

The *Hundred Jātakas* (*sKyes rab brgya pa*) by Āryaśūra (c. 4th cent. CE) and the Third Karma pa, Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284–1339): Overview of the Xylograph Editions

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1. Introduction¹

The Indian poet Āryaśūra composed thirty-four *jātakas*, in his work called *Jātakamālā* (“Garland of Jātakas”), dating probably from around the fourth century CE.² His work was originally composed in Sanskrit, was translated into Tibetan in the eighth century CE, and is preserved in all major versions of the *bsTan 'gyur*. There is a legend that Āryaśūra intended to write one hundred stories but was not able to finish them before his death.³ Eventually, several centuries later, the Third Karma pa, Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284–1339), concluded Āryaśūra’s work by composing the remaining sixty-six *jātakas* in Tibetan, and added the hundred-and-first story, an account of

¹ As for the contribution of the different authors, Dominik Dell collected the information from the different sources and wrote the main part of the article, Bruno Galasek-Hul, analyzed and translated the colophon of the sDe dge edition of the text (Appendix 1), Lajos Dömötör analyzed the colophons of two manuscript editions (Appendix 2) and compiled the list of *jataka* titles (Appendix 3). We thank Paul Partington for his English copyediting.

² Khoroché 1989, xii.

³ The legend is mentioned in Tāranātha’s (1575–1634) *History of Buddhism in India* (Tib. *rgya gar chos byung*); see Tropper 2005, 69. Also the Third Karma pa himself mentioned it earlier in his epilogue to the text; for an English translation, see Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 144–46, or Dell, Galasek-Hul, Dömötör 2022, 89–92; for a German translation, see Tropper 2005, 69. For more places of mention in Tibetan texts and for arguments why the legend might not be true, see Khoroché 1989, xi. For an English translation of Tāranātha’s work, see Chattopadhyaya 1970.

Buddha Śākyamuni's life, as a culmination. The combined work became known as the *Hundred Jātakas* (Tib. *skyes rab brgya pa*).

In this paper, we provide a brief introduction to the combined text in section 1, before treating its textual history in section 2. The second section focusses on the different xylograph editions, and is based on information gathered from previous publications as well as our own analysis, especially with respect to the sDe dge edition, for which no previous research could be found. In appendix 1, a transliteration and translation of the colophon of the latter is provided. Appendix 2 gives the colophons of two manuscripts with an analysis, while appendix 3 presents the list of titles contained in the Third Karma pa's part of the work together with references.

1.1 Āryaśūra's Text (*Jātakamālā*)

The little which is known about Āryaśūra is not very reliable, since the only biographical references that have come down to us are extant in works that were written centuries after his death. For instance, a fourteenth-century Sanskrit commentary claims that he "was the son of a king in the Deccan, that he renounced the throne to become a Buddhist monk [...], and wrote the *Jātakamālā* [...], while wandering from place to place."⁴ Tibetan tradition usually identifies him with Aśvaghōṣa, the author of the *Buddhacarita*, which identification is rejected by Western scholars.⁵

Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* was translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan in the eighth century CE by the Indian pandit Vidyākarasiṃha and the Tibetan translator Mañjuśrīvarman (Tib. 'jam dpal go cha), and became part of the Tibetan bsTan 'gyur.⁶

Several Sanskrit editions of the *Jātakamālā* were prepared.⁷ The first English translation from the Sanskrit was produced by Speyer in 1895.⁸ In 1983, based on Speyer's translation and a comparison with the Tibetan text, a new English version was prepared by Dharma Publishing.⁹ In 1989, Khoroché skillfully translated the text again from a new Sanskrit edition he had prepared himself.¹⁰ The most recent translation—again from the Sanskrit—was presented by Meiland in 2009.¹¹

⁴ Khoroché 1989, xi.

⁵ Ibid., xi–xii.

⁶ Āryaśūra 1983, xiii. The text is contained in the Derge Tengyur (*sde dge bstan 'gyur*) under the title *skyes pa'i rabs kyi rgyud* (Toh. 4150); see Tsültrim Rinchen 1982–1985, vol. 168, 4–271.

⁷ Kern 1891, Vaidya 1959, Khoroché 1987, and Hanisch 2005.

⁸ Speyer 1895.

⁹ Āryaśūra 1983. For the intention, see *ibid.*, xiii.

¹⁰ Khoroché 1987 and 1989.

¹¹ Meiland 2009.

1.2 *The Third Karma pa's Text (Hundred Jātakas)*

The Third Karma pa, Rang 'byung rdo rje, was born in Central Tibet in 1284, but later in his life also travelled extensively in Eastern Tibet.¹² He was one of the most prolific authors both of his time and among the Karma pas. It seems he had an interest in (incomplete) Indian texts of different kinds and supplemented them in various ways.¹³ One of Rang 'byung rdo rje's concerns was the establishment of his reincarnation lineage—the first of its kind in Tibet. In this context, Gamble discusses the influence of the *jātaka* genre on Karma bka' brgyud hagiographies and institutionalized reincarnation in more general terms. She sees the *jātaka* genre as one of the role models used by the Third Karma pa to transform the extant genre of spiritual biographies (Tib. *rnam thar*) into a lineal hagiography connecting successive incarnations, which had not been a feature of this genre before.¹⁴ The Third Karma pa might have had multiple motives for promoting the *jātaka* genre.

In 1314, at the age of thirty-one, while staying at *bDe chen steng* near mTshur phu monastery, Rang 'byung rdo rje composed sixty-six additional *jātakas* and a life story of the Buddha, and collated them with Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*.¹⁵ The collated text became known under the abbreviated title *Hundred Jātakas* (Tib. *skyes rabs brgya pa*). Its full title reads *The Garland of Rebirths of the All-Knowing Buddha: The thirty-four [stories] by Āryaśūra later completed to around one hundred by means of the sixty-seven [stories] by Rang 'byung rdo rje*.¹⁶

The *Hundred Jātakas* became quite popular in Central Tibet and at the Yuan court already during the Third Karma pa's lifetime. In the

¹² For an extensive treatment of the Third Karma pa's life and works, see Seegers 2009, and Gamble 2018 and 2020.

¹³ Apart from Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, he also completed the *Saddharmasmṛtupasthāna sūtra* (Tib. *dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar bzhag pa'i bstan bcos*)—necessitated in this case by corruption of the text. The project *Translating the Karmapas' Works* is currently working on an annotated translation of the *sūtra* together with its commentary; see also Schott 2023 recently published in this journal.

¹⁴ Gamble 2018, 35–38. Another device employed by the Third Karma pa to establish the narrative of successive incarnations is his account of the intermediate state (Tib. *bar do*) between his second and third incarnations; on this topic, see Berounský 2010, Gamble 2018, 78–80, and 2020, 119–27, and Dell 2020, 43–44.

¹⁵ Gamble 2020, 137. Referring to the colophon of one of his songs, she mentions more precisely that he “finished composing the *Ston pa'i skyes rabs* in Trashi Sarma (Bkra shis gsar ma), on the fifth day of the second month of the Tiger Year [1314]” (ibid., 87 and 187, endnote 236).

¹⁶ English rendering according to Sernesi 2016, 288 (Tib. *ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ lbcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i stel/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ ldrug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa/*). For a translation of the title, see also Tropper 2005, 109.

last year of his life (1339), he supervised the painting of murals illustrating the *jātakas* at a temple connected with the imperial palace in Beijing.¹⁷ Unfortunately, these paintings are not preserved, unlike another set of mural paintings at Zha lu Monastery. There, inscriptions of abbreviated versions of the hundred-and-one tales together with paintings illustrating each of them were put on panels on the murals of the circumambulatory corridor (Tib. *skor lam chen po*)—either during the Third Karma pa’s lifetime or shortly after his passing.¹⁸ Kurt Tropper researched the inscriptions with an editorial focus on Āryaśūra’s part of the text.¹⁹ Sarah Richardson researched both selected inscriptions and paintings of the whole text, from an artistic perspective.²⁰

As for the content of the *jātakas* composed by the Third Karma pa, he states in his epilogue that he used many *sūtras* as sources. Kapstein understands this as not being an exclusive statement, and conjectures that other sources than *sūtras*, such as the collections of birth stories by Haribhaṭṭa and Kṣemendra, might also have been used.²¹ This is a subject for future research.

The structure of the *jātaka* inscriptions in Zha lu monastery, i.e., the abbreviated versions of the *jātakas*, was analyzed by Richardson to a certain extent.²² However, the determination of the common features and differences between the different *jātakas* authored by the Third Karma pa and their comparison in style and structure to those authored by Āryaśūra is still a desideratum.

While Āryaśūra’s part has already been translated four times, the Karma pa’s part of the text has not received much attention in this respect. There is no full translation. Gamble translated two of the *jātakas*—numbers sixty-six and sixty-eight,²³ while Galasek-Hul and Dömötör took up number hundred-and-one—the life of the Buddha.²⁴ Richardson translated a number of selected abbreviated versions from the Zha lu inscriptions as well as the author’s epilogue.²⁵

¹⁷ Kapstein 2020, 440, and Richardson, vol. 1, 62.

¹⁸ Tropper (2005, 83–85) argues for an early dating of the artwork, while Richardson (2016, vol.1, 61) holds that it was executed only after the Karma pa’s death. Both of them admit that there is no clear proof for one or the other position, and that they built their respective reasoning on different evidence.

¹⁹ Tropper 2005.

²⁰ Richardson 2016.

²¹ Kapstein 2020, 440.

²² Richardson 2016, vol. 1, 154–58.

²³ Gamble 2020, 137–41, and 142–44.

²⁴ Dell, Galasek-Hul, and Dömötör 2022.

²⁵ Richardson 2016, vol. 2. She covered numbers 37, 39, 51, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 77, 90, 98, 99 and 101. A translation of the Karma pa’s epilogue is also found in Dell, Galasek-Hul, and Dömötör 2022, 90–92.

2. Textual History

After Rang 'byung rdo rje's completion of the text in 1314 and the abbreviated inscriptions in Zha lu monastery some time before or after his death (1339), the first trace of the text available to us is a xylograph of which the printing blocks were produced in Beijing in 1430, i.e., more than a hundred years after its original composition. Over the course of five hundred years, at least four more sets of printing blocks came into existence in different regions at different times.

In the subsequent sections, an overview of these block prints, their textual witnesses, and references to research shall be provided. We will refer to the different textual witnesses using alpha-numerical sigla. The first letter encodes the place of production of the underlying block print edition—Beijing (B), Gong dkar (G), Mang yul gung thang (M), A mdo (A), sDe dge (D) and unknown (U). The second letter stands for the type of publication or medium—xylograph (X), modern typeset book (B), *dbu can* manuscript (C), or *dbu med* manuscript (M). The digit counts the textual witness of the respective combination. Detailed bibliographic entries for each of the references are found under the respective sigla in the bibliography.

2.1 Block Print from Beijing 1430

The first block print edition was already carved in wood in 1430 at the great temple of Dalongshan (Tib. *ta'i lung shen*) Monastery in Beijing.

This edition was described extensively by Matthew Kapstein.²⁶ He uses a textual witness from the Laufer Collection preserved in the Chicago Field Museum (BX2).²⁷ In his paper, Kapstein provides photos of the first and last folios of BX2.²⁸ We found another textual witness in BDRC (BX1). Comparing those two reveals that they are different prints from the same printing blocks. The typeset is basically identical, but the text from the Laufer collection is not as well preserved as the text scanned by BDRC. On the other hand, Āryaśūra's text is missing in BX1. Interestingly, BX1 shows some places that look like scribal corrections on the printed folios. However, since we did not have access to BX2, these places could not be compared.

²⁶ Kapstein 2020.

²⁷ Tropper 2005, 217, already mentioned the existence of this very early edition and the textual witness from the Laufer Collection referring to a quote from Laufer himself. However, he did not have access to it. Sernesi, 2016, 287, supplemented some more details, until Kapstein 2020, described it extensively.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 452.

The Beijing edition starts with an outline (Tib. *sa bcad*) of the Third Karma pa's work as a whole. It comprises twenty-four folios and is marked as volume *ka* on the left-hand margin. We shall refer to it as BX1A and BX2A, respectively. The outline is followed by Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (missing in BX1) that consists of 138 folios. The Karma pa's supplement is marked as volume *kha* with restarted foliation and amounts to 243 folios. According to Kapstein, the work has no title pages.²⁹ He provides the title for the outline (BX2A)—probably from within the text—as “A Rough Abridgement Clarifying the Jina's Deeds” (Tib. *rgyal ba'i mdzad pa gsal byed pa'i mdor bsdus rags pa bstan pa*).³⁰ In BX1/BX1A the situation is somewhat different. BX1A has a title page with the title “Outline of the Garland of Rebirths, composed by the Dharma master [Rang] byung pa” (Tib. *skyes pa'i rabs kyi sa bcad chos rje byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so*). In BX1 the title page preceding the Karma pa's supplement repeats the same title, which must be a mistake. According to Kapstein,³¹ the absence of a title page is frequent in early Tibetan printing. Thus, maybe the title pages of BX1A and BX1 were inserted later. Especially, for the erroneous title of BX1, this is also suggested by the different appearance of the paper and the missing part.

Kapstein mentions the existence of at least one other Ming edition of this text (“I have seen at least one additional Ming edition of Rang byung rdo rje's *Jātakamālā* during a visit to the library of Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil, Xiahe, Gansu, in 1990”).³² However, we could not find any further information about this edition.

	Beijing edition	
Sigla	BX1 (BX1A)	BX2 (BX2A)
Type	xylograph	
External reference	BDRC: W3CN22341	Berthold Laufer Collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Department's catalogue number 336347 and specimen ID 220
Research references	Kapstein 2020; Sernesi, 2016, 287; Tropper 2005, 217	
Place and date of block print	1430 at the great temple of Dalongshan (Tib. <i>ta'i lung shen</i>) Monastery in Beijing	

²⁹ Ibid., 442.

³⁰ Ibid., 439.

³¹ Ibid., 442.

³² Ibid., 444, footnote 25.

Persons (sponsor, ed.)	Sponsor (possibly author of colophon): dPal ldan bkra shis (1377–c.1442) (Kapstein 2020, 443, 444)	
Length	Synopsis: 24 fols., Āryaśūra: 138 fols, Karma pa: 243 fols.	
Title (title page)	Synopsis: <i>sKyes pa'i rabs kyis bcad chos rje rang byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so</i> Main: <i>sKyes pa'i rabs kyis bcad chos rje rang byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so</i> (must be false, synopsis title repeated)	Synopsis: <i>rGyal ba'i mdzad pa gsal byed pa'i mdor bsdus rags pa bstan pa</i> Main: None (Kapstein 2020, 439 and 442)
Collection Title	<i>sTon pa thub pa'i dbang po'i 'khrungs rabs skor gyi dpe cha phyogs bsdus,</i> vol. 3	None
Synopsis	Vol. ka, 1r–24r	
Āryaśūra's text	Missing	vol. ka, restart of foliation, 138 folios (Kapstein 2020, 442)
Karma pa's text	Vol. kha, 1r	
Epilogue (3K)	Vol. kha, 241v.4	
Colophon	Vol. kha, 242v.1–243r.8, (Edition and translation: Kapstein 2020, 445–449)	

Table 1: Textual witnesses of the Beijing edition

2.2 Block Print from Gong dkar (central Tibet) 1542

About a hundred years later, in 1542, another block print edition of the *Hundred Jatakas* was produced in *Gong dkar* in central Tibet (Tib. *dbus*). It consists of a single volume of 422 folios labeled *ka*. Its relationship to the earlier Beijing edition has not been researched to date. The *Gong dkar* edition was described extensively by Marta Sernesi.³³ It bears the title “The Garland of Rebirths of the All-Knowing Buddha: The thirty-four [stories] by Āryaśūra later completed to around one hundred by means of the sixty-seven [stories] by Rang byung rdo rje” (Tib. *ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ lbcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ lphyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lcag pa'i/ ldrug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa bzhugs*.)³⁴

We were able to identify several textual witnesses of prints from these printing blocks in BDRC and NGMCP labeled GX1, GX2 and GX3 in the bibliography. Marta Sernesi and Kurt Tropper both

³³ Sernesi 2016, 287–88, and 311–313.

³⁴ English rendering according to *ibid.*, 288.

mentioned a textual witness from NGMCP that corresponds to our GX3.³⁵ Tropper also mentioned another textual witness of the Gong dkar edition, which he obtained from the Institute for Medicine and Astronomy (Tib. *sman rtis khang*) in Lhasa, and which he labeled Z₂. It exhibits some very small differences due to replacement of some printing blocks in the 1980s that had been destroyed during the cultural revolution.³⁶ The interesting observation here is that, for unknown reasons, the Mang yul gung thang edition was used as a template for the newly carved blocks instead of the Gong dkar edition.³⁷ The Mang yul gung thang edition is described in the next section and is very similar to the Gong dkar edition: in particular, it has the same pagination. However, the printing colophon differs. In Tropper's textual witness from Lhasa, folio pages 421r and 421v of the colophon follow the Manyül Gungtang edition, while the next page is according to the Gong dkar edition, which means that folio page 421v ends in the middle of a sentence.³⁸ We were able to identify a copy that must originate from the same restored printing block in BDRC, which we labeled GX4*.

There is also a modern typeset edition in pecha-style format (referred to as GB1) that is based on the same printing blocks, as it contains the same printing colophon. It is part of a collection of 108 volumes containing the works of the different Karma pas. Unfortunately, it exhibits quite some copying errors.

The available Gong dkar xylograph editions contain only the work proper, but not the Third Karma pa's outline of the work, which is included in the Beijing edition. However, the modern book version contains this outline (referred to as GB1A), probably taken from the Beijing edition. It bears yet another title: "Synopsis of the Buddha's Previous Lives" (Tib. *sangs rgyas kyi skyes pa'i rabs kyi bsdus don bzhuḡs so*), and comprises sixty-seven pages. The outline's title might have been added by the editor of the modern book, as it does not originate from the Beijing edition. The title of the work proper in GB1, however, coincides with that of the Gong dkar edition.

Gong dkar edition (central Tibet)					
Sigla	GX1	GX2	GX3	GX4*	GB1 (GB1A)
Type	Xylograph				Type-set book

³⁵ It corresponds to NGMCP reel no. L 528/2; see Sernesi 2016, 288 and 311, and Tropper 2005, 108–9, who used the siglum Z₁ for it.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 110.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 114, footnote 34.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

External reference	BDRC: W4CZ 301726	BDRC: WINL M1304	NGMCP reel no. L 528 / 2	BDRC: W1KG22301	BDRC: W3PD1288
Research reference	Sernesi 2016, 287–289, and 311–313; GX3: Sernesi 2016, 288 and 311, and Tropper 2005, 108–9 (siglum Z1)			Restoration based on Mang yul gung thang print: Tropper 2005, 110 (siglum Z2)	None
Place and date of block print	1542 at the palace of Gong dkar (<i>pho brang gong dkar</i>) in central Tibet (<i>dbus</i>) (Sernesi 2016, 287)			Same blocks as on the left; restoration: printing house of the <i>sman rtsis khang</i> in Lhasa in the 1980s (Tropper 2005, 110)	Colophon same as Gong dkar edition; Modern: 2013 in Lhasa: dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang
Persons (sponsor, editor,...)	Sponsor: Phag mo gru prince 'Gro ba'i mgon po (1508–1548) (Sernesi 2016, 287)			Same as GX1; no information about persons involved in restoration	Same as GX1 for underlying block print
Length	422 fols, one volume, labeled ka			Same as GX1	Synopsis: 34 fols., Āryaśūra: 209 fols., Karma pa: 382 fols.
Title (title page)	<i>sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phrengl /bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lcag pa'i/ /drug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa bzhugs</i> (Sernesi 2016, 288)			Same as GX1 (but title page has different layout—restored)	Synopsis: <i>Sangs rgyas rgyas pa'i rabs kyi bsdus don bzhugs so,</i> Main: same as GX1
Collection Title	None			None	<i>dPal rgyal dbang karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs</i> (108 vols.), vol. 11, 69–602, and vol. 12
Synopsis	Not contained				Vol. 11, 1r–34r (must be from Beijing edition)

Āryaśūra's text	Vol. ka, 1r		Vol. 11, 1r or p. 69
Karma pa's text	Vol. ka, 158v.1		Vol. 11, 210r.3 or p. 487.3
Epilogue (3K)	Vol. ka, 420r.3	See GX1 and MX3; fol. 421 restored based on MX	Vol. 12, 298.2 or p. 596.2
Colophon 1	Vol. ka, 421r.2, <i>swasti...</i> (Edition: Sernesi 2016, 311–313)	See MX3; fol. 421 restored based on MX	Vol. 12, 298v.5 or p. 596.5, <i>swasti...</i>
Colophon 2	Vol. ka, 421v.2, <i>'on kyang...</i> (Edition: Sernesi 2016, 311–313)	See MX3; fol. 421 restored based on MX	Vol. 12, 300v.1 or p. 600.1, <i>'on kyang...</i>
Colophon 3	Vol. ka, 421v.7, <i>de byung dge...</i> (Edition: Sernesi 2016, 311–313, part. transl.: <i>ibid.</i> , 289)	See MX3 and GX1; fol. 421 restored based MX edition; fol. 422 identical to GX1	Vol. 12, 301r.1 or p. 601.1, <i>de byung dge...</i>
Colophon 4	Vol. ka, 422r.4, <i>kwa ye...</i> (Edition: Sernesi 2016, 311–313)		Vol. 12, 301r.6 or p. 601.6, <i>kwa ye...</i>
Notes	None	Missing: fols. 2, 56, 73, 80–83	None

Table 2: Textual witnesses of the Gong dkar edition

2.3 Block Print from Mang yul gung thang in Southwest Tibet 1574

Another block print edition from Mang yul gung thang, a kingdom in the southwest of Tibet, was produced in 1574.³⁹ Sernesi showed that this new edition is based on a copy of the Gong dkar edition. The two editions have many features in common, such as the title, number of folios, and number of lines per folio. However, the distribution of syllables on the pages varies between the two editions, which shows that the Mang yul gung thang edition is indeed a newly carved edition.⁴⁰ Even parts of the printing colophon were taken over, but the place, name of sponsor and date were replaced carefully.⁴¹

³⁹ It could also have been 1575. For details on dating the edition, see Sernesi 2016, 289.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 290.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* For a precise comparison of the different parts of the printing colophons between the Gong dkar and the Mang yul gung thang editions, see *ibid.*, 311–14.

While the actual Mang yul gung thang edition contains illustrations on the first two pages, there is another edition that looks very similar, but which has empty spaces instead of the illustrations. Sernesi also found some other subtle differences on these first two pages. Therefore, she conjectures:

"Hence, either the blocks were restored, replacing the blocks of the first pages with newly carved ones when they became too worn out, or a new set of blocks was produced employing a copy from the Mang yul Gung thang edition as printing sheets, in an undetermined place and date."⁴²

Sernesi refers to two textual witnesses of the earlier Mang yul gung thang print from NGMPP (here labeled as MX1 and MX2).⁴³ Furthermore, she mentions a copy of the variation print from the Tucci Collection (here referred to as MX3).⁴⁴ It has the striking feature that the images on the first two pages are replaced by empty frames. Otherwise, it seems to be from the same printing blocks.⁴⁵

There is also a handwritten copy of the Mang yul gung thang edition in *dbu can* script including the full printing colophon, which made its way to Ladakh. It was published as a reproduction of the manuscript in two volumes in 1974 and is also found in the BDRC database. We refer to it as MC1.⁴⁶

	Mang yul gung thang edition (southwest Tibet)			
Sigla	MX1	MX2	MX3	MC1
Type	Xylograph			<i>dbu can</i> ms.
External reference	NGMCP reel no. L 568/9–569/1	NGMCP reel no. L 961/3–962/1	IsIAO Tucci Tibetan Collect., no. 669 (De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 333)	BDRC: W1KG4477
Research reference	Sernesi 2016, 289-292, 313-314; Sernesi 2021, 268-270; MX2: Tropper, 2005, 114		Mentioned in Sernesi 2016, 292, footnote 54	Mentioned in Tropper 2005, 115, no. 5.; and in Sernesi 1016, 292, footnote 53

⁴² Ibid., 292.

⁴³ Ibid., 313. Tropper, 2005, 114, also mentioned MX2 from the NGMPP (Reel No. L 961/3–L 962/1) as his textual witness no. 3. He also provided some interesting references to the editor of these printing blocks.

⁴⁴ Sernesi 2016, 292, footnote 54.

⁴⁵ Sernesi 2021, 469, no. 8.

⁴⁶ Also Tropper 2005, 115, mentioned this edition as no. 5.

Place and date of block print	1574 or 1575 in the village gNas in Mang yul gung thang (Sernesì 2016, 289)	Reproduced photographically from a rare manuscript preserved in the library of the Stog rgyal po of Ladakh; modern publishing: 1974, Darjeeling, Kar-gyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang
Persons (sponsor, editor,...)	Sponsor: Byams pa phun tshogs (Sernesì 2016, 289)	For ms. unknown
Length	422 fols., one volume, labeled ka	2 vols.
Title (title page)	<i>Ston pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ /bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ /phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lcag pa'il /drug bcus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa bzhugs</i> (MX1/MX2 not seen; MX3 has cover from different edition; MC1 has this title)	English title: "Tibetan Rendering of the Jātakamālā of Aryaśūra. Supplemented with 67 additional Jātaka stories by The Third Karma-pa Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje"; Tib. ms. title: see left
Collection Title	None	None
Synopsis	Not contained	
Aryaśūra's text	Vol. ka, 1r	Vol. ka, 1r or vol. 1, p. 1
Karma pa's text	Vol. ka, 158v.1	Vol. ka, 229r.5 or vol. 1, p. 459.5
Epilogue (3K)	Vol. ka, 401r.5	Vol. ka, 504r.5 or vol. 2, p. 569.5
Colophon 1	Vol. ka, 420r.3	Vol. ka, 614r.1 or vol. 2, p. 619.1
Colophon 2	Vol. ka, 421r.2, swasti... (Sernesì 2016, 290: copied from Gong dkar edition; edition: ibid., 311)	Vol. ka, 615r.4 or vol. 2, p. 621.4
Colophon 3	Vol. ka, 421v.2, 'on kyang... (Sernesì 2016, 290: modified compared to Gong dkar edition; edition: ibid., 313)	Vol. ka, 616r.2 or vol. 2, p. 623.2
Colophon 4	Vol. ka, 421v.7, de la byung ba'i... (Sernesì 2016, 290: independent of Gong dkar edition; edition, ibid., 313–314)	Vol. ka, 616v.3 or vol. 2, p. 624.3

Notes	This edition is based on the Gong dkar edition, but new blocks were carved from it with the same number of folios and lines per page, but different line breaks (Sernesi 2016, 290)	First two folios from different edition (Sernesi 2016, 292, and Sernesi 2021, 469, no.8), otherwise identical with MX1 and MX2	Photographically reproduced manuscript of the Mang yul gung thang block print edition
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Table 3: Textual witnesses of the Mang yul gung thang edition

2.4 Block Print from A mdo between Late Eighteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Another block print edition is attested from A mdo, in the northeast of Tibet, produced between the late eighteenth century and the early twentieth century. It is derived from the Mang yul gung thang edition. This text is described by Sernesi.⁴⁷ She has not seen any copy of the block print herself and we could not get hold of it either. However, she was able to identify a modern publication that is based on this block print and thus was able to access its text. The modern book, and presumably the block print as well, contain only the second part of the *Hundred Jatakas*, i.e., the sixty-seven stories added by the Third Karma pa.⁴⁸ We refer to this book by the siglum AB2. Furthermore, there is another modern type-set book available at BDRC that is based on the A mdo edition, which we refer to as AB1. It was published in Beijing in 1995.⁴⁹ In those textual witnesses, the Karma pa's epilogue is followed by the same colophons as in the Mang yul gung thang edition.⁵⁰ However, then another short colophon is added that mentions that this was printed in dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling according to the edition of the preceding colophon.⁵¹ Hence, the A mdo edition is clearly based on the Mang yul gung thang edition.

⁴⁷ Sernesi 2016, 292–93. Also Tropper 2005, 115, mentioned this edition as no. 4. He could not get hold of it, but he refers to a catalog entry of the monastery printing house, according to which it has 464 folios; see Meisezahl 1986, 312.

⁴⁸ Sernesi 2016, 292–93. Tropper 2005, 116, also mentioned this book as no. 7 and associates it with the A mdo edition.

⁴⁹ Tropper also refers to this book as no. 6; see Tropper 2005, 115–16.

⁵⁰ Sernesi 2016, 313–14.

⁵¹ For a translation of this short colophon, see Tropper 2005, 115, footnote 37.

	A mdo edition		
Sigla	AX1	AB1	AB2
Type	Xylograph	Type-set book	
External reference	None identified	BDRC: WIKG16609	None identified
Research reference	Sernesi 2016, 292–93; Tropper 2005, 115–16, nos. 4 and 6 (knowledge of block print only via book editions)	Tropper 2005, 115–16, no. 6	Sernesi 2016, p. 292, footnote 55; Tropper 2005, 116, no. 7
Place and date of block print	Late 18th-early 20th cent., "printed at the great college called dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling" in Amdo (Sernesi 2016, 292–93), date only derived indirectly via existence of that monastery	Book edition: 1995, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang	Book edition: 1997, mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang
Persons (sponsor, editor,...)	No information in additional colophon		
Length	464 fols. (Tropper 2005, 115, no. 4 referring to Meisezahl 1986)		301 pages (pp. 205–506)
Title (title page)	Unknown	Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi skyes rabs brgya pa	sKyes rabs brgya ba
Collection Title	None	Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig, vol. 22	bCom ldan 'das ston pa shākya thub pa'i rnam thar bzhugs so
Synopsis	Not contained	Not contained	Not contained
Āryaśūra's text	Page unknown	p. 2	Page unknown
Karma pa's text	Page unknown	p. 272	Page unknown
Epilogue (3K)	Page unknown	p. 692.23–725.18	Page unknown
Colophon 1	Page unknown	p. 725.19–727.8	Page unknown

Colophon 2	Page unknown	p. 727.9–728.5 (copied from Gong dkar via Mang yul gung thang; edition: Sernesi 2016, 311)	Page unknown
Colophon 3	Page unknown	p. 728.5–728.19 (copied from Gong dkar via Mang yul gung thang; edition: Sernesi 2016, 313)	Page unknown
Colophon 4	Page unknown	p. 728.19–729.10 (copied from Mang yul gung thang (with- out mantra); edition: Sernesi 2016, 313–14)	Page unknown
Colophon 5	Page unknown	p. 729.11–729.15	Page unknown (transl: Tropper 2005, 116; Sernesi 2016, 292–93)
Colophon 6	Page unknown	p. 729.16–729.21 (dedication)	Page unknown

Table 4: Textual witnesses of the *A mdo* edition

2.5 Block Print from *sDe dge* in Eastern Tibet from Early Twentieth Century

Apart from the block print editions that were discussed by Kapstein and Sernesi as summarized above, we were able to identify another xylograph in the BDRC database of relatively late origin. It has the same title on the title page as the Gong dkar and Mang yul gung thang editions. It consists of 379 folios and the place of production is indicated as the *sDe dge par khang*. We refer to this block print with the siglum DX1. The colophon differs from the other editions presented here. After the Karma pa's epilogue, there is no copy of any of the other colophons. The colophon that follows spans about two folio pages and can be divided into three parts—the editor's epilogue (*mdzad byang*) with ten stanzas of four verse lines each, the aspirational verses (*bkra shis smon lam* or *smon tshig*) with five stanzas, and the printing colophon (*par byang* or *zhus byang*) in prose, which is the shortest part.⁵² Transliterations and translations of all three parts are provided in appendix 1.

From the editor's epilogue, we learn the name bKra shis 'od zer. mKhan chen bKra shis 'od zer (1836–1910) was an abbot of dPal

⁵² For an overview of different kinds of colophons in Tibetan texts, see Wangchuk 2022.

spungs monastery and a student of 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899).⁵³ From the context, it seems that bKra shis 'od zer had the role of the initiator of the print (*bskul ba po*). However, the next stanza mentions Don grub rdo rje, which is the secret name of the Fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870–1922), who was a student of bKra shis 'od zer. His role is not stated very clearly, but presumably he continued the activity of his teacher to make this new edition happen in some way. In the last stanza of the editor's epilogue, we learn that this work (i.e., the *sKyes rab brgya pa*) was kept in the dPal spungs monastery. This might refer to the version of the text this new edition is based on. Tropper refers to Gene Smith who mentions a "beautifully illustrated manuscript [which] is probably from Pal-pung."⁵⁴ We were not able to identify this manuscript and have no further information about it. It could be the manuscript UM1 which we describe in the next section, but this is difficult to verify.

The aspirational verses do not provide any information as to the circumstances of the creation of the sDe dge edition, as is expected. However, the printing colophon helps to complete the picture. There, it is mentioned that the text was compared with the Chinese printed edition and some other old editions. This somewhat relativizes the question about the dPal spungs manuscript that it might be based on, since through the process of editing based on various editions, this new edition could have picked up spellings from all of them. The Chinese printed edition is presumably the Beijing edition described earlier, while the other editions taken into account could possibly be Gong dkar and Mang yul gung thang (the latter copied from Gong dkar). This is also suggested by a comparison of some samples of differences in spelling across the different editions undertaken by us. It can be observed that the spelling of the sDe dge edition tends to be in line with the Gong dkar and Mang yul gung thang editions, rather than the Beijing edition. Hence, either their spelling was considered preferable during the correction process, or the possible base text for the edition (dPal spung manuscript) was in any case copied from one of those. Furthermore, the printing colophon (and the entry in BDRC) mentions that the editor during the carving of the blocks was 'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros. We were not able to pinpoint his birth and death years. BDRC just indicates that he lived during the twentieth century, but it also mentions that he was a student of 'Jam dbyangs Blo gter dbang po (1847–1914), which puts his life into the first half of the twentieth century (he could have been born already at the end of the nineteenth

⁵³ BDRC, P1373.

⁵⁴ Tropper 2005, 116, no. 8 and footnote 39.

century).⁵⁵ Looking at the life dates of bKra shis 'od zer (1836–1910) and the Fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870–1922), who presumably initiated the project, places the time of production of the sDe dge edition into the early twentieth century. The sponsor of the print cannot be identified by name. The printing colophon just mentions a *dge ba'i bshes gnyen* ("spiritual friend") which seems to be a reference to the sponsor.

Interestingly, Āryaśūra's part of the sDe ge block print does not have the same layout as the same text in the sDe ge bsTan 'gyur (Toh. 4150). Hence, it was carved again, even though it must have been stored in the printing house already.

Tropper associates the type-set book from the previous section, which we labeled AB2, with the sDe ge block print edition. He does so based on a communication with the printing house, which told him that Āryaśūra's part originates from the sDe ge bsTan 'gyur and the Karma pa's part was taken from a block print from sDe ge. However, the colophons of the two differ completely. The colophon in the book clearly points to the Amdo edition, which Tropper also concludes.⁵⁶

	sDe ge edition
Sigla	DX1
Type	Xylograph
External reference	BDRC: W8LS16389
Research reference	None (some info on BDRC entry)
Place and date of block print	Early 20th cent. in sDe dge par khang (date derived from life dates of editor; see also BDRC)
Persons (sponsor, editor,...)	Initiator of the print (<i>bskul ba po</i>): mKhan chen bKra shis 'od zer (1836–1910; BDRC, P1373) Editor during carving: 'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros (b. 20th cent.; BDRC, P7122); Sponsor: only referred to as <i>dge ba'i bshes gnyen</i> ("spiritual friend")
Length	379 fols., no vol. label
Title (title page)	sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng / bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste / / phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i / / drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa / /

⁵⁵ For the mention of the editor and his teacher, see BDRC, W8LS16389, and DX1, fol. 379r; for more information on the persons, see BDRC, P7122 and P560.

⁵⁶ Tropper 2005, 116, footnote 37.

Collection Title	None
Synopsis	Not contained
Āryaśūra's text	1v.1
Karma pa's text	145r.1
Epilogue (3K)	377r.4
Colophon 1	378r.2 Printer's/ editor's epilogue
Colophon 2	378v.5 (PDF 759) Aspirational verses
Colophon 3	379r.1 (PDF 760) Printing colophon

Table 5: Textual witnesses of the sDe dge edition

2.6 Manuscripts (*dbu med*)

Apart from the different block print editions and the modern type-set books, there are also some manuscripts written in *dbu med* script. We found two of them at BDRC, which we refer to as UM1 and UM2. Both are written in quite readable handwriting (though in different variants of the “headless” script), and contain the full text starting from jātika 35 until the Third Karma pa's epilogue. Printing colophons from any other block print editions were not copied. Instead, they both conclude with different very short colophons that are difficult to read as the script is smaller and not as clear as before. Unfortunately, we were not able to extract significant information as to the place or year of production and the sponsor (see Appendix 2). UM1 comprises 499 folios and has many phrases highlighted in red ink, while the rest is in black ink. The first page after the title page (fol. 1v) is illustrated with two colored images. On the left margin, there is the future Buddha, Maitreya, and on the right margin, there is Padmasambhava. Likewise, on the last page of the life story of the Buddha (fol. 497v), just before the epilogue, there are again two colored images. On the left margin, there is Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje, and on the right margin, there is Dzambhala. UM2 has no such illustrations. BDRC describes it as “collection of sadhana and empowerment of the hundred various tutelary deities of Narthang and The Jatakamala of Aryasura and sixty seven additional Jataka stories supplemented by the third Karma pa Rangjung Dorje.”⁵⁷

⁵⁷ BDRC, W4CZ307403.

Hence, the actual *Hundred Jatakas* text is preceded by different manuscripts and only starts after sixty-two folios (i.e., PDF p. 126). Only rarely are words highlighted in red ink. It consists of 245 folios. Its script is very narrow.

Tropper also mentions an illustrated manuscript and refers to Gene Smith who describes it: "The beautifully illustrated manuscript will be included in the forthcoming edition of the collected works of Rang byung rdo rje currently under publication in China. The manuscript itself is probably from Palpung. We have scans which we are not permitted to distribute for the moment."⁵⁸ Without further information it is difficult to say, if this manuscript can be identified with UM1 or not.

All manuscripts are likely handwritten copies of one of the block print editions, however it is not always straightforward to determine which one, especially if the printing colophon was not copied, as in the cases at hand. Consequently, this needs further research, e.g., a text-critical analysis.

	<i>dbu med</i> manuscripts (unknown origin)	
Sigla	UM1	UM2
Type	<i>dbu med</i> ms.	<i>dbu med</i> ms.
External reference	BDRC: W4CZ307425	BDRC: W4CZ307403
Research reference	None	None
Place and date of block print	Unknown	Unknown
Persons (sponsor, editor,...)	Unknown	Unknown
Length	499 folios	245 folios
Title (title page)	Karma pa rang byung rdo rjes mdzad pa'i sangs rgyas kyi skyes rabs bzhugs so. Og ma'o	None
Collection Title	None	Collection without title
Synopsis	Not contained	Not contained

⁵⁸ Tropper 2005, 116, no. 8 and footnote 39.

Āryaśūra's text	Not contained	Not contained
Karma pa's text	PDF p.3	PDF p. 126, l.1
Epilogue (3K)	PDF p. 998, l. 2	PDF p. 614, l. 1 (end of line)
Colophon 1	Last page	Last page

Table 6: dbu med manuscripts

3. Conclusion

For the conclusion, a summary in the form of a diagram is presented in Figure 1. It is not meant as a stemma, although it might resemble one.

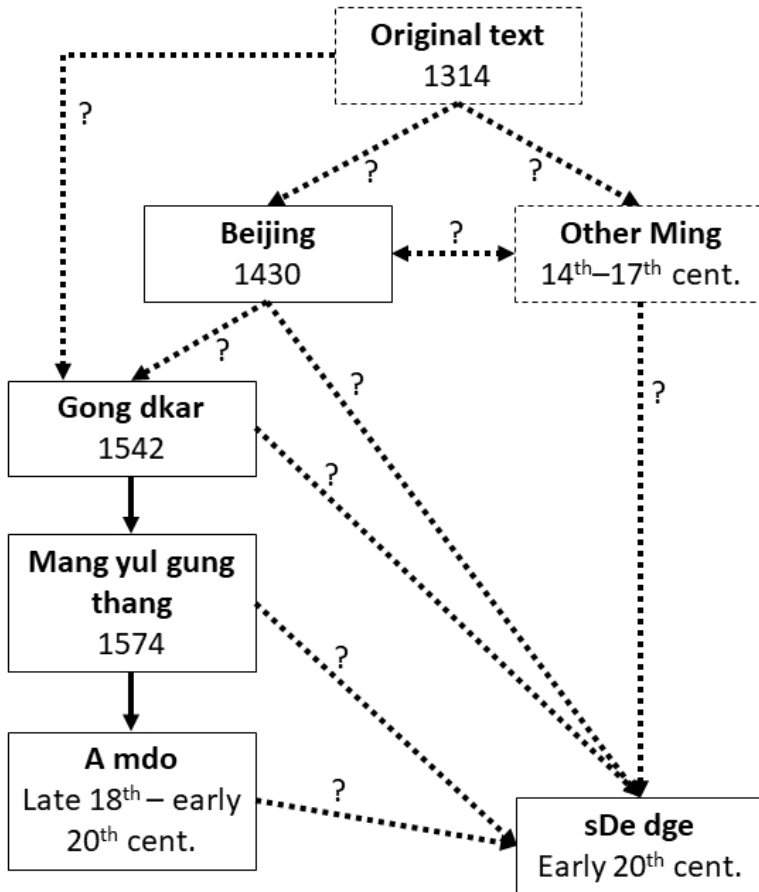


Figure 1: Genealogy of the sKyes rab brgya pa xylographs

The solid-line boxes signify the five different xylograph editions with place and date of production that we were able to identify. The original text (certainly a manuscript) that every other edition must depend on directly or indirectly (here called “original text”) is represented as a dashed-line box to indicate that it did not come down to us. Similarly, the other Ming editions whose existence was mentioned by Kapstein are depicted with a dashed-line box, since it was not possible to get hold of these, nor did we find any hint in the literature that anyone did ever examine them.⁵⁹ When it comes to the relationship between the different editions depicted in the Figure 1, the situation gets more uncertain. The only secured statement here (based on the colophons analyzed by Sernesi) is that the A mdo xylograph edition was copied from the Mang yul gung thang edition, which in turn is based on the Gong dkar edition (relationship depicted with solid-line arrows). However, for the latter, we don't know its relationship to the Beijing edition, if there is any, or in what way the original texts found its way into the Gong kar edition. It could have well been via (a series of) manuscripts bypassing the Beijing edition. Likewise, for the Beijing edition, there is no hint about which edition or manuscript it is based on. While there could possibly be a relationship between the other Ming editions and the Beijing edition, if so and in which direction remains obscure. For the sDe dge edition, we know from the colophon that it was compared to a Chinese block print and to some other block prints in the process of editing, but which these were exactly remains unclear. All these possible but uncertain relationships are depicted with dashed-line arrows and question marks in Figure 1. We have not put the two manuscripts we came across into the diagram, as from our analysis it was impossible to locate them in place and time, let alone to determine their relationship toward other editions. Nevertheless, due to the popularity of the text, we must assume that there were many manuscripts that did not come down to us and that some of these might have played an important role in the textual history to bridge the gap between the original text and the first xylographs.

With this paper, we sought to provide a comprehensive overview of the textual history as it appears as of today by compiling the scattered information from various other publications and by adding some of our own analysis to render the picture a bit more complete. This can hopefully be a solid basis and starting point for future research. Apart from that, an overview of the different textual witnesses, as provided here, is also very helpful when it comes to the analysis of the content of the Third Karma pa's work, as has been embarked on in an ongoing

⁵⁹ See section 2.1.

phased translation project hosted by *Translating the Karmapa's Works*, which recently resulted in a first publication.⁶⁰

4. Appendix 1: *sDe dge Colophon*

4.1 *sDe dge Colophon Transliteration*

[Colophon Section 1]

[DX1, fol. 378r, l. 2]

//*om swa sti siddham*//

*byams pa'i thugs kyi sa gzhi bstar ba la//
snying rjes mgron du bskyil ba'i sems can kun//
bzang po spyod pa'i dga' ston ci yang gis//
gtan bder tshim pa stsal ba'i thub la 'dud//*

*gang gis rang bde dgra bzhin spangs nas su//
gzhan la bde sbyin slad du brnag dka' ba'i//
byang chub sems la dpa' ba'i go bskon te//
bskal mang bdag cag don du tshogs gnyis bsgrubs//*

*de srid mchog dang mchog min skyes pa'i rabs//
pad dkar lta bu'i phreng de lhag bsam gyi//
gser sbyangs skud par ltem rkyang med brgyus pa'i//
ngo mtshar ltad mo de lta srid na gang//*

*de 'dra'i phul byung ji bzhin sgrogs pa'i phyir//
dbyangs kyi rgyal mos spobs ba'i mchog byin pa//
rgyal sras dpa' bo'i snyan pas 'phags yul kyi'ang//
gtam gzhan tshig don rnyog pa'i khron par bsdus//*

*de yang rgyal sras spyod pas yid 'phrog ste//
legs bshad gtam gyi 'phro bcas⁶¹ lus byin pas//
rdzogs par ma gyur skye ba gzhan bzung yang//
rnam dpyod de nyid kyi bskangs rang byung rje//*

*brjod don pha rol phyin bcu'i spyod pa yis//
lha dang dge sbyong bram ze mchog rnam kyi//
rnam thar nyon mong rdzab kyi gos pa'i tshul//*

⁶⁰ For *Translating the Karmapa's Works*, see their website <https://www.translating-karmapas.org/> (accessed April 15, 2023); for the publication, see Dell, Galasek-Hul, Dömötör 2022.

⁶¹ Read *chad*?

gsal bar ston pas ston pa mchog tu shes//

*sku tshe snga mar bsgrubs pa'i rgyu mang pos//
'di [fol. 378v] na thams cad mkhyen pa'i 'bras bu can//
thugs rje'i grib bsil snyoms par brdal gang gi//
mdzad pa brgya rtsa brgyad kyis gtams pa'i glegs//*

*thub bstan gtsang ma'i rgyal mtshan snyigs dus 'dir//
gzhan phan byang chub sems kyis btsugs pa la//
snying stobs zhumi med bkra shis 'od zer gyis//
bstan la bya ba byas pa'i cha gcig stel//*

*de yi dge ba'i sri zhur dad pa'i mig//
glog 'gyu lta bu'i bsod nams kyis phyed bas//
chab tshom don grub rdo rje tshe ring gi//
gtong ba'i mtsho las spar gyi zla ba thon//*

*brjod bya bdag cag ston pa'i skyes rabs nyid//
rjod byed rgya bod snyan ngag tog gis bsnyad//
thar 'dod blo la don gnyis sbyin pa'i gnyen//
bstan bcos che 'di dpal spung gdan sar bzhugs//*

[Colophon Section 2]

*legs byas ma dros chu gter chen po 'dir//
sgo gsum lam nas rnyed bkur bya ba'i las//
dga' dang yi rangs tsam du'ang gang 'babs pa//
de dag rnam mkhyen rgya mtsho chen por bsngo//*

*mthu des sangs rgyas 'jig rten sgron ma yi//
spyod dang rnam thar bstan pa dang bcas par//
log lta mi 'phrog yid ches dad pa yis//
rjes su 'jig pa'i skul ba bzang thob shog/*

*mkha' khyab 'gro 'di pha mar grub po zhes//
gzhan phan lam gyi srol chen phye ba'i rjes//
'theng⁶² slad chod pa'i bsam skyor⁶³ rnam dag gis//
rgyal sras byang chub spyod la 'jig par shog/*

*skye ba kun tu sangs rgyas byon dang mjal//
de yi bsngags pa rab 'byams zhing kun sgrogs//*

⁶² Read 'thing?

⁶³ The print is unclear here; read sbyor?

*the tshom log ltar 'phyan rnam s bstan par bcug/
kun kyang rgyal ba'i 'phrin las snod gyur cig/*

*'dir yang thub pa'i bstan pa ring du gnas//
bstan pa tshul bzhin 'dzin rnam sku tshe brtan//
dkon mchog gsum la dad ldan bde skyid 'byor//
thams cad bkra shis chos kyi don [fol. 379r] 'grub shog*

[Colophon Section 3]

*ces dge ba'i bshes gnyen chen pos chos sbyin spar du bzhengs pa'i tshe bka'
lung gi me tog 'thor ba las bod kyi gang s dkar spar mkhas pa'i zhu dag gis yid
brtan pher ba byas pa nyid la gzhi byas/*

rgya nag gi spar ma sogs dpe rnying gzhan dang yang bsdur/

*cung zad 'chos par bzod pa rnam bcos te zhu dag bgyis pa dang bcas 'jam
dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros gyis bsod nams bya ba la 'brel pa btags pa'i go skabs
rnyed pa ste sarvathā kalyāṇaṃ bhavatu/*

4.2 sDe dge Colophon Translation

[Printer's/Editor's Epilogue, *mdzad byang*]

om svasti siddham—Auspicious Accomplishment!

I bow to the Buddha who, on the purified ground of loving kindness,
Bestows satisfaction in lasting happiness to all sentient beings
Through all kinds of feasts of good conduct
With his compassion that gathers them for a celebration.

You, who has abandoned your own happiness like [one avoids] a foe,
Who has donned the armor of courage in the mind of enlightenment
That takes on unbearable hardship in order to give others happiness,
Accomplished during many kalpas the two accumulations for our
sakes.

A wondrous spectacle indeed (*lta*) in the world
Are so many higher and lower rebirths,
Strung unhesitatingly on a thread of pure gold of a superior determi-
nation
Like a garland of white lotus flowers.

In order to give expression to something as perfect as this,
 The famed Indian Bodhisattva Śūra,
 Who was granted supreme courage by the Queen of Speech,⁶⁴
 Collected the meaning and the words⁶⁵ gathered in the murky well of
 literalness of the Indic prose works of others.

He, however, captivated by the conduct of the Jina-sons,
 Sacrificed his body, and therefore the continuation of his eloquent ac-
 count was interrupted.

But even if he were to have taken up another life, it could not have
 been completed.

By that same reasoning, the master Rang 'byung rdo rje finished it.

It is said that through the practice of the ten *pāramitās*,
 One can know the Teacher⁶⁶ well by way of implication
 Through the manner in which the liberation stories of [even] the gods
 and the most excellent *śramaṇas* and brahmins
 Are [still] sullied by the mud of the *kleśas*.

The book that is filled with the 108(?) deeds of him
 Who, having [attained] the result of omniscience in this world
 Through many causes accumulated in previous lives,
 Evenly spread the shadow of compassion,

Is one part of the accomplishment for the teaching by bKra shis 'od
 zer⁶⁷

[Whose] courage in the planting of the victory banner of the pure
 teachings of the Buddha

In this age of decline

With the enlightened intention to benefit others is undaunted.

Because the eye of his virtuous reverential devotion
 Was opened through lightning-like merit,
 The moon of this edition, rising from the ocean of the renunciation,

⁶⁴ The goddess Sarasvatī?

⁶⁵ This refers to Āryaśūra's own composition, the *Jātakamālā*.

⁶⁶ That is, the Buddha (*ston pa*).

⁶⁷ BDRC, P1373: mKhan chen bKra shis 'od zer (1836–1910) belonged to the Karma bka' brgyud tradition and was an abbot of dPal spungs monastery. One of his teachers was the famous 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899) and one of his students was the Fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870–1922). Given the context, he could have been the one who encouraged this edition to be produced (*bskul ba po*).

Don grub rdo rje,⁶⁸ appeared.

The content [of the book] is the former lives of our teacher, the Buddha.

The means of expression through which it is related, is the top-ornament of Indo-Tibetan *kāvya*.

This friend that bestows the two goals⁶⁹ to those whose minds long for liberation,

This great *śāstra* was then kept (*bzhugs?*) in the monastic center dPal spung.⁷⁰

[Aspirational Verses, *bkra shis smon lam*]

Well done are the actions of worship performed through the path of the three doors,

As well as the mere happiness and joy which rain down,

Into this great lake Anavatapta.⁷¹

I dedicate them to the great ocean omniscience!

Through the power of this,

May an auspicious motivation⁷² be attained, which destroys

Wrong views with unassailable confident faith

Together with the teaching of the liberation stories and the conduct of the Buddha, the light of the world.

Beings as infinite as space are established as [our] parents, it is said.

Following on the spreading of the great tradition of [the path that leads to] others' benefit,

May the sons of the victor prevail in their enlightenment practice

Through [their] completely pure thoughts and actions that cut off [any opportunity for] blame!

In all our lifetimes, may the Buddha come and may we meet!

⁶⁸ This happens to be the secret name of the Fifteenth Karma pa, mKha' khyab rdo rje (1870–1922; see BDRC, P563).

⁶⁹ I.e., one's own and others' benefit, *rang don* and *gzhan don*.

⁷⁰ dPal spung monastery is located in eastern Tibet and was founded in 1717 by the Eighth Si tu, Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699 / 1700–1774), also known as Si tu Paṅ chen bsTan pa'i nyin byed, the great scholar and Sanskritist. For more information on this important historical figure, see, e.g., a recent publication in this journal (Dell 2023).

⁷¹ The mythical lake Manasarovar.

⁷² Tib. *skul ba*, a cognate to *bskul ba po* which also means “initiator of a print” in the context of colophons.

His praise resounds everywhere in the infinite realms [of the universe].

May those wandering aimlessly with doubts and wrong views enter the teachings,

And become suitable vessels for the victor's spiritual activity!

Here, too, may the Śākya's teaching remain long

And the life-force of those who uphold his methods be firm.

May those who have faith in the Three Jewels attain joy and happiness,

And may all realize the aim of the auspicious Dharma!

[Printing Colophon, *par byang*]

When this gift of the Dharma was printed anew by the great *kalyāṇamitra*,⁷³ it was done based on the reliable and valid work that had been carried out by the skilled Tibetan editors of the scattered flowers of the [different] transmitted versions.

[The text] was compared with the Chinese printed edition and other old copies.⁷⁴

Revising only minimally, what was permissible [to correct] was corrected by 'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros⁷⁵ together with the editors, who obtained an opportunity to make an auspicious connection in the creation of merit.

May it be auspicious in every way!

5. Appendix 2: Manuscript Colophons

5.1 UM1 Colophon Transliteration and Analysis

[penultimate page, l. 3]

gsang gsum mi bzad 'khor lo nyin mo'i mgon/

sa gsum mun pa'i gshed du snang ba brgyal/

⁷³ Tib. *dge ba'i bshes gnyen*, Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*. This term is often translated as "spiritual friend". Given the context, here it likely refers to the otherwise unnamed sponsor of the print.

⁷⁴ The "Chinese printed edition", here, presumably refers to the Beijing edition described in section 2.1 of this paper (see also Kapstein 2020). The "other old copies" may refer to some of the other editions described in this paper.

⁷⁵ 'Jam dbyangs legs pa'i blo gros (BDRC, P7122) was born sometime in the 20th century and was a student of the Sa skya lama Blo gter dbang po (1847–1914; BDRC, P560). He may have written a Tibetan grammar book or commentary on two grammatical opuses as suggested by this entry: https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/receive/aaingmcp_tbtdocument_00051012, accessed: April 14, 2023.

*cig char 'char la spob pa'i gdongs ldan pa'i/
rnam 'dren bzhi pa'i zhabs kyi shis pas skyongs/*

*gang de'i bsags sbyong tshogs gnyis rgya mtsho las/
snying stobs brtson pa'i shugs kyi spyod pa yi/
bral smin yon tan cig char rdzogs kyi bar/
skyes rabs phreng ba ngo mtshar gtam gyi phul/*

***glegs bam bsam 'phel bzhengs pa'i sbyin bdag ni/
nor 'dzin shar phyogs khyon la dbang bsgyur ba'i/
mi dbang dam pa'i phrin las sgo 'phar rgya/
legs pa [final page] 'byed la zhum pa mi mnga' ba'i/
rigs ldan bla gsal khro bo rgyal gyis bsgrubs/***

*zhal ta da dom bgyid pa nyid rang ste/
go yul ma log dge thar bcas pa ni/
'gren bral bsgrub bde'i bsod nam dpag med kyis/
ma smad rgya mtsho'i gos can khyab kyi bar/*

*rgyal bstan dri med yar zla ltar rgyas zhing/
bdag gzhan srid pa'i rgya mtsho las brgal nas/
mtshan dpe'i brgyan pa'i sku nyid lhun grub shog //*

The colophon consists of twenty verse lines of nine syllables each. We refrain from a full translation as it consists mainly of praise and dedication. However, there is one passage, marked in bold face above, that mentions the sponsor of the manuscript. This is a translation attempt: “As for the sponsor of this written work—this volume [that was] established as wished for—it was accomplished by Khro bo rgyal [who is one from] a distinct, high family who does not have fear in opening the excellent, vast door frame of enlightened activity of the excellent lord of humans who had dominion all over the eastern region.”

Here, Khro bo rgyal seems to be a Tibetan name referring to the sponsor of the manuscript, but it can be short for khro bo'i rgyal po (lit. “Lord of Wrath”) which can be a reference to a wrathful form of a Buddha, e.g., to Akṣobhya (Tib. *mi g.yo ba*). In particular, *khro bo'i rgyal po chen po*, Skt. *mahākrodharāja*, is also known as an epithet of Yamāntaka, the wrathful form of Mañjuśrī. We could not find any reference to a historical person of this name. The second part of the paragraph most likely refers to the Third Karmapa (“excellent lord of humans ...), the author of the text, who was active in eastern Tibet.

5.2 UM2 Colophon Transliteration and Analysis

[final page] *brna bsngag la pho'i lag pa g.yas kyi brjes sa mo'i lags pa g.yon gyi brjes sa chu o kho gang gi nang na btab la bsngag gi tha 'das zin nags po shigs lcag zas gyi bstag hag bskrug na ga bram skya shig shigs tsis rta bra ba tshus tshus skyu bro can gyi yar nye na yar drong mar nye na mar drongs dmig pa'i ltar mdzod bzang spyar nang yin med bra ba la bsgom yar nye na nam mkha' la thal ba bsgom mar nye na lo kha rgyam mtsho'i nang na thal ba bsgom la za yur ba bsngags tshu yur tsha yur chus bra ba ded nas rgya'i mtshon sres las ya 'gro las shag thad phyug phyu//*

The colophon consists of about three handwritten lines at the verso of the last folio. Its appearance is very sloppy and clearly differs from the handwriting of the preceding text. Hence, it might very well have been added later and might not qualify as a colophon. Due to the fact that the handwriting was very difficult to read, we consulted different Tibetan informants to help with the transliteration. They were not sure as to the correct spelling of this passage, since its content remained quite obscure to them, as it did to us. We were not able to identify clear grammatical structures and lexicalized words. There are some repetitive elements that could point to a poetic nature of the passage (though we could not recognize verse) or to a mantric nature. We conclude that the three lines are not a colophon proper and probably were added later.

6. Appendix 3: Jātaka Titles and References

Table 7 presents the Tibetan titles of the Third Karma pa's part of the text extracted from the final sentence of each jātika based on BX1. We refrained from providing English translations of the titles, since for a proper translation the content of each story needs to be checked to some extent, which work is beyond the scope of this paper. However, for those interested in the English titles, we refer to the Himalayan Art Resources website, which does provide translations.⁷⁶ In the table below, the foliation of the two most important xylograph editions, BX1 and GX1, alongside the pagination of the modern edition GB1, is indicated. For the xylograph edition, the PDF page numbers are also given in brackets as in the files downloaded from BDRC for the reader's convenience. Finally, we provide references to extant translations. Only three of the stories have been translated in full, two jātikas by Gamble

⁷⁶ For the English titles, see <https://www.himalayanart.org/search/set.cfm?setID=3086>, accessed April 16, 2023.

and the life story of the Buddha by Galasek-Hul and Dömötör. The references to Richardson are only translations of abbreviated versions of the stories from the panels on the murals of the circumambulatory corridor of Zha lu monastery, as pointed out in section 1.

The stories are grouped according to the ten *pāramitās*, i.e., each group of ten forms one decade associated with one of the *pāramitās*. In the Karma pa's part of the text, there is a stanza of four verse lines after each decade summarizing its content very briefly (starting with *sdom la*). Most stories start with *skyes bu dam pa rnams ni*. However, there are a very few deviations from this pattern (e.g., nos. 69, 74, 81, 82). The titles usually end in *skyes pa'i rab* (jātaka, previous birth), some of them end in the honorific equivalent *'khrungs pa'i rab*. Most of the time, this connects to the preceding part of the title via the connective particle (*'brel sgra*) meaning "jataka of". However, sometimes the *la don* particle is used instead, which then comes to mean "born as".

Paramita	No.	Title	BX1	GX1	GB1	Translations
Diligence (Tib. <i>brtson 'grus</i>) (Skt. <i>vīrya</i>)	35	<i>seng ge'i rgyal po yi dam brtan par skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 1v.1 (pdf 50)	ka, 158v.1 (pdf 320)	vol. 11, 487.3	
	36	<i>déd dpon brtson 'grus chen por skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 4r.7 (pdf 55)	ka, 161r.7 (pdf 325)	vol. 11, 495.3	
	37	<i>rgyal po gser mdog tu skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 6v.3 (pdf 60)	ka, 163v.7 (pdf 330)	vol. 11, 502.2	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 60
	38	<i>gcan gzan kun dar skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 8v.6 (pdf 64)	ka, 166r.6 (pdf 335)	vol. 11, 508.6	
	39	<i>rigs ngan du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 11r.7 (pdf 69)	ka, 169r.4 (pdf 341)	vol. 11, 516.5	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 65
	40	<i>dge slong grags pa'i 'od du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 14r.5 (pdf 75)	ka, 172v.1 (pdf 348)	vol. 11, 525.4	
Meditative concentration (Tib. <i>bsam gtan</i>) (Skt. <i>dhyāna</i>)	41	<i>khyim bdag dben pa 'dod par 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 16r.3 (pdf 79)	ka, 174v.3 (pdf 352)	vol. 11, 531.3	
	42	<i>rgyal po sgron ma snang byed du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 18v.4 (pdf 84)	ka, 177v.1 (pdf 358)	vol. 11, 539.1	
	43	<i>byang chub sems dpa' ri bong dben pa la dga' bar skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, ka 21v.3(pdf 90)	ka, 180v.2 (pdf 364)	vol. 11, 547.3	
	44	<i>rgyal po kun du go byed du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 23v.3 (pdf 94.3)	ka, 182v.4 (pdf 368)	vol. 11, 553.2	
	45	<i>khye'u gnyis su 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 25v.4 (pdf 98)	ka, 184v.6 (pdf 372)	vol. 11, 559.1	
	46	<i>rgyal po brtan pas byin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 28v.1 (pdf 104)	ka, 187v.5 (pdf 378)	vol. 11, 567.1	
	47	<i>byang chub sems dpa'i bde ba sbyin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 31r.3 (pdf 109)	ka, 190v.3 (pdf 384)	vol. 11, 574.4	

	48	<i>dge stong snyan pa'i 'od du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 34r.7 (pdf 115)	ka, 194r.2 (pdf 391)	vol. 11, 583.6	
	49	<i>chu skyes su 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 36v.6 (pdf 120)	ka, 196v.3 (pdf 396)	vol. 12, 2.1	
	50	<i>rgyal po 'jig rten sna tshogs la mngon par dga' bar 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 42r.6 (pdf 131)	ka, 202r.5 (pdf 407)	vol. 12, 18.3	
Wisdom (Tib. shes rab) (Skt. prajñā)	51	<i>rgyal po tshangs byin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 44v.2 (pdf 136)	ka, 204v.1 (pdf 412)	vol. 12, 24.4	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 70
	52	<i>byang chub sems dpa'i chos yongs su tshol bar 'dod pa'i 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 47r.5 (pdf 141)	ka, 207r.5 (pdf 417)	vol. 12, 32.3	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 75
	53	<i>ye shes ldan du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 50v.3 (pdf 148)	ka, 210v.4 (pdf 424)	vol. 12, 42.1	
	54	<i>chu 'bebs su 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 53v.2 (pdf 154)	ka, 213v.4 (pdf 430)	vol. 12, 50.3	
	55	<i>me long gdong du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 57v.3 (pdf 162)	ka, 217v.7 (pdf 438)	vol. 12, 61.6	
	56	<i>bram zer 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 62v.7 (pdf 172)	ka, 223v.1 (pdf 450)	vol. 12, 77.1	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 80
	57	<i>zhi ba'i blo gros kyi skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 67v.2 (pdf 182)	ka, 228r.6 (pdf 459)	vol. 12, 90.1	
	58	<i>klu'i rgyal por 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 71v.5 (pdf 190)	ka, 232v.6 (pdf 468)	vol. 12, 102.1	
	59	<i>chu sreg tu 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 76r.6 (pdf 199)	ka, 237v.6 (pdf 478)	vol. 12, 115.1	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 85
	60	<i>ston pa shes rab sna tshogs su 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 79v.2 (pdf 202)	ka, 239r.2 (pdf 481)	vol. 12, 118.3	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 89
Skillful means (Tib. thabs la mkhas pa) (Skt. upāya)	61	<i>ded dpon snying rje chen por 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 80r.3 (pdf 207)	ka, 241v.5 (pdf 486)	vol. 12, 125.5	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 92
	62	<i>rgyal bu gzhon nu snying rje cher sems su 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 82r.2 (pdf 211)	ka, 243v.5 (pdf 490)	vol. 12, 130.6	
	63	<i>khye'u skar mar 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 87r.6 (pdf 221)	ka, 249v.1 (pdf 502)	vol. 12, 146.1	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 97
	64	<i>brgya byin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 89v.1 (pdf 226)	ka, 251v.6 (pdf 506)	vol. 12, 152.3	
	65	<i>ston pa bram zer 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 90v.4 (pdf 228)	ka, 253r.4 (pdf 509)	vol. 12, 155.6	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 100
	66	<i>gar mkhan du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 92v.6 (pdf 232)	ka, 255v.3 (pdf 514)	vol. 12, 162.1	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 104/ Gamble 2020, ch. 9
	67	<i>nga la nur 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 94v.3 (pdf 236)	ka, 257v.3 (pdf 518)	vol. 12, 167.2	
	68	<i>klu'i rgyal por 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 102.3 (pdf 251)	ka, 265v.2 (pdf 534)	vol. 12, 188.1	Gamble 2020, ch. 10

	69	<i>yan lag ma smad par 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 103v.4 (pdf 254)	ka, 267r.5 (pdf 537)	vol. 12, 192.4	
	70	<i>bram ze'i khye'u sprin du 'khrungs pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 105r.7 (pdf 257)	ka, 269r.2 (pdf 541)	vol. 12, 197.3	
Aspiration (Tib. <i>smon lam</i>) (Skt. <i>prañihāna</i>)	71	<i>rgyal po 'od ldan du skyes pa'i rabs te</i>	kha, 109v.7 (pdf 266)	ka, 274r.1 (pdf 551)	vol. 12, 210.1	
	72	<i>bram ze sgra rnam par grags par skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 112v.3 (pdf 272)	ka, 276v.6 (pdf 556)	vol. 12, 217.3	
	73	<i>rgyan po par skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 114v.2 (pdf 276)	ka, 278v.7 (pdf 560)	vol. 12, 223.1	
	74	<i>des par skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 118r.2 (pdf 283)	ka, 282v.5 (pdf 568)	vol. 12, 232.6	
	75	<i>glang po che kha drug par skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 120r.7 (pdf 287)	ka, 285r.7 (pdf 573)	vol. 12, 239.5	
	76	<i>kun tu rgyu 'char kar skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 124.4 (pdf 295)	ka, 289v.4 (pdf 582)	vol. 12, 250.5	
	77	<i>rgyal po nor can du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 126.1 (pdf 299)	ka, 291v.6 (pdf 586)	vol. 12, 256.1	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 108
	78	<i>bram ze zlad gar skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 129v.1 (pdf 306)	ka, 295v.6 (pdf 594)	vol. 12, 266.2	
	79	<i>rgyal po nam mkhar skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 133r.6 (pdf 313)	ka, 300r.3 (pdf 603)	vol. 12, 277.2	
	80	<i>dpal gyi sder skyes pa'i rabs te</i>	kha, 139v.6 (pdf 320)	ka, 304r.3 (pdf 611)	vol. 12, 287.4	
Strength (Tib. <i>stobs</i>) (Skt. <i>bala</i>)	81	<i>snying stobs chen por skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 150r.1 (pdf 347)	ka, 318v.2 (pdf 642) ⁷⁷	vol. 12, 325.4	
	82	<i>rgyal po zla 'od du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 153v.7 (pdf 354)	ka, 322v.5 (pdf 650)	vol. 12, 337.1	
	83	<i>rgyal po shi bi par skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 159v.1 (pdf 366)	ka, 329r.2 (pdf 663)	vol. 12, 353.6	
	84	<i>ston pa rtsibs kyi mu khyud du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 162v.3 (pdf 372)	ka, 332v.1 (pdf 670)	vol. 12, 363.2	
	85	<i>byang chub sems dpa' rtag tu brnyas pa la bzod pa dang ldan bar skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 164v.5 (pdf 376)	ka, 334v.7 (pdf 674)	vol. 12, 369.4	
	86	<i>seng ger skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 167r.7 (pdf 381)	ka, 337v.5 (pdf 680)	vol. 12, 377.2	
	87	<i>ded dpon du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 169v.5 (pdf 385)	ka, 340v.1 (pdf 686)	vol. 12, 384.3	
	88	<i>nor bzang su skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 172v.4 (pdf 392)	ka, 343v.4 (pdf 692)	vol. 12, 393.2	
	89	<i>su sha dhe bar skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 184r.6 (pdf 415)	ka, 356v.5 (pdf 718)	vol. 12, 427.4	
	90	<i>bsod nams stobs su skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 190r.1 (pdf 425)	ka, 361v.6 (pdf 728)	vol. 12, 440.5	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 114
Primordial wisdom (Tib. <i>ye shes</i>) (Skt. <i>jñāna</i>)	91	<i>od bzang su skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 197r.6 (pdf 439)	ka, 370r.4 (pdf 745)	vol. 12, 462.4	
	92	<i>drang srong du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 199r.4 (pdf 443)	ka, 372r.3 (pdf 749)	vol. 12, 467.6	

⁷⁷ Folio 314 is printed twice in this copy, therefore the PDF page count jumps by two compared to the folio count.

	93	<i>tog gi blo gros su skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 201r.5 (pdf 447)	ka, 374v.2 (pdf 754)	vol. 12, 474.3	
	94	<i>sngo bsangs su skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 204v.3 (pdf 454)	ka, 378r.5 (pdf 761)	vol. 12, 484.1	
	95	<i>nyi 'phreng spong du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 206v.1 (pdf 458)	ka, 380r.6 (pdf 765)	vol. 12, 489.4	
	96	<i>rnga bong du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 209r.2 (pdf 463)	ka, 383r.5 (pdf 771)	vol. 12, 497.3	
	97	<i>mu khyud 'dzin du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 213r.2 (pdf 471)	ka, 387v.6 (pdf 780)	vol. 12, 509.4	
	98	<i>dge slong ūd pa la'i gdong du skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 216r.1 (pdf 477)	ka, 391r.3 (pdf 787)	vol. 12, 518.3	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 121
	99	<i>byang chub sems dpa' dpa' ba'i stobs su skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 219v.1 (pdf 484)	ka, 395r.1 (pdf 795)	vol. 12, 528.4	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 126
	100	<i>gzi brjid drag por skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 222r.7 (pdf 489)	ka, 398r.6 (pdf 801)	vol. 12, 537.4	
Buddha	101	<i>byang chub sems dpa' don thams cad grub pa'i skyes pa'i rabs</i>	kha, 225r.1 (pdf 495)	ka, 401r.5 (pdf 807)	vol. 12, 545.3	Richardson 2016, vol. 2, 135/ Dell, Gala- sek-Hul and Dömötör 2022, 25

Table 7: Jātaka Titles with References

Bibliography

Editions of the sKyes rab brgya pa

- AX1: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III (1284–1339). Late 18th to early 20th century. *Title unknown*. Xylograph, one volume, 464 folios. dGa' ldan chos 'khor gling, A mdo.
- AB1: ———. 1995. “Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi skyes rabs brgya pa.” In Series: Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig, vol. 22. Computer input edition. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. BDRC: W1KG16609.
- AB2: ———. 1997. “sKyes rabs brgya ba.” In Series: *bCom ldan 'das ston pa shākya thub pa'i rnam thar bzhugs so*. Xining: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- BX1: ———. 1430. *sKye pa'i rabs kyi bcad chos rje rang byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so* (false title: this title fits for the synopsis, but here it is used for the Karmapa's jatakas nos. 35–101; probably originally without title). Xylograph, one volume, second text in collection, 243 folios, preceded by 24 folios of synopsis (BX1A). Beijing: Dalongshan Monastery. BDRC: W3CN22341.

- BX1A: ———. 1430. *sKye pa'i rabs kyis bcad chos rje rang byung pas mdzad pa bzhugs so*. Xylograph, one volume, first text in collection, 24 folios, followed by BX1. Beijing: Dalongshan Monastery. BDRC: W3CN22341.
- BX2: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III, and Āryaśūra (4th cent. CE). 1430. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa* (title taken from later editions, this edition lacks a title page). Beijing: Dalongshan Monastery. Berthold Laufer Collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Department's catalogue number 336347 and specimen ID 220.
- BX2A: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III. 1430. *rGyal ba'i mdzad pa gsal byed pa'i mdor bsdus rags pa bstan pa*. Beijing: Dalongshan Monastery. Berthold Laufer Collection of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Anthropology Department's catalogue number 336347 and specimen ID 220.
- DX1: Rang byung rdo rje, Karma pa III, and Āryaśūra. Early 20th cent. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. Xylograph, one volume, 379 folios. sDe dge: sDe dge par khang. BDRC: W8LS16389.
- GX1: ———. 1542. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. Xylograph, one volume, 422 folios. Pho brang gong dkar, central Tibet (dBus). BDRC: W4CZ301726.
- GX2: ———. 1542. *sTon pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i skyes rabs phreng/ bcu phrag gsum dang bzhi ni dpa' bo'i ste/ phyi nas rang byung rdo rjes bdun lhag pa'i/ drug cus brgya rtsa rdzogs par mdzad pa*. Xylograph, one volume, 422 folios. Pho brang gong dkar, central Tibet (dBus). BDRC: W1NLM1304.
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