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A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE MYTHOLOGICAL INCIPIT OF THE RKONG PO INSCRIPTION

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According to previous interpretations of the Rkong po inscription (circa 799-815) Nya khyi, the older son of Dri gum btsan po, propitiates the shared *sku bla* of himself and his younger brother Sha khyi. A fresh look at the inscription suggests that an alternative reading is philologically superior and better justified by the internal rhetorical structure of the Rkong po inscription itself.

For the purpose of establishing context it is worth quoting its opening lines *in extenso* (cf. Iwao et al. 2009: 15-16).

{1} * // lha btsan po khrï srong lde brtsan dang / lde srong yab sras kyï ring la' // {2} rkong dkar po la gtsïgs gnang ba' //

{3} * / / kar po mang po rje dang / <4> / blon po gru'ï ==-ïs¹ gsold ba' / / thog ma phywa ya bla bdag drug gï sras las / {4} nya grï btsan po myi yul gyï rjer / / lha rï gyang dor gshegs pa tshun chad / drï gum btsan po phan chad / gdung rabs bdun gyï bar du / / phying ba stag {5} rtse na bzhugs bzhugs / /

drï gum btsan po'i sras | gcen nya khyï dang | gcung sha khyï gnyis las | | gcung sha khyï ni | lha btsan po | gcen nya khyï {6} ========² | gcen kar po nï | thog ma yas gshegs pa'ï tshe | | mched gnyïs kyi | sku bla gnyan po gsol ba dang | sku bla de mo dang bshos pa {7} 'ï lha bdag bgyïd kyis kyang | lha sras kyï sku'i rïm gro la | bdagï srog la' bab pa man chad kyï cho gar mdzad pa | srog phongs ma bgyïs te | | lha sras kyï chab {8} srïd 'dï ltar mtho | dbu rmog brtsand | yong lha sras gnam dang 'dra ba'ï chags 'og na | | gnam kol du gnang ba'ang cï bas zhïg mchis na | bdag {9} cag lta zhïg | thog ma mched gyes nas | | pha myes dang po lha myï ma phye ba tshun chad | bde skyïd cïng | chu srïd g.yung drung dang 'dra bar gnang gïs kyang | deng sang {10} du | khab so dpon sna dagïs | |

 $^{^{1}}$ $gru'\ddot{i} ==-\ddot{i}s: gru'\ddot{i}$ zung $g\ddot{i}s.$

² ====== : ni rkong yul du bzhugs ste.

khral kyï sna 'tshal te | gtses shïng mchis na | | nam du'ang bde bar thugs pag mdzad pa'ï | gtsïgs tsaṃ zhig cï gnang zhes {11} gsold nas | | de bzhïn du gnang ste | | gtsïgs 'phra men sgrom bu stsald ba'ï dper brïs pa' |

In the time of the divine emperors, father and son, Khri Srong lde brtsan and Lde srong, an edict was granted to the Rkong Dkar po.

The pair of Kar po Mang po rje and (his) minister Gru requested: "From the first, when Nya khri btsan po came from among the sons of Phywa Ya bla bdag drug to the divine mountain Gyang do as lord of the land of men until Dri gum btsan po, for seven generations, [the Tibetan emperors] were residing at Phying ba stag rtse.

From among the two sons of Dri gum btsan po, the older Nya khyi and the younger Sha khyi, the younger Sha khyi [became] divine emperor and the older Nya khyi resided in the land of Rkong; the elder brother, the Kar po, when he came from above, paid homage to the fierce (gnyan po) sku bla of the two brothers and acted as lord of the god, begat with the sku bla and De mo. Nonetheless, for the rim gro of the body of the divine son (i.e., the Tibetan emperor) he performed ceremonies which even endangered the lord's life; he was not sparing of life.

Thus be showed favour to the servants of heaven beneath the authority of the heaven-like divine son, whoever it may have been(?). As for us, from the first, when the brothers parted, from the time of our first paternal ancestors, when gods and men were not separate, we were happy; it had been granted that our government be like a svastika (i.e., immutable), but lately various revenue officers have collected various taxes, come and harassed [us]. Grant an edict which would reassure [us] of happiness forever." It was thus granted; (this is) the edict written as a copy of the one granted (in) a gilded silver box.

This passage ties together into one narrative three important motifs: the tale of the divine descent of the progenitor of the Spu rgyal dynasty, the mundane death of Dri gum btsan po, and the cult of the *sku bla*.

³ Cf. Hill 2010: 257-258.

⁴ Cf. Walters 2004: 159-163.

⁵ Cf. Uebach 1985: 68, n. 100.

⁶ Cf. Stein 1983: 160f.

⁷ Cf. Uebach 1985: 69, n. 103.

The opening of the cited passage from the Rkong po inscription is neither very difficult nor overly controversial; the details of the narrative hinge on the interpretation of the following section.

gcen kar po ni | thog ma yas gshegs pa'i tshe | | mched gnyis kyi | sku bla gnyan po gsol ba dang | sku bla de mo dang bshos pa {7} 'i lha bdag bgyid kyis kyang | lha sras kyi sku'i rim gro la | bdagi srog la' bab pa man chad kyi cho gar mdzad pa | srog phongs ma bgyis te | |

The translation given above differs considerably from those of other scholars:

Quant à l'aîné Kar-po: au début (thog-ma), lorsqu'il est arrivé du haut (du ciel, le premier ancêtre Nya-khri) a rendu un culte au Sku-bla, un Gnyan-po, et il s'est uni au Sku-bla, la déesse De-mo, qui sont frère et sœur; cela, le Seigneur-dieu (le prince Kar-po) l'a fait, lui aussi, et il a accompli, en guise de rites pour la longévité du Fils des dieux (son frère, le roi) des cérémonies pour lesquelles il a tout sacrifie sauf sa vie. Ils (les Sku-bla) n'ont pas abandonne la vie (du roi) et c'est pourquoi (...)

[As for the elder brother Kar po: in the beginning (*thog ma*), when he arrived from above (from the sky, the first ancestor Nya khri) rendered a cult to the *sku bla*, a Gnyan po, and he joined with the *sku bla*, the goddess De mo, who are brother and sister; this, the Lord-god (Prince Kar po) did also, and he performed as rites for the longevity of the Son of the gods (his brother, the king) ceremonies for which he sacrificed everything except his life. They (the *sku bla*) did not abandon the life (of the king) and so (...)] (Macdonald 1971: 298)⁸

As for the elder brother Kar-po, at the time when he first came from above, he revered gNyan-po the patron spirit of the two brothers and took for his master the deity who was consort of the patron spirit De-mo. Moreover, in allegiance to the person of the divine Prince he performed due service even to the risk of his life. And as he was not careful of his life (...) (Richardson 1972: 34)

As for that elder brother Kar-po, at the time when he first came from above he worshipped the Gnyan-po the patron spirit of the two brothers and acting as divine master, as consort to the patron spirit De-mo, in allegiance to the divine prince he performed due service even to the risk of his life. He was not even sparing of his life. (Richardson 1985: 67)

⁸ Haarh (1969: 154) gives a partial translation of this passage. His version is not very useful and is not considered here.

thog ma nya khri lho kha nas kong por phebs pa'i skabs su | khos bu spun gnyis kyi skyes lha shin tu gnyan pa de mo zhes par gsol ba 'debs par ma zad | da dung de dang mthun sbyor byas | gnya' khri btsan po'i yab | yab lha bdag bgyid kyis kyang | rang gi sras rnams tshe ring ba'i ched du | rang gi srog la bab pa man chad kyi cho ga (dper na lha gsol dang | 'dre 'dul | g.yang 'gugs | tshe sgrub) sogs kyang byas nas | srog phongs ma byas pas | lha sras kyi chab srid 'di 'dra dar zhing 'phel (...)

[At first, when Nya khri arrived in Kong po from Lho kha, not only did he pray to the two brothers' very fierce *skyes lha* called De mo, but also united with her. Although he acted as *lha bdag* (to) the father, father Gnya' khri btsan po, for the long life of his own sons performed various ceremonies (e.g., supplicating the gods, taming demons, securing prosperity, ensuring a long life), etc., until it risked his own life. He was not sparing of life and in this way spread the government of the divine son (...)] (Chen & Wang 1984: 80)

phu bo nya khris kong dkar po'i rje bo mdzad | thog ma yab sku gshegs pa'i skabs su khong bu spun gnyis kyi skyes lha shin tu gnyan pa de mo zhes par gsol ba 'debs par ma zad | da dung de dang mthun sbyor byas | gnya' khri btsan po'i yab | yab lha bdag bgyid kyis kyang | rang gi sras rnams tshe ring ba'i ched du rang gi srog la bab pa man chad kyi cho ga (dper na lha gsol dang | 'dre 'dul | g.yang 'gugs | tshe sgrub) sogs kyang byas nas srog phongs ma byas pas lha sras kyi chab srid 'di 'dra dar zhing 'phel (...)

此即兄噶波者也.兄噶波者,当初,先王逝世之時,兄弟二人灵应之先命主神祈祷求福,并与"第穆灵神"婚配.斯時也,神天达奇为主子修福,一切仪轨(指祀神,降鬼,求福,求寿四种本教仪式直至舍命作牲,亦不吝惜.是故,天神之子社稷乃如此崇巍,政事巩固.

[The elder brother Nya khri acted as lord Dkar po of Kong po. At first when the father died, he not only prayed to the two brothers' very fierce skyes lha called De mo, but also united with her. Although he acted as lha bdag (to) the father, father Gnya' khri btsan po, for the long life of his own sons performed various ceremonies (e.g., supplicating the gods, taming demons, securing prosperity, ensuring a long life), etc., until it risked his own life. He was not sparing of life and in this way spread the government of the divine son (...)] (Chen & Wang 2003: 66-67, 72)

Was den älteren Bruder Kar-po angeht, anfangs, zu der Zeit, als er von oben [herab]kam, verehrte er den sKu-bla gNyan-po der beiden Brüder und ... (?) ... vollbrachte bis zum Einsatz seines Lebens Taten aus Verehrung für den lHa-sras. Da er sein Leben nicht schonte, (...)

[As far as the older brother Kar po is concerned, initially, at the time when he came [down] from above, he revered the *sku bla* Gnyan po of the two brothers and ... (?) ... undertook to the point of danger to his life

deeds out of worship for the Lha sras. Because he was not sparing of his life, (...)] (Uebach 1985: 67-68)

As for the elder brother, Kar-po, when he first came from above he made offerings to the powerful *sku-bla* of the two brothers; and the god begotten with the *sku-bla* De-mo assumed control (over Kar-po). Nevertheless, for the honor of the son of the Gods he (Kar-po) took such steps that (it even came down to his own life:) even his own life was jeopardized; and he did not show concern for his life. (Li & Coblin 1987: 205)

gcen nya khyi ste rkong rje kar po ni | thog ma rgyal po'i khri la phebs pa'i tshe | sras sku mched gnyis kyi rus lha gnyan po gsol ba dang | rus lha de mo dang khyim thab byas | te rus lha'i bdag po byas pa ma zad | btsan po lha sras sha khyi'i sku'i rim gro'i ched rang nyid kyi srog la thug pa man chad kyi cho ga gang yod bsgrubs shing rang srog phangs med zhus (...)

[The older brother Nya khyi, who was the Kar po lord of Rkong po, when first he ascended to the throne of kingship, he made offerings to the powerful ancestral god of the sons, the two brothers. Having established a family with the ancestral goddess De mo, not only did he serve as lord of the ancestral god, for the sake of the *rim gro* of the body of the emperor, the divine son Sha khyi, he performed any ceremonies until it touched upon his own life, and he was not sparing of his own life (...)] (Bkra shis zla ba 2004: 16)

That elder brother [i.e., Sha Khyi] was (then) Kar-po; when first he came from above (yas), even though he acted as a *lha bdag* who made the *sku bla gnyan po gsol ba* of the two brothers and mated with the Sku Bla Demo, he (further) performed ritual service for the *sku* of the Lha Sras and performed rites to the point that they became a threat to his own life. As he did not spare his own welfare, (...) (Walter 2009: 101, brackets in original)

All previous researchers except Walter regard the Kar po as the same figure as the older brother from central Tibet, Nya khyi. Macdonald, Richardson (1985), Chen & Wang (1984, 2003), Uebach, and Bkra shis zla ba identify Nya khyi with the Kar po in their translations. The translation of Richardson (1972) and Li & Coblin (1987) are agnostic on this point, but in their commentaries this identification is made explicitly (Richardson 1972: 38; Li & Coblin 1987: 211, 215). Walter's apparent identification of the Kar po with Sha khyi must simply be a mistake, since Nya khyi is explicitly named as the older son of Dri gum.

I propose however to understand Nya khyi and the Kar po as two different figures, yielding a total of three *dramatis personae*—Nya khyi, Sha khyi and the Kar po. As will be shown in the following, this proposal makes better sense of the grammar and the narrative context.

The inscription says quite clearly that the Kar po came from above. Richardson makes no attempt to explain this; possibly he does not see that it could conflict with the interpretation of the Kar po as Nya khyi, the latter definitely coming to Rkong po not from heaven, but rather from Phying ba. Macdonald solves the problem by suggesting that everything before lha bdag bgvid refers not to Nya khyi / the Kar po but to Nya khri btsan po, the first ancestor of the Spu rgyal dynasty, who did descend from heaven.9 This interpretation sees lha bdag bgyïd as a noun in the ergative identified with the Kar po. Her solution faces two problems. First, it would be odd to introduce a passage having to do with Nya khri btsan po with the phrase gcen kar po ni rather than say nya khri ni. Second, the tale of the descent of Nya khri btsan po has already been retold a few lines before. If one insists on identifying Nya khyi and the Kar po, Uebach (1985: 67, n. 96) offers the best explanation. She understands vas 'from above' not as 'from heaven' but as 'from Phying ba stag rtse'. Li & Coblin (1987: 211) follow her in this suggestion even giving the specific elevations of the two districts. Chen & Wang (1984) similarly propose interpreting yas as 'from Lho kha'. Although ingenious this suggestion is implausible. Bkra shis zla ba correctly sees vas gshegs pa as meaning 'ascend the throne' (khri la phebs). Paraphrasing the text in this way and treating the divine descent as metaphorical avoids the problem; it is however somewhat hard to believe that the descent of Nya khri btsan po is meant to be taken literally whereas that of the Kar po is metaphorical.

The parallel grammatical construction "gcung sha khyi ni ... gcen nya khyi ni ... gcen kar po ni" makes fully clear that three, and not two individuals are described; "kar po ... yas gshegs" does mean 'the Kar po came from heaven' and is meant to parallel the formula gnam gyi lha las myi'i rjer gshegs pa 'he came from among the gods of heaven as ruler of men.' A variant of this formula occurs just a few

⁹ The mention of Nya khri btsan po in their translation suggests that Chen & Wang (2003) follow this interpretation. However, I have trouble identifying their interpretation of *yas* 'from above'.

lines earlier, referring as it does across Old Tibetan literature to the progenitor of the Spu rgyal dynasty whether his name be Spu de Gung rgyal, Nya(g) khri btsan po, or 'O lde spu rgyal.

The context for the retelling of this narrative must be borne in mind; it serves as the prologue to a request for tax relief by the current ruler of Rkong po to the reigning Tibetan emperor. The point rhetorically is to remind the emperor of the degree to which the ancestors of the ruler of Rkong po aided the ancestors of the Tibetan emperors when the latter had fallen on hard times, and to remind him of how loyal the rulers of Rkong po have always remained to the imperial family since. The meaning of "kar po ... yas gshegs" is that the king of Rkong po has a pedigree which is just as divine as that of the Tibetan emperor. Seen in this light, the fact that the divinely sent Kar po chooses not only to host the two, now unfortunately mortal, central Tibetan refugees, but also accepts them as overlords, portrays Rkong po as mythologically independently legitimate of and extremely gracious toward the Spu rgyal dynasty. In contrast, the story of an older son choosing to settle in a far flung territory and doing his best to maintain family traditions there packs much less punch in the rhetorical context of a petition by the ruler of Rkong po to the Tibetan throne.

This story broadly parallels the tale told in the first chapter of the Old Tibetan Chronicle (PT 1287) which explicitly equates the brother Nya khyi with the Rkong po Kar po (nya khyi ni rkong dkar po lagso, 1. 51). This evidence may have been what predisposed other investigators to see Nya khyi and the Kar po as the same person also in the Rkong po inscription. However, as is clear from another detail the two accounts are not identical stories. In the Rkong po inscription Nya khyi is the older brother and Sha khyi the younger, whereas in the Old Tibetan Chronicle these roles are reversed. Because of this difference, there is no reason to believe that the story in the Old Tibetan Chronicle is a reliable guide to the interpretation of the Rkong po inscription. The fact that Nya khyi becomes king of Rkong po in the Old Tibetan Chronicle's version in no way undermines the reasons for believing this is not the case in the Rkong po inscription. The fact that Rkong po inscription.

¹⁰ Both versions have Nya khyi remain in the region of Rkong po. By implication in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* it is Sha khyi who returns to Phying ba stag rtse and restores the dynasty, but his name is not mentioned explicitly at this juncture. At the

If the Kar po is not the same figure as Nya khyi, one is in a better position to consider the following vexing clause in the Rkong po inscription, which describes actions the Kar po takes: sku bla de mo dang bshos pa {7} 'i lha bdag bgyïd kyis kyang. As Uebach points out, there are essentially two possibilities, one that bgvid is a verb, and the other, the route Macdonald takes, that lha bdag bgvid is a proper name (Uebach 1985: 67, n. 98). The obstacle Uebach gives for accepting the second possibility, that no name ending in bgvid is otherwise attested, is sufficient to dismiss this option. Uebach (ibid.) translates "obwohl er sich die von dem sKu-bla mit der De-mo gezeugte Gottheit zu eigen machte" [although he united himself with the deity sired by the sku bla with De mo]. This translation understands sku bla as a separate noun phrase from de mo and gives bshos the rection "male-(absolutive) female-(associative)". All of the other translations cited above in contrast treat sku bla de mo as one noun phrase.

In PT 1286 bshos clearly has the rection "male-(associative) female-(terminative)", as the following and many other examples show: lde nyag khri btsan po dang / gnam mug mug du (45) bshos pa'i sras 'the son sired of Lde nyag khri btsan po and Gnam mug mug'. However, a separate rection ("male-[associative] female-[absolutive]") occurs in PT 1068, glang khe bo ru gar dang ma spu 'bri sral mo gnyis bshos 'Glang Khe bo ru gar and Ma spu 'bri sral mo, the two, slept together' (PT 1068, l. 98). A well known passage from the Old Tibetan Annals (PT 1288, IOL Tib J 750) has the male understood from the previous clause and the female in the associative case: btsan po khri srong rtsan dgung du gshegso / btsan mo mun cang kong co dang (16) dgung lo gsum bshos so 'the emperor Khri Srong rtsan went to heaven; he had been with the empress 文成公主 Wencheng Gongzhu for three years'. Although I have been unable to confirm the rection 'male-(absolutive) female-(associative)" proposed by Uebach, such a

second to last explicit mention of Sha khyi, he appears as Lha (khyi) and not Sha (khyi) (nya lha gnyïs kyis btsan po'i spur bzung ngo 'both Nya [khyi] and Lha [khyi] retrieved the corpse of the emperor.'). Previously I have treated this as an error (Hill 2006: 96, n. 39). I now wonder in view of the phrase gcung sha khyï ni / lha btsan po 'the younger brother Sha khyi [became] the divine emperor' in line 5 of the Rkong po inscription, whether the use of lha for sha in the Old Tibetan Chronicle indicates Sha khyi as heir to the throne.

rection can be inferred from the two attested rections ("male-[associative] female-[absolutive]" and "female-[associative] with the male supplied by context").

The correct analysis treats the Kar po as the agent of bgyid, and the words lha bdag together as the noun phrase patient of bgyid. If one were to concur with those translators who opt to regard sku bla de mo as one noun phrase, this leads inevitably to the conclusion that the Kar po is the anaphorically provided agent of bshos. None of the translations which take this premise follow through with this inevitable conclusion, perhaps because it could easily lead to the unacceptable result that the Kar po worships his own son. Walter draws attention to the result of this reading that a human being, the Kar po, would have copulated with a deity, sku bla de mo. This is exactly how Bkra shis zla ba understands the passage. However, Walter (2009: 102) notes that such a match is unprecedented in Tibetan literature. His solution to this enigma is to suggest that sku bla are human beings and not divinities. A simpler and philologically superior solution is to construe sku bla and de mo as separate noun phrases.

Although Uebach's analysis relies on the likely but unproven premise that the verb *bshos* has the rection "male-(absolutive) female-(associative)", because all other translations so far provided are grammatically impossible, the burden lies with those who wish to see *sku bla de mo* as one noun phrase to demonstrate a grammatically feasible analysis of the text consistent with such a premise.

Depending on the meaning of the phrase *lha bdag* the modifier *sku bla de mo dang bshos pa'i* "engendered by the *sku bla* with De mo" can either modify *lha* alone or the entire noun phrase *lha bdag*. The string of Tibetan letters transliterated *bdag* is generally understood to be able to refer to three words 'I/me', 'self', and 'ruler/lord'. The interpretation of the word in this context can be resolved with reference to a parallel passage Karmay draws attention to in the *Ge khod bsang ba'i dkar tshan* (a section of the *Ge khod gsang ba drag chen*, cf. Anon 1973), where the phrase *lha bdag* 'lord of the god' is a technical term of ritual: "*lha dang lha bdag mjal ba'i phyir | zhal gyi mchil ma ljags gang la | bdud rtsi sman du smon lam btab*" (Karmay 1998: 409, 1. 23) [She prayed a full tongue of spittle from the mouth as medicinal ambrosia in order that the god should meet the god

owner]. 11 Karmay translates the term *lha bdag* 'owner of the god'. 12 He argues that it refers to the human worshiper of a god. These two attestations of *lha bdag*, in the Rkong po inscription and the *Ge khod bsang ba'i dkar tshan*, taken together do not reveal much, except that the *lha* and the *lha bdag* are not the same and are expected to meet.

More light can be shed on *lha bdag* in view of the anthropological literature. In his description of the *Go tsi* ritual practiced in Lahul, Asboe (1933: 196) writes of "the keeper of the village god (*Hla-bdag-pa*)". In the village of Hemis Shukpa in Ladakh the term *lha bdag pa* refers to a hereditary "royal representative and master of the cult" (Dollfus 1996: 10) of the village's tutelary deity (*yul lha*).

Even when *bdag* does mean 'self' it means so more typically as a noun and not as a reflexive pronoun, a role taken instead by *rang*. Because of this, the phrase *bdagï srog la' bab pa man chad kyï cho gar mdzad pa* later in the same line cannot be translated 'he performed rituals until it reached the point of endangering his own life' as previous researchers have understood the phrase. Instead *bdag* may still refer to *lha bdag*, the phrase translating 'until it reached the point of endangering the lord's life'. Since the person performing the rituals and the 'owner of the god' are the same person, namely the Kar po, the meaning of the sentence is not profoundly changed by this amendment. However, linguistically it is a more accurate translation and puts appropriate emphasis on the fact that danger to life is inherently an occupational hazard of the *lha bdag*.¹³

To recapitulate the philological conclusions arrived at here: Nya khyi and the Kar po are not the same person; the *sku bla* and De mo are not the same deity; *lha bdag* means 'lord of the god' and refers to a human propitiator of the *sku bla*. To briefly review the narrative—the sons of Dri gum flee to Rkong po. The local ruler, the Kar po, himself recently arrived from heaven, pays homage to the *sku bla* of

¹¹ Karmay (1998: 402, 1. 20-24) offers a different translation which I am incapable of following: "In order to ... bring together the deity and his 'human owner' she sprinkled a mouthful of ambrosial spittle on the earth, praying: 'May this be medicial ambrosia'". The French original is no more helpful: "Afin que ... le dieu et son « propriétaire humain » se rencontrent, avec une gorgée de salive, Elle pria « Que ceci soit une ambroisie médicinale »" (Karmay 1995: 187).

¹² This analysis is strengthened with reference to attestations assembled by Li & Coblin (1987: 214) demonstrating that *bdag bgyid* means 'act as lord of'.

¹³ The word *bdag cag* 'we, us', the plural of *bdag* 'I, me' does occur a few lines later (1. 8-9).

the brothers. The older brother Nya khyi remains in Rkong po, presumably as a guest of the Kar po and the younger brother Sha khyi returned to Phying ba to regain control of the seat of empire. In service to the *sku bla* of these foreigners the Kar po endangers himself.

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