A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE ST. THOMAS CHRISTIANS



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HISTORY

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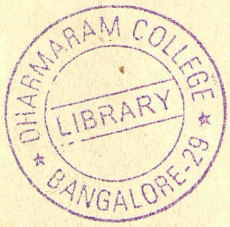
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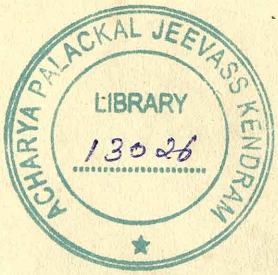
BY

REV. FR. BERNARD

of St. Thomas, T. O. C. D.

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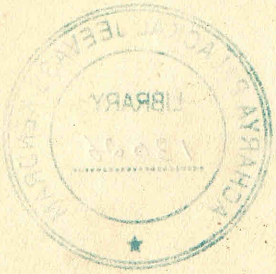
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HIS GRACE

THE MOST REV. AUGUSTINE KANDATHIL, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF ERNAKULAM

AND

METROPOLITAN OF THE MALANKARA SYRIAN CHURCH

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FOREWORD BY THE EDITOR.

Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, T. O. C. D., the author of this book, needs no introduction to the public of Malabar. Malayalees are familiar with his original historical works in Malayalam. But, to outsiders, he may require introduction. He is the great historian of the Malabar Syrian Church. His chief works are the History of the St. Thomas Christians in two volumes and the History of the Syrian Carmelite Congregation of Malabar. These works are unrivalled for their accuracy, historical insight and the free expression of conclusions to which a study of fifty years has led the author. The Syrian Catholics of Malabar expressed their appreciation of his first work and their gratitude for it by conferring on him a gold medal during their annual Social Gathering held at Koravalangad in 1916, under the presidentship of Rev. Palokaren, M.A., of Trichur. There is no exaggeration in saying that Fr. Bernard's works have the same importance with regard to the Syrian History as the work of Elphinstone has with regard to Indian History. Dr. P. J. Thomas, an Oxford scholar, in his lecture before the Royal Asiatic Society of London, on the occasion of the recent celebration of its centenary, gave expression to his appreciation of the original work done by Fr. Bernard with regard to the history of the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas and of the St. Thomas Christians.

The present book, as its name indicates, is only a brief sketch of the larger work of the author. It emphasises certain aspects and especially the Nestorian question. The author has confirmed the longstanding, continuous and unanimous tradition of the Catholic Syrians about their uninterrupted orthodoxy. Certain modern writers have taken the liberty to condemn the contention of Syrian orthodoxy as a novel claim brought forward by the younger generation among the Syrians. They would not have made such an erroneous assumption if they had tried to ascertain the tradition of the Syrians. The Syrian tradition is clear and undoubted. From the time of the Synod of Diamper, they continually resented Portuguese injustice and occasionally gave expression to their firm belief in the uninterrupted orthodoxy of their forefathers and their loyalty to the Holy See.

The occasion of knowing and refuting Portuguese misrepresentations was offered to the Syrians only a few decades ago. It was on the strength of their tradition alone that they contradicted the Portuguese contention. Owing to the burning of Syriac books by Menezes, and other causes, they could get no books or documents of their fore fathers from Malabar. They turned their attention to Rome. The Procurator of the Chaldean Patriarch at Rome searched the Vatican archives. He discovered and published many documents which favour the Syrian view.

Heresy is a voluntary error of a Christian against a truth of faith proposed by the Church to be believed. In order to establish that a Christian fell into a heresy, it is necessary to prove from his words or deeds that he voluntarily admitted and adhered to a heresy against the teaching of the Holy See. The Portuguese writers say that the Portuguese authorities discovered many errors in the books used by the Syrians. If they had supported their assertion by preserving a few books officially recognised and used by the Syrians as containing the exposition of their faith, these testimonies would have carried weight. But in the absence of such confirmation of the errors imputed to Syrians, we cannot accept the Portuguese assertions as historical proof. On the contrary, contemporary documents by Syrians contradict the Portuguese assertions. In the third chapter the author quotes many of these documents in order that the readers may judge for themselves.

Owing to the brevity of the present work, other aspects of Syrian history have been dealt with very briefly. It is hoped that the present work will indicate the chief outlines of the history of the Syrian Church of Malabar to the general reader.

ROMEO THOMAS

OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION,

T. O. C. D.,

A BRIEF SKETCH

OF

The History of the St. Thomas Christians in Malabar.

CHAPTER I.

ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA.

There has existed from time immemorial a body of Christians on the Malabar coast claiming descent from the converts of St. Thomas, the Apostle. During the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (A.D. 547), there were Christians in Malabar. Some writers contend that Christianity was introduced into India from Mesopotamia by the East Syrians. But they are unable to assign the work to definite persons or a definite age. The East Syrians never claimed the honour. There is not the least trace of any tradition either among the Syrians or among the Indians concerning the original introduction of Christianity into South India by the East Syrians. The East Syrian bishops and patriarchs who ruled the Indian Church from the earliest times down to the sixteenth century never claimed that their forefathers were the apostles of South India. They never called in question the Indian claim of the Apostolic origin of their Church. They even explicitly recognised St. Thomas the Apostle as the founder of the South Indian Church. The earliest East Syrian Fathers and authors assign the origin of Christianity in India to St Thomas the Apostle. The early Greek and Latin Fathers confirm this statement. From the Periplus (A.D. 60), from Pliny (A.D. 77), and from Ptolemy (A.D. 140), we know that India and its boundaries were well known to the Syrians, Greeks and Romans of the earliest centuries of our era. India was no fairy land to the Westerners. There

was a vigorous sea-borne trade between South India and the Roman empire in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. Hence when the Syrian, Greek and Roman fathers and authors of the early centuries testify that St. Thomas the Apostle preached in India, no one has a right to explain away these testimonies by saying that by India they meant some other country to the north-west of India.

In this small sketch we do not mean to tread the well-beaten path by dwelling on the foreign evidence of the Indian Apostolate of St. Thomas. We only mean to point out a few of the numerous local evidences attesting the preaching of St. Thomas in South India.

I. The first of these is *the nature of the feast of St. Thomas among the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar.* According to the ancient records* kept among them, the Apostle was martyred on July 3rd, in the year 72 A.D. They commemorate this day annually by hearing mass and doing other pious works in honour of the Apostle. They call this feast Duharana. *Duharana* is a Syriac word meaning commemoration. Through a constant practice of the feast of commemoration, by the piety of the faithful from time immemorial, the feast became obligatory by force of consuetude, and not by any precept of the Church. *This obligation*, therefore, is a permanent proof of the Apostle's preaching in South India.

II. *The Divine Office.* There is a special Office for this feast and its days of the Octave, and it is clearly stated therein that the death of the Apostle took place in S. India. The Office has the following:

---

* The ancient Malayalam ballad known as "Thoma Parvam" explicitly states that St. Thomas was mortally wounded by the "Emprans" (Brahmins) near a temple dedicated to Kali on the Little Mount, Mylapore, in the morning of July 3rd, 72 A.D. and that he died at 4-30 P.M. on the same day. Other ancient songs and especially the Divine Office for July 3rd assign the martyrdom of the Apostle to the same date. The unanimous tradition and the immemorial practice of all the Syrian churches (Catholic and non-Catholic) of Western Asia, and the testimony of the "*Vetus Occidentalis Ecclessiæ Martyrologium, Divo Hieronymo Tributum*" *confirm the Malabar tradition about July 3rd.*

"Holy Apostle Thomas, who established your burial-place on the sea-shore, pray to the most high Lord that we may be filled with joy in heaven with thee." Here sea-shore evidently refers to Mylapore. There is another passage which runs thus :

"And Thomas who was pierced with a lance in the country of India near the sea-shore." In another place of the Office it is said again :

"On the day of the feast of the martyrdom of the holy and chosen Apostle, let us all sing psalms in voices of praise and cry aloud in canticles of the Holy Spirit : 'praised be He who crowned the saint.'"

A mistake about Duharana is to be corrected here. Bishop Medlycott and Fr. Paulinas, (India Orientalis) with some other writers hold that 'Duharana' means translation and that the feast on July 3rd is kept in Malabar in honour of the translation of the Apostle's bones to Edessa. The Syriac word *Duharana* never means translation ; it only signifies commemoration as stated above. It is true that the Roman martyrology places the translation of the Apostle's bones to Edessa on July 3rd, and it is likely therefore that the translation of a small portion of the relics of the Apostle took place on this date. The principal portion of the body of the Apostle was however kept and honoured at Mylapore. The Divine Office for the feast on July 3rd is the most ancient and appears to have been composed by the Indian Prelates of the first or second century. There is a passage favouring this view in the Office for the sixth day, wherein we read :

"Although he (the Apostle) was a very old man, he did not shrink from giving his life for your (O Lord) holy name." This seems to imply that an eye-witness or a person who lived very close to the time of the martyrdom of the Apostle has composed the passage. There is a special passage in the same Office proving that the body of the Apostle was

preserved uncorrupted. It runs thus : "Oh ' the sepulchred whom death has devoured, but not corrupted. Oh ! corporal being, the ties of whose flesh have not been torn asunder. "

III. *The Acts of St. Thomas.* It is generally admitted by historians that ' The Acts ' is a very ancient work written in the 1st or 2nd century in Syriac by an Edessan. The book was soon translated into Greek from the original. ' The Acts ' says that St. Thomas first landed at Sandrok Mahosa, and from there went about preaching the Gospel. Sandrok is no other than Cranganore and Mahosa is not a proper noun ; it is only a Syriac word meaning a town. Cranganore was dedicated to the god Siva by the ancient Hindus who called it after the name of Siva ; Sandrok is a corrupt form of Sandrokal which in Sanskrit means delighter in the moon, and so according to the meaning, Sandrok refers to Siva. Kodungalloor (Cranganore) or Kodilingapuri means the same thing. When Sandrok Mahosa was translated into Greek, it became (Sandrok + polis) Sandropolis, *i.e*, Sandrok + Mahosa. Place-names, when translated into foreign languages, not unusually undergo such changes either in accordance with the laws of euphony or owing to the carelessness of transcribers. Thus Sandropolis eventually became Andropolis. There are other Indian place-names which have undergone similar changes as Mangath for Alengath, Bolghatty for Molakukad, Calicut for Coshikot, Calamina for Caliana, and others. Several authors being unable to identify Andropolis with Cranganore, are inclined to deny the preaching of the Apostle in South India on the ground that no Andropolis can be located there.

IV. *Calamina, the place of the martyrdom of the Apostle.* Roman martyrology and many grave authors affirm that the martyrdom of the Apostle St. Thomas took place at Calamina in India. Now the modern writers seek Calamina everywhere in India and they find it nowhere, and so they

deny the preaching of the Apostle in South India. They are gravely mistaken as is proved below. Calamina is an ancient name given to the place of the martyrdom of the Apostle, as Sandrok was to Cranganore. It is not a modern one. Mylapore was dedicated by the ancient Hindus to the goddess Kali, and after her name it was called Kali (Cali). Kali has also another name Kaliani (Caliani). Caliani is derived from the original root Kali, and is made to retain the same meaning as Kali. It is worthy of note that not a few places like Caliampore, Calcutta, Calian, Calicut...were sacred and dedicated to the same goddess, as is clear from her name being prefixed to those place-names. When Cosmas, the Egyptian traveller, visited India in the 6th century, Mylapore was known by the name Caliana, as is clear from his writings. He says, " there is a christian church in Male (Malabar) where pepper grows. In another place called Caliana a Bishop appointed in Persia resides." This Caliana can be no other than Mylapore as is evident from another passage of the same Cosmas where he says : " *Celebriora porro Indiae Emporia istae sunt ; Sindu, Orrhotha, Calliana, Sibor et Male,* " i.e., The well-known centres of the trade of India are these : Sindu, Orrhotha, Calliana, Sibor and Male. " This shows that Calliana where the Bishop from Persia resided must have been a well-known centre of trade at that time. (*Cfr.* Cosmas Christian Topogr. Lib. II. pp. 133 and 137, quoted by Raulin pp. 361 and 362.) It is made clear from the quotation that Cosmas saw Calliana and other centres of trade in India by his travelling through its coast, these centres being the sea-ports. Now Calamina is a corrupt form of Caliana as can be easily understood from the light of the explanation given above regarding Sandrok-Mahosa.

V. *The Viradian song.* This is a song embodying the tradition regarding the preaching of St. Thomas, the Apostle, the coming to Malabar of Thomas Cana in 345 A.D. and the privileges and honours obtained by the latter from Chera-

man Perumal. Viradians are a section of Nairs called Caliculam Nairs. They go about Syrian houses singing the song, for which they are offered an inam. This custom dates, as the tradition goes on to say, from Cheraman Perumal, the Emperor of Malabar, who is said to have ordered this custom.

VI. *The seven churches of the Apostle.* Tradition attributes to St. Thomas the erection of seven churches in seven places of Malabar. The places are: Quilon, Niranam, Chayal or Nilakal, Kokamangalam, Kottakavu (North Parur), Cranganore (Kodungalloor), and Palur.

VII. *Pilgrimage to Mylapore.* There is a folk-lore among the old people of the St. Thomas Christians that every man from the earliest century, i.e., from the date of the Apostle, was accustomed to make a pilgrimage to Mylapore at least once during his life. Those who had no means to make this pilgrimage were helped by others who furnished the necessary means as alms when asked for. To give alms for the pilgrimage was a glorious custom among them. This custom of the pilgrimage was greatly relaxed since the great schism of 1653, during the reign of Portuguese Bishops and almost stopped since the Padroado schism in 1838, when Pope Gregory XVI by the Bull 'Multa præclare' suppressed the dioceses under the Royal Patronage of Portugal in the British territories of India.

To go on pilgrimage to Mylapore was a favourite devotion among the Christians of St. Thomas who called it going to Beth-Thomas. Beth-Thomas is a Syriac word meaning the 'House of Thomas'. Beth-Thomas became corrupted into Bethuma in the writings of foreign authors. When Alfred the Great sent offerings to Bethuma to St. Thomas in India, writers probably construed Bethuma for Bartholomew. This is why they say that the offerings were sent to St. Bartholomew and to St. Thomas.

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It is made clear from the evidences given above, that, what Adrian Fortescue says in his 'Lesser Eastern Churches,' page 356, about the Apostolic origin of the Christianity of India as a very doubtful legend, is unfounded.

CHAPTER II.

The Churches of Mesopotamia and Malabar in the Middle Ages.

It is the well-attested, unanimous and constant tradition of the Malabar Catholics, sedulously preserved all through the four preceding centuries, that their ancestors as a body never fell into Nestorianism, and that they ever remained true, both in spirit and fact, to the faith preached by St. Thomas. No solid historical evidence has ever been brought forward to shake this local tradition. The assertions of the Portuguese writers of the 16th and 17th centuries and later periods, who wrote with a purpose or who were misled, are contradicted by contemporary tradition and documents. Ignorant of the special laws and rites of the Eastern patriarchates, of Eastern tradition and of contemporary documents, Western writers have generally held, together with Portuguese historians, that the Malabar Church was Nestorian at the coming of the Portuguese and that it was recovered from heresy by the Portuguese. The "Menezian" theory of sudden conversion in the Council of Diamper cannot stand the test of history. Hence it is alleged that the conversion took place a little before the Synod. But no evidence is given even by the contemporary Portuguese writers as to the fact and the precise time and agents of this conversion. Gratuitous assertions cannot be accepted as history, especially when they dare to contradict a constant local tradition and contemporary documents. Most of these documents are petitions sent to the Holy See against

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Portuguese persecution or interference, by the Christians of Malabar and Mesopotamia, and papal replies to them during the 16th century. Before coming to these documents it is worth while to examine how the Malabar Church could have kept her communion with Rome in the Middle Ages.

The Malabar Church was subject to the Church of Mesopotamia. The assertion that all the East Syrians without exception became Nestorians, is purely gratuitous and is contradicted by a few facts and documents. It is true that we do not find direct and immediate relations between the Holy See and the East Syrians in the early Middle Ages. But this is hardly to be expected. Owing to the difficulty of the means of communication and other reasons, it was not usual for the distant Churches to hold direct and immediate relations with Rome except in cases of necessity or on special occasions. The distant East kept its communion with Rome through the Catholic Patriarchs of Antioch. Now it is contended that although the majority of the East Syrians including the Catholicos of Seleucia became Nestorians, a small minority always remained orthodox and were governed by " Catholicoses " depending on the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch. Although we have not numerous documents to establish this statement, we have a few facts and records, which support this view. We have glimpses of Catholic life, of saints and martyrs, and of " Catholicoses " depending on Antioch among the East Syrians in the early Middle Ages. There are documents which show that after the Greek schism, the Malabar and Mesopotamian Christians held direct and explicit relations with Rome, at least occasionally.

We shall attempt a brief survey of the East Syrian Church from the 4th to the close of the 16th century. From the history of the Council of Nice we learn that Mar John, the Bishop of Persia and Greater India, had attended

the Council of Nice in 325 and put his signature to its decrees. (*History of the Council of Nice Lib. 2, Cap. XXVII. Col. 235, apud Labbeum Sacro Sancta Concilia Tom. 2, Venetiis 1728*). From this it is evident that in the beginning of the 4th century, India had its own Ecclesiastical rulers, and that she was governed either directly by Mar John himself, the Bishop of Persia and Greater India, or by another Bishop under him residing in India. India was moreover at that time in close contact with Persia. St. Ephrem living at Edessa during the middle of the fourth century testifies that during his time the Christian Community of India was in a flourishing state, and that many miracles were being wrought in the country by the Apostle St. Thomas, whose feast, the Indian Christians were celebrating with great pomp and magnificence. (*St. Ephremi Syri Carmina Nisibena, Lipsiæ 1866*—quoted by Dr. Medlycott, pp. 27, 28, 29,).

Under Sapor II (313-381) there was a great persecution in the Persian Empire and many Christians, fleeing from the theatre of persecution settled down in Socotra, Ceylon, Malabar Coast, etc. Some of them were merchants. Under the leadership of a rich merchant Thomas Cana, about 500 Christian families came at this time and settled in Malabar together with a Bishop Mar Joseph and many priests and deacons. They mingled themselves with the indigenous Christians and finally became one people with them. They were granted several rights and privileges by Cheraman Perumal who was the ruler of the whole of Malabar. These privileges were inscribed on copper-plates by the order of the Perumal. (*Cfr.* Travancore State Manual, Vol. II, pp. 139-142). Tradition committed to writing long before the 16th century testifies that Thomas of Cana and his followers came to Malabar in 345. The date is expressed in Malayalam letters as *Shovala*, according to the system called *Paraperu*. A manuscript in the British Museum, dated 1604 and containing a version of the copper-plate

record, states that Cheraman Perumal died 1258 years ago (*i.e.*, A. D. 346). (Travancore State Manual, Vol. II, pp. 139-140.)

Now let us examine the statement of those, who say that the St. Thomas Christians of Malabar were without priests and Bishops at the beginning of the 5th century, and that the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon sent Bishops to them at this time, and converted them all to Nestorianism, and that the present Liturgy of Malabar derives its origin from the Nestorians. It is said that in the 5th century the Catholicos of Seleucia or Babylon, became Nestorian, and that he took advantage of the extinction of clergy in Malabar Church to introduce Nestorianism there. Both these statements cannot be accepted. It is improbable that the Malabar Church became bereft of Bishops and clergy in the 5th century, especially since, according to tradition, there were Bishops and clergy in Malabar at least after 345. Further it is an historical error to say that the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon in the beginning of the 5th century sent bishops and gave them the Nestorian Liturgy ; for it was only in 431 that the false teachings of Nestor were condemned in the Council of Ephesus, and so how could it be that even before this time (in the beginning of the 5th century) the Patriarch of Babylon became a Nestorian ? Most historians are unanimous in affirming that the See of Seleucia (Babylon) became Nestorian at the end of the 5th century. Some historians say that Babeus I. declared himself independent of the See of Antioch in 498 and became Nestorian ; while there are others who affirm, that the See of Seleucia became Nestorian in 551 when Babeus II was the Patriarch. This seems to be more probable as is shown below.

The chronological order of those who ruled the see of Seleucia from 474 is as follows : Accajus (474-482), Jabalu

(482-484), Mane, Marabosta Dadiso (484-509), Babeus I (509-531), Accacius I (531-551). Babeus II in 551 became Nestorian. (*Le Quen. Vol. II Paris 1740*; *Gurial Elementa. Linquæ Chaldeicæ et series Patriarcharum Chaldæorum Romæ 1860, pp. 159-160.*) It is unquestionable, therefore, that the faith preached by the Apostle has been preserved intact by the Christians of St. Thoma, until this period.

Now it remains to examine, what the faith of the Christians of South India was after the See of Seleucia fell into the Nestorian heresy. The St. Thomas Christians were receiving bishops sent by the Catholicos (Katholicos) of Seleucia who was subordinate to the See of Antioch. But when that See became Nestorian, they used to receive only those Bishops who were sent by that Catholicos who as before was subordinate to the See of Antioch. The See of Seleucia was subordinate to the See of Antioch from the very beginning. There is evidence for it in Canon II of the Council of Constantinople (381) which places the eastern dioceses (beyond the boundaries of the Roman Empire) under the Patriarch of Antioch, who used to appoint an Archbishop, entitled Catholicos (Primatial Archbishop) to govern the Christians of India, Persia and other countries. The Persian Kings were favouring Nestorianism in the provinces of their Empire. Even at that very period there were persecuted Catholics in the empire. In the 7th century St. Hormisdas established many monasteries and worked numerous miracles in Persia. (*Giamil Genuinæ Relations Romæ 1902*: *778—82*). In the same country, St. Anastasius, a Perso-Chaldean Saint, with several others, was martyred in Persia. Many of the miracles wrought by this Saint have been testified to by the second Council of Nice, 787. The Roman Emperors of Constantinople exerted their utmost to protect the Catholics of Persia. By the treaty which the emperor Justinian concluded with Kosroes the King of Persia in 531, the persecution was stopped; and the Catholics were

given freedom of worship. In the beginning of the 7th century the Emperor Heraclius defeated the King of Persia in battle and concluded a treaty with him, by which all the churches which the Nestorians had taken by force from the Catholics were restored to them. (*Cath. Encycl., Vol. XI.* p. 716). Le Quien quoting many weighty authors (Tom. II. Paris 1740. pp. 1086-87-88) says that the Patriarch of Antioch * used to appoint " Catholicoses " who had not the title of Patriarch although they were in authority above the Bishops, and that these Catholicoses were consecrating Bishops to govern the above-mentioned countries. The same Le Quien in the same place says that in A.D. 1000 the Nestorian Patriarch Abraham II of Babylon sent up a petition to the Caliph of Bagdad stating that a Catholicos under the Patriarch of Antioch was during night time consecrating bishops for the territories under his jurisdiction. Thereupon the consecrating Catholicos and the consecrated Bishops were seized and imprisoned. A letter of Peter, Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch in communion with Rome, written about 1050 A.D. to Dominic of Graden, throws further light on the subject (*Le Quien ib.*) The Patriarch claims that his actual jurisdiction extends to the far East including India, that he appoints 'Catholicoses' for Babylon, and other regions and that these 'Catholicoses' have supervision over several Bishops, but that they do not take the title of Patriarch. The St. Thomas Christians were receiving Bishops from these Catholicoses.

The known names of Bishops that have been sent to South India after the 5th century are given below. Mar Sabor and Mar Proth came in 880. They were brothers and very holy prelates. They are said to have wrought many miracles. Le Quien (II. Col. 1275) describes them

* Those who repudiated the decision of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, separated themselves from the authority of the Patriarch and about 543 had a Patriarch of their own creation with the title of Antioch. These are the Monophysites, also called the Jacobites.

as great Saints, who built several churches and converted many people to the true faith in several places and especially at Quilon. This is attested by all the native writers. He again says that during this time Christianity became very flourshing in the Kingdom of Diamper, and that the whole Church of Malabar used to honour and invoke them as Saints.* It was during their time, that King Alfred the Great sent offerings to Mylapore to St. Thomas. With them a Colony of Syrians also came and settled at Quilon, and they were by intermarriage mingled with the native Christians as is attested by all the native documents. After them came Mar John in 988 and Mar Thomas in 1056. It seems that after the Greek Schism in the 11th century the Catholicoses, who were under the Patriarch of Antioch, held direct communication with Rome. Mar John III, who was the Archbishop of India, went to Rome in 1122, where he was made Patriarch and he obtained the Pallium from Callistus II, the then reigning Pope. On the occasion of this visit, he related to the Holy Father the wonderful miracles that were being wrought at Mylapore by the Apostle St. Thomas. (*Gesta Callisti II Papæ; chronicles of Albericus, Analecta Mabilloni p. 468. Raulin pp. 435-436, Le Quien Vol. II. p. 1275*).

The three centuries which follow are a darker age as far as history is concerned. We have no direct information concerning the Catholic 'Catholicoses'. But we have documents which show that several successive Nestorian Patriarchs sent in their profession of faith to Rome seeking communion with the Holy See. Since we can find no temporal or political motive which induced these Patriarchs to submit to Rome, we may infer that their conversion was sincere and permanent and that it was brought about through the instrumentality of the Catholics and their Catholicoses.

*The St. Thomas Christians used to call them Kadisae. *Kadisae* is a Syriac word meaning saints. They built churches in Diamper and Quilon. These churches were called after them 'Churches of Kadisae' *i.e.* of saints.

Probably, the line of the Catholic 'Catholicoses' was in course of time merged in that of the converted Patriarchs. It is true that we do not find all the Patriarchs requesting the pallium from the Pope. But we can attribute this to the difficulty of communication with Rome, and to the primitive custom of the distant Eastern Churches holding direct communication with the Pope only in cases of necessity or on special occasions. At any rate we have evidence that long before the Portuguese began to accuse the Malabar Syrians of Nestorian errors, a branch of the Patriarchs of Babylon and the Bishops whom they sent to govern the Malabar Church were in communion with Rome. In 1551 a dispute arose about succession to the Patriarchal throne. This necessitated an appeal to Rome. One of the candidates, John Sulaka, went to Rome and was confirmed as patriarch by the Pope in 1553. The Pope praises the predecessor of Sulaka as a prelate of good memory and uses no language which suggests the conversion of Sulaka or the heresy of his predecessor. The rival of Sulaka and his party refused to abide by the decision of Rome, fell into schism, and ultimately found refuge in Nestorianism. The Syrians of Malabar, who had manifested their devotion and obedience to the Holy See throughout the centuries whenever an occasion had been given them, * naturally accepted Sulaka and rejected his rival. It was the successors of Sulaka (who had all been explicitly recognized by the Holy See), not the Schismatic Patriarchs, who sent Bishops to govern the Malabar Church after 1553.

The Portuguese were in touch with the St. Thomas Christians and their prelates in the first half of the sixteenth century. At that time they had no quarrel with the St. Thomas Christians. Although the Patriarchs and Pre-

* In the 14th century they entertained the papal delegate, Marignoli, showed him great respect, met his expenses and presented him with a large sum of money on his departure.

lates of this period had no direct and explicit recognition from the Pope, the Portuguese, including men of eminent learning and sanctity like St. Francis Xavier, failed to detect any heresy in them and in the St. Thomas Christians. But in the second half of the sixteenth century, although the Malabar Church was exclusively governed by Patriarchs and Prelates explicitly and directly recognised by the Holy See, we see a sudden change in the attitude of the Portuguese to the Syrian Church. We can find no religious motive for this change. In the first half, the Portuguese were busy in establishing their temporal supremacy in the East. In the second half they turned their attention also to ecclesiastical supremacy. The See of Goa was instituted and was soon raised to metropolitan rank. The Syrian Church seemed to defy the authority of Goa. The difference of rite of the Malabar Church and its subjection to the Patriarch of Babylon were the greatest obstacles to Portuguese ecclesiastical supremacy. Latinization and the removal of the Patriarch's jurisdistion seemed the only efficient means for overcoming these obstacles. Consequently a process of Latinization was started. Mar Joseph, the Syrian Archbishop, yielding to Portuguese pressure, substituted Latin vestments and unleavened bread in the Holy Mass. But further Latinization and the attempts of the Portuguese to cut off the Malabar Church from the jurisdiction of Babylon and to subject it to Goa, were stoutly resisted by Mar Joseph. The result was persecution. A ready pretext was found. The Catholic East Syrians made use of the same liturgy as that of the Nestorians. Whether by malice or ignorance, the local Portuguese authorities accused Mar Joseph and the Malabar Christians of Nestorian* errors. The Portuguese did not shrink from

* Many practices and prayers condemned by the Portuguese as Nestorian errors have succeeded in keeping their place in the Liturgy of Catholic Syrians even to the present day.

the attack even though, as far as the Malabar Church was concerned, the conditions were more inopportune for the attempt than a few years before. At this time the Malabar Church was governed by Prelates and Patriarchs, explicitly recognized by the Holy See. Mar Joseph was the brother of Patriarch John Sulaka who went to Rome and received pallium from the Pope. Mar Joseph was sent to Malabar by Patriarch Ebedjesus who had likewise received his pallium from Rome and who took part in the Council of Trent. * Ebedjesus, being aware of the attempts of the Portuguese to usurp his jurisdiction in India, strongly asserted his ancient rights in the teeth of opposition from the Portuguese ambassador to the Pope. The protest of the latter was disregarded by the Council of Trent. The same Patriarch obtained from the Pope as his representatives, Non-Portuguese Latin missionaries to visit the Catholic Syrian Church of Babylon and Malabar in union with his own representatives. In their reports the representatives informed the Patriarch of the attempts of the Portuguese to brand the Catholic Syrians of Malabar under his jurisdiction with Nestorian errors. Petitions were in consequence sent to Rome to secure Papal orders forbidding the application of the name *Nestorian* to the Catholic Syrians of Malabar and Mesopotamia. But the local Portuguese authorities thought themselves better judges of heresy and oriental rites than Rome. Notwithstanding several Papal decisions and orders, the Portuguese continued to persecute, imprison and deport Syrian Prelates who fell into their hands. They succeeded in baffling the efforts of the Catholic Patriarch of Babylon to send Bishops to Malabar. They prevented the consecration of a native Syrian Malabarese

* If we assume for the sake of argument that the Malabar Church was Nestorian down to 1553, the credit of its conversion must go to Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham. For the Malabar Church by recognising and obeying them as their legitimate Bishops, must have also received their faith. Hence there is no room for the story of a conversion by the Portuguese later on.

priest, sanctioned expressly by the Pope and the Patriarch to succeed the last Bishop from Mesopotamia. The process of Latinization and the reduction of the Syrian Church to the jurisdiction of Goa culminated in the extinction of the Syrian hierarchy in 1597 and in the Synod of Diamper in 1599.

After this success, the Portuguese published books in Europe asserting that all the East Syrians were Nestorians down to the close of the 16th century and that the Malabar Syrians were converted to Catholicism by the efforts of Menezes, the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa. These books, long left unrefuted by those whose interests they prejudiced, were instrumental in creating a wrong and highly injurious, but sincere belief in all the Portuguese and other Latin Missionaries and authorities after 1600; so that with a good conscience they shaped and followed their anti-Syrian policy for three long centuries, to the great resentment and ruin of the Syrian Church, Liturgy and people. For want of opportunity and of knowledge of misrepresentation abroad, the Syrians made no attempt in refuting the calumnies against their Church during this long period. It was only in the beginning of the present century, when they received Bishops of their own rite and country that they made any serious attempts to establish the truth of the tradition which they had sedulously kept all through three centuries. The compilation of the Travancore State Manual gave them an opportunity. The first draft of the chapter on Christianity by G. T. Mackenzie, completely ignored the Syrian tradition and exposed the Portuguese view. The Syrians at once protested. But they had nothing except their tradition to rely on. Hence the leading Syrian priests devoted themselves to finding out and collecting old documents to support their tradition. Their effort proved a success. The documents given in the following chapter support the long-

standing and unanimous tradition of the Syrians concerning their orthodoxy at the time of the coming of the Portuguese.

Before entering into the examination of the documents of the Portuguese period, it may be worth while to make a few remarks concerning the Christian dynasty of Malabar which flourished in the Middle Ages. Tradition testifies that the St. Thomas Christians had a king of their own with his capital at Diamper. Some monuments still remaining in Diamper favour this tradition. There are also a few documents which support it. When Vasco Da Gama arrived at Cochin in 1502, the St. Thomas Christians sent to him representatives. They informed Gama that they had a king of their own in former times and showed him the sceptre of the last king. It was a red rod, tipped with silver, having three small bells at the top. They presented the sceptre to Gama and sought protection against the Muhammadans. Gama solemnly accepted the sceptre and promised protection in the name of the King of Portugal. (Travancore State Manual, vol. II, p. 147; 150-1; Chapman, p. 159).

The Christian dynasty seems to have lasted from the fourth to the fourteenth century. Giraud (Bibliotheca Sacra. T. II, p. 176) and Lequien (T. II, p. 1276) seem to favour the view that the Christian dynasty was ruling in Diamper in the ninth century during the time of the two Bishops, Sabor and Proth. There are two papal letters addressed to the Christian kings of Malabar. In 1328, Pope John XXII, in a letter to the chief of the Christians in Malabar, addresses him as the noble lord of the Christians and recommends to him and to all his Christian subjects in Quilon, Bishop Jordan whom he had recently appointed as the Bishop of Quilon for the Latin converts there (Jordan's Mirabilia; Rae, Syrian Church, p. 194). In 1439, Pope Eugene IV sent envoys to the Christian king of Mala-

bar with a letter which commences as follows: "To my most beloved son in Christ, Thomas, the illustrious Emperor of the Indians, Health and Apostolic Benediction. There often has reached us a constant rumour that your Serenity and also all who are the subjects of your kingdom are true Christians" (Travancore State Manual, vol. II, p. 147). Towards the close of the 15th century the royal family became extinct and the kingdom was annexed by the King of Cochin to his dominions.

Before concluding this chapter, we give here the list of known bishops who governed the Malabar Church before the arrival of the Portuguese, as successors of Mar John III who went to Rome in 1122. They are Mar Joseph in 1231, Mar David in 1285, Mar Paulos in 1295, Mar Jacob in 1301, Mar Jaballa in 1407, Mar John in 1490, Mar Thomas, Mar Jaballa, Mar Deneha and Mar Jacob in 1504 and Mar Joseph in 1550. Of the four Bishops who came in 1504 Mar Jacob governed the St. Thomas Christians for about 50 years. St. Francis Xavier saw him and had a great esteem for him which he recorded in his letter to the King of Portugal.

CHAPTER III.

DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE FAITH OF THE ST. THOMAS CHRISTIANS DURING THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

Certain historians say that the St. Thomas Christians were Nestorians, and that in spite of several attempts on the part of the missionaries to bring them back to the true fold, they remained Nestorians till 1599, when, in the Synod of Diamper convoked by Archbishop Alexis Menezes of Goa, they were all brought back to Catholicism, and that thence-forward began a marked improvement in the conditions

(religious) of the people and the clergy of Malabar, who had been till then very ignorant.

The documents given below prove that the statement cannot be tenable historically.

Document I—(*a*) St. Francis Xavier on Jan. 26, 1549, wrote from Cochin to John III, King of Portugal, thus :—

"It is now five and forty years that a certain Armenian * Bishop, by name Abuna Jacob, has served God and Your Highness in this country. He is a man who is about as dear to God on account of his virtue and holiness as he is neglected and despised by Your Highness, and in general by all who have any power in India. God thus rewards his deserts Himself, and does not think us worthy of the honour of being the instruments which He uses to console His servants. The Franciscan Fathers alone take care of him and show him kindness to which nothing can be added. But for this, the good old man would long ago have breathed out his soul, worn out by affliction. Allow me, sire, to advise what I think would be well. I would very much recommend Your Highness to order a letter to be written in your name to this good Bishop, in kind and honourable terms, and to let an order which may be shown to the Governors and procurators, your officers, be inserted in the same letter, enjoining on them and especially on the commandant of Cochin, to show him honour, give him hospitality and treat with favour and attention especially when he asks for or is in need of anything. While I have been writing this, I have seemed to myself to be serving and doing a favour not so much as to that pious Bishop as to Your Highness. For at present from the charity of the Fanciscan Fathers he wants for nothing, while Your

* 'Armenian' stands for 'Aramean', which is the equivalent to 'Syrian.' The Portuguese at that time were accustomed to call the Syrian Bishops 'Armenians.'

Highness is very greatly in want of the good will and intercession of a man very acceptable to God as he is, and this benefit you will be able to earn by such an act of kindness as I mention. This Bishop very greatly deserves such treatment on this account if on no other—that he has spent much labour in attending to the Christians of St. Thomas, and now in his all but decrepit old age he conforms himself most obediently to all the rites and customs of Our holy Mother the Roman Church. I know that Your Highness is in the habit of writing to the Franciscan Fathers, and this letter to the Armenian Bishop might be inserted in the same packet; and I would urge Your Highness to write it full of all manner of expressions of your favour, esteem and affection for him." (*Life and Letters of St. Francis Zavier*, by H. J. Coleridge S. J., Vol. II. pp. 82, 83.)

(*b*) In another letter to St. Ignatius Loyola, Jan. 14,1549, St. Francis writes from Cochin as follows :—" There is a town called Cranganore, which belongs to the Portuguese, about twenty miles from Cochin, where Fra Vincenzo, of the most Holy Order of St. Francis, who is also *socius* to the Bishop of Goa, and a most true friend of our Society, has founded a really fine seminary where quite as many as a hundred native students are maintained and formed in piety and learning .....

He told me, out of the kindness which exists between us, that he wishes to intrust and hand over his Seminary to our Society ; and he has asked me again and again to inform of his intention and to provide a priest of the Society who may teach Grammar to the students of this Seminary and preach to the inmates and to the people on Sundays and festivals. There is reason for this, because besides the Portuguese inhabitants of the place there are a great many Christians living in sixty villages in the neighbourhood,

descended from those whom St. Thomas made Christians. The students of the Seminary are of the highest nobility.

" In this town there are two churches, one of St. Thomas, one of St. James. Fr. Vincenzo whom I have mentioned hopes very much that you will get each of them a plenary indulgence once a year from the Holy Father on the feasts of St. Thomas and St. James, and the seven days after each. This would be to increase the piety of the natives who are descended from the converts of St. Thomas and are called 'Christians of St. Thomas.' (The same book, vol. II, pp. 73-74.)

(*c*) Again, in his letter of February 1548 to the fathers of the Society working among the Christians of the Comorin Coast, St. Francis advises them how to move with the Syrian priests who are helping them (Jesuits) in their works and writes thus :—

" You will be very kind to the Malabar priests and provide for their good with all consideration, especially in matters belonging to religion, taking care that they accustom themselves to go regulary to confession, that they offer the Holy Sacrifice with all propriety and very often, and that they set a right example of holy living to the people. And when you have had to complain of them or to reprehend them if they have been guilty in any way, especially take great care that no vestige of this which can be shown to others remain, especially in any letters which you may write to any one." (The same book, vol. II, pp. 29.)

In 1902, the well known work " Genuinae Relationes inter Sedem Apostolicam et Chaldaeorum Ecclesiam " was published in Rome by Samuel Giamil, the Procurator of the Patriarch of Babylon. It contains several documents taken from the Vatican Archives and certified by the Archivist. These documents were drawn in the 16th

century. They contain many important details about the Church of Malabar.

N.B.—All these Documents can be had also from the pamphlet " The Orthodoxy of the St. Thomas Christians, containing a review of....." by C. T. George Cathanaar.

Document II.—A letter of Pope Pius IV, February 23, 1565, to Mar Ebediesus, Patriarch of Babylon :—

" Venerable brother, health and Apostolic benediction :

When our loving brother Abraham came to the Limina Apostolorum and brought us the news about you according to our expectations, we greatly rejoiced and thanked the Almighty God who conducted you thither safe and sound. For the same reason the advent of Abraham was very pleasing to us, since you had by your letter given him such a testimony as he *could by his own name recommend himself to us and could kindly be received by us.* As he has been brought to the Catholic Church by you, the more we know him to be honoured for his merits the more we hope that his work will be useful to convert also others. Since he is a strong genius and *a good fosterer of sacred letters and Catholic dogma according to the informations we have of him,* and is *endowed with* such *honesty of life and manners* as is worthy of a religious man, **we are grieved at the inconveniences he suffered in India.** * *But we believe that the Lord permitted it that his* **faith** *might be* **tested** *and that it might so happen with a trial of success.* On his return to India we gave him letters of recommendation at his request. But we think it expedient that your brotherhood assign him a diocese and a place of residence, and to divide the diocese between him and the other bishop (Mar Joseph) of your nationality, whom we hear to be remaining there, that both may recognise the flock proper to each which they are to feed and to protect,

* When Mar Abraham was first sent to Malabar by the Patriarch, the Portuguese authorities kept him in custody at Goa and thence took him away to Portugal. On the way he escaped and through Babylon went to Rome,

and that none may prove a hindrance to the other in the exercise of his ministry. But since Abraham wishes to have his place of residence assigned to him in a place called Angamaly close to the borders of the Portuguese (Lusitanis), we exhort your brotherhood to satisfy him in this affair..... as our beloved brother John Baptist the Abyssinian, consecrated Bishop of the Abyssinian Colonists of Cypress, will tell you. When we were sending him to those oriental parts as our nuncio and of the Apostolic See, besides other orders this also we gave him that he should visit your brotherhood in our name and should diligently greet you and your clergy and people; whose (John's) advent we hope would be opportune to you for settling the things that could be settled there and also for making corrections if they stand in need of any. Therefore you ought to prosecute his pious and salutary counsels as ours and employ all means and also exert as much as you can (as you have promised you would do) that the faith of those over whom you are placed may entirely agree with the faith of the holy Roman Catholic Apostolic Church, and that it may not disagree in anything, which of course is necessary for salvation. For, as regards rites and ceremonies (and it would be very decent) although it is to be desired that they too agree, still we would permit you to retain the consuetudes and the old rites which of course can be proved (to be legitimate), provided in sacraments and other things pertaining to faith and necessary for salvation you follow, as we said, the Roman Church, the 'Mater et Magistra' of all Christians. We recommend our nuncio to your charity. Most beloved brother, may the Almighty God protect you safe together with your clergy and people."

Document III.—A letter of the same Pope Pius IV, February 28, 1565, to the Archbishop of Goa:—

"Venerable brother, health and Apostolic benediction.

From those regions of India came to the Limina Apostolorum our beloved brother Abraham of the Chaldean nation.

consecrated, as we hear, *Bishop in that diocese* pertaining to him (to Ebediesus) there, *by our venerable brother Ebediesus*, the Patriarch of Assyria, in consideration of his (Abraham's) services towards him; from whom he brought letters of recommendation (and) the risks he underwent in so dangerous a journey moved us, (and) *his great and remarkable devotion to the Apostolic See touched us in particular. Despite we had already known him to be a religious and pious man from the valuable testimonies of his Patriarch* **and of those that are well acquainted with him in those parts**, still he himself in fact corroborated these testimonies about himself; and while he was in this " alma urbe " he took care that he be diligently taught *the faith of the holy Roman Church* **that he had embraced before**, by learned and religious men selected for the purpose by our order, and he embraced it " de integro " and, after the example of his Patriarch, left a sure document of the thing subscribed by his own hand. And since we have exhorted his Patriarch to divide between him and a certain other one that diocese pertaining to him (to the Patriarch) which touches the Cochin diocese, and also to assign proper places to each that each may recognise his own flock and that one may not hinder the other in performing his duty, we exhort your brotherhood to prosecute what the Patriarch has judged of both and also to bring it into effect, by virtue of our authority being exercised if necessary, with our beloved son the Portuguese Viceroy, provided Abraham would remain in faith and in union with the Church as we hope he would, since we consider him worthy of our recommendation and also since we think that his Patriarch should be taken into consideration; for since he has so diligently written of him, care must be taken lest he should have any just cause of complaint, (which would be the case) if what he has judged about this, by our advice, be neglected.

In which thing some harm may happen to the Apostolic See and to us who have been convinced that this Patriarch

is a very good and religious man since he had, three years since, come as far as the Apostolic See from Assyria to obtain the communion of the Roman Church and also since he professed due reverence and obedience to this see ; who received him into our faith and into the faith of the Apostolic See, conferring on him the pallium and other privileges ; and who decree and wish that his jurisdiction remain safe and inviolate.

Given at Rome etc.

28th Feb. 1565.

Document IV.—Another letter by the same Pope, Pius IV, to the Bishop of Cochin, dated 28th February, 1565.

" Venerable brother health and Apostolic benediction :

He who will give you this letter, Abraham by name, of the Chaldean nation, consecrated bishop as we hear by our venerable brother Ebediesus, Patriarch of the Assyrians, came to the Apostolic seat with letters of recommendation from his Patriarch. We kindly received him considering the testimonials of his honest and religious life to which we give ample credit, and considering his patriarch who coming to promise his obedience to the Holy See, and to obtain the confirmation of his consecration three years since, very devoutly professed his faith to the Roman Church and was confirmed by us, and according to the custom received the Pallium. After his model Abraham also professed his faith to the Holy See and promised in a document subscribed by his own hand, that he would profess the true faith for ever and would transmit the same to those over whom he was placed. We would that your brotherhood know of this, that you may understand that he is to be embraced by you with fraternal charity, regarding his communion with the Holy See, and also out of consideration for his Patriarch, and that while he perseveres in faith and in his obedience to the Holy See he is to be defended from all injury that,

protected by your patronage, without any molestation and impediment he may be *able to remain there where his Patriarch placed him*, and to execute the work committed to him, and to gain to Christ as many souls as he could; wherefore take care that you diligently protect him from all injury in such a way that he may understand how much you regard us and the Holy See and how much you love the equity and justice of the same See. For we wish and desire him to hold without any impediment, that diocese which his Patriarch assigned him.

Given at Rome etc.

28th Feb. 1565.

Document V.—The King of Cochin despatched a letter dated Jan. 2, 1576, to Pope Gregory XIII; extracts from which are put below :

"..... I thought it right to give you a report of me, as I have so many vassals of the Christians of St. Thomas.....who depend upon the protection and favour of Your Holiness.

Mar Abraham, the Archbishop of Angamaly, my vassal and Prelate of the St. Thomas Christians in my Kingdom, informed me that he could not, as he was requested, be present at the provincial council convoked by the Archbishop of Goa on account of the wrongs and oppressions done towards him, and also because he was twice committed to prison.* So he could not sit in the said council, *and he has asked me to inform Your Holiness that he remains an obedient son to the Holy Apostolic See, and that if Your Holiness will assure him, he will be present at the council of these states and will communicate* with Portuguese Prelates and religious to the great utility of Christianity.

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* Mar Abrahaam was kept in custody *at Goa even on his second coming with the Papal letters.*

" His Archdeacon George of Christ *has requested me to obtain him from Your Holiness* **certain indulgences** for a church he has newly built in honour of the Assumption which feast is celebrated in the month of August. I will consider it a great favour were your Holiness to grant this petition.....

Document VI.—Reply of H. Holiness Gregory XIII to the King of Cochin :—

"Illustrious King, we wish you the knowledge and acquisition of true felicity.

We praise you very much for your condescension which we have observed in your letter to us dated 2nd January. For you write that you treat the Christians in your Kingdom in the same way as those of your own faith, and that you are favouring all those that are desiring to receive holy Baptizm and faith of Jesus Chirst our God and Lord, thus satisfying the zeal of Sebastian the King of Portugal and our beloved son. Since our faith teaches that all Christians in whatever part of the world, are, as it were, the members of the one body of Christ, I thank you very much, not less than if those acts of kindness and gentleness you have bestowed upon our sons, the Christians, you have done to ourselves who by the mercy of Christ represent Him on earth. We also pray that you would continue doing so, and add something more in our behalf ; for, your gentleness assures us to hope that you would very willingly grant it. We in turn wish you (for at present we cannot do anything else) what we have written in the beginning, namely, to know the true and greatest happiness which the true religion teaches, and also to come to possess it. A pious and holy life conformable to the laws and precepts of this religion leads one to the same happiness.

About the Archbishop of Angamaly we cannot decide anything since we are ignorant of the troubles that keep

him back from going to the provincial council, or for what reasons he had been twice committed to prison. When we shall come to be informed, we shall decide what is right and proper, nor shall we suffer him any more to be oppressed. The indulgence you have asked on behalf of the Archdeacon George, we most willingly grant and have given orders to prepare letters to convey them. If there be anything more that we can do for you we shall not fail to do that.

Given at Rome &c. *21 December 1576.*

Document VII.—The profession of Faith drawn up by Mar Abraham when in Malabar in the year 1577, and afterwards sent to the Sovereign Pontiff Gregory XIII. This is that same profession of Faith which Mar Abraham made at Rome in 1565 before H.H. Pope Pius IV :

"I, Mar Abraham, with a firm faith believe and profess each and every thing contained in the symbol of Faith, the H. R. Church makes use of. So I believe in one God (etc. etc., as contained in the *Credo* of Mass).——I most firmly admit and embrace the Apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions and the rest of the observances and constitutions of the same Church: similarly I admit the S. Scriptures according to that sense which the holy Mother the Church held and holds, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the S. Scriptures, nor will I ever accept and interpret it unless according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers; I also profess that the true and proper Sacraments of the new law instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ are seven, and that all these are not necessary for the salvation of each and every one and that these are Baptizm, Confirmation, Communion, Confession, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders and Matrimony, and that these impart grace, and of these Baptizm, Confirmation and Holy Orders cannot be reiterated without committing sacrilege. I also receive and admit the rites of the Catholic Church received

and approved in the solemn administration of all the above-mentioned Sacraments. I embrace and receive each and every thing concerning original sin and justification defined and declared by the Holy Council of Trent. Similarly I profess that in Mass is offered to God a true, proper and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, and that in the most Holy Eucharist, there are truly, really and substantially the body and blood of our Lord together with His soul and Divinity, and that a change is made of the whole substance of bread into (His) body and of the whole substance of wine into (His) blood, which change the Catholic Church calls Transubstantiation. I also confess that under any of these species the whole and entire Christ and the true sacrament is received. I firmly hold that there is Purgatory and that the souls detained there, are helped by the suffrages of the faithful, and similarly that the saints reigning with Christ are to be venerated and invoked and they offer God prayers in our behalf and that their relics are to be venerated. I most firmly assert that the images of Christ and the ever Virgin Mother of God and also of other saints are to be had and retained and that due honour and veneration are to be shown them : and I affirm that the power of giving indulgences was left in the Church by Christ and that it is of very great and salutary help to the Christian people. I acknowledge the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church as the Mother and Mistress of all churches. I profess and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Bl. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, the Vicar of Jesus Christ. I undoubtedly receive and profess similarly all the other things given, declared and defined by the S. canons and Œcumenical councils and especially by the Holy Council of Trent, and at the same time and in the same manner I condemn, reject and anathematize all contrary (doctrines) and heresies whatever they be, condemned, rejected and anathematized by the Church, and I the same

Mar Abraham promise now and swear that I will take care that I may most firmly retain (by the help of God) till the last breath of my life, entire and unspotted, this very same Catholic Faith, outside which none can be saved, which at present I spontaneously profess and truly hold, and tha this be taught and professed by those under me—those whose care I ought to have by virtue of my office. May God and this Holy Gospel of God help me.

Humble Abraham of Angamaly,
Archbp. the servant of the servants of
In the year 1577. Your Holiness.

Document VIII.—[This being pretty long we give below only a summary of those parts that are useful for our discussion.]

Mar Elias, the Archbishop of Amida, in the year 1580 gives in a letter an account both of the Chaldean Church in Assyria and of the state of the Church in Malabar, and the same year he came to Rome for getting the sacred Pallium for his Patriarch Mar Simon Denha.

Mar Joseph, Mar Elia, two Dominicans, Bp. Ambrose, and Father Antony and two Chaldean Friars with letters that had been brought from Rome from Pope Julius III by Patriarch Sulaka, reached Goa in the year 1555; of these Mar Joseph had been appointed the Archbishop of the Christians of St. Thomas in India and Mar Elia had been appointed as the representative of the Patriarch Ebediesus. They were destined by the Pope to inquire into the state of affairs of the Christians of Mesopotamia and India and visit them and to make a report of everything to Rome. Having fulfilled their duties in Mesopotamia they reached Goa in the year 1555, as mentioned above, and handed over these letters to the Portuguese Viceroy, which were letters of recommendation to the Portuguese Rulers. But they were stopped at

Goa for 18 months and then only were allowed to go and so they came as far as Cochin. Here died Bp. Ambrose. Then the remaining five went on visiting the churches as far as Angamaly. Here Fr. Antony left for Rome. The other four continued visiting one church and village every day for two years and a half.* They found only five priests in all and no Bishops. But then on account of the wars, Mar Elia with one Chaldean Friar returned to his Archbishopric, leaving Mar Joseph with the other Chaldean Friar. Mar Joseph also at last came, by way of Portugal, to Rome and died there.

Since the Christians of Malabar are Chaldeans they are not willing to accept Portuguese or Latin Bishops. They want Bishops of their own language and nation. The Portuguese or Latin Bishops would not be able to pass on in safety to those pagan lands, nor would they be accepted, as they are not Chaldeans. Therefore request is made that letters be sent by His Holiness to the Viceroy of the Indies in recommendation of those Chaldean Bishops who will be sent in future by the said Patriarch. Letters to the Viceroy also are requested from His Holiness as a countersign (for the identification) of the said Bishops that they may be allowed to pass on after having made their profession of Faith in Goa and promised what may be required, to a person in Goa appointed by His Holiness.

The Patriarch Ebediesus consecrated 14 Bishops and Archbishops. After his death Jaballa or Attalla was elected Patriarch. He died after two years and in his place Simon Denha was elected Patriarch.

The Chaldeans are being called *Nestorians.* The Holy See is requested to make arrangements in order that they may not *henceforth be called Nestorians.*

* At that time generally every four or five villages had a church, each village had a place of prayer with a cross (*Kurisu Pura.*)

Document IX.—A petition sent to Pope Gregory XIII in 1578 by the chief men among St. Thomas Christians :—

" The peace, filial affection and Christian charity of the whole Christians in India of St. Thomas the Apostle of the Most High.

To Our Most Holy Father and Lord the Pope, Great Pastor of those of Christ.

May we take the liberty to let your charity know, that we the unworthy and sinful sons of India have been Christians from the time of Our Father St. Thomas, the disciple of our Lord and that we are the sons of Baptizm and partakers of *Sacraments and the Body of our Lord God ;* and that our Liturgical prayers are in the Syriac (Chaldaic) language * transmitted to us by Our Father St. Thomas, and that we and our ancestors were taught this language, and that Our Bishops and Archbishops were wont always to be sent to us from Assyrian nationality of the East, and that priesthood and deaconship were conferred on us by them.

Our Lord (Ebediesus IV. Patriarch) had sent us Mar Elia and Mar Joseph in whom we rejoiced much and offered thanks to God. But afterwards Mar Elias left us orphans and went away; and after Mar Joseph Sulaka was sent away by the Portuguese Viceroy ; we do not know what has become of him and we have been remaining as sheep without a shepherd and a fold that is widowed: Wherefore we sent letters to our Lord Ebediesus and informed him of our affairs and pointed out to him that we were orphans and were deprived of Bishops. Wherefore our Father Ebediesus for the love of Christ, had sent us the *metropolitan Bishop Mar Abraham with his own letters and the letters of our Father*

* The tradition that Syro-Chaldaic was transmitted by St. Thomas is confirmed by Historical evidences. (Kayath. Syri Orientales Romae 1870, pp. 142-3.,

and Lord the most Holy Pope; we heard that when he came to the blessed city of Goa he was detained by the Viceroy and that he left the sheep of Our Lord dispersed whom the wolves now attack and devour. Oh, Our Father, thou knowest that thou givest answer to the Master of the fold. Wherefore if thou hast mercy, be not unwilling, for the love of Christ, we pray, to send letters to the Portuguese Viceroy showing the state of these Christians, and to recommend us by thy letters to our Patriarch that he may send us five Bishops as they were formerly sent by our Patriarch. For there are many nations that are not under the Portuguese domain to whom no Portuguese Bishop can come, and who for many years have been without Baptizm and without Sacraments; nor were Mar Elias, Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham able to go to them while they were amongst us. Wherefore thou knowest, Our Father, that we are free from the sins of those that are redeemed by the Blood of the sides of Jesus Christ. Thou art the Father of all Christians and therefore deign to do with thy flock as it becomes thy Kingdom and fare thou well in the Lord.

Given in the town of Angamaly in India, in the year 1889 of Alexander the Great and in the year 1578 of Our Lord.

Abraham, *Rais Bandar* *
Joseph, *Rais Bandar.*
George, *Rais Bandar.*

Document X.—A letter of Pope Gregory XIII dated 20th November 1578 to the Archbishop of Goa, in reply to the letter of the King of Cochin showing the imprisonment of Mar Abraham and other things:

"Venerable Brother, health and Apostolic Benediction.

* *Rais Bandar*: a compound Syriac word *Resa* = head, chief. *Bandar bazaar.* So *Rais Bandar* = Head of Town or Prefect of Station.

We most willingly take advantage of this opportunity to write to your Brotherhood. For we would that our love towards you be perceived by you, for strong and grave reasons—your piety and your great zeal for the salvation of souls. The testimony of very great persons affirms that you labour both for the glory of God and the salvation of souls. We wish that in the provincial synod you receive the Archbishop of Angamaly—for we wish that he too be present at that, and of this we have written to him—and act to the effect that he may come to know of your charity and humanity there as well as in other places. This, we think, behooves a brother, and would contribute much to the propagation of the worship of Christ and the spread of Catholic Faith. For they will the more easily be drawn when they find that the Christians love one another and that their precepts are observed. Nor are you ignorant of the desire of the Apostle that a Bishop should be careful so that the adversary may have nothing to say against us and thus be put to shame. In all things therefore you will so treat the Archbishop that all may know your authority. We do not doubt that you will diligently do this owing to the equity of the thing itself, and the obedience due to us. In that we recommend to your Brotherhood the priests of the Society of Jesus, we do not think that you should test with what zeal they espouse the cause of Christ and how they try to recall men from impiety and to unite them to the Catholic Church, outside which there can be no salvation: by reason of our perpetual love towards her we recommend them as much as we can.

20th Nov. 1578. Give at Rome &c.

Document XI.—Another letter of Pope Gregory XIII, under date 29th Nov. 1578, to Mar Abraham, Archbishop of Angamaly.

" Venerable Brother health and Apostolic Benediction;

The letter of your Brotherhood was very pleasing to us. For it was full of love and regard in recognising the authority of the Apostolic See and in testifying your Catholic faith. You know this to be the most firm foundation of salvation, that a Bishop ought not to be content with his own salvation, but he must labour to unite to the Catholic Church and to Christ others that are snatched away by the deceit of Satan and impiety and that he must be a helper to Christ. With great joy we acknowledge that your Brotherhood does not wish and labour for anything except the propagation of the faith of Christ as wide as possible and that for this purpose your Brotherhood employs the assistance of the priests of the Society of Jesus since we very highly approve and recommend them to your Brotherhood as much as we can; for we have known the zeal of the members of that society for the glory of God and for the salvation of souls, and also with what fruit they execute it. We think it most necessary that together with the other Bishops and Priests of India you attend the provincial Synod wont to be convoked at Goa: for there is no other synod that you can attend, nor can you have a special synod convoked, for you know that you have hitherto been without suffragans. But you have no room to fear that you may have to put up with any injury or molestation. For we write to those Bishops to receive you lovingly and honourably; nor to suffer you to be hurt in anything which we hope they would do prompted by the equity of the thing itself and also by their zeal for gratifying and obeying us.

Given at Rome—*29th Nov. 1578.*

Document XII.—A letter of the same Pope Gregory XIII dated 3rd Dec. 1578, to Henry King of Portugal.

"Most beloved son in Christ, health and Apostolic Benediction.

We earnestly recommend to your Majesty those things in which your excellent zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of souls can exercise itself—we know for certain that you wish and labour for nothing else. But as for what has happened, it runs thus: The Christians who are in the Antiochene Patriarchate are said to be in great danger both owing to the intestine discords and tumults of the Æthiopians excited among themselves by a certain powerful man Asmaeus who has turned traitor to his King, and owing to the strength and traps of the Turks and other Mahommedans their neighbours. We ask your Majesty to have very great regard for those Christians and to order the Viceroy of India to take measures to put the tumult down and to secure peace, and also to help those Christians in all ways you think necessary, for they are said to be in great need and there is danger that together with those men the faith of Christ may perish in that region.

We recommend to your Majesty also the venerable brother the Archbishop of Angamaly whom we hear to have been greatly vexed by some; it will be very pleasing to us if you give orders to the viceroy and governors of India to protect him and not to suffer him to be hurt by any injury.

Given at Rome etc.....*3rd Dec. 1578.*

Document XIII.—Pope Gregory XIII by virtue of an indult under date 1st Dec. 1579, grants Mar Abraham the Archbishop of Angamaly the faculty for dispensing with the obligation of restitution resulting from filthy lucre.

Venerabilis frater, salutm &c. Cum nuper non sine gravi animi nostri molestia acceperimus quam plurimos gregis tibi a Deo commisi usurarum varie contractarum pondere gravari; et quod deterius evenit, illos saepius in fenoratitias merces et conventiones incidere propter quas ad restitutionem indebiti lucri in certis personis faciendam (rog)ari affirmas et

cum eis super hoc dispensare desideras, si tibi desuper apostolica faveat auctoritas. Nos tuorum saluti, consulentes,..... votis tuis in hac parte inclinati, tibi cum tui gregis occasione turpis lucri et fenoribus delinquentibus hujusmodi componendi, et dummodo ea quae restitutioni subjecta videbuntur si certis personis illis restituantur, quae vero incertis personis debeantur, et alias in pauperes et pia opera erogentur dispensandi, et si egestate oppressi sint remittendi et quantus opus sit condonandi eis a talibus delictis in utroque foro absolvendi licentiam et facultatem apostolica auctoritate tenore praesentium concedimus et indulgemus; tuam etiam Fraternitatem hortamur ut eos moneas ne illicitas (1) tractent negotiationes sed usurarum poestilentiam devitent scientes se illarum judicio reos esse. Datum Romae &c.

Postest expediri.

Concordat
L ✠ S.

Flavius Card. Ursini,
Cæsar Glorierus.
Petrus Wenzel. subarchivista,

Document XIV. Letter of Pope Gregory XIII admonishing the clergy and people not to have communion with a certain Simeon :—

Beloved Sons, Health and Apostolic Benediction :

Whatever be the faculty given for declaring and exercising piety and for serving God, all Catholics ought earnestly to embrace it and especially that which pertains to the stability of Orthodox Faith and to the incorruptible sincerity of the discipline of the Church. Men alien to the Catholic Faith and involved in crimes cannot approach that internal glory and felicity for which they are created and to which they are called by the Blood and

(1) Verbo 'incautas' abraso in textu, ei substitutum est verbum 'illicitas' quod factum ess creditur a Cardinali Ursino.

the most bitter death of Our Lord Jesus Christ. The heretics and schismatics try to subvert these two foundations of salvation, namely, the sincerity of faith and the sanctity of life and morals; and also to lead men away from God and the salvation of souls. We hear that of this number there is one Simeon there, who, while he makes himself a bishop, what is he other than a thief and a robber? For by these names our Lord calls such monsters. All, says He, who have come and who are thieves and robbers, have come not called and not sent; still they venture to appropriate to themselves the name and office of Pastors. Simeon is said not only to be content with this but also to have perpetrated those things which are the accompaniments of his madness: namely, to have tried to seduce the Catholics from the unity of the Church, to corrupt the Orthodox Faith and to disseminate his false doctrines. We then, being solicitous for your salvation and the tranquillity of your Church, exhort and advise you and by virtue of the power committed to us by Christ, also order you not to suffer yourselves to be infected by that pest: but evade it by all means: flee from his words and sermons; fear him as the enemy and eradicator of the Catholic Faith, your salvation and the glory of Christ; eject him out of your number and company, permit him not to dwell among you nor to remain in your places: the same you should do with the rest of the heretics and schismatics lest corrupted by their pestiferous doctrine and contagion you should perish. Be ye therefore obedient to your lord Archbishop Abraham and also to George the Bishop of Palur, and live steadfast in the sincerity of Faith; in the simplicity of morals and the unity of the holy mother the Church: thus you attain to that eternal felicity and glory which God has prepared and reserved for those who would live piously and holily. We pray with our whole heart that His goodness may accomplish all these in you all.

Given at Rome &c.—*5th March 1580.*

Document XV.—Letter of Mar Abraham Archbishop of Angamaly to His Holiness Pope Gregory XIII.

✠ Jesus.

MOST BELOVED & HOLY FATHER,

Lying prostrate at your Holiness' most blessed feet and craving the paternal blessing, we have written this letter as a testimony of our bounden obedience.

This year we received from the fathers of the Society of Jesus a ciborium and some relics of saints (of course to us a celestial gift and an inestimable treasure) which your Holiness condescended to give us, and the insignificant people of Angamaly, and by reason of this and of the perpetual remembrance of your Holiness of this unworthy sheep, we find ourselves bound by the greatest bond of obligation towards your Holiness. The same fathers this year informed us and our Archdeacon of the errors and customs of these Christians which need correction (that they may be conformable to the Apostolic and Roman Church) which thing seemed to us holy and necessary and therefore we convoked a diocesan synod of all the clergy and chief men in order that they might know the necessity of things incumbent on them, and thus acknowledge it willingly and by divine help and by the diligence of those ministers who helped us, they most willingly acknowledged all things necessary for them, in obedience to the precepts of your Holiness (that we may all understand and speak the same thing). It remains that what is settled should be executed by your benign favour and blessing; which will be very easy if there would be in this province a seminary and a greater number of Jesuit fathers who could teach this Malabar people and could instill into them knowledge and erudition, which cannot be effected owing to our great poverty.

Most Holy Father, this year, a letter of Your Holiness was brought to us—to the clergy, the people and to us—from which we came to know how much we had to labour in order to drive away from this province the intruder Bishop Simeon; which they understood so well, that they were glad of the favour and support of Your Holiness and freely evaded this accursed man and followed him up to such a degree that he was forced to go away from this province into which he had come poor; and he was so unfaithful, that his very followers (who were always very few) left him, seeing themselves troubled and reduced almost to the last degree of poverty by reason of one single man so pertinacious and scandalous and excommunicated. While Simeon was in such a critical position, it happened that he was called to a provincial council; and two religious of the Franciscan order, foreigners to this country, unaware of the measures taken against him, were also present; who, with little respect toward the letter of Your Holiness which we had often shown them, absolved him, gave him support and treated him as a bishop with scandal much greater than what Simeon's intrusion had caused; so much so, that it proved an occasion for all Malabarians, both Christians and unbelievers, to say that they were mistaken in thinking up to this time that the Christians of the Holy Roman Church were united and were unanimons among themselves and obeyed Your Holiness as the Vicar of Christ; for they understood then that the Portuguese and the religious men were divided between themselves and were schismatics, since they found the one obedient and the other disobedient to Your Holiness. They also said that owing to this fact they were not in any fault because they had divisions and opinions among themselves. Hence a way was paved for many to abandon the good beginnings of their improvement. In the end compelled by necessity he has embraced a pious life and confiding in the promises of these brothers who were his companions (for they promise

that they would send him with great authority) he has settled to come to Your Holiness. If this happens, it will come to pass that the new thing would be worse than the previous. Herewith are inclosed the acts passed against him by the former archbishop of India, who had very often given orders to this Simeon to show the letter and the legal diploma of his title or to desist from his Pontifical office, since he was ministering in an alien jurisdiction contrary to all laws both divine and human: but he never would obey such an order nor the letter of Your Holiness: neither did he show any recommendation of the Patriarch of Assyria (Syria) nor any witness worthy of trust, while on the contrary it was clear to us that he was merely a simple priest. However, if he shows Your Holiness some letters of the Patriarch we recall to Your Holiness' mind to give orders to have them examined accurately by competent judges to see whether they are genuine; now, if Your Holiness wishes to know the life and scandals of this man, Your Holiness can without suspicion order some one diligently to investigate into them, which will prove for the greater glory of God, and we desire for nothing else but this. But what we fear now is that even after the removal of Simeon, the spirit of the same which sustains the same schism may continue to remain here. If there would be among the Portuguese some one who would favour and protect the priests ordained by Simeon (of course not ordained by us and by the Cochin prelates but declared by us as excommunicated) and would admit them to their monasteries for the ministry of the sacraments, there would be another occasion given to the people for saying among themselves that the Portuguese as regards their religion are divided and are schismatics. It remains only to inform Your Holiness (for we are empowered by the Patriarch of Syria [Assyria]) that George of Christ, bishop-elect of Palur, has been nominated by us as our archdeacon and as our coadjutor and successor if he would al-

ways be obedient to us during our lifetime: wherefore we humbly beg Your Holiness to condescend to confirm his promotion and we also crave the blessing of Your Holiness.

Given in this City of Angamaly.

13th Jan. 1584.

Document XVI.—A petition sent over to the Roman Pontiff (The author is supposed to be a Jesuit missionary):—

Most Holy Father,

Whereas the reduction of the Christians of St. Thomas to the obedience and to the *rites* of the Holy Roman Church depends, to a great extent, on the disposition of the archbishop and of the archdeacon of Angamaly in Malabar, since these two persons have the charge of the said Christians; therefore the fathers of the Society of Jesus in the East Indies humbly beg Your Holiness to write to the above-mentioned archbishop and archdeacon, showing them how much consolation Your Holiness received in the Lord, from their letters both of the obedience and of the profession of the Catholic faith made by both, and from the desire they show of training these peoples to the same faith and to the devotion of the Roman Church with our help. Moreover Your Holiness would be pleased to order the said archbishop that for the future he should not fail to be present at the Provincial Synod of Goa together with the other Prelates of India, without fear of any vexation or molestation and to this effect Your Holiness would write to the same bishops that they should treat him with love and honour as befits a Prelate canonically elected, as he cannot be present at any other Synod, nor convoke one himself, since at present he has no bishop under him; and in conformity with this Your Holiness would be pleased to write to the bishop of Goa and to the bishop of Cochin that they should receive him (the archbishop of Angamaly) with the greatest cordiality

and that they should treat him with charity both within the Synod and out of the Synod in order that the peoples of Malabar, by the work and labours of ours (Jesuits) who are intent on that work, may more easily induce them to the cult and devotion of the Apostolic See. Moreover, as the archdeacon is a worthy person and very able for the administration of the diocese, in case the archbishop should die, we beg Your Holiness that, till another archbishop shall be provided, Your Holiness would substitute him (the archdeacon) as administrator of the said diocese as this would fall to his right according to the statutes of a former Assyrian archbishop, so that he may with greater firmness and security of conscience preserve that Christianity until it will be provided with another pastor; besides this, Your Holiness would recommend him to the most serene King of Portugal that he may interpose his authority for him with the viceroy and governor of India; moreover Your Holiness would be pleased to write to the King of Cochin, although a gentile, praising him for the protection he renders to the Christians in his Kingdom and exhorting him to continue so, even better. Moreover we beg that Your Holiness would grant for a Church which the said archbishop has newly built in Angamaly, under the invocation of St. Hormisda or St. Hormes, (the abbot through whom our Lord works many miracles), a plenary indulgence on the days when the feast of the said saint is celebrated, which are two every year, and also on the days of Pentecost, Christmas, All Saints, St. Lawrence, and on each day of the Holy Week, beginning from the Vespers before Palm Sunday until the whole day of Easter evening, and to all those persons who having confessed and communicated shall visit on these days the said Church of St. Hormisda or Hormes. This favour the said archbishop himself requests, since he is not sure if his successors would care to have it renewed. Lastly we beg that Your Holiness would grant the favour, as he also asks in

his memorial, of some relics, Agnus Dei &c. for his own use and consolation and for that of his Christians."—

(THE CARDINAL OF COMO).

The following documents are taken from the 3rd Session of the Provincial Synod held at Goa in 1585 which Mar Abraham attended (Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae, Appendix. Tom. I.)

N.B.—The decrees of this session are 10. An abstract of 5 of them are given below.

Document XVII.—Decree 5 ordains that no foreign bishop thereafter shall ordain Syrian clerics and appoint them in churches of his jurisdiction without the permission of their Ordinary. This decree had to be made because from 1557 the bishop of Cochin used to ordain Syrian students and to send them to the various churches of South India the whole of which then formed the diocese of Cochin. Those Syrian priests were saying mass in Latin in Latin churches, and in Syriac when they came to Syrian churches (Oriente Conquistado II. 7, quoted in " Christianity in Travancore " by Mr. G. T. Mackenzie, Resident, Trivandrum, 1901,—p. 64.)

Document XVIII.—Decree 6 enjoins that the decrees passed in the councils of Goa (1567 & 1575) about the archdiocese of Angamaly should be adopted and enforced in that diocese. In the 1st decree of the 3rd session of the Synod held in 1575 it was enjoined that the St. Thomas Christians were not to be governed by bishops appointed by the Chaldean Patriarch, but by bishops appointed by the King of Portugal and that since the then ruling bishop (Mar Abraham) had no suffragans and since he could not go to his Patriarch (in Assyria) he was to attend the Synods to be held at Goa.

We give below also a translation of the first decree of the 3rd session of the Synod of 1575.

"For the good of the Christianity of St. Thomas the Apostle, which is in the land of Malabar, it is found convenient that it should be governed by a Prelate presented by the King of Portugal and not by the Patriarch of Chaldea in order that it may be more easily freed from the abuses in which it is involved. Since the archbishop of Angamaly, who governs these Christians, has no suffragan bishops, and cannot easily go to Chaldea owing to the great distance, this council requests His Holiness that he may come, and be obliged to come to the council of this province and to observe and make them observe its decrees, according to the council of Trent. For he is our close niehgbour, and in this way, that Christianity will have great remedy. This council likewise requests His Holiness to oblige the bishop of China to come to this council as he is in this province and as there is great distance between China and the West, where his Patriarch resides: and also any other prelate who may be a neighbour of this province."

Document XIX.—Decree 7 of the third session of the Synod of Goa of 1585 ordains that the rites and ceremonies which the bishop makes use of in the conferring of Orders, and the ritual of the Sacraments which priests have to administer should be translated from Latin into Syro-Chaldaic, and made use of in the Angamaly diocese.

Document XX.—Decree 8 provides for the carrying out of all the above-mentioned decrees of the Synod in the diocese of Angamaly and for the appointment of an able assistant to help Mar Abraham who was old and infirm and unacquainted with the Latin rites and ceremonies. (A Jesuit was accordingly appointed).

Document XXI.—Decree 10: "Since some persons have come from Chaldea to this Church and this Christianity and have intruded themselves as bishops, although in truth they

were not so, as afterwards appeared, and have caused in it schism and troubles, and as the same thing may happen again, it appears to the council that henceforth no man can be received as a bishop or Catholic Prelate, or approved, unless he first presents letters addressed to the bishop of Goa as Primate of India and the East; and unless these letters come from H. Holiness or from a Patriarch who is a Catholic and giving obedience to the Roman Church and is approved by it, as formerly did the archbishop Mar Abraham when he came, being appointed Archbishop of Angamaly by Pope Pius IV of happy memory, and he who does not present such letters will be regarded as an intruder and as such will be dragged out of the Church. The council humbly begs H. Holiness to approve and to order the Patriarch of Chaldea to whom this pertains to issue orders likewise as this is most important for the good of this Christianity and of the H. Roman Church".

The chief points of the remaining 5 decrees are given below :—

Decree 1. Of the profession of faith of Mar Abraham which contains the articles of faith defined in the councils of Ephesus (431) and of Chalcedon (451). It seems that the Portuguese Prelates required this of Mar Abraham. This is not the same as *document VII.*

Decree 2. Of the contributions from the people for the maintenance of the clergy.

Decree 3. Of the instruction and discipline of the clergy following the council of Trent; of not receiving alms from the faithful for the administration of sacraments, and of reducing the number of priests. (It seems that the receipt of such alms was considered by the Portuguese as simoniacal.)

Decree 4. Of the knowledge of the clergy about venial and mortal sins, about sacraments and about the ceremonies to be observed in the administration thereof.

Decree 9. Of the buying and selling of sacred things and of usury.

Document XXII.—A letter of Fr. A. Monserrate, S.J., a Spanish Jesuit, to the General of the Society of Jesus in 1579:

"Above all it appears to me it would be a great remedy if His Holiness sent a Nuncio who, after feeling the pulse of the affairs of this Christianity, might decide what he should think to be best for the service of Our Lord in all matters, and especially about their being *immediately* subject to His *Holiness or to the Patriarch of Syria*, or making the bishops of the Sierra *suffragans to the archbishop of Goa*, and obliging to attend the Provincial councils of Goa: for any of these alternatives there are many things to consider which one cannot write. But *it would be good if this Nuncio were a stranger and not a Portuguese.*" Quoted in the *Catholic Herald of India*, 30th January, 1924, by Rev. A. Gille, S. J.

"That is how a Spaniard and a Jesuit saw through Portuguese policy, but his advice fell flat, and for three more centuries the European missionaries went on footling and blundering and worrying the poor Syrians with their Latin bishops, until Leo XIII got enough of it, and in the face of a strong opposition, appointed three Indian Syrian bishops".—(Rev. A. Gille, S. J., *ibidem*).

ACCUSATIONS MADE AGAINST MAR ABRAHAM BEFORE POPE CLEMENT VIII.

The Synod of Goa had ordered the translation of the ritual of Sacraments and the Pontifical for the bishop from Latin into Syro-Chaldaic. It had also appointed its

agent for carrying out this and similar ordinations (*Cfr.* Doc. xix and xx.) In the absence of papal authority empowering the Portuguese ecclesiastics to tamper with Oriental rites, this high-handed attempt of the Synod of Goa to abolish the time-honoured Syro-Chaldean rite of Malabar and to substitute in its place the Latin ritual and Pontifical cannot be justified. The Portuguese policy is the result of ignorance or ambition, if not of both. The Portuguese seem to have identified the Catholic Church and the Catholic faith with the Latin Church and the Roman rite. In their eyes any rite different from the Latin, was either heretical or savouring of heresy. As Fr. Gille says in the Catholic Herald, " They rather seem to be under the impression, very natural four hundred years ago, that every Oriental rite was heretical, so much so that the Popes had several times to recall European missionaries to a proper use of their dictionary." The Portuguese ecclesiastics could not understand how true Catholics could object to adopting the Latin ritual and Pontifical and the laws of the Latin Patriarchate in the place of an ancient and recognised rite in constant use from time immemorial. Hence they were inclined to interpret the opposition of Oriental Catholics in the change of rite, as dictated by their heretical propensities. Besides, the Portuguese had no accurate knowledge concerning the errors of Nestorians. The Nestorians always believed in the seven Sacraments, although their rites in the administration differed from the Latin rite. But the Portuguese believed that the Malabar Church rejected many of the Sacraments and pointed it out as a Nestorian error in the Synod of Diamper. Whatever differed in the Chaldean rite from the Roman ritual was assumed to be a Nestorian error. Many ritual peculiarities condemned by the Portuguese as Nestorian errors, especially in the Synod of Diamper, find their place even to-day in the liturgy of the Catholic Syrians of Mesopotamia and Malabar.

The Portuguese had a special reason to be zealous in detecting heresy in the Syrian archbishop of Angamaly. For the firm establishment of the supremacy of the metropolitan of Goa over the St. Thomas Christians and their bishops, the removal of the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch and the latinization of Malabar Syrians were absolutely necessary. The Goan synod grasped this point too and ordered the change. Mar Abraham, being immediately responsible to his own Patriarch for the preservation of the Syriac rite, could not in conscience agree with the demands of the Synod of Goa. At any rate he found practical difficulty in a sudden change. Hence he continued to administer the Sacraments and to confer orders according to his own rite. This provoked the Portuguese exceedingly, and they accused Mar Abraham before Pope Clement VIII alleging that he who had already embraced the Catholic faith and had promised obedience to the Holy See, was teaching Nestorian errors into which he had often fallen before, in spite of the promise he had made in the Synod of Goa (1585) to bring back the archdiocese of Angamaly to the union of the Catholic faith and to the obedience of the Holy See; that he objected to the correction of Nestorian heresies contained in the books; and that he was guilty of many simoniacal crimes. The Portuguese, therefore, implored the Pope to appoint another bishop in the place of Mar Abraham, in accordance with the decrees of the Synod of Goa (Docu. XVIII) which the said Mar Abraham had accepted.

Document XXIII.—Accordingly Pope Clement VIII despatched a rescript to the archbishop of Goa under date Jan. 27, 1595. Documents XXIII and XXIV are taken from the "Subsidium ad Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae" published at Alleppey in 1903 by the then bishop of Cochin. The papal rescript ordered that Mar Abraham should be summoned to Goa and there examined, and that a summary of

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the process against him should be sent to Rome. The archbishop of Goa was also empowered to appoint as Apostolic Vicar *ad interim* to govern the Angamaly archdiocese a Latin Ecclesiastic, preferably one who knew Syriac. The Vicar-Apostolic so appointed was not to presume to confer Holy Orders.

The papal rescript begins thus :

"Lately we came to know (not without great pain and sorrow) that Mar Abraham.....holding jurisdiction over the Christians of St. Thomas...who had already embraced the Catholic faith and given obedience to the Apostolic See and who in the Provincial Synod of Goa had treated about the bringing back of the whole of his diocese to the Catholic faith and its obedience to the same Apostolic See, has again miserably fallen into the errors of Nestorians into which he had fallen other times before and that being advised he refused to abandon his errors and much less to allow the Chaldean books used in the church of his diocese and province and full of the same errors to be corrected and that he has committed several simonies...."

Documents XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, & XXI prove that the charges mentioned in the petition to Pope Clement VIII were unfounded. Besides the documents II to XVI bear witness that those accusations were unjustly lodged against Mar Abraham. It is also worthy of note that Mar Abraham was neither summoned to Goa, nor examined as was ordained in the papal rescript. The latter fact would imply that the charges were false. For if the charges were real, why did the Portuguese not summon Mar Abraham to Goa to defend himself ? This proves that in reality Mar Abraham was not guilty of any other crime except that of conforming to the ancient rites and discipline of his Church.

Document XXIV.—A letter of Archbishop Menezes of Goa dated 19th December, 1597, to the Patriarch of Jerusalem who appears to have been in Rome at that time.

"In another letter of Your Excellency you informed me that His Holiness fearing the death of the aged archbishop of Angamaly, had sent me a brief about the government of that Church, lest the Patriarch of Alexandria should attempt to provide for that Church, as he has done at other times. In this is to be seen more clearly the assistance of the Holy Ghost to the Head of the Church in the watchfulness and pastoral care which His Holiness has over all the Churches. At the time I received the Brief the archbishop was dead and there was in charge the archdeacon to whom, on the death of the archbishop, all had taken an oath of obedience. Although the Portuguese had always laboured to bring these Christians into obedience to the Roman Church, they had been for many years nourished in heresy and in Nestorian errors which they always held and in this matter they put pressure on the archbishop. The priests with many people held a meeting and took an oath that *in case His Holiness appointed a Syrian bishop, they would obey him, but if he sends a Latin bishop*, (this is the important point), they *will consider* what course they will adopt. Also, I *heard* that when the name of our Holy Father the Pope *was mentioned in prayer in a church, one* of their priests rose and publicly forbade mention of the name of our Holy Father the Pope. For this I have written to the archdeacon, threatening to chastise him.

"To remedy all these evils and to provide for the wants of so many thousands of souls, in order that our Holy Mother the Roman Church may be obeyed by all, I have not yet made any provision for the administration of that bishopric, and I shall myself go to be in the midst of them and myself shall

visit all their churches which are scattered over two hun dred leagues of land in various infidel countries. I have friends and confederates in that State and I have my own authority, because I am the second person in this State and the infidel King will be friendly to serve his own interests, and I propose to purify all the churches from the heresy and errors which they hold, giving them the pure doctrine of the Catholic faith, taking from them all the heretical books that they possess, and finally to hold a synod of all the priests and to persuade them to give obedience to the Roman Church with an oath to receive the bishop whom His Holiness will give them.

"I take with me learned persons and some Jesuit fathers who have experience of these Christians and of their language. I believe that this journey will be of great service to God and the Roman Church. It is toilsome and dangerous and I must stay there six or seven months, so I shall have to set out in April, when the business of this State ceases for the winter interval, and I shall remain there until October, waiting to see if a bishop for this Church will come with the ships, so that I can more easily introduce him into his bishopric.

"If the new bishop for this Church is not yet made, I advise Your Excellency that it is a matter of great importance to select a Jesuit father, as the fathers of the Society of Jesus are there already. I humbly suggest that he be instructed to *extinguish* little by little the Syrian language, which is not natural. His priests should learn the Latin language, because the Syrian language is the channel through which all that heresy flows. A good administrator ought to replace Syrian by Latin. *What is most important of all is that the bishop be a suffragan of this city* as is at present the bishop of Cochin, his nearest neighbour.

"The power to provide for this Church has never rested with the Patriarch of Alexandria, as has been thought of,

but which is much worse and a fruitful source of error and ignorance, with the Patriarch of Babylon, a public Nestorian heretic, with a thousand other errors, inasmuch as he refuses to retract and is openly schismatic. And such was the late archbishop who thus lived and died without wishing to retract, nor did he wish to receive the Jubilee of His Holiness which I brought with me, although it was published in some of the Churches near and was received by the people with great devotion, because I had recommended it to some fathers of the Company who have a college in that neighbourhood."

This document betrays the chief motive of the Portuguese policy towards the St. Thomas Christians. According to Menezes, the most important point is that the Syrian bishop should be his suffragan. The letter contains many erroneous statements. Menezes condemns the Patriarch of Babylon as a "public Nestorian heretic." The Patriarch of Babylon at this time was Simon Denha, who had sent his profession of faith to Rome through one of his archbishops, Mar Elias, in 1580 and had been confirmed as Patriarch. It was from Denha that Mar Abraham secured the appointment of his archdeacon as bishop of Palayur. Pope Gregory XIII confirmed Denha's appointment. There is not the least evidence to think that Denha ever wavered in his faith. Even the Synod of Goa in 1585 had recognised the Catholicity of the Chaldean Patriarch. Hence the charge of Menezes was an error, if not an unfounded and intentional calumny. The accusation of heresy against Mar Abraham, a mere repetition of former charges, is another error. One reason for such errors was (as stated above) that the Portuguese called the Chaldeans Nestorians, as is evident from document VIII. Another fruitful source of error was the ignorance of the Portuguese regarding the liturgy of the Syrians. Ritual peculiarities were often held up as Nestorian errors as Doc. XIX testifies. Owing to these mistaken notions and

on account of their eager desire to bring the St. Thomas Christians under their authority, they made up their minds to put Portuguese bishops in place of the Chaldean bishops, and were ever trying to carry out this purpose. This statement is clearly proved by documents VIII, IX & XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

Archbishop Menezes came to Malabar in 1599 with the conviction or pretence that the Chaldean Prelates and Patriarchs were Nestorians, and that their Liturgy and language were full of Nestorian errors. He convoked a Synod at Diamper and passed a series of decrees known as the "Acts of the Synod of Diamper". All the points judged as erroneous, heretical, superstitious &c. in the decrees of the Synod, had for judges and counsellors Archbishop Menezes and his assistants, the Portuguese ecclesiastics. There was no Chaldean Prelate in that Synod to explain and defend the rites, ceremonies and history of the Chaldean Church. The result was that the Synod fell into many errors. As a proof we give the following quotation from Giamil's *Genuinae Relationes*—Rome 1902, page 610.

"Item perperam Syro-Chaldaicis Malabaribus nonnullos tribuunt errores, quos revera non habent, vel qui errores nor sunt, sed peculiares quidam Ecclesiae Syro-Orientalis Ritus in Sacramentorum praesertim administratione usurpati, ut scite animadvertit etiam doctissimus Assemanus in Bibl. O. T. 3 part 2, pag. 391.

"Operae pretium duco hic adnotasse etiam quod nunquam memorata Synodus a. S. Sede fuit approbata, neque approbari integre poterat, quia multa ibi facta fuerunt vi per auctoritatem civilem—(*Here the author quotes several passages from his work*) et multa contra antiqua et perpetua decreta Sedis Apostolicae, ne quid innovetur aut immutetur in Ritibus Orientalibus, nisi quod contra fidem et mores forte

rrepserit juxta illud Sancti Gregorii Magni celebre dictum (Epistola ad Leandrum) 'In una fide nihil officit Sanctae Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa.' Aliqua etiam contra sanam doctrinam. Hæc omnia diffuse recenset, carpit et confutat clarissimus Assemanus sub occulis et jussu R. Pont. Innocentii XI scribens (B. O. t. 3 part 2a pag. 391, 345). Ac ante ipsum Richardus Somonius contra Crozacum Protestantem virum, qui patrocinium Synodi Diamperitanæ propter suum scopum susceperat, demonstrando Menesem, Goveam et Patres Diamperenses in synodi illius decretis *pecasse et errasse tum facto tum jure*, contra praxim S. Ecclesiæ et mentem Summorum RR. Pontificum circa tutelam et integritatem Rituum Orientalium. Vide Asseman op. cit. p. 345-6 ".

It is worthy of note that by the document I A, B, C, St. Francis Xaviar speaks of the bishop, the people and the clergy of St. Thomas Christians as good Catholics ; but it is a great pity that these bishops and their Patriarchs are stigmatised in the Synod of Diamper as Nestorians, heretics and schismatics, while the Roman Pontiffs praise their orthodoxy and loyalty to the Holy See. Those who did so, would never have done so, had they a little of the spirit of St. Francis Xavier. One who carefully makes a critical examination of the decrees of the Synod of Diamper will find that they cannot be trusted since they contradict one another on several points.

It was decreed (in this Synod) that the Chaldean Missal should be changed radically. The decree was carried out to a great extent. What remains of the ancient rite at present is only the Ordinary of the Mass with certain material alterations. Provision was also made for the translation of the Latin ritual to take the place of the Chaldean Sacramentary. The work of translation seems to have been entrusted to persons not well versed in Syriac, with the result that the translations are simple barbarism, as all students of Syriac must

admit. The Divine Office remained without any change, but the concord between the Missal and the Divine Office was destroyed owing to alterations in the Calendar; Chaldean Bishops were finally and formally replaced by Portuguese bishops of the Latin Rite.

All the changes were introduced by the use of force as is clear from Docu. XXIII. *Archbishop Menezes brought about a change which* **not even the Holy See in the plenitude of its authority has effected anywhere in the world**: history does not record such *sweeping changes in the rites, ceremonies* and *customs* of *a Church in any other part of the world.*

TWO GREAT EVILS HAVE RESULTED FROM THIS.

First, as Portuguese bishops were introduced by force, the Malabar Church fell a victim to dissensions and disunions of which she had been complaining to the Holy See ever since that time. The material innovations made in the Chaldean Rite has produced the present rite of Malabar, which is, to say the least, a mutilated and deformed rite.*

An evil greater than this is that the Menezian decrees have helped the Protestants to affirm that long before the Reformation began, an Apostolic Church which held the doctrines of the Reformers had existed far away in South India. The decrees of the Synod of Diamper say that the Supremacy of the Pope, the Real Presence of our Lord in the Bl. Eucharist, and the Sacraments of Confession and Confirmation were unknown in the Malabar Church before the Synod of Diamper. This is exactly what the Protestants try to establish.

From the above documents it is clear that the Portuguese missionaries did not convert the St. Thomas

* The Hierarchy now being established, the present deformed rite can be restored to its ancient splendour and glory.

Christians to the Catholic Faith. On the contrary the Syrian Christians were of great help to the Portuguese missionaries in spreading the Catholic faith in S. India as evidenced by documents I-C and XVII.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREAT SCHISM OF 1653.

The chief causes of the troubles were, as is evident from the documents XVIII, XIX and XXIII, the suppression of the Chaldean liturgy, and the violent supplanting of Chaldean bishops by Portuguese Prelates. We know from document XV that before the Goan Synod, Mar Abraham admitted the Jesuits into his diocese, and in accordance with their advice convoked two synods of priests and chief men at Diamper and Angamaly, made several improvements and removed various abuses. But after the Synod of Goa in 1585, their suggestions to make changes in the Chaldean liturgy, as is seen in document XIX, were not heeded to; and from that time forward the clergy and laity began to dislike the Jesuits. Jesuit Bishops Francis Roy, Stephen de Britto and Francis Garcia governed the Syrians after the Synod of Diamper, and Jesuit fathers were appointed vicars in several Syrian churches, which was very displeasing to the archdeacon and clergy and also to the laity in general. The archdeacon sent petitions regarding the troubles in the Church of Malabar to the papal Nuncio at the Court of Lisbon in 1608 and 1628. The author of 'Christianity in Travancore' speaks of it thus:

"On January 1st 1628 the Archdeacon George wrote to the papal Envoy at Lisbon complaining that he had received no answer to a letter which he had written twenty years previously about the spiritual wants of his people. He said that the two hundred thousand Christians under his juris-

diction had for forty years been under the Jesuits, an Order which could show no martyrs and no success in converting the heathens and jealously kept at a distance all other religious Orders. He asked that other religious Orders be admitted into the Cranganore diocese and that a coadjutor be appointed who should not be a Jesuit. For this post he suggested the name of Father Francis Donato (a Dominican) of Kaduthuruthy. Also he wished that a larger number of native priests be ordained. The papal Envoy at Lisbon forwarded this letter to Rome on June 8, 1630, with the remarks that the Archdeacon George was a man of great authority among the St. Thomas Christians, that he was not on good terms with the Portuguese and the Jesuits, that it was true that the Jesuits admitted no other Order into the diocese and that Father Francis Donato was a fit person for the post of Coadjutor." ('Christianity in Travancore' by Mr. Mackenzie, the Bristish Resident, Trivandrum, 1901, page 25. Also State Manual, Travancore, Vol. II, p. 181.)

Archdeacon George, the clergy and the representatives of the laity sent from Edapally (the Portuguese name Edapally as Rapolin) church a petition to the King of Portugal on 19th Dec. 1632. In it after praising much Mar Abraham who was their last Chaldean Prelate, they informed his Christian Majesty that as Bishop Stephen who then ruled was not acquainted with Syro-Chaldaic, many errors and confusions arose among them, and that at the Synod of Diamper they were warned to take good care not to cease from being governed, directed, taught and instructed by the Prelates of the same rite (Paulinus, India Orientali, pp. 70-71). Document XVI proves that the said archdeacon was a worthy person. Although he was elected to the Episcopal dignity, the Portuguese stood in the way of his consecration alleging in support of their opposition document XVIII.

After Thomas de Campo became archdeacon, seeing that it was impossible to obtain redress for their grievances

through Portugal, he sent a deputation with letters to Babylon to request the Patriarch to send a bishop to Malabar. Eventually a Chaldean bishop called Ahatalla or Jaballa came to Mylapore in 1652. Two deacons who had gone to Mylapore on pilgrimage happened to meet him and he gave them a letter for the archdeacon and clergy of Malabar. [In this letter Bishop Ahatalla (i.e. *Deusdedit*) calls himself Patriarch of India and China, and states that he has all power from His Holiness the Pope]. The Portuguese in the meantime took hold of him and dispatched him to Goa through Cochin. When the archdeacon and his followers came to know of the arrival of the bishop at Cochin, they collected forces and with armed men appeared before the fort at Cochin and requested the captain of the fort to set free their bishop. Their request was in this strain:

"Moreover, captain, we beg your honour that for the love of God and the service of the Christian community, you now work hard to bring back the Patriarch (Bishop Ahatalla) whom the Fathers of St. Paul (the Syrians were calling the Jesuits Paulists or Fathers of St. Paul, because they were sent to Malabar first from St. Paul's College at Goa) have taken from us, so that the truth may be known and that this whole Christian community may obey; and in case the Patriarch cannot be produced, he having been killed by the Fathers of St. Paul, let any other person of any of the four religious Orders come here, by order of the Supreme Pontiff, a man who knows Syriac and can teach us and help us in our offices, except the Fathers of St. Paul whom we do not at all desire, because they are enemies of us and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome; with that exception let anybody come and we are ready to obey without hesitation". (Travancore State Manual 1906, vol. II, p. 184: Reproduced from the Istoria del Mgo. Groseppe dal Padre F. Eustachin, Rome 1717).

When Ahatalla was taken away to Goa, a rumour—(even at the present day it is believed by many Jacobites in accordance with their historical tradition that he was drowned in the sea off Cochin)—spread in the country that he was drowned in the sea off Cochin. At once priests and people assembled on Jan. 3rd 1653, at Mattancherry Church then belonging to the Syrians and holding a rope tied to the Cunan cross they took the oath that they would no longer obey the Jesuits.* In the same year on May 22nd a council was held at Alengad in which twelve priests made the Archdeacon their bishop. Four consultors or councillors were appointed to help the bishop. They were Kadavil Chandy, Kaduthuruthy (minor), Palliveetil Chandy (*alias* Alexander de Campo) of Kuravalangad, George Pengoor of Angamaly and Ittythoman Anjilimootil of Kallucherry. Fr. Dias, an East Indian, was made secretary. Fr. Ittythoman—(this Ittythoman was a leading man in the schism and persevered in it and is called by the Jacobites and Protestants 'the hero of the Syrians')—forged a letter of the Pope authorising twelve priests to consecrate the archdeacon bishop. It was on the authority of this letter that the archdeacon was made bishop. The faithful at large did not know the forgery.

The following documents give additional proof that the revolt was against Latin bishops and especially against the Portuguese Jesuit bishops, and not against the Catholic faith or the authority of the Pope. The Portuguese captain at Cochin reported the revolt to the viceroy at Goa in the following words: "The archdeacon of the Serra formed an assemblage with all the Christians and the Cattanar clerics (Syrian priests), and the assemblage agreed that the archdeacon be made archbishop in virtue of a letter which they

* About 73 years ago Mar Elias, the representative of the Chaldean Patriarch and the Christians of Malabar had informed (*vide* Doc. VIII & IX) the Holy See that the attempts which the Portuguese were making to govern the St. Thomas Christians would prove disastrous. This was literally verified in 1653.

say they have received from that Patriarch in which he wrote that in case he did not come to the Serra, he nominated the archdeacon as archbishop in virtue of the powers which he held; and as these Christians of the Serra never were Christians except in name, they hugged this schismatic letter and thus were all sworn *never to receive as their prelate the archbishop* (Garcia) *nor any Jesuit in the Serra* ". (Travancore State Manual, vol. II, p. 184-5).

The manifesto which the Syrians published on the occasion of the appointment of the archdeacon as their archbishop, confirms the statement of the captain and explicitly says that the quarrel of the people was not with the Pope. Therefore, since our people who went to San Thomé and met the said Patriarch, received a letter and a patent from him, which they brought to us, by which we are governed, and since we have made an archbishop by the order and command of the Patriarch, who came *by the mandate of the Supreme Pontiff an l of the Holy Mother Church of Rome*, we shall live with the said archbishop, and on that account the Fathers of St. Paul may preach in their pulpits and may say that we are heretics." The manifesto goes on to say that nobody had listened to the complaints which they had made in Cochin, and it continues : " Therefore we here assembled ordain that since they have paid *no attention to the mandate of the Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome* and of our Prelate, and as the Fathers of St. Paul are enemies of us and of *the Holy Mother Church of Rome*, we shall never hold friendship *with them* until we see the Patriarch with our own eyes, and we shall pay no attention *to the archbishop of that Order.*" (Travancore State Manual, vol. II, p. 185).

Some time after the appointment of the archdeacon as bishop, many people began to doubt of the validity of the whole proceeding. Alexander Kadavil and Alexander Palliveetil (de Campo) who were respectively the first and second

of the four councillors of the archdeacon, felt great anxiety over the matter. They forsook him, and gaining 25 churches to their side, went to Cranganore and made their submission to the archbishop.

The policy of latinisation, the attempt to impose Latin bishops and the Latin rite, affected both the faith and the liturgy of the Malabar Syrians. The time-honoured jurisdiction of the Catholic Patriarch of Babylon over Malabar was permanently abolished. But unfortunately, the process gave the heretic Patriarch of Antioch the occasion to step into the position relinquished by his Catholic neighbour.

Further, the ancient liturgy of Malabar was mutilated. The changes introduced were of such a character that a consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide could take the liberty to say that the Syrians of Malabar were not Orientals except for the fact that they used an oriental language. Unleavened bread and Roman vestments were introduced; the Syrian Pontifical and the Sacramentaries were abolished and Syriac translations or adaptations of the Latin Pontifical and Ritual took their place. Thanks to the resistance of the clergy, the Ordinary of the Mass was kept without serious latinisation. But indiscriminate changes were effected in the order of the ceremonies and prayers; almost all of the special prayers for the different days of the week and the different feasts were abolished, so that the present mass is the same for all the days of the year, except for a few small prayers for the Sunday, (the more important of the special prayers for the Sunday being omitted), and except for the Epistles and Gospels which were adopted from the Latin Missal. The Roman calendar of the 16th century was forced upon the Syrian Church, but a few feasts and fasts of the old calendar retained their place. The breviary escaped latinisation. The Syriac translation of the Latin Pontifical did not come

into use, as the ruling Prelates, with one exception, were of the Latin rite. The present Syrian bishops in consequence make use of the Roman Pontifical to confer Holy Orders and perform various functions. The present tendency of Rome seems to be in favour of restoring the present mutilated and confused rite to its ancient integrity and splendour. It is hoped that this restoration will take place under the present hierarchy.

CHAPTER V.

BISHOP ALEXANDER DE CAMPO.

(*Alexander Palliveetil.*)

We have seen in the last Chapter that Alexander Palliveetil (Alexander de Campo) with Alexander Kadavil and twenty-five churches submitted to the Portuguese archbishop at Cranganore. In 1655 Alexander Palliveetil held a meeting of his followers at Edapally Church and invited the Carmelites of Goa to Malabar. He and his followers also sent through the Carmelites of Goa letters to the Prior of Scala Monastery at Rome and through the latter to the Pope requesting to send Carmelites to Malabar. Alexander VII then sat on the Pontifical throne. The Pope chose Joseph Mary, Vincent Mary, Mathew and other Carmelites and sent them to Malabar in 1656. They arrived in Malabar on 22nd February 1657. Of these Joseph Mary (*alias* Sebastiani) was the Apostolic Commissary, and the others were his assistants. In the letter patent which the Pope gave to Sebastiani on January 24, 1656, it is said that 150,000 faithful had receded from the archdiocese of Angamalee. The same Pope sent a letter on February 19, 1656, to those who were in the schism and another on the same date to those who were not in the schism. The latter were those who obeyed archbishop Garcia owing to the labours

of Alexander de Campo and Alexander Kadavil and they numbered about 50,000. These two Alexanders helped Sebastiani, the Commissary, in all ways possible,—Alexander Kadavil by his sermons, and Alexander de Campo by his influence. Had it not been for their help, the efforts of Sebastiani might not have been frutiful. Bishop Marcelline of Verapoly in his " History of the Syrians " printed in 1872, quoting the Commissary's words, thus speaks of Alexander Kadavil : " The King of Purakad was desirous of seeing me (the Commissary). When I was speaking with the King, His Highness was much pleased with the eloquence of Alexander Kadavil, the most learned and the most popular of the priests of Malabar. This priest, who had once consented to the consecration of the pseudo-bishop, which was the cause of the introduction of schism in Malabar, was travelling with me everywhere preaching zealously against the schism. Although those who were hardened in their revolt derided him, his words produced good results in the hearts of many, and he was honoured and loved by all good people ". (p. 173).

Joseph Sebastiani went to Rome to place his report before the Pope. He was consecrated bishop and sent back to Malabar as administrator with power to consecrate one or two Syrian priests as Vicars Apostolic to rule the Syrians. After his arrival Bishop Sebastiani, with the cooperation of Alexander de Campo and Alxander Kadavil, succeeded in reclaiming many more churches from schism. When the Dutch took Cochin they forced the Carmelites to leave the country. Hence Sebastiani, in virtue of his special powers, with the assistance of two priests, consecrated Alexander de Campo as Bishop of Megara and Vicar Apostolic of Malabar in 1663. Bishop Alexander ruled the Syrian Church for 25 years and brought back to Catholic unity numerous schismatics.

Bishop Marcelline on pp. 201 and 202 of the above-mentioned work, says that Bishop Alexander converted

many who were on the side of the pseudo-bishop the archdeacon, and that in his time schimatics were reduced to a very small party. When he became bishop he had under him only less than 60 churches, and many of them were used in common by Catholics and schismatics. After the departure of Joseph Sebastiani from Malabar, Bishop Alexander wrote to him that many schismatics were daily coming under his authority (*Travels of Giusepe a S. Maria*, p. 108)

In 1674, with the permission of Van Rheede, the Dutch Governor, Bishop Alexander petitioned Rome to give him a coadjutor; and the Pope appointed in 1675, four Carmelites as commissaries to elect a bishop in accordance with the petition. Alexander presented Father Mathew, and the Pope had ordered the election of a native. But the Commissaries, instead of electing Father Mathew or another Syrian priest, chose Raphael Figueredo, a native of Cochin and an East-Indian Portuguese. Figueredo was of the Latin rite. This choice was the source of great grief to Bishop Alexander and the Syrians, and they complained bitterly. Bishop Alexander lived for twelve years more and died on December 23, 1687. A portrait of this bishop is still preserved in the church of Kuravalangad. The date of his death is inscribed in the slab over his tomb. It was at the time when he was gradually converting the schismatics that the above-mentioned Raphael was chosen to succeed him. As both Catholics and and schismatics disliked this choice, Bishop Alexander found it impossible to convert the schismatics thereafter. If according to his petition and the Pope's desire a Syrian had been elected to succeed him, it is almost certain that Jacobitism would not have lingered long in Malabar. When Sebastiani was in Malabar, the church at Mulanthuruthy was Catholic; now it is in the possession of Jacobites, and it is very likely that the church seceded during Figueredo's regime. Bishop Raphael Figueredo was disobedient to Bishop Alexander and he did a good deal of mischief. He

excommunicated Father George, the Vicar General of Bishop Alexander, who was also the Vicar of the church of Mattancherry. The Carmelites informed the Pope of the misconduct of Bishop Raphael and accordingly on February 6, 1687, Innocent XI deputed Custodius de Pinho, Vicar Apostolic of the Great Moghul, to inquire into the matter, and consequently Raphael was deposed by a decree of the Pope on January 16, 1694. (Christianity in Travancore, p. 29, The State Manual Travancore, vol. II, p. 189 Bullarium Patro. Port. Tom. II, White House, London, 1873, pp.193-4.)

The following is an extract from the "History of the Syrians" by Dr. Marcelline, Coadjutor bishop of Verapoly published in 1872, page 187, about Bishop Alexander's conduct:

"As soon as Alexander de Campo came to know of the great evils of the schism, he embraced the true fold and boldly opposed the archdeacon till the close of his life although he was his relative. He was convinced of the sublimity of the cause of the true faith above all others, including even the closest relationship by blood, all of which should necessarily yield to the supreme cause of religion, especially when they come into conflict with the latter. When Joseph Sebastiani came with his companions to Malabar, he (Alexander de Campo) received them as the representatives of the Pope and kept them in the Kuravalangad church for about four months. He was a very charitable man, a great devotee of the B. V. Mother of God and exceedingly zealous in the divine worship. He had built two churches at his own expense. His humility, prudence and sagacity distinguished him above all the rest and he was most worthy to be raised to the episcopal dignity."

Fr. Mathew was his near relation. By the general consent of the people, Alexander nominated him his

successor and according to the custom of the times obtained recognition of the nomination from the Dutch Governor at Cochin. When the four commissaries made the announcement that Raphael was to be the successor of Alexander, Alexander declared that he had no desire that anyone of the Pakalomattam * family (De Campo family) should succeed him. (Among the Brahmin families converted by the Apostle Thomas, De Campo family was the noblest and the Apostle ordained priests in that family, and so the Syrians had a great veneration towards that family.) Raulin says that this was a fraud of Alexander and that the family of Mathew and the De Campo family were two different ones. (Raulin pp. 442-5). This is a result of the ignorance of Raulin, for De Campo is only the Latin version of Pakalomattam and there is only one De Campo family, though it has several branches, and Bishop Alexander, Father Mathew and the pseudo-bishop Thomas de Campo were all members of this same family.

Fr. Mathew whom Bishop Alexander had presented to the Commissaries to be elected as his successor, was a worthy priest. He was appointed by Portuguese authorities Vicar General of Cranganore in 1694, to govern the diocese, and the appointment was confirmed by Archbishop Ribeiro, who was the first to come to the place and to govern the archdiocese of Cranganore in 1701, after the death of Garcia on September 3, 1659. All the Jesuits from Rebeiro to Salvador who died in 1771, governed the diocese in peace. But they were able to govern only a part of the original diocese, i.e. the churches north of Korathi, Chalakudi, Puthenchira, and Ambalakad. The country where these churches lay, was under the dominion of the Zamorin of Calicut and the Dutch had no authority there. Since the

* *Pakalomattam* means *Campus solis*. This is why the Portuguese writers applied to the Pakalomattam family the name of De Campo family, omitting *solis*.

successors of Alexander de Campo were all Latins, the Syrians in the dominions of the Zamorin had no special reason to place themselves under the Vicars Apostolic. But the Syrians outside the Zamorin's dominions continued to be ruled by the Vicars Apostolic. After the deposition of Bishop Raphael Figueredo, Carmelites became the rulers of the greater part of the Syrian Church.

CHAPTER VI.

CARMELITE RULE.

In accordance with the petition of Carmelites, Bishop Figueredo was deposed in 1694. He died the following year. Custodius de Pinho was appointed his successor. But he died in 1696 without taking charge of the Syrian vicariate. The Pope then granted the request of the Carmelites and appointed a member of their Order, Angelus Francis, as Vicar Apostolic of Malabar in 1700. He was consecrated by the Chaldean Bishop Simon at Alengad in 1701. With Angelus Francis began the regular Carmelite rule which lasted for nearly 200 years. During this period there were occasional disputes between the Carmelites and the Portuguese Prelates of Cranganore concerning the jurisdiction over the Syrians. For the most part the Syrians in the dominions of the Zamorin of Calicut remained under Cranganore, while the others remained subject to the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic.

After the schism of 1653 the policy of latinisation took a different aspect. Wholesale latinisation of the rite was abandoned; but attention was occasionally given to the latinisation of individuals and parishes. In the period of Latin rule which began with Bishop Raphael Figueredo's regime in 1687 and ended with the consecration of three Indian Syrians as Vicars Apostolic in 1896, several Syrian parishes with many of their parishioners were latinised. The total number

of Syrian parish churches in the year of the Synod of Diamper, 1599, was 105. Gouvea in 1605 enumerated 77 of them in his Jornado. Of these, 8 are now Latin parishes. They are Cannanore, Thodamala and Calicut (latinised after 1653) in British Malabar; the two churches at Cranganore (after 1701), the church of St. Thomas in Cochin (after 1687), Mattanchery (after 1687), and a church at Quilon (after 1701). Other Latinised churches are Thuruthipuram (after 1701) and Idacochy; a church in Melarcot (in Coimbatore), and another in its vicinity (after 1850); and Mathilakam and Perumanur new church (in the 19th century). Arthumkal was probably a Syrian chapel attached to the Syrian church at Shertallay. The Ernakulam central church and the Petta church in Trivandrum were built by Syrians. Verapoly too was originally a Syrian church.

The Syrians naturally resented the appointment of Latin prelates as successors of Bishop Alexander de Campo. They continually sent petitions to Rome for Syrian bishops and kept up their agitation. Neither the Portuguese nor the Carmelites favoured their aspirations. Occasionally the Syrians sent petitions to the Catholic Patriarch of Babylon, the head of the East Syrian rite and their former Patriarch, to interfere in their behalf and intercede with Rome. As a result there came occasionally Catholic Syrian bishops from Babylon to help the Malabarians and to study their conditions. The Carmelites generally resented such interference. Bishop Simon who came to Malabar in 1701 was not allowed to remain in the country. Bishop Gabriel who arrived in Malabar in 1708 was forbidden by Rome to interfere in the affairs of the Malabar Church. Three other bishops came in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile the Schismatics or Jacobites were governed by their own archdeacons with the title of bishops. In 1700 many Jacobite priests sent a joint petition to the Catholic Patriarch of Babylon to send them a bishop and receive

them into the Catholic Church. In answer to this petition the Patriarch sent Bishop Simon with the necessary faculties in 1701. But he had to go away from Malabar immediately after the consecration of Bishop Angelus. In 1704, the Jacobites together with their ruler, Thomas IV, sent a petition to Rome, in which they said that they had left the Catholic Church on account of the molestation of the Paulists (Jesuits), that they were now eager to return to Catholic unity and that their ruler Thomas IV should be recognised as their bishop. A third attempt for reunion was made in the second half of the 18th century. Thomas VI, the ruler of the Jacobites, received valid episcopal consecration in 1772 from the Jacobite bishop Gregory at Niranam. In 1778 he sought admission into the Catholic Church with his whole flock. But the Latin bishops did not believe in his sincerity and were averse to recognising his episcopal status. Thomas VI appealed to Joseph Cariatti, a Syrian priest and an alumnus of the Propaganda College of Rome (where he had taken a triple doctorate in philosophy, theology and canon law) to help him. On behalf of Bishop Thomas, Dr. Cariatti went to Portugal and to Rome and secured the necessary faculties for receiving Thomas and his flock into the Church. Dr. Cariatti was consecrated archbishop of Cranganore at Lisbon in 1783 to take charge of the Syrian Church. Unfortunately, before he could receive the Jacobite bishop and his people into the Church, he met a sudden death at Goa nderu suspicious circumstances on his way to his fatherland.

His secretary and companion, Father Parayammakal, whom he had appointed administrator of Cranganore, was confirmed in his office by the archbishop of Goa and he ruled the whole body of the Syrians till 1799. The administrator, together with Matthew Thatchil Tharakan, a leading citizen, not only among the Syrians but in the whole of Malabar and a friend of the Raja of Travancore, tried to carry out the mission of Dr. Cariatti: unfortunately the Latin bishop of

Cochin * renewed his opposition to recognise the episcopal status of the Jacobite bishop. Thus the last golden opportunity of the wholesale conversion of the Jacobites was lost. Soon after, Jacobites fell under Protestant influence and the question of reunion became a hopeless task.

After the death of Parayammakal, a few Syrian churches returned to the jurisdiction of Verapoly. In 1801, Dr. George Shankurikal, a Malabar Syrian and an alumnus of Propaganda College, was appointed administrator of Cranganore. His successor was a Portuguese. In 1838 the Padroado jurisdiction was abolished temporarily by the Pope, and the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly became the exclusive ruler of the Syrians. Since the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly was thus extended to the whole territory and people of the Syrian archdiocese of Cranganore, the title of Archbishop was conferred on the then Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly, Mgr. Francis Xavier and his successors. Under their rule two schisms occurred as a result of the longing of the people for Syrian bishops. The first was in 1861, caused by the presence of Thomas Rocos, a catholic Chadean bishop from Mesopotamia. The second was caused in 1874 by another Chaldean bishop, Elias Mellus, which lasts to the present time in Trichur, where a party of the schismatics finally accepted a Nestorian bishop and thus fell into heresy.

In the beginning of the 19th century two Syrian priests took the first steps for the establishment of the Syrian Carmelite Congregation. In 1831 the first monastery was begun in Mannanam. Regular religious life was begun there in 1855 under a saintly Syrian priest, Cyriac Chavara, under the guidance and supervision of Bishop Bernardine, the saintly

*This bishop was Joseph Soledad, a Portuguese Carmelite. The Carmelite historian Paulinus makes this remark on Soledad : " Vir asperi ingenii et nemini indulgens, infinitos in ora Travancordis excitavit tumultus. " (*India Orientalis*, p. 124).

and sympathetic Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. From Mannanam the congregation spread over Malabar and established several monasteries in different centres. The Syrian Carmelites fought a strenuous fight against the schisms of 1861 and 1874, distinguished themselves conspicuously, and merited a letter of praise from Pius IX, dated 5th September, 1861.

During all these centuries the Syrians never ceased from petitioning Rome for indigenous Syrian bishops. The first step towards the creation of Syrian bishops was taken in 1887 when Leo XIII transferred the government of the Syrian Church from Verapoly and the Padroado administrator of Cranganore to two new Vicars Apostolic with seats at Trichur and Kottayam respectively. Under the new Vicars Apostolic the condition of Syrians improved much. English education received a new impetus among them. Finally in 1896 the two vicariates were divided into three with seats at Trichur, Ernakulam and Changanachery respectively, and were entrusted to indigenous Syrian Vicars Apostolic.

CHAPTER VII.

RESTORATION OF THE SYRIAN HIERARCHY.

Pope Leo XIII, the great patron of the Oriental Churches, took the first step for restoring the Syrian hierarchy to the Malabar Syrians, when in 1887 by the Brief "*Quod Jampridem*" of the 20th May, he freed the Syrian churches from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Verapoly and the administrator of Cranganore and created two Syrian Vicariates Apostolic. The territory between the Alwaye and the Ponnani formed the northern vicariate, while the territory south of the Alwaye comprised the southern vicariate. The two vicariates were called Trichur and Kottayam respectively. The two Vicars Apostolic, Mgr. Medlycott and Mgr. Lavigne S. J., had to create anew

all the institutions and funds necessary for carrying on their work. Mgr. Medlycott built his episcopal palace at Trichur and founded the St. Thomas English School there. Mgr. Lavigne resided for the first six months in the St. Joseph's monastery at Mannanam, as the vicariate had no decent house of its own in Kottayam. Afterwards he hired a bungalow at Kottayam and resided there a few years. But Kottayam was not a Catholic centre. It was then, as now, the chief centre of Jacobites and Protestants. Hence Mgr. Lavigne tranferred his residence in May, 1891, from Kottayam to Changanachery, one of the largest Catholic towns of Travancore. He built his episcopal palace there and chose the St. Mary's church at Changanachery as his cathedral. He also founded at Changanachery the St. Berchmans' High School, the first of its kind among the Syrians.

Up to this time, though Catholic Syrians were superior to all other Christian communities in numerical strength and material resources, they were very backward in the field of English secondary and higher education. They had all along wisely kept themselves aloof from the proselytising schools of the Protestant missionaries. But they found themselves completely debarred from posts in the Government service and despised as uneducated and ignorant by the Jacobite Syrians and Hindus. Consequently Catholic Syrians had yearned for the establishment of Catholic English secondary schools for them and, in 1878, had petitioned Mgr. Leo Meurin S. J., the Apostolic Visitor, to the same effect. The two Vicars Apostolic, when they took charge, established English schools to satisfy the cravings of the Syrian Catholics.

The Syrians, though freed from the jurisdiction of Verapoly and Cranganore and placed under separate Vicars Apostolic, did not cease from petitioning the Holy See for granting them bishops of their own rite and nationality. Pope Leo XIII granted them their request, and by the Brief

"*Quæ Rei Sacræ*" of 28th July 1896, a new division of territory was effected. The vicariate of Trichur was confined to the territory north of River Chalakudy. Its southern part, south of River Chalakudy, was separated and joined to the northern part of the vicariate of Kottayam, to form the new vicariate of Ernakulam. The remaining portion of the vicariate of Kottayam formed the third vicariate. The name of Kottayam was dropped and the vicariate was called after Changanachery where Bishop Lavigne had his episcopal palace, his cathedral and other institutions. On the 11th of August, 1896, three Malabar Syrians were elected as Vicars Apostolic. Mgr. John Menachery, secretary to Mgr. Medlycott, was elected to succeed him at Trichur; Mgr. Aloysius Pareparambil, secretary to Mgr. Lavigne, was appointed as Vicar Apostolic of Ernakulam; and Mgr. Mathew Makil, who was the vicar-general of Mgr. Lavigne for the Suddists, was nominated to succeed him at Changanachery. The Vicars Apostolic of Trichur and Ernakulam were enthusiastically welcomed by the people. But the appointment of a Suddist as Vicar Apostolic of Changanachery was resented by the Nordists who formed the great majority of the people of the vicariate.

The Malabar Syrians, both Catholics and Jacobites, are divided into two clearly distinguished sections. The Nordists are more than sixteen times as numerous as the Suddists. The Suddists are mostly confined to Travancore between Ranni and Moovattupusha, and are scattered among the Nordists. The Nordists extend also farther south as far as Trivandrum, and farther north as far as River Ponnani in British Malabar. The origin of the division of the Syrians of Malabar into Nordists and Suddists, is traced back to the fourth century and seems to be the result of the mixing of the two classes among the Syrian immigrants with the corresponding classes of indigenous Christians.

The Nordists of Changanchery resented the appointment of a Suddist prelate to rule over both Nordists and Suddists, as, in their view, they were of a caste superior to the Suddists* and as the appointment of a Suddist prelate to rule over Nordists was without precedent. All the archdeacons of Malabar before 1653 who ruled over both Nordists and Suddists were exclusively Nordists. Similary, Bishop Alexander De Campo in the 17th century, Archbishop Cariatti in the 18th century, and the indigenous administrators and vicars-general of Cranganore and Verapoly, all of whom had sway over both Nordists and Suddists, were exclusively Nordists. Among the Jacobites, too, Nordist bishops alone were ruling over both parties alike till 1910.

The Suddists obtained a vicar-general from their own clan for the first time on September 8th 1889, during the rule of Bishop Lavigne. But his authority was limited to the Suddists, as a Nordist vicar-general was appointed at the same time for the Nordists.

When the Holy See decided in 1887 to take away from the authorities at Verapoly the jurisdiction over the Syrians, the Suddists were given hopes that if they consented to remain under the jurisdiction of Verapoly they would be given a vicar-general selected from among themselves. Hence the Suddist leader, Rev. Mathew Makil and some others went to Ootacamund with the support of the authorities at Verapoly, and petitioned Mgr. Ajuti, the Delegate Apostolic, to allow the Suddists to continue under the Verapoly jurisdiction with a Suddist vicar-general for their immediate supervision. The Delegate refused to exempt the Suddists from the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Kottayam, but he gave them hope that a Suddist would

* In a petition which the Nordists sent to Rome on October 15th 1896, they gave expression to this view.

be appointed as their special vicar-general. Mgr. Ajuti also replied to the Nordist leaders that the Suddists would not be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Kottayam, though they might be given a vicar-general of their own. It was owing to these measures that when Bishop Lavigne took charge of the vicariate he appointed Rev. Emmanuel Nidiry as vicar-general for the Nordists and Rev. Mathew Makil as vicar-general for the Suddists. It was this Suddist vicar-general who was appointed in 1896 as Vicar Apostolic of Changanachery comprising both Nordists and Suddists.

Naturally, the Nordists strongly resented and vehemently protested against this appointment and sent petitions to Rome. Owing to various reasons the Nordist dissatisfaction went on increasing and reached a climax in 1911. Pope Pius X gave ear to the Nordist petitions, and on the 28th August, 1911, appointed a Nordist priest, Mgr. Thomas Kurialachery, as Vicar Apostolic of Changanachery in the place of Bishop Makil. The next day, 29th August, by the Brief "*In Universi Christiani*," the Suddist churches were separated from the vicariate of Changanachery and were constituted into a "Novum Vicariatum" with seat at Kottayam, and on 30th August, by the Brief "Magni Momenti," Mgr. Makil, the former Vicar Apostolic of Changanachery, was appointed as Vicar Apostolic of Kottayam. The Suddist Vicar Apostolic's jurisdiction was extended to the three Suddist churches in the vicariate of Ernakulam. Bishop Makil died in 1914 and Mgr. Alexander Choolaparambil was appointed his successor.

Bishop Aloysius Pareparambil, first Vicar Apostolic of Ernakulam, had to create anew all the diocesan institutions for the new vicariate. He succeeded admirably and raised a fund for the vicariate. When Mgr. Kurialachery took charge of the vicariate of Changanachery, it had no fund. In a few years he raised a good fund for the vicariate.

He also founded a new congregation of nuns, the Sisters of the "Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament" for whom he established 9 Convents. The other Vicars Apostolic also collected funds or raised up institutions for their vicariates. In 1911 Mgr. Augustine Kandathil was appointed coadjutor to Mgr. Pareparambil, with right of succession. On the death of Bishop Pareparambil in 1919, Bishop Kandathil became Vicar Apostolic. Bishop Menachery of Trichur too died in the same year. Mgr. Francis Vazhapilly was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Trichur in 1921.

Finally, in answer to the petitions of the Vicars Apostolic and through the recommendation of Mgr. Peter Pisani, the sympathetic and magnanimous Delegate Apostolic, Holy Father Pius XI condescended to crown the work of his predecessors and restore the Syrian Church to its ancient status by establishing the Syrian hierarchy in 1923. In a consistory held on December 20th, the Holy Father raised the central vicariate to the rank of an archdiocese, and the other vicariates were made dioceses. Ernakulam, the capital of Cochin, and one of the most important towns in Malabar, was made the archiepiscopal see. Mgr. Augustine Kandathil became Archbishop of Ernakulam and metropolitan of the Malabar Syrian Church, and the other Bishops took rank as his suffragans. In his speech in the consistory, Pius XI expressed his satisfaction at the all-round progress made by the Syrians under indigenous Bishops. We reproduce here the words of the Supreme Pontiff:

"Eodemque Sacro Consilio Nobis operam navante, effecimus, Dei munere ut ex Vicariatibus Apostolicis Syro-Malabaricis quattuor Sedes Episcopales totidem instituere-mus, quarum metropolis Ernakulam: quod quidem ideo libentissime hic commemoramus, quia non parum videmur afferre lætitæ dilectissimis filiis catholicis eas regiones incolentibus; quibus maxime fausta jam adest, sancti

Thomæ Apostoli natalis dies. Id autem omnino postulabat et egregia apud eos rei catholicæ temperatio ; et præclari quos ii Vicariatus habuerant sub indigenis proprii ritus Episcopis in religione progressus ; et eorum fidelium vere consentanei christianæ professioni mores ; et singularis eorumdem erga Beatissimam Virginem Mariam pietas atque in Clerum in Episcopos præcipueque in hanc Apostolicam Sedem summa observantia." (*Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, vol. XV, 31 Decembris 1923 ; p. 608.)

During the twenty-seven years of home rule, the Syrian vicariates made very rapid progress in every direction. In 1896 the Catholic Syrians held a very low position in education. There was only one high school and very few middle schools for them. There were very few among them who had received English secondary or higher education. But under the Indian Vicars Apostolic secondary and higher education advanced by leaps and bounds. Year after year, English middle schools and high schools, both for boys and girls, were started in different centres, and the number of Syrian Catholic students increased enormously. At present, Syrian Catholics are inferior to no other community in the land in the number and efficiency of their educational institutions. They own ten high schools and several middle and primary schools. Even two colleges were started recently, one in Cochin (Trichur) and the other in Travancore (Changanachery). Syrian Catholic graduates and university students can be counted by scores. From the ranks of Syrian Catholics have come forth professors, lawyers, doctors, engineers and scholars who have distinguished themselves in the highest European universities. It is indeed a matter of great satisfaction to them that within so short a time they have made up for their late beginning and have made great strides in secondary and higher education.

The work of conversion is going on at full speed in almost all the dioceses. Within the last two years, in the

archdiocese of Ernakulam alone, there were 6000 conversions. The organisation for the propagation of the faith, successfully working in the archdiocese, is an exemplary institution. Other dioceses are following in its wake. The Syrians also conduct a vigorous apostolate of the press. Catholic publications are issuing forth and spreading among Catholics and non-Catholics. The number of priests, nuns and monks also has multiplied steadily. Numerous new churches and chapels have been built in various parts of the country. The conversion of Jacobites and Protestants has been seriously taken up.

The Congregation of Syrian Carmelites, founded in the last century, has grown up into a very useful institution. Pope Pius X approved its rules and constitutions " in perpetuum " on 1st May, 1906. The status of the Congregation is that of a " Congregatio Juris Pontificii ". There are at present twelve monasteries spread over the dioceses of Changanachery, Ernakulam and Trichur. The friars are engaged in various kinds of Apostolic work, especially in preaching retreats and missions, in conducting schools, in converting pagans and heretics and in the apostolate of the press. They manage two high schools, four middle schools and several primary schools. They edit the chief Malayalam organ of the Catholics, the " Nazrani Deepika ", issued three times a week, and a family Magazine called the " Flower of Carmel."

There are five congregations of indigenous nuns. The Carmelite nuns are working in the dioceses of Ernakulam, Changanachery and Trichur. The Franciscan nuns have convents in the dioceses of Changanachery and Trichur. The Visitation nuns, the nuns of the Holy Family and the sisters of the Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament are confined to Kottayam, Trichur and Changanachery respectively. These congregations are engaged in various kinds of work, especially in conducting schools and orphanages.

For the foundation and support of the various institutions mentioned above, the Syrian dioceses had, for the most part, to depend on their own resources. In spite of pecuniary difficulties and other obstacles they have not lagged behind the neighbouring Latin dioceses ruled by European Missionaries. In certain fields, like education, they have even far surpassed them.

The following statistics show the progress made by the Syrian dioceses during the rule of Indian Bishops. Although the Suddist diocese of Kottayam was organised only in 1911, the Suddist churches and people formed a distinct body throughout the period. Hence we can calculate statistics for Kottayam for 1897. The following statistics are compiled from various sources, and in certain cases they are only approximate.

		Ernakulam.	Changanachery.	Kottayam.	Trichur.	Total
Catholic Population	1897	80,000	102,000	21,000	87,000	290,000
	1923	117,965	159,024	34,894	128,605	440,488
Priests	1897	90	212	34	60	396
	1923	157	278	37	122	594
Seminarists	1897	...	60	12	...	...
	1923	52	105	20	66	243
Churches and chapels	1897	110	124	29	88	351
	1923	146	195	55	118	514
Monasteries	1897	1	4	0	3	8
	1923	4	5	0	3	12
Monks and novices	1897	25	45	0	25	95
	1923	49	114	0	52	215
Convents	1897	3	4	1	0	8
	1923	9	24	5	13	51
Nuns and novices	1897	60	70	10	0	140
	1923	218	459	44	295	1016
Colleges	1897	0	0	0	0	0
	1923	0	1	0	1	2
High Schools for boys	1897	0	1	0	0	1
	1923	2	4	0	2	8
High Schools for girls	1897	0	0	0	0	0
	1923	0	1	0	1	2

Middle Schools for boys	1897	English	0	0	0	1	1
		Malayalam	0	0	0	0	0
	1923	English	4	5	4	1	14
		Malayalam	1	2	0	0	3
Middle Schools for girls	1897	English	0	0	0	0	0
		Malayalam	0	0	0	0	0
	1923	English	4	3	1	1	9
		Malayalam	2	6	1	4	13
Primary schools	1897		...	...	...	...	...
	1923		232	160	36	...	...
Orphanages	1897		0	0	0	0	0
	1923		3	0	0	4	7
Catechumenates	1897		...	5	...	...	...
	1923		14	17	2	...	...

CHAPTER VIII.

JACOBITISM in MALABAR.

Beginning with Thomas the Archdeacon who was made bishop by 12 priests in 1653, till 1772, six rulers of the name of Thomas governed the schismatics (Jacobites) in succession. No one of them had valid ordination. Till 1665 they were only schismatics. In 1665 the Archdeacon and his followers became Jacobites by accepting the Jacobite bishop Gregory and his doctrines, and began to be called "Puthenkoottucar" or New party. Although several Jacobite bishops from Syria came to Malabar at different intervals from the year 1665, they did not consecrate the indigenous Jacobite rulers. Mackenzie's statement (vol. II, p. 202 of Travancore State Manual) that Thomas I received episcopal ordination from Bishop Gregory, is historically untenable. It is true that Thomas I tried his best to receive episcopal consecration from Gregory. But Gregory firmly refused. Paulinus, on the authority of contemporaries like the Carmelite Missionaries and Bishop Alexander de Campo, explicitly states that Thomas I did not succeed in his attempt to receive episcopal consecration. Thomas VI in his letter of 1778 admits that his predecessor, Thomas I, did not receive episcopal conse-

cration. Thomas IV and Thomas V made repeated attempts to receive valid consecration. But their efforts proved fruitless. In 1772, the foreign Jacobite bishops, in order to extricate themselves from financial difficulties, finally consented to consecrate Thomas VI. Bishop Gregory, with the help of Bishop John, consecrated Thomas VI at Niranam and gave him the name of Dionysius. In the petition for reunion which this Dionysius sent to Rome through Dr. Cariatti in 1778, he admits that he received at Niranam from the Jacobite Bishop Gregory all the Orders from Tonsure to Episcopate. In the same petition, among other things, he mentions also the following facts. As coming from the head of the Malabar Jacobites, these statements have a special value. 'His predecessor Thomas I was made bishop by twelve priests on the authority of a letter which Itty Thomman Cathanar had forged and published as coming from the Pope (through Bishop Ahattalla). Since Thomas I was rejected by the Catholic authorities in Malabar, he and his followers accepted Jacobitism from the Jacobite Bishop, Gregory. Thomas I did not receive episcopal consecration. He appointed his nephew as his successor. The author of the petition had requested the Latin authorities in Malabar to receive him and his people into the Catholic Church, or to send his petition to Rome. They rejected his request. Hence he had recourse to the Syrian Catholic priest, Dr. Cariatti, to take his petition to Rome. The petitioner learned that the Jacobite Church was not the true Church and that salvation could be obtained only through the Catholic faith, kept holy and without spot from the time of our Lord. Finally in the petition, he promised on oath that he and his people would accept and believe whatever the Catholic Church taught and believed.'

After Thomas VI or Dionysius had received valid consecration at Niranam, nobody seriously called in question the validity of the Orders of Malabar Jacobites. The Orders of

the Jacobites of Malabar are to be regarded valid like those of their brethren in Syria and are thus looked upon by the Church. In 1889 Bishop Charles Lavigne, S. J., who ruled the Catholic Syrians to the South of the Alwaye (Old Kottayam Vicariate) received into the Church three Jacobite priests. After he absolved them from their excommunication, he permitted them to say mass without ordaining them even conditionally. The three priests came to Mannanam and said mass there and the writer is an eye-witness.

In the 18th century, as we have already said in the 6th Chapter, the Jacobites made repeated attempts at reunion with the Church. With the failure of the last attempt towards the close of the 18th century, Jacobites turned their attention to Protestantism. Protestant missionaries came to Kottayam in 1816. For about 25 years they travelled among the Jacobites and preached in their churches. They also opened English schools for the Jacobites. Thus the Jacobites fell under Protestant influence and imbibed anti-Roman feelings.

Till 1846 the Jacobites preserved their old liturgy, rite and liturgical language. They had the same rites and ceremonies as the Catholics, and like the Catholics they made use of the Chaldean characters in writing Syriac. But in 1846 a Jacobite bishop named Cyril came to Malabar and introduced many changes in the rites and ceremonies of the Malabar Jacobites. He succeeded in substituting to a great extent, in the place of the old East Syriac liturgy and language, the West Syriac liturgy and language used by the Jacobites of Syria. But the change was slow. More than thirty years were required to drop away completely the old liturgy. It was only with the coming of the Jacobite patriarch to Malabar in 1875 that the substitution process was completed.

The Jacobite clergy strongly objected to give up the Catholic practice of celibacy. Hence the efforts of the

foreign Jacobite bishops in this direction met with little success. Protestant propaganda achieved greater success. The Protestant Missionaries paid large sums of money to every priest who married. Finally the Jacobite patriarch, after his coming to Malabar in 1875, forced the remnant of the unmarried clergy, still a large body, either to enter monasteries or to take wives. Thus, owing to the combined pressure of foreign Jacobite bishops and Protestant missionaries, the Jacobite secular clergy gradually gave up celibacy and became a married clergy.

As a result of Protestant propaganda some six thousand Jacobites became Anglicans. A considerable number of Jacobites manifested a tendency to reform their creed and ceremonies on the Protestant model. The conservative majority imbibed the Protestant prejudices against the Catholic Church. With the consecration of Matthew Athanasius in Syria by the Jacobite patriarch and his return to Malabar in 1843, Jacobites were divided into two parties. The Jacobites who wanted reform on the Protestant model generally supported Athanasius. When the Jacobite Patriarch came to Malabar in 1875, as we said above, he renewed the excommunication of Athanasius. Athanasius and his party set aside the patriarch's authority, separated themselves from the Jacobites and called themselves Reformed Syrians or St. Thomas Syrians. Soon they effected a partial change of their creed on the Protestant model. They continued the use of the Jacobite pontifical, from which, however they expunged certain portions, like the anathemas against the Council of Chalcedon and Pope Leo the Great, and the words which specify Dioscorus as a saint. At present they are governed by an archbishop who has an assistant. The clergy number 93. They have 175 churches most of which are new and small. The total population amounts to 111,554 according to the census. But this figure seems exaggerated.

The Jacobite patriarch who came to Malabar in 1875 divided Jacobite Malabar into seven dioceses and consecrated seven Malabar Jacobites to rule over them. The seven dioceses are Quilon, Thumpaman, Niranam, Kottayam, Kandanad or Kolanchery, Cochin and Angamaly. Within the limits of the first three there are no Catholic Syrian churches.

When the Catholic Suddists obtained the honour of a bishop from among them in 1896, the Jacobite Suddists began to petition their Patriarch to give them a Suddist bishop. They obtained their wish in 1910 when the Jacobite Patriarch was in Malabar. The Suddist bishop has no separate territory. He has under his jurisdiction all the Jacobite Suddists with about 18 churches and 5 chapels.

On the second coming of the Jacobite Patriarch in 1909 the Jacobites divided themselves into two parties, one of which denied the authority of the Patriarch in temporal matters, while the other upheld it. This division has led to litigation and quarrels between the two parties and remains to the present time. The total Jacobite population amounts to 250,179. They have 400 priests with 311 churches and 18 chapels.

Appendix.

Social and Political Position of the St. Thomas Christians.

When the Portuguese came to Malabar they found the St. Thomas Christians a prosperous and flourishng community, with a very high social and political status. They wondered how a Christian community, living for ages in a Hindu country under Hindu rulers, could have preserved their religion and their high political and social position. This preservation is no doubt due to the protection of St. Thomas

whom they venerated as their father. It is also due to the high social and political privileges which they enjoyed from the beginning.

The majority of the converts of St. Thomas consisted of Brahmins living in 64 villages spread over the country. On account of their numerical strength and influence, and their observance of all the Brahmin customs which were not opposed to Christianity, they succeeded in retaining their social position among the Hindus. This position was confirmed and raised further by the numerous political and social privileges which the emperors of Malabar conferred on them. Most of these privileges are contained in the two copper plates granted to the St. Thomas Christians by the emperors, before the coming of Thomas of Cana. The first plate was granted by Veera Raghava Perumal, emperor of Malabar, with the approval of his feudatory princes, to the Christians through their chief. The second, consisting of 72 privileges, was granted by Sabarisho (i.e, Hope of Jesus), Lord Bishop of the St. Thomas Christians and Lord of Quilon, to the Christians, with the permission of the emperor, Sthanu Ravigupta, and with the consent of the local prince, the Raja of Venad (Travancore).

The following are the chief privileges. The bishops and the archdeacons as their representatives, became temporal princes, with full civil jurisdiction over the Christians in all cases. They had also the power of inflicting all kinds of punishments, except capital punishment which was reserved to the King. They had the right to impose and exact certain taxes and dues. They could keep soldiers. They were the guardians of the Copper Plates* and the protectors of the privileges therein contained.

* At the time of the coming of the Portuguese, Mar Jacob (Aboona Jacob), the bishop of the St. Thomas Christians, had the copper plates under his custody, according to the ancient custom. On the demand of the Portuguese he handed over the copper plates to them. The Portuguese kept them at Cochin.

The St. Thomas Christians took rank among the highest nobility of the realm. They were far superior to the Nairs and equal to the Brahmins. Like Brahmins they had the right of sitting on carpets before kings, or riding on elephants and other privileges. No outsider, except the king and his prime-minister, could hold civil jurisdiction over them. They were the lords and protectors of the Kammalas and other inferior castes. They had the right to keep soldiers who were recruited either from among themselves or from the castes under them. They had by law the power of exacting reparation from men of all castes who violated their privileges or refused to recognise them. Whoever presumed to lay hands on a Christian, was liable to capital punishment which could be commuted into a fine in the form of an offering of gold or silver to the Church. The social privileges and honours were increased by a subsequent copper plate granted to the Christians through Thomas of Cana.

The St. Thomas Christians were and are still generally called Nazranis. They and their bishops were entitled to enforce the recognition of their rights and privileges in the face of opposition from outsiders. The Nazranis had a dynasty of their own reigning at Diamper from the 4th to the 15th century. The emperor had made an injunction on all the feudatory princes to respect and protect the rights and privileges of the Nazranis. For various reasons the princes faithfully carried out this injunction. The treasury officers of the emperor and their descendants, known as the Veeradiyans, were entrusted by him with the privilege of going from year to year to the houses of the Nazranis and singing the privileges granted to them by him, in return for regular rewards. This custom has remained in vogue ever

When the Dutch took Cochin, the plates passed into their hands. When the English became masters of Cochin they found the plates there. Colonel Macaulay, the first British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, handed over the plates to the custody of the indigenous Jacobite Bishop at Kottayam. There they remain to the present day.

since. Owing to all these causes the St. Thomas Christians or Nazranis continued to enjoy unmolested all their rights, privileges and honours throughout the centuries down to the time of the advent of the Portuguese.

Gouvea says that the St. Thomas Christians "were well protected by the pagan kings on account of the many and great privileges which were granted to them by Cheraman Perumal, the great emperor of Malabar, whose orders were highly respected by all the kings. For," he continues, "it was he who divided his empire into the kingdoms now possessed by his relations and dependents. They recognised their duty of obedience and respect to all the orders of the Perumal. On account of the privileges and honours conferred by the Perumal on the Christians, they were looked upon as the superior and ancient nobility of Malabar. They were given the first place and were far superior to the Nairs who were chiefs and nobles of the country. Owing to this reason, Christians who set out for commercial purposes from foreign countries, like Persia, Armenia, and Alexandria and other places, were glad to come to Malabar and live among the St. Thomas Christians, finding always good hospitality, fraternity and communication.....Among those who came to these parts, there was an Armenian (*i.e.*, Aramean or Syrian) gentleman named Thomas of Cana, or Mar Thoma, which in their language means Lord Thomas. He was a rich nobleman and he brought much wealth with him. He was graciously received by the king of Cranganore who, as stated above, was the most powerful among the princes of Malabar. The king bestowed many privileges and honours on Thomas and the Christians among whom he lived. He also gave a spacious site for building a great church worthy of the [illegible]wer and wealth of the founder. All these things we[illegible]red to be written on 'olas' (plates) of copper." F[illegible]hapter II).

During the rule of Portuguese and Carm[illegible] Bishops, the St. Thomas Christians found it difficult to exercise some of these privileges, and their social and political position suffered deterioration. There were several reasons for this change. The Syrian Bishops and the indigenous archdeacons were the guardians of the copper plates and the protectors of the privileges therein contained. The foreign Latin Bishops who replaced them did not care at all for the preservation of the temporal status, prestige and prosperity of the St. Thomas Christians. They condemned and abruptly abolished many of the innocent Brahmin customs and caste rules observed by them. The Synod of Diamper prohibited in strong terms the custom of growing a tuft of hair in the centre of the head * and of boring the ears and wearing earrings (Sess. IX, decree 17). It also forbade them the custom of taking bath if they happened to touch a Nair (Sess. IX, decree 2). The sudden removal of these and other caste rules lowered the Christians a little in the eyes of the Brahmins and Nairs. The attempt to extend equal social status to recent low-caste converts added to the prejudice of caste Hindus. The annexation by the raja of Travancore of most of the little kingdoms in which the St. Thomas Christians lived, deprived them of their traditional allies and protectors. Lastly, their division into two parties after the great schism of 1653 increased the weakness of their social position. Yet, owing to various reasons, they have succeeded in retaining their ancient social position without great deterioration.

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* Up to the time of the Portuguese rule the St. Thomas Christians used to grow a tuft of hair on the head and observe other social customs and fashions like the Brahmins and other castes. But they always wore a cross, tied to the tuft of hair on the head. By this sign they were distinguished from Hindus and recognised as Christians.

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