

The Sacred Fires and the Social Structure of the Zoroastrian Parsis

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Preface

The three kinds of sacred fires (Ātaš Bahrām, Ātaš Ādarān and Ātaš Dādgāh) of Zoroastrian Parsis stand at the very core of the community as the most significant religious symbol⁽¹⁾. The fires function as intermediary between the living and the dead⁽²⁾ and are a ritual means to acquire the ritual power “Av.yaozdā; purity”⁽³⁾

It would be of the greatest help for understanding the function and meaning of the sacred fires of the Zoroastrian Parsis to clarify by whom and in what way the sacred fires have been maintained in the Zoroastrian Parsis community and to analyze what dimensions of social structure have been involved in the foundation and maintenance of the fires⁽⁴⁾. To clarify and analyze the founding and maintaining of the sacred fires in connection with the social structure is to rethink the problems concerning symbol and society.

1 Materials and documents

Materials and documents referred to in this paper are strictly restricted within Navsari where the present author has been doing fieldwork since 1978. The Gujarati documents on the foundation of the sacred fires in Navsari; the documents of māči in the Ātaš Bahrām; Disa-Pothi and Vanshavalichopdo (the Parsis genealogical Gujarati documents)⁽⁵⁾; Namgaran (the Parsis death register)⁽⁶⁾; our fieldwork data in Navsari constitute the major materials and documents for our study.

2 The sacred fires and the social structure

So far our study has concentrated on the structure of the fire temple⁽⁷⁾ and on the very important religious practice, barašnom (Av. nine-night-purification ritual)⁽⁸⁾ in order to understand the foundation and maintenance of the sacred fires. Now we should proceed on to study the māči in terms of genealogical factors in order to discover possible correlation between the sacred fires and the social structure of the Parsis community.

After the minute description of māči⁽⁹⁾, the ritual of offering sandalwood to the sacred fires, we will discuss how the parsis have observed the māčis in connection with genealogical factors.

1) The offering of sandalwood to the sacred fires

Each of the sacred fires is enthroned in its own sanctuary (gumbad), and has been kept burning because the Parsis have offered sandalwood to them. There are some fixed forms conserved in the māči. In some cases, the appointed individual or family can do the māči on the appointed date and at the appointed time. In other cases, such as life cycle ceremonies, any parsis can do it on any day and at any time he likes under several conditions⁽¹⁰⁾. Only the priests are allowed to offer sandalwood for some māčis, and any parsis is able to offer it himself for other māčis.

The ritual offering of sandalwood to the sacred fires is called bui (Pahl. bui), the derivation of which

is from Av. baodha “fragrance” . According to the Parsis usage of “bui devi(Guj.)” , the ritual literally means “to give fragrance” . Not only the priests but also the laity(Behdīn) can offer sandalwood to the sacred fires of the third degree:Ātaš Dādġāh.To the sacred fires of the second degree: Ātaš Ādarān and to that of the first degree: Ātaš Bahrām, only the priest offer sandalwood. The priests who offer sandalwood to Ātaš Bahrām have to be qualified with baršnom and “xūb” (some ritual power acquired through Zoroastrian Yasna and barāšnom ceremonies). As the ritual power of xūb remains valid for 4 days, the priests must acquire it again when asked to do another māči.⁽¹¹⁾

The bui ceremony is done by the qualified priests five times a day, at the beginning of each five gāh (traditional Zoroastrian periods of time)⁽¹²⁾. At each five gāh the prayer for the sacred fire (Ātaš Niyāeš)⁽¹³⁾ is recited only once by the priests for Ātaš Ādarān and Ātaš Dādġāh. But for Ātaš Bahrām, 11,9,7,7,9 times of Ātaš Niyāeš have to be recited at the beginning of respective gāh.

The bui ritual has preserved the Zoroastrian oldest purification ceremony barāšnom, prayers, time sense and space sense whose roots are from Avesta antiquity. As described above, only the priests qualified with xūb can perform it, and the degree of xūb corresponds to the degree of sacredness of the fires⁽¹⁴⁾. The priests who tend Ātaš Bahrām are to be with xūb of highest degree , and they have to offer sandalwood in the fixed form of māči. Ātaš Niyāeš at the beginning of each gāh are respectively 11,9,7,7,9 times, while the prayer is offered only once for the sacred fires of lesser degree.

The fundamental reason for practicing māči is for the Parsis to “worship Ahura Mazdā” and to “enlighten thoughts, words, and deeds” of his own⁽¹⁵⁾. To elucidate more clearly how the Parsis have observed such an old complex ritual in their actual life would require a heuristic approach to find out how they regard the sacred fires .

2) Māči

The form of Parsis māčis at the appointed time on the appointed date may be individual, family, kutumb, group, or community māčis. The functioning units of group māčis are ‘street’ , priest group, and vegetarians. Figure 1⁽¹⁶⁾ shows only a small part of all the results of māčis for Ātaš Bahrām in Navsari. The results are reproduced and composed by the present author from the Gujarati documents which Vada Dasturji Meherji Rana permitted him to transcribe⁽¹⁷⁾. After the transcription, inquiries were carried out into whether he/she is from the priesthood or the laity, whether he/she is alive or dead, whether he/she is living in Navsari or in any other community.

The māči is composed of two parts: individual, family, kutumb, or group māčis belong to the one part, and surname(family) māčis to the other part. The surname(family) māčis make up for the māčis of individual, family, kutumb, or group type. Though the description form of surname(family) māčis and family ones is the same, they are different from each other in function.

In the vertical left part are described the 30 names of divine beings who are believed to protect each day in Zoroastrian societies, and in the next part are the five gāhs and the individual, family, kutumb or group names who offer māči at the appointed gāh. The five gāhs and surnames(family) are recorded in the last part of Figure 1 .

Figure 1

| 30 days | Gāh | 1 st | 2 nd | 3 rd | 4 th | 5 th | 1 st | 2 nd | 3 rd | 4 th | 5 th |
|---------|------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| | | Gāh | Gāh | Gāh | Gāh | Gāh | Gāh | Gāh | Gāh | Gāh | Gāh |
| | Hormazd | Colah | Deboo | Kotwal | Gazdar | Mehta | Kanga | Masani | Antia | Dastur | Kolah |
| | Bohman | Desai | Kanga | Tata | Modi | Pavri | Cama | Katruk | Masani | Kanga | Desai |
| | Ardibehest | Patel | Mistry | Gonda | Madan | Kutar | Mulla | Desai | Kanga | Masani | Dastur |
| | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ |
| | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ | ⋮ |

Out of the concrete data in Figure 1, the following facts can be introduced to our investigation of mācis of the Zoroastrian Parsis in Navsari today.

(1) Surname

The sacred fire of Ātaš Bahrām in Navsari has been kept burning for as long as 400 years by the above-mentioned several forms of appointed mācis of the Zoroastrian Parsis. When we investigate the mācis in terms of surnames, the documents show that 238 surnames have participated in them. The exact distribution of 238 surnames are 81(1 case), 45(2 cases), 18(3 cases), 19(4 cases), 6(5 cases), 6(6 cases), 8(7 cases), 4(8 cases), 8(9 cases), and the surnames with over 10 cases are as follows in Figure 2.

Figure 2

| Surnames | No of cases | Total No of repetition | No of repetition | Mobed | Memory of the departed | Residence |
|------------|-------------|------------------------|------------------|-------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Amaria | 15 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Antia | 63 | 42 | 11 | 11 | 9 | 10 Mumbai 1 |
| Asundaria | 11 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Bajan | 27 | 18 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 5 Mumbai 1 |
| Balaporla | 21 | 21 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Baria | 13 | 11 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 Mumbai 3 |
| Batliwala | 11 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| Bhedwar | 15 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Bhoot | 28 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 15 | 23 Mumbai 5 |
| Buhariwala | 19 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Cassattee | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Chiniwala | 12 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 Surat 1 |
| Daboo | 13 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Dadachanji | 18 | 10 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Daruwala | 19 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| Dastur | 79 | 44 | 15 | 15 | 13 | 13 Mumbai 2 |
| Deboo | 85 | 43 | 13 | 0 | 8 | 13 |
| Desai | 145 | 103 | 22 | 22 | 16 | 20 Mumbai 2 |
| Fanibandar | 21 | 16 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Hodiwala | 18 | 9 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Homji | 51 | 43 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 6 Mumbai 4 |
| Kakalia | 34 | 16 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 5 |
| Kanga | 109 | 81 | 13 | 13 | 10 | 12 Mumbai 1 |
| Karkaria | 21 | 13 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 4 Ahmedona 1 |
| Kasad | 12 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Katruk | 14 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Kolah | 23 | 18 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 5 |
| Kotwal | 76 | 49 | 10 | 10 | 4 | 9 Mumbai 1 |
| Kutar | 19 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Madan | 21 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Masani | 21 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Mehta | 29 | 14 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 3 Mumbai 2 |
| Mullah | 14 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Patel | 30 | 16 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 4 Mumbai 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|----|----|---|---|---|----------|
| Sukhadwala | 15 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tamboli | 21 | 11 | 4 | 0 | 1 | Mumbai 2 |
| Vajifdar | 21 | 9 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 4 |

Here the second surname of Antia in Figure 2 is to be illustrated. Antia has done 63 māčis in all, but this does not mean that 63 individual Antias have done 63 māčis. In the 42 cases out of 63 the same person offer more than 2 māčis and 42 repetitions are shared by 11 persons from Antia family. 11 out of these 42 are all Mobed. Of 63 māčis by Antia, 9 are dedicated for the souls of the departed. Out of 11 persons from Antia who are involved in the repetition cases, 10 live (or used to live) in Navsari and 1 lives in Mumbai.

37 surnames out of 238 have been in charge of 1174 māčis of Ātaš Bahrām. The total number of all māčis in a year is 1825, and 95 cases are collective ones. The individual māčis count 1730, and 1174 individual cases of 1730 have been performed by 37 surnames. From this outcome it follows that around 15% of all concerned with māčis have undertaken about 68% of the Ātaš Bahrām māčis in Navsari.

(2) Trusts and religious ceremonies for the departed

Further examination into the māčis proves that 95 māčis have been carried out in the form of trust, which it would be helpful for our study to distinguish from individual māčis. 83 trust māčis are of family or kutumb, 7 of 'street', 3 of Bhagariā Priest, 1 of vegetarians, and 1 of the whole Parsis community (Falla ni māči).

These sorts of trust māčis are called by the Parsis in Navsari "nibhav" (Gujarati), which we should think corresponds to "yazisin nihādag" in the "Mādīgān ī Hazar Dādistan". "yazisin nihādag" is, as Mary Boyce has already demonstrated, a traditional Zoroastrian religious practice dedicated for the soul of the departed. MHD. 34 shows that there used to be practiced in the Sasanian times "ruwān yazisin rāy (remember the souls of the departed)" and this "ruwān yazisin rāy" will lead us to go in to details of the trust māčis of the Zoroastrian Parsis today⁽¹⁸⁾. The Parsis take it one of the greatest virtues to invoke the names of the dead in order to keep them in mind all the time. For this immensely meritorious deed, the Parsis have devoted themselves to the following observances: ① the founding of a fire temple, dakhma (Tower of Silence), and other social institutions; 8 sacred fires out of 9 in Navsari, 7 Ātaš Bahrāms out of 8 in India, and 118 sacred fires of lesser degree out of 133 in India have been founded to celebrate and memorize the soul of the departed persons; ② carrying on with the māčis for the sacred fires for the memory of the soul of the dead; ③ recording the names of the departed in the kutumb so that they can believe they remain in the genealogical lineage; ④ invoking, in the religious ceremonies on the occasions of tending the dead, all the names of the departed.

Two kinds of Gujarati documents have been preserved among the Zoroastrian Parsis: "Genealogy I"⁽¹⁹⁾ has recorded all the male members within the kutumb (patrilineal descendants) and "Genealogy II"⁽²⁰⁾ has recorded both male and female members within a smaller size than a kutumb. The latter is used on the anniversary of the departed and on the days for the departed (the fravaši days), and the officiating priest invokes all the recorded names. It ordinarily takes as long as one hour for the priest to finish "Genealogy II" of kutumb size⁽²¹⁾. This social code is regarded as most valuable by the Parsis and so it affects deeply all the aspects of their everyday life.

Including these methods, the māčis are also offered to celebrate the soul of the departed. A

comprehensive survey of each individual person recorded in the figure 1 reveals that 921 cases (nearly 53%) have been conducted in connection with memorial services for the dead. In individual dimensions as well as in collective dimensions, the māčis have been closely connected with services for the soul of the departed.

83 trust māčis have been preserved by 31 surnames of the Parsis. Choksey is in charge of 22 trust māčis, and in descending order of number are Dordi(11 cases),Desai(9 cases),Gyara(6 cases),Bhabha(5 cases),one surname(3 cases),2 surnames(2 cases)and 23 surnames(1 cases) .Three main surnames(Choksey, Dordi,Desai) have been responsible for about half of the trust māčis. Here it is noteworthy that leading surnames in the trust māčis(Choksey,Dordi,Gyara,Bhabha) are concerned only with trust māčis, not with the other forms of māčis in Navsari today.

Several surnames have been more concerned with the māčis than the other surnames in the collective māčis as well as in the individual māčis.

(3) Female names

In the Gujarati documents of māči, there are recorded 313 Parsis female names which , as described before , have not been recorded or remembered in “Genealogy I” . Further inquiries into the 313 Parsis female names prove that 81 are living alone unmarried; 53 married without any child; 29 married with an only daughter. This is the evidence that some of the māčis have been carried out for those female members of the community who were not blessed with any son for some reason.

Though the female names have not been registered in “Genealogy I” which the Parsis find greatly valuable, there exist several occasions of religious ceremonies for the dead where the officiating priest invokes the names of female members. In this connection, we have to refer to the most remarkable feature of the Parsis “pālak” that the custom is not at all a matter of female members but a matter of male members of the community⁽²²⁾ . But it is also the Zoroastrian Parsis practice that some female members of the community found trust māčis and wives or daughters of the family sometimes inherit the trusteeship. This is often the case with the trust māčis in which the Parsis endow some portion of their property for the trust and the concept of inheritance comes into being.

The female Parsis in some of the cases found the trust under their own will. The inheritance of the trust is descended along their own family or along the trustees. An individual or a group may set apart a piece of property for the trust by a will so that the interest from the property may be used for the maintenance and administration of the trust māči. Others may entrust with an established trust māči some amount of funds or a piece of land so that their own māči can be performed by the interest and profits from them⁽²³⁾ . The Parsis, male or female, thus have founded and endowed the trust māčis in order to observe several religious rituals for the souls of the departed. The custom and belief that the Parsis have established the trust māčis in order to dedicate some religious ceremonies not only for his own soul but also for the soul of another person seems to have been derived from that of the Sasanian times.⁽²⁴⁾

In Navsari, by the will of Dosibhai Kotwal, Ātaš Dādgāh was founded in 1923 for Āfrīngagān Bāj⁽²⁵⁾ and Muktaḍ⁽²⁶⁾ to be performed year after year for the souls of Dosibhai and her parents. The practice of foundation or establishment of sacred fires occurred in MHD in the Sasanian days.

The female members of the Parsis, though they are put in an inferior social position in the genealogical documents or in the custom of “pālak” , are given the right to found and maintain the sacred fires just as the male members in the community.

(4) Individuality

1404 māčis (about 77% of all) for Ātaš Bahrām have been done by the Parsis living in Navsari. The backbone of Ātaš Bahrām māčis is formed by the Parsis in Navsari and it does not extend to other Parsis communities like Mumbai(311 cases) and the rest.

As we have already described, the sacred fires of the Parsis, whether it is of higher grade or of lesser grade, have been individual foundations. Some of these pious foundations may be established during a person's life time (Dadibhai Ātaš Bahrām in Mumbai and Modi & Vakil Ātaš Bahrām) and others may be carried out by the descendents according to the will (Wadia & Banaji Ātaš Bahrām in Mumbai). That social custom can be carried out by both the male members and the female members. MHD(27:15-16) shows that a sacred fire was inherited and tended by her husband because a woman who had founded it died without any will. In another passage of MHD(29:9) appeared the fact that an adopted person had the right to inherit the trusteeship (sardārīh)⁽²⁷⁾. It seems that these Zoroastrian practices handed down to the Parsis today have backed up the individuality and communal features of each sacred fire in the Parsis community.

3) Māči and genealogical factors

The māčis by the Mobed(951 cases) are 78 cases more than those by the Behdīn(873 cases). They share the individual māčis equally. To demonstrate the degree to which the Mobed and the Behdīn have participated in the māčis, the research was centered on the analysis of repetition cases.

3.59 is the mean of 788 repetition cases divided by 219 persons who have participated in them. In the case of the Mobed, the mean is 3.98, which is 1.10 higher than 2.88 of the Behdīn. The difference of the mean, though small it is, shows that the Mobed have concerned themselves with the māčis more than the Behdīn and that the degree of repetition in the māčis of the Mobed is slightly higher than that of the Behdīn.

As has been referred to in the previous chapter, only the qualified priests can tend the sacred fire of Ātaš Bahrām. What is more, the Parsis from the priesthood have undertaken to serve Ātaš Bahrām with the practice of māči so that they keep the sacred fire burning for the Zoroastrian community.

In this chapter we will clarify the māčis in terms of some genealogical elements. First we are to analyze the data of surname(family) māčis in Figure 1. Our minute examinations of the surname(family) māčis demonstrate that surnames of Kanga and Masani occur with remarkably higher frequency than any other surname. The percentage of frequency of Kanga/Masani (total percentage of Kanga/Masani) per month is as follows in the ascending order of month from 1st month to 12th month: 1st 25%·44% (69%), 2nd 30%·54% (84%), 3rd 20%·43% (63%), 4th 26%·35% (61%), 5th 17%·30% (47%), 6th 17%·42% (59%), 7th 19%·40% (59%), 8th 35%·37% (72%), 9th 16%·47% (63%), 10th 17%·44% (61%), 11th 21%·50% (71%), 12th 6%·32% (38%).

The results show that in the surname (family) māčis several specific families have dedicated the Ātaš Bahrām māčis to keep the sacred fire burning day and night.

When we trace out Kanga and Masani in "Genealogy I", we come across another fact that Kanga has been derived from Kākā Dhanpāl lineage and Masani from Chāndā Farēdūn lineage⁽²⁸⁾. In other words, in the case of surname(family) māčis, the Kākā Dhanpāl lineage and the Chāndā Farēdūn lineage have been the nucleus of the māčis and Kākā Pāhlan, Āshā Farēdūn, Māheār Farēdūn have not contributed in large measure to the surname(family) māčis.

The parsis who belong to the Mobed have been descended in the Gujarati documents "Genealogy I" from those stocks which are so called Bhagariā, Sanjānā, Gōdāvṛā, Bharuchā, and Khambāta⁽²⁹⁾. For our study it would be of greatest help to go into detail of Bhagariā, which has been originated from Navsari.

Bhagariā is composed of these 5 pols(Guj.street):

- ①Kākā Pahlān(E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Rāmyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Mōbed E.Zarthōsht E.Kāmdīn E.Mōbad E.Kāmdīn E.Rānā E.Chāndnā E.Ānnā E.Pāhlan;
- ②Kākā Dhanpāl(E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Rāmyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Mōbed E.Zarthōsht E.Kāmdīn E.Mōbad E.Lakhmīdhar O.Bāmā O.Lakhmīdhar E.Dhanpāl E.Kākā)
- ③Āshā Farēdūn(E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōm E.Farēdūn E.Āshā)
- ④Māhyār Farēdūn(E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōm E.Farēdūn E.Māhyār),
- ⑤Chāndā Farēdūn(E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōm E.Farēdūn E.Chāndā).⁽³⁰⁾

The māčis, as we have described above, consist of individual, family, kutumb or collective māčis and surname(family) ones. Our analysis of individual, family, kutumb or collective Ātaš Bahrām māčis in the light of a genealogical standpoint proved that Antia(63 cases),Dastur(79 cases),Deboo(85 cases),Desai(145 cases),Homji(51 cases),Kanga(109 cases),and Kotwal(76 cases) have been involved more frequently than any other.

These 8 family surnames have performed 608 Ātaš Bahrām māčis (nearly 52% of the total). As for the distribution of their cases, there is no meaningful inclination found in any of 12 months. Through our tracing out these surnames in "Genealogy I", it turned out that Antia has originated from Māhyār Farēdūn, Dastur from Kākā Pahlān, Desai and Kotwal from Āshā Farēdūn, Homji from Chāndā Farēdūn and Kanga from Kākā Dhanpāl. The individual, family, kutumb or collective Ātaš Bahrām māčis have been conducted by Kākā Dhanpāl(Bedwar, Kanga, Madan, Mulla, Vajifdar; 180 cases 24%), Kākā Pahlān(Dastur, Karkaria; 113 cases 18%) and Āshā Farēdūn(Dadachanji, Desai, Katrack, Kotwal; 253 cases 33%) have contributed more to the maintenance of the sacred fire.

To be more specific, when we determine whether each of these surnames is Bhagariā or not, the result is that except Deboo all are from the Bhagariā pols. 18 out of 37 surnames in Figure 2 belong to the Mobed and have dedicated nearly 66% of all Ātaš Bahrām māčis, the exact number of which are Māhyār Farēdūn:76 cases(Antia 63:Daboo 13),Chāndā Farēdūn 118 cases(Bajan 27:Homji 51:Kutar 19:Masani 21),Kākā Dhanpāl 180 cases(Bhedwar 15:Kanga 109:Madan 21:Mullah 14:Vajifdar 21),Kākā Pahlān 134 cases(Dastur 79:Kakalia 34:Karkaria 21), Āshā Farēdūn 235 cases(Desai 145:Katrak 14:Kotwal176).

The facts we extracted from the documents demonstrate that Ātaš Bahrām in Navsari has been maintained by the Parsis from the Mobed, especially from the Bhagariā priests who have exerted themselves to share individual or collective māčis and surname(family) māčis among them. Āshā Farēdūn,Kākā Dhanpāl, and Kākā Pahlān have been in charge of individual or collective māčis, while Kākā Dhanpāl and Chāndā Farēdūn have been in charge of surname(family) māčis. Thus the Parsis from the Mobed have concerned themselves with the Ātaš Bahrām māčis, including the fact that only the qualified priests are permit-

ted to tend the sacred fires of higher degree.

Conclusions

The sacred fires of Zoroastrian Parsis are addressed as “the son of Ahura Mazdā” (Av. āthrō ahurahē mazdāo puthra. Ātaš Niyāēš:4-8;10;12;18) and the Parsis “adore Ahura Mazdā through the (sacred) fires”. With “the offering and prayer”, the Parsis should approach the sacred fires, “infinite, immortal being” (AN:7-8;13-15). Such blessings as “life, wisdom, offspring, animate energy, courage” (AN:10-11) and “good rewards and everlasting relief of fravaši(AN:13)” are believed to be bestowed on those Zoroastrians who offer sandalwood and prayers to the sacred fires.

Each sacred fire of Zoroastrian Parsis has been founded by an individual person or family in order to be consecrated and installed in its own fire temple. Each sacred fire has its own individuality entirely different from that of any other sacred fire or any other ordinary one. This sort of traditional pious foundation of sacred fires among the Parsis is to remember the name of individual person or family and the fravaši(soul) of the departed. The religious practice of offering sandalwood to the sacred fires has been carried out by the Parsis so that they can remember the name or the fravaši of those concerned. The māčis can be done in several ways: individual, family, kutumb, group, or trust and they mean so much to the Parsis that the heirship and inheritance are involved in many cases.

The māčis, in the case of Ātaš Bahrām in Navsari, have been done by the Parsis descended from the priestly class, the Mobed. To be more specific, the Bhagariā priests derived from the Parsis priesthood in Navsari have conducted not only the individual māčis but also the family or collective ones for the perpetual maintenance of the most important sacred fire.

footnotes

- (1) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, “The Sacred Fires in Zoroastrian Parsis – The Sacred Fires in Navsari,” *Tetsugaku Nenpo*, Vol.42 (1983), pp.29-52
- (2) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, “The Sacred Fires and the Names of the Departed in Zoroastrian Parsis,” *Nishinohon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.18 (1996), pp.13-25
- (3) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, “The Sacred Fires and the Purification Ceremony(Barāšnom) – The Purification Ceremonies in Navsari,” *Tetsugaku Nenpo*, Vol.43(1984), pp.91-109
- (4) Some Analyses of the maintenance of sacred fires in Navsari have already been carried out in my paper “Consistency and Changes in Zoroastrian Parsis in India,” in *Cooperation and Conflict among Religious Communities*. Kosei Shuppansha,(1989), pp.229-246 Some of the content of the above-mentioned paper overlaps with the result of this paper.
- (5) DISA-POTHI is the Gujarati historical documents in which the genealogical facts of Desai kutumb and Dastur Kutumb are recorded. The documents cover the names, the anniversary days, the days of Navar, the characteristics, the kutumbs, the causes of death, the nicknames of individual person. VANSAVALICHOPDO is also the tree-form Gujarati genealogical documents which have been handed down to Parsis families. Individual names only of male family members are recorded along the roots,

trunk, branches, and leaves. In this paper, DISA-POTHI and VANSAVALICHOPDO are called "Genealogy I" for convenience. For further details, see "The Sacred Fires and the Structure of Family in Zoroastrian Parsis," *Nishinihon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.17 (1995), p.13

- (6) NAMGARAN is kept in each Parsis family to record the names of family within some generations and these names are invoked on the occasions of religious ceremonies. NAMGARAN is called "Genealogy II" for convenience in this paper. For further details, see "The Sacred Fires and the Name of the Departed in Zoroastrian Parsis," *Nishinihon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.18 (1996), p.25 There have been left behind a great deal of NAMGARAN in Navsari and the documents are of greatest help for us to clarify the mode of thought and behaviour of Zoroastrian Parsis. I plan to discuss NAMGARAN in another article.
- (7) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, "The Sacred Fires and the Purification Ceremony(Barašnom) – The Purification Ceremonies In Navsari," *Tetsugaku Nenpo*, Vol.43 (1984), pp.91-94
- (8) *ibid.* pp.94-99. "druxš yā nasuš in Zoroastrianism," *Tetsugaku Nenpo*, Vol.44 (1985), pp.21-37
- (9) Modi,J.J., *The religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsis*, Bombay,(1986) (reprint) pp.233-239 The description of bui in this paper is from the observance still performed in Navsari. Under the guidance of Dasturji MeherjiRana and Dasturji Firoze M.Kotwal, the data is confirmed.
- (10) Harukazu NAKABEPPU, "The Sacred Fires and Religious Rites in Zoroastrian Māči and Jašan," *Shukyo Kenkyu*, Vol.257 (1983), pp.89-90
- (11) There are two categories of xūb: "greater xūb(Guj:moti khub)" "lesser xūb(Guj:nani khub)" still observed in Zoroastrian Parsis religious rituals. For further details, see "The Sacred Fires and the Purification Ceremony(Barašnom) – The Purification Ceremonies In Navsari," *Tetsugaku Nenpo*, Vol.43(1984), p.107. footnote (17) and Dastur Firoze M.Kotwal and James W.Boyd., *A Persian Offering The Yasna:A Zoroastrian High Liturgy*. (Paris, 1991), p.63 n.6
- (12) For further information of bui ceremony, see "The Sacred Fires and Religious Rites in Zoroastrian Māči and Jašan," *Shukyo Kenkyu*, Vol.257 (1983), pp.97-99 note(6)
- (13) For further information of Ātaš Nyāeš, see "The Sacred Fires and Religious Rites in Zoroastrian Māči and Jašan," *Shukyo Kenkyu*, Vol.257(1983), p.99 note(8)
The set formula of "āthrō ahurahē mazdāo puthra tava ātarsh puthra ahurahē mazdāo khshnaothra (For the pleasure of fire, the son of Ahura Mazdā, to thee, fire, the son of Ahura Mazdā)" is offered. See, Dastur Firoze M.Kotwal and James W.Boyd., *A Persian Offering The Yasna:A Zoroastrian High Liturgy*. (Paris, 1991), p.87 n.72
- (14) As for the concept of yaozdā-, see "The Sacred Fires and the Purification Ceremony(Barašnom) – The Purification Ceremonies In Navsari," *Tetsugaku Nenpo*, Vol.43(1984), pp.99-105 and Mary Boyce., *A Persian Stronghold Of Zoroastrianism*. (Oxford, 1977), pp.92-138
- (15) Cf.Harukazu NAKABEPPU, "The Sacred Fires and Religious Rites in Zoroastrian Māči and Jašan,"

Shukyo Kenkyu, Vol.257 (1983), pp.97-99 note(6)

- (16) Here is printed only a small part of large quantity of all data required for want of space.
- (17) The data we recomposed by computerization is such that we are forced to spare large part of the data because space forbids.
- (18) Cf. Harukazu NAKABEPPU, "The Sacred Fires and the Names of the Departed in Zoroastrian Parsis," *Nishinihon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.18 (1996), pp.18-19
- (19) See footnotes (5)
- (20) See footnotes (6)
- (21) Cf. Harukazu NAKABEPPU, "The Sacred Fires and the Names of the Departed in Zoroastrian Parsis," *Nishinihon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.18 (1996), pp.18-19
- (22) Cf. Harukazu NAKABEPPU, "The Sacred Fires and the Structure of Family in Zoroastrian Parsis," *Nishinihon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.17 (1995), p.8 and Harukazu NAKABEPPU, "The Sacred Fires and the Names of the Departed in Zoroastrian Parsis," *Nishinihon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.18 (1996), pp.14-15
- (23) For further information of ①-type trust māči, see the Ātaš Bahrām māči and Vadi Dar-i Mihir māči of Pirojibhai Dhanjibhai Pestonji Modi
For further information of ②-type trust māči, see the Ātaš Bahrām Nibhav for the soul of Manekbai Framji Khurshedji Dordy
For further information of ③-type trust māči, see the Bāj Rojgār and Muktaḍ trust of Hormusji Cowasji Gotla family. In the last case there was a will left in the family that the right of trusteeship should be transmitted to the eldest son of his daughter, Ardeshir, on the condition that he must inherit the surname of Hormusji Gotla. More than that, it is also enjoined that "if Ardeshir were not blessed with any son, Rs.1500 per year should be endowed with his daughter Awabai and that after Awabai's death Rs.1500 should be given to her eldest son or her eldest daughter unless she had no son. Those concerned with each case should inherit the surname of Gotla, for all of them are thus descendants of Ardeshir. If any female were to receive Rs.1500 annually, then her husband should inherit the surname of Gotla"
For further details, see "The Sacred Fires and the Names of the Departed in Zoroastrian Parsis," *Nishinihon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.18 (1996), pp.16-19.
- (24) Cf. Harukazu NAKABEPPU, "The Sacred Fires and the Names of the Departed in Zoroastrian Parsis," *Nishinihon Shukyogakuzasshi*, Vol.18 (1996), pp.16-19.
- (25) Āfrīnagān is the ceremony of blessing dedicatēd to the souls of the departed with the offering (miyazd) of fruits, flowers, milk, water and the like. The ceremony is performēd on the occasions of 5 Gathā days at the end of year, the first 3 days at the beginning of year and 6 Gahāmbārs.
- (26) Muktaḍ is the ten-day festival of the fravaši during which the fravaši of all the departed is

welcomed and entertained in each Parsi home.

(27) Cf. Mary Boyce., "On The Sacred Fires Of The Zoroastrians," *BSOAS* XXXI (1968), pp.52-68

(28) Here is printed only a small part of large quantity of all data required for want of space.

(29) In around 1275 A.C., Zarthōsht Mōbad, grandson of Hōrmazdyār Rāmyār, settled down in Navsari accompanied with his two sons, Kāmdīn and Mobad. Bahrām Mōbad, Zarthōsht's younger brother, left Sanjan for Bharuch(or Broach) Pāhlan Mōbad, grandson of Zarthōsht Mōbad, moved to Surat to be the ancestor of the Gōdāvṛā priests.

The genealogy of Sanjana priest is as follows.

① E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār
E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Dhanpāl E.Nāgōj E.Kāmdīn E.Khurshed E.Āsdīn
E.Chāiyyān E.Kāmdīn E.Āshā E.Hōshang E.Khurshed E.Bhaiji E.Jāmāsp

② E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār
E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Kām E.Hamjiyār E.Rām E.Nāgan

③ E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār
E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Kām E.Hamjiyār E.Shāēr E.Chāiyyān

④ E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār
E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Dhanpāl E.Nāgōj E.Kāmdīn E.Khurshed E.Āsdīn
E.Chāiyyān E.Kāmdīn E.Bahrām E.Rānā E.Shāpur E.Kanji
E.Hirji

⑤ E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār
E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Dhanpāl E.Nāgōj E.Kāmdīn E.Khurshed E.Āsdīn
E.Chāiyyān E.Kāmdīn E.Āshā E.Hōshang E.Khurshed E.Erach
E.Narsang E.Kēkobād
E.Shāpur

⑥ E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār
E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Dhanpāl E.Nāgōj E.Kāmdīn E.Khurshed E.Chāndā

⑦ E.Shāpur Shahriyār E.Dhaval E.Nēryōsang E.Mōbad E.Khushmastā E.khujastā E.Bahmanyār
E.Khurshēd E.Bahmanyār E.Hōrmazdyār E.Dhanpāl E.Nāgōj E.Kāmdīn E.Khurshed E.Āsdīn
E.Chāiyyān E.Kāmdīn E.Bahman

See Dastur Firoze M.Kotwal., "A Brief History Of The Parsi Priesthood," *Indo-Iranian Journal*,
Vol. 3 (1990), pp.165-175

(30) Because of the great increase of Parsis population in Navsari toward the end of 14th century the descendants of Kāmdīn Zarthōsht were obliged to employ from Sanjan Hōm Bahmanyār, who came to Navsari with his only son Farēdūn in order to help the descendents of Kāmdīn Zarthōsht. Hōm

Bahmayār still continued to tend the Sanjan Ātaš Bahrām at that time, to which the descendants of his brother Hōrmazdyār Bahmanyār in Sanjan objected, accusing them of earning their reward in two places. They asked Farēdūn and his two sons, Āshā and Māhyār to serve either Navsari or Sanjan. Farēdūn and his two sons, Āshā and Māhyār decided finally to work only in Navsari, “provided that the descendants of Mōbad Kamdīn, headed by Pāhlan Ānnā and Kākā Dhanpāl, agreed to divide the share from the proceeds of ceremonies equally between themselves and the three sons of Farēdūn in perpetuity.”

The family members of Pāhlan Ānnā and Kākā Dhanpāl agreed that the three sons of Farēdūn Hōm should be equal partners. Hence, they came to be called Bhagariā or Bhagarsāth ‘co-sharers’. The origin of the term ‘bhagariā’ is, as Dr. Firoze M. Kotwal argues, from the priests’ act of ‘bhagar kādhvī (Guj. to take out the Bhagar or drōn (Av. draonah- portion’ which is done in the consecration of sacred breads (drōn) brought to the Vadī Dar-i Mihir. Bhagar Kādhnārā or Bhagariā (Guj.) means those priests who act ‘bhagar kādhvī’)

As Dr. Firoze M. Kotwal indicates, Bhagarsāth Anjoman appointed the following fixed religious office to each stock

The head of the Kākā Pahlān stock made the heir of a deceased person recite the formula of sosh on the third day after death, in the presence of an assembly.

The head of the Kākā Dhanpāl stock acted as custodian of the consecrated bull's urine (nīrangdīn)

The head of the Āshā Farēdūn stock conducted the penitentiary prayer (patēt) in an assembly gathered to honour the departed soul on the third day after death.

The head of the Māhyār Farēdūn stock gave permission for initiations into priesthood, called Nāwar and Marātab, and a member of his family was entitled to conduct the first day of the Nāwar ceremony.

The head of the Chāndā Farēdūn maintained records and preserved documents for the Anjomans's archives.

See Dastur Firoze M. Kotwal ., “ A Brief History Of The Parsi Priesthood,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* , Vol. 3(1990), pp.165-175

論文要旨

ゾロアスター教徒パーシー(Parsis)の聖なる火は、現実の生活において、どのような人たちによってどのように保持されてきているのか。聖なる火の保持の場面には、パーシーの集団構造のどの側面がどのように関与し、また反映されているのか。これらの問題を明らかにすることが、本稿の目的である。問題提起および考察は、調査地ナウサリ(Navsari)に限定し、グジャラーティ(Gjarati)の系譜史料(Disa-Pothi: Vanshavalichopdo:Namgaran)とフィールドワークのデータを基本的史資料として使用した。

パーシーの聖なる火は、個人や家族によって創設され、聖別され、聖火殿に保持され、一般の火とは区別されてきた。パーシーが聖なる火を創設する行為は、個人や家族の名前が記憶され、また、死者の魂(fravasi)が供養されることでもある。この思考は、パーシーが祭司をとおして聖なる火に香木を捧げつづける行為(マーチ māci)の動因ともなっている。パーシーは、個人、家族、集団を単位にして、マーチを持続し、場合によっては信託(trust)を組む形でも継続しようとする。したがって、この聖なる火に香木を捧げ加える行為は、当事者にとっては相続継承の対象にさえなるほど重要な意味をもっている。

1825のマーチの具体的事例を分析することによって、また、マーチを行っているパーシーをグジャラーティ系譜史料で追跡することによって、次のような結果を取り出すことができる。

ナウサリで最も等級の高い聖なる火アータシュ・ベーラーム(Ātaš Baharām)のマーチに関しては、祭司系譜を出自とするパーシーが中心となって行われてきている。個人の断面でも集団の断面でも、祭司系譜を出自とする特定の家族(姓)が、また、祭司系譜の中でもバガリアー(Bhagariā)と呼ばれる特定の系譜に属する集団が、アータシュ・ベーラームに香木を捧げることによって聖なる火は永続的に燃えつづけてきている。聖なる火は、パーシーコミュニティにおいて、ただ単に共有されているのではなく、現実には分有されているのである。

キーワード： ゾロアスター教 パーシー 聖なる火 系譜 集団構造

