

# Historical Sources on the Lonkāgaccha- and Sthānakavāsī-Traditions in Johannes Klatt's *Jaina-Onomasticon*<sup>1</sup>

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In the absence of extensive archaeological evidence, monastic chronologies and hagiographies, inscriptions and the information in the colophons of handwritten or printed Jaina texts are almost the only sources available for the reconstruction of Jaina religious and social history. This fact was highlighted by Walther Schubring who, in his classical work on the Śvetāmbara doctrines of the Jainas, emphasised that '[a]ll history of literature, a building, as it were, has for its ground-floor the bio-bibliographical materials.'<sup>2</sup> Schubring lamented the early demise of Johannes Emil Klatt (1852-1908) who had dedicated his short life to the study of the historical records of the Jainas. Klatt left behind the nearly completed manuscript of his monumental *Jaina-Onomasticon*, a collection of proper names (Greek: *onoma*) of Jaina authors, legendary figures, texts and place names with explanatory historical notes, handwritten in English, which is still unpublished. 'Jain research would have enjoyed the great luck of having them [the Jaina bio-biographical materials] at its disposal, if KLATT's Onomasticon had been completed and printed', Schubring wrote. 'Eight volumes from his own hand in alphabetical order contain what was within his reach to collect data concerning Jain authors and works. But he fell severely ill and never recovered. The work was estimated to fill some 1,100 pages in print, but no more than 55 pages have been printed as a specimen thanks to WEBER and LEUMANN.'<sup>3</sup>

Few biographical details are known about Johannes Klatt. The only sources are brief notes in academic publications of his teacher and colleagues and in the autobiography of his son Fritz Klatt.<sup>4</sup> He was born on 31.1.1852 in Filehne, Posen, and died after a long illness in Bonn on 28.8.1908. He studied Indology under Albrecht Weber (1825-1901)

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<sup>1</sup> The introductory part of this article was first published in *Jaina Studies – Newsletter of the Centre of Jaina Studies* no. 6 (2011: 58-61).

<sup>2</sup> Schubring (1935 § 4; 1962/2000 § 7).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> F. Klatt (1965: 189; cf. 1977: 710). I am indebted to Klaus Karttunen, University of Helsinki, for

in Berlin between 1868 and 1872 and in 1873 completed his doctorate at the University of Halle with a dissertation entitled *De trecentis Cāṇakyaē poetae indici sententiis*.<sup>5</sup> Klatt worked at the Royal Library in Berlin, part time from 1872, as assistant from 1874, then as *Kustos* (custodian) from October 1880 and finally as *Bibliothecarius* (librarian) from April 1889.<sup>6</sup> He was married to Margarete *née* Patzig (1861-1928) with whom he had two sons, the pedagogue Fritz Klatt (1888-1945), who pioneered adult education in the Weimar Republic,<sup>7</sup> and the painter Albert Klatt (1892-1970). Klatt's published research focused on Jaina manuscripts and on the history of Jaina monasticism, based on the available chronologies and biographies. In his preface of 15 October 1892 to the fifty-five page revised edition of a sample of Klatt's *magnum opus*, Klatt's teacher Albrecht Weber (1892: iii) referred to the 'tragic catastrophe' that prematurely ended Klatt's efforts of ten years to complete his *Jaina-Onomasticon*, apparently because he had 'unduly exerted himself' for this 'grandiose' achievement, and in future would probably never be able to work again 'at the same speed.' At the time, Weber still expressed his hope that Klatt would recover, which he never did. Yet, already on 21 April 1892, because Klatt was no longer able to do so himself, Weber had presented to the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences a specimen of Klatt's work, featuring information on important Śvetāmbara commentators such as Abhayadeva, Umāsvāī, Haribhadra, Jinabhadra and all other names beginning with Jina.<sup>8</sup>

A biographical note on Klatt was published during his lifetime by Klatt's 'gurubhāī' and friend Ernst Leumann (1859-1931).<sup>9</sup> It took the form of a mock *paṭṭāvalī*, which turned out to be one of the main sources of our meagre knowledge of the great chronographer's own life:

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sharing his records on Johannes Klatt. They include the name of Klatt's son Fritz and pointed me to the photograph in Rau (1982). Rau's caption of the photo gives different biodata than F. Klatt: birth Filehne 31.10.1852, death Berlin 27.8.1903.

<sup>5</sup> On Three Hundred Maxims of the Indian Poet Cāṇakya (Kaṭalya).

<sup>6</sup> Hartwig & Schulz (1884: 25, 1889: 510, 1891: 31). See Klatt (1891) on the manuscript collections of the library.

<sup>7</sup> For autobiographical notes, see F. Klatt (1965). Since Fritz was older, his brother Albert could not have been born in 1880 as suggested in the appendix of the book and by Böhm (1977: 710).

<sup>8</sup> F. Klatt (1965: 11f.) characterizes his father, who was hospitalized in 1892, as 'an extremely quiet earnest man, with a pale face ... [who] lived entirely for his work and disliked going to social events ... [and] had to die so early, because he kept the dark manner in which he perceived life locked inside himself and did not find an expression for it. He felt so much within and took refuge in his studies, and frantic work.'

<sup>9</sup> Later referred to as 'obituary' by Schubring (1962/2000 §7: 10, n.2, cf. 1935 §4: 8, n. 2).

‘The chronology of his life, presented by way of one of the Paṭṭāvalīs so happily brought to light by his researches, is as follows: - Johannes Klatt: born 1852 A.D. as the son of the postmaster of Filehne (in the Prussian province of Posen); dīkshā (matriculation) at the Berlin University 1868; after four years’ study there, he took his Doctor’s degree by presenting (see Boehtlingk’s *Indische Sprüche*, 2nd ed., Part III, Preface) a paper on “Chāṇakya’s Sentences” to the University of Halle; 1873 ‘Volunteer’ at the Berlin Royal Library (still earning his living for a couple of years as official stenographer in the Prussian House of Commons), 1880 ‘Custos,’ 1882-92 (nominally also 1893) “Librarian.”’<sup>10</sup>

In his note, published as a footnote to Klatt’s last published work, Leumann also mentioned that no further contribution of Klatt ‘can come from his pen’, and noted the ‘irreparable loss’ caused by the sudden ‘disappearance from literature’ of ‘the eminent Indianistic Chronicler and Bibliographer’ ‘as a year or two more of work would have allowed him to complete what has been slowly growing into shape in his study during the past ten years’ (ibid.). Leumann was familiar with Klatt’s work. Over many years, he supplied his friend with supplementary information for the *Jaina-Onomasticon*.<sup>11</sup> In addition to editing the last fifteen pages of the *Specimen*, which Klatt had prepared before his progressing illness rendered work impossible, Leumann also brought Klatt’s last article to publication, and in 1893 took over the task of arranging the parts of the text that Klatt left behind. He had them ‘bound into eight stately volumes’ (ibid.), which his student Schubring later deposited in the library of the Seminar für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens, which is now integral to the library of the Asien-Afrika-Institut of the University of Hamburg.

Klatt’s encyclopaedic compilation of literary-bibliographical information on Jaina authors, texts and biographies is still without parallel. Mehta and Chandra’s (1970-72) work *Prakrit Proper Names* covers somewhat similar ground. But Mehta and Chandra focus exclusively on the Śvetāmbara *Āgamas* and their commentaries however, while Klatt concentrates on post-canonical sources from both Digambara and Śvetāmbara

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<sup>10</sup> Leumann (1894: 169, n. 2).

<sup>11</sup> See Plutat (1998: 32).

authors. Klatt based his work on the lists of Jaina manuscripts published by Weber (1853-1892), Bühler (1869-1880), Bhandarkar (1882-1897), Kielhorn (1869-1882), Peterson (1882-1899), Khataavate (1891-1901) and all other relevant textual, bibliographical and epigraphic sources at hand.<sup>12</sup> His search for information motivated family holidays, for instance in Italy, where he conducted research on the manuscript collections of Florence, Milan, and elsewhere.<sup>13</sup>

Even without updates, for the historian of Jainism Klatt's *Jaina-Onomasticon* is an invaluable resource. This was recognised by his contemporaries. Klatt's text was praised both by A. Weber, E. Leumann<sup>14</sup> and W. Schubring as one of the landmarks of modern scholarship in this field. They all agreed that the 4,132 pages long manuscript, starting with <Aikāya> and ending with <Saṃgrāmasiṃha>, was ready for publication, albeit with two or three years of editing work remaining. On 15 October 1892, A. Weber (1892: iii-iv) estimated the size of the printed *Onomasticon* at ca. 1120 pages, twenty times the size of the *Specimen*, if a system of abbreviations is used to save space, while conceding, because Jaina Studies was still in its infancy, that additions could have been made already half a year later, even to the published *Specimen*.<sup>15</sup> Schubring (1935 § 4: 8, n. 2) concurred with Weber's verdict that the manuscript was basically ready for publication (albeit in need of supplementation): 'At the time, the manuscript would presumably have been ready for the press, given a practicable technique of abbreviation and onesided type.' Yet, though the work deserves to be accessible to the wider world of scholarship, Johannes Klatt's *Jaina-Onomasticon* remains unpublished to this day. The task to prepare the manuscript for the press is still a *desideratum* for modern Jainology.

In 2010, the Centre of Jaina Studies at SOAS initiated the first steps towards the publication of Klatt's work. With the support of the Library of the Asien-Afrika-Institut in Hamburg, which kindly made the original manuscript available, the text is currently

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<sup>12</sup> See Weber (1892 II.3: xvii) on Klatt's contribution to his pioneering catalogue of Jaina Mss.: 'Klatt besonders durch eine grosse Zahl bibliographischer und literargeschichtlicher Daten aus seinen reichen Sammlungen der Art, in welchen er das einschlagende Material aus den trefflichen Reports von Bühler, Kielhorn, P. Peterson, R. G. Bhaṇḍārkar, Rājendra Lāla Mitra etc. vollständig eingetragen hat, für die ausserhalb des *siddhānta* stehende *Jaina*-Literatur, zu ganz besonderem Danke verbunden. Beide Gelehrte [Leumann & Klatt] haben damit diesem meinem Werke ihrerseits so wesentliche Dienste geleistet, dass ich ihnen dafür die wärmste Anerkennung schuldig bin.'

<sup>13</sup> F. Klatt (1965: 9ff.).

<sup>14</sup> Leumann also in Plutat (1998: 42).

<sup>15</sup> See Schubring (1944: VII) on formal imperfections of the *Specimen* of Klatt's 'unique guide.'

being transcribed and prepared for editing. An initial trial for its transcription has been funded through the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) Grant AH/I002405/1 and Leverhulme Trust Research Project Grant RPG-2012-620 has funded the production of a print edition of Klatt's text. It is hoped that the English text, once published both in print and in an expandable electronic format, will serve as a valuable research tool to future generations of scholarship.

### **‘Luṅkā’ and ‘Ḍhuṅḍhaka’**

The remainder of this article is devoted to a brief illustration, at the hand of two examples, the terms ‘Luṅkā’ and ‘Ḍhuṅḍhaka’, of the difficulties faced by the editors of this text, and an analysis of the implications of the sources available to Klatt on his text. To assess the feasibility of the project, selected texts from Klatt's Vol. III and IV have been transcribed by Christopher Gibbons and the present writer. Klatt's text and the references mentioned therein were checked (as far as possible) and, in parts, corrected and re-formatted; sometimes following suggestions by Klatt, who structured his text occasionally according to the historical sequence of *his* primary sources, that is, mainly catalogues and reports on manuscript collections. Nāgarī keywords were transliterated into Roman script. To make the text more accessible, indentations, italics and small caps were added. For Klatt's abbreviation ‘S.’ (Saṃvat), ‘VS’ (Vikram Saṃvat) is used. Abbreviations such as ‘Ḍh.’ (Ḍhuṅḍhaka), ‘a.’ (anna), fr.b. (from bottom), ‘l.’ (line[s], or leave[s]), n. (catalogue number, or note), s. (see), and acronyms for references have been spelled out in this article to enhance readability. Others, like p. (page), Guj. (Gujarāṭī), and others such as rg. possibly referring to an officially ‘registered’ nineteenth century print publication, have been maintained. Missing diacritics, for instance in ‘Lālaḷī’ (Lālaḷī), have also occasionally been supplemented. The aim of consistency could however not be accomplished. Systematically imposing new editorial conventions to disambiguate Klatt's use of abbreviations and acronyms will obliterate much of the historical information preserved in the text. Klatt generally accepted the diverse methods of transcribing Indic words used in his sources and merely added analytical word-divisions. This makes his manuscript stylistically incoherent. At the same time, it offers valuable insights in the fluid state of knowledge amongst leading scholars of the period confronting a flood of entirely new information. ‘Ḍhuṅḍhaka’, for instance, is rendered as ‘Ḍhuṅḍhakar’, ‘Ḍhundiā’ or

‘Dhundiā’, though only the category ‘Ḍhuṇḍhaka’ is listed. Instead of the now preferred term ‘Loṅkā’, ‘Luṅkā’ is used. However, another entry designating the same individual is ‘Laukā.’

Only the proper name ‘Luṅkā’ and the sect-designations ‘Lumpāka-matam’ and ‘Ḍhuṇḍhaka-matam’ and some related names listed in the *Onomasticon* will be investigated here to probe into Klatt’s methods and sources. Klatt’s manuscript is of considerable value for identifying rare and yet unexplored sources, not least for the study of the aniconic or ‘protestant’ Jaina traditions, which have produced only few original texts in their more than five hundred year long history, since they put a premium on the sole authority of the *āgamas*. Many of their surviving scriptures continue to be suppressed by their opponents from the image-worshipping Jaina traditions. The aniconic traditions were launched in fifteenth century Gujarāt as a protest movement against the ‘laxity’ of contemporary mendicants by a Śvetāmbara layman known as ‘Loṅkā’ or ‘Lumpaka’, the ‘breaker’ of images or ‘violator’ of tradition, who inspired the creation of the Loṅkāgaccha mendicant orders, from which a variety of new reform movements split in the seventeenth century which are now collectively known as ‘Sthānakavāsī’ or ‘hall-dweller’<sup>16</sup> traditions. One of the original five of these schismatic aniconic monastic movements are the ‘Ḍhuṇḍakas’, or ‘searchers’, called ‘Ḍhūṃḍhakas’, the ruin-dwellers<sup>17</sup> by their Jaina opponents. This particular ‘Sthānakavāsī’ tradition was created by Lavaḷī Rṣi from Surat sometime between 1648 and 1656.<sup>18</sup> Most of the founders of the other four principal Sthānakavāsī movements, such as Dharmasinha,<sup>19</sup> the founder of the Aṭh Koṭi tradition, and Dharmadāsa,<sup>20</sup> the founder of the Bāistola tradition, and a few of their successors, are also registered in the Jaina-Onomasticon, and some of their literature.

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<sup>16</sup> In contrast to the ‘temple-dwelling’ *caityavāsins*.

<sup>17</sup> The second term is also used as a self-designation. It refers to the original rejection by the members of these reformed mendicant orders of residencies that were specially constructed for them, with reference to the rules in the *āgamas*. Later, plain halls (sthānakas = upāśrayas) for mendicants were deemed acceptable. Hence, the members of the reformed mendicant traditions that severed from the Loṅkāgaccha orders were called ‘sthānakavāsins’, or ‘hall-dwellers’. On ‘dhūṇḍh-’ and ‘\*ḍhūṇḍh-’ see Turner (1973: 391). The term ‘Sthānakavāsī’ was used as a self-designation only in the 20th century. See Flügel (2008:210).

<sup>18</sup> The sources are inconsistent. Klatt (1893: 3388f.), referring to Ātmārāma and Hoernle, cites VS 1709 = 1653. On the history of the Sthānakavāsins, see Hastīmal (1995), Flügel (2000, 2003, 2007, 2008, 2012), and Jain and Kumār (2003).

<sup>19</sup> Klatt (1893: 1749f.).

<sup>20</sup> Klatt (1893: 1717).

<sup>21</sup> Flügel (2008: 185 n. 8).

The full real name of ‘Loṅkā’ is unknown.<sup>21</sup> Ācārya Hastīmal<sup>22</sup> notes that Loṅkā is variously called *lumpaka* (which he interprets as *luṭerā*, thief) or *luṅgā* (which he interprets as *luccā*, scoundrel), etc., by his opponents. A. Weber<sup>23</sup> and D. D. Mālvaṇiyā<sup>24</sup> interpret *lumpaka* as the Sanskrit rendering of *luṃkā* (*lauṃkā*), the ‘breaker’ or ‘destroyer’ of (the worship of) images or of the tradition (from the Sanskrit √ lup, to break, violate; *lopaka*, violating). See Turner (1966/1973: 643,645) on *lupyatē*, and for the uncertain meaning of *luṅka*, which he hypothetically derives from *lukka* (Sub. *lupta*). At the time of Klatt, whatever was known about the aniconic Jaina traditions was based on reports from their Mūrtipūjaka critics, such as Dharmasāgara-gaṇin (d. 1596)<sup>25</sup> and Ācārya Vijayānandasūri (1836-1896), also known as Ātmārāma (his earlier Sthānakavāsī name) or Ātmānanda (his Mūrtipūjaka name), with whom many European Indologists communicated via letter and intermediaries.<sup>26</sup> Hence, the polemical term *Luṅkā* was used to describe the founder of the Lumpaka tradition and the *Dhūṃḍhakas* are listed under the name *Dhūṃḍhaka*.

Most of the references to primary sources on Loṅkā and the members and literatures of the Loṅkāgacchas collected by Klatt and others have not yet been systematically studied.<sup>27</sup> The following are the main entries he gives on Loṅkā and the Lumpākamatam:<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Hastīmal (1995: 769).

<sup>23</sup> Weber (1882: 807f.).

<sup>24</sup> Mālvaṇiyā (1965: 185).

<sup>25</sup> See Weber’s (1882) study.

<sup>26</sup> Flügel (2010).

<sup>27</sup> For pioneering preliminary work see Mālvaṇiyā (1963a, 1963b, 1965) and the sources mentioned in footnote 19.

<sup>28</sup> Klatt (1893: 3417-3422).

<sup>29</sup> See Kharataragaccha *Paṭṭāvalīvācanā* 57, No. 1989 in Weber (1892: 1050): ‘s. 1508 hamadāvāde Lauṃkākhyena lekhakena pratimā utthāpitā, tathā s. 1524 Lau(ṃ)kābhidhaṃ matam jātam.’

<sup>30</sup> According to Dharmasāgaragaṇi’s undated (Tapā-gaccha) *Gūrvāvalīsūtram* 54, at the time of the Tapā-gaccha Ācārya Ratnaśekharaśūri (VS 1457-1517 = 1401-1460), the scribe Loṅkā founded the Luṃkā-mata in 1452, his follower Bhāṇā the Veśadhara tradition in 1477: ‘*tadānīm Luṃkākhyāl lekhakāt saṃ 1508 varshe jinapratimothāpanaparam Luṃkāmatam pravṛittam; tanmate veshadharaś tu saṃ 1533 varshe jātāḥ tatra prathamō veshadhāri ri° Bhāṇākhyo ‘bhūt’* (In: Weber II.3 1892: 1013). Section 57 of the text further mentions that the Kaṭuka-mata was founded in VS 1562 = 1506, in VS 1570 = 1514 the Vīja-mata, a ‘Veśadhara’ splinter group of the Luṃkā-mata led by Vījā (Vīja), and in VS 1572 = 1516 the creation of the Nāgapuriya Tapāgaṇa (ib., 1013f.). Section 60 mentions the re-conversion of the Lumpāka ‘*matādhipati°* Ācārya Megha to the Tapā-gaccha in Ahamadāvād at the time of the inauguration of Ācārya Hīravijayasūri (VS 1583-1652 = 1527-1596) in 1552: ‘*tathā Ahamadāvādanagara eva Lumpāka matādhipatiḥ ri° Meghājī svakīyasamudāyādhipatyam durgatitetur iti matvā°* (In: ib., p. 1015; footnote reference to ‘Methājī’ in Bhāṇḍārkar 1883/4: 133).

Dharmasāgara’s earlier Kupākṣakaśikāditya of VS 1629 (1477) uses almost identical

LUÑKĀ Lekhaka<sup>29</sup> founded VS 1508 the *Luñkā-matam jine-pratimothhāpana-param*,  
INDIAN ANTIQUARY XI 256<sup>a</sup> n. 52, WEBER II 1013 line 14-5,<sup>30</sup> AJÑĀNA-TIMIRA-  
BHĀSKARA, kh[anḍa]. 2, p. 43.

Ratnacanda of the Vṛihan-nāgorī-Luñkā-gaccha VS 1942, WEBER II 788 line 9-10.<sup>31</sup>  
Rājasinhā and Raghunātho, VS 1857, of the Vṛihal-lauñkā-gaccha, see PĀRĀVA-JINA-  
VARA-MAHIMAN STOTRA, Kācī 1880, p. 32.<sup>32</sup>

JAINA-TATTVĀDARĀ, p. 583 following succession: ṛishi Bhāṇā (Bhūṇā, BHĀNDĀRKAR  
REPORT 1883/4 p. 154) VS 1533, Būjajī 1568, Jīvājī-ṛishi 1578, Vṛiddha-vara-  
siñhājī 1649, isa Lumpaka-mata ke tīna nāma hūe, 1 Gujarātī, 2 Nāgorī, 3  
Uttarādhī iti Lumpaka-matotpattiḥ.

MILES. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY III 346 mentions a Lunca  
Paṭṭāvalī.<sup>33</sup>

Origin VS 1527, ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT  
38, [p.] 9,<sup>34</sup> in Aṇahalla-pattana in Gujara-deḍa by Luñka of the Prāgvaṭa-kula, ib. p.  
13. 40.<sup>35</sup>

ĀRĪ-LOKA-GACCHĪYA-ĀRĀVAKASYA SĀRTHA-PAÑCA-PRATIKRAMAṆA-SŪTRA, Bombay,

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words: ‘*Lumpākamatam Vī° 1508 varshe Lumpaka - lekhkāt prarūpanam̐ adhikṛitya pravṛittam̐, tatprarūpanā ca jina pratimānishedhamūlikā; tanmate veshadharāḥ punar Vī° sam° 1533 varshe Māroḍī pratyāsannā’raghaṭṭaka vāstavya prāgvātajnātīya Bhānākhyād eva pravṛittā, etadutpattivistāras tu etannāmnā’sṭhama viḍrāme rakshyate, ayam ca pracavana(yacana!)bāhye bālagopālāṅganānām api pratītaḥ*’ (In: Weber II.3 1892: 959; see also pp. 960, 967, 971f.).

<sup>31</sup> A modern copy of Hemacandrasūri’s *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-vṛtti*, a commentary on Jinabhadra’s *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* I (*sāmāyika*), mentioned in Weber’s catalogue was prepared by Ratnacandra as indicated at two different places in the manuscript: “*saṃvat 1942* (also: A.D. 1886) *rā vaiḥṣa suda 7 tithau ḥ ṛi / Ratnacanda nāgorī Luñkā Jesalamera ma 4*” (fol. 144<sup>b</sup>) and “*Ratnacanda vṛihanāgarī luñkāgacha*” (fol. 145<sup>a</sup>) (Weber 1888: 788).

<sup>32</sup> As an example for further information on this order, that is not cross-referenced in the manuscript, see for instance the entry on the following Luñkāgaccha monk in Klatt (1893: 1793):

‘NAGARĀJA bhikshu, of the Vṛihan-nāgapurīya-Luñkā-gaccha, honored by the kings,  
see BHAGAVĀTI ed. Benares VS 1938, f[olio] 1936b v[erse] 20.

N. of the Luñkā-gaccha, preceptor of Raghunātha, about VS 1890, see PRAJĀNĀPANA  
col[ophon].

N.’s pupil Rāmcandra, author of a padam, PADA-RATNĀVALI (Benares), p. 327 l. 1, reg. p. 31’.

<sup>33</sup> Miles (1933: 346): ‘Lūnca Patāvalī.’

<sup>34</sup> Jacobi (1884: 9), referring to the Bhadrabāhucaritra of Ratnanandin (15th-16th C.E.).

<sup>35</sup> Jacobi (1884: 13, line 40), summarizing Ratnanandin: ‘Im Jahre 1527 nach dem Tode Vikramas entsteht das Luñkāmata (156). Ein Čvetāmbara Namens Luñka aus dem Prāgvātakula stürzt die Jinabilder.



Jagadīcvar press 1883. 236 p. Re. I. Succession from Hīrākara-sūri VS 1640 till Amṛtacandra-sūri VS 1939, see ... [?] BHAGAVATĪ, Ben. [Benares] VS 1938, title. Rāmācandra-gaṇi and his pupil Nānakacanda VS 1937, see STHĀNĀNGA ed. Ben. VS 1937. Tejasiṅgha VS 1766, Lokag[acchīya]-Pratikr[amaṇa-sūtra], Bomb[ay] 1887, p. 219-35. LONKA-GACCHĪYA-ĀRĀVAKASYA SĀRTHA-PAÑCA-PRATIKRAMAṆA-SŪTRA, Bombay Jagadīcvar press 1882. 218 p. Re. 1. 4a (CATALOGUE BOMBAY 1882 IV 16-7). VS 1572 Rūpacand Sorānā of his own accord put on the monks' garb and originated the Nāgorī Lumpaka sect, ĀTMĀRĀMĪ'S PAṬṬA-VRIKSHA (HOERNLE). Nāga-purīyāhvā Luṅkā-gaṇe at the end of Anuttaraupapātika, Calc[utta], LOKĀ-GACCHĪYA ĀRĀVAKASYA SĀRTHA-PAÑCA-PRATIKRAMAṆA-SŪTRA. 3. ed. Bombay, Jagadīcvar press VS 1943, 6, 270 p.

[...]

**LUMPĀKAMATAM**<sup>36</sup> INDIAN ANTIQUARY XI 256<sup>a</sup> n. 55, WEBER II 1013 line 24, 30.<sup>37</sup>

From it the Vīja-matam arose VS 1570.

ib. 1013f. line 25. JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY I 98 n. 23.

Lumpāka-mukhya-kumata combatted by Vimalaharsha, Ms. OR. FOL. 673 n. 32.

Lumpākānām pratimā-nishedhaḥ their principal heresy, BHĀNDĀRKAR REPORT 1883/4 p.456 line 7 from bottom. WEBER II 956 note [3].

Lumpaka-gaṇopāsaka Rāya [Bāhādur] Dhanapatisiṅha, see SAMAVĀYĀNGA, ed.

Ben[ares] VS 1937.<sup>38</sup>

Lupaka-gacche crī Amṛtacandra-sūri, see AUPAPĀTIKA, ed. VS 1936.<sup>39</sup>

Lavajī, grandson of Borā Vīrajī of the Lumpaka sect originated VS 1709 the

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Auch diese Sekte theilt sich wieder in mehrere (160).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Klatt (1893: 3420-3422).

<sup>37</sup> Dharmasāgara, in: Weber (1892: 1013).

<sup>38</sup> See Bhūmika (entry on Dhanapatisiṅha on p. in Klatt 1893 III: 1662).

<sup>39</sup> Because the title *sūri* is used exclusively by Mūrtipūjaka traditions, Amṛtacandra cannot have been a Lumpāka. The work was edited in Calcutta.

<sup>40</sup> The unmentioned source must be Muni Ātmārāma, mentioned in Kunte (1882: 3).

<sup>41</sup> Bendall (1886: 63) lists this text under 'Mss. Personally Collected.' The description on page 63 begins line 19 and the quotation starts line 24: '*Lumpāka-mata-kuṭṭana* is the subscription of a short work (of 21 leaves). Outside is written in a much later hand "Lokāyata-kuṭṭana." The Lumpāka mata was a school founded in Vikr. Saṃvat 1508 (A.D. 1461). See Dr Klatt *Ind. Antiq.* XI. 256 (September 1882). The treatise is in the main a compilation from the Siddhānta or canon of the Āvetāmbaras and begins: *Navā cruta-jñānam-ananta-bhedam | pārāṅgataṃ cetasi sannidhāya | siddhānta-vākyaṇi karomi samyak |*

Ḍhuṇḍhaka sect. Likhārī of the Lumpaka sect originated VS 1734 a sect which rejects the Jina image and the holy scripture.<sup>40</sup>

**LUMPĀKAMATAKUṬṬANA** comp. by followers of the Kharatara-gaccha VS 1687, beg[ins] Natvā ṛuta-jñānam-ananta-bhedaṃ, 21 l[eaves] BENDALL JOURN[EY] p. 47, 63.<sup>41</sup>[...]

**LAUKĀ**<sup>42</sup> lekhaka erected VS 1608 a statue in Ahamadāvāda,<sup>43</sup> there the Laukā-matam arose VS 1524, INDIAN ANTIQUARY XI 249<sup>b</sup> n. 57, WEBER II 1050 line 7-8, INDIAN ANTIQUARY VIII 311.<sup>44</sup>

In contrast to ‘Luṅkā’ and ‘Lumpākamatam’, ‘Lumpākamatakuṭṭana’ and ‘Laukā’, the main entry on ‘Ḍhuṇḍhaka’ includes references to primary literature of this monastic tradition, in particular a *paṭṭāvalī*. One text, however, the *Aṭṭhāvana bolo* was most likely composed by Loṅkā himself.<sup>45</sup> Textual references are presented by Klatt generally after the historical data related to an author or tradition. However, further additions were simply appended in the manuscript.<sup>46</sup>

**ḌHUṆḌHAKA**-matam originated VS 1709 under Vijayaprabha-sūri †VS 1749, JAINA-TATTVĀDARŚA, p. 592.

The Ḍhuṇḍhakar separated VS 1724 from the Luṅkas, MILES TRANSACTIONS III, p. 365. They do not worship images, according to the Persian work MIRĀTI AHMADĪ, even 355.<sup>47</sup>

Controversies between the Dhondhiās and Tapās, see GAZETTEER OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY, vol. 8, Kāthiāvār, p.148 note 2.

Jeṭhmaljī of the Dhundhiā sect composed before 75 years *Samakita-sār*, CATALOGUE

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[citation printed in Nāgarī] Its compilers belonged to the Kharatara-gaccha and wrote the work in Saṃvat 1687.’

<sup>42</sup> Klatt (1893: 3443).

<sup>43</sup> This is impossible because of the date and because of his rejection of image-worship.

<sup>44</sup> The original text refers wrongly to: ‘The J a i n a s who followed the L o k ā y ā t a s’ (Logan 1879: 311). The mix up of ‘Loṅkā’ with ‘Lokā’ occurred frequently in 19<sup>th</sup> century reports. See footnote 26.

<sup>45</sup> See Mālyaniyā (1963a: 80-82, 1965: 188). For a Hindī summary see Jain and Kumār (2003: 118-20). For a discussion and English translations, see Flügel (2008: 223ff.).

<sup>46</sup> Klatt (1893: 1279-1283).

<sup>47</sup> The reference could not be located in the English translations of the works by Bird (1835) and Bayley (1886). See Khān, Alī Muhammad.

BOMBAY 1888 II 70.<sup>48</sup>

Ātmārāmī is said to have been a Dḥ[unḍhaka], ib.

*Dhundhiāno rāsado*, or a poem relating to a sect called Dhundiā. Guj., by Uttama

Vijaya. Ahmedābād, Nāran Krishnarām 1869. 12 p. 4°, lith. 2 a[nna], see CATALOGUE BOMBAY 1869 III 6.

*Siddhānta-sāranī Dhālo*, or verses giving substance of the established truth, Guj.,

Ahmedabad 1887. 32 p. 2 a[nna] (condemns the worship of an image of any of the tīrthānkars, as well as pilgrimage to holy places),<sup>49</sup> see CATALOGUE BOMBAY 1888 I 24.

*Bṛihad-āloyanā*, or the great work on return from sin, Mārvādi. By Lālājī Sāheb

Ranajīta-sinha-jī. Ahmedabad, Union Printing Press, published by Chhaganlāl Behechardās 1888. 48 p. 3 a[nna] (A tract of the Dhundiyā sect), see CATALOGUE BOMBAY 1888 IV 42.<sup>50</sup>

*Āṭhāvana bola*,<sup>51</sup> Guj., KUNTE REPORT 1881 p. 48 n[umber] 225. Founded by Lābhājī from Surat, son of Bīro Bīrjī Srī Māl and Phulā Bāī, see MONIER-WILLIAMS, JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY N.S. 20 (1888) 286.<sup>52</sup> KUNTE REPORT 1880-1881, dated 24. January 1881 p. 3-4 (dated 6. June 1881 p. 4).<sup>53</sup>

In 1709, Lavajī, the adopted son of Phulā Bāī, the daughter of the Borā Vīrajī, of the Lumpaka sect, together with Dharmadās, the cotton printer, originated the sect (panth) of the mouth-covering Dḥ[unḍhaka]. These divided into 22 sections,<sup>54</sup> COMMUNICATION OF ĀTMĀRĀMĪ.

Opposite to the Dḥ[unḍhaka] is *Vīra-stuti*, composed VS 1849, PRAKARAṆA-RATNĀKARA III p. 569-696.

Dhūdhūkā-gaccha, name of a gaccha in GACCHA-NĀMĀNUKRAMANĪKĀ No. 60.

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<sup>48</sup> Sāthe's (1888 II: 70f.) entry No. 373 refers to the 'second translation' of the Samyaktva Śalyoddhāra (of Ātmārāma 1994/1909) under the name of 'Bhāvnagar Jain Dharma Prasārak Sabhā, Translators': 'The work of Jethmaljī, which has evoked the present refutation of it, is said to be 75 years old and was recently reprinted.'

<sup>49</sup> Original text, Sāthe (1888 I: 25): 'Mentions the duties of a follower of Jainism and condemns the worship of an image of any of the Tīrthānkars or sanctified teachers of Jainism, as well as pilgrimage to certain holy places.'

<sup>50</sup> No. 255 in Sāthe (1888 IV: 42f.).

<sup>51</sup> Original Kunte (1880-81: 48f.): 'Āṭhāvān Bola' (Gujarāṭī), 'old and incorrect; prose. Gujarāṭhī. Very rare.' The text was attributed to Loṅkā by Mālvaṇiyā (1963a).

<sup>52</sup> Original: Rang Lāl (Jain), in Monier-Williams, Lāl and Davies (1888: 286): 'I must finish now with one more remark, and it is about a sect of Jains called 'Dhundye,' but more commonly 'Munh-bandhe,' owing to their habit of keeping their mouth covered with a piece of cloth - something very much like a respirator

*Ḍhūṇḍhakamatotpatti*, see SAMAKITA-SALYODDHĀRA Bombay 1885 p. 1-8.

*Ḍhūṇḍhakamata-paṭṭāvālī*, ib. p. 8-11.

*Ḍhūṇḍhaka-mata-nirākaraṇa*, printed R[upee]s 3, CATALOGUE JYEṢṢTHARAM

MUKUNDJEE 1892, p. 13<sup>a</sup>.

**ḌHUNḌHAKOTPATTI** by Lakṣmīvijaya, 4 l[eaves]. PETERSON REPORT III Appendix [II]  
p. 213 n. 39.<sup>55</sup>

## Concluding remarks

The brief review of the entries on Loṅkāmatam and Ḍhūṇḍhakamatam, etc., shows that a lot could have been learned about the aniconic traditions already more than a century ago had Johannes Klatt's yet unpublished *magnum opus* been utilized. Since this was not done,

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in this country - because the first principle of Jainism is not to destroy *life*, however insignificant. As there are animalcul in the air, they say that when they breathe the hot breath kills them, so they use this cloth to keep away these animalcul. They have no temples, but simply a place of meeting, where they sit, meditate, say their prayers, and study religious books. A great number of those who belong to this sect are a sort of monks, who have given up the world, but there are very few laity.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The original text of Kunte (1880-81: 4) is based on 'the conversation I had with a Jain mendicant, Ātmā Rām' in Gujarāṃvālā (ib., No. 28, p. 3, cf. No. 22, p. 3), that is, with the Ex-Sthānakavāstī Mūrtipūjaka Muni Ātmārāma (Vijāyanandasūri): 'Dhūṇḍhiyā is a sect said to have been founded by Lābhājī, a native of Sūrat. He was the son of Bīro Birji Sṛī Māl, by Phulā Bāī. The Dhūṇḍhiyās are a branch of the Svetāmabaris, but they discard the worship of the image of the Tīrthankaras. They are generally given to meditations or practices of the yoga, and attach great importance to the preservation of life, so much so that they do not light a lamp at night and generally tie a piece of cloth on their mouths to prevent the insects being killed by the heat or the air they expire. They seldom walk by night. They say that in worshipping idols people light a lamp, offer scent, and breathe freely, which is all in contravention of the doctrine of the preservation of life.'

<sup>54</sup> Now it is clear that Lavajī and Dharmadāsa founded rival monastic order and that these 'Bāīs Tolā' derive from Dharmadāsa. See the literature mentioned in footnote 19.

<sup>55</sup> 'List of the more important Paper Mss. preserved in the Temple of Santinath, Cambay' (Peterson 1887 III: 191).

<sup>56</sup> Klatt did by no means cover every piece of information available on the tradition of Loṅkā and the Dhūṇḍhiyās. A. Walker's (c. 1807-1830) very tentative unpublished report, for instance, seemed to have escaped his attention, or was left out because it did not throw any light on literary history. Since this is one of if not the earliest report on the Loṅkāgaccha in a European language, E. Bender's (1976: 117f.) excerpt deserves to be quoted at length:

'[T]he Lounka Gatcha, both Jutties and Shravacas, differ considerable from the other sects.

They are more careful of animal life. They worship the Supreme Being alone, and wholly reject the agency of Dewtas, and the Arhyuntas [arihantas]. They despise the worship of the Arhyantas in the Jaina Temples, and ask how an Image can grant a Petition?

hardly any of the standard textbooks on Jainism offers even basic information on the aniconic traditions, with the exception of the well known work by Paul Dundas, which made a start. Even Klatt's information stemmed largely from the works of opponents of the protestant traditions. This was unavoidable at the time, since no other information was made available. The state of knowledge on the aniconic traditions reflected in the pages of the *Jaina-Onomasticon* is still embryonic and in itself unreliable, which probably is the reason why it was shunned by previous generations of indological scholarship.<sup>56</sup> However, it points to yet untapped sources the critical study of which will lead to more certain reconstructions of the history of a tradition which today comprises of about one third of all Jainas.

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The High Priest of the Shravacas and Jutties [yatis] is called Shree Pooj [śrīpūjya].

The Sripuja of the Lounka Gaccha, or tribe, is at Baroda; this is his principal Station, but their duty is to take a circuit among their dependents every year; the High Priests of the sects are elsewhere.

The Lounka Gatch had four stations (of which one no longer exists) at which Thiveras [sthaviras] were stationed; vizt. Delhi, Ajimere, Jalour. Three Thiveras are Deputies or Legates, who are entrusted with a general superintendance over the Morals of the Yati.

The Sripuja is chosen by adoption, generally from among the Wannias [baniyās] of the Veesavosavar [Veśadahara] Caste, the most respectable; when the Sripuja is on the point of death, the child is placed on the gaudee [gādi]. His lock of hair plucked out, and the MUntra particularly appropriated for this station is whispered in his Ear, and the assembly of Yatis are desired to obey their future Chief.

About 100 years ago, this sect gave birth to a new description of Yatis, who carry mortifications to great extreme.

It happened that a Yati of the Lounka Gatcha disputed the Mandate o the Sripuja, ... and founded the Sect of the Dhoundia ...

These [pūja] ceremonies are not performed by the Yatis, and they are wholly rejected both by Shravacas and Yatis of the Lounka Gatcha. ...

Altho' any of the above Castes may become Converts, yet they do not choose their Disciples

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or Chila's [chelas] from the Military Class. This is at least the case with the Lounka Gatcha.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Bendall (1886: 24f.) believed to be the first European to have visited the Śvetāmbara Mandir at the *ghāts* in Benares. He attended a committee meeting of the Bāla Sarasvatībhavana library, started at suggestion of his guide Paṇḍit Dhunḍhirāja Dharmādhikārī.

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