

The Sacred Fires and Marriage in the Zoroastrian Parsis

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The aim of this paper is to clarify several aspects of the family structure of the Zoroastrian Parsis who have not been allowed to marry out their community with reference to the Gujrati historical documents of their marriages.

The results of our investigation of marriage cases in Dastur and Desai kutumbs with references to Disapothi and Vanshavalichopdo prove that there is no striking tendency for Dastur and Desai kutumbs to carry out frequent intermarriages with some specific kutumb. From this it follows that the Parsis have not carried out Hindu type interkutumb marriage and that the patrilineal descent group derived from the interkutumb marriage has not had a strong social function in the Parsi community. In sharp contrast to the marriage custom in the Hindu society, the Parsis have conducted marriages within the kutumb, encouraging patrilineal parallel cousin marriages. What is more, we can say that the Parsis have followed strictly the marriages within the community and that they have tried as far as possible to do the marriages within Mobed descents as the cases of Dastur and Desai show to us.

Our analysis of marriage cases in Dastur and Desai kutumbs leads to discover that the Parsis have organized a patrilineal oriented family system with the male line as the basis of inheritance but that they have not established the patrilineal descent groups based upon the interkutumb marriage. This social orientation has been maintained in the marriage custom of *ēnōkēn*.

In order to realize the relief by means of the sacred fires, the Parsis have established the ritual relationship by Zoroastrian marriage forms of *natrun*, *štūr*, or *čāgār* and they make such social relations actually functioning in their everyday life through the Zoroastrian traditional kutumb or trust *māčis*.

Further inquiries into the family structure of the Parsis in terms of adoption, name, and the trust system are to be discussed in other articles.

I Preface

II Materials and documents

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I Preface

The coherency and change of religious phenomena is closely connected with the family structure. *¹ The purpose of the present paper is to clarify the actual correlation between the marriage forms and the religious beliefs in the Zoroastrian Parsis in Navsari.

The present author has analysed the relation between the sacred fires and the family structure in the Zoroastrian Parsis in terms of marriage and conversion among them. *²

In order to study the problem further, it is indispensable to investigate marriages, adoptions, names, trust systems and the other social factors. However, we should limit ourselves to only one aspect of the problem, marriages.

Here we will elucidate some aspects of the family structure of Zoroastrian Parsis through a detailed description and analysis of marriages among the Parsis in Navsari, and following that, we will proceed to clarify in what way and to what extent the Zoroastrian beliefs of the sacred fires and the family structure are socially connected each other.

II Materials and documents

The Zoroastrian Parsis have married only within their community since they settled along the western coast of India down to 1966. For a detailed and concrete description of marriages in the Parsis community, Disapothi and Vanshavalichopdo are used as first-

hand material. These two Gujarati historical documents cover the genealogical records of family descents of Desai kutumb and Dastur kutumb.*³

Disapothi, as is referred to in note *⁴, records individual names, day and month of one's death (both in the Christian era and in the Parsis one), age, simple life history and explanation of each person. Vanshavalichopdo, is also a valuable historical document which records all the descendants in the form of a family tree. *⁵

The following chart shows all the recorded marriage cases of Dastur family which are classified according to each kutumb. The cases of Desai cannot be introduced here for want of space, but they are basic data indispensable to our analysis. CM means a cousin marriage, CHM a child marriage, N a natrun and [] the uncertainties in the chart.

1) Marriage cases from Dastur kutumb to other kutumbs

1. OSTI VIRBAI OSTA SHAPUR / SHAPURJI ANTIA
2. OSTI MANEK OSTA RATAN / SAHIAR
3. OSTI KUNVER ERVAD NOSHIRVAN / MULLA
4. OSTI RATAN DASTUR RUSTOM / DASTUR JAMASPASHA
5. OSTI BHIKHI ERVAD HORMUZ / POLIA DESAI
6. OSTI MEHERBAI ERVAD ERUCH / ERUCH BEHRAMJI SANJANA
7. BEHDIN TEMINA BEHDIN KAIKHUSHRU / KAIKHUSHRU HIRJIBHAI DAVAR
8. OSTI MANEK ERVAD PIROJSHAW / PIROJSHAW NANABHAI DESAI
9. OSTI JERBAI ERVAD JEHANGIR / JEHANGIR EDULJI RABADI
10. OSTI PIROJ ERVAD JAMSHED / JAMSHED CAVASJI KATRAK [BOMBAY]
11. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD SHAPUR / SHAPURJI MINOCHER MADAN
12. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD MANEK / SORABJI EDULJI VAJIFDAR
13. OSTI VIRBAI [ERVAD FARAM] ERVAD FAREDOON / DESAI [N1]
14. OSTI DHANBAI ERVAD EDUL / JEHANGIR POLIA DESAI
15. OSTI AVAN ERVAD KERSASP / CAVASJI POLIA DESAI
16. OSTI DOSHIBAI ERVAD FARAM / FARAM SHAPURJI KAMDIN
17. OSTI RATAN ERVAD ERUCH / ERUCH RATANJI DESAI
18. OSTI CUNVER ERVAD PESTON / PESTANJI KHURSHEDJI DESAI
19. OSTI MANEK ERVAD ERUCH / ERUCH CAVASJI DESAI
20. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD ADAL / ADALJI EDULJI GAI
21. OSTI HOMAI ERVAD ARDESHIR / ARDESHIR SORABJI DARABPAHLAN
22. OSTI MOTI ERVAD MANEK / MANEKSHAW BAPUJI DESAI

23. OSTI SOONA ERVAD RUSTOM / RUSTOM DOSABHAI MOTAFARAM
24. OSTI KHORSHEDBAI ERVAD KHURSHED / KHURSHEDJI MANEKJI VAJIFDAR
25. OSTI DINBAI ERVAD MEHERJI / MEHERJI NOSHIRVANJI VAJIFDAR
26. OSTI RATAN ERVAD HORMUZ / HORMUZ NAOROJI ANTIA
27. OSTI KHORSHED ERVAD MERWAN / MERWAN BAPUJI DESAI
28. OSTI KHORSHED ERVAD JEANGIR / JEANGIR RUSTOMJI DESAI
29. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD RUSTOM / RUSTOM JAMSHED KOTOWAL

2) Marriage cases from other kutumbs to Dastur kutumb

1. OSTI MANEK OSTA DARAB / DESAIJI KHURSHEDJI TEMURASP
2. BEHDIN JESHAI BEHDIN HIRA / DASTUR MEHERNOSH []
3. KHUD RATANBAI ERVAD RUSTOM / RUSTOMJI DESAI
4. KHUD MENEKBAI ERVAD KERSASP / JAMSHEDJI TEMULJI DESAI
5. OSTI NAVAZ DASTUR CAVAS / KHURSHEDJI HORMUSJI PARVI
6. OSTI NAVAZ DASTUR SORAB / CAVASJI MULLA
7. OSTI MEHERBAI ERVAD HORMUZ / JAMSHEDJI TEMULJI JAMASPASA
8. OSTI JIAI ERVAD DORAB / BAPUJI MERWANJI DESAI
9. OSTI PIROJA ERVAD MINOCHER / BURJORJI CAVASJI MASANI
10. OSTI HIRABAI ERVAD NARIMAN / BEHERAMJI KUTAR
11. KHUD JIAI OSTA FARAMROZ / FARAMJI BIRDI
12. KHUD HIRA OSTA FARAMROZ / FARAMJI BIRDI
13. [] ERVAD DARASA / BEHDIN PESTANJI BEHRAMJI MODI
14. OSTI JIAI [ERVAD BURJOR] ERVAD NAOROZ / [] [SURAT]
15. OSTI GULBAI ERVAD ADARBAD / FARAMROJ SORABJI VAJIFDAR
16. OSTI MEHERBAI OSTA RATAN / HORMUZJI BHIKHAJI BIRDI
17. OSTI AVANBAI ERVAD BURJOR / PESTANJI FARAMJI VAJIFDAR
18. OSTI JERBAI ERVAD DINSHAW / FARDUNJI MEHERNOSJI VAJIFDAR
19. OSTI MEHERBAI ERVAD KERSASP / PADSHAW
20. OSTI PIROJBAI [OSTA SORAB] KEKOBAD / BHEDVAR [N1]
21. OSTI BAI [ERVAD DARAB] RUSTOM / SORABJI POLIA DESAI [N2]
22. OSTI AIMAI ERVAD SHAPUR / DINSHAJI MISTRY [BOMBAY]
23. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD KEKOBAD / HORMUSJI CAVASJI DHALLA
24. OSTI CUNVER ERVAD PESHOTAN / CAVASJI BHIKHAJI KANGA
25. OSTI GULBAI [ERVAD EDUL] ERVAD MEHERNOSH / MINOCHER HOMJI

- 26.OSTI HIRA [OSTA DARAB] ERVAD ERUCH / BEJONJI RUSTOMJI KANGA
[N3]
- 27.OSTI PIROJA ERVAD KHURSHED / RUSTOMJI KANGA
- 28.OSTI HIRA ERVAD RUSTOM [BOMBAY] / ADARIANWALA
- 29.OSTI GULBAI ERVAD BEJON / LIMJI SORABJI DUBASH
- 30.OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD DOSA / KHORI
- 31.OSTI MANEK DASTUR DARAB / MANCHERJI KHURSHEDJI DESAI
- 32.OSTI BHIKHI [KHUD BACHA] DASTUR DARAB / NOSHIRWAN CAVASJI
MULLA [N4]
- 33.OSTI JIVANBAI ERVAD ARDESHIR / DASTUR DINSHAW GHARDA
- 34.OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD MINOCHER / NANABHAI POLIA DESAI
- 35.OSTI NAVAZ DASTUR FARAMROZ / DORDI
- 36.OSTI CUNVER DASTUR KERSASP / KHURSHEDJI RUSTOMJI BHEDVAR
- 37.OSTI MANEK [ERVAD NAOROZ] DASTUR KERSASP / NARIMAN [N5]
- 38.OSTI DINBAI ERVAD MANEK / JEHANGIR TEHMURASP POLIA DESAI
- 39.OSTI GULBAI ERVAD CAUS / FARAMJI DAJI [BOMBAY]
- 40.OSTI MEHERBAI ERVAD CAUS / [] [UDVADA]
- 41.OSTI AIMAI OSTA ARDESHIR / BERAMJI NASARVANJI KATRAK [BOMBAY]
- 42.OSTI JERBAI ERVAD FARAM / ADARJI BILAMORIA
- 43.OSTI RATAN ERVAD MANEK / RANJI
- 44.OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD KERSASP / KHURSHEDJI ERUCHJI PAVRI
- 45.OSTI CUNVER ERVAD MINOCHER / MANCHERJI MULLA
- 46.OSTI CUNVER [ERVAD JAMSHED] ERVAD SORAB / CHALLA [N6]
- 47.OSTI JIVANBAI [ERVAD BEJON] ERVAD FARAM / FARAMJI RATANJI
KANGA
- 48.OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD BURJOR / ERUCHJI CAVASJI DESAI
- 49.OSTI DHANBAI ERVAD BURJOR / ADERJI EDULJI GAI
- 50.OSTI MANEK DASTUR NOSHIRWAN / KHURSHEDJI CAVASJI GAI
- 51.OSTI JIAI [OSTA KHURSHED] DASTUR NOSHIRWAN / KANGA [N7]
- 52.OSTI SHIRIN ERVAD KEKOBAD / DORABJI PESTONJI ERVAD KEKOBAD
- 53.OSTI PIROJBAI ERVAD KEKOBAD / DORABJI PESTONJI MIRZA [UDVADA]
- 54.OSTI JIAI ERVAD BEHMAN / JAMASP JEHANGIR DESAI
- 55.OSTI SHIRIN ERVAD BEHMAN / KHURSHED HORMUZJI MULLA
- 56.OSTI JERBAI ERVAD KEKOBAD / FARAM SETHJI DESAI

57. OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD HORMUZ / GAI
 58. OSTI NAVAZ [ERVAD MANEK] ERVAD FAREDOON / BERAMJI RUSTOMJI KANGA [N8]
 59. OSTI CUNVER [ERVAD CAUS] ERVAD FAREDOON / DHALLA [SURAT][N9]
 60. OSTI JERBAI ERVAD MINOCHER / KHURSHED BURJOR DARABPAHLAN [KUTAR]
 61. OSTI HOMAI ERVAD EDUL / RUSTOM FAREDOON KHORI
 62. OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD CAUS / MULLA
 63. OSTI SOONA ERVAD CAUS / RATANJI MANEK BAMJI
 64. OSTI GULBAI ERVAD JEHANGIR / DASTUR [UDVADA]
 65. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD JAMSHED / MULLA
 66. OSTI MEHERBAI ERVAD HORMUZ / ERUCHJI CAUS DESAI
- 3) Marriage cases among Dastur kutumb
1. KHUD AVAN ERVAD DORAB / JAMSHEDJI HORMUSJI DASTUR
 2. OSTI JERBAI ERVAD NERYOSANG / MERNOSJI DASTURJI SORABJI [CM1]
 3. OSTI KUNVAR [KHUD MEHERNOS] ERVAD NAOROZ / DASTURJI DARABJI CAVAS
 4. OSTI VIRBAI DASTUR EDUL / DASTUR SHAPUR SORABJI [CM2]
 5. KHUD DINBAI ERVAD ADARBAD / HORMUZJI DASTUR SHAPUR [CHM1]
OSTI GULBAI ERVAD ADARBAD / SORAB CAVUS
 6. OSTI DINBAI ERVAD TEHMURASP / ERUCH DASTUR SORAB [CM3]
 7. OSTI CUNVER ERVAD KEKOBAD / ERVAD HORMUZ DASTUR EDUL
 8. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD JAMASP / DARABJI DASTUR CAUS
 9. OSTI MANEK OSTA RUSTOM / DOSABHAI SORABJI DASTUR [CM4]
 10. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD DARAB / HORMUZDYAR EDUL DASTUR
 11. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD BHIKHA / FAREDOON HORMUSJI DASTUR
 12. OSTI CUNVER ERVAD MEHERNOSH / CAUS DASTUR NOSHIRWAN
 13. OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD ERUCH / DASTUR KERSASP DASTUR FARAMROZ [N1]
 14. OSTI MOTI ERVAD KHURSHED / DASTUR MAHIAR DASTUR KEKOBAD
 15. OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD DOSA / DARAB DASTUR CAUS
 16. OSTI JIAI ERVAD CAUS / DASTUR SORAB DASTUR CAUS
 17. OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD JESANJI / MINOCHER DASTUR DARAB [CM5]

- 18.OSTI MANEK ERVAD NAOROZ / HORMUSJI BEHRAMJI DASTUR
- 19.OSTI JIAI ERVAD ARDESHIR / KEKHUSHRU MINOCHER DASTUR []
- 20.OSTI CUNVER ERVAD NOSHIRWAN / DOSABHAI DASTUR SORAB
- 21.OSTI MEHERBAI ERVAD KEKHUSHRU / SORAB CAVASJI DASTUR
- 22.KHUD DHUNBAI OSTA DARAB / JESANJI CAVASJI DASTUR [CHM2]
- 23.OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD FARAMROZ / []
- 24.OSTI RATAN ERVAD RUSTOM / DASTUR MANEK DASTUR JAMSHED
- 25.OSTI JIVANBAI ERVAD HIRA / HORMUZJI DARABJI DASTUR
- 26.OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD CAUS / PESTANJI KHURSHEDJI DASTUR
- 27.KHUD NAVAZ ERVAD FARAMROZ / ERVAD KHURSHED DASTUR KERSASP
- 28.OSTI JIAI ERVAD FARAMROZ / DASTUR KEKOBAD DASTUR RUSTOM
- 29.OSTI MANEK ERVAD KHURSHED / ERVAD JAMSHED DASTUR NOSHIRWAN
- 30.OSTI NAVAZ ERVAD PESHOTAN / SORAB DASTUR FARAMROZ
- 31.OSTI HOMAI ERVAD HORMUZ / DASTUR DARAB DASTUR CAUS
- 32.OSTI CUNVER ERVAD JAMSHED / MANEK DASTUR KERSASP
- 33.OSTI MANEK ERVAD NAOROZ / DASTUR SORAB DASTUR CAUS
- 34.OSTI DINBAI ERVAD RUSTOM / SORAB CAVASJI DASTUR
- 35.OSTI CUNVER ERVAD SORAB / DASTUR NOSHIRWAN DASTUR SORAB
OSTI VIRBAI [ERVAD RUSTOM] ERVAD SORAB / [] [N2]
- 36.OSTI CUNVER ERVAD FARAM / DASTUR KERSASP DASTUR FARAM
- 37.OSTI SOONA ERVAD BEJON / ERVAD MINOCHER DASTUR KERSASP
- 38.OSTI PIROJA ERVAD NAVROZ / ERVAD MINOCHER DASTUR KERSASP
- 39.OSTI AVAN ERVAD ERUCH / JAMSHEDJI BURJORJI DASTUR
- 40.OSTI MOTI ERVAD BURJOR / CAUS DASTUR NOSHIRWAN
- 41.OSTI RATAN ERVAD JAMSHED / DASTUR KEKOBAD DASTUR RUSTOM
- 42.OSTI HOMAI DASTUR RUSTOM / DASTUR FARAMROZ ERVAD KERSASP
- 43.OSTI MANEK DASTUR KEKOBAD / HORMUZJI DASTUR NOSHIRWAN
- 44.OSTI DHANBAI DASTUR DARAB / ERVAD RUSTOM DASTUR KEKOBAD
[CM6]
- 45.OSTI BACHUBAI ERVAD KERSASP / NOSHIRWAN KEKOBAD DASTUR
- 46.OSTI HOMAI ERVAD RUSTOM / NAOROZ BEHRAM DASTUR
- 47.OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD DINSHAW / MANEK ADERJI DASTUR
- 48.OSTI MEHERBAI ERVAD NOSHIRWAN / ERUCH DASTUR SORAB
- 49.OSTI MOTI ERVAD FARAM / FAREDOON HORMUZJI DASTUR

- 50.OSTI JIAI ERVAD FAREDOON / DASTUR RUSTOM DASTUR NOSHIRWAN
51.OSTI MOTI ERVAD PESTAN / ERVAD SORAB CAVAS DASTUR
52.OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD HORMUZ / DASTUR MAHIAR DASTUR KEKOBAD
53.OSTI MANEK ERVAD MANEK / FARAMROJ SORABJI DASTUR
54.OSTI VIRBAI ERVAD ADAR / DASTUR RUSTOM DASTUR NOSHIRWAN
55.OSTI HIRA ERVAD MANEK / KEKOBADJI DASTURJI RUSTOM
56.OSTI BHIKHAI ERVAD SORAB / JAMSHED BURJOR DASTUR
57.OSTI RATAN ERVAD ADAR / FARAMROJ MANEK DASTUR
58.OSTI DHANBAI ERVAD MINOCHER / DASTUR KEKOBAD DASTUR RUSTOM
[CHM3]
59.OSTI GULBAI ERVAD NOSHIRWAN / MINOCHER ADARJI DASTUR
[CM7]
60.KHUD JIAI ERVAD HORMUZD / NOSHIRWAN CAVAS DASTUR [CM8]
61.OSTI JIAI ERVAD HORMUZD / [] [CM9]
62.OSTI PIROJA ERVAD JEHANGIR / DASTUR DARABJI DASTUR MAHIAR
63.OSTI MANEK ERVAD DARAB / KEKHUSHRU MINOCHER DASTUR
OSTI SHIRIN ERVAD DARAB / []
64.OSTI AVAN ERVAD NOSHIRWAN / FAREDOON HORMUZJI DASTUR
65.OSTI BHIKHAI ERVAD RUSTOM / RUSTOM DASTUR KEKOBAD
66.OSTI JIAI ERVAD FARAM / []
67.KHUD GULBAI ERVAD NOSHIRWAN / ERVAD MANEK JAMSHED DASTUR
[CM10]
68.OSTI BHIKHAI ERVAD MANEK / ADARJI MANEKJI DASTUR
69.OSTI MANEK ERVAD MANEK / SORABJI KHURSHEDJI DASTUR

We will proceed to make some statistical analysis of marriage cases of Dastur and Desai family according to the following items:

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	marriage	cousin marriage	natrun	child marriage	khud	sororate	divorce
from Dastur kutumb to other kutumbs	32	—	1	1	0	0	1
from other kutumbs to Dastur kutumb	79	—	9	0	4	2	1
among Dastur kutumb	108	10	2	3	1	1	1
from Desai kutumb to other kutumbs	28	—	1	1	3	0	0
from other kutumbs to Desai kutumb	63	—	19	2	4	1	1
among Desai kutumb	156	7	11	2	2	4	1
total	466	17	43	9	14	8	5

The smallest size of family or relatives in the Parsi community is gher**⁶ and then comes sagan**⁷. A sakar**⁸ is composed of several sagans and sakars organize a kutumb**⁹. In the above chart, all the marriage cases are classified in terms of seven items according to kutumbs. We will try to abstract possible features of the marriage custom and of the family structure in the Parsi community.

III Analysis of the documents

1) Kutumb

As far as the kutumbs of Desai and Dastur are concerned, there is found a comparatively high frequency of marriage cases among the same kutumb within the same community. In the case of Desai, the cases total 108 which are a little fewer than 111 cases of interkutumb marriages, and in the case of Dastur, marriage cases among the same kutumb are 65 more than any other form of marriages. In this connection, it is indeed natural that cousin marriages have been done in the same kutumb but it is a noteworthy finding that all 17 cases of cousin marriages in both the kutumbs have been patrilineal parallel cousin marriages.

The strong tendency toward the patrilineal family structure is discovered in the adoption cases in the Parsi community where the adoption to brothers is 59%, to paternal uncle 15%, and to paternal cousin 12%. The fact shows that apporoximately 85% of adoption cases have been carried out within the same kutumb.

Further inquiry into the interkutumb marriages offers the following facts. Marriedout cases of Dastur include 10 casses to Desai, 3 to Vajifdar, 2 to Antia, and the other 14 to different 14 kutumbs. Marriedin cases include 9 cases to Desai, 6 to Mulla and Kanga, 3 to Vajifdar and Gai, 2 to Birdy, and the other 37 to different 37 kutumbs.

Marriedout cases

	Desai	Vajifdar	Antia	
Dastur	10	3	2	14 different kutumbs
				1

Marriedin cases

	Desai	Kanga	Mulla	Vajifdar	Gai	Birdy	
Dastur	9	6	6	3	3	2	37 different kutumbs
							1

Results of the marriage cases of Desai are shown below.

Marriedout cases

	Dastur	Antia	Mulla	
Desai	5	3	3	15 different kutumbs
				1

Marriedin cases

	Dastur	Antia	Mulla	Jamaspas	Vajifdar	
Desai	7	7	7	5	3	20 different kutumbs
						1

The results of our investigation with references to Disapothi and Vanshavalichopdo prove that there is no striking tendency for Dastur and Desai kutumbs to carry out frequent intermarriages with some specific kutumb. From this it follows that the Parsis have not carried out Hindu type interkutumb marriage and that the patrilineal descent group derived from the interkutumb marriage has not had a strong social function in the Parsi community.*¹⁰ In sharp contrast to the marriage custom in the

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Hindu society, the Parsis have conducted marriages within the kutumb, encouraging patrilineal parallel cousin marriages. What is more, we can say that the Parsis have followed strictly the marriages within the community and that they have tried as far as possible to do the marriages within Mobed descents as the cases of Dastur and Desai show to us.

2) Natrun

Natrun is a Parsi marriage form in which a widower marries a widow. The marriage form is seldom found in the same kutumb, but rather frequently takes the interkutumb marriage form. 75% of Natrun in Desai and 61% in Dastur took the latter form.

Out of 466 marriage cases, 121(=25%) are remarriages, about 35% of which are natruns. This fact should be interpreted in connection with 21 cases of childmarriage (9 cases of childmarriage and 12 cases of khud). 21 cases out of 43 natruns (49%) are khud, a Parsi title for those who died before navjot.

The documents show that all the khud died engaged, so the marriage was to be performed for him or her.

What Zoroastrian beliefs and practices have maintained this sort of marriage form are to be considered in terms of *štūr* and *čagār* which used to be carried out in the Parsi community. *stur* is a marriage for an unmarried wealthy male member of the Parsi community who died unmarried after his navjot. Someone among his near relatives asks a woman, who is especially poor, to establish a *štūr* relationship with the deceased and then to call them a couple pair. Then the *štūr* girl gets married to a Parsi male from a poor family. One son out of those children who she bears from her marriage with a man should be a son of the deceased and the woman should be a wife of the deceased in the next world.

čagār is one of remarriage forms for women when her betrothed or her husband dies. One of those children who she bears from the second marriage should be a child of the first husband and she should be a wife to him in the next world. It used to be believed *margarzan* 'a grave sin worthy of death' to turn down the offering of *štūr* or *čagār* without any specific reason except her inability to give birth to any child. Even during the mourning of her deceased husband, she was able to accept the offering of *štūr* or *čagār*, and if not without any good reason, it would be a *margarzan*. In the case of natrun, it does not matter at all if the wife may be older than the

husband.

If there is delivered only one daughter from ʒagār, then the daughter herself would follow another marriage form of ēnōkēn*¹³ and one son she bears from ēnōkēn should be given pālak to the first husband. Even when she has only one son, he should be given pālak to her first husband. For the second husband, stur would be conducted. We can say that štūr and ʒagār are one of Zoroastrian beliefs and practices for the Parsis to hold their inheritance custom with the male line in the axis. In terms of this mode of Zoroastrian thought and behaviour, a remarkable correlation between natrun and khud is to be interpreted, but so far such historical documents as testify our hypothesis has not been discovered.

3) Marriage and the sacred fires

The sacred fires of Zoroastrian Parsis have been kept burning all the time through their māčis, the ritual offering of sandalwood to the sacred fires. Māčis have been done at each 5 gah of the day and the māčis at each gah of all the year round are endowed by the Parsis. The Gujarati documents show that one of the essential purposes of māči is to celebrate the soul of the departed.*¹⁴ For the benefit or in remembrance of the soul of the dead, the Parsis have offered to endow some of his property or land to go on with the māči as long as possible. In this connection, some individual or group will leave a part of their property to some trust with a will so that the interest should be used for offering the appointed māči, and others may entrust the funds or land with an established trust.

Out of all the māčis in a year, 94 māčis are offered by the trusts, and 82 out of it are set up by kutumbs, 8 by 'familywise', 3 by Mobed groups (pols), 1 by vegetarian group, and 1 by the whole Parsi community.*¹⁵ These are concrete cases in which the Parsis organize social groups and here again kutumbs fulfil a very important function.

Hence we will refer to one concrete trust māči of Desai kutumb.

Trust of Themurji Rustomji Desai

We will endow 4 trusts in order to perform the religious services for the benefit of pious souls of the deceased in our kutumb and for the great success of our living people in our kutumb.

(1) we perform bāj*¹⁶ and jašan*¹⁷ for (the soul of) our founder Themurji Rustomji

Desai and his wife. We perform gahambar*¹⁸ for them.

(2) For the pious soul of our founder Themurji Rustomji Desai.

(3) Our kutumb cooperate together to do mukutad.*¹⁹

(4) For all the souls of all the deceased in our kutumb, we perform Āfrinagān*²⁰ and fravaši.*²¹

The above document shows that if the Parsis entrust religious ceremonies with a kutumb as a unit to somebody else or some established trust, then almost all souls of the Parsis are celebrated. We have already pointed out that the male line constructs the core of the family structure of the Parsis and that those who have not been in a position to follow such Zoroastrian practice are, living or dead, expected to do štūr or ŷagār for that purpose. From this Zoroastrian point of view, the Parsis have conducted kutumb māči as well as religious ceremonies..

IV Conclusions

The Parsis have carried out a great number of appointed māčis for an unmarried Parsi with no children, a married Parsi with no children or a married Parsi with daughters so that they may have their souls celebrated as long as possible.*²² In this practice, the kutumb has played a very important social function in the Parsi community.

We have already pointed out in terms of conversion that the Parsis are not allowed to marry out of their community. In this paper we have discovered some aspects of the family structure of the Parsis with reference to the Gujrati historical documents of their marriages.

Our analysis of marriage cases in Dastur and Desai kutumbs leads to discover that the Parsis have organized a patrilineal oriented family system with the male line as the basis of inheritance but that they have not established the patrilineal descent groups based upon the interkutumb marriage. This social orientation has been maintained in the marriage custom of ēnōkēn.

Ēnōkēn used to be a Zoroastrian traditional marriage form for an only daughter in which she is expected to get married and make one of her sons the pālak son to her parents who will be qualified to inherit the property of her parents after navjot. If an only daughter bears only daughters, then one of her daughters will be again appointed ēnōkēn for the same purpose. An only daughter who does ēnōkēn is allowed to get out of ēnōkēn only after one of her sons inherits the property of her parents and then she

marries her husband again in the form of pādixša.

If an only daughter of ēnōkēn has only daughters, then one of them will be an ēnōkēn to maternal grandparents, another to her parents, and the other štūr to her parents. Even when she has sons, if one of them dies or converts to some other religion to get out of the Parsi community, one of the daughters will be ēnōkēn so that she may bear children and make one of her sons the son of her parents or brother. She is not supposed to turn down the offer of ēnōkēn and if so without any good reason, then it is a margarzan, 'deserving the death'. If the daughter is already married, she has to dissolve the marriage in order to be ēnōkēn.*²³

In order to realize the relief by means of the sacred fires, the Parsis have established the ritual relationship by Zoroastrian marriage forms of natrun, štūr, or čagār and they make such social relations actually functioning in their everyday life through the Zoroastrian traditional kutumb or trust māčis.

Further inquiries into the family structure of the Parsis in terms of adoption, name, and the trust system will be discussed in other articles.

footnotes

1) In order to clarify the consistency and change of religious phenomena and the family structure, the present author has analysed the structure of family in the kakure nenbutsu (secretive Buddhist sect) community existing around Mt.Kirishima and the ritual kinship (compadrazgo and padrinazgo) in a Mayanyucatecan Catholic Community, Mani.

Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1993, "The religious beliefs and practices of kakure nenbutsu (secretive Buddhist sect) and a shaman in the kakure nenbutsu community around Mt.Kirishima—with reference to Shiwachi Go and Takajou Go—" pp.210-218

Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1994, "The Ritual Kinship (compadrazgo and padrinazgo) in a Mayanyucatecan Catholic Community,MANI" pp.129-150

2) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1989, "The consistency and change of Zoroastrianism in India" in "Cooperation and Conflict Among Religious Communities" pp.229-246 Kosei Shuppansha

3) The Parsis in Navsari is composed of two main social groups: Mobed (priest) and Behdin (laity) and Mobed is split up into two groups: Bhagarsath and non-Bhagarsath: There have been several conflicts between these social groups concerning the marriage and the right of the maintenance of sacred fires and so on. Desai and Dastur belong to

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Mobed and Bhagarsath group, and they have been one of the biggest leading social groups in the Parsis community. The Bhagarsath have been derived from the five poles:

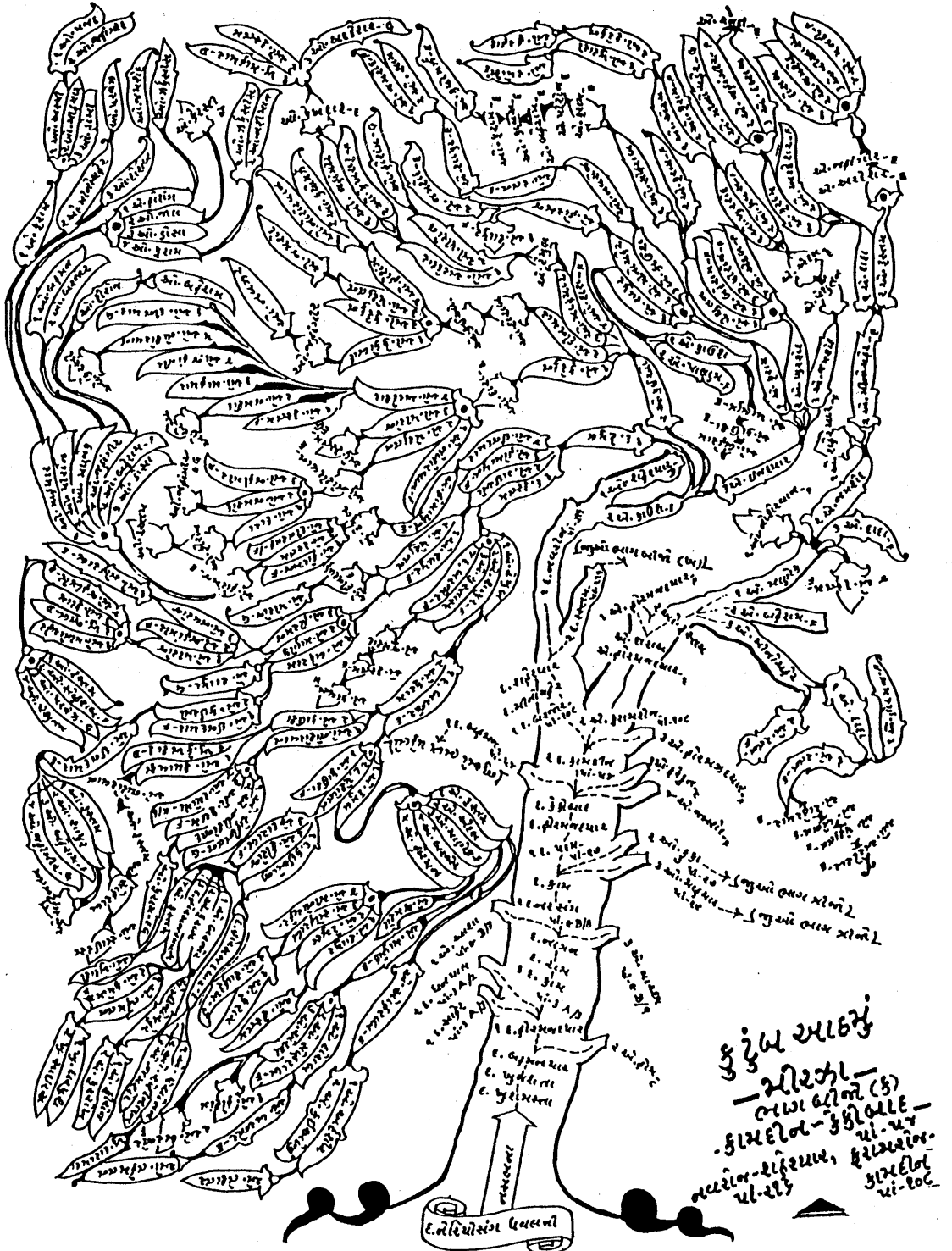
Asha Faredun, Mahyar Faredun, Chanda Faredun, Kaka Pahlan, Kaka Dhanpal.

4) A part of Disapothi

ग—“नाल्ली सरकार.”

४२३	डा. जमशेद डा. टेहपुरे.	३	१	११२४	४२	१७६१	२. ३. ना नील हीं (३३/३). “नानी सरकार” ना वरीण.
४२४	डी. माणिक डा. जमशेद.	२१	३				ज. नां चेहेलां धं (भाग १-१३७.)
४२४/१	डी. रतन डा. रतन.	५	७				” भीलं धं (भाग १-३६७.) जेहमन अेर. मुस्लांनां हीं (भाग १-६०.)
४२५	पुा. अरमेर डा. जमशेद.	७	६				ज. नो नानो हीं (भा. १-३३३.)
४२५/१	पुा. कुवर डा. अरमेर.	२६	८				ज. ती हीकरी (भाग १-४५०.)
४२६	डा. माणिक डा. जमशेद.	६	११	११६७		१८१०	ज. २. ना हीं (६३पु-भा. १-६३०.) (हीं:-४३०, ४३५, ४७५, ४८७, ५७८.)
४२७	डी. नवाज डा. माणिक.	७	१	१२००			भा. नां धं-६. जमसरप-आशानां भीलं हीं (भा. १-५६.)
४२७/१	पुा. होरमज्ज डा. माणिक.	२	८	११३०			} भा. नां नानां छेकरांगो. (भा. १-२०८.)
४२८	पुा. पीरोज डा. माणिक.	८	४	११४०			
४२९	डी. माणिक पुा. कठिस.	२०	४	११६३			भा. नी हीं (जूयो भाग १-२२८, ३४६.)
४३०	डा. नोशेरवान डा. माणिक.	१	८	११६३		१८३४	भा. ज. ना वझ हीं छे मोदी वारीवाया. (भा. १-४६६.)
४३१	डी. माणिक डा. नोशेरवान.	७	६	११६२			पा. लाध हो. (४३५.)
४३२	पुा. होमाय डा. नोशेरवान.	९	१	११५३			नो. नां धं-२. ३. (३३६)नां हीं (भा. १-३४२.)
४३३	पुा. रतन ”	२४	६				} नो. नां नानां छेकरांगो. (भा. १, ४५-सरपानो ३६०) (भा. १-३३५) (भा. १-५७७) (भा. १-५१२)
४३४	पुा. होमाय ”	१५	१०				
४३४/१	पुा. केपसरो ”	२२	९	११७५			
४३५	डा. होरमज्ज डा. नोशेरवान.	१०	३	१२१२			
४३६	पुा. रतन डा. होरमज्ज.	२६	९				हीं:-४४६, ४५७, ४६२, ४६४, ४६९.
४३७	डी. रतन पुा. अरमेर.	२४	११	११८८			हो. नां चेहेलां धं-पा. ३. (३८७)नां हीं (भा. १-५०६.)
							” भीलं धं-छेसाहेय (४४६)नां माध (भा. १-६०७.)

5) A case of Vansavalichopdo



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6) A gher means a nuclear family. In Navsari there has been a tendency for the three generations of Parsis to live together in a house except an apartment building like Asa Baug. In this case of an extended family, the word gher is generally applied.

7) A sagan is a social group of kinsfolk including the relatives by marriages and in the Parsi community it usually accords to the size which the priest evokes in the religious ceremonies.

8) A sarkar is of larger size than a sagan and it differs from a sagan in that it has been descended from the ancestor on the male line. In Navsari, Desai has maintained this sort of sarkar for a long time.

9) Like a sarkar, a kutumb is a patrilineal family group which Disapothi describes in detail. A kutumb includes 7 or 15 generations in it and even if they live apart one another, the group has played an important function in the religious ceremonies. The kutumb does not celebrate any specific god but it has conducted religious services in order to celebrate all the souls of their ancestors.

10) Chie NAKANE, 1970, "The Structure of family" Tokyo University Press.

11) Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, 1932, Hormazyar Framarz., Bombay.
pp.179-191:195-203

12) *ibid.*, pp.192-194

13) *ibid.*, pp.198-199.

D.N.Mackenzie, 1971, A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary. Oxford..p.30

14) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1983 "The Sacred Fires and Religious Rites in Zoroastrian Māči and Jašan" Shukyo Kenkyuu vol.257., pp.81-101

15) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1989, "The consistency and change of Zoroastrianism in India" in "Cooperation and Conflict Among Religious Communities" pp.239-240 Kosei Shuppansha

16) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1983 "The Sacred Fires and Religious Rites in Zoroastrian Māči and Jašan" Shukyo Kenkyuu vol.257., pp.81-101

17) *ibid.*, pp.92-93

Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1984, "The Sacred Fires and the Purification Ceremonies (Barasnom) – the Purification Ceremonies in Navsari – Tetsugaku Nenpo" vol.43., p.108

18) *Ibid.*, pp.92-93

19) Mukutad is performed for ten days at the end of the year of Zoroastrian Parsis for all the souls of the departed. The fravaši of the dead are believed by the Parsis to visit his own house to enjoy the foods prepared for them in every house of the Parsis.

- 20) This is one of the old traditional Zoroastrian religious ceremonies to have come over the fravaši, preparing fruits, flowers, milk, and water which are called collectively 'myazd'.
- 21) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1983 "The Sacred Fires and Religious Rites in Zoroastrian Māči and Jašan" Shukyo Kenkyuu vol.257., pp.93-96
- 22) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, 1989, "The consistency and change of Zoroastrianism in India" in "Cooperation and Conflict Among Religious Communities" pp.238 Kosei Shuppansha
- 23) Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, 1932 Hormazyar Framarz., Bombay.
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