Étienne Lamotte: Translator of the *Da zhidu lun*

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Abstract

Étienne Lamotte (1903-1983) is one of the greatest Buddhist scholars of the twentieth century. Based on his biographies, I discuss his exceptional achievements, his method of study, and his unrivalled works. I also touch upon his contribution as a Roman Catholic priest to the promotion of mutual understanding between Buddhists and Christians. As to his *magnum opus,* the annotated French translation of the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (T1509), I introduce reviews written by Japanese scholars of this work, including discussions surrounding its authorship. Lastly, I could not help but express my wish to think about how we could best utilize the academic heritage that we have inherited from Lamotte and how we might pass it on to the next generation.

Keywords: Étienne Lamotte, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Susumu Yamaguchi, Hubert Durt, Sara Boin-Webb, Franco-Belgian School, *Da zhidu lun*, *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*) *de Nāgārjuna*, authorship of the *Da zhidu lun*

Étienne Lamotte:《大智度論》之翻譯者

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中文摘要

Étienne Lamotte (1903-1983) 是 20 世紀最偉大的佛教學者之一。根據他的傳記，筆者討論了他的傑出成就、研究方法和無與倫比的作品，並且也闡述他身爲羅馬天主教神父對於促進佛教徒及基督教徒之間相互瞭解的貢獻。至於他的代表作，法文注釋本的《大智度論》（T1509），筆者引述了日本學者對此法文注釋本《大智度論》的評論，以及對《大智度論》作者問題的探討。最後，筆者誠摯地希望我們能充分學習和使用 Lamotte 所留下的學術著作以及將其傳承給下一代。

關鍵詞：Étienne Lamotte、Louis de La Vallée Poussin、山口益、Hubert Durt、Sara Boin-Webb、《大智度論》、龍樹《大智度論》、《大智度論》的作者問題

1. The Foremost Buddhist Scholar in Europe: Étienne Lamotte

Étienne Lamotte (1903-1983) is often regarded as the greatest scholar that Belgium has ever produced. In this paper, I would like to show some thoughts in admiration of his exceptional achievements. First, I will go over his biography, his method of study, and his works, also touching upon his contribution as a Roman Catholic priest to the promotion of mutual understanding between Buddhists and Christians. Then I will focus on his *magnum opus*, the French annotated translation of the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (T1509; hereafter the *Lun*), with an overview of Japanese scholars' reviews including the discussions surrounding the authorship of the *Lun*. I would also like to share with you some facts regarding his intimate relationship with Japanese scholars before and after the world war. Lastly, let me conclude by discussing how we could best utilize the academic heritage that we have inherited from Lamotte and how we might pass it on to the next generation.

1-1 The Lineage of É. Lamotte's Buddhist Studies

Paul Demiéville (1894-1979), one of the foremost Sinologists of the early 20th century wrote that the field of French Oriental Studies[1] had undergone a transformation and shown significant progress from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century.[2] Those who led the progress were Edouard Chavannes (1865-1918) from Sinology, and Sylvain

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1 It is often said that "Oriental studies is a French field of study" (*Toyogaku wa France no gakumon* 東洋学はフランスの学問) (Kikuchi 2007, 155).

2 Demiéville 1966, 12-14.

Lévi (1863-1935) and Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869-1938)[3] from Buddhist studies. Following their significant contributions, their outstanding disciples, Paul Pelliot (1878-1945), Henri Maspero (1883-1945), Marcel Granet (1884-1940), Jean Przyluski (1885-1944) and so on carried on the academic heritage of their predecessors, making further progress in "French Oriental Buddhology."[4] In later years, the French Orientalist René Grousset (1885-1952)[5] said that scholars of the Franco-Belgian School made remarkable efforts in translating the most exquisite ideas of Indian philosophy and Buddhism into technical terms used in Western philosophy.[6] Their achievements cover many fields such as philosophy, languages, and history.[7]

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3 Lamotte received the greatest influence from Louis de La Vallée Poussin. See note 8 of this paper.

4 French scholars of Buddhism used the term 'Bouddhologie française' (Yamaguchi 1954, 4-5).

5 According his biography in *Encycloædia Iranica* (Calmard-Compas 2012), he was appointed assistant curator at the Musée Guimet, Paris, from 1925, and professor of Indian art and culture (*indianisme*) at the École du Louvre, in 1928. After some years as curator at the Musée Cernuschi, Paris (1933-44), he returned to the Musée Guimet as curator. He was a key person in the establishment of the close relationship between French and Japanese scholars. See "On René Grousset" (Yamaguchi's contribution in Grousset 1950, 54-61) and "Recollections of René Grousset" (Yamaguchi 1954, 178-182). Susumu Yamaguchi (1895-1976) held a professorship at Otani University for many years, during which he studied Indian Philosophy and Buddhism in France for two years and eight months from February 1927, staying at Grousset's house. In 1929, when Grousset's acclaimed work *Sur les traces du Bouddha* was published, it was dedicated to Susumu Yamaguchi (Grousset 1971 and 1983). During those days, he not only attended the lectures of La Vallée Poussin, but met Lamotte, with whom an intimate relationship continued through their lives (Yamaguchi 1938; Sasaki 1977).

6 Yamaguchi 1954, 4. Ruth Sasaki (1892-1967), the author of *The Development of Chinese Zen*, said, "Among Western scholars, those who get the best results are French ones" (ibid.).

7 On the situation of Buddhist studies in European countries besides France, see

It was in the wake of such achievements in French Oriental Studies that Étienne Lamotte appeared on the academic scene. Lamotte was a Belgian specialist in Indian Buddhist doctrine and history in the Franco-Belgian School. He was a Roman Catholic priest who held a professorship at the Catholic University of Louven. Lamotte studied under Louis de La Vallée Poussin[8] in Belgium, and under Sylvain Lévi and Alfred A. Foucher (1865-1952)[9] in France, continuing on with their academic tradition. In the middle of the 20th century, he was highly evaluated as "the Foremost Buddhist Scholar in Europe."[10] Demiéville praised Lamotte by saying "He is a person with unusual talent in language learning, not only mastered Sanskrit and Pāli perfectly but also learned Tibetan and Chinese. As to knowledge of Chinese, Lamotte is much superior to Professor La Vallée

Nakamura 1953; for the discussion surrounding Belgium, see Katō 1969.

8 Lamotte himself wrote beautifully about Louis de La Vallée Poussin in Lamotte 1965b. According to Lamotte, Sylvain Lévi gave a particularly laudatory testimony to him: "His works are of unrivalled magnitude. … No scholar in the area of philology had given so much brilliance to Belgian science" (Lamotte 1965b, 167; 1966, 92). Susumu Yamaguchi, known for his solid scientific methods and religiosity, also wrote: "The value of Louis de La Vallée Poussin resides in his willingness to obtain at any price the authentic formulation of the Buddhist doctrine … from that point of view, the works of Louis de La Vallée Poussin are a beacon that leads us to Buddhist teachings" (Lamotte 1965b, 167; 1966, 92-93).

9 According to Junshō Katō, Lamotte learned Indian philosophy and Buddhology from Sylvain Lévi and Alfred A. Foucher, Chinese language from Paul Demiéville, and Tibetan language from Marcelle Lalou (1890-1967). See Katō 1969, 383. Katō joined the Institut Orientaliste at the Catholic University of Leuven in 1967, studied under Professor É. Lamotte, and graduated in 1971. See Katō 2000, i–iii.

10 Demiéville 1966, 14. Also see Webb 1989, 256: "In Belgium, the most renowned pupil of the equally famous scholar, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, was Mgr. Étienne Lamotte (1903-1983) who taught at Louvain and edited his mentor's series, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*."

Poussin and Professor Lévi."[11] Moreover, as Lamotte was also trained in Greek, Latin, and classical philology as his specialty during his young days, he could take a comprehensive perspective on the issue of the origin and development of Buddhism.

1-2 Lamotte's Attitude towards his Study: Franco-Belgian School

In Buddhist studies, Lamotte followed the "Franco-Belgian school." Edward Conze (1904-1979) wrote about their research method as follows:

> Finally, there was the school which Regamey calls "Franco-Belgian," because it was decisively shaped by men like de la Vallée Poussin, Jean Przyluski, Sylvain Lévi, Paul Demiéville, and Étienne Lamotte. Regamey describes their approach as follows: "These scholars continue on the lines of the Russian school. They do not, however, slavishly follow Buddhist scholasticism, but use all the sources which are today available, supplementing their philological and philosophical analysis with the data of ethnology, sociology, etc. They have abandoned as fruitless the attempt to reconstruct a pure Buddhism, are convinced that Buddhism is as much the work of the Buddhists as of the Buddha himself, and find the entire wealth and the true face of this religion in the manifoldness of its aspects, and the multiplicity of its sects or schools."[12]

Hubert Durt (1936-2018),[13] a disciple of Lamotte, wrote, "Although

[11] Demiéville 1966, 14.

[12] Conze 1967, 2-3.

[13] Hubert Durt was born in Brussels, Belgium, and was a disciple of Lamotte at the Institut Orientaliste, the Catholic University of Leuven. After graduating in 1957, he received a bachelor's degree in Classical philology at the University in 1958. Afterwards, he studied at the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University in Japan (1960-1963). In 1970, he earned his Ph.D. at the Catholic University of Leuven. After 1965, he was active as a fellow researcher and a chief researcher of Institut de Hōbōgirin (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Kyoto). And since 1981, he worked as the chief editor of *Hōbōgirin* 法寶義林. For a bibliography of Durt's works, see

the fame of Professor Lamotte was known to the world, he was almost unknown in the country of his birth, Belgium. And even in the Catholic University of Leuven where he had been teaching for 40 years, there were not many who knew of his fame."[14] From this, we can imagine that Lamotte was absorbed in studying Buddhist texts day and night fervently,[15] and this picture of him reminds us of his master, Louis de La Vallé Poussin.[16] Durt recalled Lamotte concentrating on his work:

> Everybody who encountered his work of annotated translation would be struck with admiration because of its complete and exhaustive commentaries using a mass of texts from Indian classics before Buddhism to Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras very flexibly. Lamotte was so diligent in his studies—he often said, "the study of Buddhist texts does not fatigue me at all."[17]

From the words of Lamotte, "the study of Buddhist texts does not fatigue me at all," we can be easily reminded of the Bodhisattva Satatodyukta,[18] meaning "always in endeavor," who appears in Chapter 1 of

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Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuin daigaku kenkyū kiyō 国際仏教学大学院大学研究紀要, 2011.

14 Durt 1984a, 4; Durt 1984b (in Japanese), 9.

15 Nobumi Iyanaga (1948-) who worked with Huber Durt at Institut de Hôbôgirin once told me, "According to Professor Durt, Professor Lamotte spent all the morning studying. After lunch he usually took a short nap and after that went back to his studies till late into the night. That was his daily life."

16 See 3-1 of this paper.

17 Durt 1984a, 4; Durt 1984b (in Japanese), 9-10.

18 *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa: A Sanskrit Edition Based upon the Manuscript Newly Found at the Potala Palace* (梵文維摩経：ポタラ宮所蔵写本に基づく校訂), by Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhim, Taisho University (大正大学綜合佛教研究所梵語佛典研究会). Tokyo: Taisho University Press, 2006, p. 3. Three Chinese translations are "常應" by Zhiqian 支謙, "常精進" by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 and Xuanzang 玄奘. Tibetan

the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the sūtra which Lamotte loved so much.[19]

In a short presentation on Buddhist Studies conducted in the French language, Nobumi Iyanaga wrote about La Vallée Poussin and Professor Lamotte as follows.

> I think they were the two representative Buddhist scholars of this (twentieth) century. Both of them had superhuman knowledge and were extremely faithful to the texts. … Professor Lamotte's work has the prominent feature of doing an extensive research until he finds the complete answers to all the questions and describing everything in his writings. This attitude towards his research did not change throughout his life.[20]

"Describing everything in his writings" reminds us of the mercy (great goodwill: *mahāmaitrī*) of a bodhisattva, that is often expressed as "no master's fist" (*shi no nigirikobushi ga nai* 師の拳がない: *anācaryamuṣṭita*).[21] It means

translation is "*rtag tu 'bad*." Lamotte applied the Sanskrit "Nityodyukta" to this Tibetan word and he referred to the *Saddharma puṇḍarīka,* pp. 3, 4. See Lamotte 1962, 101, note 29; Lamotte 1976, 5, note 29.

19 Lamotte praised the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* as "peut-être le joyau de la littérature bouddhique du Grand Véhicule" (the crowning jewel of the Buddhist literature of the Great Vehicle). See Lamotte 1962, v; 1976, v. Durt wrote, "De tous ses livres, le *Vimalakīrti* est celui qu'É. Lamotte eut le plus de plaisir à rédiger et auquel il resta le plus attaché." (The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is the work which he most enjoyed translating and was most deeply attached to after finishing translation.) (Durt 1985, 16)

20 Iyanaga 1998.

21 In the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa,* Chapter VI, "The Goddess" (*Devatāparivartaḥ ṣaṣṭhaḥ*), Vimalakīrti explained how a bodhisattva produces great goodwill (*mahāmaitrī*) towards all beings of inexistence. One of his explanations is "goodwill which practices the giving of the Law (*dharmadāna*) because it is not of those teachers who close their fists (*ācāryamuṣṭi*)." Lamotte wrote a footnote to this: "To make known his unwillingness to teach, the master closes his fist. Therefore 'no master's fist' means to teach everything generously" (Lamotte 1976, 157). Three Chinese translations are "無所遺" by Zhiqian, "無遺惜" by Kumārajīva and "離師捲" by Xuanzang in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa,* Chapter VI.

to share everything with others.

2. The Biography and Works of É. Lamotte

2-1 The Biography of É. Lamotte

Hubert Durt[22] might be the person best acquainted with the biography of Lamotte, as he was a disciple of Lamotte and worked as an assistant to him at the Institut Orientaliste, the Catholic University of Leuven. Durt's obituary for Lamotte describes for us his biography and works in detail.[23] Also, Jacques Ryckmans (1924-2005), who was born in Belgium and became a professor at the Catholic University of Leuven at the same time as Lamotte, wrote an article with the title of "Notice sur Étienne Lamotte—Membre de l'Académie," recounting us the biography and works of Lamotte in as much detail as Durt.[24]

"A Brief Biography of Etienne Lamotte"[25] by Leo M. Pruden is a good

[22] See note 13 of this paper.

[23] Durt 1985. Many of the obituaries published in his memory are important resources to grasp a full picture of Lamotte's life. See Nishino 2016, 270.

[24] Ryckmans 1987.

[25] Pruden rendered Lamotte's French translation of the *Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa* into English as *The Treatise on Action by Vasubandhu* (see Lamotte 1987). "A Brief Biography of Etienne Lamotte" is included at the end of this work, pp. 117-125. Pruden wrote in this article, "I am also indebted to Mrs. Webb for updating much of the material contained in these Belgian articles." This Mrs. Webb is Sara Boin-Webb (1937-2008), who was an English translator who mainly translated the works of Lamotte. About Sara, see Durt 2008 and Nishino's article in Takahashi 2018, xxiii–xxxii. Durt wrote, "Sara left to her numerous friends the memory of a complete devotion to Buddhist Dharma through the 'skilful means' of translating texts. … When remembering the warm welcome dispensed by Sara and Russell in their small lodging admirably located in the intellectual heart of London, the image of the small room of Vaiśālī where the sick Vimalakīrti greeted crores of *Arhats* and

source of information in English. He included all of Lamotte's works, not only the annotated translations of Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras but also short essays, book reviews, and the titles of overseas lectures.[26] Furthermore, an obituary by Heinz Bechert (1932-2005) covers all the works of Lamotte.[27]

2-2 Works of É. Lamotte

2-2-1 Unrivalled Exegetical Works

Following the study style of the unparalleled Buddhologist, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, Lamotte engaged in creating superb editions, translations and commentaries[28] on Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese Buddhist texts and published them. Let us have a look at them chronologically.[29]

The first field where Lamotte focused on was the Mind-only school of Mahāyāna Buddhism, in which he completed editions, translations and commentaries on three important texts.[30]

Bodhisattvas comes to my mind with a deep sorrow" (Durt 2008, 245).

26 Lamotte 1987, 121-125.

27 Bechert 1985a (in German) and 1985b (in English).

28 Among editions, translations and commentaries, Lamotte showed himself at his best in commentaries. He conducted extensive researches into related resources and tried to understand the original text without the interference of his own ideas, that is, without bias. Based on such studies, enormous commentaries came out.

29 As to the works of Lamotte, see "L'Œuvre de Mgr. Étienne Lamotte" by Daniel Donnet, which appeared in the beginning (pp. VII-XVI) of *Indianisme et bouddhisme, Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte,* Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 23 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980). It was a collection of papers to celebrate the academic achievements and longevity of Étienne Lamotte.

30 However, we should not forget that Lamotte started his brilliant career as an Indologist, not as a Buddhologist. He published *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* in 1929 and "Bouddhisme et upaniṣad" in 1932. For details, see Lamotte 2004 and note 60 of this paper.

1. *L'Explication des Mystères* (*Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*), Université catholique de Louvain, *Recueil des travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Hisoire et de Philologie,* 2e série, 34e fascicule, Louvain, 1935, 238 pages.[31]
2. *Le Traité de l'Acte* (*Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*) *de Vasubandhu,* Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 4, Bruxelles, 1936.
3. *La Somme du Grand Vehicule* (*Mahāyāna-saṃgraha*) *d'Asanga,* Bibliothèque du Muséon 7, Louvain, 1938-1939, two volumes.

Secondly, after World War II, Lamotte developed his study focusing on the field of the philosophy of the Madhyamaka school of emptiness (*śūnyatā*).[32] He published translations and commentaries on three major texts related to this school.

1. *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti, Louvain*, Muséon, vol. 51, 1962, 488 pages.[33]

[31] This work was praised by La Vallée Poussin in these words: "This is a contribution which I would willingly term of fundamental importance to the history of the literature and the philosophical speculation of the Mahāyāna … a model of the first order" (translated by Leo M. Pruden, in Lamotte 1987, 119). For the original article in French, see *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 5 (1936-1937), *offert en hommage à M. Louis de La Vallée Poussin* (Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises), 271.

[32] See Durt 1984a, 5; Durt 1984b (in Japanese), 11.

[33] The English translation of this work by Sara Boin-Webb has appeared under the title of *The Teachings of Vimalakīrti*, London: Pali Text Society (in their series *The Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, no. 32), 1976. As to the scale of contribution by Lamotte to the study of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, see Nishino 2016. Durt writes, "*L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti* was the work with a lot of memories for Professor Lamotte, and to the readers it is the best guidebook to know the way of annotated translation, and at the same time it is the most recommended book with which you can become close to a gem of the Buddhist literature born in India. … And furthermore *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti* was complemented by the annotated

2. *La Concentration de la Marche héroïque*, (*Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. XIII), Brussels, 1965a, 308 pages.[34]
3. *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*[35]) de *Nāgārjuna*.

   Vol. 1: *Chapter I-XV, Bibliothèque du* Muséon, vol.18, Louvain, 1944 , 620 pages.

   Vol. 2: *Chapter XVI-XXX,* ibidem, Louvain, 1949, pages 621 to 1118.

   Vol. 3: *Chapter XXXI-XLII, with new Introduction*, P.I.O.L., vol. 2, Louvain, 1970, pages 1119 to 1733.

   Vol. 4: *Chapter XLII* (continued)-XLVIII, P.I.O.L., vol. 12, Louvain-la-neuve, 1976, pages 1735 to 2162.

   Vol. 5: *Chapters XLXI-LII,* P.I.O.L., vol. 24, Louvain-la-neuve, 1980 (pages 2163 to 2162). 1980 (pages 2163 to 2451).

translation of the *Śūraṃgamasamāshisūtra* (*La Concentration de la Marche héroïque*)" (Durt 1984a, 5-6 ; Durt 1984b [in Japanese], 11).

34 The English translation of this work by Sara Boin-Webb has appeared under the title of *The Concentration on Heroic Progress* (The Buddhist Society and Curzon Press: London, 1999). See Nishino 2016, 276-279.

35 As we will see below, Lamotte expressed his idea regarding the Sanskrit title of the *Da zhidu lun* in the introduction to vol. 3. He declared that the Sanskrit title was *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* instead of *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* (Cf. *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論:「問曰。是般若波羅蜜論議中，但說諸法相空。菩薩云何於空法中能起禪定?」 CBETA, T25, no. 1509, p. 208b16-17). Although in vols. 1 and 2, the title was *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, in *Histoire du Buddhisme indien* (Louvain, Muséon, 1958), Lamotte used *Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* throughout. According to de Jong 1971, Lamotte might have changed his idea by according to Demiéville's suggestion which appeared in Comptes Rendus of *Journal Asiatique* 238 (1950): 375-395. This review was republished in *Choix d'Études Bouddhiques* (1929-1970). Cf. Tamai 1976, 32; Saigusa 2004, 51-52; *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* 望月佛教大辞典 4:3321 and Ramanan 1998, 335n6.

According to Durt 1984a, the sixth volume of *Le Traité* was almost ready to be published.

> Although this translation is so voluminous, with more than 2500 pages, after accomplishing it, Professor Lamotte added a 'Supplement' and 'Corrections.' Those are now under preparation in Kyoto and will be published as a posthumous book attached to the *1985 Index of Le Traité*. This Index is made based on the Buddhist Terminology and the proper nouns restored into Sanskrit. Following the late Professor Paul Demiéville's wish, it is also to be complemented with a comparative Index of the restored Sanskrit and Chinese.[36]

Unfortunately, the publication of *Le Traité* Vol. 6 was not fulfilled. We do not know where the manuscripts of the "Supplement" and "Corrections" by Lamotte are now. They might have been taken to Paris at the time when Lamotte's personal Buddhological library, bestowed to the Institut de Hôbôgirin (École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Kyoto), was moved to Paris in the summer of 2015.[37]

2-2-2 Peerless Reference Value: *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*

Another of Lamotte's major works is a *summa* of Indian Buddhist thought. This great work, a bestseller among scholars and students was considered as a milestone in the field of Buddhist studies. It raised his international reputation.

> *Histoire du bouddhisme indien: des origines à l'ère Śaka.* (Université de Louvain, Bibliothèque du *Muséon*, Vol. 43) xii, 862 pages, 27 plates, 5 maps. Louvain: Publications Universitaires [et] Institut Orientaliste, 1958.

[36] Durt 1984a, 7; Durt 1984b (in Japanese), 13.
[37] Matsumura 1989; Nishino 2016, 283-284.

John Brough (1917-1984) states in a review of the book as follows.

> This is an exhaustive work whose value lies in his collating all relevant sources from the various Indian languages, as well as from Chinese and from Tibetan. … This book supplies the need, and will be indispensable for all students of early Buddhism, whatever may be the specific problems with which they are concerned. … it makes full use of Tibetan and Chinese in addition to Pali and Sanskrit.[38]

Fortunately, this work was translated into English by Sara Boin-Webb[39] and published as *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era* (See Lamotte 1988). However, unfortunately, there were many errors left in this book.[40] Russell Webb said in his speech, "Despite these flaws, however, the volume remains a *tour de force* in representing probably the most comprehensive survey of Buddhism 'des origines à l'ère Śaka.'"[41] Webb complemented that loss by publishing "E. Lamotte *History of Indian Buddhism,* An Additional Bibliography,"[42] which is more than 13 pages long.

Kyōgo Sasaki (1915-2005), who was a professor of Otani University,

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38 Brough, 1962, 378.

39 As to Sara, see note 25.

40 At the 2012 UKABS Conference on Early Mahāyāna Buddhism which was held on July 7th and 8th in memory of Sara Boin-Webb, Russell Webb gave a speech under the title 'A tribute to Sara.' In his speech, he touched upon the English translation of *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*: "Regrettably, Peeters Press in Leuven made a hash of its production: from misspelling the translator's name, creating a top heavy editorial committee which failed to liaise with Sara over the rendering of terminology to, inexplicably, cross referencing entries in the index to the pagination of the original French edition! As the translator herself put it: 'The glossary of technical terms is, frankly and despite being computerized, a mess!'" See Nishino's article in Takahashi 2018, xxv, xxviii.

41 See the preceding note.

42 Webb 1993.

wrote his review on this great work (屈指の好著) by Lamotte. In his article, he explained the structure of this book, introduced its contents chapter by chapter, and praised it highly saying, "the appearance of this book has historical significance."[43] He expressed his wish for a future publication of the second volume of this book which would deal with the second century. Brough also expressed the same expectation at the end of his article.[44]

According to Durt,[45] although Lamotte planned to write about the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in a second volume, his plan was not completed. Durt explained that the first reason was that Lamotte was extremely busy working on the annotated translation, and the second reason was he could not resolve the issue of identifying the ages of various historic events (for example, as to Kanishka the Great, the years of his period of rule is still an object of controversy).

As we shall see below (3-2), when the First Étienne Lamotte Symposium was held in 1989, there was a plan to compile the second volume of his *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origins to the Śaka Era* under international joint coordination. Unfortunately, this plan was not realized.

However, even without the second volume of *History of Indian Buddhism*, we can understand Lamotte's ideas surrounding the origins and developments of Mahāyāna Buddhism through some of his later works:[46]

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43 Sasaki 1964, 8-24.

44 Brough 1962, 379-380. Brough states, "We are indeed grateful to him for the wealth of material he has given us, and we look forward with eagerness to the publication of the next volume of this history."

45 Durt 1984a, 6; Durt 1984b (in Japanese), 11.

46 Durt 1984a, 11; Durt 1984b (in Japanese), 12.

1. “Sur la formation du Mahāyāna,” in *Asiatica: Festschrift Friedrich Weller zum 65 Geburtstag* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954), 377-396.
2. “Le *bouddhisme* des laïcs,” in *Indogaku bukkyōgaku ronsō: Yamaguchi hakase kanreki kinen* 印度学仏教学論叢—山口博士還暦記念 (Studies in Indology and Buddhology presented in honour of Professor S. Yamaguchi) (Kyoto: Hozokan 法蔵館, 1955), 73-89.
3. “Mañjuśrī,” *T’oung Pao* 通報 48 (1960), 1-96.
4. “Vajrapāni en Inde,” in *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M. Paul Demiéville*, vol. 20 (Paris: Bibliothèque de l’Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1966), 113-159.
5. “Les sources scripturaires de l’ *Upadeśa* et leurs valeurs respectives” (Lecture at the time of Lamotte’s first visit to Japan in 1977).[47]

2-2-3 A Guide to the Mutual Understanding Between the East and the West

Besides Lamotte’s importance as a scholar in general, his contribution to the promotion of mutual understanding between Buddhists and Christians has also been acknowledged by the ecclesiastic authorities of the Roman-Catholic church.[48] Bechert said as follows.

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[47] See Lamotte 1978; 1986. According to Lamotte 1978, Lamotte divided all the scriptural sources of the texts into six groups which are: 1. Sūtrapiṭaka, 2. Vinayapiṭaka, 3. Abhidarmapiṭaka, 4. Jātaka and Avadāna which were made after Early Buddhism, 5. Mahāyānasūtra, 6. Śāstras by scholars of early Madhyamaka. He explained each group in detail and touched upon the relationship between Abhidharma and Mahāyāna Buddhism, going on to discuss the formation of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As a result, this essay is a kind of “Theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism.” Saigusa 1953 also deals with the scriptural sources quoted in the *Lun*.

[48] The Second Ecumenical Vatican Council (Vatican II, 1962-1965) addressed relations between the Catholic Church and the modern world. The relation between Christians and non-Christians was one of the foremost issues. *Nostra aetate* (Latin: *In our Time*) is the Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions

> In 1941 he was awarded the dignity of Canonicus Honoris Causae of the Metropolitan Church in Mechelen. In 1954 Pope Paul VI made him Correspondent of the Papal Secretariat for the Non-Christians, and in 1964 the dignity of Praelatus Domesticus of H. H. the Pope was conferred on him.[49]

In 1959, Étienne Lamotte delivered three lectures on ancient Buddhism at the invitation of the Fondazione Giorgio Cini in Venice. They were published as *Lo Spirito del Buddhismo Antico,* with the English edition translated by Rachel Toulmin under the title *The Spirit of Ancient Buddhism*.[50] The contents of this book are: 1. The message of Buddha Śākyamuni, 2. The ideal of the Buddhist monk and of the lay brother, and 3. Aśoka, the Buddhist Emperor.

Lamotte wrote this book with a wish to build a bridge between the West and the East. In the beginning part of this book, he wrote as follows.

> For us, in the West, the life of a single being is a unique phenomenon, which begins at birth, ends in death, and is not repeated. … For the Orientals, on the other hand, a given being, passes eternally from one existence to another, assuming a different form each time: … Belief in saṃsāra, or transmigration, is for the Indian a fundamental truth, an axion requiring no demonstration. … If we wish to understand Indian philosophy in general, and Buddhism in particular, we must free ourselves of our own beliefs for a few moments, and suppose that the fact of transmigration is in itself not hypothetical but real.[51]

Lamotte also edited *Introducation à l'étude du bouddhisme indien* (vol. I of the series *À la rencontre du bouddhisme*). The English edition is *Towards the*

announced at the Vatican II. This declaration was promulgated on October 28th, 1965, by Pope Paul VI. Mgr. Lamotte played an important role in this council.

49 Bechert 1985b, 152.

50 Lamotte 1961.

51 Lamotte 1961, 13-14.

meeting with Buddhism, Volume I (Secretariatus pro non Christianis, Àncora-Roma, 1970).[52] The objective of this book was to help create mutual understanding between different religions. The Roman Catholic Cardinal Paul Marella (1895-1984) wrote in the preface of this book:

> Two years ago a booklet entitled "Towards The Meeting of Religions" was published by our Secretariat. This was a general guide of a rather doctrinal and psychological nature, intended as a help to those who devote themselves to dialogue with believers in other religions. … We now present the guide which deals with Buddhism. … Thus the hope comes to be realized expressed five years ago by His Holiness Pope Paul VI when He said: "We are convinced that this mutual respect and this harmony in the civil sphere will always reign between Buddhists and Catholics, thus encouraging their collaboration in peace and friendship, in charitable social activities and in service for the good of the Nation." (Message to the Venerable Riri Nakayama, 18 November 1964).[53]

Besides the aforementioned guide books to Buddhism, Lamotte wrote several other books with the aim of introducing basic Buddhist doctrines to the general readership. For example, he authored Chapter 1 of *The World of Buddhism*,[54] "The Buddha, His Teachings and His Saṅgha" (pp. 41-58).

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[52] Vol. II of this series shows the expansion of Buddhism outside of India and its continual variations in each of the countries (India, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Tibet, the Soviet Union, Chinese mainland, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan) where it spread to. The contents of vol. II are 1. "Essential Buddhism" by J. Masson; 2. "The Spread of Buddhism outside India" by D. L. Snellgrove; 3. "Buddhism up to our Times" by J. Masson, S. J.

[53] Lamotte 1970, 5-6.

[54] Edited by Heinz Bechert (1932-2005) and Richard Gombrich (1937-), London, 1984. Roger Jackson wrote in a review on this book, "This may be the most beautiful book on Buddhism ever produced" (1985, 126). We see that the book's focus is on the saṅgha, which Heinz Bechert describes in his foreword as "the most truly Buddhist institution. … It is primarily the saṅgha that has transmitted the Buddha's words and maintained the tradition of meditation and thus ensured that future generations too

Bechert praised this article, saying "I do not know of any better, more concise or more exact summary of the Buddha's teachings."[55] Roger Jackson wrote the following about Lamotte's article as follows.

> Prof. Lamotte's summary of basic Buddhist doctrines may be the best such brief account ever written. With his usual effortless erudition, Prof. Lamotte covers the life of the Buddha as best we have been able to reconstruct it; his teaching, structured along the lines of the four noble truths; and the formation of the saṅgha, its initial development after the Buddha's demise, and its basic structures and practices.[56]

3. Words of Praise to É. Lamotte

3-1 Praise From His Master, Louis De La Vallée Poussin

According to Lamotte, La Vallée Poussin had been appointed a professor at the University of Ghent since 1894, but on account of the language wars, namely the tensions between Dutch-speakers and French-speakers in Belgium, he was forced to cease teaching in 1929.[57] Consequently, he had the opportunity to fully concentrate on his research. At that time, he accepted the extremely talented young Lamotte as his personal disciple, and both regularly worked together during the following years. Lamotte wrote about those days as follows.

> Apart from bridge, crossword puzzles, and short vacations in Savoy where he met two faithful friends, Marcelle Lalou and Jean Przyluski, Louis de La Vallée Poussin allowed himself no distraction. During the last ten years of his life, he hardly left his office in the Avenue Moliere

can be shown the way to release from the world."

55 Bechert 1985b, 156.

56 Jackson 1985, 128-129.

57 Lamotte 1965b, 150-151; 1966, 81.

> in Brussels. It was there that I met him; subsequently he granted me his friendship and trust and spent every Sunday and Thursday morning with me.[58]

Hubert Durt, in his contribution to the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, called Louis de La Vallée Poussin and Étienne Lamotte "two masters of the French language school of Buddhist philology."[59]

Junshō Katō wrote about Lamotte and Professor Poussin as follows.

> Although Lamotte did not take courses conducted by La Vallée Poussin at the University, he had contact with him privately for a long time. To his very first work, *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* (Paris, 1929),[60] La Vallée Poussin wrote a heartfelt Preface for this promising youth.[61] Lamotte studied various scriptures with La Vallée Poussin twice a week from 1928 to 1937 in his final years. Lamotte … studied in the Franco-Belgian School, but he was affected most heavily by La Vallée Poussin.[62]

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58 Lamotte 1965b, 151; 1966, 82. See also note 8 in this paper.

59 Durt 2005, 5298.

60 This 1929 edition was reprinted in 2004. On this work, Minoru Hara 原実 (1930-) explained as follows in his preface: "Those who are engaged in serious studies in Buddhism could never overlook the name of É. Lamotte who is noted as one of the greatest scholars in the twentieth century for his monumental contributions to the study of Buddhism. However, little is known of his contributions to the study of Hinduism in his youth. That is to say, as early as in 1929 his monograph *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* was published in Paris with a preface by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. … Three years later, J. Przyluski published an article entitled 'Bouddhisme et Upaniṣad,' and there he found the best possible collaborator in Lamotte" (Lamotte 2004, VII).

61 See Lamotte 2004, 7-13.

62 According to Katō (1969, 383), although at first, Lamotte was interested in *Bhagavadgītā* and Consciousness-only thought, his interest gradually turned to *Madhyamaka*, so that after the war, he was devoted to authoring an annotated translation of Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras, including the *Lun, the Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, and the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*.

In fact, La Vallée Poussin wrote a very heartfelt and long preface to the very first work of Lamotte. At the beginning of his "Préface," he evaluated the originality of Lamotte, saying "Je tiens à sigualer l'originalité de cette nouvelle contribution à l'étude, jamais achevée, de la Gītā."[63]

After five years later from this publication, when translations and commentaries on *L'Explication des Mystères* (*Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*) by Lamotte was published, La Vallée Poussin praised it very highly.[64]

Lamotte was his so-called "favorite disciple." The master and his disciple worked together to lead the development of the Franco School of Buddhology.[65]

3-2 Praise From Acclaimed Scholars

A general picture of Lamotte's career and achievements can be easily formed through numerous book reviews published during his life time, and the many obituaries written in his memory.[66] For example, Akira Hirakawa (1915-2002) praised Lamotte in his article "Orbituary: Professor Lamotte" saying "Professor Lamotte accomplished his annotated translation of very important Mahāyāna sūtras and śāstras of which original Sanskrit texts have been lost and only Tibetan and Chinese texts remain extant, by using his splendid knowledge of Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese and his deep understanding of doctrines of Buddhism. Through those works he contributed not only to Buddhist scholars in Europe but also to those all

63 Lamotte 2004, 7.
64 See note 31 of this paper.
65 Webb says, "In Belgium, Louis de La Vallée Poussin was so famous a scholar, and Etienne Lamotte was his the most renowned pupil" (1989, 256).
66 Nishino 2016, 270-271.

around the world."[67]

Although book reviews and obituaries are important sources of information, we must turn to another source to truly appreciate the full range of Professor Lamotte's colossal academic contributions. Kawasaki's "Dai ikkai Lamotte Gakkai ni sanka shite" 第一回ラモット学会に参加して,[68] a report of the First É. Lamotte Symposium held in September 1989 in Brussels, is one of the sources in this regard.

To attend this special symposium, scholars came from diverse countries and regions,[69] specializing in fields such as languages, Buddhist philosophy, and Art History. The topics discussed there ranged from early Buddhist texts, to Abhidharma and the teachings of early-sectarian Buddhism, and Mahāyāna Buddhist literature, illustrating the range and depth of the fields in Buddhology covered by Lamotte's diverse works.[70] At a concluding session of this symposium, the participants discussed the future projects, and it was announced that a second Symposium would be held, probably between the next two conferences of the International Association of Buddhist Studies (i.e., between the Paris 1991 and Belgium 1994 conferences).[71] However, the second É. Lamotte Symposium has not taken place.

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67 Hirakawa 1986, 321.
68 Kawasaki 1990; Durt 1990.
69 Kawasaki 1990, 151. More than 60 scholars came from fifteen countries (Belgium, West Germany, France, Netherlands, UK, Switzerland, Sweden, Italy, USA, Canada, India, Sri Lanka, Korea, China, and Japan).
70 See Ryckmans 1993 in which the symposium papers were published. *Chugai nippo* 中外日報, Japanese religious newspaper dated Oct. 19, 20 reported this symposium as a heading article (Matsumura 1989).
71 Kawasaki 1990, 156.

3-3 The Relationship between É. Lamotte and Japanese Scholars

Durt said, "It was finally in Japan that Professor Lamotte's aura was most highly appreciated. When he was invited by the Japan Foundation for a lecture tour in 1977, the Buddhists scholars of Japan arranged a truly triumphal reception for him whom they respected as one of the great masters of Buddhist philologists in the Occident."[72] On how Lamotte was welcomed by Japanese scholars during his stay in Japan, Bechert wrote, "When I visited Japan five years later, it was still reported in detail where he had given his lectures and where he had stayed."[73]

Behind the passionate welcoming of Lamotte by Japanese scholars, there already existed a special relationship between them. Firstly, there were scholars in Japan who were effectively Lamotte's fellow disciples under Louis de La Vallée Poussin. In addition, the existence of Hubert Durt, a direct disciple of Lamotte who was working at the Hôbôgirin in Kyoto, and Junshō Katō who studied in Belgium under the guidance of Lamotte must have been a key in the relationship, too. They would have contributed in making the distance between Lamotte and Japan shorter.

Among the disciples of La Vallée Poussin who developed close relationships with Lamotte were those who went on to become leaders of

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[72] Durt 1984a, 7; Durt (in Japanese) 1984b, 15. Hirakawa also wrote, "Our whole nation welcomed this great scholar from faraway Europe, and the Japanese academic world held a grand welcome party for the Professor. On October 11th, he gave a lecture with the title 'Les sources scripturaires de l'*Upadeśa* et leurs valeurs respectives' at the lecture meeting held by the University of Tokyo (Faculty of Letters) and impressed the audience deeply by his profound knowledge in Buddhist studies" (1986, 326).

[73] Bechert 1985b, 152.

Buddhist studies in Japan. Some famous names include: Hakuju Ui 宇井伯寿 (1882-1963), Chizen Akanuma 赤沼智善 (1884-1937), Shūgaku Yamabe 山辺習学 (1882-1944), Shōson Miyamoto 宮本正尊 (1893-1983), Susumu Yamaguchi 山口益 (1895-1976).[74]

It was Yamaguchi who referred to Lamotte so often in his writings and he kept a good friendship with him throughout his life. When the collection of papers celebrating Yamaguchi's sixtieth birthday was published, Lamotte contributed his article with the title of "Le Bouddhisme des Laïcs."[75] Furthermore, to Yamaguchi's *Seshin no Jōgoron* 世親の成業論 (*Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa*, The Treatise on Action by Vasubandhu, 1975), Lamotte contributed a long preface of more than ten pages, prompting Yamaguchi in turn to explain its outline at the beginning of his book.

Kyōgo Sasaki, who was a professor of Otani University, directed his attention to a paper by Lamotte, "Alexandre et Le Bouddhisme," which appeared in Tome 44, No. 1 of the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (1951) and gave his comments in detail.[76] Sasaki praised Lamotte's never-ending and precise search for historical truth about

[74] After the death of La Vallée Poussin, Bukkyo kenkyu 仏教研究, vol. II-3 (1938) put together a feature with the title of "Louis de La Vallée Poussin no omokage" ルイ・ド・ラ・ヴァレー・プーサンの面影 (Memories of Professor Louis de La Vallée Poussin). Contributors to the feature included Hakuju Ui, "Poussin sensei wo omou" プーサン先生を憶う (pp. 144-149), Shōson Miyamoto, "Poussin sensei wo shinobu" プサン先生を偲ぶ (pp. 149-156), and Susumu Yamaguchi, "de La Vallée Poussin kyōju no gyōseki no ippan wo omou"ドラ・ヴァレー・プーサン教授の業績の一斑を憶う (pp. 157-172).

[75] Lamotte 1955.

[76] Sasaki 1954.

Alexander with regard to Buddhism. Thus the relationship between Lamotte and Otani University became closer, surpassing all others.

The collection of papers dedicated to Étienne Lamotte was published in 1980, among which one third of the papers were contributions from Japanese scholars.[77] This also indicates the special closeness between Lamotte and Japanese scholars.

4. Lamotte's Lifework: Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse

4-1 Magnum opus: the French Translation of the *Da zhidu lun*

Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna (5 volumes, 1944–1980) has been called Lamotte's *magnum opus*. This annotated French translation of the *Lun* attracted attention from scholars around the world and won wide acclaim from the first publication. According to Yamaguchi, the Dutch orientalist Johannes Rahder (1898-1988) sent him a letter saying "this *tour de force* by Lamotte is comparable to the achievement by Edouard Chavannes in the field of Oriental studies."[78] He wrote in his article which appeared in the "Review of Books" in the *Journal of the American Oriental*

[77] *Indianisme et bouddhisme, Mélanges offerts à Mgr. Étienne Lamotte*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 23, Louvain-la-Neuve. Louvain: Peeters, 1980. Japanese contributors are Kōtatsu Fujita, "Pure Land Buddhism and the *Lotus Sūtra*"; Minoru Hara, "A Note on the Buddha's Birth Story"; Akira Hirakawa, "The Meaning of 'Dharma' and 'Abhidharma'"; Junshō Katō, "Notes sur les Deux Maîtres Bouddhiques Kumāralāta et Śrīlāta"; Katsumi Mimaki, "Sur le Rôle de L'*Antaraśloka ou du Saṃgrahaśloka*"; Gadjin Nagao, "Tranquil Flow of Mind: an Interpretation of *Upekṣā*"; Hajime Nakamura, "The *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* and the Chinese and Tibetan Versions of a Text Similar to It"; Hajime Sakurabe, "On the Wu tingxinguan"; and Takasaki Jikidō, "Analysis of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*: In Search of Its Original Form."

[78] Yamaguchi 1954, 83.

Society as follows:

> It brings out the fact that knowledge of early Chinese Buddhist literature is much more essential for the understanding of Indian Buddhism of the Kuṣāṇa period than acquaintance with the Tibetan versions in Kanjur and Tanjur …. L. is as well qualified in Indic languages as in Buddhist Chinese, and is to be congratulated on the successful completion of this first instalment of the copiously annotated translation and restoration of the Sanskrit original text.[79]

However, Rahder pointed out that Lamotte could have done a better job, if he had consulted the three annotated Japanese translations of the *Lun*, which are *Kokuyaku daizōkyō* 国訳大蔵経, *Shōwa shinsan kokuyaku daizōkyō* 昭和新纂國譯大藏經, and *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 国訳一切経.[80]

Another review, by Professor Paul Demiéville, effectively sums up Étienne Lamotte's contributions through this book to the study of Buddhism. He reviewed the third volume of *Le Traité*, adding the following comments:

> In order to reach such completely new conclusions, M. Lamotte was obliged to identify all the scriptural sources which inspired the composition of the *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse*. … The sources thus located occupy a large part of the notes to his translation, where they are duly quoted, translated, and explained with a profusion of references and other materials which make this work a veritable manual of Mahāyāna scholasticism, equivalent to the contribution made to the study of Hīnayāna by Lamotte's master, the illustrious Louis de La Vallée Poussin with his monumental translation of the *Abhidharmakośa,* published over half a century ago …. We are thus indebted to Belgium for two of the French language masterpieces of Oriental Studies.[81]

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[79] Rahder 1950, 124.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Lamotte 1987, 120. Originally published in *Comptes rendus des séances de*

Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984) also reviewed vol. 3 of *Le Traité*:

> There is no doubt that we can rightly call this work a *summa* of the Mahāyānic doctrine. … The translation, … comparing here and there with the original, is perfect; the notes, … are often real commentaries rather than notes. Very useful for those who know Sanskrit is the Sanskrit equivalent of the technical terms put within brackets after the technical terms or some proper names. …
>
> To conclude, we must congratulate Prof. Lamotte who after the *Śūraṃgamasamādhi*, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, the *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, has now presented us with a new gift of his learning, philological accuracy and unbiased love for one of the greatest creations of the human mind, as Buddhism certainly is.[82]

Surely, *Le Traité* is a precious gift from Lamotte along with the *Śūrangama-samādhisūrta* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, and is truly an academic legacy.

Japanese scholars heaped praises on Lamotte's monumental work. The following are some of the major reviews.

On the 1st and 2nd volumes: Susumu Yamaguchi, "エティエンヌ・ラモート教授の大智度論のフランス訳" (Yamaguchi 1954b)

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l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres Année 1971 (Jan.–March): 49–50. Iyanaga stated, "Commentaries by Lamotte were mainly based on the *Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten* and his knowledge of classical philology of Pāli and Sanskrit was added to it" (1998). Mitsuyoshi Saigusa (1923–2010), a Buddhist scholar who had been studying the *Da zhidu lun* for many years, looked back on the day he received *Le Traité* by Lamotte and said: "I was not astonished at the French translation itself, it was the enormous and detailed commentaries that beat me up, and because of that shock, I could not touch the *Da zhidu lun* for some time" (Saigusa 1973, 198). Cf. Saigusa 2004, 48.

82 Tucci 1972, 367. In this article, Tucci gave advice to Lamotte, saying, "In order to exploit the mass of information contained in this work, it is advisable that Prof. Lamotte should begin from now on to prepare its indexing or have it prepared" (ibid.).

On the 3rd volume: Akira Hirakawa, “É. ラモット教授の大智度論フランス語訳註 第三巻について” (Hirakawa 1971)

On the 4th volume: Junshō Katō, “É. ラモット 仏訳大智度論 第 IV 巻・序文の試訳” (Katō 2003)

On the 1st-5th volumes: Kyōgo Sasaki, “Étienne Lamotte: *Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*), Tome V, Chapitres XLIX-LII, et Chapitre XX (2e série), Louvain, 1980” (Sasaki 1981)

Every review expressed in different words the same feeling of astonishment at Lamotte’s achievement. Sasaki described the structure of all five volumes,[83] going on to introduce in summary all the prefaces[84] by Lamotte from vols. 1 to 5, giving some comments on the different topics of each volume. Sasaki expressed his astonishment by saying “Lamotte showed us some quite unfamiliar literature in his comments; this could only be done

[83] The structure of *Le Traité* is as follows. See Sasaki 1981, 60.

Volume	Chapter	Pages	Volume of original Chinese texts	Year of publication
I	I-XV	620	1-10	1944
II	XVI-XXX	621-1118	11-18	1949
III	XXXI-XLII	1119-1733	19-27	1970
IV	XLII (continuation)-XLVIII	1735-2162	27 (continuation)-31	1976
V	XLIX-LII and XX (2nd series)	2163-2371 2373-2451	32-34 49	1980

[84] Lamotte’s prefaces are not just an introduction to the Buddhist scripture, but an independent guide book to that scripture. For example his preface to the annotated French translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*L’Enseignement de Vimalakīrti*) was published as an independent book as *Weimojie jing xulun* 維摩詰経序論 (Gwo 1990) in Chinese, and *Lamotte no Yuimakyo nyūmon* ラモットの維摩経入門 (Nishino 2015) in Japanese.

by someone like him who has acquired profound scholarly knowledge through his wide and deep researches."[85]

4-2 The issue raised by *Le Traité*: Who is the Author?

The introduction to vol. 3 of *Le Traité* is considerably long with 53 pages. The main issues discussed are: (1) The Sanskrit name of the *Lun*,[86] (2) Sūtras and śāstras quoted in the *Lun*,[87] and (3) the author of the *Lun.* Among those three, the authorship issue provoked a hot controversy.

In the past, *Nāgārjuna,* who is said to have been from South India and is the author of *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, was thought to have written the *Lun*. However, Lamotte pointed out that *Nāgārjuna* of *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and the author of the *Lun* are not the same.[88] At the time, there were already multiple theories doubting *Nāgārjuna* as the author of the *Lun*:

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85 Sasaki 1981, 62-63.

86 See note 35 in this paper.

87 Lamotte 1978; 1986.

88 Lamotte thought, "It is clear from all these references that the author of the *Da zhidu lun* was a scholar of later ages than the age of the early Madhyamaka School and was not the same person who was the author of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*" (Lamotte 1978, 22). There are many aspects of Nāgārjuna that remain unclear. Some claim that there existed more than one Nāgārjuna (from two to four), but at present, there is no consensus. See Mabbett 1998 for example. Furthermore, already in Lamotte 1962, 71, he expressed the same idea by citing Demiéville's study: "In reality it is a matter of a work composed in Kaśmīr or North-West India by an author or, which is more likely, by a team of anonymous authors who alleged that they were still steeped in the tradition of the Small Vehicle" (English translation from Lamotte 1976, XCII).

Enga Teramoto, "*Shin Ryūju* den no kenkyū" 新龍樹伝の研究 (Teramoto 1926).[89]

Kakuei Miyaji, "*Chi-do-ron* no honbun hihyō ni okeru ichi shiten" 智度論の本文批評に於ける一視点 (Miyaji 1932)

Akira Hirakawa, "*Jyūjyū bibasha ron* no chosha ni tsuite" 十住毘婆沙論の著者について (Hirakawa 1957).

*Hirakawa introduced the view of Zenryū Tsukamoto 塚本善隆 in his article.

Kōsai Yasui, "*Jūni mon ron* wa hatashite Ryūju no chosaku ka" 十二門論は果たして龍樹の著作か (Yasui 1958).

Ryūshō Hikata, "*Dai chido ron* no sakusha ni tsuite" 大智度論の作者について (Hikata 1958).

After the publication of vol. 3 of *Le Traité*, several articles (listed below) discussing *Nāgārjuna*'s authorship of the *Lun* were published. We could divide their ideas into three groups:

(i) The author is *Nāgārjuna*.
(ii) The author is *Nāgārjuna* but Kumārajīva added and changed some of the content.
(iii) The author might be Kumārajīva.

[89] At the beginning of this book, Teramoto wrote, "All the sixty-six writings were considered to be written by Nāgārjuna, however, if we examine all the various factors including the thoughts, the names of Chinese translators and their time, etc., we have no choice but to admit the existence of a new Nāgārjuna besides the old Nāgārjuna. If not so, we cannot solve the question, that is 'Which writings are authored by Nāgārjuna and how we can tell this writing is Nāgārjuna's work or not?'" (Teramoto 1926, 2).

Keishō Tsukamoto, "*Dai chido ron* to *Hokekyō*: Seiritsu to honyaku no mondai ni kanren shite" 大智度論と法華経: 成立と翻訳の問題に関連して (appeared in Sakamoto 1972, 611–660 as "*Dai chido ron* no sakusha to yakusha" 大智度論の著者と訳者, 636–657)

*He just gave a detailed explanation on Lamotte's view.

Mitsuyoshi Saigusa, "*Hannyakyo no shinri*" 般若経の真理 (Saigusa 1971, 87) ⇒ (ii)

Takeshi Tamai, "*Dai chido ron* no chosha ni tsuite: É. Lamotte, 'Der Verfasser des Upadeśa und seine Quellen'" 大智度論の著者について: É. Lamotte, "Der Verfasser des Upadeśa und seine Quellen" (Tamai 1976)

* Tamai introduced theories by Western scholars, besides giving a summary of previous studies. He gave a brief explanation about historical and geographical examinations on which Lamotte based and drew his conclusion. His own idea is not shown.

Junshō Katō, "*Dai chido ron* no sekai" 大智度論の世界 (Katō 1983, 159-162) ⇒ (iii)

Yūichi Kajiyama, "Chosha" 著者 (Kajiyama and Akamatsu 1989, 350-357) ⇒ (ii)

Yinshun, "*Dai chido ron* no sakusha to sono honyaku" 大智度論の作者とその翻訳 (Yinshun 1993) ⇒ (i)

Junshō Katō, "Rajyū to *Dai chido ron*" 羅什と大智度論 (Katō 2003) ⇒ (iii)

Kōgaku Takeda, "*Dai chido ron* no chosha wa yahari Ryūju dewa nakatta no ka" 大智度論の著者はやはり龍樹ではなかったのか (Takeda 2000) ⇒ (i)

Michiko Ishitobi 石飛道子, "*Dai chido ron* kenkyū: Dai chido ron, sakusha wa yappari Ryūju data" 大智度論研究: 大智度論, 作者はやっぱり龍樹だった (1) (Ishitobi 2014a) ⇒ (i)

Michiko Ishitobi 石飛道子, "*Dai chido ron* kenkyū: *Dai chido ron*, sakusha wa yappari Ryūju data" 大智度論研究: 大智度論, 作者はやっぱり龍樹だった (2) (Ishitobi 2014b) ⇒ (i)

Previously mentioned works by Hikata (1958) and Tsukamoto took the view of (ii) and (i) respectively. Nakamura treated the *Lun* as the work of Nāgārjuna with some reservations and Uryūzu did not include the *Lun* as an authentic work of Nāgārjuna.[90]

To determine who is the author of the *Lun*, firstly we have to understand its philosophy clearly, after which we would need to apply various approaches from many different points of views, including words and expressions, time and origin of references quoted, and so forth.[91] *Le*

[90] Nakamura 2002; Uryūzu 2004, which included the *Lun* as an important śāstra to study Nāgārjuna's philosophy, along with *Dvadaśamukha-śāstra* 十二門論, *Mahāyānaviṃśikā* 大乘二十頌論, and *Daśabhūmika-vibhāṣā-śāstra* 十住毘婆沙論.

[91] Chou Po-kan 周伯戡 (2004) gave a very clear explanation about the feature of this issue. In the postscript of Kajiyama and Akamatsu 1989, the ideas of Lindtner and Ruegg were introduced. Lindtner divided the works of *Nāgārjuna* into three groups: a) genuine, b) spurious and c) dubious, and he put the *Da zhidu lun* into the second group "spurious." Ruegg showed "the hypothesis of multiple or collective authorship." See Kajiyama and Akamatsu 1989, 351-352; Lindtner 1982, 11; and Ruegg 1981, 32-33.

Traité offers us a host of resources to solve this authorship issue. However, the most important thing is "the research from inside" as Lamotte pointed out.

> In reality, studies from outside by using these resources could not give us any resolution. Because these resources are full of different versions of legends and give us quite many confused and different types of information about *Nāgārjuna*, so it is almost impossible to reach an academic conclusion by such studies from outside. Only studies from inside, that is studies about the text itself and exhaustive surveys on all resources quoted in the text, can lead us to a proper view about the author of this book the *Lun*.[92]

Through "studies from inside," Lamotte made a guess about the author of the *Lun* as follows.

> In order to make the colleagues come close to his conviction (in the teaching of Mahāyāna), the author of the *Lun* wrote a large śāstra in the form of a commentary to the *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśūtra*; it was a protest from Mahāyāna against the Scholastic philosophy. The book to which he himself gave the name of *Upadeśa* was applying the educational way which the Abhidharma of Hīnayāna used when they explained their teachings. The *Lun* put off both the prolixity of Mahāyāna sūtras and too simple expressions of śāstras of the early Mādhyamika. It especially aimed for clarity.[93]

5. Conclusion: Succeeding the Academic Legacies of É. Lamotte

After examining the resources quoted in the text carefully, Lamotte claimed that the most significant aspect of the *Lun* is that it tries to clarify Mahāyāna by borrowing the educational way of Abhidharma.[94] We can discern the great achievement by Lamotte in showing us the process of the transformation from the early Buddhism to Mahāyāna. These results by

[92] Lamotte 1978, 2.
[93] Ibid., 4.
[94] Ibid., 13.

Lamotte stand out in the history of Buddhist studies. How can we hand these academic achievements down to the future?

5-1 Publication of English Translations of Lamotte's Works

One important endeavor in making Lamotte's works available to the next generation of scholars is the publication of English translations. The Dutch Sinologist, Erik Zürcher (1928-2008) pointed out the significance of rendering Lamotte's achievements into English. After the English translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* by Sara Boin-Webb was published in 1976, Zürcher wrote her a personal letter, dated January 13th, 1986.

> In translating Lamotte's masterpiece (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*) you have done an admirable job, and also a very useful one, considering the fact that here, as in other European countries (not to speak of the USA), even a solid reading knowledge of French has become rare among students. Since Lamotte's *Vimalakīrti* can serve as an excellent introduction to Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially of the Śūnyavāda tradition, I can now recommend it to our students, and put it on their reading list.[95]

If even in European countries it is hard to find students with "a solid reading knowledge of French," it is clear that it is much harder in Japan where far less students or scholars can read French. Therefore, the necessity for English translations in Japan is higher than in European countries.[96] I am one of those who has benefited from the English version of Lamotte's

[95] At the 2012 UKABS, Russell Webb talked about this letter in his speech. See note 40 of this paper and Nishino 2012, 30.

[96] Akira Hirakawa remarked, "French translation of the *Da zhidu lun* opened the way to study Mahāyāna Buddhism for scholars in the West, and at the same time Japanese scholars got a profound benefit from it. However, all the writings of Lamotte were written in French, and it is a pity as Japanese scholars cannot read them freely" (Hirakawa 1986, 323-324).

Vimalakīrti translated by Sara Boin-Webb. While I was reading the numerous sources introduced by Lamotte, I could feel as if I were in a classroom with a teacher who is "so generous and teaches students anything he knows without stint." That is the reason why I strongly feel the need for English translations of Lamotte's works. In order to utilize the enormous legacy left by Lamotte, an important task is to create a "Lamotte Library" in English at least, and hopefully also in Chinese and Japanese.[97]

Sara Boin-Webb devoted all her energies for 20 years and completed the translation of Lamotte's *Le Traitée*. It would have been published under the title of *The Treatise on Perfect Wisdom*. However, as Russell Webb said, tragically it has been left at the Belgian printing company until now.[98] As many of you may know, other English translations of this great book have already been published on the internet, which is surely a great benefit to us.[99] However, it is so sad if the product of Sara's many years' of labor

[97] Taiwanese acclaimed scholar Gwo Jong-sheng has already translated some important parts of *Le Traité*, including Preface of Volume 3, from French to Chinese. See the site of DLMBS of National Taiwan University Library. http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/DLMBS/en/search/default.jsp?q= 郭 忠 生 #1 (2019/03/16). Besides Lamotte's French translation, the *Da zhidu lun jiangyi,* 1-7 大智度論講義(一) – (七), compiled by Houguan 厚觀 are also indispensable to study the *Da zhidu lun* (See Houguan 1984a–1985e). Regarding Japanese, no translation of *Le Traité* exists as of present. However, there are three Classical Japanese translation of T1509 in *Kokuyaku daizōkyō*, *Shōwa shinsan kokuyaku daizōkyō* and *Kokuyaku issaikyō*. Nakaso et al. 1985 and 1988 are the Modern Japanese translation of T1509 which include Chaper 1 to 3 (巻 1-3) of T1509.

[98] In a bibliography of "Translations By Sara Boin-Webb," we find "*The Treatise on Perfect Wisdom*. Awaiting publication" (Webb 1989, 256); Nishino 2012, 30-31; 2016, 282 and Nishino's article in Takahashi 2018, xxv.

[99] One of the English translations available on the internet is a downloadable PDF version of the full text translated by Gelongma Karma Migme Chödrön (1924-2016), 2001.

should remain unknown. I could not forget the last words of Russell Webb's speech at the 2012 UKABS Conference dedicated to Sara.

> In recognition of her sterling achievements in the field of Buddhist translation work, taking my cue from Lamotte's mentor, Louis de La Vallée Poussin (the translator of the *Abhidharmakośa*), who described himself simply as "L'homme du *Kośa,*"[100] I have inscribed on Sara's grave plaque, "La femme du *Traité,*" and sincerely hope that her own *magnum opus* will appear in *our* lifetime![101]

If one day Sara's *magnum opus*, an English edition of *Le Traité* should come out, Buddhist students in non-French speaking world would definitely enjoy enormous benefit from it. Furthermore, if the Index of *Le Traité* which was expected to be published in 1985,[102] would actually become available in print, even in this modern age of information technologies, there is no doubt it would be a great help to us.[103]

5-2 The Viewpoint of "Interfaith Dialogue"

In order to succeed the legacy of Étienne Lamotte, one of the things we should not forget is "interfaith dialogue" or "mutual understanding between Christianity and Buddhism." As we saw in 2-2-3, Lamotte made an enormous contribution in the field of mutual understanding between Christianity and Buddhism.

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[100] Lamotte 1965b, 167; 1966, 93. Lamotte wrote: "More modestly, Louis de La Vallée Poussin one day said to me, 'I am the man of the *Kośa* (Je suis l'homme du *Kośa*),' and it is thus that he will pass into posterity."

[101] Nishino's article in Takahashi 2018, xxv and Nishino 2012, 31.

[102] See 2-2-1 of this paper.

[103] In 1934, a Japanese scholar Kakuei Miyaji published "*Dai chido ron sakuin* 『大智度論』索引 (一)," *Shūgakuin ronshū* 宗学院論輯, vol. 6-16. In the same journal, Part 2 (vol. 6-17), Part 3 (vol. 6-19), and Part 4 (vol. 7-20) were published. However, Part 5 does not exist. See Miyaji 1934.

Yamaguchi said, "Lamotte's work of an annotated translation of the *Lun, Le Traité* is aimed at proper understanding of Buddhism. Without academic basic research, proper understanding is not possible."[104] We may say that Lamotte studied Buddhism steadily without cease because he wished to understand Buddhism properly and improve mutual understanding "between Christianity and Buddhism" or "between the West and the East."

Lamotte and his contemporary scholars in Japan could not communicate with each other during the war. Right after the war, in 1945, they were anxious about each other and tried to get in touch amidst the post-war chaos.[105] Through these experiences, there was, among them, an increasing momentum towards seeking peace beyond confrontation.[106]

Yamaguchi 1969 tells us an interesting anecdote. One day Pope John XXIII (r. 1958-1963) asked Lamotte if he could apply his splendid talent to studies of Catholic texts and doctrines instead of Buddhism. At that time, he

[104] Yamaguchi 1954a, 98.

[105] See Yamaguchi 1954a, 2-3. Yamaguchi looked back on those days and said, "After the war became imminent, our relationship was of course interrupted for several years. But in autumn 1945, during the confusion just after the war, when even domestic postal service was unreliable, the letter from Mr. Grousset dated October 20th, 1945 reached us via Higashi Honganji Temple 東本願寺. It might be that he was uncertain about the address of my dwelling, that's why he sent a letter addressed to me c/o Higashi-Honganji."

[106] For example, soon after the war, on October 25th, 1949, at the public lecture which was held at Institut français du Japon-Kansai in Kyoto, René Grousset gave a talk titled "New Humanism" which was published as a book in Japanese entitled *Shin Hyumanizumu* 新ヒューマニズム (Grousset 1950). Grousset said that humanism is "a shared heritage for all people" (p. 25) and he defined it as "unselfish liberal culture" (p. 48). It seems that he tried to build a bridge to unite the whole world despite various differences. To conclude his speech, he said, "Our motto 'faith in human beings' … is our common faith. … it could be a motto for the future humanism."

answered:

> No, I cannot. I would like to devote all my life to studies of Buddhism. The reason is that in Europe, the world of Christianity, has seen major wars break out not only once but twice in the 20th century, and people started killing each other. … That is because Christianity could be a severe and violent religion and people can start war in the name of God.[107]

It is said that Sylvain Lévi, the teacher of Lamotte in France, often uttered, "Buddhism is the religion of peace which has never started a war by themselves in history. In this respect, it is quite different from Christianity which has imbued our history with blood by wars like the Crusades or the Thirty Years' War."[108] Lamotte inherited his teacher's attitude towards Christianity and this might have led to his being attracted to the ideas of peace and spirit of compassion in Buddhism instead of others that lead to division and confrontation. As the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* was his favorite sūtra, it may not be unrelated to the fact that Vimalakīrti teaches "non-duality" (*buer* 不二).

As a learner of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, I have a dream that the distance between Buddhism and Christianity or the East and the West will be narrowed through understanding non-duality from both sides.

Lamotte provides a meaningful introduction of this passage from the *Lun*: "諸佛法無量，有若大海，隨眾生意故，種種說法：或說有，或說無；或說常，或說無常；或說苦，或說樂；或說我，或說無我；或說懃行三業、攝諸善法，或說一切諸法無作相。"[109] Lamotte explains, "The fool

[107] Yamaguchi 1969, 397.
[108] Ibid., 396.
[109] *Da zhidu lun*, CBETA, T25, no. 1509, p. 192, a23-27.

accuses the Buddha because his teachings lack unity, however, the wise know that among Buddha's teachings there is no contradiction. It is from compassion that the Buddha gives his teachings in various ways for the greatest happiness of the greatest number of the beings."[110] This explanation seems to be a kind of confession of faith by Lamotte. He may have had his eyes fixed on the world beyond all differences such as good or bad etc., and had wished to show the world the dharma-gate of non-duality 不二法門 taught in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa.*

Three years before the publication of vol. 5 of *Le Traité*, Lamotte talked about the true value of the Mahāyāna śāstra (the *Upadeśa*) in his speech at Otani University.[111] He said it exists neither in the voluminous scriptural sources nor in the various views expressed in it. Lamotte concluded his speech as follows.

> C'est dans le relativisme qu'elle a cherché et trouvé le remède au *Moha*, aux maladies de l'esprit. L'homme qui a compris l'universelle vacuité des choses conditionnées et inconditionnées ne voit plus rien à affirmer ou à nier, à prendre ou à rejeter.[112]
> (Tentative translation: It is in relativism that the *Upadeśa* had searched and finally found out the remedy for *Moha*, the disease of the human mind. The man who has already understood the universal emptiness of both conditioned and unconditioned things no longer sees anything to affirm or negate, to take or reject.)

According to Lamotte, the *Upadeśa* explained that it is in this relativism that people can realize the true character of things, that is emptiness (*śūnyatā*), which is their absence of character, and it becomes a

[110] See Lamotte 1978, 6.
[111] See Lamotte 1978, 23-24; 1986, 14-15.
[112] Lamotte 1986, 14; 1978, 24.

kind of neutral ground which, by degrees, can be assimilated to "tranquility of mind" (*upaśama*) or *Nirvāṇa*.[113] It is this relativism that Lamotte considered to be the great lesson of the Mahāyanistic exegesis, of which the *Upadeśa* is the finest flower.[114] Needless to say, this relativism is the non-duality which Vimalakīrti preaches.

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Postscript: News of the passing of Professor Durt reached me on Sept. 16, 2019. I express my heartfelt thanks for his guidance over the years through his works and for the inspiration I have received in my studies, including this paper. I extend my deepest condolences to his family.

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[113] Takeda expressed the idea that the theme of the *Da zhidu lun* is "the thought of *fujū nehan*" 不住涅槃 (Skt. *apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa*) (Takeda 2001, 295-297). However, in this "relativism" it is not important whether one stays in *Nirvāṇa or in Saṃsāra.* See also Takeda 2005, 88-174.

[114] From Durt's English summary of Lamotte 1986 (Lamotte 1986, 15).

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