

## THE NAMES "ASINADUTI" AND "TENADUTI" IN THE JAPANESE SERPENT-SLAYING AND SACRED-MARRIAGE MYTH

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The august being Susanowo (*S. no-mikoto*) discovers the weeping parents of Kusunada-hime (*hime*=damsel or princess), one on either side of her; he learns that they are weeping because the damsel is fated to be devoured by the woroti, or great serpent; he then gets the parents to prepare liquor and place it in tubs on platforms for the woroti to drink; when the woroti does so and becomes intoxicated, Susanowo slays it and then marries Kusunada-hime. Such in outline is the myth as given in *Koziki*, the main *Nihon-syoki* (*Nihongi*) version, and *Kuzi-hongi*,<sup>1</sup> all these works—with some doubt about the last—being of the eighth century. Variant 1 of the *Nihon-syoki*<sup>2</sup> will not concern us; it does not mention the woroti or give the names of the parents. In variant 2,<sup>3</sup> the two parents are sorrowing because the child with which the mother is pregnant is fated to be devoured at birth; after Susanowo has slain the woroti, the child—here called Magamihuru-Kusunada-hime—has to grow up before he can marry her. In variant 3,<sup>4</sup> the parents are not said to be weeping; it opens with the statement that Susanowo wished to favour (*i.e.* wed) Kusunada-hime and asked her of her parents; it is they who desire him first to slay the serpent, and Susanowo himself who prepares the liquor.

Four of these accounts—those of *Koziki*, of the main version and variant 3 in *Nihon-syoki*, and of *Kuzi-hongi*—give the father's name as Asinaduti and the mother's as Tenaduti. *Nihon-syoki* variant 2 calls the father Asinadutenadu, and refers to the mother by what is probably a

<sup>1</sup> Page references to Japanese editions of *Koziki* and *Nihon-syoki* seem unnecessary. For the *Kuzi-hongi* version, see *Kokusi-taiki* VII (Tookyo, 1898), pp. 229-31. For translations of *Koziki* and *Nihon-syoki* versions, see B. H. Chamberlain, *Translation of "Ko-ji-ki"* (2nd ed., Kooobe, 1932), J. L. Thompson & Co., pp. 72-5, and W. G. Aston, *Nihongi* (reprinted 1956), George Allen & Unwin Ltd., part I, pp. 52-53. There is no translation of *Kuzi-hongi*.

<sup>2</sup> Aston, part I, p. 55 (near top of page).

<sup>3</sup> Aston, part I, pp. 55-56.

<sup>4</sup> Aston, part I, pp. 56-57.

descriptive title. This name of Asinadutenadu will not be further considered here; it will be assumed that it was formed in some obscure way from the two separate names given in the other accounts.

The characters used in *Koziki* for "Asinaduti" are 足名稚 (or, in at least one text, 槌 instead of 稚, but the difference is not significant) and for Tenaduti, the same except that 手 replaces 足; that is to say, the structure of either word is *asi* (or *te*) + *na* + *duti* (< *tuti*), these components meaning respectively "foot" (or "arm or hand"), "name", and "mallet". In all the other relevant versions the characters used are 脚 (or 手) 摩乳; the structure thus being *asi* (or *te*) + *nadu* + *ti*, and the meanings of the respective components being "leg" (or "arm or hand"), "stroke (verb)", and "nipple or milk". It is clear that the meanings of some at least of these components have to be disregarded.

It is said in the main *Nihon-syoki* version, but not elsewhere in these oldest accounts, that, when discovered by Susanowo, the parents of Kusunada-hime are stroking or caressing her, and the character used in the (Chinese) text for the verb meaning stroke or caress is the same as that used for the *nadu* in the parents' names. It seems a fair inference that the compilers of *Nihon-syoki* intended to imply that the parents' names had reference to this action of theirs; that the names were, that is to say—if we leave aside for the moment the question of what *ti* may mean—to be interpreted as "leg-stroking *ti*" and "hand- or arm-stroking *ti*". At any rate, this view of the significance of the names has been generally taken by commentators of both *Koziki* and *Nihon-syoki* (and was accepted by Chamberlain and Aston in their translations).

Explanations of the sense of *ti* vary between something like "spirit" or "supernatural being" and something like "elder" (this latter interpretation being possibly supported, as it was by Aston,<sup>5</sup> by supposing *ti* to be the element found reduplicated in *titi* "father"). Both these explanations make *ti* a nominal element, and it will be precise enough for the present purpose to say that according to the usual explanation the names "Asinaduti" and "Tenaduti" are equivalent respectively to "leg-stroker" and "hand- or arm-stroker".

Minakata-Kumagusu<sup>6</sup> offered another explanation. He took the *na* in the names to be the stem of *nasi* "be non-existent" and the *duti* (< *tuti*) to refer to a deity of snake form.<sup>7</sup> This makes the names mean "legless (or

<sup>5</sup> Aston, part I, p. 4, fn. 14.

<sup>6</sup> "Hebi ni kan-suru minzoku to densetu" in *Minakata-Kumagusu-zensyuu*, I (Tookyo, 1951), Kengensya, pp. 278-279; reprinted from *Minzokugaku*, III, 4 (April 1931).

<sup>7</sup> This seems to be what he says in this passage and is in any case an accurate enough representation of his view for the purpose of our argument. But it may well be that he regarded the *duti* as composite, the *du* (< *tu*) being genitive particle and the *ti*

footless) snake-deity" (Asinaduti) and "handless (or armless) snake-deity" (Tenaduti). Now, it is true that a number of the names of deities in the myths end in *duti* or *tuti*, and that some at least of these deities seem to have been snake-deities. Minakata argued that, because the offspring of Susano-wo and Kusunada-hime were snakes (or snake-deities—as some at least no doubt were), Kusunada-hime and her parents must have belonged to the same totem and therefore also have been snakes (or snake-deities). But this appeal to totemism clearly begs the question. If we reject the cogency of this argument, there seems to be no reason, except that "*duti*" may possibly imply it, for attributing snake form to Asinaduti and Tenaduti. The chief objection to Minakata's hypothesis is perhaps the pointlessness of calling a snake-deity a snake without legs or without arms (an objection not much weakened, I think, by the fact that some legendary or fabulous snakes in Japan have legs). Nor does the hypothesis explain why only leglessness (or footlessness) should be insisted on in the case of the father and only handlessness (or armlessness) in that of the mother.

But the generally accepted explanation is hardly more convincing than Minakata's. It implies that names meaning "leg-stroker" and "hand- or arm-stroker" were given to the father and mother respectively—necessarily, therefore, at a time when they had either no names or different names—because the father stroked the daughter's legs and the mother her hands or arms. Now, stroking or caressing is mentioned in only one version out of a possible four—*Nihon-syoki* variant 2 would preclude the possibility of such action—and it is purely incidental, in the sense that its occurrence has no effect on the plot. Moreover, though it is natural enough for a mother to stroke a daughter's hand or arm by way of demonstrating affection, for a father to stroke her leg or legs seems very odd.

It may be granted that if paternal leg-stroking, together with maternal hand- or arm-stroking, occurred in a similar story outside Japan we should probably have to suppose that this element was part of what reached Japan—I take it that the central theme of the myth was transmitted in some form, perhaps as dramatic rite—and, if that were so, the very oddness of this action on the father's part might have led to his being named by reference to it. I do not know of any such instance.

Let us see whether a more plausible conjecture is possible. Now, of two parallel mythological names, it is not uncommon for one to be prior to the other, the later one then being derivative in the sense that it has been suggested by the earlier one. If this should be true of "Asinaduti" and

alone meaning snake-form deity or supernatural snake (compare his "*Tawara-Tooda Ryuuguu-iri no hanasi*"—reprinted from *Taiyoo*, XXII, 3 (March 1916)—p. 156 of the *sensyuu*). It is possible, alternatively, that he regarded *duti*, *tuti*, and *ti* as interchangeable, mere variants of the same word or word-element.

"Tenaduti", it seems rather more likely that the latter would have suggested the former than *vice versa*, since in speech (and thought) *te-asi* is the usual order in referring to the limbs, upper before lower, just as "arms and legs" or "hand and foot" is the usual order in English. Suppose then that at some stage in the development of the myth in Japan the mother had the name Tenaduti or something resembling it. It is possible that at this stage there is no father in the picture. Now, whether the story was enacted in a dramatic rite, or only in imagination as the myth was told and heard, it would be quite natural for the mother to show her affection by stroking her daughter's hand or arm. Someone seeing or imagining this action is thereby prompted to interpret the name "Tenaduti" in the sense of "hand- or arm-stroker"—or to turn the somewhat similar name into "Tenaduti" and then so interpret it. The true etymology of the name may at this stage be unknown, though that is not essential. The interpretation as "hand- or arm-stroker" might even at first be a joke. At any rate, this interpretation gains currency. Later—possibly when the father is first introduced—the parallel name meaning "leg- or foot-stroker" is formed and applied to the father, who has to live up to his name by performing the action.

This course of events is, it is submitted, more plausible than what is implied either by the usual interpretation or by Minakata's. It will be seen that acceptance of the conjecture would amount to taking the view that "Asinaduti", though a later derivative formation, was given with reference to paternal leg-stroking very much as implied by the usual interpretation. The usual interpretation of "Tenaduti" would, however, be rejected as being based on folk-etymology.

Now, according to *Nippon-timei-dai-ziten*,<sup>8</sup> there is in Kami-Suwa beside Lake Suwa in Nagano (former Sinano province) a shrine called the Tenaga sacred yasiro (*zinzya*) or the Tenaga-hiko sacred yasiro, whose enshrined deity is Tenazuti (< Tenaduti). The account states: "The august being Tenazuti is a deity of achievements in the Eastland (*Toogoku*) who anciently accompanied the deity Take-Minakata when he withdrew from the province of Izumo to Suwa in the province of Sinano"; and it quotes an "old record" (title not given) of the year 1456 as follows: "The august being Ninigi summoned the august being Take-Minakata-tomi and conferred on him the province of Sinano. Having arrived by boat [*sic*] at the peak of Namiai, he made the deity Tenaga collect water plants and food plants and offer them on the high peaks in various places."

Although much here is obscure, it seems fairly clear that Tenaga and Tenazuti (< Tenaduti) are interchangeable names. Presumably, therefore, *tena* is the name proper, *duti* and *ga* being of the nature of titles.

<sup>8</sup> (1938, 3rd ed. 1941), *Nihon-syoboo*, under "*Kami-Suwa-mati*" (pp. 1734-1735).

It is of course an obstacle to accepting this conclusion that the Suwa deity Tenaga, as is shown by the masculine title *hiko*, is now regarded as male. However, deities are not incapable of changing their sex.

The conclusion that "Tenaduti" and "Tenaga" are interchangeable would also be upset if the etymology of Tenaga, 手長, was in fact what these characters imply, *i.e.* *te* "arm" ("hand" is here unapt) + *naga* "long". A theory put forward by a Mr. Kuruiwa-Eizi, which assumes this etymology, must then be briefly examined.<sup>9</sup>

He quotes from an article in *Zinruigaku-zasshi*<sup>10</sup> about three Tenaga shrines in Hukusima.<sup>11</sup> At all three of these sites there are apparently a shell-mound and other stone-age relics, the remains of pit-dwellings on a hill or mountain, and a somewhat distant view of the sea. In connexion with one of these places<sup>12</sup> there is a legend that a giant once lived on the mountain, used to reach out to pick shell-fish out of the sea, and by dumping the empty shells formed the shell-mound. The writer of the article thought that it was this giant who had been deified under the name Tenaga (arm-long) at the three shrines. Kuruiwa suggests a similar origin for Tenaga at Suwa, where similar conditions exist, the lake taking the place of the sea. There is in fact—though Kuruiwa does not say so—a popular legend at Suwa that a reservoir near the Tenaga shrine is the footprint of a giant named Tenaga-asinaga;<sup>13</sup> and, as this giant is described as a retainer of the Suwa divinity (*Suwa-myoozin*), *i.e.* Take-Minakata, he is obviously equated in popular belief with the deity Tenaga. It is to be noted that the legend in Hukusima is—as Kuruiwa himself points out—virtually identical with that given in the *Hitati-hudoki* about a quite different place,<sup>14</sup> and that the giant is unnamed in either version of the legend; and also that Tenaga-asinaga is apparently an individualization of the *tenaga-asinaga*, imaginary beings with monstrously long limbs who inhabited an island or distant country. To my mind it seems more likely that either or both of the stories should have been attracted to a pre-existing Tenaga deity because the characters

<sup>9</sup> 栗岩英治, *Suwa-kenkyuu* (Nagano, 1916), Sinano-kyoodosi-kenkyuukai, (pp. 85-88.)

<sup>10</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Society of Tokyo. The date is not given and I have not traced the article. What is evidently the same article is quoted also in Yosida-Toogo's *Dai-Nihon-timei-ziten* (1900) under "Sinti—Kaizuka" (p. 3806) and "Yamakami" (p. 3800).

<sup>11</sup> At Karoo-yama in Sinti-mura (but the mountain appears from the map to be partly in Miyagi), Yamakami (now incorporated in the city of Sooma), and Isikami (now incorporated in the city of Haranomati).

<sup>12</sup> Karoo-yama.

<sup>13</sup> Takagi-Tosio, *Nihon-densetu-syuu* (Tookyoo, 1913, 3rd ed., 1924), Musasino-syoboo, p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> Ohokusi-no-woka (in the present Tunesumi-mura, Higasi-Ibaraki-gun, Ibaraki).

with which the deity's name is written were "taken literally" than that a giant or monster should have been deified. Something more immediate than a character in a story of once upon a time or of far, far away seems to be needed as a focus for the fears and desires without which a deity cannot come into being. To grant this of course does not prove that the original sense of "Tenaga" was not "arm-long", but only that the existence of these giant legends does not prove that it was.

The name Tenaga must also be considered in relation to the common noun *tenaga*, 手長. Dictionaries give various senses for this word. One group—being long-armed and, by a figure of speech, prone to thieving; imaginary beings also called *tenaga-asinaga*; etc.—clearly justifies the etymology suggested by the characters. But two other senses are: a waiter at table at feasts in the Imperial palace or noblemen's houses in ancient times; and one who carries the offerings at a shrine festival.<sup>15</sup> It is hardly obvious why these two groups of persons should be called "arm-long", *i.e.* "long arms", even granting that such a peculiarity might perhaps be useful to them. It is at any rate conceivable that these two senses constitute a separate word whose true etymology is not represented by the characters, and it seems safer to assume that this is so then to accept the evidence of the characters without proof.

Now, this sense of one who carries the offerings at a shrine festival is very reminiscent of something said about the Suwa deity Tenaga, that he was made to collect plants and offer them. This suggests that the common noun *tenaga*—assumed, that is to say, to be distinct from its homonym meaning "arm-long"—and the deity name are in origin the same. (The waiter sense might well be a later development.) Is there any connexion in function between Tenaga/*tenaga*, collector and offerer of water and food plants/carrier of festival offerings, on the one hand, and Tenaduti, on the other? Tenaduti, together—it must be admitted—with Asinaduti, is first discovered by the side of Kusunada-hime who is fated to be devoured by the woroti, and in four of the versions takes part in preparing the liquor for it to drink. Without going into the many theories about the meaning and historical development of the myth,<sup>16</sup> from the fact that in one version (*Nihon-syoki* variant 2) Susanowo addresses the serpent as a deity we can be certain that both Kusunada-hime and the liquor are in one aspect sacrifices or offerings. There is then something more in common between Tenaduti and Tenaga than the *tena* in their names; they have a common concern

<sup>15</sup> In non-specialist dictionaries I have found this latter sense given only in *Dai-genkai*. It is, however, also in *Sintoo-dai-ziten* (Tookyoo, 1941), Heibonsya, where the writer goes out of his way to insist that the name means "arm-long" or "long-armed", though without explaining why such a name should have been given.

<sup>16</sup> The fullest treatment is that of Higo-Kazuo in his *Kodai-densyoo-kenkyuu* (Tookyoo, 1938), Kawade-syoboo, pp. 182 ff.

with the preparation of offerings. They are also, it is worth noting, both in some way subordinate to a descendant of Susanowo. According to the main *Nihon-syoki* version and to *Kuzi-hongi*, Tenaduti jointly with Asinaduti was made overseer of the shrine or palace (*miya*) belonging to Susanowo's son Ohonamuti (Ohokuninusi);<sup>17</sup> Tenaga is seen to be under the orders of Take-Minakata, who is the son of Ohonamuti,<sup>18</sup> and the Tenaga shrine at Suwa is subordinate to the Suwa main shrine, that of Take-Minakata.

Although the case is not proved, therefore, it is submitted that it is justifiable to adopt as a working hypothesis for further research the view that Tenaduti and Tenaga have a common origin, and that the name "Asinaduti" was formed on the model of the older "Tenaduti".

<sup>17</sup> *Koziki* makes Asinaduti alone take charge of Susanowo's own shrine or palace.

<sup>18</sup> *Koziki*, "Kuni-yuzuri" no dan. Chamberlain, pp. 122-123.

## LA NOUVELLE MARIÉE ACARIÂTRE

par PAUL DEMIÉVILLE

Le texte de littérature vulgaire des T'ang (ou des Cinq Dynasties) qui est ici édité et traduit est représenté à ma connaissance par trois manuscrits de Touen-houang:

A = P. 2564 (Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, fonds Pelliot chinois)

B = P. 2633 (*id.*)

C = S. 4129 (British Museum, collection Stein)

Les deux manuscrits de Paris sont reproduits dans les planches A et B, et toutes les variantes en sont relevées dans les notes. Ils ont déjà été édités par 劉復 dans 敦煌掇瑣 (Pékin 1930, n° 15) et, d'après 劉復, par 鄭振鐸 dans 中國俗文學史 (Changhai 1938 et rééd. Pékin 1954, I, pp. 177-8) et par 盧前 dans 敦煌文鈔 (Changhai 1948, p. 12). Plus récemment Mme H. S. W. Chang (王慶菽) en a publié dans 敦煌變文集 (Pékin 1957, II, pp. 858-64) une nouvelle recension qui tient compte également du manuscrit de Londres. Je n'ai pas vu ce dernier, dont Mme Chang ne relève qu'un petit nombre de variantes (que j'ai utilisées dans mes notes); d'après le *Catalogue* de Giles (n° 7207), il serait incomplet du début et de la fin.

Les deux manuscrits de Paris sont bien écrits et la graphie en est apparentée, quoiqu'ils ne soient évidemment pas de la même main. Ils sont tous deux farcis de fautes d'orthographe, comme c'est le cas de la plupart des manuscrits de ce genre; ces fautes sont parfois les mêmes dans les deux manuscrits, ce qui suggère un prototype commun, à moins que ces coïncidences ne s'expliquent simplement par la « grammaire des fautes » commune aux scribes de Touen-houang.

La langue est très vulgaire, souvent difficile; plus d'un passage me reste obscur, et j'aurais mieux fait de laisser des blancs dans ma traduction. La forme est celle d'un 賦, forme qui n'est pas rare parmi les textes de littérature vulgaire retrouvés à Touen-houang où elle sert souvent à traiter des sujets amusants ou bouffons. J'ai réparti le texte chinois en lignes numérotées dont chacune se termine par une rime, et en paragraphes les lignes dont la rime est la même, en indiquant à la fin de chaque paragraphe la prononciation ancienne, d'après l'*Analytic Dictionary* de Karlgren, des mots qui riment. On verra que ces rimes prennent certaines libertés avec la