagame engages the readers' imagination into believing an object is present, regardless whether it is ever fully shown.

5. One way of ensuring the flow on the page does not obstruct the viewer's gaze as it glances over the panels is by implying movement through the addition of speed lines. These lines obscure the outline of penises, thus suggesting they are present while really obscuring them. Since this is a standard technique found in any

manga artist's repertoire, it is not very surprising it is to some extent found in every volume, but not in numbers that really draw attention to it.

6. Cropping, leaving small parts in view, is not only utilized as a means to cover up indecent body parts. Cropping an object to draw extra attention to it is seen in many manga and has been an often recurring technique. This is a reason why it is present in almost every volume, but not necessarily in large quantities. There is some irony in the fact that this censoring technique— which is illustrated by the absence of other censorship techniques in many instances- to not draw too much attention to the penis in question, paradoxically does exactly that since the entire technique is based on drawing attention to that what has been cropped out of the frame.

N. The amount of noncensored materials encountered is but a fraction. This is of course the main issue for the entire body of Tagame's published works, since stories without censorship could result in lawsuits for both artist and publisher. However, the volume *Hige to nikutai* has a striking amount of noncensored penises in it. A volume that was published and sold in Japan, *Hige to nikutai* somewhat defies the Japanese Penal Code by having little to no censorship present in the stories. The other volume that had a substantial amount of noncensored penises is *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*, a book that was specifically printed and published in the US as not to be subject to the Japanese law.

Comparing the results of *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame* shows another interesting mechanism of censorship. Looking at the raw stories, one sees that several techniques are applied in a later stage, in a two-tier censorship process. If one looks at

the codes for covering and cropping for example, it is logical to conclude these are hardcoded into the stories' frames, and in certain publications other techniques (like blurring and barring) are applied later in the line of production.

6.3 Discussion

Doing a content analysis means doing quantitative research. It is a methodologically explicit method that requires a strict following of a number of rules and procedures that have to be applied in a same way on every frame for it to maintain its replicability. As a result, the outcome of the research is clear, objective and straightforward. However, it does have flaws.

Researchers who have done content analysis in their research and have commented on them, do not always feel the same about the strong and weak points. On one hand researchers criticize the lack of property content analysis has for taking in account cultural context⁸⁰. Other researchers find that careful formulation of codes used in content analysis can properly make up for this lack of cultural context⁸¹.

As described in Ball and White (1992), content analysis only takes into account what is present in a picture. It does not necessarily take into account what is left out, while what is left out can possibly have a very high relevance to the importance of a picture. One can try to correct this by anticipating what is possibly left out in a set of pictures, but as this is a matter of conjecture, there is no means of objectively telling whether it bares much significance. In the research done in this thesis, the cropping of

⁸⁰ Ball and White 1992.

⁸¹ Lutz and Collins 1993.

genitalia has been taken into account, but the difficulty often lies in the fact that there is a certain line after which omitted genitalia are no longer relevant to the frame.

Another point of criticism is that this type of quantitative analysis does not discriminate between chance occurrences and deliberately placed instances. If the occurrence of a particular technique in a volume is low, it could mean it was deliberately put there to draw extra attention, or it could have been a fluke in the artist's drawing style. In this research, however, the goal was to look at overall trends rather than individual occurrences.

Content analysis excludes room for compositional interpretations. This can be coded for, but that is not recommended, since it will make the amounts of different codes sky rocket and lessen the clarity of oversight.

In this research however, a lack of contextual analysis is not too problematic. The aim was to look at the different techniques as they were applied to Tagame's works and context is then of little relevance after the coding progress has finished.

A third point of criticism for would be the scope. The volumes examined have mostly been printed after the year 2000, while Tagame has been active as a manga artist since halfway through the 1980s. Some of the stories had been published long before they have been collected in these volumes. For data on the evolution (or maybe the lack of it) of the censorship, one should analyze volumes and stories that have been drawn and published at different intervals over time. However, herein lies the problem of availability: more recent volumes are easier to obtain.

7. Conclusion

In present Japan, the fear for being prosecuted under article 175 has led to manga artists applying several methods of censorship to their works. Tagame Gengoroh's work is thus no exception. In almost every volume analyzed different methods of censorship were present. One can see clear preferences for methods in every volume: the *Pride* series sees a lot of genitalia with details lacking (roughly 40 %) and coverage by other objects (40%), while *Endless Game* sees a lot of barred (44%) and covered penises (42%). These preferences seem to differ per volume rather than per story, in which it is noteworthy that magazine publications have more blurs present than other techniques.

Some techniques obscure the genitalia more than others; a blur obscures a penis more from sight than just showing an outline and lack in detail. Yet some publications have almost no censorship present. This is not surprising for the volume that was published outside of Japan, but *Hige to nikutai* was meant for publication in Japan. By looking at *The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame*, one does get an idea of what the stories look like before they are altered. Tagame does incorporate some of the precensorship techniques, since he had no intention of publishing them overseas at the time of drawing.

There is an ongoing debate between scholars who do research in censorship theory on whether self-censorship can be seen separately from formal censorship. The case of Japanese erotic manga is an interesting example of how these terms can be open to various interpretations. By applying censorship to manga before they are

published, one could say that the works of Tagame are self-censored, something that could fit into the Propaganda model (as publishers have commercial interests in publishing manga) and the Gatekeeper model (where somewhere along the line of production censorship is exerted) if they are applied on a micro level. On the other hand, even though there is no formal censor present in Japan, there is a certain degree of coercion for the self-censoring elements to be implemented into the manga. Japan does not have a formal censor, but the freedom to just publish whatever one wants is also far from reality.

The enforcement of Article 175 seems to be arbitrarily applied to genitalia only. Tagame sometimes uses this given for incorporating various other brutal elements to his works, depicting them without genitalia in the frames, thus making them suited for publication without having to worry about article 175. Readers often see excrements, anuses, physical violation, blood and mutilation in their raw, uncensored forms. This raises questions about the objectivity of the definition of obscenity in the law text. Although it has become clear through precedents that the article mainly targets the depiction of genitalia, one can easily imagine other images that can be considered even more disruptive to the social mainstream morale and values that have shaped the coming into existence of the article.

Although it has become clear that the Japanese public has, to a certain degree, a say in the shaping of the criminal law, the fact that there is very little censorship present in *Hige to nikutai* (despite it having been published in Japan) shows that the application of the law is not always as strict as the legal precedents would suggest.

Further research in this field could be done on censorship in the works of other manga artists. Tagame is one of many artist in the *bara* genre, making it interesting to see how the publications of others deal with the issue Article 175 proposes. Secondly an expansion on this thesis by looking at material created around the turn in the 1990s would provide a valuable contribution. Contrasting earlier and later publications to see how obscenity is obscured, could lead to conclusions about the flexibility of manga artists in adapting to changing values within Japanese society, as would fit into the Spiral of silence model.

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9.1 Appendix I

Amount of censorship present per story

PRIDE 上 (1996) 220 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
95	70	0	1	102	22	40	6	12

PRIDE 中 (1996) 233 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
82	119	0	3	108	7	20	0	45

PRIDE 下 (1996) 113 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
47	62	0	0	29	6	24	0	19

TRAP in PRIDE 上 (2003) 16 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
5	5	0	1	24	0	6	5	0

TRAP 2 in PRIDE 中 (2003) 16 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
6	2	0	1	19	1	6	0	1

闇の中の軍鶏 in PRIDE 下 (1995) 95 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
54	32	1	0	44	2	11	0	0

非國民 in PRIDE 下 (2004) 24 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
3	18	0	0	25	6	7	1	0

冬の番屋 (2011) 112 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
78	0	0	27	33	1	1	0	0

ACTINA in 冬の番屋 (2011) 47 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
19	0	0	38	9	2	2	0	33

長持の中 in 冬の番屋 (2010) 95 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
38	4	0	60	43	4	6	0	6

天守に棲む鬼 in 軍次 (2004) 23 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
11	0	0	21	10	0	5	0	2

メス豚の天国 in 軍次 (2003) 23 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
9	6	0	15	13	1	0	0	0

大江山綺譚 in 軍次 (2004) 34 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
21	1	0	5	6	3	2	2	0

Hairy Oracle in 軍次 (2004) 15 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
9	0	0	5	11	1	1	0	0

ずっと好きだと言えなくて in 軍次 (2004) 23 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
6	2	0	21	26	1	3	0	0

軍次 (2002) 119 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
70	12	0	47	42	2	11	0	4

エンドレス・ゲーム (2012) 167 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
56	3	0	122	120	9	25	0	8

転落の契約 in エンドレス・ゲーム (2013) 67 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
25	1	0	55	32	4	10	0	17

神経性胃炎 in 髭と肉体 (2007) 15 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
8	0	0	0	6	2	1	5	0

稚児 in 髭と肉体 (2008) 19 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
10	0	0	0	6	0	0	8	0

長夜莫々 in 髭と肉体 (2007) 8 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
2	0	0	0	2	1	0	4	2

汗馬疾々 in 髭と肉体 (2008) 15 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
9	0	0	0	3	1	1	5	1

晒し台 in 髭と肉体 (2008) 11 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
7	0	0	0	4	3	1	4	11

ディゾルブ in 髭と肉体 (2008) 23 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
10	0	0	0	11	3	2	11	1

Eclosion in 髭と肉体 (2009) 20 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
7	0	0	1	4	0	1	15	7

マゾ in 髭と肉体 (2000) 23 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
6	16	0	1	10	3	3	1	12

雨降りお月さん in 髭と肉体 (2009) 16 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
2	0	0	0	11	3	3	10	0

Hairy Oracle in The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2004) 17 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
10	0	0	0	9	1	1	4	0

Arena in The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2000) 80 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
49	0	0	0	22	3	4	20	3

Exorcism in the Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2009) 24 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
12	0	0	0	15	1	1	5	0

Country Doctor in the Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2010) 54 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
26	0	0	0	29	9	3	20	4

Standing Ovation in the Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2010) 16 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
8	0	0	0	5	1	0	5	3

Missing in the Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2010) 32 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
18	2	0	0	6	3	4	8	7

Class Act in the Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2013) 12 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
6	1	0	0	8	0	1	5	0

Actina 中編 in Bādi November 2011 (2011) 16 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
5	0	19	0	0	3	3	0	12

奴隸調教合宿 第三話 in Bādi November 2013 (2013) 16 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
2	0	15	0	6	0	2	0	10

奴隸調教合宿 第四話 in Bādi December 2013 (2013) 16 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
5	0	14	0	0	2	0	0	3

9.2 Appendix II

Results per volume (Bādi is counted as one volume)

PRIDE 上 (2004) 236 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
95	79	0	1	102	22	40	6	31

PRIDE 中 (2004) 249 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
88	121	2	4	127	8	26	0	46

PRIDE 下 (2004) 229 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
104	112	1	0	98	14	42	0	19

冬の番屋/長持の中(2013) 254 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
135	4	0	125	85	7	9	0	39

天守に棲む鬼/軍次 (2005) 237 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
126	16	0	114	108	8	23	2	6

エンドレス・ゲーム (2014) 234 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
81	4	0	153	146	13	34	0	25

髭と肉体 (2009) 150 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
61	16	0	2	57	16	12	67	33

The Passion of Gengoroh Tagame (2013) 235 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
129	7	0	0	94	18	14	67	17

Bādi (2011-2013) 48 pages								
X	1	2	3	4	5	6	N	FO
12	0	48	0	6	5	5	0	25

9.3 Appendix III

Codes per page

Pride vol. 1

p. 10	4,4	p. 48	1	p. 87	X	p. 126	1
p. 11	1,4	p. 49	X	p. 88	X	p. 127	6
p. 12	1,4	p. 50	X	p. 89	X	p. 128	1,6
p. 13	X	p. 51	X	p. 90	4,1	p. 129	4
p. 14	X	p. 52	X	p. 91	1,6	p. 130	1,6
p. 15	X	p. 53	X	p. 92	1,4,1	p. 131	6,1
p. 16	X	p. 54	X	p. 93	6	p. 132	1,5,4,1
p. 17	X	p. 55	X	p. 94	X	p. 133	4,5
p. 18	X	p. 56	X	p. 95	X	p. 134	5,1,5,1
p. 19	4,1&6	p. 57	X	p. 96	X	p. 135	5,4
p. 20	1,6	p. 58	X	p. 97	X	p. 136	1
p. 21	1	p. 59	X	p. 98	X	p. 137	1
p. 22	4	p. 60	X	p. 99	X	p. 138	X
p. 23	X	p. 61	X	p. 100	X	p. 139	X
p. 24	X	p. 62	X	p. 101	X	p. 140	4,4
p. 25	X	p. 63	X	p. 102	X	p. 141	X
p. 26	X	p. 64	5	p. 103	1,1,4	p. 142	X
p. 27	4	p. 65	4	p. 104	X	p. 143	X
p. 28	5	p. 66	X	p. 105	X	p. 144	X
p. 29	X	p. 67	1	p. 106	X	p. 145	X
p. 30	X	p. 68	4	p. 107	1	p. 146	X
p. 31	4	p. 69	6,6	p. 108	4	p. 147	X
p. 32	4	p. 70	5,5	p. 109	4	p. 148	X
p. 33	5	p. 71	1	p. 110	4,4,1	p. 149	4
p. 34	X	p. 72	4	p. 111	4,5	p. 150	X
p. 35	X	p. 73	4	p. 112	1,6	p. 151	X
p. 36	X	p. 74	6,1,1	p. 113	1	p. 152	1,1,4
p. 37	X	p. 75	1,1,4,4	p. 114	6	p. 153	4
p. 38	1	p. 76	1,4	p. 115	X	p. 154	X
p. 39	1,4,6	p. 77	1	p. 116	1,4	p. 155	X
p. 40	1	p. 78	X	p. 117	4,4,4	p. 156	X
p. 41	X	p. 79	X	p. 118	4,4,4	p. 157	1
p. 42	5	p. 80	X	p. 119	1	p. 158	4
p. 43	6,6,1,6	p. 81	1	p. 120	X	p. 159	4
p. 44	6	p. 82	X	p. 121	X	p. 160	4
p. 45	5	p. 83	X	p. 122	1	p. 161	X
p. 46	1	p. 84	X	p. 123	6	p. 162	4,4
p. 47	1	p. 85	X	p. 124	4	p. 163	X
		p. 86	X	p. 125	X	p. 164	4

p. 165	4	p. 210	4,1,6,6,6
p. 166	X	p. 211	1,5,6,6,6
p. 167	X	p. 212	1,4,4,4
p. 168	X	p. 213	4,4,4,1,6
p. 169	4	p. 214	4&5&6,1
p. 170	1	p. 215	1,4,4
p. 171	1	p. 216	1,4
p. 172	1,6	p. 217	4
p. 173	4	p. 218	4,1
p. 174	1	p. 219	4,5
p. 175	X	p. 220	4&1
p. 176	X		
p. 177	1		
p. 178	X		
p. 179	X		
p. 180	1		
p. 181	4&6		
p. 182	1&4		
p. 183	X		
p. 184	1		
p. 185	4		
p. 186	X		
p. 187	1,6		
p. 188	X		
p. 189	4		
p. 190	1		
p. 191	X		
p. 192	4,5		
p. 193	4		
p. 194	1&4&6		
p. 195	X		
p. 196	N		
p. 197	1		
p. 198	5,5		
p. 199	1		
p. 200	X		
p. 201	4		
p. 202	4,4		
p. 203	5&1		
p. 204	6		
p. 205	1		
p. 206	1,4		
p. 207	4,1		
p. 208	6		
p. 209	5,5,1,6		

Pride vol. 2

p. 9	4	p. 52	1	p. 97	1	p. 141	4,6,4,3
p. 10	X	p. 53	1	p. 98		p. 142	X
p. 11	X	p. 54	4,1	p. 99		p. 143	1
p. 12	1,6	p. 55	X	p. 100	1	p. 144	1
p. 13	6	p. 56	X	p. 101	1	p. 145	1
p. 14	X	p. 57	X	p. 102	4,4,4	p. 146	1,1,6
p. 15	X	p. 58	1	p. 103	4,4,4,1	p. 147	4
p. 16	1	p. 59	4,6	p. 104	4,4,1	p. 148	1
p. 17	X	p. 60	4,4,1	p. 105	1	p. 149	X
p. 18	1,6	p. 61	X	p. 106	4,1,4,4	p. 150	1
p. 19	5	p. 62	X	p. 107	4,1,4,4	p. 151	1,4,4
p. 20	X	p. 63	1,1,4	p. 108	1	p. 152	X
p. 21	4	p. 64	1,6,4,4,1	p. 109	4,4,4	p. 153	X
p. 22	X	p. 65	4,4,4,4,4	p. 110	1	p. 154	4
p. 23	X	p. 66	4	p. 111	4,4	p. 155	X
p. 24	X	p. 67	4	p. 112	X	p. 156	4
p. 25	X	p. 68	4,1	p. 113	1	p. 157	4
p. 26	X	p. 69	X	p. 114	X	p. 158	X
p. 27	X	p. 70	1	p. 115	1,1	p. 159	1,5
p. 28	X	p. 71	X	p. 116	1,1,4	p. 160	X
p. 29	X	p. 72	X	p. 117	4,4,1,1,1,	p. 161	X
p. 30	4,4	p. 73	1		4,4	p. 162	X
p. 31	4	p. 74	1,4	p. 118	X	p. 163	X
p. 32	X	p. 75	X	p. 119	4,6	p. 164	X
p. 33	4	p. 76	1,4	p. 120	1	p. 165	4,4
p. 34	X	p. 77	X	p. 121	1	p. 166	1
p. 35	X	p. 78	X	p. 122	1	p. 167	X
p. 36	1	p. 79	X	p. 123	X	p. 168	X
p. 37	1	p. 80	1	p. 124	4,1	p. 169	X
p. 38	X	p. 81	X	p. 125	4	p. 170	1,6
p. 39	X	p. 82	1&4	p. 126	1,4	p. 171	4,4
p. 40	1	p. 83	X	p. 127	X	p. 172	5
p. 41	1	p. 84	1	p. 128	1	p. 173	1
p. 42	1	p. 85	X	p. 129	4,3	p. 174	X
p. 43	X	p. 86	1	p. 130	X	p. 175	1
p. 44	X	p. 87	4,6,5	p. 131	1,1,6	p. 176	1,1
p. 45	X	p. 88	4	p. 132	1,6	p. 177	1
p. 46	4,4	p. 89	X	p. 133	4,4,1,1	p. 178	X
p. 47	4	p. 90	1,6	p. 134	1,1	p. 179	X
p. 48	4	p. 91	X	p. 135	1	p. 180	1,4
p. 49	X	p. 92	1	p. 136	1	p. 181	4
p. 50	X	p. 93	4	p. 137	4,6	p. 182	1
p. 51	4,4	p. 94	1,1&6	p. 138	X	p. 183	4,4
		p. 95	X	p. 139	X	p. 184	1,1
		p. 96	4,4&1,4	p. 140	4,4	p. 185	1,1

p. 186	1	p. 231	X
p. 187	4	p. 232	4,4,4
p. 188	4,1,1	p. 233	1,4
p. 189	1	p. 234	1
p. 190	1	p. 235	1,4
p. 191	X	p. 236	1,4,4,1
p. 192	4,4,4	p. 237	X
p. 193	1	p. 238	X
p. 194	X	p. 239	X
p. 195	1,1	p. 240	1
p. 196	X		
p. 197	1,4,4		
p. 198	1		
p. 199	X		
p. 200	4		
p. 201	1		
p. 202	1		
p. 203	4,6		
p. 204	6		
p. 205	1,1		
p. 206	1,6		
p. 207	5,1		
p. 208	X		
p. 209	1		
p. 210	X		
p. 211	1,5		
p. 212	1		
p. 213	X		
p. 214	1		
p. 215	1,5		
p. 216	3		
p. 217	4,4		
p. 218	1		
p. 219	X		
p. 220	X		
p. 221	4		
p. 222	4,1,1		
p. 223	6,1		
p. 224	1		
p. 225	X		
p. 226	1		
p. 227	X		
p. 228	4		
p. 229	6		
p. 230	4		

Pride vol. 3

p. 9	X	p. 52	X	p. 97	X
p. 10	X	p. 53	X	p. 98	1
p. 11	X	p. 54	1	p. 99	X
p. 12	1	p. 55	X	p. 100	X
p. 13	1	p. 56	1	p. 101	1
p. 14	1,1	p. 57	X	p. 102	X
p. 15	1	p. 58	1	p. 103	1&6
p. 16	X	p. 59	X	p. 104	X
p. 17	X	p. 60	1	p. 105	X
p. 18	1	p. 61	1	p. 106	X
p. 19	6	p. 62	1,6,1	p. 107	1
p. 20	4,4,4	p. 63	1	p. 108	X
p. 21	1,1,6,6	p. 64	1	p. 109	X
p. 22	6	p. 65	6	p. 110	X
p. 23	5,6	p. 66	1	p. 111	4,1
p. 24	1	p. 67	6,6,1,1	p. 112	X
p. 25	X	p. 68	X	p. 113	X
p. 26	4,6	p. 69	X	p. 114	1
p. 27	1	p. 70	X	p. 115	1,1
p. 28	1,4	p. 71	X	p. 116	X
p. 29	1,1,4	p. 72	1	p. 117	1
p. 30	1	p. 73	X	p. 118	6,6
p. 31	1	p. 74	1	p. 119	4
p. 32	4	p. 75	6,4,1	p. 120	X
p. 33	1	p. 76	4,4,4	p. 121	X
p. 34	X	p. 77	4,1,5,6	p. 122	X
p. 35	X	p. 78	4,6,6,6		
p. 36	4,1	p. 79	1,6,6,1		
p. 37	4,1,4,1	p. 80	1		
p. 38	5,5	p. 81	X		
p. 39	4,1,1,4,4	p. 82	4,4,4,1		
p. 40	1	p. 83	4,1,4,5		
p. 41	6	p. 84	1,1		
p. 42	X	p. 85	X		
p. 43	X	p. 86	5,1		
p. 44	X	p. 87	1,4		
p. 45	X	p. 88	1		
p. 46	X	p. 89	X		
p. 47	X	p. 90	1		
p. 48	1&4&6	p. 91	X		
p. 49	X	p. 92	1		
p. 50	6	p. 93	1,6		
p. 51	4	p. 94	1		
		p. 95	X		
		p. 96	X		

TRAP

p. 223 X
 p. 224 X
 p. 225 X
 p. 226 4
 p. 227 4,1,1,6
 p. 228 4,1
 p. 229 1
 p. 230 4,N
 p. 231 X
 p. 232 6,4,4,4,4
 p. 233 4,6,4,4,4
 p. 234 N,N,N,4,
 4,4,4,4,6
 p. 235 4,3,N,4,
 6,6,4,4
 p. 236 X
 p. 237 4,1
 p. 238 4,4

TRAP 2

p. 243 X
 p. 244 X
 p. 245 4,3
 p. 246 4,4
 p. 247 4,4,4
 p. 248 4,1
 p. 249 4,4
 p. 250 4,6,2,2
 p. 251 1
 p. 252 X
 p. 253 X
 p. 254 X
 p. 255 X
 p. 256 4,4,4,6,6,
 4
 p. 257 4,4,4,4,6,
 6
 p. 258 5,4,6

Yami no naka no shamo

p. 125 X
 p. 126 X
 p. 127 X
 p. 128 X
 p. 129 X
 p. 130 X
 p. 131 X
 p. 132 X
 p. 133 4,4,4
 p. 134 1,1
 p. 135 4,4
 p. 136 1,4
 p. 137 6
 p. 138 X
 p. 139 X
 p. 140 X
 p. 141 X
 p. 142 X
 p. 143 X
 p. 144 X
 p. 145 4,1
 p. 146 X
 p. 147 1
 p. 148 4,4
 p. 149 1
 p. 150 4,4
 p. 151 1,5
 p. 152 1
 p. 153 X
 p. 154 X
 p. 155 X
 p. 156 X
 p. 157 X
 p. 158 X
 p. 159 X
 p. 160 X
 p. 161 X
 p. 162 4
 p. 163 4
 p. 164 6,1,4,1
 p. 165 1,4,4
 p. 166 4,4

p. 167 1
 p. 168 1,1,1,6,4
 p. 169 5,4,4,6
 p. 170 1
 p. 171 1
 p. 172 X
 p. 173 X
 p. 174 X
 p. 175 1
 p. 176 X
 p. 177 X
 p. 178 X
 p. 179 X
 p. 180 X
 p. 181 X
 p. 182 1
 p. 183 1,4,4,4
 p. 184 4,4,4,4
 p. 185 4
 p. 186 X
 p. 187 X
 p. 188 X
 p. 189 4
 p. 190 X
 p. 191 X
 p. 192 1,2,1
 p. 193 6,6,4,4,1,
 4
 p. 194 4,4,6
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p. 92	4,N	p. 130 X	p. 156 4,N	
p. 93	N,4	p. 131 4	p. 157 4,5	
p. 94	N	p. 132 4,N,N	p. 158 4,N,4	
p. 95	N	p. 133 X	p. 159 5,4	
p. 96	N	p. 134 X	p. 160 X	
p. 97	N	p. 135 X	p. 161 4,4	
p. 98	N	p. 136 4	p. 162 X	
p. 99	N,1		p. 163 X	
p. 100	N,6		p. 164 X	
p. 101	X		p. 165 N	
p. 102	N,6,1		p. 166 N	
p. 103	N,N		p. 167 N,N	
p. 104	X		p. 168 4,4,6	
p. 105	X		p. 169 N,4	
p. 106	X		p. 170 N,4,N	
p. 107	X		p. 171 5	
p. 108	N		p. 172 4,5	
			p. 173 X	
			p. 174 X	
			p. 175 X	
			p. 176 X	
			p. 177 X	
			p. 178 X	
			p. 179 X	
			p. 180 X	

Standing**Ovations**

p. 194 X
p. 195 X
p. 196 X
p. 197 X
p. 198 X
p. 199 X
p. 200 4
p. 201 4
p. 202 N,4,4
p. 203 5
p. 204 N
p. 205 N
p. 206 N
p. 207 4
p. 208 X
p. 209 X
p. 210 N

Missing

p. 212 X
p. 213 X
p. 214 X
p. 215 X
p. 216 6
p. 217 6
p. 218 X
p. 219 N,N
p. 220 4,6
p. 221 4
p. 222 N,4,4
p. 223 6,5
p. 224 X
p. 225 1
p. 226 1
p. 227 N
p. 228 4,5
p. 229 X
p. 230 4,5,N
p. 231 X
p. 232 N
p. 233 N
p. 234 X
p. 235 X
p. 236 X
p. 237 X
p. 238 X
p. 239 X
p. 240 N
p. 241 X
p. 242 X
p. 243 X
p. 244 X

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p. 246 1,6,4
p. 247 X
p. 248 X
p. 249 X
p. 250 4
p. 251 4,4
p. 252 X
p. 253 X
p. 254 N,4,4,N
p. 255 X
p. 256 4
p. 257 N,N,4
p. 258 N

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Bādi

p. 123 X
p. 124 2
p. 125 2
p. 126 2,2&5
p. 127 2,2&5,
2&5
p. 128 2,2,2&6,
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p. 129 2,2&6
p. 130 2
p. 131 2
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p. 133 2&6,2
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p. 135 X
p. 136 X
p. 137 X
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Bādi

p. 115 2
p. 116 2,2
p. 117 X
p. 118 2
p. 119 2,2&4
p. 120 2
p. 121 2
p. 122 2
p. 123 2&6
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p. 127 2,2,4
p. 128 4,4,4
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Dorei chōkyō**gasshuku pt. 4** in

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p. 107 2
p. 108 2,2
p. 109 2&5,2&5
p. 110 2,2
p. 111 X
p. 112 2
p. 113 2
p. 114 X
p. 115 X
p. 116 2
p. 117 X
p. 118 2
p. 119 2
p. 120 2
p. 121 2
p. 122 X