

COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF JAPANESE NAMING RITUALS THROUGH THE
INCORPORATION OF *ANIME* AND *MANGA*

by
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ABSTRACT

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In this paper, I ask how members of Japanese society are able to remember naming practices in which some of the traditions are no longer in use. Members of Japanese society perpetuate their collective memory through the utilization of Japanese media to include past and present Japanese name alterations. I explain the reasons behind name alterations, and how knowledge and use of the naming rituals continue through the collective agency of contemporary Japanese media such as *anime* and *manga*. Each *anime* and *manga* example correlates to past and present naming rituals. Social name alterations occur at birth, *genpuku*, marriage, and changes in levels of skill. Political alterations occur from hostage exchange or adoption, change in ideologies, occupational change, or the assumption of new roles from a higher-ranking member of society. While members of Japanese society learn naming traditions from daily interactions with other people, media such as *anime* and *manga* reinforce expected behavior and customs.

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Introduction

While researching Japanese naming practices, I found the following dialogue from *manga* and *anime* series, *Mirage of Blaze*, reflective of the historical and cultural memory of Japanese naming traditions:

“I did some research on Uesugi Kagetora. He’s the son of Hojo Ujiyasu and was sent to Takeda Shingen when he was little. When he returned, he was adopted by Hojo Genan. Then he was sent away again to Uesugi Kenshin. What a poor guy.”

“That is the typical fate of a warlord’s child during the feudal era.”

“After being adopted by Uesugi Kenshin, he lost the war over succession to Kenshin’s other adoptive son, Kagekatsu. He committed suicide when he was twenty-six.”

“And that is when the name Uesugi Kagetora disappeared from history”.

*Excerpt from Honoo no Mirage (Mirage of Blaze)
Conversation between Takaya and Naoe
Episode 4*

In this quote, the two characters examine specific forms of name alterations spanning Japanese history since the conception of the Imperial dynasty to current society. The author and creator of *Mirage of Blaze*, Kuwabara Mizuna, references Uesugi Kagetora’s numerous name alterations by creating a scene with two characters discussing the historical samurai’s experiences during the Sengoku Period. Kuwabara addresses the previous use of naming practices by utilizing Japanese comics and animation to assert a visual and auditory image of the prior customs and behaviors. Through the alteration of his name, Uesugi Kagetora represents one example amongst many of social and political expectations. With each name alteration, he assumes a new social and political role and

identity within Japanese society. He embodies specific forms of office both in the social and political sphere by taking upon new roles within the cultural framework. One name designates him as a hostage while another name assigns him the role of son and spouse to different households. Kagetora includes one example of name assignment and alteration in the wider scheme of the four social classes: samurai, farmers, artisans, and merchants. However, even with the present dissolution of the class system, naming practices changed to include previous and prior forms of individual nomenclature modification. As Japan transformed into a nation-state, naming rituals maintained or adapted to the changing demands of society. I argue that past and present naming practices continue to receive credence through Japanese media such as *anime* and *manga* in order to reinforce social and political collective memory.

Maurice Halbwachs postulates:

It is the same regard to most elements of the past that we preserve and of the entire system of traditional values that—as we know—no longer corresponds to contemporary conditions of law, politics, or morality. We are nevertheless not certain that traditional values do not still have a role to play; we fear (perhaps mistakenly so) that if we were to *eliminate* them, we no longer would possess the necessary faith and creative power to find an equivalent (Halbwachs 1992: 120).

Halbwachs defines the placement of traditional values in an ever-evolving system of law, politics, and morality. He explains that people cast aside some rituals in favor of newer social and political agencies. Halbwachs argues that if a group of people fears the elimination of culturally defined practices, the society might feel incapable of creating and establishing an equivalent to the preexisting model. As a result people cling to previous traditions in order to maintain some level of collective identity. In the case of Japan, members of Japanese society found a way to revisit and give credence to past and

present naming rituals through the utilization of contemporary media. A collective memory establishes and manifests into the awareness of the group through the act of revisiting prior and present Japanese culture. Japanese media like *anime* and *manga* reinforces acceptable behavior of younger and older generations alike through visual stimulation, hence, enhancing the message delivered on the continuation of naming etiquette and practices.

Media provides a frame of reference by combining concepts of collective memory and utilizing social and political events congruent with history. For example, *anime* and *manga* such as *Mirage of Blaze*, *Saiyuki*, *Kenshin*, *Samurai Deeper Kyo*, *Shonen Onmyouji* (an *anime* series just recently circulating in Japan), *Tsubasa Reservoir*, and other sources maintain facets of past culture to encourage the collective memory of former naming practices. Popular Japanese media shows the progression of naming rituals over time by bridging name alterations and the way those practices adapted to social and political demands. Contemporary based *anime* and *manga* such as *Tokyo Babylon*, *Death Note*, *Yami No Matsuei*, *X/1999*, *Fake*, and corresponding pieces portray the adaptation of naming rituals. Current media mirrors the way some rituals were lost while others adapted to suit Japanese social and political needs.

Anime and *manga* commemorate the past by giving previous naming practices legitimacy and showing how such rituals remain in the present. Patrick Hutton states that:

Commemoration is a calculated strategy for stabilizing collective memories that are otherwise protean and provisional. In this respect, it draws upon the ancient art of memory. In its monuments and shrines, it locates memorable places on the landscape of memory. It anchors the past in the present, creating the illusion that time can be made to stand still (Hutton 2000: 537).

Film and pictures contain a thousand words and messages both through visual and auditory stimulation. *Anime* and *manga* freeze historical and cultural moments into memorable visual and auditory templates. Despite viewers being incapable of experiencing some incidents modeled in historical based *anime* and *manga* samples, the audience becomes capable of experiencing and remembering such events. Japanese media continues to stimulate collective memory by applying familiar images and settings to a scene. Often the images combine historically or socially significant sites while applying name related rituals to a scene. People in such areas designate specific meanings to palaces, shrines, and other historical places. The distinctions people make in these places reflect certain customs and behaviors when referring to other individuals. For example, the Emperor of Japan receives certain reference from his subjects corresponding to his seat of power. A samurai leader utilizes certain names and forms of reference when speaking to the ruler of the country. In another situation, he refers to a Shinto priest with a different name, title, and manner.

Many *anime* or *manga* cases exploit the scene of a family sitting down and sharing a meal. In the scene, certain frames of reference such as familial and social relationship to the individuals present repeat in the scene. A child identifies a parent or grandparent in a specific manner while on the other hand responding to an equal or younger sibling through different forms of reference. Thus, the naming of an individual places a type of relation of the individual in comparison to other people and factions in the surrounding area.

In any society classification and naming bears immense significance. In assuming a name, an individual defines his or her position within a society. Political and social

connotations reflect the name an individual receives from the day of birth to the day of death and in some cases even beyond. People designate members of their group with certain names and titles in order to infer who those individuals are and where they belong in the population. Lucile Hoerr Charles states that:

The developing individual receives recognition throughout life by conferring of new names, perhaps at adolescence, marriage on the occasion of a successful exploit, induction into a special group, or during sickness (Charles 1951: 28).

Charles argues that when people are born they receive specific titles that reflect their family and group. As an individual develops, they receive new concepts of social and political responsibilities.

Anime and *manga* utilize examples such as a name and face to portray the social and political relationship of individuals in society. For instance, the protagonist in *Shonen Onmyouji*, Abe Masahiro, portrays the image of a Shinto Priest in training. The series starts with Masahiro existing under his grandfather's shadow. His position in Japanese society reflects an acolyte lacking any feasible identity aside from being Abe no Seimei's grandson. People accord him respect because his grandfather designates him as his successor. Masahiro endures the training and changes his position from initiate to a priest. His social and political position alters with the changes in his responsibilities to society. The concept of social and political position provides a visual image people associate and describe to customs and behaviors. A character's name specifies a person while the act of changing the designation creates a visual and auditory example of the character's relation and position within his or her social and political sphere. For example, when a character's name alters from the apprentice level to the master level, the visual image reflects a change in social or political positioning.

Japanese name alterations fall into two classifications: social and political. Within the contexts of social name alterations, the change falls into one of six categories. An individual's name alters by the liminal stage of initiation into adulthood known as *genpuku*, marriage, and the change in levels of skill and apprenticeship in a master/student relationship. Name alterations resulting from marriage remain the only examples to continue into current Japanese society. The practice of *genpuku* and changing from one level to the next changed into attaching suffixes to the end of an individual's name. Political alterations consist of hostage exchange or adoption, a change in ideologies or life philosophies such as religious beliefs or positions, occupational change, and the assumption of new roles and recognition via a higher-ranking official.

In my examination of other researchers such as Herbert Plutschow, Stephen Turnbull, C.E. West and F.W. Seal, and Sato Hiroaki's reports, numerous examples of Japanese name alterations surface in the records. For my research question, I ask how members of Japanese society remember past and present naming practices. In this paper, I aim to show how contemporary media assists in creating a collective memory of past and present naming practices. I argue that the collectivity of past and present name alterations receives additional reinforcement by members of Japanese society through the utilization of *anime* and *manga* in addition to the application of social and political interactions. The memory of prior naming practices continues despite adapting to new social and political demands. *Anime* and *manga* incorporates past actions and practices to encourage the collective memory of the present Japanese society while at the same time reinforcing current naming practices. In Chapter 1, I will assess concepts involving naming practices, the literature of other authors on the subject, the *anime* and *manga* I

utilize, and the significance of *anime* and *manga* in mainstream Japanese media. While Herbert Plutschow, Stephen Turnbull, C.E. West and F.W. Seal, and Sato Hiroaki examine and reference Japanese naming practices, they do not address how these traditions continue in present society through adaptation into current forms or reoccurrence in media. Joy Hendry, Takao Sofue, and Lucille Hoerr Charles examine present naming practices and apply to some extent previous traditions. In addition, I utilize and apply some of Maurice Halbwachs, Jan Assmann, Patrick Hutton, Paul Connerton, and Jeffrey Olick's theories on collective memory to my research. My primary focus with Chapter 2 will place emphasis on social name alterations found from the conception of the Japanese nation-state to present day society. In Chapter 3, I will examine the political alterations found in Japanese naming practices. In addition, I will explain how *anime* and *manga* represent and encourage collective memory of social and political naming practices.

Chapter 1: Japanese Names, Literature, *Anime* and *Manga* Utilization

I devote this chapter to how to read and interpret a Japanese name, the literature of other authors on the collective memory, the *anime* and *manga* I utilize, and the significance of *anime* and *manga* in mainstream Japanese media. I define Japanese media as visual and auditory stimulation mass-produced and delivered to the public via television, internet, radios, books, advertisements, and other modems. Members of Japanese society incorporate naming practices into language and customs by viewing the examples seen and heard in media such as *manga* and *anime*, and emulating the examples in correspondence with other people. I utilize naming practices interchangeably with customs, rituals, and behavior because these elements exist as constructs of Japanese identity based on social and political alterations.

Manga is a type of Japanese media in the form of a graphic novel or novelizations. A *manga-ka* is an individual or group of people (as in the case of Clamp *manga*) who create the story and illustrations for *manga*. *Dojinshi* is *manga* mass-produced by independent publishing firms at the cost of individual artists. The general concept of *dojinshi* results from artists holding no association or contracts with the major publishing firms such as Clamp, Shonen Jump, TokyoPop, or Shojo-Beat. Sharon Kinsella reports in her article, *Amateur Manga Subculture and the Otaku Panic*, that:

Until 1989, approximately 80 per cent of *dojinshi* artists attending Comic Market were female, and only 20 per cent male. Since 1990, however, male participation in Comic Market has increased to 35 per cent. The girls' *manga* genre continues to dominate amateur production but, and this is a point of great interest, it has now been adopted by male *dojinshi* artists (Kinsella 1998: 10-15).

Manga varies from being as short as one volume (or book) to an entire series of books sometimes spanning past 100 or more volumes. Through the act of watching *anime* and *manga*, individuals subconsciously register the portrayal or naming practices and apply the customs towards each other into a collective recognition of proper behavior. Sharon Kinsella remarks that:

While *manga* - which contains very little advertising - has not been filled with the images of products for sale, it has been filled with images of people. It has been a very sociable medium. Its pages teem with characters, whose aspirations, frustrations, and adventures form the substance of *manga* series. *Manga* characters tend to embody aspects of character (Kinsella 1999: 567-572).

The characters reflect thoughts, feelings, concepts, customs, and behaviors of society. Kinsella refers to *manga* as a rather social medium. In this context, *manga* characters reflect the mother picking her child up from school, the salary man on the train at 6:00 in the morning, and the couple feeding ducks at Ueno Park. They embody realistic and historical in addition to fantasy-based stories.

Anime is a result of a successful *manga* series. The term is an abbreviation for Japanese animation or cartoons. The author of *Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga*, Frederik Schodt, argues that:

Even if in Japanese, the animation is usually more accessible, for unlike untranslated, printed *manga*, *anime* does not require reading the Japanese language or learning the sometimes unique conventions of printed Japanese comics. But while *anime* is wonderful in its own right, it is derived from *manga* culture and often based on original *manga* works, and as such, it is often a watered down version of the original (Schodt 1996: 14).

This quote reflects the way *anime* originates from *manga*. The more receptive the public is towards the *manga* series, the greater the chance of a subsequent *anime* series. *Anime* ranges from one 30-minute episode to over 200 episodes.

In the next section, I will explain in detail how to read a Japanese name. In addition, I examine the construction of the name's components. I also explain the application of honorifics and codes of reference.

1.1 Constructs of a Name

In reading Japanese names, the first name in the order equates to the surname. The surname indicates the family or clan name. In a given order, the last name represents the prename. The prename also refers to as the *imina*, *jitsumyō*, taboo, or personal name. Schodt, indicates that, "in Japan, people's names are usually listed with the family name first and the given name last" (Schodt 1996: 13). Figure 1 contains a group of names from *anime* and historical sources portraying the proper sequence of names.

Figure 1: Name Construction

Surname	Personal Name
Nobutsuna	Naoe
Sanzo	Genjyo
Kamiya	Kaoru
Sanada	Yukimura
Yagami	Raito
Sumeragi	Subaru
Muraki	Kazutaka
Sakurazuka	Seishirou

A better example would be to take on of the names from the list. For instance, in the name Kamiya Kaoru, Kamiya is the surname or family name for the individual while Kaoru is the prename or personal name. In Sanada Yukimura, similarly, Sanada is a family name, while Yukimura is a personal name.

Members of Japanese society place emphasis upon codes of reference when speaking to individuals. Individuals attach honorifics or suffixes to another's name when corresponding with each other. *-San*, *-chan*, and *-kun* remain standard attached suffixes today, and attached in general to a person's name. In the context of Japanese society, an individual demonstrates great disrespect to another by not attaching the proper honorific to the individual's name. Other honorifics include *-sensei*, *-domo*, *-senpai*, *-kohai*, and *-guru* for individuals at a higher social and political level than the referent.

In addition, people often utilize degrees of relationship when referring to familiar individuals. For example, a younger brother often calls his older sibling *nee-san* (older sister) or *ni-san* (older brother). The same applies to other people possessing a familial or close bond of relationship. Young children refer to an unrelated elder as *obaa-san* (grandmother) or *ojii-san* (grandfather).

The following section includes the researcher's work I use to support my argument on how members of Japanese society encourage and reinforce their collective memory of past and present naming customs through the utilization of *anime* and *manga*.

1.2 Literature on Collective Memory

Maurice Halbwachs states:

We remain attached to formulas, symbols, and conventions, as well as to rites that must be repeated and reproduced, if we wish to preserve the beliefs which gave them birth. Through this attachment to traditional values, the society of yesterday and the successive periods of social evolution are perpetuated today (Halbwachs 1992: 120).

In this quote, Halbwachs argues that our affinity to symbols, rituals, and customs preserve the beliefs and meanings we attach to such traditions. Due to this attachment,

people acknowledge previous social and political institutions while the very foundations of such elements perpetuate change. Maurice Halbwachs asserts that collective memory is selective and based upon varying groups of people with different memories. Those memories define and give way to modes of social and political behavior. Memories receive classification and selection before ideas and practices are fashioned into customs that embody the image of a culture. Sometimes memories of certain events or customs only last a couple generations. Other times a memory alters the tapestry of a culture enough to engrain itself within the society. In the case of *anime* and *manga*, naming practices transcend the boundaries of retired traditions by visual reinforcement. For the purpose of my research, I utilize Halbwachs' work to explore the way memory effects social and political behavior. He analyzes the way people conceptualize and reinforce memory through collective experience.

Other scholars of collective memory often reflect upon Maurice Halbwachs' publication, *On Collective Memory*. Jan Assmann and Jeffrey Olick often quote part of Halbwachs work to support their arguments on collectivity. Jan Assmann utilizes Maurice Halbwachs and art historian Aby Warburgs' discourse on collective memory originating from a cultural framework as opposed to a biological framework. She argues:

The specific character that a person derives from belonging to a distinct society is not seen to maintain itself for generations as a result of phylogenetic evolution, but rather as result of socializations and customs (Assmann 1995: 125).

Adding to her analysis on 'communicative' or 'everyday memory', my research includes recent interpretations and arguments on how social and political name alterations effected Japanese collective memory and cultural identity through history. In addition, I apply

anime and *manga* examples such as *Mirage of Blaze*, *Samurai Deeper Kyo*, and *Kenshin* to support the effects of social and political name alterations on collectivity.

Jeffrey Olick examines how memory and the nation state become topics of interest when studying society. He reflects upon memory and the nation as synonymous entities invoking history to explain customs and practices. He also includes descriptive on the concept of history and memory becoming distant from the nation because people contrive them as outdated and repressive. Certain perceived 'archaic' practices (name alteration) remain in effect today as vehicles of memory. The concept of 'archaic', 'outdated', and 'repressive' serve no use within the contexts of Japanese naming practices. Instead, people change Japanese naming practices in correspondence with the times and needs of the group. The idea of holding onto the memory of such traditions served to indicate the changing of Japanese social and political institutions.

The transmission of such messages of collective memory also changes with the times and needs of Japanese society. Olick indicates that:

Over time, memories become generalized 'imagos', and such imagos require a social context for their preservation. Memories, in this sense, are as much the products of symbols and narratives available publicly—and of the social means for storing and transmitting them—as they are the possessions of individuals (Olick 1999: 335).

In the literal sense, members of Japanese society create visual representations to engage and reinforce collective memory. Visual and auditory stimulations encourage viewers to observe entertainment, but also take away historical and cultural values at the same time. One example of education through *anime* and *manga* results from the utilization of historical and cultural events. For instance, the artists of historical based *anime* and *manga* examine specific incidents from Japanese history and apply the events to a visual

template. I reference the use of the Battle of Sekigahara in *Samurai Deeper Kyo*. The result of the campaign determines the end of the Feudal Era and the unification of Japan under one governing body. The scene encourages a history lesson while alluding to the customs and traditions of the samurai class.

Another leading scholar on collective agency, Paul Connerton examines the way culture defines memory as opposed to the individual characterization of memory. He focuses on the incorporation of practices within social and political institutions. Connerton's work further illustrates how cultural practices on the social and political level affect memory. *Anime* and *manga* help prove that Japanese name alterations include features that have the ability to span into historical and cultural memory by repetitive practice. They create a medium which lingers into present customs as perceived with Japanese name alterations from the Heian period and up until the late 1800s. In applying Connerton's analysis to the way name alterations span historical and cultural memory, I surmise that *anime* and *manga* support and reinforce collectivity.

Patrick Hutton's analysis, *Recent Scholarship on Memory and History*, compares and contrasts the major issues of earlier concepts of memory and history and recent work on the topic. Whereas he indicates that earlier historians reflected upon recreating the past by utilizing romanticized views, Hutton argues that:

[current historians of memory] are more suspicious of the distortions of memory, and they are watchful of the transference of their own memories onto the histories that they would write. Where their nineteenth-century counterparts found spontaneous heroism, they find calculating power. Where the former found their imaginations renewed, the latter find them repressed (Hutton 2000: 535).

Mirage of Blaze utilizes historical events to incorporate both a romanticized and realistic view of the times. One referenced incident known as the Katsuke Rebellion receives the

idealistic image of Japanese farmers fighting for a reduction in taxes and winning through the peaceful negotiation of a petition to their feudal overseers. Later the series shows the end of the Katsuke Rebellion as the feudal leaders formally execute the leaders of the movement.

Hutton's work legitimates that collective memory possesses the ability to effect how people interpret history. Japanese name alterations are deeply entrenched into social and political customs. Names and nomenclature customs identify and define historical and social memory. Customs and traditions influence the memory of a group and hence reflect upon the remembered history of the group. Hutton proclaims, "we cannot escape our past for it continues to influence our present mental processes" (Hutton 2000: 539). Even futuristic *anime* and *manga* involving space ships and different planets contain elements of explicit Japanese culture. Naming traditions saturate the language and codes of reference characters maintain with one another. You can take the samurai away from a Bushido (way of the sword) based environment, but you cannot take the way of Bushido out of the samurai.

Herbert Plutschow remains one of the few and major sources of information regarding Japanese naming practices. In *Japan's Name Culture: The Significance of Names in a Religious, Political, and Social Context*, Plutschow describes the reasons for name alteration while incorporating examples from historical census records and upon gravestones. He includes registries and religious records utilizing the names from the conception of the Japanese state to the late 1800s. He provides information on the reasons for changes in Japanese nomenclature. The bulk of my supporting evidence on social and political changes in nomenclature reflects Plutschow's reasons for name

alterations. However, Plutschow does not elaborate on the affects resulting from name alterations on collective memory or the adaptation of those practices into present forms. His work helps focus on the reasons for social and political name changes with past naming practices, and merge concepts of collectivity into my argument supporting the effects on memory. I further his work by addressing the progression of a previous naming practice into the version the custom holds today.

Joy Hendry's work, *Understanding Japanese Society*, became an integral piece explaining current naming practices and customs. Despite covering more of a contemporary view on Japanese customs from birth until death, Joy Hendry references ancient customs and practices in her research. In this way, she balances her work with past and present examples of naming traditions. In her chapter, *Religious Influences*, she presents political (running or being elected to a new office) and social reasons (marriage) for current name alterations. Her input reinforces the existent practice of name alterations despite a shift into more permanent record keeping. She utilizes other examples of relationships from past periods to a contemporary frame of reference. Her work helps balance a comparison and contrast model regarding past and present naming practices.

C.E. West and F.W. Seal provide a vast source of information on individual samurai, primarily during the Sengoku Period. Their online service includes specialized information from other known authorities on Japanese culture and history such as Stephen Turnbull and Sato Hiroaki. The program provides historical biographies of each researched figure. The site logs individual samurai with their past titles, span of life, their initial clan and subsequent history, name alterations, and a descriptive on their lives.

Famous samurai like Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Uesugi Kenshin receive in depth analysis. Lesser-known figures with scant references in historical texts and census reports receive fewer details. Their work contributes a lot of census and historical research to the topic of Japanese nomenclature.

I drew upon the website as a way to catalog samurai names and alterations. After analyzing the names, I divide them into separate categories reflecting either social or political reasons for the alterations. In addition, I compare other publications from Stephen Turnbull, Bryant J. Anthony, and Sato Hiroaki. C.E. West experienced similar difficulty finding useful internet based sources and textbook readings on his thesis covering Oda Nobunaga in 1997. F.W. Seal became a partner of the work by writing the bulk of the biographies C.E. West originally researched in the summer of 1998. Most of his initial work came from Marius Jensen's *Warrior Rule in Japan*. Other leading experts like Bryant J. Anthony help fill out more in depth biographies with their input. C.E. West and F.W. Seal utilize additional articles from Stephen Turnbull, and Sato Hiroaki to validate their work. However, while they remark and track Japanese name alterations, they do not focus on the way the public remembers such practices. The traditions receive notice as existing, but do not examine how members of Japanese society perpetuate a collective memory of customs no longer in use.

Sato Hiroaki examines legends and myths involving famous samurai and discerning historical facts from fiction with the subject matter. Throughout his analysis, he includes name alterations with the leading figures of the Sengoku Period and additional reference to the political and social strife leading up to the Warring States Period. *Legends of the Samurai* catalogs oral and written stories about my subject matter

by emphasizing on the collective memory surrounding the historical figures. Toyotomi Hideyoshi and other individuals are the subjects of past and present memory. Their stories of victory and defeat receive immortalization in texts, which to this day schoolchildren continue to read. Sato analyzes the legendary figures and their stories by emphasizing tales that passed down from generation to generation. I compare the legends he records to the contemporary visual representations in Japanese *anime* and *manga*. The legends he examines are just as much vehicles of collective memory as *anime* and *manga*. In analyzing the stories, Sato helps his readers revisit and recollect cultural memory. *Anime* and *manga* incorporate stories complementing Japanese history and culture through a visual and auditory format. Some of the same incidents of his analysis on historical figures show in *anime* and *manga*. Both Sato's ruminations on samurai legends and contemporary Japanese media serve as modes of expressing memory. Sato retells and explains legends and myths from the existence of the samurai. *Anime* and *manga* reflect, repeat, and educate a visual and auditory audience on collective cultural practices.

Takao Sofue and Lucille Hoerr Charles focus on naming practices and rituals involved with children. Takao Sofue emphasizes different rituals involving the birth and growth of Japanese children throughout Japan. He examines both past and present rituals in addition to traditions performed in urban and rural settings. Lucille Hoerr Charles examines the meanings behind child rituals and naming practices. Charles' focus encompasses naming traditions on a worldwide basis. She explains and validates why some cultures perform certain naming rituals (Charles 1951: 11-35).

Stephen Turnbull, one of the leading figures of Medieval Japan, analyzes the popular image of the Japanese samurai from the early Heian Period to the dissolution of

the samurai during the Meiji Restoration in his publications, *Warriors of Medieval Japan* and *Samurai Commanders*. He includes history on the samurai and the memory regarding the leading figures of the times with accounts from censuses and reports. His research coincides with my focus on the idealized image and memory that has become synonymous with Japanese warriors. Much of Turnbull's work alludes to the utilization of naming practices and their subsequent alterations. For example, he mentions Uesugi Kenshin's adoption when the samurai leader "saved his former *daimyo*'s life on condition that the *daimyo* adopted him as his heir and gave him the glorious name of Uesugi" (Turnbull 2005: 22). However, Turnbull pays more attention to analyzing the various campaigns, victories, and defeats of samurai as a way to catalog their legendary status. He acknowledges that name alterations exist in Japanese society, but does not develop the concept any further.

1.3 Utilized *Anime* and *Manga*

In this section, I explain the selection of *anime* and *manga* I use to support the how members of Japanese society remember naming customs and behavior through the utilization of contemporary media. I utilize eleven *anime* and *manga* examples to highlight naming practices and behavior. *Anime* and *manga* provide numerous samples in regards to naming practices. While other examples like *Bushilord*, *Ranma ½*, *D. Gray-Man*, *Full Metal Alchemist*, and various other *anime* and *manga* reference naming practices, utilizing all of them surpasses the time limit for this thesis. Therefore, I select the titles that apply the most frequent or highest number of naming practices examples.

For this research, I analyze contemporary practices regarding the legal transition to permanent names. The legalization of permanent names in the Japanese government started in 1874. In the *anime* and *manga* examples I utilize, I separate past naming practices prior to the legal demands of the Japanese government. The examples qualifying for previous practices include *Mirage of Blaze (Honoo no Mirage)*, *Kenshin*, *Saiyuki*, *Shonen Onmyouji*, and *Samurai Deeper Kyo*. Contemporary examples portraying the adaptation from past naming practices to current rituals include *Tokyo Babylon*, *X/1999*, *Yami no Matsuei*, *Tsubasa Reservoir*, *Fake*, and *Death Note*.

In his *anime* and *manga* series, *Mirage of Blaze*, Kuwabara Mizuna, utilizes historical figures and events as a way to encourage his audience's collective memory of the past. He incorporates social and political name alterations deriving from hostage exchange and adoption, *genpuku*, and marriage into his story. I cite *Mirage of Blaze* because of the way Kuwabara applies Sengoku naming customs and behaviors that are congruent with events from 1400 to 1600 A.D. He examines hostage exchange and adoption when indicating the name alterations in Uesugi Kagetora, Oda Nobunaga, Uesugi Kenshin, Uesugi Kagekatsu, and other prominent figure in Japanese history. Lucille Hoerr Charles likens names to roles containing significance to the designation's referent (Charles 1951: 34). I use her work to explain how hostage exchange and adoption related name alterations become roles consisting of symbolic meaning to the individual performing the act of naming and the one receiving the name. I reference Takao Sofue, Charles, Herbert Plutschow, and Joy Hendry examinations to Kuwabara's application relating to *genpuku*. In addition, he reflects on marriage based name alterations with his examination of the Naoe family. In using Plutschow, Hendry and C.E.

West and F.W. Seal, I apply their research to naming traditions Kuwabara utilizes (Plutschow 1995; Hendry 2003; C.E. West and F.W. Seal 1999-2007). I analyze how Kuwabara's use of naming practices reinforces the Japanese public's awareness and collective memory of previous naming customs and behaviors.

Nobuhiro Watsuki, the artist of the *Kenshin anime* and *manga* series, examines people and events from the beginning and subsequent aftermath of the Meiji Restoration. I reference his work because of the observations he makes regarding the social dynamics behind name alteration on the master and apprentice level. Paul Connerton's work supports the symbolism behind the name alterations regarding master/apprentice relationships (Connerton 2002: 1-104). In addition, I find that Nobuhiro includes examples of political based name alterations resulting from changes in occupation and positions on ideology. He incorporates historical figures that experience name alterations into his series. One of the major examples he utilizes is the allusion of the main character to the original samurai, Kawakami Gensai. In using historical people and events, Nobuhiro reinstates the memory of the Meiji Period onto his audience.

Likewise, Kazuya Minekura models *Saiyuki* with the examination of the master and apprentice relationship and shifts in occupation and ideology. Kazuya gears the *Saiyuki* series towards an older audience while encouraging concepts of collective memory in relation to social and political name alterations. I apply Paul Connerton and Herbert Plutschow's analysis on asserting control by destroying the original identity through name alteration to explain the aspects of the master and apprentice relationship between characters (Connerton 2002; Plutschow 1995).

Akimine Kamijyō's series, *Samurai Deeper Kyo*, contains examples of political and social name alterations. On the social sphere, the *anime* and *manga* series draws samples of historical figures such as Hidetada Tokugawa (Second Shogun under the Tokugawa regime) and Sanada Yukimura (a samurai general who helped determine the Battle of Sekigahara. The outcome of the Battle of Sekigahara resulted in Tokugawa Ieyasu as the Shogun and influenced Japan's closed door policy). The memory of the historical battle in the series encourages the audience to remember the events which molded Japan into a nation. Their examples include *genpuku* (initiation from childhood to adulthood), which I explain with analysis from Takao Sofue, Plutschow, and Hendry (Takao 1965; Plutschow 1995; Hendry 2003). In regards to political alterations, concepts of name alteration due to ideology pervade the *anime* and *manga* series.

Tokyo Babylon, *X/1999*, *Yami no Matsuei*, *Tsubasa Reservoir*, *Fake*, and *Death Note* include codes of reference between individuals. I use Maurice Halbwachs, Jeffery Olick, Patrick Hutton, and Jan Assmann's analysis on collectivity to show how naming practices change to the needs of Japanese society (Halbwachs 1992; Olick 1998; Olick 1999; Hutton 2000; Assmann 1995). The artists of the *anime* and *manga* in this section indicate the shift from one naming practice to other forms of customs and behaviors. Current Japanese codes of reference reflect an individual's position within society and the relation between people. Clamp's *Tokyo Babylon* and *Tsubasa Reservoir* include proper forms of reference between people. Applying suffixes such as *-san*, *-chan*, and *-kun* to an individual's name replace the former practices of altering names to reflect changes in social and political position. By making distinctions in social and political power through the addition of suffixes to a name, people were able to keep the memory of the previous

rituals by adapting them to new forms of reference. *X/1999*, *Yami No Matsuei*, and *Death Note* indicate ways to stress the relationship of individuals through improper use of suffixes. The *manga-ka* of *Fake*, Sanami Matoh, alludes to a relationship of familiarity between two people and the way they refer to each other through a different scheme of naming rituals.

1.4 Importance of *Anime* and *Manga* in Mainstream Japanese Media

The saturation of *anime* and *manga* in mainstream Japanese media indicates no escape from the invasion of the cartoon characters. However, as much as *anime* and *manga* pervades Japanese media, few articles focus on the effects of *anime* and *manga* on collective memory. Minimal research exists on the relationship between collectivity and Japanese media. Some newspaper reports and scattered articles from authors such as Sharon Kinsella and Frederik Schodt address the popularity of *anime* and *manga*. Frederik Schodt reports in his publication that, “in 1995, Former Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa began serializing a column of his opinions, not in a newspaper or newsmagazine, but in the *manga* magazine *Big Comic Spirits*” (Schodt 1996: 19). From the very top of the Japanese government down to the local level, *anime* and *manga* represent Japanese society. Schodt continues to remark on Miyazawa’s reasons choice to utilize *anime* and *manga* as a way to reach the public:

Big Comic Spirits is read by nearly 1.4 million young salarymen and potential voters each week. In today’s Japan, *manga* magazines are one of the most effective ways to reach a mass audience and influence public opinion (Schodt 1996: 19).

In Schodt’s analysis of *manga*, he reports that 40 percent of the books and magazines sold in 1995 consist of *manga*. Schodt also indicates that the value of

Japanese comics “ranged from U.S. \$7-9 billion (a sum twice the GDP of Iceland), while those actually sold were worth \$6-7 billion—an annual expenditure of over \$50 for every person in Japan” (Schodt 1996: 20). In the radio source, *National Public Radio*, reporter Susan Stone states that, “in Japan, much of the population reads *manga* and watches *anime*” (Stone 2003: 1). Travel guide website *Japan Zone* offers information about Japan and Japanese culture. They recently wrote a series of articles on *manga* and *anime* consumerism. Their article includes details on mainstream society's reception of *anime* and *manga* as well as how such media influences a recent law banning child pornography. The article observes the inclusion of middle-aged salary men reading *manga* on rush-hour trains. In addition,

A law introduced to curb child pornography (most of the world's supply being from Japan) for some reason excluded *manga* - probably something to do with it being a ¥500-billion-a-year industry (Japan Zone 1999-2007: 1).

Despite new movements for curbing child pornography receiving recent light in the Japanese judicial system, some elements such as pornography in *anime* and *manga* show no such signs of reduction. As the article states, the lawmakers ignored the \$4,923,396,868-a-year *manga* and *anime* industry. While members of the Japanese government may not support child pornography, they understand that publishing firms and fans may disapprove of applying the law to *anime* and *manga*.

Members of the government chose not to take action against the *anime* and *manga* industry because of the backlash such a result will cause. The Japanese government and major corporations utilizes *anime* and *manga* to gather a response from Japanese society and educate members on appropriate customs and behaviors. The anticipated response from the public influences the continued existence of risqué *anime* and *manga*. The

exclusion of such genres of *anime* and *media* from the law serves as a way of reminding the masses on how not to treat other people. The researcher, Sharon Kinsella, analyzes the development of *anime* and *manga* in Japanese society. In her article, *Adult Manga: Pro-Establishment, Pop-Culture, and New Politics in the 1990s*, Kinsella examines how the Japanese government and businesses began to utilize *manga* as a way to commune ideas and messages to the public. She indicates that:

The increasing amount of attention paid to *manga* by government and business was one indication of the extent to which these governing organizations felt it imperative to find new means of communication with society. From the mid-eighties, there appeared to be a desire amongst large corporations and institutions to formulate new social and cultural values which might help to cohere society (Kinsella 1999: 567-572).

The Japanese government and large corporations understand the positive response from other members of Japanese society towards *anime* and *manga*. Kinsella comments on *manga* originating from the 1960s. However, woodblock prints containing caricatures of samurai, politicians, historical figures, geisha, courtesans, and other people saturate Japanese art. Caricatures on woodblock prints predate and act as precursors to *manga*. Images commune multiple concepts of social and political behaviors to the public. Japanese businesses and the government target the fastest and easiest venue to reach and influence consumers and members of Japanese society. According to Kinsella:

Following the publication of *Japan Inc: An Introduction to Japanese Economics in Manga in 1986*, these corporations and institutions began to both use and promote *manga*. *Manga* became the medium through which they attempted to communicate their ideas to employees, young people, children, or society in general (Kinsella 1999: 567-572).

Japanese corporations and agencies present their ideas to the public while at the same time checking the pulse of their consumers. By utilizing and promoting *manga*, the

government and corporations gage the responses of Japanese society as well as create allusions to past and present traditions. Kinsella remarks that:

Through the promotion of *manga* to the status of national culture, Japanese government agencies and institutions demonstrated, and perhaps tested, the potential for a more inclusive, modern and flexible style of government policy which employed cultural as much as political symbols (Kinsella 1999: 567-572).

To a vast extent *anime* and *manga* influences the reception of foreign elements into Japanese society while supplying an additional collective memory of historical and cultural elements. An article in *Japan Times*, one of the leading Japanese newspapers in the country, reports a wine company's use of *manga* to encourage Japanese consumers into purchasing foreign wine. Felicity Hughes reports on April 11, 2008 that:

The enormous impact the wine *manga* "Kami no Shizuku (The Drops of the Gods)" has had on wine sales across Asia cannot be shrugged off with a boff of Gallic unconcern. Just two days after the issue with that particular comment came out, a Taiwanese importer sold 50 cases of Mont-Perat (Hughes 2008: 1).

Anime and *manga* achieves a fan base outside of Japan, but nowhere near to the extent as the fan base within the country. *Japan Zone* reporter, Marri Lynn, researched and found that *Death Note* alone sold 18 million copies for the eleven volume series. Schodt explains that, "there were 2.3 billion *manga* books and magazines produced in 1995, and nearly 1.9 billion actually sold, or over 15 for every man, woman, and child in Japan" (Schodt 1996: 19). In a conference at San Francisco, California, Viz Media, a major merchandiser of *anime* and *manga* for the United States, confirms one of the top selling *manga* series, *Naruto*, as selling 2.3 million volumes in 2006 as stated in Viz Media's press report, *Viz Media Announces the Long Awaited New Naruto*. These figures include

the sales for the *manga* series, and do not provide the figures for the *anime* or any additional merchandise.

In 2004, *Japan Times* reporter, Tony McNicol, interviewed *manga* and *anime* merchant, Koichi Nakayasu, on the amount of sales *manga* and *anime* bought in his store.

He states that:

Nakayasu works in Nakano's Mandarake, one of 8 shops over Japan, selling comics, videos and character-goods for the nations dedicated and occasional otaku. Its total sales each year total around 400 million yen, including a substantial Internet and mail-order business to the U.S. and Europe (McNicol 2004: 1).

Today that one store's fiscal year income equates to \$3,938,717. Susan Stone's interview with marketing director of Viz Communications, Rick Bauer, includes a discussion on the American version of the popular Japanese magazine, *Shonen Jump*. The magazine remains one of Japan's most popular and read comic. Similar to the cartoon section of an American newspaper, the template of *Shonen Jump* is an entire booklet. Bauer comments that, "the original sells 3 million copies every week in Japan" (Stone 2003: 1). The *anime* and *manga* industry does not appear to be slowing down. If anything, the sales continue to increase in the newspapers as more artists appear with their work.

Historical and cultural elements of Japan pervade *anime* and *manga*. On a similar scale *manga* and *anime* reflects and influences the collective memory and perception of history and society. Former Prime Ministers and other government officials utilize *anime* and *manga* to influence foreign and domestic policies. The increase of sales and consumer reports alone indicate a massive fan base amongst the population. The industry affects laws advocating human rights and the curbing of child pornography. *Anime* and *manga* influences to some extent foreign policies and the consumption of exported goods.

Major corporations and news networks utilize *anime* and *manga* to reach their audiences. In the Land of the Rising Sun, members of Japanese society really do need to live under rocks to evade the saturation of *anime* and *manga* in popular media and culture.

Chapter 2:

Social Applications

Social practices and traditions develop the principles of public and private behavior. Codes of conduct and modes of behavior emphasize how individuals portray and perceive society. With the induction of members into a society, expectations on social representation develop into an integral facet of the group's image. The naming of an infant asserts the expectations of society on the new member of its population.

Charles remarks that:

Tylor lists some ceremonies for infant name-giving, and speaks of teknonymy as an assertion of paternity... Van Gennep notes that by naming, the child is both individualized and is accepted into society (Charles 1951: 11-12).

Charles references Tylor and Van Gennep to establish the role and significance of naming rituals. Tylor mentions the need to assert dominance through the act of proclaiming paternity. Naming an individual places a degree of ownership and hierarchy on people. A person occupying a dominant position retains the right to name other subordinate members of a group. Van Gennep alludes to the premise that by granting an individual a name within a society the person receives the first signs of acceptance and training within the group. When the group assigns an individual a name, the members admit the person into their society.

With each naming ritual certain rules and expected protocol apply to each individual case. These rules dictate actions and practices by incorporating a collective image upon social institutions such as infancy, the liminal phase between childhood and adulthood, the correct behavior towards other individuals within the system, and the transition from initiate to master. Jeffrey Olick references Maurice Halbwachs' argument that people would be incapable of remembering behavior without a group influencing and educating such concepts into the individual. Olick states that:

Halbwachs argued that it is impossible for individuals to remember in any coherent and persistent fashion outside of their group contexts. His favorite examples include the impossibility of certainty regarding particular childhood memories: it is very difficult, at the limit, to say whether what we remember is somehow individual and independent or the result of cues and suggestions given to us by our families (Olick 1999: 334-335).

Members of society indoctrinate these cues into the development of an individual by engaging in interactions and dialogue with one another. The repetitive nature within private and public space initiates the training and refinement into appropriate members of the group.

In this section, naming traditions and practices transcend public and private space by referencing and provoking memory through the utilization of contemporary Japanese media. *Anime* and *manga* provides visual and auditory stimulation that endorses and encourages continual homogenization with the accepted social conduct of naming practices. Media validates present concepts of naming behavior while reinforcing subconscious knowledge of preceding interactions and behavior. Japanese culture utilizes an extensive amount of 'wrapping' in the private and public sphere. Hendry

utilizes 'wrapping' as a term referring to the contexts of language and displays of public and private behavior. She mentions that:

The wrapping represents the degree of formality and it expresses the system of etiquette, but it also offers opportunities for manipulation, not of the system, but through it (Hendry 2003: 122).

Japanese people translate 'wrapping' as a way to ascribe differences in relationship as well as manipulate degrees of formality. Strict attention to the hierarchy of 'wrapping' revolves around public and private behavior. Such elements even dictate the customs and interaction between people. For example, Hendry references bowing as a sign of status deferment:

"This begins from the moment of greeting, for bowing is a good example of the expression of status differences. One bows more deeply to a superior than to an inferior, and one should stay down longer than one's superior (Hendry 2003: 102-103).

In addition to bowing, language and codes of reference indicate the hierarchical positioning of people in Japanese society. Hendry remarks that, "speech in Japanese also varies depending on the relationship between the partners engaged in a conversation" (Hendry 2003: 103). She explains that the system of speech levels indicate the importance of word choice and reference.

Naming traditions and the way an individual refers to another person establishes the social relationship people share with each other. Adults apply specific references and naming practices when conferring with one another based on their social positioning in regards to each other. Hendry deduces that:

Terms of address also vary... Within specific institutions, where members occupy named positions in the hierarchical scale, they will be addressed by these titles by more junior members, whom they will address by name (Hendry 2003: 103).

On the other hand, children and initiates receive different modes of reference from their peers, subordinates, and superiors. In their positioning within of the social mainframe, other people expect them to follow similar acts of correspondence with the rest of Japanese society.

In Japanese culture, the initial naming of an infant receives much deliberation and attention to detail. Past naming practices play into contemporary practices of naming children. According to Joy Hendry:

The time (and place) of birth is supposed to affect the character and destiny of a person, as is their chosen name. Parents therefore often consult a specialist before deciding on a name. The issue turns on the number of strokes it takes to write the chosen characters, and a problem may be alleviated by keeping the pronunciation of a name, but choosing a different character to write it (Hendry 2003: 134).

Hendry indicates the current practice of seeking a specialist for naming children and the methods to which the specialist helps acquire a name. The ritual of seeking a proper name for a child through a specialist stems from a common practice originating in the Heian period and continuing into present society. Other writers such as Herbert Plutschow and Takao Sofue examine facets of naming rituals turn to the common feature of waiting a certain number of days (usually seven) before divining a child's name through a medium (Plutschow 1995; Takao 1965). For example, Herbert Plutschow reflects on the practice during the Sengoku period. He states that:

Personal names (*jitsumyō*) were also referred to as *imina* or taboo names, or sometimes as *nanori*, because they were revealed in ritual name revelations. On the seventh night after birth, children were usually given auspicious infant names such as Matsu (Pine), Take (Bamboo), Tsurukame (Crane Turtle), Toku (Virtue), Katsu (Victory), and Ō (King), etc. Tokugawa Ieyasu's infant name, for example, was Takechiyo (Bamboo Thousand Generations) (Plutschow 1995: 12).

Further elaboration of the ritual from Takao Sofue's article, *Childhood Ceremonies in Japan: Regional and Local Variations* (1965), indicates variances in the ritual because of adapting to current social needs. While this particular practice no longer holds nearly as much prominence as it did in the past, some contemporary households continue to follow naming an infant a couple days after birth. According to Takao Sofue's analysis:

...then follows the naming ceremony (nazuke). In most parts of Japan this is held on the seventh day, which is called shichiya. In many communities in Kanto, Chubu, and Kyushu, however, the naming ceremony takes place on the third day along with the yuzome and kizome ceremonies (Nakao 1965: 150).

As mentioned earlier, the more common practice of Japanese parents consulting a specialist for an appropriate name continues to this day in tandem with a naming ceremony.

Attention to the naming of children originates from early Japanese superstitions. Children often receive unassuming names to manifest a disinterest from evil spirits. *Anime* and *manga* reflects the practice by referring to past historical figures. Toyotomi Hideyoshi continues to hold a position as a prolific presence in *anime* and *manga* while alluding to his placement in Japanese society. The second unifier of Japan during the Sengoku Period, Hideyoshi exemplifies utilizing animistic names in order to dissuade the premature deaths of his children. Plutschow writes:

Hideyoshi's son Sutemaru (Throw-away-maru), also called Tsurumatsu (Crane-pine), died at the age of three. He therefore decided to give his next son, Hideyori, the name Hiroi (Lift-up) so that he might live longer. As in the case of Sutemaru, infants were given names that would render them uninteresting to harmful demons (Plutschow 1995: 12).

Plutschow references historical records on Hideyoshi to give an idea as to how much people (even within the ruling class) believe in the need to protect their children from

preying spirits by using inauspicious names. The act of giving an infant an undesirable name manifests in a need and desire to deflect unwanted attention from the individual. A dual sense of seeking attention towards a child fell into place by the act of dispelling unwanted attention through the garnering of desirable traits. Lucile Charles notes, “the personal appellation is chosen with a view to transferring, through the process of contagion or sympathetic magic, the desired or admired qualities of bird, beast, or plant” (Charles 1951: 12). By utilizing a transitory name, a parent attempts to exercise a level of control over the unknown. Either by granting an unassuming, undesirable name or a designation best suited for an admired quality, the child embodies the temporary meaning of the selected name. When a parent gives an infant the name of Dirt, people believed the name embodies the essence of the subject matter. People believe this reduces the chance of a demon or other supernatural entity displaying an interest in the child, and causing premature death.

However, the utilization of a child’s name before granting a formal name serves a dual purpose. On one hand, the birth name of an infant becomes a symbolic gesture of protection against the unknown. On the other, the application of a new name establishes a shift in the social and political responsibilities associated with the position of adulthood.

As Lucile Hoerr Charles indicates:

Some attention is paid to the drama in naming ceremonies later in life, for receiving a name frequently means receiving a soul, and in some cultures new souls and new names are received several times during the life of an individual (Charles 1951: 11).

Charles focuses on new souls accompanying new names as a way to create a boundary between the past and present self (Charles 1951: 11-35). Through receiving new names and souls, new social and political responsibilities embed into an individual’s name and

title. The designations reflect a shift from one point to another through a progression of learning and social molding into the final, desired product of society.

One such reflection of change involves the liminal stage between childhood and adulthood known as *genpuku*. One example of this liminal phase in Appendix 1, cites the alteration of Honda Sakujûrô's personal name during his *genpuku* ceremony. His name changes from Honda Sakujûrô to Honda Shigetsugu resulting from the ceremony. *Genpuku* remained a common practice throughout Japanese history until the discontinuation of the ritual around 1879. Plutschow comments on the application of *genpuku* on male and female initiates, and references the way respected individuals within a community grant the names:

Personal names (*jitsumyô* or *imina*) were given at initiation (*genpuku*). Boys changed their names at fifteen, girls at thirteen. These personal names given at *genpuku* were usually provided by a *nazuke-oya* or 'name father', usually by an elder or a statesman in an effort to forge lasting bonds within a specific political order (Plutschow 1995: 6).

One such incident of name alteration is Chokosabe Yasaburô's (1565-1587) naming ceremony coincides with his father's (Chokosabe Motochika) communications with Oda Nobunaga. The latter provides the characters of 'Nobu' for the new personal name of Chosokabe Nobuchika. In this sense, the social necessity of evolving to the status of an adult coincides with the need for a stronger political alliance. By granting the right to utilize the first two characters of his surname to Nobuchika, Oda Nobunaga manifests a social and political bond with the Chokosabe. Additionally, the *genpuku* ceremony establishes Nobuchika's responsibilities to Nobunaga. Certain behavior and actions form the relationship between both parties.

Appendix 1 indicates multiple examples of name alterations at the conclusion of *genpuku*. Apart of Appendix 1 reports that despite Honda Yasushige's original prename becoming lost in the records of history, the name alteration for his *genpuku* receives notice from the change to the 'Yasu' characters per care of Tokugawa Ieyasu, the third unifier of Japan. Other such figures like Ii Naokatsu's name changes to Ii Naotsugu during the ceremony. In correspondence, his relative, Ii Toramatsu receives the name Ii Hyōbu in his naming ceremony. The correlation with the Ii family indicates that name alterations were not only includes children selected to become the head of family and ultimate decision makers in the running of family affairs. Ijuin Kōgan (d.1599) also receives a new name (Ijuin Tadamune) upon reaching adult status. Other individuals undergoing a similar practice receive names like Nobuchika. With their names came an added responsibility and loyalty to other allies. Tokugawa Nagamura acts as a hostage to Hideyoshi throughout the Odawara Campaign of 1590. As a result Toyotomi Hideyoshi changes his first name to Hidetada when he presides over his coming of age ceremony and grants the characters of his name. Japanese media includes references to Tokugawa Hidetada in such templates as *Samurai Deeper Kyo*. Matsudaira Takechiyo receives his name of Matsudaira Motonobu from Imagawa Yoshimoto during his *genpuku*.

Uninitiated members of Japanese society receive children's names to establish their social and political roles. While Japanese children receive education with the assumption of specific familial obligations and duties in mind, they hold a position of *wagamama* (untrained, unrefined status) until the designation of their formal, adult names. For example, Sanada Yukimura, a famous samurai in the Sengoku Period and character in *Samurai Deeper Kyo*, originally goes by the childhood name of Gobenmaru. His

childhood name alters to the adult designation of Sanada Nobushige as a means to imply his new social and political responsibilities. Date Botenmaru, another represented figure of Japanese history through *anime* and *manga* mediums such as *Samurai Deeper Kyo* and *Mirage of Blaze*, “celebrated his *genpuku* (coming into manhood) ceremony and received his adult name” (Turnbull 51: 2005) of Date Masamune (a proponent of opening Japan up to foreign trade and cultural diffusion).

In 1874, *genpuku* discontinues in favor of registering a personal name at or shortly after birth for more permanent record keeping. Despite the loss of the liminal phase, personalization of names still finds legitimacy through current forms of referring to an individual. While changing an individual’s name at the initiation into adulthood no longer remains appropriate in current Japanese naming practices, referring to a person in a specific way maintains an address of social positioning. The original tradition of the past requires a mode of representation in society. However, the tradition alters to accept a new definition of the differences between an untrained, unrefined state of being and the conditioned responsibilities and expectations of adulthood. Halbwachs remarks:

Whether that society is directed toward the past or toward what is a continuation of the past in the present, it participates in present-day functions only to the extent that it is important to adapt these functions to traditions and to ensure the continuity of social life throughout their transformations (Halbwachs 1992: 129).

Regardless of whether or not society directs itself towards the past or perpetuates the past in the form of the present, functions adapt to include original traditions while adopting newer modes of expression. Naming traditions adapted in relation to the needs of Japanese society. The concept of applying names transformed to envelope and implement previous and present traditions and practices.

Anime and *manga* samples like *Tokyo Babylon*, *X/1999*, *Death Note*, *Yami No Matsuei*, and various others continue the practice of establishing and defining altered naming rituals as well as degrees of relationship. The *anime* and *manga* samples I utilize portray the shift from previous rituals to the current forms of naming practices. The application of naming terms establishes the exact social responsibilities and expectations a person maintains from their placement in society. Today as in the past, the use of a *jitsumyō* is taboo unless an individual grants permission to use his or her personal name and under specific circumstances. Children receive firm education from their parents and other members of Japanese society on correct forms of reference to individuals inside and outside of their social group. *Anime* and *manga* reaffirms the codes of reference by applying an entertaining way of learning the naming customs and behaviors. Japanese society maintains a classification of *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) behavior. Joy Hendry explains *uchi* and *soto* behavior in her chapter on *Socialization and Classification* of her book *Understanding Japanese Society*. She states that:

Uchi and *soto* translate roughly as ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ respectively, and they are probably first learnt by a child in association with the inside and outside of the house in which it lives. They, or parallel words, are also applied to members of one’s house as opposed to members of the outside world, and to members of a person’s wider groups, such as the community, school or place of work, as opposed to other people outside those groups (Hendry 2003: 47).

Naming behavior and etiquette indicates the intimacy or lack of intimacy between people. At a young age, children receive instruction and encouragement on the proper references towards superiors, subordinates, and peers. Hendry comments that:

Such participation is gradually but firmly encouraged by adults, who will adjust their own levels of politeness according to the situation, and demonstrate to a child about how to adjust his or her level, too. Japanese language has quite clear speech levels, which are chosen according to the

relationship between the people involved in a conversation, as well as the context they find themselves (Hendry 2003: 50).

The use of attaching suffixes to a name defines the relationship between individuals. For example, in *Tokyo Babylon* the characters maintain a particular correspondence by attaching the suffixes *-kun*, *-chan*, and *-san* to the end of each respective name. *-Kun* is a polite way of referring to a young boy while *-chan* often associates with a young girl. *-San* remains a generalized, neutral term applied to a colleague, equal, and in some cases a well-respected individual. More specifically, the character Sakurazuka Seishirou utilizes proper naming practices by referring to his younger counterpart, Sumeragi Subaru with the appropriate address of Subaru-kun. In addition, he applies *-chan* when referring to Subaru's twin, Hokuto.

Hendry indicates that:

It should be clear, however, that the distinctions are dichotomies only at an ideological level. In practice, there is a range of levels of politeness which varies depending on situation and a variety of relationships, and there are various degrees of closeness as well (Hendry 2003: 50).

The exact level of a social relationship between people reflects how and to what context individuals refer to one another. Different degrees of familiarity require varying forms of approach. However, some forms of reference, though apply to the context of a relationship, contains derogatory meaning. An improper use of a suffix in *anime* and *manga* indicates a breach of acceptable social naming practices and behavior. *Anime* and *manga* provide examples and educational reminders as a way to emphasize which codes of reference indicate improper use. Three examples of inappropriate naming practices and etiquette in *X/1999*, *Death Note*, and *Yami No Matsuei* suggest a lack of proper utilization of *jitsumyō*. When an equal refers to another equal with the suffixes of *-kun*

or *-chan* a stress is placed upon the lack of cordiality. *X/1999* examines the continuity of Sakurazuka Seishirou utilizing *-kun* in reference to Sumeragi Subaru despite the latter achieving equal social and political status. In *Death Note*, the character, Ryuzaki, consistently attaches the use of *-kun* to Raito, an equal's, name as a way of stressing improper use of naming practices. In *Yami No Matsuei*, the character Muraki places the same stress by attaching the three suffixes of *-san*, *-chan* and *-kun* to specific individuals at times which people otherwise view as socially incorrect and impolite. The utilization of such breaches of etiquette serve as ways to reinforce what remains an acceptable or unacceptable method of referring to people.

However, by granting another person the right to drop the suffix from the name, an individual implies a closer level of familiarity. Some *anime* and *manga* samples portray this particular social exchange by applying explicit permission from a character to utilize a more intimate code of reference. More prominently an individual's surname or family name is utilized as opposed to referring to someone with the familiar form of the prename or personal name. One example from Clamp's *Tsubasa Reservoir*, employs the use of the prename in contrast to utilizing the formal term of *Hime* (princess). The princess of the *anime* and *manga* series, Sakura, consistently requests another character (Sauron) to drop the formality of her title and refer to her by her personal name and the suffix of *-chan*. In the contemporary example of *Fake*, the character, Ryo, permits his working partner to utilize his personal name as a sign of familiarity between both individuals. He allows the honorific to drop from his name to establish a new level of relationship between himself and his colleague.

If the suffix drops without the direct permission of the individual, then a lack of respect and social normalcy plays into the relationship. The stress of proper utilization of suffixes is seen throughout most *anime* and *manga* cases. By placing significance on the proper ways to refer to people, individuals revisit and practice older forms of etiquette and behavior. Jan Assmann argues that:

While in the world of animals genetic programs guarantee the survival of the species, humans must find a means by which to maintain their nature consistently through generations. The solution to this problem is offered by cultural memory, a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behavior and experience in the interactive framework of a society and one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation (Assmann 1995: 126).

Jan Assmann indicates the need for repetition to continue survival of a group's nature through generations. The use of *anime* and *manga* reaffirms the current practices by incorporating visual and auditory repetition. Although the previous tradition of granting adult status through formal name designation no longer holds legitimacy, people develop a new way of classifying specific members of society. The way people refer to one another, either formally or informally, describes the positioning and space people hold within a social framework in relation to the others constituting that particular environment. With the reaffirmation of older forms of naming practices and etiquette through contemporary media, the collective memory of past social and political institutions receive validation from newer generations. Paul Connerton argues:

Rites are not merely expressive... But rites are expressive acts only by virtue of their conspicuous regularity. They are formalized acts, and tend to be stylized, stereotyped, and repetitive... They are not performed under inner momentary compulsion but are deliberately observed to denote feelings (Connerton 2002: 44).

Connerton believes that rites are not spontaneous actions, but in nature are stylized, stereotyped, and repetitive (Connerton 2002: 44). Years upon years of collective action from participants go into creating and refining a remembered ritual. The steps of the ritual repeat until the group memorizes the dance and understands every minute detail. Collective memory validates through the repetition of social and political traditions. Connerton alludes to the necessity of expressive acts and traditions finding legitimacy through deliberate repetition. Deliberate repetition not only trains individuals in regards to accepted forms of behavior and reference, but also encourages the practice by repeating the tradition.

Marriage remains a driving force for past and present Japanese name alterations. Marriage defines one of the leading ways for the continuation of an *ie* or family line by the perpetuation of future heirs. If a man only produces female offspring, the family scrutinizes other options that avoid their subjugation to extinction. For example, in earlier periods:

If there were no children at all, a new spouse could be sought, or a relative's child could be adopted. Or the head could take a concubine to produce an heir, who would then be brought up by his wife. It was also permissible, if necessary, to adopt a totally unrelated child, so that the blood connection, while desirable, was not indispensable to the continuity of the *ie* (Hendry 2003: 28).

Various methods of acquiring an heir to continue the family line remain applicable in the past and continue in some ways today. While the adoption of children into an *ie* remains important to the topic of naming practices, I further discuss this issue in the chapter dedicated to political name alterations.

Marriage does not always involve Japanese women changing their names to meet the needs of their spouse's *ie*. Often during the Sengoku period and even today, the male

partner tailors his name to meet the needs of his wife's family. This holds especially true when a man marries into a more prestigious family. One example of a man altering his name to better suit the needs of a more powerful *ie* bears note from *Mirage of Blaze*. The depiction of the character in the *anime* and *manga* series references the practice, and encourages viewers to remember the ritual as it appears in the past and the perpetuation of it in the present. Naoe Tôkurô (d. 1581) "was the adopted son-in-law of Naoe Kagetsuna and succeeded him in 1577" (C.E. West and Seal). As a member of a sub-sect of the Naoe clan, Tôkurô retains the right to keep his surname. However, the main family requests for his *jitsumyô* to alter as a means to stake a level of control over the potential family head. Plutschow indicates that:

Because of their sacred powers, names were devices of control. Pronouncing a name was a means of reminding its referent of the predictable behaviour that, as part of the human order, is inherent in the name. Names were given to integrate their referents into the human order, but also to ensure their orderly, benevolent behaviour (Plutschow 1995: 16).

By applying a new name to a person, place, or object, a family exercises an implement of control over new subject matter. Names incorporate individuals into a social group and apply meaning to the person. When a higher ranked individual takes away a person's name, the negating entity assumes the power of the subservient role's identity. The entity still maintains power over the newly created individual by applying a new name. The main Naoe family exercises their domination and needs to continue their *ie* by having their new son-in-law alter his name to Naoe Nobutsuna. Figure 2 indicates the progression of the Naoe *ie* through the marital line of two men, Naoe Nobutsuna and his successor. The main family places emphasis on the importance of continuing the Naoe

family. The Naoe family perpetuates this by selecting spouses for the head of the clan's children.

Figure 2: Naoe Family Marriage Chart

Naoe Tōkurō	Naoe Nobutsuna	First Name	Nobutsuna was the adopted son-in-law of Naoe Kagetsuna and succeeded him in 1577	d.1581	Male
Higuchi Kagetsugu	Naoe Kanetsugu	Both Names	Kagekatsu ordered that his widow marry Higuchi Kagetsugu, who became the head of the Naoe (as Naoe Kagetsugu)	1560-1619	Male

After Naoe Nobutsuna passes away, he leaves a vacuum for head of family when his widow bears none of his immediate heirs. The surviving family finds it necessary to utilize other means in order to continue the family line. After the grieving period, the leading members of the clan begin to examine other venues for the family. They find this opportunity in the form of an individual they trust enough to fulfill their needs. Their decision narrows to either adopting Higuchi Kagetsugu or marrying him to Nobutsuna's widow. The family chooses to marry his widow to Higuchi Kagetsugu. Since Higuchi does not directly herald from the Naoe line his name tailors into Naoe Kanetsugu.

Today marriages continue to involve the changing of either spouses name to better the suitability of the couple:

Specialists are frequently consulted about suitability of prospective marriage and the combination of names and birth signs is carefully considered. Sometimes inauspicious aspects of a union can be overcome by changing the name of one of the partners (Hendry 2003: 134-135).

On occasion, a few characters of a name change while some couples receive full alterations of a name. Depending on the social position of two prospective partners, the man or woman might subject their original name to the needs of the *ie* they marry into.

The transition from apprentice to master represents a common feature of social name alteration throughout the Heian period to contemporary Japan. *Saiyuki* and *Kenshin* provide examples of nomenclature practices altering through this liminal phase. During the Sengoku Period, masters of certain skills (sword use, martial arts, military movements, religious rituals, medicine, *Igo* (strategy game), etc.) and arts (tea ceremonies, flower arrangement, kimono making, weapons work, artwork, etc.) reserve the right to alter their acolytes' names. In retrospect, apprentices utilize the appropriate attachment of suffixes such as –sensei, –domo, –senpai, or –guru to someone in a higher or master type position.

One of the characters from *Saiyuki* portrays the transition from apprentice to master by the alteration of the name Kouryu to the actual title of Genjyo Sanzo. The transition to utilize Genjyo partially originates from the *genpuku* liminal phase while the application of Sanzo derives from a position within Buddhist hierarchy. Upon achieving the title of Sanzo, the student assumes the actual position of the teacher.

Another example from *anime* and *manga* of liminal change on the apprentice to master level belongs in the case of *Kenshin*. The character represents a *hitokiri* (assassin) by the name of Kawakami Gensai during the Meiji Restoration. At one point Kawakami Gensai's designated name alludes to *Bakumatsu* (a mastered sword form known as a quick draw involving one definitive move that killed an opponent). In the *anime* and *manga* series, *Kenshin*'s master utilizes his right to name his apprentice. The changing of names signifies a shift in social positioning and an alteration in identity. Paul Connerton examines the relationship between the changing from one political body to another by utilizing examples from the French Revolution. He states:

The revolutionaries needed to find ritual process through which the aura of inviolability surrounding the kingship could be explicitly repudiated... The anointed head was decapitated and the rite of coronation ceremonially revoked. Not simply the natural body of the king but also and above all his political body was killed (Connerton 2002: 9).

The name of an individual, similarly, represents more than a title given at birth. The name represents identity at birth and placement in the social sphere. An individual occupies specific offices and positions within a society. Before becoming an initiate, a person embodies a place in a group. When the initiate begins training, the person assumes a different role. An acolyte's training requires the shedding of the original identity and the transition into the new space the individual occupies. Connerton alludes to the need for the individual's removal from the initial identity and position of office (Connerton 2002: 9). The French revolutionaries remove the king from office by bisecting his head from his body. The dominate figure in the master/apprentice relationship symbolically takes away the name of the apprentice in order to remove the original identity and recreate a new one.

In the act of taking away an individual's name, a master assumes the right to make or break the trainee in whichever way they see fit. Risk and benefit applies to both sides of the master-apprentice relationship. The master places himself or herself at risk by accepting the responsibility of molding an individual in his or her name. By granting a name to a person, the master decides the potential worth of the individual. They kill their apprentices' original identities to recreate them. Through killing the original identity, the teacher assumes control over the nature of the person and the training used on the apprentice. Herbert Plutschow states:

According to name animism, a name not only referred to what it meant, but communed with its referent at the level of essence. Names therefore

could be used in an attempt to appeal to and to control things and forces. Naming things was an ancient means available to man to bring them under his control (Plutschow 1995: 32).

By exercising the right of naming an apprentice, a master places emphasis on the control their office maintains over their subordinates. The master of a skill or art systematically kills his apprentice's identity by overlapping a new name over the original name.

X/1999 includes a similar reference towards the liminal phase between apprentice to master assassin by analyzing the process of succession for the title and name of *Sakurazukamori* (*assassin of the sakura*). This line of succession continues with the Sakurazuka family inheriting the singular name and title through the initial training up to the point of assuming the master designation. The *Sakurazukamori* position, similar to the Sanzo position, shifts into the individual's name expressing practices that define the change from apprentice to master. Currently, the Japanese business world utilizes similar practices in the form of the *senpai/kohai* relationship. Superiors and inferiors use the term *senpai/kohai* as a way to designate an apprentice and master relationship. "These are the personal relations of loyalty and benevolence on the senior/junior (*senpai/kohai*) or parent/child model (*oyabun/kobun*)" (Hendry 2003: 166). As an individual advances in the corporate world, they gain the right to foster subordinates and obtain a higher designation suffix. While people in senior and master positions no longer alter their subordinates' names, the practice of attaching *-senpai*, *-domo*, *-sensei*, and *-guru* suffixes to a superior's name became a legitimate, contemporary form of reference.

In the next chapter, political name alterations make up much of the discussion on how members of Japanese society use *anime* and *manga* to reinforce collectivity. However, as I note in Chapter 2 social naming traditions also contain some levels of

political application. *Genpuku* often incorporates the use of characters from another individual's name to assert control and bestow some of the essence of giver's desirable traits to the recipient. Marriage involves a degree of adoption and exchange into a higher-ranking family to continue a bloodline and strengthen political ties. Although Japanese naming practices indicate changes in the relationships and roles of people, the alterations often bear more than one meaning.

Chapter 3:

Political Applications

Japan's political situation for the most part remains tumultuous at best throughout the nation's history. During the Sengoku period, survival required an extensive network of alliances and clan support. The necessity of political alliances remained at the forefront of any local *daimyo*'s (feudal lord or samurai's) interest. The more alliances resulting from hostage exchange, bonds of adoption, or in some cases political marriages, the greater the chances of survival and assumption of more resources into a family. Other ways of hierarchical climbing include shifts in ideology or through a change in occupation. Often a gift of land or other resources provokes a change in political position.

Another primary source of political ascension arises from the extension of components or the entire name of a powerful feudal lord to a lower ranking vassal. In this chapter, I supply analysis on the various forms of change in political status and the direct reflection upon naming traditions. Some of these traditions fade and adapt into new political practices while others continue into present day Japan.

To a lesser extent the system of hostage exchange and adoption remains a valid form of continuing a bloodline. However, the existence of trading an individual to solidify an alliance during a state of war no longer presides over such negotiations. An older, more traditionalist family or two major business corporations might enter into an arrangement of politically beneficial marriage or adoption to perpetuate a standing bond of cooperation and reciprocity. Despite these arrangements being political by nature, marriage and adoption receive validation through social acts. The main drive of marriage and adoption is to continue the line. The current arrangement originates from a previous form of naming tradition. This Japanese naming practice involves the act of dissolving an original name through hostage exchange or adoption.

Lists of individuals during the Sengoku and other timeframes reference the alteration of original names to suit the assumption of people into a new clan. For instance, the Chokosabe family remained an example of hostaging and adopting individual family members to other clans as a way to solidify political bonds of alliance. In Appendix #2, I have charted and analyzed the Chosokabe clan and the adoptions of the family into other clans. Here we can see the family sent many of the sons and daughters to other clans through intricate marriage alliances or adoptions. Chosokabe Chikayasu became Kosokabe Chikayasu with his adoption as a full-fledged member of the

Kosokabe clan. His sibling Chikasada assumed the Kira surname after the successful alliance with the Kira clan. Similarly, their brothers, Chikamasu and Yasutoyo, tailored their names to their respective clan sponsors, the Shima and the Yoshida. Chikatada proved to be a special case given the recognition of his childhood name, Magojirô. His adopted name altered his surname of Chosokabe to the Tsuno clan.

In contrast, their sibling Chosokabe Chikakazu received not only the blessing of adoption into the Kagawa family, but because he was his biological father's second born son, he succeeded his adoptive father Kagawa Nobukage as head of family. The order of birth determines the reception of a son or daughter into another family. Normally, the family avoided using the first-born as a bartering tool for hostage and adoption exchange. The second born son and any following children received an increased rate of adoption into other clans. The second born often holds a higher position in the sponsoring family than he enjoys in his biological family. The only time this would reverse occurs in the death of the first-born son. Upon the death of a first-born son, another heir, usually the second or third born son assumes the role of head of family.

Hostage exchange and adoption served as ways to continue a family line while at the same time mediating alliances between groups of people. Accepting new members into a family or group often involves a remapping of the original name. Similar to the apprentice-master naming practices, adoption asserts control over an unknown entity. Multiple examples of hostage exchange and adoption show up in *anime* and *manga*. The romantic image of the feudal lord and samurai does not mirror historically based *anime* and *manga* samples reflecting the feudal period. *Mirage of Blaze*, *Samurai Deeper Kyo*, *Kenshin*, and the recent arrival of *Shonen Onmyouji* indicate the cutthroat nature of

hostage exchange and adoption practices prior to the dissolution of those traditions. For example, *Mirage of Blaze* portrays Hojo Ujihide as a way to remind the audience of some of the usual practices during the Sengoku Period. Hojo Ujihide exemplifies the position of a hostage assuming a new designation through the renaming process. As a direct family member of the main Hojo clan, Ujihide remains unimportant enough in family politics for the family to deny him the head of family position. However, his status elevates enough to place him as a key figure when bartering for a political alliance with another clan or family by holding the position as a direct son of the family head. At the age of eight, the Takeda clan adopts him into the family in order to solidify an alliance between the Takeda and Hojo. Shingen Takeda (the Takeda clan head) invokes his right to rename Ujihide by giving him the Saburo prename and the Takeda family name. When he rejoins his original family, the names drop to his previous name. In some cases, his family continues to refer to him as Hojo Saburo to delineate the change he experiences because of his status as a former hostage. *Mirage of Blaze* reflects this particular example when referencing Takeda Shingen and the perception of Ujihide's brothers on his position in relation to the two families.

Hojo Genan, Ujihide's uncle, adopts Ujihide due to the loss of both his heirs to battle, but refrains from altering his adoptive son's name. However, his placement as Hojo Genan's adoptive son changes when relations between the Uesugi clan strengthen enough to solidify a new alliance. The Hojo send Ujihide as a representative and liaison point to the Uesugi. His original position as a hostage changes when Uesugi Kenshin (the Uesugi clan head) decided to adopt him as a son and heir meant to succeed him. Hojo Ujihide's original name fell from the records when Uesugi Kenshin changes his

name to Uesugi Kagetora. On another note, Uesugi Kenshin remains incapable of producing adequate blood heirs for the Uesugi clan. Kenshin needs an heir to continue the family line. In this sense, the political nature of forming alliances complements the social necessity of perpetuating the Uesugi family's name. The Uesugi clan's social and political needs correspond with the acceptance of Kagetora into the family. As a result, he adopts and names Uesugi Kagetora and Uesugi Kagekatsu as his legitimate heirs. Because Uesugi Kagekatsu originates as a relative of Kenshin, the Uesugi clan head permits him to keep his prename of Kagekatsu, but drops Kenshin's and his original surname of Nagao to assume the Uesugi title.

Kenshin associates significance with the name of Kagetora because of the former bearing that same name before the change of his original name. A common feature in Japanese name alterations amongst the samurai class revolves around the former identifications of a giver's name. Charles states:

A name is in itself dramatic. The care with which it is chosen the importance with which it is invested, the symbolic references frequently condensed in it... Casting, too, is a careful effort to match potentialities of an actor with qualities of a role, of a lively symbol he is publicly to portray (Charles 1951: 34).

In this quote, Charles refers to the symbolic identity of a name with previous associations. She alludes to names maintaining a dramatic quality charged with social and political meaning much like a character or role in a play. By assuming a certain role or title, the name an individual receives defines the continued survival of a former effigy. The consumption of the name bears the meaning of the title's essence. Hence, the recipient assumes part of the essence and identity of the original forebear. Uesugi Kenshin and other politically powerful figures often gave names that hold previous social and political

importance to them. By gifting an individual with a component or an entire name, the giver of the designation grants a part of themselves to the recipients. The legacy of the individual as well as the essence of themselves continues with the receiver of the name. Similar to naming an infant, the point of granting characters or a name indicates the desire for certain qualities to manifest in the recipient.

For instance, Emura Chikaie granted his son a name that contained previous association from his birth clan. In Figure 3 below, Emura Chikaie began his life as Kiita Chikatoshi prior to his adoption into the Emura family. He applied his original prename of Chikatoshi to his progeny after the birth of his son. In naming his son Chikatoshi, Emura Chikaie expressed the desire and belief for attributes of the Kiita family to develop in his child. In addition, he commences the acknowledgement of his past relation with his initial family and perpetuates future alliances with the Kiita clan.

Figure 3: Kiita/Emura Family Chart

Kiita Chikatoshi	Emura Chikaie	Both Names	Chikatoshi was the second son of Kiita Bingo no kami Shigetoshi and was adopted by Emura Bingo no kami Chikamasa		
Emura Magozaemon	Emura Chikatoshi	First Name	Chikatoshi was a son of Emura Chikaie and served Chosokabe Motochika. He was sent at a hostage to Toyotomi Hideyoshi's headquarters at Fushimi	d. 1597?	Male

The reestablishment of his personal name cements the memory of his origins and continued social and political ties to his previous family. Emura Magozaemon not only received his rightful adult designation by accepting Chikatoshi as his prename, but the additional responsibility of maintaining his ancestors' social and political memory.

However, by utilizing his prename on his son, Emura Chikaie hoped to tie his offspring with certain traits he finds desirable amongst his original clan.

Shifts in ideology often range from vows of nonviolence to changes of religious or political perspectives. *Saiyuki* and *Kenshin* implement certain forms of difference in ideology. In *Saiyuki*, Hakkai drops his original name of Ganan to Cho Hakkai as a way to remap his former identity. Kenshin applies the same vow of nonviolence as a similar samurai, Kume-no-Heinai-do from the Edo period, by accepting a new philosophy. Kume-no-Heinai-do changes his name based on adopting a form of Buddhism promoting nonviolence and atonement for past acts of war. Kenshin changes his name from Himura Battōsai to Rurouni Kenshin as a way to dissolve his identity of a master assassin of Battōsai to the ideology of a Rurouni (wandering samurai).

Some Sengoku samurai assume different names from shifts in religious beliefs or positions. For example, Arima Harunobu (1567-1612) altered his name to Dom Protasio as a result of accepting Christianity. *Anime* and *manga* portray with great frequency the historical figure, Oda Nobunaga, in series like *Mirage of Blaze*, *Bushilord*, and *Samurai Deeper Kyo*. The varying series often alludes to Nobunaga's propensity towards the Christian faith. In a historical context, Nobunaga himself accepted Christianity as a way to open Japan up to foreign trade with the West. In his research on Nobunaga, Anthony J. Bryant, one of the researchers who contribute work for C.E. West and F.W. Seal, commented that "several of his sons had been baptized Christians—even his grandson and heir would be baptized and christened Paul" (Bryant 1989: 30). Bryant indicates that while the dominant religion of Shinto and Buddhism remains strong institutions within Japanese society, the initial acceptance of Christianity results in a change of ideology and

customs. Nobunaga utilized Christianity to appear more amicable to foreign agents seeking to set up future trade relations. Additionally, by baptizing his sons and grandson Christian, he stated the political position he takes in regards to domestic and foreign policies. Negi Moritake (1473-1549) assumed the new name of Arakida Moritake when he obtained the position of head priest of the Shinto Shrine in the Inner Ise Shrine. Utilizing religious designations becomes a means to encourage greatness in some by changing an individual's name to invoke the essence of the name. Arakida states his ascension to a higher position and the assumption of a different political role through religion. After filing a scroll of prayers at the Hachiman Shrine in Iwashimizu, Minamoto Yorinobu (1046) cataloged his grandson's *genpuku* ceremony in relation to the Shinto Shrine. Sato Hiroaki reports that:

In the previous year his son Yoriyoshi had held the coming-of-age rite for his son Yoshiie at the shrine and given him the name, Hachiman Tarō. Hachiman Tarō Yoshiie would go on to be admired by his contemporaries as the greatest warrior (Sato 1995: 74-75).

The record examines a specific incident where a name appears to affect an individual's destiny. Selection of the correct name reflects upon the family and the future. A wrong name might result in misfortune to the family. In this regard, name selection holds a great deal of importance when deciding the future of the individual and possibly the future of the family. Certain sacred places bestow specific fortunes upon individuals and a clan. Changing one's name to a religious or ideological site could influence fate. By assuming the name of an important site, a person alters himself or herself by accepting the fortune or essence from the respective place. People often tailor their names to bestow good fortune or a turn in circumstances. If the altered name proves fruitful, the utilization of the title finds use amongst later members of a family.

Occupational changes in name often occur when an individual's position shifts within the Japanese hierarchy. Plutschow remarks that:

Important changes in one's life often led to the assumption of new family names. A new profession, for example, may entail a new surname (Plutschow 1995: 10).

The change of the individual's life directly reflects the development of the name. A person undergoing multiple name changes indicates a continuous flow of movement from one place in their life to another. In comparison, a girl training as a courtesan for the Emperor potentially evolves into a high-ranking concubine. With enough time, the concubine changes from her current position to receiving a fruitful marriage contract. Her marriage gives her the opportunity to become a wife to a samurai leader and the future mother to the head of that clan. With each change in status and occupation, her name changes to meet the demands of her new title. As her name alters to her station, her the political power she wields changes to match her occupation. The Heian author of *The Tales of Genji*, Murasaki Shikibu, indicates an example of an entire family name tailoring to a new position in the Heian Imperial Royal Court. Her father's name changed to the position he holds in the Imperial Court (Seidensticker 1985: ix). As a result, his direct family's name altered to suit the new status he achieves. Names often received changes to enforce the new status of an individual and the immediate family. The reflection of a name describes the character of an *ie*. Family and clan honor remain bastions of social and political codes revolving around family designation. Names restrain behavior by mapping appropriate forms of public display. By being apart of a family and holding a particular name, members of a family expect other members to maintain certain forms of decorum. Looking further into the history of Murasaki Shikibu, an audience determines

the name alterations applied to her own personage as well as her father. Seidensticker comments that:

In Heian Japan it was bad manners to record the names of wellborn ladies, except, curiously, imperial consorts and princesses of the blood. Of the sobriquet by which she is known today, the second half, Shikibu, designates an office held by her father (Seidensticker 1985: ix).

As both quotes state the alterations applicable in the Edo period were hardly new vehicles of change. The ability to assume the title of a position or occupation within an individual's name remains relatively easy even today.

Positions of office especially mark continuous forms of change. Middle names become synonymous with the changes associated with new offices. Plutschow comments:

Middle names could be inherited... Such assumption points to the continuity of names and office, but also, through the inheritance of office and middle name, of personal and family identity... Any major change in status could result in a new middle name (Plutschow 1995: 11).

Plutschow refers to the concept that Japanese middle names originate from inheritance. The middle name originates from a parent or relative's position within society. However, due to the ease with which to change middle names and receive new positions in the political office, middle names often shift to accommodate a person's new political and social needs. One example can be found with the first Shogun of the Edo period (1600-1868), Tokugawa Ieyasu. His middle name begins as Jirō Saburō Motonobu. Plutschow found records on Tokugawa Ieyasu stating:

When he returned to his native Suruga province, he changed his middle name to Kurōdo and his personal name to Motoyasu, taking the 'yasu' from his grandfather's name. Kurōdo is the name of a *ritsuryō* office (Plutschow 1995: 11).

The adjustment of his name tailored to the needs of his new position within society and the need to uphold family honor through the invocation of his grandfather's name. In this sense the needs to meet the requirements of political office and the maintenance of family honor are met through the collaboration of assuming the position within his name and altering his last name.

In some cases the possibility of either remaining in a particular position or the opportunity of changing into a better position, urge people to alter their names as a method of encouraging their chances of assumption. As Hendry remarks, current Japanese "politicians are also wont to consult specialists about their chances, and they too have been known to change their names on the advice of such a person" (Hendry 135: 2003). Occupational change often involves the individual's name becoming the title of occupation. For example, Rokkaku Takahisa tailored his last name (Amako) to the occupation of the person who raised him. He blended *ama* (nun) and *ko* (son) as his new designation to indicate his status as a nun's son. *Anime* and *manga* samples like Kenshin and Seishirou apply the same practice of assuming their occupation as their name. Kenshin exemplifies three cases of occupational alterations; he is called by the assassin title of Hitokiri, Himura Battōsai (*Battōsai* being the art of drawing a sword and killing in one move), and the actual position of a wandering samurai known as a *Rurouni*. Seishirou receives the name of *Sakurazukamori* (*assassin of the sakura*) when his position as apprentice ends and he assumes the actual place and occupation of his master.

Occupational change remains indicative in some cases of the assumption of new land or resources. Feudal lords commonly gave a vassal more land causing a change in their subordinates' political position. As a result, the individual samurai accepted the

name of the land given to him. For example, Plutschow references a samurai and the adaptations of his name to suit acquired land and prestige:

Yūki Shichirō Tomomitsu (1167-1254) represented the entire Oyama clan... His father, Oyama Masamitsu (dates unknown, end of Heian period), lived in Oyama manor (Shimotsuke province) and assumed that name. His father had been a minor official of that manor. His son assumed the name Yūki when, in 1183, he was placed in charge of the Yūki district of Shimōsa province (Plutschow 1995: 9).

By becoming the new leader of the land under direction of a higher official, the samurai obtains new political and financial power. However, the new political power the individual receives remains a double-edged katana. The samurai's name alters to the new land, but also changes as a direct result of the feudal lord inciting the alteration through political positioning.

The vassalic relationship of a feudal lord and vassal often entails a set of rules and expectations between both parties' address of one another. As Ikegami notes:

The emergence of the samurai as the dominant class in Japan was conditioned upon the development of their own hierarchical network of (unequal) reciprocity, or vassalage... It is important to note, however, that the strength of samurai vassalage lay not simply in its subordination of previously independent vassals, but rather in its successful organization of the samurai into mutually profitable forms of alliance as well as long-term relationships (Ikegami 1995: 78).

In this quote, Ikegami indicates the need for reciprocity in the vassalic and feudal lord relationship. Certain requirements on both sides need to be assuaged and found mutually beneficial in order to continue ties of loyalty. The relationship requires the subordinate remaining at a slighter disadvantage and the cultivation of dependency on the feudal lord. However, the disadvantage could not be so much as to incur revolt by multiple vassals. The line of dominance and submission between feudal lord and vassal required careful toeing and maintenance in order to keep both parties as agreeable as possible. One way

of encouraging strict ties of loyalty and service to a feudal lord involves the dominant individual offering enough incentive to maintain such a relationship. Often the feudal lords utilized the promise of material goods or land resources as an incentive. For example, Toyotomi Hideyoshi began his service with Oda Nobunaga as a sandal carrier:

He did well, and rose in Nobunaga's service with astonishing speed. When Nobunaga destroyed Asai Nagamasa he gave the domain of Asai to his clever young retainer, who changed his name to Hashiba Chikuzen-no-kami Hideyoshi (Kure 2001: 83).

By receiving the new land and the additional desire to combine characters from other respected peers, Toyotomi altered his name to portray the appropriate amount of appreciation for his feudal lord's gift. The land mediates the shift in status while the name directly reflects his assumption of more prestige. Despite changing his name to the combined characters of colleagues, he still reflects and shows deference to Nobunaga by making the adjustment. In some sense, he deferred that he could not accomplish what he did without the combined aid of his feudal leader and his peers.

Further solidifying ties of loyalty and service might reflect protection from other invading entities. The more a feudal lord extended to a vassal the stronger the bond of service. The eventual incentive of many Japanese feudal lords' relationships with vassals involved the extension of granting the lower party the right to use the dominant's name or characters from his name. When a Japanese feudal lord extended the right to use his name or parts of his name, the strength of the relationship between lord and vassal developed into a sign of familiarity and trust. "Uesugi Kenshin (1530-1578) saved his former *daimyo*'s life on condition that the *daimyo* adopt him as his heir and gave him the glorious name of Uesugi" (Turnbull 2005: 22). This instills an undeniable relationship between *daimyo* and vassal. The allowance of using a name or characters of a name in

Japanese naming culture implies that the individual granting the use extends part of himself or herself to another person. As Plutschow indicates, naming people, places, and things was a form of exercising control and dominance over a subject (Plutschow 1995: 1-260). On the same token, when a feudal leader permits the utilization of his name or characters a dual relationship occurs for the recipient. Utilizing the name or characters promotes the domination of the vassal to the feudal lord. However, at the same time the individual accepts a responsibility of maintaining the honorific entailing the designation. The feudal lord extends apart of himself to his vassal. The subordinate receives the right to proceed with the adding blessing of his superior. The vassal becomes a vehicle of representation for the dominant party. If the individual dishonors the station of the new political name, the leader faces repercussions from other feudal lords. The feudal leader expects his vassal to uphold an appropriate image in his place.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi granted the right to use characters of his name and his previous name of Hashiba to many of his trusted vassals. Look at Appendix 3 for the chart including Toyotomi Hideyoshi in the back of the report. Hideyoshi held great affinity towards the name of Hashiba. C.E. West and F.W. Seal state:

The name 'Hashiba' was adopted by the future Toyotomi Hideyoshi sometime around 1568. It was inspired by combining characters derived from the family names of two of Hideyoshi's fellow Oda retainers, Niwa and Shibata. Hideyoshi later changed his family name to Toyotomi but granted the name 'Hashiba' to many of his noted retainers as an honorific (C.E. West and F.W. Seal 1999-2007).

Hideyoshi utilized a combination of characters derived from his closest retainers as a means to establish a sense of honor and respect towards his compatriots. Later, he revisited the Hashiba name by granting the honor of other loyal retainers the use of that particular name. For example, Toyotomi granted his adopted son Miyoshi Hidekatsu the

right to bear the Hashiba name because he already had the 'Hide' characters in his name. In order to maintain a relationship of close affinity with his adopted son, Toyotomi changed his name to Hashiba Hidekatsu. Another vassal, Chosokabe Motochika declined an offer made by Hideyoshi to move his fief to the Osumi Providence. The only gift he accepted for his loyal service to his leader was the right to utilize Hashiba as his surname.

Toyotomi even remained prone to giving his vassals' sons characters of his name to establish a bond of reciprocity between himself and an allied clan. He gave two of Tokugawa Ieyasu's sons the 'Hide' characters of his name after their naming ceremony. Another form of name alteration he uses, involves the granting of his family name to vassals holding high esteem. Two examples of the case reflect the alterations made to Abe Masakatsu and Aoki Kazunori's names. Both earn the prestigious right to utilize the Toyotomi surname or family name. In essence, when Abe Masakatsu became Toyotomi Masakatsu and Aoki Kazunori became Toyotomi Kazunori, they became members of the Toyotomi family.

Numerous examples of samurai leaders and other officials extend the use of their name or characters from their name to trusted individuals capable of maintaining a proper vassalic relationship. See Appendix 4 in the back for the correlating chart. In the graph, Ashikaga Yoshiharu, the Shogun during the late 1500s, often allowed the use of characters from his name. Ashikaga Yoshiharu granted the right for Arima Sadazumi to substitute the last two characters of his personal name for the first two characters of Arima's personal name. The end result of the alteration involved Arima Sadazumi embodying the new politically favorable title, Arima Haruzumi. In similar circumstances, one of Uesugi Kenshin's original name alterations resulted from Ashikaga Yoshiteru

awarding two characters of his personal name. Uesugi Kenshin supplemented the first two characters of his prename (Kage) with the last two characters of Ashikaga Yoshiteru's name. Nagao Terutora becomes his designation. Chosokabe Yasaburō underwent identical alterations to his name during his *genpuku* ceremony. Due to the ceremony coinciding with his father, Chosokabe Motochika's, communications with Oda Nobunaga, Oda supplied the 'Nobu' characters in Nobuchika's new name and identity.

The practice of granting a name or characters from a superior's name no longer exists in contemporary Japan. The commonality of the application dates back to the Heian period and maintains existence into the dissolution of the samurai class. The fact that current media reflect upon former naming practices indicates the perpetuation of that particular cultural memory. The Meiji Restoration's dissolution of the samurai class and such a practice corresponds with the early 1870s. The practice altered and tailored itself to the newer form of referring to a superior with the hierarchical suffixes. Though today granting characters of one's name to a subordinate no longer remains legitimate or legal, the system adapts to include newer forms of deference.

Conclusion

Anime and *manga* represent facets of Japanese society by supplying visual and auditory reinforcement of collective memory. Members of Japanese society remember past and present customs and behavior by using *anime* and *manga*. Japanese businesses

and the government utilize *anime* and *manga* to commune and influence public response to values while also feeling the pulse of the nation. In using such media, members of Japanese society catalog and remember the past through the illustrations of popular media.

Halbwachs remarks that:

Society is directed toward the past or toward what is a continuation of the past in the present, it participates in present-day functions only to the extent that it is important to adapt these functions to traditions and to ensure the continuity of social life throughout their transformations (Halbwachs 1992: 129).

Anime and *manga* reinforce memories of the past and bind those concepts to present customs. A tradition does not always fade into the background of a society because the group no longer needs that particular custom. In many cases, as proven with previous and current Japanese naming practices, a custom alters into newer, more necessary forms of meaning. Rituals and customs do not retire from a society. The customs change with the times and the individuals making up the society.

In addition, naming alterations do not always serve one purpose. Throughout this paper, I indicate the parallel nature of naming practices with social and political expressions. *Genpuku* includes aspects of political domination while marriages occur to solidify political and social bonds. A family cements their ability to continue socially by utilizing hostage exchange and adoption with another clan. When referring to individuals in Japanese society, the use of honorifics connotes social and political standing between people. A respected Shinto priest receives recognition through codes of reference to indicate his social position as a religious icon as well as his political position within his neighborhood and neighboring community. *Anime* and *manga* help reinforce these

concepts of social and political merging by portraying visual imagery to mark social and political naming practices.

People remember *genpuku*, renaming subordinates, and hostage exchange because they are poignant reminders of Japanese history and society. Customs and rituals perpetuate as memories relating to the collectivity of prior identity while marking the changes in that identity through the alterations of traditions. A greater emphasis upon honorifics and codes of reference replaces the existing model of *genpuku*, renaming subordinates, and hostage exchange. Other models such as marriage and naming at birth continue to grow and develop with the needs of society. These models will not fall away because society deems them necessary elements. As long as members of Japanese society encourage collectivity through media expression such as *anime* and *manga*, memory of past and present social and political traditions continues to pave the way towards the future.

One major issue with this research involves the severe lack of resources on Japanese naming practices and the effects of *anime* and *manga* has on Japanese collective memory. I suggest further research on the topic of name alterations and Japanese collective agency through the media. Of the one book Herbert Plutschow wrote on naming practices, only five copies exist in the entire United States Library System. Another major issue with the research was the minimal amount of translatable text referencing the naming alterations in Japanese census records. While visiting some of the cemeteries in Japan, I found that many of the stone grave markers were unreadable because of age and exposure to the elements. I can only imagine how much information has been lost with the use of wooden, biodegradable grave markers.

Few articles on the use of *anime* and *manga* as agents of Japanese collective memory exist. Very little research exists on the effects of contemporary Japanese media in relation to the public. Yet according to Federik Schodt's previously mentioned analysis on *manga* and *anime* sales, the value of Japanese comics is between six to seven billion dollars (Schodt 1996: 20). Members of Japanese society purchase, read, and reflect on *manga* and *anime* as much as they observe novels and film. As Schodt remarked, "nearly the same social status as novels and films" (Schodt 1996: 19) has been conferred to *anime* and *manga*. With the recognition of social and political status in a group, members of Japanese society recognize contemporary media's growing ability to influence collective memory.

Appendices

Appendix 1:

Original Name	Altered Name	Alteration	Reason for Alteration	Dates	Gender
Honda Sakujûrô	Honda Shigetsugu	First Name	Changed at <i>genpuku</i>	1529-1596	Male
No Account of Original Name	Honda Yasushige	First Name	Yasushige was the eldest son of Honda Hirotaka and was granted the use of 'Yasu' in his name from Tokugawa Ieyasu when he came of age.	1554-1611	Male
Ii Naokatsu	Ii Naotsugu	First Name	Changed at <i>genpuku</i>	succeeded his father Naomasa in 1602	Male
Ii Toramatsu	Ii Hyôbu	First Name	Changed at <i>genpuku</i>	1561-1602	Male
Ijuin Kôgan	IJUIN Tadamune	First Name	Changed at <i>genpuku</i>	d. 1599	Male
Tokugawa Nagamaru	Tokugawa Hidetada	First Name	He acted as a hostage to Hideyoshi during the Odawara Campaign (1590) and Hideyoshi both presided over his coming of age ceremony and gave him the character 'Hide' to use in his name.	1579-1632	Male
Matsudaira Takechiyo	Matsudaira Motonobu	First Name	Changed after coming of age ceremony by Imagawa Yoshimoto; Sent to Imagawa clan as hostage.	1554-1579	Male

Appendix 2

Original Name	Altered Name	What was altered	Reason for Alteration	Birth/Death	Gender
Chosokabe Chikayasu	Kosokabe Chikayasu	Last Name	Adopted by Kosokabe clan		Male
Chosokabe Chikasada	Kira Chikasada	Last Name	Adopted by Kira clan		Male
Chokosabe Chikamasu	Shima Chikamasu	Last Name	Adopted by Shima clan		Male
Chosokabe Chikakazu	Kagawa Chikakazu	Last Name	Chikakazu was the second son of Chosokabe Motochika and in 1581 became the head of the Kagawa family, succeeding Kagawa Nobukage	1567?-1587	Male
Chosokabe Chikatada	Tsuno Chikatada	Last Name	Chikatada, who was also known as Magojirô, was the third son of Chosokabe Motochika. He was adopted by Tsuno Katsuoki	1572-1600	Male
Chosokabe Yasutoyo	Yoshida Yasutoyo	Last Name	Adopted by Yoshida clan		Male

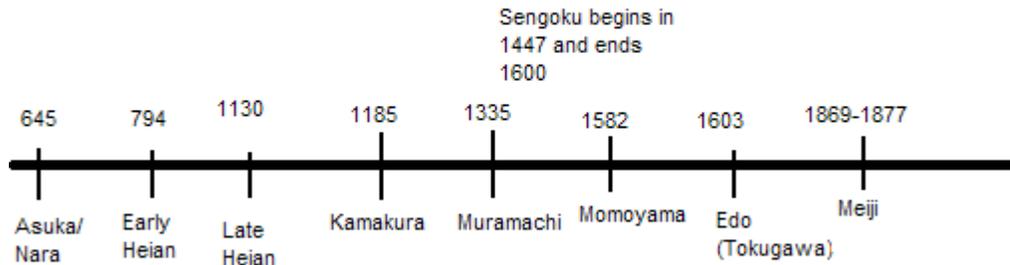
Appendix 3

Original Name	Altered Name	Alteration	Reason for Alteration	Dates	Gender
Abe Masakatsu	Toyotomi Masakatsu	Last Name	Earned Name from Toyotomi Hideyoshi	1541-1600	Male
Aoki Kazunori	Toyotomi Kazunori	Last Name	Granted Right to use Toyotomi name by Toyotomi Hideyoshi	d. 1600	Male
Chokosabe Motochika	Hashiba Motochika	Last Name	He declined an offer by Hideyoshi to move his fief to Ôsumi Province, although he accepted the gift of the 'Hashiba' surname	1539-1599	Male
Miyoshi Hidekatsu	Hashiba Hidekatsu	Last Name	Hidekatsu was the 2nd son of Miyoshi Yorifusa (Yoshifusa) and was adopted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi.	1569-1592	Male
Tokugawa Hideyasu	Yûki Hideyasu	Last Name	He was brought up under the supervision of Toyotomi Hideyoshi; Hideyasu was adopted into the Yûki clan in 1590	1574-1607	Male
Tokugawa Nagamaru	Tokugawa Hidetada	First Name	He acted as a hostage to Hideyoshi during the Odawara Campaign (1590) and Hideyoshi both presided over his coming of age ceremony and gave him the character 'Hide' to use in his name.	1579-1632	Male

Appendix 4

Original Name	Altered Name	Alteration	Reason for Alteration	Dates	Gender
Arima Sadazumi	Arima Haruzumi	First Name	Received use of Haru in his name from Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiharu	1583-1566	Male
Chosokabe Yasaburō	Chosokabe Nobuchika	First Name	His coming of age ceremony coincided with Motochika's communications with Oda Nobunaga, who provided the 'nobu' in Nobuchika's name	1565-1587	Male
Uesugi Kenshin	Nagao Terutora	First Name	Awarded characters of name by Ashikaga Yoshiteru	1534-1565	Male

Timeline of Japanese Historical Periods



Glossary

1. *Jitsumyō*: a term referring to a personalized name.
2. *Imina*: another term referring to a personalized or taboo name.
3. *Nanori*: a name derived from the revelation of a ritual name divination.
4. *Nazuke*: naming ceremony.
5. *Yuzome*: ceremony of an infant's first hot bath in a household tub.
6. *Kizome*: ceremony including the dressing of an infant in clothes usually contributed by the maternal grandmother.
7. Sengoku Period: Sometimes referred to as the Muromachi Period, Warring States Period, Feudal Japan, or Feudal Era. Starts when Ashikaga Takauji revolts against the new government in 1335. Sengoku Period often marks 1336 AD until 1600 AD.
8. *Genpuku*: a ceremony of initiation from childhood to adulthood. In boys, the ceremony occurred at the age of fifteen. In girls, the ceremony occurred at thirteen.
9. *Wagamama*: term used for an untrained, unrefined status. A state in which an individual has yet to become socially trained and acceptable.
10. *Uchi*: behavior conducted within the privacy of the home. Additionally referred to as inside behavior.
11. *Soto*: acceptable, formalized behavior conducted in the public sphere. Sometimes referred to as outside behavior.
12. *-kun*: a suffix often utilized when referring to a young boy.
13. *-chan*: a suffix used when referring to a young girl.

14. *-san*: a suffix that is a generalized, neutral term applied to a colleague, equal, or in some cases a well-respected individual.
15. *Hime*: princess.
16. *Ie*: house or family unit.
17. *Igo*: black and white strategy game.
18. *-sensei*: suffix used for a teacher or person of a profession.
19. *-domo*: suffix applied to someone of higher rank.
20. *-senpai*: suffix in reference designating a relationship of inferiority and superiority between two people. *-senpai* usually refers to a slightly higher ranked individual by the lower ranking party. Often utilized in school or business settings.
21. *-kohai*: suffix used by a slightly higher-ranking individual in relation to the lower ranking party. Often utilized in school or business settings.
22. *-guru*: a master of a skill or art.
23. *Oyabun/Kobun*: parent/child model of reference.
24. *Hitokiri*: assassin.
25. Meiji Restoration: 1869 AD to 1880 AD.
26. Edo (Tokugawa) Period: 1603 AD to 1868 AD.
27. *Sakurazukamori*: assassin of the sakura.
28. *Bakumatsu or Battosai*: a mastered sword form known as a quick draw involving one definitive move that killed an opponent.
29. *Daimyo*: feudal lord or samurai leader.
30. *Rurouni*: wandering samurai.
31. Heian period: Divided into two periods. Early and Late.
 - a. Early Heian Period: 790 AD to 1130 AD
 - b. Late Heian Period: 1150 AD to 1185 AD
32. *Tales of Genji*: Japanese story authored by a courtesan named Murasaki Shikibu during the Heian period.
33. *Ritsuryō*: office position.

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