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FATHERS AND SONS: SOME REMARKS ON THE ORDINATION OF CHILDREN IN THE MEDIEVAL ŚVETĀMBARA MONASTIC COMMUNITY

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Abstract

Relying on the evidence of medieval Jain story literature and monastic lineage histories of the Śvetāmbaras, this paper explores two issues: the recruitment of children into the monastery and the kinship relationships that obtained between monks. The paper argues that the recruitment of children was not unusual; children came into the monastery in a variety of ways, including accompanying a parent who renounced. In these sources mothers often renounce with their young children, and brothers, fathers and sons, join the same monastic unit and remain closely associated with each other. Ties between the laity and monks and nuns also often reflect kinship bonds. The picture that emerges is of a tightly knit community with longstanding and stable bonds.

I. Introduction

The Śvetāmbara Jain community flourished in Northwest India throughout the medieval period. Its vitality is well documented by the elaborate records of lay donations of temples, images, and manuscripts, which are preserved as inscriptions on images and temples and as manuscript colophons.[1] There are also rich accounts of the deeds of the leading monks of the various monastic

1 There are collections of book colophons that have been published, for example Muni Jina Vijaya, *Jaina Pustakapraśastisamgraha*, Singhi Jain Series 18 (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1943). Manuscript catalogues also regularly reproduce colophons. See PUṆYAVIJAYAJI, 1961 and PUṆYAVIJAYAJI, 1968). There are also numerous collections of inscriptions on images and temples, many of which are difficult now to obtain. The *Jainadhātupratimālekhasaṃgraha* of Buddhisāgarasūri, Śrīmad Buddhisāgarasūri Granthamālā 64 (Vadodara: Luhanamitra Steam Press, 1924) is a typical example.

lineages into which the community of renunciants had become divided.[2] In particular these biographies of monks give us a picture of an active group of monks and nuns, whose lives were spent in private study and penance and in the public celebration of the Jain cause through pilgrimages to holy places, consecration of images and temples, and equally important, the recruitment of new monks and nuns. The recruitment of new members involved performing their tonsure ceremonies, which were often the occasion for lavish festivities. In the case of the monks, other very public ceremonies were also held in which leading figures were installed into a particular office in the monastic hierarchy. Some biographies place particular emphasis on these ceremonies, in which lay patrons and the monastic community were brought closely together.[3]

In this essay I focus on one particular aspect of the recruitment of monks and nuns into the monastic community, the recruitment of children. In addition to the evidence of the inscriptions and book colophons and the extensive biographical literature devoted to monks, there are numerous didactic stories in Prakrit and Sanskrit which also tell us about pious men and women who were motivated to renounce the world. All of these sources taken together may offer us some insight into how the Jain monastic community recruited its monks and nuns and the various reasons for which men and women might have chosen the religious life. They may also tell us something about the various strategies that Jain monks and nuns might have employed in their preaching to encourage others to renounce. Despite its inherent interest, the issue of the recruitment of children into the monastery has received relatively little scholarly attention.[4]

The picture that emerges from our different sources is not entirely consistent, and the issue of the recruitment of children into the monasteries is

2 I have written on the biographies of Śvetāmbara Jain monks, for example in GRANOFF/SHINOHARA, 1992; GRANOFF, 1989; GRANOFF, 1989/1990; GRANOFF, 1964. For a more complete list see the bibliography in DUNDAS, 2002.

3 Some of the lineage accounts, for example the *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, ed. Acharya Jina Vijaya Muni, Singhi Jain Series 42 (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956) and the *Vijayadevasūrimāhātmya*, ed. Jina Vijaya (Ahmedabad: Jaina Sahitya Samsodhak Granthamala, 1928) regularly describe such ceremonies and include an accounting of the expenses incurred with the names of the lay patrons who paid for the rituals.

4 A recent exception is an article to which Paul Dundas drew my attention after I had completed this paper. BALBIR, 2001.

perhaps one of the most striking examples of how different sources can lead us to different and incomplete conclusions if we are not careful in evaluating all of our evidence. In fact stories of children becoming monks are not common in the large corpus of Jain didactic story literature. These stories center most often on adults, who for various reasons highlighted in the stories, renounce the world. Even stories of animals that remember their past births and renounce the world before dying seem more common than stories of children who become monks or nuns. If we had only the evidence of the didactic stories, we might easily conclude that the Jain monastic community was recruited largely from fully adult men and women, in the sense in which that term is used today. It is somewhat surprising then to find that the evidence from medieval monastic lineage histories suggests a very different picture. Lineage histories indicate that becoming a monk as a child may well have been far more the rule than the exception. One lineage history of the Tapāgaccha, for example, which gives the dates of birth and initiation for many of its monks, reveals that a majority of monks in the 14th century and later were as young as seven or eight when they first took their vows, while others were twelve or thirteen years old.[5] In the rival Kharataragaccha, we see that the monk Jinacandrasūri was born in 1140 A.D. and initiated six years later in 1146 A.D.[6] Jinadattasūri was nine years old when he was initiated in 1084 A.D, and Jinapatisūri was eight years old when he was ordained in 1166 A.D.[7] The examples could be multiplied and suggest that young monks were an important group of monks in the medieval Śvetāmbara community. At a later period, in the 19th century, a certain category of Jain monks who were less strict in their observance of the vows and were known as *yatis* seem to have been regularly recruited as children well under the age

5 Muni Darshanavijaya, *Paṭṭāvalisamuccaya*, Śrī Cāritra Smāraka Granthamālā no. 22 (Vīramgām: Śrī Cāritra Smāraka Granthamālā, 1933). I refer to text number 7, the *Tapāgacchapaṭṭāvalī sūtra* with commentary. The text and commentary are both by Dharmasāgaragaṇi.

6 See NĀHAṬĀ/NĀHAṬĀ, 1940:2–3.

7 Agarcanda NĀHAṬĀ/NĀHAṬĀ, 1946:4. See also the introduction to their *Aitihāsika Jaina Kāvya Saṃgraha,* Śrī Abhaya Jaina Granthamālā, no. 8 (Calcutta: Śamkaradāsa Śubhairāha Nāhaṭā, 1937). This gives a convenient summary of some of the dates in the lives of the major Kharatara monks. BALBIR, 2001:173 gives statistics for today.

of eight, the age we shall see was fixed as the lower limit for the ordination of Jain monks. They were also often purchased from their poor parents.[8]

There is considerable uncertainty about the exact age the term "child" or *bāla* actually denoted; there is also considerable uncertainty about the age at which a child stopped being a "child". It is clear from the language of the texts that even youngsters who had reached the permissible age of ordination were nonetheless still considered "children" in need of special supervision. Jinadattasūri, for example, at nine years of age, was one year older than the agreed upon age limit for ordination; nonetheless his biography still calls him a *śiśu*, or child and he is entrusted to an older monk who is made responsible for him.[9] Texts like the *Oghaniryukti* that contain the rules for regulating the conduct of monks also make many exceptions for *bāla* or children, who are often grouped together with the elderly as needing special consideration.[10] For these reasons, in this essay I will be considering as "child monks" youngsters who are explicitly called "children" in the texts, even if we do not quite know their precise age or even if they are older than the prescribed limit, that is, more than eight years old. I will also be considering as children youngsters we might consider to be children, ten- or eleven-year olds, for example, if they renounce in circumstances other than those described as the usual ones for adults, who were expected to come to a deep religious realization of the need to renounce the world and follow the mendicant path.

If we turn to the Jain didactic stories, we can only be surprised then by the very minor role that children, even in this broad definition, play in these stories. The didactic stories do focus on renunciation; it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that one of the main motives behind Jain didactic stories is to stimulate their audience to internalize the religious message and re-

8 John Cort, in speaking of the *yatis* notes that in some cases they could also be first-born sons who were dedicated to the monastic community as a result of a vow. There were even *yatis* who began life as the illegitimate sons of Brahmin widows and were given to the monastery. CORT, 2001:44–45.

9 *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, p. 14, paragraph 27; translated in GRANOFF/SHINOHARA, 1992:52.

10 See for example 669 in the edition of Muni Dīparatnasāgara, (Ahmadabad: Āgama Śruta Prakāśa, 1999):155. in which a monk is permitted to beg more than the normally prescribed times for the sake of children. The commentator Droṇa, commenting on another verse, p. 167, defines a child as someone under eight years old. This implies that Droṇa accepted the fact that there were children younger than eight in the monastery.

nounce the world. Renunciation and why people choose it are main themes in the stories as a whole. Jain didactic stories offer several possible answers to the question of what may have motivated men and women to follow the religious life; for the most part their heroes and heroines are adults who make conscious decisions to renounce. In some stories renunciation is made to seem part of the natural course of events in the life of a pious Jain. There is in these accounts no dramatic encounter or event that motivates the protagonist of the story to renounce the world; rather, men and women take the religious life after hearing a monk deliver a general sermon on the transitoriness of worldly pleasures.[11] In other stories, the encounter with a wandering monk and the truth he teaches is far more personal and shocking; thus a courtesan will be told to her great horror that she is sleeping with her son, or a son will be upbraided for sacrificing his own father, now reborn as an animal, at the father's funeral feast![12] Often, particularly in stories of this type, characters are either directly told of their own past births or led by the visiting monk's disclosures to remember their past births. This memory then serves as the direct stimulus for renunciation.[13] In general all of these stories, both those in which the climax is a sermon, and those in which the occasion for renunciation is some more startling event, focus on the process of individual choice that culminates in renunciation.

The absence of child renouncers as the subject of didactic stories raises the question of orthodox Jain attitudes to and rules for child renunciation. It is necessary to admit at the outset that unlike the Buddhist *vinaya*, which has explicit rules about the age at which children may be accepted into the monastery, the situation in Jainism is less clear. In the Buddhist *Mahāvagga,* for example, the story is told of a group of children who are accepted into the monastery. They create a commotion at night, bawling for food. The Buddha explains that no one under twenty is to be given full ordination. Younger people are not able to endure the hardship that being a monk entails.[14] Fifteeen is the limit for accepting children as novices, as another episode makes clear. Thus in the *Ahivātarogavatthu* we hear of a clan virtually

11 For example the story of Devadiṇṇa that I have translated in GRANOFF, ed. 1990:84ff. The story was slightly revised in GRANOFF, 1998:315.

12 See the stories of Kuberadatta and Kuberadattā and Maheśvaradatta in GRANOFF, 1998:128–133 and 125–128.

13 I have written on this motif in an article, "Life as Ritual Process" *in Other Selves: Autobiography and Biography in Cross-cultural Perspective*, pp. 16–35.

14 *Mahāvagga, Upālidārakavatthu*, (Nalanda: Pāli Publication Board, 1956):80–81.

wiped out by disease. The remaining parents and their children enter the Buddhist order. When people see the children running to their father for a share of the alms, they disparage the Buddhists, saying that the Buddhist nuns are unchaste and have children. The Buddha therefore makes the rule that a child under fifteen is not to be ordained.[15] In addition, children must always have their parents' permission to join the order.[16]

The Jain texts are not as clear cut in their rules. The *Ṭhāṇaṅga* 3.202 gives a list of three categories of people who are not to be ordained. The commentary by Abhayadeva supplies a fuller list, headed by *bāla* or child. Unfortunately Abhayadeva does not define what age is meant by the term; he obviously assumed some commonly accepted definition. One common understanding is that youth began when childhood ended, at around age twelve or thirteen, but S.B. Deo in his study of Jain monachism assumed a younger age, stating that the *Ṭhāṇaṅga* commentary prohibited the ordina-

15 *Mahāvagga,* p. 82.

16 *Mahāvagga, Rāhulavatthu*, p. 86. This passage raises other issues. It suggests that child-monks could serve as attendants to other monks. In this section Rāhula is assigned to Śāriputta. The story even ends with a second child attendant being assigned to Śāriputta. A family who is particularly devoted to Śāriputta sends their son to be ordained and serve him. The Buddha makes an exception to the rule that a monk should have only one attendant in this case and permits Śāriputta to have Rāhula and the new boy. The ordination of these attendant monks is called *sāmaṇerapabbajā*. There is no indication given of the age of these monks. This may indicate another difference between Jain and Buddhist practice. Jains did not have a preliminary ordination; all recruits were given full ordination. The practice of having novice monks is a modern practice, as BALBIR, 2001:153, has also noted. Gregory Schopen called my attention to passages in the *avadānas* in which children are promised to the monastery at birth or even before birth. In one case in the *Avadānaśataka* a man is distraught when all of his children die and he promises that if he has a living child he will give it to the monks. The child is born, lives, and is ordained at age seven, something that is clearly not allowed in the *Mahāvagga.* (*Avadānaśataka*, ed. J.S. Speyer, Bibliotheca Buddhica III Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970), vol. 2:67. In the *Pravajyāvastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, ed. N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1950) Saṃgharakṣita is promised to the monks before he is born, but he does not join them until he has grown up, "*mahān saṃvṛtaḥ*". It is impossible to say at what age that might have been. Finally I would add that Georges Dreyfus pointed out that contemporary Tibetan monasteries have many children in residence (oral communication). Practice may well differ from the prescribed rules, and rules may also differ from place to place. These are some of the issues that deserve a fuller study.

tion of a child younger than age eight.[17] This is certainly the age assumed in later commentarial literature.[18] It is possible that this age was meant to correspond to the age at which a Brahmin boy may undergo the *upanayana* ceremony, and the age at which the *Dharmaśāstras* also considered a person to be legally responsible.[19] At the same time, in much of the literature the term *bāla* does not refer consistently to a single age, which often makes it difficult to understand what precisely was meant when the term was used.[20]

Even with the restriction that children under age eight were not to be ordained, the earlier literature does include examples of monks who were much younger. One of Mahāvīra's disciples, Atimuktaka, was singled out in the texts for his ordination at a particularly young age. Atimuktaka's story was told in the *Antagaḍadasāo*, chapter 6, and in the *Bhagavatīsūtra*, V.4.3.[21] The *Antagaḍadasāo* tells of Atimuktaka's resolve and renunciation. He meets Mahāvīra's disciple Gotama and accompanies him to see Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra preaches to him and he decides at once to renounce the world. He returns to his parents and asks their permission. The story follows the conventional format of hearing the discourse and desiring to become a monk, which is told of so many others in the tradition. Atimuktaka's young age almost seems irrelevant in this account of his choice to become a monk.

This is not the case in the *Bhagavatīsūtra*, where Atimuktaka's childish behavior arouses concern among the senior monks. There has been a heavy rain and Atimuktaka takes his begging bowl, fashions for it a sail of mud and sets it afloat in a puddle. The senior monks report this to Mahāvīra, who praises Atimuktaka and says that he will gain release in this life. He warns the older monks not to disparage the child monk and commands them to treat

17 DEO, 1956:140. Deo quotes from a passage in the *Ṭhāṇaṅga*, 3.202, with its commentary of Abhyadevasūri, p. 165 in the reprint of the text originally edited by Ācārya Sāgarānanda Sūri (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985).

18 For a detailed discussion see BALBIR, 2001. The information that Balbir gives suggests that Jain texts were consistent in permitting renunciation for children as young as eight years, but not younger (p. 158) The exceptions that she notes from the *Niśītha Bhāṣya* include only one that we will meet in our stories: the case of children who renounce along with other members of their family.

19 KANE, 1974:274–278; FEZAS, 2001.

20 See also the article by CHOJNACKI, 2001:259–272.

21 DELEU, 1970:108. *Antagaḍadasāo*, Āgamasudhāsindhu, vol. 4 (Santipuri: Śrī Harṣapuṣpāmṛta Jaina Granthamālā, 1976):341–342.

the child with respect.[22] Abhayadeva notes in his commentary that Atimuktaka was an exception to the rule; he had been ordained at age six. In any case, the story makes it clear that the child Atimuktaka was considered to be something of an oddity; he was the only child monk and the elders were not quite sure about the appropriateness of his being part of their community. This treatment of Atimuktaka in the *Bhagavatīsūtra* makes the medieval practice, in which child monks appear to have been more numerous, seem all the more unusual.

It is worth emphasizing that the story of Atimuktaka's ordination stresses his precocity; Atimutaka does not become a monk for reasons that are at all different from those of adults who become monks. He hears the teaching, is moved by it, and chooses to become a monk. There is no hint in either this account of his renunciation in the *Antagaḍadasāo* or in the story of his childish play in the *Bgagavatīsūtra* that child monks formed a separate category or that their renunciation occurred under circumstances that were different from those that prevailed in the case of adults. The renunciation of Atimuktaka fits in well with the stories of adults renouncing in the didactic stories.

If we return to those stories, however, I think that it is possible that they do give us a glimpse of a categorry of individuals for whom renunciation may not have been a simple personal choice. Thus, even when that choice made by the protagonist of a story is carefully described, there are hints in the story that such a deep religious experience was not necessarily the only motivating force for others in the story to renounce the world. It is not uncommon for a story told of a male figure to conclude with the hero of the story and all of his wives renouncing the world, although the story has told us only of the religious experience of the hero himself.[23] In some stories, a king and queen and their retinue will all renounce the world together, although the focus of the story has clearly been on the king and queen alone. Thus we are told in the celebrated story of King Yaśodhara that the king Māridatta "along with his court priest, chief minister, vassals and ladies of the harem" became an ascetic.[24] In another story, similarly a king, "his ministers

22 *Bhagavatīsūtra,* ed. Śrī Kanhailāljī Mahārāha (Rajkot: Jain Shastra Uddhara Samiti, 1963), vol. 4:226–238.

23 This is the case, for example, in the story of Devadiṇṇa cited in note 10.

24 The story is translated by Friedhelm Hardy in GRANOFF, ed., 1990:118–139.

and his subjects all renounced their possessions and became monks."[25] In these accounts of kings who become monks it is standard for the story teller to add that their heroes renounced the world after they had installed a son on the throne, ensuring the orderly continuation of their dynasty. Nonetheless, we shall see that in indicating that dependents renounce along with their overlord, they may offer us a point of entry into the complex phenomenon of child monks.

In addition to the didactic stories told of imaginary men and women, medieval Jainism also has texts called *prabandhas* which describe the deeds of historical figures. The *prabandhas* differ from the lineage histories in that they lack their sectarian concerns; they also include accounts of secular figures, kings and queens, merchants and warriors, some of whom were not even Jains. The *prabandhas* preserve a biography of a Jain monk which suggests that children could be among those who renounced the world in these communal ceremonies and could be considered to belong to the category of individuals whom I would call "renouncing dependents", which includes the king's retinue in the stories immediately above. I begin my discussion of child monks with a consideration of this story.

II. Widows and children: Some examples of child monks from the biographical literature

The biography of the Jain monk and philosopher Mallavādin is told in the 14th century *Prabandhakośa*. There we learn the circumstances of the famous monk's renunciation. Mallavādin's mother has lost her husband. Disgusted with the world, she becomes a nun and has her eight-year-old son, who is still a child, as the text tells us, ordained as well.[26] In an earlier version of the biography from the 12th century, while we are not told what prompted Mallavādin's mother to renounce the world, we are given the ad-

25 This is the story of Padmalatā from the *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇa translated in GRANOFF, 1998:242–248. See also the story of Ārāmaśobhā, p. 291.

26 I have translated the biography from the *Prabandhakośa* in GRANOFF, ed. 1990: 166–170.

ditional information that when she became a nun her three sons also became monks.[27]

It is not difficult to see what the child Mallavādin and his brothers have in common with the kings' wives and retainers in some of the didactic stories. In all these cases, we are told nothing about any religious experience that any of these individuals might have had. In addition they all stand in a position of dependence with respect to some other figure in the story whose decision to renounce the world is given primary attention in the story. That Mallavādin's case may not have been an isolated case and that there might have been some truth to the story of a child renouncing because his mother renounced (whether or not this was the case with Mallavādin himself, of course, we can never know), is suggested by the evidence of the lineage accounts. A Tapāgaccha lineage account tells of a monk named Vijayadeva, who was born in 1577 A.D. and who renounced the world when his mother became a nun. He was nine years old at the time.[28]

The story of Mallavādin further offers an explanation for why a woman might have renounced the world and had her child also renounce at the same time: Mallavādin's mother was a widow. Indeed a story by Haribhadra in his Prakrit *Samarāiccakahā* suggests that a widow who did not renounce was in a dangerous position; she could easily be tempted to do wrong and thus bind bad karma. A nun who achieves omniscience tells a gathering of her past lives. Widowed immediately after her marriage, she wished to become a nun, but her brothers denied her permission to do so, preferring that she remain at home, no doubt doing much of the housework. She is fed up with her sisters-in-law and turns their husbands against them. In subsequent rebirths she must suffer the consequences of her plotting and scheming.[29]

Much has been written about the plight of the widow in traditional India; that the Jains were aware of the precariousness of a widow's existence is made amply clear from their accounts of the Gujarati king Kumārapāla, who is said to have converted to Jainism and to have renounced the traditional right of the king to claim the possessions of a widow whose husband had left

27 This is the biography in the *Ākhyānikamaṇkośa*, also translated in GRANOFF, ed. 1990:170–172.

28 *Tapāgaṇapatiguṇapaddhati* of Upādhyāya Śrīguṇavijayagaṇi in *Paṭṭāvalī Samuccaya*, ed. Muni Darshanavijaya, p. 82.

29 *Samarāiccakahā*, ed. Hermann Jacobi, Bibliotheca Indica 1359 (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1913):498.

no son.[30] Kumārapāla is praised for this act of generosity, in an acknowledgement of one of the many hardships to which widows were subjected. As we shall see below, other stories indicate that becoming a nun was a viable alternative for women who had been abandoned by their husbands as well as for widows. Some stories tell us that women, left behind when their husbands became monks, soon followed them into the order. With no one to care for their children, these women, like Mallavādin's mother or the mother of Vijayadeva, might well have had their sons and daughters ordained with them. They could thus be assured that their children would be educated and cared for.[31]

The Kharatara lineage history tells the story of a widow who did not become a nun herself, but nonetheless turned to the community of renunciates to provide her son with an education. In addition the story suggests that there were financial considerations that might prompt a widowed mother to allow her child to be ordained. I translate the account here.

> Now in Āśīdurga there was a monk named Jineśvara, who belonged to the faction of monks advocating residence in a temple and stemming from Kūrcapura. All of the sons of the lay Jains studied in his monastery. Among them was a Jain child named Jinavallabha. His father was dead and his mother looked after him on her own. Realizing that it was time for him to start school, she placed him in the monastery. He was bright and learned far faster than the other students. One day when he'd gone out of the monastery to attend to a call of nature, he found an old manuscript. It had two spells on it, one to attract snakes and another to get rid of them. He recited the first spell first. When he saw snakes creeping out from every direction because of the power of the spell, he wasn't afraid. He just thought to himself, 'This is because of the power of the spell.' Then he recited the spell below it and because of its power all the snakes retreated. The teacher heard what had happened. He was convinced, 'This child is exceptional; I should keep

30 See for example the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutunga, translated by C.H. Tawney (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1901):133.

31 Women and their reasons for renouncing deserve a full study in both Jainism and Buddhism, something that is beyond the scope of the present paper. Vidya DEHEJIA in her book *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997):170–171, notes that several inscriptions at the stūpa of Amaravati are donations by nuns and their children, some of whom were also renunciants. These inscriptions suggest both the strong persistence of family ties beyond renunciation and a situation similar to that described in our Jain stories, in which a woman renounced along with her children. BALBIR, 2001:162, also suggests that stories in which a widowed or abandoned woman renounces with her children may well have reflected social realities.

him.' And so he won the child over; he then brought the mother around with some gentle skillful words, and having a sum of five hundred drammas made over to her, he kept Jinavallabha as his disciple.[32]

The story, told of one of the founding figures of the Kharatara lineage, is remarkably clear in its description of how Jinavallabha first came to be a Jain monk: he was bought from his widowed mother. The preternatural intelligence of the child may well have singled his worthiness to be the future leader of the community, but the initial reason for his coming into that community had nothing to do with either his own religious experience or any personal choice. It had to do with the financial and social circumstances of his widowed mother.[33]

It is not only widows who are persuaded to give their son to the monastery, nor do parents do so only in the expectation of financial return. Jinavallabha's famous successor, Jinadattasūri, also attracted the attention of the renunciant community by his special virtues. In his case it was a group of nuns who recognized the special nature of the child and persuaded his mother to permit him to be ordained. In one version of the account his age is an issue. The monk who comes to ordain him asks the mother how old he is. Learning that he is nine, the monk proceeds to ordain him. In this account there is no question of a financial transaction; the nuns use subtle persuasion on the mother, who is made to see in the ordination of her son her own salvation.[34]

Another famous medieval monk, Hemacandra, also came to the monastery as a child, as the result not of his own choice but of being chosen by a

32 *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, p. 8.

33 It is possible that the sale of children was not confined to the monastic milieu. A Buddhist story from the commentary to the *Dhammapada* in the *Udenavatthu* includes the tale of a merchant how learns that a child born on a particular day will become the leading merchant; he tells his servant to go and find a child born that day and buy him for a thousand coins (*The Commentary to the Dhammapada*, ed. H.C. Norman (London: Pali Text Society, 1970), vol. I part I:175.The better known *Vessantara jātaka* has the Bodhisattva give his children as servants to a Brahmin petitioner. It is possible that both stories reflect reality and that the sale of children did indeed occur in contexts other than the one that is the subject of this paper.

34 One version of the account is in the *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, p. 14. An earlier version from the *Gaṇadharārdhaśatakavṛtti* is given in the introduction to *Three Apabhraṃśa Works of Jinadattasūri*, ed. Lalchandra Bhagawandas Gandhi, Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 37 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1967):41.

senior monk. In this case both of the child's parents are alive. The account of Hemacandra's initiation into monkhood is told in the various Jain accounts of the life of King Kumārapāla, the king who, we have seen, was sympathetic to the plight of widows. The accounts agree that Hemacandra was the son of a merchant. In one version we are told that when Hemacandra's father was away, a Jain monk named Devacandrasūri chanced upon the child playing with his friends. He recognized his future greatness and asked the mother if she would give her son to the monastic community. The mother was nervous and feared the consequences if she made such a momentous decision without consulting her husband, but moved by her own deep piety, she agreed. The father returned and in dismay vowed not to eat again until he saw his son. The incident concludes as the child is placed on the father's lap with three lakhs of coins and three fine cloths. The father turns down the valuables, saying that his son is priceless. In exchange for the boy he accepts the blessings of the monks.[35]

In another version of the story, Hemacandra's father is somewhat more villainous; he is explicitly said to adhere to false religious beliefs. Thus when the monks ask her for her son, Hemacandra's mother laments: "It is not enough that this child's father adheres fast to false beliefs; he is also absent from the village"[36]. This version is also more explicit about the fact that what is going on here is an attempt by the monks to have the boy bought for the monastic community. The would-be buyer, the wealthy and powerful minister Udayana, invites the father to his house. After serving him a great feast, he offers him the money. Hemacandra's father replies: "O Minister! The cost of a child from the kṣatriya caste is 1080; for a horse it is 1750. Even an average merchant fetches 99 elephants and 99 lakhs. You are only offering me three lakhs; that is hardly enough! But if my son is precious to me, your good will is even more so. Let that be the price of my son. I have no need for money. I give you my son." Hemacandra is then given into the custody of the minister Udayana and is raised for a time with the minister's own sons until he is ready to join the monks.

These accounts of Hemacandra's initiation into monkhood take pains to deny that he was purchased for the monastery as a child; the point of the

35 This is the account told by Somatilaka, *Kumārapāladevacarita*, vs 299–320, in *Kumārapālacaritrasaṃgraha*, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Singhi Jain Series 41 (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1956):18–19.

36 *Kumārapālaprabodhaprabandha* in the same collection, p. 86, "*yatas tatpitā sutarāṃ mithyādṛṣṭiḥ, paraṃ tādṛśo 'pi grāme nāsti*".

story, after all, is that the father refused the payment. Nonetheless, in that very denial we may perhaps read evidence of the existence of a practice of purchasing youngsters as recruits.[37] There are other stories that tell of monks coming to the homes of laymen to ask for their children and that make no mention of any financial transaction. The stories just told here of Jinavallabha and Hemacandra may allow us to suspect that something similar was happening in some of these other stories, even when it is not explicitly mentioned; perhaps in those cases, too, children were sold to the monks who came for them.

Another possibility is that giving children to the monks offered parents an opportunity to find a means of support for children they could not afford in times of scarcity. Whatever the case, the story takes pains to describe the event in religious terms. Thus in the Prakrit account of the Kharataragaccha monk Jinaprabhasūri, we are told how his predecessor Jinasiṃhasūri sought the advice of the presiding goddess of the Faith, Padmāvatī when he was in doubt as to who would be his successor as leader of the monks. Padmāvatī replied that the child of the layman Mahādhara would be the next leader of the monks. With this information, Jinasiṃhasūri went to the layman and asked for one of his sons. The child he was given became in time the leader of the Kharatara lineage, Jinaprabhasūri. From this brief vignette we learn that Jinaprabhasūri began his career as a monk not through any religious experience that he had, but because his father gave him to the monastery.[38] It is not difficult to read this story as a gloss on a practice that some must have looked on with less than total approval; here the procurement of a child is reinterpreted as the response to a divine prediction. It is perhaps not irrelevant that the future Jinaprabhasūri in this account is said to have been the youngest of his brothers. A practice of giving the youngest child or surplus children to the monastery is well documented for medieval Europe.[39] The Jain tradition, if we may judge from stories like these, had some difficulty in acknowledging the practice of giving younger children to the monastery or selling children to the monastery.

In concluding this section I would like to stress that although stories like these of Hemacandra, Mallavādin or Jinaprabhasūri are extremely important

37 It is also clear from this account that although Hemacandra is almost eight years old, he is still said to be a child. He is described in the language of the text *aṣṭvarṣadeśīya* "around eight years old" and a *bāla* or child, lines 13 and 24, p. 86.

38 *Vṛddhācāryaprabandhāvali*, number 9 in *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, p. 93.

39 BOSWELL, 1988. I thank Gregory Schopen for this reference.

for the historian who seeks to understand the conditions under which children might have been taken into the monastic communities, they are nonetheless unusual in the vast corpus of story literature in medieval Jainism. There are other stories of children becoming monks that were told in the biographical literature that are entirely different in their tone and message. They situate child ordination in a context of deep and enduring family love. These are not stories of children given up, whether for money, out of need or out of deep piety. They are stories of children reclaimed, of fathers who as monks return home for the sons they have left behind. I would like to argue that these accounts of fathers initiating their young sons may throw some light on the close kinship ties that persisted in the monastic community, a feature which in turn might help us to understand the readiness of the monastic community to admit children to its ranks. The children who joined the monastery were often not strangers, but close relatives.

III. Fathers and Sons: Stories of parental love and renunciation

The *Ṭhāṇaṅgasutta* 10.713 gives a list of ten conditions which lead people to renounce the world.[40] The tenth condition is *vacchāṇubandhitā*, "devotion to one's child." Abhayadeva cites as the example of someone who renounces out of love for a child the case of a nun who renounced out of love for her son, the famous Vajrasvāmin. Vajrasvāmin's story was told in the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra and I will return to it in some detail below.[41] Deo also refers to chapter XIV of the *Uttarādhyāyana sūtra*, in which first a man's two sons announce their decision to renounce the world. The father decides that life without his sons is meaningless and he too renounces; finally his wife, bereft now of sons and husband, becomes a Jain nun.[42]

40 Text p. 473; the passage is cited by DEO, 1956:141.

41 I have translated the story in GRANOFF, 1998:38–49. The story is older than Hemacandra's rendition and belongs to the tradition of stories in the *Āvaśyaka* and its commentaries. Haribhadra gives a version in Prakrit that is virtually identical to the Sanskrit account of Hemacandra, *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, part I (Bombay: Śrī Bherulāl Kanailāl Kotṭhārī Trust, 1981), pp. 192–193. The story is also discussed in BALBIR, 2001:161–162.

42 The story was translated by Hermann Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras* (New York: Dover Publications, 1968):61–69.

In both of these stories, a woman left alone becomes a nun, and we might easily recall the brief comment about Mallavādin's mother told in the biography of that famous monk. The widowed mother of Mallavādin loses interest in life and becomes a nun. For women without husbands becoming a nun might well have been an attractive alternative. But I would like to focus here not on the abandoned woman, but on the sons. Vajrasvāmin's story is perhaps one of the most interesting stories told in the biographical literature about a child who is given to the monastery. It suggests another way in which *vacchāṇubandhitā*, "devotion to one's child", could have helped swell the monastic ranks, not just by a father following a son into the monastery, but by fathers coming to claim the sons that they have left behind.

The story of Vajrasvāmin in Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* opens with an account of Vajrasvāmin's father, Dhanagiri, who is intent on becoming a monk even before he is married. His determination deters all of his prospective brides but one, Sunandā, who insists nonetheless on marrying Dhanagiri. Dhanagiri abandons his pregnant wife, assuring her that now she is no longer alone; their son will keep her company and look after her. But the child whom she carries is as unusual as the husband who has left her. He is in fact a god, who had learned the sacred Jain texts in his previous birth. He wants even less to do with worldly life than his father did. With his preternatural knowledge he learns from overhearing the women in the house talk that his father has become a monk. Determined to do the same, he drives his mother to distraction with his non-stop crying. It just so happens that when Vajra is six months old his father comes to town in the course of his monastic wanderings. He is with another monk, Āryaśamita, and they explain to their guru that they have relatives there and wish to visit them. Āryaśamita is Dhanagiri's brother-in-law, Sunandā's brother. The guru gives them leave to go and tells them that they should accept whatever is given to them as alms. The two monks set off. When they arrive at Sunandā's doorstep, all the women in the house pressure Sunandā to give the baby Vajra to his father. The women can no longer deal with the infant, who does nothing but cry unconsolably all day long. Sundandā agrees and the monks take the child, after making Sunandā confirm before witnesses that she has willingly given her child to the monks. They deliver him to their guru, who is delighted with the baby and says that he will become a great monk. The child is given over to the care of some Jain lay devotees. When Vajra is three years old Sunandā decides that she wants him back. She and her husband resort to the king's court and the king has the child decide for himself: he is given the choice of

the toys with which his mother tries to tempt him, or the accoutrements of the Jain monk that his father proffers. He chooses the dustbroom of the monk. Sunandā, now without husband or child, becomes a nun. The story of Vajrasvāmin was widely told; it was even depicted in miniatures of the *Kalpasūtra*, although it is not told in detail in that text.[43]

The story is important to an understanding of medieval Jain monasticism as a whole and the issue of child monks in its frank depiction of the strength of familial bonds. Dhanagiri's fellow monk is his brother-in-law, and when they come to their home town they seek out their relatives. Dhanagiri is delighted to receive his child in the story and the child stops crying as soon as his father takes him in his arms. But the story is not blind to the strength of the mother's love; when the three-year old Vajra is forced to choose between his father and the Jain monks on the one hand or his mother on the other, he reflects on how difficult it is ever to repay a mother's love. He is helped by his ability to see the future and his certain knowledge that his mother will become a nun. Indeed, the story derives its poignancy from our awareness of the power of parental love on the part of both parents.

Vajra is not the only son who follows in his father's footsteps. The story of Sukośala was told in a number of medieval sources.[44] It begins with the renunciation of King Kīrtidhara, father of Sukośala. Kīrtidhara, like Dhanagiri, returns to his own home to beg for alms. His wife, Sahadevī, orders her servants to chase him away; she is clearly angry at the abandonment and fearful that he will take his son. She even goes to the extreme of banning ascetics from the city altogether. Like Vajra, Sukośala learns from a servant woman that his father has become a monk. Immediately he decides to do the same. He leaves the palace in search of his father. Sukośala is not a child in the story; he has his own wife, Vicitramālā, and she is already pregnant. He leaves his kingdom to his unborn child, in the hope that it is a son. Sukośala is ordained by another monk, who is unnamed in the story. Once ordained, however, he continues his search for his father. He finds him and father and son wander together, carrying out penances and spending the rainy season together. Their ultimate fate (Sukośala is eaten by his mother, who has died and been reborn as a tigress) would take us too far afield; what is relevant for this study is the portrait of the two monks, father and son, spending their

43 NAWAB, 1956:fig 189.

44 I have translated it from the Digambara *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa in GRANOFF, 1998:49–56.

career as monks together. The story leaves little doubt that this is the story not just of two monks or of a young man renouncing; it is a story of a son in search of his father, of their joyous reunion and their fulfilling life together.

Both of these stories raise the question of family bonds and their role in the monastic community. We have seen how Mallavādin renounced with his mother, a situation which the lineage histories suggest was not merely a topos in a story. Vajra is surely the youngest monk known in the Jain tradition, having chosen the vocation if not at birth than at age three. What I would emphasize in this story is the context in which this child ordination takes place: within the family circle. Vajra is taken not by a stranger, but by his father; his mother also becomes a nun, and in the story, even before the contest in the king's court, she continues to visit him and nurse him while he is living with the lay family. The lineage histories suggest that being ordained at a young age, sometimes as young as six, often at age eight, was not uncommon. While the story tradition does not speak much about child monks, the account of Vajrasvāmin suggests that the tradition was most comfortable with child monks who continued to live with their kin. The story of Sukośala further reinforces that impression; there an adult child follows his father into monkhood and father and son remain together. These stories all raise a new issue, and that is the persistence of family ties beyond renunciation.[45] I turn next to some preliminary remarks on the subject, which deserves a monograph length study.

45 It is not only in Jainism that the question of family ties in the monastic community arises. The founding stories of the Buddhist monastic community describe how the Buddha ordained his brother, son and eventually all of his clansmen. On the ordination of the Śākyas see the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinayavastu, samghabhedavastu*, ed. Raniero Gnoli (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1978), vol. 1:203. The Lotus Sūtra in its first chapter, *nidāna parivarta*, tells of a Buddha Candrasūryapradīpa, who was a king when he renounced the world. His eight sons followed him and renounced under him. They then spread his dharma. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,* ed. P.L. Vaidya, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, no. 6, (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Postgraduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1960):12.

IV. Family ties in the monastery: The evidence of medieval lineage histories and inscriptions

The question of family ties is really two questions; the first would ask how frequent the situation encountered in our stories discussed above actually obtained in the monastery, that is, how many monks were relatives. A second question is also raised by the stories, and that concerns the relationship between monks and the lay relatives they have left behind. The evidence of the medieval lineage histories and inscriptions suggests that family ties were important in both senses; monks were often blood relatives and they continued to visit and be supported by their lay relatives. The evidence I present below is the result of what I have gleaned from reading the texts and inscriptions; it is tantalizing enough to warrant a full and systematic study in the future. I begin with the question of family ties between renunciants.

Reference has already been made several times to the lineage history of the Kharatara monks known as the *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, which details the deeds of the monks who led the community. It tells us that Jinakuśalasūri succeeded to the position of leader which had been held by Jinacandrasūri before him. This lineage history tends to say little of the circumstances that led a person to become a monk. Thus we are simply told that in the year V.S. 1346 or 1289 A.D. Jinacandrasūri ordained one Kuśalakīrti.[46] We are not told anything about this Kuśalakīrti or how he decided to become a monk. Later we will learn that Jinacandrasūri on his deathbed instructed that Kuśalakīrti should be his successor. His wishes were carried out and Kuśalakīrti was installed as head of the monks and given the name Jinakuśalasūri.[47] But if this text tells us nothing about Kuśalakīrti before he became a monk or about his relationship to Jinacandrasūri, the monk who ordained him, more information is supplied by the short vernacular poems that monks wrote about themselves and about others. Thus Jinakuśalasūri himself wrote about his guru Jinacandrasūri, and in turn his own disciple wrote in praise of him. On the basis of these short vernacular texts, the Nāhaṭās have reconstructed some of the relationships between the different

46 *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, p. 59.

47 *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, pp. 68–69.

leaders of the Kharatara lineage. Jinacandrasūri was the paternal uncle of Jinakuśalasūri.[48]

Many of Jinakuśalasūri's disciples apparently also came from his own clan.[49] Close kinship ties thus bound these monks together. Such ties also bound them to the lay community. Jinakuśalasūri in his poem about Jinacandrasūri tells us that Jinacandrasūri was motivated to become a monk on hearing Jinaprabodhasūri's sermon. This Jinaprabodha's nephew in fact was one of the main lay supporters of the Kharatara lineage; among his many generous donations we learn that he also paid for the ceremony of Jinakuśala's installation as head monk.[50] The installation ceremony for the monk Jinapatisūri was financed by his uncle, while the father of a monk whom Jinacandra ordains dedicates temples and flag posts for temples that Jinacandra then consecrates.[51] There is no question that careful research would uncover similar ties of kinship that bind monks together and monks and lay people together.

While much work remains to be done to uncover the kinship ties that bound monk to monk in the Kharatara community and the lay community to the monks, it is clear that such kinship ties existed in other lineages as well. Even a cursory reading of the lineage histories reveals a network of close kinship ties. In the Tapāgaccha, for example, we hear of twin brothers who have become monks.[52] Municandrasūri, one of the leading monks and author of an important commentary on Haribhadra's refutation of the Buddhists, the *Anekāntajayapatākā*, is said to have initiated many of his own relatives and installed them in positions of leadership in the monastic hierarchy.[53] In addition he was the disciple of a monk Vinayacandra, who was the brother of another monk, Nemicandra. This Nemicandra installed Municandrasūri in the position of leader of the gaṇa or *gaṇanāyaka*. This means in effect that when Nemicandra came to appoint a monk in a position of leadership he chose the pupil of his own brother. The monk Devendrasūri is said to have initiated his own brother; the monks Vidyānandasūri and Dharmakīrti

48 Agarcanda NĀHAṬĀ/NĀHAṬĀ, *Dādā Śrī Jinakuśālasūri*. Śrī Abhaya Jain Granthamālā 20, (Calcutta: Nāhaṭā, 1967):2–3.

49 *Dādā Śrī Jinakuśālasūri*, p. 1.

50 *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, p. 68.

51 *Maṇidhārī Śrī Jinacandrasūri*, p. 9.

52 *Paṭṭāvali Samuccaya*, p. 46.

53 "*Anena cānandasūriprabhṛtayo 'neke nijabāndhavāḥ pravrājya sūrikṛtāḥ, Paṭṭāvali Samuccaya*, p. 55.

upādhyāya were also brothers.[54] The impression one gets from this lineage account is thus of a close-knit group of monks, many of whom were close relatives.

If we were to look at the network of donations recorded in inscriptions and book colophons there is no doubt that we would gain a clearer picture of the extent to which lay donors supported their family members who had become monks. There are examples of book colophons in which the book is said to have been copied for the use of a relative who had become a monk or nun.[55] The lineage histories and biographies of monks frequently name the sponsors of rituals and donors of images. Many were relatives of the monks whom they summoned to consecrate the temples they donated or on whose behalf they sponsored a ritual. It remains to uncover in detail the kinship relationships between these donors and the monks and nuns who are named in the texts. This very preliminary work suggests that family relationships may well have played a role in lay patronage. Finally, it would be instructive to learn to what extent the Jain practice of ordaining close kin should be regarded as a common practice in medieval India and to what extent it was something distinctive of this minority community. There are clear proscriptions against ordaining first order relatives in some of the Hindu tantric texts, for example, where it is clearly prohibited for a husband to ordain his wife and a father to ordain his son or daughter.[56] I would like to conclude this discussion with some remarks on what these ties of kinship may mean for the practice of child ordination, the topic from which I started this paper.

IV. Conclusions

I began this paper with the observation that although didactic stories do not often speak of child monks, the evidence from medieval lineage histories

54 *Paṭṭāvali Samuccaya*, p. 58. Brothers who become monks together appear in other sources. The *Prabhāvakacarita* tells of the two brothers Jineśvara and Buddhisāgara, for example *Prabhāvakacarita*, ed. Jina Vijaya Muni, Singhi Jain Series 13 (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1931), chapter 19. The *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali,* p. 5, also tells us that their sister was a nun named Kalyāṇamati.

55 Jina Vijaya Muni, *Jaina Pustakapraśastisaṃgraha* nos. 20, 123.

56 *Tantrasāra* of Śrīkṛṣṇānandavāgīśa, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series no. 491, (Benaras: Chowkhamba Press, 1938):3 citing from the *Yoginītantra*, *Gaṇeśavimarśiṇī* and *Rudrayāmala.*

suggests that many monks began their careers at eight or even six years of age. The few stories of child monks that were widely told are primarily in the biographical collections, the *prabandhas,* or texts like the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra. The story of Mallavādin, who was made to renounce with his widowed mother, of Jinavallabha, for whom a monk paid the widowed mother, suggested that there may have been compelling social and economic reasons why children became monks. These stories are important witnesses to what may have been a widespread practice: the donation or sale of children to the monastery, or the ordination of children with a renouncing parent.

I pursued the stories of child monks with the story of Vajrasvāmin, who is perhaps the youngest child monk in Jain literature. This story suggested to me that the picture of children who came into the monastery as abandoned may not be the entire story; some children may also have been reclaimed. Vajrasvāmin is taken as a baby by a monk, but the monk is his biological father, who has renounced the world after learning that his wife was pregnant. Vajrasvāmin's mother also becomes a nun. Paradoxically his renunciation is a story of family reunion and the solidity of family bonds, where renunciation should mean their abandonment. The story of Sukośala similarly suggested that a younger monk could be closely linked by kinship ties to the older monk he followed. Again, Sukośala joins his father. These stories led me to wonder if the monastic community in general was distinguished by ties of kingship, something that might have facillitated the reception of children into the community: the children taken in, after all, were brothers and nephews, not unwanted foundlings. The stories also suggested that the monastic community may have had continuing close ties of kinship with its main lay supporters; Dhanagiri and Āryaśamita, after all, actively seek out the house of Sunandā, Dhanagiri's former wife and Āryaśamita's sister; Sukośala's father returns as a monk to his own home.

The challenge that these stories offered was to see if what they suggest could be documented in sources with greater historical reliability. It was thus that I began to look for harder evidence that members of the medieval Śvetāmbara monastic lineages were in fact related by kinship ties. The evidence so far is tantalizing; in some lineages it is more obvious than in others, to a great degree because of the way in which these sources handle their material. Thus the Kharatara lineage history, the *Kharatarabṛhadgurvāvali*, says little of the secular life of its monks prior to their renunciation. We must go to other sources, like the vernacular poems and inscriptions which detail the history of the lay families and which are less well published to learn these

details. On the basis of their research the Nāhaṭās have argued that in the Kharataragaccha the ten-year-old Jinakuśalasūri was ordained by his paternal uncle and related by clan ties to some of his own students. The sources are more explicit about the kinship ties between lay supporters and monks.

In the rival Tapāgaccha lineage, the lineage history gives us more information about kinship ties. It includes explicit statements that monks were brothers or that they ordained their own relatives and installed them in positions of authorities. The impression gained from the Tapāgaccha lineage account is that many of the monks were related by blood; there is even a case of a mother and son renouncing together. The evidence I have presented here is spotty and by no means exhaustive or conclusive; what it does show is that there is enough material to warrant further investigation. In the case of some lineages this may prove difficult; it is not clear to me, for example, that the sources are adequate for the Kharataragaccha for us to reconstruct kinship ties between the monks.

I would conclude this essay with the questions that it has raised for me, rather than with any firm conclusions. The Jains seem to have been willing to ordain children at a younger age than the Buddhists, if the Buddhist *vinaya* rules are an adequate reflection of reality, which they may well not be. The Buddhist *vinaya* texts like the *Mahāvagga* suggest that part of the problem was that young children were difficult for the monks to handle. The Jain evidence may be suggesting one way in which that problem was lessened; these children were not strangers, they were relatives in a monastic community that seemed to encourage and favor maintaining such ties within the monastic community itself. In addition, the chief supporters in the lay community and the monks may also have often been related by ties of blood. There was thus a closely connected support system, with fathers never giving up interest in their renounced children, and brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews, uncles and aunts, providing the financial and perhaps emotional support required.

The picture I have drawn here is based on some evidence and considerable intuition. I hope it will provide a starting point for further investigation of the evidence of the lineage histories and other historical material.

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