


The Scrupulous Use of Gifts for the Saṅgha: Self-Ennoblement Through the Ledger in Tibetan Autobiography¹

Benjamin Wood
(University of Toronto)

Introduction

 It is now well known that the large Buddhist monasteries of premodern Asia, like their Christian counterparts in Europe, were deeply enmeshed in economic matters.² Concurrently, Buddhist and Christian monks themselves frame the involvement of clerics in finances as a dangerous union of renunciation and wealth

¹ The author would like to thank Khenpo Kunga Sherab (University of Toronto) for his assistance in this project.

² Our understanding of the intricate economic affairs of Indian Buddhist monasteries is due in large part to the scholarship of Gregory Schopen. See in particular his papers included in *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004). Also see Jonathan A. Silk, *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Two important sources on economy in Chinese Buddhist monasticism are Jacques Gernet, *Les aspects économiques du Bouddhisme dans la Société Chinoise du V^e au X^e siècle* (Saïgon: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1956)—translated into English as Jacques Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, trans. Franciscus Verellen (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995)—and Michael J. Walsh, *Sacred Economies: Buddhist Monasticism & Territoriality in Medieval China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010). On Tibetan Buddhist monastic economy, see Melvyn C. Goldstein, "The Circulation of Estates in Tibet: Reincarnation, Land and Politics," *Journal of Asian Studies* 32, no. 3 (1973): 445–455; Robert J. Miller, "Buddhist Monastic Economy: The Jisa Mechanism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3, no. 4 (1961): 427–438; Georges B. J. Dreyfus, *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 42–44; Giuseppe Tucci, *The Religions of Tibet*, trans. Geoffrey Samuel (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 158–162; and Martin A. Mills, *Identity, Ritual and State in Tibetan Buddhism: The Foundations of Authority in Gelukpa Monasticism* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 61ff. Also, see Christian Jahoda's "Socio-Economic Organisation of Village Communities and Monasteries in Spiti, H.P., India: The Case of a Religious Administrative Unit (*chos gzhis*)," in *Discoveries in Western Tibet and the Western Himalayas: Essays on History, Literature, Archaeology and Art (Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, 2003)*, ed. Amy Heller and Giacomella Orofino (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 215–240. The monastic economies of medieval Europe is a well-developed field of study. See, for example, Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989).

leading to sin. Nearly two centuries before Luther attacked the Church's sale of indulgences in 1517, the medieval Spanish arch-priest Juan Ruíz's *Book of Good Love (Libro de buen amor)*, circa 1330, eloquently positions monastic wealth at the root of a monk's sin. Ruíz conveys an image of monks cursing money and its evils in sermon, while hoarding it "in cups and glasses in the monastery," likening the covetous clerics to vultures and crows anxiously awaiting a wealthy patron's demise.³

As vast wealth flooded through the gates of the Tibetan monastery of Zha lu, founded in the mid-eleventh century,⁴ an array of literature expounding the dangers of money for monks gradually came to fill its libraries. In the polymath Bu ston rin chen grub's (1290–1364) fourteenth-century letter of advice to Zha lu's future abbots,⁵ an important piece of the monastery's literature,⁶ Zha lu's eleventh abbot Bu ston⁷ offers short, pithy distillations of advice—what he

³ Juan Ruíz, "The Evils of Money and Drink," in *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, ed. Olivia Remie Constable, trans. Jill R. Webster (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 289.

⁴ On the history of Zha lu monastery, and its patronage and riches, see Roberto Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London: Serindia, 1990), 89–145. When I refer to the "monastery of Zha lu" in this article, I am referring to a large monastic complex, which includes, according to Zha lu's literature, a "lower/main Zha lu" (*zha mthil*), that is Zha lu itself, and the adjacent hermitage-monastery of Ri phug.

⁵ Bu ston rin chen grub, *Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge*. Please see the bibliography for complete references to Tibetan texts. This is paired with another of the abbot's texts, *Mkhan slob dge 'dun dang bcas pa'i spyi la snyan bskul ba'i yi ge*. Together, according to Ter Ellingson, these two texts are considered to constitute a "monastic constitution" (*bca' yig*) for Zha lu monastery, although they are not formally designated as such. See Ter Ellingson, "Tibetan Monastic Constitutions: The Bca'-yig," in *Reflections on Tibetan Culture: Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, ed. Lawrence Epstein and Richard F. Sherburne (Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 205–230. Bu ston, moreover, refers to his *Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge* (fol. 89r) as a final testament (*kha chems*).

⁶ Bu ston's *Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge* is referred to in the biography of the abbot Zha lu lo tsā ba (1441–1528) wherein it is mentioned that this master performed the duties of abbot as described in this text and also that the abbot read Bu ston's testaments to the Saṅgha. See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 28 and 177 n. 36; and *Zha lu gdan rabs*, 236. Blo gsal bstan skyong himself recalls that when he was 54 years old, he read the second of Bu ston's testaments, *Mkhan slob dge 'dun dang bcas pa'i spyi la snyan bskul ba'i yi ge*, to an assembly of monks and nuns at Ri phug. *Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*, 656.

⁷ Although Bu ston was the eleventh abbot of Shalu, he is credited with inaugurating a scriptural college (*bshad grwa*) for esoteric and philosophical studies, founding the mountain-side hermitage of Ri phug (see the note above), and for initiating his own Buddhist tradition or school, known as "Bu ston's System" (*bu lugs*), which significantly contributes intellectually to Tibet's Buddhist tradition, par-

terms "methods of achievement" (*sgrub thabs*) to his successors. The first of these methods urges future abbots to guard their minds against the inevitable influx of donations, to be wary of thieving attendants, and to refrain from individually seizing the possessions of their deceased brethren.⁸ A much more recent text describes disagreements between the inner monastic officials (*las sne nang khul*) of Zha lu from the 1930s to 50s and includes a lengthy account of embezzlement (*lkog zas*) by one of Zha lu's "chief officers" (*no yon*).⁹ The issue of monks and finances, and its soteriological dangers, is also extensively explored in the nineteenth-century autobiography of one of Zha lu's great masters, Blo gsal bstan skyong (b. 1804).¹⁰ This highly detailed autobiography, broadly representative of other Tibetan monastic autobiographical works, frequently includes passages that might be described as ledgers—highly detailed records describing the protagonist's receipt and use of monastic donations.

This article explores these ledger-like passages as a literary strategy through which the autobiographical protagonist not only becomes dissociated from the sin incriminated by his inevitable immersion in finances, but which also intimates the autobiographer's spiritual advancement. In order to outline this special function of the financial ledger in Tibetan autobiography (*rang rnam*), I examine Blo gsal bstan skyong's financial records in the context of his wider reflections on monastic finances, clerical sin, and the genre of Tibetan autobiography. Furthermore, I juxtapose Blo gsal bstan skyong's self-representation of scrupulousness¹¹—literally woven out of his financial records—against the master's assessment of another cleric's financial scrupulousness in the genre of Tibetan sacred biography (*rnam thar*). To this end, I examine Blo gsal bstan skyong's appraisal of 'Khrul zhig tshul khriims rgyal mtshan's (1399–1473)¹² virtues in economic transactions in the former's *Zha lu Abbatial History*.¹³ 'Khrul

ticularly in the areas of epistemology, monastic discipline, and the exegetical traditions of the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

⁸ The section is entitled: *longs spyod kyis brel bar mi 'gyur ba'i sgrub thabs. Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge*, fol. 86r.

⁹ See Smon skyid bsod nams rdo rje, *Zhwa lu dgon pa'i las sne nang khul ma mthun pa'i gyod don skor*.

¹⁰ Blo gsal bstan skyong, *Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*.

¹¹ I mean scrupulous in the senses of both being attentive to details and concerned with avoiding wrongdoing.

¹² 'Khrul zhig tshul khriims rgyal mtshan is the fourth abbot of Zha lu in the lineage following Bu ston rin chen grub. His biography is found on pages 139–164 of the *Zha lu gdan rabs*.

¹³ Blo gsal bstan skyong, *Dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnam kyis rnam thar lo rgyus ngo mtshar dad pa'i 'jug ngogs*. This text is referred to as the *Zha lu gdan rabs* in this article's footnotes.

zhig's portrayal closely resembles Blo gsal bstan skyong's self-representation in the sense that both monks are soteriologically ennobled by scrupulousness; in each story, narratives of financial transactions constitute (external) testaments to protagonists' (internal) soteriological advancement. In both cases, readers are presented with evidence of financial dealings that implies the protagonists' unfaltering renunciation of worldly pleasures, and their resolute and selfless dedication in nurturing the worldly edifices that support an otherworldly body of teachings. These portrayals, differ, however, in that the autobiography is additionally bolstered by the inclusion of the ledger.

For Blo gsal bstan skyong, the ledger stands at the heart of what exalts sacred Tibetan autobiography (*rang rnam*) over biography (*rnam thar*): it is a quintessential embodiment of Tibetan autobiography's explicit self-characterization as "truth."¹⁴ Blo gsal bstan skyong's ledger-like passages are a drastic expression of his autobiography's promise to be a "transparent" (*gsal ba*) account of his life and constitute thereby, an extreme of his autobiography's self-assertion to constitute "the real"¹⁵—Blo gsal bstan skyong specifically refers to his text as an "unadulterated," or "raw" (*ma bcos pa*) account of his life. Though ledgers that provide "truthful" or "real" testimony to the protagonist's soteriological elevation, Blo gsal bstan skyong's spiritual status is *literally measured* in the precision of numbers. The autobiographical ledger is a literary tool that "proves" the protagonist's soteriological advancement through a running tally of financial scrupulousness that testifies to an inner detachment from, and exaltation above, the desires that trap beings in *saṃsāra*.

Autobiographical Ledgers in Blo gsal bstan skyong's Autobiography

Blo gsal bstan skyong's detailed financial records provide readers with an account of the protagonist's receipt and use of monastic donations. Donations listed may be in a myriad of forms, including liquid capital, precious objects, food, services, or other valuable items. The text may describe or imply the liquidation of donations into capital, or note the use of donated items. A typical example, quoted be-

¹⁴ On the importance of truth in *rang rnam*, see Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 106–107.

¹⁵ For theoretical musings concerning discourses of the "real" or "empirical" past in narrative, see Hayden V. White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).

low, describes Blo gsal bstan skyong's involvement in the acquisition and use of goods and currency in the monastery. He describes the rationale for a certain project, the financial resources used in the project's execution, from whom donations were acquired, where donated goods were allocated, and his own role in the use of money, gifts, contracts, and interest. Blo gsal bstan skyong recalls,

[To] support the *Medicine Buddha Pūjā* at Zha lu, [we received] 50 *srang*¹⁶ even, and I established a capital fund of 132 *srang* for the newly established memorial service for the Omniscient One Bu ston. . . . On the fourth day of the sixth month, in the *Kālacakra Temple*...[we] created a brand new enormous butter lamp pot, decorated with red coins (?), that could fit 18 pieces of butter, which cost 38 *ṭam srang* [in total]. She dpon rnam rgyal provided 30 *srang* to support a year's worth of butter lamp offerings; I provided [an additional] 20 *ṭam srang*; all totaling 50 *ṭam srang*. I petitioned the great lama's office (*bla brang*) [that we] needed to collect interest on this money, so I was granted a letter with a stamp (*phyag dam*) on it, with an agreement. [At] lower Zha lu, [I offered] a robe and begging bowl to the two great abbot statues in the Silver Stūpa Room, and [I also offered] a robe and begging bowl to the Buddha [statue] at the Temple of Sixteen Arhats.¹⁷

Blo gsal bstan skyong continues to recount in this passage that he offered robes to a particular statue at Ri phug; that he received a pair of rosaries, each from a certain treasury officer (*rtsis dpon*); how he carried out a number of repairs to Zha lu, as well as to some of its holy objects; and how he successfully raised funds for the creation of a group of painted scrolls (*thang kha*). The passage is effusive in its detail, noting, for example, the size of the coral beads on the rosaries he received, that he gave one of these rosaries to a silver statue in the Kālacakra Temple, the precise nature of the repairs he carried out to

¹⁶ Throughout this article, I do not translate Tibetan terminology for money. On the values of these sums of money, see Wolfgang Bertsch, *The Currency of Tibet: A Sourcebook for the Study of Tibetan Coins, Paper Money, and Other Forms of Currency* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2002).

¹⁷ *zha lur sman bla sgrub mchod kyi rten dngul srang lnga bcu tham pa dang / kun mkhyen bu ston chen po'i dus mchod gсар sbyor byas par srang brgya dang sum cu so gnyis kyi ma rtsa sbyar ba. . . / zla ba drug pa'i tshes bzhi la dus 'khor lha khang. . . zangs dmar la dngul gyi kha brgyan yod pa rgya mtsho mar khal bco brgyad 'gro ba gсар bskrun gyis 'gro song Tam srang sum cu so brgyad song / lo 'khor mar me 'bul thebs she dpon rnam rgyal lags nas dngul srang sum cu dang 'di nas Tam srang nyi shu bcas bsdoms Tam srang lnga bcu tham pa bla brang chen por gsol 'debs kyis lo ltar dngul bskyed zhu rgyu'i phyag tham kyang don smin stsal / zha mthil dngul gdung lha khang / mkhan chen rnam gnyis / gnas bcu lha khang du thub dbang bcas la snam sbyar re dang lhung bzed / Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 641–642.*

a drum stand, the types of materials he used in the creation of the *thang khas*, the overall costs for each of the projects that he oversaw, and the costs of certain materials needed to complete the projects. These detailed, ledger-like passages, commonly encountered in Tibetan monastic autobiography, portray Blo gsal bstan skyong—an important figure of Zha lu's monastic community—enmeshed in, and reflecting upon, the intricate economies of Zha lu and other Tibetan monasteries during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Blo gsal bstan skyong narrates—in passages like the one mentioned above—his immersion in constant exchanges of goods and currency, for services rendered or received, vis-à-vis numerous individuals and organizations. When spearheading projects, for instance to create or repair texts, woodblocks, painted scrolls, shrines, *stūpas*, statues, and the structures and rooms of the monastery, our protagonist purchases materials such as lumber (*shing cha*) and employs craftsmen—artists, tailors, or carpenters depending on the project—as well as workers and helpers (*las mkhan*). He also gives provisions for monastic congregations who officiate varieties of *pūjās* (*mchod pa*) and other ceremonies by providing congregational tea services (*mang ja*) and monetary donations (*'gyed*).¹⁸ He establishes and manages financial "trusts" (*thebs rtsa; ma rtsa*) to fund regular rituals such as the reading of the Buddhist canon.

As an acknowledged ritual master of his day, Blo gsal bstan skyong is paid by the Tibetan government in Lhasa to officiate a variety of state rituals (*sde pa gzhung gi rim gro*),¹⁹ including "ritual cake" (*gtor ma*) rituals, "thread-cross" rituals (*mdos*), and "army expelling" rituals (*dmag zlog*).²⁰ From private individuals and families, Blo gsal bstan skyong receives donations in various forms, such as offerings for the dedication of merit for the dead (*mchod bsngo*) and cremation

¹⁸ In some instances, Blo gsal bstan skyong may provide a congregation of monks with "provisions for an entire day" (*nyin khyong gi bsnyen bkur gyed*). See *Ibid.*, 646.

¹⁹ On one occasion, at the age of 45 in the *earth-monkey* year (1848–9), Blo gsal bstan skyong is requested to perform a state ritual (*sde pa gzhung gi rim gro*), involving the burying of two types of *sri* demons, "enemy *sri*" (*dgra sri*) and "*sri* that deteriorate wealth" (*phung sri*). On the latter, see Stan Royal Mumford, *Himalayan Dialogue: Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 157. On the various types of *phung sri* and how *dgra sri* and *phung sri* are to be buried, see René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities* (Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975), 517–518.

²⁰ See *Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*, 640–1. On *dmag zlog*, see James Gentry, "Representations of Efficacy: The Ritual Expulsion of Mongol Armies in the Consolidation and Expansion of the Tsang (Gtsang) Dynasty," in *Tibetan Ritual*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 131–163.

offerings (*gdung 'bul*). Nearly every folio recounting Blo gsal bstan skyong's adult life details some type of gift exchange or financial interaction with people, including monks, lamas, rulers, families, and merchants; as well as monastic officials (*las sne khag*), including storekeepers (*gnyer pa*), treasurers/stewards (*phyag mdzod*), and accountants (*rtsis dpon*); government chiefs (*zhabs pad*) and ministers (*bka' blon*); and monastic offices, such as those for general monastery affairs (*spyi so*), monastic corporations/households (*bla brang*), and monastery land-holdings (*gzhis ka*).²¹

In the course of providing and receiving services, products and donations, paying out fees and wages (*gla yon, phogs*) in either currency or goods, or setting up and contributing to trust funds, Blo gsal bstan skyong accepts or dispenses a variety of currency and goods. Passing through his hands throughout his life are currencies in the forms of silver and gold coins (e.g., *dngul srang, rgya dngul srang, gser zho*), "horse hoof" ingots (*rta rmig ma*);²² and goods, such as barley, statues, tea blocks, painted scrolls, texts, fabric, robes, stone drums (*rdo ting*), gongs (*'khar rnga*), fabric, carpets (*grum rtse, tshogs gdan*), and much more.

In addition to recalling teachings and empowerments given and received, and pilgrimages and projects undertaken, the protagonist's adult life recounts the particulars of financial interactions and gift exchange. In ledger-like passages, Blo gsal bstan skyong notes precise amounts of money, including currency type and denomination; the kind, appearance, quality, place of origin, or value of objects given and received; the names and positions of individuals, families, or organizations involved in financial exchanges; the dates (including the year, season, month, and day) of transactions; details of new income brought into specific trust funds, including income from liquidated objects or agricultural holdings;²³ and calculations of changes to the balances of monastic trusts according to new acquisitions. Blo gsal bstan skyong sometimes even specifically notes the trusts from which and to which funds are withdrawn or deposited.

These records convey many things: the normalcy of Blo gsal bstan skyong's (and more generally, other monks' and lamas') involvement in finances and funded projects. They underscore the protagonist's status as a central node in the administration of Zha lu, and his dedication in nurturing the monastic community. These records also indicate the protagonist's influential status in multiple echelons of Ti-

²¹ On the concepts of *bla brang* and *gzhis ka*, see Goldstein, "The Circulation of Estates in Tibet: Reincarnation, Land and Politics."

²² *rta rmig ma* is defined as "a lump of silver bullion like a horse's hoof" in H. A. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Taylor and Francis, 1881), 211, column 2.

²³ See *Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*, 663.

betan monastic and secular society, and they reveal his integrity and skill in diplomacy in the eyes of powerful. These records furthermore highlight Blo gsal bstan skyong's talents in fund-raising and his selfless efforts in nurturing Zha lu's tradition through building the physical edifices (texts, buildings, shrines, and so forth) that protect and preserve Zha lu's teachings. As such, the ledgers serve as fertile venues for the exposition of the Buddhist perfections (*pha rol tu phyin pa; pāramitā*) in the autobiographer's character: in these records, we witness Blo gsal bstan skyong exude virtues of determination (*brtson 'grus; vīrya*), skillful means (*thabs; upāya*), insight (*shes rab; prajñā*), and so forth.

But these extensive records also constitute a response to the perceived soteriological dangers implicated in the protagonist's immersion in finances. Following my examination of Blo gsal bstan skyong's biographical account of 'Khrul zhig tshul khrims rgyal mtshan's economic virtues immediately below, I will explore how these ledgers epitomize "proof" of scrupulousness held up for readers' scrutiny, and how, as "real" records, these ledger-passages are quintessential embodiments of—and hence strengthen—the autobiography's self-characterization as "truth."

Scrupulousness in Monastic Biography (*rnam thar*)

In his monumental *Zha lu Abbatial History*, Blo gsal bstan skyong includes in his biography of Zha lu's fourth abbot, 'Khrul zhig tshul khrims rgyal mtshan, the latter's final testament to Zha lu's monastic assembly.²⁴ Amid a series of recollections, self-assessments, and prescriptions,²⁵ the abbot both praises his own scrupulous behavior re-

²⁴ Especially fertile material for the Tibetan biographer, final testaments (*bka' chems; zhal chems*) often contain a distillation of a lifetime of experience, which both constitute a master's choicest advice to his followers and capture the essential qualities that make a biographical subject exemplary. 'Khrul zhig's final testament issues advice derived from the struggles and triumphs of the abbot's tenure. Thrust onto Zha lu's throne amid a fierce congregational quarrel, 'Khrul zhig recalls how, even as an inexperienced abbot, he held the crumbling institution together through engendering an attitude of disciplined endurance (*sdug sran*). In typical monastic "final testament" style, 'Khrul zhig presents an image of his now realized "self," which emerges out of the successful conquering his life's struggles, coupled with exhortations to his congregation to mimic his behavior. 'Khrul zhig implores his disciples to strive for mutual understanding (*thugs mthun*) and to cultivate pure monastic discipline (*tshul khrims*) amid the inevitable difficulties of monastic life. See *Zha lu gdan rabs*, 163.

²⁵ Lamenting, for instance, that the community failed to complete the carving of woodblocks for the collected works of the Zha lu monastic tradition's forefather,

garding his use of donations and encourages his monks to follow in his footsteps, recalling that he has never squandered *even a trace* of the offerings he has received from sponsors. Having benefited from sponsors' donations "virtuously"—that is, in ways supporting the Buddhist teachings but not for his own comforts or interests—'Khrul zhig applauds his own virtuous financial conduct. He says to his monks,

I'm getting older now. I'm not sure [exactly] when I'll die, but since the few donations (*cha rkyen*) I've received, that were intended for me, have all been allocated virtuously [in support of the dharma]—I've never wasted even the most minuscule amount of the benefactors' donations (*rdzas*) that I've gradually received—I can now die without regret.²⁶

Reading 'Khrul zhig's retrospection as advice befitting any abbot, we learn that abbots who scrupulously use monastic donations in service of the dharma, rather than in service of their sensuous desires, are exemplary—they have nothing to regret when taking stock of their lives.

Elaborating further on proper conduct regarding the acquisition of donations, 'Khrul zhig sternly warns his assembly to never request donations from sponsors—either directly or indirectly. He says, "bleeding [our patrons] dry, indirectly soliciting [them] through flattery [or] hustling [them out of money] would furnish few opportunities for [our] Saṅgha to pursue its pure livelihood!"²⁷ The abbot prefaces this point by forewarning his disciples to abstain from actively seeking donations to fund his own memorial. 'Khrul zhig says, "since there's no [monetary] foundation [set aside for my] funeral service and so forth, no such preparations should be made!"²⁸

In his statement, the abbot reminds his Saṅgha (*dge 'dun*), here meaning the monks of Zha lu in particular, about two ways of collecting donations that prohibit "pure" (*rnam dag*), or acceptable livelihood for Buddhist monastics: flattery (*kha gsag*) and indirect solicitation or "hinting" for money (*gzhogs slong*). These join "giving some-

Bu ston rin chen grub, 'Khrul zhig urges the monks to prioritize text production in the future. *Ibid.*, 163.

²⁶ *nged kyang na so rgas / nam 'chi mi shes par 'dug pas / rang la sems pa'i cha rkyen sen sen byung ba rnam sbyin bdag gi rdzas chud zos med tsaṃ du byung rim gyis dge phyogs su btang bas 'gyod med kyi lugs lags da lta bem rig ma bral tsaṃ yod na'ang / Zha lu gdan rabs*, 162. I am uncertain of the meaning *sen sen*. It may signify a meaning similar to *chung chung*, "very small."

²⁷ *kha gsag gzhogs slong khrag btsir rrag rtsir gyi rnam pas dge 'dun la'ang 'tsho ba rnam dag tu 'gro shas chung ba 'dug / Ibid.*, 163

²⁸ *dus mchod sogs gzhi rten med pas gshoms pa'ang ma 'dug. Ibid.*, 163.

thing to get something" or "calculated generosity" (*rnyed pas rnyed pa 'tshol ba*), attempting to make one's living through force or expropriation (*thob kyis 'jal ba*), and hypocrisy (*tshul 'chos*)—specifically, pretending to have virtues that one does not have—to form a list of five unsavory means of livelihood (*log 'tsho lnga*) for Buddhist monks.²⁹ Underscoring the abbot's evocation of proper Buddhist ethics for monks is his disinterestedness in his own post-mortem commemorations—highlighting, as it were, a union of outer ethics and inner perfection. Here, the master serves as a perfected model of Buddhist transformation in an ecclesiastical context: he epitomizes selfless detachment in body, speech, and mind; he is the antipathy of self-interested greed that manifests in the monastery through the use of donations for personal use.

'Khrul zhig's self-representation as a principled, and hence spiritually perfected abbot is paralleled by Blo gsal bstan skyong's concise descriptions of the former's virtuous use of donations. Blo gsal bstan skyong writes for instance,

When ['Khrul zhig] was 70 years old, he made a [monetary] foundation based on what was offered [to him] for [ceremonies for] the living and the dead. During the great ceremonies at Zha lu-Ri phug, he provided splendid food [out of that foundation] to 1,500 monks for a period of five days, and presented donations to the monastery and the individual monks.³⁰

'Khrul zhig's biographer, Blo gsal bstan skyong, thus carefully weaves narrative documentations together with the former's quoted utterances, convincingly fashioning a portrayal of an abbot whose enlightenment is demonstrated, among other ways, through the ecclesiastical virtue of scrupulously receiving and allocating donations.

By virtue of its presence within the genre of sacred biography (*rnam thar*) 'Khrul zhig's exemplarity of scrupulousness, like other positive qualities narrated in his biography, fulfills the genre's goals and expectations without additional elaboration or "proof." Every

²⁹ See Geshe Sonam Rinchen, *The Bodhisattva Vow*, trans. and ed. Ruth Sonam (Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 2000), 234, note 30.

³⁰ *dgung lo bdun cu bzhes pa'i tshe gshin gson gyi dad 'bul byung ba'i dngos po rnams la gzhi byas te zhwa lu ri phug tu dus mchod chen mo'i skabs dge 'dun stong phrag phyed gnyis la bsnyen bkur zhag lnga dang 'bul ba 'gyed bcas gya nom pa gnang. Zha lu gdan rabs*, 158. The expression 'bul ba 'gyed is unclear to me and may refer to a larger offering ('bul ba) to monks of higher ecclesiastical rank, and smaller offerings ('gyed) to monks of lower status. Alternatively, 'bul ba may refer to the donations intended for the monastery in general, and 'gyed, to offerings for individual monks.

action committed by the protagonist is thoroughly ideal; indeed, *rnam thar* constitutes nothing other than an enlightened enactment—a perfectly orchestrated spectacle for its readers' spiritual benefit.³¹ This basic hermeneutical logic of the text is supported by special markers scattered throughout the narration that testify to the biographical subject's enlightened status. These include the narration of 'Khrul zhig's former lives as enlightened masters, testimony to his ritual successes and clairvoyance, his utterances of prophecy, his corpse's generation of miraculous relics, and a host of other astonishing deeds amounting to a familiar template of Tibetan sacred biography that testifies to the protagonist's enlightenment.

Scrupulousness in Ecclesiastical Autobiography (*rang rnam*)

Mimicking the words uttered above by his biographical subject, Blo gsal bstan skyong similarly portrays himself as a realized Buddhist master who is utterly disinterested in the riches that flood into Zha lu monastery and pass through his hands. Like his character, 'Khrul zhig, the autobiographer recalls that whatever donations he receives, he uses "virtuously," that is, in support of the dharma, and Blo gsal bstan skyong also prohibits the unscrupulous acquisition of donations, citing the same perverse means of livelihood (*log 'tsho lnga*), in verse. To assert the disinterest with which donations pass through his hands, Blo gsal bstan skyong, moreover, reminds his readers of the inherent insubstantiality of all material entities, highlighting, like 'Khrul zhig, the soteriological advancement underpinning his outward behavior. Blo gsal bstan skyong states that donated wealth has no virtue beyond what good it can temporarily and relatively perform in its service to the Buddhist teachings and their material edifices. One of Blo gsal bstan skyong's statements that illustrates this scrupulousness opens with the autobiographer's promise to make use of donations—which he calls composite phenomena (*'dus byas*)—as a root of virtue (*dge rtsa*) for the rest of his life. He continues,

It makes no difference to me if someone were to use [things
of mine] left over after I pass away.

³¹ On the spiritual functions of *rnam thar*, see Janice D. Willis, "On the Nature of *Rnam-thar*: Early Dge-lugs-pa *Siddha* Biographies," in *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization*, ed. Barbara Nimri Aziz and Matthew Kapstein (New Delhi: Manohar, 1985), 304–319.

I've never deceived [my patrons through] flattery (*kha gsag*),
 indirect solicitation (*gzhogs slong*), calculated generosity
 (*rnyed pas rnyed pa 'tshol [ba]*),
 Cons (*thob 'jal*), or pretending (*tshul 'chos*) [to be virtuous].
 Whatever wealth [I've received] that was given through
 [donors'] faith,
 I've distributed as offerings to the Saṅgha, and as charity,
 without remainder.³²

Like his biographical subject 'Khrul zhig, Blo gsal bstan skyong hence makes use of the exemplarity of scrupulousness as a forum to expose his own soteriological advancement. Blo gsal bstan skyong points out that he recognizes donations as composite phenomena (*'dus byas*), that is, he realizes the inherent transitoriness of donated objects, asserting their uselessness beyond supporting the dharma and helping suffering beings.

Scrupulousness in donations is a major theme in Blo gsal bstan skyong's autobiography and the author continuously and dramatically refers to his immunity from becoming sensuously attached to any (donated) object. In another verse, which he characterizes as "an example of negative conduct" (*smad pa'i dpe*), Blo gsal bstan skyong writes,

Miserly hoarding religious donations is but the basis of a ruined
 destiny.
 Desirously ingesting delicious food is but the cause of piss and
 shit.
 Compared to those [worthless consumptions], an accumulation
 of the wealth of listening to the holy dharma,
 Is the zenith of the most meaningful [holy activity].³³

Unlike 'Khrul zhig's representation of scrupulousness in biography (*rnam thar*), however, Blo gsal bstan skyong's own scrupulous self-representation in his autobiography includes the ledger—passages that far exceed in detail and precision anything included in Blo gsal bstan skyong's biographies of the Zha lu masters.

On one occasion, Blo gsal bstan skyong ends one of his ledgers with a passage, quoted below, which features the author's reflections

³² *shi nas lhag lus sus za yang nged la ni khyad par med do // kha gsag zhogs slong rnyed pas rnyed pa 'tshol // thob mjal [=thob 'jal] tshul [']chos g.yo sgyu ma byas shing // dad pas byin pa'i dngos po gang dang gang // lhag ma med par mchod sbyin zhing du bsngos // Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 628.*

³³ *ser snas dkor nor bsags kyang phung krol gzhi // sred pas zhim dgu gsol yang bshang lci'i son // de dag las ni dam chos thos pa'i nor // bsags pa don ldan rab kyi yang rtse yin // smad pa'i dpe / Ibid., 540.*

on monastic economy, sin, and autobiography that furnish us with a fertile context to illuminate the function of his autobiographical ledgers. The ledger-like passage is typical in its excessive detail. Blo gsal bstan skyong begins,

In the fourth month (*hor zla*), we built an iron lattice at Ri phug's Kālacakra Temple. The iron lattice itself cost 69 *ngul srang* and 7 *sho*. At this time the [cost of the] wages and food of the craftsmen increased. After that, we put [two statues] behind the iron lattice: [a statue of] Bu ston [called] Infinite Life Holder—on which I myself had spent 63 Chinese *ngul srang* for the image's materials—and a silver statue of White Tārā, The Wish-fulfilling Wheel, which [was made by] substances [paid for], again, [by myself] with 70 Chinese *ngul srang*. That day, I also offered a congregational tea service to all the monks, along with a coin (*ṭam kha*) [given to] each.³⁴

Blo gsal bstan skyong continues to construct his exemplary self in the forthcoming introspective analysis through concatenating the ignoble behavior he has avoided in the past, and which he will continue to avoid in the future: seeking out sponsors, collecting offerings, and performing "village rituals" (*grong chog*). The author asserts that his readers can, in fact, see (*gzigs pa*) these avoidances in the text, and as such, the exemplarity of his actions should be taken to be "evident," or "transparent" (*gsal ba*). This transparency of virtuous behavior manifests most emblematically in the copiousness of the author's financial ledgers: it is the effusive detail itself of these passages—its precise measurements—that successfully shrouds the entire work, and the behavior of its protagonist, in a discourse of "truth."

The author continues his reflection by reiterating that he conducts himself through refraining from the same aforementioned inappropriate strategies for attaining money—such as flattery (*kha bsags*), hinting (*gzhogs slong*), or trickery (*thob 'jal*)—and implies, as he does above, that these external behaviors testify to his internal realization of emptiness. Again, disinterestedness in donations serves as a venue to reveal inner realization. Blo gsal bstan skyong ends his contemplation by assuring his readers that collecting wealth, however scrupulously, is itself not the best means of generating the virtuous roots

³⁴ *hor zla bzhi pa'i nang du ri phug gi dus 'khor lha khang gi lcags dra gsar 'dzugs byas te lcags dra rang la dngul srang drug cu re dgu dang zho bdun song zhing / 'di skabs kyi bzo ba'i gla lto 'phar du song / de nas kho bo rang gis sngar rgya dngul spang drug cu re gsum sku rgyur byas nas bzhengs pa'i bu ston tsho 'dzin mtha' yas dang / yang rgya dngul srang bdun cu sku rgyur byas pa'i sgrol dkar yid bzhiin 'khor lo'i dngul sku lcags dra'i nang du bzhugs su gsol / de nyin dge 'dun rnamis la yang mang ja 'gyed Tam ka re dang bcas pa phul / Ibid., 620.*

that lead to enlightenment—a distinction reserved, perhaps, for meditation on emptiness. Blo gsal bstan skyong writes,

I don't need [to gain] profit [from] business and [collecting] interest. In the past, I've never sought out sponsors, collected offerings, or rushed along [to perform] village rituals (*grong chog*) and I won't start acting like this in the future either! You have seen that [to be the case in this text]; [my behavior] is thereby surely transparent (*gsal ba*). Although I've received a small amount of wealth from monasteries like Zha lu, there was never a time when I didn't [somehow] pay back the [monasteries] donations. In these circumstances, therefore, I used everything virtuously. Although I myself ascribe very little value to them, I made these faithfully offered illusory riches—which in themselves amount to a mere water-drop [of value]—meaningful.

Although I've served [others through allocating donations], I've never tried to profit in the name of virtue and it's not the case that I've sinfully accepted donated property through the various aberrant techniques such as flattery (*kha bsags*), hinting (*gzhogs slong*), or trickery (*thob 'jal*). I basically understand that one unconditioned virtue (*'dus ma byas kyi dge ba*) is better than a thousand relative virtues (*'dus byas kyi dge ba*), and I have a firm belief in emptiness (*de kho na nyid*). Therefore, [just because] I've collected wealth [from donations], it is nevertheless not the case that [I regard this activity] to be the single highest root of virtue.³⁵

Blo gsal bstan skyong concludes this passage by asserting that he has not written about his scrupulousness out of pride (*rlom sems*), but rather from an impulse of wanting to gladden the hearts of those attached to him and to train his disciples in his own example.³⁶

Financial scrupulousness—or, the quality of "never having wasted the faithful offerings given by others"³⁷—is the best advice or highest goal (*'dun ma drag shos*)³⁸ that Blo gsal bstan skyong promises to ful-

³⁵ *tshong dang bun khe mi dgos sbyin bdag btsal nas 'bul sdud byed pa dang / grong chog rgyug pa sogs sngar ma byas shing da byed par mi 'gyur pa ni gzigs pas gsal ba lags / zha lu sogs dgon pa'i dkor ni phran tshogs byung rung phar dkor lan bcal ba med pas 'dir kho bos dge phyogs su btang ba 'di dag shin tu snang chung rung / gzhan gyi chu thigs re tsam dad pas phul ba'i sgyu ma'i longs spyod la snying po grub pa'i phyir byas kyi / brnyed dge ba la btags nas kha bsag [=kha bsags] dang / [g]zhogs slong dang / thob 'jal sna tshogs kyis sdig pa'i nor blangs pa las byung ba ni ma yin no // 'dus byas kyi dge ba stong las 'dus ma byas kyi dge ba gcig dga' ba'i go bar re tsam dang de kho na nyid kyi yul la mos pa brtan po yod pas kho bo zang zing gi longs spyod bsgrubs nas dge rtsa rab kho na yang ma lags so // Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long, 620–621.*

³⁶ Ibid., 621.

³⁷ *gzhan gyis byin ba'i dad rdzas chud zos su ma song ba.* Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

fill. Yet readers of his autobiography do not simply have to take the author at his word here; Blo gsal bstan skyong's copious financial records, included for his readers' scrutiny, validate the autobiographer's self-characterization as a venerable exemplar with regard to financial scrupulousness. Blo gsal bstan skyong need not explicitly applaud his scrupulousness (an act which might indicate conceit); instead, he painstakingly includes the data—his ledgers—that convincingly lead his readers to discover his virtue for themselves. These ledgers, thus, I suggest, constitute one of the literary strategies used by Tibetan autobiographers to negotiate the tension characteristic of the *rang rnam* genre, which, as Janet Gyatso writes, "results from a pair of conflicting social norms: one requiring that persons refer to themselves with humility and the other that religious teachers present themselves as venerable exemplars."³⁹ The ledger is also a strategy to bolster the strength of the genre of autobiography; as I will argue below, it is part of what exalts autobiography, according to Blo gsal bstan skyong, over biography.

Biography (*rnam thar*), Autobiography (*rang rnam*), and the Ledger

In his memoir, Blo gsal bstan skyong proclaims the superiority of autobiography (*rang rnam*) over biography (*rnam thar*)—despite the fact that the master was a prolific biographer himself—for *rang rnam*'s ability to deliver "truthful" or "real" testimony for the protagonist's soteriological elevation. Although such rhetoric is common and certainly expected in autobiography, when we reflect upon Blo gsal bstan skyong's ledger-like passages in this context, it appears that these financial records can lend considerable power to Tibetan autobiography's self-representation as truth.

Even the title of Blo gsal bstan skyong's autobiography, *Clear White Crystal Mirror*, reflects the text's insistence that this memoir is truthful. At the beginning of his life story, Blo gsal bstan skyong asserts that the text's very *raison-d'être* is to be candid: the author argues that he has conceded to write his autobiography only to prevent the lies (*brdzun*)⁴⁰ of his later would-be biographers. In defending the creation of his autobiography, Blo gsal bstan skyong surmises that his conduct might be farcically recalled in a future biography, just as, he writes, people conjure up absurd ideas such as "because of the

³⁹ Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*, 105.

⁴⁰ *Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*, 478.

way a cow sleeps, she has a calf born with a crooked cheek."⁴¹ As such, Blo gsal bstan skyong writes that readers of such a hypothetical biography would be unable to discern a truthful record of his life amid a biographer's "heaps of lies," and "false speech"—subject matter consisting of overstatements and detractions (*sgro skur*).⁴²

Biographers, according to Blo gsal bstan skyong, make lamas into "charlatans" or "phonies" (*zog po*) through exaggerating virtue and understating vice. Blo gsal bstan skyong even insists that, of hagiographers, only autobiographers are capable of writing the truth—whatever a biographer composes of his subject is likely to be lies. To support his point, Blo gsal bstan skyong adds the following quotation from the writings of G.yung ston rdo rje dpal (1284–1365):

In almost all biographies (*rnam thar*) composed by masters' disciples,
Lamas are made into charlatans through famed praises.
For this reason, an autobiography (*rang gi rnam thar*) composed by oneself,
Should be written concisely, having avoided exaggerations and denigrations.⁴³

Thus the author's compulsion to write the *truth* about himself becomes an excuse for writing his own hagiography, an action that might seem to implicate arrogance. The autobiography is hence a much needed antidote to the potential dishonesty inherent in a biographical record. This convenient compulsion not only effectively drapes the autobiography in its compulsory shroud of humility, but it also publicizes the work's commitment to veracity.

An autobiography, writes Blo gsal bstan skyong, is sure to obstruct lies, because it constitutes an "unadulterated" or "unfabricated" (*ma bcos pa*) record of one's virtuous conduct.⁴⁴ Following his promise to be truthful, to present a "raw" account of his virtuous activities, Blo gsal bstan skyong presents his ledgers, his evidence of virtue—his "hard data" that cannot be distorted by either competing accounts

⁴¹ *ba'i nyal lugs kyis be'u ldan skyog skye ba. Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*, 477.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 478. *sgro skur* is short for *sgro 'dogs pa* and *skur ba 'debs pa*. *sgro 'dogs pa* means "to overstate," as in embellishing something with additional qualities, while the phrase *skur ba 'debs pa* means "to understate," as in understating disreputable qualities. These are considered to be complementary methods in the distortion of a biography.

⁴³ *slob mas brtsams pa'i rnam thar phal cher ni / che brjod grags pas bla ma zog por gtong // des na rang gi rnam thar rang gis ni // sgro bskur [=skur] spangs nas mdor bsdu yiger bkod // Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

of his life or by his faithful disciples' fanciful commemorations. Blo gsal bstan skyong's autobiography presents itself as the gold standard of truth against which all other versions of the master's life pale in terms of their veracity. This standard of truthfulness—which provides convincing testimony for the protagonist's soteriological elevation—is achieved through the ledger's "raw" or unedited nature.

Conclusion

Blo gsal bstan skyong's data of financial interactions is woven through his life story, bolstering the autobiography's self-representation as "raw" (*ma bcos pa*) reality. As such, the ledgers carefully conceal the author's actual mechanics of production or "fabrication" (*bcos pa*). These ledgers present the truth to Blo gsal bstan skyong's readers, perhaps, in the same way that "truth" is presented to the viewers of the news with excerpts of what media scholar John Fiske terms "raw reality" in *Television Culture*. Fiske writes,

The "truth" exists only in the studio, yet that "truth" depends for its authenticity upon the eyewitness and the actuality film, those pieces of "raw reality" whose meanings are actually made by the discourse of the studio, but whose authenticating function allows that discourse to disguise its productive role and thus to situate the meanings in the events themselves.⁴⁵

Blo gsal bstan skyong's ledgers work to fabricate the reality of his scrupulousness and the implications of enlightenment that this reality explicitly indicates in his text.

This article has presented one Tibetan monastic's response to the anxiety—often articulated by clerics themselves—that monks and money make unsuitable, and spiritually deleterious, bedfellows. Blo gsal bstan skyong directly confronts the perceived dangers of this union, and argues that a monk's full immersion in finances can convey a cleric's inner disinterestedness with wealth, which in turn testifies to an inner detachment from the clinging to apparent (but ultimately insubstantial) forms that generate suffering. Immersion in financial transactions becomes a venue for the demonstration of spiritual enlightenment.

Tibetan autobiography (*rang rnam*), at least in this one instance, creatively responds to anxieties over monks and money through its powerful "transparent" and "raw" (*ma bcos pa*) self-characterizations.

⁴⁵ John Fiske, *Television Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 290–291.

Opposed to the aggrandizement and exaggeration that marks the Tibetan genre of sacred biography (*rnam thar*), according to Blo gsal bstan skyong, Tibetan autobiography is concerned with imparting "truth," a compulsion that merges with this genre's rhetoric of extreme humility. Unlike *rnam thar* and other Tibetan historiographical styles that might be described as "smooth-running,"⁴⁶ the monastic autobiography, replete with ledger-like passages, presents a rugged veneer—rich in records of "rawness"—that drapes the narrative of a life in a shroud of the "real." The autobiographer's artistry lies in navigating the layers (or perhaps we might call them voices) of the text; that is, interpreting the data and its meaning for readers.

References

A: Tibetan Works

Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364). *Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge*. In *The Collected Writings of Rin chen grub*. Vol. 26 (*la*), 317–323 [86r–89r]. Zhol par khang, Lhasa. 2000.

———. *Mkhan slob dge 'dun dang bcas pa'i spyi la snyan bskul ba'i yi ge*. In *The Collected Writings of Rin chen grub*. Vol. 26 (*la*), 323–325 [89r–90r]. Zhol par khang, Lhasa. 2000.

Blo gsal bstan skyong (b. 1804). *Rang gi rnam thar du byas pa shel dkar me long*. In *On The History of the Monastery of Zhwa-lu: Being the Texts of the Zhwa lu gdan rabs and the Autobiography by Zhwa-lu-Ri-sbug Sprul-sku Blo-gsal-bstan-skyong*, 473–678. Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, Volume 9. S.W. Tashigangpa, Leh. 1971.

———. [*Zha lu gdan rabs*]. *Dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar lo rgyus ngo mtshar dad pa'i 'jug ngogs*. In *On The History of the Monastery of Zhwa-lu: being the texts of the Zhwa lu gdan rabs and the Autobiography by Zhwa-lu-Ri-sbug Sprul-sku Blo-gsal-bstan-skyong*, 1–471. Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, Volume 9. S.W. Tashigangpa, Leh, 1971.

⁴⁶ On the idea of the "smooth-running" history, see Allan Megill, "Grand Narrative' and the Discipline of History," in *A New Philosophy of History*, ed. Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 151–173. On the various narrative modes of Tibetan historiography, see Per K. Sørensen, "Introduction," in *Rare Texts from Tibet: Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastical History of Medieval Tibet* (Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007).

Smon skyid bsod nams rdo rje (20th century). *Zhwa lu dgon pa'i las sne nang khul ma mthun pa'i gyod don skor*. In *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* 20, 109–121. Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Beijing. 1998.

B: Secondary Sources

Bertsch, Wolfgang. *The Currency of Tibet: A Sourcebook for the Study of Tibetan Coins, Paper Money, and Other Forms of Currency*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 2002.

Dreyfus, Georges B. J. *The Sound of Two Hands Clapping: The Education of a Tibetan Buddhist Monk*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Ellingson, Ter. "Tibetan Monastic Constitutions: The Bca'-yig." In *Reflections on Tibetan Culture: Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, edited by Lawrence Epstein and Richard F. Sherburne, 205–230. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990.

Fiske, John. *Television Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

Gentry, James. "Representations of Efficacy: The Ritual Expulsion of Mongol Armies in the Consolidation and Expansion of the Tsang (Gtsang) Dynasty." In *Tibetan Ritual*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. 131–163.

Gernet, Jacques. *Buddhism in Chinese Society: An Economic History from the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries*, translated by Franciscus Verellen. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.

———. *Les aspects économiques du Bouddhisme dans la Société Chinoise du V^e au X^e siècle*. Saïgon: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1956.

Goldstein, Melvyn C. "The Circulation of Estates in Tibet: Reincarnation, Land and Politics." *Journal of Asian Studies* 32, no. 3 (1973): 445–455.

- Gyatso, Janet. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Jahoda, Christian. "Socio-Economic Organisation of Village Communities and Monasteries in Spiti, H.P., India: The Case of a Religious Administrative Unit (*chos gzhis*).” In *Discoveries in Western Tibet and the Western Himalayas: Essays on History, Literature, Archaeology and Art (Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, 2003)*, edited by Amy Heller and Giacomella Orofino, 215–240. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Jäschke, H. A. *Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Taylor and Francis, 1881.
- Megill, Allan. "'Grand Narrative' and the Discipline of History.” In *A New Philosophy of History*, edited by Frank Ankersmit and Hans Kellner, 151–173. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Miller, Robert J. "Buddhist Monastic Economy: The Jisa Mechanism.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3, no. 4 (1961): 427–438.
- Mills, Martin A. *Identity, Ritual and State in Tibetan Buddhism: The Foundations of Authority in Gelukpa Monasticism*. New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Mumford, Stan Royal. *Himalayan Dialogue: Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal*. Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.
- Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de. *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*. Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975.
- Rinchen, Geshe Sonam. *The Bodhisattva Vow*. Translated and edited by Ruth Sonam. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion Publications, 2000.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909–1049*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.

- Ruíz, Juan. "The Evils of Money and Drink." In *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, edited by Olivia Remie Constable, translated by Jill R. Webster, 288–291. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R. *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.
- Schopen, Gregory. *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters: Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.
- Silk, Jonathan A. *Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Sørensen, Per K. "Introduction." In *Rare Texts from Tibet: Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastic History of Medieval Tibet*. Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007.
- Tucci, Giuseppe. *The Religions of Tibet*. Translated by Geoffrey Samuel. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.
- Vitali, Roberto. *Early Temples of Central Tibet*. London: Serindia, 1990.
- Walsh, Michael J. *Sacred Economies: Buddhist Monasticism & Territoriality in Medieval China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- White, Hayden V. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- Willis, Janice D. "On the Nature of Rnam-thar: Early Dge-lugs-pa Siddha Biographies." In *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization*, edited by Barbara Nimri Aziz and Matthew Kapstein, 304–319. New Delhi: Manohar, 1985.

