

THE SYRIAN CHURCH OF MALABAR

PREFACE

Amongst all the dioceses and missions of India, none has a more interesting and more dramatic history than the Church of Malabar. Its apostolic antiquity, its period of obscurity when it was materially, but not formally, cut off from the Church of Rome, the vain attempts made by dissident Churches to introduce their erroneous doctrines into it, the mistaken views of the Portuguese authorities as regards Malabar rites and customs, the natural and totally justified wish of those Christians to be governed by prelates of their own rite, and as far as possible of their own nationality, and the modern exuberant growth of that Church, are only a few points, the narrative of which is of absorbing interest in the history of the Universal Church.

Unfortunately, the history of the Malabar Church has been, for long, one-sided, not only on account of the fact that not all available documents have ever been consulted, but also because of the pre-conceived ideas of many a historian when narrating the events grouping round the Synod of Udayamperur. Even Pastor himself, the great historian of the Popes, did not discover truth in the midst of false statements of contemporary writers and and posterior historians.

Two priests of that glorious Church, the Rt. Rev. Mgr. J.C. Panjikaran (1914) and Rev. Fr. Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O. C.D. (1916, 1921, 1924) were the first to oppose that ordinary one-sided view, with historical documents, that prove the orthodoxy of the faith of the Malabar Church at all times. Rev. Fr. Placid of St. Joseph, T.O.C.D. is following their steps, when he published the critical studies on the Sources of the Ecclesiastical Laws of the Syro-Malankarian Church (1937) and now in this publication on the *The Syrian Church of Malabar*.

Mgr. Giuseppe Beltrami in Europe has also taken the same bold stand in his thesis on *La Chiesa Caldea nel secolo dell' unione* (1933). Thus the great problems one comes across in the course of the history of the Malabar Church are viewed from another stand-point, which is not on account of its newness less true than the other. For history is not built all of a sudden but by the succession of brick after brick and of layer after layer.

Many documents referring to the Syro-Malabar Church still lie silent in libraries and archives. The present writer has tried to make some of them speak, not always to the satisfaction of everybody. Men have virtues and defects. History therefore must have bright and dark pages. If all were bright, history would not be history, but a eulogy.

This little work of Fr. Placid also has its bright and dark spots. Let the former enlighten its readers; Let the latter reveal the pitfalls of the past, so that we may avoid them in the future. Thus history will truly be, according to the definition of the great Roman orator, *Magistra vitae*, "the Teacher of Life".

Shembaganur,
26th May, 1938

H. HERAS, S.J.
Director,
Indian Historical Research Institute,
Bombay.

The Syrian Church of Malabar

Its Catholic Communion

INTRODUCTION

The Catholic Religion teaches that the Pope of Rome is the successor of St. Peter, on whom Christ the Godman built His Church,¹

and as such he is the supreme Pastor² who is to confirm his brethren³ and to whom all must be subject, irrespective of political, racial, social, cultural, regional or ritual differences. Obedience to the Pope is the necessary condition of *Catholic Communion*, the rejection of which makes one similar to a heathen and a publican.⁴ But no one can be forced against his will to become a member of the Catholic Church.⁵

The doctrine of Papal supremacy is not to be confounded with its use. That the Pope is supreme and that every one must acknowledge and be subject to his supreme jurisdiction, are doctrines that will in no way, undergo any change. But the mode in which this supremacy is used or exercised may differ according to time and circumstances. We may consider a parallel case in the State. The administration of certain departments, roads, post, railways are entrusted to, or taken away from, the municipal authority by the central government. This is a matter of arrangement and convenience. We may or may not prefer the power of the municipalities. In any case we have to take the arrangements as they are; nor does this affect our loyalty towards our country.

In the primitive centuries and afterwards, owing to difficulty of communication arising especially from geographical and political reasons, local Christian Communities or Churches enjoyed a kind of autonomy, and had a canon law of their own. Only major questions were referred to Rome which in the case of certain remote Churches were to be dropped because of adverse circumstances. Their communion with Rome, in most cases, could consist only in their conviction that they were under the Pope. If they often - times gave expression to this belief, then it was a clear indication, that they were staunch Catholics, though they never approached Rome, because of the special environments in which they were placed.

No doubt, this kind of estrangement from the centre of Catholicity was often the cause of errors or heresies creeping into remote Churches without their noticing them. But such errors were harmless theological mistakes, that could not infringe the unity of faith, as long as they were not adhered to by a rejection of Rome's rulings and definitions.⁶ Thus it was quite possible that remote local churches could embrace heretical doctrines and practices without being non-Catholic i.e., without losing *Catholic Communion*. But in order to be Catholic, the readiness to receive any correction from Rome was absolutely necessary in those Churches.

Now-a-days, conditions are changed. There has been a constant process of centralising of the Papal Supremacy. Conditions, therefore, that were not necessary for Catholic Communion in the primitive centuries and afterwards, are seen to-day necessary for the same. For, as we said above about the State, we have to take the arrangements as they are. It will therefore be misleading to measure the past with the standard of the present. We cannot say for certain that a certain local Church had no Catholic Communion then, unless we prove that she had not acknowledged the Papacy or had rejected it after acknowledging it. Heretical doctrines found in a local church could not of themselves argue her estrangement from Rome. For, it was possible that heresy-material heresy, of course-and Catholic Communion could co-exist in a local Church situated far away from Rome.

We are here treating of the Catholic Syrian Church of Malabar, the greater part of which is included in the modern State of Travancore. Leaving aside all the other aspects of the question, we intend stressing specially on the epithet *Catholic*. A Church is *Catholic* because of her *Communion* with the Pope of Rome, and Syrian, or Greek or Latin, because of her *Rite*. Rites are nothing but different modes of expressing the same faith under the same head, often in different languages.

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ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Tradition assigns the origin of the Catholic Church of Malabar to the labours of St. Thomas, one of the Apostles of Jesus Christ. Critics, though not all, give credit to the genuineness of this tradition, which is found satisfying all the conditions necessary for a favourable acceptance.⁷ The Christians of whom we are treating here, have been always known as *The Saint Thomas Christians*. For the very early history of these Christians, we have only oral traditions to lean upon.

According to tradition, Saint Thomas made many Christians from the noble Castes of the country and from the Jews who had colonized Malabar, before the beginning of the Christian Era.

Since the Syriac language⁸ at the time was the *lingua franca* throughout the East, and since there was a Jewish colony in Malabar that spoke that language, it is believed that the Malabar Church had a Syriac beginning with regard to its Rite and Liturgy. The Syriac language was, moreover, the language of Jesus Christ and St. Thomas. In fact there is no relic of any other Rite to be met with in Malabar. The theory, therefore, of a Dravidian Rite does not seem to advance beyond the limits of a possible conjecture.⁹

The infant Church of Malabar had to suffer many persecutions until she was reinforced by a colony of Syrians from abroad, led by a certain Syrian merchant, Thomas Cana and a bishop Mar Joseph, who landed at Cranganore in 345. The privileges which Thomas Cana obtained from Cheraman Perumal, the ruler of Kerala, for the Christians placed them among the highest nobility of the country. The central fact in this seems undisputed, although there may be differences of views regarding dates and persons.¹⁰ About this time, it is believed, two divisions arose among the Malabar Christians, namely of *Nordists* (Vadakkumbhagam) and the other of *Suddists* (Thekkumbhagam). The distinction between Nordists and Suddists is neither, religious or regional but only racial and social.

HEIRARCHICAL DEPENDENCE

We possess no documents regarding the relations of the Syrian Church of Malabar with Rome or other Local Churches during the early centuries. But it will be erroneous to conclude from this that she was an independent Church without acknowledging the Roman Supremacy. For, as the great Cardinal Newman says:- "Whether communion with the Pope was necessary for Catholicity would not and could not be debated till a suspension of that communion has actually occurred. It is not a greater difficulty that St. Ignatius does not write to the Asian Greeks about Popes, than that St. Paul does not write to the Corinthians about Bishops. And it is a less difficulty that the Papal Supremacy was not formally acknowledged in the second century, than that there was no formal acknowledgement on the part of the Church, of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity till the fourth. *No doctrine is defined till is violated*".¹¹ Again "Reality and permanence of inward knowledge are distinct from explicit confession. The absence or partial absence or incompleteness of dogmatic statements is no proof of the absence of impressions or implicit judgments, in the mind of the Church. Even centuries might pass without the formal expression of a truth which had been all along the secret life of millions of souls".¹²

THE CHURCH OF SELEUCIA

There are documents which indicate that the Syrian Church of Malabar was dependent on the Church of Seleucia or better Seleucia-Ctesiphon, later on called the church of Babylon. We do not know for certain when and how this dependence began. It appears that, through the Church of Persia, the Malabar Church was subject to Seleucia, which was under Antioch, which in turn was under Rome. Since the relations of the Malabar Church with the Church of Seleucia were done away with, only at the end of the 16th century, it will be useful to refer briefly to that Church, which had its headquarters in Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the chief cities of the Persian Empire.

According to many ancient authors, the Bishop or Metropolitan of Seleucia used to receive episcopal consecration from Antioch. But owing to the dangers attending on the journey to Antioch, the bishops of the East were given powers to consecrate him. The metropolitan of Seleucia was thus called by the title *Catholicos*.¹³ Modern scholars seem to look with suspicion on this statement. Still they admit a real historical person in Papa, who was Bishop of Seleucia at the close of the 3rd

century.¹⁴

When Papa in the beginning of the 4th century tried to reduce under his jurisdiction all the bishops of the Persian Empire, there arose great disputes and unrest in the whole Empire.¹⁵ But afterwards, the "Western Fathers" approved of the creation of Seleucia, as metropolis to which the bishops of Persia proper also subjected themselves.¹⁶ From this event onwards, according to modern scholars, the Bishop of Seleucia began to be called by the titles of Archbishop, Great Metropolitan and Catholicos.¹⁷ The term "Western Fathers" denotes the Prelates of Edessa and Antioch. Although the bishops of Persia proper accepted the jurisdiction of Seleucia in the 5th Century, till, whenever an occasion presented itself, they used to resist till the 8th Century.¹⁸

In 424 Seleucia severed all connections with the Western Fathers i.e., with Antioch especially, and the Catholicos came to be known as Catholicos-Patriarch, or simply Patriarch. Considering the history of the then local churches under Antioch, Thrace, Caesaria and so on, this severance of connection with Antioch was not tantamount to severance from Rome and Catholic Communion.¹⁹ The Seleucians attributed all sorts of *canonical* privileges to their new Patriarch, naming him even a Second Peter, who was not to be judged, but by God alone. All these in the light of the disciplinary laws of the time were only *canonical* enactments, little touching the Catholic communion of their authors, so long as they did not deny or question the Roman Supremacy. Later history of the Church of Seleucia furnishes us with ample proofs that the Roman Supremacy was not touched upon by the Seleucians, in their efforts in thus vindicating Patriarchal autonomy of their ecclesiastical head.

When Seleucia stood apart from Antioch, Nestorianism which denied the unity of Person in Christ was condemned in 431, in the Council of Ephesus, where Papal Supremacy triumphed. There arose several misunderstandings, and following this condemnation several parties appeared in the Eastern Roman Empire. There were those who thought, that Nestorius and his predecessors, Diodore and Theodore were right while their opponent, St. Cyril, who presided at Ephesus was entirely wrong. The Church of Seleucia had known the writings of Diodore and Theodore, through a Syriac translation of the original Greek. The Syriac terms used in the translation were apt to express orthodox doctrine also. The fear of Appollinarianism, the horrors of monophysism, an imperfect knowledge of the theological controversies that raged outside the Persian Empire, the letter of Ibas of Edessa containing suppressions of facts of the situation, all these made the Church of Seleucia accept a more moderate form of Nestorianism.²⁰ Narses and Barsauma were in 457 driven out of the school of Edessa and out of the Roman Empire. They were the propagators of the more moderate form of Nestorianism in the Church of Seleucia.

Although the Church of Seleucia officially fell a prey to a more mitigated form of Nestorianism, still there were some who sided with Ephesus and St. Cyril. They were persecuted by the Patriarch of Seleucia, but were at times helped by the Emperors of Constantinople.²¹ They were strengthened by those who got converted to them, and among the converts some number even a Patriarch of Seleucia, Mar Ama, who died in 762.²² Of this party we hear almost nothing after the expeditions of Timur Leng. Opposed to the Nestorian Patriarchs of Seleucia, there was also a Catholicos under the Patriarch of Antioch.²³

The extreme opponents of Nestorianism outside the Persian Empire fell into monophysism which professed only one Nature in Christ. The monophysites condemned at Chalcedon in 451, were eventually split up into different sects. A certain Jacob of *Burdaa*, who was of the school of Severus of Antioch, tried to reunite all these sects, and thus was formed the Jacobite Syrian Church in the 6th Century.²⁴ The Jacobites *instituted* their own Patriarch of Antioch who, being unable to remain at Antioch, moved to the East and fixed his residence in the Mardin district. He too had a Catholicos or Maphrian under him, who often quarrelled with him. Thus the Jacobites and Nestorians, two bitter enemies, became close neighbours.

The Nestorians followed the East Syriac or Chaldaic Rite while the Jacobites had the West Syriac or Syro-Antiochene Rite. Though these two Rites considerably disagree from each other, still there are in them certain details that are very similar.

The Church of Seleucia does not seem to have lost her Catholic Communion inspite of her Nestorianism. Narses, one of the propagators of Nestorianism in that Church, was an upholder of Roman Supremacy. The Nestorian Patriarchs Jesujah(6th century)and Timothy(8th century), the Nestorian canonists Elias (9th century), Bennatibus(11th century), Ebedjesus, Sobensis(13th century)etc., are all very emphatic in acknowledging and upholding the Roman Supremacy. The Nestorian prayer books, such as Hudra and Gaza contain many passages, which in very clear terms, speak of Rome as the See of St. Peter, the head of the Church. The representative Nestorians cited above, in their works repeatedly bring forward the so-called Nicaean Canons according to which the Pope of Rome, "has jurisdiction over all the other Patriarchs as St. Peter had in the Universal Church".²⁵ It appears therefore that the Nestorian Church of Seleucia, inspite of its heresy retained Catholic Communion. The circumstances of the times and the way in which Nestorianism was introduced into her, must have led her to think, that she was holding the orthodox doctrine in communion with Rome. The representative Nestorian Patriarch, Timothy, (8th Century) in his letter to the Maronite monks, says that his faith was the same as the faith of Italy.²⁶ The Book of Heraclides attributed to Nestorians was, later on, known to these Nestorians of Seleucia in its Syric translation. Its author acknowledges Roman supremacy in several places, especially when he speaks of Dioscoros, who presided over the Robber Synod of Ephesus. Pope Celestine, who condemned Nestorius, appears in it, as a simpleton, who was won over by the crafty Cyril. (See *The Book of Heraclides*, Driver & Hogson p. 364; Loofs, *Nestoriana* p. 302.) Such was even Nestorius for the church of Seleucia! Hence the possibility of its being Nestorian & Catholic. The terms *Nestorian* and *Catholic* exclude each other in our days and so most of those who have written of the Church of Seleucia, have thought that she lost her Catholic Communion, when she fell into Nestorianism. This was the general conviction in the West. Hence the great horror expressed at the word *Nestorian* by the 16th Century Portuguese writers and others. But modern scholars seem to view the situation otherwise. Dom. Chapman, O.S.B., remarks: "Barsauma died between 422 and 495, Accacius in 496 or 497, Narses seems to have lived longer. The Nestorian Church which they founded, though cut off from the Catholic Church by political exigencies never intended to do more than practise an autonomy like that of the Eastern Patriarchates"....."²⁷

It was because of this attitude of the Nestorian Church, that, we think, the Nestorian Patriarchs and Bishops found no difficulty to approach the Pope through delegates and by letters, when they got access to Rome through the Crusaders. Thus, it is said, that Patriarch Jaballah II in 1233 embraced Catholic doctrines. In 1247 Patriarch Sabarjesu sent a letter to Pope Innocent IV through Rabban Ara. Rabban Ara had with him also another letter signed by Jesujahb, Archbishop of Nisibis, and by two other Archbishops. The Patriarch Jaballaha III in 1287 sent to Rome, his legate Rabban Sauma Jaguritha, and in 1304 submitted his profession of faith to the Pope.²⁸ In all these, the Nestorians are seen acknowledging the Roman Supremacy as usual, and even making corrections in their Nestorianism. Timothy, the Nestorian Metropolitan of Cyprus, in 1445 made his profession of Catholic faith and he and his followers were called by Rome Chaldeans.²⁹ This is the name now applied to the "Nestorians" that are in communion with Rome. But we find in some ancient documents that those who enjoyed Catholic communion were simply called Nestorians. For, the term "Nestorian" indicated nationality and language, rather than communion, when applied to designate the East Syrians.

The most remarkable approach to Rome was made by Patriarch Sulaka in 1552. The Patriarch, Simon Bar Mama, died in 1551. Since 1450 the office of Patriarch had become hereditary. The successor of Simon Bar Mama, therefore, was to be a boy of eight years. A metropolitan of that family, contrary to canons, was trying to usurp the see. The Nestorians, therefore, sent John Sind Sulaka to Rome to be consecrated Patriarch by the Pope. In their letter to the Pope, they call themselves *Nestorians*, and say they are the children of the Pope, who holds the place of Peter. They say that their priesthood was from Rome, and that their way to the Pope was for 300 years hindered by the Mosleme nations.³⁰ The Pope made Sulaka Patriarch, and sent him back with

jurisdiction over all those places, which his predecessor was ruling. *The profession of faith which Sulaka made in Rome is a clear proof, that the Nestorians acknowledged the Roman Supremacy.* The Papal Bull of Sulaka's nomination as Patriarch contains no hint about the conversion of Sulaka or about his resuming Catholic Communion, or about the schism of Sulaka's predecessors. Nay the Pope says that Simon Bar Mama was a man of "happy memory", who died "out of the Roman Curia." (extra Romanam curiam). The expression "out of the Roman Curia" would mean, that Simon Bar Mama, although a Catholic Prelate, was not numbered among those who assist the Pope in the government of the Church.³¹ All these are apt to confirm us in our judgment, that the predecessors of Sulaka- at least many of them-were enjoying Catholic Communion, although they never approached Rome, owing to the circumstances of the times. Yes, this is the reason why, when presenting Sulaka for the Pallium, Cardinal Maffei, said:- "These Nestorians seem to have kept, rather the name of the heretic Nestorius, than his heresies..... Nearly 300 years back or upwards according to the common suffrage of the nation, a certain Maraus (Mar Ara) was sent to the Holy See Hence it is very likely that many reforms were made in the old religion to render the dogmas clearer and consentaneous to our Church....." ³² Again, Amulius, another Cardinal, spoke thus to the Cardinals assembled at Trent, when Ebedjesus, the immediate successor of Sulaka was in Rome." We owe to the great bounty of God a debt of gratitude, for, is it not through His benign kindness that the cult of the true faith is maintained, in so distant regions, hardly even known to us ? During the space of 1500 years, the dignity of the Church was kept up, the salutary doctrine has remained intact All this about the so- called Nestorians!³³ But most of those who have written on the Church of Seleucia, think that Sulaka is the first Patriarch to be Catholic, after the fall of Seleucia into Nestorianism ! This, we think, is the effect of measuring the past with the standard of the present.

Sulaka's successors, till the end of the 16th century, all enjoyed Catholic communion, although some of them, owing to political troubles, could not obtain from Rome the confirmation of their election.³⁴ Sulaka's immediate successor, Ebedjesus, even went to Rome in 1562. and had his election, confirmed and ratified. A few writers say that he was a heretic, at least as manifested by some writings, dubiously attributed to him. But nobody says, he externally broke with the Pope, and this was enough to make his subjects Catholic, and so we need not enter into the question of his supposed heresy. Denha Simon, under whom Malabar was during the last decade of the 16th century, was the third successor of Sulaka, and was honoured with the Sacred Pallium, through the Papal Legate Mgr. Leonard of Sidonia.³⁵

The followers of the family of Simon Bar Mama opposed Sulaka, whom they caused to be murdered. *Thus there were two rival lines of Patriarchs. The opponents of Sulaka lost. Catholic communion, since they did not obey the Papal authority which they saw directly exercised in the confirmation of Sulaka and Ebedjesus. Nevertheless this resistance on their part does not seem to have been carried on with a denial of Papal Supremacy.*

The opponent of Sulaka died in 1559 and was succeeded by a certain Elias. The next one who too was Elias, in 1576 sent his profession of faith to Rome, through his delegate Abdulmesiah. This Patriarch, in his profession of faith, had acknowledged Papal Supremacy, but had given expression to some inaccurate terms and phrases, regarding the crucial point of Nestorianism. Abdulmesih was instructed in Rome in the Catholic faith, and in 1588 in behalf of his Patriarch he

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By

REV. FR. PLACID T. O. C. D., P.H.D., D. D; D.C.L. (Rome)

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made the profession of faith there.³⁶ It is interesting to note that Elias, in his profession of faith, had said that he and his followers had always held the true faith. This gives us an insight into the typical mentality of the Nestorians, who thought themselves to be under Rome holding the ancient orthodox doctrine.³⁷ This is confirmed by a letter of another Elias, successor of the one just mentioned, which he sent to Pope Paul V in 1616. This letter was sent through Adam, the Representative of the Patriarch, and it reveals the fact that the Nestorians were always under the impression, that they were subject to the Pope professing the true Catholic doctrine. Elias even says, that his see was set up as a Patriarchal residence by order of the Pope of Rome. He implores the Pope to consider him and his subjects as their brethren the Nestorians of Cyprus. Adam was instructed, and he and his Patriarch were received into Catholic communion, when they had made the necessary corrections in their faith. In 1617 the Pope wrote to this Elias asking him to make the necessary corrections in his faith and to be received into the Catholic faith. The Pope promised him, that, if he did this, those that he would send to India would not be molested by the Portuguese.³⁸

Thus the history of the Nestorian Church till the end of the 16th Century indicates, that that Church although Nestorian in doctrine, does not seem to have lost her Catholic communion, except in the case of the opponents of Sulaka. This will be made still clearer when we treat of the belief of the bishops who governed the Malabar Church during the first half of the 16th Century.

The present Nestorian Church, under Mar Simon is heretical, and has no Catholic communion. They now hate the Papal Supremacy and protest against it although in spite of themselves they have not destroyed the ancient documents in favour of Papal Supremacy. The curious thing about them is that they represent the line of Sulaka, while the Catholic Chaldeans that of the opponents of Sulaka!

SELEUCIA AND INDIA. (Malabar).

Let us now return to the Malabar Church. From several sources we find that the Malabar Church was under Persia.³⁹ Persia, as we saw, came under Seleucia in the 5th Century. But till the 8th Century the bishops of Persia (Fares) continued to resist against Seleucia, saying they had nothing to do with the see of Mari (i.e., Seleucia) since they were evangelized by St. Thomas.⁴⁰ Owing to this resistance, some times episcopal succession was interrupted in India, as we gather from a letter of Jesujabb, Patriarch of Seleucia (650-660) written to Simon of Riwardashir in Persia.⁴¹ This state of affairs came to an end, only when Timothy I surnamed the Great, Patriarch of Seleucia, gave to Persia in the 8th century, a metropolitan with power to consecrate bishops. This same Timothy separated the Church of India from Persian jurisdiction, and constituted her into a province immediately subject to him.⁴² We must note here, that it is this Timothy, who is perhaps the greatest of the Nestorian Patriarchs, that wrote to the chief of the faithful of India thus: "If it is permitted to the Metropolitan to receive consecration from any of his bishops, below him, it would be permitted to priests to ordain bishops and to deacons, in like manner, (to ordain) priests, and thus the superior would be obliged to submit humbly to the inferior and to obey him. But the ecclesiastical canon ordains that the inferiors should obey the superior. *And thus obedience is to be exhibited (terminated) by all towards the Roman Pontiff, for he holds the place of Simon Kepa.*"⁴³ The Patriarch Saliba-Sekha in the same century raised the Indian Church to the dignity of a Metropolitan Church, and Patriarch Theodosius in the next century gave her a sort, exemption with the obligation that she was to send him every sixth year, letters of communion and the dues for the sustenance of pastors.⁴⁴

Thus we find the Nestorian Patriarchs of Seleucia claiming jurisdiction over the Indian Church in which, we think, the Church, of Malabar was included.

ANTIOCH & INDIA, (MALABAR)

While the Patriarchs of Seleucia were vindicating their jurisdiction over India, the Patriarchs of Antioch also were doing the same, through a Catholicos. Renaudot cites Allatius, who says, that the Patriarch of Antioch claimed jurisdiction over India. Nilus Doxopatrius (1043) says, that India was under the Patriarch of Antioch, although he sent no bishops thither. *We said above that opposed to the Nestorian*

Patriarch of Seleucia, there was a Catholicos under Antioch, and that, that Catholicos residing in the territory of the Nestorian Patriarch used to consecrate bishops for provinces under him. For in 911 the Nestorian Patriarch Abraham III sent up a petition to the Caliph of Baghdad stating that a Catholicos under the Patriarch of Antioch was, during night time, consecrating bishops for countries under him.⁴⁵ Now Peter the Greek Melchite (Catholic) Patriarch of Antioch, in 1050, wrote to Dominic of Gradus that his jurisdiction extended as far as Babylon and Romaginis (Chorassan) and the rest of the East, and that he used to consecrate Archbishops and Catholicoses who were to consecrate bishops for those places.⁴⁶ Raulin says that after the 12th Century, the Patriarch of Antioch ruled "the remnants of the Catholic Church" dispersed through twelve provinces by means of Catholicoses of Baghdad and Romagiris, and that the Catholicos of Baghdad was sending bishops to India.⁴⁷

These Patriarchs, who thus claimed India, were the Greek Patriarchs of Antioch and not the Jacobite Patriarchs who called themselves Patriarchs of Antioch. The testimonies cited above, cannot apply to the Jacobite Patriarch, as is clear from them. In those days the Jacobite Patriarch claimed no jurisdiction in India. They had not, it seems, a clear knowledge of our India, because of Moslems, who acquired monopoly of trade in India. This we gather from the writings of Michael the West Syrian, who wrote stories of what Emperor Justinian accomplished among Indian and Kushite Kings.⁴⁸ Again, Bar Hebraeas (12th Century), the representative historian, and Maphrian or Catholicos of the Jacobite Church, in his chronicles does not mention India among the twelve provinces subject to the Jacobite Maphrian or Catholicos.⁴⁹ Moreover it is this same Bar Hebraeas, that says that the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy I separated India from Persia constituting it a province immediately subject to him. (See above) Further, if Jacobitism was the established creed of Malabar till the end of the 15th Century, as some in recent times have begun to say, there should necessarily have been in Malabar many remnants of Jacobite liturgical books, written in West Syriac. Such remnants would have been abundant in the 16th Century. But all the books mentioned by the Synod of Diamper in 1599 are "Nestorian and East Syriac."

True, we read of a certain Indian priest who in the 7th century went to Alexandria to fetch a (monophysite?) bishop. The bishop and the two priests sent by the Coptic Patriarch Theodore were not allowed to proceed to India, by the Mohommedans.⁵⁰ Day says that a certain Jacobite-monophysite bishop in 696 came to Malabar from Alexandria.⁵¹ But Assemani proves that the India for which Theodore consecrated the bishop was Ethiopia.⁵² It could be that Day understood our India for Ethiopia and identified India with Malabar. Whatever it be, the presence in India or Malabar of one or more Jacobite bishops could not make it Jacobite in faith.

Joseph, a Malabarian priest, who went to Portugal, Rome and other places in 1501 said thus when he was in Rome: "This Peter no sooner left Antioch to go to Rome than he appointed a Vicar at Antioch, and this Vicar governs the Eastern world and is called Catholicos and holds the place of Peter."⁵³ Some think that Joseph by this meant that Malabar was under the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch! But the context shows that Joseph was speaking of the Catholicos or Patriarch of Seleucia who had ordained him priest⁵⁴ and that he confounded the Patriarch of Antioch with the Catholicos of Seleucia, who was formerly under Antioch. Moreover it will be illogical to conclude that the Patriarch of Antioch means the Jacobite Patriarch. For there are several Prelates who enjoy the title of the Patriarch of Antioch, and some of them are Catholics under the Pope.

The Synod of Diamper in 1599 spoke of certain feasts, fasts and ritual ceremonies, observed in Malabar, and of certain persons venerated by the Malabarians. Without reflecting that there is similarity and even identify in all these things between Jacobites and Nestorians or Chaldeans, some jump into the conclusion that, these are remnants of Jacobitism which once flourished in Malabar.⁵⁵

Assemani, Paulinus and others are emphatic, that the Jacobite Patriarch had no jurisdiction in India before the 17th Century.⁵⁶

MALABAR AND CATHOLIC COMMUNION

From what we have said so far, it is clear that the Malabar Church

was claimed by Persia, Nestorian Seleucia, and Greek Melchite (Catholic) Antioch. The series of bishops who governed the Malabar Church was often interrupted. Paulinus citing Renaudot enumerates the names of some thirteen Patriarchs of Seleucia, who from 636 were sending bishops to India.⁵⁷ Raulin gives a list of bishops who governed the Syrian Church of Malabar both before and after the Portuguese period. The names of two bishops, namely of Sabor and Proth, who, according to Le Quien, came to Malabar in the 9th century (10th century?) are not found in the list of bishops sent to India by the Patriarchs of Seleucia. This would mean that they were sent by the Catholicos, who was under Antioch.⁵⁸

After the total destruction of the Persian Church by Timur Leng, we see only (?) the Patriarch of Seleucia exercising jurisdiction over Malabar. Thus an East Syriac (or Syro Chaldaic) manuscript completed in 1301 at Cranganore by Deacon Zacharias, and now preserved in the Vatican Library, Rome (Codex Vatic. Syr. 22, olim 12) says, that Malabar at that time was under Jaballaha V(III), Catholicos and Patriarch of the East, and under his Vicar, Mar Jacob, Metropolitan, and ruler of the see of St. Thomas, the see of the Indian Christianity. The calendar given in this Ms. is East Syrian, and not Jacobite. It is this Jaballaha mentioned in this Ms., that in 1304 sent his profession of faith to Rome, acknowledging the Roman Supremacy. This itself is sufficient to refute the Jacobite contention alluded to above, in favour of Jacobite, rule, before the 15th century.

In 1490, the Syrians of Malabar, being deprived of bishops for a long time, sent three men (one of whom was Joseph, who, as we said above, was ordained priest by the Patriarch) to the Patriarch of Seleucia, Mar Simon, and two bishops, Mar Thomas, and Mar John were sent to Malabar by the Patriarch. This Mar Thomas, after some time, went back and in 1501 returned with three other bishops, of whom, we shall have to speak below.⁵⁹

What then about the Catholic communion of the Syrian Church of Malabar, before the 16th Century? Even if we suppose, that she was exclusively under the Patriarchs of Seleucia who had Nestorian leanings, there is no reason to think, that she had no Catholic communion. We must recall here the history of the Nestorian Patriarchs, before the 16th Century, which we have exposed above. From this history, it seems to us, that they had Catholic communion though they admitted of a more moderate form of Nestorianism. Informations, we receive from foreign travellers before the 16th century, may help to make this point clearer.

FOREIGN TRAVELLERS AND MISSIONARIES

In the 4th century, Theophilus, the Indian, introduced some reforms in the Church of India.⁶⁰ Cosmas Indicopleustus in 535, saw Christians in Male, where pepper grows, in Ceylon and Socotra. In Calliana and Socotra, he saw bishops ordained in Persia.⁶¹ From Cosmas' words it may be deduced that these Christians and Cosmas had the same faith. Now Cosmas was a non-Nestorian,⁶² and Jacobitism or Monophysism, at that time, was not introduced into Persia. Hence the faith of the Christians, whom Cosmas saw was neither Nestorian nor Jacobite. This would mean, it was Catholic. Theodore from Gaul in 590 visited the tomb of St. Thomas in India⁶³, and King Alfred of England sent his legates to the same tomb to offer his gifts there.⁶⁴ John of Monte Corvino in 1291, and Marco Polo in 1295, visited the Church of St. Thomas. The former baptized some 100 persons⁶⁵, while the latter found idols and "superstitious" practices among them.^{65x} Haythonus, a Catholic monk, in 1300 saw the St. Thomas Christians in India, where, he says "Our faith is much diminished." Speaking of Chaldeans, the same Haythonus calls them Nestorians.⁶⁶ Jordanus in 1322 baptized many in Quilon, and he was afterwards made Bishop of Quilon (Columbam) by Pope John XXII, but he did not reach Quilon. The Pope recommended Jordanus to the chief of the Nascarenes (Nazranis-Syrian Christians), and in the recommendation letter, there occur the expressions, that there should not be schism or error among the baptized, that they should all be united to Rome, and that those to whom Jordanus was sent were to receive the Catholic doctrine from him "removing the errors of whatever schism....." These expressions, especially the one which is "removing the errors of whatever schism" (in the original Latin there is the use of the *ablative absolute* *quorumlibet schismatum pulsus erroribus*) may

point to an *actual* schism among the addressees, or to any schism that may overtake them in future. It is therefore illogical to conclude from this, that the St. Thomas Christians at that time were schismatics.⁶⁷ B. Odoric, in 1324, found idols in the Church of St. Thomas, around which he says, there were 15 houses of Nestorians. In 1349, the St. Thomas Christians, the masters of the public weighing office, "*as perquisites of*" his "*office as Papal Legate*" paid John Marignotli, monthly 100 gold fanams, and 1000, when he left them after a stay of 14 months with them.⁶⁸ In 1439 Pope Eugenius IV recommended his legate Albert de Sartiano to the King of the Christians of India⁶⁹, to whom the Pope wrote "..... There has often reached us a constant rumour that your serenity, and all those who are subjects of your kingdom are *true Christians*"⁷⁰ Nicholas de Conti (1428-30) found near the tomb of St. Thomas, Nestorian heretics who, he says, were spread throughout India as Jews in Europe.⁷¹ Aloysius Cadamust who was in Calicut, in 1493, says that the Christians of Malabar knew that the Pope resides in Rome, without any other knowledge about the Roman Church.⁷² In 1498 when the Portuguese met the Syrians for the first time, the latter said they had no images,⁷³ that their bishops were being sent by the Catholicos of Assyria, and that they had scriptures and commentaries etc.⁷⁴

These and similar informations seem to confirm the position argued above, that the Syrians before the 16th Century enjoyed Catholic communion. Reference to 'Nestorianism' was not, it seems, at that time, something that deprived its adherents of Catholic communion. Nay, some of the incidents cited above, seem to favour the Catholic position decidedly. In this connection it will be very useful to refer to an event cited by some historians. It is that Mar John who was Archbishop of India went to Rome in 1122, where he was made Patriarch and obtained the Pallium from Pope Callixtus II. On the occasion of his visit be related to the Pope the wonderful miracles that were being wrought at Mylapore by the Apostle St. Thomas. It is said, that he went to Rome, via Constantinople accompanied by the Papal legates there.⁷⁵ There are those who argue from this, that he was under the Greek Patriarch of Antioch, and that he went to Rome with the Papal legates of Constantinople, since the Greek Patriarch of Antioch had at that time fallen into the Greek schism.

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD. (1500 - 1550)

In the 16th Century, the Syrians came in contact with the Portuguese. The Kingdom of Portugal was born in the heat of the war against the Moors, in order to defend the Christian faith against Islam. This privileged beginning of its history, helps to explain the marvellous achievements of that nation of a million and a half inhabitants, in the propagation of the Gospel. Another factor of its great importance was, that the faith of the Portuguese was not blind and ignorant, and left, as it were, for the women and the poor to practise. It was the whole nation that professed and preached the Catholic Religion.⁷⁶

The *zealous Portuguese and the Syrians behaved towards each other as brethren in faith*. "This general conviction of the Syrians and the Portuguese, of their unity of faith finds its expression in several facts mentioned in *contemporary Portuguese sources*. When Cabral arrived in India in 1501, one of the messengers, who had in 1490 gone to Mesopotamia to get bishops for his people, Jeoseph, (together with his brother who died on the voyage) accompanied him to Lisbon, on a pilgrimage to Rome, where, he had an audience with Pope Alexander VI....."⁷⁷ In the following year 1502, when Vasco de Gama met them, they put themselves under the protection of the King of Portugal, and handed over to him as a sign of subjection, the sceptre of their King (whose kingdom had become extinct) "a red staff with silver ends and three silver bells".⁷⁸ In 1503 four bishops from the Patriarch came to Malabar, and they were very kindly received by the Portuguese at Cannanore. They stayed with the Portuguese for 2½ months, and explained to them their position and condition. They were given many gifts and money, and were admitted to say Mass by the Portuguese. The Portuguese, very zealous for the Catholic faith, would never have behaved in this way, if they had any shadow of suspicion, about those bishops as non Catholics.⁷⁹ One of those bishops is the famous Mar Jacob, who for about 47 years governed the St. Thomas Christians, and who was a great friend of St. Francis Xavier and other Portuguese Missionaries.⁸⁰ This friendly policy was followed by the Portuguese in all

their dealings with the Syrians. They built and repaired churches of the Syrians, were going (since 1517) with the Syrians on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore, associated Syrian priests in the work of converting pagans⁸¹ &c., &c. In one word, as Fr. Castets, S.J., observes "common solemn religious services in both rites were even performed in the same Church to the common edification of all".⁸²

The bishops of this period were Mar John, Mar Thomas, Mar Jaballaha, Mar Denha and Mar Jacob. Of these, the last three were newcomers. Mar Thomas came with these three, a second time, and Mar John was in Malabar from 1490. Mar Jacob and others, in their letter to the Patriarch, say that they saw Mar John alive in 1503. Mar Jaballaha seems to have died soon after. "Mar Thomas we find about 1518 giving testimony about the tradition of his Church, and in 1536 we hear that he had helped little, had taught "heresies", but that he had now repented, had publicly gone to confession and communion and called in the Franciscans"⁸³ In a lithic inscription, in Muttuchira Church, of 1528, we read the names of Mar Tana & Mar Avu together with that of Friar George setting up a holy cross there. Mar Tana seems to be Mar Denha. Who is Mar Avu? Fontana (in *Monumenta Dominicana* 206) says that a Dominican Ambrose was bishop of the St. Thomas Christians in about 1525 & that he united many of them to the Roman Church. Is Ambrose Avu? (See Kerala Society Papers series 5, of N 6 pp. 233, 253, 254. About the phrase "to unite to the Roman Church" we shall speak below. Does Fontana mean the Bishop Ambrose, who came to Malabar with Mar Joseph & of whom we shall speak soon? From the letters of Mar Jacob written in 1523 and 1530 to the King of Portugal, we learn that Mar Jacob was very friendly with the Portuguese, and was along with the Portuguese missionaries working for the St. Thomas Christians, although there was difference of opinion between them regarding baptism administered by him in the Syriac rite. He was getting from the Portuguese government 20 milrises yearly, and the ordinary allowance of Portuguese priests in India.⁸⁴ It is this Mar Jacob, who introduced the rite of auricular confession among the Syrians, as he found it practised by the Portuguese.⁸⁵ Before that the sacrament of confession must have been administered publicly, as in the primitive centuries.⁸⁶

Frey Vincent, a Portuguese Franciscan, founded a Seminary in Cranganore, and in 1549 it had already a 100 pupils, sons of the best families of the St. Thomas Christians, as St. Francis Xavier tells us.⁸⁷ Mar Jacob himself was residing in his old age with the Franciscans, and in 1549 he was recommended by St. Francis Xavier to the King of Portugal, as a holy man, who was neglected by all who had any authority in India.⁸⁸

In 1549 St. Francis Xavier asked indulgences for two churches in order "to increase the piety of the natives, who are descended from the converts of St. Thomas."⁸⁹

All these clearly show that the Syrian Church of Malabar was Catholic till 1550, the year of Mar Jacob's death. We must remark in this connection, that the Catholic Church is very strict in not allowing her children to mix with non-Catholics in religious matters especially in preaching, saying Mass &c., (communicatio in sacris). *The Portuguese were very zealous and practising Catholics. Hence their relations with the Syrians cannot be explained away, as relations existing among non-Catholic communities of our days.*

The attitude of the bishops of this period reflects the Catholicity of their Patriarchs, the predecessors of Sulaka.

THE PORTUGUESE MIND & POLICY.

The Portuguese, from the very beginning of their settlement in Malabar began missionary activities among the pagans of the West Coast. They, especially St. Francis Xavier, converted a good number of pagans and strongly established the Latin branch of the Catholic Church in Malabar, the beginnings of which may be traced as far back as the days of Jordanus, *who was made Bishop of Quilon by Pope John XXII*. The diocese of Cochin was erected in 1558 for the Latin Catholics of Malabar. Among them there are those called the 700 and those called the 500, etc.⁹⁰

The Portuguese attempts at that time were to latinize the Syrians as far as possible. They even ordained some students of the Cranganore seminary according to the Latin Rite.⁹¹ But those that were thus or-

dained were disliked by the Syrians and so, as D'Souza says⁹² they were saying mass in Latin when they were in Cochin and in Syriac when elsewhere.

The Portuguese tried to baptize Syrian children and to "latinize" Mar Jacob also. They thought whatever was not Latin was heretic. As Archbishop Roz, S.J., says in 1604 there were "also religious who did not understand anything at all that was not of the Latin Rite and declared everything else at once as heresy and superstition forcing them to eat fish and drink wine in Lent against their Rite though this fasting is more in conformity with the holy canons and the fasting of the original Church."⁹³ Thus the Syrians who approached the Portuguese ran away to the mountains when they were forced to change their Rite.⁹⁴ Of course, as is the case everywhere, some Syrians must have yielded to the Portuguese pressure for temporal motives and they might have had the connivance of Mar Jacob also. They were few, if any, and had to merge into the powerful Latin community and had to be under the bishop of Goa until the diocese of Cochin was erected, were looked upon with contempt by the conservative Syrians.⁹⁵ This policy of the Portuguese had its effect on the old Mar Jacob, who as St. Francis says, (1549) "now in his old age he is very obedient to the customs of the Holy Mother the Church or Rome."⁹⁶ This need not be a total change of Rite on the part of Mar Jacob as some think. Fr. G. Schurhammer, who as some think was of this view, changed his mind, saying "How far Mar Jacob went in accepting the Roman Rite we do not know"⁹⁷ Fr. Heras S.J., observes: "St. Francis never says that Mar Jacob *became* very obedient, but he only states that he was very obedient in his old days, when on account of his age, infirmities and labours in the field of the Lord, such a faithful observance was still more edifying. Nor does St. Francis Xavier say anything of the rites of the Church of Rome, but he only speaks of the "customs" or usages. For instance it is a custom of the Church of Rome that the fast laws do not apply to those persons who are touching the 60th year of their age. Yet a person may continue fasting after the 60th year even when the law does not bind. This strict adherence to the custom of the Church of Rome would be highly praiseworthy. The phrase of St. Francis Xavier cannot be understood but in this or a similar sense"⁹⁸. We think it is this Mar Jacob himself who, according to some Portuguese writers, was "taken over" with his people "from their existing practices by Franciscan friars"⁹⁹

The phrase that Mar Jacob was in his old age obedient to the customs of the Church of Rome is not, as some think, an argument that he was converted to the Roman faith from schism and heresy. The whole of Mar Jacob's life in Malabar and his dealings with the Portuguese stand against this assertion. Again, it is not said that he was obedient to the Roman Church, but to the *customs* of the Roman Church. (See above)

In addition to their latinizing tendency, the Portuguese after the erection of the diocese of Goa in 1533, and especially after Goa had become a metropolis with Cochin as Suffragan see in 1558 desired very much that the bishop of Goa should have jurisdiction in Malabar and all over India. Antonio do Porto in a letter dated 20th Nov. 1557 expresses this view when he says "*O bispo de Guova era bispo do mallavar e de toda a India*"¹⁰⁰ Don. Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, in 1597 wrote to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem that the bishop of the Syrians was to be suffragan to the Archbishop of Goa.¹⁰¹

Hence at the middle of the 16th century we find St. Francis Xavier complaining that the holy old Mar Jacob was "neglected and despised in general by all who have any power in India".¹⁰² Now at this juncture the Patriarchs Sulaka and Ebedjesus got their jurisdiction over Malabar confirmed by the Popes. In the council of Trent the Portuguese Orator vindicated the right of the Goan jurisdiction over certain sees of Malabar against the Chaldean Patriarch.

The Patriarch Ebedjesus sent to Malabar Mar Joseph along with Bishop Ambrose, Fr. Antonius both Dominicans, Mar Elias a Chaldean bishop and two Chaldean laymen. The Portuguese by this time had already begun to suspect the Syrians especially their bishops, of heresy. There were heretical books and errors among the Syrians. The Syrian bishops, moreover, in spite of their adherence to Rome and Catholic Communion, might have had leanings towards the more mitigated form of Nestorianism which they thought to be the orthodox doctrine. As Fr.

Roz. S.J., wrote in 1586 or 1587 "The Nestorians who dwell in East India, although they are professing the Roman Catholic faith, still their books are full of the dogmas of Nestorius, Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuesta."¹⁰³ Note here the appellation *Nestorian* applied to those who *profess the Roman Catholic faith*! Yes, they were enjoying *Catholic Communion* but had books that contained Nestorianism. (See our Introduction). Again, as we saw, even liturgical peculiarities were taken for heresies by the Portuguese who therefore called the Syrians Nestorian heretics and schismatics. Add to these that although the Syrians of Malabar were under the Patriarchs of the line of Sulaka, there were coming to Malabar certain bishops from the Patriarchs of the line of Sulaka's enemy.¹⁰⁴ All these must have made the Portuguese think in all sincerity that the best way to purge the Syrian Church of all errors and to save her from destruction was to latinize her Rite and Liturgy putting her under Goa and under the Patronage (Padroado) of the King of Portugal! The Syrians on the other hand eager to hold fast to their ancient Rite and Liturgy and to their Patriarch and bishops judged that all that the Portuguese did were done out of hatred arising from purely political motives. The Portuguese efforts were directed "to reduce the Syrians to the obedience of the Church of Rome". This phraseology and the repeated mention of "heresies" and "errors" and the appellation Nestorian applied to the Syrians of Malabar by the Portuguese, have made many think that the Syrian Church of Malabar was heretic and schismatic out of communion with the Pope of Rome. But the Portuguese of that period did not mean so much, as is evident from their behaviour with the Syrians and from the words of Fr. Roz and others. "To reduce to the obedience of Rome" meant only that the errors were to be removed, that the ceremonies of administering Sacraments and saying mass were to be made the same as those of the Raman Rite,¹⁰⁵ that Malabar was to be freed from the Chaldean Patriarch and put under a bishop immediately appointed by the Holy See and that Latin Canon Law was to be introduced into the Syrian Church. No doubt, resistance to the change of Rite and to abandoning of the Patriarch were interpreted by the Portuguese as savouring of heresy and schism and as unwillingness to obey the Pope.¹⁰⁶ But with all these the Portuguese were holding communication with the Syrians in religious matters - *communicatio in sacris* - which a clear sign that the Syrians were *members of the Catholic Church under the Pope* although some errors had unwittingly crept into them. With this background let us continue our narration.

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD 1550 - 1597.

Mar Joseph and others were detained by the Portuguese and were allowed to proceed to their destination only after 18 months, but were not allowed to exercise any jurisdiction without the permission of the bishop of Goa. For, according to Portuguese mentality the bishop of Goa was bishop of Malabar & of the whole of India! They were instructed to believe that they could exercise jurisdiction in Malabar only as intruders if they did not depend upon the bishop of Goa!¹⁰⁷ What of the jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch confirmed by the Popes even after the Portuguese conquest of the East? Mar Joseph and Mar Elias had to practise saying mass in Latin to please the Portuguese.¹⁰⁸ Bishop Ambrose died at Cochin, Mar Elias returned to his Patriarch and to Rome where he submitted a report while Mar Joseph and Fr. Antoninus his friend remained in Malabar. Of the Chaldean laymen we hear nothing. In the report which Mar Elias submitted in Rome in 1582, he says that since the Christians of Malabar were Chaldeans they were unwilling to accept Portuguese or Latin bishops and were desiring to have bishops of their own language and nation.¹⁰⁹ This shows that change of Rite was not liked by the Syrians who were Catholics. Hence it appears there were not then many Syrians, if any, who had adopted the Latin rite except the priests who were ordained by the Portuguese in the Latin Rite and who to please the Syrians had to say Mass in Syriac.

Mar Joseph was soon accused of heresy and Fr. Antoninus recalled to Rome. Both embarked together to Portugal, where in 1563 Mar Joseph was pronounced innocent and sent back to Malabar, of course with the promise that he would "reduce the Syrians to the obedience of Rome". He returned to Malabar, via Rome whither Fr. Antoninus had gone before him. Pope Pius IV who was moved by the faith and

devotion of Mar Joseph sent him to India asking him by a Brief (*Devotionem tuam*) to teach the Malabarians the faith which Patriarch Ebedjesus had professed in Rome, avoiding all errors.¹¹⁰ On his return Mar Joseph was detained by the Portuguese.

In the report which Fr. Antoninus submitted in Rome we read that he introduced into Malabar the use of Confession (auricular confession, we think), Confirmation and Extreme Unction and reformed many abuses there exhorting the Syrians to be constantly obedient to the Roman Church.¹¹¹ Owing to the distance from the centre of Christianity, it could happen that even certain sacraments had fallen into disuse in Malabar. But this is not a reason to think that on that ground the Church of Malabar had no Catholic Communion or had rejected those sacraments.

The report also says that Fr. Antoninus converted a Syrian bishop and sent him back to his country and substituted for him another who was sent by Patriarch Ebedjesus and who was afterwards taken by him (by Fr. Antoninus) to Portugal at the instance of the Inquisition of Goa.¹¹² The bishop who was converted, we think, was one of those who were sent to Malabar by the rival of Sulaka. The bishop who was substituted for him and who was taken to Portugal was Mar Joseph. Since Mar Joseph and others were not to exercise jurisdiction without the permission of the Archbishop of Goa, as we saw above, the act of Fr. Antoninus and Mar Joseph was judged by the Portuguese illegal. Hence the intervention of the Inquisition, the recall of Fr. Antoninus and the deportation of Mar Joseph! Fr. Antoninus was recalled by a Papal brief. (Jan. 24, 1561) in which he was ordered to leave India by virtue of holy obedience and was praised very much for the good work he had done. He was afterwards made bishop of Vico Equense nel Napolitano in 1564.¹¹³

In the meantime the Syrians applied to their Patriarch Ebedjesus for a bishop and Mar Abraham entered Malabar in disguise. Some say he was an impostor and a Nestorian who was not even a priest being sent by the Nestorian Patriarch. The Syrians however took him as sent by Ebedjesus who was in communion with the Pope.¹¹⁴ Mar Joseph was at once set free against Mar Abraham and before long Mar Abraham was imprisoned and deported to Portugal. Mar Joseph was thus left in peace and he was prevailed upon by the Portuguese to introduce Latin vestments and unleavened bread in the celebration of mass.

On his way Mar Abraham escaped at Mozambique, went to the Patriarch Ebedjesus and with letters of recommendation approached the Pope himself. Pope Pius IV made him Archbishop of Angamale, acknowledged Mar Joseph's jurisdiction over one part of the Syrians and sent back Mar Abraham to Malabar asking the Archbishop of Goa and the bishop of Cochin not to molest him any way as before.¹¹⁵ In Rome Mar Abraham took care to be well instructed in Catholic faith.

When Mar Abraham was undergoing his perilous journey, the Portuguese accused Mar Joseph of heresy¹¹⁶ and in 1567 secured a Brief from Rome to inquire into his faith. They say that in the Provincial Council of Goa of 1567 he was convicted of heresy. But Beltrami says that the acts of this Council are given in *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae* Appendix p.p. 3 - 34 and that they contain no information about Mar Joseph.¹¹⁷

While Mar Joseph was at Goa this time Mar Abraham arrived there with Papal letters. In spite of these letters the Portuguese suspected him and imprisoned him. Mar Joseph was deported to Rome. Mar Abraham escaped during night and fled to this diocese.

Mar Joseph reached Rome. From a letter of Antony Pinto written from Rome to the King of Portugal, Jan. 10, 1569, we can conclude that Mar Joseph was severely examined in Rome.¹¹⁸ The Portuguese historian D'Souza says "..... 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".¹¹⁹ One thing is certain and that is that Mar Joseph after an examination was found innocent in Rome even worthy of a cardinal's hat. God alone is the judge of D'Souza's personal opinion.

Mar Abraham with Papal approbation, as we saw, began to rule the Syrians with Angamale as his seat. He was invited to the second Provincial Council of Goa in 1575. He declined the invitation and wrote

to the Pope that he would attend the Councils of Goa if the Pope would give him assurance that he would not be ill-treated as before. The Council meanwhile enacted that the Syrian Church of Malabar was to be governed by a bishop nominated by the King of Portugal. Mar Abraham then sent his profession of faith to Rome, invited the Jesuits to work in his diocese (1577) and a Jesuit recommended him to the Pope for the Pallium and obtained indulgences for a Church which Mar Abraham had built. George the Archdeacon of Mar Abraham and Malabar was proposed by Mar Abraham as Bishop of Palayur and Papal approbation secured. George as *Archdeacon of Mar Abraham* was to administer the see of Angamali during its vacancy and this power he got by virtue of a Brief directed to him by the Pope, Jan. 3, 1579. In the Brief of March 4, 1580 directed to him by the Pope, the Pope supposes that George was already consecrated bishop.¹²⁰ A mass of evidences in the form of original documents can be brought forward to show that Mar Abraham and his subjects were in full communion with the Pope. See these documents in Giamil and Beltrami.

In 1578 a certain Mar Simon came to Malabar and fixed his residence at Kaduthuruthi. Mar Abraham and the Portuguese fought against him. Pope Gregory XIII in 1580 exhorted the Syrians to be obedient to Mar Abraham and to George the bishop of Palayur. The Archbishop of Goa in 1578 and George the bishop elect of Palayur in 1580 were asked by the Pope to exclude Mar Simon from Malabar. Accordingly Mar Simon was deported to Rome in 1585. But he left behind him a certain priest Jacob as his Vicar General.¹²¹ In some documents - even Papal documents - connected with this event we read that Mar Simon was hindering the work of Mar Abraham and George "in reducing the Syrians to the obedience of Rome". We know what this meant in the Portuguese phraseology which the Pope too accepted.

While Mar Simon was in Malabar Mar Abraham held a synod at Angamale in 1582 and corrected the books with the help of Jesuits. In 1584 he wrote to the Pope to inform him of the need of a seminary and to ask approbation for corrections of books.¹²² Behold the efforts of Mar Abraham and his Archdeacon George "to reduce the Syrians to the obedience of Rome"! The seminary at Vaipicotta under the Jesuits was thus started in 1585. But the Jesuits were bent upon latinizing the Syrian Rite. Rome was even asked whether Syriac was not to be suppressed. "Rome when this doubt was submitted answered that Syriac should absolutely be retained: the variety of liturgies being an adornment of the Church 'who is the Queen that stands surrounded with variety'".¹²³

According to a letter of Pope Gregory XIII, dated Nov. 1578, Mar Abraham attended the third Provincial Council of Goa of 1585. He was assured he would not be ill-treated and he had to attend the Council because he had no suffragan and because his Patriarch was far away.¹²⁴ He was present there not as a suffragan of Goa. Although Mar Abraham made a Catholic profession of faith condemning Nestorianism and promising to teach his subjects the Catholic faith, still from the acts of the Council it is clear that the Portuguese acknowledged Mar Abraham and his Patriarch as Catholics. The Council enacted that Syrian bishops coming to Malabar should show the Archbishop of Goa his letters of appointment by the Pope or by the Catholic Chaldean Patriarch as Mar Abraham did. Mar Abraham had to reordain those he had ordained according to the Chaldean Rite and to translate into Syriac the Latin Pontifical and Ritual. What is of utmost importance is that decree 6 of Session III of the Council enjoined that the decrees of the Councils of Goa of 1567 and 1575 about the Archdiocese of Angamale were to be enforced in that Archdiocese. Now, the 1st decree of the 3rd session of the Council of 1575 had ordained that the Syrians were to be governed by bishops appointed not by the Chaldean Patriarch but by the King of Portugal! Angamale besides was to be put under the Inquisition of Goa. Mar Abraham accepted the decrees of the Council, but did he perceive the implications? No doubt the council went beyond its competency. But in the Portuguese sense all these were calculated "to reduce the Syrians to the obedience of Rome". Yes, the meaning of the phrase "to reduce to the obedience of Rome" is clear from the acts of this Council. It did not mean for the Portuguese that the Syrians were non-Catholics who did not obey the Pope. The events of the time amply prove this. The consecration of the Archdeacon as bishop of

Palayur was impeded also as an effect of this Council of Goa.¹²⁵

Mar Abraham did not put into execution the decrees of the Council of Goa of 1585. Some say he had secret communications with the Nestorian Patriarch. Fr. Roz. S.J. in 1586 or 1587 says that in spite of Nestorian books found in Malabar the Syrians had professed "the Roman Catholic faith", Mar Abraham alone being an exception.¹²⁶ Fr. Roz. S.J. says again that the Syrian priests were publicly preaching that the B.V. Mary is the Mother of God and that in the recitation of Divine Office they were leaving out the names of Nestorius, Theodore and Diodore.¹²⁷ What other proof is required for their sincerity in adhering to the Pope although their books contained errors? They were ready to make corrections when they were made to understand that a certain thing was against the faith of Rome.

Severe accusations of heresy were lodged against Mar Abraham. What these accusations were we know from a letter of Fr. Abraham di Giorgio S.J. written from Vaipicotta, Oct. 13, 1593 to the General of the Society of Jesus.¹²⁸ The accusations reached the ears of Pope Clement VIII. The Pope in 1595 issued a Brief giving the Archbishop of Goa faculty to inquire into the faith of Mar Abraham and of those similar to him, if any, to keep him an honourable prisoner if found guilty, to send the report of the procedure to Rome, to appoint a Latin as Vicar Apostolic for Angamale (he was not to confer orders) lest that Archdiocese should suffer anything in spirituals if Abraham was to be removed owing to heresy and not to suffer any one to be the Archbishop of Angamale except those appointed by the Holy See as it was decreed in the 3rd Provincial Council of Goa.¹²⁹ In this document the Pope gives expression to the information he had received as to Mar Abraham's promise in the Council of Goa concerning "the bringing to the obedience of Rome" the Christians under him. We have seen what this "bringing to the obedience of Rome" meant in those days for the Portuguese from whom the Pope got the information. Mar Abraham was not imprisoned although, as they say, a process was instituted and the report sent to Rome.

In 1597 the same Pope directed another Brief to the Archbishop of Goa¹³⁰ in which he says nothing of the heresy of Mar Abraham, but enjoins the Archbishop to appoint a Vicar Apostolic for Angamale in case Mar Abraham died before the canonical appointment of a successor, lest his Archdiocese should suffer anything in spirituals. Thus the Pope allowed Mar Abraham to govern the Syrians till his death and the Pope was dealing with the nomination of a successor to Mar Abraham after his death. We find several proposed and rejected.¹³¹ These two Briefs were not known in Malabar.

Mar Abraham died in 1597. Some say he died a heretic while some others defend his orthodoxy. Whatever it be, the Pope had commanded the Syrians to obey Mar Abraham, his Patriarch¹³² and the Archdeacon George the bishop elect of Palayur. The Pope also had allowed Mar Abraham to govern the see of Angamale till the appointment of a successor. Hence the Syrians, as obedient children of the Pope, had to obey them until the Pope ordered otherwise or until it was proved to them that Mar Abraham and others had lost Catholic communion through heresy and schism. These things did not happen and so the catholicity of the Syrian stands unscathed.

THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER - 1599.

Dom. Menezes, Archbishop of Goa hearing of the death of Mar Abraham appointed Fr. Roz. S.J. as Vicar Apostolic of Angamale. The two Briefs cited above were not known in Malabar. The Archdeacon relying on ancient customs and by virtue of the Papal Brief directed to him Jan. 3, 1579, had already taken up himself the administration of the Archdiocese. Hence Dom. Menezes cancelled the appointment of Fr. Roz. and made the Archdeacon himself Vicar Apostolic asking him to make the profession of faith before two Jesuit Fathers according to the formula prescribed by him. Because of the displeasure of the Syrians Dom. Menezes even cancelled the appointment of these Jesuit Fathers as Archdeacon's Counsellors. The Archdeacon said he would make the profession of faith after some time before any one except the Jesuits; and he continued in his office which he considered independent of the appointment of Dom. Menezes. The Archdeacon is said to have perpetrated many injustices at that time. The Syrians held an assembly and resolved to stand with the Archdeacon and to receive the bishop

appointed by the Pope if the bishop was a Syrian. If the bishop was not a Syrian, they said they would consider what steps they should take. This shows how disparate they were. There was also much misunderstanding on both sides. The Franciscan Fathers at Vaip then admitted the Archdeacon for the profession of faith before the chief Portuguese officials of Malabar. All of them, except the Jesuits who were excluded, proclaimed the Archdeacon as a true Catholic. The Jesuits reported the matter to Dom. Menezes and he at once started to Malabar¹³³. He had already traced out his programme in his letter to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and he did all things just as he had written in that letter. He had the political power to back him up as he himself admits in that letter¹³⁴.

The Archdeacon met Dom. Menezes and was asked by the latter at Vaip if he accepted Papal Supremacy and the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. The Archdeacon said that he did. But the Portuguese say that it was manifested afterwards that he said so with restriction meaning that the Pope was head of the Roman Church and not of the Church of St. Thomas and that Dom Menezes was head of the Latin Church. At Vaip the Archdeacon was asked to sign a document in which it was commanded under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*, not to say the name of the Patriarch in mass and Divine Office. The Archdeacon and his priests did so unwillingly.¹³⁵

Menezes began to visit the Syrian Churches exercising real jurisdiction in them over the Syrians. The Archdeacon protested saying he would allow Menezes to visit the Churches as a foreign bishop until it would be made clear in a conference what sort of authority he had in the Syrian Church. Menezes agreed; but on the plea that the Archdeacon, delayed the conference, he continued visiting churches as before in the midst of strong oppositions and exercising jurisdiction by conferring orders and administering confirmation.¹³⁶ Every where he preached about obeying the Pope and made those whom he ordained condemn Nestorianism. He invoked as his authority, the two above mentioned Papal Briefs, and preached that the Chaldean Patriarch was a schismatic. Thus he got a strong party, and was about to depose the Archdeacon. The Archdeacon, then, yielded and consented to do all that the Archbishop required of him. Non-Catholics accuse the Archdeacon of cowardice, the Portuguese say, that he was crafty and ambitious; while the Catholic Syrians think, that he yielded to avoid schism in the Malabar Church. Menezes required of the Archdeacon to condemn Nestorianism, Nestorixus, Diodore and Theodore; to proclaim that there was no distinction between the Law of Peter and the Law of Thomas; to make the profession of faith according to the formula, Menezes had sent to him from Goa; to hand over all the books to Menezes for correction or burning; to acknowledge the Papal Supremacy; to anathematize the Patriarch as a heretic and schismatic; to swear not to receive any bishop except the one sent by the Pope and accepted by the Archbishop of Goa; to swear to admit the Archbishop of Goa as his legitimate Superior with power delegated by the Pope; to send the invitation to convoke a synod in the place appointed by the Archbishop, and to receive its decrees; and lastly to accompany the Archbishop, wherever he went, without arms.¹³⁷ Many of these the Archdeacon had already done; while others like anathematizing the Patriarch as a schismatic, acknowledging Menezes as his real superior who had jurisdiction over Malabar, in the sense he said &c. how could the Archdeacon do in conscience?

According to the directions of Menezes, the Synod of Diamper was celebrated in 1599. The Syrians, clergy and lay representatives of Syrian Churches, were ordered by Menezes by virtue of obedience, and under pain of ex-communication *latae sententiae* to be present at the Synod. All the circumstances of this synod and all those things that were done before and after, it clearly indicate that Menezes was dealing with a body of Christians, who were members of the Catholic Church. 153 priests and 671 lay men from all parts of Malabar attended the Synod. The priests *all* were asked to say mass and the laymen to confess and communicate for the success of the Synod! Do not all these clearly proclaim the Catholicity of the Syrians before the Synod? Yes, the Malabar Syrian Church as a body was Catholic, though there might have been some individual priests or laymen who had wrong ideas about the Papacy.¹³⁸

The Synod prevailed upon the Archdeacon and the Syrians to anathematize the Patriarch as a heretic and schismatic, to swear that they would receive only those bishops who were immediately appointed by the Pope &c. &c. Malabar at that time was under the successor of Sulaka, and it was the authority of Patriarch, Denha Simon, that was done away with at Diamper¹³⁹. That Patriarch who was decorated by the Pope with sacred Pallium was anathematized as a Schismatic! Menezes in his letter to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 19th Dec. 1597 says, that the Patriarch was "a public Nestorian heretic, with a thousand other errors, in as much as he refuses to retract and is openly schismatic"¹⁴⁰! Such erroneous notions emboldened Menezes to go beyond limits in his dealings with the Syrians. The Synod enacted laws for the reformation of morals, for the correction of books,¹⁴¹ for the translation into Syriac of Latin Rituals &c. &c. The Malabar Church should always be grateful to Menezes for the good he did to it through the synod of Diamper. There were many errors to be corrected and many superstitious practices to be removed. Menezes did all these on the strength of the above mentioned Papal Briefs by invoking the dignity of his position as Primate of the East, which title, no doubt, gave him no jurisdiction over the Syrians! It is questionable whether he could, by virtue of these briefs, convoke and preside over a diocesan synod as he did at Diamper. After the Synod the Syrians asked the Pope to appoint Menezes himself or Fr. Roz as their bishop! What a great change in the Syrians, who both before and after the synod, continually made efforts to get a Syrian bishop! Nay, in their petitions to the Pope, they even say that they were Schismatics without communion with the Pope, and were brought to the Catholic fold by Menezes! No wonder that such ideas are found expressed in later days by certain Syrians who were under Portuguese influence.¹⁴²

The history of the 16th century, and especially the history of the synod of Diamper, leave the impression that the Portuguese were dealing with a community of Christians, which, though it had some errors to be corrected, was nevertheless under the Pope enjoying Catholic Communion. Fr. Roz the moving spirit of the Synod of Diamper had already formulated this impression, when he wrote in 1586 or 1587 that "the Nestorians who dwell in East India, although they are professing the Roman Catholic faith, still their books are full of the dogmas of Nestorius, Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia". As we find all throughout the 16th century, the Syrians were ready to make the corrections whenever they had to do it. This was because they were under the Pope. No doubt it was enough only to correct the errors, and for that there was no need of making so much fuss and committing so many blunder. But here again, we repeat that we should not measure the past with the standard of the present. The Portuguese of whom we are speaking, were men of those days and they moved with the spirit of the times. They could not see the situation, as we see it now, and Oriental studies had not progressed then as they have it now. Suspicion of heresy was dealt with very severely at that time and they were also very zealous. Considering all these, we think they were far in advance of their times. But, as Beltrami says, the whole world till yesterday believed that the Syrian Church of Malabar was non-Catholic, and "was reduced to the Catholic faith at the Synod of Diamper".¹⁴³ Rome too was made to believe so! Beltrami sighs "Quale dolorosa sorpresa per l'anima malabarica"! What a painful surprise to the Malabar mind!

Such was the Malabar Church in the 16th century, so much misunderstood and misrepresented.

THE COONAN CROSS TRAGEDY.

While the petitions of the Syrians asking for Menezes or Fr. Roz as their bishop were on the way to Rome, Fr. Roz was appointed Archbishop of Angamale, Nov. 5, 1599. In Dec. 1599 the Archdiocese of Angamale was reduced as a simple bishopric and was made suffragan to Goa and in Aug. 1600 the right of Patronage (Padroado) over it was given to the King of Portugal. The Archdeacon and his councillors, seeing their ancient Archdiocese reduced to the status of a suffragan bishopric, twice petitioned the Pope in 1601, to restore to them the Archbishopric, and to restore it as the Archdiocese of Cranganore. The same year, the people of Angamale too sent up a similar petition to the Pope.¹⁴⁴ According to some, Archdeacon George died in 1604 and was

succeeded by another George.

In accordance with these petitions, Angamale was made an Archbishopric in 1608, and in 1609 Archbishop Roz got the Pallium. The Archdeacon was given the honour to impose the Pallium¹⁴⁵. In 1609 Angamale was transformed into Cranganore.

Archbishop Roz, and his successors Stephen Britto and Francis Garcia, followed up the policy of Latinizing the Syrian Rite. As a result of that, of the old Chaldaic Rite we have now, without any substantial change, only the Mass proper, (Liturgy) the Office of the dead, and to some extent the Divine Office. All the rest are Syriac translations from Latin. The powers of the Archdeacon were reduced, and there was much discontent everywhere. The Archdeacon sent up petitions to Lisbon in 1608, 1628 and 1632, complaining of the state of affairs in Malabar. The quarrel of the Syrians was chiefly with the Jesuits, and so at their request, a Dominican, Fr. Donato was even made coadjutor to the Jesuit Archbishop. But Fr. Donato died before taking charge of the Office.¹⁴⁶ In 1641 Francis Garcia became Archbishop, and Thomas called de Campo was the Archdeacon then. It is said that the Archdeacon sent secret petitions to the Coptic, Nestorian and Jacobite Patriarchs for a bishop. But some say, this was done only after 1653, while, before that, he had applied only to the Chaldean Patriarch. Whatever it be, if he sent petitions, they were secret petitions, and as such could not affect the Catholicity of the Syrians.

Lo! in 1652 a bishop, Ignatius Ahattalla, (or Atalla) calling himself Patriarch of India and China, came to Mylapore and called upon the Syrians to rally round him, saying "Come my sons, hearken unto me, and learn from me that all power is given to me by *our Lord Pope* Priests and deacons in the name of Mary, the *Mother of God*, know ye that I came to this city of Mylapore"¹⁴⁷ The Portuguese imprisoned him and took him to Goa *via* Cochin. Assemani produces another letter which Ahattalla wrote to the Syrians and which is: "Atalla Patriarch. I am sent by *Pope Innocent X* to the St. Thomas Christians, to be a consolation to them. But those whose custom is to perturb the upright, detain me at Calamina. I shall be taken in a short time from here to Cochin and then to Goa. Let some of you take up arms to free me from their hands"¹⁴⁸.

Imagine the feelings of the Syrians! The Archdeacon with soldiers hastened to Cochin and demanded the Patriarch saying ".....In case the Patriarch cannot be produced, he, having been killed by the Fathers of St. Paul (i.e. Jesuits) let any other person of any of the four religious orders, come here *by order of the Supreme Pontiff* except the Fathers of St. Paul..... because they are *enemies* of us and of the *Holy Mother Church of Rome*."¹⁴⁹

The Patriarch was deported to Goa, and a false rumour was spread that the Portuguese drowned him off the coast of Cochin. Enraged at this report the Syrians assembled near the *Coonan Cross* at Mattancherry near Cochin, January 3, 1653, and holding a rope tied to that cross, swore they would no longer obey the Paulists i.e. Jesuits. This was followed by a consultation at Edapally, and by a council at Alengad, where 12 priests imposed hands on the Archdeacon, proclaiming him Bishop Mar Thomas I, saying they had power to do so from Ahattalla. Then the leaders made a proclamation, that they created their bishop, "by order and command of the Patriarch, who came by the Mandate of the *Supreme Pontiff and of the Holy Mother Church of Rome*."¹⁵⁰

From all these, it is clear that the revolt was against the Jesuits and not against the Pope. The majority of the Syrians believing the proclamation of their leaders, took part in it. But soon, some of the prominent men as Father Alexander Palliveethil and Fr. Alexander Kadavil, and some others, understood the seriousness of the situation and made their submission to Archbishop Garcia. This party assembled at Edapally in 1655, invited the Carmelites of Goa to help them and sent up a petition to Pope Alexander VII through the Prior of the Carmelite Monastery, Scala, Rome, asking the Pope to send them Carmelites.¹⁵¹

The Jesuits had sent their representative Fr. Hyacinth to Rome to treat of the matter with the Pope.¹⁵² In accordance with the petition of the Syrians, the Pope sent a Carmelite mission, headed by the Apostolic Commissary, Fr. Joseph Sebastiani. The two above mentioned Al-

exanders helped the Carmelites very much, and the Carmelite mission proved a success.¹⁵³ They had only to convince the Syrians, that the Archdeacon had no authority from the Pope. But that was a difficult affair since the Archdeacon's party had forged Papal letters, and since the Carmelites were called Jesuits in Carmelite garb.¹⁵⁴ All these clearly prove that the revolt of the Syrians was not against the Pope, as some have begun to think recently.

The Apostolic commissary returned to Rome, and submitted his report in 1659. The Holy See issued a "Brief ordering the deposition of Archbishop Garcia But before the Brief was communicated to him, the old missionary Archbishop died, 1659, aged 80".¹⁵⁵ This deposition was in favour of a Carmelite bishop. From all these, we can understand that the entire fault was not to be imputed to the Archdeacon who, no doubt, was greatly in fault.

DOUBLE JURISDICTION

In 1659 the Apostolic commissary, Joseph Sebastiani was consecrated titular bishop of Hieropolis and Vicar Ap. of Malabar, and was sent back to Malabar with powers to consecrate one or two natives to govern the Syrians. For fear of Portuguese displeasure, his consecration was done secretly.¹⁵⁶ Bishop Sebastiani landed in Cochin 1661. "Three days after his arrival, the proclamation of the late Archbishop's deposition and of the transfer of jurisdiction to the newly ordained bishop was read in the Cathedral and caused universal consternation. In spite of this proclamation, however, owing probably to objections raised against it by Portugal, the Cranganore jurisdiction remained".¹⁵⁷ Though several nominations took place successively, the see of Cranganore remained vacant till 1704, when it was filled by Archbishop John Rebeiro S.J.

Joseph Sebastian's arrival as bishop brought many more dissidents to his side. But when the Dutch took Cochin, the Carmelites were forced to leave Malabar. Bishop Sebastiani therefore by virtue of his special powers consecrated Fr. Alexander Palliveethil (Kudakkacheri, called de campo) Bishop of Megara and Vicar Apostolic of Malabar in 1663.¹⁵⁸ The Dutch expelled the Jesuits also from Cranganore; but soon, they came back to Ampalacatt in the territory of Zamorin where they opened a seminary.¹⁵⁹

After some time, the Carmelites also came back. Bishop Alexander gave them permission to erect an exempt Church at Chattiath near Ernakulam in 1673¹⁶⁰ and to build a Church at Verapoly, the same year. Church began to convert pagans, who followed the Latin Rite. One of them, Fr. Mathew, was very friendly with the Jesuits, whom he wanted to remain in Malabar.¹⁶¹

Archdeacon Thomas, the pseudo - Archbishop, finding his party daily dwindling, tried by all means to get himself consecrated bishop. He got down a Jacobite bishop, Mar Gregory, who taught him and his followers Jacobitism. From that time they have been called *Puthankuttukar* or the new party, while the Catholic Syrians retained the name of *Pazhavakuttukar* or the old party. This is the origin of the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malabar, which after many years, adopted the West Syrian Rite of the Jacobites, abandoning also the Rite of their fathers, in addition to the old faith! From the Jacobites are the Tholyur or Anjoor Syrians, who in the 18th century became independent. Again in the 19th century, some Jacobites became Protestants of the Church Mission Society and some others, the Reformed Syrians, now called Mar Thomites. The remaining Jacobites again in the 20th Century were divided into the Patriarch's party and the Bishop's party.¹⁶²

1674 bishop Alexander, with permission of Van Rheede the Dutch governor, petitioned Rome to give him a coadjutor. A Portuguese Eurasian, Fr. Raphael Figueredo, was elected by the Carmelite commissaries appointed for the purpose. Fr. Mathew, a relation of Bishop Alexander, whom the latter had proposed, was set aside. That he was an able man is evident from the fact that he was the Archdeacon, who governed all the Syrians between the death of Bishop Alexander and the nomination of Bishop Angelus Francis.¹⁶³

Bishop Figueredo was unruly, and he did much harm to the Syrians. He was therefore deposed by Rome in 1694 and Custodius de Pinho, Vicar Apostolic of Great Mugal, was appointed in his place.¹⁶⁴ Bishop Alexander was no more then, having gone to his reward in 1687. (?) Bishop Figueredo's behaviour impeded the conversion of Jacobites.

Custodius de Pinho was relieved by the Carmelite missionary Peter Paul (?) "Fr. Peter Paul, one of the Carmelite missionaries, nephew of the then reigning Pope Innocent XII, proposed in 1690 a sort of concordat between the Carmelites and Jesuits, defining their respective spheres of activity, in order that, all differences being definitely settled, all being united in a common cause, they might, the more effectively, resist the common enemy, the schismatic and his supporters"¹⁶⁵ Besides, Fr. Peter Paul, who was son of the Duke of Palma, negotiated with the Dutch Government, through the German Emperor Leopold I, and in 1698 obtained permission for one Carmelite bishop and 12 Carmelites, belonging to Germany, Belgium or Italy, to reside in Malabar¹⁶⁶. Thus the Carmelite rule began definitely in Malabar, the first Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Malabar being Mgr. Angelus Francis, nominated in 1700, as successor of the Syrian Bishop Alexander under the Propaganda authority. It is this Vicariate Apostolic of Malabar which later on came to be known as the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly.

There was then the Archdiocese of Cranganore, also of the Syrians which was to be filled in 1704 by Bishop John Rebiero S.J. Cranganore was under the Padroado authority. Although many appointments took place the see of Cranganore remained vacant till 1704.

Neither the Portuguese Bishop of Cochin, nor the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa, would consecrate Fr. Angelus Francis. So he got himself consecrated at Alengad by a Syro - Chaldean bishop, Mar Simon, who was then in Malabar. After this consecration, Mar Simon was sent away to Pondicherry where he died, Aug. 16, 1720. In the mortuary register of the Church, in which he is buried, there is a short history about him written by the one who buried him. The report says, that he was sent to Pondicherry, because he could not be in Malabar and that he had made a long journey going to Rome, Spain and Portugal, before he could enter Malabar by order of his Catholic Patriarch, Mar Joseph, (Mistaken for Mar Elias) that he was not allowed to remain in Malabar, owing to the religious obstacles in Malabar caused to him through the Government of Cochin¹⁶⁷. It appears from other documents, cited by Fr. Bernard, that Mar Simon was legitimately sent to Malabar at the request of the Catholic Syrians and Jacobite Syrians in order to convert the Jacobites¹⁶⁸. If he remained in Malabar, it was almost certain that the Catholic Syrians would leave the Latin bishop, and thus might occur quarrels and even schisms. This might have been the reason, we think, why he was sent away to Pondicherry.¹⁶⁹

In 1708 or 1709 there came to Malabar another East Syrian bishop, Mar Gabriel. In 1712 he made a Catholic profession of faith at Changanacherry.¹⁷⁰ He promised, he would convert Jacobites and would not do anything, against the orders of the Carmelites. But he began to rule certain Catholics and Schismatics, who had gone over to him. Some say, he did this because they would not be Catholics if asked to be under the Carmelites. The Carmelites by order of Rome forbade him to interfere in the affairs of Malabar, and he died in 1731. There are evidences that favour the view that he came just like Mar Simon for the same purpose.

Since the bishops of Cochin and Cranganore were impeded to govern their subjects, who were in territories subject to Dutch influence, the faithful in those territories were put under Bishop Angelus Francis, who being successor of Bishop Alexander, was preeminently bishop of the Syrians.¹⁷¹ Moreover the Vicariate Ap. of Malabar was started for the Syrians. Bishop Angelus Francis and his successors converted many pagans to Christianity, and the converts followed the Latin Rite. The Dutch Government nominated to government posts some Latin Catholics who were given lands free of taxation.

The state of the Syrians under Propaganda and Padroado bishops was not very peaceful. There were frequent quarrels and signs of discontent. They are freely passing from one jurisdiction to another. The Jacobites governed by indigenous prelates, were making tentative approaches to Rome. In 1778, their leader Mar Thomas VI, alias Mar Dionysius I sought admission to the Catholic Church. Since there were difficulties from the Latin rulers, Dr. Joseph Cariatti, a Syrian priest of Alengad and an alumnus of the Propaganda College, Rome, with Fr. Thomas Paremakal went to Rome, through Portugal to submit the case before the Pope. At last, they got a favourable hearing. Since the See of Cranganore was vacant at that time, after the suppression of the

Society of Jesus, Dr. Joseph Cariatti was in 1783 consecrated Archbishop of Cranganore in Portugal. But he died at Goa, 1786, before reaching Malabar and Fr. Thomas Paremakal became the Administrator (Gornador) of Cranganore. All the Syrians "without even excepting the Parochial Church of Verapoly"¹⁷² then came under Cranganore.¹⁷³ Fr. Thomas Paremakal was about to be made bishop. He had with him a Malabar Syrian Bishop, Paul Pandari, consecrated in Mesopotamia. But Fr. Thomas Paremakal did nothing through him that might savour of schism.

When Fr. Thomas Paremakal was administrator, Mar Thomas VI with some of his subjects was received into the Catholic Church at Thathampally, through the efforts of Thachil Mathoo Tharakan, the leading citizen of the time whose services to the modern State of Travancore were manifold¹⁷⁴. But after a few months, Mar Thomas VI and others went back to Jacobitism.

After the death of Fr. Thomas Paremakal, a small faction of the Syrians was led by Bishop Paul Pandari and Fr. Abraham Kattkayam while the rest reverted gradually to Carmelite jurisdiction¹⁷⁵. The Administrator of Cochin, Aloysius of St. Joseph De Ribamar, was appointed Administrator, also of Cranganore, and he delegated the Syrian priest Fr. George Sankurikal, to take up the administration of Cranganore¹⁷⁶. The followers of Bishop Paul Pandari and Fr. Abraham Kattkayam accepted Fr. George in 1801.

In 1838, the Padroado was temporarily suspended, and the Carmelite Vicar Apostolic of Malabar i.e. of Verapoly became the exclusive ruler of the Syrians. Since the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly was thus extended to the whole territory, and people of the Syrian Archdiocese of Cranganore, the title of Archbishop *ad honorem* was conferred on the Vicars Ap. of Verapoly, the first Archbishop *ad honorem* being Mgr. Francis Xavier.¹⁷⁷

After the Synod of Diamper, some Syrian Churches were made Latin. But not all the faithful attached to them adopted the Latin Rite. Bishop Figueredo converted Mattancherry into a Latin Church, and part of the congregation there became Latin while the other part Jacobite. The same happened in the case of the parishioners of the Church of St. Thomas at Cochin. Other churches that were made Latin are not many.¹⁷⁸ The descendants of those Syrians who thus became Latins are now found in the dioceses of Quilon and Cochin and the Archdiocese of Verapoly, and can be identified though with some difficulty in certain cases. In the eyes of the orthodox Syrians, change of Rite was not at all laudable and was considered below their high dignity. We must admit here that the Syrians of Malabar are unduly proud of being Syrians and St. Thomas Christians. Hence their unreasonable and harmful contempt towards new converts and towards those that follow the Latin Rite. Hence also the craze among some Latins of Malabar to appear as descendants of Syrians, who adopted the Latin Rite, owing to Latin pressure.

ROCOS AND MELLOS.

The Syrians under the Propaganda and Padroado jurisdictions wanted, by all means, to have bishops of their own rite, and this was their greatest desire from the time of the death of Mar Abraham, 1597. The Chaldean Patriarchs, too were trying to regain Malabar. Occasionally Chaldean priests used to come to Malabar, and receive hospitality from the Syrians. We read that somewhere about 1800 a certain Malabar Syrian, by name Warda, was consecrated bishop by the Chaldean Patriarch.¹⁷⁹ We think this is the same as bishop Paul Pandari. In 1801 John Guriel, Chaldean bishop of Salmas, was about to be sent to Malabar as Visitor by the Chaldean Patriarch, with necessary faculties, from the Holy See¹⁸⁰.

Fr. Antony Kudakkachira, a Malabar Syrian priest, after causing some agitations in Malabar, approached the Chaldean Patriarch, Joseph Audo, asking for a bishop. The Patriarch denied the request, and so he returned to Malabar, formed a party, prepared a petition to be forwarded to Rome endorsed by the Patriarch. On his second journey to the Patriarch, he died on the way leaving the cause in the hands of Fr. Antony Thondanat. The Patriarch sent Mar Thomas Rocos to Malabar in 1861. Rocos exercised jurisdiction in Malabar and tried to convince the Syrians that he had authority from the Pope. The major part of the Syrians believing him, followed him. By order of the Pope, he was

excommunicated, and so he returned to the Patriarch. It was the indigenous Syrian Carmelite Congregation, founded by two indigenous Syrian priests in 1831, that successfully fought against Rocos under the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly.¹⁸¹

Fr. Antony Thondanat followed Rocos, and came to Malabar consecrated, they say, by the Nestorian Patriarch, as Mar Ebedjesus. But soon he submitted to the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly.

The Schism of Rocos came to an end in 1863, when the Commissary Apostolic, Mgr. Saba, specially deputed to put into execution the concordat of 1857 between the Holy See and Portugal, allowed each Syrian Church to choose between Verapoly and the reconstructed Padroado jurisdiction of Cranganore. According to this Concordat, this privilege was given only to those Syrian Churches, which had followed Rocos. But the Commissary, to procure greater peace, extended it also to the other churches under Verapoly.¹⁸² But no Syrian Church at that time, or a little before, became Latin as some seem to think.

Another trouble soon arose. At the request of certain priests of the Padroado jurisdiction, the Chaldean Patriarch Joseph Audo, in 1874, sent to Malabar a certain Chaldean Bishop, Mar Elas Mellos, who fixed his headquarters at Trichur and was joined by Fr. Antony Thondanat, alias Bishop Mar Ebedjesus. But Mar Ebedjesus soon repented, and made his submission to the Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly. In 1875 Mellos got down another bishop, Mar Jacob, who was however converted in Malabar and sent back. Mellos proclaimed, he had jurisdiction from the Pope, and many churches joined him. The indigenous Syrian Carmelites, as before, fought Mellos, was assisted at Trichur, first by Aziz and then by Augustine both Chaldean priests. Since Mar Jacob was converted, Mellos made Mar Ebedjesus bishop of his party in the South and so Mar Ebedjesus (Antony Thondanat) again relapsed and he died in schism.

Threatened with excommunication by the Pope, the Patriarch, in 1877 recalled Mellos, who, however left behind him Fr. Augustine as Corepiscopus to govern his followers at Trichur. In the south, Mar Ebedjesus alone remained.¹⁸³ When the Corepiscopus Augustine died, the schismatics of Trichur through the Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission got down in 1908 from the Nestorian Patriarch, as their bishop Mar Timotheus Abimalech. This bishop still governs the schismatic Nestorians (Surayis) of Trichur, among whom there was a party called Independents, till very recently, when most of them became Catholics.

A certain Syrian priest, Kuruvila Padupura of Chennankary, was excommunicated, because of his Protestant ideas; and he, because he could not be in Travancore fled to Trichur where he joined the schismatics. His followers in Chennankary held out for some time as Kurulavedakar, but gradually turned Jacobite or Mar Thomite.

THE RESTORATION OF HIERARCHY

While Mellos was in Malabar, many Syrian priests, chief among whom being seven native Syrian Carmelites, petitioned Rome for a bishop of their own Rite. In 1875, Mgr. Leo Meurin S.J. Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, was appointed visitor Apostolic to investigate into the affairs of Malabar. In 1876, another visitor Apostolic, Mgr. Ignatius Persico also was sent to Malabar. The Syrians expressed to Mgr. Leo Meurin S.J., their desire to be governed by a Jesuit bishop assisted by a native Syrian bishop.¹⁸⁴

In 1877 Mgr. Marcelline, O.C.D. was appointed coadjutor to Mgr. Leonard, the then Vicar Apostolic of Verapoly and he was to govern exclusively all the Syrians of Verapoly.¹⁸⁵ In 1887 Pope Leo XIII divided the Syrians under Verapoly and Cranganore, into two Vicariates Apostolic, of Kottayam and Trichur and gave them two Latin Vicars Apostolic Mgr. Lavinge S.J. and Mgr. Medlycott who governed the Vicariates Ap. of Kottayam and Trichur respectively.¹⁸⁶ Thus Verapoly, the Vicariate Ap. of the Syrians, which is the old Vicariate Apostolic of Malabar of the Syrians, over which the Syrian Bishop Alexander ruled, became a Latin Vicariate Apostolic.¹⁸⁷

In 1896 Pope Leo XIII again split the two above mentioned Vicariates Apostolic into three, namely into those of Changanacherry, Ernakulam and Trichur, and entrusted them to native Syrian Vicars Apostolic. The Vicars Apostolic were respectively, Mar Mathew Makil, Mar Aloysius Pareparampil and Mar John Menacherry.

The Vicar Apostolic of Changanacherry, Mar Mathew Makil, was a Suddhist. The Nordhists therefore resented his appointment. Since they were never before under a Suddhist Prelate, the Nordhists continually petitioned Rome for a Nordhist Vicar Ap. Accordingly Pope Pius X, on August 28, 1911 appointed Mar Thomas Kurialacherry, a Nordhist, as Vicar Ap. of Changanacherry. The next day, August 29, 1911, the Pope erected a new Vicariate Ap. for the Suddhists of Changanacherry and Ernakulam, the Vicariate Ap. namely of Kottayam over which he placed Mar Mathew Makil.¹⁸⁸

On December 20, 1923, Pope Pius XI restored the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy to the Catholic Syrians, by creating Ernakulam as the Metropolitan See, and Changanacherry, Trichur and Kottayam as suffragan sees. Thus the desire and continuous efforts of the Catholic Syrians for bishops of their own Rite were crowned with a joyful success. Their fight for it began after the death of Mar Abraham in 1597, and though with undesirable pitfalls, they creditably persevered till the last moment. "Poiche l' anima di un popolo e indistruttibile!" exclaims Mgr. Beltrami - "Because the spirit of a nation is indestructible!"¹⁸⁹

A NEW OFFSHOOT

As we saw the Jacobite Syrians of Malabar made several approaches to Rome. Mar Thomas IV in 1704 and Mar Thomas V in 1748 tried to be received into the Catholic Church.¹⁹⁰ Mar Thomas VI actually became Catholic though only for a short period.

On behalf of the Prelates of the Bishop's party including their Catholics, Mar Ivanios of Bethany in November 1926 wrote to Rome asking for reunion.¹⁹¹ Mar Ivanios Archbishop of Bethany and Mar Theophilus Bishop of Thiruvalla were received into the Catholic Church. Mgr. A. Benziger (Latin) Bishop of Quilon, subdelegated by Mgr. E. Mooney, Delegate Apostolic, in the presence of (the Syrian Catholic) Bishop, Mgr. James Kalacherry of Changanacherry, and of Mgr. L. Pereira then (Latin) Bishop - elect of Kottar, received their profession of faith, absolved them from censures and irregularities, and received them into the Catholic Church, September 20, 1930.¹⁹² They were confirmed in their office and jurisdiction. They follow the West Syrian Rite of the Jacobites with the necessary corrections.

On February 13, 1932, Mar Ivanios was made titular Archbishop of Phasia, with residence at Trivandrum, and Mar Theophilus, titular Bishop of Arad, with residence at Tiruvalla. On June 11, 1932 a new Hierarchy was established for them with Trivandrum as Metropolis and Tiruvalla as suffragan see. They are called by Rome, Syro - Malankarese of the Antiochene Rite, to distinguish them from the ancient Syrian Catholics who have the East Syrian or Chaldaic Rite, and are called by Rome Syro-Malabars.¹⁹³ The converts of Mar Ivanios and Mar Theophils, form this new offshoot of the Catholic Church in Malabar which has its new Syrian Rite. On Nov. 29, 1937, Mar Severios, Jacobite Bishop of Niranam, also of the Bishop's party, left the Jacobite Church, to become Catholic. The very same day, he made his Profession of Faith before Mar Ivanios. On 24th December 1937, Mgr. Kierkels C.P., the Apostolic Delegate absolved him from irregularities at Bangalore, and the next day he celebrated his first Mass in the Catholic Church.

NOTES :

¹ Mathew XVI 16-18.

² John XXI 15-17.

³ Luke XXII 32.

⁴ Mathew XVIII 17.

⁵ Codex Piano - Benedictinus, C. 1351.

⁶ Fortescue. *Lesser Eastern Churches*, P. 84, Note. 4.

⁷ Cfr Hannon, S.J. *The Irish Catholic*, March 30, 1935.

Tisserant, *Dictionnaire de Theologia Catholica* XI, Col. 161.

P.J. Thomas, *The India of the Early Christian Fathers*, *The Young Men of India*, March 1928.

Paulinus, *India Oriental is Christiana*. Dissertatio. Ia.

Medlycott. *India and the Apostle Thomas*.

D'Cruz. *St. Thomas the Apostle in India*.

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Placid, **St. Thomas in S. India**. Paper submitted to the 9th All-India Oriental Conference.

⁸ The Syriac Language now is East Syriac or West Syriac which differ from each other only in script and vowel sounds. Then there was only one Syriac language and its script was different from the present East Syriac and West Syriac scripts. But its vowel sounds were substantially same as those of the present East Syriac. Except in the case of Churches of Malabar, the word Syriac or Syrian in Catholic phraseology signifies Churches that use West Syriac language in liturgies. East Syriac is known as Syro-chaldaic, Chaldaic and Nestorian. In Malabar East Syriac and West Syriac go by the common designation 'Syriac'. Chaldaic or Syro-chaldaic is seldom used here; those that in Malabar use East Syriac are called now by Rome Syro-Malabars, while the others Syro-Malankarese. The West Syriac language came to Malabar only in the 17th century through Jacobite channels. The Syriac of the ancient church of Malabar was East Syriac or Chaldaic.

⁹ Bernard, *The St. Thomas Christians*, I Ch. 6.

Giamil, *Genuinae Relations*, p. 564 sqq.

¹⁰ Govea, *Jornada*, fol. 4r., Col. 1.

¹¹ Development, Ch. IV. Sec. III.

¹² Oxford University Sermons, (1909) 323.

¹³ Giamil. pp. 541 - 542.

¹⁴ *Chronica Ecclesiae Arbelensis* no. 42 in the *Orientalia Christiana* VIII p. 175.

¹⁵ Labourt. p. 20 sqq.

¹⁶ Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 51.

¹⁷ Labourt, p. 327.

¹⁸ Mingana, *The Early spread of Christianity in India* p. 33.

¹⁹ Attwater *The Catholic Eastern Churches* pp. 203-204

Placed, *The Patriarch of Antioch* 2nd ed. pp. 84-87; 121-127.

²⁰ Tixeront, *History of Dagmas* III pp. 54-57.

²¹ *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, p. 716.

²² Gurriel, *Elementa Linguae Chald.* p. 168

²³ Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* II, 1086 - 1088

²⁴ Placid, *The Patriarch of Antioch*, pp. 136 sqq.

²⁵ Cfr. Khayyath; *Syri Orientales* ... passim.

Joseph David, *Antiquae Ecclesiae* passim

²⁶ Epistola 43, *Codex de Propag. Fide*, 27.

²⁷ *The Catholic Encyclopedia* X. p. 759

²⁸ Giamil, p. 1 sqq.

²⁹ Giamil, p. 9 - 12. It appears that the Nestorian of Cyprus were not exactly if the same faith as the Nestorians of Seleucia.

³⁰ Giamil, p. 12-14

³¹ Do p. 15-23

³² Giamil p. 480

³³ Do p. 67

³⁴ *Report of Mar Elias*, Oiamil, p. 90 - 97

³⁵ Beltrami, *La Chiesa Celdea nel secol del unione*, p. 223.

³⁶ Beltami, p. 84.

³⁷ See this profession of faith in Giamil, p. 509 - 510.

³⁸ See Original documents in Giamil p. 123 sqq.

³⁹ Placid, *De Fontibus Juris Ecclesiastici Syro - Malankarensium*. pp. 16 sqq.

⁴⁰ Mingana, p. 33.

⁴¹ Mingana, p. 3.

⁴² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon* II 172.

⁴³ Khayyath, p. 38, 39.

⁴⁴ Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore*, p. 5, 6.

⁴⁵ Le Quien II 1086 - 1088.

⁴⁶ *Patrologia Graeca*, 120, e. 760.

⁴⁷ P. 425.

⁴⁸ Payne Smith. *The saurus Syriacus* I. p. 1026.

⁴⁹ Assimani, B.O. II 387 - 463.

⁵⁰ Fortescue, *Lesser Eastern Churches*, p. 360-361

⁵¹ *The Land of Perumals*, p. 216

⁵² B.O. III, 2, p. 453

⁵³ Mackenzie, *Christianity in Travancore* p. 59

⁵⁴ Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome*, p. 26 sqq.

⁵⁵ See E.M. Philip, *The Indian Church of St. Thomas*

⁵⁶ B.O. II 1275; *India Orientalis Christiana*, p. 25, note I

⁵⁷ *India Orientalis Christiana*, p. 26, note

⁵⁸ After the 8th century Persia does not seem to have put forward any claim on India (Malabar)

⁵⁹ Schurhammer, p. 1-2

⁶⁰ T.K. Joseph, *The Malabar Christians and their Ancient Documents*. p. 2.

⁶¹ Mingana, p. - 29.

⁶² For he has the word "Mother of God" in his writings.

⁶³ Medlycott, p. 71

⁶⁴ Ibid p. 80

⁶⁵ Ibid p. 87

^{65a} Mackenzie, p. 9

⁶⁶ Raulin, p. 383

⁶⁷ Benziger, *Monumenta Vaticana*, Doc. III, XIV

⁶⁸ Mackenzie, p. 9

⁶⁹ The Syrians had a King of their own with his capital at Diamper. The remnants of the royal place, tank &c., can still be seen.

⁷⁰ L.L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, no. 71, XIV. ed. 3.

⁷¹ Medlycott. p. 94.

⁷² Raulin, p. 385.

⁷³ Bernard I. Ch. 8 p. 97.

⁷⁴ Not to have images is not a sign of not being Catholics.

⁷⁵ Raulin, p. 435-436.

⁷⁶ Heras, *Portugal a Pioneer of Christianity*.

Catholic Missions No. July - Aug. 1934.

⁷⁷ Schurhammer, p. 8-9.

⁷⁸ Ibidem.

⁷⁹ It is therefor a mistake to say as some do, that Mar Jacob one of these four, was converted to the Catholic Church because of his contact with the Portuguese.

⁸⁰ This we know from a letter of St. Francis Xavier written to the missionaries working near Cape Comorin, Feb. 1548. The saint does not say Syrian, but only Malabar priests. But that he meant by this the Syrian priests is clear from the letter in which he asks the Jesuit Fathers to induce those priests to say mass often and to go to confession regularly. Latin priests say mass daily and that was their rule even then. So the priests in question were Syrians.

⁸¹ Schurhammer, p. 9.

⁸² Examiner, 1922. p. 203

⁸³ Schurhammer, p. 10.

⁸⁴ Idem p. 16, 17, 19,

⁸⁵ Idem p. 22, 37.

⁸⁶ Synod of Diamp. IX. Raulin, p. 274.

⁸⁷ *Monumenta Xaveriana* Matriti, 1900 I. 480 - 481

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⁸⁸ *Ibidem* I. 511.

⁸⁹ Coleridge, *Life and Letters of St. F.X.* p. 73, 74.

⁹⁰ "The *Ezhumoottikkar* (= the seven hundred) are described in a copper plate document of 14th Meenam of the year 322 of the Puduvaippu era (22 March 1663 A.D.) belonging to the Paliyathachan of Cochin as: "Kumpagni Velakkaithu Ozhigna Koduthirikkunna Ezhumoottiparizhayodum Kanadarach Chiyathunna Pangki markam kootti konduvanna Alukalodum oru puruzhantharam chothikkayum avarutha chareeram pirathi onnu chaikayumaruthu" (lines 35 - 38) i.e. To the people called the 700 who are set apart (by the King of Cochin) for the service of (the Dutch) Company and to the people whom the Portuguese brought converted from Canara no harm should be done — T.K. Joseph, B.A., L.T. in the Kerala Society Papers p. 280 of Series 5 in notes to the article "Slavery in Kerala" by W.S. Hunt — From this it does not follow that all those now called the Seven Hundred are descendants of those of whom this document speaks. For, there are many Latins who were Syrians in addition to Latin converts from high castes.

⁹¹ It seems this ordination was done by the bishop of Cochin after 1558. For the Seminary of Cranganore had its beginning somewhere near 1540. Was it not to prevent such abuses that the council of Goa of 1585, decree 5. Sess. III enacted that a bishop ought not to ordain another bishop's subjects (Syrians) without the necessary permissions?

⁹² *Orient Conquistado* II, 71.

⁹³ Schurhammer, p. 22.

⁹⁴ *Oriente Conquistado*, II, p. 70

⁹⁵ Mar Jacob allowed the Portuguese to baptize some Syrian children while he was living and he was willing that they might do so after his death. During his time there were those that "had the good will to go over to the usage of the Church of Rome" but there were afraid of enemies. Schurhammer p. 18. From this it does not seem to follow as some think, that many adopted the Latin Rite. That some were baptized by the Portuguese is no argument that the baptized had adopted the Latin Rite.

⁹⁶ Schurhammer, p. 21.

⁹⁷ *Idem*. p. 37.

⁹⁸ *The Examiner*. May 12, 1934, p. 221.

⁹⁹ Fernando de Soledade, *Historia Sacrificia de Ordem de San Francisco na Provincia da Portugal*, 1705.

¹⁰⁰ Beltrami, p. 40 - 43, note 9

¹⁰¹ Bernard, *Brief Sketch*, p. 52-54

¹⁰² Some erroneously conclude from this that Mar Jacob was despised by the Syrians and his Patriarch because he became a Catholic. But St. Francis complains that he was despised by the King of Portugal and by those who had any power in India i.e., the Portuguese officials. If the Syrians despised him because he became catholic, would they send their children to the Seminary at Cranganore conducted by the Franciscans with whom Mar Jacob resided? Would St. Francis complain that Mar Jacob because he became Catholic was despised by a Non-Catholic Patriarch and a non-Catholic people? See the letter of the Saint in Coleridge o. c. II, pp. 82 - 83

¹⁰³ *The Erroribus Nestorianorum* p. 15

¹⁰⁴ Beltrami, p. 46 - 50.

Letter of Patriarch Elias to Pope Paul V.

Fr. Antoninus converted one of them and sent him back as ar read in the suport he submitted in Rome. The report is in Beltrami *passim*.

¹⁰⁵ This seems to have been the ideal at that time. Even Pope Pius IV on Feb. 23, 1563, wrote thus to Patriarch Ebedjesus: "For as regards rites and ceremonies (and it would be very decent) although it is to be desired that they too agree, still we would permit you to retain the consuetudes & the old rites which ofcourse can be proved (to be legitimate) provided in sacraments & other things pertaining to Faith & necessary for salvation you follow, as we said, the Roman Church the mater et magistra of all Christians" Bernard, *Brief Sketch* p. 24.

Hence the Portuguese are not to be so condemned as it is generally done for having latinized the Syrian rite of malabar. Hence also the key to the solution of the problem how could the Popes speak of **reducing the Syrians to the obedience of Rome** although the Syrians were holding com-

munion with the Popes. (See below where we speak of one Mar Simon).

¹⁰⁶ The Syrians were calling their Patriarch "Prince of the Princes of Priests and Father of Fathers our blessed and holy Father, the Patriarch of the East head of regions" (Roz. *De Erroribus* - p. 33) All these qualifications were only relative i.e., the Patriarch was all these in the East, not in the whole Church. East is called head of regions not head of Churches. The Chaldeans believe that Mesopotamia has pre-eminence Biblically and politically over all the other regions.

Again the qualifications referred to above, of themselves need not argue denial of Papal Supremacy. For even today the Catholic Greek Melchite Patriarch on solemn occasions is called "The most blessed, holy and venerable chief and head, Patriarch of the great cities of Antioch Alexandria and Jerusalem, of Cilicia, Syria and Iberia of Arabia, Mesopotamia and the Pentapolis, of Ethiopia, Egypt and all the East, the lord N., Father of Fathers, Shepherd of Shepherds, High priest of high priests and thirteenth Apostle." Attwater, *The Catholic East Churches* p. 110, note, 32 - Note the words Father of Fathers, Shepherd of Shepherds &c.,!!

¹⁰⁷ Beltrami, pp. 44, 45. This is the reason why, we think Pope Pius IV in brief to Mar Joseph calls him bishop of Niniveh & visitor of Malabar. We shall speak of this brief below.

¹⁰⁸ Beltrami, p. 45.

¹⁰⁹ Giamil, p. 95.

¹¹⁰ Beltrami, p. 89 - 90.

¹¹¹ *Idem* P. 42. In Malabr Confirmation was administered together with Baptizm which is not the practice among Latins. So Antoninus might have thought that there was no Confirmation in Malabar.

¹¹² Beltrami. p. 48

¹¹³ *Idem*, pp. 50-56

¹¹⁴ See their letter to the Pope of 1578

¹¹⁵ See the Papal letters in *A Brief Sketch* - Bernard p. 24 sqq.

¹¹⁶ This time or the last, Mar Joseph an **Archbishop** was accused of the **enormous crime** of Heresy at the words of two **Portuguese boys**: who were his pages !!

¹¹⁷ Beltrami. p. 91, Note 11.

¹¹⁸ Beltrami quotes this letter, p. 92

¹¹⁹ *Oriente Conquistado*, II, 75

¹²⁰ See the original documents in Giamil and Beltrami.

¹²¹ See Original documents in Giamil.

¹²² Bernard, *Brief Sketch*. p. 40-42.

¹²³ Castes, *The Examiner*. L.C. p. 204.

¹²⁴ When the Pope wrote this letter, George was not nominated and approved Bishop. After the nomination George out of humility tried not to accept the Office for some time but afterwards consented to it as we see from the Papal Brief directed to him cited above. Since George was not consecrated Mar Abraham had to attend the Council of Goa.

¹²⁵ Bernard, *Brief Sketch*, p. 45—48

¹²⁶ *De Erroribus* . . . p. 15

¹²⁷ *De Erroribus* . . . p. 21

¹²⁸ Beltrami cites this letter p. 114-115

¹²⁹ Beltrami p. 248, 249, 250

¹³⁰ *Idem*, p. 252 - 253

¹³¹ Beltrami, p. 129

¹³² In some Papal documents we read that Patriarch Ebejesus went to Rome to obtain Catholic communion. From this some think that he had not that communion before that. But even today Patriarchs elected by the Episcopal Synod apply to Rome for confirmation and this is sometimes called reception into the communion of the Church. In olden days bishops used to get letters of communion from Rome. That did not mean that they had not that communion before that.

¹³³ Mackenzie, *Christianity* pp. 68, 69

¹³⁴ Bernard, *Brief Sketch*, p. 52, 54

- ¹³⁵ Raulin pp. 19. sq.
- ¹³⁶ Raulin P. 26, 27.
- ¹³⁷ Raulin P. 36, 37.
- ¹³⁸ Raulin p. 37 sqq.
- ¹³⁹ A Syro-Chaldaic manuscript of the Chaldaic Divine Office written at Kothamangalam a few years before the Synod says, that Malabar was then under the Patriarch Mar Simon. This manuscript is now kept by Mar Abimlech, the Nestorian Bishop of Trichur and the writer has gone through it. A witness of the Synod says, that it was amidst tears that the Syrians effaced from their Office the name of Mar Simon (Castets S.J. in Fr. Roz's *De Erroribus*. P. 6) Hence there is no doubt it was the successor of Sulaka that was anathematized at Diamper as a Schismatic ! How then could the Syrians be accused of Schismatic leanings because they were unwilling to anathematize as Schismatic a Patriarch who was in communion with Rome ?
- ¹⁴⁰ Bernard : Brief Sketch, p. 54.
- ¹⁴¹ It seems that the library of the Archdeacon - the biggest Syriac library at that time - was used for the purpose of the Synod - of *Jornada* fol. 52. v. col. 2
- ¹⁴² See documents in Beltrami; *Some Elucidations* by Bp. Olivera. It is worthy of mention that the Syrians who were reluctant to show their books to the Portuguese, freely offered them for correction after the Synod. Menezes, after the synod visited many churches & on the first day of the visits **he published an excommunication against all who would retain the books.** (*Jornada*, 73 v. col. 1) See how they feared excommunication ! A clear sign that they wanted to be members of the Catholic Church ! Before the synod the Portuguese had no authority to demand their books. But after the synod the tables were turned. Hence this change of mentality on their part is not to be attributed to any miracle as some Portuguese writers do : it must be attributed to their respect for legitimate authority.
- ¹⁴³ P. 125, 126.
- ¹⁴⁴ See copies of these petitions in Beltrami.
- ¹⁴⁵ Beltrami p. 133 note. 103.
- ¹⁴⁶ Mackenzie, Christianity p. 25, 26.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 25, 26, 75, 76.
- ¹⁴⁸ B. O. III 2. p. 461.
- ¹⁴⁹ Trav. State Manual II. p. 184.
- ¹⁵⁰ Travancore State Manual II P. 185.
- ¹⁵¹ Paulinus, p. 75; Marcelline O.C.D. *The History of the True Rel. in Kerala* p. 131.
- ¹⁵² Castets S.J. *Examiner* 1922 p. 215
- ¹⁵³ Marcelline O.C.D. *The History of True Religion in Kerala* p. 173.
- ¹⁵⁴ Bernard II P. 84 sqq.
- ¹⁵⁵ Castets S.J. *Iqid* p. 223
- ¹⁵⁶ Castets S.J. *Ibid* p. 223
- ¹⁵⁷ " "
- ¹⁵⁸ Castets S.J. *Ibid*.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Idem* p. 223
- ¹⁶⁰ Bernard II. p. 125. The permission to build the church at Verapoly was given also by the Dutch Govt.
- ¹⁶¹ Castets, S.J. *ibid*. p. 223 note also.
- ¹⁶² It is amusing to see that some have now begun to say that the Mar Thomite Church is the Church founded by St. Thomas, purged of errors as though the Church which St. Thomas founded was an independant Church ! In the beginning, they were called the Reformed Church. But now they call themselves the Mar Thomite Church.
- ¹⁶³ Bernard II. p. 151.
- ¹⁶⁴ Castets S.J. *ibid*. p. 223.
- ¹⁶⁵ Castets S.J. 223.
- ¹⁶⁶ Bernard II p. 132.
- ¹⁶⁷ Travancore State Manual II. p. 190.
- ¹⁶⁸ Bernard II p. 137 sqq.
- ¹⁶⁹ When John Rebeiro S.J. took charge of the Syrian Archdiocese of Cranganore. Bishop Angelus Francis exhorted all the Syrians to obey him and was ready to resign. But some Syrians wanted him to rule over them and thus was the Carmelite rule (Verapoly afterwards) established finally.
- ¹⁷⁰ Bernard II. p. 152.
- ¹⁷¹ According to some, Pope Clement XI on March 13, 1709 gave Bishop Angelus Francis jurisdiction over the sees of Cranganore and Cochin. But it happened that he ruled only those of these two sees who were in territories subject to Dutch influence.
- ¹⁷² Agur, p. 259. This shows that the Church of Verapoly was preminently Syrian at that time though there were in it parishioners of the Latin Rite. The Vicariate Ap. of Verapoly & the Archbishopric of Verapoly took their title from this church.
- ¹⁷³ Bernard, Brief Sketch. p. 72.
- ¹⁷⁴ Bernard, Brief Sketch p. 72.
- ¹⁷⁵ " "
- ¹⁷⁶ 3. *Ibidem*, p. 70.
- ¹⁷⁷ Bernard, Brief Sketch. p. 72.
- ¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem* p. 70.
- ¹⁷⁹ Petition submitted to Pope Benedict XV by the Chal. Patri and bishop 1920
- ¹⁸⁰ *Ibidem*.
- ¹⁸¹ Bernard II p. 266 sqq.
- ¹⁸² Bernard II. p. 279.
- ¹⁸³ Bernard II P. 290. sqq
- ¹⁸⁴ Bernard II p. 314 sqq.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Idem*, *Ibid*. p. 340.
- ¹⁸⁶ Bernard, Brief Sketch. p. 73.
- ¹⁸⁷ When the Latin Hierarchy under the Propaganda was established in 1886 Verapoly became an Archdiocese of the Latins, Hence it is misleading to say that Verapoly is the mother of all Syrian dioceses.
- ¹⁸⁸ Bernard, Brief Sketch. p. 77.
- ¹⁸⁹ Beltrami, *La Chiesa Caldea nel secolo dell' unione* p. 137.
- ¹⁹⁰ Paulinus. p. 447, Trav. State Manual III. p. 207
- ¹⁹¹ Apostolic Delegation, Prof. No. 2035/30
- ¹⁹² Kierkels, p. 86.
- ¹⁹³ *The Bethany Letters* I. No. 5 p. 1 sqq.

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