A BRIEF HISTORY OF *SHŌNEN'AI, YAOI*, AND BOYS LOVE

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Introduction

Originating in Japan, manga, anime, "light novels," video games, live-action films, and related media and goods depicting beautiful adolescent boys or young men in same-sex romantic or sexual relationships have become an increasingly global phenomenon over the past two decades or so. Created for and, largely, by adolescent girls and women, this visual and narrative phenomenon first began to materialize in Japan around 1970 within the rapidly transforming sphere of *shōjo* (girls') manga, an expansive category of manga targeting readers from preadolescence to not quite adulthood.[1] Over time, this phenomenon has been referred to by a number of terms I will explore below; these include "*shōnen'ai*," "*yaoi*," and "boys love" (pronounced *bōizu rabu* in Japanese), the last of which is often abbreviated "BL." For the sake of simplicity, I collectively refer to all post-1970 manifestations of this phenomenon as "BL media." At the heart of these media is "BL manga."

In this chapter I trace the history of BL manga produced and distributed via both commercial and non-commercial channels. In the process, I draw attention to shifts in the terminology used among artists, consumers, and critics to label BL media, and, at times, to indicate distinctions in chronology, content, and format. As this history illustrates, however, to emphasize such distinctions belies a great deal of overlap across the commercial and non-commercial production and distribution of BL manga, as well as BL media in general. This history also demonstrates that BL manga has from the beginning been composed of a shifting mix of elements from high and low culture from Japan, Europe, America, and, increasingly, elsewhere.

Setting the Scene

While a limited amount of manga were included in magazines aimed at *shōjo* (girl) readers prior to the Pacific War, *shōjo* manga's emergence as a distinct category has frequently been linked to the publication of *Princess Knight* (*Ribon no kishi*, first serialized 1953–1955) by the tremendously influential male manga artist Tezuka Osamu (1928–1989).[2] Inspired in part by the all-female Takarazuka Revue and its many cross-dressing performers, this gender-bending manga narrative depicts the adventures of Princess Sapphire gallivanting around a Disney-esque European setting, all the while dressed as a prince.[3] Prominent manga critic and historian Yonezawa Yoshihiro, for instance, describes Tezuka's *Princess Knight* as the first *shōjo* "story manga" (*sutōrii manga*), and credits Tezuka with introducing novelistic elements into manga aimed at *shōjo* readers.[4]

Art scholar and curator Mizuki Takahashi has argued, however, that Tezuka's influence on the development of *shōjo* manga in the postwar era was "secondary" to that of the *jojō-ga* (lyrical illustrations) of the 1920s and 1930s, drawn by male artists such as Takehisa Yumeji (1884–1934), Takabatake Kashō (1888–1966), and Nakahara Jun'ichi (1913–1983), the last of whom got his start in the 1930s and then revived and reinvigorated the *jojō-ga* style after the war.[5] The girls depicted in this early to mid-twentieth century style were lithe and delicate in form, with large sparkling eyes, and an "empty, wandering gaze," an appearance which drew on representations of girls and girlhood in the prewar *shōjo* literature that *jojō-ga* were used to illustrate. After the war, such illustrations of girls were set against flowery backgrounds, which "reflect[ed] their inner personality."[6] Such seemingly random cascades of flowers and twinkling saucer-shaped eyes were carried on into the *shōjo* manga of the 1970s thanks in no small part to the influence of Takahashi Macoto (1934–), a male illustrator and manga artist who helped introduce visual elements of *jojō-ga* into the manga format in the mid-1950s.[7] Building on the *jojō-ga* aesthetic sense, Takahashi and other artists prior to the 1970s incorporated close-ups of characters' faces with wide, sparkling eyes that revealed characters' "inner psychology," encouraging readers to identify with them.[8] Critic Fujimoto Yukari demonstrates that Takahashi is also responsible for the introduction and proliferation of "style pictures" (*sutairu-ga*), large full-body portraits outside the narrative panels that generally convey mood rather than advance the plot, a visual move that disrupted "the established grammar" of dividing pages into panels.[9] While Tezuka is well-known for his innovative graphic techniques that advanced the plot and evoked

emotive responses in readers, the internal psychology of female characters was of little interest to Tezuka but became a central element in the *shōjo* manga of the 1970s, sometimes referred to as *shōjo* manga's "golden age," when a new generation of young women artists took over its creation from the predominantly male artists who had previously been responsible for its production.[10]

In the 1970s, these artists, including Ikeda Riyoko (1947–), Hagio Moto (1949–), and Takemiya Keiko (1950–), expanded on those visual conventions developed in *shōjo* manga in prior decades, including further experimentation with the layout and shape of panels, which were sometimes dispensed with altogether. The effect was a continued emphasis on the development of the thoughts and feelings of the characters.[11] At the same time, this new generation also introduced a greater diversity of themes along with narratives with more complex plots and characters. They also borrowed widely from foreign and Japanese literature, film, history, and myth. Such characteristics garnered a new appreciation from older female and male readers and helped lead to the treatment of some *shōjo* manga works as high literature.[12] Ikeda, Hagio, Takemiya, and other young women artists who thus narratively and graphically revolutionized *shōjo* manga in the 1970s came to be called the Fabulous Year 24 Group (*Hana no nijūyo'nen-gumi*) on account of most of them having been born around the year Showa 24, that is, 1949—hence in English, they might more appropriately be called the "Fabulous Forty-Niners."

One innovation made by the Fabulous Forty-Niners was the development of a genre of *shōjo* manga that early on came to be labeled "*shōnen'ai*" (boys love). These often highly literary manga narratives—printed in mainstream *shōjo* manga magazines in wide circulation—featured male protagonists in same-sex romantic and sometimes overtly sexual relationships. The first of these narratives were placed in romanticized European settings and populated with beautiful adolescent European boys. While certainly remarkable, the *shōnen'ai* genre was not entirely groundbreaking. As with the visual style common to 1970s *shōjo* manga, the *shōnen'ai* genre built on developments in- and outside *shōjo* manga.

The borrowing and adaptation of elements from translated fiction have been a staple of girls' fiction (*shōjo shōsetsu*) for much of modern Japanese history, and have played a central role in the development of *shōjo* culture more broadly.[13] Foreign settings and characters were frequently used by both male and female manga artists of the 1950s and 1960s, including, as noted above, in Tezuka's *Princess Knight*. Interest among women in male homosexuality was also already evident. Articles by women expressing such an

interest, for instance, were appearing in popular women's magazines by at least the 1950s.[14] And at the beginning of the 1960s, Mori Mari (1903–1987), daughter of well-known male writer Mori Ōgai, penned several novellas with male homosexual protagonists, beginning with *A Lovers' Forest* (*Koibitotachi no mori*) in 1961, works which have been positioned as part of the (pre)history of *shōnen'ai* manga.[15]

Moreover, the mature themes related to sexuality and race that would find their way into later *shōnen'ai* narratives could be found in manga targeted at older—and more sexually knowledgeable—*shōjo* readers by the late 1960s in magazines such as *Seventeen* (*Sebuntiin*, 1968–) and *Funny* (*Fanii*, 1969–1970, 1973), the latter produced by Tezuka's production company. Just prior to the first of the *shōnen'ai* narratives, Mizuno Hideko (1939–), an influential female manga artist who had debuted professionally in the mid-1950s, penned for older *shōjo* readers a narrative with candid depictions of sex among young rock musicians in Detroit. *Fire!* (*Faiyaa!*), serialized in *Seventeen* for nearly three years beginning in January 1969, also included early depictions of racism and violence, as well as passing reference to homosexuality.[16] More pertinently, in spite of its female target audience, this narrative had a protagonist who was both male and eroticized for readers' visual pleasure—each a groundbreaking move within *shōjo* manga.[17] Appearing in the second issue of *Funny* later that same year, another rock-themed work, Minegishi Hiromi's single-episode manga "Crossroads" (*Jūjika*), crossed both racial and sexual barriers by featuring a male homosexual relationship between two young men, one white and one black (figure 3.1).[18] While both of these manga works, as well as Mori's novellas, bear aesthetic and narrative similarities with male homosexuality depicted in amateur and commercial texts that began to appear by the late 1970s and 1980s, they were in many ways a world apart from early *shōnen'ai* manga, which featured younger, sometimes barely pubescent boys inhabiting romantic, historical European settings.[19]

The Development of "*Shōnen'ai*" Manga Narratives

Although they failed to garner widespread public attention in the 1970s, *shōnen'ai* manga were anything but marginal within the *shōjo* manga sphere. These narratives were penned by a number of prominent professional female artists during this period and were, visual studies scholar Ishida Minori asserts, central to the radical transformation of *shōjo* manga that decade.[20] As exemplified in this volume in the chapter by Fujimoto Yukari and discussed in greater detail in the chapter by Kazumi Nagaike and Tomoko Aoyama,

Figure 3.1 Aida walks in on her husband, Eric, in bed with his drummer, Leroy, in Minegishi Hiromi's "Crossroads."

critics and scholars have long argued that the beautiful boy in *shōnen'ai* serves as a locus of identification for adolescent girl readers, and that the use of male (rather than female) characters, as well as homo- (rather than hetero-) sexual relationships, placed in a foreign setting, provides female readers the means for vicarious circumvention of gender and sexual norms.[21] (While some of the same artists who penned *shōnen'ai* texts also experimented with female–female romance, in contrast with *shōnen'ai* manga narratives, few of those early, frequently dark narratives were popular at the time.)[22] Any liberatory effects are arguably mitigated, however, by the fact that the male–male couples in such narratives have generally been comprised of a more masculine and dominant partner paired with a more feminine and passive one, thus roughly reproducing the male–female binary. In recent years, these relative positions within a couple in the newer genres of *yaoi* and boys love have

been referred to as the *seme* (attacker) and the *uke* (receiver), respectively, in reference to sexual positions the more masculine and feminine partners generally assume.

The emergence of *shōnen'ai* manga is most closely associated with Hagio Moto and Takemiya Keiko. In the December 1970 issue of *Bessatsu shōjo komikku* (Girls' comic extra), Takemiya published the short narrative "Snow and Stars and Angels and . . ." (*Yuki to hoshi to tenshi to*), later reissued as "In the Sunroom" (*Sanrūmu nite*), a narrative that might be considered the very first example of the new manga genre.[23] Hagio followed eleven months later in the same magazine with "November Gymnasium" (*Jūichigatsu no gimunajiumu*).[24] Both works feature schoolboys in romantic relationships with other schoolboys in historical European settings. These were not their debut pieces, however. Takemiya had published her first work while still a high-school student in 1967 and Hagio in 1969. Their earlier manga had been good enough to catch the attention of editors, but the works themselves were neither memorable nor groundbreaking. Neither initially had set out to create narratives about homosexuality, and both would go on to create many other kinds of narratives, including science fiction, mysteries, and heterosexual romance narratives—a diversity typical of *shōjo* manga artists of their generation. But those first two *shōnen'ai* narratives, as well as the pair's wildly popular later *shōnen'ai* works, Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas* (*Tōma no shinzō*, 1974) and Takemiya's *The Song of the Wind and the Trees* (*Kaze to ki no uta*, 1976–1984) (figures 3.2 and 3.3), would help pave the way for a *shōnen'ai* manga boom in the 1970s and beyond, as well as the emergence of amateur works toward the end of the decade and the flourishing of the commercial boys love genre since the 1990s.[25]

The fact that Takemiya and Hagio both produced male–male romance narratives less than a year apart from each other and would go on to pen two of the most influential *shōnen'ai* works was no coincidence. The pair were roommates for several years, having moved in together right around the time Takemiya published "Snow and Stars and Angels and. . .," when Hagio came to help Takemiya meet a deadline on another project. They lived in a small apartment "surrounded by a cabbage patch" in Ōizumi, in Tokyo's Nerima Ward. Their neighbor was Masuyama Norie (1950–), who was soon thereafter to become Takemiya's producer, roommate, and muse—or, in Takemiya's words, her "brain" (*bureen*).[26] Under the guidance of Masuyama, Takemiya and Hagio's apartment became the "Ōizumi Salon," where up-and-coming *shōjo* manga artists, assistants (generally aspiring artists themselves), and others would gather and work, eat, or chat, sometimes staying over for extended periods.[27]

Figure 3.2 Juli's angst is highlighted in a full page from Hagio Moto's *Heart of Thomas*.

Masuyama introduced the pair to some of her favorite books and played a pivotal role in the development of the *shōnen'ai* genre. Although she was not a visual artist herself, Masuyama was an avid consumer from childhood of highbrow literature, classical music, and film. While she was a fan of manga as well, as she explains, her disappointment with *shōjo* manga instilled in her a desire to elevate *shōjo* manga from its lowly position as a frivolous distraction for girls into a more serious, literary art form. Drawn to the talents of Takemiya and Hagio, Masuyama recommended to the pair various works of highbrow music, cinema, and literature in the hope of inspiring them to incorporate elements of these into their own art.[28]

Among the works Masuyama suggested to Takemiya and Hagio were German novelist Herman Hesse's *Beneath the Wheel* (1906), *Demian* (1919), and *Narcissus and Goldmund* (1930). All three novels feature adolescent

Figure 3.3 Gilbert and Serge have sex in a scene in Takemiya Keiko's *Song of the Wind and the Trees*.

male protagonists in school environments in Germany. While none of the three depict overt homoeroticism—in fact, romantic or erotic relationships with female characters help drive their plots—their narratives all revolve around strong bonds between the protagonist and another youth or, in the case of *Narcissus and Goldmund*, a young teacher. Masuyama never directly suggested that Takemiya and Hagio make a manga version of one of these novels, yet the texts played a pivotal role in the development of *shōnen'ai*.[29]

Drawing on her own interviews with Masuyama and Takemiya, as well as existing essays and commentary by Takemiya and Hagio, Ishida shows that these novels proved vital source material for key early *shōnen'ai* works, helping to inspire the boarding school settings common in early works, the focus on the psyches of the protagonists, and the relative balance between the more masculine and the more feminine protagonists.[30] Ishida further argues that Takemiya in particular draws on latent romance and eroticism

between some male characters in Hesse's writing, "emphasiz[ing] a tendency in Hesse's works."[31]

From the opening scene of two adolescent boys having sex, the overt eroticism of Takemiya's *The Song of the Wind and the Trees* goes far beyond anything possibly read into Hesse's novels, however. This can in part be traced to the eroticized beautiful boys celebrated in the writing of Inagaki Taruho, which reached its climax in his *Aesthetics of Boy Loving* (*Shōnen'ai no bigaku*), the work which almost certainly inspired the name of the new genre.[32] As Takemiya recalls, by the time she finished reading Taruho's book, around 1969, she had developed a clear idea about what she wanted to depict in the manga that would eventually become *The Song of the Wind and the Trees*.[33] British public schools are frequently referenced in *Aesthetics of Boy Loving*, "so the first thing I decided was to make a public school-like place the setting for *The Song of the Wind and the Trees*."[34] Yet, it merits noting, the manga's setting is not a British public school, nor an early-twentieth-century German one, as depicted in Hesse's novels, but a boarding school in nineteenth-century France.

Hagio, on the other hand, did set her two early *shōnen'ai* narratives in German boarding schools. And yet she credits the 1964 French film *Les amitiés particulières* (*These Special Friendships*), first shown in Japan in 1970, as the inspiration for *The Heart of Thomas*, which she had begun working on before "November Gymnasium."[35] Based on a semi-autobiographical novel by Roger Peyrefitte, the film depicts two boys in a Catholic boarding school who fall in love and ends with the suicide of one of them.[36] This suicide that would be echoed by the titular character in *The Heart of Thomas*, whose name is given a Japanese pronunciation—"Tōma"—based on the French, not German, version of the name Thomas. Takemiya was also inspired by cinema with homoerotic themes. She recalls being initially most influenced by the films of Italian director Luchino Visconti, including *Death in Venice* (1971), based on Thomas Mann's early-twentieth-century novel. This film had many fans among *shōnen'ai* readers as well and was frequently mentioned in correspondence from young female readers printed in the *shōnen'ai*-related magazine *Allan*.[37] In this Occidentalist blurring of all things European, Hagio, Takemiya, and other artists borrowed freely from settings, characters, and plot elements, transfiguring into the new genre of *shōnen'ai* the often nostalgic depictions of intimate friendships, as well as romantic and erotic relationships between beautiful European boys in translated literature and film, and in Taruho's writing.

While, particularly in English, Takemiya and Hagio are frequently mentioned in reference to the *shōnen'ai* genre, we must remember that, as noted

above, they also created many other kinds of *shōjo* narratives with little connection to their *shōnen'ai* works aside from the almost invariably beautiful protagonists, male and female. Nevertheless, these early *shōnen'ai* works—particularly *The Heart of Thomas* and *The Song of the Wind and the Trees*—were clearly very popular among *shōjo* manga readers, as indicated to editors and artists via postcards included in the magazines in which they were first serialized, as well as by fan letters sent to the artists, the contents of which were sometimes printed in the magazines.[38] This popularity almost certainly helped foster increasingly diverse male–male romance narratives within the broader *shōjo* manga genre from the mid-1970s onward by artists who, like Takemiya and Hagio, created *shōnen'ai* works alongside other kinds of manga.

Although the earliest works were set in Europe, some *shōnen'ai* narratives were set in Japan, albeit often in a romanticized past rather than the present. Such works include those by other Fabulous Forty-Niners, notably Kihara Toshie's *Mari and Shingo* (*Mari to Shingo*, 1977–1984), set in prewar Japan, and Yamagishi Ryōko's *Emperor of the Land of the Rising Sun* (*Hi izuru tokoro no tenshi*, 1980–1984), set in pre-modern Japan.[39] Still other artists, some of whom had apprenticed with members of the Forty-Niners, created works set in the present day, sometimes in a not so idealized United States, sometimes addressing the kinds of social issues foregrounded in Mizuno's *Fire!* (discussed above). These works frequently included one or more Japanese or half-Japanese characters, linking the narratives to their Japan-based readers. Prominent among these are Yoshida Akimi's *Banana Fish* (1985–1994), a hard-boiled detective narrative set in New York, and Akisato Wakuni's *Tomoi* (1986), which features a "gay"-identified protagonist whose boyfriend had died of AIDS.[40] For want of labels to distinguish them, works such as the latter two of these have been grouped with earlier manga by Takemiya, Hagio, and others.[41] It is clear, however, that they are distinct from earlier works in terms of the ages of the characters, setting and mood, and the style in which they are drawn. Retrospectively, however, we can see some such texts have more in common with 1990s texts that would come to be labeled "boys love" than with 1970s *shōnen'ai* manga.

As Masuyama recalls, when the early male–male romance narratives were being created and published, she, Takemiya, and Hagio first labeled these male–male romance narratives with the term "*kunaaben riibe*," a transliteration of the German term *Knabenliebe*, which means "boy love" and which is often translated into English as "pederasty." Taruho used this German word alongside "*shōnen'ai*," the latter of which was to become the dominant label for male–male romance narratives in the 1970s.[42] The ambiguity of the term "*shōnen'ai*" served the new genre well, as it can simultaneously

indicate the boys as the subject of affection, that is, "a boy loves (someone)" or "(someone) loves a boy." Outside of the *shōjo* manga sphere, however, the term still pointed to pederasty or pedophilia, a meaning that continues to the present. In addition, there was blurring in some readers' minds between the "*shōnen'ai*" in *shōjo* manga world, and the real world of adult male homosexuality in Japan represented in commercial publications then known as "*homo*" magazines, as is clear in some correspondence written by young female *shōnen'ai* fans to magazines such as *Barazoku* (Rose tribe, 1971–) in the 1970s. While some fans and artists, as well as critics and scholars, still use "*shōnen'ai*" in reference to these commercially published manga narratives in the 1970s and into the 1980s, among fans and artists the term was largely replaced by other terms in the 1980s and 1990s, as will be discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter.[43]

A related label in wide use in the 1970s was "*bishōnen*"—beautiful boy—manga, referring to *shōjo* manga with beautiful young male protagonists. In addition to including *shōnen'ai* manga, which was naturally populated with beautiful boy characters, *bishōnen* manga was also used as a label for narratives such as Hagio's highly popular *The Poe Clan* (*Pō no ichizoku*, 1972–1976) about beautiful boy vampires named Edgar and Allan, who were intimate friends but not romantically involved with one other.[44]

A third label, "*tanbi*"—often translated as "aesthete" or "aesthetic"—has been circulating in the BL sphere since at least the 1980s. Fusing together beauty, romance, and eroticism, along with at least a dash of decadence, the use of "*tanbi*" to describe BL media plays on the term's broader application as a label for works of highbrow literature that are aesthetically appealing and subtly erotic—rather than blatantly sexual—including works by writers such as Mishima Yukio, Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, and Kawabata Yasunari.[45] The term's meaning and usage in the BL sphere has been rather idiosyncratic, and, while it has primarily functioned as a label for prose fiction, it has also been used to describe manga and other visual art. For some, *tanbi* is a genre in its own right, albeit one whose boundaries have never clearly been established. Within the pages of early commercial magazines aimed at fans of the *shōnen'ai* genre, discussed below, the term "*tanbi*" was applied to BL fiction by professional and amateur writers alike, as well as to literature depicting or insinuating male homosexuality such as by European writers like Oscar Wilde, Jean Cocteau, and André Gide, along with domestic writers such as Mishima Yukio and Shibusawa Tatsuhiko.[46] "*Tanbi*" has appeared most often in the phrases "*tanbi shōsetsu*" (aesthete fiction), "*tanbi bungaku*" (aesthete literature), and "*tanbi zasshi*" (aesthete magazines), the latter of which was applied to these *shōnen'ai*-related magazines.[47] In the early-1990s

collection, *Guidebook to Aesthete Fiction and Gay Literature* (*Tanbi shōsetsu, gei bungaku bukkugaido*), Kurihara Chiyo observes that the term can be used in scare quotes to point specifically to "fiction (*shōsetsu*) about romance between males written by women"—ranging from the novellas of Mori Mari to fiction created by amateur authors and circulated more informally.[48] Such prose fiction is part of a larger sphere of creation and consumption of narratives about male–male romance and eroticism by and for adolescent girls and women which in the 1970s began to develop into a rich culture of its own largely outside the commercial media.

Fan Engagement and the Creation of *Yaoi*

In December 1975, a year after Hagio's *The Heart of Thomas* was published and while her *Poe Clan* was still being serialized, the first "Comic Market" was held at a public hall in Toranomon in Tokyo's Minato Ward. In spite of what in retrospect seems like a very modest turnout that day—there were just thirty-two circles disseminating their self-produced manga- and anime-related materials and around 700 regular attendees—organizers were pleased with the event's success.[49] Since then, the Comic Market has grown exponentially. From 1996 onward, it has been held over three days each August and December at the massive Tokyo Big Sight convention center. In recent years, organizers have accepted 35,000 out of the over 50,000 circles applying each time to set up a one-day sales booth. And since the mid-2000s, attendance has ranged from 120,000 to 210,000 on *each* day, and total attendance has exceeded 500,000 over each three-day event.[50] Regular attendees are referred to as "general participants" (*ippan sankasha*), a term used by the organizers to emphasize that those who take part are not "customers" but—together with "staff participants" (*sutaffu sankasha*) and "circle participants" (*saakuru sankasha*)—collective participants in the experience of sharing circle-produced media.[51]

Among the earliest events of its kind, the Comic Market—referred to in Japanese as Komikku Maaketto (often abbreviated as Komiketto and Komike)—was first organized by Yonezawa Yoshiro and a handful of others, primarily young men, as an inexpensive means for the distribution and exchange of diverse, self-produced manga. It quickly became synonymous with the buying and selling of *dōjinshi* (coterie magazines) of wildly diverse quality and content, variously including original and parodic manga and prose fiction, as well as criticism about manga, anime, and, eventually, video games. The Comic Market has provided amateur and even established professional

artists a "place" (*ba*) for creative expression outside the restrictions of the commercial publishing world—although the event has also been used by commercial publishers to recruit new talent and has become increasingly commercialized over its forty-year history.[52]

In the beginning, adolescent girls accounted for the vast majority of regular participants, with female participants comprising around 90 percent of those original 700 attendees at the first event, initially billed a "manga fanzine fair" (*manga fanjin fea*).[53] These early attendees were predominantly middle and high school students enamored with works by Hagio, Takemiya, and fellow Fabulous Forty-Niner Ōshima Yumiko (1947–), with the former two artists outranking even Tezuka in a survey on favorite artists conducted that day.[54] In particular, Hagio's early manga works—which, as noted above, were by and large not *shōnen'ai*—had also attracted many fans among the young men involved in organizing the Comic Market.[55] One way the significance of such new developments in *shōjo* manga was recognized by male organizers was the choice to promote early Comic Market events in *Bessatsu shōjo komikku*, as well as local event magazines—though not in a *shōnen* (boys') manga magazine.[56] Another way *shōjo* manga was foregrounded was in the screening of a dynavision anime version of Hagio's "November Gymnasium," produced by both male and female fans of the artist.[57]

In the first several years of the Comic Market, quite a number of *shōjo* manga-related circles participated, including those who were fans of a particular artist (figure 3.4), as well as those which displayed in their art an interest in glam and hard rock musicians associated with beauty and, in some cases, homosexuality, particularly those from the UK, such as David Bowie, T.Rex, Queen, and Led Zeppelin. (This interest in male rock musicians also echoes their objectification in Mizuno's *Fire!* several years earlier.) While early *dōjinshi* by the circle Queen (*Kuiin*) and similar *shōjo* manga circles did not include overt representations of homosexuality, they did contain ample imagery of beautiful and naked males.[58] Before long, however, some *dōjinshi* circles did start creating works with more overt homosexual narratives, drawing perhaps on some combination of rumors about the lives of the rock stars, commercially published *shōnen'ai* narratives, and the homosexuality represented in *homo* magazines. For instance, a mimeographed *dōjinshi* called *Island*, published around 1979 by a group called Abnorm, sits somewhere between the eroticization and homoeroticization of male rock stars.[59] It contains drawings and photographs of some of the musicians above, including a two-page spread on one side of which is a photograph of David Bowie on stage in a jock strap and the other drawings of clothing that might be used to dress him up like a paper doll. Elsewhere is a drawing of

Figure 3.4 Cover of *Sunroom* (*Sanrūmu*), no. 6 (June 1977), produced by Takemiya Keiko's official fan club, Sunroom (Sanrūmu).

Led Zeppelin's Jimmy Page and Robert Plant, respectively holding a guitar and a microphone, kissing each other (figure 3.5).[60]

By the early 1980s, the term "*yaoi*"—in recent years a truly global label for male homoerotic manga and anime—was beginning to be used in the amateur comics sphere to name these amateur homoerotic works.[61] The word is an acronym for "*yama nashi, ochi nashi, imi nashi*," or, roughly, "no climax, no point, no meaning," an apt description of the relatively plotless original narratives and parodies replete with implied or roughly depicted male-on-male sex. Its coinage and initial use had little specifically to do with the genre, however. As recalled by Hatsu Akiko (1959–), once a frequent guest at Takemiya and Hagio's Ōizumi Salon, the term emerged organically at the end of the 1970s among the members of the popular Ravuri (Lovely) manga circle as a general, self-deprecating assessment of all types of *dōjinshi*.[62] Playing on the new term, Ravuri member Maru Mikiko created a male homoerotic manga which she titled "*Yaoi*," writing the term in *kanji* characters meaning "chasing the night." At the time Hatsu felt that "it's true that this manga

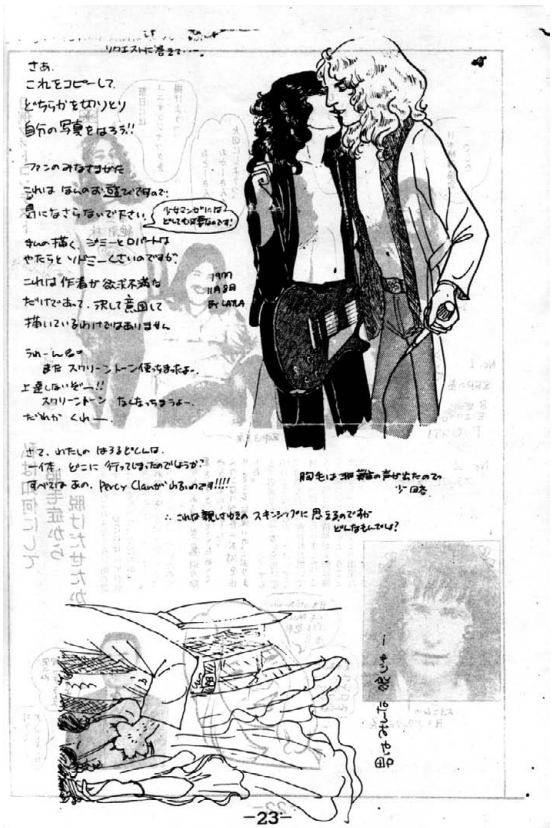

Figure 3.5 Drawing of Led Zeppelin's Jimmy Page and Robert Plant kissing, from *Island* (ca. 1979), produced by the circle Abnorm, as imagined by a contributor to the *dōjinshi*.

has no climax, no point, and no meaning. But there's something—what's going on between these guys?" So, in December 1979, she, Maru, and a small group of others collectively compiled a *dōjinshi* full of male homoerotic narratives based on the concept that "even if there's no climax, no point, and no meaning, there's eros." This *dōjinshi*, titled *RAPPORI: Special Yaoi Issue* (*RAPPORI: yaoi tokushū gō*), in effect narrowed the definition of the term.[63] It has subsequently been given alternative readings within the community to highlight the sometimes—but by no means universal—pornographic content of these *dōjinshi*, including "*yamete, oshiri ga itai*," that is, "stop, my butt hurts," and "*yaru, okasu, ikaseru*," or "do (him), rape (him), make (him) cum."[64] While "*yaoi*" took a number of years to become established—competing with "*shōnen'ai*," "*tanbi*," and "*JUNE*" (discussed below)—the term continues to have a great deal of currency in reference not just to such noncommercial homoerotic *dōjinshi* but BL media in general.

The parodying of existing manga and anime in *dōjinshi*—often broadly referred to as "*aniparo*"—circulating at the Comic Market took off in the 1980s. While an abbreviation of "anime parody" (*anime parodi*), the "*aniparo*" can be used in reference to any *dōjinshi* parodies, regardless of what or who is being parodied.[65] Although anything can be parodied, among female *dōjinshi* artists, *shōnen* manga and anime have been a major source of material for male homoerotic parodies. Pride of place goes to the magazine *Shōnen Jump* (*Shōnen janpu*, 1968–), observes *dōjinshi* researcher and manga critic Misaki Naoto. Popular manga series in *Shōnen Jump*, many of which have been made into TV anime, have been at the heart of homoerotic *aniparo* from the beginning and, Misaki estimates, are the source for around a third of such works today.[66] Most prominent in histories of homoerotic *aniparo* is Takahashi Yōichi's extremely popular *shōnen* manga and anime series *Captain Tsubasa* (*Kyaputen Tsubasa*), whose first iteration was serialized in *Shōnen Jump* from 1981 to 1988.[67] While the narrative about enthusiastic soccer player Ōzora Tsubasa, his teammates, and his rivals was not the first target of homoerotic parody, it was the first to overwhelm the Comic Market.[68] The Tsubasa "genre" (*janru*)—a label used in the *dōjinshi* sphere to indicate source texts—dominated the Comic Market for several years in the mid-1980s and was at the forefront of successive surges in popularity of homoerotic *aniparo* based on narratives serialized in *Shōnen Jump* and made into anime, including *Saint Seiya* (*Seinto Seiya*, 1986–1990) and *Slam Dunk* (1990–1996) in the 1980s and 1990s, and *One Piece* (1997–), *Naruto* (1999–), and *Prince of Tennis* (*Tenisu no ōjisama*, 1999–2008) since 2000, as well as based on other *shōnen* manga and anime including the still-popular *Samurai Troopers* (*Yoroi den samurai torūpaa*, first broadcast in Japan 1988–1989; it was later released in English as *Ronin Warriors*).[69]

The Tsubasa genre was not the first time for *shōnen'ai* or male homoerotic narratives in *dōjinshi* to be set in Japan and feature Japanese characters, yet its incredible popularity might be seen as part of a noteworthy shift away from the dominance of foreign settings and characters in *shōjo* manga depicting male homoeroticism. Critic Nishimura Mari proposes that the original text was one that middle and high school students in Japan could easily relate to.[70] The 1980s also saw the height of Japan's economic bubble and increasing recognition that Japan was a global economic power, perhaps helping to unsettle the high status given to the blonde, blue-eyed knight on a white horse ideal in *shōjo* manga.[71] Yonezawa suggests a link between parodies of Japanese celebrities and reader-contributed content in the 1980s BL-related commercial magazines *Allan* and *Gekkō* (discussed in the following section),

Figure 3.6 Cover of *Hi Five Boogie* (2008), a *dōjinshi* homoerotic parody of the band Arashi by the circle Walnuts.

which served as a site for gossip on, as well as photographs and illustrations of, real celebrities.[72]

Beyond the *shōnen* genre specifically, anime, manga, and, recently, webcomics (*uebukomikku*) targeting broader audiences have also been frequently parodied. Particularly popular as a subject of *aniparo* in recent years is *Axis Powers Hetalia*, a satirical webcomic (later adapted as a manga and anime series) by Himaruya Hidekaz that began around 2006 in which countries that fought in World War II have been reimagined as people, a majority of whom are attractive young men and adolescent boys.[73] Concrete and abstract objects that have been personified (*gijinka*) are also currently very popular both in general and among *yaoi* creators (see Galbraith this volume). Among *dōjinshi* on sale at the August 2013 Comic Market were manga pairing department stores, universities, convenience stores, train lines, and even Internet search engines reimagined as handsome young men. Popular films, television programs, video games, and other media have also served as source material for *yaoi* parodies, as have real celebrities and athletes. While British and American rock musicians were popular among girls and women at the Comic Market in the 1970s and 1980s, male musicians and other entertainers as well as athletes from Japan were and are also parodied in male homoerotic *dōjinshi*.[74] Boy bands, comedy duos, and sports teammates have

long provided ample material to arouse speculation about romantic or sexual relationships, such as among the members of the 1980s beautiful boy band Hikaru Genji, as well as the contemporary band Arashi (figure 3.6), and popular Korean bands in the past decade.

In addition to distribution at existing large and small *dōjinshi* "spot sale events" (*sokubaikai*) around the country, of which the Comic Market is the largest and most prominent, *dōjinshi* are also sold by circles via advertisements in specialty magazines and, since the 1990s, online. What have come to be called "only events" (*onrii ibento*) feature fan-made media focused on "only" a specific theme or work, sometimes only on a popular "coupling" (*kappuringu*) of characters within a work.[75] While contemporary *dōjinshi* often include a "prohibition" against resale, they are frequently resold at specialty shops, which also generally sell *dōjinshi* online, and by individuals via online auction and other resale websites. Finally, since at least the 1980s, *aniparo* and original *yaoi dōjinshi* manga have been compiled into anthologies and sold commercially.[76]

The Commercialization of Amateur BL Media: "*JUNE* Things"

The commercially published anthologies in the 1980s were not, however, the first effort by publishers to commercialize these amateur works. Already in 1978, riding on the early wave of enthusiasm for beautiful young men at the Comic Market and for *shōnen'ai* manga, Sagawa Toshihiko (1954–), then working part time at San shuppan, a publisher of magazines with erotic themes aimed at adults, including the *homo* magazine *Sabu* (1974–2002), convinced the company to produce a "mildly pornographic magazine aimed at females."[77] At least at the time this is how he framed the project that became *JUNE* (pronounced "ju-nay"; 1978–1979, 1981–1996), the first commercial magazine for adolescent girls and young women featuring beautiful boys and young men in romantic and sexual relationships with one another.[78] Reflecting on the magazine's content three decades later, Sagawa explains, somewhat more equivocally, that what the Fabulous Forty-Niners produced was not "porn" but rather something between literature and pornography, with both being important aspects of the genre's appeal.[79] Sagawa was a young man who, like many other men at the time, was taken in by works by the Fabulous Forty-Niners, the artists he hoped would contribute to this new magazine. He was, however, certain that even if he was unable to get Takemiya and her cohort to draw for the magazine, he could get amateur *dōjinshi* artists to do so.[80]

Figure 3.7 Cover of the first issue of *JUNE*, then called *Comic Jun* (October 1978).

JUNE, called *Comic Jun* for the first two issues, became a mix of both (figure 3.7).[81] Takemiya contributed immeasurably to both the content and the tone of the magazine in its early years. Another central contributor to *JUNE* was Kurimoto Kaoru/Nakajima Azusa (1953–2009), a writer who published prose fiction in the magazine as Kurimoto and critical essays as Nakajima.[82] The combined presence of Kurimoto/Nakajima and Takemiya shaped the spirit of *JUNE*, which Ishida describes as a "site of collaboration" between the two women. Readers, primarily ranging from adolescent girls in their late teens to young women in their early twenties, contributed a significant portion of the content in the form of letters and drawings as well as manga narratives and short stories, the latter of which could respectively be submitted to Takemiya and Nakajima for critique in their respective columns dedicated to teaching the crafts of manga artistry and fiction writing.[83] In reaction to the popularity of the works of prose fiction in the magazine, in 1982 *Shōsetsu JUNE* (*JUNE* fiction; 1982–2004) was created.

Figure 3.8 Cover of *Allan*, no. 6 (October 1982), featuring David Bowie.

When disappointing sales figures forced *JUNE* to suspend publishing in 1979, the temporary gap was quickly filled by Nanbara Shirō, working at Minori shobō, publisher of *Out* (*Auto*, 1977–1995), a magazine focused on anime and *aniparo*.[84] Nanbara founded *Allan* (*Aran*, 1980–1984) (figure 3.8), which was named after handsome French actor Alain Delon, but for reasons of design, spelled on the cover in Roman letters like the middle name of American author Edgar Allan Poe and one of the beautiful boy protagonists in Hagio's *The Poe Clan*.[85] While at first attempting to tap into the same interests as *JUNE*, *Allan* was more textual and less visually oriented than its predecessor and devoted far more space to reader-contributed content. In 1984, Nanbara left the publisher over a difference of opinion on the direction of the magazine, which he took with him. He rechristened it *Gekkō* (Moonlight, 1984–2006). While *Gekkō*—also referred to as "Luna" (*Runa*)—was similar in content and tone to *Allan* for the first year or so, it eventually became far more focused on bizarre and dark themes, such as suicide, death,

espionage, and the supernatural, in keeping with Nanbara's own interests.[86] It did, however, continue to provide a space for discussion of homosexuality, that of celebrities as well as of the magazine's readers.

Both *Allan* and *JUNE*, which was revived in 1981, functioned as a bridge in the 1980s between commercial and non-commercial worlds of *shōnen'ai* manga. While focused on beautiful males, the two magazines reflected a broad range of tastes from the beautiful early teen boys in the works of Takemiya and Hagio and the innocent-looking members of the Vienna Boys Choir to the glam and heavy metal rockers mentioned above. Editorial content as well as contributions from readers also introduced and discussed foreign and domestic literature and films depicting *homo* or gays and, particularly in *Allan*, lesbians. Starting in its second year, *Allan* even ran a personal column, called "Lily Communications" (*Yuri tsūshin*) first identified as being "for lesbiens only [*sic*]," although the number of advertisers who understood themselves as "*rezubian*" is questionable.[87] In addition, artists like Kimura Ben (1947–2003) and Hayashi Gekkō (also known as Ishihara Gōjin, 1923–1998), who produced often gorgeous erotic illustrations for *homo* and other magazines, also created erotic illustrations of beautiful adolescent boys and young men for *JUNE* and *Allan*, further linking *shōnen'ai* and *homo* aesthetics. (It is worth noting that well before the appearance of *JUNE*, Masuyama brought a copy of the *homo* magazine *Barazoku* to the Ōizumi Salon, though Hagio recalls that, in contrast with Takemiya and Masuyama, the magazine had no appeal for her.[88]) Extending this aesthetic connection further, in 1988 *JUNE*'s publisher created *Roman JUNE*, featuring content from the *homo* magazine *Sabu*, published once or twice a year through the late 1990s. Connecting fantasy to reality, the lives of actual gays and lesbians abroad, as well as in Japan, were also referenced and sometimes discussed more extensively in letters and articles in both magazines. Ishida Hitoshi argues that given the crossover readership, overlapping content, and cross-referencing between the various *JUNE* magazines and *Sabu* all four represent a "queer contact zone" (*kuia na kontakuto zōn*) between *shōjo* readers and the *homo*/*gei* community.[89]

Whether due to the magazine's aesthetic and narrative broadening from early *shōnen'ai* or just a reflection of the popularity and central role of *JUNE*, the label "*JUNE-mono*" (*JUNE* things; generally spelled out in capital Roman letters) came to be applied by the 1980s to original homoerotic works that evoked the aesthetics of the magazine (see Fujimoto in this volume). While as a category the term has largely been supplanted by "*yaoi*" and "boys love," it lives on in the "original *JUNE*" (*sōsaku JUNE*) genre code at the Comic Market and via regular J.Garden (the "J" stands for *JUNE*) spot

sale events, originally organized in conjunction with the magazine around 1996.[90]

The availability of *JUNE* and *Allan*, sold in bookstores around the country and by subscription, gave countless readers not just access to homoerotic narratives by established and emerging professional manga artists, but also the opportunity to participate in the production and consumption of such narratives beyond commercial channels—which would have otherwise been impossible outside of venues like the Comic Market. Both ran ads from readers seeking others to join in their manga circles and help produce *dōjinshi* as well as promotions for the *dōjinshi* themselves, either as announcements or as advertisements; *Allan* even gave away issues of popular *dōjinshi* via a promotion in its premier issue.[91] These magazines, particularly *JUNE*, along with the commercially published *dōjinshi* anthologies and—even more importantly—the phenomenal popularity and proliferation of amateur BL media at the Comic Market and in other fora in the 1980s, helped pave the way for the commercial boom in the 1990s and the current prosperity of the BL market.

New Commercializations of BL Media: The "Boys Love" Boom

The commercial flourishing in BL media that began in the 1990s and continues to the present represents an extension and expansion of the *yaoi dōjinshi* of the previous decade. Not only was the financial viability of BL publications made possible by the prior existence of a large group of readers interested in such narratives, many artists producing popular *aniparo* and original *dōjinshi* were recruited to create manga for the new commercial magazines.[92] The 1990s saw an explosion of such commercial magazines, including serial "*mūku*" (short for "magazine book"), many of which were issued as different versions of the same title, with one focused on manga and the other on prose fiction, for instance. While some of the *mūku* began as, in essence, anthologies of original *dōjinshi*, even publications formatted as magazines sometimes reprinted manga that had originally been distributed as *dōjinshi*.[93] Among the first of this new wave of BL periodicals were *Kid's* (*Kizzu*) in 1989, *Gust* (*Gasto*) in 1990, and *b-Boy* (*Biibōi*) and *Image* (*Imaaju*) in 1991 (figure 3.9). These were quickly followed by fiction (*shōsetsu*) versions of the latter two magazines—*Shōsetsu Image* and *Shōsetsu b-Boy*—in 1992. Each of the following two years saw a handful of new titles, including *Magazine Be x Boy* (*Magajin biibōi*), *Reijin* (Beautiful person) in 1993, then *Charade* (*Shareedo*), *Hana oto* (Flower sound), *Chara* (*Kyara*), *Asuka Ciel* (*Asuka shieru*)

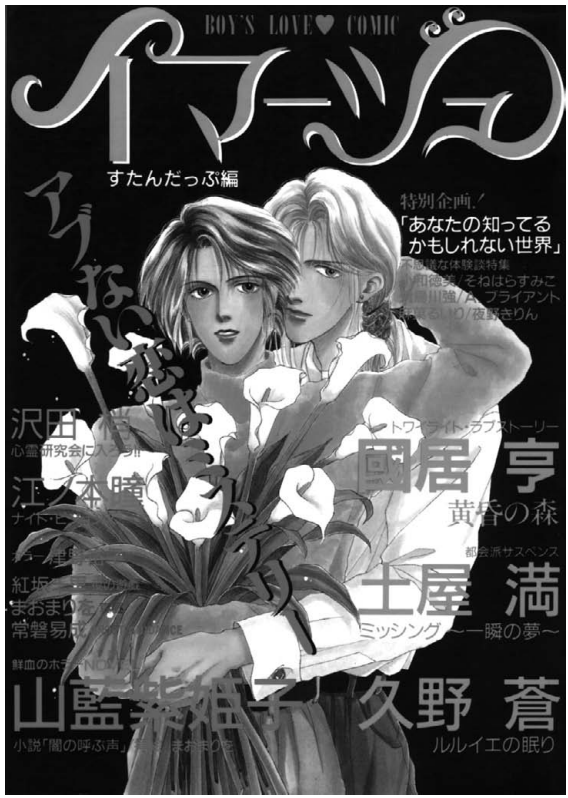

Figure 3.9 Cover of premiere issue of *Image* (December 1991).

in 1994, while around ten new titles appeared in 1995.[94] In sum, at least thirty new magazines focused on BL manga—that is, in addition to those primarily containing BL fiction—appeared in the first half of the 1990s, though many were short-lived.[95]

In contrast with *shōnen'ai* narratives serialized in *shōjo* manga magazines, and reflective of shifts in the *yaoi dōjinshi* sphere in the 1980s, by the time this new wave of magazines appeared, the clear preference for narratives set abroad and peopled with foreign characters had disappeared. While some popular titles have continued to be set abroad, sometimes featuring Japanese or half-Japanese protagonists—such as Matoh Sanami's *Fake* (1994–2000), set in New York and including the half-Japanese character Ryō—the majority of recent commercially published BL narratives have been set in Japan and populated with Japanese characters.[96] Another point in common with early commercial *shōnen'ai* is that many popular narratives serialized in manga magazines have been reprinted in paperback form, with dozens upon dozens of BL manga paperbacks published monthly. In addition, many are released

as drama CDs (on which voice actors perform the narratives), anime, prose fiction (often described as "light novels"/*raito noberu*), and other media products. In the middle of the 1990s, bookstores began to include sections focused on BL manga and fiction.[97] A limited number of shops focusing on BL media gradually appeared as well, and in the 2000s, "Otome Road" (Otome rōdo; English: maiden road), a whole street full of shops featuring BL media, materialized several blocks from Tokyo's Ikebukuro station.[98] The surge in commercial magazines and paperbacks, as well as the appearance of BL sections in bookstores may help explain the increase in scholarly and critical attention to BL media that also began in the 1990s, as Nagaike and Aoyama note in their chapter in this volume. This new visibility has also attracted severely negative attention. For instance, as Mark McLelland discusses in his chapter in this volume, in the latter half of the first decade of the 2000s, members of the public and conservative politicians began to attack the acquisition and display of BL novels by public libraries.

Like other kinds of magazines, some of the new BL serials sought to distinguish themselves with a tag line. This, in fact, began well before the 1990s. In 1978, *JUNE* first declared on its cover that the magazine was about "now, opening our eyes to dangerous love" (*ima, kiken na ai ni mezamete*), while in 1980 *Allan* began by identifying itself as "an aesthete magazine for girls" (*shōjo no tame no tanbi-ha magajin*), making use of the term "*tanbi*" (aesthete) that, as noted above, had come to be associated with *shōnen'ai* manga and literary representations of male homosexuality in this sphere. A decade later, *Kid's* labeled itself as a "naughty girls' comic" (*ikenai onna no ko komikku*) magazine, while *Gust* flagged itself as a "YAOI COMIC" (in capital Roman letters) magazine, the latter again highlighting the connection between the new wave of commercial publications and their *dōjinshi* roots. Toward the end of 1991, *Image*, another of the BL periodicals at the forefront of this wave, debuted with "BOY'S LOVE ♥ COMIC [*sic*]"—almost certainly a transfiguration of the 1970s term "*shōnen'ai* manga"—spelled out across the top of its cover (figure 3.9). The following year, the sister publication *Shōsetsu Image* came out similarly adorned with "BOY'S LOVE NOVELS" on its own cover.

Whether because of its connection with an existing term or because of the way it resonated with readers and creators or for some other reason, "boys love" caught on as a generic label over the course of the 1990s, and the term was eventually rendered into *katakana* as "*bōizu rabu*" and shortened to "BL." Early on, however, it continued to compete with terms like "*yaoi*," "*tanbi*," "*JUNE*," and "*shōnen'ai*"—though the latter term was falling into disuse by the 1990s. For instance, among the magazines appearing in 1993, *Reijin* ran on its cover the catchcopy "a challenge to taboos . . . a revolutionary adult aesthete

(*tanbi*) comic" (*tabū e no chōsen . . . kakumeiteki adaruto tanbi komikku*) and *Mauris* (*Mōrisu*) first described itself as a "*yaoi* COMIC" (with "*yaoi*" in the phonetic *hiragana* script and "comic" in capital Roman letters). Opening the covers, early on, in letters from readers and the editors' responses thereto, the content of *b-Boy*, for example, was referred to as "*yaoi*" or "*JUNE*."[99] In 1994, however, *Charade* (*Shareedo*), first published in March that year by a different publisher from *Image*, described its contents "BOYS' LOVE for GIRLS [*sic*]." And in August that same year, *Puff* carried a special feature offering "A Complete Manual to Mastering Boys Love Magazines" (*BOY'S LOVE MAGAZINE* [*sic*] *kanzen kōryaku manyuaru*), which introduced a number of BL manga and fiction magazines under the rubric of "BOY'S LOVE," a term only used in the title of the feature.[100] Yamamoto Fumiko and BL Supporters, who compiled a more recent guide to boys love, argue that this feature helped establish the use of "boys love" as a generic label.[101]

While among the magazines included in this feature are *Reijin* (which described itself as *tanbi*) and *Mauris* (*yaoi*), these magazines are collectively introduced in the feature as representing "what can perhaps be called a new genre," one that is "somewhat different" (*hitoaji chigau*) from *shōnen'ai* and *tanbi*.[102] Given the diverse content of the magazines described in the feature, ranging from "bright and refreshing" (in the case of *Image*) to "hard and heavy" (*Reijin*), however, it is not clear what the compilers of this feature believe these new magazines have in common that sets them apart narratively or aesthetically from what came before.[103] Moreover, as noted above, these new magazines were closely linked to *aniparo* and original *yaoi dōjinshi*. In addition to the fact that many of the artists creating manga for the new magazines got their start drawing *yaoi dōjinshi*, many of these magazines also provided information about and, sometimes, reviews of new *dōjinshi*. This continuing overlap between commercial and non-commercial production may explain why, although "*yaoi*" and "boys love" remain in common use, the distinction in meaning between the two terms has not been settled upon. While at present, many artists, fans, critics, and scholars treat the terms as synonymous, some distinguish between "*yaoi*" and "boys love" on the basis of the former being *dōjinshi* and the latter commercially published media—a distinction that clearly reflects the history of BL manga.[104]

Conclusion: Something Is Rotten

As we have seen, the 1970s can be identified with the emergence of the literary *shōnen'ai* genre of *shōjo* manga; the 1980s with the flourishing of *aniparo*

dōjinshi self-mockingly called "*yaoi*" at the Comic Market, as well as—straddling the amateur and commercial spheres—the magazine *JUNE*; and the 1990s with the explosion of commercially produced and distributed BL media. The first decade of the 2000s might be tied to the rise of the "*fujoshi*," the "rotten girl." The *fujoshi* has quickly become an overdetermined archetype, often caricaturized in the media in recent years, as Jeffry Hester's chapter in this volume chronicles. The term "*fujoshi*," like the term "*yaoi*," is deliberately self-disparaging. As Patrick W. Galbraith shows, also in this volume, *fujoshi* are "rotten" because their fantasies (centered around BL media) entail male homoeroticism rather than the heteronormative romance that "common sense" dictates.

In both commercial and amateur spheres in Japan today, the BL media they produce and consume demonstrate no signs of decay, however. A recent report by the Yano Research Institute, which has for a number of years conducted extensive surveys and other research on what it calls the "*otaku* (fervent fan) market" in Japan, estimates the scale of the boys love market in 2010 alone to have been 2.2 billion yen ($24.5 million), inclusive of commercial works, drama CDs, and webcomics, as well as *dōjinshi*.[105] And that's just the market in Japan.

BL has also gone global, particularly in the past decade or so. The production and consumption by women of texts about male homosexuality is, of course, not without precedent outside Japan, such as in the fan-produced homoerotic parody genre of "slash fiction" in the Anglophone world.[106] BL media fandom and production has been more visible than its antecedents, however. Since 2001, for example, Yaoi-Con, a convention for BL media fans and creators, has been held in San Francisco, evolving into a three-day event. Also, in addition to the massive amount of fan-produced translated and subtitled versions of BL media available online in English and other languages, since the early 2000s commercial U.S. publishers already releasing other manga in English translation—including those founded for that purpose—have been publishing translated BL manga;[107] BL have also developed a commercial market in Europe and elsewhere.[108]

While BL media have yet to prove as popular or as commercially viable abroad, enthusiasm for BL both in- *and* outside Japan shows no signs of abating. It seems unlikely that Takemiya and Hagio could have predicted their experimentation with narratives about beautiful boys at the beginning of the 1970s would reach this point, but, looking back, we can see now that BL has come a long way.

Notes

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1. On the category "*shōjo*" in *shōjo* manga, see Jennifer S. Prough, *Straight from the Heart: Gender, Intimacy, and the Cultural Production of* Shōjo Manga (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 7–10.

2. Tezuka Osamu, *Ribon no kishi* [*Princess Knight*] (1953–1955; Tokyo: Kōdansha manga bunko, 1999). On Tezuka's role in the development of *shōjo* manga, see Yonezawa Yoshihiro, *Sengo shōjo manga shi* [A history of postwar *shōjo* manga] (1980; Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2007), especially pp. 50–53.

3. On the influence of the Takarazuka Revue on Tezuka, see Matsutani Takayuki, Ikeda Riyoko, Kusano Tadashi, Kawauchi Atsurō, and Morina Miharu, "Tezuka Osamu to Takarazuka Kageki: Myūjikaru fōramu" [Tezuka Osamu and the Takarazuka Revue: A musical forum], in *Tezuka Osamu no furusato, Takarazuka*, ed. Kawauchi Atsurō (Kobe: Kobe shinbun sōgō shuppan sentaa, 1996). On Tezuka's *Princess Knight* as originator of cross-dressing, "androgynous" (*ryōsei guyū*) characters, see Fujimoto Yukari, *Watashi no ibasho wa doko ni aru no? Shōjo manga ga utsusu kokoro no katachi* [Where do I belong? The shape of the heart reflected in *shōjo* manga] (Tokyo: Gakuyō shobō, 1998), 130.

4. Yonezawa, *Sengo shōjo manga shi*, 52. See also Fujimoto, *Watashi no ibasho*, 130.

5. Mizuki Takahashi, "Opening the Closed World of *Shōjo Manga*," in *Japanese Visual Culture: Explorations in the World of Manga and Anime*, ed. Mark Wheeler MacWilliams (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2008), 127. See also Yonezawa, *Sengo shōjo manga shi*, 24–27. Kashō's depiction of male bodies and their consumption by female readers is discussed by Barbara Hartley in this volume.

6. Takahashi, "Opening the Closed World of *Shōjo Manga*," 117, 118, 122.

7. Ibid., 122. See also Fujimoto Yukari, "Takahashi Macoto: The Origin of Shōjo Manga Style," translated by Matt Thorn, *Mechademia 7* (2012); and Yonezawa, *Sengo shōjo manga shi*, 78–82.

8. Takahashi, "Opening the Closed World of *Shōjo Manga*," 122–24.

9. Fujimoto, "Takahashi Macoto," 47. See also Takahashi, "Opening the Closed World of *Shōjo Manga*," 125.

10. Ibid., 128.

11. Ibid., 122–29.

12. See, for instance, the July 1981 special issue "*Shōjo* manga" in *Yuriika* (Eureka) 13, no. 9, which includes numerous articles addressing literary aspects of works from this period. *Yuriika* is a highbrow literary journal.

13. See, e.g., Tomoko Aoyama, "Transgendering *Shōjo Shōsetsu*: Girls' Inter-text/sex-uality," in *Genders, Transgenders, and Sexualities in Japan*, ed. Mark McLelland and Romit Dasgupta (London: Routledge, 2005).

14. E.g., Ikeda Michiko, "Danshokuron: Shisutaa bōi no miryoku" [On male homosexuality: The charms of sister boys], *Fujin kōron* 41, no. 11 (November 1957).

15. Mori Mari, *Koibitotachi no mori* [A lovers' forest] (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1961). On the connections between Mori Mari and male–male erotic and romantic relations in *shōjo* manga, see, e.g., Akiko Mizoguchi, "Male–Male Romance by and for Women in Japan: A History and the Subgenres of *Yaoi* Fictions," *U.S.–Japan Women's Journal* 25 (2003); and on the narrative connections between them, see Keith Vincent, "A Japanese Electra and Her Queer Progeny," *Mechademia* 2 (2007).

16. Mizuno Hideko, *Faiyaa!* [Fire!], 4 vols. (1969–1971; Tokyo: Asahi panorama, 1973). On the role of *Fire!* in the introduction of social problems in the U.S. to *shōjo* manga readers, see Kinko Ito, *A Sociology of Japanese Ladies' Comics: Images of the Life, Loves, and Sexual Fantasies of Adult Japanese Women* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2010), 62–63. See also Yonezawa, *Sengo shōjo manga shi*, 198.

17. On the groundbreaking nature of having a male protagonist in *shōjo* manga, see Ishida Minori, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku: "Yaoi/bōizu rabu" zenshi* [A secret education: The prehistory of yaoi/boys love] (Kyoto: Rakuhoku shuppan, 2008), 57n30.

18. Minegishi Hiromi, "Jūjiro" [Crossroad], *Fanii* 1, no. 2 (June 1969).

19. In Takemiya Keiko's *Kaze to ki no uta* [The song of the wind and the trees], 10 vols. (1976–1984; Tokyo: Hakusensha bunko, 1995), Gilbert does have sexual relations with adult men, but the primary narrative is driven by his romantic relationship with his fellow student and roommate, Serge.

20. Ishida, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 142–43.

21. The scholarship and criticism making this case, often supported by statements by the artists themselves, is extensive. In addition to the discussion offered by Fujimoto and by Nagaike and Aoyama in this volume, representative criticism in Japanese can be found in Fujimoto, *Watashi no ibasho*, particularly in the section, "Onna no ryōsei guyū, otoko no han'in'yō" [Androgynous females and hermaphroditic males], 130–76.

22. See James Welker, "Drawing Out Lesbians: Blurred Representations of Lesbian Desire in *Shōjo* Manga," in *Lesbian Voices: Canada and the World; Theory, Literature, Cinema*, ed. Subhash Chandra (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 2006).

23. Takemiya Keiko, "Sanrūmu nite" [In the sunroom], in her *Sanrūmu nite* (1970; Tokyo: San komikkusu, 1976).

24. Hagio Moto, "Jūichigatsu no gimunajiumu" [November gymnasium], in her *Jūichigatsu no gimunajiumu* (1971; Tokyo: Shōgakukan bunko, 1995).

25. Hagio Moto, *Tōma no shinzō* [*The Heart of Thomas*] (1974; Tokyo: Shōgakukan bunko, 1995); Takemiya, *Kaze to ki no uta*.

26. Takemiya Keiko, *Takemiya Keiko no manga kyōshitsu* [Takemiya Keiko's manga classroom] (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 2001), 244; *Josei sebun*, "Ima sugoi ninki no shōjo komikku sakka no karei-naru shi seikatsu" [The splendid private lives of now wildly popular *shōjo* manga authors], December 3, 1975, 199; Masuyama Norie and Sano Megumi, "Kyabetsu batake no kakumeiteki shōjo mangakatachi" [Revolutionary *shōjo* manga artists in a cabbage patch], in Bessatsu Takarajima, no. 288, *70-nendai manga daihyakka* (Tokyo: Takarajimasha, 1996); Hagio Moto, "The Moto Hagio Interview," by Matt Thorn, *Comics Journal*, no. 269 (July 2005): 160.

27. Masuyama and Sano, "Kyabetsu batake," 169. Among those taking part were Sasaya Nanae (1950–), Yamada Mineko (1949–), and Yamagishi Ryōko (1948–), the last of whom produced a number of male–male romances, albeit her protagonists were often older than in typical *shōnen'ai* narratives. See ibid., 166; Hagio, "The Moto Hagio Interview," 160–61.

28. Ishida, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 52.

29. Ibid., 298.

30. Ibid., 70–71, 76.

31. Ibid., 72. See also Takemiya, *Takemiya Keiko no manga kyōshitsu*, 217.

32. Inagaki Taruho, *Shōnen'ai no bigaku* [Aesthetics of boy loving] (Tokyo: Tokuma shoten, 1968). I translate "*shōnen'ai*" in this title as "boy loving" rather than "boys love" to reflect that the content is more closely connected to pederasty than is the case for the *shōjo* manga genre.

33. See Ishida, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 88; and Masuyama Norie, "*Kaze to ki no uta* no tanjō" [The birth of *The Song of the Wind and the Trees*], *JUNE*, no. 36 (September 1987): 55. While *The Song of the Wind and the Trees* was not initially serialized until 1976, Takemiya had first conceived of the narrative and began to pen drawings seven years earlier, before *In the Sunroom* was published. See Masuyama, "*Kaze to ki no uta* no tanjō," 55.

34. Quoted in Ishida, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 88.

35. Hagio, "The Moto Hagio Interview," 161, 163; *Les amitiés particulières*, dir. Jean Delannoy (France: Paris: Progéfi, and LUX C.C.F., 1964).

36. Roger Peyrefitte, *Les amitiés particulières: Roman* (Marseille: Jean Vigneau, 1943).

37. *Death in Venice*, motion picture, dir. Luchino Visconti (Italy: Alfa Cinematografica, 1971).

38. I base this claim on having perused hundreds of issues of *Bessatsu shōjo komikku*, *Shōjo komikku*, *Petit Flower* (*Puchi furawaa*), and other *shōjo* manga magazines published in the 1970s and 1980s.

39. Kihara Toshie, *Mari to Shingo* [Mari and Shingo], 13 vols. (1977–1984; Tokyo: Hana to yume komikkusu, 1979–1984); Yamagishi Ryōko, *Hi izuru tokoro no tenshi* [Emperor of the land of the rising sun], 11 vols. (1980–1984; Tokyo: Hana to yume komikkusu, 1980–1984).

40. Yoshida Akimi, *Banana Fish*, 19 vols. (1985–1994; Tokyo: Furawaa komikkusu, 1987–1994); Akisato Wakuni, *Tomoi* (1986; Tokyo: Shōgakukan bunko, 1996).

41. For instance, Fujimoto includes *Banana Fish* and *Tomoi* in the *shōnen'ai* lineage in her important overview of gender-bending *shōjo* manga. See Fujimoto, *Watashi no ibasho*, 146, 148–49; cf. Fujimoto in this volume.

42. Ishida, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 85–92, 296. As the primary term used within Taruho's *Shōnen'ai no bigaku* was "*shōnen'ai*" itself, perhaps "*kunaaben riibe*" was borrowed from the cover, which is decorated prominently with the title in German—"*Ästhetik der Knabenliebe*."

43. While some of the dozens of avid readers of the *shōnen'ai* genre in the 1970s and 1980s with whom I have spoken still use the term, either of their own volition or at my prompting, it is the pederastic meaning that has lingered in the present day. This is evident, for instance, in the lengthy Japanese Wikipedia entry, only a small section of which describes *shōnen'ai* in the context of *shōjo* manga: Wikipedia, s.v. "Shōnen'ai," last modified July 28, 2013, http://ja.wikipedia.org/wiki/少年愛.

44. Hagio Moto, *Pō no ichizoku* [The Poe clan] (1972–1976), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Shōgakukan bunko, 1998).

45. See Kurihara Chiyo, "Tanbi shōsetsu to wa nani ka" [What is *tanbi* fiction?], in *Tanbi shōsetsu, gei bungaku bukkugaido* [Guidebook to aesthete fiction and gay literature], ed. Kakinuma Eiko and Kurihara Chiyo (Tokyo: Byakuya shobō, 1993), 325.

46. See, e.g., Ishida, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 206–11, 319.

47. The term is sometimes also used as a label for andro-centric heterosexual pornography to indicate eroticism even as it purports to paint the material as refined.

48. Kurihara, "Tanbi shōsetsu to wa nani ka" (What is *tanbi* fiction?), 325ff.

49. Komikku maaketto junbikai, ed., *Komikku maaketto 30's fairu* [The Comic Market files—30 years] (Tokyo: Komiketto, 2005), 32.

50. The catalogue for Comic Market 84, held August 10–12, 2013 is nearly 1,400 pages long. According to the report it provides on Comic Market 83, held December 29–31, 2010, the December event had 35,000 registered circles—who were among 51,000 who applied. 170,000 to 210,000 "participants" attended *each* of the three days. See *Komikku Maaketto 84 katarogu* (2013), 1197. Attendance has been relatively stable over the past few years. For attendance figures as well as details on participating circles for each Comic Market event from 1975 to 2005, see Komikku Maaketto Junbikai, *Komikku Maaketto 30's fairu*, passim. The most up-to-date information can be found in current catalogues and in Komiketto, "Komikku Maaketto nenpyō" [Comic Market timeline], accessed September 18, 2012, http://www.comiket.co.jp/archives/Chronology.html.

51. Komikku maaketto junbikai, *Komikku maaketto 30's fairu*, 355.

52. Yonezawa Yoshihiro, "Manga/anime no kaihōku, Komike tte nani?" [What's Komike, that space of liberation for manga/anime?], interview, in Bessatsu Takarajima, no. 358, *Watashi o Komike ni tsuretette!: Kyōdai komikku dōjinshi maaketto no subete* (Tokyo: Takarajimasha, 1998), 15–16; Ichikawa Kōichi, "Comiket," interview by Patrick W. Galbraith, in Patrick W. Galbraith, *The Otaku Encyclopedia: An Insider's Guide to the Subculture of Cool Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 2009), 46; Yonezawa Yoshihiro, "Manga to dōjinshi no sasayaka no kyōen: Komiketto no ataeta eikyō" [A small feast of manga and *dōjinshi*: The influence of Komiketto], in Bessatsu Takarajima, no. 358, *Watashi o komike ni tsuretette!*, 42. Komikku maaketto junbikai, *Komikku maaketto 30's fairu*, 354–55.

53. The tagline "*manga fanjin fea*" (manga fanzine fair) appeared on the posters for the first four events, the last of which was held at the end of 1976. It was replaced in 1977 by "*dōjinshi sokubaikai*" or "*dōjinshi* spot sale event." See Shimotsuki Takanaka, *Komikku maaketto sōseiki* [The genesis of Comic Market] (Tokyo: Asahi shinbun shuppan, 2008), 11–12; and the posters reproduced in Komikku maaketto junbikai, *Komikku maaketto 30's fairu*, 16, 32. The term "*dōjinshi*" was not new in this sphere, however. It was already being used in Tezuka's magazine *COM* in the late 1960s to refer to non-commercial publications linked to manga and anime and related media. The early use by Comic Market organizers of "*fanjin*," a word then associated with science fiction fandom, illustrates the connection between the Comic Market and other manga- and anime-related events in the 1970s with the science fiction conventions of the 1960s that can be seen as forebears.

54. On the survey taken at the first Comic Market, see Shimotsuki, *Komikku maaketto sōseiki*, 12. While the numbers have fluctuated over the years, until quite recently women have generally constituted the majority of both circle and regular participants and a minority of staff participants. A survey conducted at the August 2010 event, the most recent for which data is available, however, found that nearly 65 percent of regular participants were male, a

figure the organizers found "comparatively high." See Komikku maaketto junbikai kontentsu riisaachi tiimu, "Chōsa hōkoku" [Survey report], December 2011, p.4 http://www.comiket.co.jp/info-a/C81/C81Ctlg35AnqReprot.pdf; Komikku maaketto junbikai, "Komikku maaketto to wa nani ka?" [What is the Comic Market?], February 2008, 21, http://www.comiket.co.jp/info-a/WhatIsJpn080225.pdf.

55. Shimotsuki describes his own encounter with Hagio's work, as well as his involvement in the creation of an anime version of *November Gymnasium* in his *Komikku Maaketto sōseiki*, 21–22, 45–46, 64–68, 76–83, 96–99.

56. Ibid., 11. Advertising in *shōnen* manga magazines began with the April 1977 event. See ibid., 44.

57. Ibid., 20–21, 77ff.

58. Itō Gō, *Manga wa kawaru: "Manga gatari" kara "manga ron" e* [Manga changes: From "manga narrative" to "manga discourse"] (Tokyo: Seidosha, 2007), 215; Yonezawa, "Manga to dōjinshi," 41.

59. Abnorm, *Island* (Japan: Self-published, ca. 1979).

60. "D. Boui kisekae o-asobi" [Fun dressing up D. Bowie], in ibid., 35–36; and Layla, illustration of Jimmy Page and Robert Plant, dated November 8, 1977, in ibid., 23.

61. By 1982, "*yaoi*" could be found on the cover of the manga culture magazine *Manga no techō* [Manga handbook], no. 8 (summer 1982), to promote content on "YAOI *anime*" (with "*yaoi*" in capital Roman letters and "anime" in the phonetic *katakana* script), suggesting its use had begun to move outside the circles producing these *dōjinshi*.

62. *RAPPORI* is discussed in Hatsu Akiko, "Yaoi no moto wa 'share' deshita: Hatsu kōkai, yaoi no tanjō" [Yaoi started as a 'joke': Public for the first time, the birth of *yaoi*], *JUNE*, no. 73 (November 1993). Hatsu confirmed the appropriate transliteration of the group's name into English as "Lovely"—usually transliterated into Japanese "*raburii*" rather than "*ravuri*" (Hatsu Akiko, personal correspondence, November 19, 2012).

63. Ravuri, *RAPPORI: Yaoi tokushū gō* [RAPPORI: Special *yaoi* issue] (Japan: RAPPORI henshū jimukyoku, 1979). I write "RAPPORI" in all capital letters at the request of Hatsu, who is listed as the primary editor of *RAPPORI: Yaoi tokushū gō*. Hatsu notes that "RAPPORI" is a word she and some friends made up and that it has no particular meaning (Hatsu, personal correspondence).

64. On the various interpretations of the acronym *yaoi*, see Nishimura Mari, *Aniparo to yaoi* [*Aniparo* and *yaoi*] (Tokyo: Ōta shuppan, 2002), 12n3.

65. Nishimura, *Aniparo to yaoi*, 11; Itō, *Manga wa kawaru*, 222–23.

66. Misaki Naoto, "2007-nen no josei-kei parodi dōjinshi no dōkō" [Trends in female-produced parody *dōjinshi* in 2007], *Yuriika* 38, no. 16 (December 2007): 176.

67. Takahashi Yōichi, *Kyaputen Tsubasa* [Captain Tsubasa], 37 vols. (1981–1988; Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1982–1989).

68. Nishimura writes that after first becoming noticeable in 1984, parodies of the Captain Tsubasa series constituted half of the total sales of *dōjinshi* at the summer 1986 Comic Market. See Nishimura, *Aniparo to yaoi*, 32–33. The Tsubasa genre existed as an official "genre code" used by Comic Market organizers from at least 1987 through the end of the 1990s. See Komikku Maaketto Junbikai, *Komikku Maaketto 30's fairu*, 120ff, 384–88.

69. See Misaki, "2007-nen no josei-kei parodi dōjinshi," 176. Kurumada Masami, *Seinto Seiya* [Saint Seiya], 28 vols. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1986–1991); Inoue Takehiko, *Slam Dunk*, 31 vols. (Tokyo, Shūeisha, 1991–1996); Oda Ei'ichirō, *One Piece*, 71 vols., ongoing (Tokyo: Shūeisha,

1997–); Nishimoto Masashi, *Naruto*, 66 vols., ongoing (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2000–); Konomi Takeshi, *Tenisu no ōjisama* [Prince of tennis], 42 vols. (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 2000–2008).

70. Nishimura, *Aniparo to yaoi*, 32.

71. Ibid., 36.

72. Yonezawa Yoshihiro, *Sengo ero manga shi* [A history of postwar erotic manga] (Tokyo: Seirin kōgeisha, 2010), 131.

73. The ongoing narrative is available at http://www.geocities.jp/himaruya/hetaria/.

74. Nishimura, *Aniparo to yaoi*, 22–23, 35–36.

75. Ibid., 32–33, 40.

76. E.g., the Tsubasa and Seiya anthologies *Tsubasa hyakkaten* [Tsubasa department store] *Bessatsu komikku bokkusu*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Fyūjon purodakuto, 1987); and *Seiya ni muchū!* [Mad for Seiya], *Bessatsu komikku bokkusu* 4 (Tokyo: Fyūjon Purodakuto, 1987).

77. Sagawa Toshihiko, "Bungaku to goraku no aida o ittari, kitari" [Going back and forth between literature and amusement], interview by Ishida Minori, in Ishida, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 327.

78. The original *JUNE* ceased publication in 1996. However, the same publisher has subsequently produced various magazines incorporating the *JUNE* name almost continuously since then, including, since 1998 *Komikku JUNE* (Comic *JUNE*). Gender scholar Mori Naoko asserts, however, that, given its distinct editorial focus, *Komikku JUNE* is a "completely different magazine" from the original. See Mori Naoko, *Onna wa poruno o yomu: Josei no seiyoku to feminizumu* [Reading women's porn: Female sexual desire and feminism] (Tokyo: Seikyūsha, 2010), 89n14.

79. Sagawa, "Bungaku to goraku."

80. Ibid., 328.

81. *JUNE* was called *Comic Jun* for the first two issues, with both new and old versions spelled out in capital English/Roman letters on the cover. It was renamed to settle a copyright issue over the name "Jun," which was the name of a clothing company. As the cover for the third issue was already laid out, the producers decided it was simplest just to add an "e" to the name. See *JUNE*, "Editors' Rest Room," no. 4 (April 1979): 180. The name "*JUNE*" is homophonous, and spelled the same in *katakana* script, as the Japanese pronunciation of the surname of infamously homosexual French author Jean Genet. While this is evidently a mere coincidence, links between the writer's name and the magazine name have been made frequently enough to establish an association.

82. Ishida, *Hisoyaka na kyōiku*, 204.

83. The information on the magazine's readership comes from ibid., 222.

84. On the role of *Out* in this sphere, see Nishimura, *Aniparo to yaoi*, 20.

85. See James Welker, "Lilies of the Margin: Beautiful Boys and Queer Female Identities in Japan," in *AsiaPacifiQueer: Rethinking Genders and Sexualities*, ed. Fran Martin, et al. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008) 50, 61n25.

86. Nanbara Shirō, interview with author, June 2005. In terms of content, *Gekkō* largely lost relevance to this readership by the late 1980s, though it lingered on under different titles until 2006.

87. For details on *Allan*'s content and an analysis of the personal ads in "Lily Communications," see Welker, "Lilies of the Margin." For a discussion of female same-sex desire in the context of *shōnen'ai* fandom more generally, see Welker, "Flower Tribes."

88. Hagio, "The Moto Hagio Interview," 161.

89. See Ishida Hitoshi, "Sūji de miru *JUNE* to *Sabu*" [*JUNE* and *Sabu* by the numbers], *Yuriika* 44, no. 15 (December 2012): 170.

90. Comic Market organizers have used "*sōsaku JUNE*" (original *JUNE*) as a genre code to categorize *dōjinshi*, alongside *shōjo*, *shōnen*, and other categories from at least 1987. Only in 2012 did the genre code change to "original *JUNE*/BL." See Komikku maaketto junbikai, *Komikku maaketto 30's fairu*, 384–89, and the lists of genre codes available for recent events in Komiketto, "Komikku maaketto nenpyō" [Comic Market timeline], accessed 18 September 2012, http://www.comiket.co.jp/archives/Chronology.html.

J.Garden first began around 1996 and continues to hold regular spot sales of "original *JUNE*" *dōjinshi*. See Yamamoto Fumiko and BL sapōtaazu, *Yappari, bōizu rabu ga suki: Kanzen BL komikku gaido* [Indeed, we do love BL: A complete guide to BL comics] (Tokyo: Ōta shuppan, 2005), 17; and the event's official website: http://www.jgarden.jp.

91. See *Aran*, "Ninki dōjinshi purezento" [Giveaway of popular *dōjinshi*], October 1980.

92. Yamamoto Fumiko and BL sapōtaazu, *Yappari, bōizu rabu ga suki*, 16.

93. Ibid.

94. The titles of these magazines are a mix of English, Japanese, and other languages, sometimes printed in Roman letters, sometimes in Japanese script. I parenthetically include English translations or Japanese pronunciations of foreign words.

95. Ibid., 15; see also the list of magazines in ibid., 16–17. Yamamoto Fumiko and BL sapōtaazu make a point of noting that this figure does not include BL fiction magazines (ibid., 15). I base my own list above on Yamamoto Fumiko and BL sapōtaazu, as well as on *Pafu*, "Boy's Love Magazine kanzen kōryaku manyuaru" [A complete mastery manual on boy's love magazines], no. 217 (August 1994); the library catalogues of the National Diet Library, and the Yonezawa Yoshihiro Memorial Library of Manga and Subculture; and my own collection of commercial magazines.

96. Matoh Sanami, *Fake*, 7 vols. (Tokyo: Biburosu, 1994–2000).

97. Nishimura dates the appearance of BL sections in bookstores to around 1993. See her *Aniparo to yaoi*, 44.

98. For more on the history of Otome Road, see Patrick W. Galbraith, *Otaku Spaces*, with photographs by Androniki Christodoulou (Seattle: Chin Music Press, 2012), 203–204.

99. See *b-Boy*, "Suki na mono wa suki!!" 3 (1992): 75–77, 79.

100. *Pafu*, "Boy's Love Magazine."

101. Yamamoto and BL sapōtaazu, *Yappari, bōizu rabu ga suki*, 14. This assertion is supported by the compiler(s) of the website *BLlogia junbi shitsu* [BLlogia preparation room] (http://bllogia.files.wordpress.com/), which features a frequently updated and detailed timeline on the history BL. While I have referred back to original materials to confirm specific facts, the *BLlogia* timeline has been quite valuable in helping me map the history of the usage of the term "boys love" in the above paragraphs.

102. *Pafu*, "Boy's Love Magazine," 52. *JUNE*, *Shōsetsu JUNE*, and *Roman JUNE* are also included in beginning of this section, but framed as forebears "without which there would be nothing to talk about" (ibid., 53). The editor of *Image* also stated that she was aiming at something "somewhat different" (*hitoaji chigau*) with the new publication. See *Imaaju*, "Editor's," no. 1 (December 1991): 214.

103. For the descriptions of these magazines, see *Pafu*, "Boy's Love Magazine," 57, 59.

104. For an example of such a distinction between *yaoi* and boys love, see Patrick W. Galbraith, "*Fujoshi*: Fantasy Play and Transgressive Intimacy among 'Rotten Girls' in

Contemporary Japan," *Signs* 37, no. 1 (2011): 212, 218. Galbraith has shared with me (personal correspondence, November 16, 2012) that among his informants in the *dōjinshi* sphere, any semantic distinction between "*yaoi*" and "BL" was far less significant than the distinction between original (*sōsaku*), derivative (*niji sōsaku*), or even twice derivative (*sanji sōsaku*).

105. Yano Research Institute (Yano keizai kenkyūsho), "'Otaku shijō' ni kan suru chōsa kekka 2011: 'Otaku jinkō' no zōka = 'raito na otaku' no zōka to tomo ni shijō kibo wa kakudai" [2011 survey results on the "*otaku* market": Increase in the "*otaku* population" = increase in the number of "light *otaku*" alongside expansion of the scale of the market], press release, October 26, 2011, 3, http://www.yano.co.jp/press/pdf/863.pdf.

106. Dating to the 1960s, "slash fiction" refers primarily to fan-created homoerotic narratives created by pairing characters like Captain Kirk and Spock of the American TV series *Star Trek*. The definitive study on slash fiction is Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

107. For more on the commercial BL market in the U.S., see Dru Pagliasotti, "GloBLisation and Hybridisation: Publishers' Strategies for Bringing Boys' Love to the United States," *Intersections: Gender and Sexuality in Asia and the Pacific* 20 (2009), http://intersections.anu.edu.au/issue20/pagliassotti.htm.

108. Recent scholarship on this global fandom can be found in Kazumi Nagaike and Katsuhiko Suganuma, eds., "Transnational Boys' Love Fan Studies," special issue, *Transformative Works and Cultures* 12 (2013), http://journal.transformativeworks.org/index.php/twc/issue/view/14 .