Magnus Hirschfeld's Interpretation of the Japanese *Onnagata* as Transvestites

Rainer Herrn, Michael Thomas Taylor

Journal of the History of Sexuality, Volume 27, Number 1, January 2018, pp. 63-100 (Article)

Published by University of Texas Press

Magnus Hirschfeld's Interpretation of the Japanese *Onnagata* as Transvestites

RAINER HERRN
Charité, Berlin

MICHAEL THOMAS TAYLOR
Independent Scholar

In 1913 Magnus Hirschfeld created what he referred to as the "Wall of Sexual Transitions" for the International Physicians' Congress in London.[1] The first hint of Hirschfeld's intention to internationally communicate his evolving theories of sex and gender, the wall contained images of individuals structured into four quadrants that reflected categories central to Hirschfeld's theories: hermaphrodites, forms of androgyny, homosexuals, and transvestites. Today, this wall has survived only in several photographs that make it difficult to reconstruct all of its original images.[2] This difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that Hirschfeld took his images from a range of sources and contexts: erotica, works of anthropology and medicine, depictions of works of art, and popular publications such as newspapers and magazines. Among the images that can be distinguished, however, are

Note from *JHS* editor Annette Timm: I have collaborated closely with the authors of this article. To avoid a conflict of interest, all editorial decisions during the review process were made by Matthew Kuefler, the previous editor of this journal.

[1] The congress met from 6 to 12 August 1913. Hirschfeld describes this wall in his scientific autobiography, "Von einst bis jetzt" (From then until now), which was published in installments in the homosexual magazine *Die Freundschaft* (Friendship) 4, nos. 1–52 (1922) through 5, nos. 1–3 (1923) (for Hirschfeld's description of his wall, see "Von einst bis jetzt," 181). Hirschfeld programmatically describes his theory of sexual transitions in "Die Zwischenstufen-'Theorie,'" *Sexualprobleme* 6 (February 1910): 116–36.

[2] Together with several colleagues, Rainer Herrn first undertook the task of reconstructing Hirschfeld's "Wall of Sexual Transitions" for an exhibition about the institute's work on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of its founding. See Rainer Herrn, "Das erste Institut für Sexualwissenschaft," in *Verfemt und Verboten: Vorgeschichte und Folgen der Bücherverbrennungen 1933*, ed. Julius H. Schoeps and Werner Treß (Hildesheim: Olms-Verlag, 2010), 97–152. As the first target of the Nazi book burnings in May 1933, the institute was plundered, and its remains, including its immense collections of images, have never been reassembled in their entirety.

Journal of the History of Sexuality, Vol. 27, No. 1, January 2018

DOI: 10.7560/JHS27103

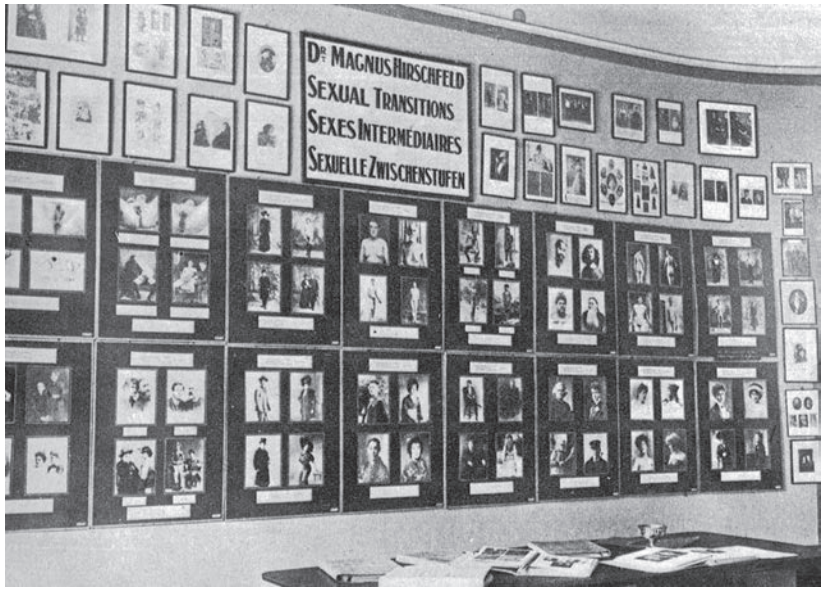


Figure 1. The "Wall of Sexual Transitions." This photo is emblematic of Hirschfeld's interpretation of gender. The wall was structured according to the categories it names: hermaphrodites (*upper left*), forms of androgyny (*upper right*), homosexuals (*lower left*), and transvestites (*lower right*). "Die Zwischen-Stufenwand im Institut," *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*, May 23, 1928, n.p.

four photos of Japanese *onnagata*: male actors who played women's roles in Japanese Kabuki theater.[3]

Founded by a former shrine priestess in 1603, Kabuki had a long history of which Hirschfeld was most likely only partially aware.[4] Hirschfeld

[3] For a further contribution on this topic, written by Rainer Herrn alone, see "Magnus Hirschfeld's Onnagata," in *A Global History of Sexual Science 1880–1960*, ed. Veronika Fuechtner, Douglas E. Haynes, and Ryan Jones (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017). Rainer Herrn would like to thank Veronika Fuechtner and Douglas Haynes for the invitation to the Summer Institute Global History of Sexual Science 1880–1960 at Dartmouth in 2013, where ideas for this article originated.

[4] In contrast to the older Noh theater, in which men performed all the roles, women were at first allowed to perform onstage in Kabuki, and they did so without the usual theatrical masks. These women performers were also often prostitutes who appear to have been so popular and to have held such erotic attraction that they provoked violent clashes among the men in the audience, prompting imperial authorities to ban women from the stage in 1629. At first, young boys replaced these women, but they too appear to have provoked similar violence, perhaps because their style of appearance and dress closely mimicked that of the women. These boys were then also banned from performing and replaced with adult male actors who specialized in female roles but were also forced to shave the forelocks that had previously marked them as boys and wear the hairstyle of adult men. We summarize

came to know of the *onnagata* in the context of debates that unfolded within the early homosexual movement and in the world's first journal for sexual science, the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (Yearbook for sexual transitions), which Hirschfeld founded and edited. Crucially, however, Hirschfeld never refers to them by their Japanese name, *onnagata*, calling them instead *japanische Frauendarsteller* (Japanese female impersonators). Hirschfeld followed this interest in the *onnagata* as one prominent example of what he called "sexual transitions" throughout his life, visiting *onnagata* performers in Japan in 1931 as part of his world tour, which lasted from November 1930 to March 1932. The appearance of these photographs on Hirschfeld's "Wall of Sexual Transitions" in 1913 reflects the strongly visual dimensions of his theories and classifications; the intention for including the photographs was to illustrate the universality and diversity of the sexual phenomena he was researching across world cultures. As this article will show, however, the images are more properly understood to represent projections of European ideas and sexual imagination onto Japanese culture.

Hirschfeld includes the *onnagata* under the category of transvestite, which he coined in 1910 to distinguish homosexuals from men who dressed in women's clothing, many of whom reported being heterosexual and objected to being included with homosexuals in earlier categories of "contrary sexual feeling." Including the *onnagata* on the "Wall of Sexual Transitions" served further to establish a contrast common to anthropological discourse between "cultured" or "civilized peoples" (*Kulturvölker*) and "natural peoples" (*Naturvölker*), who were represented on the wall by images depicting African American men with feminine breasts. These Japanese figures nevertheless maintained an ambivalent relationship to European cultural categories. For instance, Hirschfeld and others also spoke of the *onnagata* as "female impersonators" (*Frauendarsteller*), in analogy to cabaret and *variété* performers popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Western Europe.

---

this history from the solid body of work that has emerged in English on the history of the *onnagata*. Gary P. Leupp situates the *onnagata* in Tokugawa Japan within a tradition of "*bourgeois* homosexual culture centering around male teahouses and the kabuki theater," arguing that sexual relations largely mirrored social relations and emphasizing the destabilizing erotic potential that the early *onnagata* performers appeared to have had; see *Male Colors: The Construction of Homosexuality in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 4, 90–93. Samuel L. Leiter situates the *onnagata* within a theatrical history as performers who developed a specifically artistic form of femininity that emphasized erotic attraction while playing with gender roles; see "From Gay to Gei: The Onnagata and the Creation of Kabuki's Female Characters," in *A Kabuki Reader: History and Performance*, ed. Samuel L. Leiter (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), 211–29. For a more recent, illustrated overview of this history, see Ryoko Matsuba, "*Fleurs du mal*: *Onnagata* (Female-Role Specialists) and *Nanshoku* (Male-Male Sex) in Edo-Period Kabuki," trans. Joshua S. Mostow, in *A Third Gender: Beautiful Youths in Japanese Edo Period Prints and Paintings (1600–1868)* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2016), 40–51.

Figure 2. Quadruple tableau of Japanese female impersonators from the "Wall of Sexual Transitions." The poor quality of this image is unavoidable since it is an enlargement of a portion of the photo of the Wall of Sexual Transitions (fig. 1), of which no high-resolution version exists. "Die Zwischenstufenwand im Institut," *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*, May 23, 1928, n.p.

In returning to Hirschfeld's perspective on the *onnagata*, this article aims to take up several important questions for a global history of sexology. Hirschfeld's engagement with the *onnagata* and the German sexological discussions in which he was one crucial interlocutor mark a salient moment within a wider exchange of sexological knowledge between Germany and Japan that accompanied the development of sexology as a professionalized scientific discipline. Gregory Pflugfelder and Sabine Frühstück have emphasized the two-way nature of this transfer as Japan opened to the West in the Meiji period (1868–1912) and afterward and as German sexologists and activists looked abroad to find examples across cultures and different historical moments of the sexual identities

that were emerging and being formulated in Western Europe.[5] These historians focus on Japanese negotiation of Western knowledge and Japanese traditions in the process of Japanese modernization. We add to this perspective a more detailed account of how German sexologists and homosexual activists engaged and interpreted Japanese culture and of how some Japanese individuals who had direct contact with German sexologists reported on this encounter. In particular, we reconstruct moments of personal contact as an important complement to written pathways of influence and exchange, all of which were facilitated by the ability of many Japanese scholars to speak and read German. Since we cannot read Japanese, we focus on discussions that unfolded in works that were written in German and were translated from Japanese into German, as well as on accounts of Germans who visited Japan or Japanese individuals who visited Germany and reported on their visit in German. Despite this limitation, our account points toward a new understanding of this exchange, showing especially how both German and Japanese interlocutors struggled to reconcile earlier Japanese traditions of nonbinary gender performance or of sex between men rooted in masculine cultures with new heterosexual norms. Our focus on moments of personal contact also serves as a reminder that much of this history unfolded in ways that were not always well documented and that cannot always be reconstructed—an important methodological consideration for any history of sexuality and especially for the early history of sexology.

Japanese histories of sexuality and in particular of sex between men generally give direct attention to the *onnagata*. Gary Leupp names "samurai mansions, Buddhist monasteries, and male brothels linked to the kabuki theater" as the three institutions in which sex between men was common and celebrated in the Edo period (1603–1868). Sex between men was, he argues, "a salient feature of mainstream culture," and the "generous vocabulary of terms relating to male-male sex in early modern Japanese reflects a society at ease with the phenomenon."[6] Extending this history into Japan's modernization, both Frühstück and Pflugfelder trace how new medical-scientific paradigms of sexual hygiene and colonial reproductive politics in Japan reinterpreted

[5] Gregory Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse 1600–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), esp. 13 and 250–51; and Sabine Frühstück, *Die Politik der Sexualwissenschaft: Zur Produktion und Popularisierung sexologischen Wissens in Japan 1908–1941* (Vienna: Institut für Japanologie, 1997), 73–125; and Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), especially chapter 3 (83–115), which traces how Japanese sexologists tried to professionalize their knowledge, as had happened with the development of sexology in the West, while refocusing it on native Japanese research and data, and chapter 5 (152–84), which examines the spread in Japan discourses of eugenics and racial hygiene borrowed from Germany.

[6] Leupp, *Male Colors*, 1.

these older traditions of male-male sexual desire.[7] Pflugfelder argues that in the Meiji period (beginning in 1868), same-sex love between men moved to the margin of discourse to become "unspeakable," prompting new ways to represent it and speak about it, while new norms that labeled it pathological or deviant made it into a foil that validated only sex between men and women as natural.[8] Indeed, Pflugfelder's work leads to the conclusion that sexual practices between men in the Edo period were socially acceptable precisely because they did not touch upon relationships between men and women; instead, they concerned only forms of masculinity and codes of conduct between men that were tied to age and social status.

The *onnagata* nevertheless occupied a unique gender position within these earlier contexts as part of what Leupp calls a Japanese "fascination with androgyny." In premodern Japan, Leupp argues, *onnagata* became specialized in performing feminine emotions with male assertiveness and continued to be associated with male prostitution into the twentieth century. But this gender blending was accepted as long as it conformed to Confucian rules of status and precedence.[9] Both the acceptance of gender fluidity and the tolerance for male sexual passivity that Leupp finds in Japanese culture before the Meiji period (1868–1912) were reinterpreted by the new sexual norms that accompanied Japan's modernization. Maki Isaka, for instance, argues that during this period a new insistence in Japanese culture on biological sex as the basis of natural femininity created a discursive context for a new conception of the *onnagata* as performers of "artistic femininity" who were, paradoxically, "even more womanly than women."[10] Mark McLelland points to the *onnagata* as one antecedent for the widespread idea in postwar Japan that "same-sex attraction necessarily involves some kind of transgenderism or desire to be like or even become the opposite of one's biological sex."[11] But in using a term such as "transgender," "transvestite theater," "female impersonator," or "homosexual" to describe the *onnagata*, he and other scholars raise the question of how these Western concepts came to be ascribed to a cultural tradition that predates their invention.[12] Hirschfeld's changing

[7] Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, chaps. 4 and 5; and Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex* (esp. 69–70 and 106), whose focus on the broader spectrum of reproduction, sexual health, and hygiene that came to dominate Japanese sexology after 1868 provides context for understanding how the category of homosexuality came to be applied to sex between men and sex between women, as well as masturbation, which was often subsumed to discussions of homosexuality.

[8] See Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, chaps. 4 and 5.

[9] Leupp, *Male Colors*, chap. 5, esp. 178.

[10] Maki Isaka, *Onnagata: A Labyrinth of Gendering in Kabuki Theater* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), esp. 141–58, quote from 154.

[11] Mark J. McLelland, *Male Homosexuality in Modern Japan: Cultural Myths and Social Realities* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000), 9.

[12] Ibid., 9, 45; and Mark McLelland, "Japan's Queer Cultures," in *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Culture and Society*, ed. Theodore Bestor and Victoria Bestor (New

perspective on the *onnagata*—which reflected and in part contributed to fundamental changes in his thinking about gender, sexuality, and the cultural variability or universality of his categories—offers an opportunity for examining one of the earliest and most influential examples of these ascriptions.

Neither the early German sexologists nor the homosexual activists we examine here seem to have paid much attention to the origins of the *onnagata* or to Kabuki theater, and none of their texts take up the history of *onnagata* at more than a superficial level. An awareness of this wider historical context is helpful for seeing how German debates amplified or reflected tensions within Japanese discourses. But our focus in this article is on the more narrow German reception of these ideas. In reconstructing the context for this encounter, we begin by returning to the beginnings of the homosexual movement in Germany and the controversies it engendered, elucidating the specific role played by the first, selective reception of the traditions of Japanese samurai and male homosexuality in Japanese theater. We then examine Hirschfeld's interpretation of the *onnagata* as transvestites. We emphasize the role that sexual-ethnological discourses in general and the *onnagata* in particular played in Hirschfeld's development of the new sexual category of the transvestite in the first decade of the twentieth century. And we explore how translations of Japanese texts into German and Hirschfeld's own accounts reflect both the reception of his work in Japan and the Japanese reinterpretation of the *onnagata* that this reception engendered. Our essay concludes by reconstructing Hirschfeld's personal encounters with *onnagata* in Japan in 1931. Throughout our article, the view of the *onnagata* we present is one filtered through Hirschfeld's sources and his own personal encounters. Hirschfeld serves as an example of how continued personal, intercultural contact motivated and fundamentally influenced the development of sexual-scientific concepts and theories.

Japan in Early German Homosexual Movements and Publications

The immediate context for the engagement with Japan that unfolded in the nascent German homosexual movement around 1900 and within sexual science was the argument about whether homosexual males were virile or effeminate. From 1899 to 1923, Magnus Hirschfeld published the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* under the auspices of the Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee (Scientific-Humanitarian Committee) in Berlin. The

York: Routledge, 2011), 140–49, here 140. See also William Hamilton Armstrong, "Neo-Onnagata: Professional Cross-Dressed Actors and Their Roles on the Contemporary Japanese Stage" (PhD diss., Louisiana State University, 2002). One edited volume of scholarship on the history of theater invokes "transvestitism" in its title, though the word itself seems to play hardly any role in the essays and functions instead as a synonym for "cross-dressing"; see Minoru Fujita and Michael Shapiro, eds., *Transvestism and the Onnagata Traditions in Shakespeare and Kabuki* (Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2006).

Jahrbuch was the world's first scientific journal dedicated to sexual and gender diversity and to fighting against the precarious social situation of sexual minorities. Hirschfeld struggled to reconcile opposing tendencies within existing theories of gender, sex, and sexuality. On the one hand, he made the groundbreaking argument that every individual possesses a unique mix of male and female traits in the body, mind, and soul that placed that person along an infinite spectrum of sexual difference between male and female. Yet in defining these traits as male or female, he perpetuated the dominant view of presenting nonconforming sexualities within a binary framework. His placement of homosexuals, transvestites, and hermaphrodites as categories within this spectrum under a theory that he called "intermediary sexual stages" also provoked tension with the individuals he purported to describe. As much a social worker and clinician as a theorist, Hirschfeld developed his ideas in dialogue with the individuals he met at the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft (Institute for Sexual Science) and in the bars, cafés, and entertainment venues that he explored in Berlin and on his other travels. Yet despite this dialogue, many of these individuals felt misrecognized by his theories, and several prominent homosexual rights advocates raised critical objections to his evolving categories.[13]

Elisar von Kupffer, Benedikt Friedländer, and Adolf Brand, for example, rejected Hirschfeld's mixed-sex concept of homosexuals and argued instead for Gustav Jäger's theory of hypermasculinity.[14] According to this destigmatizing theory, male-male attraction was a precondition for human sociability, and men who possessed this attractiveness were "supervirile," constituting the military, political, and artistic elite of society. The journal *Der Eigene*—an untranslatable word meaning one who is unique but who also belongs to oneself—became the mouthpiece for the self-described association of *Eigene*—those who are different but also unique.[15] Members of this "virile" wing of the movement strongly condemned what they considered Hirschfeld's "ridiculous" way of effeminizing their male desires. At the same time, heterosexual cross-dressers defended themselves against being considered homosexual by sexual science and public opinion. Both groups aimed to defend their masculinity. The "supervirile" homosexuals did not want to be perceived as effeminate or in any way different from other

[13] For one account of how some individuals objected to the application or precise content of Hirschfeld's categories, see Rainer Herrn, *Schnittmuster des Geschlechts: Transvestitismus und Transsexualität in der frühen Sexualwissenschaft* (Gießen: Psychosozial-Verlag, 2005), 31–51.

[14] Rainer Herrn, "Magnus Hirschfelds Geschlechterkosmogonie: Die Zwischenstufentheorie im Kontext hegemonialer Männlichkeit," in *Männlichkeiten und Moderne—Wissenskulturen um 1900*, ed. Ulrike Brunotte and Rainer Herrn (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2008), 173–96, here 174–80.

[15] See Harry Oosterhuis and Hubert Kennedy, eds., *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1991), 2. This volume translates "Gemeinschaft der Eigenen" as "Community of Self-Owners" (ibid.).

men. The cross-dressers wished to avoid the stigma of being considered homosexual, especially as negative judgments about homosexuality became more widespread in public opinion.[16]

This reciprocal movement of deflection and delineation also played out in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* between 1904 and 1910, specifically with reference to Japan. Although male homosexuality was the dominant topic in the *Jahrbuch*, there were also many contributions on hermaphroditism and cross-dressing. Like other scientific periodicals of the period, the *Jahrbuch* also contained reviews and notes on current events or issues in addition to original research. In the list of compiled references by topic and nation published in the second volume, which appeared in 1900, the list of references to homosexuality in Japan contains five references from newspaper articles, journals, and literature to what these sources called *Päderastie*—a German translation and interpretation of the Japanese *kagema*, who were boy prostitutes associated with teahouses in neighborhoods near the theaters.[17] Two years later, the *Jahrbuch* published Suewo Iwaya's article "Die Päderastie in Japan," the first article of importance for the German and Japanese discussion of differences between the images of homosexuals prevalent in each culture. Iwaya became a personal friend of Hirschfeld and a major point of contact for Hirschfeld's later journey to Japan. This article and its reception in German sources represent an early stage of this engagement, marked by competing conceptions of homosexuality in Germany.

Iwaya's use of the German word *Päderastie* as an equivalent to the Japanese *nan sho k* marks the cultural reinterpretation taking place.[18] Turning

[16] Herrn, *Schnittmuster des Geschlechts*, 31–34. See also Marita Keilson-Lauritz, *Die Geschichte der eigenen Geschichte: Literatur und Literaturkritik in den Anfängen der Schwulenbewegung am Beispiel des Jahrbuches für sexuelle Zwischenstufen und der Zeitschrift "Der Eigene"* (Berlin: Verlag Rosa Wikel, 1997), 142–53.

[17] Numa Praetorius [Eugen Wilhelm], "Japanische Litteratur," in *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 2 (1900): 439–40. Wilhelm, a lawyer from Strasbourg, was responsible for the review section of the 1923 *Jahrbuch*. This use of the term "pederasty" to apply to Japanese traditions marks another example of Western projection similar to Hirschfeld's application of the concept of transvestite to the *onnagata*. Gary Leupp specifically notes the inadequacy of pederasty as a term for describing premodern Japanese traditions (*Male Colors*, 8–9). Gregory Pflugfelder outlines the "vociferous" Japanese objections to Western sexologists who interpreted these earlier traditions as forms of pederasty and to Japanese attempts to interpret the *kagema* in light of Hirschfeld's theory of sexual intermediates. By the 1930s, however, the concept of the "new *kagema*" appeared in Japan to describe male prostitutes closely connected to the theater who came to symbolize a new sexual subculture analogous to homosexual subcultures in the West and who acquired a distinct "sexual personality" of a passive sexual partner attracted only to men, a "pervert," and a "feminine gender identity" (Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 279–88, 318–26).

[18] Suewo Iwaya (pseudonym) [Iwaya Sazanami], "'Nan sho k' (Die Päderastie in Japan)," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 4 (1902): 264–71. On Iwaya's biography and use of a pseudonym, which was common among Japanese authors, see Annette Joffe, "Iwaya Sazanami: Berliner Tagebuch; November & Dezember 1900" (MA thesis, Humboldt Universität

to historical literature and his "own research," Iwaya describes two different traditions of homosexual culture in Japan: samurai and theater. In the first, a "strong brotherhood" was formed between an older samurai and a younger pupil (the German text calls them "knights"), a tradition that was adopted, Iwaya argues, from Buddhist monks and continued by students in Japan at the turn of the twentieth century.[19] A second tradition, which originated from the theater, concerned "young actors" who were desired "as passive lovers" and considered as effeminate "male geishas." These, Iwaya relates, were called *kagema* or *yaro*. Among these individuals, Iwaya singles out "those actors who on the stage always played female roles . . . and who, driven to this from their childhood on, usually manifested feminine habits and intimacies."[20] Although Iwaya was not certain whether the former were "all homosexual," he suspected—obviously following the mixed-sex conception of sexual transitions propagated by Hirschfeld—that these individuals "not only behaved in a very feminine way but were also constructed in their nature as particularly feminine."[21] Iwaya concludes that the samurai tradition in the southern provinces of Japan, such as Kyushu and Satzuma, where "bravery and masculinity" were especially honored and the inhabitants were more "masculine and robust" than the "more gentle, weaker, sometimes more dissolute" people in the north, was evidence of a spatial-geographic connection between masculine eroticism and culture.[22] This north-south distinction reflects ideas that can be found in other intercultural discussions of the time in Europe.[23]

Iwaya's contribution marks the beginning of the Japanese reception of sexual science as it was developing in Germany at the turn of the century. Hirschfeld describes Iwaya's contribution as "among the first reliable papers" on the subject and speaks of its author as "my friend," suggesting a more intimate than scholarly relationship.[24] In his Berlin diary, Iwaya writes of

---

Berlin, 2007), 5n9, https://www.iaaw.hu-berlin.de/de/seminar-fuer-ostasien-studien/japan/studium/ausgewaehlte-arbeiten/joffe.pdf, accessed 15 July 2017.

[19] Iwaya, "'Nan sho k,'" 266.

[20] Ibid., 269.

[21] Ibid., 271. An earlier essay in the *Jahrbuch* had included fourteen short portraits of men who acted on German stages in female clothing as singers or dancers, a popular genre of the day. W.S., "Vom Weibmann auf der Bühne," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 3 (1901): 313–25. Just fewer than half of these men claimed to be homosexual (ibid., 317). Albert Moll was the first to make a connection between the performance of femininity on-stage (travesty) and sexual desire (homosexuality); see *Die conträre Sexualempfindung* (Berlin: Fischer, 1891), 58.

[22] Hirschfeld makes the comparison between Iwaya's geographic division of masculinity and Gustav Jäger's "supervirility" in an editor's comment on Iwaya's article. See Iwaya, "'Nan sho k,'" 271.

[23] For an overview of the discussions of this north/south difference, see Eugen Steinach and Paul Kammerer, "Klima und Mannbarkeit," *Archiv für mikroskopische Anatomie* 6, no. 2/3 (1920): 391–458; and Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben der Ostasiaten: Chinesen, Japaner und Koreaner* (Munich: Seitz & Schauer, 1906).

[24] Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* (Berlin: Louis Marcus, 1914), 610.

the essay's genesis through the mediation of a Japanese friend and biology student who approached him on behalf of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee: "I said yes right there on the spot and had illustrated material sent to me from Japan, which made it possible for me to complete a short manuscript. The members of this group were quite pleased and invited me to their general meeting." Iwaya continues in his diary by noting that since it was to be expected that those present would include "not only researchers . . . but also those who actively practice this inclination (*jikkôsha*), I became even more uncomfortable and was afraid to go alone."[25] In his diary, Iwaya also recalls this episode with the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee in a way that distanced him from the individuals he encountered. The tone of his account combines ostensibly objective, ethnographic description and his own subjective discomfort with what he witnessed, two perspectives that were shared by many sexologists and members of these sexual subcultures but that were intensified through the added dimension of cultural difference in Iwaya's account. In words similar to his description of theatrical tradition, he writes that the meeting he attended was "an exotic gathering of European sexual fauna, complete with males who did not look like men and females who did not look like women"—what he called a meeting of "*warm brothers*," using the common German slang of the time for homosexuals or sexual inverts.[26] In his diary Iwaya had already written about the "homosexual author Ihara Saikaku, from the Edo-period," whose writings, Annette Joffe argues, "served Iwaya as a source" for his own contribution to the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*.[27] Both this continued engagement with the theme of homosexuality and Iwaya's judgments about homosexuals reflect an ambivalence about sexual minorities that was anchored in European discourse and also reflected the Japanese ideas that were developing in dialogue with this discourse.

In the following year, 1903, the Munich Scientific-Humanitarian Committee again took up the topic of Japanese homosexuality by inviting Josef Schedel, a German who worked in Japan as a pharmacist from 1886 to 1899, to deliver a lecture. A Japanese aficionado, Schedel had amassed a collection of sexual works of art and other artifacts of daily life on his travels. In his diary, Schedel noted that he had asked for Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* to be sent to him in Japan in 1889: "From this book, I gained full knowledge about so much of my sexual orientation for the first time." Soon thereafter, he also encountered the writings of Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, the German lawyer who came out publicly as what Ulrichs called an *Urning*, by which he meant a man with a female soul, and who had been acclaimed

[25] Iwaya Sazanami, "Ältere und neuere Episoden aus meinem Leben," translated from *Watashi no konjaku monogatari* (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku shuppan bu, 1928), 51–52 in Joffe, "Iwaya Sazanami," 42–43.

[26] Iwaya cited in Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 250, who refers to the following source: Sazanami Iwaya, "Hi-hakase to watashi," *Hanzai Kagaku*, January 1932, 215–19.

[27] Joffe, "Iwaya Sazanami," 44n155.

by Hirschfeld and others as an early homosexual activist.[28] After returning from Japan and before his next long stay in China, Schedel headed the Munich subcommittee of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. In 1903 he delivered a lecture in Munich on homosexuality in Japan that aimed to provide "a picture of its prevalence," a sketch of the historical "development of its appearance by means of numerous episodes of his own experience and knowledge," and a description of "the existence of homosexuality in the individual provinces."[29]

Schedel's observations—and to an even greater degree Iwaya's interpretation of Japan's homosexual cultures—were informed by the perspective of the German discussion of homosexuality: Schedel looked at Japanese culture through the lens of Krafft-Ebing's sexual pathology; and Iwaya construed a relationship between the performance of gender roles in society and theater and their bodily correlates that had not yet been made explicit by other Japanese commentators.[30] The first essay on homosexuality published in a German journal by a Japanese contributor was thus directly influenced by the theories of German sexologists. At the same time, Iwaya's clear attempt to personally distance himself from both the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee and Hirschfeld even as his arguments were informed by Hirschfeld's work gives reason to believe that he shared prejudices against homosexuality that were widespread in Western Europe.

German Controversies Regarding Conceptions of Japanese Homosexuality

In 1905 Iwaya's article was referenced by Benedikt Friedländer, who followed Gustav Jäger's hypermasculinist theory and had thus explicitly distanced himself from the medical, mixed-sex theories of Hirschfeld. Aiming to refute what he considered the dominant prejudice that "homosexual intercourse could only contribute to the weakening and thus to the military inadequacy of the race," Friedländer only made reference to Iwaya's description of pederastic relations among samurai and ignored the *onnagata* tradition.[31] Friedländer echoed Iwaya's thesis about a north-south divide in homosexual practice in his analysis of the places of residence of the leading officers from the Russo-Japanese War (1904–5). Ignoring the cultural context of the samurai tradition, Friedländer constructed a

[28] Markus Holzammer, *Der Apotheker Joseph Schedel—Tagebücher aus Japan (1886–1899) und China (1909–1921)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 54.

[29] Marita Keilson-Lauritz and Friedemann Pfäfflin, "Die Sitzungsberichte des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären-Komitees München 1902–1908," *Capri: Zeitschrift für schwule Geschichte* 28 (2000): 6–33, here 16.

[30] See McLelland, "Japan's Queer Cultures."

[31] Benedikt Friedländer, "Schadet die soziale Freigabe des homosexuellen Verkehrs der kriegerischen Tüchtigkeit der Rasse?," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 7 (1905): 463–70, here 465.

historical-ethnographic parallel between socially sanctioned homosexual practice in "Hellenistic antiquity" and the erotic-sexual dimensions of Japanese male-male styles of conduct—a comparison that would become common in later German sexological discourse.[32] Friedländer's contribution was translated into Japanese a year later and was likely the first translation into Japanese from the German homosexual movement.[33] This early translation and its reception at least allow the conclusion that Friedländer's heroic image of the masculine homosexual more easily accorded with images that circulated in Japan than Hirschfeld's emasculated interpretation, which in turn reflected a widespread Western European view of the Japanese as a "weak" or "unmanly" race.

Soon after the appearance of this text, the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee's designated ethnologist, Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, criticized Friedländer's theory for systematically ignoring both female homosexuality and that of men with a feminine appearance.[34] Soon thereafter, Karsch-Haack published the first German-language historical-ethnological work on male homosexuality in East Asia.[35] Karsch-Haack pointed out that Friedländer's sexual ethnology was politically instrumentalized because it was "colored through the lens of the Occidental-Christian culture" and because it made "selective misuse of the presented material for his narrow-minded partisan

[32] Ibid., 466. Pflugfelder notes that "Westerners like Friedländer employed Japan for their own ideological ends, while Japanese likewise modified Western constructs to fit native needs and expectations" (*Cartographies of Desire*, 250–51). Pflugfelder illustrates Friedländer's mistake in reference to a text from 1913 "by the urologist Seijun Kitigawa and the folklorist Fujisawa Morihiko," who remarked that "the bishōnen who served as erotic objects in shudō were not the strong and virtuous types . . . but rather assumed the ways of 'weak-willed women,' shaving their eyebrows, powdering their faces, wearing women's clothing, and seeking to win the favor of patrons by virtue of their looks" (ibid., 280, citing Seijun Kitigawa and Fujisawa Morihiko, "Shikijō shisō no kaibō" [*Ryūseidō*, 1913], 235–36).

[33] Benedikt Friedländer, "Doseiteki joko ni tsuite," *Jinsei*, April 1906, 183–86, cited from Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 250n52. We can find no earlier indication in the relevant scholarship of earlier translations of works by homosexual activists.

[34] In 1901 Karsch-Haack began conducting sexual-ethnological research into homosexuality in the *Jarhbuch* with an essay entitled "Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern" (Uranism or pederasty and tribady in natural peoples), which was part of a larger study later published as *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben bei den Naturvölkern* (Same-sex sexual life in natural peoples) (Munich: Verlag von Ernst Reinhardt, 1911). On Karsch-Haack's biography, see Jens Damm, "Reminiszenz an Ferdinand Karsch-Haack: Der Blick auf fremde Kulturen als Mittel zur Toleranz in der eigenen Gesellschaft," in *Verqueere Wissenschaft? Zum Verhältnis von Sexualwissenschaft und Sexualreformbewegung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ursula Ferdinand, Andreas Pretzel, and Andreas Seeck (Münster: Lit, 1997), 281–97. Karsch-Haack's criticism of Friedländer appeared as *Beruht gleichgeschlechtliche Liebe auf Soziabilität? Eine begründete Zurückweisung* (Munich: Seitz & Schauer, 1905). On Friedländer's reception by the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, see Numa Prätorius [Eugen Wilhelm], "Buchbesprechungen," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 6 (1905): 807–11.

[35] Karsch-Haack, *Das gleichgeschlechtliche Leben*.

point of view."[36] But given that Karsch-Haack had to write his study in his office in Berlin based only on published sources by other scholars, his work also belongs to a sexual ethnology presupposing that homosexuals across all times and cultures "always and everywhere manifest the same distribution."[37] In the words of scholar Jens Damm, we could call Karsch-Haack "Japanophile" in his idealization of what he called the Japanese "race" and in his romantic understanding of Japanese "nature." In Karsch-Haack's words, the natural "sexual sensuality [of the Japanese] is so obviously manifest that it can only be misinterpreted as an 'aberration' by the European, who has been hypocritically influenced by Occidental-Christian culture."[38] According to Karsch-Haack, the Western European influence on the Japanese thus ultimately "ruined" the Japanese by introducing social prejudice against homosexual relations.

This prejudice is also evident in the last contribution we discuss here, which marks a preliminary end point of the Japanese reception of the German homosexual movement.[39] This is Friedrich S. Krauss's 1907 monograph, *Das Geschlechtsleben in Glauben, Sitte, und Brauch der Japaner* (Sexual life in the beliefs, morals, and customs of the Japanese), published as a supplement to *Anthropophyteia*.[40] As with other sexual ethnographers of the time, such as Edvard Westermarck, Krauss claimed a sexual-ethnographic, folkloristic reality beyond moralizing or psychologizing judgments.[41] He

[36] Ibid., vi–vii.

[37] Ibid., viii. Karsch-Haack's list of sources for his 1911 book contains English and German translations of works originally published in Japanese and Chinese but no original sources; moreover, he was trained as a biologist. From this, we conclude that he could read neither Chinese nor Japanese sources.

[38] Ibid., 67.

[39] In 1907 Erich Bethe published a well-received study, "Die dorische Knabenliebe, ihre Ethik und ihre Idee" (Doric love of boys, its ideal, and its idea), *Rheinisches Museum Philologicum* 62 (1907): 438–75, that makes reserved remarks about Friedländer's comparison between ancient Greece and Japan (473). Friedländer, however, also found a continuation of this comparison in the supposed "supervirility" of the samurai as described by Edward Carpenter in *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk: A Study in Social Evolution* (London: George Allen & Co., 1914), see esp. "The Samurai of Japan and Their Ideal," 137–60.

[40] Friedrich S. Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben in Glauben, Sitte, und Brauch der Japaner* (Leipzig: Ethnologischer Verlag, 1907). Between 1904 and 1913 Krauss edited *Anthropophyteia: Jahrbuch für folkloristische Erhebungen und Forschungen zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der geschlechtlichen Moral* (Yearbook for folkloristic study and research of the history of the development of sexual morals). A series of supplementary volumes were also published, including Krauss's volume on Japan. To avoid censorship, the volumes with explicit sexual illustrations appeared as a private printing with the note: "Only for scholars, not for the book trade." Collaborators included Iwan Bloch, Franz Boas, Albert Eulenburg, Sigmund Freud, and others. The journal had to cease publication after the publisher was put on trial eight times, and all remaining issues were confiscated. For an account of the ongoing exchange between Krauss and Freud, see Johannes Reichmayr, "Friedrich Salomon Krauss und Sigmund Freud—Begegnung unorthodoxer Gelehrter," *Luzifer-Amor* 1, no. 1 (1988): 133–55.

[41] Westermarck (1862–1939) was a Finnish sociologist who gained fame as a sexual ethnographer through his studies of Morocco. In contrast to Karsch-Haack, who was a so-called

consciously followed the sexual-scientific positions of Hirschfeld, Iwan Bloch, and, above all, Sigmund Freud. Taking up Ulrichs's concept of male and female *Urnings* (*Uranier und Urninden*), Krauss points to the "gesture of highest indignation" that the "appearance of Uranism" caused among ethnological "moralists" to then reply: "It will be shown that precisely here there is the least sound reason for moral objection, because in these cases we are facing facts of the life of peoples [*Völkerleben*]. . . . Ethnology is the most just teacher and judge; to it we want to entrust ourselves in order to recognize truth."[42] We can guess at the reasons why the reception of Japan in the German homosexual movement lessens after 1907. Perhaps the differing theoretical positions that developed within the homosexual movement had already been clearly marked. In 1907 Benedikt Friedländer withdrew from the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee by founding what he called the "Secession," which became the leading focal point for advocates of the hypermasculine or virile conception of homosexuality from within the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. The same year, 1907, also marked the beginning of the so-called Eulenburg-Moltke-Harden trials. These trials, which made public scandalous accusations of homosexuality in the personal circles of Kaiser Wilhelm II and in which Hirschfeld played a prominent role as expert witness, brought greater attention to domestic German discussions of homosexuality.[43]

The chapter in Krauss's monograph titled "Uranier und Urninden" (Uranians and Urninds) surrounds a translation of an article entitled "The Distribution of Pederasty in Japan" by an author called "Doriphorus" with arguments that represent Hirschfeld's view—although the positions of Hirschfeld and Doriphorus differed remarkably, which Krauss does not discuss or acknowledge at all.[44] Krauss tell us that Doriphorus was a "Japanese statesman whose manuscript Herr Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld most kindly gave me [Krauss] for publication."[45] Doriphorus puts forth

---

desk ethnographer, Westermarck practiced sexual ethnology through methods of field research. His work on marriage and the incest taboo appeared in German, including in German sexological journals, and was widely read by scientific and popular audiences. See Holger Tiedemann, "Edvard Westermarck (1862–1939)," in *Personenlexikon der Sexualforschung*, ed. Volkmar Sigusch and Günter Grau (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2009), 755–58.

[42] Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 2:12.

[43] On the Eulenburg affair, see Norman Domeier, *The Eulenburg Affair: A Cultural History of Politics in Imperial Germany* (New York: Camden House, 2015); and James Steakley, *Die Freunde des Kaisers: Die Eulenburg-Affäre im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Karikaturen* (Hamburg: MännerschwarmSkript Verlag, 2004).

[44] Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 2:75–109. These designations for men who desire men and women who desire women come from Karl Heinrich Ulrichs's works from the 1860s.

[45] Ibid., 2:78. The reproduction of Doriphorus's text "Die Verbreitung der Päderastie in Japan" in Krauss's monograph runs from pages 81 to 92. Doriphorus's pseudonym is taken from a nude antique statue by Polyklet (around 400 BCE). This reference to antiquity makes an analogy between Japanese culture and classical European culture. Although Krauss writes that Doriphorus was Japanese, Hirschfeld—who was the original, personal recipient

arguments close to Friedländer's hypermasculine position. Hirschfeld, by contrast, consistently described homosexuality as a mixed-gender phenomenon. In his own arguments, Krauss largely reproduces this position of Hirschfeld. He quotes Hirschfeld: "The homosexual man and the homosexual woman are naturally related to each other and in fact belong to a third sex that is equally justified, though not of the same kind, in relation to the other two sexes."[46] Harvesting a wealth of ethnological observations on homosexuality in other cultures, Krauss strongly supports Hirschfeld's theory that homosexuality is a universal phenomenon that manifests in varying forms in different cultures.

Taken by itself, Doriphorus's text is especially interesting because it illuminates processes of transformation and the increasing influence of Western cultures before and after the Meiji period. His use of the term *Lieblingminne*—a medieval concept of courtly love otherwise used only by Elisar von Kupffer and Benedikt Friedländer—to describe the samurai tradition is evidence that he was well acquainted with the German sexual-scientific literature.[47] Doriphorus complains in particular about changing Japanese attitudes toward homosexual relations among men. It was the "influence of Western culture in Japan" that caused the Japanese "to quickly throw old morals overboard," he writes, including the "view of same-sex love," which "earlier was openly practiced and was considered one product of chivalry." He laments that "by means of misunderstood ideas of Western culture held by prudish missionaries, views about the supposedly ruined nature of *Lieblingminne* became more and more widespread and reached almost all levels of the population."[48] Here, Doriphorus seems to be following arguments from German homosexual activists like Ferdinand Karsch-Haack in defending supposedly long-standing homosexual traditions in Japan while also pointing to the importation of European cultural prejudice into Japan.

This belief about the ruined culture of *Lieblingminne* in Japan continued, Doriphorus argues, because of the declining importance of the samurai tradition and the emerging acceptance of homosexuality "in a quiet form,

---

of this article—describes him in *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes* as a "homosexual diplomat who had lived in Japan for ten years" (611). Based on other passages in Doriphorus's text, Pflugfelder also concludes that Doriphorus could not have been Japanese but was more likely European or even a German diplomat living in Japan (*Cartographies of Desire*, 173n74).

[46] Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 2:92; Hirschfeld's citation comes from the "Jahresbericht 1901" in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 4 (1902): 956–75, here 975.

[47] Doriphorus, "Die Verbreitung," in Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 82. The analogous forms of argumentation suggest that Doriphorus could have been Friedländer's translator into Japanese. See Elisar von Kupffer, *Lieblingminne und Freundesliebe in der Weltliteratur: Eine Sammlung mit einer ethisch-politischen Einleitung von Elisarion von Kupffer* (Leipzig: Verlag von Max Spohr, 1899). The homoerotic poems that Kupffer collected in this anthology include several from ancient Greece and Japan.

[48] Doriphorus, "Die Verbreitung," in Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 83.

hardly unchanged, as its primary proponent is and was the military class."[49] As evidence, Doriphorus points to reports taken from officers about their willingness to sacrifice themselves for each other "on the battlefields of Manchuria."[50] Beyond the military, Doriphorus argues, homosexual acts were widespread in Tokyo, especially among young salesmen, schoolboys, and, above all, students. Doriphorus cites newspaper reports such as the following from the *Japan Daily Mail* from September 1896: "Among certain students of Ushigome and Yotsuya [two of Tokyo's quarters] practices prevail that make it less safe for a boy than a girl to be out at night in those districts."[51] Consequent "demands by European voices in the press," Doriphorus continues, had led to initiatives to introduce legal prohibitions on homosexual activity like those in German criminal law. This did not happen, Doriphorus argues, because "the people had no understanding for such a law . . . in a country where bordellos with boy prostitutes were officially sanctioned until approximately twenty years ago." Furthermore, the Japanese had not failed to notice the "great movement" that "especially in Germany had called for the repeal of §175 of the German Imperial Criminal Code. This I have heard from the mouths of several high government officials."[52]

While neither Doriphorus nor Friedländer mention the *onnagata* tradition, Krauss does, emphasizing Hirschfeld's "psychological explanation for the inclination of some men to clothe themselves in women's clothing and play the role of the woman." Krauss continues by quoting Hirschfeld: "Female clothing does not transform the inner person, but rather the inner person obtains the clothing that fits. . . . It is the same with the vocation of the *Urning*. He does not become feminine because he plays the role of the woman; rather, he prefers female roles because he is feminine."[53]

[49] The samurai, who made up approximately 6–7 percent of the population around 1870, were responsible for military power and inner security. At the beginning of the Meiji period, they largely lost the military privileges that came with this responsibility and the state compensation they had enjoyed. See Holzammer, *Der Apotheker Joseph Schedel*, 93–94; and Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 159. Citation from Doriphorus, "Die Verbreitung," in Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 84. This loss of prestige suffered by the samurai cannot have remained unknown to the Prussian military, which participated in the reorganization of the Japanese army. In Prussia there were also massive concerns about "homosexual influence" on the military and its reputation.

[50] Doriphorus, "Die Verbreitung," in Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 85.

[51] Doriphorus cites in English without a page reference (ibid., 86).

[52] Ibid., 89. The particularly close proximity to the German discussion that becomes apparent with Doriphorus can also be explained with reference to the reorganization of the Japanese legal system, which occasioned a discussion about introducing a paragraph prohibiting sexual relations between men. For a discussion of the influence of the German legal system and in particular of German criminal law on the reorganization of the Japanese legal system toward the end of the nineteenth century, see Paul-Christian Schenk, *Der deutsche Anteil an der Gestaltung des modernen japanischen Rechts- und Verfassungswesens: Deutscher Rechtsberater im Japan der Meiji-Zeit* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), esp. pt. 2, 41–107.

[53] Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 108. The source quoted is Magnus Hirschfeld, "Ursachen und Wesen des Uranismus," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 5, no. 1 (1903): 123.

This relationship between clothing and inner instinct or drive, which also underlies Iwaya's essay, reflects the point of departure for Hirschfeld's construction of a new sexual-scientific and social category and its differentiation from that of the homosexual: the transvestite. Hirschfeld's work can then be recognized as one of the main points of reference for this evolving discourse. But at the same time, Hirschfeld's own concepts and theories were influenced by these ethnographic reports from abroad and their significance for the consolidation of sexual ethnology as a distinct discipline. This is especially evident in Hirschfeld's decision to include an extensive ethnographic-historical section in his monograph *Die Transvestiten*.[54]

The Professionalization of Sexual Ethnology

Although the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* had from its beginnings included several ethnological reports of non-European cultures, these lacked context, as their authors generally came from Western Europe and were mostly traveling Germans or desktop scholars.[55] Hirschfeld describes the difficulties this presented in his programmatic essay "Zur Methodik der Sexualwissenschaft" (On the methodology of sexual science). Looking at work that had already been published, Hirschfeld complains not only about a lack of interest in sexual phenomena among ethnographers but also about the superficial nature of their observations: "*Nowhere in social life is 'mimicry,' the conscious or unconscious adaptation to the environment, so great as it is in the realm of sexuality.* Extremely wide-ranging phenomena have hidden themselves so well from the initiated that only with the greatest effort, and often only through coincidence or artifice, has it been possible to perceive their nature and distribution. This being the case in one's own country, how much harder it is in a foreign country, where it often happens that many informed natives and well-trained observers speak to the researcher."[56] This concept of mimicry was central to Hirschfeld's sexual-ethnographic theories.[57] Adopting a paradigm from evolutionary theory, Hirschfeld saw

[54] Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den erotischen Verkleidungstrieb* (Berlin: Alfred Pulvermacher & Co., 1910), 305–55. This book was not translated into English until much later. See Magnus Hirschfeld, *Transvestites*, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1991).

[55] One of the first ethnological contributions was Ferdinand Karsch-Haack, "Uranismus oder Päderastie und Tribadie bei den Naturvölkern," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 3 (1901): 72–201.

[56] Magnus Hirschfeld, "Zur Methodik der Sexualwissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft* 1 (1908): 681–705, here 700 (italics in original).

[57] Following Darwin, Hirschfeld distinguished between biological, sexological, and sociological mimicry, the last of which he understood to be "every acquired similarity . . . that has the purpose of limiting the conspicuousness [*Auffälligkeit*] of a being when possible, in order to avoid disadvantages and gain advantages" (*Geschlechtskunde* [Stuttgart: Püttman, 1928], 2:566–67). In sexual mimicry, he included the behavior of homosexuals and transvestites to lead "an official double life . . . , one for themselves and one for others, one that is true and one that is false" (*Geschlechtskunde* [Stuttgart: Püttman, 1926], 1:45).

homosexuality as a universally occurring natural phenomenon that manifests differently in differing social contexts. Crucially, he argued, it does so through forms of what we would call "passing," giving rise to varying techniques of social camouflage that scientists are able to reveal only with difficulty. In this regard, Hirschfeld's views aligned with those of Krauss on ethnology, which we cited earlier, as "the most just teacher and judge."

In addition to the historical-ethnographic contributions to the *Jahrbuch*, it was certainly the encouragement of Krauss that prompted Hirschfeld to devote interest to this area of research. In a 1908 issue of the *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft* (Journal for sexual science), Hirschfeld described sexual ethnology as an independent subdiscipline of sexual science. Krauss functioned as copublisher of the journal, together with Hirschfeld and Hermann Rohleder, a Leipzig doctor of sexual medicine. In his own contribution to the classification of sexual science, Hirschfeld conceived of "sexual ethnology" as an independent approach to the field that "offers us quite valuable material, particularly for the evaluation of sexual ethics [and] . . . the history of human sexual life from prehistoric up to modern times among the different peoples of the earth."[58] From these studies, Hirschfeld hoped in particular to gain "valuable information about the diffusion, character and history of sexual deviations from the norm, as well as information about the varieties of sexuality and sexual pathology."[59] Hirschfeld notes especially the lack of suitable "*historical and ethnographical methods of research*. We find ourselves here in the beginning stages. The researchers of sexuality are in general too little indebted to philology, and the philologists and explorers are too little acquainted with sexual science."[60]

As Hirschfeld was developing this concept of sexual-ethnological research, he also began to amass large sexual-scientific collections of images, symbolic objects, everyday items, and artistic artifacts. These included collections from East Asia, especially from Japan, the extent and provenance of which can be reconstructed only in fragments. (Several of these objects are today in the possession of the Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft [Magnus Hirschfeld Society].) These objects were housed in the Institute for Sexual Science's new sexual-ethnological department, which, between 1923 and 1925, was led by Ferdinand Freiherr von Reitzenstein, who had already in 1910 published essays on Japanese culture.[61] Hirschfeld continued to follow the development of sexual-ethnological research.[62] During his world tour

[58] Magnus Hirschfeld, "Einteilung der Sexualwissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft* 1 (1908): 569–87, here 584 (italics in original).

[59] Ibid.

[60] Hirschfeld, "Zur Methodik," 699 (italics in original).

[61] Ferdinand Frh. von Reitzenstein, *Liebe und Ehe in Ostasien und bei den Kulturvölkern Altamerikas—Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte der Liebe und Ehe* (Stuttgart: Franckh, 1910).

[62] The *Geschlechtskunde* (Stuttgart, 1926–30) and the *Sittengeschichte des Weltkrieges* (Leipzig: Verlag für Sexualwissenschaft Schneider und Co., 1930), which Hirschfeld edited, include numerous examples.

from 1930 to 1932, he gave several lectures on sexual ethnology, the first of which took place in Japan on 9 April 1931, "which I gave in the beautiful house of the old East Asia Society in Tokyo and repeated three weeks later at the 'Concordia,' a German club in Kobe."[63] In the English-language account of his travels, he also added an appendix on sexual ethnology in which he makes reference to works published by other authors, such as "Das Sexualleben der Melaniesier" (The sexual life of the Melanesians) by Bronisław Malinowski, as marking a turning point in traditional ethnological research: "It is only in the last few years that some special studies worthy of notice have appeared, of which I want to mention three as being ideal examples of objective research into sources, based on personal observations."[64] Hirschfeld was thus intimately connected to the development of sexual ethnology as a discipline. More closely examining this relationship also reveals how important this discipline was for the development of his concept of the transvestite.

The Invention of Transvestites

Twenty years earlier, Hirschfeld had already employed the *onnagata* as a sexual-ethnological example when he introduced the category of the transvestite into sexual science in 1910, thereby changing existing understandings of cross-dressing. Bloch, Havelock Ellis, and Hirschfeld all turned their attention to cross-dressing during the years 1900–1910, although from different theoretical positions.[65] In accordance with the medical concept of drives current at the time, Hirschfeld conceived of transvestitism as an "irresistible urge" (*Drang*) to wear women's clothing that was experienced by distinctly heterosexual men. He argued that "just as it is the case that not all homosexuals are effeminate, so too is it the case that not all effeminate people are homosexuals."[66] Moreover, Hirschfeld's 1910 monograph *Die Transvestiten* (The transvestites) contains an ethnographic-historical section in which Hirschfeld uses his new category of the transvestite to explain examples of cross-dressing that he takes from earlier literature, thus retrospectively applying his category to examples from times before its in-

[63] Hirschfeld's account of his trip appeared in German in 1933 as *Weltreise eines Sexualforschers* (World tour of a sexual researcher) and in English in 1935 in a slightly abridged form under the title *Women East and West: Impressions of a Sex Expert* (London: W. Heinemann, 1935), 14. An additional English version appeared in New York in 1935 as *Man and Women: The World Journey of a Sexologist by Magnus Hirschfeld*, trans. Oliver P. Green (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935). Here we cite the English edition published in London.

[64] Hirschfeld, *Women East and West*, 303–4.

[65] For an introduction to the concept of transvestitism in sexual science, see Herrn, *Schnittmuster des Geschlechts*, 73–78; and Katie Sutton, "'We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun': The Politics of Transvestite Identity in Weimar Germany," *German Studies Review* 35, no. 2 (2012): 335–54.

[66] Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten*, 316.

Figures 3. Depiction of "modern Japanese actors who only appear in women's roles" in Sueywo Iwaya's article "Päderastie in Japan," from *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, 1902.

vention.[67] And in a subchapter entitled "Cross-Dressing on the Stage," Hirschfeld similarly turns to earlier examples in reinterpreting the theatrical performance of another sex as transvestitism. In using these examples, he lumps together theatrical traditions that developed independently of each other in Europe (Italy, England, Germany) and in Asia (Japan and China) in which women were not allowed to perform onstage, so he defined his perspective not from an awareness of historical or cultural differences among these practices but from his own category.[68] In the case of the *onnagata*, he cites Iwaya's work in the *Jahrbuch* as evidence for the idea that this theatrical performance was motivated by an inner inclination or

[67] Ibid., 305–562.
[68] Ibid., 468.

drive to dress in the clothing of the opposite sex, which he theorized to be the foundation for transvestitism: "I can say that those actors who, *because they have such an inclination, are educated for female roles* not only carry themselves in a very feminine way but also are by nature rather femininely built. If one were to investigate this anatomically, one would certainly find many interesting things."[69] This argument prompted Hirschfeld to conceive of the *onnagata* not as homosexual, as he and Iwaya had done before, but as transvestites. Writing of what he called the "most famous actors of the present day who play women," Hirschfeld noted that "Eizabro and Metora have a totally feminine look, while Fuknoske and Gennoske look masculine but also by nature have much about them that is feminine."[70] Hirschfeld's engagement with the *onnagata*, which he developed in reading Iwaya's work, offers an especially clear example of his tendency to universalize his own sexological categories in the sense of a universal sexual ethnology. In his consideration of other cultures, he looked for confirmation of his existing theories.

More broadly, Japanese understandings of the *onnagata* changed radically after Japan opened to the West, producing prejudice and legal disapproval of cross-dressing that went beyond that found in Europe. Although it was not specifically prohibited to wear clothing of the other sex in public in Western European countries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,[71] cross-dressers were often punished on the basis of laws against causing a public disturbance. By contrast, Japan introduced a legal prohibition against cross-dressing at the beginning of the Meiji period in 1873.[72] One effect of this law was to make it illegal for actors who performed as women onstage to dress as women outside of the theater as they had customarily done before the law was passed. Hirschfeld learned this fact from Iwaya: "The only country in which it is explicitly forbidden to wear clothing of the opposite sex *is Japan*; at least Dr. Sueywo Iwaya informs us that . . . 'earlier Japanese actors who performed women's roles wore female outfits even off the stage, but that has stopped *because it is legally forbidden for a man to wear women's clothing or a woman to wear men's clothing*.'"[73] This change in the law had the consequence that the *onnagata*, an institution deeply anchored in Japanese culture, were reassessed under the influence of

[69] Ibid., 465–66 (italics in the original). For the original passage cited by Hirschfeld, see Iwaya, "'Nan sho k,'" 270.

[70] Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten*, 466.

[71] See Rainer Herrn, "Die falsche Hofdame vor Gericht: Transvestitismus in Psychiatrie und Sexualwissenschaft oder die Regulierung der öffentlichen Kleiderordnung," *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 49, no. 3 (2014): 199–236, n33.

[72] Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten,* 363 (italics in original), 558–59, unnumbered footnote. Rudolph von Ihering mentions this prohibition in *Der Zweck im Recht*, vol. 2, *Die Tracht* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1883), 307–25, here 310. On the introduction of this prohibition in 1873 with the exception of the theater, see Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 151–52.

[73] Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten,* 363 (italics in original), 558, footnote.

Western thinking. *Onnagata* who continued the practice of wearing their female clothing in public now appeared as visible disruptions of the gender order, and their actions were legally punishable. This restructuring diminished the public status of the *onnagata* and reflected new gender norms that tended toward pathologization. Hirschfeld drew from his experiences in Berlin, where he had been providing the police with medical certifications for what were known as "transvestite passes" in order to give cross-dressers some measure of legal protection from arrest, and he recommended that "the most appropriate solution [for the new legal situation in Japan] is to make the permission to publicly wear clothes of the opposite sex dependent on a formal request."[74]

After the First World War, Hirschfeld's categories came to be known internationally as individuals adopted them to define themselves and as they were more commonly deployed in sexological and medical literature in England and the United States.[75] Hirschfeld's own work also gives evidence of the reception of his categories in Asia. Speaking of his stay in Java during his world tour, for instance, Hirschfeld mentioned a certain "professor of psychiatry, van Wulfften Plathe. As I learned through the press, a few weeks before my arrival at Batavia he had given an excellent lecture on 'transvestitism' based on his own observations in Java."[76] Hirschfeld may of course be a biased source, but this reference gives some reason to believe that his concept of transvestitism was transferred to other cultural instances of cross-dressing in Asia as expansively as he himself used it. This is especially interesting when compared to his writing about Japan. For as we will now show, Hirschfeld became more careful and nuanced in using the category of the "transvestite" as his contacts with Japan become more personalized.

The Reception of Hirschfeld within the Emerging Field of Japanese Sexology

The development of Japanese sexology should be contextualized against the backdrop of the opening to the West during the Meiji period after 1868,

[74] Ibid., 363. For examples of these passes and a discussion of their use, see Rainer Herrn with Michael Thomas Taylor and Annette F. Timm, "Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science: A Visual Sourcebook," in *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship since Magnus Hirschfeld*, ed. Michael Thomas Taylor, Annette F. Timm, and Rainer Herrn (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2017), 41, 44–45.

[75] For England, see Havelock Ellis, "Sexo-ästhetische Inversion," *Zeitschrift für Psychotherapie und medizinische Psychologie* 5 (1914): 134–62; and Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. 7, *Eonism and other Studies* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Publishers Company, 1928). For the United States, see Bernard S. Talmey, "Transvestism: A Contribution to the Study of the Psychology of Sex," *New York Medical Journal* 99, no. 8 (1914): 362–68; and C. B. Horton and Eric Kent Clarke, "Transvestism or Eonism: Discussion with Report of Two Cases," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 87, no. 6 (1931): 1025–30.

[76] Hirschfeld, *Women East and West*, 141–42. P. M. van Wulfften-Plathe, a Dutch psychiatrist who worked in Java, was known in the 1930s for his psychiatric ethnographic investigations.

a development in which German-speaking countries played a major role. Reflecting one common German view of the time, Erwin Bälz, one of the first German physicians to teach in Japan (where he taught gynecology, internal medicine, and psychiatry), describes this period of reorientation as "a strange . . . contempt for everything native and of its own," while "everything foreign was blindly admired and copied." This included "Japan's own history, its own religion, its own art. . . . [O]ne was ashamed of these things." The only thing of interest, he writes, was "European science."[77] Present-day historians have given a more balanced account of this exchange, tracing how Western ideas and models influenced the transformation of existing Japanese traditions.[78] The exchange was also influenced by the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century, European academic medicine was increasingly being differentiated into smaller subdisciplines such as venereology, dermatology, (racial) hygiene, gynecology, pediatrics, bacteriology, and psychiatry, and each of these disciplines was increasingly professionalized. The development of sexology in Japan thus has to be seen in the context of the emergence of a range of disciplines in which psychiatry served as the initiating field, accompanied by adjacent and thematically overlapping new disciplines such as venereology, eugenics, social hygiene, endocrinology, and, later, psychoanalysis.[79]

Among the first products of this Japanese engagement with the new field were translations of a number of sexual-scientific texts. The fact that the texts chosen for translation largely pathologized nonconforming sexualities reflects prejudice against emancipatory tendencies that also existed within the field. Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* was translated a second time in 1913, after the first (1894) translation was censored.[80] Works by Havelock Ellis and Benedikt Friedländer were also translated, as were works by psychiatrists interested in sexual science such as August Forel and Paul Möbius; Otto Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Sex and character) was also translated twice.[81] And because many Japanese could read English

[77] Erwin Bälz, "Einführung," in *Das Kano Jiu-Jutsu (Jiudo),* by Harrie Irving Hancock and Katsukuma Higashi (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann Verlag 1906), ix–xvi, xi–xii.

[78] Frühstück illustrates the thematically broad debate by comparing twelve Japanese sexual scientific journals between 1920 and 1930 to European positions (*Die Politik der Sexualwissenschaft*; *Colonizing Sex*). See also Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*.

[79] For various overviews of these developments, see the introduction to *Transnational Psychiatries: Social and Cultural Histories of Psychiatry in Comparative Perspective, c. 1800–2000,* by Waltraud Ernst and Thomas Müller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ix–xiii; and Akira Hashimoto, "A 'German World' Shared among Doctors: A History of the Relationship between Japanese and German Psychiatry before World War II," *History of Psychiatry* 24, no. 2 (2013): 180–95.

[80] Pflugfelder notes that the first translation of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* was censored in 1894, but the second translation in 1913 was not (*Cartographies of Desire*, 249n49).

[81] On the translation of Havelock Ellis's 1914 book *Men and Women*, see Michiko Suzuki, "Writing Same-Sex Love: Sexology and Literary Representation in Yoshiya Nobuko's Early

or German, many works that were not translated still garnered attention. Evidence for this reception can be found in reviews published in Japanese. For instance, the authoritative literary critic Uchida Rõan—who worked at the Tokyo bookstore Mazuren, which imported Western books and was founded in Tokyo in 1869—described Friedrich Krauss's untranslated work in 1911 as an example of frivolous German publishing practices because of its illustrations.[82] The concept of psychoanalysis was also introduced into Japan beginning with the translation of several of Freud's essays,[83] although Frühstück convincingly argues that the Japanese found it difficult to transfer this sexological Western European discourse to their own society.[84]

Hirschfeld's influence nevertheless grew through the reception of Japanese readers who could read English and German.[85] Books by Hirschfeld and other sexologists were available in Japan in German and English

Fiction," *Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 3 (2006): 575–99. On Benedikt Friedländer, see "Doseiteke joko ni tsuite," *Jinsei*, April 1906, 183–86; see Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 341. Otto Weininger's *Geschlecht und Charakter* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1903) was translated twice into Japanese by Katayama Masao (*Danjo to tensai*, 1906) and Murakami Akio (*Sei to seikaku*, 1925).

[82] Frühstück, *Die Politik der Sexualwissenschaft*, 92. According to Uchida, the nearly one hundred artistic illustrations used by Krauss in the illustrated section (objects, prints, and drawings) belonged to the category of "obscene illustrations that [could] be shown to no one" (ibid.). Many came from the context of the "phallus cult" from the time of the Meiji period; others were reminiscent of (homo)sexual traditions that were believed to have died out.

[83] For a brief history of the introduction of psychoanalysis to Japan, see the introduction to *Perversion and Modern Japan: Psychoanalysis, Literature, Culture,* ed. Nina Cornyetz and J. Keith Vincent (New York: Routledge, 2009), 3–4. Cornyetz and Vincent argue in their introduction that in Japan, Freud gave rise to a tradition of psychoanalysis "as an analytic methodology theoretically valuable on its own merits, rather than as a strictly medical or psychological therapy for the treatment of neuroses," in marked contrast to the reception of psychoanalysis in the United States (ibid.).

[84] Frühstück's assertion that Hirschfeld was "one of the sexologists whose work was directly translated into Japanese and thus played a part in the development of a 'psychiatric style of thinking' about sexuality in Japan in the late nineteenth century" is most likely not entirely correct, since the earliest known translation of his work into Japanese is from 1931 (*Die Politik der Sexualwissenschaft*, 67). This view of Hirschfeld's role in Japan may also reflect the Japanese misunderstanding of Hirschfeld's ideas. In Germany, Hirschfeld represented a position opposed to psychiatric styles of thinking that saw homosexuality as a product of personal psychological development and hence as something that could be induced by seduction. Hirschfeld conceived of variations in sex and gender as neither degenerations nor diseases but in a Darwinian sense as naturally occurring variations that he meant to explain through his theory of intermediary sexual stages.

[85] James Steakley's bibliography of Hirschfeld's works, which was first published in 1985 and has been continually updated since then, includes minor references to Hirschfeld published in the daily press in all major languages. This bibliography dates the earliest translation of any Hirschfeld text into Japanese—of a lecture from Hirschfeld's world tour—as 1931. See *The Writings of Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld: A Bibliography* (Toronto: Canadian Gay Archives, 1985), updated most recently in 2017. According to Steakley, the second translation of one of Hirschfeld's texts into Japanese did not happen until 1957, when the volume *Liebesmittel: Eine Darstellung der geschlechtlichen Reizmittel (Aphrodisiaka)* by Hirschfeld and Richard Linsert (Berlin: Man, 1930) appeared in Japan.

through special booksellers such as Mazuren, which offered works by Bloch, Krafft-Ebing, and perhaps also Hirschfeld.[86] Western observers were aware of this cross-fertilization. Writing in the *Jahrbuch*, Allen Tytheridge noted, for instance, that "the enormous popularity of Oscar Wilde's works and the books presented in shop windows such as Eekhoud's *Escal Vigor*, Carpenter's *Sexual Intermediaries*, Ellis's *Sexual Inversion*, and so on demonstrates the existence of an interest in homosexuality—be it authentic or feigned—among the literary and artistic groups of 'Young Japan,' who enthusiastically followed the more decadent and exaggerated manifestations of the intellectual life of the Western parts of the globe."[87] Tytheridge did not say, however, in what language the books were available or whether this interpretation of homosexuality as a decadent and exaggerated cultural manifestation is his own or that of the Japanese.[88] Writing of his world tour, Hirschfeld mentions a "Professor of Psychiatry T. Wada, who knew our Institute from first-hand experience and in whose library I found a great number of my books. In the forensic-medical Institute in Osaka (led by Professor Omura), of which Wada gave me a tour, I also recognized many images on the walls that had been made like those from our archive and my *Geschlechtskunde* [Sexual knowledge]."[89]

The visits of Tytheridge and Wada to the Institute for Sexual Science, the invitation extended to Iwaya to attend a meeting of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee, and Schedel's lecture all point toward two ways in which German sexology was being received in Japan: one path traveled through the Japanese who were educated or working in Germany and another through Europeans who were working in Japan, above all, psychiatrists such as Bälz.[90] In both instances, one specific aspect of the

[86] Frühstück, *Die Politik der Sexualwissenschaft*, 92.

[87] Allen Courtney Tytheridge, "Beobachtungen über Homosexualität in Japan," *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 22 (1922): 23–36, here 26. Recounting a stay with Tytheridge in a Japanese fishing village, Hirschfeld speaks of a "young scholar who had once visited our Berlin Institute and showed me an amazingly complete sexual library" (Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 52). Tytheridge was so familiar with Japanese culture that he published an introduction to English for Japanese readers: Tasaku Sagara and Allen Tytheridge, *Sagara and Tytheridge's Colloquial English Conversation and Applied Forms* (Tokyo: Kaibunsha, Showa 3, 1928).

[88] Pflugfelder notes that Carpenter's book *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1908), which adopted many elements of Hirschfeld's theory of sexual intermediates, was published in Japanese translation beginning in 1914 (*Cartographies of Desire*, 259n81). Pflugfelder concludes that Hirschfeld's theories became known in Japan through this translation. Tytheridge's mention of Carpenter's book could refer to the German, English, or Japanese version. In the same year, 1914, Carpenter published a book about homosexuality in Japan: *Intermediate Types among Primitive Folk*. In this book, he refers comprehensively to the literature on Japan that had appeared in the German homosexual movement.

[89] Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 24–25.

[90] Only the German version of the *Weltreise* contains the note that "we [had many visits] from Japanese doctors in our Berlin Institute" (21), though it does not name any names.

Japanese educational system was instrumental: the close tie between teachers and students, in which it was the task of the student to study and reproduce the teacher's scientific positions and views of the world as precisely as possible.[91] Examining the German influence on Japanese psychiatry, one scholar, Akira Hashimoto, emphasizes how this model of education shaped Japanese attitudes toward Western science: "Modernization in Japan advanced not merely by transfer or translation of knowledge, but by internalization of the Western sense of values through mentor-pupil relationships. . . . At times, the Japanese scholars even adopted the personality traits of their teachers in Europe."[92] German sexology also made an impact on Japanese literature. The most prominent example is Mori Ōgai's 1909 autobiographical novel, *Vita Sexualis*, a book whose title and method, a kind of anamnesis, reflect its origins in European discourses. This book also reflects the ambivalent reception of German sexual science in Japan and the difficulties that publications about sexuality encountered.[93] The book was censored in Japan despite Ōgai's prominence in Japan and Germany. The reception of Doriphorus's writings provides further evidence of how the early German homosexual emancipation movement, as influenced by Hirschfeld, was received in Japan; at least one of Doriphorus's lectures was translated into Japanese, and Doriphorus's own account relates his widespread familiarity with homosexuality across different social contexts in Japan, for instance, within schools, merchants, and the military.[94] Morita Yūshū, a journalist who lived in Europe for many years, developed a modified version of Hirschfeld's concept of sexual transitions and also seems to have been one of the main drivers of the reception of his writing in Japan. Morita's short, accessibly written explications of Hirschfeld's

[91] On the reorganization that took place during the Meiji period of existing methods, aims, and content of Japanese education, which had been traditionally differentiated by social class, see Jinko Schelz, "Die Durchsetzung eines modernen Bildungswesens in Japan: Staatsbildung, Modernisierung und Schulenentwicklung" (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2010), 87–198.

[92] Akira Hashimoto, "The Invention of a 'Japanese Gheel': Psychiatric Family Care from a Historical and Transnational Perspective," in Ernst and Müller, *Transnational Psychiatries*, 142–71, here 150.

[93] Mori Ōgai, *Vita Sexualis: Übertragung aus dem Japanischen und Nachwort von Siegfried Schaarschmidt* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1983). Mori Ōgai, whose real name was Rintaro Mori, lived from 1862 to 1922; he resided in Leipzig, Dresden, and Berlin from 1884 to 1888. For an account of how Japanese literary expression of love between men after 1900 draws from European models and reformulates earlier Japanese traditions, see Keith Vincent, *Two-Timing Modernity: Homosocial Narrative in Modern Japanese Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012). See also James Reichert, "Representations of Male-Male Sexuality in Meiji Period Literature" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1998); and Stephen Dodd, "The Significance of Bodies in Soseki's Kokoro," *Monumenta Nipponica* 53, no. 4 (1998): 473–98. Given the importance of literary models for the development of sexology, it would be worthwhile to more closely examine these literary-sexological instances of cultural exchange.

[94] Doriphorus, "Die Verbreitung," in Krauss, *Das Geschlechtsleben*, 84–87.

theories (published ca. 1914) point to a third path of reception in Japan, namely, the translation of scientific ideas into an easily understandable popular idiom.[95] In this Morita was following Hirschfeld's example, since in addition to his scientific texts aimed at a scholarly audience, Hirschfeld had also published many books aimed at a public audience—the earliest of which were *Was soll das Volk vom dritten Geschlecht wissen?* (What should the people know about the third sex?)and *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* (Berlin's third sex).[96]

Hirschfeld did not visit Japan on his own initiative. As he writes, it was, rather, the influential German-speaking physician Keijo Dohi "who, while I was still in America, had sent me an invitation to lecture at the Japanese Dermatological Congress on *The Present Status of Sex Pathology*. . . . He is Chairman and founder of the Japanese Society for the Prevention of Venereal Disease, and the Society of Dermatology and Urology . . . and has published the first Japanese sexological journal, entitled *Sex*." Hirschfeld's visit took him far beyond this invitation, however. He gave many other lectures at congresses of doctors, ranging from dermatologists to psychiatrists, as well as public lectures before large crowds.[97] Hirschfeld also articulated his views in countless discussions with politicians and representatives of various reform movements in Japan. One source reports that on the occasion of an interview during Hirschfeld's visit to China, which followed his visit to Japan, Hirschfeld noted the incomparably stronger reception brought about by his visit in comparison to the earlier reception of his published work.[98] After his visit, the journalist Wolf Nathusius reported that he was "everywhere received enthusiastically and joyfully" and that "the reputation of his work suddenly spread . . . so much more quickly through East Asia than [had resulted from] the power of his endlessly many books and writings."[99] Nathusius then described Hirschfeld's own impressions of his visit, noting

[95] Morita was among the authors whose presentation of homosexuality linked Hirschfeld's theory of sexual transitions to Krafft-Ebing's concepts, although his therapeutic intentions differed from these models (Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 255).

[96] Magnus Hirschfeld, *Was soll das Volk vom dritten Geschlecht wissen?* (Leipzig: Max Spohr Verlag, 1901); and Hirschfeld, *Berlins drittes Geschlecht* (Berlin and Leipzig: H. Seeman, 1904).

[97] In the German edition of the *Weltreise*, Hirschfeld reports on his lecturing: "Of 176 lectures that I gave in the approximately 500 days of my world tour . . . , some were so well attended that they had to be repeated outdoors" (vi). Hirschfeld had a standard repertoire of lectures that he presented in German or English. The lecture he delivered most often was illustrated with slides (*Lichtbildern*) and entitled "Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Sexualpathologie and Sexualethnologie" (On the present state of sexual pathology and sexual ethnology).

[98] See Wolf Nathusius, "Begegnung mit Magnus Hirschfeld," *Deutsch-Chinesische Nachrichten* 2, no. 201 (31 May 1931): 5, 14.

[99] Ibid., 14.

> the hospitality of the Japanese and the great enthusiasm of the audiences to his lectures. People everywhere met his ideas with the right attitude, and he constantly had the impression of never speaking to deaf ears or closed minds, but he was rather deeply affected by the willingness and openness to his message. This was a joy for him, for it showed him that his work and influence would be needed here, too, in Asia. . . . Sexuality had not changed, but the social order had, and a way must be found to incorporate [sexuality] into [this changed society] without compulsion or friction.[100]

This perception of Hirschfeld supports an image of Japanese science as being open to Western influence——though of course its European author was perhaps not unbiased in his analysis. In any case, this friendly reception of Hirschfeld did not necessarily imply agreement with his acceptance of homosexuality. And as we have noted, Hirschfeld's own theories were ambivalent inasmuch as they argued for the acceptance of homosexuality while also reproducing binary frameworks of male and female and advancing pathological conceptions of gender and sexual difference. Based on the evidence we have examined, it is hard to say how these contradictory tendencies in Hirschfeld's work were received in Japan. This makes an examination of Hirschfeld's own account of his visit to Japan all the more interesting, since it is here that Hirschfeld leaves his desk and conducts field research as an ethnologist. It is here that we can observe Hirschfeld himself attempting to apply his sexological categories to individuals he encountered while also maintaining a nuanced respect for their personal dignity and self-conception.

Hirschfeld's *Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*

Hirschfeld's world tour, which lasted nearly a year and a half, from November 1930 to March 1932, is evidence of his worldwide recognition and also of a change in his perspective from that of an ethnologist working at a desk to that of a researcher out in the field.[101] The tour served to communicate

[100] Ibid.

[101] All details about dates and times that we give in this essay are either from *Weltreise eines Sexualforscher*s or from the handwritten notes Hirschfeld made during the journey, which are reproduced and annotated in Ralf Dose, ed., *Testament: Heft II* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich 2013), 88–138. The visa issued to Hirschfeld by the US Consulate is dated 11 March 1930; the entry stamp in New York is dated 22 November 1930 (ibid., 38n141). The journey by ship included stops in the United States, Japan, China, the Philippines, Indonesia, India, Egypt, and Palestine. The journey ended on 17 March 1932 in Greece and thus lasted almost fifteen months. See also Veronika Fuechtner, "Indians, Jews and Sex: Magnus Hirschfeld and Indian Sexology," in *Imagining Germany Imagining Asia: Essays in Asian-German Studies*, ed. Veronika Fuechtner and Mary Rhiel (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), 111–30.

his ideas about sexual science and sexual reform to a wider public and to further his ethnological explorations.[102] He reports that he spent six weeks of his time in Tokyo with excursions, meetings with colleagues, politicians, diplomats, and representatives of the government, including the emperor; he also attended several banquets given in his honor and medical congresses.[103] He met with old Berlin friends and with individuals whose work had guided him in his sexual-ethnological explorations.[104]

Hirschfeld's travels prompt us to ask whether these experiences changed his settled views or how they added to his knowledge. His writings about the *onnagata* offer one answer to this question. In his own published account of the world tour, *Weltreise eines Sexualforschers* (World journey of a sexual researcher), he dedicates an entire chapter to the *onnagata*. In the German version, this chapter contains a subtitle not included in the English version published in London—"Frauendarsteller" (Female impersonators)—that directly marks Hirschfeld's application of Western theatrical categories to the Japanese *onnagata*.[105] The German version is also more detailed and thorough than the English version, which is the reason we quote a long translation of it here:

> As a sex expert I said to myself that this must be some manifestation of the double-sexed nature of human beings [*menschliche Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit*], and I did not pass up this opportunity to study, at its source, a problem known to me from so many visual representations. In Tokyo, I made seven visits with first-class experts to the great theaters where female roles were exclusively played by men, as they have

[102] There is no entry stamp in Hirschfeld's passport. Since he departed from Honolulu toward Yokahama on 12 March 1931, and since the Japanese passenger ship *Asama Maru* took only seven days to travel the nearly 3,450 nautical miles, he must have arrived on 19 March. His entry visa for Shanghai was issued on 22 April 1931 in Kobe, Japan. See Dose, *Testament*, 39.

[103] Hirschfeld, *Women East and West*, 8–9.

[104] Hirschfeld devotes further chapters to ethnographic observations of Japanese married life, the matriarchy on Formosa, the Imbais (prostitutes) and geishas, and the cult of the Buddha and the phallus. These subtitles and various sexually explicit references were left out of the English edition.

[105] The German cited here in translation can be found in Hirschfeld, *Weltreise eines Sexualforschers*, 43–46. The more abbreviated account in English can be found in *Women East and West*, 29–30. Shortly before this, Hirschfeld reported that Maria Piper, who was living in Tokyo, had given him a copy of her "splendid book . . . about the female impersonators . . . presented . . . with a dedication" (*Women East and West,* 14–15). Maria Piper was an expert on the Kabuki tradition who had already completed a process of European-Japanese cultural translation for a German-speaking readership in her book *Die Schaukunst der Japaner: Dramen, Szenenbilder und Schauspielerporträts des altjapanischen Volkstheaters* (Berlin: De Gruyter 1927). Hirschfeld visited further countries with different cross-dressing traditions, such as the female impersonators of the Peking Opera and the Hijiras in India, but these are mentioned only in passing in his chapter on Java, where four "Javanese transvestites (men in women's clothes)" are shown. Hirschfeld, *Women East and West*, illustrations between pages 130 and 131; see also Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, illustrations between pages 128 and 129.

been for hundreds of years—above all the classical Kabuki Theater, which had been rebuilt magnificently after a fire. . . .

With my friend S. Iwaya (who was once a lecturer at the Berlin University), I finally went to the Meiji Theater, where his son—who had just been born when we saw each other thirty years ago—works as a stage manager. These excellent connoisseurs made it much easier for me to understand the plays, which, being chiefly historical, are difficult for a foreigner to grasp and consequently tire him quickly. . . .

During the long intermission in the Meiji Theater I visited, with both of the Iwayas, the dressing rooms of the most important interpreters of female roles. In contrast to ours, the theater dressing rooms in Japan are notable for their strict cleanliness and order. Many actors have a little private altar before which an actor quickly folds his hands once before going onstage. Sitting on beautifully embroidered cushions with a cup of tea, we presently observed the transformation of a male actor into perfect femininity, from the first touch of the makeup pencil to the putting on of the complicated hairdo. "Do you think I really look just like a woman now?" the young actor Ishikawa Shoen asked me, through Iwaya, with charming vanity, and he bowed low, with feminine grace, when I truthfully assured him he did. He and Nakumara Tokizo both gave me pictures of themselves and made entries in my notebook of the journey.

I saw nearly all the great popular female impersonators, with the exception of Ganjiro, an actor of the people [*volkstümlich*] who was at that time on a guest tour in southern Japan; and above all I met the protean Ovove Baiko, who can play everything, indeed everything, from the youngest girl to the oldest crone, from a youth to a dotard, with equal perfection.

Real experts, such as Maria Piper in her excellent book, *Die Schaukunst der Japaner* [The dramatic art of the Japanese], maintain that women are better portrayed by men than by women. They are supposed to act more "thoughtfully." Many enlightened Japanese who would have no moral scruple against real women in women's roles are of the same opinion. I could not examine this myself, as I never saw women in female roles on the great Japanese stages but only in a few trivial revues in which, for that matter, all of the male roles were also all played by women in very erotic makeup.[106]

[106] Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 43–46.

Hirschfeld follows this description with observations about his views on the much-discussed sexual orientation of these female impersonators. He divides them into three nearly evenly distributed groups: first, the "completely normal men: men of normal tendencies and normal sex life"; then, "transvestites: men who have a deep satisfaction in dressing as women but who are sexually attracted only to women"; and finally, "homosexuals: who, on the stage and in everyday life, and in love too, feel they are in their element only when they completely take the feminine role."[107] Hirschfeld reads the *onnagata* in light of European practices like female impersonation, and he interprets Japanese male homosexuality in terms of his own theory of sexual transitions.[108]

Hirschfeld's account of his own "investigations" makes his division between the three categories—normal men, transvestites, and homosexuals—appear to be the result of empirical research, but how he did this research is not entirely clear. We do not know what methods he used to determine whether the wearing of female clothing was a matter of familial tradition, of the inner desires of the performers, or of "natural" femininity, nor are we told how he discovered these performers' sexual inclinations. Even if Hirschfeld saw almost all the great female impersonators, what could he have seen except for the metamorphosis "into complete femininity" that they

[107] Ibid., 46. The German version also includes a longer explanation of the first category: "Totally normal (normally constituted and sexually oriented) men, in the case of whom we are dealing with an ability that they have inherited from their ancestors, and which has been deepened by training since their early youth, in other words a culturally acquired ability whose possibility of being realized is nevertheless connected to the general bisexual dual nature of human beings" (ibid.).

[108] Hirschfeld assumed that homosexuality was as widespread in Japan as in the rest of the world. A professor of psychiatry from Tokyo, Myaki (who is cited in Hirschfeld's German version as Myake), doubted this, however: "'Tell me, my dear Hirschfeld, how is it that one hears so much about homosexuality in Germany, England and Italy and nothing of it among us?' I answered: 'That, my dear colleague, is because it is permitted by you and forbidden by us'" (Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 47). Hirschfeld posited a connection between repression and visibility without going into cultural differences, since the lack of legal repercussions must have led rather to greater visibility than to camouflage techniques of "mimicry." In any case, Hirschfeld promised to take up the matter with insiders and asked German homosexuals familiar with Japanese to take him to places where homosexuals met in Tokyo and Osaka. He claims to have seen cruising behavior in the Hibiya Park in Tokyo similar to that in Hyde Park in London, Central Park in New York, and the Tiergarten in Berlin (Hirschfeld, *Women East and West*, 30–31). A comparison of these parks, identical in phrasing, was already published in Hirschfeld's *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*, 611. Hirschfeld believed that what he observed in Hibiya Park with his guide Mimura Tokuzō was a "new phenomenon" influenced from the West: male prostitutes who were held to be "perverse," and passive-feminine, so-called new *kagema*, were offering their services in city parks (Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 321–26). Mimura mentions these quick visits to "disreputable" places without naming Hirschfeld. Hirschfeld had asked him to arrange a personal meeting with a *kagema*. Yet after Mimura had successfully found one, Hirschfeld had already returned to his hotel, so a meeting did not take place (Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 325), and Hirschfeld could only report "secondhand."

performed when he met them? The supposedly exact, ostensibly empirical-statistical results of his research on this topic appear all the more remarkable because it is hard to imagine that he would have been so indiscrete as to ask his famous interlocutors about their sexual orientation when he met them backstage, in the company of his Japanese translators, while chatting over a cup of tea.

On his tour of Japanese theaters, Hirschfeld was accompanied by Iwaya, his trusted friend from Berlin and guide between these two cultures who had been familiar with Hirschfeld's work for more than three decades. Moreover, it was Iwaya's thirty-year-old son who opened the doors of the Meiji Theater to Hirschfeld. Both father and son were thus Hirschfeld's guides, making possible a double process of linguistic and cultural translation.[109]

The fact that the sexual preferences of female impersonators were a highly controversial topic can be taken from Hirschfeld's observation of their "much-discussed tendencies."[110] As we have shown here, there is widespread evidence—even in German-language texts—of the ongoing Japanese discussion about the supposed homosexuality of the *onnagata*.[111] We have already discussed Iwaya's depiction from 1902. Twenty years later, in 1922, Tytheridge provided another salient example when he wrote: "In the theater, the *onnagata* are known as homosexual. . . . The love stories of these performers, who spend the great part of their lives as women, are the constant subject of theater gossip, and the performers of male roles are not spared this gossip either."[112] It is likely that Hirschfeld made use of secondhand information from insiders, perhaps from Tytheridge and the Iwayas, as well as gossip, which he then presented as empirical findings in his scientific work and schematizations. In this case, Hirschfeld's classifications would not be based on the self-conception and biographical confidences of the *onnagata* but rather on the day's gossip and what others attributed to them.

[109] With the exception of Iwaya, who knew Hirschfeld's concepts well, Hirschfeld reports significant problems in the simultaneous translation of his lectures: "The public lectures were translated directly into Japanese. . . . Two young Japanese medical students, who studied in Germany, eagerly volunteered to do the interpreting. They took the greatest pains to go over it with me, but finally resigned because they could not find the equivalents for many special expressions. The Tokyo Dr. Wilhelm Grundert, the excellent head of the German-Japanese Kulturinstitut . . . finally undertook the task and executed it brilliantly. In Osaka the same service was performed by the professor for psychiatry, T. Wada, who had been at our Berlin Institute and knew it very well, and in whose library I found a large number of my books" (*Women East and West*, 11).

[110] Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 46.

[111] Maria Piper devotes only a short passage to the tradition and institutionalization of female impersonators in the Kabuki theater; a discussion of sexual preferences—as in Hirschfeld's writings—is not even vaguely present in her book. See, for instance, *Die Schaukunst der Japaner*, 261: "Popular discourse made little connection between the onnagata's occupation and his sexual desires before the rise of the sexological model cast him in the new role of dōseiaisha (a person of same-sex love)." See also Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire*, 323.

[112] Tytheridge, "Beobachtungen," 26.

Hirschfeld's reference to the *onnagata* in his *Weltreise* reflects both his scientific approach and his respect for the *onnagata*'s social station, which could be at odds with each other. He avoids naming those *onnagata* whom he categorizes into his three classifications, and he refrains from categorizing the *onnagata* he personally met and actually identifies by name in his book.[113] When speaking of Ishikawa Shoen, for example, he restricts his remarks to implicit suggestions, describing how he watched a "male actor . . . being metamorphosed into complete femininity."[114] As we have seen, Hirschfeld simply said "yes," when Ishikawa Shoen asked him, "Do you think I really look just like a woman now?" Hirschfeld's discretion in this question ultimately suggests an attempt to avoid stigmatizing the *onnagata*; he was likely aware that the European pathologization of nonconforming sexualities was by then widespread in Japan.[115] And although Hirschfeld emblematically used photographs of *onnagata* in his German publications before this tour to visually represent transvestitism, he does not continue this practice in his *Weltreise*. This too can be interpreted as a form of discretion—an unwillingness to simplify and appropriate the identities of these individuals.[116] This is all the more surprising given that he emphatically notes that he received images from several *onnagata* in complete female costume and especially from *onnagata* he describes as strongly feminized, who he said also asked him to verify the perfection of their gender mimicry.[117]

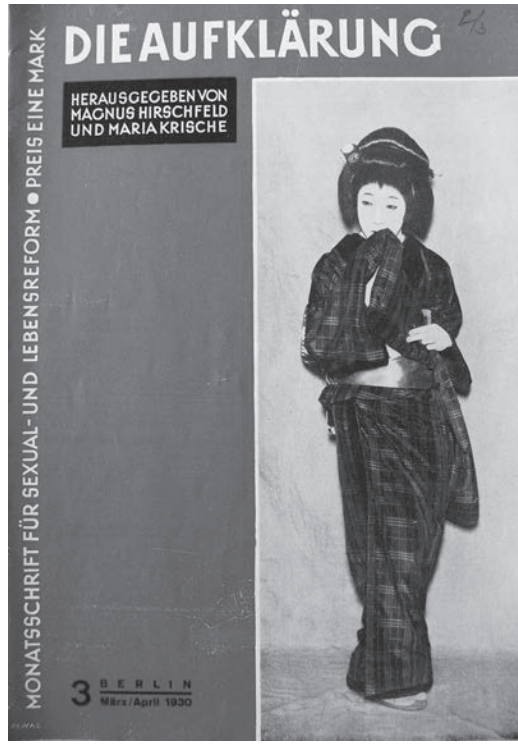
[113] Hirschfeld, *Weltreise*, 45–46; *Women East and West*, 29–30. Hirschfeld was generally reticent to out individuals according to his or others' scientific categories without their agreement, a practice that others in the homosexual movement such as Adolf Brand did not follow. On Hirschfeld's approach, see Michael Thomas Taylor, "Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science as Archive, Museum, and Exhibition," in Taylor, Timm, and Herrn, *Not Straight from Germany*, 17–19.

[114] Hirschfeld, *Women East and West*, 29.

[115] A further indication of this discretion was Hirschfeld's decision to avoid naming the executive body of the International Scientific-Humanitarian Committee. In his 1914 *Die Homosexualität des Mannes und des Weibes*, for instance, he indicates that from among the committee's members, there should be chosen "70 directors [*Obmänner*] who represent as many areas, classes, and viewpoints as possible. . . . At the present, apart from Germany, there are directors and members [*Vertrauensmänner*] of the committee in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, England, Holland, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, North and South America, South Africa, Russia, China, Japan, and in other countries" (975). With only a few exceptions, it was not usual for members of the committee to openly declare their homosexuality.

[116] For example, the cover image for *Die Aufklärung* 3 (March/April 1930) introduces an entry on transvestitism that has no reference to Japan whatsoever. In the volume of illlustrations that was part of Hirschfeld's *Geschlechtskunde*, there are photos of Japanese female impersonators in the chapter "Transvestitism" (567–69), placed between German and French "impersonators of ladies" (*Damenimitatoren*). The images of Japanese female imitators were published without any names, while the European performers are identified by artistic names such as "Voodoo" and "Barbette." This difference in dealing with names could point toward a difference in social status in the different societies. While the Japanese performers were respected figures of high culture, "Barbette" and "Voodoo" belonged to the popular culture of *variétés* and the like.

[117] Hirschfeld, *Women East and West*, 29.



Figures 4–6. Anonymous photos of *onnagata* used emblematically by Hirschfeld from *Die Aufklärung* (1930, fig. 4) and *Geschlechtskunde* (1930, figs. 5–6).

Moreover, Hirschfeld only mentions in passing the research he had conducted while still in Germany into women who dressed as men in public (*Männerdarsteller*). As another consequence of Japan's liberalization, this had become more common in Japan during the late nineteenth century. These women, too, found a place onstage—in the Takarazuka, a theater company founded in 1913 that still exists today and in which women play all roles.[118] Hirschfeld interpreted this theater as a kind of *variété*, making an analogy to European low-culture forms of entertainment in opposition to what he considered to be the high-culture Kabuki tradition. He writes: "I never saw women in female roles on the great Japanese stages, but only in a few stupid reviews in which, for that matter, the male roles too were all played by women in a very erotic makeup."[119] Similar to the way that his category of "transvestite" distinguished a more respectable form of cross-dressing from low-culture theatrical performances, Hirschfeld here reproduces a bourgeois viewpoint in which the *onnagata*, as representatives of high culture, can be contrasted against a theatrical foil.

CONCLUSIONS

Hirschfeld's engagement with the *onnagata* and the reception of German sexual science in Japan illustrate the reciprocal interdependence with which sexological knowledge was transferred between Germany and Japan. German views of the Japanese samurai tradition and of the *onnagata* played an important role in early German debates about whether homosexuals were virile or effeminate, and these debates in turn were an important context for Hirschfeld's development of a new category: the transvestite. Moreover, this engagement with non-European cultural traditions prompted a debate within sexual science about the tasks and methods of sexual ethnology. One strand of this discussion was a critique of European assumptions within ethnographic observations, exemplified by Hirschfeld's attempt to understand the universal existence of homosexuality across cultures in natural scientific terms. Equally prominent in the discussion, however, was the continued projection of European ideas onto Japan. Hirschfeld's understanding of the *onnagata* is strikingly representative of this ambivalence; it is evident in his borrowing of the biological concept of mimicry, in his decision to describe the *onnagata* as transvestites within his theory of sexual intermediates, and above all in his description of them as female impersonators. Hirschfeld found in the Kabuki theater a form of high culture that allowed for gender play and transformation that had no equivalent in Europe in his day.

[118] This theater was founded in opposition to the all-male Kabuki theater and critically and ironically played with its gender assumptions and exclusions. See Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 47–89.

[119] Hirschfeld, *Women East and West*, 29. See also Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten*, 466.

Hirschfeld found these forms of gender play in Europe only in low-culture performances such as the *variété*. The Kabuki theater thus offered a unique space for his theories: a scene of representation that gave this gender play a more noble appearance and in which gender performance could become visible as performance, as acts that transformed one gender into another. Hirschfeld's encounter with the *onnagata* as performers allows for a critical reading of his theories that emphasizes the interplay between his assumptions about nature and his cultural projections.

In this article we have emphasized the crucial role that personal contacts played within this history. These personal contacts required three kinds of translations—linguistic, cultural, and theoretical—that together transformed what was "strange" into what was "known." This need for translation limited Hirschfeld's methods during his visit to Japan and likely prompted him to use gossip and hearsay as sexual-scientific evidence. At the same time, these personal contacts also reflect Hirschfeld's sensitivity toward individuals who performed or claimed nonconforming sexualities or genders. Conscious of the stigma that came with Western labels such as homosexual and transvestite, Hirschfeld avoided personally naming these people or depicting them in photographs, speaking instead only abstractly and in broad categories. This differed from the approach he took with German individuals who he considered exhibited his sexual-scientific theories.

Although it is clear that European ideas about sexuality had some influence in Japan, including Hirschfeld's theory of sexual transitions, Hirschfeld's reinterpretation of the *onnagata* from homosexuals to transvestites seems to have been an isolated case—at least in the German literature. Equally notable is the fact that, unlike the work of the sexual pathologists, Hirschfeld's writings were not translated into Japanese at all (with only one, minor exception, as we noted above). Nonetheless, as we have shown, Hirschfeld's ideas and categories were widely known in Japan. An account of his worldwide influence and of his engagement with foreign cultures cannot restrict itself to traditional channels of scholarly transmission but must include other pathways of intercultural dialogue and knowledge exchange, many of which are not documented in writing. Viewing Hirschfeld's theories within the context of these personal contacts and the processes of translation they required opens one avenue for a wider history of how this reception of German sexual science relates to earlier Japanese views of the *onnagata* and their place within the gender order of Japanese society, especially during the processes of modernization that occurred in the nineteenth century after Japan opened to the West. It points to a network of transnational contacts between scientific colleagues and other individuals as one crucial dimension within other forms of knowledge transfer and reception. Individuals in this network included not only researchers oriented toward sexual science but also physicians from related fields (psychiatrists, venereologists, and so on), politicians, diplomats, lawyers, journalists, other important cultural

figures, and travelers. And the channels of this reception included both written and oral means of communication: transnational contact between colleagues, linguistic competence to read texts in the original language, rules of censorship, reciprocal stays abroad by scientists, biographical and popularizing accounts, and, especially, lectures and press reports. These forms of knowledge transfer were equally as important as the direct translation of original texts. Finally, seeing this engagement with Japan within the context of Hirschfeld's world tour suggests that these binational processes of knowledge transfer must be viewed as an example of broader processes of the global dissemination of sexual science.

About the Authors

Rainer Herrn received his doctoral degree from the Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig, in 1986. He is currently scientific researcher and lecturer at the Institute for the History of Medicine and Ethics in Medicine, Charité Berlin, with a research focus on the history of psychiatry. He has curated several exhibitions on the history of sexology and sexual minorities in Germany, including *Sex Burns: Magnus Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science and the Book-Burnings* in 2008 at the Medical Historical Museum of the Berlin Charité and, most recently, with Annette Timm and Michael Thomas Taylor, *Trans Trans: Transgender Histories between Germany and the United States, 1882–1966* in 2017 at the Nickle Galleries at the University of Calgary. His publications include a book about transvestitism and transsexuality in early twentieth-century Germany and, most recently, a reprint of the world's first magazine for transvestites, *Das 3. Geschlecht*, along with numerous articles and book chapters on Magnus Hirschfeld and other aspects of the history of sexuality in Germany. He is currently finishing work on a manuscript that will be the first comprehensive history of Hirschfeld's Institute for Sexual Science.

Michael Thomas Taylor received his PhD in German from Princeton University in 2007. From 2007 to 2012 he taught at the University of Calgary as an assistant professor of German and from 2012 to 2017 as associate professor of German and humanities at Reed College in Portland, Oregon. His publications include the collaborative book *Vor der Familie: Grenzbedingungen einer modernen Institution* (Before the family: Limits of a modern institution) (Konstanz University Press, 2010), as well as *Not Straight from Germany: Sexual Publics and Sexual Citizenship since Magnus Hirschfeld* (University of Michigan Press, 2017), edited with Rainer Herrn and Annette Timm. Together with Rainer Herrn and Annette Timm he has curated two exhibitions—*PopSex!* (2011 at Alberta College of Art + Design), which was the basis for *Not Straight from Germany*, and, more recently, *Trans Trans*.