J62
M12
AR

CHRISTIANITY

IN

TRAVANCORE.



AR
JG2
1412

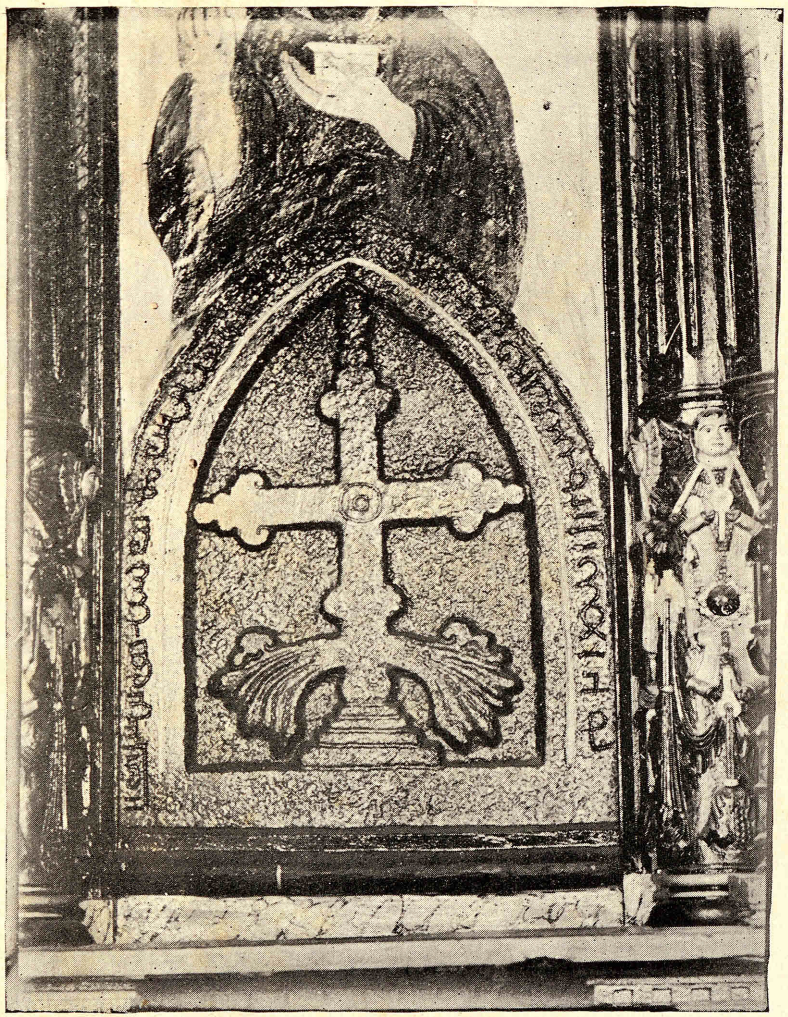
BY

G. T. MACKENZIE.

TRIVANDRUM :

PRINTED AT THE TRAVANCORE GOVERNMENT PRESS,

1901.



CROSS AND INSCRIPTION IN CHURCH AT KOTTAYAM.

Offered Dr. Mather

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Cross and Inscription in church at Kottayam. *Frontispiece.*

A Syrian Christian Matron ... ... 25.

A Syrian Christian Wedding ... ... 33.

The Most Rev. Mar Dionysius, Jacobite Metropolitan ... 41.

missing

PREFACE.

The Travancore Darbar proposes to publish an official Manual of the Travancore State and has entrusted to Mr. Nagam Aiya, Settlement Peishkar, the task of compiling this Manual. Mr. Nagam Aiya asked me to assist him with the chapter on Christianity. I have written this chapter and my cordial thanks are due to all who have given me information or advice. Some time will elapse before the other chapters of the Manual are completed and therefore His Highness the Maharaja has permitted the manuscript of this chapter to be printed for facility of perusal and correction, on the understanding that it will be regarded only as a paper written by me and not yet as part of the official Manual. My special thanks are given to Dr. E. Thurston of Madras who has promised to send four illustrations for this chapter.

G. T. MACKENZIE,
British Resident in Travancore & Cochin.

Trivandrum,
October 23rd 1901.

THE TRAVANCORE MANUAL.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

The history of Christianity in the Travancore State is a subject of very great interest, not only because there is ground to believe that from early times a Christian church was in existence on this coast, but also because at the present day one-fifth of the people of Travancore are Christians. The greater part of these Christians are known as Syrian Christians. They are Hindus by race and speak the Malayalam language that is spoken by their neighbours who are Hindus by religion. This name, Syrian Christians, has been given because in their churches they still use Syriac or Chaldaic liturgies. These Syrian Christians are found in central and north Travancore, in the Cochin State and in the Malabar district of British India. There are none in south Travancore. The bulk of them are Roman Catholics but nevertheless follow their own Syriac Rite[1]. Others adhere to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch[2]. The remainder approach the Protestant standards of doctrine and ritual and are usually called the Reformed Syrians, although they themselves dislike that name and call themselves the Christians of St. Thomas[3]. These three bodies of Syrian Christians agree on one point, in claiming to be the descendants of the converts made by the Apostle St. Thomas on this coast or of early Christian immigrants from Persia or Mesopotamia.

In addition to the Syrian Christians there is throughout Travancore a large number of Roman Catholics who follow the usual Latin Rite. They are the descendants of converts made in the last four centuries since the Portuguese landed in India, and they have never used the Syrian Rite. There are also numerous Protestants who are converts made in the last century by missionaries of the Anglican Church Mission Society, of the London Mission Society and of the Salvation Army. If the Dutch, during

their stay on this coast, did any mission work no trace of it now remains.

Tradition assigns the origin of the ancient Christian Church on this coast to the labours of St. Thomas the Apostle. All the Syrian Christians firmly believe that St. Thomas landed at Cranganore in the year 52 established seven churches on this coast[4] and suffered a martyr's death at Mailapur or St. Thomas' Mount near the modern city of Madras. This tradition was widely held from early times and it has been accepted as true by many writers of repute. There is in the tradition itself nothing improbable. At that date there was commerce between India and Europe by caravans overland, by the Persian Gulf and by the Red Sea, so that the Apostle could journey to India. The tradition is supported by numerous passages[5] in which early writers allude to the work of St. Thomas in India or mention the existence of Christians in India. Several old liturgies and martyrologies speak of St. Thomas in India and this shows that the tradition had spread throughout the various Christian Churches. The truth of this tradition has been doubted by recent writers who suggest that some other man named Thomas in later centuries founded this church or suggest that the name India at that date was applied to the country on the west of the river Indus and not to the peninsula which now bears the name. The arguments put forward by these writers seem hardly sufficient to explain away all the passages which speak of St. Thomas in India and these writers do not give due weight to the antiquity and to the strength of this venerable tradition which is held so tenaciously by all the Syrian Christians.

This Christian Church on the Malabar coast, whether it was founded by St. Thomas or at a later date existed through long centuries and was here in full vigour when the Portuguese anchored at Calicut in 1498, but the materials before that date for any history of this Church are very meagre and to compile that history is a delicate task, because upon these meagre materials the various bodies of Christians now in Travancore have formed opinions wide as the poles asunder.

These opinions may be arranged in four classes: firstly, the Reformed Syrians and many Protestant writers see in this ancient Church a Church of primitive simplicity of doctrine, forcibly compelled by the power of the Portuguese to submit for a time to Rome, but escaping when the Dutch shook the Portuguese supremacy and ever since that date striving to return to its pristine purity of doctrine and ritual[6]. Secondly, the Latin Roman Catholics regard this Church as a Church which originally held the faith taught by the Apostles but fell into the Nestorian heresy and other errors[7] because of the difficulty of communication with Rome. When that difficulty was removed by the arrival of the Portuguese this local Church willingly came into communion with Rome and has since remained in Communion with Rome, notwithstanding the defection of some of their number in 1653. Thirdly, some of the Syrian Roman Catholics are so eager in their zeal for the dignity of their Church that they deny that their Church was ever Nestorian. They say that their Church, founded by an Apostle and using the language which Christ himself spoke when on Earth, always kept the Catholic Faith, was hindered only by distance from union with Rome, embraced the opportunity given by the arrival of the Portuguese to enter into union with Rome and has ever since that date remained a Church of an Oriental Rite in full communion with the Holy See[8]. Fourthly, the Jacobites maintain that the Patriarch of Antioch has from early times included this coast in his Patriarchate and has therefore had jurisdiction over this Church[9]. These opinions are put forward at the present day, not only in academic controversy but also as the basis of litigation for the possession of Church property and of Trust funds. An official publication must be neutral in such disputes and all that can here be attempted is to set out the facts with little or no comment, indicating, so far as is possible, the sources from which information has been obtained.

The tradition of the Syrian Christians says that St. Thomas ordained clergy[10] who after the Apostle's death carried on the ministry of this infant Church, but here, on the very threshold, controversy begins. The reformed Syrians say that the Apostle ordained priests only and that

these priests ordained other priests by laying on of hands[11]. The Romo-Syrians and the Jacobites say that St. Thomas consecrated bishops and one Latin writer[12] tells us that in the East the Apostle founded eight Archbishops' Sees, of which Malabar was one. There is no historical support for either tradition. The first historical fact on record is that one of the bishops present at the council of Nicea in 325 signed the decrees of the council as John, Bishop of Persia and Great India. Nothing is known of this bishop beyond what his signature tells us. He may have been a Persian bishop and the part of his diocese which he calls Great India may be the India west of the Indus[13].

A few years after this date a merchant named Thomas Cana trading on this coast became acquainted with this Christian Church and in the year 345[14] he brought to Cranganore a colony of four hundred Christians from Bagdad, Nineve and Jerusalem. Among them was a bishop from Edessa named Joseph and several priests and deacons. From the time of this immigration the Church seems to have been on a much firmer footing. It is said that the Ruler of Cranganore, Cheruman Perumal, conferred privileges upon Thomas Cana and on his people. That this Church was now in communication with the Churches of Asia appears from the tradition that the body or part of the body of the Apostle was carried, towards the close of the fourth century, from Mailapur to Edessa.

In the sixth century the Alexandrian traveller, Cosmas Indicopleustes, visited this coast. He says that in Male where the pepper grows, there are Christians and that at Kalliana there is a bishop, usually ordained in Persia. It is supposed that Male here means Malabar and Kalliana seems to be not Quilon but Kalyan near Bombay, but in order to form an opinion it is necessary to read the whole passage: "We have found the Church not destroyed but very widely diffused and the whole world filled with the doctrine of Christ which is being day by day propagated and the Gospel preached over the whole Earth. This, as I have seen with my own eyes in many places and have heard narrated by others, I, as a witness of the truth, relate. In the island of Tabrobane, in the interior India

where the Indian ocean is, there exists a Christian Church where clergy and faithful are to be found; whether also further beyond I am unaware. So also in the Male, as it is called, where the pepper grows. But at Kalliana, so named, there is a bishop, generally ordained in Persia. Likewise in the island of Diascoris, situated in the same Indian sea, where the inhabitants speak Greek and are settlers deported there by the Ptolemies, successors of Alexander the Macedonian, you find priests ordained in Persia sent there; there are also a number of Christians[15]."

The coming to this coast of bishops from Persia seems to have been interrupted in the seventh century by a revolt of the Persian Metropolitan against the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, the Metropolitan of Seleucia. In Asseman,[16] iii. 131, is a long letter from the Patriarch Jesujabus Adjabenus who was Patriarch from 650 to 660. The Patriarch says:—"Not only India, which extends from the shores of the kingdom of Persia as far as Quilon, a space of more than twelve hundred parasangs, but also your own country of the Persians lies in darkness, deprived of the light of divine doctrine which shines forth through bishops of the truth." About this date one of the bishops in India obtained the rank of Metropolitan. From the passage in Asseman, iii. 346, it appears that this dignity was conferred by Saliba-Zacha who was Patriarch of Babylon from 714 to 728. The names of the Indian bishops have not been preserved, except in the case of two bishops, Mar Sapir and Mar Prodh, who landed at Quilon.

The Council of Nicea laid down a rule that all bishops should meet the Patriarch in an annual synod. This rule was from time to time relaxed and finally in a synod held under Theodosius, who was Patriarch from 852 to 858, the obligation upon the more distant Metropolitans was reduced to sending a letter and funds every sixth year. The words of the Synod are quaint:—"But other Metropolitans, that is to say, of the Chinas, of India, of Persia and of Samarcand, situated in very distant countries, hindered by mountain ranges infested with robbers and by seas fatal with shipwrecks and tempests, so that they cannot come to us so often as they otherwise might wish, shall take care to

send, every sixth year, letters of consent and union and in the same letters to set forth any business of their countries which requires an opportune remedy: and they shall take trouble that from all cities, great and small, be sent to the Patriarch what is right according to the ability of each man and the Canons of the Fathers for the expenses of the Patriarch's house."

Some light upon the condition of the Church on this coast at this date may be obtained from four documents which have been preserved to this day. They are two copper-plate grants and the inscriptions on two stone slabs. These stones can be seen in the Periapalle church at Kottayam. That church is only three hundred years old but the stones are said to have been brought from a much older church that existed near Cranganore. On each of the stones is carved a Cross and an incription runs above and below the cross. The older stone has the legend in Pahlavi, which was the official language of the Sassanides dynasty in Persia. A similar inscription and cross is on the stone in the church on St. Thomas' Mount near Madras. The letters of this inscription on the older stone at Kottayam and on the stone at the Mount are said to be of date about the second half of the seventh century, but may, of course, be much later, because lapidary inscriptions are often written in antique characters of a former period. The letters are said to resemble the letters on a stone in China [17] erected in the year 781 to record the arrival of some Chaldean missionaries in 636. Attempts to translate the inscription at the Mount and on the older stone at Kottayam have given widely differing results. Dr. Burnell translated as follows: "In punishment by the cross was the suffering of this one, who is the true Christ God above and Guide ever pure." The translation by Dr. E. W. West is: "What freed the true Messiah, the forgiving, the upbraiding, from hardship? The crucifixion from the tree and the anguish of this." Dr. Haug of Munich translates it as follows: "He that believes in the Messiah and in God in the height and also in the Holy Ghost is in the grace of him who suffered the pain of the cross." The other stone in the Periapalle church at Kottayam is said to be of later date, probably about the tenth century. Above the cross

is half of the Pahlavi inscription of the older stone, "The Messiah and God in the height and the Holy Ghost." Below the cross is a Syriac version of Galatians VI. 14, "Let me not glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The copper plate grants are in the Seminary at Kottayam. The older grant is on a single copper plate, said by Dr. Burnell to be of date 774. It is a grant by King Vira Raghava Chakravarti to Iravi Korttan of Cranganore, making over to him the territory of Manigramam and giving him the rank of merchant. It is in old Tamil letters with some Grantha letters intermingled. The later document is on five sheets of copper fastened together by a ring. Of the ten pages of copper thus furnished, seven pages are written in Tamil and two pages are written in Pahlavi and Arabic with Kufic characters. Four of the signatures are Hebrew. This Kottayam five plate grant is said to be of date 824. Its purport is that with the permission of King Sthanu Ravi Gupta one Miruvan Sapir Iso gives certain land near Quilon to the church. From these inscriptions on stone and copper it appears that the christians at that time built and endowed churches and had a recognised position in the country[18].

The history of this Christian Church during the following six centuries is almost blank. The Saxon Chronicle relates that in 883 King Alfred the Great of England sent to India alms for St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew. Le Quien, in his *Orient. Christ.* ii. col. 1272, says that about the year 1129 the Catholicus of Bagdad sent to Malabar a Nestorian bishop, Mar John III. The Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, about 1295 speaks of Nestorian Christians in Malabar and narrates the tradition of the death in India of St. Thomas the Apostle. He says:— "The Christians who have the administration of the church possess forests of trees that bear the Indian nuts and from them they draw the means of their livelihood. As tax they pay monthly to one of the Royal brothers a groat for each tree."

The first Latin missionary who is known to have visited

India was John of Monte Corvino, afterwards Archbishop of Cambalec in Cathay. Sent out by Pope Nicholas IV as a missionary to China, he on his way halted in India about the year 1291. In a letter which he wrote from Pekin in 1305 he says :—" I remained in the country of India, where stands the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months and in that reign baptised in different places about one hundred persons." In a letter dated 1306 he speaks of Malabar and says :—" There are a very few Christians and Jews and they are of little weight. The people persecute much the Christians and all who bear the Christian name[19].

The next Latin missionary was a Dominican Friar named Jordanus, a Frenchman from near Toulouse. Perhaps as early as 1302 with other Dominican and Franciscan Friars he found his way to the Bombay coast where his companions were put to death by the Mahomedans. After various adventures Friar Jordan returned to Europe and wrote a small book called *Mirabilia* in which he briefly mentions the wonderful things he saw in the East. The only mention of Christians is as follows :—" In this India there is a scattered people, one here, another there, who call themselves Christians but are not so, nor have they baptism nor do they know anything about the faith. Nay! they believe St. Thomas the Great to be Christ! There, in the India I speak of, I baptised and brought into the faith about three hundred souls." In 1328 Pope John XXII at Avignon consecrated Friar Jordan as Bishop of Quilon and sent him in 1330 with a Latin letter addressed to the chief of the Nazarene Christians at Quilon. The letter asked the goodwill of the Nazarene chief towards Bishop Jordan and his missionaries and ends by inviting these Christians to abjure their schism and to enter the unity of the Catholic Church. Bishop Jordan set out for India with this letter but it is not known if he reached his destination or if he had any successors in the See of Quilon[20]. Another traveller, Friar Odoric, collected the bones of the martyred companions of Friar Jordan and in 1321 passed down this coast and touched at Quilon, where there were Christians, and at Mailapur, where were fifteen houses of Nestorian Christians[21].

Some years later John de Marignoli[22] arrived at Quilon on his return journey from a mission to China. He says:—"On Palm Sunday, 1348, we arrived at a very noble city of India called Quilon, where the whole world's pepper is produced. Now this pepper grows on a kind of vines which are planted just as in our vineyards. These vines produce clusters which at first are like those of the wild vine of a green colour and afterwards are almost like bunches of our grapes, and they have a red wine in them which I have squeezed out on my plate as a condiment. When they have ripened they are left to dry upon the tree and when shrivelled by the excessive heat the dry clusters are knocked off with a stick and caught upon linen cloths and so the harvest is gathered. These are things that I have seen with mine eyes and handled with my hands during the fourteen months that I stayed there. And there is no roasting of the pepper as authors have falsely asssserted, nor does it grow in forests but in regular gardens, nor are the Saracens the proprietors but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public weighing office (*qui habent stateram ponderis totius mundi*), from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's Legate, every month a hundred gold fanams and a thousand when I left.

There is a church of St. George there, of the Latin communion, at which I dwelt, and I adorned it with fine paintings and taught there the Holy Law. And after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column. For I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial and anointed it with oil. In sooth, it was a marble pillar with a stone cross on it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved on it, with inscriptions both in Indian and in Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon's. So after a year and four months I took leave of the brethren (*valefaciens fratribus*)[23]."

It is said by the Syrian Christians that during this period they were governed by a dynasty of Christian Kings

and Asseman iv. 442 has a passage on the subject. "In process of time the prosperity of the Christians of Quilon and Cochin so increased that they gave themselves a King. The first, Baliartes, called King of the Christians of St. Thomas, reigned in Malabar; and when after him some of his sons had reigned, at last by the law of adoption the dynasty passed from the Christians to the Heathen kings of Diamper. When the Portuguese first came to these shores the Malabar Christians were obeying the King of Cochin." However, Father Francis de Souza in his *Oriente Conquistado*, ii, 69, says that Beliarte was not a Christian, that the Christians only paid him a tribute because he had assisted them in a war against the Mahomedans and that the Christians obeyed the king in whose territory they happened to dwell. It is conjectured that the name Baliartes or Beliarte may be a corruption of the Malayalam *valeyadattu* or *valyarvattam*. One fact is certain that the Christians preserved the sceptre of their king. The Portuguese describe it as a red rod, tipped with silver, having three small silver bells at the upper end. The Syrian Christians say that it was the existence of this dynasty that caused Pope Eugene IV in 1439 to send Envoys with a letter that commenced as follows:—"To my most beloved son in Christ, Thomas, the illustrious Emperor of the Indians, Health and the 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." The Envoys sent with this letter did not reach India.

We at last come to the period for which there is some documentary evidence. In 1504 certain Nestorian bishops in India wrote a report to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon and this Syriac report is in the Vatican Library[24] with a latin translation dated 1533 of the report and of an addition to the report, which addition gives the history of these bishops and of their companions. From this document we learn that in 1490 three faithful Christian men set out from the remote regions of India to ask Mar Simeon, Patriarch of the East, to give bishops for their provinces, One of the three travellers died but the two survivors, Joseph and George[25], appeared before the Patriarch and

stated their errand. Two monks were selected from the monastery of St. Eugene and were consecrated by the Patriarch under the names Thomas and John. The Patriarch furnished the two bishops with letters under his signature and seal and sent them forth with prayers and blessings to seek the shores of India. The four arrived safely and were received with great joy by the Christians who ran to meet them and carried before them the book of the Gospels, the Cross, torches and a thurible. The two bishops consecrated altars and ordained a large number of priests, because for a long time there had been no bishop there. Mar John remained in India but Mar Thomas, with Joseph, returned to the Patriarch taking first fruits and offerings. In 1493 Joseph returned to India but Mar Thomas remained for some years in Mesopotamia. The Patriarch Simeon died in 1502 and was succeeded by Elias, who chose three monks from the monastery of St. Eugene to be consecrated as bishops for India. Of these three, David, who took the name of Jaballah, was Metropolitan. The others were George, who took the name of Denha, and Masud, who took the name of Jacob.

The four bishops journeyed to India, found Bishop John still living and in 1504 they wrote a long report to the Patriarch, in the following words :—" There are here about thirty thousand families common in faith with us and they pray God for your prosperity. Now they have commenced to build more churches and there is abundance of all things and they are mild and peaceable. Blessed be God. Also the Church of St. Thomas is now again inhabited by Christians. It is distant a journey of 25 days, situated on the sea near a city called Meliapor in the Province of Silan. Our province in which the Christians dwell, is called Malabar and has about twenty cities, of which three notable and firm cities are Carangol, Palor and Colom and others nearly come up to them. In all these the Christians live and churches have been built. Near by there is a large and rich city, Calecut, which the infidels inhabit". The report then gives a narrative of the fighting at Calecut between the Mahomedans and the Portuguese and then continues. " About twenty Portuguese live in the city of Cannanore. When we arrived from Ormuz at Cannanore we presented

ourselves to them, said that we were Christians and explained our condition and rank. They received us with great joy, gave us beautiful garments and twenty drachmas of gold and for Christ's sake they honoured our journey more than it deserved. We remained with them for two and a half months and they ordered us that on a fixed day we also should perform the holy mysteries, that is, should offer the Oblation. They had prepared a fitting place for prayer and their priests every day sacrifice and complete the holy Oblation, for that is their custom and rite. Wherefore on Nosardel Sunday[26], after their priest celebrated, we also were admitted and performed the holy rite and it was very pleasing in their eyes. Setting out thence we arrived at our Christians who dwell at a distance of eight days from that place."

Joseph, one of the two men who went to the Patriarch in 1490, took passage for Europe with the Portuguese admiral Cabral, sailing from Cochin on January 10th 1501. Arrived at Lisbon this Joseph was an object of much interest. He travelled to Rome, where he had an audience of Pope Alexander VI, to Venice, to Jerusalem, again to Lisbon and so back to India. From the information obtained by persons who talked to Joseph a book was published. Gouvea, p. 5, says that it is in Latin and appended to *Fasciculus Temporum*. An Italian version appeared at Vicenza in 1507 called *Paesi novamente retrovati*, It is cited also as *Novus Orbis* or as *The travels of Joseph the Indian*. It gives a description of the Thomas-Christians which may be taken for what it is worth. Joseph says that the Church was under the control of a supreme head "summus antistes", who had under him twelve Cardinals, two Patriarchs, and many Archbishops and bishops. From one passage he seems to say this of the Patriarch of Antioch although Asseman says that he must have meant the Nestorian Patriarch. Joseph goes on to say that there were priests, deacons and sub-deacons. The priests shaved the whole of the upper part of the head as a tonsure. The churches were buildings similar to those in Europe, with vaulted roofs and adorned by a cross but by no pictures. The faithful were called to prayer not with a bell but by the voice. Baptism is administered when an infant is

fourteen days old unless there is danger of death. Unfermented bread is used in the Eucharist. They have confession but not extreme unction. Both Advent and Lent are kept as strict fasts. Their festivals are Sundays, the festivals of the Apostles, Ascension, Trinity, Christmas, Epiphany and the Purification, Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin Mary. Their greatest festival is the Octave of Easter, because on that day St. Thomas put his hand in the wounded side of Christ. There are monasteries, a supply of books and eminent teachers. In the palace of the Zamorin at Calicut are four large halls, one for Hindus, one for Mahomedans, one for Jews and one for Christians. This description by Joseph of the Christians has been cited by many writers with an authority which it cannot deserve. There is no certainty that the persons who spoke to Joseph clearly understood what he said or accurately remembered it[27].

In 1498 Vasco de Gama anchored at Calicut but on that occasion he had no intercourse with the Christians. On his second voyage to India, when he arrived at Cochin on December 7th 1502 the Christians applied to him for protection against their Mahomedan neighbours and presented to him the sceptre above mentioned, as a sign that they became the vassals of the King of Portugal. Vasco de Gama dressed his ships with flags, assembled around him his most brilliant suite, fired a salvo with all his artillery and formally accepted the sceptre in the name of the King of Portugal and dismissed the Christian Envoys with gifts, assuring them that fleets would arrive more powerful and able to free them from their neighbours[28]. Notwithstanding this exchange of courtesies, forty years passed in which the Portuguese took no notice of the Thomas-Christians, who went quietly on their own way under the Nestorian bishops sent by the Patriarch of Babylon[29]. In the Vatican Library is a New Testament translated by Bishop Jacob at Cranganore[30] in 1510 and it is said that this Bishop Jacob entrusted to the custody of the Portuguese the famous copper-plate grants of the Syrian Christians. On board the Portuguese ships were numerous priests but they appear to have worked as chaplains to their countrymen in the forts and factories which the Portuguese erected

along the coast-line. Because of this Chancellor Geddes abuses the Portuguese for their neglect of the Thomas Christians and Archdeacon Robinson says, " The Portuguese were too much occupied with securing and enlarging their conquests to attend to the wants of a poor and defenceless Church[31].

About the year 1532 there arrived at Cochin a deputation of seventy men from the fishermen who live on the coast between Cape Comorin and Ramnad. They complained that they were oppressed by the Mahomedans and they solicited the aid of the Portuguese, expressing their willingness to become Christians. The Portuguese took this opening, baptised the seventy men who had come to Cochin and established garrisons on the Tuticorin coast[32]. Miguel Vaz, afterwards Vicar General of Goa, with other priests was sent to the spot and baptised twenty thousand persons, the people of thirty villages. In 1542 Francis Xavier landed at Goa and in 1543 he was sent to Cape Comorin to look after the fisher converts of Father Miguel Vaz. Francis worked on the Travancore coast in 1543 among those Christians and in 1544 he turned his attention towards the adjacent State of Travancore. In a letter[33] dated March 20th 1544 Francis speaks of a splendid opening and in a letter dated March 24th he writes in anger because his plans to enter Travancore were thwarted by some misconduct of Portuguese officials that had annoyed the Maharaja of Travancore. After this he entered Travancore territory near Cape Camorin and worked under the protection of the Prince of Tala (Tovala?). In July 1544 the Madura troops invaded the Travancore State, entering by the Aramboly pass. Letters written by Francis on August 19th and 20th show that he took an active part in forwarding to Tuticorin the Brahman Envoy who was sent by the Maharaja to make peace with Madura. About this date Francis had audience of the Maharaja who received him favourably[34]. It is said that before the close of 1544 Francis had founded forty-five Churches in Travancore. In a letter dated 2nd September 1544 he says, " We find this nation of the subjects of the King of Travancore more easy to persuade and better disposed than any other in all that concerns the interests of religion." Paolo tells us that

where Francis made any converts he first erected a cross and next a booth of branches and palm leaves which in time was replaced by a church built with stone and cement. The letters written by Francis show that his great anxiety was to provide a schoolmaster at each of these churches. After Francis left the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, things did not work smoothly. There is a letter, dated 19th October 1548, to the priest who was left in charge of these converts, exhorting him not to despond and not to give up his post. In the year 1571 and 1574 the Senior Rani of Travancore at Attingal took fright at the growing power of the Portuguese and set on foot an agitation against the Christians in the course of which three churches were burned down. But these sturdy fishermen on the coast towards Cape Comorin always remained steadfast under the Portuguese Bishops of Cochin and the strip of coast-line which they inhabit forms part of the Cochin diocese at this day[35].

In 1530 John d'Albuquerque came to Goa as the first Bishop. He sent to Cochin a Franciscan Friar, Vincent de Lagos, with instructions to work among the Thomas-Christians. Father Vincent settled at Cranganore and in 1547 he opened a Seminary for Syrian youths who wished to study for the priesthood. In a letter dated January 14th 1549 from Francis Xavier at Cochin to Ignatius Loyola, the seminary is described as follows :—" There is a town called Cranganore, which belongs to the Portuguese, about 20 miles from Cochin, where Fra Vincenzo of the Order of St. Francis, a most true friend to our Society, has founded a really fine seminary, where quite as many as a hundred native students are maintained and are formed in piety and learning. Fra Vincenzo told me that he wishes to entrust and hand over his seminary to our Society : and he has asked me again and again to inform you 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 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 this seminary are of the highest nobility."

Of the five Bishops sent by the Nestorian Patriarch only one, Mar Jacob, was now alive and he was, in his old age, a dependent on the hospitality of the Franciscan Convent in Cochin. On January 26th 1549 Francis Xavier wrote from Cochin the following letter to the King of Portugal about this Bishop. "It is now five and forty years that a certain Armenian bishop, by name Abuna Jacob,[36], 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 great deserts Himself and does not think as worthy of the honor of being the instruments whom 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 have long ago 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 honorable terms and to let an order, which may be shown to the Governors and Procurators, Your officers, be inserted in the letter enjoining them and especially the Commandant of Cochin to show him honor, give him hospitality and treat him with favour and attention especially when he asks for or is in need of anything. While I have been writing this, I have seemed myself to be serving and doing a favour and not so much to that pious bishop as to Your Highness, for at present, from the charity of the Franciscan Fathers he wants for nothing, while Your Highness is very greatly in want of the goodwill 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 mentioned. 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 esteem, favour and affection for him."

Before this year 1549 was over the aged Mar Jacob died in the Franciscan Convent at Cochin and after an interval of six years there arrived a Roman Catholic bishop for the Thomas-Christians. At this time there was a movement among the Nestorians in Mesopotamia to seek reconciliation with Rome and in 1551 on the death of the Patriarch Simeon a large number of the Nestorians chose as their Patriarch a monk named John Sulacca who went to Rome and was recognised by Pope Julius III as Patriarch of the Chaldeans. Returning to his own country he was put to death by the Mahomedans in 1554 and was succeeded by Ebedjesus. This Patriarch Ebedjesus made his profession of faith before Pope Pius IV and took part in the Council of Trent. Ebedjesus consecrated as Archbishop of the Thomas-Christians a priest named Joseph, the brother of his predecessor John Sulacca. Mar Joseph went to India and took charge of his diocese among the Thomas-Christians. On the ground that the students at the Cranganore Seminary were not taught Syriac he refused to ordain the candidates sent to him from that Seminary. Before long the Portuguese bishop of Cochin denounced Mar Joseph as a teacher of Nestorian doctrine and thereupon Mar Joseph was sent to Goa and thence to Portugal. On the voyage he spent his time in copying out portions of the Syriac liturgy and the Carmen of Ebedjesus. A volume of his work dated at Mozambique the 8th July 1556 is in the Vatican Library[37]. Arrived in Portugal, Mar Joseph made so favourable an impression upon Queen Catharine, the Infanta Mary and the Cardinal Don Henry, that he was permitted to return to India, giving a promise to the Cardinal that he would clear his diocese of all heresies. He remained for some time in the Franciscan Convent at Bassein where in 1557 he finished another book which he may have written on the voyage out. This is a collection of the Canons passed by synods of the Patriarchate of Babylon. This manuscript in the handwriting of Mar Joseph is in the Vatican Library[38] and Asseman found it useful in supplying the gaps on the torn leaves of an older collection of the Canons. The pre-

face which Mar Joseph wrote to his manuscript is a curious specimen of Oriental hyperbole[39].

Meanwhile the Thomas Christians, when Mar Joseph was deported from the country, had written to Simeon VI, the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, saying that they were now without a bishop and asking him to send one. The Nestorian Patriarch sent a cleric named Mar Abraham who journeyed in disguise by a circuitous route to avoid the Portuguese and arrived among the Thomas-Christians. Thereupon the authorities at Goa thought it better to release Mar Joseph from his detention at Bassein and to send him to his diocese. They also contrived to arrest Mar Abraham and they put him on board ship for Portugal. At Mozambique Mar Abraham escaped from the ship and returned by way of Ormuz to Mesopotamia. He went on to Rome and persuaded Pope Pius V that he was a good Catholic and free from Nestorian errors. As he confessed that he had not been validly ordained the Pope gave directions that Mar Abraham should receive Holy Orders, from tonsure to the Episcopate, according to the Roman Rite and sent him back to India as Archbishop of Angamale.

While this was passing at Rome, Mar Joseph was in his diocese among the Thomas-Christians[40]. The Portuguese still suspected him of Nestorian tendencies[41] and sent reports on the subject to the Cardinal Infant Henry, Regent of Portugal, who induced Pope Pius V to issue a Brief, dated 15th January 1567, ordering the Archbishop of Goa to enquire into the doctrine and conduct of Mar Joseph. In accordance with this Brief was held in 1567 the first Provincial Council of Goa. The charges against Mar Joseph were found to be established[42] and in 1568 he was sent to Portugal and afterwards to Rome. Here the piety and erudition of the bishop aroused a feeling in his favour and there was some talk that he would be created a Cardinal when his death put an end to any such project[43].

When Mar Joseph was leaving Goa in 1568, Mar Abraham appeared at Goa with his credentials from Rome appointing him Archbishop of Angamale. The Viceroy and Archbishop of Goa regarded Mar Abraham as a man who had deceived the Pope by an untrue profession of confor-

mity and they detained Mar Abraham in the Dominican Convent at Goa intending to send reports to Rome giving the Pope correct information about him. But on the night of the Thursday before Easter 1568, Mar Abraham escaped from the convent and made his way to his diocese, whence he wrote letters to the Viceory and to the Portuguese bishops professing obedience to the Roman Church.

Seven years passed and then Mar Abraham received a summons to attend the second Provincial Council of Goa in 1575. He refused to attend and the Council requested the Pope to order the Archbishop of Angamale to attend the Provincial Councils of Goa. Thereupon Mar Abraham induced the Raja of Cochin to write to Pope Gregory XIII a letter in Italian, dated 2nd January 1576. The Raja says :—" Our subject, Mar Abraham, Archbishop of Angamale and head of the Christians of St. Thomas, received an invitation from the Archbishop of Goa to attend a Synod there. But as he was once before illtreated at Goa by the Portuguese and was twice thrown into prison, he informs me that he did not attend the synod and cannot therefore abide by the resolutions passed at the synod. That his action may not be misinterpreted, he desires me to inform Your Holiness, that he is unremitting in his devotion and attachment to the Holy See, that if ordered by Your Holiness he is ready to take part in the synods of Goa and co-operate with the Portuguese priests and prelates for bettering the status of the Syrians. The Archdeacon George[44], likewise Our subject, has recently erected a church under the title of the Assumption of Our Lady in August, for which he requests me to obtain from Your Holiness certain Indulgences, which if granted, I shall regard as a favour done to me." On December 21st 1576 Pope Georgy XIII answered the Raja's letter as follows :—" About the Archbishop of Angamale we can decide nothing, because we do not know by what injuries he is hindered from going to the Provincial Synod, to which he was summoned, as appears by your letter, nor why he was twice imprisoned. So soon as we receive certain information we shall decide what we shall find to be just and right and we shall not suffer that he be oppressed or injured. The Indulgences that you ask for in the name of the Archdeacon George, we grant with pleasure

and we have given orders to write and despatch special letters about them."

After the complaints of the Council had reached Rome and had been considered, the Pope despatched three letters. The first letter, dated 20th November 1578, is to the Archbishop of Goa, as follows :—" Also, we wish that in the Provincial Synod you receive kindly our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Angamale, and that you will contrive that here and elsewhere he may experience your humanity and love. We understand that this is due to a brother and we consider it of great importance in order to bring these nations to the Catholic faith and to extend the honor of Christ." The second letter, dated November 29th 1578, is to Mar Abraham. In it the Pope expresses his joy at the Catholic Faith of Mar Abraham and exhorts him to convert his flock to it and advises him to attend the Goa Council as it was the only Council he could attend. The third letter, dated 3rd december 1578, is to the King of Portugal, in the following words :—" We recommend also to Your Majesty the venerable brother, the Archbishop of Angamale, who, we are told, has been grievously vexed by some persons. It will give us great pleasure if you order the Viceroy and Governors of India to protect him and to take steps that he be not oppressed with any injury." The effect of these Papal letters was such that for fourteen years from their date there was no open breach between Mar Abraham and the Portuguese clergy.

In this year 1578 there arrived on the Malabar coast one Mar Simeon, claiming to be the Metropolitan of the Thomas-Christians. The previous history of this bishop is obscure[45]. All that is known is that he obtained a following among the Thomas-Christians and that the Portuguese authorities and the Pope supported Mar Abraham against him. On March 5th 1580 Pope Gregory XIII wrote a letter warning the Christians of St. Thomas against a certain Simeon, who without lawful mission, had intruded amongst them. The Pope says :—" But be obedient in the Lord to Mar Abraham, your Archbishop, and to George[46], the bishop of Palur, and in sincerity of faith and simplicity of manners, presevere and live in the unity of our holy

mother the Church." At the third Provincial Council of Goa in 1585, at which Council Mar Abraham was present, it was resolved to remove Mar Simeon from this coast. He was accordingly arrested in the Franciscan Convent at Cochin and was sent through Goa and Portugal to Rome. Before he left the country he contrived to appoint a Syrian priest named Jacob as his Vicar General among the Thomas-Christians and this Jacob continued the dissension for twelve years more. When Mar Simeon arrived in Rome, Pope Sixtus V ordered an enquiry to be held into his case and pronounced a decision that Simeon should retire into a Convent for instruction. Simeon was then handed over to Philip II who placed him in a Convent at Lisbon. In 1594 when Archbishop Menezes was about to set out for India, the King offered Simeon to the Archbishop in case any use might be found for him in India, but the Archbishop would not have Simeon and left him in the Franciscan Convent at Lisbon where he died in 1599.

Alexander Valignano, Visitor of the Jesuits, came to India in 1574 with forty-four priests of that order and in an interview with Mar Abraham[47] obtained the permission of Mar Abraham to enter his diocese. The Jesuits settled at Vaipicotta or Chennamangalam, about one mile from Cranganore, and there built a church and set up a printing press[48]. In 1581 at Vaipicotta they opened a College in which were trained for the priesthood any youths among the Thomas-Christians who had a vocation. In 1583 when Father Alexander Valignano returned from Japan he found awaiting him his appointment as Provincial of the Jesuits and he at once set to work on the systematic instruction of the Thomas-Christians. With the approval of Mar Abraham the Jesuit Fathers preached and catechized throughout his diocese. Also, they induced Mar Abraham to convoke a diocesan synod in this year 1583. At this synod Mass was celebrated in Syriac and in Latin, Mar Abraham made a profession of the Catholic Faith, the decrees of the Council of Florence were read, several points of reform were agreed to and a Jesuit acquainted with the Syriac language corrected the Syriac Missal. In the following year 1584 a Seminary was added to the College at Vaipicotta and in this Seminary the Syrian Priests were taught Portuguese,

Latin and Syriac. The Jesuit Fathers found that priests with no knowledge of Syriac were not acceptable to the Thomas-Christians[49].

In 1585 was held the third Provincial Council at Goa and Mar Abraham attended the Council. His teaching and conduct were discussed. He made a profession of the Catholic Faith and was ordered by the Council to ordain anew certain priests whom he had ordained with an omission of ceremonial which the Council deemed to be essential. It is said that when the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon heard of this adhesion of Mar Abraham to Rome he called upon Mar Abraham for an explanation and that Mar Abraham replied that he was compelled by force but had deceitfully made a Nestorian profession of Faith which the Portuguese bishops did not detect[50]. After this date the relations of Mar Abraham with the Latin clergy were not so friendly as they had been. In 1590 he refused to ordain the students of the Vaipicotta Seminary and in 1592 when he was summoned to attend the fourth Provincial Council at Goa he refused to appear. The Council thereupon excommunicated Mar Abraham and at the same time they excommunicated Jacob, the Vicar General of the deported Mar Simeon. Both men defied the Council and as they were beyond Portuguese territory they could not be arrested. In 1595 Mar Abraham fell ill and was at the point of death. He called his clergy around him and advised them to adhere to Rome and he asked the Jesuit fathers who stood by his bedside to take care of the Church in his diocese. Some writers say that he then died, a Roman Catholic. Other writers say that he recovered from that illness, that in 1596 he wrote to the Nestorian Patriarch asking for a successor and that in 1597 he died a Nestorian, refusing admission to the Jesuit Fathers who went to his deathbed. He was buried in the church of St. Hormisdas [51] in Angamale, a church he himself had built and consecrated. About the same time died the Vicar General Jacob.

Alexius de Menezes, one of the preachers at the court of King Philip II at Madrid, was appointed Archbishop of Goa in the year 1594, being then only thirty-five years of age, and in the following year, 1595, he landed at Goa.

He held a Brief from Pope Clement VIII, dated 27th February 1595[52], empowering him to enquire into the teaching and conduct of Mar Abraham, to visit that diocese, to appoint a Vicar Apostolic to take charge of the diocese and to bring the Thomas-Christians into conformity with Rome. Before the Archbishop took any action on these powers, he received intelligence that the aged Mar Abraham had applied to the Nestorian Patriarch for a successor and he at once issued orders to all the Portuguese ports to stop any such bishop. These orders were in time and a Nestorian bishop and priest on their way to the Malabar coast were intercepted at Ormuz and were sent back to their own country[53]. The Archbishop was on tour in the north of the Portuguese territory when, through an express from the Viceroy of Goa, he received the news of the death of Mar Abraham. He at once appointed Father Francis Roz, S. J., the Rector of the Seminary at Vaipicotta as Administrator of the vacant Angamale diocese, but this appointment was kept back by the Council at Goa as unwise and the Archbishop, hearing their views, cancelled the appointment of Father Francis Roz and appointed the Syrian Archdeacon George as Administrator, directing him to make the usual profession of Faith. For some time the Archdeacon gave no sign but at last he plucked up courage to be openly hostile and to show his hand. At Angamale he assembled a Synod in which solemn resolutions were passed to acknowledge no bishops but those sent by the Nestorian Patriarch. The Latin priests and the pupils of the Vaipicotta Seminary were refused entrance into the Syrian churches and the rupture between the Syrian Christians and the Portuguese was complete. Hearing this news Archbishop Menezes at Goa resolved to go in person to the Angamale diocese and on the spot to endeavour to bring the Thomas-Christians into conformity with Rome. When the Archdeacon George heard that the Archbishop was on his way to Cochin, he yielded so far as to go through the form of giving a verbal assent to a profession of faith which the Franciscan Fathers read aloud to him in the church at Vaipin[54]. The Archbishop landed at Cochin on February 1st 1599, and accompanied by Archdeacon George, went on tour to the various Syrian Churches. The narrative of his journey, told at

length in Gouvea's *Jornada*, is reproduced by Hough in his *Christianity in India*, a book which is in the Trivandrum Library. The impression which a persual leaves on the mind is that Archbishop Menezes must have been an exceptional man, of great personal influence over those with whom he came in contact. Difficulties which would have foiled the utmost efforts of an ordinary man seemed to disappear before him[55] and finally, on the 20th June 1599 he succeeded in assembling the Syrians in a diocesan Synod at Udiamperur, called in history Diamper, a village at some distance on the south-east of Cochin. Resolutions had been prepared beforehand by the Archbishop's assistants and these resolutions were accepted and were signed as decrees of the Synod by one hundred and fifty-three Syrian priests and by six hundred lay proctors. This great task finished, the Archbishop continued his visitation of the diocese, going as far south as Quilon[56][57], and then he returned to Goa, where the death of the Viceroy had left him as the chief civil officer of Portuguese India. He had been absent from Goa only ten months, but into these ten months he had compressed work that would keep most men busy for ten years[58].

Before the Archbishop left the Syrian Christians he asked them to vote for a bishop of Angamale in place of the deceased Mar Abraham. The Christians chose the Archbishop and he sent on this nomination to Europe along with his resignation of the See of Goa. However, this arrangement was not accepted in Europe. Pope Clement VIII, by a Brief dated 20th December 1599, reduced the See of Angamale from an Archbishopric to a bishopric and gave the patronage to the King of Portugal, who appointed Father Francis Roz, S. J., a Spaniard aged 42, who had worked long among the Syrian Christians and knew the Syriac language. Afterwards the See was moved to Cranganore[59] and was restored to the grade of an Archbishopric. Archbishop Francis Roz visited diligently the whole diocese and kept up, to the best of his ability, the work done by Archbishop Menezes[60]. No conflict between the Archbishop and his Syrian flock is mentioned until the Archbishop, in 1618, having occasion to visit Goa, appointed as Vicar General in his absence the Rector of the Vaipicotta



SYRIAN CHRISTIAN MATRON.

Seminary. This was regarded by Archdeacon George as a slight upon himself and in 1620, with a large body of his Thomas-Christians, he broke off communion with the Archbishop and himself exercised episcopal functions for his followers. Father Stephen de Britto had been named as Coadjutor to the Archbishop and he strongly advised the Archbishop to conciliate the malcontents. In 1624, when on his deathbed, the Archbishop yielded to this advice and appointed George as Administrator of the diocese after his death. Pacified by this overture the Archdeacon George ended the schism and the Archbishop died on February 18th 1624, seeing his flock once more united. He was succeeded by Archbishop Stephen de Britto who for some time contrived to work amicably with the Archdeacon George, but that influential personage was not satisfied and by correspondence with Europe endeavoured to oust the Archbishop from his position. On January 1st 1628[61] 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 Archidiaconate. He said that the two hundred thousand Christians in his jurisdiction had for forty years been under the Jesuits, an Order which could show no martyrs and no success in converting the heathen and jealously kept at a distance all other Religious Orders. He asked that other 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 of Kadathuruthi. Also, he wished that a larger number of Native priests be ordained. The Papal Envoy at Lisbon forwarded this letter to Rome on June 8th 1630, with the remarks that Archdeacon George was a man of great authority among the Thomas-Christians, that he was not on good terms with the Portuguese and with 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. The Congregation of Cardinals on September 16th 1630 passed orders that other Religious Orders be admitted into the diocese, that more Native priests be ordained and that Father Donato be consecrated as a bishop *in partibus*[62]. On December

19th 1632 Archdeacon George assembled at Idapalle the principal priests and laymen of the diocese and despatched to the King of Portugal a memorial against the Archbishop. Afterwards, in 1634, Father Francis Donato set sail for Europe to make a personal report to pope Urban VIII about the wants of the diocese. The ship in which he sailed was taken by pirates, who put Father Francis Donato to death.

Archdeacon George died in 1637 and was succeeded by his relative Parambil Tumi or Thomas a Campo. In 1641 the Archbishop Stephen de Britto died and was succeeded by Francis Garcia, S. J. Relations between the Archdeacon Thomas and the Archbishop Francis Garcia became worse year by year until the Syrian Christians were in a state of smouldering revolt against the Archbishop[63] and the Archdeacon wrote secretly to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch at Diarbekr and to the Patriarch of the Copts in Egypt, asking that a bishop might be sent to the Thomas-Christians. In response to these letters a bishop named Ahatalla was sent by the Jacobite Patriarch at Diarbekr. He landed in the early months of 1652 at Surat in the habit of a simple monk and went to the Franciscan Convent. Seeing that he was regarded with suspicion he travelled to Mailapur and put up in the house of the Jesuits. Here again he was suspected and he was detained in some sort of custody but it cannot have been strict because, through two Syrian clerics, he managed to send a letter[64] to the Thomas-Christians in the Malabar coast. On receipt of this letter the Syrians assembled at Diamper and invited the Archbishop to a conference. The Archbishop wrote to them pointing out that this man, calling himself a Patriarch, had neither Papal mandate nor despatches from Portugal as credentials. Meanwhile Ahatalla at Mailapur was put on board the Portuguese fleet bound for Goa. When the fleet touched at Cochin the Syrians occupied Matancheri with an armed force and demanded their bishop. The Portuguese closed the gates of Cochin town and manned the walls for defence, refusing to give up Ahatalla. When night fell he was taken on board ship again and the fleet sailed for Goa. The Syrian Christians

believed a story that on his way to the ship from Cochin town he was drowned in the sea. Another story, which is told by the Latin writers Jarri and Paolo, is that Ahatalla was burned at Goa by the Inquisition. A third story, told by the Carmelite Eustache[65], is that he was sent to Europe and on his way to Rome died at Paris, a Catholic. The third story accords most with the treatment by the Portuguese of other bishops whom they turned out of the country. However that may be, whatever may have been the fate of Ahatalla, the Syrian Christians were infuriated because the Portuguese had intercepted him and they assembled in Matancheri before the Coonen cross and took a solemn oath, renouncing all obedience to Archbishop Garcia. On May 22nd 1653 twelve Syrian priests laid hands on the head of the Archdeacon Thomas, who from that date assumed the title of Mar Thomas and exercised episcopal functions. Of the whole number of Syrian Christians, computed to amount to two hundred thousand persons, only four hundred remained under Archbishop Garcia[66].

News of this revolt reached Rome and the newly elected Pope Alexander VII determined to entrust to the barefooted Carmelites the task of bringing the Thomas Christians back to the Roman fold. There had been Carmelities at Cochin in 1636 and thus the Syrian Christians knew that Order. Accordingly a selected party of Carmelites set out from Rome and by the Persian Gulf came to Surat. Obtaining Dutch passports they came down the coast to Calicut and thence by the backwater to Palur, where they arrived on February 22nd 1657. Proceeding inland they met the Archdeacon Thomas. He was obstinate but many of his followers were willing to submit to Rome, though not to Archbishop Garcia. Prominent among those who were favourably disposed was a relative of the Archdeacon named Parambil Chandy or Alexander a Campo. Before the close of the year the Carmelite Fathers had persuaded forty churches to submit[67] but the reconciled Christians stood out for a bishop other than Archbishop Garcia. Some of the Carmelite Fathers remained there to carry on this work and in December 1657 Father Joseph set out for Rome to make a personal report of the state of affairs. On December

15th 1659 Father Joseph was consecrated in the Papal chapel as bishop of some titular[68] See and was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the Sierra of Malabar or of St. Thomas[69]. Returning by the Persian Gulf route he arrived at Cochin on May 14th 1661. The Archbishop had died on September 3rd 1659, and the Chapter of Goa had thereupon sent Canon Emmanuel Serroni to take charge of the See, but Canon Serroni, after some discussion, gave over the charge of the Cranganore diocese to Bishop Joseph. For a few months the work of persuading the Syrian Christians to quit the Archdeacon Thomas went on with considerable success and eighty-four churches had returned to the Roman obedience, while only thirty-two remained under the Archdeacon,[70] when the capture of Cochin town by the Dutch in January 1663 entirely changed the situation. Not only the Portuguese clergy but also the Italian Carmelites were ordered by the Dutch to quit this coast. Bishop Joseph held powers to select and consecrate another Bishop in the case of necessity and now, calling two Portuguese priests to take the place of the Assistant Bishops in the ceremonial, he consecrated[71] Parambil Chandy *alias* Alexander a Campo and appointed him Vicar Apostolic and then himself sailed for Goa.

The Dutch seem to have concerned themselves little about the Christians except from political reasons. They tolerated Bishop Chandy and assumed a sort of protectorate over the Roman Catholics, both Latin and Syrian, only exacting an oath to pay no allegiance to the king of Portugal. The Archdeacon Thomas they disliked and he seems to have kept aloof from them among his own adherents inland. In 1665 a bishop named Gregory, calling himself Patriarch of Jerusalem, was sent to this coast by Ignatius XXIII, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, from Diarbekr, and he consecrated the Archdeacon Thomas, who henceforth may be called Mar Thomas I[72]. Meanwhile the Carmelite Fathers, whom the Dutch in 1663 had expelled from their territory, began quietly to return and they worked under Bishop Chandy among the Thomas Christians. One of them, Father Matheus, had a knowledge of botany and assisted Van Rheede, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, in the compilation of the well-known *Hortus Malabaricus*,

a ponderous work which was published at Amsterdam in twelve volumes between 1676 and 1693. This Father Matheus in 1673 was permitted by Van Rheede to build a church in Chattiata near Ernaculam[73] and in the same year was built a church at Verapoly, on land given rent-free by the Raja of Cochin. On this land is the residence of the Carmelite bishops to this day[74]. As Bishop Chandy was growing old, the permission of Governor Van Rheede was obtained in 1674 for the appointment of a coadjutor and in 1675 powers came from Rome to four Carmelite Fathers to select the coadjutor. Bishop Chandy wished that his nephew Matheus be selected but the four Carmelites passed him over[75] and selected Canon Raphael Figueredo Salgado, a Eurasian of Portuguese descent, who was consecrated at Calicut in 1677 by Bishop Thomas de Castro[76]. The appointment of Bishop Raphael was confirmed by a Pontifical decree dated 24th August 1681 and he was accepted by Bishop Chandy as his coadjutor but the arrangement did not work well. A Portuguese Eurasian could not easily escape friction with Syrian Christians. He practically superseded the aged Bishop Chandy and in 1692 went so far as to excommunicate George, the Vicar-General of Bishop Chandy. These matters being reported to Rome, Bishop Raphael was deposed by a Papal decree dated 16th January 1694 and Custodius de Pinho, Vicar Apostolic in the dominions of the Great Mogul, was named Vicar Apostolic of Malabar. Before this decree could be executed Bishop Raphael died on the 12th October 1695. In the following year Bishop Custodius was relieved of his task and a Carmelite, Father Peter Paul, on September 20th 1696, was appointed as Vicar Apostolic[77].

This Father Peter Paul had influence sufficient to obtain a great benefit for the mission. He was a son of Prince Palma and his mother was a sister of Pope Innocent XII (1691–1700). Peter Paul entered the Carmelite Order in 1673 and came to Malabar in 1678. The Emperor Leopold I appointed him Ambassador at the courts of the Great Mogul and of the Kings of Persia and India. Thus when in 1696 he became Vicar Apostolic, he was a man well known in Europe and his uncle was Pope. Through the good offices of the Emperor Leopold I, Father Peter

Paul obtained from the Senate at Amsterdam a decree, dated April 1st 1698, permitting one bishop and twelve priests of the Carmelite order, being Italians, Germans or Belgians, to reside in the territory but not in the town of Cochin. In return for this formal permission, which cancelled the expulsion of 1663, the Dutch obtained from the Emperor a toleration of the Calvinist religion in Hungary. Father Peter Paul died in the Franciscan Convent at Surat. January 4th 1700 [78].

The post of Vicar Apostolic was then conferred on another Carmelite, Father Angelus Francis [79], who held it for twelve years, during which great changes of jurisdiction took place. Since the death of Archbishop Garcia the Carmelite missionaries had practically been in charge of the diocese of Cranganore. Now Archbishop Ribeiro, S. J., arrived from Portugal and Bishop Angelus at Verapoly told his people that his powers had ceased and that they must now obey the Archbishop. This the Christians refused to do. On June 20th 1704 they held a meeting of protest and they sent to Rome a petition in which they said that through the labours of the Carmelites there were now 71 churches in complete union and 18 in partial union with Rome and only 28 remaining in schism. At Rome it was seen that, although the Carmelite missionaries might obey orders and give way, the Dutch opposition had to be reckoned with. On January 15th 1707, Pope Clement XI wrote to the king of Portugal, acquitting Bishop Angelus and his missionaries of any share in the obstacles put in the way of the Jesuit Archbishop and requesting the Most Faithful King to induce the Dutch to remove these obstacles. Apparently the Dutch were obstinate, for by a decree dated 13th March 1709, Clement XI extended the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic, Bishop Angelus, over the diocese of Cochin and Cranganore and the Pope gave as his reason for this action, that the Dutch refused to tolerate Portuguese Bishops and that the Christians threatened to return to schism rather than obey these bishops. Upon this Archbishop Ribeiro retired to Ambalakada in the territory of the Zamorin, where he was out of the power of the Dutch, and there carried on his work[80]. Bishop Angelus died in 1712 and was succeeded

by Father John Baptist who was Vicar Apostolic until his death in 1750 when Bishop Florentius [81] succeeded and held the office until 1773. At the funeral of Bishop Florentius there arose between the Latin and the Syrian clergy a dissension which was not healed for fifteen years from that date. The successor of Bishop Florentius was Father Francis, who was consecrated in Europe and arrived in India in October 1775. He was overwhelmed by the difficulties of his post [82] and he therefore left his diocese and took shelter in the monastery of his Order on Mount Carmel, where he died July 25th 1787 [83] He was succeeded by Father Aloysius who held office from 1785 to 1802, a period of very bitter disputes with the Romo-Syrians [84]. The next Vicar Apostolic was Father Raymond. During his tenure of office, in November 1806 to February 1807, Dr. Claudius Buchanan, the author of *Christian Researches*, toured among the Syrian Christians. He visited Verapoly and was told by Bishop Raymond that he had 64 churches while the Vicar General of Cranganore had 45. In the year 1816 Bishop Middleton of Calcutta visited Verapoly. The Anglican Bishop was told that under the Vicar Apostolic were eighty thousand souls in 66 Romo-Syrian and 18 Latin churches. Bishop Raymond died on July 7th 1816 and an Irish priest, Father Miles Prendergast, was selected as successor. His zeal for the maintenance of discipline among the clergy made him unpopular so that Pope Leo XII, by orders dated 26th May 1827, recalled Bishop Prendergast to Rome and appointed to Verapoly Bishop Stabilini, the Coadjutor of the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay. Mgr. Stabilini brought with him from Bombay a priest of the fisher caste and he wished in the Verapoly diocese to ordain men of the fisher caste, which created an opposition so bitter that in 1831 Bishop Stabilini obtained the permission of Pope Gregory XVI to retire from the Verapoly diocese. After these two unsuccessful appointments the choice of Propaganda fell on Father Francis Xaxier of St. Anne, a priest sixty years of age who had worked as a missionary in India since 1799 and had in 1815, when Bishop Raymond fell ill, declined to be Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. He was now ordered to accept the mitre which he had refused sixteen years previously and for thirteen years he administered his diocese

in the midst of many troubles caused by disobedient priests of his own flock, by the separated Syrians and by the upholders of the claim of the King of Portugal to an exclusive patronage over Indian missions [85].

Propaganda by a despatch dated 12th May 1845 formed the district of Quilon into a separate charge and appointed as the first Vicar Apostolic of Quilon, Father Bernardin of St. Theresa who was made titular Archbishop of Pharsalia [86]. In 1852 Archbishop Bernardin was transferred to Verapoly, which he ruled until his death in 1868. The administration of Archbishop Bernardin was very rigid and he tried to bring about the reform that had been ordered by Propaganda in 1771. There was a system under which certain Syrian priests, called Malpans, educated in their houses a few youths whom they prepared for the priesthood. Like everything in India this office had become hereditary and when one of these Malpans died his nephew inherited his library and his privilege of training candidates for Holy Orders. Archbishop Bernardin gave notice that he would ordain only such candidates as had passed through one of the large seminaries at Elturuttu, Varakulam, Mannanam and Puttempally and he steadily refused the candidates who came from the domestic seminaries in the houses of Malpans. One result of this strictness was that the Syrian Christians in 1856 sent a deputation to the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon asking him to send them an oriental bishop [87]. In 1868 Archbishop Leonard became Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. He thought that the Latin Catholics would form a sufficient charge and he obtained a Coadjutor, Bishop Marcellinus, for the separate charge of the Syrian Catholics [88].

In 1886 the dispute about the exclusive patronage of Indian missions claimed by the King of Portugal was at last settled by a concordat between Pope Leo XIII and the Most Faithful King, under which with the consent of the King of Portugal, Rome abolished the missionary Vicars Apostolic and in their place established bishops of dioceses. In this arrangement the Portuguese Bishop of Cochin has a diocese composed mainly of strips of the Travancore sea coast, where dwell the fishermen with Goanese sympathies [89]. The Bishop of Cochin is a suffragan of the



SYRIAN CHRISTIAN WEDDING.

Archbishop of Goa, who has the title of Patriarch of the East Indies. The remainder of the Travancore State is under the Archbishop of Verapoly and the Bishop of Quilon. The northern boundary of the diocese of Quilon is the village of Poracad and the river Rani. The historical diocese of Cranganore disappeared, except that the name is still used to give an honorary rank to the Portuguese Bishop of Damaun, who is *ad honorem* Archbishop of Cranganore.

The care of the Romo-Syrians was taken from the aged Bishop Marcellinus, (who died at Verapoly, March 21st 1892,) and was given to two Vicars Apostolic, stationed at Trichur and at Kottayam. For these posts were selected Father Medlycott, a former student of Propaganda, and Father Lavigne, S. J., formerly secretary of Father Beckx, General of the Jesuits. This arrangement lasted until 1896 when the oft repeated request of the Romo-Syrians to have bishops of their own race was at last granted by Rome. The two European Vicars Apostolic were withdrawn and three Syrian priests, Fathers John Menacheri, Aloysius Pareparambil and Matthew Makil were consecrated by the Papal Delegate as Vicars Apostolic of Trichur, Ernaculam and Changanacheri. In this year the aged Archbishop Leonard at Verapoly obtained a Coadjutor in Father Bernard of Jesus, who was consecrated by the Bishop of Quilon, August 9th 1896. Archbishop Leonard died August 19th 1897, was buried at Verapoly and was succeeded by the Coadjutor.

At Ernaculam is a High School under the Rev. Father Eliseus and the Rev. Father Jerome O'Donnell which teaches up to the Matriculation standard and the Archbishop of Verapoly endeavours to enforce the rule that no student shall enter the Seminary before he has passed the Matriculation examination.

Nothing in La Croze's *Christianisme aux Indes* roused Asseman to anger more than did the assertion that monastic institutions were unknown among the Thomas-Christians. Asseman points out that the Nestorians in Asia had numerous monks, that the Bishops sent to the Thomas-Christians were all monks and he contends that

the Thomas-Christians must have had monks. But, except a mention of monasteries by Joseph the Indian, there is nothing to show that the Thomas-Christians had monks among them. The Portuguese make no mention of monks and old Mar Jacob, seeking a shelter for his declining years, found it in a Latin convent. However, the monastic idea has of late years taken deep root among the Romo-Syrians. The corner-stone of the first monastery at Mannanam near Kottayam was blessed on May 31st 1831 by Bishop Stabilini and there are now ten or eleven monasteries. The order is called the Carmelite congregation of the Syro-Malabar Rite under the title of the "Servants of B. V. Mary Immaculate of Mount Carmel." The members of this order were specially zealous in resisting the Chaldean party in Bishop Roccos' time and for that service they received the thanks of Pope Pius IX in a rescript dated 5th September 1861.

At Puttempally near Verapoly is a central seminary conducted by Carmelite Fathers but directly under Rome and not under any local bishop. There are about forty students in this seminary. They come from the Latin diocese of Verapoly and from the Syrian dioceses of Trichur, Ernaculam, and Changanachery. At Quilon there is a seminary with about twenty students. Also, students have been sent from these five dioceses to Kandy and to Rome. The Madras Catholic Directory for 1901 gives the following statistics for the six dioceses, but these include the Cochin State and some small plots of British territory at Cochin, Tangachery and Anjengo :—

Diocese.	Catholics.	Churches.	Schools.	Scholars	Missionaries.	Native priests.
Cochin ...	78,324	70	110	7,386	4	54
Verapoly ...	61,538	52	144	3,500	12	48
Quilon ...	87,600	167	100	4,107	14	32
Trichur ...	91,787	79	178	10,093	0	73
Ernaculam ...	83,864	89	159	7,684	0	114
Changanacheri ...	140,272	138	418	14,328	0	274
Total.....	543,385	595	1,109	56,098	30	595

As mentioned above, a Jacobite Bishop named Gregory came to this coast in 1665[90] and consecrated the Archdeacon Thomas as Mar Thoma I. This Bishop Gregory remained here until his death in 1670[91], two days after the death of Mar Thomas I. The brother of Mar Thomas I succeeded and held office as Mar Thomas II till 1686. His nephew, Mar Thomas III, held office for only ten days. The next Bishop was Mar Thomas IV, who lived until 1728. All these men were members of the Palomattam family which is held in great reverence by the Syrian Christians, as a family which has supplied pastors to the Church from the days of St. Thomas the Apostle.

During these years several clerics came from beyond seas. In 1676 a Jacobite named Andrew Alvaeus arrived and professed to be a Patriarch sent by the Pope. In 1682 he fell into the river at Kallade and was drowned[92]. Three years later, in January 1685, there came from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch two Bishops, John and Basil. Bishop Basil died in Kottamangalam ten days after his arrival, but Bishop John, an author whose poems in Syriac are still extant, lived until 1694 at Mulanturuttu and is said to have consecrated Mar Thomas III and Mar Thomas IV. In the year 1708 there arrived a Nestorian bishop named Gabriel [93] who caused much trouble both to the Roman Catholic Syrians and to the flock of Mar Thomas IV until the death of Gabriel in 1731. Mar Thomas IV was so such annoyed by this Mar Gabriel that he wrote a letter in 1709 to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch complaining of the intrusion of Mar Gabriel. He entrusted this letter to the Dutch authorities at Cochin for transmission to the Patriarch, but when the letter reached Amsterdam it seems to have puzzled the Dutch, who handed it is a curiosity to Dr. Charles Schaaf, lecturer in Oriental Languages at the University of Leyden. Dr. Schaaf in 1714 published the letter with a translation and entered into a correspondence with Mar Thomas IV. In 1720 Mar Thomas IV wrote a second letter to the Patriarch in similar terms. Asseman found a copy of this letter in the archives of Propaganda and he prints the whole letter in Syriac with a Latin translation[94].

On his deathbed in 1728 Mar Thomas IV selected as

his successor his nephew, Mar Thomas V. This successor was uneasy about his lack of valid consecration and to quiet his doubts he strove to obtain consecration from some Asiatic bishop. A Cochin Jew[95] named Ezechiel brought over a Jacobite bishop named John, but, for some reason, he was regarded with suspicion and Mar Thomas V did not accept consecration at his hands. Mar Thomas V then arranged with the Dutch authorities at Cochin to pay them Rs. 4,000 if they would bring over bishops to consecrate him and accordingly on April 23rd 1751 there landed at at Cochin three bishops, Basil, Gregory and John, with credentials dated 23rd July 1749 from Ignatius XXVIII who was from 1733 to 1783 the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch[96]. These bishops also brought written orders from the Patriarch to the Bishop John, whom the Jew Ezechiel had brought to Cochin, directiong that bishop to depart from this coast, which orders that bishop obeyed. A dispute then arose between Mar Thomas V and the three Asiatic Bishops about the payment of their passage money. They refused to consecrate Mar Thomas V before he paid the money and the Dutch Covernor of Cochin became impatient and threatened to deport all four bishops to Batavia unless some one of them paid him the money. The breach between the three bishops and Mar Thomas V was never healed. Independently of them in 1757 he consecrated his nephew and on his death in 1765 this nephew succeeded as Mar Thomas VI and ruled his Church until 1808.

Bishop Basil died in 1763 but Bishop Gregory lived on at Mulanturuttu until his death[97] in 1772 and Bishop John lived at Kayenkulam until his death in 1694. The Raja of Travancore intervened to allay the strife between the bishops and in 1772 Mar Thomas VI was consecrated at Neranam by Bishops Gregory and John and thenceforth he took the name of Dionysius I. As already stated, he lived until[98] 1808 and he saw the English arrive on this coast.

After the English had taken the place of the Dutch on the Malabar coast, this Syrian Church attracted attention. In 1805 the Madras Government sent Mr. Kerr, one of their chaplains, to investigate and to report upon this Church. Portions of his report are given in Buchanan's

Researches. They throw no light upon the history of the Syrians. In 1806 a Calcutta clergyman, Dr. Buchanan, visited Travancore and with the assistance of the Resident, Colonel Macaulay, was able to make a tour among the Syrians and to collect several manuscripts which he afterwards presented to the University of Cambridge. Dr. Buchanan had an interview with the aged Mar Dionysius and discussed with him the possibility of a union between this Syrian Church and the Church of England. On his return to Europe Dr. Buchanan published in the early part of 1811 his *Christian Researches in Asia*, a book which brought to the knowledge of the British public the existence of this Syrian Church in India[99].

Mar Dionysius died in 1808 and was succeeded by his nephew, Mar Thomas VII, whom he had consecrated in 1796, but this successor lived only one year and is said to have consecrated, on his deathbed in 1809, a prelate who succeeded as Mar Thomas VIII. In 1813 the Resident, Colonel Munro, asked a series of questions about the constitution of this Church. The original replies by Mar Thomas VIII are not forthcoming but he is said to have answered that the Church was under the Patriarch of Antioch. Colonel Munro was a strenuous friend of the Christians in Travancore. The endowments still enjoyed by Syrians, Roman Catholics and the London Mission mostly date from Colonel Munro's time[100] and he never ceased to urge the Anglican Church Missionary Society to send clergymen to work among the Syrians. While this step was under discussion, Mar Thomas VIII died in 1815. He is said to have consecrated a successor, Mar Thomas IX, but, if this was so, that successor was put aside and the Archdeacon George was consecrated by Mar Philoxenos of Tholyur and took the name of Mar Dionysius II. In 1816, as the first C. M. S. Missionaries were arriving in Travancore, Mar Dionysius II died and the post was again vacant, as he had consecrated no successor. Recourse was again had to Mar Philoxenos of Tholyur and he in 1817 consecrated a priest named George, who took the name of Dionysius III. The English missionaries worked among the Syrians in entire harmony[101] with Mar Dionysius III until his death in 1825. A priest named Philip was chosen as

his successor and was consecrated by Mar Philoxenos, taking the name of Dionysius IV. By this time the party among the Syrians who disliked the teaching of the English Missionaries began to make themselves heard. The C. M. S. Missionaries were zealous men, but they were of the extreme Low Church or Evangelical school of doctrine in the Anglican Church and they were disposed to disapprove of things in the Syrian churches which others might have left unnoticed[102]. From the first they regarded this Syrian Church as a primitive Church corrupted by contact with Romanism and they wished to remove all ritual and doctrine which could not be "brought to the test of the rule of Scripture[103]." This naturally clashed with the ideas of men who had a conservative liking for the ritual of this Oriental Church and in 1825 letters from the dissatisfied party reached the Jacobite Patriarch at Antioch, who sent to India one Mar Athanasius as Metropolitan of Malabar. This prelate reached Bombay and was there stranded for lack of money, but had the good fortune to meet there Bishop Heber, the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta. Bishop Heber treated Mar Athanasius with the utmost respect, because he was appointed "by the Patriarch sitting in the seat of Simon Cephas, which is at Antioch[104]," and gave Mar Athanasius money for his journey to Travancore. Arrived at Kottayam, Mar Athanasius was very imperious and before long he was openly hostile not only to Mar Dionysius IV but also to the aged Mar Philoxenos of Tholyur. The discord reached such a height that the Travancore Darbar, with the consent of the Resident, resolved to order Mar Athanasius to quit the country. When Bishop Heber heard of this, he wrote to the Resident saying that the sending Mar Athanasius across seas was as bad as the former conduct of the Portuguese[105], but before the Resident received this protest Mar Athanasius had sailed from Cochin.

For fifteen years after this, the dissatisfied party among the Syrians continued to send messages to the Patriarch but no other bishop in that period was sent from Antioch. In 1830 the venerable Mar Philoxenos died and when his influence was gone, Mar Dioysius IV gradually became hostile to the Protestant missionaries. Efforts

made by Bishop Wilson and by others to restore harmony proved fruitless[106] and at length in 1837 Mar Dionysius IV severed all connection with the Anglican missionaries, declaring that he was in communion with the Patriarch of Antioch. Three arbitrators were then appointed to divide the common property. The arbitration ended in 1840 and gave to Mar Dionysius IV the college building at Kottayam[107].

Although the Syrians and the Church Missionary Society had thus formally parted company, the Anglican missionaries had many friends and well wishers amongst the Syrians. Some of these abandoned the Syrian ritual and became members of the Church of England. Others remained Syrian but formed a party hostile to Mar Dionysius IV. This party, as a move against Mar Dionysius IV, hit upon the idea of sending a messenger to the Patriarch and for this purpose they selected a young man named Mathew. This Mathew was a Syrian Deacon who had studied in the college at Kottayam and was in 1837 sent to Madras to continue his studies there. In Madras he was dismissed for misconduct[108] and he returned to Travancore. He was now despatched to Antioch with credentials signed by a number of Syrians. Arriving in 1841 he was hospitably entertained for some months by the Patriarch Elias[109], who after some consideration ordained him priest and consecrated him as bishop and sent him back to Travancore with his written appointment as Metropolitan of Malankara or Malabar. Bishop Mathew landed in 1843, took the name of Athanasius and, armed with this document claimed his office but Mar Dionysius IV, refused to move. He was in possession and he had the support of the Resident. If Mar Dionysius IV had been content with this defensive attitude, he probably would have retained his office for the rest of his life, but he resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country and he sent memorials to the Patriarch saying that the Patriarch had been grossly deceived, that he, Mar Dionysius IV, was submissive to the Patriarch and that Mathew Athanasius was one of the party who inclined towards the Protestant missionaries. The bewildered Patriarch thereupon in 1846 sent his secretary Mar Cyril with full powers and a set of blank papers signed by the Patriarch in order that Mar Cyril might have power

to issue orders in the name of the Patriarch. Mar Cyril arrived in Travancore and reported to the Patriarch that Mar Dionysius IV had given him a friendly reception and to this report the Patriarch in March 1847 wrote exhorting them both to work together and expel Matthew Athanasius. Three months afterwards, in May 1847, the new Patriarch Jacob wrote to them announcing his own succession as Ignatius XXXII and denouncing Matthew as a heretic. This new Patriarch expected Mar Cyril to act with energy and to show results and Mar Cyril, as the simplest mode of driving Matthew from the field, filled up his blank papers with an appointment of himself as Metropolitan of Malabar. Mar Dionysius IV took part in this scheme, made over his office to Mar Cyril and sent to the Resident notice that he had done so, The Travancore Darbar thereupon in 1848 appointed a Committee to meet at Quilon and to report whether the credentials of Mar Athanasius or the credentials of Mar Cyril were genuine. The Committee reported that the credentials of Mar Athanasius were genuine and that he was a native of Travancore, that the credentials of Mar Cyril were forged, that he was a foreigner and that Mar Dionysius IV was a party to the forgery. Upon this report the Travancore Darbar in 1852 placed Mar Athanasius in office and a victory was gained by the party among the Syrians who were favourable to the reforms suggested by the C. M. S. missionaries. Mar Dionysius IV sank into obscurity and nothing more about him is on record. He is said to have died in 1855. Mar Cyril was ordered by the British Resident to quit the territory of Travancore and Cochin. He disappeared and wandered from church to church, begging his bread.

While the Committee at Quilon was sitting, the Patriarch Ignatius XXXII, impatient at the want of success on the part of Mar Cyril, sent to Travancore in 1849 a bishop named Stephen. His arrival caused disturbances among the Syrians and the Resident, General Cullen, ordered him not to interfere with the Syrian churches. Mar Stephanus then appealed to the Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street and in 1857 a despatch was received from London, forbidding any interference and saying that the Syrians must be left to settle their own disputes as they pleased.

The Resident very soon had occasion to act upon this instruction, for in 1857 after five years of quiet Mar Cyril reappeared and stirred up dissensions against Mar Athanasius. In February 1863 the Travancore Darbar gave public notice that any persons who wished to follow Mar Cyril were at liberty to do so, but that they must build for themselves new churches and must leave the adherents of Mar Athanasius in peaceful possession of the existing churches. Probably it was because of this proclamation that Mar Cyril filed a lawsuit, which was managed for him by Joseph, a priest of Kunnankulam, who even went to Madras on this business, but without any success. Defeated in this effort, the party of Mar Cyril in 1865 sent Joseph to the Patriarch of Antioch and the Patriarch consecrated Joseph as Metropolitan. Landing in Travancore in 1866 and taking the name of Dionysius, the Metropolitan claimed the office and on July 4th 1866 received from the Travancore Darbar a reply telling him to come to a compromise with Mar Athanasius or file a suit.

In 1868 Mar Athanasius strengthened his position by consecrating as his successor his cousin, Thomas, and he also made a will leaving everything to his Coadjutor and successor, who took the name of Athanasius and is known as Mar Thomas Athanasius. Next year, 1869, Mar Dionysius made an application to the Government of Madras but they declined to interfere on his behalf. In 1875 Mar Athanasius died and was quietly succeeded by Mar Thomas Athanasius.

Meanwhile in 1872 the Patriarch of Antioch died and was succeeded by Peter who took the name of Ignatius XXXIII. The new Patriarch was not disposed to acquiesce in what he considered as the loss of a portion of his Patriarchate. In 1874 he went to London and had interviews with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other personages but without result. The Patriarch then came to Travancore in 1875 and in June 1876 presided at a Synod of his adherents at Mulanturuttu, which passed resolutions against Mar Thomas Athanasius. Towards the end of 1876 the Patriarch left Travancore and returned to Mardin.

On March 4th 1876 the Travancore Darbar issued a

proclamation that the Darbar abstained from any connection with or appointments in the Syrian Church and that claims to such appointments or to church property must be tried in the courts of law. Acting under this proclamation Mar Dionysius on March 4th 1879 filed in the Alleppey Court a suit against Mar Thomas Athanasius to recover the Kottayam Seminary and other property as the Metropolitan of Malabar duly appointed by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. This suit lingered in the courts for ten years until in 1889 the appellate court at Trivandrum pronounced the final judgment. The court was composed of three Judges, two Brahmans and a European. The European Judge, Mr. Justice Ormsby, pronounced a dissentient judgment, in which he held that this Church until the coming of the Portuguese was Nestorian, that after the breach with Rome in 1653 this Church in 1665 did obtain episcopal orders from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, but that the contention that the consent of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch was required for the due succession of prelates in this Church had not been established and that the suit filed by Mar Dionysius must fail. The two Brahman Judges, as the majority on the Bench, pronouncod a judgment that this Church was, even before the Portuguese period, and is now under the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, that Mar Dionysius was a properly ordained bishop, ordained by the only authority that is competent to ordain bishops of the Syrian Christian Church in Travancore and that he had been accepted at the synod of 1876 by a majority of that community. On these grounds a decision was given in favour of Mar Dionysius and he is now in possession at Kottayam. Without entering in any way upon the merits of this decision, but merely for the information of the reader, it may be mentioned that when Mar Dionysius filed suits in British India and in the Cochin State the decisions were against him, but that in Travancore he laid stress upon the points that in 1813 the bishop replied to the Resident that this Church is under Antioch, that in 1837 the bishop separating from the C. M. S. Missionaries said that this Church was under Antioch and that Mar Athanasius went to Antioch and got possession upon the strength of his Antioch credentials. To this the defendants replied that the bishops who made these statements were ready to

resist any interference by Antioch and that Mar Athanasius was accepted as Metropolitan after the Patriarch of Antioch had disowned and denounced him. The defence contention was that although episcopal orders may have been obtained from Antioch, yet that this Syrian Church in Malabar is an autonomous Church with a custom that each bishop consecrates a successor[110].

In 1893 Mar Thomas Athanasius died and in 1894 two bishops, Mar Joseph and Mar Cyril, consecrated as a successor Titus Mar Thoma, who resides at Maramana and presides over the Syrian Christians who are known in common parlance as the Reformed Syrians and who call themselves the Christians of St. Thomas. They still use a Syriac Liturgy but from that Liturgy they have expunged all passages that involve Invocation of the saints, Prayer for the dead or Transubstantiation.

Mar Dionysius, now at Kottayam, has four suffragan bishops under him. They use the Syriac Liturgy of St. James the Apostle but their ceremonial is said to differ from the ceremonial of the Jacobites at Antioch.

As already stated, Dr. Buchanan was the first to bring this Syrian Church to the knowledge of the British public. His speech at the C. M. S. Anniversary in 1809 and his *Christian Researches in Asia*, published in 1811, aroused attention. Colonel Munro, the British Resident, in Travancore, shortly afterwards applied to some members of the Church of England to send him clergy to instruct these Christians whom he found to be sadly debased by ignorance and by oppression. This application was forwarded to the Church Missionary Society and in 1816 Messrs Bailey, Baker and Fenn were sent out.

These three missionaries were sent to work among the Syrians, while another, the Rev. Mr. Norton, was settled, at the desire of the Resident, in the flourishing seaport of Alleppey.

Mr. Bailey settled at Kottayam, where the Rani of Travancore had endowed a Christian College, built through the influence of Colonel Munro for the education of the Syrian clergy. The college was also the official residence of

the Syrian bishop. Mar Dionysius Joseph, who superintended the building of the college, having died a few days previous to Mr. Bailey's arrival, Mar Dionysius George was consecrated in his place by Mar Philoxenos of Tolyur. Both Mar Dionysius George and Mar Philoxenos were friends of the missionaries and desired the improvement of the Syrian Church. Mr. Fenn became the Principal of the college and was assisted by a European layman, by Syriac Professors and by Sanscrit and Malayalam teachers.

Mr. Bailey began to translate the Scriptures into Malayalam, taking Fabricius' Tamil version as the basis. He was greatly assisted by a Revising Committee, on which Mr. Thompson of the London Missionary Society was a prominent member. A Printing Press and English type arrived from England in 1821 but Malayalam type was not procurable. Mr. Bailey read the subject in the Encyclopedia Britannica and, with the aid of a native blacksmith, made the punches and the type and constructed a wooden press. The Scriptures and Common Prayer, numbers of religious and useful books, and two complete dictionaries of the Malayalam language were issued from this press.

Mr. Baker's special duty was the frequent visitation of seventy-two Syrian Churches, where there were vernacular schools which were attended by Syrian lads and a few Hindus. The C. M. S. furnished books and salaries of teachers for these schools. There was also under Mr. Baker's care a grammar school at Kottayam where English was taught.

In the college at Kottayam some of the students were Syrian deacons but there were also a few Hindu lads. The instruction given comprised Latin, Greek, Mathematics, English, Syriac, Malayalam and Sanscrit. This college, belonging to the Syrians but worked by the C. M. S. missionaries, thus became the first institution in the State of Travancore where English was taught.

The union between the missionaries and the Syrian Church continued from 1816 to 1838. Mar Dionysius George, who had been a friend of the missionaries and wished to reform his Church, died in 1825. Mar Dionysius Philip was consecrated in his stead by Mar Philoxenos of

Tholyur. During the lifetime of Mar Philoxenos things went on smoothly between Mar Dionysius Philip and the missionaries, but Mar Philoxenos died in 1830 and after his death the state of things became unsatisfactory. The bishop disregarded the agreement for a combined system of management and disregarded the college and the parochial schools.

In 1835 Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta visited Travancore and at once saw that the system was unsuccessful. He made a proposition that the Syrian Church should reform itself and at the same time keep its independence. Others in vain attempted to induce the Syrians to come to terms. A synod of the Syrian Church was held and a majority of those present carried a resolution dissolving connection with the Church Missionary Society.

The Travancore Darbar, with the approval of the Government of Madras, appointed arbitrators who divided the endowments of the Syrian college. With the portion allotted to the Society, a new college and chapel were erected at Kottayam and English education was continued in it.

Towards the end of 1838 the Committee of the C. M. S. sent out directions to their Travancore missionaries, that, with the consent of Bishop Wilson, they should commence direct missionary work. This they did and thus commenced the second period of the Society. The separation resulted ultimately in more friendly intercourse with the Syrians. Some thousands of them have joined the C. M. S. congregations and from them have been chosen and ordained the majority of the clergy of the Anglican Mission.

In the C. M. S. Travancore Mission several eminent missionaries have laboured. Besides the trio already mentioned, Benjamin Bailey (1816–1850), Henry Baker (1817–1866), and Joseph Fenn (1817–1826), there were Joseph Peet (1833–1865), John Hawkesworth (1840–1863) and Henry Baker Jun. (1843–1878), all of whom died at their posts. Peet founded the mission at Mavelicara, Hawkesworth that at Tiruvella and Henry Baker Jun. the interesting mission to the hill Araans. John Chapman, (1840–1852), Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, was

the Principal of the college. He was succeeded by Richard Collins M. A. (1854–1867).

Girls' schools were conducted by the wives of most of the early missionaries but chiefly by Mrs. Baker Sen. who managed a school from about 1820 until her death in 1888. Another school was conducted by Mrs. Baker Jun. which was continued by Miss Baker and is still managed by the Misses Baker. Another school by the name of the Buchanan Institution was started at Pallam by Mr. and Mrs. Lash in 1891 for educating native girls and training school mistresses. This has several Branch Schools connected with it. The present Principal is the Rev. E. Bellerby M. A.

The principal station of the Society is at Kottayam. Here is the college already mentioned. Messrs Chapman and Collins have been mentioned as its Principals. Mr. Collins was succeeded by the Rev. J. H. Bishop M. A., Trin. Coll. Cambridge, (1868–1878), who raised it to the Matriculation standard. He was followed by the Rev. C. A. Neve (1878–1888). The Rev. A. J. French-Adams M. A., Balliol Coll. Oxford,succeeded him and raised it to the F.A. standard and from that time it has rapidly developed in numbers. The present Principal is the Rev. F. N. Askwith M. A., Queen's Coll. Cambridge. The strength of the college in 1890 was 590.

The Cambridge Nicholson Institution also in Kottayam was started in 1860 by the Rev. John Hawkesworth for the training of mission agents. Mr. Hawkesworth was succeeded as Principal by the Rev. John Martindale Speechly (afterwards bishop). Divinity classes for the training of candidates for the ministry were started in his time. The Rev. Jacob Thompson M. A , began to send up candidates for the Oxford and Cambridge University Preliminary examinations for candidates for Holy Orders and several have since passed that examination with credit. The C. N. I. is also recognised by Government as an Upper Secondary Training Institution. The Present Principal is the Rev. J. J. B. Palmer B. A.

Other stations of the C. M. S. besides Kottayam are: *Alleppey* which was occupied in 1816 by T. Norton, *Maveli-*

cara founded by Joseph Peet in 1838, *Tiruvella* by John Hawkesworth in 1849, *Pallam* by H. Baker Sen. in 1843, *Mundakayam* by H. Baker Jun. in 1855. The *Alwaye Itinerancy* with headquarters at Alwaye was started in 1868 by the Rev. R. H. Maddox and it has been continued up to date under the following missionaries, Rev. F. Bower, Rev. C. E. R. Romilly, Ven. Archdeacon Caley, Rev. J. H. Bishop and the Rev. I. J. MacDonald. The *Ettumanur Itinerancy*, formerly known as the Mundakayam district, was worked by Rev. A. T. Painter and latterly by the Rev. C. A. Neve.

In the Cochin State, *Trichur* was occupied by the Society in 1842 and *Kunnamkulam* in 1854. The town of Cochin was occupied as early as 1824 and the Rev. James Ridsdale was the first missionary who worked there. The station was afterwards given up but was resumed in 1856. At present there is a native congregation under a pastor connected with the Society.

The Gospel was first preached to the Pulayas of Travancore by John Hawkesworth in the Tiruvella district as early as 1859. Now there are several vigorous congregations of these down trodden classes all over the country.

Several natives have been ordained to the ministry as pastors of the native congregations. The first of these was George Matthan, who was ordained in 1844 and died in 1870. The second was Jacob Chandy who was ordained in 1847 and died in 1870. The next were a group of four ordained in 1856, the Rev. Koshi Koshi, the Rev. O. Mamen, the Rev. G. Kurian and the Rev. J. Tharian.

A Church Council for the management of the several congregations was formed in 1869 and most of the old missionary stations are now under native pastors in connection with the Council, thus relieving the European missionaries for direct evangelistic and educational work.

At first the missionaries were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta but from the printed account of the visitation in 1840 of Bishop Spencer of Madras it appears that the missionaries took licenses from him. They remained

under the Bishop of Madras until 1879 when the Rev. J. M. Speechly was ordained under the Jerusalem Bishopric Act[111] as bishop having supervision over the C. M. S. missionaries in Cochin and Travancore. Upon his resignation, the Rev. E. Noel Hodges M. A., Queen's College, Oxford, Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, Ceylon, was selected as his successor and was also consecrated under the Jerusalem Bishopric Act as a Missionary Bishop. In 1885 Bishop Speechly appointed the Rev. J. Caley as Archdeacon of Kottayam and the Rev. K. Koshi as Archdeacon of Mavelicara. Archdeacon Koshi was the first native of India appointed to that office and for his services in Bible Revision the Archbishop of Canterbury conferred upon him the degree of D. D. in 1891. He died in 1900 and the Rev. O. Mamen was appointed Archdeacon in his stead The Rev. W. J. Richards who came out in 1871 as Vice Principal of the College and afterwards worked as Principal of the C. N. I. and missionary at Alleppey, also got a Lambeth D. D. in 1891 for his services in the revision of the Bible and Prayer book.

The growth of the work of the Society may be understood by the following comparative statement: The adherents of the C. M. S. numbered—

In 1851	3,802.
In 1881	19,505.
In 1890	27,606.
In 1894	30,292.
In 1900	35,910.

STATISTICS OF THE MISSION IN 1900.

Stations	210.
European Clergy	11.
Native Pastors...	28.
Agents of all grades, men & women	597.
Baptized persons	35,930.
Catechumens	5,977.
Communicants	10,713.
Schools	258.
Scholars	12,269.

Income raised.

By voluntary subscriptions	Rs.	12,832.
By Fees &c.	Rs.	7,883.
Total ...	Rs.	20,715.

In July 1864 Miss Blandford began work in Trivandrum under the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society. Sir T. Madhava Rao, the Diwan of Travancore, was in favour of female education and gladly welcomed this lady missionary. A large disused palace in the Fort was set apart for a Girls' School, which was opened in November 1864. At first there were only four pupils, two girls from the Diwan's family and two Sudra girls and for six months no others came. Even three years after the opening of the school there were only eighteen girls on the rolls. A Malayalam school under Native management was then opened in the Fort and this has grown into the large school now existing there. It has always been a rival to Miss Blandford's school and sometimes affected the attendance but in recent years the desire that children should learn English is widespread and the numbers in Miss Blandford's school have been well maintained.

In 1880 the Church of England members of the Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society left that body and founded the Church of England Zenana Mission. Miss Blandford went with them and carried her school with her. The mission in Trivandrum includes this school, a Dispensary and a small Hospital for caste women. Work by the ladies of the C. E. Z. Mission is carried on also at Mavelicara, Kottayam and Trichur.

The London Missionary Society was founded in the year 1795 by an association of Protestant Christians of all denominations and had for its purpose, as its Fundamental Principle still shows, to send "not Presbyterianism, Independency or Episcopacy or any other form of Church order and Government, but the glorious Gospel of the Blessed God." In order to mark its undenominational character it took its name from London, the city in which the Society was founded. Since that date, however, other Societies

have been formed by various denominations and the London Missionary Society has now become identified almost entirely with the Congregational or Independent body of English Nonconformists.

The first missionary of this Society to enter Travancore was the Rev. William Tobias Ringletaube, a native of Prussia. He was an eccentric man but of great force of character. In 1797 he had gone to Calcutta as a missionary sent by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but, for some reason, he "deserted his post"[112] and returned to England. In 1804 Mr. Ringletaube came a second time to India, sent by the London Missionary Society, and took up his situation at Tranquebar where he learned Tamil. Meeting a pilgrim who had come from Travancore, his attention was drawn to that country and in 1806 he visited Trivandrum. The influence of the Resident, Colonel Macaulay, obtained permission from the Raja that Mr. Ringletaube should commence mission work and he accordinaly settled at Mailadi, near Cape Comorin. Until 1816 he travelled incessantly among the villages in South Travancore, preaching, teaching and baptizing and the result of his labours was that nearly one thousand converts received baptism. His report for 1813 gives the number of communicants as 677[113]. In the year 1816 he suddenly left Travancore, "no one seemed to know why, only that something appeared to have come into his strange head of other more hopeful work somewhere to the eastward. At Madras he called on the Rev. M. Thompson, with whom he spent an evening in a very ordinary costume, for even then he had no coat, although about to undertake a sea voyage: the only covering for his head was something like a straw hat of native manufacture: yet, wild as was his appearance, Mr. Thompson was greatly interested in his conversation and helped him on his way. Thus did poor Ringletaube close his missionary career. No one knew whither he went, nor was he ever heard of again."[114]

The native Catechist whom Mr. Ringletaube had left in charge of his congregation kept it together and proudly paraded it when the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta came over the Aramboli pass on his way to Travancore. In 1818 Messrs C. Mead and Richard Knill arrived and took over

this mission. Mr. Mead spent a long life in Travancore. These missionaries, like their predecessor, owed much to the kindness of the British Resident, Colonel Munro. Under his influence the Darbar granted an extent of rice land to Ringletaube for mission purposes and now the Residency Bungalow at Nagercoil was in the same way made over to the Society for Mr. Mead's use. The Resident also tried the experiment of appointing missionaries to official positions, Mr. Mead becoming Civil Judge of Nagercoil and Mr. Norton of the C. M. S. becoming Civil Judge of Alleppey, but this experiment lasted only one year because the Committees of the Societies in London forbade any such assumption of civil duties.

The years immediately succeeding were years of great prosperity to the mission. In 1819 the foundation of the church at Nagercoil was laid and by 1820 about three thousand persons, mostly Shanars, had placed themselves under instruction. In 1821 a mission was commenced at Quilon by the Rev. John Smith, and in 1827 the Southern district was divided and a new station was opened at Neyoor. The converts during this time had benefited by the education and general protection of the mission and had so far risen in the social scale as to excite the jealousy of their neighbours. This was particularly the case with the women, many of whom had been trained and educated by the wives of the missionaries and, contrary to the old rules for the lower castes, had ventured to decently clothe themselves above the waist. This innovation was made the occasion for threats and violence. From 1827 to 1830 many disturbances took place, during which chapels and schools were burned and many of the converts were maltreated. Similar disturbances arose from the same cause nearly thirty years later in 1858–9, but Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras, interfered and a proclamation was issued in July 1859 granting permission to women of the lower castes to wear a cloth over breast and shoulders. The number of the converts during these years steadily increased and as they grew in numbers they made advances in education and in material prosperity. The growth of the mission demanded new stations and in some cases the sub-division of the old districts. The Rev. John Cox settled at Trivandrum

in 1838 and in 1848 a new station was opened at Parachalay, some fifteen miles north of Neyoor. In 1866 the old district of Nagercoil was again divided and Tittuvilai, a fresh district, was formed. In 1894 a second missionary was stationed in Trivandrum and in 1895, Attingal, midway between Quilon and Trivandrum, was occupied as a new station.

In addition to the purely spiritual work of spreading the Christian religion, the missionaries of the London Missionary Society have been the pioneers of progress in secular education. Side by side with his chapels Ringletaube established schools for poor children. Education was the chief work of the Rev. C. Miller, J. O. Whitehouse and J. Duthie, under whom the large school at Nagercoil became first a High School and later, in 1892, a Second Grade College. In this institution two Diwans of Travancore and many other officials of this State have received their education in part or in whole. One of the Headmasters of the Nagercoil High School, Mr. Roberts, was invited by the Rajah about 1835 to open an English School in Trivandrum and he did so upon the condition that he should be permitted to teach the Scriptures in the new school. This condition was readily granted and from this school the present College of His Highness the Maharaja has grown.

Mr. Mateer, a missionary of this Society, wrote two books, *The Land of Charity* and *Native Life in Travancore*, which are standard works of popular information about this State.

The first medical missionary of this Society was Mr. Archibald Ramsay, a qualified surgeon, who arrived at Nagercoil in 1838. He had not, however, opened the first hospital when in 1848 he retired from the Mission. He was succeeded, after an interval of ten years, by Dr. C. C. Leitch who commenced work from Neyoor as a centre. Within a year of his arrival he was drowned while bathing in the sea at Muttam, but the work which he commenced has grown under his successors, Drs. Lowe, Thomson, Fry and Fells, and it is now one of the most extensive medical missions in India. It has branch hospitals and dispensaries in all the principal mission stations and it succours annually eighty-thousand patients.

Another interesting and valuable branch of missionary activity is the manufacture of lace by native women, an industry which was commenced by Mrs. Mault very early in the history of the mission. This industry has since been fostered and extended by successive missionary ladies and has furnished profitable employment to large numbers of native women. The lace produced is of a very fine quality and has received high awards at various exhibitions in London, Madras, Paris and Chicago. At Neyoor and other stations embroidery of most excellent quality is worked by women of the mission under the superintendence of the wives of the missionaries.

Mission Presses were at work for some years in the stations of Quilon, Neyoor and Nagercoil, but in 1853 the work was concentrated at Nagercoil, where large numbers of school books, Scriptures and religious publications are produced annually. It is computed that not less than ten million Christian publications have been issued by these presses.

The work of the London Missionary Society in Travancore is remarkable for the extent to which the churches founded by its agency have become self-supporting and, to a great extent, self-governing. The training of a ministry native to the soil has been one great care of the missionaries and they have delegated the care of the churches as much as possible to this native ministry.

STATISTICS FOR 1900.

Districts.	Churches.	Schools.	Scholars.	European clergy.	Native clergy & preachers.	Adherents.
Nagercoil ...	77	90	3,576	4	66	11,466
Tittuvilai ...	16	18	646	0	21	2,993
Neyoor ...	67	61	3,906	4	107	11,819
Parachalay ...	85	78	3,281	1	72	19,291
Trivandrum ...	53	45	1,559	1	46	12,692
,, Do. city ...	11	15	556	1	14	1,594
Attingal ...	12	21	483	1	17	863
Quilon ...	20	30	1,283	1	28	3,234
Total	341	358	15,290	13	371	63,152

The Salvation Army, which was introduced into India in 1882 by Commissioner Tucker, came to Travancore in 1889. Three years later, under the teaching of some of its officers, a considerable number of pople in the low caste villages of the Agastesvaram and Tovala taluqs professed Christianity and urged the Army to establish schools and permanently station officers in their midst, offering for this purpose in some instances the buildings and ground hitherto used for their Hindu worship. During the year 1892 the work rapidly spread and in some instances whole villages joined the army *en masse*. This change of religion on the part of the servants appeared at first to give great offence to their higher caste neighbours and masters. Difficulties and misunderstandings arose in consequence, often resulting in not a little suffering to the newly made converts. The marked improvement that has since taken place in the morals and conduct of the converts has largely removed any feeling of that sort. In 1894 large extensions were made in the Kulkulam and Kolasegaram districts and three years later an entirely new work was opened amongest the Puliyers of North Travancore, resulting in considerable accessions being received from amongst this down trodden community in the neighbourhood of Mavelikarai and Changanacheri.

In 1896 in answer to the petition of a large number of adherents, who found a difficulty in obtaining proper medical treatment in times of sickness, an out-door dispensary was opened at the Headquarters at Vadaseri. This experiment proved so successful and was so much appreciated, that in 1898 a small Hospital was erected and was placed in charge of a competent medical officer. This hospital has continued to grow in popularity and usefulness and is now freely resorted to by all classes of the community. At the commencement of 1901, Dr. Percy Turner arrived from England and took charge of this Department, together with the training of a number of young men for medical work. Considerable building extensions have been made and include a surgical ward and a laboratory.

In 1894 two boarding schools for the education of the children of officers of the Army were established. These have since been affiliated with two small orphanages opened

for the accommodation of some thirty-six children received by the Army from the famine districts of Central India. In addition to the above, fifty Vernacular and one English primary school have been opened in needy village centres, with an attendance of about twelve hundred and fifty children.

In the early part of 1900 two experimental village Banks, each with a capital of one thousand rupees, were opened on the lines of the Banks opened by the Army in Western India.

STATISTICS.

European officers	...	10
Indian officers ...	...	157
Teachers ...	...	57
Adherents ...	...	5,290

NOTES.

(1). The great majority of Roman Catholics throughout the world follow the Latin Rite which is in use at Rome, but there are some other Rites in use in the Roman Catholic Church, even in the West. For instance, there is the old Latin Rite called the Ambrosian Rite at Milan and there is the Mozarabaic Rite used in the Toledo Cathedral. In the East there are eleven Churches in union with Rome which keep their own Oriental Rites. These Rites are the Armenian, the Coptic, the Greek, the Greco-Bulgarian, the Greco-Melchite, the Greco-Roumanian, the Greco-Ruthenian, the Syriac, the Syro-Chaldaic, the Syro-Maronite, and, lastly, the Syro-Malabar Rite of this coast.

(2). There are four Patriarchs of Antioch in communion with Rome, the Latin, the Maronite, the Melchite and the Syriac Patriarchs. The Jacobite Patriarch is not in communion with Rome. He usually resides at the monastery of Mardin. The Jacobites hold the monophysite doctrine taught by Eutyches, an Archimandrite of the fifth century. Opposing the Nestorians he went too far in the other direction and taught that in Christ there is only one Nature, the Divine Nature, and that when Christ was born of the Virgin Mary he bore only the likeness of man but was not really man. This doctrine was taught by Jacobus, Bishop of Edessa from 541 to 578, with such energy that the holders of this doctrine have since been known as Jacobites.

(3). The name Reformed Syrians will be used in the text because it denotes a certain body of Syrian Christians. All the Syrian Christians whatever creed they may now hold, are Christians of St. Thomas, and to give that name to one body of Syrian Christians causes ambiguity.

(4). The Church at Neranam is supposed to be one of the oldest buildings in Travancore. This is the site of one of the seven churches founded by St. Thomas. In Ward and Connor's Survey of Travancore it is said that there is an inscription in the church at Neranam recording some repairs in the thirteenth century. No such inscription can be seen now. The only inscriptions at the Neranam church are on two gravestones and are in old Malayalam as follows:—

(*a*). ൯൨–ാമാണ്ടു മെടം ഞായർ ൯–ാംനു മെല്പ്രാൽ തൊമ്മൻ ചാണ്ടി.

(*b*). കൊല്ലം ൭൯–ാമാണ്ടു കർക്കടകം ഞായർ ൨൪–ാംനു ചെറിയാൻ തൊമ്മൻ കത്തനാർ.

(*a*). Melpral Thommen Chandy on the 9th day of the month of Medom of the year 92.

(*b*). Cheriyan Thommen Cattanar on the 24th day of the month of Karkadagam of the Kollam year 799.

These dates are equivalent to A. D. 917 and A. D. 1624.

The other churches said to be founded by St. Thomas were at Quilon, Chayil, Chockamangalam, Maliancara, Kottakawe and Palur.

(5). Bishop Medlycott, formerly Vicar Apostolic at Trichur, has in preparation a monograph upon *St. Thomas in India*, which will fully deal with the subject.

(6). Archdeacon Robinson of Madras in a paper read on August 8th 1833 and printed in the Journal of the Madras Literary Society, i. 343, says of the decrees of the Synod of Diamper:—

"The value of this document is very great to the protestant Churches of the West, as bearing ample testimony to the great number of points of doctrine and discipline, in which they differ equally with ourselves from the corruptions of Rome. We are accused of innovation and modern heresy: but here, according to the written testimony of our adversaries themselves, is a Church wonderfully preserved by the merciful Providence of the Divine Saviour in the midst of a heathen land from the earliest and purest ages—in all probability from the days of the Apostles, without any communication or intercourse with the Churches of Europe: and yet agreeing in very many of the most essential points in which the Protestants of Europe have resisted the corruptions of the Romanists. These points as collected by Geddes from Gouvea's history are briefly these. They are said, 1. Not to adore images: 2. To hold but three sacraments, baptism, the Eucharist and orders: 3. To make no use of oils: 4. To have had no knowledge of confirmation or extreme unction. 5. To abhor auricular confession. 6. To hold many enormous errors about the Eucharist, insomuch that Gouvea saith he is inclined to believe that the hereticks of our times (meaning Protestants), the revivers of all forgotten errors and ignorances, might have had their doctrines about the Eucharist from them. 7. To ordain such as have been married several times and those who had married widows and to approve of her priests marrying as often as they have a mind. 8. That she abhors the Pope and the Church of Rome as Anti-Christian, in pretending to a superiority and jurisdiction over other Churches."

(7). Nestor became Archbishop of Constantinople in 428, was condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431 and was expelled from his See. He taught the doctrine that Christ had two Persons, a Divine Person and a Human Person, and that the Infant born of the Virgin Mary was not God but a mere man. The doctrine upheld against him by the Council of Ephesus is that Christ is one Person with two Natures, Human and Divine.

"The heresy of Nestorius, which spread in the fifth century of our era, consisted principally in the dogma, that there were two Persons in Jesus Christ: one Jesus the man, brought forth by the Virgin, the other proceeding from the word of God: and that the Incarnation was not the hypostatic union of the Divine Word with the Human Nature, but the simple indwelling of the Word in the Man, as in a temple. The Jacobites admitted only one Person, but without mixture of the Divine and Human Nature." Huc. *Christianity.* i. 67, note.

The Synod of Diamper said that this church had been Nestorian for 1200 years.

(8). The case put forward by those Syrian Roman Catholics that uphold this view, is that the Christians on this coast always courteously received any bishops who came to them from over the seas and even made use of these to ordain or consecrate, but it does not follow that they always accepted the doctrines taught by these bishops. Also, historians have been too ready to regard any Asiatic bishop as a Nestorian but the bishops who came to this coast may have been good Catholics. There always was a tendency among the Nestorian bishops to make overtures to Rome and on three or four occasions there was an actual reconciliation with Rome. When the Portuguese came they were very ignorant of Oriental Churches and did not understand the position of the Syrians, but Francis Xavier praised Jacob as a good Catholic and the next two bishops, Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham were in open communion with the Holy See, so that before the diocesan Synod of Diamper the Syrian Church on this coast was in union with Rome.

(9). The case put forward by the Jacobite Syrians is that the Patriarchate of Babylon was under Antioch and, therefore, when in 345 the Church on this coast obtained assistance from Seleucia it came under Antioch,

There is some slight support in history for this contention. Day in his *Land of the Perumals*, p. 216, mentions a Jacobite bishop from Alexandria who came to India in 696. There are two passages in the *India Orientalis Christian* of Paolo a S. Bartolomeo. In a note on p. 25 it is said that Renaudot quotes Allatius as saying that the Patriarchs of Antioch claimed to have jurisdiction in India but that there is no record showing that they ever sent bishops here. On p. 94 Nilus Doxopatrius is quoted as saying in 1043 that the authority of Antioch extended over Asia, the East and the Indias, but that the Patriarch sent no bishops. There is also a passage in the *Travels of Joseph the Indian*, "This Peter no sooner left Antioch to go to Rome than he appointed a Vicar at Antioch, and this Vicar govers the Eastern world, and is called Catholicus and holds the place of Peter." Asseman, in discussing this passage says that the hearers who thought that Joseph spoke of Antioch *toto coelo errabant* were altogether wrong because Joseph must have been speaking of the Nestorian Patriarch. In 1652 the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch sent a bishop named Ahatalla or Mar Ignatius and since then has sent bishops from time to time. The weak point in this case is that the Patriarch with whom they have had relations since 1652 is the Jacobite Patriarch.

(10). It is said that St. Thomas selected his clergy from two families, the Shankarapuri family, which became extinct, and the Palomattam family, which supplied rulers of this Church until 1807.

(11). This statement was made in the comments sent in by the Reformed Syrians on the draft of this work.

(12). Peter Jarri, S. J. *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*. t, 3, pt. 2, page 339 of the first edition printed at Cologne.

(13). The Portuguese writers say that soon after the death of the Apostle there was a persecution at Mailapur and that the Christians fled thence to the Malabar coast. No authority is given for this story. The eminent Orientalist, Dr. Burnell, suggested that the origin of this Church in South India was Gnostic or Manichean but there seem to be no grounds to support that surmise. On the contrary, the Syrian Christians have a tradition that this infant Church was persecuted by Manicheans. "It is said that the Syrian Christians were sorely tried by a heathen conjurer (the poet Manika Vachakar?) and that 96 families yielded and were called Manigramakar and eight families stood fast and were called Dhariyaikal." *Madras Journal* xiii. 119. Some of the Manigramakar lived in a village near Quilon until recent years, *Madras Journal*, xiii. 146.

(14). The arrival of Thomas Cana and the reign of Cheruman Perumal have been placed by some writers four centuries after this date, perhaps because the usual legend is that Cheruman Perumal went to Arabia and there became a Mahomedan. But Day in his *Land of the Perumals*, 43, note, says that Cheruman Perumal reigned from 341 to 378 and then went on pilgrimage. De Faria, in his *Portuguese Asia* i. 100, says that the pilgrimage was to Mailapur. Visscher, in his *Letters fram Malabar*, 167, says:—"Like Charles V the aged monarch, weary of the cares of State, retired to console his declining years with religion and solitude and, taking up his abode within the precincts of a sacred pagoda in the Cochin territory, died full of years A. D. 352."

Bishop Medlycott, formerly Vicar Apostolic at Trichur, in his suggestions for this book, says that there must have been copper plates in existence in the Portuguese period, evidencing grants from Cheruman Perumal to Thomas Cana and his followers. Gouvea's *Jornada*, 4. says that Mar Jacob entrusted these copper plates to the Portuguese Factory at Cochin and that through carelessness they were lost. De Couto in his *Asia* says the same thing. Seventh Decade, pt. i. 15, Twelfth Decade, pt. ii. 283. Gouvea's

Jornada, 97, says that when Archibishop Menezes was at Tevalicare the Christians spoke of these plates but also showed to the Archbishop three large copper plates on a ring bearing a grant to Mar Xabro and Mar Phrod, by the king who founded Quilon. Bishop Medlycott says that a Manuscript volume dated 1604 in the British Museum containing reports of the Jesuits on this coast has a Portuguese version of the grants on Cheruman Perumal's copper plates. It is a little fuller than the version given by De Couto's *Asia*, Twelfth Decade, last part, 283. It is follows:—

"May Cocurangon be prosperous and have long life and live a hundred thousand years, divine servant of the Gods, strong, true, just, full of good works, reasonable, powerful over the whole earth, happy, conquering, glorious, prosperous rightly in the service of the Gods, in Malabar in the city of the Great Idol.

During his reign in the time of Mercury, on tho seventh day of March before the full moon, the same King Cocurangon, being in Carnellur, there landed Thomas Cananeo, a chief man, who arrived in a ship determined to see the farthest parts of the East. And some men seeing how he arrived, informed the King. The King himself came and saw and sent for the same chief man Thomas, and he disembarked and came before the King who spoke graciously to him. To honour him he gave him his own name, Cocurangon Cananeo and he received this honour from the King and went to rest in his place. And the King gave him the city of Mogoderpatanam for ever. And the same King being in this great prosperity, went one day to hunt in the jungle and the said King enclosed the whole jungle. And he called Thomas hastily who came and stood before the King in a propitious hour? and the King questioned the Astrologer. And afterwards the King spoke to Thomas that he should build a town in that jungle, And he made reverence and answered the King: I require this jungle for myself. And the King granted it to him and gave it for ever. And forthwith, another day he cleared the jungle and he cast his eyes upon it in the same year on the eleventh of April and gave it for a heritage to Thomas in a propitious time and day in the name of the King, who laid the first stone for the Church and for the house of Thomas Cananeo, and he built there a town for all and he entered the church and prayed there on the same day. After these things Thomas himself went to the feet of the King and offered him presents and after this he asked the King to give that land to him and his decendants. And he measured out two hundred and sixty four elephant cubits and gave them to Thomas and his decendants for ever, and jointly sixty-two houses which were immediately erected there and gardens with their circumferences and their paths and boundaries and inner yards. And he granted him seven kinds of musical instruments and all the honours, and to travel in a palanquin and that at weddings his women should whistle with the finger in the mouth as do the women of the Kings and he conferred on him dignity and the privilege of spreading carpets on the ground and to use sandals and to erect a pandal and to ride on elephants. And besides this he granted five taxes to Thomas and his posterity and to his associates (confederados) both men and women, and for all his relations and to the followers of his faith for ever. The said King gave his name and these princes witnessed it:—

Cadaxericenden,
Cherucara,
Putanchate,
Comeren, Doorkeeper of the King,
Arcunden Counden, of the King's Council,
Amenate Counden,
Gerulem, Captain of the Camp,
Chiranmala Portati Reforamem, Governor of East Malabar,
Peni Incalatia Tanditen, Singer of the said King,

Perubelenatacattoconte, Guardian of the Port,
Bichremenchinguen of Carturte, Chamberlain of the King,
Ananiperumcovil, wrote these affairs with his own hand.

This Notarial Act (escritura) of the lowland of Cranganore which the Emperor of all Malabar gave to Thomas Cananeo the Armenian and also to the Christians of St. Thomas."

Here the grant ends but the MSS, in the British Museum goes on to say that it is a thousand two hundred and fifty and eight years since Perumal died on the first of March. That would give A. D. 346 as the date of Perumal's death.

The French traveller, Anquetil du Perron, who visited Verapoly in January 1758 got from Bishop Florentius a Sanscrit version of a grant by Cheruman Perumal on three copper plates said to be preserved by the Christians of Quilon. This Sanscrit version, a Syrian Priest, through the medium of bad Portuguese, interpreted to Du Perron and from his verbal interpretation Du Perron wrote a French version, which is given in his *Zend-avesta*, 175. It in no way resembles the Portuguese version which has been given above. There are other versions of this grant current among the Syrian Christians. They differ from each other and can be of no historical value. The copper plates which Colonel Macaulay found in the Cochin Record room in 1806 he gave to the Syrians and they are now at Kottayam.

Before leaving the subject of Thomas Cana, some mention must be made of the division of the Syrian Christians into Northerners and Southerners, a division which exists to this day. The explanation given by Portuguese writers is that the Northerners are the descendants of Thomas Cana by his first wife and that the Southerners are the descendants of a second wife, a Malabar woman who was baptised and then married Thomas. This explanation cannot be accepted because there were Christians here before the arrival of Thomas Cana and his followers also had children so that all the Syrian Christians cannot be descendants of Thomas Cana. The Southerners are a small minority so far as numbers go. Anquetil du Perron in note 4 on page 179 of his *Zend-avesta*, points out that the Southerners keep the Era of the foundation of Quilon, August 822, and that the Northerners keep the Era of Vaipin, September 1341. Perhaps this may suggest a solution of the problem. The Northerners may be the Christians who lived near Cranganore, reinforced by Thomas of Cana and his party. The Southerners may be the Christians who lived near Quilon, reinforced by the party of Mar Xabro and Mar Prohd.

(15). Day, in his *Land of the Perumals*, 215, speaks of a Bishop named Frumentius, with episcopal authority in South India, about 365, but Hough, *Christianity in India*, i, 62 to 68, shows that this Bishop Frumentius was in Ethiopia and not in India. See Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, under October 27th, for St. Frumentius of Ethiopia.

(16). Simon Joseph Asseman was a Syrian Christian of the Maronite Rite, employed in the Vatican Library as Scriptor of the Syriac and Arabic languages. In 1715 he was sent by Pope Clement XI to travel in quest of Oriental manuscripts and to edit those already in the Vatican. The result of his labours is four folio volumes, published in 1719, 1721, 1725 and 1728. A copy of this work, in splendid order, is in the library of the Romo-Syrian Bishop at Trichur, There is another copy at Verapoly. The fourth volume is sometimes cited as t. iii, pt. ii. It is so cited in the well known judgment of Mr. Justice Ormsby. Here the fourth volume will be cited as t. iv. There was another Asseman, Joseph Aloysius Asseman, Professor of the Syro-Chaldaic language in the College of Propaganda. He published in 1775 a Commentary on the Chaldean and Nestorian Patriarchs. When a citation is made of Asseman, it refers to the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of the elder Asseman.

(17). An account of the Chinese stone is given in Appendix 7, volume v. of Bury's edition of Gibbon, London: Methuen & Co., 1898. The following description of the Chinese stone is given by Father Alvarez Semedo in his *Relazione della Cina*, Rome: 1643. "In the year 1625 whilst the foundations of a house were a-digging in the neighbourhood of the city of Singanfu, the capital of the province of Shensi, the workmen hit upon a stone slab more than nine palms long, by four in width, and more than a palm in thickness. The head of this slab, i. e., one of the ends in its longer dimension, is finished off in the form of a pyramid more than two palms high with a base of more than one palm, and on the surface of this pyramid is a well formed cross with floreated points, resembling those which are described to be sculptured on the tomb of St. Thomas at Meliapur. Passing afterwards through Cochin on my way to Cranganore, the residence of the Archbishop of the coast, I consulted on the subject of the letters on this stone, Father Antonio Fernandez of our Society, who was very learned in the literature of these St. Thomas Christians and he told me that the letters were Syriac and the same as were in use by that body." (In this Father Semedo must have misunderstood Father Fernandez, who may have said that the letters were like the letters on the stones in possession of the Syrians.) See note x, page clxxxi of *Cathay and the way thither*, Hakluit Society, 1866.

(18). In the litigation between the Jacobite Syrians and the Reformed Syrians the Travancore Courts have given the possession of these copper plates to the Jacobites and they are now in the Seminary at Kottayam. One plate is now missing. As already said in note 14 these grants were deposited by Mar Jacob about 1530 in the Factory at Cochin and were found there by Colonel Macaulay in 1806. A description of these plates with a translation will be found in *Madras Journal*, xiii, page 121. The following extract is interesting in connection with the remark of John de Marignoli that the Christians had charge of the public weighing, "the brokerage and customs of all that may be measured by the para, weighed by the balance, stretched by the line, of all that may be counted or carried."

(19). *Cathay and the way thither*, i. 197, 214. Huc. i. 349.

(20.) About Bishop Jordan see page vii of Col. Yule's preface to the Hakluit edition of the *Mirabilia*, London: 1863. See also *Cathay and the way thither*, i. 184, 185.

(21.) *Cathay and the way thither*, i. 73 to 81.

(22.) *Cathay and the way thither*, ii. 342 to 345.

(23). The church may be the old church which the Portuguese found in Quilon *fatto al modo nostro mediocre*. The pillar erected by Marignoli may be the pillar mentioned by the Dutch Chaplain Baldaeus, "Upon the rocks near the sea shore of Coulang stands a stone pillar, erected there, as the inhabitants report, by St. Thomas. I saw the pillar in 1662." Day in his *Land of the Perumals*, 212, says that this pillar still exists. Howard in his *Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, 9, note, says, "Mr. D'Albedhyll, the Master Attendant at Quilon, told me that he had seen this pillar, and that it was washed away only a few years ago."

(24). Asseman. iii. 589.

(25). The Syrian form of the name George is Geverghese, but the first syllable is often dropped, hence the name Verghese among the Syrian Christians.

(26). Nosardel Sunday in the Chaldean Calendar is the first Sunday of Summer and the seventh after Pentecost.

(27). In the Trivandrum Library is an anonymous *Collection* of *Voyages and Travels*, London: Thomas Astley, 1745, and on page 48 there is the following note on Cabral's voyage to Cochin. "This Joseph lived to get to Portugal and is the *Josephus Indus*, under whose name there is a Voyage given by *Grynaeus*, containing twelve pages: But properly it is no more than an account of Kranganor and its inhabitants, (particularly the Christians and their religious rites,) but very short and not very satisfactory. Nor is this any wonder, since *Grynaeus*, or whoever took the relation from Joseph's mouth, tells us he could scarce understand him." However, it must be admitted that Joseph Aloysius Asseman in his *Commentary on the Chaldean and Nestorian Patriarchs*, Preface, pages x and xxiv, treats Josephus Indus as as serious authority.

(28). Gouvea, 5. De Couto's *Decadas*, last part of twelfth decade, 289. *Three Voyages of Vasco de Gama*, Hakluit Society, p. 354, note. Geddes' *History of the Church in Malabar*, 3.

(29). Ludovico di Varthema, an Italian traveller, passed down this coast about 1505. At Kayankulam, about twenty miles north of Quilon, he says, "In this city we found some Christians of those of St. Thomas, some of whom are merchants and believe in Christ, as we do. These say that every three years a priest comes there to baptise and that he comes to them from Babylon. These Christians keep Lent longer than we do: but they keep Easter like ourselves and they all observe the same solemnities that we do. But they say Mass like the Greeks. They use four names, John, James, Matthew and Thomas." Hakluit Society's publication. 1863.

The Portuguese seem to have regarded the Thomas-Christians with a curiosity mingled with dislike. "After we Portuguese had become masters of the coast from Cranganore to Quilon, many of these Christians came down from the mountains to live in our fortresses; but as they were of a different rite and were schismatics, and we found ourselves obliged to eat fish on our days of fasting, and to begin Lent on Ash Wednesday, and as we could never suffer their clergy to celebrate with leavened bread, one would put off for another occasion any climbing of the Mountains to live among these people. And now, after they have been reduced, they so dislike our judicial procedure that they cannot abide among us. And the Portuguese may well despair of gaining the good will of Oriental nations in matters of justice, so long as we decide cases with greater expedition and brevity, as do the nations of the North, which much suits the better character of the countrymen." *Oriente Conquistado*, ii. page 70.

The constant references to the mountains may be explained by the fact that the Portuguese did not leave the coast and that the range of mountains fifty miles inland does form a very conspicuous object from the coast. The Portuguese came to the conclusion that the Christians lived on these mountains and called them the Christians of the Serra, a name which lingered even to the days of the Dutch.

(30). The New Testament was translated into Syriac on Wednesday the 6th March 1510 at Scigla which means Cranganore. *Commentary* of Joseph Aloysius Asseman, 212. *Cathay and the way thither*, 75, note.

(31). It does not appear where Archdeacon Robinson got his idea that the Thomas-Christians were poor and defenceless. They were wealthy and they were fighting men. Gouvea, page 28, says, *Porque os Christanos de Sam Thome sam a melhor gente de guerra, mais esforcada, e destra na espingarda de todo o Malavar.* "Because the Christians of St. Thomas are the best soldiers, more courageous and handy with the musket, in the whole of Malabar." Father Nicholas Pimenta S. J., Visitor, writes on December 21st 1599 a report to Father Claudius Aquaviva, General of the Society, upon the

Synod of Diamper and says that the Thomas-Christians can place in array thirty-thousand armed men for the cause of Portugal. Archdeacon Robinson's remark will be found in *Madras Journal*, i. 96.

(32). *Oriente Conquistado*, i. 130.

(33). The letters of Francis Xavier here and below are taken from the *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, by the Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S. J. London: Quarterly Series, Manresa Press.

(34). The name of the Maharaja of Travancore was Marthanda Varma, but Francis Xavier calls the Maharaja by the curious name Iniquitribirim, which has puzzled commentators. A possible explanation is that this stands for *Enakku Tamburan*, meaning Our Prince. This is vulgar Tamil, but from the words of the Lord's Prayer in Tamil, which Francis gives in one of his letters, it appears that Francis spoke the vulgar Tamil of his fisher converts on the coast and they, in their rude speech, would called the Maharaja *Enakku Tamburan*.

The story that Francis Xavier went to meet the Madura troops, crucifix in hand, and that they retired before him, is told in *Oriente Conquistado*, i. 143. It is there said that the Maharaja received Francis exclaiming, "They call me the Great King, but hereafter for ever they will call you the Great Father!" Coleridge. *Life and letters of St. Francis Xavier*, i. 214, places this incident in July 1544 and Father Martin, S. J. fixes the scene of the retreat of the Madura troops on a plain two leagues north of Kottar and says that the altar and sanctuary of the church at Kottar are on the site of the hut in which Francis Xavier lived and taught. *Mission du Madure*, iv. 18.

(35). Dr. Claudius Buchanan in a letter dated 1st November 1806 tells the following story:—"There was an insurrection of the Nayars in Travancore last year, against the Rajah: three battalions of his Nayar body-guards revolted and sought to kill the British Resident and the Rajah and the present minister. Colonel Macaulay fled to Cochin. The Rajah called in the Christian fishermen from the coast to defend him against the Nayers. They assembled at Trivandrum in immense numbers, each man armed with a short bludgeon. The bowmen from the hills appeared at the same time in the Rajah's behalf, and the Nayars laid down their arms and fled. About fifty of the ringleaders were seized and hanged. The battalions were broken and the Rajah accepted of a subsidiary force from the English." Pearson's *Memoirs of Claudius Buchanan*. London: Seeley, 1846. p. 238.

(36). The word Abuna is a term of respect sometimes prefixed to the names of Syrian Bishops. The title Mar is the Syriac equivalent of the Latin *dominus*. The word Armenian used in this letter may have been Aramean in the original. It is noteworthy that in this letter St. Francis Xavier states that the old Bishop conformed to the Roman Church, and there is a curious passage in *Oriente Conquistado*, ii. 71, which says that some priests said Mass in Syriac in their own churches and in Latin when they came in to Cochin. *Quando nos dominavamos a costa do Malabar, havia Clerigos, que nas egrejas da Serra diziao Missa na lingua Suriana, e quando desciam a Cochin, na Latina, sendo as cerimonias bem differentes umas das outras*: This passage and the attitude of St. Francis Xavier support the theory that these Syrians were in communion with Rome and that historians are mistaken in calling them Nestorians.

(37) Asseman. iv. 446, seventh line from foot of page.

(38). Asseman. iii. 332, note i.

(39). By the help of our Lord and God, this book was finished on Thursday the 17th December 1557. To God be the glory and may his pity and grace descend upon me for ever. The above mentioned book has been written under the shadow and protection of the blessed and illustrious Saint Francis, whom in our language we call Mar Franse; where there is a home of holiness, an asylum for pilgrims and paupers, a gate for benefactors and a refuge for the afflicted, in the blessed city of Bassein, which is distant sixty leagues from the great and celebrated city of Goa, whose inhabitants may, I pray, be preserved by the Lord the Spirit from all evils, hidden and open. In the name of that holy, most celebrated, blessed St. Francis, whom we interpret as Mar Franse, in this place of the Indians, blessed and endowed with the faith of St. Peter, are collected seven Convent-buildings, magnificent and glorious, and in these seven buildings dwell nearly one hundred monks, in their mode of life to be compared with Father Anthony, Father Macarius and Father Paul: whose prayers, I beseech, may be a wall and bulwark for the whole world. Amen. There is also in this blessed city of Bassein another church, very high and glorious, under the name of St. Mary: and another Convent, of which no tongue can tell the magnificence, called St. Paul's. Besides, in the same city is seen another monastery, which is called St. Sebastian's, the like of which eye has not seen, and another church, called of Mercy and Grace. Moreover, this blessed country of the Indians has altars, holy buildings, churches and monasteries, of which the number is known to none. The aforesaid buildings and churches are full of monks, distinguished by the gravity and sanctity of their conduct, whose conversation and deeds in virtue and in number surpass created speech. I implore that their prayers may benefit me and weak men like me. Amen. In these altars, buildings, churches and monasteries, a perpetual and daily oblation of the Body and Blood of our Lord is diligently offered. May their prayers, I beseech, be with us. Amen. But Goa is the Metropolis of the whole country of India and in it resides the Syncletus, that is, the Supreme Prefect of the great and victorious King, the King of Portugal, who is called Don Guan and in our language is called the King, that is to say, Sultan Jochanan (John). May the Lord grant him a kingdom on Earth and also in Heaven. Amen. and may the Lord avert all punishments and rods of anger from this city Goa, holy and blessed and endowed with the faith of St. Peter. These papers were spit out, that is, were corrupted by that lowest sinner, vile and unhappy, abject and contemptible, slowthful and ignorant, lazy and muddle-headed, more than imbecile, dung and scab, maw-worm, doer of abominations, smirched with the mud of vices, far removed from virtues, disobeying orders and working iniquity, dross and refuse of all the sons of Adam; whose name ought never to be remembered before men, unless perchance that it may deserve a prayer from all those who will read these vile lines, the poor and miserable JOSEPH, bearing the name of Bishop and Metropolitan, but empty of and remote from the duties (of that office), as far as the East is distant from the West, and the North from the South, and the Creation from the End of all created things." Asseman, iii. 333.

(40). There is in the Vatican Library an Old Testament translated by Mar Joseph at Angamale in 1558. Asseman iv. 446. second line from foot of page.

(41). *Oriente Conquistado*, i. 86, bitterly attacks Mar Joseph, "From this year 1558 there governed the Christians of St. Thomas one Mar Joseph with the title of Archbishop, and this Archbishop, in order to show himself a Catholic and to gain the good will of the Portuguese, put the affairs of the Serra into better order so far as concerns the Mass and Divine Offices. He introduced vestments in the Roman style, for before that they had celebrated covered with an amice and over that a stole. He gave orders to use our hosts and our wine, for before that they had consecrated lumps (bolos) kneaded with oil and salt and sweet wine (mosto) squeezed from moistened raisins.

He removed other abuses and ignorances and to obtain greater credit he often came down to Cochin and took into his employ Portuguese pages. Teaching them one day he recommended them to have great devotion towards the Virgin Mary, but told them not to call her Mother of God but Mother of Christ; and that they should never say, Holy Mary, Mother of God, but Holy Mary, Mother of Christ, pray for us. The young Portuguese boys disliked this new doctrine and coming in to Cochin, told what had passed. It was the intention of this wolf in sheep's clothing, a subtle heretic within, and very humble and modest without, to secretly pervert the few poor places near Cochin and Quilon, that through constant contact with the Portuguese professed the Roman Faith. And as he was eloquent and cautious, he would easily have succeeded in his design if God had not disclosed it."

(42). *Oriente Conquistado*, ii. 17.

(43). "Mar Joseph was a second time transported first to Portugal and afterwards to Rome, where he likewise contrived to make his peace with the Pope; but before he could undertake a new voyage to India, he died at Rome on the eve of being made a Cardinal." Wrede's *Account of the St. Thome Christians on the coast of Malabar. Asiatic Researches.* Calcutta: 1801. vii. 373.

"In Rome, this wolf succeeded once more in clothing himself with the fleece of a sheep, so much so that they deemed him worthy of a Cardinal's hood: but God, with his high and admirable providence, cut short the threads of his life in that city." *Oriente Conquistado.* ii. 75.

(44). These Archdeacons were of the Palomattom family and seem to have had control over the Thomas-Christians. The bishops who came from beyond seas performed episcopal acts such as ordination and consecration, but much of the government of the Church seems to have been with the Archdeacon. When Bishop Joseph came to India one instruction which he received from Rome was to endeavour to put an end to the hereditary succession to the Archdeaconship.

(45). Day in his *Land of the Perumals*, 223, and Hough in his *Christianity in India*, 283, say that Mar Abraham sent to the Nestorian Patriarch for a colleague and successor, but this is unlikely as it would have been an open breach with Rome and with the Portuguese. Asseman, iv. 447, and Jarri, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, iii. ii. 72, say that Simeon was sent by the Nestorian Patriarch to oppose Mar Abraham. Probably this was done because the Nestorian Patriarch was displeased with the outward conformity of Mar Abraham to Rome.

(46). The Archdeacon George was never consecrated as a bishop, but perhaps when this was written there was some intention to make him a bishop. The letter is in *Oriente Conquistado*, ii. 94.

(47). That Father Valignano had an interview with Mar Abraham and obtained his permission for the Jesuits to enter his diocese appears from *Oriente Conquistado*, ii. 66.

(48). Bishop Medlycott has supplied the following note:—"In 1577 a Spanish Jesuit lay-brother, John Gonsalves, was the first to cast Malayalim-Tamil type in Cochin, with which a *Catechism and Rudiments of the Catholic Faith* was published. At first the Malayalis had no letters of their own but used the old Tamil writing. See the incription on the grave of Bishop Roz. In 1578 on the Fishery coast, Father John de Faria, S. J., cast Tamil types and printed the *Flos Sanctorum* and for years after a number of other devotional books were there published. In 1679 Father Antony de Provenca printed at St. Paul's College, Ambalacad, the first Portuguese-Tamil Dictionary, possessing this peculiarity that the Tamil section was engraved on wooden

blocks, while the Portuguese was printed in moveable type. This appearance is smudgy. I saw a copy with my late Secretary, Bishop Menachery, at Trichur."

To this note may be added that in the Mission du Madure, iii. 247. Father Andre Freire, S. J., says that he spent a year at Ambalacate seeing through the press the Tamil works of Father Robert de Nobili, about the year 1674.

(49). Very full information about the friendly relations of the Jesuit Fathers is given in *Oriente Conquistado*. This work was published in 1710, so was of date later than Geddes' *History of the Church in Malabar* London: 1694. It became very rare and probably was not known to Hough, Howard and Whitehouse, as they make no mention of it. A cheap reprint was issued in 1881 by the Examiner Press at Bombay.

Aquaviva, the General of the Society, kept up a friendly correspondence with Mar Abraham and sent him a beautiful reliquary. O. Q. ii. 107. A description of the Synod of 1583 when Mar Abraham made his profession of Faith will be found at ii. 125. and a description of the Seminary at Vaipicotta for Syrian priests will be found at ii. 127. Unfortunately, this *Oriente Conquistado* does not go beyond 1585.

(50). Hough, 282, Day, 223, Geddes, 37. In a letter to the Nestorian Patriarch which was intercepted, Mar Abraham said, that the Portuguese were over his head as a hammer over an anvil., *como malhos sobre bigorna* Gouvea's *Jornada*, 9.

(51). In the Roman Calendar there are two saints named Hormisdas. One was Pope from 514 to 523. The other was a Persian nobleman who suffered martyrdom in 420 and is widely venerated. The Nestorians held in honour the memory of an Abbot Hormisdas who lived in 630. At the Synod of Diamper, Archbishop Menezes, believing that Mar Abraham had dedicated this church under the name of the Nestorian Abbot, had it dedicated under the name of the Persian martyr. Hough. ii. 82. See Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, under August 8th. In a note (22) on page 178 of the seventh edition of Neale's *Primitive Liturgies* it is said that "Hormisdas, a celebrated ascetic in Malabar, bears the same relation to the Church of India that S. Antony does to Egypt, S. Sabbas to Palestine, or Tekla-Haimanoth to Ethiopia." Because of this note, the Syrian Bishops have been asked if they knew of this Hormisdas and they have replied that they never heard of him, so Dr. Neale's note must be rejected as fiction.

(52). This Brief some Romo-Syrians, in their anxiety to maintain that Mar Abraham was a good Catholic, denounce as a fabrication. They point out that no Latin original of this Brief is forthcoming and that the Pope in a Bull of August 4th 1600, which gave the patronage to the King of Portugal, spoke of Mar Abraham "of good memory", a phrase which does not accord with the view that Mar Abraham was Nestorian. There seems to be no sufficient reason to descredit the Brief of 27th January 1595. The following is taken from a Portuguese version in the archives of the Bishop of Cochin:—See also Gouvea's *Jornada*, 10.

To the Venerable Brother the Archbishop of Goa, Clement VIII, Pope.

Venerable Brother, Health and the Apostolic Benediction: Lately We came to know (not without great pain and sorrow) that Mar Abraham, Archbishop of Angamale in the Kingdom of Cochin, situated in Malabar in the East Indies, holding jurisdiction over the Christians of St. Thomas the Apostle, 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 obedi-

ence 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 churches of his diocese and Province and full of the same errors to be corrected and that he has committed several simonies:

We whose principal care and diligence by reason of Our Apostolic Ministry it is to see that the Pastors of the Churches, especially of those that are in regions so far remote from the Apostolic See, may have sound doctrine and feed and refresh the sheep entrusted to them with the salutary pasture of Catholic doctrine: wishing to deal with all these things with such diligence as is convenient, and trusting much in your faith, integrity and zeal for the Catholic Religion, by these present letters entrust to and order your Brotherhood to enquire diligently into the life customs and doctrine of the said Mar Abraham. And if by the enquiry you find him guilty in these things, you shall cause him to come to Goa and there you shall keep him under honest and safe custody: and you shall send to Us and to the Apostolic See authentic copies of the Proceedings, that we may see and examine them with diligence and decide with Justice the case of the said Mar Abraham."

The Brief goes on to empower Archbishop Menezes to take charge of the diocese on a vacancy &ca.

(53). "Immediately sent home again." Hough, i. 294, Geddes. 41.

(54). In the British Museum is a Manscript volume, dated 1604, containing letters written by Jesuit missionaries on this coast. From this Book Bishop Medlycott sends the following letter of Father Nicholas Pimenta, Visitor, to Father Claudius Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus. The letter is dated at Goa, December 21st 1599. "It was no small comfort to all that Alexius Menezes, the Lord Archbishop of Goa, moved by his zeal for the salvation of souls and at our persuation undertook to visit the ancient Christians of St. Thomas spread through the hill tracts of Malabar. There was in fact great danger after the death of Archbishop Abraham at Angamale and the succession of the Archdeacon George, according to ancient usage, on the death of the prelate, to the government of that Church, that she would lapse again under the sway of Nestorian bishops: nor were there wanting persons of ecclesiastical rank and possessed of means, who proposed to proceed to Babylon and bring thence a new Archbishop.

The Archbishop of Goa, to whom not only by Metropolitan right, but also in virtue of Apostolic letters, appertained the right to assume the administration of that Church, *sede vacante*, took upon himself the task of retaining the vacillating Archdeacon in due submission to the Holy See to avoid a schism. He therefore issued instructions to the Rector of the Vaipicotta College enclosing a letter of appointment naming the Archdeacon as Administrator of the diocese, provided he in the presence of the Rector made a solemn profession of faith. The Archdeacon expressed his satisfaction on receiving the intimation and promised to make the profession demanded on a feast day. But later he would neither make the said profession nor would he accept the nomination as coming from the Archbishop, of Administrator of the diocese. This he afterwards caused to be reported he did on the advice of some.

Having gained over the Govrnor of Cochin, a meeting composed of lay and ecclesiastical persons was held at Vaipin, to which the Magistrates of Cochin and the Clergy of the Cathedral were invited. Our Fathers were excluded because they said that the Archdeacon objected to their presence. The Archdeacon is warmly received at the meeting, saluted cordially and flattered: music is struck up as an opening to the ceremony: the Governor and the Bishop's Vicar (the Bishop himself was absent in Ceylon and afterwards disapproved of the meeting being held in his absence), were given prominent

seats, while the rest were also seated on benches: a leading ecclesiastic rises and introduces the Archdeacon, whom he declares by no means to be, as perhaps some might think, a schismatic nor as holding any error against the Catholic faith, since he had carefully examined him, and adds that the Archdeacon now presents himself to make the profession of faith. The meeting having been thus addressed, the Archdeacon drops on the knees, somebody reads a profession of faith in Portuguese, of which the Archdeacon is incapable of understanding a single word: he is asked if he admits all this, to which he replies in Malayalam *Hara* Yes! So, though he declined to receive the office of Administrator from the Archbishop or the Apostolic See, he is nevertheless adjudged a Catholic and obedient to the Holy See, and publicity is given to this announcement.

About this time I happened to land at Cochin, in bad health. Before all else I did my best to induce the Governor and others to recognise the mistake, fraught with danger, that had been committed.....In spite of this it was known that our opponents had reported much to the Archbishop artfully to excuse the doings at the Vaipin meeting. We therefore considered it our duty to submit a correct statement of the occurrence, supported by witnesses, to the Viceroy and the Archbishop, so that the truth might be known by both. But since it was a matter of serious importance that the ignorance of these ecclesiastics and of others should be removed, which, otherwise, might cause serious harm to Catholic interests, I instructed Father Roz to reply to certain queries which I had set him, after first making diligent enquiries; These were nine in number. They with the answers have thrown much light on the subject.....This document, when circulated among those whom it concerned greatly astonished the promoters of the Vaipin meeting when they learned that the Archdeacon boasted among his people of his success over them. They also felt aggrieved at what he had given out that none contradicted him but the Fathers of Our Society.

It is time now that I should turn to the Christians of St. Thomas. After taking counsel with our Fathers the Archbishop decided on visiting the Archdiocese of Angamale to induce that Church to receive a prelate from the Sovereign Pontiff. The enemy of the human race, however, perceived clearly this to be the one means of bringing an effective remedy to all existing troubles, so he exerted himself to raise technical difficulties of every sort to hinder this good prelate's design.....The supposed dangers and difficulties were pressed upon him with such pertinacity, that the Archbishop wrote to me saying heaven and earth had conspired against his project. Despising these, however, with singular firmnes and prudence, and supported by Divine aid, he began, continued and completed his arduous visitation.

The Archdeacon after endless subterfuges and artifices—so that little remained but that he should be excluded from the communion of the faithful—returning to better sense, promised finally that he would live under the obedience of the Apostolic See.

During this visitation the Archbishop, as is known, laboured much on on behalf of, and greatly promoted the salvation of souls. In the first place he secured the valid administration of the Sacraments; he expurgated the Nestorian books—of which there were a great number—of six hundred errors and statements opposed to Catholic truth; any passage that denied the supreme authority of the Apostolic See, he ordered should be deleted; finally, he caused capable priests—rare to be found—to be diligently sought out and these he placed in charge of parishes. The means adopted which chiefly enabled the Archbishop to secure his end were the following: he visited personally the churches; he established eighty parishes; he summoned a diocesan Synod at which the Clergy of the Archdiocese were invited to attend according to ancient usage, and only our Fathers besides; at the Synod assisted the Governor of Cochin, Dom Anthony Noronia, and the chief

dignitaries of the city who on behalf of the King of Portugal had assumed on themselves the task of the protection of these Christians. How important was the step and how greatly in the future it was to promote the interests of the Portuguese Crown none can gainsay who is aware of the effect of binding this race, which from the days of St. Thomas had alone in India held the faith and could place in array thirty-thousand armed men, to the cause of Portugal, and of bringing them under the obedience of the Roman See. What greatly helped in effecting this, were the zeal displayed and the exemplary life of this Prelate. He in the space of nine months did more, as our Fathers attest, to promote the spiritual welfare of these people than had been done from the Apostle's time to our days by those who have occupied that See. How well disposed this Prelate is towards ours, who labour in that section of the Lord's vineyard, is shown by what he writes in the following letter which he addressed to me:—"The visitation through the Serra had often left me exhausted; but I keep in mind what the Holy Ghost has said, *Et bene patientes erunt ut annuntient.* (Ps. XCI. 15-16.) In what state I was able to leave the affairs of these Christians, and what has been done, the Fathers must have written you, so I say nothing. One thing I will say to your Reverence—had I spent the winter here in Goa, those churches would have been lost: nor would I have saved my conscience, at a time when that flock was mine and was sadly in need of pastoral care and Catholic teaching; had I abandoned it and had I not rather fed it with healthful doctrine, as I did, and do, with the Fathers of the Society who accompanied me. I beg and entreat your Reverence to realise how acceptable to me is the almost unbearable burden they sustain in cultivating and expanding that vineyard. The love, the charity, with which they endure all things for God's sake has bound me by no slight ties to them, for without them I would have done nothing. Supported by them frequently I learned to throw off the clouds of troubles and anxieties, which weighed upon me, at times tepid and imperfect. May the Lord reward them in heaven, and may your Reverence bestow upon them a copious blessing. The Residence for the Fathers at Angamale has been opened with the approval of all. Let not your Reverence have any doubt. The entire salvation of these Christians depends upon the Residences in the Serrá."

(55). As a sample may be quoted the following passage from Gouvea's *Jornada*, p. 47, telling of the Archbishop's visit to Kadaturutta:—Next day, which was Holy Saturday, the Archbishop performed the office in his Pontifical robes with much solemnity which was seen by all the people, and he gave Holy Orders to many, a thing which had never happened in time past, and showed that the threats of the managers (regedores) had no force there. All swore to the Faith and obedience to the Roman Church, as others had done, so that from this time the party of the Archbishop increased and acquired more strength in Christianity. Late in the evening of that day arrived Father Francis Roz of the Company of Jesus, (who is now the most worthy Bishop of these people,) whom the Archbishop was very glad to see, because Father Francis Roz was well known to all the Christians and was by them held in much reverence, as he preached to them in their own language and in the College of Vaipicotta was Professor of Chaldaic and Syrian. Coming up to the Archbishop he gave thanks to God, saying "Is this Carturte, which I know so well? Only a few months ago, when I came to stay here, they shut the door of the church in my face and I had it opened by the police (regedor da Rayna). When saying Mass, when I elevated the Most Holy Sacrament they all covered their eyes. They thrashed one of my pupils because he named the Pope in the church, and, a few years ago, when I showed them an Image of Our Lady, among the same people many persons closed their eyes, crying out to take away that filth, that they were Christians and did not adore idols or pagodas, which they considered all images to be." The good Father, seeing such a change, embraced all, saying, "Is it possible?" "Is this Caturte? Is Caturte no

longer schismatical? Do they no longer adore the idol of Babylon? Have they given obedience to the Roman Church?".

(56). The Raja of Porcat and the Raja of Gundra who showed themselves favourable to the Archbishop's work were both rewarded with the title of Brother in Arms of the King of Portugal.

(57). Hearing of the existence of hill tribes on the mountains Archbishop Menezes sent up two Syrian priests who came upon a colony of Thomas-Christians at the foot of the hills and baptised some men of a hill tribe. Gouvea's *Jornada*, 80-83. In July of the following year, 1600, Father Stephen de Brito and another Jesuit set out with the Archdeacon George to visit these converts. Passing through Pooniat they left at the foot of the mountains to await their return the Archdeacon George, who was *ex itinere defatigatus, quod tres leucas pluvia coelo cadente pedes confecisset.* (Jarri. *Rerum Indicarum Thesaurus*, iii. pt. ii. 197 to 216). For an interesting discussion on the later history of these hill Christians, see Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a dark land.* 123—132.

(58). Geddes, in his *History of the Church in Malabar*, London: 1694, attacks Archbishop Menezes because of the Synod of Diamper and the Visitation of this diocese and in this he has been followed by later writers, so that it has become an accepted tradition that the Archbishop was high-handed and tyrannical and this is repeated, not only by polemical writers but also by authors such as Colonel Yule and Sir W. W. Hunter. It is difficult to find any justification of this character which has been given to Archbishop Menezes. Much of the denunciation of the Archbishop is merely an expression of the opinion that the Church of Rome has no right to interfere with other Churches, but the Portuguese being Roman Catholics held exactly the opposite opinion. Upon this point it is only fair to remember that on the arrival of Vasco de Gama the Thomas-Christians had formally asked for the protection of the King of Portugal, that in 1569 a formal treaty was made between the Portuguese Bishop of Cochin and the Raja Rama Varma bringing the Christians under the protection of the Bishop, (*Oriente Conquistado*, i. 108.) and that the last two Archbishops of the Thomas-Christians, Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham, although they may have been Nestorians at heart, nevertheless were nominally Roman Catholics sent by the Pope. In these circumstances Archbishp Menezes would have failed in a plain duty which lay before him, if he had not done his utmost to bring these Thomas-Christians into conformity with Rome. This side of the question is seen by some Protestant writers:—Day, *Land of the Perumals.* 280, 232. Howard, *The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies.* 33. Even Hough admits the energy of the Archbishop and Archdeacon Robinson admits that the Synod of Diamper passed "many useful and excellent directions." *Madras Journal*, i. 349.

But it is said that his methods were bad, and that, not content with preaching and arguing, the Archbishop bribed and used the influence of the Rajas and threatened. In the Portuguese books there is no mention of bribery. The Archbishop may have presented some gifts as an act of courtesy. The use of the influence of friendly Rajas is not blameworthy. The threats seem to have been threats of spiritual censures, threats which it was the official duty of the Archbishop to use. When one remembers what methods were in use in Europe in that sixteenth century, the methods of Archbishop Menezes are gentle in comparison.

Into this discussion Professor Milne Rae in his *Syrian Church in India* has brought the Inquisition at Goa, but it is not relevant. This note is written with diffidence, subject to correction by the light of any further information, but it is believed that there is no instance on record of any Thomas-Christian brought before that tribunal. The instance usually cited

is the case of Mar Ahatalla or Ignatius in 1652, but the official record about that bishop shows that he was not brought before the Inquisition but was deported by the civil power, as other bishops had been deported. *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, iii. 160, says that he came in August 1652: *no Jan. 1653 foi pelo vicerei conde d' Obidos mandado para o reino.* "In January 1653 was sent to Portugal by the Viceroy, Count d'Obidos." As authority for this entry *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente* gives the *Boletim* or Gazette of Goa, 1872. no. 63,-80. Even if it be believed that Bishop Ahatalla was brought before the Inquisition, it must be remembered that he was arrested at Mailapur on Portuguese soil and never reached the Thomas-Christians. There is, of course, the twenty-second decree of the third session of the Synod of Diamper, a decree placing this diocese of Angamale under the Inquisition at Goa, but we must not read into this decree any preconceived notion that the Inquisition was at that date a dreaded tribunal. A perusal of the words of the decree will show that the decree was intended as a benefit to the Thomas-Christians and that it was probably gladly accepted by them. The decree requests the Holy Office at Goa to confer powers upon some priests in the Angamale diocese to give absolution in reserved cases, which would be a convenience to the Thomas-Christians and would do away with the necessity of a tedious reference to Goa or Rome in such cases.

A specially bitter denunciation of Archbishop Menezes is made by Professor Lee and other authors because he burned some books. On this point also the words of the Synod may with advantage be perused. The entire proceedings of the Synod are translated into English in Hough's *Christianity in India* and this can be read in the Trivandrum Library. Decrees 14, 15 and 16 of the third session of the Synod show what books were destroyed. They were Nestorian books of devotion and manuals of piety of little historical value. Even if Mar Joseph and Mar Abraham were Roman Catholic pastors, the Nestorian heresy had certainly been taught by Mar Simeon and by his Vicar General Jocob to a portion of the Thomas-Christians and their books had to be sought out and destroyed. The Service books of the churches were not destroyed but were expurgated of Nestorian passages. There is nothing whatever to show that the Thomas-Christians possessed any records or books of historical interest and that these were burned, although that is the impression which some authors convey to their readers. On the contrary, there is some little evidence that the the Portuguese would have preserved any such books. In *Oriente Conquistado*, ii. 127, it is said that in a Syriac book written about A. D. 1200 by Mar Abedjesus, Bishop of Xigar and afterwards Metropolitan of Zuba in Armenia, Father Francis Roz, S. J., when Rector of the Vaipicotta Seminary, discovered fifty canons of the first Nicene council. The books written by Mar Jacob and Mar Joseph were sent to the Vatican Library and if the Portuguese had found other books worth sending they would doubtless have sent them also. Here again, upon this question of destroying books, it is only fair to remember the temper of those times and the methods then in use in Europe. The Anglican Dr. Jessop, in an antiquarian research, laments the difficulty of obtaining copies of the Roman Catholic books that were prohibited in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and he says:—"It was at the peril of a man's life that he ventured three hundred years ago to be in possession of some of the books which this list contains." (*One Generation of a Norfolk House*. Second Edition. Preface, ix.)

Another point upon which Archbishop Menezes has been denounced, especially by Dr. J. M. Neale, is his alteration of the Liturgy used by the Thomas-Christians. The Liturgy which they used was the Liturgy of all the Apostles, composed by St. Adaeus and St. Meris, Apostles of the Chaldeans. This Chaldean Liturgy was adopted by the Nestorians, after they were expelled from the Roman Empire and fled into Persia. It was used by the Thomas-Christians in Malabar. The Synod of Diamper made several alterations in this Liturgy and the alterations are all mentioned in the decrees of

the Synod. A Latin version of the Mass, as thus altered, is appended by Gouvea to his *Jornada*. Dr. Neale, in his *Primitive Liturgies* has cancelled all the alterations and prints an English translation of the Mass. He then attempts to re-arrange the Mass and enters upon a most interesting but not very trustworthy theory that the original Mass used by the Thomas-Christians was collateral with rather than derived from the Mass of all Apostles and, indeed, is clearly a much earlier form, of a most remote antiquity, much earlier than the fifth century and, at the very latest, of the beginning of the fourth century, but which may have come from Apostolic times. In the Liturgy of St. James there is a phrase "gave to us His Apostles and disciples" which is considered to show that the Liturgy was written by St. James himself. So in this Mass there is a passage which has no parallel in any known Eastern Rite and may possibly have been written by the Apostle St. Thomas himself. It is as follows:—"Grant, Moreover, My Lord, that the ears which have heard the voice of Thy songs, may never hear the voice of clamour and dispute. Grant also that the eyes which have seen Thy great love, may also behold Thy blessed hope."

Dr. Neale goes on to say that the revision of this Liturgy by Archbishop Menezes and his assistants shows that the revisers were utterly ignorant of Oriental Liturgies. If that were so, it were no marvel, because the work done by officials in camp in India does not always satisfy the literary standard desired by men who spend their lives in libraries in Europe. But it is likely that Archbishop Menezes knew what he was doing. His chief aim was to win this flock from the Nestorian heresy and any archaeological considerations would have the second place. The fault found by Dr. Neale is that the sequence of the prayers in the Mass has been altered so as to differ from the sequence in other Rites. If that be so, it probably was done with intention. The object in view was to keep these Thomas-Christians from any future intercourse with the Nestorian Patriarch. Even to this day the policy of Rome is to keep this Syro-Malabar Rite quite distinct from any of the other Oriental Rites and so late as 1900 a petition for permission to use the Chaldean Rite was refused.

In 1723 La Croze published his *Christianisme aux Indes* in which he criticizes the work of the Synod and in 1728 Asseman published vol. IV. of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* in which pages 391 to 406 are taken up with a refutation of La Croze. Asseman, a very competent authority, admits that the Synod made mistakes, in thinking that the passages wanting in the Syriac New Testament were wilfully omitted, in the matter and form of Holy Orders, in mistaking for the words of baptism the proclamation of a baptism, in saying that Holy Oils were not used and that Confirmation was unknown, in saying that Masses for the dead were unknown, in forbidding the eating of meat on Saturday and in unnecessary changes of the Syriac Liturgy. He attributes these mistakes either to an ignorance of the Syrian Rite and the ancient Churches, or to an excessive study of the Roman ceremonial and a wish to wean the Syrians from ceremonies which had been mingled with errors. Asseman goes on to admit that before the Synod of Diamper the Thomas-Christians knew nothing of Confession or Extreme Unction, that matrimony was not considered to be a sacrament, that they denied the presence of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist, that they were unwilling to reverence the images of the Portuguese and that they impugned the supreme power of the Roman Pontiff and some other traditions of the Latin Church. But from his long study of Nestorian ecclesiastical matters, Asseman contends that these were recent errors which had crept into the faith and practice of the Malabar Church through the sloth or ignorance or fraud of the Bishops on this coast, because the Nestorians in Asia held all Roman doctrine, even the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and went astray only upon the Nestorian heresy.

(59). The following is a list of the Archbishops of Cranganore.

Francis Roz, S. J., ... 1601 to 1624.

Stephen de Brito, S. J., ... 1624 to 1641.

Francis Garcia, S. J., ... 1641 to 1659.

(After the death of Archbishop Garcia, five nominations were made by the King of Portugal, but the nominees did not take up the post. Father Diego went so far as to be consecrated in Portugal in 1694 and he appointed as his Vicar General Mattheus, nephew of Bishop Chandy, but Archbishop Diego never came to India and after seven years resigned.)

John Ribeiro, S. J., ... 1701 to 1716.

Antony Pimental, S. J., ... 1721 to 1752.

John Aloysius de Vasconcelles, S. J., ... 1753 to 1756.

Salvador dos Reis, S. J., ... 1756 to 1777.

The See was vacant for five years. In 1782 Matthias Scherpenzeel was Vicar General. He seems to have been appointed in 1779. See *Mission du Madure*, IV. 461.

Joseph Careatil, nominated 1782, died at Goa, 1786.

See vacant, Thomas Pareamakal, Vicar General from 1786 to 1799.

After the death of Thomas Pareamakal a Syrian priest, Joseph Cheamgurechil, was in charge for a year and then comes a long list of Administrators with Portuguese names. One of these, Father Paul of St. Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, was consecrated at Goa as Archbishop on March 4th 1821 and died at Olicare near Quilon the 19th December 1823, aged 51. This Archbishop is buried at Changanacheri.

(60). Bishop Francis Roz translated into Syriac for the use of his flock the offices in the Roman Missal for Ash Wednesday and Holy Week and this translation was added to the Syriac Mass altered at the Synod of Diamper and forms the service book used by the Romo-Syrians to this day. The mass is longer and is more ceremonious than is the Latin mass and incense is used at every low mass.

The Jacobites use the Liturgy of St. James the Apostle. A priest must use this Liturgy when he says his first mass and upon certain great festivals. There are thirty or forty other Liturgies with slight verbal differences from the Liturgy of St. James and on ordinary days a priest may use any one of these Liturgies at his option. This Syriac Liturgy of St. James closely agrees with the Greek Liturgy of St. James used by the Greek Church. It also agrees so closely with the *Missale Syrianum juxta ritum ecclesiae Antiochenae Syrorum*, Romae: typ. Congr. de Pro. Fide. 1843, that the Jacobite priests in Travancore sometimes use that edition.

On the whole subject of these Liturgies see *Primitive Liturgies* by Dr. J. M. Neale, Hough, *Christianity in India*, iv. 619, Howard, *The Thomas Christians and their Liturgies.*

(61). Germann, 440.

(62). A bishop is consecrated as bishop of a certain diocese. When the Mahomedans ravaged North Africa, Syria and Asia Minor, a total extinction of Christianity was seen in many dioceses. To these Sees bishops were nevertheless appointed and these bishops without flocks were known as bishops *in partibus Infidelium*. These bishops were employed in various ways, as Assistants or Coadjutors to aged bishops, as Vicars Apostolic of Missions, as Nuntios or in the Roman Curia. The phrase is now obsolete

and these bishops are, called bishops of titular Sees. In Travancore at the present day the Coadjutor Bishop at Quilon and the bishops who have a tribal or personal jurisdiction over the Romo-Syrians are bishops of titular Sees situated somewhere in Asia or Africa.

(63). The assumption of authority by the hereditary Archdeacon was certain to lead to friction with the Archbishops of Cranganore but this friction seems to have increased under Archbishop Garcia. There is a tradition among the Latin priests on this coast that the Archbishop had a sarcastic manner, which the Syrians much disliked. An interesting paper was published in March 1901 as a supplement of the *Vinte e Tres de Novembro*, the organ of the Cochin diocese. It is the full text of an agreement between the Archbishop and the Archdeacon dated December 12th 1645 before the Viceroy and the Jesuit Fathers. It is worthy of notice that Thomas signs as Archdeacon of all the Indias and not of the Cranganore diocese. The agreement lays down that in enquiries into disputes among Christians, if the Archdeacon is present the Archbishop will consult him, if the Archdeacon is not present the Archbishop will proceed without him. When the Archbishop gives Holy Orders the Archdeacon will inform the Archbishop of the life and conduct of the ordinands but if the Archdeacon does not do so, the Archbishop may proceed to give Orders without any dependency. The letters which the Archbishop writes to Vicars of parishes must be signed by the Archdeacon or by his accustomed secretary but if the Archdeacon does not sign the Vicars will nevertheless accept the letters. To general Congregations the Archdeacon and Cattanars must be summoned and their consent is necessary but in particular Congregations the Archdeacon must have notice but if he does not come the meeting can proceed without him. When the Archbishop visits his diocese the Archbishop must inform the Archdeacon and the Archdeacon must accompany the Archbishop.

Hough, ii. 295, says "The oppression of the Jesuits is the only cause to be assigned for the Syrians' separation from the Church of Rome." and quotes in support of this view the Carmelite Vincent who published in 1666 and 1672 the First and Second Journeys of Bishop Joseph, the first Carmelite Vicar Apostolic. But another Carmelite, Eustache, who published the Life of Bishop Joseph in 1719, tells a different story. This is the description which Eustache gives on page 24 of the Archdeacon:—

"A Giorgio successe Thomaso o Tome de Campo suo nipote. Quest' Uomo come di superbo, e torbido naturale, e perciò a se somigliante nè vizi prende per suo istromento il Demonio a turcar la pace innocente di quei Fedeli. Incominciò dapprima con dispareri: poscia (non senza l'estrinseci fomenti de' malcontenti) con pretenzione e finalmente con aperti litigi cozzava col suo Prelato: con suoi non paesò giammai perfetta amicizia: perechè sebbene D. Filippo Mascarenna Vicerè dell' Indie si studiò una volta di comporne le differenze; col pretesto però della reciproca inosservanza delle cose dall'una, e l'altra parte promesse in quella concordia, e per altre cagioni di rilievo, che sovente si fingono, o compongono da chi. vuol separarsi dall' amico, e rompere con esso la carità; si rinuovarono le discordie, ed i scandali in guisa tale, che sollevati li Sacerdoti, e la Plebe dalle astuzie dell' Archidiacono, arringarono apertamente contro il loro Prelato, passandone alte querele nella Corte di Roma; e chiedendone opportuno soccorso, e rigorosa giustizia."

(64). The name Ahatalla in Syriac means God-given, in Greek Theodore in Latin Adeodatus. In India he called himself the Patriarch Ignatius. The letter is thus given by Eustache. "Behold! I, Ignatius, Patriarch of all India and of the Chinas, send you a letter by the hands of deacons who came here from your country. When you have read this letter, send to me two

priests and forty men whom, however, if you wish, to send, send them cautiously, quickly and as soon as possible; that these seeing you may let me go without hindrance. Come, my sons, hearken unto me and learn from me, that all power is given to me by our Lord the Pope; for you must know that Ignatius in endowed with all power. Now have no fear, because I have come bearing in my hands much treasure and many other riches according to your necessity. Wherefore do your utmost to bring me there. Priests and deacons of the holy flock and all Magnates, in the name of Mary, the Mother of God, know ye, that I came to this city of Mailapur, because I learned that here resort many priests and men who could conduct me to your country of the Indias. On August 2th 1652 I arrived at Mailapur at the monastery of the Jesuits. In the same monastery I pass my time and they treat me very kindly. May their reward be increased here and there. Peace be with them and with you and with us always. Amen. Ignatius, Patriarch of all India and of Chinas." *Istoria del Mgr. Gioseppe*, Roma: 1719. p. 25.

(65). Istoria del Mgr. Gioseppe. 53. This is supported by *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente* iii. 160, cited in note 58 above.

(66). Several Protestant writers have described this revolt as a revolt against Roman doctrine, but it seems rather to have been a revolt caused by dislike of Archbishop Garcia or by dislike of the stricter discipline of European bishops. The Thomas-Christians seem to have been willing to accept a bishop from anywhere, if only he were Oriental. Also, it has often been said that at this date the Thomas-Christians went back to Nestorianism. There is no evidence of this. Doubtless, if a bishop from the Nestorian Patriarch had come to them, the Thomas Christians would have gone back to Nestorianism, but it happened that bishops came from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, whose doctrine is the opposite to Nestorianism, and if the Thomas-Christians made any change in their doctrines, it would be in the direction of the Jacobite doctrines. Until the arrival in 1665 of the Jacobite bishop Gregory, the followers of the Archdeacon Thomas seem to have kept up their Roman-Syrian ritual and there seems to have been during the twelve years from 1653 to 1665 no reason except personal reasons to prevent the Archdeacon Thomas from making his submission to Rome. This seems to follow from the tone of the Italian writers.

(67). About this time came into use the names Old observers and New observers, applied to the Syrian Christians who listened to the Carmelite Fathers and the Syrian Christians who were still under the Archdeacon Thomas. Logan, in his *Malabar Manual*, and other writers have pointed out than these names do not accord with the Protestant idea that the party under Archdeacon Thomas returned to an earlier faith. The names are in accord with the Roman Catholic idea. In the Italian Expeditions and Life of Bishop Joseph, he always calls his Syrian Christians by the name of the Christians of St. Thomas and the Archdeacon he always calls The Intruder.

(68). The See was Hierapolis. The consecration was by Bishop Landucci, the Pope's Sacristan, with two Canons in the place of Assistant Bishops, and Bishop Joseph after the consecration still wore the habit of a Carmelite monk. This secrecy was through fear that the Court of Lisbon might take offence. The King of Portugal claimed to be the sole patron of missions to India and this claim, which came down to the year 1886, caused many disputes. Bishop Joseph was the first Vicar Apostolic sent to India without the knowledge and approval of the King of Portugal. Nevertheless, the story told by Hough and others of the opposition shown by the Portuguese and Jesuits to Bishop Joseph seems to be exaggerated. Bishop Joseph halted at Goa and at Cochin on his journeys and was on friendly terms with the Portuguese and the Jesuits.

(69). The following is a list of the Vicars Apostolic at Verapoly:—

Joseph of St. Mary of St. Sebastian	...1659 to 1663.
Parambil Chandy	...1663 to .
Raphael F, Salgado...(Coadjutor.)	...1677 to 1694.
Custodius	...1695 to 1696.
Peter Paul...	...1696 to 1700.
Angelus Francis	...1700 to 1712.
John Baptist	...1714 to 1750.
Innocent of St. Leopold...(Coadjutor.) ...	...1734 to 1735.
Innocent of the Presentation...(Coedjutor.) ...	...1738 to 1748.
Florentius...	...1750 to 1773.
Francis	...1775 to 1787.

(During the absence of Bishop Francis, Bishop Louis of St. Conrad was in charge at Verapoly.)

John Mary ... ... died before consecration	...1780 to 1783.
Aloysius	...1785 to 1802.
Raymond	...1802 to 1816.
Miles Prendergast	...1819 to 1827.
Mgr. Stabilini	...1827 to 1831.
Francis Xavier of St. Anne	...1832 to 1844.
Louis of St. Theresa	...1844 to 1852.
Bernardin...	...1852 to 1868.
Leonard	...1868 to 1897.

On the establishment of the Hierarchy in 1886 the Vicar Apostolic became Archbishop of Verapoly.

Bernard of Jesus, Archbishop of Verapoly ...	...1897.

(70). *India Orientalis Christiana*, by Paul of St. Bartholomew. P. 96

(71). It is customary that three bishops be present at a consecration, the consecrator and two assistants, and it was discussed among theologians whether the presence of the two assistants is necessary. The consecration of Bishop Joseph in 1659 was secret and the fact that two priests took the place of assistant bishops was not known and was not discussed. But the consecration of Bishop Chandy was public and the facts were known. The case of Bishop Chandy's consecration is cited as the Leading Case on this point in the *Salamanca Course of Moral Theology*, tr. 8, c. 4, n. 8. but there the procedure of Bishop Joseph is justified by the urgency of the occasion. The procedure was in accordance with the express permission of the Pope. "*Cum assistentia duorum sacerdotum, etiamsi episcopi non fuerint, servatis in reliquis ceremoniis in Pontificali prescriptis.*" *Istoria del Mgr. Gioseppe* dal padre fr. Eustachio, Roma: 1719. p. 162 and 175, last line.

(72). The history of the bishops who succeeded Mar Thomas I is obscure and many points in it are matter of dispute in litigation. The following list of bishops has been supplied by Mar Dionysius, the present Metropolitan of the Jacobites in Travancore.

Name.	Date of consecration or arrival in India.	Date of death.
Mar Thomas I	1665 ...	12th Medam 1670.
Mar Gregorius	1665 ...	14th Medam 1670.
Mar Thomas II	1670 ...	3rd Medam 1686.
Mar Basil	1685 ...	20th Kanni 1685.
Mar John	1685 ...	3rd Chingam 1693.
Mar Thomas III	1686 ...	9th Medam 1688.
Mar Thomas IV	1688 ...	13th Meenam 1728.
Mar Thomas V	1728 ...	27th Medam 1765.
Mar Basil	1751 ...	9th Thulam 1763.
Mar Gregory...	1751 ...	27th Mithunam 1772.
Mar John	1751 ...	7th Medam 1794.
Mar Thomas VI or Dionysius I ...	1761 and 1770 ...	25th Meenam 1808.
Mar Thomas VII	1796 ...	22nd Mithunam 1809.
Mar Thomas VIII	1809 ...	12th Thulam 1815.
Mar Thomas IX	1815 ...	Desposed 1815.
Mar Dionysius II	1815 ...	12th Vrichigam 1816.
Mar Dionysius III	1818 ...	5th Edavam 1825.
Mar Dionysius IV	1825 ...	Resigned 1847, died 27th Kanni 1855.
Mar Athanasius (Matthew) ..	1843 ...	2nd Karkadagam 1877.
Mar Cyril	1846 ...	20th Chingam 1874.

(73). In the following year, 1674, Bishop Chandy issued an order exempting the Chattiata church from his own Episcopal jurisdiction. He signed this order, not as Vicar Apostolic but as Metropolitan of all India, following the style of the former Syrian bishops.

(74). In 1682 a Seminary was added to the buildings at Verapoly, at the cost of the Propaganda Congregation at Rome.

(75). This Matheus was appointed Vicar General of Cranganore by Archbishop Diego in 1794 so may be presumed to have been fit for the post. The reason of the four Carmelites in passing him over in 1676 was probably their dislike to the hereditary succession of bishops. In the instructions given by the Pope to Bishop Joseph he was told to abolish the hereditary succession to the Archidiaconate, so far as he could. Eustache, 169, twelfth line.

(76). This Thomas de Castro, a Brahman by descent, was a priest at Goa and in 1675 was consecrated as Bishop and appointed Vicar Apostolic of Travancore, Tanjore and other provinces on this side of the Ganges. Probably ho had jurisdiction over the Christians of the Latin Rite near Cape Comorin, the descendants of the converts of St. Francis Xavier. The bishop visited Cochin in 1677 and was received by the Dutch with much honour. He died 16th July 1684.

(77). Nothing is said about Bishop Chandy after 1692 but the date of his death is not mentioned.

(78). In accordance with this arrangement, each Carmelite Bishop, from Bishop Angelus Francis in 1701 to Bishop Aloysius in 1785, sent to the Dutch authorities in Cochin town his Bull of appointment and obtained permission to reside at Verapoly. *List of Ancient Dutch Records in Fort St. George.*

(79). The Archbishop of Goa and the Bishop of Cochin refused to consecrate Father Angelus Francis, because they considered that his appointment infringed the rights of Portugal. In this difficulty Father Angelus Francis took advantage of the presence in India of an Oriental bishop named Mar Simeon, and was consecrated by him at Allangada on the 22nd May 1701. Upon this Whitehouse, in his *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, 196, suggests that Father Angelus Francis may have been consecrated by a Nestorian bishop. There is no foundation for this surmise. Mar Simeon was in communion with Rome. He was the Chaldean Bishop of Aden and was driven thence by the Mahomedans. The Chaldean Patriarch, Joseph II, sent him to India. This Patriarch received the pallium in 1696 from Pope Innocent XII. Anquetil du Perron *Zendavesta* page clxxxvi, note, says that the consecration was by " Mar Simeon, a Chaldean Prelate, attached to the Holy See, and who in the Liturgy used unleavened bread." A story gained currency that this Mar Simeon was sent to Pondicherry and died there in prison. Paolo a S. Bartolomeo states that the Archives of the Convent at Pondicherry show that Mar Simeon was a guest there and died in his bed in 1720, probably of old age.

(80). The Dutch Chaplain Baldaeus, in his *Travels*, 1663, says :—" On the capture of Cranganore by the Dutch we found there a noble college of the Jesuits, with a stately library belonging to it. Besides the Church of the Franciscans, they had a stately Cathedral, adorned with the tombs of the Archbishops of this place. Without the walls of Cranganore was the college of Chanotte, famous for the resort of the Christians of St. Thomas hither, who exercise their religious worship here in the Syriac tongue; and having erected a school for the education of youth, had several masters and priests of their own." It is not known what became of this library.

Archbishop Ribeiro, who was appointed in 1701 and tried without success to obtain possession ef the old Cranganore diocese, had been Rector of the Seminary at Ambalacade and knew Syriac, so was well equipped as a missionary but the Dutch opposed him and " wrote letters to the neighbouring Rulers to refuse all access to the Jesuits." (*List of ancient Dutch Records in Fort St. George*, No. 64.) After the Jesuit Fathers retired to the territory of the Zamorin, there were three separate agencies at work among the Roman Catholics on this coast:—the Carmelite Bishop at Verapoly, the Portuguese Bishop of Cochin at Quilon or Anjengo and the titular Archbishops of Cranganore in the Zamorin's territory.

In addition to the Seminary at Ambalakada, the Jesuit Fathers built other seminaries at Sampalur (St. Paul's village,) and at Puttenchera and they also did good work in South Travancore in the mission field of St. Francis Xavier. Among the Jesuit Fathers of this period may be mentioned John Ernest Hanxleden, a Hungarian. He learned Sanscrit and Malayalam from two Brahmans at the once famous Trichur Sanscrit college, now a wretched hostel, and he was undoubtedly the first European Sanscrit scholar. He composed the first Sanscrit Grammar. It is in Latin and was not printed, Paulinus took copies to Europe. One copy is at the Propaganda and another copy is with the papers of Paulinus at the Vittorio Emmanuele in Rome, His Malayalam writings were in verse and are of great literary merit. The most important is a poem on the life of Christ. Father Hanxleden also commenced a Portuguese-Malayalam dictionary and brought it down to the letter T. Archbishop Anthony Pimental completed it, enlarged it and issued it in his own name. Manuscript copies exist in the two libraries above mentioned. Father Hanxleden came to India in 1699 and died March 20th 1732 in the Presbytery of Pazhaiur church, which is at the western head of the Trichur lake near the canal leading to Cochin There is a black stone over his grave.

Another Jesuit Father who was for a time at Ambalakada is the Martyr, B. John de Brito. He arrived at Ambalakada in 1673 and seems to have spent three years there, preparing to join the Madura mission. In 1676 or later he set out with Father Andre Freire, S. J., and walked to Sattiamangalam in the Coimbatore district, that being the nearest church of the Madura mission, and there John de Britto had to rest for a month before he was able to continue his journey. *Mission du Madure*, iii. 255.

When Mgr. de Tournon expressed disapproval of some of the methods of the Madura mission, one priest, Father Simon Carvalho, left Madura and founded a mission station at Neman near Vadakenkulam, on the Tinnevelly frontier of South Travancore in the year 1708. This station from 1743 was under Father Bouttari, S. J., who in 1745 baptised a Travancore convert who is reverenced as a martyr. Nilakandan Pillai, a man of good family, held office in the Court of the Raja. He was disposed to become a Christian and after discussions on Christianity with Eustache de Lannoy, a Belgian officer in the Travancore Army, Nilakandan Pillai was baptised, being then thirty-two years of age, and he took the Christian name Devasagayam. Four years afterwards he was imprsoned because of his change of religion and after three years of imprisonment he was shot in 1752 by order of the Raja at Aramboli about the fifty-first mile on the road from Trevandrum to Tinnevelly. His corpse was thrown into the jungle, but the Christians got possession of the corpse, burned it and buried the ashes in a tomb which still exists in the centre of the church of St. Francis Xavier at Kottar.

(81). In the time of Bishop Florentius a young French *Savant*, named Anquetil du Perron, was at Cochin. The Dutch Commandeur refused him permission to visit Verapoly, but he went without leave and has written a very lively account of his visit in *Zendavesta*, clvi. He gives the number of Christians as two hundred thousand, of whom one hundred thousand were Romo-Syrians, fifty thousand were Latin Catholics and fifty thousand were under Mar Thomas. It was also in the time of Bishop Florentius that Rama Varma, the victorious Raja of Travancore, along with his General, Eustache de Lannoy, visited Verapoly. It is said that the Raja then confirmed the rent free tenure of the ground, including the accretions which had formed since the original grant by the Raja of Cochin. In the incursions by Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan some of the Mysore troops did reach Verapoly, but they caused little damage, except that the archives of the mission during the hasty removal were lost in the lagoon. There is little on record to show what was the state of affairs under those two bishops who ruled from 1712 to 1773, sixty-one years, but there is an order issued by Propaganda, dated August 31st 1771, requiring a stricter discipline among the Christians. Students admitted to the Seminary must be seventeen years of age and all candidates for the priesthood, Latin and Syrian, must be educated together in the Seminary at Verapoly. The Missionaries are ordered to visit every church, remaining at least twenty days at each church. The ignorance and negligence of the Native Clergy are deplored and rules are laid down to remedy this.

(82). The bishop was Bavarian and the missionaries at Verapoly were Italian and that may have been one reason why there was discord between the bishop and his European Clergy. When the dissension became acute Bishop Charles of St. Conrad came from Bombay, and endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation but without success. He had been Coadjutor at Verapoly from 1764 to 1773 before he went to Bombay so he knew this coast. When Bishop Francis left India, Bishop Charles administered the Verapoly mission, with the consent of the Dutch. They called him Bishop Vanischt, so he probably was Flemish. *List of Ancient Dutch Records in Fort St. George. 1053, 1131. India Orientalis Christiana, 55.*

(83). This period has one distinguished missionary in Father Paulinus of St. Bartholomew, who came to Verapoly in 1776. He was the first to publish in Europe a Sanscrit grammar. There is a list of twenty-four works written by Father Paulinus, including the *India Orientalis Christiana,* and the *Voyage to the East Indies.* In 1789 he returned to Europe and he died in 1805.

(84). In these disputes with the Carmelite missionaries of Verapoly, the Romo Syrians seen to have sheltered themselves behind the Portuguese. The history of this period is very obscure, but what is known about it may be set down. At this time there were three jurisdictions. In addition to the Carmelite missionary bishop at Verapoly, who was tolerated by the Dutch, there was a Portuguese Bishop, nominally of Cochin but living at Anjengo or Quilon because the Dutch would not permit him to come to Cochin, and ruling the Latin Catholics in the Cape Comorin district. There was also the Archbishopric of Cranganore, formerly held by Portuguese Jesuit Archbishops who took refuge from the Dutch in the territory of the Zamorin of Calicut. This Cranganore diocese at this date was in difficulties. The receipt of funds from Europe ceased in 1755, the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759 and the Society of Jesus was suppressed by the Pope in 1773. The last Jesuit Archbishop, Salvator, died in 1777 according to *India Orientalis Christiana,* 68, but the date on his tombstone at Puttenchera is 1767. The Archbishop of Goa appointed Joseph Soledad as Administrator and Father Matthew, S. J., as Vicar General of Cranganore, so that, although the society of Jesus had been dissolved, this diocese of Cranganore continued to exist. *Mission du Madure,* IV. 461.

While things were so, one Cariatil Joseph went as a student to Propaganda and there took his Doctor's degree. Returning to India Dr. Joseph Cariatil became Rector of the Alangate Seminary. In 1777 he went to Rome a second time, taking with him a Romo Syrian priest named Pareamakal Thomas. The object of this journey is said to have been to carry to Rome overtures from Mar Thomas VI, the bishop of the separated Syrian Christians. The Romo Syrians always longed for a bishop of their own race and Mar Thomas VI was willing to submit to Rome on the conditions that he became Metropolitan of all the Syrians, the Romo Syrians as well as his own flock. The two priests remained in Europe for some years. In 1782 the King of Portugal nominated Dr. Joseph Cariatil as Archbishop of Cranganore. Afterwards they sailed for India and arrived at Goa on may 1st 1786. Dr. Joseph Cariatil died at Goa on September 9th of the same year and the Archbishop of Goa then appointed the survior, Thomas Pareamakal, to be Vicar General of the diocese of Cranganore. Thomas came to his diocese and placed himself at the head of the malcontent Romo Syrians who were at this moment very hostile towards the Verapoly missionaries. They held a meeting at Angamale on February 1st 1787 and passed a resolution which is printed on page 308 of Whitehouse's *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land.* In this document they brought atrocious accusations against the Carmelites, even insinuating that the Carmelites were responsible for the death of Dr. Joseph Cariatil at Goa. The resolution geos on to say that the Syrians are determined to have a bishop from among their own number, as other churches have, that they have selected Thomas Pareamakal as their bishop and that if Portugal refuses this request the Syrians will transfer their allegiance to the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, Mar Joseph. These compiaints against the Verapoly missionaries were sent to the Rajas of Travancore and Cochin. An enquiry was held at Trivandrum and *India Orientalis Christiana,* 85, says that the decision was in favour of the Carmelites and that the Syrians were fined for calumny. Page 262 of the same book seems to show that the Raja of Cochin came to a similar decision and this is supported by the fact that the Dutch Council in Cochin town wrote to the Raja of Cochin, advising him not to allow Portuguese priests or bishops to settle in his territory and not to lend an ear to the calumnious stories invented to cause the Carmelites

of Verapoly to incur his displeasure. *List of Ancient Dutch Records in Fort St. George*, No. 1276. But the Syrian Christians dispute the accuracy of *India Orientalis Christiana* on this point. For this work they have produced copies of Neets dated April 1787 by the Raja of Travancore, declaring that as the Roman bishop and the padres at Verapoly have withdrawn in writing, therefore Joseph Pareamakal may be consecrated bishop. Similarly, in a suit about the church at Trichur there has been filed a copy of a Teetoram dated August 1787 by the Raja of Cochin, saying that as the Verapoly bishop has withdrawn, Thomas Pareamakal may be consecrated as bishop and the Syrians may be free from molestation by the Verapoly missionaries or by the Portuguese priests. There seems no reason to doubt the truth of what is stated in *India Orientalis Christiana*, and it is likely that these papers produced by the Syrians show only that the Carmelite missionaries recognised Thomas Pareamakal as administrator of Craganore. The Verapoly missionaries were supported by Rome. A letter, dated 14th November 1789, from Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Aloysius, says that the accusations brought by the Syrian Christians were fomented by the adherents of the Portuguese party. In a later letter, dated 6th October 1790, the Cardinal informs Bishop Aloysius that he had obtained an assurance from the Court of Lisbon that the Most Faithful King would not nominate Thomas Pareamakal as Archbishop of Cranganore. This deprived Thomas of any prospect of consecration but he continued to rule his followers as Vicar General of Cranganore, although his diocese was devastated by the Mysore troops. He got over the difficulty of his lack of episcopal character by sending his students to the Portuguese Bishop of Cchin for ordination. He died in 1799 but other Vicars General were appointed by the Portuguese, and in 1807 Bishop Raymond told Dr. Buchanan that forty-five churches were under the Vicar General of Cranganore.

(85). When the Portuguese were the principal European nation in India a concordat was made between the Pope and the King of Portugal by which the Most Faithful King accepted the burden of supporting missions in the East and received a monopoly of the patronage of these missions. As time passed and the power of the Portuguese in India was shaken, this arrangement became no longer suitable and this view was forced upon the attention of Rome by the fact that the Dutch utterly refused to tolerate Portuguese priest within the Dutch territories and spheres of influence in India. Propaganda was therefore compelled to send to India missionaries of nationalities other than Portuguese. The Portuguese resented this and even disputed the power of the Pope to vary the arrangement made in the sixteenth century with the Most Faithful King. This dispute lasted for more than two hundred years and did much harm to missions in India. It began when the first Carmelite missionaries came to this coast. Paulinus says that the Archbishop of Goa and Bishop of Cochin, who in 1701 refused to consecrate Bishop Angelus Francis, were *Jurispatronatus Lusitani acerrimi et tenacissimi defensores*. So also he describes Bishop Francis de Vasconcellos, S. J. Bishop of Cochin from 1721 to 1745, as *jurispatronatus acerrimus defensor*. This Bishop wrote a long letter from Quilon, dated October 16th 1722, to the Cardinal Perfect of Propaganda accusing the bishop at Verapoly as a violator of the Cochin bishop's jurisdiction.

On April 24th 1838 Pope Gregory XVI, by a Bull beginning with the words *Multa Praeclara*, practically abolished the Sees of Cranganore and Cochin and gave to the Vicar Apostolic at Verapoly jurisdiction from the southern limit of the diocese of Goa to Cape Camorin. This Bull was not obeyed by the Portuguese Clergy who contended that the Pope had no power to make these alterations without the consent of the Most Faithful King and that they themselves were not bound to receive any orders from Rome unless these orders came to them through the Court of Lisbon. This difference of opinion gave rise to many unseemly disputes among Roman Catholics in

India for many years. In 1862 Monsignor Saba, with Father (afterwards Cardinal) Howard as his secretary, came to India on a mission to settle this dispute between the Goanese Clergy and the Vicars Apostolic. He gave 106 Syrian churches to the Vicar Apostolic at Verapoly and 36 to the Goanese jurisdiction. The dispute, however, was not really settled until the new Concordat and the establishment of the Hierarchy in 1886.

(86). Quilon had long been the residence of a bishop because the Portuguese bishops of Cochin, expelled by the Dutch, resided here or at Anjengo. The following is a list of these prelates :—

Peter Pacheco, cons. 1694, came to Cochin 1699, was expelled by the Dutch 1701. *List of Ancient Dutch Records in Fort St. George*, 60.

Francis de Vasconcellos, S. J., from 1721.

Clement Joseph Collaco Leitao, S. J., from 1745. He wrote letters in 1755 to the Raja of Travancore asking protection against the foreign schismatic bishops.

Emmanuel of St. Catharine, Discalced Carmelite, from 1778. In 1783 was appointed Archbishop of Goa, where he had been in charge since 1780.

Joseph of the Desert of Carmel, Coadjutor, was made Bishop of Cochin in 1783. He lived in the church of St. Thomas at Quilon. Paulinus says, *Vir asperi ingenui et nemini indulgens, infinitos in ora Travancoridis excitavit tumultus.*

The following is a list of the Vicars Apostolic of Quilon.

Bernardin of St. Theresa	... 1845.	
Bernardin of St. Agnes	... 1852.	Died at Rome in the same year.
Mauritius ...	... 1853.	Died before consecration.
Charles Hyacinth ...	... 1854.	
Mary Ephraim ...	... 1865.	
Ildephonse ...	... 1871.	

Mgr. Ferdinand Ossi, Vicar Apostolic from 1883, became Bishop of Quilon when the Hierarchy was established in 1886. Father A. M. Benziger, secretary of the Papal Delegate, was appointed coadjutor of Quilon and was consecrated on the 18th November 1900.

(87). In order to understand the leaning of the Syrian Christians towards the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon, it is necessary to go back to the Portuguese period. When the Portuguese arrived on this coast the Syrians had bishops sent by the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon. The Portuguese did not interfere and within fifty years these bishops died out. At this period there was a movement among the Nestorians towards reconciliation with Rome and a large body did make their submission under the leadership of a monk named Sulacca, who sent to Rome and in 1553 was proclaimed by Pope Julius III as John, Patriarch of the Chaldeans. From that date the word Chaldean has been applied to those Nestorians who have abjured the Nestorian heresy and are in communion with Rome and their Patriarch is called the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon in distinction from the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon.

Syriac and Chaldean are sister languages, as are Tamil and Malayalam. Syriac is spoken in the country about Antioch and Damascus. Chaldean is spoken near Babylon and Bagdad. Roman Catholics in Syria use the Chaldean language and Jacobites use the Syriac.

The second Chaldean Patriarch, Ebedjesus, who was present at the Council of Trent, sent Bishop Joseph to Malabar in 1655 and this Bishop Joseph was succeeded by Mar Abraham. These two bishops showed a tendency to return to the Nestorian heresy and therefore from the date of the diocesan synod of Diamper, this diocese was severed from the Patriarchate

of Babylon and was placed under a bishop nominated by the King of Portugal and subsequently under a Vicar Apostolic sent directly by Propaganda. There are indications that the Romo-Syrians disliked this system. They had their own Oriental Rite but they longed for an Oriental Bishop and they looked to the Chaldean Patriarch of Babylon as the quarter whence this Oriental bishop should come. *India Orientalis Christiana* says that there was one such movement in 1709 and the movement of 1787 under Thomas Pareamakal was in the same direction.

Under the strict rule of Archbishop Bernardin at Verapoly this wish to obtain an Oriental bishop from the Chaldean Patriarch revived and was fomented by a Chaldean priest named Denha Bar Jona, who landed on this coast in 1852. After some months he returned to the Persian Gulf, bearing with him letters from various Syrians to the Patriarch asking him to send them a bishop. The leader in this movement was a Romo-Syrian priest named Thondanatta Antony. Born 1819, he was ordained priest in 1850 by bishop Louis of Verapoly and he had inherited from an uncle the privilege of maintaining a domestic seminary. Under his roof he had fifteen youths studying for the priesthood. When he took these candidates to Verapoly for ordination Archbishop Bernardin refused to ordain them. Angered by this refusal Father Antony in 1858 set sail for the Persian Gulf, accompanied by two priests, three clerics and twelve seminarists. The two priests and some of the younger men died on the journey, but Antony and the survivors returned in 1861, bringing with them a Chaldean bishop named Roccos or Mar Thomas. This bishop Roccos on May 13th 1861 wrote to the Resident and signed the letter "Mar Thomas, Metropolitan and Commissioner of the Roman Catholic Chaldean Syrians in Malabar." The Resident, Mr. Maltby, on December 31st 1861 wrote a memorandum to the Diwan of Cochin "on the subject of the contested jurisdiction of the bishop of Verapoly and of the newly arrived Metran, Mar Thomas." From this it is clear that Bishop Roccos was a Roman Catholic and the only point in dispute was the claim of the Chaldean Patriarch to have jurisdiction in Malabar. Bishop Roccos obtained a following among the Romo-Syrians, but his coming into this country was vigorously denounced from Rome as a breach of ecclesiastical discipline and at length Bishop Roccos himself was convinced by the Verapoly missionaries that his conduct was wrong and in 1862 he sailed from Cochin, his expenses for the return voyage being advanced by the Verapoly mission, as appears from the account books still preserved there.

The departure from India of Bishop Roccos did not put an end to this movement. There was a party of Romo-Syrians who yet hoped to get a Chaldean bishop and some of these men were influential and wealthy. A serious feature in the situation was that the Chaldean Patriarch himself sympathized with their wishes. This Patriarch, Joseph VI, had been appointed in 1848 by Pope Pius IX and he was in communion with Rome, but he held a strong opinion that the Malabar coast ought to be part of his Patriarchate, and although this claim was disallowed by Rome the Patriarch held his own opinion tenaciously. He was summoned to Italy and was admonished by Pope Pius IX not to interfere in Malabar. As he nevertheless maintained his claim it was formally considered by the Congregation of Cardinals and the prohibition was repeated on March 23rd 1865. Meanwhile the party among the Romo-Syrians who were anxious to have a Chaldean bishop selected Thondanatta Antony. *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, iii. 161, says that on April 17th 1863 Antony made his submission to the Padroado jurisdiction and gives as authority the Boletim of 1863, no. 35. Whatever truth there may be in that paragraph, Antony went a second time to the Persian Gulf and applied to the Chaldean Patriarch for consecration. The Patriarch, in the face of the instructions he had received from Rome, dared not himself consecrate Antony, but sent him to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, who consecrated Antony as a bishop.

Taking the name of Mar Abedjesus, Antony then returned to India, wearing the insignia of a bishop. After some time he made his submission to the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly and laying aside his episcopal insignia, worked among the Romo-Syrians as a parish priest.

The Chaldean Patriarch, Joseph VI, went to Rome to attend the Vatican Council of 1870–1 and at the Council he renewed his attempt to get the Malabar coast included in his Patriarchate, but without success. Nevertheless, in 1874 the Patriarch took the serious step of sending to the Malabar coast a bishop named Elias Mellus. In his letter to the churches in Malabar the Patriarch introduced Bishop Mellus as a Roman Catholic and Bishop Mellus himself, on arrival at Trichur, gave himself out to be a Roman Catholic. But when Rome issued orders that Bishop Mellus must quit India, he refused to obey and was in due course suspended and excommunicated, but yet retained a following at Trichur and elsewhere. It was at this troublous period that Bishop Meurin, S. J., came as Visitor of the Malabar Vicariate and that Mgr. Persico came to enquire and report in the same way that he afterwards went to Ireland. Antony joined Bishop Mellus and acted as a bishop, conferring Holy Orders on some candidates. In 1877 the Chaldean Patriarch made a formal submission to Rome and issued orders recalling Bishop Mellus from India, but it is said that these official letters of recall were accompanied by a private letter from the Patriarch to Bishop Mellus telling him to remain at his post. However that may be, in 1877 Bishop Mellus left India, placing Mar Abedjesus and a Chorepiscopus in charge of the people who still adhered to him. (This title Chorepiscopus is equivalent to the title of Canon in the Latin Church and is derived from Coram episcopo.) In 1889 Bishop Mellus himself made his submission to Rome but his lieutenant Mar Abedjesus was not again reconciled and kept up what is called the Independent Syro-Chaldean Church of Malabar. From the pleadings in the Trichur church case it appears that his flock now repudiate the authority of the Chaldean Patriarch because he has submitted to Rome. Mar Abedjesus has consecrated more than one bishop. He consecrated for an Asiatic diocese a bishop named Denha, who was killed by the Kurds in the massacres of 1895–6 and it is said that he also consecrated the Chorepiscopus at Trichur. He also consecrated Suarez, whose history is as follows:—Alvarez, a Brahman by descent, an educated man and the editor of a Catholic journal, was a priest in the diocese of Goa. Failing to maintain amicable relations with his Archbishop, Father Alvarez left the Roman Catholic Church and joined Mar Dionysius, the Jacobite Metropolitan at Kottayam, who consecrated Alvarez as bishop. After a time Bishop Alvarez quitted the Jacobites and set up for himself in Ceylon where he calls himself His Holiness Julius I, Metropolitan of the Independent Catholic Church of India and Ceylon. Suarez was a cleric at Goa. He joined Alvarez, who ordained him as priest. Suarez then left Alvarez and was consecrated by Mar Abedjesus as bishop of the Chaldean Church in Madura and Tinnevelly. Mar Abedjesus died at Trichur on the 16th November 1900. The Chorepiscopus presides over the dwindling remnant of his flock.

(88). Bishop Marcellinus wrote a Malayalam history of the Church in Malabar.

(89). The Cochin diocese includes even the shore between Trevandrum and the sea. Trevandrum town is in the Quilon diocese, but at Valiathoray, the port of Trevandrum, is a church of the Cochin diocese and the picturesque promontory of Kovelam, ten miles south of Trevandrum, is in the Cochin diocese.

(90). Why a Jacobite bishop came and not a Nestorian is not easy to explain. Perhaps the reason may be that in 1652 the Jacobite Patriarch was the only one who responded to the letters of the Thomas-Christians. Eustache in his *Istoria del Mgr. Gioseppe*, 52, says clearly that Mar Ahatalla was sent

by the Jacobite Patriarch and so this Bishop Gregory may have been sent by the Patriarch in succession to Mar Ahatalla. Asseman says that this Bishop Gregory brought with him a Jacobite creed and he gives the articles of this creed.

(91). These dates follow Mar Dionysius' list. See note 72.

(92). *India Orientalis Christiana* says "Ebrius in flumen prolapsus est."

(93). This Gabriel was Archbishop of Oburbigan, a See under the Nestorian Patriarch, and in 1704 he sent to Rome a profession of faith which profession was rejected as insufficient. Afterwards Elias X, who was from 1700 to 1722 the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, sent Bishop Gabriel to Malabar where he arrived in 1708. As Mar Gabriel had four years previously made overtures of submission to Rome, stringent orders were sent to him to quit India but Bishop Gabriel disobeyed these orders and remained in India, stirring up dissension, until his death in 1731. Visscher, in his *Letters from Malabar*, 103, says:— "At present there are two Bishops, Mar Gabriel, and Mar Thomas, who do not agree well together, as each of them, especially the latter, claims authority over the other. Mar Gabriel, a white man and sent hither from Bagdad, is aged and venerable in appearance, and dresses nearly in the same fashion as the Jewish priests of old, wearing a cap fashioned like a turban and a long white beard. He is courteous and God-fearing and not at all addicted to extravagant pomp. Round his neck he wears a golden crucifix. He lives with the utmost sobriety, abstaining from animal food. He holds the Nestorian doctrine respecting the union of the two natures in our Saviour's person. Mar Thomas,the other bishop,is a Native of Malabar. He is dull and slow of understanding. He lives in great state; and when he came into the city to visit the Commandeur, he was attended by a number of soldiers bearing swords and shields, in imitation of the Princes of Malabar. He wears on his head a silken cowle, embroidered with crosses, in form much resembling that of the Carmelites. He is a weakminded rhodomontader and boasted greatly to us of being a Eutychian in his creed, accusing the rival bishop of heresy. According to his own account, he has forty-five churches under his authority the remainder adhering to Bishop Gabriel."

(94). Asseman. iv. 466. "To my Lord Ignatius, Patriarch of Antioch, I, the poor Mar Thomas, fifth bishop of the Syrians of India, write and send.

In the name of Him who is eternal and of necessity exists, Thomas, the humble bishop of the orthodox Syrians of the India of St. Thomas, to him who sits in the seat of the Pontif, holy and glorious and magnificent, upon the throne of the principality of Peter the Prince of the Apostles: whom Our Lord has called by his grace and by his mercy has collected and firmly made to sit. Most beloved Father of Fathers, and Pastor of Pastors, who bindest and loosest with thy power in the highest and in the lowest, holy and holily sanctifying and resplendent with the triumph of the Apostles: who rulest upon the glorious soil of Antioch, which is celebrated and lovely through all the four quarters of the world in the world to come. Amen. Because thou art Patriarch the head of the universal Church of Christ, as was ordered by the three hundred and eighteen Fathers who were assembled at Nicea, and the steward of the house of God, obtaining the whole order of the Apostolic Church: and forasmuch as thou dost worthily govern the sheep, which are in the Oriental flock, always introducing all the sheep of thy flock into the fold by the gate, and when of all perishes, thou dost vehemently grieve; but when thou dost see it again thou dost greatly rejoice. Our father, who wast elect in the abundant blessings of Sion. Therefore I wish thee to be as a vessel chosen to receive the grace of the most high God. I beseech, my Lord, that thou mayest bless me with thy right hand full of graces, and I shall hear

whatever may be said or enjoined to me by thy benign mouth, and I subject myself to the power of thy paternity. Wherefore may god bless thy See for ever and ever. Amen.

Lord, I am not worthy to worthily write to thy greatness. But we write and we send letters because of the necessities of the othodox Syrians of India, and we pray that thou mayest send to us one Patriarch and one Metropolitan, and twin priests, who may be philosophers and may understand the interpretations of the holy and divine scriptures. Previously there came to our country Mar Gregory, the fifth Patriarch of Jerusalem, and after him Mar Andeas Alvaeus and after him came a certain Maphrian Mar Basil Catholicus and with him Mar John the Metropolitan and the Rabban Matthaeus.

Since their death we drift like a ship without a rudder. If thou wilt come and wilt come to us, then as God the Father promised to the sons of Israel, so may Jesus Christ, the Merciful and the Ruler, deal with you and so may the Holy Spirit the Paraclete console you. Amen.

In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and nine, there came a Metropolitan by name Gabriel the Ninivite, whom Mar Elias Catholicus sent to me. But he held such a faith as that Christ had two natures and persons: and therefore we did not believe him, except a certain priest called Mathew Beticutel and a few Portuguese Roman Catholics. (*paucos quosdam homines Francos Romanos*). We, however, have not wisdom that we may answer him. Therefore we report it to thee, our Lord.

Charles, a Dutch Doctor, an Orientalist of repute, a learned man and a proved philosopher, our dearest and most beloved companion, dwells in Amsterdam, the first city of Holland. He has advised us that we may proceed in this matter with one mind. We have written to him in order that this matter may be made known to Antioch; that you through the mercy of God may write one letter to the honourable Commandant who dwells in Cochin, which town is subject to the King of all India, and another letter to us; that it may bring help to us against our enemies and the infidel kings for ever: and that above all you will with the utmost care supplicate King Comphocius, who greatly honours the Dutch and is very illustrious among Kings. This King gives judgment in accordance with equity and receives the petitions of the poor and greatly honours all this nation. And all these honour Antioch and despise Rome: and they are right. Amen. My Lord, brilliant Ignatius, (*Domine mi Ignati ignee,*) take action without delay and diligently look after all this business, forgetting no part of it, through the living God. Amen. Especially pray in order that we may obtain a blessing by your prayers. Pray to the beloved Father and the merciful Christ and the Holy Spirit the Protector, and the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and the Saints. Amen.

In the year of the epoch of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty, this epistle is written from Pharabur Patona, a church of St. Thomas the blessed Apostle, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Elul (September). Amen. Our Father &c. The Gate of all India."

In this letter Mar Thomas IV calls himself the fifth bishop of the Syrians in India. Because of this expression, Mr. Whitehouse has interpolated another bishop and has made this prelate Mar Thomas V. Mar Dionysius, the present Metropolitan of the Jacobites at Kottayam, in a note on this expression, suggests that Mar Thomas reckoned Bishop Chandy as the first. A better suggestion seems to be that in writing thus to the Jacobite Patriarch Mar Thomas reckoned as the first bishop Ahatalla or Mar Ignatius, the prelate stopped by the Portuguese in 1652. In this letter it seems clear that he makes a distinction between the ruling bishops, himself and his four predecessors, and the teaching bishops who occasionally came from Syria. Of these he mentions four, Gregory, Alvaeus, Basil and John.

(95). On page 111 of *India Orientalis Christiana*, Paulinus says that David, son of the Cochin Jew Ezechiel, often candidly confessed to him that Bishop John was a jew and no Christian. Father Polycarp, the present Provincial at Verapoly, says that when he was at Bagdad the French missionaries there told him the same story, that this alleged bishop was really a Jew. But Mar Dionysius, the present Jacobite Metropolitan at Kottayam, says that he was a Christian Bishop, although a bad one, and the story told to Anquetil du Perron in 1758, immediately after the occurrence agrees that he was a Bishop.

Paulinus, on the page cited above, says:—The heretic Iconoclast in the schismatic churches burned with fire the images of the saints and even of our Lord Christ and also Crosses. He gave wives to the priests, he stole the silver plate of several churches, he drank wine to excess and when drunk he caused various disturbances.

The Dutch records have the following entries about him:

On January 16th 1748 the Syrian Bishop Joannis writes to say that on coming on this coast he had found the ignorance of the Syrian Christians to be gross and their mode of living beastly. Wishing therefore to obtain priests from Antioch he asked the Company for money. On January 17th the Commandeur answers the above, granting his request and hoping that the differences between him and Mar Thome may soon cease. This was reported to Batavia and an answer was received, dated 18th October 1748, telling the Cochin Council that they should try to settle the disputes between Bishop Joannis newly arrived and the old Bishop Mar Thome. They should forward the money which was applied for by the said Joannis in order to obtain more teachers (priests) from Antioch, for they would prove a good obstruction to the Roman Catholics. But, before this letter was received from Batavia, the Council had made the following entry. 22nd October. Letters from the Syrian Bishop Joannis asking protection against the Catholics. He is subsequently arrested by order of the Raja of Cochin for having robbed the moneys of three or four churches. *List of Ancient Dutch Records in Fort St. George.* 450, 462, 458.

Anquetil du Perron in *Zendavesta*, clxii, tells the following story:—

The schismatic Christians of St. Thomas, tired of obeying Mar Thomas a simple Archdeacon, asked permission from the Dutch to get a bishop from Syria. The Council of Cochin consented and gave an order to the Dutch ships of Bassora to catch the first that they found. They showed them a bishop named John, who had been driven out of Ethiopia and whom a Franciscan, friend had just got out of the prison of Bassora by paying for him five hundred guineas. The prelate arrived at Cochin in 1747 and was received with the noise of cannon and with extraordinary honours: the Dutch have always shown more regard for the Hereticks than for the Catholics. The passion which this bishop had for wine, soon made him contemptible in the eyes of the Malabar Christians. They were even obliged to rescue from the hands of the Jews the Cross of a Church and a censer which he had given them in payment of a sum which he owed them. One day this prelate embarked drunk on a boat and ordered the boatmen to take him to Cochin; there he sent them to fetch a bottle of brandy, drank this and fell asleep. The Faithful who were searching for him every where, at sunrise found him in this boat. The Commandeur, hearing this story, put Monseigneur under arrest in Cochin and in 1751 sent him back to Bassora, very nearly in the same condition in which he was when he left the prison of that town. Notwithstanding these gross vices, this bishop had never been willing to consecrate Mar Thomas. According to George Nametulla (the Chorepiscopus), it was the bishops who came in 1751 that sent him back to Syria.

(96). Anquetil du Perron, in his *Zend-avesta*, 161, says that with these three bishops came numerous clerics and a Chorepiscopus named George Nametallah, who managed the affairs of the party. He describes this George as a clever and polished man of thirty-five or forty years, a native of Aleppo, with Arabic as his mother tongue but speaking Portuguese well and understanding Latin and Ethiopian. This mission to Malabar was a cloak to hide his operations in commerce which took up more of his time than did his sacred ministry. Du Perron went with this man to Kandanate and was presented to the Archbishop Basil. Although the Chorepiscopus George, in interpreting, made the most of what the Archbishop said, Du Perron soon saw that the Archbishop was only an ignorant monk, whom poverty had compelled to quit his own country. Nevertheless Du Perron remarks that the Christians preferred these bishops from Antioch, who lived at their expense, to the Catholic prelates who themselves helped the Christians from their own purses.

(97). Bishop Gregory carried his opposition so far as to consecrate the leader of the faction who thwarted Mar Thomas V and this bishop took the name Cyril. However, Mar Thomas had the upper hand and imprisoned Mar Cyril, who afterwards fled to the extreme north of the Cochin State and there founded the diminutive See of Anyur or Tholyur, which exists to this day, each bishop having consecrated a successor.

The succession of bishops is as follows :—

Cyril I.
Cyril II.
Philoxenos I.
Philoxenos II.
Cyril III and Cyril IV.

(98). The Romo-Syrians have a tradition which was mentioned in note 84 that in 1777 Joseph Cariatil went to Europe with overtures to Rome from Mar Thomas VI. Eight years later, on December 22nd 1785, Father Paul visited the bishop. "When I entered his chamber, I saw an old man seated among his Cattanar priests, with a long white beard, holding in his hand a silver crozier curved at the top in the Greek style, wearing a Pontifical cope, on his head a round mitre, such as the Oriental bishops wear, bearing a cross worked on it Phrygian fashion, from which a white veil flowed from head to shoulders. I tried him in a long discourse. I found him shrewd enough, talking grandly of his house and dignity, the matter of his conversion putting by for some other occasion, and striving that his nephew may succeed him. I knew the beast by its horns and, having left it, hastened on my journey."

In a letter dated May 7th 1787 from the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly to Propaganda, it is stated that Mar Dionysius I was willing to make his submission on the condition that he be recognised as Metropolitan of all the Syrian Christians in Malabar, not only his own flock but also the Syrians in communion with Rome.

(99). The circulation of the *Christian Researches* was immense, the first edition of seventeen hundred copies was soon exhausted and before the end of the year 1811 three other editions had been printed. Pearson's *Memories of Dr. Buchanan*, 5th edition, 348. In 1812 a ninth edition had been reached. The book is now very rare and it is difficult to find a copy in Southern India.

(100). Exact information about the origin of the earliest endowments is not forthcoming, because in December 1808 the records of the Resident's office were burned by the rebellious Travancore troops, but such information as can be obtained is here noted.

Three thousand Star Pagodas were invested with the East India Company at 8 o/o interest in 1808 for the benefit of the Syrian Christians and a like sum at the same interest for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Mission at

Verapoly. These investments remain to this day. The Roman Catholic Archbishop at Verapoly draws the interest on one fund. The interest on the other fund is claimed both by the Jacobites and by the Reformed Syrians and this dispute is now before the district Court of Trivandrum in the form of an interpleader suit by the Secretary of State as the stakeholder. Mar. Dionysius says that the money was the amount saved by the Syrian bishop in those days, that Colonel Macaulay, in the troublous times of the Revolt of 1808 borrowed this sum from the bishop and that instead of repaying the cash the money was thus invested. This suggestion does not seem likely. The fact that a like sum was invested for a Roman Catholic Mission is against it. Another story is that these two sums were the forfeited property of a wealthy Christian named Mathu Tharakan. Yet another surmise is that these two sums were the private monies of the Resident, Colonel Macaulay, given as a thank-offering when he escaped with his life in the revolt.

In 1816 the Travancore Darbar gave Rs. 8,000 to enable the Syrian Christians to prosecute the study of the Scriptures and in 1818 the Rani gave Rs. 20,000 through the Resident, Colonel Munro, for the support of the Syrian College at Kottayam. Next year, 1819, the Rani gave Munro's island for the benefit of the Syrians and particularly for the education of the boys in the Kottayam Seminary.

The London Missionary Society in South Travancore also received several benefactions. In 1814 the Rani gave 88 cottahs of paddy fields at Thamarakulam and Vailakulam near Cape Comorin, to the Rev. Mr. Ringletaube and his successors in office for the feeding of the poor and for educational purposes connected with the mission. In 1818 abated the annual tax on 99 Cottahs of paddy given to the Rev. Mr. Meade and his successors in office for the same charitable purpose. The same year, 1818, there was a gift of Rs. 5,000 to Mr. Mead, with which he bought 21 Cottahs of paddy fields near Vellamadum for the support of the seminary. Next year, 1819, the Rani gave 34 Cottahs of paddy lands adjoining Puthiner near Kalimar, to the Rev. Mr. Mead and his successors for the benefit of the mission.

(101). At the suggestion of Colonel Munro in May 1818 the Syrian bishop received a salary from the college funds. *Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society*, Nineteenth year, 1818–1819. 316.

(102). See on this subject the Rev. Mr. Howard's *Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, pages 96–108.

(103). *Proceedings of C. M. S.* Nineteenth year, 1818–1819. 168, note. Hough, *Christianity in India*, IV. 326, speaks of "the design to raise this prostrate Church from its degraded condition and weed it of the errors and superstitions which the Church of Rome had introduced into it."

(104). Howard's *Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies*, 67.

(105). Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, 252, and Howard, 83.

(106). The note written on this by Mar Dionysius, the present Metropolitan of the Jacobites at Kottayam, says that the conditions imposed were that the Syrian bishop was not to ordain any candidate without a certificate of fitness from a C. M. S. missionary and that the accounts of the Syrian churches were to be audited by a person appointed by the Resident, these conditions imposing a bondage to which no Christian bishop ought to submit.

(107). Part of the endowments were awarded to the C. M. S. to be managed by the C. M. S. and the Resident for the benefit of the Syrians. This system of control by the Resident is obsolete and now the Resident takes no part in the management of these funds.

(108). Sherring's *History of Protestant Missions in India*, 316.

(109). Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals.*

(110). The decision pronounced in this suit was followed in 1901 in a suit by Mar Dionysius to recover possession of the Cheriapalle church in Kottayam. Two Hindu judges repeated the judgment given by the majority in the Seminary case in 1889 and Mr. Justice Hunt gave a dissentient judgment on the lines of the judgment pronounced by Mr. Justice Ormsby.

There has been much irrelevant criticism of these judgments because of a want of precision in language when speaking of the consecration of bishops, and an attempt may be made to clear up this point, without any discussion whatever of the merits of the decision.

There is a difference between an irregular and an invalid consecration. Speaking generally, every bishop, as such, has the power to consecrate any priest as bishop. But it is usual that such consecration be by permission of some authority. Thus in the Latin Church at a consecration is read the Pope's Bull permitting the consecration. So at an Anglican consecration the Royal mandate is read. In Oriental Churches the consent of the patriarch is usual. But a consecration without such permission, although it may be irregular and blameworthy, may nevertheless be a valid consecration. That is to say, the consecrand may be a bishop, although with no lawful jurisdiction over any diocese. Again, the fact that one bishop consecrated another does not of itsef give to the consecrator any authority over or any power to interfere in the diocese of the consecrand. All history is full of examples. Augustine of Canterbury went to France for consecration but the French bishop claimed no rights over England. Many an Archbishop is consecrated by one of his suffragans, as here in Travancore, where the Archbishop of Verapoly was consecrated by his suffragan, the Bishop of Quilon. Even the Pope, if not already a bishop before his election, is consecrated by his suffragan, the Bishop of Ostia. Thus the mere fact that episcopal orders came from Antioch was not relied on in this litigation.

The contention put forward by Mar. Dionysius was that this is part of the Patriarchate of Antioch and that the permission of the Patriarch is necessary for a regular consecration. That is an intelligible contention. The case put forward by the defendants is that this Church and the little sister Church of Tholyur are independent Churches with power to consecrate bishops without the license of any Patriarch. That also, is a clear and intelligible contention.

(111). The Jerusalem Bishopric Act was passed in 1845 to enable the consecration of Anglican bishops for places beyond the King's dominions. Bishop Gell of Madras was of opinion that the Madras diocese could be subdivided only by Act of Parliament and the Secretary of State was unwilling to introduce such a Bill. The difficulty was got over by regarding Cochin and Travancore as places outside the Queen's dominions and by consecrating Bishops Speechly and Hodges under the Jerusalem Bishopric Act. Thus Cochin town, Tangacheri and Anjengo are still part of the diocese of Madras. Bishop Hodges receives no salary from the Crown but a contribution of Rs. 250 per mensem is paid by the Madras Government towards the salary of a minister for Trivandrum and Quilon.

(112). This phrase is twice used by Hough, *Christianity in India*, iv. 67, 254.

(113). Hough, *Christianity in India*, iv. 283.

(114). Hough. *Christianity in India.* iv. 285. Hence a legend has arisen among the Christians in South Travancore that Ringletaube did not die on Earth but went up to Heaven as did Elijah. Judging from the veneration in which his memory is held, Ringletaube seems to have been of the stuff of which Apostles are made and to have had something of the spirit of St. Francis Xavier, in whose country he worked.

(115).

In *Oriente Conquistado*, ii, pages 70–74, is a description of the customs of the Thomas-Christians in which the first point mentioned is that these Christians obeyed their Archbishop in things temporal as well as in things spiritual. This habit has come down to the present day and in the eye of an official the most noteworthy figure in statistics about the Christians in Travancore is the very small number of civil disputes that come before the courts. When such disputes arise they are usually decided by priest or bishop or missionary and do not reach the courts. There is no codified law of succession among Christians in Travancore and the Christians do not wish for any such legislation. When a case does come into court it is decided in accordance with what the court finds to be the custom of the class.

(116).

While these sheets were in the Press I received from two Romo-Syrian priests, the Rev. E. A. Nidiry of Kuravilangod and the Rev. Father Bernard of St. Thomas, of the Mannanam monastery, a manuscript of 86 pages in which it is contended that the Thomas-Christians were never Nestorians but were Chaldeans in communion with Rome and that the Portuguese, in describing them as Nestorians, made a mistake which has been handed down from one author to another. Much that is said in this manuscript I have already mentioned in the text or notes above, but the following assertions were new to me and deserve attention :—

The names of the two bishops who landed at Quilon in the ninth century ought to be Mar Sabresius and Mar Protasius. They were pious Catholic Chaldean bishops and Archbishop Menezes had no ground for his suspicion that these two bishops, held in veneration by all the Thomas-Christians, were Nestorians. The mistake which the Portuguese made was to call all these Christians Nestorians, even when they were Catholics. Thus *Oriente Conquistado*, ii. conq. i, div. ii, end of paragraph 14, divides the Nestorians into two bodies, one under the Patriarch at Mossul, the other giving obedience to the Roman Supreme Pontiff. This ambiguity is avoided if the nomenclature used at Rome is followed and the heretics are called Nestorians while the Catholics are called Chaldeans. Two paragraphs later, in paragraph 16, *Oriente Conquistado* speaks of these two bishops, Mar Sabresius and Mar Protasius, and makes a surmise that they may have been Nestorian heretics and that, if they were heretics, the miracles attributed to them must be fabulous. This is not the way in which history ought to be written. There always was, even in the midst of the Nestorian country, a faithful remnant who held fast to the Holy See. Pope St. Gregory III (731–741) was a Chaldean from the province of Syria. (*Guriel Elementa Linguæ Chaldaicæ*, 168). Mar John, Archbishop of the Syrians and afterwards Patriarch, went with his suffragans to Rome and received the Pallium from Pope Callixtus II in the twelfth century. That Pope reigned from 1119 to 1124. (*Gesta Callixti ii, Papæ. Vetera Analecta Mabilloni* 468.) When Pope Julius III on April 6th 1553 confirmed John Sulacca as Chaldean Patriarch, the Pope said that the discipline and liturgy of the Chaldeans had already been approved by his predecessors, Nicholas I (858–867), Leo X (1513–1521) and Clement VII (1523–1534). This Papal letter also mentions the former Patriarch, Simon Mamma, of good memory, as Patriarch of the Christians in Malabar. This shows that there were from time to time Chaldean

Patriarchs in communion with Rome and it is contended that the Thomas-Christians of Malabar were in communion with these Chaldean Patriarchs and not with the Nestorian Patriarch. When the Portuguese arrived here they inaccurately called the four bishops Nestorians but these bishops were Chaldean. Their report of 1504 was addressed to the Chaldean Patriarch, else how did it find its way into the Vatican Library? The Portuguese were startled by the absence of images and by the use of leavened bread, but these two points are in accordance with Chaldean usage. The Thomas-Christians paid the expenses of Marignoli because he was Papal Delegate. St. Francis Xavier in a letter from Cochin to St. Ignatius Loyola, dated 14th January 1549, asks for Indulgences for certain churches, saying, "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." In another letter dated 28th January 1549 to Rodriguez, St. Francis Xavier asks for indulgences for a church at Cranganore, "which is very piously frequented by the Christians of St. Thomas, to be a consolation for these Christians and to increase piety." As saints are notoriously keen in detecting heresy and as indulgences cannot be granted to schismatics, it is contended that these letters of St. Francis Xavier show that the Thomas-Christians were in communion with Rome, even before the arrival of Mar Joseph in 1555. *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, by H. J. Coleridge, S. J., ii. 74 90.

When the Portuguese deported Mar Joseph to Portugal it was not the Nestorian Patriarch but the Chaldean Patriarch who sent Mar Abraham to take his place. This appears from Action iii, Decree X of the third provincial council at Goa in 1585, which recites that Mar Abraham came as Archbishop of Angamale, with a letter from Pope Pius IV. Another point is that the letter which Pope Gregory XIII wrote on November 29th 1578 to Mar Abraham does not tell him to convert his flock, but to convert others, that is to say, those who were not Christians. The Passage is as follows:—*Scis autem hoc esse firmissimum fundamentum salutis, episcopum vero non sua tantum salute contentum esse debere, sed etiam laborare, ut alios a fraude Satanae atque impietate ereptos. ad Catholicam ecclesiam atque ad Christum adjungat, inque eo ejusdem Christi adjutorem esse.*"

That is the theory put forward in the manuscript which these two Syrian priests have sent me. The tone is hostile to the Portuguese, but the arguments deserve consideration on their merits and, certainly, the attitude of St. Francis Xavier towards these Christians is a point which cannot easily be explained away.

From the revolt against Archbishop Garcia in 1653 the manuscript is bitterly hostile to the Carmelite missionaries. It says that Bishop Chandy brought back the greater part of the rebels and that if the Carmelite missionaries had listened to him and had selected his nephew Mattheus as Coadjutor instead of the Eurasian Raphael, all the malcontents would have returned to their obedience. When at last they got rid of Bishop Raphael, the Christians sent a message to the Chaldean Patriarch asking for a Bishop. In response to this message the Patriarch sent Mar Simon. The Carmelite missionaries made use of him to consecrate Father Angelus Francis and then sent him to Pondicherry to be out of the way.

Afterwards, in 1779, there was a golden opportunity to reconcile the separated Syrians. Mar Dionysius, their bishop, was honestly wishful for reconciliation and made repeated overtures which were rejected by the Carmelite missionaries who suspected his sincerity. The following is the text of the letter which Mar Dionysius in 1779 sent to Pope Pius VI by the hands of Dr. Joseph Cariaty:—"When I took charge, I understood from the Jacobites who came during the rule of my predecessors, as well as from the learned priests of the Roman Catholic Church, that I had not the true ordination and

that the priesthood I received at the hands of my predecessors was not valid and so, humbly hearkening to their admonition, in 1772 I received anew in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Neranam all the holy orders from the tonsure to the Episcopal consecration, from the Jacobite Metropolitan, Mar Gregory. Further, I was convinced from the learned priests of the Catholic Church, as well as from the books of the Sacred Councils, that the creed I have received is not orthodox and also, that no one can be saved without the Catholic Faith, which from the days Our Lord to the present day remains spotless and immaculate. Through the medium of the abovesaid priests, I made an earnest prayer to Don Salvador dos Reis, Jesuit Archbishop of Cranganore, and to Fra Florentius of Jesus, the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Malabar, asking them to receive me, together with my people, into the communion of the Catholic Church and to absolve us from the excommunication which had befallen us in the days of our Fathers. And further, I asked them that in case they could not receive me, they would kindly send my request to the Apostolic See of Rome; but they refused to give attention to my prayer. So I sent for Father Joseph Cariaty, of our nationality, a student of the Propaganda College, and with tears in my eyes and with deep sorrow I revealed my mind to him and put the salvation of my soul into his hands, and he promised me, saying, 'I shall go to Rome a second time for you, even at the risk of my life on the way.' With him therefore I send eight other persons from among the Syrian people, of whom some are priests and others secular, to represent me before the Apostolic See and to inform the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of my petition. So far as it lies within my power, I with my people swear before the Omnipotent God and promise to embrace and believe with our whole strength what the Catholic Church embraces and believes." In addition to writing this letter, Mar Dionysius, on June 21st 1799, in the Thathampally Romo-Syrian church, signed a document pleading himself to abide by the decrees of the synod of Diamper. (Bishop Marcellinus' *History of the Catholic Religion in Malabar.* 251.) These negotiations came to nought, because the Carmelite missionaries advised Rome that Mar Dionysius was not sincere. Thus the opportunity passed, never to return, because with the English Company came the Protestant missionaries who took possession of the flock of Mar Dionysius.

Such are the opinions expressed in this manuscript. Although these opinions are controversial and will be distasteful to some readers, they are printed in this note for the information of the student of this subject.

Translation of extract from the proceedings of the Third Provincial Council of Goa, A. D. 1585.

THIRD SESSION.

The matters of the Archbishopric of Angamale and the Christianity which is called of St. Thomas, in parts of Malabar.

TENTH DECREE.

That those who come from Chaldea shall present letters to the Archbishop, Primate of India.

Forasmuch as Our Lord has said in His Holy Gospel that he who enters the sheepfold not by the door but by some other way is a thief and a robber, and forasmuch as some persons have come from Chaldea to this Church and this Christianity and have introduced 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 Archbishop of Goa, as Primate of India and the East, and unless these letters come

from His 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 D. Mar Abraham, when he came appointed Archbishop of Angamale 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: and the Council humbly begs His Holiness to approve this 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 Holy Roman Church.

Taken from the *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, Lisbon: The National Press. 1872.

DHARMARAM COLLEGE LIBRARY
34596
BANGALORE

INDEX.

A.

	PAGE
Abedjesus, Mar, Bishop of Xigar, ...	72
Abedjesus, Mar, Bishop at Trichur, ...	85
Abraham, Mar, Sent to India, ...	18
Abraham, Mar, Friendly with Jesuits, ...	21, 66, 67
Abraham,, Mar, His death, ...	22
Abraham, Mar, Papal brief empowering Menezes to try, ...	67
Abraham, Mar, His relations with Nestorian Patriarch, ...	67
Abraham, Mar, Sent by Chaldean Patriarch, ...	93
Abuna, Title explained, ...	64
Adaeus, St., Apostle of the Chaldeans, ...	72
Adeodatus, Latin form of Ahatalla, ...	75
Ahatalla, Mar, Comes to India, ...	26
Ahatalla, Mar, His death, ...	27
Ahatalla, Mar, His case discussed, ...	72
Ahatalla, Mar, Note upon, ...	75
Ahatalla, Mar, Sent by Jacobite Patriarch, ...	85
Alfred the Great sends gifts, ...	7
Alleppey, a C. M. S. mission station, ...	43
Aloysius, Bishop, ...	31
Alvaeus, Andrew, His death, ...	35
Alvarez, Archbishop, Story of, ...	85
Alwaye, a C. M. S. mission station, ...	47
Ambalakada, Jesuits retire to, ...	30
Ambalakada, Seminary at, ...	79
Ambalakada, Printing Press at, ...	66, 67
Ambrosian Rite at Milan, ...	57
Amsterdam, *Hortus Malabaricus* Printed at, ...	29
Amsterdam, Senate permits Carmelites to enter Malabar, ...	30
Amsterdam, Syrian letter wrongly delivered at, ...	33
Angamale, Mar Abraham, Archbishop of, ...	18
Angamale, Diocesan Synod of, ...	21
Angamale, Francis Roz appointed Bishop of, ...	24
Angamale, See shifted to Cranganore, ...	24
Angamale, Meeting of Syrian Christians at, ...	81
Angelus Francis, Bishop, ...	30
Angelus Francis, Bishop, His consecration, ...	79
Anglican missionaries arrive, ...	37
Anglican missionaries part company with Syrians, ...	39

	Page.
Anjengo, Portuguese bishops reside at, ...	81
Antioch, Consecration of Mar Dionysius by Patriarch of, ...	41
Antioch, Decision in favour of Jacobite Patriarch of, ...	42
Antioch, The various Patriarchs of, ...	57
Antioch, Theory of Jacobites about jurisdiction of, ...	59
Antony Thondanattu, His story, ...	84
Anyur, See of, ...	89
Aquaviva, Father, writes to Mar Abraham, ...	67
Archdeacons, Note upon, ...	66
Archdeacon Thomas, His disputes with Archbishop Garcia, ...	75
Archdeacon Thomas, Note upon his revolt, ...	76
Askwith, C. M. S. missionary, ...	46
Assemani, Note upon, ...	61
Asseman answers La Croze, ...	73
Athanasius, Mar, meets Bishop Heber at Bombay	38
Athanasius, Matthew, consecrated by Patriarch, ...	39
Athanasius, Matthew, Death of, ...	41
Attingal, Rani of persecutes Christians, ...	15
Attingal, A London Mission station, ...	52
Autonomous Church, Contention that Syrians are an, ...	43

B.

Babylon, Nestorian Patriarch of, ...	5
Bailey, C. M. S. Missionary, ...	43
Baker, C. M. S. Missionary, ...	43
Baker, Henry, Junior, C. M. S. Missionary	45
Baker, Mrs. and the Misses, Their work, ...	46
Baldaeus speaks of Jesuit library, ...	79
Baliartes, King of the Thomas Christians, ...	10
Banks, opened by the Salvation Army, ...	55
Basil, Bishop, Jacobite, ...	35
Basil, one of three Jabobite Bishops, ...	36
Basil, Archbishop, Description of, ...	89
Beliarte, King of the Thomas Christians, ...	10
Bellerby, C. M, S. Missionary, ...	46
Benziger, Bishop, Coadjutor, at Quilon, ...	83
Bernard of St. Thomas, Father, Syrian monk, ...	92
Bernardin, Archbishop, ...	32
Bishop, C. M. S. Missionary, ...	46
Bishop John at Council of Nicea, ...	4
Bishop Joseph from Edessa, ...	4
Bishops *in partibus Infidelium*, ...	74

PAGE.

Bishop, Consecration of, by one Bishop alone, ... 77
Bishops, Succession of among separated Syrians, ... 78
Bishops, Carmelite, report arrival to Dutch, ... 78
Blandford Miss, Her work in Trivandrum, ... 49
Bouttari, Father, baptises Nilakandan Pillai, ... 80
British Museum, Jesuit letters in, ... 68
Brito, Stephen de, Archbishop of Cranganore, ... 25, 74
Brito, B. John de, The Madura martyr, ... 80
Buchanan, Dr. Claudius, ... 31
Buchanan's *Christian Researches*, ... 37, 43
Buchanan, His Life by Pearson, ... 64
Burnell, Dr., His Gnostic theory, ... 59

C.

Cabral, Portuguese Admiral, visits Cochin, ... 12
Calcutta, Bishop of, had jurisdiction in Travancore, ... 47
Caley, Archdeacon, C. M. S. Missionary, ... 48
Callixtus II, Pope, ... 92
Cana, Thomas, Note upon, ... 59
Careatil, Joseph, Archbishop of Cranganore, ... 74, 81
Carmelites sent to Malabar, ... 27
Carmelites, expelled by the Dutch, ... 28
Carmelites, Expulsion cancelled, ... 30
Carmelite bishops report arrival to Dutch, ... 78
Carmel, Mount, Bishop Francis retires to, ... 31
Carvalho, Father Simon, ... 80
Chaldean Patriarch asked to send a bishop, ... 32
Chaldeans, SS. Adæus and Meris, Apostles of, ... 72
Chaldean Rite Permission to use refused, ... 73
Chaldean Patriarch, Syrian Christians look towards the, ... 81
Chaldean Patriarch, Note upon the, ... 83
Chaldean bishop comes to India, ... 83
Chaldean claim to jurisdiction rejected at Rome, ... 84
Chaldeans, Syrian Christians said to be, ... 92
Chandy, Bishop, *alias* Alexander a Campo, ... 27
Chandy, Bishop, appointed Vicar Apostolic, ... 28
Chandy, Bishop, His nephew Mattheus, ... 74
Chandy, Bishop, His consecration discussed, ... 77
Chandy, Bishop, signs as Metropolitan of all India, ... 78
Chandy, Bishop, His death, ... 78
Changanacheri, Vicar Apostolic of, ... 33
Chapman, C. M. S. missionary, ... 45

	Page.
Chattiata church, Foundation of,	29
Chattiata church exempted from episcopal jurisdiction,	78
Cheamgurechil, Administrator of Cranganore,	74
Cheruman Perumal, Ruler of Cranganore,	4
Cheruman Perumal, Note upon,	59
Chorepiscopus, Meaning of title,	85
Christians, Syrian, where found	1
Christians, Syrian, origin of name,	1
Christians, of St. Thomas,	1
Church Missionary Society, sends missionaries,	43
Cochin, Diocese of,	15, 32
Coleridge, His Life of St. Francis Xavier,	64
College endowed at Kottayam,	43
Collins, C. M. S. missionary,	46
Comphocius, King, mentioned by Mar Thomas,	86
Concordat of 1886,	32
Consecration of Bishop Chandy by one bishop,	28
Consecration of Bishop Angelus by Chaldean bishop,	30
Consecration of Mar Dionysius I,	36
Consecration of Bishop Joseph discussed,	76
Consecration of Bishop Chandy discussed,	77
Consecration of Bishop Angelus discussed,	79
Consecration of Thondanattu Antony,	84
Consecration of Alvarez and Suarez,	85
Consecration of Mar Cyril	89
Consecration of bishops discussed,	91
Consecration of Anglican bishop,	91
Copper plate grants at Kottayam,	6
Copper plate grants from Cheruman Perumal,	59
Copper plate grants now at Kottayam, Note upon,	62
Cosmas Indicopleustes visits this coast,	4
Councils, Church, in the C. M. S. mission,	47
Councils, Church, of the London Mission,	53
Cox, Rev. John,	51
Cranganore, St. Thomas lands at,	2
Cranganore, Thomas Cana arrives at,	4
Cranganore, Stone cross removed from,	6
Cranganore, Copper plate mentioning,	7
Cranganore, Mar Jacob translates testament at,	13
Cranganore, Seminary at,	15
Cranganore Seminary, Mar Joseph refuses to ordain at,	17
Cranganore made See of an Archbishop,	24
Cranganore, Archbishop of, *Ad honorem*,	33

PAGE.

Cranganore, New Testament translated at. 63
Cranganore, Archbishops of, ... 74
Cranganore, Jesuit library at, ... 79
Crosses on stone at Kottayam, ... 6
Croze, La, His *Christianisme aux Indes*, ... 73
Cullen, General, Resident, ... 40
Custodius, Bishop, ... 29
Cyril, Mar, sent by Patriarch of Antioch, ... 39
Cyril, Mar, Reappearance of, ... 41
Cyril, Bishops named, ... 89

D.

Damaun, Bishop of, Archbishop of Cranganore, ... 33
Denha Bar Jona, Chaldean priest 84
Denha, Bishop, killed by Kurds, ... 85
Deportation of Mar Athanasius, ... 38
Devasagayam, Martyrdom of, ... 80
Dhariyakal, Name explained, ... 59
Diamper, King of, ... 10
Diamper, Synod of, ... 24
Diamper, Synod of, Archdeacon Robinson upon the, ... 57
Diamper, Synod of, discussed, ... 71
Diamper, Synod of, Asseman upon the, ... 73
Diarbekr, Residence of Jacobite Patriarch, ... 26
Diego, Archbishop, of Cranganore, ... 74
Dionysius I, Mar, Paulinus visits, ... 89
Dionysius, Mar, consecrated by Patriarch, ... 41
Dionysius, Mar, resides at Kottayam, ... 43
Donato, Father Francis, Dominican, ... 25, 26
Dutch did no mission work, ... 2
Dutch expel missionaries from Cochin, ... 28
Duthie, Rev. J. 52

E.

Ebedjesus, Chaldean Patriarch, ... 17, 83
Edessa, Bishop Joseph comes from, ... 4
Edessa, Relics of Apostle taken to, ... 4
Elias X, Nestorian Patriarch, ... 86
Endowments, Origin of, ... 89
Endowments, obtained by Colonel Munro, ... 37
English take Cochin, ... 36
Ephesus, Council of, ... 58

Ernaculam, High school at, ... 33
Ernaculam, Vicar Apostolic of, ... 33
Ettumanur, a C. M. S Mission station, ... 47
Eugene, Monastery of St. 11
Eutyches, His teaching, ... 57
Ezechiel, a Cochin Jew, ... 36, 88

F.

Fells, Surgeon at Neyoor, ... 52
Fenn, C. M. S. missionary, ... 43
Fifth bishop, The phrase discussed, ... 87
Fisher converts, Their bravery, ... 64
Fishermen of Ramnad send deputation, ... 14
Florentius, Bishop, ... 31
Francis, Bishop, ... 31, 80
Francis Roz, His work among the Syrian Christians, ... 24
Francis Xavier, enters Travancore, ... 14
Francis Xavier, writes about Cranganore Seminary, ... 15
Francis Xavier, writes about Mar Jacob, ... 16
Francis Xavier, His Life and Letters, ... 64
French-Adams, C. M. S. missionary,... 46
Frumentius, Bishop, Note upon, ... 61
Fry, Surgeon at Neyoor, ... 52

G.

Gabriel, Nestorian bishop, ... 35, 86
Gama, Vasco de, visits Cochin, ... 13
Garcia, Francis, Archbishop of Cranganore, ... 26, 27, 28, 74
Geddes, His *Church in Malabar*, ... 67, 71
George, The Syrian form of the name, ... 62
George, companion of Joseph the Indian. 10
George, Archdeacon, first mentioned, ... 19
George, Bishop of Palur, ... 20
George, Archdeacon, makes profession at Vaipin, ... 69
George, Archdeacon, Administrator of Angamale, ... 23
George, Archdeacon, attempts to visit Hill tribes, ... 71
George, Archdeacon, disputes with Archbishop Francis Roz, ... 25
George, Archdeacon, His death, ... 26
George, Chorepiscopus, ... 89
Gnostic origin of Syrian Christians discredited, ... 59
Goa, Archbishop of Patriarch of East Indies, ... 33
Goa, Inquisition at, ... 27, 72, 75
Goa, First council of, ... 18

PAGE.

Goa, Second council of, ... 19
Goa, Third council of, ... 21, 22, 94
Goa, Fourth council of, ... 22
Gouvea gives translation of Syrian Mass, ... 73
Gregory III, Pope, a Syrian, ... 92
Gregory, Mar, consecrates Archdeacon Thomas, ... 28, 86
Gregory, Mar,... ... ... 35, 36
Gundra, Raja of, ... 71

H.

Hanxleden, Father, Sanscrit scholar, ... 79
Hawkesworth, C. M. S. missionary, ... 45
Heber, Bishop, befriends Mar Athanasius, ... 38
Hereditary succession of Archdeacons disliked at Rome, ... 78
Hierapolis, Titular See of Bishop Joseph, ... 76
Hill tribes, Conversion of, ... 71
Hodges, Bishop, ... 48
Hormisdas, St. Title of church at Angamale, ... 22
Hormisdas, St. Note upon, ... 67
Hortus Malabaricus, Publication of, ... 28
Howard, Father, afterwards Cardinal, ... 83
Hunt, Mr. Justice, His judgment, ... 91

I.

Ignatius Loyola, Letter from Francis Xavier to, ... 15
Ignatius XXIII, Patriarch of Antioch, ... 28
Ignatius XXXII, Patriarch of Antioch, ... 40
Ignatius XXXIII, visits Travancore, ... 41
Independent Catholic Church of India and Ceylon, ... 85
Iniquitribirim, name used by Francis Xavier for Raja, ... 64
Inquisition at Goa, ... 27, 71
Intruder, name given to Archdeacon Thomas, ... 76

J.

Jacob, Mar, sent to India, ... 11
Jacob, Mar, translates the New Testment. 13
Jacob, Mar, Francis Xavier writes about, ... 16
Jacob, Mar, His death, ... 17
Jacob, Vicar General of Mar Simeon, ... 21, 22

	PAGE.
Jacobite Syrians, under Patriarch of Antioch, ...	1
Jacobite opinions, ...	3
Jacobite bishops, Three arrive at Cochin, ...	36
Jacobites, origin of name, ...	57
Jacobite views about jurisdiction, ...	58
Jacobites, Liturgy used by, ...	74
Jacobites, Why they sent bishops to Malabar, ...	85
James, St. Liturgy of, ...	73, 74
Jarri, Father Peter, cited, ...	59
Jerusalem Bishopric Act, ...	91
Jessop, Dr. on the destruction of books, ...	72
Jesuits, Their friendship with Mar Abraham, ...	67
Jesuit letters in British Museum, ...	68
John, Bishop of Great India, ...	4
John, Bishop in the twelfth century, ...	7
John of Monte Corvino, ...	8
John de Marignoli, ...	9
John, Mar, sent to India, ...	11
John Sulacca, Chaldean Patriarch, ...	17
John Baptist, Bishop, ...	31
John, one of three Jacobite bishops, ...	36
John, a Jacobite bishop, ...	35
John, Bishop, suspected to be a Jew, ...	36, 88
John, Patriarch of the Syrians, ...	92
Jordan, Friar, Bishop of Quilon, ...	8, 62
Joseph, Bishop from Edessa, ...	4
Joseph the Indian, appears before Patriarch	10
Joseph the Indian, journeys to Europe, ...	12
Joseph the Indian, His authority discredited, ...	13
Joseph the Indian, Note upon, ...	63
Joseph, Mar, sent to India, ...	17
Joseph, Mar, returns to India, ...	18
Joseph, Mar, Preface written by, ...	65
Joseph, Mar, Portuguese hold bad opinion of, ...	65
Joseph, Mar, His death, ...	66
Joseph, Father, Carmelite missionary, ...	27
Joseph, Father, consecrated at Rome, ...	27
Joseph, Father, His consecration discussed, ...	76
Joseph Careatil, Archbishop of Cranganore, ...	74, 81
Joseph II, Chaldean Patriarch, ...	79
Joseph VI, Chaldean Patriarch, ...	84, 85
Joseph, afterwards Mar Dionysius, ...	41

PAGE.

K.

Kalliana, bishop at, ... 4
Kayankulam, Varthema visits, ... 63
Kerr, Madras Chaplain, His report, ... 36
Knill, Rev. Richard, ... 50
Koshi, Anglican Archdeacon, ... 48
Kottayam, Vicar Apostolic of, ... 33
Kottayam, College at, awarded to Syrians, ... 39
Kottayam, Residence of Jacobite Metropolitan, ... 43
Kottar, Church erected at, ... 64
Kunnankulam, a C. M. S. mission station, ... 47

L.

Lace, Manufacture of, at Nagercoil, ... 63
La Croze, His *Christianisme aux Indes*, ... 73
Languages, Chaldean and Syriac, ... 83
Lannoy, General Eustache de, ... 80
Lash, C. M. S. missionary, ... 46
Latin Rite, Note on, ... 57
Lavigne, Bishop, Vicar Apostolic, ... 33
Leitch, Dr. His death, ... 52
Leonard, Archbishop, ... 32, 33
Leopold I, Emperor, ... 29
Letter from Mar Thomas to Jacobite Patriarch 86
Letter from Mar Dionysius I to Pope Pius VI,... 93
Leyden, University of, ... 35
Liturgy used by Jacobites, ... 43
Liturgy used by the Thomas Christians, ... 72
Liturgy attributed to St. Thomas, ... 73
Liturgies used by Jacobities, ... 74
London Missionary Society, ... 49
Louis of St. Conrad, Bishop, ... 77
Lowe, Surgeon at Neyoor, ... 52

M.

Macaulay, Colonel, Resident, ... 37
Macaulay, Colonel, finds the copper plates, ... 62
Macaulay, Colonel, flies to Cochin, ... 64
Macaulay, Colonel, provides endowments, ... 90
Madhava Rao, Diwan of Travancore, ... 49
Madura troops retreat before St. Francis Xavier, ... 64
Mailapur, scene of Martyrdom of Apostle, ... 2

	Page.
Mailapur, Relics of Apostle taken from, ...	4
Mailapur, Friar Odoric visits, ...	8
Mailapur, Ahatalla arrested at, ...	76
Malayalam history by Bishop Marcellinus, ...	85
Maltby, Mr., Resident, on Bishop Roccos, ...	84
Manichean persecution, ...	59
Manigramakar, Name explained, ...	59
Mannanam, Monastery at, ...	34
Mar, Title explained	64
Mar Sapir and Mar Prodh, ...	5
Marcellinus, Bishop, ...	32, 33, 85
Marco Polo mentions Malabar, ...	7
Mardin, Monastery at, ...	57
Marignoli, John de, visits Quilon, ...	9
Martyrdom of Devasagayam, ...	80
Mass used by the Syrian Christians,...	73
Matancheri, Oath before the Coonen cross at, ...	27
Mateer of the London Mission, His writings, ...	52
Mathu Tharakan, wealthy Syrian Christian, ...	90
Mattheus, Father, Carmelite, Botanist, ...	28
Mattheus, nephew of Bishop Chandy, ...	29, 74, 78
Mault, Mrs., commences the lace industry, ...	53
Mavelicara, a C. M. S. mission station, ...	46
Mead, Rev. C., ...	50
Medical work of Salvation Army, ...	54
Medlycott, Bishop, Vicar Apostolic at Trichur,...	33
Medlycott, Bishop, writing on St. Thomas, ...	57
Medlycott, Bishop, His note on copper plates, ...	59
Medlycott, Bishop, His note on printing presses, ...	66
Medlycott, Bishop, sends extracts from British Museum, ...	68
Menezes, Archbishop, refuses to have Mar Simeon, ...	21
Menezes, Archbishop, lands in India, ...	22
Menezes, Archbishop, visits the Angamale diocese, ...	23
Menezes, Archbishop, holds the synod of Diamper, ...	24
Menezes, Archbishop, at Tevalicare,...	60
Menezes, Archbishop, His reasons for visiting Malabar, ...	68
Menezes, Archbishop, His conduct discussed, ...	71
Menezes, Archbishop, His alteration of liturgy,...	72
Menezes, Archbishop, His destruction of books, ...	72
Menezes, Archbishop, Reasons for altering liturgy, ...	73
Mellus, Bishop, Story of, ...	85
Meris, St. Apostle of the Chaldeans,...	72

PAGE.

Metropolitan appointed for India, ... 5
Meurin, Bishop, visits Malabar, ... 85
Middleton, Bishop, of Calcutta, ... 31
Milan, Ambrosian Rite at, ... 57
Miller, Rev. C., ... 52
Milne Rae, Professor, His *Syrian Church in India*, ... 71
Missionary, Church, Society, ... 49
Missionary, London, Society, ... 43
Mitras Lusitanas cited about Ahatalla, ... 76
Monastic Institutions among Syrians, ... 33
Monophysite doctrine described, ... 57
Monte Corvino, John of, ... 8
Mozarabaic Rite at Toledo, ... 57
Mulanturuttu, Synod of, ... 41
Multa Praeclara, Bull commencing with the words, ... 82
Mundakayam, a C. M. S. mission station, ... 47
Munro, Colonel, Resident, ... 37, 43
Munro, Colonel, His benefits to the London Mission, ... 51
Munro, Colonel, provides endowments, ... 90
Munro's Island, ... 90
Muttam, Fatal accident at, ... 52

N.

Nagercoil, a London Mission station, ... 51
Nagercoil, London Mission school at, ... 52
Nayars, Revolt of, ... 64
Neale, Dr. J. M., His note on St. Hormisdas, ... 67
Neale, Dr. J. M., His views on liturgies, ... 72, 73
Neranam, Old church at, ... 57
Nestorian heresy, ... 3, 58
Nestorian bishops in India, ... 10, 92
Nestorians seek reconciliation with Rome, ... 17, 83
Nestorian Bishop Gabriel, ... 35
Nestorian Patriarch consecrates Thondanattu Antony, ... 84
Nestorians, Contention that Syrian Christians never were, ... 92
Neve, C. M. S. missionary, ... 46
New Observers, Followers of Archdeacon Thomas, ... 76
Neyoor, a London Mission station, ... 51, 52
Nicea, Council of, ... 4
Nidiry, Rev. E. A., Syrian priest, ... 92
Nilakandan Pillai afterwards Devasagayam, ... 80
Nobili, Robert de, His works printed, ... 67

PAGE.

Norton, C. M. S. missionary, ... 43
North and South, Division of Syrian Christians, ... 61
Nosardel Sunday explained, ... 62

O.

Odoric, Friar, visits Quilon, ... 8
Old Observers, Name applied to Rome-Syrians, ... 76
Ordinations among the C. M. S. converts, ... 47
Oriente Conquistado, Note on book named, ... 67
Ormsby, Mr. Justice, His judgment, ... 42
Orphanages of Salvation Army, ... 55

P.

Padroado or Portuguese Patronage 32, 82
Pallam, a C. M. S. mission station, ... 47
Palmer, C. M. S. missionary, ... 46
Palomattam family, ... 59
Parachalay, a London Mission station, ... 52
Pareamakal, Thomas, Vicar General of Cranganore, ... 74, 81
Patriarch Theodosius, ... 5
Patriarch Salibazacha, ... 5
Patriarch Jesujabus Adjabenus, ... 5
Patriarch Simeon, ... 10
Patriarch Elias, ... 11
Patriarch Simeon, ... 17
Patriarch John Sulacca, ... 17
Patriarch Ebedjesus, ... 17
Patriarch Simeon VI, ... 18
Patriarch Ignatius XXIII, ... 28
Patriarch Ignatius XXXII, ... 40
Patriarch Ignatius XXXIII, ... 41
Patriarch Joseph II, ... 79
Patriarch Joseph VI, ... 84
Patriarchs, The various, of Antioch, ... 57
Patriarch of the East Indies, Archbishop of Goa, ... 33
Patronage of Portuguese King, Note upon the, ... 82
Paul of St. Thomas, Archbishop of Cranganore, ... 74
Paulinus of St. Bartholomew, Note upon, ... 81
Pazhaiur church, Father Hanxleden's grave at 79
Pearson's Life of Claudius Buchanan, ... 64
Peet, C. M. S. missionary, ... 45
Perron, Anquetil du, visits Verapoly, ... 61, 80

	Page.
Persecution of London Mission converts, ...	51
Persecution by Manicheans, ...	59
Persecution by Jesuits doubted, ...	75
Persia, Bishops obtained from, ...	4, 5
Persico, Mgr, comes to Verapoly, ...	85
Perumal, Cheruman, Note upon, ...	59
Peter Paul, Bishop, ...	29
Pillar formerly at Quilon, Note upon, ...	62
Pimenta, Father, writes to Aquaviva, ...	68
Pimental, Archbishop, of Cranganore, ...	74
Pimental, Archbishop, completes Malayalam dictionary, ...	79
Philoxenos, Mar, gives consecration, ...	37, 44
Philoxenos, Mar, Death of, ...	38, 45
Philoxenos, Bishops named, ...	89
Pope Nicholas I, ...	92
Pope Gregory III, a Syrian, ...	92
Pope Nicholas IV, ...	8
Pope Callixtus II, ...	92
Pope John XXII, ...	8
Pope Eugene IV, ...	10
Pope Alexander VI, ...	12
Pope Julius III, ...	17, 83, 92
Pope Pius IV, ...	17, 93
Pope Pius V, ...	18
Pope Gregory XIII, ...	19, 93
Pope Clement VII, ...	92
Pope Clement VIII, ...	23, 24
Pope Alexander VII, ...	27
Pope Leo X, ...	92
Pope Innocent XII, ...	29
Pope Clement XI, ...	30
Pope Pius VI, ...	93
Pope Leo XII, ...	31
Pope Gregory XVI, ...	31, 82
Pope Pius IX, ...	34
Pope Leo XIII, ...	32
Polycarp, Father, Provincial at Verapoly, ...	88
Porcat, Raja of, ...	71
Portuguese arrive in India	13
Portuguese patronage of missions, ...	32, 82
Portuguese mistaken about Nestorians, ...	92
Prendergast, Bishop, ...	31

PAGE.

Printing presses, of the C. M. S., ... 44
Printing presses, of the London Mission 53
Printing presses, Bishop Medlycott's note on, ... 66
Protection, Portuguese, of Thomas Christians, ... 13, 71
Protestant converts of three Societies, ... 1
Protestant view of Syrian Christians, ... 3
Protestant view of Synod of Diamper, ... 58
Propaganda builds a Seminary at Verapoly 78
Propaganda requires education in Seminaries, ... 80
Protasius, Mar, a Chaldean bishop, ... 92
Pulayas, Work among, by C. M. S., ... 47
Pulayas, Work among by Salvation Army, ... 54
Puttempally, Seminary at, ... 34

Q.

Quilon, not the Kalliana of Cosmas Ind., ... 4
Quilon, in limits of Persion Metropolitan, ... 5
Quilon, Two bishops land at, ... 5
Quilon, Copper plate mentioning, ... 7
Quilon, Friar Jordan Bishop of, ... 8
Quilon, John de Marignoli visits, ... 9
Quilon, Archbishop Menezes visits, ... 24
Quilon, a separate diocese, ... 32
Quilon, Boundaries of diocese of, ... 33
Quilon, Committee of, ... 40
Quilon, Pillar formerly at, Note upon, ... 62
Quilon, List of bishops at, ... 83

R.

Ramsay, Surgeon at Nagercoil, ... 52
Raphael, Bishop, ... 29
Raymond Bishop, ... 31
Reformed Syrians, Body so called, ... 1, 57
Reformed Syrians, Opinions held by, ... 3
Reformed Syrians, Succession of Bishops of, ... 43
Reis, Salvador dos, Archbishop of Cranganore, ... 74
Report of Nestorian Bishops from India, ... 10
Ribeiro, Archbishop, of Cranganore, ... 30, 74, 79
Richards, Rev. W. J., gets a Lambeth degree, ... 46
Ridsdale, C. M. S. missionary, ... 47
Ringletaube, Rev. W. T., ... 50, 92
Rite, Syro-Malabar 57

PAGE.

Rites, Oriental, Note on, ... 57
Rite, Syro-Malabar, kept distinct 73
Roberts, Headmaster of schools, ... 52
Robinson, Archdeacon, ... 57, 63
Roccos, Bishop, ... 34, 84
Roman Catholic, Syrian and Latin Rites, ... 1, 57
Roman Catholic Statistics, ... 34
Romo-Syrians, Roman Catholics following Syrian Rite, ... 1
Romo-Syrians desire a Chaldean bishop, ... 32
Romo-Syrians obtain a separate bishop, ... 32
Roz, Francis, Archbishop of Cranganore, ... 23, 70, 72, 74

S.

Saba, Mgr., comes to India, ... 83
Sabresius, Mar, a Chaldean bishop, ... 92
Salamanca Theologians on consecration of Bishop Chandy, ... 77
Salvation Army, ... 54
Sanscrit, Father Hanxleden studies,... 79
Sanscrit, grammar published, ... 81
Sceptre of Christian King, ... 10, 13
Schaaf, Dr. Charles, Orientalist, ... 35, 87
Scherpenzeel, Vicar General of Cranganore, ... 74
Seleucia, the See of Patriarch of Babylon, ... 5, 58
Seminary at Cranganore,... ... ... 15, 17
Seminary at Vaipicotta, ... 21
Seminaries, Domestic, prohibited, ... 23
Seminary at Verapoly, ... 78
Seminary at Puttempally, ... 34
Seminary at Ambalacade, ... 79
Separation between Syrians and C. M. S., ... 45
Serra, Christians of the, Name explained, ... 63
Serroni, Canon, in charge of Cranganore, ... 28
Seven churches founded by St. Thomas, ... 57
Shanars embrace Christianity, ... 51
Shankarapuri family, now extinct, ... 59
Simeon, Mar, a Nestorian bishop, ... 20, 21, 66, 72
Simeon, Mar, a Chaldean bishop, ... 30, 79
Smith, Rev. John, ... 51
Society, Church Missionary, ... 43
Society, London Missionary, ... 49
Soledad, Joseph, Administrator of Cranganore, ... 81
Speechly, Bishop, ... 46, 48

PAGE.

Spencer, Bishop, of Madras, ... 47
St. Thomas landed at Cranganore, ... 2
St. Thomas ordained clergy, ... 3
St. Thomas, His relics taken to Edessa, ... 4
Stabilini, Bishop, ... 31
Statistics of Roman Catholic dioceses, ... 34
Statistics of the C. M. S., ... 48
Statistics of the London Mission, ... 53
Statistics of the Salvation Army, ... 55
Stephen, Bishop, sent by Patriarch of Antioch,... 40
Stephen de Brito, visits Hill tribes,... 71
Stone found in China, Note upon, ... 62
Suarez, Bishop, Story of,... 85
Suit between Jacobites and Reformed Syrians,... 42
Synod of Diamper, Asseman discusses the, ... 73
Syrian Christians, where found, ... 1
Syrian Christians, origin of name, ... 1
Syrian Christians, There divisions of, ... 1
Syrian Christians, Theories concerning, ... 3
Syrian Christians, Division into North and South, ... 61
Syrian Christians have a king, ... 10
Syrian Christians become vassals of Portuguese King, ... 13
Syrian Christians hold synod of Diamper, ... 24
Syrian Christians, Revolt and partial reconciliation of, ... 27
Syrian Christians, Monastic Institutions among, ... 33
Syrian Christians good fighting men, ... 63
Syrian Christians, Their dislike of Roman ritual, ... 70
Syrian Christians, Mass used by, ... 73
Syrian Christians, Succession of bishops among, ... 78
Syrian Christians look towards the Chaldean Patriarch, ... 81
Syrian Christians, said never to have been Nestorian, ... 92
Syrians, Reformed, Name why used,... 57
Syrians, Reformed, Their alterations of liturgy, ... 43
Syro-Malabar Rite 57, 73

T.

Tamburan, a term of respect, ... 64
Tamil, spoken by St. Francis Xavier, ... 64
Testament, Old, Translated by Mar Joseph, ... 65
Theodosius, Rules laid down by Patriarch, ... 5
Theologians on consecration of Bishop Chandy,... 77
Tholyur, See of, ... 89

PAGE.

Thomas, St., Seven churches founded by, ... 57
Thomas, St., Liturgy attributed to, ... 73
Thomas Christians, Name used by Syrian Christians, ... 57
Thomas Cana, ... 4, 59
Thomas, Mar, sent to India by Patriarch, ... 11
Thomas, Archdeacon, ... 26, 27, 75, 76
Thomas de Castro, Note upon, ... 78
Thomas, Mar, Visscher's description of, ... 86
Thomas Pareamakal, ... 74, 81
Thomas, Mar, succeeds Athanasius, ... 41
Thomson, Surgeon at Neyoor, ... 52
Thompson, of the London Mission, ... 44
Thompson, C. M. S. missionary, ... 46
Thompson, Rev. Marmaduke, Chaplain in Madras, ... 50
Thondanattu Antony, Story of, ... 84
Tiruvella, a Church Mission station, ... 47
Tittuvilai, a London Mission station, ... 52
Titular Sees, ... 74
Titus, Mar Thoma, ... 43
Toledo, Mozarabaic Rite at, ... 57
Trevandrum, Enquiry held at, ... 81
Trevandrum in the Quilon diocese, ... 85
Trevandrum, Zenana Mission School at, ... 49
Trevelyan, Sir Charles, Governor of Madras, ... 51
Tribes on the mountains, ... 71
Trichur, Vicar Apostolic at, ... 33
Trichur, a C. M. S. Station, ... 47
Trichur, Sanscrit College at, ... 79
Turner, Dr. Percy, of the Salvation Army, ... 54

V.

Vadasseri, Head-quarters of Salvation Army 54
Vaipicotta, Printing press and college at, ... 21
Vaipin, Archdeacon George makes profession of faith at, ... 23
Vaipin, The meeting at, described, ... 68
Valiathoray, in the Cochin diocese, ... 85
Valignano, Father, Jesuit Provincial, ... 21, 66
Vanischt, Name of Bishop Conrad, ... 77
Van Rheede, Governor of Cochin, ... 28
Vasconcelles, Archbishop, of Cranganore, ... 74
Vasconcelles, Bishop, of Cochin, ... 82, 83
Varthema, an Italian traveller, ... 63

P

Vatican Library, Report of Nestorian bishops,... ... ...
Vatican Library, New Testament of Mar Jacob, ...
Vatican Library, Mar Joseph's manuscripts, ...
Vatican Council, Chaldean Patriarch at, ...
Vaz, Miguel, works among the fishermen, ...
Verapoly, Building of Church at, ...
Verapoly, List of Vicars-Apostolic at, ...
Verapoly, Seminary built at, ...
Verapoly reached by Mysore troops.... ... ...
Vincent de Lagos founds Seminary at Cranganore, ...
Vinte e Tres de Novembro, Cochin Diocesan paper, ...
Visschef, His *Letters from Malabar*, ... 36

W.

Wilson, Bishop, of Calcutta, ... 39,
Whitehouse, Rev. J. C., ...

X.

Xigar, Bishop of, ...

Z.

Zenana, Church of England, Mission, ...
Zuba, Metropolitan of, ...

DHARMARAM LIBRARY
BANGALORE-29
Reserved Book Slip

Subject	Expiry
Liturgy	4 NOV 1976
Liturgy	12 APR 1977
Liturgy	
Liturgy.	13 NOV 1981

DC Archives
00034596
J62 M12