Facts or Fictions: Reconsidering Šāntideva’s Names, Life, and Works

Akira Saito
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I Bu-ston on Śāntideva’s hagiography and related studies

Śāntideva (ca. 690–750)1 was an Indian Buddhist monk, philosopher, and talented Sanskrit poet, who was influential in theorizing and establishing the conduct of a Mahāyāna practitioner. He is known as the author of two related works, Bodhi(sattva) caryāvatāra, “Entering the Bodhisattva’s Way to Awakening”, and Śikṣāsamuccaya, “A Compendium of Buddhist Teachings”. Tibetan tradition, strictly that of dGe lugs pa, generally places him in the lineage of the *Prāsaṅgika (Thal ’gyur ba) branch of the Mādhyamika school. His life, works, and activities at Nālandā are described in detail in several Tibetan hagiographies2 as well as Vibhūticandra’s commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra3.

Bu-ston’s Chos ’byung or History of Buddhism (1322) speaks of the hagiography as follows: Śāntideva is known by his seven wonderful stories, viz., stories of his (1) tutelary deity, i.e., Maṇjuśrī, (2) activity in Nālandā, (3) victory over the heretics in the east, (4) converting 500 adherents of the heretical teaching in the west of Magadha to Buddhism, (5) feeding

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2 For Bu-ston’s Chos ’byung (History of Buddhism), see Lokesh Chandra 1971, Ya 13b3–15b3 and (tr.) Obermiller 1932, 161–166; for Tāranātha’s rGya garchos ’byung (History of Buddhism in India), see Schiefner 1868, 125–129 and (tr.) Schiefner 1869, 163–168, Chattopadhyaya 1970, 215–219; for Sum pa mkhan po’s dPag bsam ljon bzang (History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India), see Chandra Das 1908, 103.
3 See Pezzali 1968, 27–32, and also de Jong 1975, 168–177 who identified the text as the beginning part of Vibhūticandra’s commentary.
thousands of beggars in that country, (6) providing help to a king in the east, and (7) victory over a heretic teacher called *Śaṅkaradeva in the south⁴.

According to the first story⁵, Śāntideva was born in the southern country of *Surāṣṭra⁶ as a son of King *Kalyāṇavarman (dGe ba’i go cha). He was called *Śāntivarman (Zhi ba’i go cha) and, while still a youth, learned many different sciences. Having learned and obtained the method of conjuring up Mañjuśrī, he came to behold the deity’s countenance. After his father’s death, he was to be crowned king; however, in the evening just before enthronement, he beheld in a dream Mañjuśrī who, sitting on the throne, said, “My son, this seat belongs to me. I am your well-wishing friend (dGe ba’i bshes gnyen, *kalyāṇamitra). It is by no means suitable for both I and you to sit on this single chair.” Having understood the message in his dream, he fled to Nālandā and took orders with *Jayadeva (rGyal ba’i lha). Thereafter, he became known by the name of Śāntideva (Zhi ba’i lha *Śāntivarman + *Jayadeva).

In Nālandā, according to the second story above⁷, Śāntideva heard in his mind the doctrine from the honorable Mañjuśrī, meditated on it and composed treatises of profound meanings. However, in his external life, he was perceived by others as doing nothing else but eating, sleeping, and walking about. Hence, he was given an appellation composed of three notions⁸, “Bhu (< √ bhuj, to eat)”, “Su (< √ svap, to sleep)”, and “Ku (< kuṭim

⁴ See Lokesh Chandra 1971, Ya 13b3-15b3 and (tr.) Obermiller 1932, 161-166.
⁵ Lokesh Chandra 1971, Ya 13b3-7.
⁶ Yul ’khor bzang po. Cf. Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India, Schiefner 1868, 125.16-17: Zhi ba lha ni/ sau-raṣṭra rgyal po’i sras su sku ’khrungs, “Śāntideva was born a son of King Saurāṣṭra.”
⁷ Lokesh Chandra 1971, Ya 13b7-14b1.
⁸ phyi’i spyod lam za nyal’ gro ba ma gtogs pa gzhain gyis ma rig pas bhu su ku ’du shes gsum pa zhes grags shing (Lokesh Chandra 1971, Ya 13b7-14a1). For the meanings of “bhu” “su” “ku”, cf. Obermiller 1932, 162, n.1128: “bhuj, sūp (i.e. svap)
Facts or Fictions: Reconsidering Śāntideva’s Names, Life, and Works (Saito) 3
gataḥ, having come to a hut/toilet\(^9\)). Although the business of monks is to study the three wheels of Buddhist doctrine, he was not possessed of any of them. He was thus considered unworthy to enjoy the alms donated by the faithful and was therefore to be cast out. Thinking that if they recite the scriptures by turn he will then leave by himself, the other monks asked him to recite the scriptures. However, he answered that he was unable to do so and appealed to his preceptor. After receiving his preceptor’s order to recite, he amazingly pressed down and mounted the lofty seat that the monks had erected to try him. He then asked whether he was to read that which has or that which has not been known before. They requested him to recite what has not been known before.

Now, since the Śūkṣṣasamuccaya is too large and the Sūtrasamuccaya, “A Compendium of Buddhist Scriptures”, too abridged, Śāntideva recited the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra, which had, in condensed form, an extensive subject-matter. After he recited the thirty-fifth verse of the Wisdom chapter, which runs, “When there appears neither existence nor non-existence before his mind …”, his body rose up into the air, higher and

and?”. For “ku”, see Pezzali 1982, 30, 33 and also the following note 9. For bhu su ku ’du shes gsum pa, see Dungkar 2002, 1796: za nyal bshang ba ma gtogs glegs bam klog la sogs gzhan yang ma mthong bas ’du shes gsum pa zhes grags/, “He is known by [a nickname] composed of three notions (or names *trayasamijñaka* because we do not see him do anything like reading books, etc., except eating, sleeping, and excreting.” I owe this information to Tshul khrims skal bzang.

\(^9\) Cf. Pezzali 1968, 30: bhunjāno ’pi prabhāsvaram supto ’pi kutim gato ’pi tad eveti bhūsuko-samādhisamāpannavat bhūsukunāmākhyātam/. “Même mangeant, même endormi, même quand il était allé à l’édicule, c’était resplendissant, ainsi, parce qu’il avait atteint la position psychique bhūsuko (bhūsukusamādhi) il était appelé du nom de Bhūsuku.” Tibetan tr. runs: za rung nyal rung ‘chags rung rgyun tu ’od gsal bsgom pas bhu su ku zhes ting nge ’dzin la gnas pa’i phyir bhu su ku zhes ming yongs su grags so// (cited by de Jong 1975, 170) with the following tr: “... il méditait sur la lumière sans interruption en mangeant, en dormant et en marchant. Persistant ainsi dans le samādhi appelé bhusuku, il fut connu sous le nom de Bhusuku. *(Ibid., 176)*”
higher. Finally, his body became invisible, but the voice continued to sound. After the recitation was completed, he vanished.

Thereafter, those who were possessed of good memory rehearsed the work as they had heard it. However, as there appeared different versions, i.e., of 700, 1,000, and more than 1,000 verses, there arose doubt. Furthermore, they did not understand what Šāntideva meant by saying (in the Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra 5.105-106), “The Śikṣāsamuccaya should be looked at again and again,” and “Alternatively, one should first look at the condensed Sūtrasamuccaya.” As someone heard that he was residing in the south, near the pagoda of Śrīguṇavat, two monks were sent to invite him. Having met him, they asked about these points. Šāntideva told them that the Śikṣāsamuccaya and the Sūtrasamuccaya were to be found on the beam of his school-house, written in the small characters of the Pāṇḍitās. As for the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra, it was to be the version totalling 1,000 verses. He also gave instructions on how to explain and practise those works.

In this connection, Tāranātha’s History of Indian Buddhism (1608) also transmits a similar story. The Kashmiri people have [the text] which contains more than 1,000 ślokas and its reverential verse was made by [the author] himself. Eastern people have that which contains only 700 ślokas whose reverential verse was taken from that of the Mūlamadhyamaka-[kārikā]10. Chapter of “Confession [of Sin]” and Chapter of “[Perfection of] Wisdom” are therein omitted11. People of the Madhyadeśa have that which

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10 In fact, the well-known reverential verse containing eight negations, anirodham anutpādam, etc. of Nāgārjuna’s Mūlamadhyamakahākārikā is borrowed and placed at the beginning of BSA-1. See Saito 2010, 20-21.

11 de yuan bshags le dang/ sher le chad pa yin/, “Chapter of ‘Confession [of Sin]’ and ‘Chapter of [Perfection of] Wisdom’ are therein omitted.” (Schiefler 1868, 127.15-16). Compared with the contents of BSA-1, two points should be noted. First, concerning “Chapter of Confession of Sin” (Pāpadeśanā), i.e., Chapter 2 in the current recension (BCA and BSA-3), the word “omitted” (chad pa) does not seem to literally mean that the content of that chapter is omitted, but that the title of the chapter in
Facts or Fictions: Reconsidering Śāntideva’s Names, Life, and Works (Saito) contains 1,000 ślokas on a calculation of the verses which lack, however, [the author’s] words of reverence or those of resolution for writing...Concerning the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra, [Śāntideva] answered that the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra of 1,000 ślokas is the right one.\textsuperscript{12}

II Issues yet to be discussed

According to the two stories above, first, Śāntideva is the name given when he took orders in Nālandā, and he had two other names: “Śāntivarman as a youth, and Bhu-su-ku as a nickname given by other monks in Nālandā. Second, he is said to have written three works, i.e., Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra, Śīksāsamuccaya, and Sūtrasamuccaya. Third, concerning the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra, three different versions were transmitted by those monks possessed of good memory. Of those three versions, the second story above relates that Śāntideva regarded the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra of 1,000 verses as the authentic text, which accords with the above-cited Tārānātha’s story.

Although slightly different accounts appear in other Tibetan hagiographies and Vibhūticandra’s commentary on the Bodhicaryāvatāra, Buxton’s stories as summarized above are the most detailed. However, in the mid-1980s, the earliest short version of the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra composed of a total of 702.5 verses was discovered in the Tibetan manuscripts from Dūn-huāng\textsuperscript{13}, which has obliged us to reconsider at least


\textsuperscript{13} Stein 628, Ka1–23, and 24 (= Pelliot 794); Stein 629, Ka2, 4, 5, 14, 16–28, 32–34, 37–40 (24 leaves out of 40); St.630-I ka, kha, ga, nga, ca, cha (i.e., 1–6), comprising a
III Šântideva’s names and works

III-1 Names

The name of the author of the early version of the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra (BSA-1) was not Šântideva, but *Aksayamati (Blo gros m(y)i zad pa).14 The appellation “Aksayamati” found in the colophons of the Tibetan manuscripts from Dün-huâng was also attested in an anonymous commentary on the early version of the BSA-1 which, most probably, was incorporated by Bu-ston himself when he dedicated the Tibetan bsTan ’gyur “Translation of Treatises” to Zha-lu monastery in 133415. This appellation “Aksayamati” was also referred to by Atiśa Dipamkaraśrijñāna in his commentary on the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra16 and by Bu-ston in the catalogue section of his History of Buddhism17. Although whether both Aksayamati and Šântideva refer to the same person or not has yet to be fully examined18, it seems safe for us to strictly call the author of the early version “Aksayamati” and the later enlarged version composed of a total of 913 stanzas in Sanskrit and Tibetan “Šântideva”.

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14 The colophon of St. 629 (Ka 40b4–5) reads: “The Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra, written by acārya “Aksayamati, has been completed.” (Byang chub sems dpa’i spyod pa la ’jug pa// slobs dpon Blo-gros-myi-zad-pas mdzad pa rdzogs s-ho// //)
15 Byang chub sems dpa’i spyod pa la ’jug pa’i rnam par bshad pa’i dka’ igrel (*Bodhisattva-caryāvatāra-vyākhyāna-paṇḍita), author and translator unknown, P No.5274, D No.3873. Also P No.5279, D No.3877 corresponds to the last two chapters of this text. See Saito 1997, 79–80.
18 Saito 1993, (20)–(22), and 2002.
In this regard, it is interesting to note that Atiśa’s biography titled “rNam thar rgyas pa” speaks of the ācārya *Aksayamati’s names and merits as follows: “Furthermore, he is known by his six names, having the merits of seven wonderful stories, etc.” The latter reference to *Aksayamati’s seven wonderful stories agrees with the above-mentioned Bu-ston’s explanation. Concerning the six names of *Aksayamati, four names have so far been attested, viz., “Śāntivarman (Zhi ba’i go cha) as a child, Śāntideva (Zhi ba(i) lha) when he took orders, Bhu-su-ku, a nickname given by the monks at Nālandā, and *Aksayamati (Blo gros m(y) i zad pa), which he was called by those amazed monks when he recited the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra before them.

Bu-ston and Tāranātha were silent on the very question of why the author of the BSA-1 had traditionally been called *Aksayamati. However, the only reference to the reason for this appellation, according to my present knowledge, is the catalogue section of the sDe dge edition (bsTan ‘gyur dKar chag), where Śāntideva was called Blo gros mi zad pa (*Aksayamati) by the audience at his recitation of the BSA-1:

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19 gzhan yang mtshan drug tu grags/ ngo mtshar can gyi gtam bdun la sogs pa’i yon tan dang ldan no/ (Eimer 1979, 21).
20 D Shri 79a3–5: Byang chub sms dpa’i spyod pa la ’jug pa’i bstan bcos chen po gsungs te/ gangs tshe dngos dang dngos med dag// ces bya ba la sogs pa’i tshe bden pa bzhü’i chos nyid mngon sum gzigs shing/ ‘phags pa ’Jam dpal yang mdun gyi nam mkha’i la bzhugs pa skye bo mang pos mngon sum du mthong nas dad par gyur te/ skyes bu dam pa ’di ni Blo gros mi zad pa’o zhes mgrin gcig tu sgrogs so/ de nas bsngo ba’i le’u gsungs pa’i tshe ’jam dpal dang bcas nam mkha’i dbyings su ’phags te mthar mi snang bar gyur kyang/...Almost the same reference to the name “Aksayamati” was made by Sa bzang mati Pañchen ’jam dbyangs blo gros, a pupil of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1290–1361), in his commentary on the BSA-3 as follows: ..../ ’phags pa ’jam dpal yang mdun gyi nam mkha’ la bzhugs pa skye bo mang pos mthong nas shin tu dad par gyur te skyes bu dam pa ’di ni Blo gros mi zad pa’o zhes kyang grags so/... (Tashi Dorje 1975, 38a1–2). I owe this latest information to Perry Schmidt-Leukel.
“He recited the great treatise *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*. When he [recited the verse:] ‘When there appears neither existence nor non-existence [before his mind]’ (BSA-1, 8.26a = BCA, 9.35a), the nature of fourfold truth was seen as the object of perception. Also, while directly seeing Ārya Mañjuśrī in the heaven, many people gave their faith to him and exclaimed with one voice that this excellent teacher is *Akṣayamati*’ (Blo gros mi zad pa) Then after reciting Chapter [10 titled] ‘Transfer of Merits’, he rose up to the region of heaven where Mañjuśrī was staying and finally he became invisible; however.”

Although this information mostly coincides with that of Bu-ston’s *History of Buddhism*, the underlined part, which contains an important description about the name “*Akṣayamati*”, is new to the latter text. Concerning the six names of *Akṣayamati* or Śāntideva, they might refer to “Śāntivarman”, “Śāntideva”, “Bhu”, “Su”, “Ku”, and “*Akṣayamati*”, when we are legitimately allowed to separate his nickname “Bhu-su-ku” into three names (*du shes gsum), i.e., “Bhu” (eating one), “Su” (sleeping one), and “Ku” (excreting one).

**III-2 Works**

The idea that Śāntideva composed three works, viz. *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*, *Śiksāsamuccaya*, and *Sūtrasamuccaya*, a notion that now appears to be untenable, relies heavily on the following well-known verses of *Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra* 5.104–106: “The principles of training are seen in the sūtras. Therefore one should recite the sūtras and one should study the fundamental sins in the Ākāśagarbhāsūtra.” (104) “The Śiksāsamuccaya should definitely be looked at again and again, since correct conduct is therein explained in detail.” (105) “Alternatively, one should first briefly look at the Sūtrasamuccaya with great care, which was composed by the noble Nāgārjuna and is secondary.” (106)21 The belief that Śāntideva wrote
these three works can be traced back to Prajñākaramati’s understanding of verse 106. According to the latter, the verse reads: “Alternatively, one should first briefly look at the Sūtrasamuccaya and then with great care the second pair, Śikṣāsamuccaya, and Sūtrasamuccaya, composed by the noble Nāgārjuna.”22

However, this interpretation is questionable since we have so far seen no trace of the existence of a Śikṣāsamuccaya written by Nāgārjuna, nor a Sūtrasamuccaya by Śantideva, in Sanskrit literature or in Tibetan and Chinese translations23. Further, comparison of the early and later versions of the Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra has revealed a significant fact, namely that stanza 105, which stresses the importance of the repeated study of Śikṣāsamuccaya, is in fact a later interpolation inserted between the current verses 104 and 10624. Verse 105 quoted above was inserted by, in all probability, some unknown reviser who highly esteemed the Śikṣāsamuccaya25. Without this inserted stanza, the early version runs: “The principles of training are seen in the sūtras. Therefore, one should recite the sūtras and one should at the beginning look at the Ākāśagarbhasūtra.” “After that,

21 śikṣāḥ sūtresu drṣyante tasmāt sūtraṇi vācyayet/
   ākāśagarbhasūtre ca mālapattir nirūpayet//(104)
śikṣāsamuccayo vasyam draṣṭavyas tu punāḥ punāḥ/
vistareṇa sadācāro yasmāt tatra pradarśitah//(105)
samkṣepenaṃha vā tāvat paśyeyā sūtrasamuccayam/
   āryanāgārjunābaddham dvitiyam ca prayatnataḥ//(106).
(Minayev 1890, La Vallée Poussin 1901-1914, 164). See also Saito 2004, 137–138.
22 yadi vā (,) āryanāgārjunābaddham dvitiyam ca prayatnatah//(106cd) āryanā-
gārjunapādāir nibaddham dvitiyam śikṣāsamuccayam sūtrasamuccayam ca paśyey prayatnataḥ ādarataḥ/ (BCAP 164.11–14)
23 For a brief introduction to the three works, Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra, Śikṣāsam-
muccaya, and Sūtrasamuccaya, concerning their authors, translators, commentaries on them, quotations from and references to them, see Saito 2004, 144–145.
10 Facts or Fictions: Reconsidering Śāntideva’s Names, Life, and Works (Saito)

one should also carefully look at the Sūtrasamuccaya composed by the noble Nāgārjuna since it needs looking at with great care.” Not only is the later insertion of verse 105 lacking in the early version, but the underlined parts are also different from the later and current recension of the Bodhi-
(sattva)caryāvatāra. Though problematic, Prajñākaramati’s interpretation that Śāntideva composed the three works has thereafter been transmitted through Vibhūticandra to the “later diffusion” (phyi dar) of Tibetan Buddhism. Therefore, in accordance with our present knowledge, we may safely attribute both Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra and Śikṣāsamuccaya to Śāntideva, whether or not being identical with *Aksayamati, and Sūtrasamuccaya to Nāgārjuna.

For the heavy influence of Prajñākaramati on Vibhūticandra’s commentary, see Ejima 1966. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the title of Bodhicaryāvatāra or Byang chub kyi spyod pa la ’jug pa, “Entering the Way to Awakening”, is adopted only by both commentaries. On the other hand, all the other commentaries including the BSA-1 and BSA-3 have the title of Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra or Byang chub sems dpa’i spyod pa la ’jug pa, “Entering the Bodhisattva’s Way to Awakening”. Incidentally, all the Sanskrit manuscripts, counted 39 in total by Tsukamoto et al. 1990, 255–259 have Bodhicaryāvatāra.

St. 628, Ka 10a3–4:

mdo sde rnams la bslab pa snang// de bas mdo sde klag par bya//
nam mkha’i snying po’i mdo sde ni// thog ma nyid du blta bar bya// (BSA-1, 4.90; cf. BCA 5.104)

’phags pa na ga rdzu na yis// mdo rnams kun las btus pa yang//
rab du ’bad de blta dgos pas// de’i ’og du blta bar bya// (BSA-1, 4.91; cf. BCA 5.106)

(*śikṣāḥ sūtreṣu drṣvante tasmāt sūtrāni vācayet/
akāśagarbhasūtram ca prathamato nirūpayet/
samvyavahakaniyam ca paśyet sūtrasamuccayam/
dāryanāgārjunā(uddham) tataḥ paścāt prayatnataḥ//)

III-3 On the Bodhi(sattva) caryāvatāra and the Śikṣāsamuccaya

Similarly, it is also questionable that, among the three versions of the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra of 700, 1,000 and more than 1,000 stanzas, Śāntideva himself regarded the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra of 1,000 verses as authentic. In addition to the above inquiry into the question of the Bodhi (sattva) - caryāvatāra 5.104-106, recent comparative studies of the early and later versions indicate that this account appears to have been created in order to authorize the later and current version of the Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra having 913 verses in total.

The Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra is full of aphoristic verses to be recited and remembered by a Mahāyāna practitioner. Composed of nine chapters, or 10 in the longer version, the text mainly deals with the topics of the thought of awakening (bodhicitta), six perfections (sat-pāramitā), and transfer of merits (parināmanā).

Composed of 19 chapters and structured by 27 basic verses, the Śikṣāsamuccaya cites approximately 130 Mahāyāna sūtras. The primary theme of the 27 verses is the so-called “vital points” or “key points” (marma-sthāna) for a Mahāyāna practitioner. The seven “vital points” consisting of body, possessions, merit, sacrifice, protection, purification, and increase are expressed in the fourth stanza of the Śikṣāsamuccaya-kārikā as follows: “The sacrifice, for the sake of all living beings, of one’s body, one’s possessions, and one’s merit acquired in all three times, and the protection, purification and increase of those [three things, i.e., one’s body, possessions, and merit].” This motif clearly echoes the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra 2.75 in

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30 See Kajihara 1991.
31 Bendall 1897–1902, xxxix and 17.10. See also Harrison 2007, 234–235 and 2009, 90.
32 ñātmaḥ-bhāvena bhogānāṁ tryadhva-vrteḥ śubhasya ca/
    utsargah sarvasattvebhyas tadraksāsuddhivardhanam// (Bendall 1897–1907, 17.13–14)
the early version and 3.10 in the later one which runs: “I sacrifice without regret my bodies, my possessions, my merit acquired in all three times, to accomplish good for all living beings.”

IV Conclusion

The above survey leads us to the following chronology about the three works related to Śāntideva:

c. 5c.: The Sūtrasamuccaya (ascribed to Nāgārjuna) was compiled.
c. 8.c.: The Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra (BSA-1), composed of 9 chapters, 702.5 verses in total, was written by *Ākṣayamati.
c. 8.c.: The Śikṣāsamuccaya was written by “Śāntideva” in accordance with the motif of the above *Ākṣayamati’s Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra 2.75.
c. early 9c.: The Śikṣāsamuccaya was translated by Ye shes sde et al. lDan dkar ma, Lalou No.655.
c. early 9c.: The above Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra was translated by dPal brtsegs et al., Lalou No.659.
c. 8–10c.: Influenced by the Śikṣāsamuccaya, the enlarged Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra (BSA-2) was composed by “Śāntideva” after omitting, supplementing and changing the contents of the early *Ākṣayamati’s

\[\text{\textsuperscript{33}}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{33}} \text{jus dang de bzhin longs spyod dang// dus sum dge ba thams} \text{\textsubscript{1}} \text{chad kyang// sems can kun gyi don} \text{\textsubscript{2}} \text{’grub phyir// phangs pa myed par gtang bar bya//} \text{\textsubscript{3}} \text{\textsuperscript{(BSA-1, 2.75, St.628, Ka 5a3)}}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{33}} \text{ātmabhāvāms tathā bhogān sarvam tryadhvatam śubham/}
\text{\textsuperscript{33}} \text{nirapeksas tyājāmy eśa sarvasattvārthisiddhayam//} \text{\textsuperscript{(BCA 3.10, Minayev 1890, 163.22–23)}}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{33}} \text{\textsuperscript{*This paper was read at the Australian Association of Buddhist Studies (AABS),}
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\text{\textsuperscript{33}} \text{Mark Allon, Royce Wiles, Jim Rheingans, Barbara Nelson and other attendants for}
\text{\textsuperscript{33}} \text{their pertinent questions and comments. However, any errors remain my own responsibility.}

— 153 —
Facts or Fictions: Reconsidering Śāntideva’s Names, Life, and Works (Saito) 13

*Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*. The Sanskrit text of the enlarged version had probably 10 chapters and more or less 913 verses in total.

c.a. late 10c.: Prajñākaramati’s story about the ascription of the three works, *Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra, Śiksāsamuccaya, and Sūtrasamuccaya*, to “Śāntideva” was created and thereafter became influential. His extensive commentary was called *Bodhicaryāvatāra-panjikā* and not *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra-panjikā*.

c.a. late 10c.: The enlarged *Bodhicaryāvatāra* was also translated into Chinese by the Indian monk Tiān Xī-zāi (天息災), who titled it Pú-tí-xīng-jīng (菩提行經, *Bodhicaryāsūtra*) and ascribed it to Nāgārjuna (龍樹).

c.a. early 11c.: Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) *et al.* translated the enlarged version of the *Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra*.

c.a. late 11c. to early 12c.: Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109) *et al.* retranslated and completed the enlarged version of the *Bodhi (sattva) caryāvatāra* (BSA-3).

c.a. late 12c.: Following Prajñākaramati’s account of the three works, Vibhūticandra established the biography of Śāntideva, which was placed at the head of his commentary, *Bodhicaryāvatāra-tātparyapañjikā Viśeṣadyotani*. This biography supplied the later Tibetan tradition with the basic ideas about Śāntideva’s life and works.

**Abbreviations**

BSA-1: *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* written by “*Aksayamati*” and translated by dPal brtsegs and Sarvajña-deva, which was discovered in the Tibetan manuscripts from Dūn-huáng. See above note 13.

BSA-2: *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* retranslated by Rin chen bzang po, Śākyab blo gros, and Dharmaśri bhadra in accordance with a manuscript from Madhyadeśa which most probably was composed of 1,000, or strictly 913,
14 Facts or Fictions: Reconsidering Śāntideva’s Names, Life, and Works (Saito) verses in total. See Saito 1993, (16)-(18), and 1999.

BSA-3: Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra retranslated and completed by Blo Idan shes rab and Sumatikīrti.

BCA: Bodhicaryāvatāra, Sanskrit manuscripts and edited text. See Minayev 1890.

BCAP: Bodhicaryāvatārāpaññikā by Prajñākaramati. See La Vallée Poussin 1901–1914.

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