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Review of *Jokhang: Tibet's Most Sacred Buddhist Temple*,
by Gyurme Dorje, Tashi Tsering, Heather Stoddard, and
André Alexander

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Gyurme Dorje, Tashi Tsering, Heather Stoddard, and André Alexander. *Jokhang: Tibet's Most Sacred Buddhist Temple*. London: Edition Hansjörg Mayer, 2010, 288 pp. \$60.00 / £35.00.

Jokhang: Tibet's Most Sacred Buddhist Temple is a multi-authored work on the “Jo khang,” which might be the most sacred, and is certainly the most famous temple in Tibet. It joins a growing rank of studies focused on particular Tibetan institutions, which are a welcome addition to our knowledge of the cultural history of Tibet. At its best moments, *Jokhang* approaches its subject from multiple angles, each author contributing a perspective on the temple derived from his or her own expertise. Unfortunately, the close reader will discover key pieces of information are often repeated in multiple articles, sometimes in a contradictory fashion. That said, for specialists in the history of Tibet trained in the proper use of primary and secondary sources, this is a welcome contribution to our knowledge of one of the most important places in all of Tibetan culture.

Jokhang begins with Gyurme Dorje's introduction to the temple, transcription of an interview with the Dalai Lama, and an adaptation of Tsepön W. D. Shakabpa's (*zhwa sgab pa dbang phyug bde ldan*, 1908-1989) *Catalogue and Guide to the Central Temple of Lhasa (lha ldan rwa sa 'phrul snang gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag*, 1982). Tashi Tsering contributed a particularly rich chapter on the Jo bo Śākyamuni drawn from multiple primary sources. Heather Stoddard's chapter provides information on three disparate topics: Wencheng Gongzhu's (*rgya bza' kong jo*, d. 681) geomantic stones, the First Great Prayer Festival (*smon lam chen mo*), and the earliest wall paintings still extant in the temple. André Alexander contributes observations on the architecture and recent renovations to the temple drawn from his personal experience working with the Tibet Heritage Fund in Lhasa. *Jokhang* ends with photographs of 108 statues housed in the temple collection.

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Jokhang is richly illustrated with many full color photographs of the temple captured by a range of observers over the course of more than twenty years.

A brief side note should be said about the title of the book. “Jo khang” is certainly the most common English name for the temple. However, in Tibetan literature, one rarely discovers Jo khang as a name for the whole complex. Jo khang ought to refer only to the chapel of the Jo bo, which even then has the proper name Central Chapel (*gtsang khang dbus ma*). Tibetan authors have preferred Ra sa ’phrul snang gtsug lag khang, or variations on it as well as a variety of other names. Authors used Jo khang to refer to chapels in other monasteries and temples that happened to have a Jo bo. In Lha sa dialect in 2001, Tibetans seemed to prefer simply Temple (*gtsug lag khang*), though in 2010 I noticed some Tibetans used Jo khang with me, but not with each other. Since this book is aimed at an English-reading audience, Jo khang is an appropriate title, but this reader would have liked to see the authors work harder to disabuse English-speakers of their reliance on the nickname “Jo khang.”

Overall, *Jokhang* offers some new insights into Lha sa’s favorite temple and this author recommends the book to students and scholars looking for a multi-faceted synopsis of the temple. However, Tibetologists and seasoned scholars are cautioned in their use of this book in service of other projects. Occasionally secondary sources are out-of-date and critically important publications on the history of the Jo khang and related subjects are omitted. Given the large differences between the chapters, I will provide a summary and review of each one separately.

Gyurme Dorje’s Contributions

In the Introduction, Dorje aims to frame the Jo khang within the history and culture of Tibet for beginners, a difficult task given its almost 1400-year history and unequalled significance. Dorje starts with a brief overview of some of best-known sources on the founding of the temple. However, already on the first page of the introduction (7) under the boldfaced heading “Early Historical Sources,” we find Dorje referring to the *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament* (*bka’ chems ka khol ma*) and *Ma ni bka’ ’bum* as “time capsules” inserted into Jo khang by Srong btsan sgam po (d. 650) for the benefit of future generations. Nowhere in the introduction does Dorje explain to the reader that he is speaking only metaphorically. He does not provide the reader any information on the historical provenance of these texts nor their mythopoetic character. It is as if Dorje is announcing on the first page that this book is more of a celebration of the Jo khang’s role in Tibetan culture, than a serious scholarly work. While a book of this caliber is certainly welcome, a careful student of Tibetan history should be wary of taking any of the historical information contained here on face value alone. For example, Dorje repeatedly refers to the *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament* in both the “Introduction” as well as in “Zhakabpa’s Inventory to the Great Temple of Lhasa.” The *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament* is a famous mythopoetic account of Srong btsan sgam po erecting the temple. Atiśa (*jo bo rje*) supposedly extracted the hidden text from within a vase-shaped pillar in the temple. However Dorje says that Atiśa extracted the *Vase-shaped Pillar*

Testament from the Leaf Pillar (ka ba shing lo can), not the Vase Pillar (ka ba bum pa can), in the Jo khang,

Adjacent to the Vase Pillar (ka ba bum pa can) he concealed treasures of the sacred doctrine. At the Leaf Pillar (ka ba shing lo can) he concealed the Testament of the King (rgyal po'i bka' chems) and alongside it a treasure of gold... (52).

The *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament* is Dorje's "Testament of the King," but according to the Lanzhou edition of the *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament*, it was extracted from the Vase Pillar, not the Leaf Pillar:

The old woman said, "From on top of the Vase-shaped Pillar, inside of [a cavity] two and a half hand-widths in size, there was a text composed by the architect [of the temple]. Look there!" and then she disappeared. The next morning, the three of them, the Paṇḍita, the Master, and the servant, extracted three scrolls. The first, *The Wish-fulfilling Moon*, was the account of the actions of the Ministers. The second, *The Brilliantly White Scarf*, was on the actions of the queens. The final one, the third text, was this *Testament*, the history of the construction [of the temple] by the king himself.¹

Four times, in 2001, 2004, 2006, and in 2010, I have interviewed various monks in the temple regarding the *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament*. In every interview, the monks have indicated Atiśa extracted the text from the Vase Pillar.

Occasionally the footnotes will mention something truly innovative, such as note 53 on the previously unstudied seventeenth-century manuscript at Rum theg regarding the history of the temple and Great Prayer Festival during the Rin spungs pa period (1497-1518), but more often the footnotes are too few, inadequate or frustrating. It is unclear if references to secondary literature are missing because of the intended audience for *Jokhang* or because of the long gestation period for the project as a whole. For example, the *Jokhang* does not include any references to Sørensen et al.'s essential studies of the political history of the Lha sa valley, the Tshal pa, and the Lha sa dykes.² Regarding the Fifth Dalai Lama's catalogue of the temple, Dorje references Grunwedel's work (20), but none of the other translations of the text that have surpassed Grunwedel. On the Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's (1653-1705) efforts to transform the architecture and ritual calendar

¹ *ka ba bum pa can gyi steng nas 'dom phyed dang gsum gzhal ba'i nang na/ 'di bzhengs mkhan gyis mdzad pa'i yi ge yod do/ de thon la ltos shig zer nas rgan mo mi snang bar gyur to/ de nas sang nang bar paṇḍi ta dpon g.yog gsum gyis shog dril gsum bton gzigs pas/ sngon ma la blon po rnams kyis byas pa'i lo rgyus zla ba 'dod 'jo bya ba byung / bar ba gnyis pa la btsun mo rnams kyis byas pa'i dar dkar gsal ba bya ba byung / phyi ma gsum pa nas rgyal po rang gis mdzad pa'i lo rgyus bka' chem[s] kyi yi ge 'di byung ba yin no/ (Jo bo a ti sha, Bka' chems ka khol ma, ed. Smon lam rgya mtsho (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 4.2-4.11).*

² Per K. Sørensen, "Lhasa Diluvium, Sacred Environment at Stake: The Birth of Flood Control Politics, the Question of Natural Disaster Management and Their Importance for the Hegemony over a National Monument in Tibet," *Lungta* 16 (2003): 85-134; Per K. Sørensen, Guntram Hazod, and Tsering Gyalbo, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet, a Study of Tshal Gung-Thang*, (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 2 vols.

of Lha sa, Dorje cites Hugh Richardson's *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year*,³ but does not reference Kurtis Schaeffer's work on the Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's actual texts on the subject.⁴ And in the "Introduction" (23) and "Personal Reminiscences of the Great Temple" (33), Dorje comments on the controversy surrounding the Jo bo's crown and its connection to prophecies involving the erection of a Snang srid zil gnon statue in the temple, but he does not refer to Blondeau's ground-breaking article on that subject⁵ nor the chapter of my dissertation devoted to it.⁶ The Dalai Lama's personal reflections on the temple and his own thoughts on whether the Jo bo is just a statue constitute one of the most valuable contributions of the entire volume and echo the comments he made to me in 2003.⁷ Later, in the guide to the temple, during the section on the Chapel of the Countenance/Face (*zhäl ras lha khang*), Dorje makes no reference Vitali's important work on this chapel.⁸

The largest section of *Jokhang* is Dorje's detailed guide to the temple. The section heading announces that this is a translation of Tsepön W. D. Shakabpa's *Catalogue and Guide to the Central Temple of Lhasa*,⁹ however, it is not a translation. Fascinating pieces of information from Shakabpa's *Catalogue* are missing, such as the account of the Gesar relics stored in the basement, which is translated within Tashi Tsering's contribution to *Jokhang* (145-47), and Dorje has added a considerable amount of post-1982 information. Therefore, it should be considered Dorje's guide to the temple, not Shakabpa's. While on the one hand, Dorje should be complimented for the useful additional information he provides, it is unfortunate he did not translate Shakabpa literally, for the complete catalogue represents a rare glimpse into the significance of material culture to exiled Tibetans immediately after the mass iconoclasm of the Cultural Revolution. Dorje's own account would have benefited from a closer reading of other recent catalogues of the temple, especially one by the former Vice-Chairman and current disciplinarian of the temple, Nyi ma tshe ring.¹⁰

³ Hugh Richardson and Michael Aris, *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year* (London: Serindia, 1993).

⁴ Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "Ritual, Festival, and Authority under the Fifth Dalai Lama," in *Power, Politics, and the Reinvention of Tradition: Tibet in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Bryan J. Cuevas and Kurtis R. Schaeffer (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2006), 187-202.

⁵ Anne-Marie Blondeau, "Défense de Tsoñ kha pa: a propos d'un texte polémique attribué à Mkhas grub rje," in *Tibetan Studies*, Klasse Denkschriften 256, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 21 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995), 59-76.

⁶ Cameron David Warner, "The Precious Lord: The History and Practice of the Cult of the Jowo Śākyamuni in Lhasa, Tibet" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2008), 271-324; Cameron David Warner, "Re/crowning the Precious Lord: Texts, Photographs, and Memory," *History of Religions* 51, no. 1 (August 2011): 1-30.

⁷ Warner, "Precious Lord," 32, 47.

⁸ Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London: Serindia, 1990), 69-83.

⁹ Tsepön W. D. Shakabpa, *Lha ldan rwa sa 'phrul snang gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag* [Catalogue and Guide to the Central Temple of Lhasa] (Kalimpong: Shakabpa House, 1982).

¹⁰ Nyi ma tshe ring and Ngag dbang 'jigs med, *Lha ldan ra sa 'phrul snang gtsug lag khang gi lo rgyus dang 'brel ba 'i gnas bshad mdor bsdus dris lan bdun cu rtsa gsum* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2005).

Putting these matters aside, there is much to learn from Dorje's Shakabpa-inspired guide to the temple including a detailed account of the construction of the Jo bo's throne (58), the temple's desecration during the Cultural Revolution (63, 69), and the re-opening of the temple (64). Dorje comments on the on-going renovations, including the precious artifacts discovered within the ancient walls (64), and the damage to the Vase Pillar (71), and occasionally corrects Shakabpa's mistakes and omissions (71, 78). Unfortunately, Dorje does not make it clear enough to the reader what is taken from Shakabpa and what he has added himself, such as in the section on the large Snang srid zil gnon (77). He also fails to provide explanations for potentially fascinating comments such as why,

Regarding the north-western turret:

Later, in accordance with the advice of the present Fourteenth Dalai Lama, the gilded copper images of the spiritual teachers of the graduated path (Lam rim) were removed from the Śrīdevī Turret and installed here (87).

When did this event occur? Before or after the Dalai Lama left for India? How much influence does the Dalai Lama still have on the iconographic program of the temple? Were the Graduated Path images moved in accordance with a prophecy? Did it seem overly sectarian to have the Graduated Path images in the Śrīdevī Turret?

“Jowo Śākyamuni” by Tashi Tsering

One of the most captivating sections of *Jokhang* is Tashi Tsering's idiosyncratic contribution to our knowledge of the Jo bo Śākyamuni. Tsering did not so much as write a chapter on the Jo bo as translate passages of a wide range of texts. In doing so, Tsering not only provided abundant raw data on the Jo bo himself, but also demonstrated the breadth and depth of the Jo bo's significance within Tibetan culture. Unfortunately, Tsering almost entirely omits his own interpretation of these passages, many of which have already been studied elsewhere. His contribution lacks narrative framing, hypothesis, thesis, theme, interpretation or even transition sentences from quote to quote. This reader seriously laments the omission of Tsering's own thoughts on the Jo bo and on this source material. It is not even entirely clear why the quotes are organized in this order. Therefore, his chapter is more akin to primary source material for the use of others than his own scholarly contribution to the significance of the Jo bo to Tibetan culture.

This problem is evident for example in his quote on the origins of the Jo bo from the writings of Cha har dge bshes blo bzang tshul khriims. Preceding the quote, Tsering briefly comments, “Although there are many extant records describing the origins and history of the Jowo Rinpoche, I have extracted the following passage from the writings of Chahar Geshe Lobzang Tsultrim” (127). What are some of the other sources? Why choose this one? How does it relate to the other sources? Tsering makes no comment on these crucial questions. The apparently earliest source for the origin narrative of the Jo bo Śākyamuni would

be the various redactions of the *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament*. From there it was redacted into a shorter version for the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum*, the differences being small, but crucial to later Tibetan polemics. As Stoddard notes in her chapter, it is still unclear how Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer's (1124/36-1192) *Essence of Honey Which is the Nectar of a Flower: An Ecclesiastical History* (*chos 'byung me tog snying po'i sbrang rtsi'i bcud*), fits into this picture. What we do know for certain is that the myth these texts share was again heavily redacted, but also expanded for the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*.

In another example, Tashi Tsering quotes Dge 'dun chos 'phel on Tsong kha pa's controversial transformation of the Jo bo's appearance, but fails to connect Dge 'dun chos 'phel's comments to the crucial differences between the various Jo bo origin narratives (126-27). Cha har dge bshes blo bzang tshul khriims's narrative is rather benign. From what we see here, it appears to be a short, and rather uninteresting, late summary of the most common and least controversial details from the earlier origin narratives. It almost provides more information of the geomantic origins of the two Lha sa temples than the Jo bos themselves. And in an odd twist, Cha har dge bshes states that Srong btsan sgam po and his wives immediately installed the Jo bo Śākyamuni in the Ra sa 'phrul snang (Jo khang), instead of the much more common story where the Jo bo Śākyamuni originally inhabited the Ra mo che and was later moved to the Jo khang to hide it from an invading Chinese army.

Tsering's translation from Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's *Circumambulatory Measurements of Lhasa* (*lha sa'i skor tshad*) is another example of the pros and cons of his chapter in *Jokhang* (129-32). With this passage, Tsering provides rewarding details from an extant, and difficult to translate text, but he makes no reference to Kurtis Schaeffer's previous and excellent work on the same topic. This reader would have also liked to see Tsering connect Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's work on the circumambulatory paths with first-hand measurement of the iconometry of the Jo bo Śākyamuni and cite David Jackson's previous work on the subject.¹¹ Put together, we see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's almost obsessive use of empirical evidence alongside and even supersessionary to authoritative textual sources. Tashi Tsering also avoided making the obvious, yet still useful point, of why Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho would go to such lengths to connect circumambulation of the new shrine to the Fifth Dalai Lama and the entire new capital of Lha sa to circumambulation of the Jo bo Śākyamuni. Only slightly obscured by his pedantic calculations, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho had a deep-seated interest in establishing in the Tibetan mindset the Fifth Dalai Lama as a recent emanation of both Avalokiteśvara and Srong btsan sgam po through a triangulation involving the Jo bo Śākyamuni and Dmar po ri.

Tsering's translation of G.yu thog yon tan mgon po's (790-833) visions of the Jo bo is a particularly useful contribution to our knowledge of the Jo bo's role in

¹¹ David Jackson and Janice Jackson, *Tibetan Thangka Painting: Methods & Materials* (London: Serindia Publications), 1984.

Tibetan literature. Not only do a number of attainments and miracles mentioned in other visions occur here together, but we learn that G.yu thog learned to make medicine from the Jo bo himself (132-36). The lesser-known episode of Karma chags med (1613-1678) offering his finger for a butter lamp is also a great reference (36-37).

“From Rasa to Lhasa” by Heather Stoddard

Heather Stoddard explores a number of subjects under three heterogeneous topic headings: “The Geomantic Stones of the Jokhang,” “The First Monlam Chenmo,” and “The Early Wall Paintings.” It is beyond the scope of this review to engage with the entirety of Stoddard’s chapter. Therefore, I will highlight just a few points, which might prove to be interesting sites for future research.

In the course of writing about Wencheng’s geomantic stones, Stoddard defends her preferred choice of early post-imperial Tibetan Buddhist historical texts, the *Essence of Honey Which is the Nectar of a Flower: An Ecclesiastical History*. Stoddard is of the opinion that the *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament* could be an elaboration upon Nyang ral. This is a fascinating suggestion that deserves a lengthy treatment of all extant redactions of these works, especially the *Vase-shaped Pillar Testament* redactions which do not contain the Atiśa frame story.

Stoddard also attempts to develop a theory that the Ra sa ’phrul snang gtsug lag khang represents a new form of valley-floor construction (165) previously unknown in Tibet. Presumably, Wencheng Gongzhu brought this new construction technique. Though Stoddard’s theory is in line with present Wencheng historiography in the P.R.C.,¹² it fails to take into account that Khra ’brug apparently predates the Ra sa ’phrul snang gtsug lag khang¹³ and is also built on the floor of a valley.

Stoddard’s next topic heading, “The First Monlam Chenmo,” is not so much focused on the Great Prayer Festival itself, but on the two centuries of Tibetan history preceding the Great Prayer Festival. Stoddard reviews Tibetan political relations during the Yuan dynasty as well as the invitations given to Tibetan hierarchs during the early Ming dynasty. Stoddard interprets Tsong kha pa’s refusal to travel to Beijing as part of a proto-nationalist spirit in Central Tibet under the Phag mo gru pa (1353-1434). This reviewer would have preferred to see more explicit evidence that his creation of the Great Prayer Festival, arguably the *sina qua non* of Lha sa ritual life, was part of a proto-nationalist project.

Stoddard ends her contribution to *Jokhang* with a short section on the early wall paintings of the Chapel of the Countenance/Face. This subsection was particularly frustrating for this reviewer, because Stoddard writes at length about her own experience examining the murals, but says little about the murals themselves. Since

¹² See my “A Miscarriage of History: Wencheng Gongzhu and Sino-Tibetan Historiography,” *Inner Asia* 14, no. 2 (forthcoming).

¹³ Sørensen, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain*, 4, 175.

Stoddard found the inscriptions on the murals difficult to read, why not publish a transcription of them? Or are they completely illegible? And most importantly, Stoddard refrains from developing her own theory regarding the origin of the Chapel of the Countenance/Face. In her opinion was Roberto Vitali¹⁴ correct?

“The Lhasa Jokhang” by André Alexander

André Alexander’s contribution to *Jokhang* is concerned with the architectural layout of the temple and the most recent renovation, which was begun in 1978 and is still continuing today. This chapter largely recapitulates the chapter on the Ra sa ’phrul snang gtsug lag khang in Alexander’s own book, *The Temples of Lhasa: Tibetan Buddhist Architecture from the 7th to the 21st Centuries*,¹⁵ and an earlier published paper.¹⁶ One of the best features of both publications is the architectural renderings of the layouts of the chapels and the cross sections of the temple. As further proof of the chapters as independent entities, Alexander begins with a history of the founding of the temple, which duplicates earlier passages of *Jokhang*, but in less detail. He continues with a discussion of Wencheng’s stone images and the Chapel of the Countenance/Face, but with no reference to Stoddard’s previous subsection on the same topic. Alexander also summarizes the contents of the inscription on the back of the Jo bo’s throne but I already transcribed and translated the inscription in my dissertation.¹⁷

Like the rest of the book, Alexander also persists in mistakenly referring to the Ra sa ’phrul snang as the “Jo khang,” going so far as to obscure what little imperial period historical information still exists for the temple. For example under the sub-heading “Site History,” he quotes the ninth century Skar cung inscription as stating, “...shrines of the Three Jewels [i.e. Buddhism] were established by building the Jokhang of Ra-sa and so on...” (208). Obviously “Jo khang” here is Alexander’s anachronistic choice to translate Gtsug lag khang, since Jo khang does not appear in the inscription. This translation choice actually contradicts Alexander’s own previously published paper, which contains the more accurate translation, “shrines of the Three Jewels [i.e. Buddhism] were established by building the Tsuklakhang of Ra-sa and so on...”¹⁸ Again, given how little is really known about the Ra sa ’phrul snang, and its persistently crucial role in Tibetan culture, projecting an eleventh- or twelfth-century term backwards to the early ninth century impedes future research on this site. This is a problem that would not have occurred if this book were given a different title and the editor explained to the reader in the

¹⁴ Vitali, *Early Temples*, 69-83.

¹⁵ André Alexander and Matthew Akester, *The Temples of Lhasa: Tibetan Buddhist Architecture from the 7th to the 21st Centuries* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005).

¹⁶ André Alexander, “The Lhasa Jokhang – Is the World’s Oldest Timber Frame Building in Tibet?,” *Webjournal on Cultural Patrimony* 1, no. 1 (2006): 123-54.

¹⁷ Warner, “Precious Lord,” 247-49, 395-99.

¹⁸ Alexander, “Lhasa Jokhang,” 127.

introduction the different names for the temple, where, when, and how they have been used.

General Miscellaneous Issues

Jokhang contains an incredible collection of rare photographs on the life in and around the temple, but the text of the book almost never addresses the photographs themselves. They hover as a discordant message around the periphery of the written text, but probably deserved their own chapter. A striking example is Catriona Bass' photographs of the 1986 Great Prayer Festival, which are interspersed with 1943 film stills of the Great Prayer Festival from James Guthrie and Tsieu-lien Shen (178-91). At first the images seem to denote a message about the Great Prayer Festival not contained in the text, a message of great interest to scholars of Tibetan ritual and the arts. And yet together, the text and images also seem to have a connoted message that supports Stoddard's thesis regarding the fundamentally nationalistic character of the Great Prayer Festival, since the informed reader brings with her the knowledge that the Great Prayer Festival has only been performed a handful of times since the Communist take-over of Tibet in 1951.

Jokhang is marred with editorial errors such a left-over note in the middle of the text, "(RTF bookmark start:)" (210). Close readers should also be warned that the notes to Stoddard's chapter are numbered incorrectly beginning at endnote 17. Where the reader sees endnote 17 in the main body of the text, one should read endnote 18 and so on until endnote 99, which does not have a note. Endnote 17 actually refers to the previous paragraph in the main body of the text.

Lastly, this reader would have liked to have seen one of the authors shed light on the inscriptions in the Ra sa 'phrul snang, many of which are never accounted for in the known catalogues of the temple. For example, in the summer of 2010 I had the fortune to briefly examine a two-meter-high, 1.75-meter-wide, east-facing, Chinese-language stone pillar immediately behind the west-facing Maitreya attributed to Bar gzhis ba on the ground floor. According to Tshe ring rgyal of the Tibetan Archives, this is likely a Ming dynasty stone tablet known locally as the Yangyin Inscription. It might be a mortuary tablet installed by a Chinese general of the Ming dynasty to commemorate his troops who had died on the plateau. Additionally, the gilded victory banners on the roof over the west-facing entrance have small inscriptions. Though the current banners replace those destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, like the unknown words inscribed on the golden butter-lamps in front of the Jo bo, an analysis of the donative inscriptions in the Lha sa Temple would serve to demonstrate the continued vitality of temple as the focus of Buddhist practice in Lha sa.

Conclusion

The great Lha sa Temple, the Ra sa 'phrul snang, is a fascinating subject well-worth investigation. *Jokhang* introduces the subject to new audiences, provides fresh insight on previous findings, and presents some new discoveries. In hindsight,

given the significance of the Ra sa 'phrul snang to Tibetan culture, it is surprising this is the first book-length study of the temple in a Western language. But more than anything, *Jokhang* demonstrates the need for further studies of the Ra sa 'phrul snang beyond what one book can possibly offer.

Glossary

Note: The glossary is organized into sections according to the main language of each entry. The first section contains Tibetan words organized in Tibetan alphabetical order. Columns of information for all entries are listed in this order: THL Extended Wylie transliteration of the term, THL Phonetic rendering of the term, the English translation, the Sanskrit equivalent, the Chinese equivalent, other equivalents such as Mongolian or Latin, associated dates, and the type of term.

Ka					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>ka ba bum pa can</i>	Kawa Bumpachen	Vase Pillar			Name
<i>ka ba shing lo can</i>	Kawa Shinglochen	Leaf Pillar			Name
<i>karma chags med</i>	Karma Chakmé			1613-1678	Person
<i>bka' chems ka khol ma</i>	<i>Kachem Kakhölma</i>	<i>The Vase-shaped Pillar Testament</i>		eleventh century?	Text
<i>skar cung</i>	Karchung				Place
Kha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>khra 'brug</i>	Trandruk				Monastery
Ga					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>dge 'dun chos 'phel</i>	Gendün Chömpel				Person
<i>rgya bza' kong jo</i>	Gyaza Kongjo		Chi. <i>Wencheng Gongzhu</i>	d. 681	Person
<i>rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long</i>	<i>Gyelrap Selwé Melong</i>	<i>The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies</i>			Text
Nga					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>ngag dbang 'jigs med</i>	Ngawang Jikmé				Author
<i>ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho</i>	Ngawang Lozang Gyatso	Fifth Dalai Lama		1617-1682	Person
Cha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>cha har dge bshes</i>	Chahar Geshé				Person
<i>cha har dge bshes blo bzang tshul khrims</i>	Chahar Geshé Lozang Tsültrim			1740-1810	Person
<i>chos 'byung me tog snying po'i sbrang rtsi'i bcud</i>	<i>Chöjung Metok Nyingpö Drangtsi Chü</i>	<i>The Essence of Honey Which Is the Nectar of a Flower: An Ecclesiastical History</i>		twelfth century	Text

Ja					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>jo khang</i>	Jokhang	House of the Jowo		eleventh century	Monastery
<i>jo bo</i>	Jowo	Lord			Statue
<i>jo bo rje</i>	Jowo Jé		San. <i>Atiša</i>	d.972/82	Person
<i>jo bo a ti sha</i>	Jowo Atisha				Author
Nya					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>nyang ral</i>	Nyangrel				Person
<i>nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer</i>	Nyangrel Nyima Özer			1124/36-1192	Person
<i>nyi ma tshe ring</i>	Nyima Tsering				Author
Da					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho</i>	Desi Sanggyé Gyatso			1653-1705	Person
Na					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>snang srid zil gnon</i>	Guru Nangsi Zilnön				Person
Pha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>phag mo gru pa</i>	Pakmo Drupa			1353-1434	Organization
<i>'phrul snang</i>	Trülñang	magically manifested			Monastery
Ba					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>bar gzhis ba</i>	Barzhiwa				Person
ma					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>ma ñi bka' 'bum</i>	<i>Mani Kambum</i>			twelfth century?	Text
<i>dmar po ri</i>	Marpori				Mountain
<i>smon lam rgya mtsho</i>	Mönlam Gyatso				Editor
<i>smon lam chen mo</i>	Mönlam Chenmo	Great Prayer Festival			Ritual
Tsa					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>tsong kha pa</i>	Tsongkhapa				Person
<i>gsang khang dbus ma</i>	Tsangkhang Üma	Central Chapel			Monastery
<i>gtsug lag khang</i>	Tsulakkhang	temple		eighth century	Monastery

Tsha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>tshal pa</i>	Tselpa				Place
<i>tshe ring rgyal</i>	Tsering Gyal				Person
Zha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>zhal ras lha khang</i>	Zhelrê Lhakhang	Chapel of the Countenance/Face			Monastery
<i>zhwa sgab pa</i>	Zhagappa	Shakabpa			Person
<i>zhwa sgab pa dbang phyug bde ldan</i>	Zhagappa Wangchuk Dedan	Tsepön W. D. Shakabpa		1908-1989	Person
Ya					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>gyu thog</i>	Yutok			790-833	Person
<i>gyu thog yon tan mgon po</i>	Yutok Yönten Gönpö				Person
Ra					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>ra mo che</i>	Ramoché				Monastery
<i>ra sa</i>	Rasa				Place
<i>rin spungs pa</i>	Rinpungpa			1497-1518	Organization
La					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>lam rim</i>	Lamrim	Graduated Path			Doxographical Category
Sa					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>sangs rgyas rgya mtsho</i>	Sanggyé Gyatso			1653-1705	Person
<i>srong btsan sgam po</i>	Songtsen Gampo			d. 650	Person
Ha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>lha ldan ra sa 'phrul snang gtsug lag khang gi lo rgyus dang 'brel ba 'i gnas bshad mdor bsdus dris lan bdun cu rtsa gsum</i>	<i>Lhaden Rasa Trülñang Tsuklakhanggi Logyü dang Drelwé Neshé Dordü Drilen Dünchutsasum</i>	<i>Seventy-three Questions and Answers: An Abbreviated Pilgrimage Guide and History of the Place of the Gods, the Rasa Trülñang Tsuklakhang</i>			Text
<i>lha ldan rwa sa 'phrul snang gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag</i>	<i>Lhaden Rasa Trülñang Tsuklakhanggi Karchak</i>	<i>Catalogue and Guide to the Central Temple of Lhasa</i>			Text
<i>lha sa</i>	Lhasa				Place

<i>lha sa'i skor tshad</i>	<i>Lhase Kortsé</i>	<i>Circumambulatory Measurements of Lhasa</i>			Text
Chinese					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Chinese	Dates	Type
			<i>Beijing</i>		Place
			<i>Ming</i>		Dynasty
			<i>Wencheng</i>		Person
			<i>Yuan</i>		Dynasty
Sanskrit					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Dates	Type
			<i>Avalokiteśvara</i>		Buddhist deity
			<i>Maitreya</i>		Buddhist deity
			<i>Śākyamuni</i>		Buddhist deity
			<i>Śrīdevī</i>		Buddhist deity

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